

Chapter-I
INTRODUCTION

ODIA AND ODISHA

Orissâ was granted the status of a separate province on 1st April 1936 as a province on linguistic basis during the British rule. It provides the first example of a province formed on the basis of language. It became Odishâ under a resolution of the Parliament on 23 September 2011, which substituted “Odiâ” for “Oriyâ” and “Odishâ” for “Orissâ”. [Annexure – I]. Odishâ is the modern name of the ancient Kalinga Empire, variously known as Udra, Utkal, Kalinga, Kosala, Toshala and Kangoda in different periods in history.

Odisha is the gateway between the north and the south of India and the meeting ground of Aryan and Drâvidian cultures on an Austro-Asiatic substratum. Now, with the setting of the Tibetan colony in Chandragiri of Gajapati District, the Sino-Tibetan family has been added to its cultural fabric.

Boudhâyana, the Vedic sutrakâra (6th century B.C.), mentions as Kalinga lying beyond the Vedic fold. Unlike some other parts of India, tribal customs and traditions played a significant role in shaping political structures and cultural practices here. Pânini, the eminent Sanskrit grammarian, refers to Udras as the inhabitants of the Kalinga Janapada. But the first reference to the language is found in Bharata’s *Nâtya Sâstra* (4th century B.C.). He refers to Udra Bibhâshâ, spoken in Udra Desha, a part of Kalinga. Here, besides Sanskrit, the common people used Bibhâshâs (languages) such as **Sâbara**, Âbhira, Chândâla, Sâkara, Drâvida, **Udra** and Banachara. [Annexure-II].

There is an unbroken history of Utkal, Kalinga, Udra, Kosala, Toshala and Kangoda as Odishâ, which, at the highest point of imperial expansion, stretched from the Gangâ to the Rameswaram. Present-day Odishâ constituted a part of this Empire. [Annexure – III].

1.1 Udra to Odisha

The name **Odisha** is derived from the words Udra, Ora (Ura) or Odra Desa or Odra Visaya-

1. The first reference to the Odra language is found in Bharat’s *Natyasastra*. [Natyasastra, 17/49]
2. Ancient writers like **Pliny** the Elder and **Ptolemy** described the Odra people as Oretes.
3. In the *Mahâbhârata* the Odras are mentioned along with the Paundras, Utkals, Mekalas, Kalingas and Andhras.

4. According to **Manu** the Odras are associated with the Paundrakas, Dravidas, Kambojas, Yavanas, Sakas, Paradas, Pallavas, Chinas, Kiratas and Khasas.
5. The earliest epigraphic reference to Odras is found in the Soro copper plate grant of **Somadatta** from which it is clear that Uttara Toshali with its Visaya Sarepahara identified with Soro of Balasore district was part of Odra Visaya [**Annexure –IV**].
6. **Purusottam Dev**, the author of "**Prakrutanusasan**" of 10th century A.D. offers a description of the Udra language. He said that the suffixes "l" and "o" are used excessively in the Udra language. ("**l kâraukâr prâyoustri**").
7. **Aniruddha Bhatta**, who authored "**Prakruta Kalpataru**" in 12th century A.D. mentioned Utkali and Udra as apabhramsa language.
8. The poet **Sarala Das** makes a large number of references to Udra, Odra, Odra Desa, Odra Rastra, Odabisa, Odia, Odra Rastra Mandal and Odisha in his famous epic the Mahâbhârata. His contemporary, Gajapati Kapilendradeva (1435–1467 A.D.) in his proclamation inscribed on the temple walls of Jagannath Temple calls his territory 'Odisha Rajya' or 'Odisha Rastra'.
9. **Markandeya**, who wrote **Prakruta Sarvaswa** in 16th century A.D. states that "Udra is the original language of Udradesha which is mixed up with the Souraseni and tribal languages. (**Sarbarjyam eboudrijogat taddeshya souraseniyadah**).
10. According to **Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji**, Odia is older than Bengali and Assamese. [**1. Indian Historical Quarterly Vol-XXIII, 1947, P-337 and 2. Arta Ballabha Mahanti Memorial Lectures : The people, language and culture of Orissa, Orissa Sahitya Akademi, 1966**].
11. According to L.S.S. O' Malley - "*Oriya is in an older stage of grammatical development than even classical Sanskrit, and, among Indo-Aryan Languages, can only be compared with the ancient Sanskrit spoken in the Vedic times*".
12. Manmohan Ghosh in the preface of 'Natyasastra' mentioned, "It is almost certain that the name 'Odra' was older and enjoyed a great prestige for this reason shared the honour with Magadha in giving a name to the eastern style of procedure (Prabrithi) which was called 'Odra-Magadhi'."

1.2 Literary and Epigraphical Sources

- A. Kalinga is mentioned in the Âdiparva, Bhismaparva, Sabhâparva, Banaparva and Dronaparva of the *Mahâbhârata*, Kiskindâ Kânda of the *Râmâyan*, *Trikândasesha*, *Skanda Purâna*, *Brahmânda Purâna*, *Mârkaṇḍa Purâna*, *Kapila SaAhitâ* and *Arthasâstra* of Koutilya etc. [**Annexure – V**]. Srutâyus or Srutâyudha, the king of Kalinga, stated to have fought the Mahâbhârata war as an ally of the Kauravas.

In the Bhisma Parva of the *Mahâbhârata*, it is mentioned that, after Bhima vanquished Bhisma, whom his charioteer had been able to save only by moving his chariot away from the battle-field, Duryodhan had to seek the help of Kalinga's king Shrutayu, who, as a proponent of patriarchy like Bhisma, had joined the Kaurava's camp against the matriarchy represented by the Pandavas. And so, Shrutayu led the battle with his powerful army, well- equipped with a regiment of formidable war elephants. (Kalinga or Odisha's king emperor is traditionally know as Gajapati – the lord of elephants).

Vyasa states that Bhima, the victor of Bhisma, found it difficult to face Shrutayu. As the Kalinga army wrecked havoc on the Pandavs, the emperor of Kalinga, despite being very old, overwhelmed Bhima, who came close to getting killed by the former. Arjuna, overcome by surprise and shock,

wanted to rush to Bhima's rescue. But Krishna, his charioteer, not only refused to proceed, he also restrained Arjuna by saying "Not even I can defeat Shrutayu in a battle, Arjuna; so it is not within your power to face him". But when Bhima's chariot was smashed by Shrutayu, he had to be saved. So, Krishna asked Satyaki to rush to the spot to offer Bhima his chariot. The moment he ascended it, he brought it as quickly as possible away from Shrutayu.

With Bhima running away from the battlefield there was only one man who challenged Shrutayu, and he was Krushna. And, he was not armed! Shrutayu was clearly in the worst of predicaments: If he used the divine spear against Krushna, he would violate his own promise not to use it against an unarmed person. If he did not use it, he would act against its divine distinction. So he decided to plunge the spear into his own heart. And, thus he died, honouring the principles he held sacred. [Annexure – VI]

- B. Kalinga is also mentioned as Calingae in Megasthenes' book on India, *Indica*. Megasthenes states that Magadha and Kalinga were Jain-dominated kingdoms: "The Prinas and the Cainas (tributaries of the Ganges) are both navigable rivers. The tribes which dwell by the Ganges are the Calingae, nearest the sea, and higher up the Mandei, also the Malli, among whom is Mount Mallus, the boundary of that entire region being the Ganges." [Megasthenes fragm. XX. B. in Pliny. *Natural History* VI. 21.9–22.1] [Annexure – VII].

"The royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot-soldiers, 1,000 horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in precinct of war." (Megasthenes fragm. Lii in Pliny. *Natural History* VI. 21. 8–23. 11.). [Annexure – VII].

- C. Panini's *Ashtadhyayi* refers to Kalinga janapada [*Ashtadhyayi* - 4/1/170 sutra]. Ed. by Basu, S.C.- Motilal Banarasidas Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi.
- D. Buddhist and other texts only incidentally refer to sixteen great nations (*Sodasa Mahajanapadas*) which were in existence before the time of the Buddha [*Anguttara Nikaya: Vol I, p 213, Vol IV, pp 252, 256, 260*]. Another Buddhist text, *Digha Nikaya* mentions only the first twelve *Mahajanapadas* and omits the last four in the above list. [*Digha Nikaya, Vol II, p 200*].
- E. *Chulla-Niddesa*, another ancient text of the Buddhist canon, adds Kalinga. [*Chulla-Niddesa (P.T.S.), p 37.*] to the list and substitutes Yona for Gandhara, thus listing Kamboja and Yona as the only *Mahajanapadas* from Uttarapatha [*Lord Mahāvīra and his times, 1974, p- 197, Dr Kailash Chand Jain; The History and Culture of the Indian People, 1968, p LXV, Dr Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bhâratīya Itihâsa Samiti; Problems of Ancient India, 2000, p 7, K. D. Sethna*].
- F. According to Boudha literature *mahagovinda sutta* of digganikaya, *Kuru Dharma Jataka*, *Chullakalinga Jataka*, *Kumbhakar Jataka*, *kalingabodhi Jataka* and *dathadhatuvamsa*, **Kalinga was an independent country and its capital city was known as Dantapur.**
- G. Two merchants of Utkal, Tapussa (Tapassu) and Bhallika (Bhalliya), met Lord Buddha while traveling through the Urubela jungle. At that time, he had performed severe austerities beneath the Rajayatan tree and gone without food for two months. The merchants saved his life by offering him some honey and cakes. Pleased with them, Goutam Buddha explained to both of them the basic principles of his religion. So Tapussa and Bhallika both came to be regarded as the **Buddha's first disciples** of all over the world [*Mahavagga of the Vinaya Text, part-ii, p377 and Jatak, 1st part, p-80*]. Lord Buddha gave them eight strands of his hair and they brought these to their native place as a holy relic. They got a beautiful chaitya (Keœa stûpa) built, where they kept this relic. It has been found from a legend in Sri Lanka that, after becoming the

disciples of Buddha, the two of them also got a chaitya reconstructed there [Ep. Zeylanica, Vol.IV, p-152 and 312].

- H. The **Pujavaliya** text of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) states that Tapassu and Bhallika, after their conversion, visited the east coast of Ceylon (Sri Lanka), where they erected a chaitya to commemorate their visit. The site where the merchant brothers landed in Sri Lanka might be identified as Manthai harbour city, with which the ancient Odia people had extensive maritime contact. Archaeological finds at Radhanagara bear a striking resemblance to those found at the Manthai harbour in Sri Lanka: fine grey ware and black slipped ware, knobbed bowls, or begging bowls etc.. Radhanagar (spelt as Rajnagar in 1929 Toposheet) is situated in the Jajpur district of central Odisha.
- I. The **Radhanagar Fort** of Jajpur was the center of the circle on the periphery of which lay places like Kayama, Deuli, Tarapur, Vajragiri, Langudi, Kantigadia, Neulpur, Panturi, Bandareswar etc. These sites yield inscriptions mentioning the names of Tapassu and Bhallika. The inscriptions have been deciphered by J. Jayprakash, Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India. The survey has also resulted in the discovery of at least 10 massive *stupas*, 40 rock-cut caves and several hundreds of votive *stupas*, images/sculptures of the Buddhist pantheon belonging to all the three schools i.e. Hinayana (Lower Vehicle), Mahayana (Greater Vehicle) and Vajrayana (tantric or magical form of Buddhism). [Annexure-VIII]
- J. The two early Brahmi inscriptions of Radhanagar (Jajpur), as deciphered by J. Jayprakash, read '**Tosali nagara**' and '**Tosala nagar**'. The Inscriptions date back to the 3rd century B.C. and the 2nd century B.C. respectively. [Annexure-IX]
- K. The *stupa* at Tarapur (Jajpur) flourished as an important centre during the early phase of Buddhism and the site dates back to the early part of the 3rd century B.C. The two early Brahmi inscriptions of Tarapur, as deciphered by J. Jayprakash, Senior Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India read '**Bhekku Tapussa danam**' and '**Kaligaraja**', which associates Tapussa with the site and could be identified with the '**Kesa Stupa**' as referred to in *Anguttara Nikaya*, a famous Buddhist text. [Annexure -X].
- L. Explorations at and around the Langudi hill led to spectacular discoveries like the ancient Buddhist monastery of Puspagiri Vihara, an Ashokan *stupa*, two rare statues of Emperor Ashoka, 54 rock-cut votive *stupas*, five rock-cut dhayani Buddhas and their counterparts. The remains of two monasteries as also a golden-glazed northern black polished ware shed, and the pottery associated with the Mauryan nobility/ royalty are striking. The excavation at Langudi hill, with the discovery of the Ashokan *stupa* and **Puspagiri Vihara**, has substantiated the statement of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang (629-645 A.D.) that "*Ashoka constructed ten stupas (Pali Tope) in Wu-Tu (Odra) country where the Buddha had preached*". The *stupa* at Langudi hill may be one among the ten *stupas* said to have been constructed by Emperor Ashoka. The epigraphical and archaeological remains of this tract of 10 km radius speak of the evolution of Buddhism from 6th century B.C. to 10th century A.D. in this part. [Gopinath Mohanty, Dr. C. B. Patel, D. R. Pradhan and Dr. B. Tripathy, Tapassu and Bhallika of Odisha, Their Historicity and Nativity, *The Odisha Review*, November – 2007.]
- M. The king of Kalinga had two sons, named Mahakalinga and Chulakalinga. This has been noted in Budha Jataka. The youngest one was married to the princess of Madra.
- N. One finds in the Boudha epic, **Datha Dhatuvamsa** that Brahmadutta was king of Kalinga at the time of Buddha's passing (487 B.C). One of Buddha's disciples Kshyema presented Brahmadutta with a tooth of Buddha, which he had collected from the funeral pyre at Kushinara. Brahmedutta erected a beautiful chaitya in his capital to house the holy relic. Kashiraj was the son of Brahmadutta

and his son was Sunanda. Both father and son were devoted to the Boudha religion, but during that period, some were also devoted to Jainism and Lord Rishavnath was worshipped.

- O. It has also been stated in Jain texts such as **Uttaradhyana sutra** and **Sutra krutanga** that the palaces of the emperor of Kalinga and various other rich businessmen were made of ivory. The city was therefore called Dantapur.
- P. The four famous kings of India, namely Nimi of Videha, Dwimukha of Panchala, Nagnajit of Gandhar and **Karakandu of Kalinga**, became the disciples of Parswanath and were engaged actively in the propagation of Jain religion. One learns from the **Jaina Bhagavati Sutra** that Parswanath had come to Pundra and Tamralipti. According to Jainkhetra Samasa, Parswanath came to **Kopatak** (now Kupari of Baleswar district of Odisha) and was the guest of a person called Dhanya [**Nagendranath Basu, Archaeological Survy of Mayurbhanja, Vol-1, and P-XLIII**].
- Q. Mahavir Jain had come to Kalinga for the propagation of the fifth rule of Jainism known as "Brahmachrya" [**Jain Abasyaka Sutra and Haribhadra Charita**]. He proclaimed "Bijaya Chakra" at Kumar Parbat of Khandagiri [**Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavel**].
- R. In 4th century B.C, this region was known as Indravana from where precious gem-stones and diamonds were collected for the imperial Maurya treasury [**Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1947, 10th session-178**]. During the reign of Emperor Ashoka, the regions of Kalahandi, Koraput and the Bastar region were known as Atavi Land. People who inhabited these parts served the Kaling army in large numbers. [**Rayachoudhury, H. C.: Political History of Ancient India, p-538**].
- S. A major turning-point in world history was reached around 261 B.C. when the Mauryan emperor Asoka invaded Kalinga, which is famous as Kalinga War. The 13th rock edict of Ashoka throws light on this great war. [**Annexure –XI**].
- "Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Priyadarsi, conquered the Kalingas eight years after his coronation. One hundred and fifty thousand were deported, one hundred thousand were killed and many more died (from other causes). After the Kalingas had been conquered, Beloved-of-the-Gods came to feel a strong inclination towards the Dharma, a love for the Dharma and for instruction in Dhamma. Now Beloved-of the-Gods feels deep remorse for having conquered the Kalingas."* [**Rock Edict No.13**].
- T. It has been described in the epic **Samanta Pasadika** that Emperor Ashok had sent his son Mahendra and his daughter Sanghamitra with eight families from Kalinga in a Kalingan ship from Tamralipti port to Sri Lanka. They settled in that island permanently in order to preach and establish the Boudha religion and culture there. [**Samanta Pasadika, Part-1, P-96**].
- U. The 14th major Rock Edicts of Ashoka known as Kalinga Edicts, are found on the summit of the Aswathama hill or Surava Parvat of **Toshali** (now Dhauli near Bhubaneswar, the capital city of Odisha) and on the Khapimgala Parvata of **Samapa** (now Jaugada of Ganjam). In the Kalinga Edict Ashok expresses his concern for the "**welfare of the whole world**". It is here that Ashoka enunciated his famous doctrine, '**All men are my children**' and exhorted his officers posted at Toshali to exert themselves to ensure the welfare and happiness of the people of Kalinga. [**Annexure –XI**].
- V. Kharavela's Hathigumpha Inscription (1st C B.C.) is a fascinating document. It is not merely a royal panegyric; it provides invaluable information in the political history, and cultural conditions that prevailed in India during the 1st century B.C. Udaygiri inscriptions mention that Prince Kharavela was trained not only in the military arts, but also in literature, mathematics, and the social sciences. [**Annexure – XII**].

- W. The systematic excavations carried out at Sisupalagarh (Lat. 20°. 13' 30" N. and Long. 85° 51'30" E.) near Bhubaneswar by B.B. Lal [**Lal, B.B. : "Sisupalagarh- An early historical fort in Eastern India", Ancient India, in: no-5 1949, pp. 62-105.**] of ASI and subsequently by the State Department of Archaeology provide concrete evidence of the existence of a well-planned early historical fortified city in Odisha. The site of Sisupalagarh has been identified as Toshali, the provincial capital of Emperor Asoka and Kalinganagari, the capital city of the Chedi dynasty under Kharavela. The excavations revealed that the site remained under occupation between the 3rd century B.C and the middle of the 4th century A.D. The site was in the form of a fort having a rough square plan each of its side measuring about three quarters of a mile and enclosing an area a little over half a square mile. The excavations yield evidence of an integral culture persisting through different stages and discovered artifacts such as knobbed ware, glass beads, semi-precious stone beads, rouletted ware, clay bullae resembling Silenus's head imitated from those of Roman coins, a unique medallion showing "Kushana type of standing king and a Brahmi legend in character of 3rd century A.D on the obverse and Roman head with a Roman legend on the reverse. [**Lal, B.B. : "Sisupalagarh- An early historical fort in Eastern India", Ancient India, pp. 72.**]
- X. On the basis of the new findings, Dr. Monica Smith of the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Dr. R.K. Mohanty of the Department of Archaeology, Deccan College, Pune claim that the fortified city is Sisupalagarh located near Bhubaneswar, the capital of Odisha, **flourished from around the 5th century B.C and probably continued to remain in existence well after the 4th century A.D.** Researchers say that the items found during the excavation point to a highly developed urban settlement.
- Y. The latest archaeological excavation conducted in January & February 2013 at **Asurabandha** of Harirajpur near Jatani in Odisha, yielded finds such as a **human skeleton**, broken potteries, carbon, earthen pots, agricultural stone implements, animal bones, flooring tiles of houses, remains of hearths. These are **claimed to be 4000 years old**. It is further found that there was human habitation on high ground surrounded by marshy land. The inhabitants were strangers to the use of iron and used stone implements. The finds relate to the chalcolithic age in Odisha. It has been suggested that Sisupalagarh developed 1000 year after this stage of civilization. [**Annexure – XIII**]

1.3 Visitors' Accounts

Visitors also called Odisha by different names.

1. **Pliny** presents three divisions of Kalinga known as Gangarides Calingae, Macco Calingae and Calingae, out of which the middle division is variantly mentioned as Modogalinga. [**For Pliny's Natural History- vide Mc Crindle's Ancient India, P-129. See also Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p-594.**]
2. It is probably the same as Triglyption or Trikalanga mentioned by the Greek Geographer Ptolemy. [**Ptolemy's Ancient India by Mc. Crindle, p-234**]
3. The location of the Odra territory has been given in the Natural History of **Pliny** in which it is mentioned that the Oretes inhabited the country where the mount Maleus stood. Oretes in Greek is probably Odra in Sanskrit and the Mount Maleus has been identified as Malayagiri near Pala Lahara. Pliny associates the mount Maleus with the people called Monedes and Sharis who were probably the same as the Mundas and the Savaras inhabiting the upland regions of Odisha. [**Researches on Ptolemy's Geography by Gerini, Motilal Banarasidas Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi.**]
4. **Ptolemy's Geography of Ancient India**, (2nd century A.D.), mentions major and prosperous ports of Odisha such as Nanigaina (Puri), Katikardama (Kataka or Cuttack), Kannagara (Konarak), and

river mouths Manada (Mahanadi), Tyndis (Brahmani), Dosaron (Baitarani), Adams (Subarnarekha), Minagara (Jajpur) and Kosamba (Pipili or Balasore) and says that overseas trade was carried out from these location. Dimond mining mentioned by Ptolemy seems to have been carried out near the town of Kasa, at the mouth of the river Adamas(the modern Ib river which meets the Mahanadi at Hirakud) in the territory of the Sabarai(Sambalpur). [*Ptolemy, VII, 1,17; 65,71,76,80*].

5. Among important industries that developed in Kalinga by that time, mention may be made of pearl fisheries referred to in Periplus operated in the lower Ganges (**P-63**), It refers to large stores of cotton goods, varieties of muslins and mallow-coloured cotton in the markets of Tagara and Paithan where they were carried by boats, carts or pack bullocks from Maisolos. [*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, Edited by Schoff, pp-51,62*].

J. Takakusu writes : "That there was a communication or trade between India and China from 400 A.D. down to 800 A.D. is a proven fact. Not to speak of any doubtful records we read in the Chinese and Japanese books, Buddhist or otherwise, of Indian merchant ships appearing in the China Sea; we know definitely that **Fahien (399-415 A.D)** returned to China via Java by an **Kalingan boat and further in the Tang dynasty an eyewitness tells us that there were in 750 A.D. many Brahmin ships in the Canton River.**" [*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland. October 1905 p. 872*].

6. The Chinese pilgrim **Hiuen-Tsang**, who visited Odisha in about 636 A.D., gives an account of the territory named Wu-Che which is very likely the same as Odra. The pilgrim states that the Wu-Cha (Wu-tu) country was above 7,000 li in circuit and its capital was above 20 li in circuit. The area of the territory, which was 7,000 li(2,253km)in circuit, was very extensive.

According to **Hiuen Tsang**, the people of Wu-Che or Udra were very aggressive. Their Language was defferent from other Indian Languages. [*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India A.D. 629-645 by Thomas Watters. Published by - Royal Asiatic Society London. 1904-05.*]

During the arrival of **Hiuen Tsang** in Odisha, it had become fully converted from the school of Theravada Buddhism to that of Mahayana. According to Hiuen Tsang, there were one hundred Buddhist monasteries in Odisha inhabited by ten thousand Buddhist monks. [**Mazumdar, B.C.: Typical Selections from Oriya literature, Vol-I, introduction-xiii**] [**Annexure-XIV**]. Among them was one of the most venerable Buddhist monks **Acarjya Dharmakirti**. His inscriptions found on the wall of Nilakantheswara Temple (Jagamunda Hill, Koraput) informs us that there was a Buddhist monastery at that place erlier. The Buddhism established in Korea and Japan was based on Dharmakirti's philosophy, which is prevalent in these countries today [*Journal of Bangiya Sahitya Parisad, 1321sal, P- 231*].

According to the accounts of **Hiuen Tsang** and **I-tsing**, Gautamiputra Satakarni had built a five-storeyed Buddhist monastery for his philosopher-friend, **Nagarjuna** in Parimalagiri, Kosala. From here, Nagarjuna propogated his '**Madhyamika Darsana**'. He also authored many noted Sanskrit books on the Mahayana school of Buddhism such as **Prajñâpâramitâ Śâstra, Mûla Mâdhyamika Śâstra, Daśuabhûmi Bibhâsa, Prajñâmûla Śâstra Tîkâ, Prajñâpradipta Śâstrakârikâ etc.** During this period, the Bolangir (Odisha) region had become famous as one of the major Buddhist destinations.

7. According to **I-tsing** (664A.D.), a Chinese Buddhist monk named Hwi-ning had arrived in Kalingga [Holing] of central Java of Indonesia and spent about three years there. During his stay he translated a large number of Buddhist Hinayana scriptures with the assistance of a Holing monk, Jnanabhadrâ. Kalingga was in existence between the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. Kalingga was one of the earliest Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms established in Java. Historical records relating to this kingdom are

scarce and vague (may be due to the lack of patronage from the Hinayana school of Buddhism), and information on it is available mostly from Chinese sources and local traditions.

8. The Muslim geographer **Ibn Khurdadhbin** who authored a text on geography in 846 A.D. refers to a territory called Ursfin, which is identified by the Russian scholar, **V. Minorsky** as Odra Desa.
9. A Persian geographical text titled **Hudad-al Alam** written towards the close of the 10th century A.D. mentions territory called Urshin (Odra Desa), which has been associated with the territories called N. Myas, Harkand, Smnder and Andhras which were more or less contiguous. The territory called N. Myas may be Mahismati and Harkand is suggested to be Akarakhand (eastern Malwa). Urshin may be the same as Odra Desa and Smnder may be the territory bordering the sea. Andhras is without doubt the same as Andhra Desa.
10. **Alberuni** has referred to a territory called Udra Vishau located 50 *forsakhs* towards the sea in the south from the Tree of Prayaga. Fifty *forsakhs* is equal to about 200 miles or 321.86 km. So Udra Vishau may be the same as Odra Desa.
11. In medieval Muslim chronicles like **Tabaquat-I-Nasiri**, **Tabaquat-I-Akbari**, **Riyadus-Salatin**, **Tarkh-I-Firuzsahi**, etc., the Odra territory has been referred to as Jajnagar probably after the capital city Jajatinagar. The territory of Jajnagar probably denotes the Ganga Empire during the period from Chodagangadeva in rule to that of Anangabhimdeva-III, when Jajatinagar was the capital of that empire. It was Anangabhimadeva- III who transferred the capital from Jajatinagar to Baranasi Kataka. Even after the shift of capital some Muslim chroniclers continued to call this territory Jajnagar.
12. **Shams-I-Seraj-Afif** called this territory as Jajnagar-Udisa with its capital city Banaras on the right bank of the Mahanadi. The word 'Udisa' added to Jajnagar appears very significant. It is a developed form of the word Ursfin or Urshin used by earlier Muslim writers of the 9th and 10th centuries A.D.
13. In Buddhist literature this word is expressed as Odivisa or Udivisa as found in the works of **Lama Taranath** and the author of **Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang**. In the Tantric literature of the mediaeval period the word Udisa has been frequently used and in *Tantrasara*, Jagannath has been referred to as Udisanatha.



Chapter-II
ODIA LANGUAGE AND SCRIPTS

2.1 THE ODIA LANGUAGE

Odia is one of the most ancient languages of India. Eminent linguists and scholars like John Beames, G.A. Grierson, L.S.S. O'Malley, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, S.N. Rajaguru, K.B. Tripathy, John Boulton, D.P. Pattanayak and others have time and again argued in favour of the antiquity of Odia language.

As to the peculiarities of Odia as a language as distinct from its sister languages like Hindi, Bengali and Assamese, as early in the 1870s **John Beames** has said, "At a period when Oriya was already a fixed and settled language, Bengali did not exist. The Bengalis spoke a vast variety of corrupt forms of Eastern Hindi". [**Beames, Sir John, Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, Vol 1.pp-120**].

According to **G.A. Grierson**, "*In the case of living rational beings, this noun of multitude is the word Mâne, Which is said to mean literally 'men'. In the other nouns it is usually some word meaning 'all'. In the verb, as is also the case of Bengali, the singular of the first and second persons are only used by the uneducated, or when respect is not intended. X X X X. Each letter in each word is clearly sounded, and it has been well described as 'comprehensive and poetical, with a pleasant sounding and musical intonation, and by no means difficult to acquire and master'.*

*Oriya is remarkably free from dialectic variations. The well known saying which is true all over the north of India, that **the language change every ten kos does not hold in Orissa**. In what is known as the Mughalbundi, which consists of Cuttack, Puri and the southern half of Balasore, the language is one and the same."* [**Linguistic Survey of India, Vol-V, P-368-369**] [**Annexure –XV**].

The following observations made by **L.S.S. O'Malley**, who knew not only all these languages but also Sanskrit, both classical and Vedic, may be of interest in this context. According to O Malley, "*The great majority of the people speak Oriya or as it is sometimes called Odri or Utkali, the language of Odra or Utkala, both of which are ancient names for the country now called Orissa. Oriya, with Bengali, Bihari and Assamese forms one of the four speeches which together make up the eastern group of Indo- Aryan Language. Its grammatical construction closely resembles that of Bengali, but it has one great advantage over Bengali in the fact that, as a rule, it is pronounced as it is spelt. x x x. The Oriya verbal system is at once simple and complete. It has a long array of tenses, but the whole is so logically arranged, and built on so regular a model, that its principles are easily impressed upon the memory. It is particularly noticeable for the very complete set of verbal nouns, present, past and future. When an Oriya wishes to express the*

idea embodied in what in Latin would be called the initiative, he simply takes the appropriate verbal noun and declines it in the case which the meaning necessarily requires. As every infinitive must be some oblique case of a verbal noun, it follows that Oriya grammar does not know the so called infinitive mode at all. In this respect, Oriya is in an older stage of grammatical development than even classical Sanskrit, and, among Indo-Aryan Languages, can only be compared with the ancient Sanskrit spoken in the Vedic times." [L.S.S. O'Malley, *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, (Cuttack)*, Second Edition by E.R.J.R. Cousins, (I.C.S.), 1933.p-47-50]. [Annexure –XVI].

Suniti Kumar Chatterjee observes, "Of the three speeches Oriya, Bengali and Assamese, Oriya has preserved a great many archaic features, in both grammar and pronunciation, and it may be said without travesty of linguistic truth that Oriya is the eldest of the three sisters, when we consider the archaic character of the language" [1. *Indian Historical Quarterly Vol-XXIII, 1947, P-337.* and 2. *Artaballabha Mahanti Memorial Lectures: The people, Language and Culture of Orissa*].

The given family tree [Annexure –XVII] not only demonstrates the points of split, but also gives the changes responsible for the split. It shows that Odia branched off from the parent language before Bengali and Assamese were separated from what was known as the Eastern group. [Pattanayak, D.P.: *A Controlled Historical Reconstruction of Oriya, Assamese, Bengali and Hindi*, Mouton, The Hague, 1968].

The earliest written evidence about Odias as the inhabitants of the *Kalinga janapada* has been found in the Sanskrit grammarian Panini's *Ashtadhyayi*. But the most ancient evidence relating to the existence of Odia language or the ancient *Udra bibhasa* (*Udra being an ancient name of Kalinga which is known as Odisha in the present day*) is available in *Natya Shastra* by Bharatamuni (4th century B.C.). Asoka's military campaign against Kalinga was one of the bloodiest in Mauryan history on account of the fearless and heroic resistance offered by the people of Kalinga to the mighty armies of the expanding Mauryan Empire. The maritime history of Odisha began before 350 BC. The people of this region of eastern India along the coast of the Kalinga Sagar (Now the Bay of Bengal) sailed up and down the Indian coast, and travelled to the western world, Africa and Indo-China and throughout Southeast Asia including Sri Lanka. Khandagiri and Udayagiri rock shelters are the proof of Odia literature and culture of 1st century B.C. Udra or Odia language was used in the eastern parts of India. The scripts used in the Hâtigumphâ inscription are the written form of Udra bibhasa. The inscription of Kharavela is accepted as the ancient script of Odia.

Reference could also be made to Asoka's royal command inscribed on stone in prose. Till now, 150 Ashokan rock inscriptions have been discovered at 47 different places of the Indian sub-continent, most of which have been written in the Brahmi script and Pâli language. The name Pâli was coined according to the English pronunciation of Sanskrit or Odia word, Palli (Village). Even today, Odia language is still termed as Palli bhasha in the rural areas of Odisha. This Palli language has taken different forms in its long years of use in different places influenced by the localized diction of the native speakers. So there are significant differences among the scripts and the words used in Ashoka's inscriptions discovered from different places such as Magadha, Kalinga, and western India, etc. Inscriptions found at Toshâli (Dhâuli) and Samapâ (Jaugada) are significantly different from other inscriptions not only from a subjective point of view but also as far as their language is concerned. So the historians named both the inscriptions of Ashok as **Separate Kalinga Rock Edicts**. A developed form of this language as well as its script has been found in the Hâtigumphâ inscription.

The French scholar **S. Sylvan Levi**, by analyzing some of the words like 'kichhi' (something), 'tini' (three), 'pachhâ' or pichhâ (back), 'paṇati' or paṇanâti (great grandson), 'drachmae' or declaim (looking), 'alibi' or lipi (script) and 'lieu' or nahebu (won't be) of Dhâuli inscription, 'anal' (Achaia) 'hidalgo' (halogen) of Jaugada inscription from a linguistic point of view, has established that Pâli is the language used in Ashokân inscriptions and thereafter. Taking in to account the accent the Hâtigumphâ inscriptions, it is evident that this is written in a Pali in post-Brahmi script. The famous German linguist, Professor **Herman Oldenburg** mentioned that Pali was the original language of Orissa. [Oldenburg Herman, *the*

Vinaya Pitaka (P.T.S.), Vol.I, Introduction, P-LII, LIV-LV] [Annexure-XVIII]. This was made possible because a developed language existed in the pre-Ashokan era. His view has been accepted by **H.Luder**, Other French linguist, **Pruji Luxi**, Other Swedish linguist, **Sten Konow**. The Buddhist scholar **Karn** and German scholar **Otto Franke [Pali and Sanskrit, P-138]** have endorsed his view. **Sir R.G. Bhandarkar** rejected it as the language of Magadha. **Ulnur** has argued convincingly in his book *“Introduction to Prakrit”* of Page 66. That it was the language of Kalinga.

According to **John Boulton**, *“The development of Oriya colloquial deriving, I believe from a fusion of Pali with elements from Aboriginal and Dravidian languages, spoken by earlier inhabitants of Bengal and Orissa. [Boulton, John. Essays on Oriya Literature, Kolkota, 2003, P-181].*

The developmental history of Indo- Aryan languages has the following Old Indo- Aryan (OIA), Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) and New Indo- Aryan (NIA). Some of the features of these sub-groups have been identified by scholars who have discussed the development of individual languages. Dr. G.N. Das in his article *“History of Oriya language” (Comprehensive History and Culture of Orissa.Vol.1, Part- II, Edited by P. K. Mishra, Kaveri Books, New Delhi, India; 2006, pp-561-572)* has brought the story of Odia language upto 1500 A.D. The first reference to Odia language occurs in the Bharata’s Natyasastra (4th Century B.C.). The story of the development of prose and poetry in Odia language about which information is provided by inscriptions and copper plate grants is a fascinating one. Prof. Das has given a comprehensive statement about the development of Odia, an NIA language from OIA. *“History of Oriya language” (Comprehensive History and Culture of Orissa.Vol.1, Part- II, Edited by P. K. Mishra, Kaveri Books, New Delhi, India; 2006, pp-569-573) [Annexure – XIX]*

To conclude the above discussion, Odia language presents some unique features, which are listed below:

1. It is not an offshoot only of Sanskrit but also of Prakrit. It has been influenced by both Sanskrit and Prakrit.
2. Its structural grammar is different from that of Sanskrit.
3. Since the Prakrit influence is predominant, it has only six vowels. In Sanskrit ‘a’, ‘â’ are different in duration whereas in Odia, they are qualitatively different. It has lost the short-long vowel distinction. For example- Bhâi > Gâii, Dina> Diina etc.
4. In Odia, the diphthongs ‘Ai’ and ‘Au’ have been broken into vowels each. For example- *daiba* has become *daiiba*, *mouna* has become *mauuna*, *chaitra* has become *chaiita* etc.
5. The three “S” dental, palatal and retroflexes have merged into one dental “S”. For example – sara (cream) > sâra (an arrow), masâ (mosquito)> mûşâ (rat) or have become sara, shara, mashâ, mushhâ. The two “J”s have become one. For example- jiiba (animal)> jiba (will go). “ya”, “wa” have been added later. The retroflex series consonants are Dravidian contributions to Odia. The development of “ru” has been “ri” in Bengali, “ru” in Odia and “ar” in Bundelkhandi Hindi. For example- *Krushna* in Odia, *Krishna* in Bengali and *Karsn* in Bundelkhandi Hindi.
6. In Odia, stress is laid on the syllable of a word; hence it is different in accent.
7. Case inflections in Odia are different. The number of cases in Sanskrit language is eight. But Odia has three: **A** - Nominative case or direct case, **B**-Objective case, **C**- Oblique or genitive case.
8. A morph mâne (माने) is used to indicate plurality form *only for human*. As stated by G.A. Grierson and Dr. S.K. Chatterjee, It is unique in Odia. **For example -**
Pilâmâne (children), mañisamâne (men), mahilâmâne (women), jhamâmâne (girls), debatâmâne (gods) etc. but it is not used in case of other animate and inanimate plurality forms like gachhamâne

(trees), pânimâne(water), târâmâne (stars). These words are incorrect; the correct words are gachhagu ika (trees), pâni (waters), târâguḍika (stars).

9. Odia has a natural gender but has no grammatical gender.
10. Odia has inclusive exclusive pronouns such as “âme jibu” (inclusive pronoun) “âme jibâ” (exclusive pronoun) including the listener. This is a unique feature of Odia.

2.2 The Odia Script

The Odia script developed from the Kalinga script, one of the many descendants of the Brahmi script of ancient India. [Rajaguru, S. N., *Odia Lipira Kramabikash, Odisha Sahitya Akademi, Page - 2*] The earliest known inscription in the Odia language, in the Kalinga script, dates from the 10th century A.D. Odia script has undergone several transformations. They are broadly: Transitional Odia, Proto Odia, Kutila script, and Gupta scripts [Les Langues écrites Du Monde: Relevé Du Degré Et. Des Modes D'utilisation. Presses Université Laval. 1978. pp. 389. ISBN 978-2-7637-7186-1].

The earliest settlers of Odisha were primitive hill tribes. At the rock shelters of Bikramkhol, Ushakothi, Ullafgad, Gudahandi, Jogimatha (Odisha) humans lived throughout the Upper Paleolithic age, revealing cave paintings dating to 7000 BC; these regions also exhibit many vertebrate fossil remains and paleolithic tools. Chert, jasper and quartzite were often used by humans during this period. More than 5775 cave paintings dating for 20,000 B.C. to 1000 B.C. have been found in 55 caves in Odisha. [Annexure –XX].

Odisha is the only state, in which three types of Brahmi script have been discovered: Pre-Brahmi, Brahmi and Post-Brahmi. The Indian script ‘o’ [tha] discovered in the Jogimatha rock painting of Nuapada dating 2000 B.C is the ancient form of Indian script. It is the first glimpse of the possible origin of the Odia language and script. [Prusty, S. K., *Comprehensive Criticism of Odia Language and Literature, A.K. Mishra, Cuttack; 2007, pp-2-9*]. Vikramkhol, a cave, contains pre-historic, undeciphered pictographic inscriptions. The inscription shows that an iron chisel was not used to carve it. Some of the letters are partly cut and partly painted, while some letters are only in paint and it was the method regularly employed during the period when Brahmi inscriptions were common. The colour of the paint is red ochre.

An examination of the letters, which at first sight gives the impression of having Brahmi forms, shows that the writing was a mixture of Brahmi script and a developed type of the Mohenjodaro script. The Vikramkhol Inscription supplies a link between the Mohenjodaro script and Brahmi script and dates to 1500 B.C. [Jayaswal K.P., *The Vikramkhol Inscription: “The Indian Antiquary”, Vol - LXII, 1933, P – 58 – 60; Orissa District Gazetteers, Sambalpur, Government of Orissa -1971,p-551-554*]. [Annexure –XXI].

The script in the Ashokan edicts at Dhauri and Jaugada and the inscriptions of Kharavela in Hâtigumphâ of Khandagiri afford the first glimpse of the early stage of the development of Odia language and script. From a linguistic perspective, words used in the Hâtigumphâ inscriptions are similar in many ways to modern Odia and are essentially different from the language of the Ashokan edicts. The Hâtigumphâ inscriptions, which are in Pali, are perhaps the only evidence of stone inscriptions in Pali.

There are noticeable similarities between Odia and Thai scripts, which provide clues about Kalinga traders who travelled to south Asian countries, leaving an influence of the Odia script on the Thai script. [“Odia alphabet,pronunciation and language”. Omniglot.com].

The Tibetan script was taken from Odisha in the 7th century A.D. by Tibetan lamas. [Mahapatra. K, *Oriya Lipi O Bhasa (Odia), Grantha Mandir, Cuttack, 1977, p-155-162*]. [Annexure –XXII]

The curved appearance of the Odia script is a result of the practice of writing on palm leaves with an iron stylus, which has a tendency to tear the leaves when straight lines are drawn.

Odia is a syllabic alphabet wherein all consonants have an inherent a - vowel. Diacritical marks are used to change the form of the inherent a- vowel. Vowels are the nucleus of a syllable. They are written as independent letters. Conjunct consonants with a -vowels form a syllable.

“At first glance, an Oriyâ book seems to be all curves, and it takes a second look to notice that there is something inside each.” [G.A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India, Part-V, 1903*].

(Development of Odia script from 3rd Century B.C. to the present time is given in [Annexure-XXIII & XXIV and Appendix Odia Script].

Hiuen Tsang (642 A.D) observed how Buddhist viharas and Brahminic temples flourished side by side. And although royal inscriptions of this time were in Sanskrit, the most commonly spoken language was not, sanskrit, and according to Hiuen Tsang, appeared to be quite distinct from the language of Central India, and may have been the precursor of modern-day Odia.

2.2 (a) Odia Script in the Inscription

1. Jaugada Inscription (3rd Century B.C.)

Sentence- Debânâ piye hebam âhâ samâpâyam mhâmatâ lâj bachanika batabiyâ am kichhi dakhâmi hakam Tami (chhâ) mi hakam (Kim) ti kamana...

Odia Words: dakhâmi(looking), manisha(man), âṭhha(eight), râjina(king), bahmuna (brahmin), sineha(love), sahasa(thousand), mita(friend), hoiti(have), âja(today), ei(its), osadha(medicine), ‘kichhi’ (something), ‘tini’ (three), ‘pachha’ or pichha (back), ‘panati’ or pananâti (great grandson), ‘alibi’ or lipi (script) and ‘lieu’ or nahebu (won’t be), ‘anal’ (achaia) ‘hidalgo’ (halogen), budhâ(oldman), badhi (large), tambâ (copper), pani (vagitabile), se (he), hâti (elephant), siri (sri), puta (son), kale (do), sata (truth), nilathây (nothing) etc.

[The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1880, P-379ff, The Indian Antiquary. Vol.XIX, P-82ff]

2. Hâtigumphâ Inscription (1st Century B.C.)

Sentence- Airē a mahârâjēna mahâmēghavâhanēna cētarâja vasaṇ vadhanēna pasatha subhalakhalēna caturantalūṭhana guṇa’upēnēta kalingâdhipatinâ siri khâravēlēna.....

Odia Words: luṭhita (ଲୁଠିତ), siri (ସିରି), pandarasa (ପନ୍ଦରସ), lekha-rupa-ganana-babahara (ଲେଖା-ରୂପ-ଗଣନା-ବ୍ୟବହାର), saba (ସବ), jobarâjam (ଜୋବରାଜ), purisa (ପୁରିସ), juge (ଜୁଜେ), mahârâjâ (ମହାରାଜା), padhamebâta (ପଥମେବାତ), bihata (ବିହତ), gopura (ଗୋପୁର), pakâra (ପକାର), sitala (ସିତଳ), dutiye (ଦୁତିୟ), pachima (ପଚିମ), disam (ଦିସ), bahulam (ବାହୁଲ୍ୟ), daṇḍam (ଦାଣ୍ଡ), paṭhâ (ପଠା), tatiye (ତତିୟେ), nata (ନତ), gita (ଗିତ), bâdita (ବାଦିତ), cabuṭhe (ଚବୁଠେ), ratana (ରତନ), raṭhika (ରଠିକ), bhojake (ଭୋଜକେ), pâde (ପାଦେ), paṇcame (ପାଠେ), tibasa (ତିବସ), sata (ସତ), tanasuliyâ (ତନସୁଲିୟା), bâta (ବାଟ), paṇâlim (ପାଣାଲିମ), kara (କର), baṇam (ବଣ), satamam (ସତମମ), gharini (ଘରିଣି), bati (ବତି), pada (ପଦ), puṇa (ପୁଣ), kaṁa (କାମ), sena (ସେନ), bâhane (ବାହନେ), radha (ରଥ), ghara (ଘର), bâsa (ବାସ), paribasenâ (ପରିବସେନ), gahana (ଗହନ), bamhaṇâna (ବାହାଣାନ), jâti (ଜାତି), râjâ (ରାଜା), samnibâsam (ସାମନିବାସ), aṭhatisâyâ (ଅଠତିସାୟା), dasame (ଦସମେ), ekâdasame (ଏକାଦସମେ), mṇi (ମଣି), ratanani (ରତନାନି), hathi (ହାଥୀ), bârasame (ବାରସମେ), pâde (ପାଦେ), abhuta (ଅଭୁତ), naba (ନବ), terasame (ତେରସମେ), chaka (ଚକ), pabate (ପବତେ), pujânurata (ପୁଜାନୁରତ), deha (ଦେହ), tapasi (ତପସି), aneka (ଅନେକ), jojanâhi (ଜୋଜନାହି), chatura (ଚତୁର), gabhe (ଗଭେ), thambhe (ଥାମ୍ଭେ), paṭiṭhâpayati (ପଠିଠାପୟତି), pânatariya (ପାନତରିୟା)

muriya (ମୁରିୟା), kâla (କାଳ), choyāṭhi (ଚୋୟାଠି), bhikhu (ଭିଖୁ), suṇata (ସୁଣତ), anubhabata (ଅନୁଭବତ), kalaṇāni (କଳାଣୀନି), guṇa (ଗୁଣ), bisesa (ବିସେସ), kusala (କୁସଳ), pujaka (ପୁଜକ), caki (ଚକି), bāhini (ବାହିନି), bala (ବଳ), dhura (ଧୁର), guta (ଗୁଡ଼), etc... [Epigraphica Indica Vol. XX, 1929-30].

3. Udayagiri and Khandagiri Manḥapuri Caves Inscription (1st Century A.D.)

Sentence-Airasa Maharajasa Kalingadhipatino. Mahameghavahanasa
Kudepasirinolena.

Odia Words: All these are ancient Odia.

4. Maharaja Ganabhadra Bhadrakali Inscription (3rd Century A.D.)

Sentence-Sidham maharāj siri gana udasa mulajape deba 3 Jana (ā) dhabana 80 mahākulapati
āyaya agisamenka pānideb... [Epigraphica Indica Vol. XXIX, Vol-XXIII].

5. Sitabinjhi Inscription (4th Century A.D.)

Sentence-Purudhasa chhichha maruta...

Odia Words: All these are Odia words. [J.A.H.R.S.XIXpp-191f, I.H.Q. XXVIII pp-227-28]

6. Ravanachaya Inscription (5th Century A.D.)

Sentence-Mahārāj shiri disabhanja

Odia Words: All these are Odia words.

(Panigrahi, K.C.: Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, P-217)

7. State museum lion Inscription (6rd Century A.D.)

Sentence-Siri sihanbandha....

Odia Words: All these are Odia words.

8. Dharmaraj-II of Sailodbhavi King Nibina Inscription (8th Century A.D.)

Sentence- Pachhima disehi trikuta jodapādādi banarāi bālika bankasidha banarāi, ittara dishahi
trikuta. Pānisākha trimani badhibani...

Sub-Sentence- Puba disahi kholada...

Odia Words: pachhima (west), purba (east), dakshina (south), utara (north), gādi (pond), pāni
(water), disa (direction), banarāi (group of jungle), bāda (fence) etc.

(Inscriptions of Orissa Vol-I, P-207, Epigraphica Indica Vol. XXI, p- 34-41)

9. Bajrahasta Dev's Paralakhemundi Inscription (9th Century A.D.)

Sentence- Omm rājārāni odabisai bidagadha telasi gāmaida nandanodaya tasta sāhasa dinahomndi
milanta dina...

Odia Words: All these are Odia words. (Inscriptions of Orissa Vol-II, P-169-70)

10. Soro's Gandibeda Jain Inscription (10th Century A.D.)

Sentence-Deba kahi vagati karuna. Achhanti vo kumārasena.

Odia Words: All these are Odia words.

(Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol-II, No-2,P-21)

11. Urjam Inscription (11th Century A.D.)

Sentence-Swasti samaramu khânekaripudarpapa mardana vujabala parâkrama gangânwayana-balambana stamba sririmada anantabarmadeba bijayarâjya sambastsara 16 tulâmâsa suklapakshya dina panchami ...

Odia Words: All these are Odia words.

12. Rajaraj Dav Lingraj Temple Inscription (12th Century A.D.)

Sentence-Swasti saka 1094srimadarâjarâj dev ra prabadhamâna bijayarâjya sambat 4 dhanu krushna 9 somabâre sri uttareswaradebara kshyetra tapobana sthâne dipadinâ... tapodhana saikârâdha(ka) râjaguru... âropadâ grâmiya sâdhu prajânâyaka..

Odia Words: All these are Odia words. (*Inscriptions of Orissa Vol-III, Part-2, P-309*)

13. Anangabhimadev's Jagannatha Temple Inscription (13th Century A.D.)

Sentence-Sidham swasti sâkabda1(14)7 swasti sri anangavimadebasya praba (rdhamâna) bijaya râje sambat srâhi 15 âsâdha sukla gurubâre srikarana surusenapatinka vumi data sripurusottama deba kui nibedya câula dahi...

Odia Words: All these are Odia words.

14. Narasingha Dev-IV Jajpur siddheswara temple Inscription (14th Century A.D.)

Sentence- Bira sri narasinghadebanka bije samathu 19 srâhi kakadâ kishna 14chandrabâre chatudige danda parikshâ puruba digadanda nâyaka nandikeswara sani...

Odia Words: Bijerâje (victorious king), kakadâ (cancer), kishna (Krushna), danda (punishment), bhâga (sear), anumate (permission), dâna (donation), abadâna (contribution), puruba (east), loka (people) etc...

[Epigraphica Indica Vol. XXIX, P-IV, Oct1951,p-106-108]

15. Nrusinghanath temple Inscription (14th Century A.D.)

Sentence- Om nama sri nisangha x x x x swasti sri unasi nama sambasthare chaitra purnima sukla pakshye hasta nakshatre x x x debaladebaraja nasingha tirtha gondamardan parbate birala narasingha Natha swaminka srideula tolaila x x x

Odia Words: All are Odia words. (*Sambalpur District Gazetteer*).

16. Kapilendra Dev, Jayabijaya Inscription (15th Century A.D.)

Sentence-xxxx mudale srigurusotamadebanka deula dwâre lekhanâ karibâ âmbhara odishâ râjyara lona (salt) kaudi sulaka (tax) nyârja chhâdili chhâdili chhâdili ehâ râjâ hoi je langhai se sri jagannâtha debanku droha karai.

Odia Words: All are Odia words.

17. Prataprudra Dev Jagannath Temple Inscription (16th Century A.D.)

Sentence-xxxxx budhabâre abadhârita âingâ pramâne badaThâkuranka gitagobinda thâkura vogabele e nâta hoiba sanjadhupa sarilâthâru badasinghâra prijante e nâta hoiba.....

Odia Words: All are Odia words.

After the 6th century A.D. ... Known as **Boudha Gana o Doha** or Charyagitika were being substantially written in Odia on palm leaves, which changed the form of the Odia script and gradually it took a rounded shape. This can be found in the inscriptions made after the 7th century A.D.

[The Developmental history of Odia script in inscriptions from Dhauli and Jaugada in 3rd Century B.C. till 16th Century A.D. is given in the **[Annexure-XXV]**

2.2 (b) Odia Script in Palm-leaf Manuscripts

In ancient India, various materials like stone and copper plates, wooden plates, palm leaves, birch-bark, ivory plates and animal skins were used for writing. The most rare and valuable works on literature, art, science and technology were written on these materials. Official documents, archaeological designs and diagrams and such other types of work were also written on the materials mentioned above. So, a large number of collections of manuscripts on birch-bark especially on palm leaves, are found everywhere in India. But palm leaves, plentifully available in the coastal regions, were used for purposes of writing. In case of Odisha palm leaves are for used as writing surfaces even today. Palm leaves are now used for engraving and painting by artists, preparing horoscopes of newborn babies and writing invitation on social and religious functions in Odisha.

Odisha is exceedingly rich, since ancient times, in exquisite and excellent palm leaf manuscripts. Even now hundreds of thousands palm leaf manuscripts are in the private possession of brahmins, zamindars, eminent persons living in rural area. The palm-leaf manuscripts, now found in the collections of museums, private institutions and individuals, amply testify to the exuberance and efflorescence of this great tradition from about 10th century A.D., as is evident from the epigraphic reference to Odia language and Kutila script found in an inscribed sculpture of the Jaina monk Kumarasena, discovered from **Gandi-bedha** in Balasore (now Bhadrak) district. They form a treasure house of wisdom and knowledge on different aspects of Odishan history, culture and its rich artistic and architectural legacy.

During the 19th century A.D., European scholars studied Odia palm-leaf manuscript collections with great interest. Rev J. Long published the first research article in the ***Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*** and subsequently, scholars like Col. Makenji, Sir John Beames, the then Collector of Balasore, R. L. Mitra, M. M. Chakravarti, H. P. Shastri and Prof. Macdonnel and many others contributed significantly to the study of and research on the palm leaf manuscript tradition of Odisha.

In the area of Indian philosophy, Odia palm-leaf writers have carved a permanent niche for themselves. Since the advent of Buddhism, philosophers like Dharmakirti, Indrabhuti, Laxmikara, Kavi Dindima, Jivadevacharya, Acharya Narsimha Vajpeyi, Gaudiya philosopher Baldeva Vidyabhusan etc. have contributed immensely to this field of study. Odia dictionaries that were compiled in Odisha, such as **Trikanda Sesha** and **Haravali** of Purusottama Dev and **Medini Kosha** of Medini Kara, received wide recognition in India since the early medieval times.

Pre-puranic palm-leaf manuscripts are found in plenty in almost every Odia house. Some manuscripts of the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda have been brought from Midnapur, which was then a part of Odisha. The script of these manuscripts is Odia written by Odia pundits.

Pandit D. N. Bhattacharya, an erudite scholar of Bengal, discovered a **complete set of manuscripts of the Atharva Veda of the Pippalâda Sâkhâ** from Jagannathpur in the district of Puri, which was not available in any other part of India. Only few kandas of this unique Vedic work have been published so far. There are a number of these manuscripts in Odisha containing different *archas* (chapters). There are three manuscripts containing Sayana's *bhasya* on the *Kanvasamhitâ*.

Odisha was a popular centre of Tantric cults from the 6th century A.D. Baladeva Rath and Gaurahari Parichha, etc. contributed enormously to the Odia literary culture of this epoch. Their activities inspired a number of followers to compose creative works in the field of art and literature.

Besides Odia epics and kavyas, a few poetic compositions having historical value like *Jagannath Charitamruta* and *Bhaktamala*, **copies of The Vedas**, texts on tantra, dharmashastra, jyotisha, vyakarana,

prosody and alankara etc. have enriched the manuscript legacy of Odisha. They have been written in Sanskrit in Odia scripts.

Charles Fabri remarks that those who carved the masterpieces of sculpture in the 9th, 10th and 11th century A.D. must have also been able to carve lovely pictures on their palm leaf manuscripts. However, we find lively specimens from 15th century A.D. onwards, as reported by Prof. Ganguly. Thus, the history of the incised drawings on palm-leaf manuscripts goes back to a definite datum line. Differences between stylus-incised line -drawings and coloured paintings are enormous. They seem to belong to two worlds, even if one recognizes the elements of hieratic drawings, the ready-made formula for eyes, hands, lips etc. of the line drawings being re-employed as a basis for paintings.

The Odia poets have experimented with the use of music in traditional Odia lyrics. This indicates that music was prevalent in the country prior to Jayadeva. From the style of collection of this text, it is believed that Southern Odisha and Puri were the main centres of this musical culture, where regular musical performances along with textual discussions were being held. From the days of Bharatmuni, Odisha had a special style of music. The *Natya Shastra* of Bharat has given special importance to the Udra style of music. It is pity that old Sanskrit texts dealing with music are not available in Odisha. Such texts generally belong to late medieval times. They include *Samgita Kaumudi* (15th C A.D), *Gitaprankash*(1565), *Sangeeta Muktabali* (1590), *Sangeeta Kalpalata*(1635) *Sangeetarnaba Chandrika*(1689), *Natyamanorama*(1697), *Abhinaya Chandrika*(17th C A.D.) and *Sangeeta Narayana*(1718) etc.

Odisha, the land of temples and shrines, has also a rich tradition of palm-leaf manuscript art. However, only a few texts are now available, among which *Bhuvana-pradipa* occupies a conspicuous place. N. K. Bose refers to some of the palm leaf manuscripts and says that they are written with an iron stylus. In *Bhuvana-pradipa* we find description of temples, altars, and similar structure. There is no reference to secular architecture. Hence the word *Bhuvana-pradipa* may be taken to mean the lamp which sheds light on the features of the abode of the Gods.

The manuscript section of Odisha museum comprises twenty-seven sections like Veda, tantra, darsana, historical records, silpa Sastra, abhidhana, ayurveda, etc. It has palm leaf, bamboo leaf, ivory manuscripts, bhurja bark, kumbhi bark manuscripts, garland-shaped, fans-haped, fish-shaped, sword-shaped, rat and parrot-shaped varieties of manuscripts, and different types of stylus.

Etching and painting on palm leaves is a very ancient art of Odisha. The origin of this art form marked the beginning of dissemination of written versions. It is, therefore, part of our literary tradition. With the munificence of Odishan rulers, illustrated manuscripts reached a height of excellence, vindicating the name of the state Utkal, which means "**land of artistic excellence**". Even to this day, the glorious tradition thrives in the works of artisans of Odisha.



Chapter-III

PRE-HISTORY OF ODISHA

Odisha has the largest number of pre-historic sites. Lots of early Paleolithic, middle Paleolithic and Upper Paleolithic stone implements have been found in these sites. Similar sites of copper Bronze Age and Iron Age have also been discovered. **[Annexure –XXVI].**

Since prehistoric days the land of Odisha has been inhabited by various people. Several pre-historic sites and rock shelters have been excavated in Odisha such as Kaliakata of Angul, Kuchai and Kuliana of Mayurbhanj, Vikramkhol of Jharsuguda, Gudahandi of Kalahandi, Yogimath of Nuapada, Ushakothi of Sambalpur, Similikhhol of Bargarh etc.. Humans lived here throughout the upper paleolithic (20,000 to 10,000 B.C.), revealing cave paintings dating to ca. 7000 BC. These regions also exhibit many vertebrate fossil remains and paleolithic tools. Chert, jasper and quartzite were often used by humans during this period. The occurrence of Stone Age implement in Odisha was first reported by V. Ball in 1876. Four important tools of the early Stone Age facies that Ball recovered were from Dhenkanal, Kudabaga, Harichandanpur and Kaliakata. **[Annexure –XXVII].** Systematic research on the pre-history of Odisha began only when P. Acharya and E. C. Worman discovered the famous lower palaeolithic sites at Kuliana in Mayurbhanj, in 1939. Later, the state was surveyed scientifically by Acharya, Bose and Sen (1948), and Mohapatra (1959, 1960, 1961).

3.1 Stone Age Culture [Upto 2nd Millennium BC]

Archaeological records relating to *Odisha* reveal the presence of the primates in its various districts during the Pleistocene phase. Pleistocene is being documented in Ansakira, Kuliana, Kuchej, Kamarpal, Koilisuta, Kamata, Kalabadia, Kendudhia, Ghantasila, Domuhani, Nuabedha, Pratappur, Pariakoli, Barsol, Baripada, Bangiriposi, Bisoi, Budhamara, Mendhakhai, Mundabani, Bijatala, Sandim of Mayurbhanj District; Palalahada, Talcher, Parjanga, Kankili, Khagaprasada, Kulei, Tikarapada, Dhenkanal, Valitundi, Bhimakanda, Meramanduli, Muchuri, Gandia, Hindola, Harichandanpur and Kaliakata of Dhenkanal District; Jangra, Bisalburi, Satakuta and Ibb river basin of Sundargarh District; Kudabaga, Gedasambar and Anga river basin of Sambalpur District, Kharligarh, Manumunda and Tel river basin of Bolangir District; Bhubaneswar of Khurda District; Moter river basin in Dharamgarh region of Kalahandi District. **[R.P. Prusty, 1992, *Paleolithic Vestiges from Kalahandi, Odisha Historical Research Journal*, XXXVII, no.1-5, pp.55-66, Odisha State Museum, BBSR].**

The Middle Paleolithic age is being documented in Bahalada, Barsol, Bisoi, Bijatala, Kandalia, Rairangapur of Mayurbhanj District; Harichandanpur of Dhenkanal District; Khadiakuddar, Kuradhi, Khuntagan, Jagannathposa, Jhirapani, Tumkelaghata, Bishra, Bonai, Bisalburi, Bhanjagarh and

Haludunguri of Sundargarh District; Champua, Jagannathpur, Patna, Ramla of Keonjhar District, Amapali and Jampadara of Bolangir District, Udayagiri of Khurda District, Jaugarh of Ganjam District.

The Upper Paleolithic age is being documented in Bisoi, Badra, Bijatala, Badra, Manda and RairangaPur of Mayurbhanj District; Kaniha of Dhenkanal District; Burla of Sambalpur District, Danguaposi and Patna of Keonjhar District; Haladipali, Khari, Ghatakaenla and Manumunda of Bolangir District; Bhubaneswar of Khurda District; Gudahandi and Chilapa of Kalahandi District. [**Nabin K. Sahu, 1977, *Odia Jatira Itihas, P-37-40, The Orissa State Bureau of Textbook Preparation and Production, Bhubaneswar***]

Similarly mesolithic and neolithic historical records are evident in Ansakira, Ambadali Sashana, Indipur, Bharachandabila, Kaptipada, Kuche, Khama, Khiching, Chitrada, Janjapal, Jayapur, Dakura, Dahikutha, Sashana, NaraharipurSashana, Pratap pur, Basipitha, Baidipur, Banaibala, Madhupura, Manda, Muruda, Radiabindha and Haripur of Mayurbhanja District, Kaniha, Harichandan Pur, Boenda, Anugul, and Saradapur of Dhenkanal District, Jangra and Ib river basin of Sundargarh District, Lasa, Redhakhoh, Sarsara, Jira and Anga river basin of Sambalpur District, Jampadara, Amapali, Haladipali Manumunda and Madavati of Bolangir District, Bhubaneswar of Khurda District, Silpa, Ruparoad and Tel river basin of Kalahandi District. Bijadongar, Koradongar [Junagarh], Gudahandi, Bicchakhaman, Budigarh, Chandrasagarnala, Karlapada, Bhaludongar, Chilpa, Habaspur, Belkhandi, Jamugudapadar, Dongargarh, Asurgarh, Phurlijharan, Ghantmal, Kuttrukhamar, Jampadar, Pipalnal, Godang, Budipadar, Mahimapadia, Nehena, Penjorani, Yogimath etc. in Odisha. The finds include hand axes, cleavers, pebble tools (chopper-chopping), blades, flakes, celts, ring stones, microlithics, coarse pottery, grooving marks, cave art (painting and carving) etc.

Prehistoric paintings in Gudahandi in Kalahandi show a well-advanced human settlement in the region. World's largest size celts (axe) of the later Stone Age culture have been recovered from Chandrasagarnala in Kalahandi. [**P.Mohanty, B. Mishra, Op. Cit, 2001, p.47**] This is the largest stone Axe of the world measuring 47 cm and weighing 2.5 kg, which shows very sophisticated workmanship. [**Annexure –XXVIII**].

3.2 Copper –Bronze Age (6000 BC to 1000 BC)

Archaeological evidences are found at Khiching, Baghada, Bamanghati, Panchapidha and Khetra of Mayurbhanja District, Dunria of Dhenkanal District, Jamugudapadar, Chandrasagarnala, Urlukupagarh, Budigarh (M. Rampur), Bhimkela – Asurgarh, Kholigarh etc. in Kalahandi. The finds include celts, ring stones, microlithic, colourful and sophisticated ceramic, graffiti / signs / alphabet (Harappan and Megalithic), copper items, gold articles, high tin bronze objects, precious and semi – precious stone beads, terracotta figurines, house foundations, spindles – whorls, weight stones, and mud bricks. A large number of copper handaxes found from Khiching, Baghada, Bamanghati, Panchapidha and Khetra of Mayurbhanja District, Dunria of Dhenkanal District. These double-edged, mostly used in war.

Mahanadi, Brahamni, Baitarani and Tel river civilizations throw light on a great civilization flourishing in Kalahandi, Balangir, Koraput (KBK), Keonjhar, Dhenkanal and Cuttack regions in the past. This is being explored. [**“A Tale of Tel Valley Civilization uncovered”. *The New Indian Express.2010-10-21***] The archaeological wealth discovered from Tel Valley suggests that an urbanized and cultured people inhabited this landmass around 2000 years ago. [**P. Mohanty, B. Mishra, Op. Cit,2000; C.R. Mishra, S. Pradhan, op. cit. 1989-1990, Infra, F.N.79**].

New Excavation at Asurabandha

An archaeological excavation has taken place in **January and February 2013** at Asurabandha (Harirajpur) near Jatani in Odisha. The finds of the excavation include broken potteries, carbon, earthen pots, agricultural stone implements, animals' bones, flooring of houses, remains of hearths. A human skeleton, **claimed to be 4000 years old**, has been found at the spot. It awaits DNA and carbon testing for purpose of dating it. It is further found that there was a human habitation on high ground surrounded by marshy land. The inhabitants

did not know the use of iron and used stone implements. It is supposed to be the evidence of the chalcolithic age in Odisha. It has been suggested that Sisupalgarh developed 1000 years after of this civilization.

3.3 Iron Age / Megalithic (1000 BC to 700 BC)

The largest megalithic cemetery is found on the bank of the Tel river at Bileikani in Kalahandi. Menhirs and stone circles of the megalithic Iron Age are found at Bhairavapada (Junagarh), Ruppangudi, Sagada, Bileikani, Themra, Bhawanipatna etc. An iron smelting zones and a cemeteries lying close to the settlement are found in some of the above sites, which have yielded iron tools of war and peace, slages, ceramics, Terra-cottas, firebaked bricks, furnaces, semiprecious stone beads and micro beads. At the beginning of the early Iron Age is Kalahandi may be placed in the first millennium BC, in which black and red ware was the diagnostic pottery type. The next phase of the Iron Age represents an early history that was characterised by urbanization and technological breakthroughs besides voluminous trade, agriculture surplus and a heterogeneous social world. The material culture of the Iron Age found in Kalahandi included semi-precious beads, terracotta figurines, iron implements of war and peace, decorated and plain ceramic, burnt bricks, hopscotch (gaming items), spindle whorls, weight stones etc.

Owing to its vast mineral resources, metallurgy developed quite naturally in ancient Odisha and may have been an additional factor in catapulting the region to considerable importance during the Iron Age. Iron tools were used in agricultural production, digging irrigation canals, stone-quarrying, cave excavation and later monumental architecture. Rice cultivation got a particular fillip and during the Iron Age, irrigation works from Odisha spread to the regions of ancient Andhra and Tamil Nadu around 300B.C. [M.S. Randhawa: *A history of agriculture in India, Vol. 1. New Delhi, Crop Resources in Odisha- Dr.G.C. Sengupta: Souvenir- 64th Indian Science Congress, P-93*] Odisha also became a major steel producing centre and steel beams were extensively used in its monumental temples.

3.4 Pre-historic sites

There is evidence of pre-historic rock paintings in more than 55 caves and more than 5775 paintings near Bikramkhol, Ushakothi, Ullafgad, Godahandi, Jogimatha, etc in today's Odisha.[Prabodh Kumar Mishra, *Odia Jatira Itihas o Sanskruti, Part-2: Culture, 2008, Vidyapuri, Cuttack, P- 8*]. The script found in the Bikramkhol rock painting is **proto-brahmi** as the noted historian K.P.Jaiswal has said. It is suggested that there pre-historic rock edicts of Odisha display a literary state.

Ranipur-Jharial : Ranipur-Jharial is an important archeological site situated in the undivided Balangir district of Odisha. The site is located at a distance of 104 km from Balangir town and 35 km from Titilagarh. It consists of twin villages known as Ranipur and Jharial. It is known as Soma Tirtha in scriptures. The place combined a cross section of religious faiths like Saivism, Buddhism, and Tantrism. In the past, queens used to live at Ranipur and Jharial fort. The Somavanshi Keshari kings built many temples here that can be dated back to the 9th /10th century A.D. It is said that there were at least 200 temples covering an area of about half a mile in length and a quarter of a mile in width. The largest stone temple is 'Someswar Siva', which stands on the banks of the river. It was constructed by Mattamayura Shaivacharya Gagana Siva, whose inscription can be found on the lintel of the temple.

Kaliakata : Kaliakata is a small village in Chhendipada, situated north-west of Angul town. It has pre-historic sites that were discovered by Valentine Ball in 1876. A recent investigation has revealed that the sites are very important for the study of pre-historic antiquities.

Kuchai and Kuliana : Kuchai is a pre-historic site situated at a distance of 8 km north of Baripada. Excavations at Kuchai yielded some Neolithic possessions of man. Potteries found here indicate the

development of a microlithic culture of the late stone age in this area. Several palaeolithic artifices have been found at Kuliana, which is situated at a distance of 18 km from Baripada.

Vikramkhol : Vikramkhol is a cave containing pre-historic, undeciphered pictographic inscriptions. The cave is situated at a distance of 26 km to the west of Jharusguda. The inscription is found in a natural rock-shelter. The rock is rough sandstone. The inscribed portion is about 35 feet by 7 feet. Some of the letters are sharply cut. It seems that an iron chisel was not used. Some of the letters are partly cut and partly painted, while some letters are only in paint and it was the method regularly employed during period of Brahmi inscription. The colour of the paint is red ochre. An examination of the letters, which at first sight give the impression of having Brahmi forms, shows that the writing was a mixture of Brahmi form and a developed type of the Mohenjodaro script. [Jayaswal K.P., *The Vikramkhol Inscription: The Indian Antiquary, VolLXII, 1933,P-58-60, Orissa District Gazetteers, Sambalpur, Govt. of Orissa-1971,p-551-554*].

Gudahandi : Gudahandi hills are situated near the Khaligarh village, at a distance of 7 k.m. from Ampani hills in Kalahandi. A row of caves is situated at the foot of these hills. These caves bear pre-historic pictographic paintings.

Pictographic paintings in red and black colours appear at the entrances of some of the caves. Even though these paintings are yet to be studied thoroughly, it is widely believed that they belong to the period of the Indus Valley Civilisation. All the three hills taken together have the appearance of a pot with a lid on it. The name Gudahandi, meaning a pot containing molasses, may have originated from this.

Simlikhol : Simlikhol is situated 60 km from Padampur in Bargarh district. The site has a 13 feet (4.0 m) high cave that contain pre-historic rock paintings and other things of palaeontological interest. The cave was probably a natural rock shelter for the primitive man. During British rule, the cave was used as a shelter by many freedom fighters seeking to evade arrest or detention.

Ushakothi : Ushakothi, situated 20 km from Sambalpur, is a rock-cut cave lying at the foot hill of Maheswar hill, in the midst of deep forests. It measures 150 feet (46 m) in height and more than 200 feet (61 m) in width. This cave contains yet to be deciphered primitive paintings.

Yogimath : Yogimath, situated in the Nuapada district of Odisha, is notable for eolithic cave paintings. The unique brick temple of Pataleswar at Budhikomna is situated at a distance of 40–50 km from Yogimath.



Chapter-IV

UNBROKEN HISTORY OF ODISHA

History of Odisha

Though the recorded history of the land, now known as Odisha begins with the Kalinga war of 261 B.C. and the subsequent engraving of the two special Kalinga Edicts by Ashoka at Dhauli and Jaugada, yet the history of the land is as old as the Indian civilization itself, if not earlier. ***When we talk of the recorded history we straightway come down to language. Recording of history or for that matter any recording necessarily requires a language. Since all the languages of the world have not developed at the same time, the historical recording or the recorded history of different regions of the world vary from each other in matters of time.*** Odisha as well as India did exist in some form or the other much before the invention of script and a written language.

4.1 Kalinga Janapada (6th Century B.C.)

The term “Janapada” literally means the *foothold of a people*. The fact that *Janapada* is derived from *Jana* points to an early stage of land-taking by the Jana tribe for a settled way of life. This process of first settlement on land had completed its final stage prior to the times of the Buddha and Pāṇini. The Pre-Buddhist north-west region of the Indian sub-continent was divided into several Janapadas demarcated from each other by boundaries. In Pāṇini, *Janapada* stands for country and *Janapadin* for its citizenry. Each of these Janapadas was named after the Kshatriya tribe (or the Kshatriya Jana) who had settled therein. [*India as Known to Paṇini: A Study of the Cultural Material in the Ashtādhyāyī*, 1963, p 427, Dr B. N. Puri - *India; Socio-economic and Political History of Eastern India*, 1977, p- 9].

The famous Sanskrit grammarian Paṇini’s *Ashtadhyayi*, where referred to as the *Kalinga Janapada* (*Ashtadhyayi* - 4/1/170 sutra). The Buddhist and other texts only incidentally refer to sixteen great nations (*Sodasa Mahajanapadas*) which were in existence before the time of Buddha [*Anguttara Nikaya: Vol I, p 213, Vol IV, pp 252, 256, 260*]. But another Buddhist text, Digha Nikaya mentions only the first twelve Mahajanapadas and omits the last four in the above list. [*Digha Nikaya, Vol II, p 200*]. Chulla-Niddesa, another ancient text of the Buddhist canon, adds Kalinga. [*Chulla-Niddesa (P.T.S.), p- 37*] to the list and substitutes Yona for Gandhara, thus listing the Kamboja and the Yona as the only Mahajanapadas from Uttarapatha [*Lord Mahāvīra and his times, 1974, p 197, Dr Kailash Chand Jain; The History and Culture of the Indian People, 1968, p lxxv, Dr Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bhāratīya Itihāsa Samiti; Problems of Ancient India, 2000, p 7, K. D. Sethna*].

According to Boudh literature *mahagovinda sutta of digganikaya, Kuru Dharma Jataka, Chullakalinga Jattaka, Kumbhakar Jattaka, kalingabodhi Jattaka and dathadhatuvansa*, Kalinga was an independent country and its capital city named Danta pur. It has also been described in Uttaradhyana sutra and Sutra krutanga of Jain Literature that the palaces of Kalinga emperor and various other rich businessmen were made of ivory, thus the city was so called as Danta pur.

4.2 Nanda Rule (350B.C.)

Mahapadmananda of Nanda Dynasty who ascended the throne of Magadha in 362 B.C. conquered and integrated Kalinga to his extensive empire. Mahapadmananda undertook irrigation projects to eradicate famine condition in Kalinga. The pre-Mauryan black polished potteries and punch-marked coins having four symbols found in plenty from Asurgarh in Kalahandi and Sonepur districts indicate the flourishing economic condition during the time of the Nanda rule.

After Mahapadmananda his eight sons ruled one after the other and the last Nanda king was overthrown by Chandragupta Maurya who founded the Maurya Empire in Magadha. During the time of Chandragupta's rebellion against the last Nanda king, Kalinga declared it self independent and tried to build her strength as an overseas power.

4.3 Kalinga War and Mauryan Empire (261 B.C.)

A major turning point in world history took place around 261 B.C. when the Mauryan emperor Asoka invaded Kalinga, which is famously known as Kalinga War. The whole of Kalinga was plundered and destroyed. The 13th rock edict of Ashoka throws light on this war.

“Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Priyadarsi, conquered the Kalingas eight years after his coronation. One hundred and fifty thousand were deported, one hundred thousand were killed and many more died (from other causes). After the Kalingas had been conquered, Beloved-of-the-Gods came to feel a strong inclination towards the Dharma, a love for the Dharma and for instruction in Dhamma. Now Beloved-of the-Gods feels deep remorse for having conquered the Kalingas.” **Rock Edict No.13 [S. Dhammika, the Edicts of King Ashoka, Kandy, Buddhist Publications Society (1994)].**

The hilly land lying to the west of Kalinga was known as the Atavika territory, the fighting forces of which were utilized by Kalinga during the war. Asoka annexed the coastal region of Kalinga to his empire and gave up the idea of further conquest. He tried to conciliate the unconquered Atavika people and desired to conquer their heart by love. That was the principle of Dharmavijaya and was followed by Asoka after the Kalinga War. It has been described in the epic “**Samanta Pasadika**” that Ashok had send his son Mahendra and her daughter Sanghamitra with eight family of Kalinga by kalinga ship from Tamralipti port to Singhal. They permanently stayed in that island in order to preach and establish the Boudha religion and culture [**Samanta Pasadika, Part-1, P-96**].

Perhaps on the account of Kalinga's unexpected bravery, emperor Ashoka was compelled to issue two edicts specifically calling for a just and benign administration in Kalinga. The 14th major Rock Edicts of Ashoka named separate Kalinga Edict by the summit of the Aswathama hill of Dhauli near Bhubaneswar, capital city of Odisha. In Kalinga Edict expresses his concern for the “*welfare of the whole world*”. It is here that Ashoka enunciated his famous doctrine of paternalism i.e. “All men are my children”

and addressed his officers posted at Toshali to exert for the welfare and happiness of the people of Kalinga.

Kalinga transformed Chandashoka into Dhammashoka, who in turn was responsible for the spread of Buddhism in south East Asia and as far as China and Japan. The Odia Sadhabas during their commercial voyages carried Odia culture along with their merchandise.

4.4 Mahameghavana Emperor (2nd B.C.- 124 A.D.)

Mauryan rule over Kalinga did not last long. By the 1st century B.C, Kalinga's Jain identified ruler Kharavela, the third in line of the Mahameghavana family, had become the pre-eminent monarch of much of the sub-continent and Mauryan Magadha had become a province of the Kalingan Empire. The earliest surviving monuments of Odisha of this time is in Udaigiri near Bhubaneswar and surviving inscriptions mention that Prince Kharavela was trained not only in the military arts, but also in literature, mathematics, and the social sciences. He was also reputed to be a great patron of the arts and was credited with encouraging dance and theater in his capital.

Kharavela, coming around one hundred and fifty years after Ashoka reconstructed Kalinga after the massive devastations of Kalinga war. The Hathigumpha Inscription on the Udayagiri hill is a unique record of both historical and linguistic importance. Historically it gives an authentic record of historical events of a reigning monarch. Linguistically it is written in Kavya style in a language very close to Pali.

Kharavela's Hathigumpha Inscription has had a fascinating course. It is not a royal panegyric merely; it is an epitome of history, especially of the political and cultural conditions that prevailed in India during the 1st century B.C. And yet more significantly, it is the only hitherto-known document to tell the saga of its heroic author: the first historical king from India's eastern coast to lead extensive campaigns in different directions. Shashi Kant's study examines afresh these inscriptions: not just for their thematic similarity, but essentially for their crucial historicity. Going into their tenor and context, it is the first ever decipherment/interpretation of the two rare documents, with the whole Jaina and Buddhist traditions in the background. Acclaimed and favorably reviewed in India and elsewhere alike, this epigraphic study is now in its second, enlarged edition - including a whole new section on the genesis of the Prakrit languages and the ancient Indian scripts.

The first creator of Indian inscription, King Asoka wrote it in the language of common people. **Kharavela gave his thirteen years short description about his administration in a poetic manner in Hâṭigumphâ inscription which gives a true picture of its literary style.** Contemporary to Kharavela, the brief description of various sacrifices made by Satavahana king Satakarni's queen Nagagnika was written in poetic style.

The style of Hâṭigumphâ inscription of Kharavela was followed by Nagagnika (**Nanghat inscription-50 A.D.**), Rudradaman (**Girinar inscription-150 A.D.**), *Satru Bhanja* (**Asanapata inscription at Keonjhar 260 A.D.**), Samudragupta (**prayaga inscription-365 A.D.**), and Kumargupta (**Mandasore inscription-473A.D.**).

4.5 Satavahana and Murundas (124 A.D.- 261A.D.)

Early in the 2nd century A.D. the Kalinga region was occupied by the Satavahana king Goutamiputra Satakarni. Kalinga remained under the Satavahanas probably up to the rule of Yajnasri Satakarni and after his death in 202 A.D. According to some scholars a foreign power called Murundas extended their suzerainty over Kalinga during the 3rd century A.D. Maharaja Rajadhiraja Dharmadamadhara whose gold

coin was found from Sisupalgarh excavation is considered by Dr. A.S. Altekar as a Jaina king belonging to Murunda family which ruled over parts of Bihar and Odisha. The **Bhadrak stone inscription** of Maharaja Ganabhadra datable to the 3rd century A.D. also indicates the rule of the Murundas in Odisha.

4.6 Naga dynasties (261A.D.-340A.D)

The Murundas of Kalinga and Kushanas of northern India were ousted from power by the rising Naga dynasties of Kausambi, Ahichhatra, Padmavati and Vindhya-tavi. The **Asanpat inscription of Keonjhar** reveals that king Satrubhanja, the son of Manabhanja of the Naga dynasty who was ruling over Vindhya-tavi defeated the Devaputras who were probably the Kushana-Murunda rulers. Samudragupta crushed the Naga power in his Aryavarta wars as a result of which the Guptas acquired suzerainty over northern India in place of the Nagas. (**Annexure -XXIX**).

4.7 The Guptas (340 A.D.-350A.D.)

About 350 A.D. Samudragupta led his South India campaigns. He defeated king Mahendra of South Kosala and following the course of the Mahanadi attacked the kingdom of Kosala. He defeated king Mantaraja of Kosala and Vyagharaja of Kantara and marched further south to the plains of Kalinga region where he defeated king Swamidutta of Kuttura, king Damena of Erandapala, king Kuvera of Devarashtra and Mahendragiri, the chief of Pishtapura. The claims of Samudragupta regarding his south Indian conquests are subject to doubt. No other Gupta kings who ruled after him are known to have come over south India.

4.8 The Matharas (350 A.D.-498A.D.)

Soon after the invasion of Samudragupta a new ruling power named Mathara raised its head in Kalinga. The earliest known Mathara king was Vishakavarman (350A.D.) who started his political career as a humble ruler of a small territory round about modern Parlakhemundi. He was succeeded by Umavarman who declared himself as Lord of Kalinga by his 30th regnal year and made Singhapura his capital. He ruled for about 35 years and was succeeded by Sankaravarman in about 395 A.D. Sankaravarman died after a short rule and was succeeded by his son Maharaja Saktivarman (400 A.D) who was a powerful ruler who had extended his kingdom from Mahanadi in the north to the river Krishna in the south. He transferred his capital from Singhapura to Pishtapura in South Kalinga. He died in about 420 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Anantasaktivarman who ruled up to 450 A.D. Anantasaktivarman could not maintain the integrity of the empire inherited from his father. The Vishnukundin king Madhavavarman occupied South Kalinga as a result of which Anantasaktivarman shifted his headquarters from Pishtapura to Singhapura.

4.9 The Eastern Gangas (498 A.D.-570A.D.)

The earliest known Ganga king of Kalinga was Indravarman I whose capital was located at Dantapura. He is said to have defeated the Vishnukundin king Indrabhattaraka. **He started the Ganga era. His Jirajingi copper plate grant was issued in Ganga year 39, i.e. 537 A.D. The next king was Samantavarman whose grant is date 64 (562 A. D.).** Like his predecessor Samantavarman assumed the title of Trikalingadhipati. He was succeeded by king Hastivarman who claims to have defeated his enemies in

many battles and declared himself the Lord of all Kalingas (Sakala Kalinga). Hastivarman transferred his capital from Dantapura to Kalinganagar.

4.10 The Sailodbhavas (570 A.D.-736 A.D.)

During the 6th-7th century A.D. a new dynasty called Sailodbhava ruled its head in the coastal region of Odisha extending from Mahanadi in the north to the Mahendragiri in the south. The territory was known as Kangoda mandala. The earliest known ruler of this dynasty was Sailodbhava who is described in the copper plate charters of the family as born out of rocks. After him Ranabhita also known as Dharmaraja I became the ruler. He was a feudatory chief under Prithvivigraha, the king of Kalinga Rastra.

The subsequent kings were weak and fought among themselves. During rule of Odisha was extremely chaotic because of the struggle between the Vigrahas and the Mudgalas and after the defeat of the Vigrahas the conflict between the Durjayas and the Mudgalas and subsequently the advent of Sasanka to the political scene of Odisha. The Ganjam grant of Madhavaraja issued in 620 A.D. declared him as a Mahasamanta of Sasanka who was by that time the overlord of Dandabhukti, Utkal as well as Kangoda. But by the time his undated Khordha grant was issued, Madhavaraja was an independent monarch and in that charter he called himself the Lord of entire Kalinga. In the Purushottampur grant issued in his 13th regnal year Madhavaraja is described as the performer of a horse sacrifice and many other Vedic rites. From that time onwards he called himself Madhavavarman instead of Madhavaraja. By that time Harshavaradhana occupied Dandabhukti and Utkal and was making preparation to take possession of Kalinga and Kangoda. In the south the political power of the Chalukya king Pulakesin II extended up to the river Vansadhara which was flowing in the heart of Kalinga feudatory of Harshavaradhana till 647 A.D. when Harsha died. Soon after that he again became independent. When he issued the Cuttack Museum plates in his 50th regnal year we find him as a sovereign ruler of prosperous kingdom. He died about 665 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Madhyamaraja I also known as Ayasobhita II. The Parikud charter issued in his 26th regnal year describes Madhyamaraja as a mystic person capable of talking with dead souls and as a strong man capable of running with two stout persons standing on his shoulders. He also performed Vedic sacrifices like Vajapeya and Asvamedha.

4.11 The Sailodbhavas and Srivijaya kingdom (736 A.D. - 1050 A.D.)

In the islands of South East Asia the first organised state to achieve fame was the Hindu-ised Malay kingdom of Srivijaya, with its capital at Palembang in southern Sumatra. Its commercial pre-eminence was based on command of the sea route from India to China between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula (later known as the Straits of Malacca). According to B.C. Majumdar; an Indian scholar, Sailendra dynasty that established them self in Indonesian archipelago, either the one that ruled Srivijaya or the ruler of Medang (Java) was originated from Kalinga. This opinion also shared by Nilakanta Sastri and Moens. Moens further describes; Sailendra was originated in India and established them. In Odishan history also Sailobhavas ruled over Kalinga towards the middle of 6th century A.D and more obviously at the advent of the 7th century A.D. Their origin may come from on the bank of River Saila in the Ganjam district.

In the 6th - 7th centuries Srivijaya succeeded Funan as the leading state in South East Asia. Its ruler was the overlord of the Malay Peninsula and western Java as well as Sumatra. [Coedes. G, *Journal of*

Greater India Society, Vol-1, pp-61-70]. Like most of the early kingdoms of South East Asia, Srivijaya was Indian in culture and administration, and Buddhism became firmly entrenched there. The expansion of Srivijaya was resisted in eastern Java, where the powerful Buddhist Sailendra (Sailodbhava of kangoda) dynasty arose. (From the 7th century A.D. onwards there was great activity in temple building in eastern Java. The most impressive of the ruins is at Borobudur, considered to have been the largest Buddhist temple in the world.)

Sailendra rule spread to southern Sumatra, and up to Malay Peninsula to Cambodia (where it was replaced by the Angkor kingdom). In the 9th century the Sailendras moved to Sumatra, and a union of Srivijaya and the Sailendras formed an empire which dominated much of South East Asia for the next five centuries. With the departure of the Sailendras a new kingdom appeared in eastern Java, which reverted from Buddhism to Hinduism. In the 10th A.D. this kingdom, Mataran, challenged the supremacy of Srivijaya, resulting in the destruction of the Mataran capital by Srivijaya early in the 11th century A.D. Restored by King Airlangga (about 1020-1050), the kingdom split on his death; and the new state of Kediri, in eastern Java, became the centre of Javanese culture for the next two centuries, spreading its influence to the eastern part of island South East Asia. **[A Short History of South East Asia, Chapter 2. The "Indianised" Empires of Sumatra and Java. P-6]**

4.12 The Bhaumakaras (736 A.D. - 885A.D.)

The Sailodbhava Kingdom was occupied by the Bhauma king Unmattasimha alias Sivakaradeva I who started the Bhauma era in 736 A.D. He was the son of Kshemankaradeva who was a devout Buddhist. It is known from a Chinese record that in 795 A.D. he sent to the Chinese emperor Te-Tsang, a copy of **Gandavyuha (Last Part of Avatansaka)** along with an autographed letter. **[Mishra. Binayak, Orissa under the Bhauma Kings, the Viswamatra Press, Calcutta, 1934, pp-75-76]. (Annexure -XXX).**

In the Bhaumakara dynasty there was a succession of **eight Mahadevis (Queens) seldom found anywhere in the world history.** During this period Queen Mohini Devi built the Mohini temple at Bhubaneswar. The Ganesh Gumpa of Udayagiri in Khandagiri-Udayagiri hill complex was remodeled by a physician named Bhimata, son of Nannata who also built a monastery called Arghyakavarati at Dhauli hill. Queen Hira Mahadevi built the temple of Sixty-four Yoginis at Hirapur on the bank of the Bhargavi. Gouri Mahadevi built the Gouri temple at Bhubaneswar.

During this period some rulers who are Buddhist patronize Saivism and some who are Saiva patronize Buddhism. Some who are devout Vaishnavism patronize both Saivism and Buddhism.

4.13 The Somavamsis (885 A.D.-1071A.D.)

The Panduvamsis were known as the Somavamsis from the time of Tivaradeva who founded the rule of his dynasty in South Kosala. Tivaradeva was an ambitious ruler. After consolidating his power over Kosala and Mekala he extended his authority over Utkal. Tivaradeva was defeated by Dharmaraja who occupied the throne of Kangoda. As a result of the defeat, Tivaradeva lost his hold over Utkal. Tivaradeva's grandson's wife queen Vasata Devi became the ruler of Kosala on behalf of her minor son. She was a devout worshipper of Purushottama Narasinha and built many Vishnu temples in Kosala. Her brother Bhaskaravarman patronized Buddhism in Kosala.

During this Somavamsis rule the size of the kingdom has extended and constructed and the capital has changed place several times. Mahasivagupta Jajati II was an important ruler of this dynasty and his

kingdom comprised Kosala, Utkal as well as Kalinga and Kangoda. He constructed the Lingaraja temple and his wife Kolavati has built the Brahmeshwar temple at Bhubaneswar.

Jajati II was succeeded by his son Udyota Kesari. He was a devout Saiva and at the same times a patron of Jainism. He built the Jagamohan of Lingaraja temple. The Navamuni cave at Khandagiri was excavated by the Jain monk Subhachandra, a disciple of Kalachandra, in the 18th regnal year of Udyota Kesari.

4.14 The Imperial Gangas: (1071 A.D. - 1434 A.D.)

The Eastern Gangas who started their rule in Kalinga about the end of the 5th century A.D. continued as a petty power till the time of Vajrahasta V who came to the throne in 1038 A.D. He made Kalinga independent by defeating the Somavamsis and declared himself Maharajadhiraja. Utkal was annexed to Ganga empire sometime before 1118 A.D. He also received the title of Trikalingadhipati. He made matrimonial alliance with the Kalachuris of Kosala and also with the ruling family of Ceylone. This helped him in consolidating the political power of his family.

By 1118 A.D. Chodagangadeva annexed Utkal and Vengi to his empire which by that time extended from the Ganga in the north to the Godavari in the south. He, however, succeeded in suppressing the rebellions and in reestablishing his supremacy over the entire territory from the Ganga to the Godavari River by 1135 A.D. Religious leader Ramanujacharya had a great influence on the Raja Choda Ganga Deva, who renovated the Jagannath temple at Puri.

The second son of Chodaganga named Raghava became the king in 1158 A.D. During his time poet **Jayadeva** is known to have composed his famous work ***Gitagovinda***. Next ruler was Anangnagabhimadeva II, the fourth and last son of Chodagangadeva. He was the only son of Chodaganga to have a son Rajraj III, who succeeded him after his death in 1198 A.D. During the time of Rajraj III, the Muslim power dominated over northern India from the Punjab to Bengal. *Bhaktiyar Khalji, the first Muslim ruler of Bengal sent two Khilji Amins named Mahammed-I-Sheran and Ahmed-I-Sheran against Odisha in 1205 A.D. This was the first Muslim invasion of Odisha. Rajraj-III defeated the Sheran brothers and killed many Muslim warriors.*

Rajraj-III died in 1211 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Anangabhimadeva-III. During his time Ghiyathu'd-din lawz, ruler of Bengal, invaded Odisha. Taking advantage of this invasion the Kalachuri king of Tommana also declared war and the age long Ganga-Kalachuri war continued. At this critical time Vishnu, the General of Anagnabhimadeva-III, not only repulsed the invasion of the Muslim but also decisively defeated the Kalachuris on the bank of the river Bhima and near the Vindhya hills. After his victory the Gangas occupied the Sonapur region. Anangabhimadeva-III gave his daughter Chandrika in marriage to the Kalachuri prince Paramardideva. By that he could win the friendship of the Kalachuris who were of great strength to the Gangas in their war against the Muslims. Anangabhimadeva was also successful in his work in the south and his empire extended up to the mouth of the river Krishna. Anangabhimadeva established a new city at the bifurcation of the Mahanadi and the Kathajodi which was called Abhinava Varanasi Kataka. By 1230 A.D. he transferred the headquarters to this new city where he constructed a big temple of Lord Purushottama.

Anangabhimadeva-III died in 1238 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Narasimhadeva-I. By that time Izzu'd-din Tughril Tughan Khan was the Governor of Bengal and had semi-independent status. Narasimhadeva, apprehending danger from him, mobilized his forces against his territory. Izzu'd-din Tughril probably anticipated this attack and in the war that took place he obtained initial victory but subsequently the Muslims were completely defeated with heavy loss. Izzud'd-din himself fled away

from the battle to save his life. On his request the Sultan of Delhi sent Qamaru'd-din Tamur Khan, the Governor of Oudh to help the army of Bengal but before the arrival of Oudh army the War at Bengal had already ended. Next year Narasimhadeva invaded Bengal for the second time and the Odishan army attacked Lakhnor, the headquarters of Radha, and killed the Muslim commander and a large number of his troops. Quar'd-din Tamur Khan quarreled with the Governor of Bengal at the time the Odishan armies plunder Muslim territory. The leader of the Odishan army was Paramardideva, the son-in-law of Anangabhimadeva III, who struck terror among the Muslim forces.

The war with Bengal renewed in 1247 A.D. and this time also Paramardideva led the Odishan army and defeated Ikhtiyar Uddin Yuzbak, the newly appointed Governor of Bengal, but after getting assistance from Delhi, Yuzbak made offensive attack and Paramardideva was killed in the battle in 1255 A.D at Umardan.

Narasimhadeva-I was successful in his campaigns against the Muslims. He is remembered in history as the builder of the world famous temple at Konark.

In 1264 A.D. Narasimhadeva I was succeeded by his son Bhanudeva I. During the rule of Bhanudeva, Chandrikadevi, the sister of Narasimhadeva I, constructed the Ananta Basudev temple at Bhubaneswar in 1278 A.D. That year Bhanudeva died and his son Narasimhadeva II was an infant. Narahari Tirtha, disciple of Madhdavacharya and Governor of Kalinga worked as regent. The long reign Bhanudeva I from 1278 to 1306 was peaceful and eventless. He was succeeded by his son Bhanudeva II. At the same time Purushottamadeva ruled over southern part of Kalinga as a feudatory of Bhanudeva II.

In 1361 A.D., Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq invaded the Ganga kingdom and occupied Varanasi Kataka. Firuz Shah destroyed the temple of Purushottama built by Ananga-bhimadeva III at Barabati fort. Narasimhadeva IV continued his hold over South Kalinga. He was a devout worshipper of Siva but he was also a devotee of Purushottama.

4.15 The Suryavamsi (1434 A.D. – 1541 A.D.)

Kapilendradeva belonged to the solar dynasty. His ancestors were feudatory Chiefs under the Gangas. He usurped the throne in 1435 A.D. At the time Sultan Ahmed Shah of Bengal invaded Odisha but he was defeated by Minister Gopinath Mahapatra. By 1443 A.D., Kapilendradeva succeeded in consolidating his power over the newly acquired kingdom but in 1444 he had to fight against the combined army of the Reddy of Rajamundry and king Devaraya II of Vijayanagar who invaded the southern part of his territory. Just by that time Mahamud shah, the Sharqui Sultan of Jaunpur invaded from the north. Faced with these two invasions Kapilendradeva gave his wholehearted attention to drive out Muslims from the north neglecting the south. Mahamud Shah was defeated and retreated from northern Odisha after which Hamvira; the son of Kapilendra, fought against the Reddy's of Rajahmundry and scored a victory over them.

Kapilendra Deva managed spread his kingdom from River Ganga in the north to as far as Rameswaram in the south by 1461. During Kapilendra Deva's reign, Sarala Dasa, the Odia poet, wrote the Odia Mahabharata and his other works. After the death of Kapilendradeva his son Purushottam succeeded to the throne. we come across the interesting popular legend of Kanchi-Kaveri expedition, in which Lord Jagannath and Balabhadra went down to the battle field to help the ruler, to win over Kanchi region. Purushottam could restore his power and glory during his last days and then devoted his attention for promotion or religion and culture.

Prataprudradeva inherited a vast kingdom which was however fast declining. In 1509 when Prataprudra led a campaign against Vijayanagar, Krushnadeva Ray had just succeeded to the throne of other kingdom, but before a decisive battle was fought Sultan Allauddin Hussan Shah of Bengal invaded Odisha and advanced as far as her capital. So Prataprudradeva was forced to give up war with Vijayanagar and rushed back to his capital only seven days.

During his rule Odisha made great advancement in the sphere of religion and culture. Sri Chaitanya who came to Odisha in 1510 preached the gospel of Vaishnavism and had a great impact on the religion and culture of Odisha.

In the history of Odisha the year 1568 is regarded as a dividing line between the glorious epochs of the past and the gloomy periods which followed thereafter. Through centuries from ancient times, Odisha maintained its political vitality with several powerful kings at different periods, and she developed a political distinction of her own within the wider syndromes of Indian civilization. In the fields of art, architecture, religion, philosophy and literature, ancient Odisha made notable achievements and left for the future rich legacies of undying character. Odisha's political strength was spectacular even so late as 15th century AD that during the rule of Kapilendradeva (1435–1466 AD) the Odia armies threatened and attacked most powerful kingdom in the neighbouring regions as well as in the far south and established political supremacy over a vast territory outside the limits of geographical Odisha.

Political decline came soon thereafter all too suddenly. Internal turmoil, internecine wars and external invasions worked simultaneously to bring about the downfall of medieval Odisha. The independence of this powerful Hindu empire had resisted Muslim invasions successfully for five centuries. **Odisha was last of the Indian territories to succumb to Muslim invasion though most part of the sub-continent had come under the Muslim rule much earlier.**

The year 1568 is viewed as a crucial turning-point in Odishan history. It marked the defeat of the last independent ruler of Odisha, Mukundadev. When the British occupied Odisha, it had been ruled by three different powers, the Afghan Sultans of Bengal, the Mughals and the Marathas. In the fight between the Afghan Sultanate of Bengal and the Mughals, Odisha always became a fiercely contested site.

4.16 Afghan rule (1568 A.D. – 1591 A.D.):

The year 1568 is regarded as the split line between the glorious period of **Odisha history** and the gloomy times that fell thereafter. **Odisha** had maintained her political vitality intact for centuries with many powerful rulers and had in the process developed a distinction of her own. She had been hugely successful in achieving milestones in the field of art, architecture, religion, philosophy and literature. She had been able to not only maintain her independence but register an increase in political strength at a time when the entire nation had given up in its fight to the Muslim rule.

Political decline came soon after the Afghan rule of Bengal, Suleiman Karrani succeeded in conquering the land in 1568. Suleiman Karrani died in 1572 leading to a downfall of the Afghan rule. At this time, Akbar thought of subjugating the entire of Odisha, Bihar and Bengal to his kingdom. Though the Afghan rulers of Bengal Daud Karrani, younger son of Suleiman Karrani, had earlier acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mughals, he assumed the role of an independent sovereign thus defying Akbar. This led to the inevitable conflict between the Mughals and the Afghans in which Odisha became an arena for their battles. With the Mughal victory in Bengal, the Afghan forces withdrew into Odisha to fight for their survival. Akbar's General, Raja Mansingh proceeded to Odisha to destroy the Afghan

resistance. The operation continued from 1590 to 1595 resulting in the complete defeat of the Afghans. Odisha thus was acquired for the Mughal Empire in 1592.

4.17 Mughal Rule (1592- 1751)

Coastal Odisha, extending from the river Ganga to river Krishna, came under Mughal rule and broadly divided into six Dandapats, namely Jaleswar, Bhadrak, Cuttack, Kalinga, Chicacole (Srikakulam) and Rajamundry. Akbar was satisfied that the territory had been conquered from the Afghans and brought under Mughal suzerainty, but he did not try to destroy the local Hindu chiefs who ruled over different parts including the hilly areas and remote regions. He allowed them to enjoy their autonomy. He treated Raja Ramachandra Deva-I of Khurdha with respect permitting him to enjoy the dignified position of a subordinate king. In matters of general administration, most of the indigenous systems were permitted to continue. The land revenue system of Raja Todar Mal were introduced in conformity with the prevailing local practices.

During the rule of Akbar's son and successor, Jahangir, in 1607 Odisha was made a separate province, with Cuttack as its capital and was placed under a Subedar. This arrangement continued till the end of the rule of the Mughals.

During the closing years of Aurangzeb's rule, when Murshid Quli Khan was ruling as the Subedar, a large portion of the Midnapore district was taken away from the Jaleswar Dandapat of Odisha and placed under the direct administration of the Bengal Subedar. In subsequent years, river Subarnarekha was recognised as the southern boundary of Bengal as well as the northern boundary of Odisha. A large portion of Odisha's territory was thus detached from the main land in the north-east. In the far south, the Rajmahendri of Kalinga Dandapat was separated from Odisha. The Nizam of Hyderabad occupied the area between Rajmahendry and Srikakulam in 16th century, which was named the Northern Circar. Mednapur was attached to Bengal in 1757. The remaining parts of coastal Odisha were subsequently ceded to the Maratha Empire in 1751.

The Mughal period of nearly two hundred years in Odisha was, thus, a period of confusion and chaos, affecting adversely the stability and prosperity of the land. But it was during this period that the Odia merchants carried on brisk overseas trade and contributed to the economic prosperity of the country. Lured by Odisha's economic potential, the European traders in large numbers came here to set up trade settlements on the Odisha coast. The Portuguese, the Danish, the Dutch, the English, and the French found an abundance of commodities for markets outside. The local Mughal administration permitted the Europeans to carry on commercial enterprise and activities. A number of sea ports like Baleswar and Pipli flourished during this period as centres of external trade.

4.18 Maratha Rule (1751- 1803)

The Maratha administration of Odisha effectively began from the year 1751, as a result of a treaty between Alivardhy Khan and Raghujee Bhonsle. The Marathas divided Odisha into two broad political divisions: The Mughalbandi and the Garhjats. The Mughal bandi, comprising the coastal districts was divided into 150 parganas and placed under 32 revenue commissioners or amils. Each pargana was further divided into several Mahalas. For a systematic and better collection of revenue, hereditary revenue collectors titled as Talukdars, Kanungos and Chaudhuris were appointed. Attempts were also made to collect revenue directly from the ryots or through village headmen. The Mughalbandi was under the direct administration of the Marathas whereas the 24 Garhjat areas were required to pay annual tributes and were otherwise independent for all practical purposes.

Marathas continued to rule till 1803, the year in which Odisha passed into the hands of the British. The Maratha administration is said to have been detrimental to the welfare and prosperity of the land and presents a picture of misrule, anarchy and weakness. However, the Maratha rulers patronised religion and religious institutions, thus making Odisha a center of attraction. Odia literature also made rapid progress during the period.

The Maratha rule lasted in Odisha for a brief period of a little more than half a century. This period coincided with the rise of British power in Bengal. The British were aware of the strategic importance of Odisha, which was located between Bengal and Madras. They had come to Odisha as traders during the first half of the 17th century A.D. and had established their factories, and had acquainted themselves with the land and its people, while simultaneously making assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the ruling powers.

In the Garhjats the local rulers extended patronage to creative writers, which resulted in the emergence of literary works like Chaini Chandrasekhar Rajaguru's Naisadhya Mahakavyam and Ushanirudha Natakam, Rajaguru Basudev Rath Soumyajee's Gangavamshanu Charitam, Narahari Panda's Mruchhakatikam and Meghadutam, Nilakantha Mishra's Brajayuba Vilasa and a host of others. Works like Samara Taranga and Chatura Binod by Brajanath Bada Jena, Hitopadesha by Sridhara Das and Kanchi Kaveri of Purusottam Das were also written during this period. Eminent literary figures like Rama Das who wrote Dadhyata Bhakti and the renowned poet Kabi Samrat Upendra Bhanja, Krushna Singh of Dharakote and Abhimanyu Samanta Singhara made significant contributions to the literary culture of this period.

4.19 British Rule (1803- 1947)

The British had established a settlement in Hariharpur (present-day Jagatsinghpur), with the permission of the Mughal administrator, as early as 1633 to trade cotton goods. But it could not be maintained long because of the harsh climate, and the lack of cooperation from the local people. Their subsequent settlement at Baleshwar on the banks of river Burhabalanga and at Pipili on the banks of river Subarnarekha developed into flourishing centres of trade as well as of power. According to William Wilson Hunter, those two Odishan harbours, laid the foundation of British power in Bengal.

After the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and Buxar in 1764, British empire-builders naturally wanted to acquire as many Indian territories as possible, and Odisha lying so near Bengal automatically came within the ambit of that design. In 1765, Lord Clive acquired the *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Odisha from the titular Mughal emperor, Shah Alam II. But, only the Midnapore district was meant by Odisha, as the rest of it had passed into hands of the Marathas. Lord Clive had tried to negotiate the acquisition of Odisha from the Marathas. Clive's successor in Bengal, Warren Hastings tried to persuade Janoji's successor Madhoji Bhonsla to reconsider the issue. The negotiation failed again, though the Maratha ruler permitted the movement of the British troops through Odisha towards the south, under the command of Colonel Pearse. Lord Cornwallis adopted the same policy of persuasion, but achieved no results satisfactory. Madhoji's successor, Raghuji Bhonsla II, however, was made to agree to permit British troops to pass through Odisha once again during the Third Mysore War. The British failed to acquire Odisha through diplomacy, but their soldiers got to know Odisha well during their movements.

Lord Wellesley, the aggressive Governor-General, decided to acquire Odisha by force. The treaty of Deogan, signed in 1803, ended Maratha rule and inaugurated British Rule in Odisha. It contained only the three coastal districts of Baleshwar, Cuttack and Puri, and the sixteen Tributary Mahals (the number increased to 18 in 1837) in the hill tracts. Initially, Puri was the capital of Odisha but for pressing administrative reasons, in 1816 it was shifted to Cuttack, which continued to be Odisha's capital till 1947. Cuttack was the capital of Odisha during the Mughal and the Maratha rule as well.

The British generally neglected **Odisha** for most part of their rule. They had caused a colossal loss to life and property, destroyed a once prosperous economy and its maritime trade and inflicted severe blows on the morale of the people. For their administrative convenience they divided Odisha into different divisions and tagged them to different political and cultural units. Cuttack, Puri and Balasore were tagged to the Bengal Presidency; Sambalpur was placed under Central Provinces, while Ganjam, Phulbani and Koraput were placed under the Madras Presidency. Apart from these, there were 26 feudatory states ruled by local kings, which were supervised by a British Political Agent. Thus, Odisha had completely lost its identity under the **British rule**. The British, right from the beginning, attached importance to education for employment purposes only. Therefore, Odia almost lost its identity as Persian, Bengali, Hindi, Telugu and Tamil were declared as official languages in these parts. There were also deliberate attempts to obliterate Odia in Odisha by non-Odia officials. At this critical juncture, eminent literary figures like Fakirmohan Senapati, Madhusudan Rao, Radhanath Ray, Madhusudan Das and many others came forward to save the language and eventually in 1936 Odisha became a separate province on a linguistic basis. This may be considered a glowing tribute to the language. Odisha was the first province of India to be formed on the basis of language. Odisha was the first province of India to be formed on the basis of language.

4.20 The Freedom Movement

Though the British conquest of Odisha proved to be an easy affair, the consolidation of the territory presented great difficulties because of the defective land revenue and administrative system, which the new rulers introduced. Within a few years, there broke out rebellions against the British at different places. The ruler of Paralakhemundi, Raja Narayan Dev declared an unsuccessful war against the British with the help of his neighbours. Similarly in Ghumusar, the Khonds under the leadership of Dora Bisoyi and Chakara Bisoyi revolted against the British and sought to place Dhananjaya Bhanja of the Bhanja dynasty on the throne in south Odisha. The revolt was brutally suppressed. In central Odisha the echo of the revolt was felt in Kujanga and Kanika. The zamindars of Odisha welcomed the British to get rid of the Marathas but very soon they realized their mistake and got a feel of the real British motive. For their part, the British had very little respect for the Odishan rulers as all of them meekly surrendered to them, and welcomed them.

As time passed, the local rulers began opposing the British. In 1804 Jai Rajaguru, the adviser to the ruler of Khurdha declared war against the British. This was brutally crushed and Jai Rajaguru was executed by the British. The revolts of Kujanga and Kanika also met the same fate.

Rebellion broke out in Khurdha in 1817 and spread to the surrounding areas. The cause of this rebellion was a defective administrative system which the new rulers imposed on the area. The traditional warrior class of the area, known as the paikas, was in possession of their hereditary land. The new administration, under Major Fletcher, took those lands from them and thereby ruined the economic life of a martial people. The leader of the rising was **Bakshi Jagabandhu**, a former general of Khurdha. He took advantage of the widespread discontent among the paikas and with the support of a large number of distressed Khonds from Ghumusar, he raised the flag of rebellion against the British. Since the Paikas played a major role in the revolt it is widely known as the Paika Rebellion. Government establishments, police stations, and treasuries were attacked, plundered and destroyed. The British troops suffered initial reverses and one of their commanders, Lieutenant Faris got killed by the rebels. The rebel forces reached Puri on 12th April, 1817 and caused considerable destruction to official property, and drove out the government troops and officers. The success of the rebellion inspired confidence in people in other places, who were unhappy with British rule.

Vigorous military measures were taken by the British to win back the lost territories and restore order. The rebellion ended but its leader evaded the British for long and surrendered in 1825.

Prolonged revolts in Sambalpur led by Surendra Sai (1827-64), in Angul (1848), in Bamanaghati (1866), Keonjhar Meli (1866 and 1891-93), in Nayagarh (1893), in Ranapur (1893) indicate the depth of peoples' resentment against the British.

All these rebellions gave a rude shock to the British Government, but at the same time, these made them realize that its policies required a thorough modification. But, tragically on account of various factors, Odisha's economic vitality declined rapidly during British rule and the Government paid scant attention to the condition of its Odia subjects. In fact, the people of the princely states were left to suffer in isolation, and the coastal belt under the direct rule was regarded chiefly as a land route connecting the two presidencies of Bengal and Madras. No attempts were made to bring about the development of the region.

Within eight years of the transfer of power from the East India Company to the British Crown, Odisha came under one of the worst calamities in her history. It was devastated by the Na'anka Famine of 1866-67. The East India Company had done almost nothing to improve communication system in the territory during the 55 years of its administration.

The **post-Na'anka** era in the 19th century was marked by a new consciousness taking shape in the minds of the educated Odias who thought it imperative to work for regeneration of their land from within. A notable member of the new generation was **Utkal Gourab Madhusudan Das**, the first graduate of Odisha and the first recipient of a law degree. His ideas about the regeneration of his land made him one of the foremost leaders of modern Odisha.

The new consciousness found a powerful expression in the literary activities of some of the eminent writers who ushered in the modern era in the history of Odia literature. Fakir Mohan Senapati (1843-1918) and Radhanath Ray (1848-1908) and a few others gave an impetus to Odia literature through their numerous works. An all-Odisha phenomenon of literary resurgence became the new characteristic of the age.

In 1874, in a large congregation of the native Chiefs, Landlords and the leading persons, the problems of the Odia-speaking people was discussed with the objective of the unification of Odia-speaking tracts. In 1877, when the Utkal Sabha was formed by **Madhusudan Das, Fakirmohan Senapati and Radhanath Ray**, among others, the idea of a greater Odisha began to take shape. By the time Utkal Gourab Madhusudan formed the famous Odisha Association in 1882, grounds were prepared for a move to draw the attention of the Government towards the problem of the Odias.

By the time the Indian National Congress was formed in 1885, the elite of Odisha were ready to play an active role in the promotion of the Congress ideology and programmes. In December 1886, the Utkal Sabha and the National Society sent seven delegates to the second session of the National Congress. Every year thereafter, representatives from Odisha attended the Congress Sessions. In this way, Odisha joined the mainstream of the national movement.

Out of such sporadic attempts there emerged a political movement aiming to unite all the Odia-speaking areas under one administration. In December 1903, the nationalist-minded Odias met and formed an organization that became famous as the "Utkal Sammilani" or the "Utkal Union Conference". It gave the leadership, which ultimately resulted in the formation of a separate province on the basis of language. Native chiefs, prominent landlords, lawyers, government servants and students took an active part in forming this organization. A memorandum was submitted to the Government to transfer all the Odia-speaking tracts lying scattered in other provinces to the Odisha Division. The movement continued till the goal was reached.

The coastal region was separated from Bengal and attached to the Province of Bihar and Odisha in 1912, in response to local agitation for a separate province for the Odia-speaking people. In 1936, Bihar and Odisha were split into separate provinces. Thus after a long struggle the Odias got re-united. On April 1, 1936, the new province of Odisha came into existence as the first ever state of India formed on the basis of language. Following Indian independence, the area of Odisha came to be almost doubled,

and the population increased by a third, by the addition of 24 former princely states. In 1950, Odisha became a constituent state in the Union of India.

Odisha played an important role in the freedom movement of India. Mahatma Gandhi visited Odisha a number of times. Leaders like Madhusudan Das, Gopabandhu Das, Nilakanth Das, Godabarish Mishra, Biswanath Das, Laxman Nayak, Raghu and Dibakar, Laxminarayan Mishra, Bhagabati Charan Panigrahi, Gopabandha Chudhury, Harekrushna Mahatab, Nabakrushna Chowdhry, Rama Devi, Malati Chowdhry, Biju Patnaik, Radhanath Rath, Surendra Nath Dwevedi, Sadasiba Tripathy and a host of others popularized Congress policies among the patriotic people of Odisha. The people of Odisha endured great hardship and suffering during the freedom struggle. The firing at Eram in Bhadrak district during the Quit India movement has been compared to the Jalianawala Massacre. Laxman Nayak of Koraput was hanged in the Berhampur jail.

4.21 Lesson of History

- The unbroken history of Odisha from the Kalinga Janapada days (6th century B.C) till the 18th century A.D. is indicated above.
- During this period, the limits of Kalinga Empire expanded and stretched between the Ganga and the Godavari and variously called Odra, Kalinga, Utkal, Kosal, Tosai and Kangoda. Kalinga is mentioned in the Veda.
- The earliest reference to the language and culture is known as Udra (4th Century B.C) and it has given birth to Odisha and Odia.
- Udra Visaya referred to the land, Udra prabruti referred to the area, the attire, the language, customs and practices; Oudra- Magadhi prabruti refers to the extension of Oudra prabruti.
- What is important about Odishan history is that 8 eminent women rulers ruled Kalinga during the Bhumakar period which is a rare phenomenon in world history.
- The growth of arts, music, architecture, sculpture and literature in Odisha has been a consistent one. In Odisha, where the foundation of a culture, a blend of Aryan and Dravidian cultures based upon an Austric substratum, has propagated this culture all over India, thus making India a single linguistic culture area.



Chapter-V

MARITIME HISTORY OF ODISHA

Maritime History of Odisha

In the maritime history of India, Odisha (ancient Kalinga) played a significant role in spreading Indian culture to other parts of the world including Africa, Rome and Southeast Asia. Archaeological findings, explorations and excavations at various sites, epigraphical and numismatic evidences of different periods, and literary records, enable one to reconstruct the maritime history of Odisha. Besides, attacks by neighbouring kingdoms, and unsound economic conditions, geological processes like tectonic activities, sea level changes and sedimentation were also equally responsible for the decline of ports of Odisha. However, the maritime traditions are preserved in the cultural festivals of Odisha, which are celebrated as commemorative traditions. The old traditions are still celebrated in the annual Bali Jatra, or Boita-Bandana festival held for five days in October / November. The celebration of the Boat Festival called 'Danga Bhasa' is celebrated in Thailand and Odisha. Here we called it '**Danga Bhasa**' or '**Boita Bandana**' but there this is called '**Loy Krathong**'.

Kalinga was a maritime power in ancient times. Kalidas in his *Ragbuvamsa* referred to the King of Kalinga as "**The Lord of the Sea**" (Mahodadhipati). The *Aryamanjusrimulakalpa*, a text of Mahayana Buddhism, mention "**All islands in the Kalinga Sea**" (Kalingaodresu). These accounts clearly indicate that the eastern sea or the modern Bay of Bengal [**Mahodadhi**] was known in the past as the "**Kalinga Sea**" and was dominated by the ships of Kalinga. A portion of Java Island was then known as Ho-ling which is interpreted as a variant of the word 'Kalinga'. Similarly, the people of Tri-Kalinga who colonized Burma are known as Talaing. Bali and Java were important centers for the spread of Indian culture led by Kalinga from the front. To explore ancient ties with the ancestors' home, an Indonesian scholar, Dr. I.G.P. Phalgunadi, visiting Odisha, was very pleasantly surprised at many similarities between the cultures and lifestyles of the two people which includes their graceful dance forms, art and handicrafts, temples, monuments and distinctive styles of architecture, the tie and dye weaving technique and elegant textile designs, their cuisine. [**Annexure –XXXI**]

The geographical setting of Odisha has also played a vital role in the progress of maritime activity. The **Kalinga Sagar** (now Bay of Bengal) and the Indian Ocean beyond helped the developing international trade and commerce as well as foreign relations. The littoral region provided suitable facilities for setting up ports and the deltas served as natural harbours of Odisha. Besides, navigable rivers like the Ganga, Mahanadi, Vamsadhara, Godavari and others helped promote hinterland trade and commerce. The hill tracts of Western Odisha supplied precious and semi-precious stones for overseas trade. It was

easy for traders of north India to reach the ports of Odisha without any hindrance. From available literary, inscriptional, numismatic and archaeological findings it is possible to locate the ancient ports and reconstruct of the maritime history of Odisha.

Located on the eastern coast of India, the ancient state of Kalinga extended from the Ganges to the Godavari, including parts of modern West Bengal, Odisha, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. The navigable rivers, including the Ganges, Mahanadi, Vamsadhara and Godavari provided access to the interior, where precious and semi-precious stones were found, and their deltas provided natural. From these harbours, the people of the region traded by sea with Ceylon in the south, with Burma in the east, and further afield with the states of the Maritime Southeast Asia, Indochina and China.

The coastline is unstable. The southwest monsoon carries sediment along the coast, at times forming bars and spits that protect the harbours, at other times eroding the protective breakwaters. The rivers carry silt, extending their deltas and filling the former harbours. For this reason, some of the ports named in ancient times are no longer in existence, or have greatly declined. For example, Chilika Lake was an important harbour, but later became unusable deep water vessels due to silting.

5.1 Crafts and Trade

Being a coastal region, maritime trade played an important role in the development of Odia civilization. Cultural, commercial and political contacts with South East Asia, particularly Southern Burma, Malaysia and Indonesia were especially extensive and maritime enterprise played important figureprominents in Odia folk-tales and poetry. The Portuguese merchant **Tome Pires** indicates that traders from Odisha were active in the busy port as late as the 16th century A.D. There is evidence to suggest that trade contacts between Eastern India and Thailand may date as far back as the 3rd or 4th century B.C. At least, eight oceanic routes linked the Eastern Coast of India to the Malayan peninsula, and after the Iron Age, metals such as iron, copper and tin, cotton textiles and foodstuff comprised the merchandise. **[Ray Himanshu: *The Winds of Change - Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia*]**. The trade involved both Indian and Malayo-Polynesian ships. Archeological evidence from Sisupalgarh, indicate that there may also have been direct or indirect trade contacts between ancient Odisha and Rome dating to the 1st -2nd century B.C.(or possibly earlier). **Huen Tsang** refers to Odisha's overseas contacts in the 7th century A.D, and, by the 10th century A.D., records of Odisha's trade with the East begin to proliferate.

Adequate agricultural production combined with a flourishing maritime trade contributed to a flowering of Odishan arts and crafts, especially textiles. Numerous communities of weavers and dyers became active throughout the state perfecting techniques like weaving of fine muslin, Ikat, Sambalpur and bomkai silks and cottons, applique and embroidery. Odisha was also known for its brass and bell metal work, lacquered boxes and toys, intricate ivory, wood and stone carvings, patta painting and palm leaf engraving, basket weaving and numerous other colorful crafts. Often, decorative techniques relied on folk idioms as in the painted, circular playing cards known as Ganjifas.

According to a 6th century A.D source, Kalinga was famous for its elephants, for which it found a market in Ceylon, along with precious stones, ivory, pepper, betel nuts and fine textiles. In return, Kalinga imported pearl and silver from Ceylon **[Patel. Kandarpa: *Maritime relation of Kalinga with Srilanka*. OHRJ, Vol. XLVII, No. 2]**. Corn and rice were also exported. Traders imported spices and sandalwood from the east, some if it destined for onward transport to the Mediterranean market. A boat depicted in the Sun Temple of Konarak in the 13th century contains a giraffe, indicating trade with Africa, presumably carried on Arab vessels **[Patra S. K. and Patra B.D.: "*Archaeology and the maritime History of Ancient Orissa*". OHRJ, Vol. XLVII, No. 2]**.

5.2 Boita

In Odisha, the history of her maritime activity and cultural expansion had been completely forgotten, though some stories of sea voyages still cling to the folklore of Odisha. Like the popular stories of Merchants (Sadhava), who went on sea voyages with their flotillas (Boitas) and returned home loaded with treasures. There are also certain customs peculiar to Odisha, which appear to be reminiscent of ancient sea voyages. On the full-moon day of Kartika (October-November), while taking bath in rivers or in tanks in the morning, Odias, men and women, even now miniature boats made of the barks of plantain trees or of the paper with lamps burning inside them.

Boitas (or Voitas) were ships that were built in ancient Odisha in India during the heyday of the Kalinga Empire. Ancient Odia navigators sailed from Kalinga to distant lands such as Bali, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Philippines, Vietnam, Cambodia, Yemen, Myanmar and China for trade and cultural expansion.

The *Brahmanda Purana*, composed before 100 B.C, describes Chilika as a major harbor where thousands of ships came to trade from Ganga sagara, Burma, Malaya, Siam, China, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo and Ceylon. The purana mentions that the ships were protected by sheets of cast copper and propelled by wheels attached to their bottoms driven by a steam engine. Bags that could contain air were inflated or deflated so that the ships could move above or below water.

In ancient Odisha there were two types of trading ship: common ships and special ships, Common ships were further divided into ten categories, and the special into two: high and wide ships and long and wide ships. The ships were 8 to 80 meters long, 5 to 25 meters wide, and 3 to 27 meters high. Rules and regulations regarding construction of ships were recorded in the Sanskrit text titled *Juktikalpataru*. The *Madalapanji* records that king Bhoja built many ships with local wood [Mahalik Nirakar: **“Maritime Trade of Ancient Orissa”**. *Orissa Review, September –2004*]. The recovery of many woodworking adzes and other artifacts from Chilika Lake shows that Golabai was a boat-building center [Patra S. K. and Patra.B.D: **“Archaeology and the Maritime History of Ancient Orissa”**. OHRJ, Vol. XLVII, No. 2].

5.3 Bâli Jâtrâ

Miniature Boitas are used today as children’s toys during the Odia festival of Bali Jatra. Baliyatra literally means a ‘Voyage to Bali’, and celebrates an ancient maritime tradition and the connection with Bali. During the ceremony, men, women and children dressed up in traditional costumes launch tiny boats made from banana peels, paper or solapitha with lighted lamps inside, and **Odia women** perform the rite of **‘Boita Bandâna’**. The festival is similar to the **‘Masakapan Ke Tukad’** festival of **Bali**, to the **‘Loi Krathong’** festival of **Thailand (ritualistic floating of model boats)**, to the **‘Bon Om Touk’** Water Festival of **Cambodia**, and to the **‘That Luang’** Festival of **Laos** all of which involve around the same time of the year.

The maritime trade has been entrenched in the socio cultural and religious life of Odisha for centuries. The traditions like Taapoi episode, Biota Bandana, the festivals like Kartika Purnima, Bali Yatra and Khudurukuni Osha give clear testimony of our glorious maritime heritage. The over seas trade to be remembered one and all in such a big way must have involved all categories of people and must be having sweet and pleasant memories. It is a fact that trade was profitable and that the Odishan economy was prosperous only because of its profitable overseas trade. After the devastations of the ghastly Kalinga war of Ashoka and the corresponding destructions, the Kalinga could rebuild itself in about hundred and fifty years under Kharavela is an indication of the prosperous economy that must have come only from overseas trade as otherwise everything in Kalinga was almost destroyed in the war.

5.4 Ancient Ports of Odisha

5.4 (a) Tamralipti: Tamralipti or Tamluk was an ancient port city of Kalinga that existed in its northern border. It was one of the important sea ports of the east coast. There was regular sailing to South East Asia and other countries. It has been identified with the modern Tamluk in the Midnapur district of West Bengal, which formed a part of Odishan empire in the past. Ptolemy has referred to it as Tamalities. Besides Ptolemy, Fa-Hien, Hiuen Tsang and I-Tsing have also referred to this port. As a matter of fact Fa-Hien sailed from this port on his return journey to Sri Lanka. [Samuel Beal [Tr] *Travels of Fa Heienl and Sung –yun London 1964 p.148*]. I- Tsing arrived at this port on his journey to India. the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea has referred to Tamralipti as a great commercial port on the mouth of Ganga. [R K Mukhejee, *Indian Shipping, Allahabad, 1964, p 256*] Archaeological remains show continuous settlement from about 3rd century B.C.

5.4 (b) Palur/ Dantapura: Paloura has been referred to by Ptolemy [G.E Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia (Further India and Indo- Malay Archipelago), New Delhi, 1974, p. 47 and 743*] Paloura was an important port of ancient Odisha. It has been identified with the modern Palur village near Rushikulya River of the Ganjam district. It occupied an enviable position on the trade route between India and the South-east Asia and acted as the only port of departure to the Far East on the Coromondal coast in the early centuries A.D. Archaeological exploration by A. Nath of ASI and K.S. Behera around Palur (Kantigarh), unearthed fragments of the Chinese celadon ware, the Roman rouletted ware, amphora pieces etc. Those substantially testify to Palur as a port of international repute [Cf. B Patra, '*Palur Port in Ancient Maritime Orissa,*' in *Odisha Review, Nov. 1996, p. 21*]. Recent survey by K.K. Basa [K.K. Basa and K. S Behera, "*Maritime Archaeology of Orissa, irr, K.K. Basa and P. Mohanty, (eds), Archaeology of Orissa, vol. 1-Delhi, pp. 574-577.*] of Utkal University and others around Palur and in the region south of Chilika Lake yielded interesting evidence relating to the maritime archaeology of Odisha. Among others, the finding of one monolithic granite pillar on a hill-top about 60 to 70m. high near Raghunathpur, which is now worshipped as a *Siva Linga* is remarkable. It is surmised that it could be a light house for ancient sea-farers. It is reported that at Ourangapatna, a village near Palur, the surveyors have discovered 'a stamped boat motif' which is the first of its kind from an archaeological site in Odisha. K.K. Basa is of the opinion that the motif is associated with a stamp, which could belong to a guild. However, on the basis of only this finding it would be difficult to presume that there was a boat-building centre. Palur has also been referred as Dantapura in different sources.

Archaeological exploration has unearthed fragments of Chinese celadon ware, Roman rouletted pottery and amphora pieces, showing that the port carried out significant international trade. An unusual medallion has a Kushana-style king with a Brahmi inscription on one side, and a Roman head with a Roman inscription on the other. A Roman coin of the emperor Tiberius has been found at Salihundam, and other Roman coins have been found at other sites, giving further evidence of trade with the Roman Empire [Sila Tripathi. "*Early Maritime Activities of Orissa on the East Coast of India: Linkages in Trade and Cultural Developments*". Marine Archaeology Centre, National Institute of Oceanography, Dona Paula, Goa. 17 November 2010].

5.4 (c) Che-li- ta-lo: Chelitalo as a port of Kalinga has been elaborately referred by Hiuen Tsang. He says that it was in the Wu-ta (Odra) country, that it was near the shore of the ocean in the south east of the kingdom, that the town was above 20 li (8 kms.) in circuit, that it was a through fare and a resting place for the sea going vessels and that near the city there were many Buddhist monuments around. Huen Tasng himself had visited the city and has described it to be a place from where the glowing light emanating from the tooth relic of Buddha located in Sri Lanka at a distance of about 20,000 li could be seen by him. Chelitalo as a port has been identified by many in different ways. The most logical identification has been with Manikpatna, [A K Pattanayak, "*Maritime History of Odisha: Problems and Prospects*" 2002 pp. 85-86]

5.4 (d) Golbai Sasan: The recent excavations conducted at Golbai Sasan in Khurdha District by the Excavation Branch, Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), Bhubaneswar under B.K. Sinha [B.K. Sinha, *“Excavations at Golbai Sasan, Dist. Puri, Odisha, in: Puratattava. No-23, 1992-93, p. 48.”*] has provide evidence of “Copper Age” along with a sequence from the Neolithic period to the iron Age. On the basis of the materials obtained from the excavation, the sequence of culture can be divided into three phases, *i.e.* period I Neolithic (*cir.* 1600 B.C) period II-A, Chalcolithic (Evidence of copper, *cir.* 1400 B.C to *cir.* 900B.C) and period II B Iron Age (*cir.* 900 B.C.to *cir.* 800B.C.). The earliest level of Golbai has been taced to 2300 B.C.The site is located on the left bank of river Malaguni or Mandakini, a tributary of the Daya, which falls to the Chilika Lake. Its location on the bank of a river which has access into the Chilika Lake supply us some positive evidences of maritime activities in this region. A large number of material remains such as tools of stone, bone and copper have been discovered from this site. The polished tools include celts, adzes, shouldered celt, chisel, etc. The bone tools, made of antler and semimineralised bone comprised digging tools, points, burins, chisels, long points (27 cms.) arrowheads and harpoons. The copper objects obtained from the site include bangle, rings, chisel and a fishing hook. However, among these discoveries, particularly, the bone implements, harpoons and polished stone a dzes indicate a culture where people on lived mainly on fishing, and probably building boats [B. Mohanty, *‘Golbai- A New Horizon in Orissa Archaeology’, OHRJ vol. XXXIX, no. 1 to 4, 1994, p. 163- 164*]. Especially, the recovery of a sizable number of adzes for wood-work gives positive indication that Golbai was a boat-building centre. It is significant that Golbai is the only excavated site wherefrom only the evidence of boat-building has been found. Further, the location of the site on the bank of river Malaguni positively indicate that the Chilika Lake was very close to this place during the ancient period. It facilitated maritime trade of the people of adjoining sites.

5.4 (e) Manikpatna and Khalakatapatna: The material evidence from the recent archaeological excavation at Manikpatna, in the northern tip of Chilika and Khalkatapatana, on the left bank of the Kushabhadra near Konarak supply us sufficient clues about Odisha’s overseas contact with far off-countries. The excavated material remains also prove that they were international ports having contact with many countries. Manikapatna has recently been identified with the Cheli- talo port of Hiuen Tsang [B.Patra, *“A New light on the identification of Che-li-ta-lo of Huen Tsang-An Archaeological study”, Journal of Indian History and Culture 5th issue, Sept.1999, pp. 49-56.*]. The discovery of Chinese celadone ware, white porcelain, blue, white and brown glazed porcelain shards, Roman rouletted pottery and fragments of amphora, knobbed ware, Burmese pottery, Ceylonese coins, Siamese pottery, Indonesian terracotta, egg-white Arabian pottery moulded ware, stamped ware, decorated were, kaolin ware etc. at Manikpatna testify to its trade links with far-off countries[D. Pradhan, P. Mohanty and J. Mishra, *‘Manikapatna: An ancient and medieval Port on the coast of Odisha’* in : K.K Basa and P, Mohanty (eds) *Archaeology of Odisha, vol. 1 Delhi, 2000, pp. 473-493.*] The discovery of rouletted ware, fragments of amphorae etc indicate its contact with the Roman Empire in the early centuries of the Christian era. The rouletted wares of Manikpatna resemble those of Sisupalagarh and Arikamedu. They are made of fine fabric with well levigated clay and are of grayish white colour. Contact with China is established through the discovery of Chinese celadone ware datable to different centuries. The trade link with Burma is proved by the discovery of a brown glazed ware, known as Maratuan ware after the name of the place located in Burma. The discovery of two imported wares, *i.e* a thin egg white glazed pottery and thick Chocolate glazed wares indicate its contact with the Arabian countries. The discovery of one Celonese coin with the legend *“Srimad Sahassamalla”* (*cir.* 11th –12th century A.D) from Manikpatna refers to the contact of this port with Sri Lanka. A terracotta animal figure of Indonesian character which is of great importance is also reported from here. The two-lined Kharosthi inscription on a potshard discovered from here has been deciphered as *“Dasatradeva”* and *‘Khida’* of 2nd century A.D (by B.N Mukherjee)[D. Pradhan, P. Mohanty and J. Mishra, *‘Manikapatna: An ancient and medieval Port on the coast of Odisha’* in : K.K Basa and P, Mohanty (eds) *Archaeology of Odisha, vol. 1 Delhi, 2000, p. 486*]. This in fact is the only instance of a *Kharosthi* inscription in the whole of Kalinga or even in eastern and south-eastern India. Among other notable findings from Manikpatna are a large number

of beads of terracotta, agate, soft stone and bone, iron implements such as harpoons, spearheads, sickles, fishhooks, boat nails, iron slags, bangles in terracotta faience, glass beads and conchshells. Besides, terracotta lamps in various sizes and varieties and pottery of grey, red, buff and black coloured ware also found. From the above findings it is evident that Manikpatna was an important port-cum-trading centre for the indigenous as well as foreign sailors and merchants. This, in fact, is the only site in the entire east coast of India from where so many varieties of imported wares have been found.

Manikapatna was a port on the banks of Chilika that flourished from early historical times until the 19th century A.D. Excavations have found many types of pottery from different parts of India, and coins from Ceylon and China. The more modern levels contain Chinese celadon and porcelain, and Arabic glazed pottery [Sila Tripathi and K. H. Vora. *“Maritime heritage in and around Chilika Lake, Orissa: Geological evidences for its decline”*. Marine Archaeology Centre, NIO, Dona Paula, Goa].

5.4 (f) Dosarene: Dosarene as a port has been described in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea which had good breed of elephants called Bosare. The modern location of the port could be somewhere near Chilka Lake.

5.4 (g) Pithunda or Pihunda : In the Hathi Gumpha inscription of Kharavela Pithunda has been described as a flourishing metropolis. The Uttaradhyana Sutra mentions Pithunda as a port town. Ptolemy has mentioned Pithundra as a seaport of Kalinga.

Ptolemy's *Geography of Ancient India*, (2nd century A.D.), mentions that major and prosperous ports of Odisha such as Nanigaina (Puri), Katikardama (Kataka or Cuttack), Kannagara (Konarak), and river mouths Manada (Mahanadi), Tyndis (Brahmani), Dosaron (Baitarani), Adams (Subarnarekha), Minagara (Jajpur) and Kosamba (Pipili or Balasore) had overseas trade relations [McCrindle, J.W.: *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy. (Reprint) New Delhi: Today and Tomorrow's Printers and Publishers. 1985.*]. However, the other ports of Odisha, namely Che-li-ta-lo, Kalingapatnam, Pithunda, and Khalkatapatna, also played a dominant role in the maritime history of Odisha. Subsequently, Arab and Persian writers of the 9th and 10th century A.D. throw valuable light on the sea-borne trade and seaports of Odisha. Ibn Khurdahbin, Ibn Rasta and the anonymous author of the *Hadud-al-Alam* mention the main places and ports of Odisha under the Bhaumakara dynasty, namely Mahisya (Midnapore), Jharkharo (hilly tracts), Odisha (Odisha proper), Ganjam (South Odisha), Kalinganagar and Keylkan. The other post 15th century A.D. ports were Balasore, Pipili, Ganjam, Harishapur, Chandabali and Dhamra which are worth mentioning here due to their role in the maritime activities of Odisha during the colonial period [Tripathi, Sila : *Ports and Maritime Activities of Orissa (16th to 19th Centuries)*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers. New Delhi: 1997.pp. 155-164]. Out of all these ports, some were active and continued to be so for long periods. Some ports became prominent during a particular period and perished or lost their significance subsequently. Many ports were used for the export of commodities to far-off countries, while some ports were meant only for internal trade and transport by boats.

5.5 Literary Sources:

Literary sources give evidence of the, maritime trade and sea power of Kalinga.

- a. Kalidasa referred in *Raghuvamsa* to the king of Kalinga as *Mahodadhipati* or the Lord of Ocean [Nandargikar G.R.: 1948. *Raghuvamsa, VI. Mumbai: Nirnaya Sagara Press.*] *Raghuvamsa* (6: 57) further mentions *dvipantara* (Indonesian Archipelago) from which breezes, filled with the scent of cloves, blew:

*Anena sardham viharamburaseh tiresu talivana marmarresu
Dvipantaranvita lavanga puspeih apakrtasveda lava marudbhih*

The *Ariyamanjusrimulakalpa* means to “all islands of the Kalinga sea” (Kalingodresu) from which appears that, in the past, the present Bay of Bengal was known as the “Kalinga Sea” which was dominated by the ships of Kalinga [Sastri, T.G. (Ed.): *Ariyamanjusrimulkalpa, 3 Vols, Trivandrum: Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. 1920-25*]. *Sankha Jataka, Samudra Jataka* and *Mahajanaka Jataka* mention that traders from central India used to come from Benaras to Tamralipti, from where they sailed to Southeast Asian countries [Law, B.C.: *Historical Geography of Ancient India, 1967, Paris: Societe Asiatique de Paris*].

- b. *Mahavamsa* mentions that Asoka sent his missionaries to Sri Lanka from Tamralipti. The *Vassentara Jataka* mentions Kalinga as a great commercial and industrial country, from which rice, fine cloth, ivory, diamonds and other goods were exported even to foreign countries. *Kathasaritsagara* indicates that Tamralipti was the main port for Chinese trade and commerce. Buddhist texts mention the contact of ancient Odisha with Sri Lanka from about the 5th century B.C.onwards. Trade between Odisha and Sri Lanka must have continued in the later period, which resulted in the strong political and cultural links between two countries.
- c. The contact of Odisha with China is known from the accounts of Hieuen Tsang, who refers to the commercial activities of the people. Subhakar Simha, son of the king of Odisha, (Wu-ta (Odra) country), went to China carrying with him many tantric texts in 790 A.D., who may be identified with Sivakara or Subhakar of the Bhaumakara dynasty who had sent a Buddhist text for the great Tang emperor of China. The *Chu-fan-chi* of Chau Ju-Kua written in 1225-26 A.D. refers to Kia-ling seagoing vessels (i.e. Kalinga ships) and their system of trade organisation. Chau Ju-Kua mentions two types of ships plying between Kalinga and Canton.

5.6 Inscriptural and Epigraphic records:

The excavations at Chandraketugarh, Bangarh and Hadipur, an ancient business centre of Kalinga (now West Bengal) has yielded Kharosthi inscriptions on seals, plaques and pots. The terracotta seals from Bangarh and Chandraketugarh depict sea-going vessels containing corn flanked by symbols like conch and taurine. Such vessel types are known as *asyadidhrta thali*, a bowl-shaped vessel filled with corn. Another such vessel has legend in Kharosthi-Brahmi script referring to *Tridesayatra*, meaning a voyage to three countries or directions. Yet another seal from Chandraketugarh reveals a type of vessel called *trapyaka* belonging to the wealth-earning Tasvadaja family. It may be noted that *trapyaka* is a type of ship mentioned also in the *Periplus* and the *Angavijja*. The above vessel types as well as flanking symbols recall Satavahana ships. It appears that the Kharosthi script was used by tradesmen settled in the lower Ganga valley of Bengal in good numbers during the third to 1st century B.C. and was mixed up with the Brahmi used by local merchants, developing a mixed Kharosthi-Brahmi writing with North-western Prakrit expressions [Sarma, I.K. *Rare Evidences on Maritime Trade on the Bengal Coast of India, in Recent Advances in Marine Archaeology* (S.R. Rao Ed.), : 1991. pp. 38-40. Goa: Society for Marine Archaeology].

The location of Asoka’s major rock edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada suggests the existence of a coastal route from Tamralipti to the southern part of the Kalingan Empire. It is known from the Hathigumpha inscription (1st century B.C.) that king Kharavela defeated the southern confederacy and “caused the procurement of pearls, precious stones and jewels from the Pandya king”. He had developed his territory far and wide [Jayaswal, K.P. : *The Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela, Epigraphica Indica, (reprint) XX: 1983.71- 89*]. The excavation at Sembiran has brought to light Kharosthi inscriptions on the potshard which shows maritime trade contacts between Odisha and Bali [Ardika, I.W. and P. Bellwood: *Sembiran: the Beginnings of Indian Contact with Bali, Antiquity LXV(247,1991.): 221-232*].

The epigraphic sources of the Malayo- Indonesian region frequently mention a people called “Kling”, which evidently derived from Kalinga and scholars generally agree that it denotes the people of Kalinga. The early legends of Java mention “twenty thousand families were sent to Java by the prince of Kling. These people prospered and multiplied”. Java was styled as “Ho-ling” in the Annals of the T’ang period (618- 906 A.D.). Scholars usually believe that Ho-ling is the Chinese or old Javanese equivalent of Kalinga. This would suggest that Central Java was so dominated by the people of Kalinga that the region was named as Kalinga or Ho-ling.

The Batu (686A.D.) inscription of Indonesia mentions the special skills of people such as *puhawang* (ships captain), *vaniyaga* (long-distance or sea-faring merchants), and *sthapaka* (sculptors). The Kaladi (909 A.D.) inscription mentions *wagga kilalan*, meaning a group of foreigners which include Kalingas, Aryas, Sinhalese, Dravidians, and Pandikiras. The term *banigrama* (Sanskrit vanigrama) means a merchant guild, which has been mentioned in several East Javanese and Balinese inscriptions. Similarly, the old Balinese inscriptions of Semibiran B (915 A.D.) and Sembiran A II (975A.D.) also mention the term *banigrama* [Ardika, I.W.: *Ancient Trade Relation between India and Indonesia, in Maritime Heritage of India (K.S. Behera Ed.)*, 1999.pp. 80-89. New Delhi: Aryan Books International.]

The Indonesian inscriptions refer to foreign traders as (*banyaga*) which includes Kalingas, Aryas, Sinhalese, Dravidians, etc. and a merchant guild as *banigrama*. The Bhaumakara inscription (8th-10th A.D.) refers to *samudra Kara bandha* (sea tax gate) on the bank of Chilika, where taxes were collected from the sea traders of Odisha.

The inscriptional and epigraphic records of Odisha and of countries also abroad shed light on the maritime enterprises of Kalingans. The Hatigumpha inscription (*cir.* 1st century B.C) of Kharavela infers to the existence of a navy which makes it clear that naval powers was wielded by Kalingan rulers. It also indicates that the Magadhan emperor, Asoka invaded Kalinga to acquire sea-ports of Kainga as Magadha did not have any seaport of its own. The very location of the Asokan Edicts at Jaugarh, a place far away from the actual scene of the war *i.e.* Dhauli is an indication of its association with the port of Palur, a well-known ancient port of Kalinga. The **Tugu Rock Inscription** of western Java says that a river named Chandrabhaga, probably named after the Chandrabhaga river of Odisha was regulated by a canal [Chhabra, B. C.: *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture*, Delhi, 1965, pp. 96-97; H.B. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java (Up to 928 A.D.)*, Calcutta, 1971, p. 6.]. The kuki copper plate (840 A.D.) of Java speaks of potters and all sorts of servants of inner apartments hailing from ‘Kling’ meaning Kalinga [Sarkar, H.B. : *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java (Up to 928 A.D.)*, Calcutta, 1971, p. 80, 86.]. An inscription of the Bhaumakara period refers to an ocean-related tax called Samudrakarabandha. Besides, the discovery of a pot shard inscribed with Kharosthi inscription from Manikpatna is very significant.

5.7 Archaeological Evidence:

The archaeological excavations at Sisupalgarh, Jaugada, Tamralipti, Palur, Manikapatna, Khalkatapatna, and Kalingapatnam have yielded evidence of foreign contacts during early centuries of the Christian era. The excavations at Sisupalgarh [Lal, B.B.: *Excavations at Sisupalgarh, Ancient India 5: 1984. 62-105.*] Manikapatna, Radhanagar, Chandraketugarh, Tamralipti, Salihundam, Dharanikota, Arikamedu, Poompuhar, Korkai and Algankulam of ancient Kalinga port have brought to light the evidence of rouletted ware which is datable to 2nd- 1st century B.C. Moreover, rouletted ware is also reported from Buni Complex in North Java, Sembiran in north coast of Bali, Buu Chau Hill and Tra-Kieu in central Vietnam, Kantarodai and Jaffna in Sri Lanka and Mahastan in Bangladesh. This ware was manufactured at Salihundam, Satanikota, and Kesarapalle of Kalinga (now Andhra Pradesh). It is believed that the rouletted ware provides evidence of Indo-Roman trade, and was imported from the Roman Empire. The coarser varieties were made in India. The XRD diffraction analysis [Gogte, V.D.: *Scientific Study of*

Ancient Pottery from Orissa: A Note on Preliminary Results, in Archaeology of Orissa, (K.K. Basa and P. Mohanty Eds.), 2000.pp. 681-689. New Delhi: Pratibha Prakashan.] of rouletted ware of South India and Southeast Asia shows that the mineralogical content and the soil samples from coastal Odisha are the same. Their rouletted ware of Manikapatna is similar to that of Sisupalgarh and Arikamedu as far as the mineral content is concerned. Knobbed ware has been reported for the first time from Sisupalgarh in Odisha, then at Jaugada, Lalitagiri, Manikapatna, and Radhanagar [**Mishra, J. : *Radhanagar: Early Historic Buddhism, Urban Structure and Trade, in Archaeology of Orissa, (K.K. Basa and P. Mohanty Eds.), 2000.pp. 507-550. New Delhi: Pratibha Prakashan.***]. Subsequently, knobbed vessels have been reported from Kalinga (now northern Andhra Pradesh, coastal Bengal and Assam) [**Glover, I.C. : *Early Trade between India and Southeast Asia: A link in the development of a World Trading System, Occasional Paper No. 16: 1990.1-45. London: The University of Hull***]. This ceramic is concentrated in the early historic period. Further, Glover (1996) has emphasised that this pottery is associated with Buddhist rituals. Knobbed vessels occur in different fabrics such as fine grey ware, red and black ware. Knobbed ware has a boss or a projection at the centre of the base. The time range of this ware is early centuries of the Christian era. Similarly, the finding of Northern Black Polished (NBP) ware at the port sites and some other sites along coastal Odisha, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu provide evidence of coastal trade on the eastern Indian littoral. The occurrence of Punch Marked Coins (PMC) and the NBP at Gedige and Anuradhapura came to light during the Mauryan period. The recent excavation at Anuradhapura and Mantai in Sri Lanka [**Sarma, I.K.: *Ceramics and Maritime Routes of India: New Evidences, Puratattava 21: 1990-91. 37-42***] shows the contact of Odisha with Sri Lanka during early centuries of this Christian era. Semi-precious stone beads have been reported from various excavation sites of Odisha and Southeast Asia. About 180 beads of carnelian, agate, chalcedony, glass and terracotta have been reported from Sisupalgarh. Evidences of manufacturing of beads have been reported from Jaugada and Asurgada in Odisha [**Mohapatra, R.P. *Archaeology of Orissa, Vol. II, Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation 1986.***]. Further, Ban Don Ta Phet, Ban Chiang, Karbi, Khao Sam Kao of Thailand, Tanjong Pawa, Kalum Pong in Malaysia, Salebabu island in Indonesia, Beikthano in Burma, and Palawan island of Philippines have reported semiprecious stone beads [**Glover, I.C.: *Early Trade between India and Southeast Asia: A link in the development of a World Trading System, Occasional Paper No. 16: 1-45. London: 1990. The University of Hull.***]. The earliest site to have yielded evidence of Indian contact is the Ban Don Ta Phet in Thailand where a number of agate and carnelian beads have been found. These beads belonging to 2nd to 3rd B.C. appear to have been introduced from India [**Higham, C.: *The Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia. Cambridge: 1989. Cambridge University press***]. The bronze bowls with a knob in the centre of the base found in the burial sites of Thailand give an indication of Indian contact. The shape of these bowls is similar to that of those found in coastal Odisha [**Ray, H.P.: *Early Maritime Contacts between South and Southeast Asia, Journal of Southeast Asian Studies XX (1): 1989.42-54***]. India was a plentiful source of carnelian so that this semi-precious stones and glass ware were imported from India to Southeast Asian countries in order to manufacture beads, and the same were exported again after being turned into finished products. Further, there is evidence that bronze bowls with a high tin content found at Ban Don Ta Phet were certainly exported from Thailand. The Satavahana rulers had issued bronze coins with a high tin content (23%), and it appears that the tin was imported from Thailand.

5.8 Numismatic Evidence:

The discovery of coins along with other archaeological artefacts indicates trade contacts between one region and another. A unique type of punch-marked coins with ship symbol are found from the earliest levels at Chandraketugarh, which are similar to boat symbol coins issued by Satavahana kings. In Northern Sri Lanka, a single-mast boat coin in conjunction with a donatory inscription of 1st century B.C. is found. The ship symbol is noticed on the **terracotta sealings** and in the graffiti on pottery found from the coastal regions, as well as the trade centres along the Ganga. Similar types of objects from Vaisali depict a boat with a prow, stern, oar, passenger decks and a female standing in the boat. The Roman

coins of Tiberius (14-37 A.D.) were found during excavations at Salihundam. Similarly, the excavations conducted at Bavikonda and Thotlakonda in the district of Visakhapatnam reveal Roman coins of Augustus (31 B.C.-A.D. 14) and Tiberius (A.D. 14-37) (Sree Padma 1993). The Roman gold coins of Gordian, Constantine and other rulers found at Bamanghati and Tamralipti show evidence of contact with the Romans [Warmington, E.H.: *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House 1974.]. Four denarii, three of Augustus, and one Tiberius coins were reported from Kotppad, and 23 gold coins from Gumada of Odisha [Turner, P.J.: *Roman Coins from India*, Royal Numismatic Society, Special Publication No: 22, 1989. London.]. One complete and two fragmentary copper coins with square perforation in the centre with Chinese excavation at Manikapatna legend were found from Khalkatapatna, belonging to the 14th century. Manikapatna excavation has yielded a Sri Lankan copper coin datable to 12th century A.D. with the legend *Simad Sahasamalla*. Similar coins have been reported from Kotchina in Indonesia which maritime networks linking coastal Odisha, Sumatra, and Sri Lanka.

5.9 Art and Sculptural Evidence:

A close study of the art of the Khandagiri-Udayagiri caves reveals the use of West Asian decorative elements such as honey-suckle, acanthus, stepped melons and winged animals, etc [K.S. Behera, "Maritime Contacts of Orissa: Literary and Archaeological Evidence", in: *Utkal Historical Research Journal* vol. V, 1994, pp. 62.]. Some of the pilasters facing the doorways of the caves of Anantagumpha have also *Ghata* bases ornamented in the Hellenistic fashion, very similar in treatment to vessels found from excavations in western India. The huge *Bell capital* from Bhubaneswar imitated from Asokan columns also shows west Asian motifs in its ornamentation [K.S. Behera, "Maritime Contacts of Odisha: Literary and Archaeological Evidence", in *Utkal Historical Research Journal*, vol. V, 1994, pp. 62.]. The boats and ships are also shown in paintings on illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts preserved in the State Museum at Bhubaneswar. What is important in the depiction of these sculptures is that the design of those Odishan monuments must have been initiated from ships, which they might have seen in the locality. All these works of art provide definite evidence of the unique leadership of Kalinga in the field of shipping, ship-building and maritime activities during ancient times.

The Buddhist art of Odisha, particularly the standing Buddha images of Lalitagiri, had a profound influence on the Buddha images of Thailand. I.C. Glover, the excavator of Dan-Ta-Phet site, recognises sculptural transactions between Odisha and Thailand. The 12th century A.D temple of Wat Mahadhatu of Swankalok shows affinity with the Bhubaneswar temples [P. Brown, *Indian Architecture (Hindu and Buddhist period)*, Bombay, 1971 p. 87.]. Further, the discovery of an ivory comb from Chansen in central Thailand suggested that the comb was exported from India, especially from Odisha, because Odisha was famous for the Tran's oceanic elephant and ivory tusk export. It is also significant that the *Srivasta* motif of Hathigumpha Inscription of the emperor Kharavela became enormously common in the coins of OcEo in Vietnam [K.S. Behera, "Maritime Contacts of Orissa: Literary and Archaeological Evidence", in: *Utkal Historical Research Journal (UHRJ)* vol. V, 1994, pp. 64.]

Buddhism played a significant role in shaping relations between Odisha and Southeast Asia. Comparative studies of the Buddhist art of Odisha and that of Southeast Asia show several common elements and resemblances. The archaeological excavations at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, and Lalitagiri in Odisha have brought to light the remains of Buddhist art. The Buddha heads found at these centres and those discount at central Java share common characteristic features of massive form, modelling affinities and facial expressions.

Similarly, the Buddha and Boddhisattava images of Borobudur, Indonesia, and Odisha have common traits. The Javanese Boddhisattavas from Chandi Mendut have their attributes placed on long lotuses in the style distinctive of the Lalitagiri figures in Odisha (Tripathi 2000). Further, the maritime pride of Odisha is also reflected in sculptural representations of boats in the temples of Puri and Bhubaneswar.

The maritime pride of ancient Odisha also inspired artists to depict boats in their sculptures and paintings. The earliest representation of ships in Odisha is noticed in a sculptured frieze collected from the vicinity of the Brahmeswar temple, Bhubaneswar, now preserved in the Odisha State Museum. The frieze depicts two ships, one is fully represented and in the second one only the frontal part is shown. In the first ship, it can be noticed that there are standing elephants in the front part of the ship. In the centre of the ship, two persons are represented being seated, and two sailors are shown holding oars in the rear end steering the ship. K.C. Panigrahi [K. C. Panigrahi, *“New light on the Early History of Bhubaneswar”*, vol-XVII no. 2, Calcutta,, 1950 p. 114.] believes that the long earlobes of the two seated personages show Buddhistic affinity and the persons are a prince and a princess holding something in their hands, probably the relics of the Buddha, and are transporting it to other countries. If K.C Panigrahi is view in ancient time’s prince Dantakumara and princess Hemamala had sailed to Ceylon with the Buddha’s tooth relic from the port of Dantapura/Palur. The second ship which is not shownfully depicts a standing elephant on its frontal portion. Below the ship’s graphic waves with aquatic and amphibious animals have been dericted. From this depiction, it may be inferred that probably the sculptural panel depicts the transportation of elephants from Odisha by ship to other countries. Further, the sculpture is clearly indicate that the ships of ancient Odisha were well built and was big and strong enough to carry elephants, and that elephants were an item of export among many others. The panel may be dated back to 9thA.D. Near the same Brahmeswar temple, another interesting slab containing an eight armed image of *Mahishamardini* Durga his under a banyan tree with a boat directed below the pedestal of the goddess. The goddess is supposed to have been engaged in a fierce sea-battle with the ferocious demon Mahisasura. The goddess holds a discus, a shield, a snake and an arrowhead in his four heads. Unfortunately, her other four hands are severely damaged. The scenes represent a naval fight and such naval fight between the goddess and the demon are extremely rare in the Hindu art. The image is datable to 9th century A.D.

In Bhubaneswar, there is a temple on the western side of Bindusagara tank which deserves mention in this connection. The temple is called *Vaital Deul* after the peculiar form of its roof resembling a ship or boat capsized [Mookerji, R. K.: *Indian Shipping, Alahabad, 1962, p-26*]. The word *Vaitra* denoted a ship, and as the roof of this temple resembles an overturned boat it is reasonable to call it as *Vaital Deul*. [Ganguly, M. M.: *Odisha and Her Remains, Patna, 1987, pp-134-134.*] Ganguly says; “The *Mastaka* is technically called *Voita* and hence the name of the *deul*. The term *Vaita* is probably a contraction of the Sanskrit word *Vahitra* which means a sea-going vessel or ship. The external appearance of the *mastaka* is similar to the hull of a ship reversed, and with the ends removed by planes at right angles to the longitudinal axis. The three crowning members resemble the masts of a ship”. Another maagnificent representation of a boat is found in the Lingaraj Temple of Bhubaneswar (11th century A.D). The scene represents a women steering a boat with an oar [Patnaik, J.K. and Tripathy, B.K.: *“Ships and Shipping in Odishan Art”, Puratattva, no. 23, 1992-93, p. 61.*]. The depiction of women steering a boat is a unique in the history of Indian art. It indicates that maritime activities were so popular among the people of Odisha that even the women were associated with the steering of the boat.

At Konark, on the *Beki* (parapet) of the *Jagamohana* of the Sun temple, the *Martanda Bhairavas* are shown as dancing on boats [Behera K. S. : *“Maritime Trade in Ancient Odisha”, in: M. N. Das (ed) Sidelights on the History and culture of Odisha, Cuttack, 1977, p-115.*]. Another interesting stone sculputre of a full-fledged boat of Odisha, supposed to have been collected from Konark and now housed in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, depicts a boat being rowed by four persons. It is observed from this sculputre that in the middle of the boat there is a cabin with an upraised platform inside, and a man, probably a royal personage, is seated a bow and arrow in hard. This type of boat on the basis of the location of the cabin is called as *Madhya Mandira* type of royal pleasure boat as described in the *Yukti Kalpataru* of king Bhoja [Rao,Nalini : *“Maritime Art of Odisha,” Presidential Address, Maritime Conference, Gujarat, 1987*]. The panel is supposed to have been taken from Konark and is datable to

13th century A.D. The depiction of a giraffe, purely an African animal in the sculpture of the Sun Temple, Konark proves that Kalinga had overseas commercial links with Africa. In those days, either many people from Kalinga sailed to Africa and saw the giraffe or one giraffe must have been brought to Odisha by some merchants enabling many to see it. The presence of the giraffe suggests contact with Arab merchants, who might have been commissioned to bring this animal from Africa to the eastern coast. In the early 15th century, the Chinese Admiral Chang Ho, who visited East Africa, is known to have brought a giraffe to the Ming court of China.

There is also a magnificent representation of a boat in chlorite stone on the Bhogamandapa of Lord Jagannath temple at Puri. The represented scene is of the ***Naga Keli Utsava*** (rowing festival) of Lord Jagannath. From the analysis of this depicted boat it can be presumed that the king and his attendants are shown preparing for a rowing festival [Mishra, K. C.: ***The Cult of Jagannath, Calcutta, 1971, p. 136.***]. The middle portion of the boat has a cabin and, in its entrance, attendants standing on either side can be seen. Four women are shown seated holding oars. In the rear end, two ladies are depicted. Of the two, one is seen standing a ***chhatra*** (parasol) in hand and the other is shown holding something in her hand, probably assisting with a sort of worship to be performed before the rowing festival begins. The boat represented here is also of the ***Madhyamandira*** type.

5.10 Overseas Routes

In early times, long-distance overseas trade was not possible without making halts at intermediate places for water and food. The ships of Odisha bound for Southeast Asian countries passed via the Andaman and Nicobar islands. Sailors voyaging from Tamralipti, Palur and Kalingapatnam to foreign countries used the Nicobar Islands as a halting station. I-Tsing mentions that it was a month's sail from Tamralipti to Nicobar Islands, and China from Sri-Vijaya was twenty days' sail [Syamchaudhuri, N.K.: ***The Social Structure of Car Nicobar Islanders: An Ethnic study of Cognition. Kolkata: 1977. Anthropological Survey of India.***]. From Tamralipti vessels sailed regularly, and either proceeded along the coast of Bengal and Burma, or crossed the Bay of Bengal and made a direct voyage to the Malaya Peninsula and then to the East Indies and Indo-China and beyond. In making their voyages to Southeast Asia, the sailors and merchants of Odisha may have sailed around the Malay Peninsula through the Strait of Malacca. The other route must have been from Odisha to South India where one sailed through the area between the Andaman and the Nicobar islands or between Nicobar Islands and Achin, the northern tip of Sumatra, disembarking on the peninsula around Takuapa or at Kedah. The ports of embarkation were Palur, Poompuhar, Arikamedu and Masulipatnam, from where ships sailed across the Bay of Bengal to the coasts of the Southeast Asia and the Far East. Ships used to go to Java from the ports of Odisha and return directly to Sri Lanka and other ports on the east coast of India. Further, these ships sailed to the northeast from Java to reach Canton. This was the route followed by the merchants who traded with the West and the East [Prasad, P.C. : ***Foreign Trade and Commerce in Ancient India. New Delhi: Abhinav Publication 1977.***]. There was a regular coastal voyage from the mouth of the Ganga along the eastern coast of India to Sri Lanka.

5.11 Overseas Contacts and Colonization (6th B.C – 15 A.D)

The role of Kalinga in the process of colonization of South-East Asia and Ceylon is supported by various sources. It is believed that the first impulse to the colonizing activity and expansion of India had its origin in the daring spirit of Kalingans. The spirit of enterprise and adventure was so remarkable among the *Odiyas* in ancient times that they have been referred to in the Sanskrit literature as ***Kalingah Sahasikah*** (the brave Kalingans). They cherished the ambition of founding colonies in distant lands. Recent researches on Indian colonization have revealed that Kalinga had a major share in the over-seas

expansion and colonization. The naval power of Kalinga made it possible for her to establish kingdoms in South- East Asia in the early stages of colonization and finally a great empire during the middle ages [M.N. Das, *Glimpses of Kalinga History*, Calcutta, 1949, p.120.].

- a. Odisha is veritably an *El dorado* of archaeological remains lying scattered throughout the state. The recovery of some pre-historic tools in Odisha in the 2nd half of the 19th century by V. Ball [V. Ball, *Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1876, pp. 120-121.] and exploration of some pre-historic sites, have given us an idea regarding the progress of society from the food gathering stage to settled life and food production.
- b. The excavation of Kuliana, Kuchai and Baidyapur in the Mayurbhanja district of Odisha have yielded evidence of the use of polished shouldered tools, rice and cord impressed pottery in the Neolithic age. In view of the technological affinities of shouldered adzes with those of Southeast Asian countries it is believed that Odisha's maritime connection with Southeast Asia probably began from the Neolithic period [K.S. Behera, "*Maritime Contacts of Odisha: Literary and Archaeological Evidence*", UHRJ vol. V, 1994, pp. 59-60.]. However, the possibility of introduction of shouldered adzes into India through land-route via north-east India cannot be ruled out.
- c. The Mahavamsa mentions about the arrival of Vijaya and his 700 followers in Sri Lanka in 5th century B.C. Vijaya is a Kalingan prince, the eldest son of King Sinhabahu ("Man with arms of a lion") and his Queen Sinhasivali with their capital at Singhapura (modern Singur in West Bengal, India). According to The Mahavamsa, Vijaya landed on the same day on which the Buddha passed away. [See Geiger's preface to Mahavamsa] and he landed on Sri Lanka near Mahathitha (Manthota or Mannar), and named the Island "Thambaparni" ("copper-colored palms).
- d. Tradition holds that 20,000 families were sent from Kalinga to Java by Sanjaya, the prince of Kalinga, who further multiplied and prospered. Similar traditions of colonists from Kalinga (ancient Odisha) are preserved in the chronicles of Java [S Rafells: *History of Java*, Vol-II, p-73].
- e. According to A. Bhattacharjee "The most important kingdom of Java during the Tang period was Kalinga, named after the well known province of India. Thus, it is quite natural that the colonists from Kalinga dominated Java or at least a part of it. Anyway, the name Kalinga and the popular belief that the original colonists of Java came from Kalinga indicate a close affinity between Java and Kalinga country". [A. Bhattacharjee, p.26; *It is mentioned in Our Merchant Seamen (Modern Indian Series: 3, Publications Division, Govt. of India, p.6)* that, "The colonization of Java has been aptly described as one of the most glorious achievements recorded in the entire history of the country. About 75 A.D. it is said that a few Hindu navigators sailed from Kalinga and drifting into the wide expanse of the Indian Ocean touched the island of Java. This and the adjacent islands were colonized by these men from Kalinga". Both R.K. Mookerji [R.K. Mookerji, pp.148-149.] and Crawford hold the view that all the Hindu influences in Java were from Kalinga [J.F. Scheltema, *Monumental Java*, New Delhi, 1985, p.35.].
- f. The Buddha images of Borobudur, the greatest monument of the Sailendras in Java, are found to have been modelled on the Buddhas from Ratnagiri in Odisha [D.P.Ghosh, "*Relation between Buddha Images of Odisha and Java*", *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, 1933, pp.500-504.].
- g. Many Kalingan rulers' ruled over Ceylon and established dynasties there. Starting from Vijaya up to Nishanka Malla (5th Century B.C. 12th Century A.D.) many kings of Ceylon were either from Kalinga or had matrimonial relationship with the ruling families of Kalinga.
- h. There was a Hindu kingdom in central Java, which the Chinese called *Holing* or Kalinga. The exact share of the Kalingan people in "Greater India" can not be ascertained but it can be inferred that they had a lion's share in it. Highlighting the role of Kalinga in the colonization of Southeast Asia, M. N. Das [M.N. Das, p.122.] state that the expansion of Kalinga, politically and culturally, into the

lands mentioned, was really a great contribution to the civilization of the East. Spreading Hinduism and Buddhism, Indian literature and art, Kalinga had greatly advanced the movement for “Greater India”. The legacies of the past remain till to day. Even today, the Pacific islanders look towards the shores of India in memory of a very remote age when the people from that side went and civilized them. The remains of Hindu and Buddhist architecture in Malaysia still indicate the cultural conquest of that land by Kalinga. Names like *Talaing, Telinga, Kling, Keling* and Kalinga continue to exist and are used by the people of Burma and Malaysia.

- i. The peoples of maritime South East Asia - present-day Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines - are thought to have migrated southwards from southern China Sometime, between 2500 and 1500 B.C.They continued to have contact with Chinese civilisation (well established in the 2nd millenium B.C.), but the influence of the other long-established civilisation of India gradually became predominant among them, and among the peoples of the South East Asian mainland. Indian traders (***In early days these Indians came mostly from the ancient Kingdom of Kalinga, on the south-eastern coast of India. Indians in Indonesia are still known as “Klings”, derived from Kalinga.***), adventurers, teachers and priests continued to be the dominating influence in South East Asia until about 1500 A.D., and Indians often ruled the earliest states in these regions. Hinduism and Buddhism both spread to these states from India and for many centuries existed there in a state of mutual toleration. Eventually the states of the mainland became mainly Buddhist. **[A Short History of South East Asia, Chapter-1 ,p-4]**

5.11 (a) Burma (Myanmar):

1. Burma went by the name of Kalingarat (Kalinga Rastra) in the 7th century BC, and there is evidence of very early settlements in the southern most portions. By the 2nd century AD, the Kalingans were ruling Kalaymyo, the Arakan River valley and Pegu, around the Gulf of Martaban. The remains of a ship excavated at Tante, near Yangon are thought to have belonged to Kalingan traders. Place names and similarities in architecture also indicate close contacts across the gulf of Bengal **[Dr. Benudhar Patra “Kalinga and Burma – A Study in Ancient Relations”. Orissa Review. November 2005.]**
2. The Buddhagat, the sacred scripture of Burma, describes trade with the Buddhist merchants of Kalinga, leading to missionaries coming to propagate the faith, and then to political domination of parts of coastal Burma by Kalinga during the 4th to 7th century AD. Coins with Hindu symbols found in Pegu confirm this contact **[Radhakumud Mookerji, *Indian Shipping – A History of the Sea-Borne Trade and Maritime Activity of the Indians from the Earliest Times (1912)*. READ BOOKS. p. 145ff.]**.
3. According to Gerini “Kalinga colonian was established in Burma towards 7th century B.C.” **[Gerini: *Researches on Ptolemy’s Geography of Estern Asia*].**
4. Prome, the capital of Burma for some time was named *Shrikshetra* after the name of famous *Shrikshetra* (modern Puri) of Odisha.

5.22 (b) Java :

1. The bas relief of 8th century A.D. Borobudur depicts a King and Queen with their subjects, the scene is based on Sailendran royal court. According to R.D. Banarjee, Hindus from Kalinga took a leading role in establishing Hindu culture in Java. An expedition from Kalinga established a colony in Java in 75 B.C.**[Durga Prasad Patnaik (1989). *Palm leaf etchings of Orissa*. Abhinav Publications. p. 3.]**

2. There are also some affinity between Indonesia and Odisha in the domain of art and architecture. Some of the statues of the Buddha at Borobudur (Java) bear a striking resemblance to the Buddha images of Odisha. The *Dhyani Buddhas* of Borobudur reminds us of massive heads of the Buddha at Ratnagiri, one on the slope and another at top of the hills [D. P. Ghosh, 'Relation between the Buddha images of Odisha and Java', in: *Modern Review, Calcutta, 1938, p. 503*].
3. The stepped tiers of Candi Bima (8th century A.D) in the Dieng plateau in Central Java resembled the *Sikharas* of Odisha [R. Grousset, *The Civilization of the East India, Delhi, 1969, p. 314*].
4. A Javanese kris held by the door-keeper of the Parsurameswar temple of Bhubaneswar, amply testifies to the widespread interaction between the regions.
5. These immigrants may have introduced Hindu religion, which was established throughout the island, by 4th century A.D. [Edward Balfour (1885). *The Cyclopaedia of India and of Eastern and Southern Asia, Volume 2. B. Quaritch. p. 426*].
6. Chinese historians use the name Ho-Ling (Kalinga) for the leading kingdom of Java in the Tang period (618–906 AD). This kingdom may have been founded by new colonists, or may reflect the rise of the earlier colony to power. [Krishna Chandra Sagar (2002). *An Era of peace. Northern Book Centre. p. 68*].
7. Arab historians described the 8th century A.D Sailendra dynasty of Java as originating from Kalinga, and said that Sailendra was also powerful in Cambodia and Champa (Annam) [Durga Prasad Patnaik (1989). *Palm leaf etchings of Orissa. Abhinav Publications. P-3*].
8. The Sailendras, the most famous ruling dynasty of Sumatra were not only contemporaries of the Sailodbhavas of Kalinga but were supposed to be their offshoots. It is believed that the Sailendras came directly from India and were connected with the Sailodbhava kings of Kalinga. [Quoted by A. Bhattacharjee, *op. cit, p.48.*]
9. A copper plate inscription dated 840 AD says that the servants of the inner palace of King Kuti of Java came from Champa and Kalinga. An inscription of the King Airlangga of Java (1019–1042 AD) says that people came to his kingdom from Kling (Kalinga) among other places. [R.N. Chakravorty (1985). *National Integration in Historical Perspective. Mittal Publications. p. 98*].

5.11 (c) Bali :

1. Trade with Bali appears to have started before the Christian era. Bali had many products including cinnamon, long pepper, white pepper and cardamom, pearls and gems, silk, camphor, bees wax and sandalwood that were attractive to Kalinga's traders. Traders from Kalinga brought muslin and other fine cloths, rugs, brocade, armour, gold and jewellery. There is a tradition that the first ruler of Bali was an Indian named Kaudinya, around 600 AD, and this name later became the title for future rulers [Wilhelm von Pochhammer (2005). *India's Road to Nationhood. Allied Publishers. p. 146. ISBN 81-7764-715-6*]. It is possible that the island is named after Bali, a legendary king of Odisha [Sir William Wilson Hunter (1872). *Orissa, Volume 1. Smith, Elder and co... p. 217*].
2. Traditional masked dances that are performed in Odisha and Bali for the purpose of removing evils and bringing good fortune have many similarities that point to ancient cultural exchanges [John Emigh (1996). *Masked performance: the play of self and other in ritual and theatre. University of Pennsylvania Press. p. 74. ISBN 0-8122-1336-X*].
3. The trade began to decline in the 8th century AD, as Arabs became the predominant maritime power in the region [Kartik Chandra Roy, Srikanta Chatterjee. *Growth, development and poverty alleviation in the Asia-Pacific. Nova Publishers, 2006. p. 17ff. ISBN 1-59454-931-1*].

4. The festival of “Bali Jatra”, is still celebrated throughout coastal Odisha in memory of the ancient trading links [**G.N. Das (1998). *One World One Family. Abhinav Publications. pp. 31–32. ISBN 81-7017-372-8***].

5.11 (d) Malay peninsula:

1. Through energetic maritime campaigns, the Sailendra kings of Java were able to take control of the Malay Peninsula and part of southern Thailand. The kings welcomed Buddhist missionaries from India, accepting their teaching of the Mahayana sect, which spread through their territories. However, central and northeastern Thailand continued to adhere to the Hinayana teachings of the Theravada sect, which had been introduced by missionaries sent by the emperor Ashoka in the 3rd century BC [**Promsak Jermsawatdi (1979). *Thai art with Indian influences. Abhinav Publications. p. 24.***].
2. Another theory of the introduction of Buddhism to the Malay Peninsula is that after Kalinga conquered lower Burma in the 8th century A.D. their influence gradually spread down the peninsula [**A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam. CUP Archive**].
3. The Malaya language contains many words derived from the Odia language [**Reinhold Rost, *Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Straits Branch (1886). Miscellaneous papers relating to Indo-China: reprinted for the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society from Dalrymple’s “Oriental Repertory,” and the “Asiatic Researches” and “Journal” of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Volume 1. Trubner and Co. p. 92***]. In modern Malaysia, Indians are commonly called Klings, a name showing the original influence of Kalinga.

5.11(e) Cambodia:

1. Emigrants from Kalinga came to Cambodia in the 3rd century B.C., fleeing from emperor Asoka. However, after Asoka had converted to Buddhism and sent missionaries to Cambodia, they accepted the teachings and helped establish the religion in the region [**Promsak Jermsawatdi (1979). *Thai art with Indian influences. Abhinav Publications.p.24***].
2. The early monuments of the Khmers (of modern Cambodia) appear to be of Kalinga [**Nadimpalli Venkata Bala Subrahmanya Dutt (1993). *Yayoi people and ancient Indo-Japanese relations. Northern Book Centre. p. 45. ISBN 81-7211-048-0***]. However, although some of the inscriptions at Angkor Wat in Cambodia are in Sanskrit, others are in the Kalingan script [**Robert Needham Cust (1880). *Linguistic and oriental essays: Written from the year 1840 to 1903. Trubner and co.***]. The design of the Angkor Wat temple shows influences from Odisha [**Freeman, Michael and Jacques, Claude (1999). *Ancient Angkor. River Books. p. 48. ISBN 0-8348-0426-3***].

5.11 (f) China:

The first record of trade with China is found in the account of Fa Hien (399–411 A.D.) who sailed in a merchant vessel from the port of Tamralipti back to China. The Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang (645 A.D.) tells of sea voyages from the ports of Tamralipta (modern Tamruk) and Chelitalo to Simhala (modern Sri Lanka) and China. A former king of Odra named Subhakararisha, who had abdicated in order to become a monk, voyaged to China in 716 A.D. (***An introduction to Tantric Buddhism***). There is an account of the carriage by sea in 794 A.D. of presents by the King of Udra to the Emperor of China. Odisha imported silk from China, and a Chinese coin from the 8th century has been found at Sirpur. Between 813 and 818, three missions were sent from the Javanese nation of Kalinga to the court of Hsien Tung in China, bringing rarities such as a live rhinoceros, a five-

coloured parrot and some black boys and girls from East Africa. Far China did not remain aloof from trade connection with Odisha. The Chinese emperor Te-tsang in 795 A. D. received an autographed manuscript of the Buddhist work **Gondavyuha**, a part of **Avatamasaha**, from Subhakara Simha or Subhakara, the Bhoulakara King of Odisha [**K. C. Panigrahi. History of Odisha, P. 468**]. Cultural expansion of Odisha in Burma and China can easily be imagined from the above observation.

The excavations at Lalitgiri (Lat. 20° 35' N. and Long. 86° 15' E) Udayagiri (Lat. 20° 38' 45" N. and long. 86° 16' 25" E) and Ratnagiri (Lat. 20° 38' N. and long 86° 20' E), the Buddhist sites, have established sculptural link of Odisha with the Southeast Asia and China. The discovery of relic caskets from a stupa at Lalitgiri has been the most significant one in this connection. The systems of preserving of these relics are unique. These caskets consist of four caskets kept systematically one inside the other. It is a feature alien in Odisha but common in China. Further, a sculpture of Astamahabhaya Tara, who protects sailors from ship-wreck, has been found from Ratnagiri [**B. Das, "Kalinga and outside world," in: Journal of Historical Research, vol.xxvi, no-1, 1983, p. 18.**].

5.11(g) Simhala (Sri Lanka):

1. Kalinga had strong ties with Simhala (Sri Lanka). According to the Mahāvamsa, a chronicle written in Pāli language, the ancient period of Sri Lanka begins in 543 BC with the landing of Vijaya, a semi-legendary king who sailed 860 nautical miles on eight ships to Sri Lanka with 700 followers from the region of Kalinga. [**"The Great Chronicle of Sri Lanka". The Mahavamsa, Retrieved 4 November 2011**] He established the Kingdom of Tambapanni, near modern day Mannar. Vijaya is the first of the approximately 189 native monarchs of Sri Lanka that the chronicles like **Dipavamsa**, **Mahāvamsa**, **Chulavamsa**, and **Rājāvaliya**.
2. The Mahavamsa tells of Sinhapura's foundation by Sinhabahu, whose mother was a princess of Kalinga [**R.C. Majumdar (1996). Outline of the history of Kalinga, Asian Educational Services. p. 6**]. It was said that Sinhabahu was the ruler of the Kalinga kingdom, but left that kingdom to his mother and her husband, and moved to an uninhabited part of the forest. He cleared the land and settled down to rule a new kingdom. [**S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, Asian Educational Services. p. 75**] The town is named by Sinhalese chronicles in connection with Prince Vijaya (c. 543-505 BC), the first recorded king of Sri Lanka [**Harihar Panda, H.C. Raychaudhuri as a historian, Northern Book Centre. p. 112**] Vijaya's brother Sumitta became a king of Sinhala of Kalinga. When Vijaya died with no heir, Sumitta's son, Panduvasdeva was sent from Sinhapura to Sri Lanka, where he was crowned King.
3. The emperor Ashoka sent his son to Ceylon to establish Buddhism, and daughter Sanghamitra to organise the nuns. The **Samantapasadika** says that she was accompanied by eight families from Kalinga.
4. The **Dathavamsa** talks of the friendship between king Guhasiva of Kalinga and king Mahasena of Ceylon (277 – 304 AD). It also talks of the king of Kalinga giving the tooth relic of Gautama Buddha as a dowry to Dantakumara on his marriage to the king's daughter. Dantakumara took the relic to Ceylon where it was enshrined in a stupa [**Kandarpa Patel. "Maritime relation of Kalinga with Srilanka". OHRJ, Vol. XLVII, No. 2**].
5. Hinayanic Buddhism flowered in Ceylon in the 4th and 5th century A.D, and the influence of scholars from Ceylon spread through Burma, Siam and Cambodia, establishing the beliefs and practices that continue in these countries today. Kalinga was also strongly affected by Ceylonese culture, in particular by the Theravada teachings of Buddhaghosa, since it lay on the route followed by pilgrims from Ceylon visiting holy places in India. Pilgrims from Kalinga sailed to Ceylon to

honour the sacred tooth and visit the monasteries. [Kandarpa Patel. *“Maritime relation of Kalinga with Srilanka”*. OHRJ, Vol. XLVII, No. 2].

6. The Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang describes these sea voyages from the port of Tamralipta and Chelitalo to Simhala [Bhagaban Panda (1997). *“Maritime Activities of Orissa”*. *Economic History of Orissa*, Indus Publishing. p. 117ff. ISBN 81-7387-075-6]. According to the Chulavamsa, the king of Kalinga visited Ceylon during the reign of Aggabodhi II (610–611 AD). King Vijayabahu I of Ceylon (1055–1110 AD) married the daughter of the king of Kalinga. Nissanka Malla, son of king Gaparaja of Kalinga became ruler of Ceylon (1187–1196 AD).
7. A prince of Kalinga named Magha invaded Ceylon with a fleet carrying 24,000 soldiers and ruled the island from 1214 to 1235 A.D. [Chattopadhyaya, Haraprasad. *Ethnic unrest in modern Sri Lanka: an account of Tamil-Sinhalese race relations*. M.D. Publications Pvt. Ltd.].
8. A rock inscription made by Nissanka Malla of Sri Lanka at Dambulla mentions that he was of the Kalinga Dynasty and a descendant from the race of King Vijaya. Another inscription at Ruwanwelisaya describes him as being a member of a royal family of Kalinga, born at Sinhapura, [Rasanayagam, C.; Aiyangar, Sakkottai Krishnaswami (1993). *Ancient Jaffna, Asian Educational Services*.pp. 322-323. ISBN 81-206-0210-2]

5.11(h) Rome and the Western World:

In the early centuries of the Christian era Odisha had active trade contact with the western world, especially with the Roman Empire. The western trade flourished because of the demand for luxury articles of Kalinga in the Roman Empire.

1. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea [J.W. Mc Crindle, *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea, Amsterdam, 1973, pp.140-149*; W.H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 46-49.*] (1st century A.D) of an unknown author, besides mentioning the Kalingan port of Dosarene, refers to the trade relation between Kalinga and the Roman world. He mentions Dosarene as producing the best type of ivory known as Dosarenic.
2. Ptolemy, [G.E.Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy’s Geography of Eastern Asia, New Delhi, 1974, p.47.*] the Greek geographer during the 2nd century A.D. refers to another famous port of Kalinga named Palur, from where ships disembarked directly across the Bay of Bengal to the South-East Asian countries.
3. The discovery of rouletted ware from Sisupalgarh [B.B. Lal, *“Sisupalgarh-An Early Historical Fort in Eastern India” (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India), Ancient India, No.5, New Delhi, 1949, pp.62-105.*] near Bhubaneswar and Tamluk in the Midnapore district of modern West Bengal is very significant in this regard.
4. The roulette ware was first identified and dated by Wheeler [R.E.M. Wheeler et al, *Ancient India, No.3, New Delhi, 1949, pp.17-24.*] at Arikamedu. These were probably brought into Odisha by Roman merchants.
5. Roman bullas have been discovered at Sisupalgarh [B.B. Lal, *“Sisupalgarh-An Early Historical Fort in Eastern India” (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India), Ancient India, No.5, New Delhi, 1949, pp.101-102.*] and Roman coins at Biratgarh and Bamanghati [P.Acharya, *Studies in Orissan History, Archaeology and Archives, Cuttack, 1969, p.533*; P.K. Mishra, *Archaeology of Mayurbhanj, New Delhi, 1997, pp.4 and 95.*] in the Mayurbhanj district, which suggest trade links of Kalinga with the Roman empire. Besides, a gold coin bearing Graeco-Roman motif together with pottery fragments and terracotta figures of Roman origin have been also discovered from Tamluk [R.C.Majumdar (ed.) *The Struggle for Empire, Bombay, 1966, p.658.*] (The site of ancient Odishan Tamralipti port).

6. A terracotta Greek tablet containing the thanks-giving of an unknown Greek sailor to the East wind has been discovered at Tilda, situated between Tamluk and Bamanghati. [**N.K.Sahu, *History of Orissa, Vol.1, Bhubaneswar, 1964, p.458.***]
7. The poet Dandi in his *Dasakumara Charita* [***Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1904, p.619.***] has referred to the coming of the Greeks to the port of Tamralipti.
8. Apart from this, the recent archaeological excavations at Manikpatna in the northern tip of the Chilka Lake which has brought to light the Roman rouletted pottery and fragments of an amphora substantiate the clue of Odisha's contact with the far off Roman Empire.
9. Another valuable archaeological evidence has been reported from the Khalkatapatana port excavation. The discovery of a thin egg-white glazed chocolate pottery and thick chocolate glazed pottery of the Arabian origin are worth mentioning. The former has mainly bowls and the latter are the fragments of storage jars. These were first noticed in the excavations at Khalkatapatana. [***Patra Benudhar, Maritime Contact of Ancient Odisha with the Western World, p- 46.***]
10. Much of the gold of the Roman Empire had been drained out to India by the third century of the Christian era. [**B.Das, 'Kalinga and Outside World' *Journal of Historical Research, Vol. XXVI, No.1, 1983, p.25.***] The acute shortage of gold coins led to the circulation of copper coins in the Roman Empire during the early centuries of the Christian era. It is said that the financial instability resulting mainly from the adverse trade relations with India must have become a potent factor for the fall of the Roman Empire. [***Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Vol. XIX, pp.89-90.***]
11. The merchants of Kalinga were in a sense instrumental in bringing about the economic ruin of the Roman Empire and consequent economic prosperity to the Indian subcontinent. Pearls and diamonds probably constituted two principal articles of export of Kalinga to the western world. The manufacture of the best type of diamonds in ancient Odisha has been referred to by classical writers. The Hirakud region of Sambalpur on the banks of river Mahanadi was famous for the production of diamonds. [**A Das, 'The Diamonds of Sambalpur', in N.K. Sahu (ed.), *New Aspects of History of Orissa, Vol.1, Sambalpur, 1971, pp.1-8.***] The diamond of this region was sold as an attractive item in the markets of Rome, Persia, Egypt and Greece. [**K.A.N. Sastri (ed.), *A Comprehensive History India, Vol. II (The Mauryas and Satavahanas) (325BC-300AD) New Delhi, 1987, p.436.***]
12. Gibbon in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* [**Quoted by A.C. Das, "Kalinga, the Ancient Maritime Power", *Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. XVI, No.4 to Vol. XVII, No.1, (1975), p.10.***] has said that the diamond of Sambalpur was much prized in Rome and was sold at a high price in Roman markets.
13. Pepper was another important item of export to Greece and Rome. Its export was in such abundant quantity that it was called *Yavanapriya* in Indian literature. Pliny refers to the pepper and ginger of India and their great demand in Rome, where they were sold by weight like gold and silver. Besides, Indian spices like cinnamon, malabathrum and perfumes, precious stones, pearls, silk, muslins and cotton were in great demand in the Graeco- Roman world. Silk, muslin and cotton were sold at fabulously high prices in Rome. [**R.K.Mookerji, *Indian Shipping, Allahabad, 1962, p.85.***]
14. Medicinal herbs and ivory were also exported to the western countries from India. Kalinga seems to have supplied all the above articles in considerable quantities. In turn, among the articles of import from the western world, mention may be made of gold, aromatic, ware, glass etc. B.S. Das [**B.S. Das, *Studies in the Economic History Orissa, Calcutta, 1978, p.19.***] says that commodities were exported from Odisha to earn Roman gold. He also says that with the shrinkage in gold

supply from the Roman markets during the post-Kushana period the Odishan merchants looked towards the Far East. [B.S. Das, *Studies in the Economic History Orissa*, Calcutta, 1978, p.35].

15. The people of Kalinga had also contact with the distant lands of Peru and Mexico. R.D. Banerjee [R.D. Banerjee, *History of Orissa, Vol.1, Varanasi, 1980, p.108.*] observed that the people of Kalinga, who have been proved to be the pioneer colonists of India, Indonesia and Oceania, are probably the very same people whom the modern barbarians of the Pacific and Indian Oceans regard with awe and wonder as people from the sky who civilized them and taught them the rudiments of culture”.
16. The Maya civilization of America was a result of commercial enterprise of Kalinga or of India with that continent. [S.P. Das, *Glories of Ancient Orissa, Sambalpur, 1965, pp.83-84.*] It is thus gleaned from the above analysis that ancient Odisha had close maritime contact with the countries of the western world.

5.11 (i) Africa:

Kalinga also had overseas trade links with Africa.

1. The sculptural representation of a giraffe, an African animal, not seen anywhere else, in Konark proves that Kalinga had commercial relations with Africa. The depiction of a giraffe in the Konark temple suggests that, in ancient days either some people of Kalinga had gone to Africa and seen the giraffe or one live giraffe had been brought to Odisha by some merchants enabling many to see it. However, the sculpture of giraffe on the wall of the Sun temple is so accurate that the sculptor must have actually seen a live giraffe. It is hardly likely that the sculptor would have travelled to Africa. So a giraffe was actually brought alive by sea from East Africa to Odisha. [K.S. Behera, 'Maritime Trade in Ancient Orissa', in M.N. Das (ed.), *Sidelights on the History and Culture of Orissa, Cuttack, 1977, p.117*]. Probably the Ganga emperor Narasimhadeva-I (A.D. 1238-1264) heard of the existence of this strange animal from Arab traders who carried on most of the trade with Africa and commissioned them to fetch him a specimen. [K.S. Behera, 'Maritime Trade in Ancient Orissa', in M.N. Das (ed.), *Sidelights on the History and Culture of Orissa, Cuttack, 1977, p.117-118*.] In fact, the sculptured panel of the Konark temple depicts the Ganga emperor being presented with the African animal. The problem of bringing a live giraffe (which normally lives on the green leaves of trees) on such a long sea-voyage in a small boat must have been considerable, but evidently they succeeded in their mission.
2. A Chinese Admiral named Cheng Ho [K.S. Behera, 'Maritime Trade in Ancient Orissa', in M.N. Das (ed.), *Sidelights on the History and Culture of Orissa, Cuttack, 1977, p.120*.] who visited East Africa in the 15th century A.D. is known to have brought back a live giraffe to the Ming Court in China. Therefore, we can see no reason why a giraffe could not have been actually brought as a curiosity to Eastern India in 13th century A.D.
3. According to D.R. Bhandarkar, [D.R. Bhandarkar, *Charmichael Lectures, Vol-I, ch.1*.] the people of Kalinga monopolised trade in the Arabian Sea. Crossing the Arabian Sea, the Kalingans established trade relations with the East Coast of Africa and with the far-off island of Madagaskar. [Quoted by A.C. Das, "Kalinga, the Ancient Maritime Power", *Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. XVI, No.4 to Vol. XVII, No.1, (1975), p.10*.]

Initially, maritime activities were mainly concerned with trade. Gradually, for better trade, a consumer market was created through cultural influence and finally political control was established to facilitate trade. The *sadhavas* (merchants), who engaged in overseas trade, were a group of daring people who came from different walks of life. The name *sadhava* has emerged out of the expression

sadhu vyabasayi or honest businessman as the Kalingans were known outside. Each trading trip consisted of different categories of people like the *sudras* who performed menial work, the *vaisyas* who funded and managed the voyages, *kshyatriyas* who protected the ships during the journey and in alien lands and *brahmins* who performed religious rites and also acted as advisors during the voyages. The *brahmins* and the *kshyatriyas* who accompanied the ships in due course stayed back and established political and cultural contact, finally leading to colonization.

5.11 (j) Discussion and Conclusion

Maritime trade has been a part of the socio-cultural and religious life of Odisha for centuries. The story of Taapoi rites like, *Biota Bandana* (ceremonial farewell to trading ships), festivals like *Kartika Purnima*, *Bali Yatra* and *Khudurukuni Osha* provide clear testimony of our glorious maritime heritage. The overseas trade to be celebrated by one and all with such enthusiasm must have involved all classes of people and must have left sweet and pleasant memories.

The festival is similar to the 'Masakapan Ke Tukad' festival of Bali, and to the 'Loi Krathong' (in Odia Nai Kartika) festival of Thailand both of which involve ritualistic floating of model boats around the same time of the year.

It is a fact that overseas trade was profitable and that the Odishan economy was prosperous only because of this trade. After the carnage and devastation of the Kalinga war, Kalinga could rebuild itself in about a hundred and fifty years during the reign of Kharavela through overseas trade.

Contact between Kalinga and Sri Lanka in the commercial, political, cultural and religious spheres is an accepted fact of history. According to *Mahavamsa* and *Dwipavamsa*, Vijayabahu, the first king of Sri Lanka hailed from Kalinga. The island was named as Singhala after the name of his father, Simhabahu, who had ruled over Kalinga. Close matrimonial relations existed between the two kingdoms. Kalinga also played a prominent role in the spread of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. Buddhist pilgrims, missionaries and travelers constantly travelled to and from the Kalingan ports to Sri Lanka. Fahien, in his return journey, sailed from the Kalingan port of Tamralipti to Sri Lanka. As a matter of fact, Sri Lankan ports were the resting places for Kalingan merchants during their voyages to either east or the west.

Interaction of Kalinga with the islands of Java, Bali, Sumatra, Borneo, and others collectively known as Suvarna Dwipa ranges from trade to cultural, political and religious activities, finally leading to colonization. Traditions of Java relate that, "Twenty thousand families were sent to Java by the king of Kalinga who multiplied and prospered".

The transmission of Kalingan culture to distant parts of South East Asia, Sri Lanka and other places is one of the greatest achievements of the people of Kalinga. No other great civilization of the world, not even the Hellenic, had been able to achieve similar success without military conquest. The 'Greater India' theory boasts of Indianised states in South East Asia and, in this process, the Kalingans played a major role for being a great sea-faring nation and for being situated on the sea coast dotted with a number of natural ports. The Indian influence in general, and the Kalingan influence in particular, can be seen in the magnificent temples at Pagan (Myanmar), Angkor (Cambodia) and Borobodur (Java). These constitute an integral part of their histories and cultures.



Chapter-VI

ODISHA & ODIA CULTURE

Religious Tradition

India has a large number of religions, philosophical and folk traditions. It is multilingual, multi-ethnic and multi-religious. A convergence of cultures has taken place over the known historical times. Indian culture is an admixture of Aryan and Dravidian systems and has an Austric substratum.

Very little is known about the cultural practices of the Austrics. Only very recently some have claimed that they are not Hindus but Sharanyas. But interaction between the Austrics and Aryans has been referred to in the Puranas. As early as the **Rig-Veda**, there is indication of such interaction,

*YADDARU PLAVATE SINDHOPARE APAURUSHAM I
TADA RABHASWA DURHNNO TENA GACHHA PARASTARAM II (10/155/3),*

There is a reference to the floating wood from which the Jagannath image was carved. This interaction is practiced by the worship of Lord Jagannath by *Daitapati*, who are descendants of the *sabaras* and *brahmins*.

Vedas relate to the earliest periods of Hinduism. Hinduism has developed through mutual interaction among Vaishnavism, Saivism, Shaktism, Buddhism and Jainism. The famous Buddhist scholar, Indrabhuti begins his **Jnanasiddhi** with the verse –

*Pranipatya Jagannatham sarbajina vararchitam I
Sarba budhamayam sidhi byapinam gaganopamam II*
[Bhattacharya, B. (ed) : **Two Vajrayana works, Borada, 1921,pp-31**]

This furnishes a wonderful example of Hindus, Boudhas and Jainas interacting with one another. Shiva plays a prominent role in Hindu religion. Though conflicts took place between Saivism and Vaishnavism the interaction among them has resulted in religious reconciliation. **Veer Saiva** in south India, **prativijna** (saivism in Kashmir) and **pasupata** saivism in Gujarat are well-known all over the country. One comes across, no such name which is available in the eastern region. The important reason for this is the amalgamation of Saivism and Vaishnavism and development of the Harihar cult. This was acceptable neither to the orthodox Vaishnavites nor to the orthodox Saivites. The **Harihara cult** is however practised in Ekamra Khetra, Bhubaneswar, Shrikhetra, Puri and other kshetras like Harisankar in Balangir.

6.1 (a) Pre-Hindu and Hindu Periods:

Odisha has the unique distinction of having acted as a confluence of these diverse faiths. It is here that one can witness how religion has evolved from animism, nature-worship, shamanism, ancestor-worship and fetishism to the highly evolved forms of religion like Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism with philosophical systems of a high order to support them.

The synthesis and harmony of the different forms of Hindu worship - '*vaishnavite*', '*shaivite*', '*shâkta*', '*gânapatya*' and '*soura*' - are all to be found in the great and grand temple of Jagannath, whose origin goes back to the tribal worship of a 'wooden god'. Around him revolves the entire cultural milieu of *Odisha*. Religion and culture cannot be separated in a land which claims to celebrate 'thirteen festivals in twelve months'. The life-giving stream of religion has flowed past the rise and fall of empires producing and nourishing the sublime virtues of love, tolerance and compassion.

Lord Jagannath is considered an incarnation of Lord Vishnu and worshipped as the foremost deity among gods of the Hindu pantheon represented in Odia Hindu theology. Lord Jagannath was originally worshipped by the *sabaras*, a tribal group found mostly in south Odisha. The non-brahmin priests called *daitās* worship Lord Jagannath shoulder to shoulder with the brahmin priests. They are considered to be the descendants of the *sabaras*. During the Car Festival, the deities wear typical *sabara* costume. So this present-day Jagannath cult is the result of an age-long metamorphosis of a tribal tradition into a Hindu tradition.

The Influence Of **Hinduism**: The religion of the Aryans known as "Sanatan Dharma" originated in the Vedas and spread to Odisha, which, in course of time, came to be held in high reverence as the land of the gods or as a "*deva bhumi*". Around the 5th century BC, the Nandas stabilized Brahminic settlements in the coastal region. The 13th Ashokan edict shows that, before the invasion of 'Kalinga' by Ashoka and his conversion to Buddhism, Hinduism, had spread swiftly in Odisha and continued to hold a way till the reign of Kharavela, who was a Jain and propagated that religion. These ancient religions of Odisha, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism seem to have co-existed peacefully. The revival of Vedic religion after the waning of Buddhism and Jainism brought in wide assimilative powers and Hinduism seems to have flourished in Odisha under the 'Mâthara' rulers between the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. The Sailodbhava rulers made arrangements for the study of Vedic wisdom and an 'Aswamedha' sacrifice was performed by Mâdhav Varman. During the rule of the Keshari rulers, Shaivism gained importance. Yajâti Keshari, to preserve the sanctity and purity of hinduism, brought Aryan brahmins from Kânyakubja (Kanauj) and settled them in Jajpur in Odisha, which became a famous site for the performance of funeral rites.

By the 7th century A.D., Hinduism had become influential, especially, in the courts. Hiuen Tsang, the well-known Chinese chronicler observed how Buddhist Viharas and Hindu temples flourished side by side. Shaivism was the state religion of Odisha during the rule of the Somavamsis (8th to 11th century A.D.) and vaishnavism gained popularity under the patronage of the rulers of Ganga dynasty. In this period, Lord Jagannath, considered to be the incarnation of Lord Vishnu, came to be worshipped as the foremost deity among gods of the Hindu pantheon. The Jagannath cult, brought about a synthesis of the Ramanandi Vaishnavism of South India with the Gaudia Vaishnavism of Chaitanya.

6.1 (b) Jainism:

There are indications that the 23rd Tirthankar, Parsvanath Swami, preached Jainism in Kalinga in the 7th century BC, and King Karakanda was converted by him. The king built Karakanda Vihar for the propagation of Jainism and installed in it the image of the 2nd Tirthankar, Ajitnath. The Jain preacher, Mahavira Swami, visited Kalinga to propagate the reformed version of Jainism and installed the Vijay Chakra on the Kumari (Udaygiri) hill, which became a famous pilgrimage centre along with Pithunda

Nagar, where the image of Rishabhanath was installed after consecration. Jainism seems to have reached a high-water mark during the reign of Emperor Kharavela, who made it the state religion. After his conquest of Magadha, he brought back to Kalinga the Kalinga Jinasana that had been carried away by Mahapadma Nanda after his conquest of Odisha three hundred years before. Kharavela's patronage of Jainism is evident in the beautiful caves that he carved out from the rocks on the Udaygiri and Khandagiri hills. The Khandagiri caves were used as places of worship while those on Udaygiri were used for the accommodation of saints, monks and ascetics. Jainism declined after Kharavela after enjoying a short spell of importance during the reign of the Murunda rulers in Kalinga, especially under Dharmadamodar. The queen of the Sailodbhava king, Dharmaraja II, Kalyani Devi was a patron of Jainism. During the reigns of the Bhojas and some dynasties in the medieval period, Jainism seems to have revived, for which the Khandagiri and Udaigiri caves were left intact.

6.1 (c) Buddhism:

It is believed that Lord Buddha declared Kalinga (Modern Odisha) as one of the twelve places where perfection can be attained. The Early *Vinaya* Texts, *Nikaya* and *Jatakas* refer to two merchant brothers from Utkala named Tapussa (Tapassu) and Bhallika (Bhalliya), who were said to have been the first disciples of Lord Buddha. Buddhist chronicles like ***Angattura Nikaya*** refer to Buddha's *Kesa*, *Asthi* (hair and bone relics) brought to Odra by the two traders. In the subsequent period, the nail and tooth relics of the Buddha were also brought over to Udra.

The ***Datthavamsa*** states that a collar bone of Lord Buddha was taken by Sarbhu, a disciple of Sariputa to Mahiangana in Sri Lanka. He also gives a detailed account of the tooth relic being taken by Khema to the court of Brahamadatta, the King of Kalinga who built a gigantic *Chaitya* over it in his capital Dantapura. In 1985-1986, in course of the excavation of the *Stupa* Mound at Lalitgiri (Cuttack), as many as three sets of gold caskets designed in the form of a *stupa* were found. In the gold caskets were found the sacred relic. This is believed to be the relic of Lord Buddha.

Tissa, the brother of Ashoka, chose Kalinga to be the place of his retirement and the emperor built a monastery named **Bhojakagiri Vihar** for him, which became a great center of Buddhist activities. **The Vihar** became the residence of Dharmarakshita, the teacher of Tissa, from where he transmitted the doctrines of Buddhism and inspired the people of Kalinga. His distinguished disciple, Dhital Kumar came to Kalinga to lay the foundation of the Sravastivada school of Buddhism, which received wide acceptance. During the Sunga period (184 BC -72 BC), Buddhism lost its royal patronage. Dr N K Sahu suggests that the Mahayana form of Buddhism originated in Odisha. This is evidenced from Lama Taranath's *Pag sam Jan Zang*.

The text *Asta Sahasrika*, was prepared in Odisha leading to the development of the Mahayana school of Buddhism. Guhasiva, the king of Kalinga in the 3rd century A.D became a Buddhist and he sent the relic to Sri Lanka for its safe preservation. The Sailodbhava kings were Buddhists and spread Buddhism in the Southeast Asian countries along with Odishan art and culture.

In the 7th century A.D, according to Hiuen Tsang who visited Odisha, Buddhism flourished in Odra. According to his account, Odisha at that time was divided into three principalities i.e. Odra, Kangoda and Kalinga. The Buddhist remains at Lalitigiri, Ratnagiri, Udaygiri and Langudi in the Jajpur and Cuttack districts provide evidence to show that the monastic establishments in these areas flourished during these periods. Scholars believe that Viraja (modern Jajpur) was a sacred land of Buddha Padmaprabha and the cradle of Mahayana Buddhism. This is supported by the fact that Jajpur and its neighbourhood are seen to be rich in Mahayanic antiquities.

The widespread influence of Buddhism between the 1st and 7th century A.D on the religious and spiritual life of Odisha is evident from the literature, art, architecture, sculpture and philosophy of the

period. To this efflorescence of Mahayana Buddhism the contribution of Odisha can be judged from the flourishing Buddhist centres at Parimalagiri, Surabhogiri, Bhorasila, Tamralipti and Chelitalo. The great Madhyamika philosopher, Nagarjuna is supposed to have lived on the Harisankar-Nrusinghanath hill in Balangir district. Surabhogiri is identified as the Dhauli hill at Bhubaneswar where the philosopher Acharya Sarvagami had his Vihara for the teaching of Yogachara. The philosopher Dingnaga, the founder of Buddhistic logic, is believed to have lived at Bhorsaila, which is identified by some with Delang (Puri). The development of logic was taken to new height by Acharya Dharmakirti, who lived in the Ganjam district.

Buddhism flourished under the Bhauma rule (736 A.D to 910 A.D) in Odisha, when Odisha became a centre of Mahayan and Vajrayana Buddhism. Tantrayan Buddhism is generally divided into three schools: *Vajrayana*, *Kalachakrayana* and *Sahajayana*. Tantric Buddhism seems to have evolved from the Yogachara School. Acharya Pitopada (8th Century A.D.) achieved a great reputation as a scholar and a saint at Ratnagiri and promulgated Kalachakryana, a new vehicle of Buddhism. By the 7th century A.D., Tantric Buddhism made its appearance and in the 8th century, King Indrabhuti of Sambalpur purified Tantric Buddhism and introduced it as Vajrayana, which is supposed to have travelled to other parts of the country and Tibet. Vajrayana was changed to Sahajayana by Lashminkara, the princess of Sonapur and sister of Indrabhuti. It is believed that the great Buddhist saint Padmasambhava went to Tibet from Odisha to propagate Vajrayana Buddhism and founded a new religion named **Lama**.

6.1 (c) (i) Vajrayana:

Although the first tantric Buddhist texts appeared in India in the 3rd century AD and continued to appear until the 12th century A.D., scholars such as Hirakawa Akira assert that the Vajrayana probably came into existence in the 6th or 7th century A.D., as the term Vajrayana itself first appeared in the 8th century A.D. Vajrayana was preceded by Mantrayana, and was then followed by Sahajayana and Kalachakrayana.

The Vajrayana tradition holds that its teachings were first expounded by the Buddha sixteen years after his enlightenment. Historians have identified an early stage of Mantrayana, which began in the 4th century. According to *Pag sam jan Zang*, Tantric Buddhism first developed in Uddiyana, a country which was divided into two kingdoms, Sambala and Lankapuri. Sambala has been identified with Sambalpur and Lankapuri with Subarnapura (Sonapur). Indrabhuti, the king of Sambalpur, founded Vajrayana, while his sister, who was married to Prince Jalendra of Lankapuri (Sonapur), founded Sahajayana. In the opinion of Rahul Sankrityayan, Sarahapâda was the earliest Siddha or Siddhâcârya. According to him, Sarahapâda was a student of Haribhadra, who was, in turn, a disciple of Santarakhita, the noted Buddhist scholar and Principal of Nalanda University who traveled to Tibet with his sister Mandârâbâ and brother-in-law, Padmasambhava at the invitation of King **Khrison Ide-Stan of Tibet**. [Kar, Karunakar: *Ascharjya Charjyachaya, Odisha Sahitya Academy, 1969, P- 9.* and **Pasang Wandu and Hildegard Diemberger. *dBa' bzhed: The Royal Narrative concerning the bringing of the Buddha's Doctrine to Tibet (Vienna, 2000)***]. Vajrayana may have taken shape gradually in an environment with previously existing texts such as the *Mahasannipata* and the *Ratnaketudharani*. The earliest texts appeared around the early part of the 4th century.

Only from the 7th or the 8th century A.D., tantric techniques and approaches increasingly dominated Buddhist practices in India. These new Tantric cults introduced *mantras*, *mudras* and *mandalas* along with six tantric *abhicharas* (practices) such as *marana* (death), *stambhana*, *sammohana*, *vidvesan*, *uchchatana* and *Vajikarana*. These cults revived primitive beliefs and practices, a simpler and less formal approach to a personal god, a liberal and respectful attitude towards women, and rejection of the caste system.

6.1 (c) (ii) Sahajayana:

Vajrayana established the symbolic terminology and the liturgy that would characterize all forms of the tradition. Sahajayana developed in the 8th century in Odisha. It was dominated by long-haired, wandering siddhas who openly challenged and ridiculed the Buddhist establishment. Yoga in particular had a quickening influence on the various Sahajiya traditions. [Dasgupta, S. : *Obscure Religious Cults*. Firma KLM Private Limited: Calcutta, 1976] The culture of the body (*kâya-sâdhana*) through processes of Haṭha-yoga was of paramount importance in the Nâth cult and found in all *sahaja* schools. Whether conceived of as 'supreme bliss' (*mahâ-sukha*), as by the Buddhist Sahajiyâs, or as 'supreme love' (as with the VaisGava Sahajiyâs), strength of the body was deemed necessary to stand such a supreme realisation. [Dasgupta, S: *Obscure Religious Cults*. Firma KLM Private Limited: Calcutta, 1946, Last reprint 1976, pp. xxxviii.]

The *sahaja-siddhi* or the *siddhi* or natural accomplishment or the accomplishment of the unconditioned natural state was also a *sahaja-siddhi* revealed by Dombi Heruka (Skt. Dombi Heruka or Dombipa), one of the eighty-four Mahasiddhas. The following quotation identifies the relationship of the 'mental flux' (mindstream) to the *sahaja-siddhi*. Moreover, it must be remembered that though Sundararajan and Mukerji (2003: p. 502) use a masculine pronominal the term 'siddha' is not gender-specific and that there were females, many as senior *sadhakas*, amongst the *siddha* communities: "...The practitioner is now a *siddha*, a realized soul. He becomes invulnerable, beyond all dangers, when all forms melt away into the formless, when *surati* merges in *nirati*, *japa* is lost in *ajapâ*" (*Sâkhî*, "Parcâ ko Anga," d.23). The meeting of *surati* and *nirati* is one of the signs of *sahaja-siddhi*; *surati* is an act of will even when the practitioner struggles to disengage himself from worldly attachments. But when his worldliness is totally destroyed with the dissolution of the ego, there is *nirati*, cessation of mental flux, which implies cessation of all willed efforts. *Nirati* (*ni-rati*) is also cessation of attractions, since the object of attraction and the seeker are now one. In terms of *layayoga*, *nirati* is dissolution of the mind in "Sound," *nâda*." [Sundararajan, Mukerji, K. R. *Bithika Hindu Spirituality, Vol2*, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, (2003). p.502]

Sahaja is one of the four keywords of the Nath *sampradaya* (religious school) along with *Svecchachara*, *Sama*, and *Samarasa*. *Sahaja* meditation and worship was prevalent in Tantric traditions common to Hinduism and Buddhism in Odisha as early as the 8th –9th centuries. The Nath teacher, Mahendranath wrote: "Man is born with an instinct for naturalness. He has never forgotten the days of his primordial perfection, except in so much as memory became buried under the artificial superstructure of civilization and its artificial concepts. *Sahaja* means natural... The tree grows according to *Sahaja*, natural and spontaneous in complete conformity with the Natural Law of the Universe. Nobody tells it what to do or how to grow. It has no *swadharmâ* or rules, duties and obligations incurred by birth. It has only *svabhava* - its own inborn self or essence - to guide it. *Sahaja* is that nature which, when established in oneself, brings the state of absolute freedom and peace."

6.1 (c) (iii) Kalachakrayana:

The Kalachakrayana developed in the 10th century A.D. It is farthest removed from the earlier Buddhist traditions, and incorporates concepts of messianism and astrology not present elsewhere in Buddhist literature. Many celebrated Vajrayana Acharyas like Saraha, Hâdipâ, Dombi, Heruka, Tantipa (Tantripâda) and Luipâda came from the so-called despised classes.

In the 9th or 10th century A.D. seven famous Tantric maidens appeared in the Patna (Patnagarh of Bolangir) region, which was then called Kuânri-Pâtanâ. These maidens are popularly known as Sâta Bhauni (seven sisters), namely, Gyânadei Mâluni, Luhâkuti, Lahuruni, Nitei Dhobani, Sukuti Chamâruni, Patrapindhi Sabaruni, Gângi Gauduni and suâ Teluni. They hailed from castes which were considered the lower castes of society, and were followers of Lakshminkara. Because of their miraculous powers and feats, they were later deified and worshipped by the locals.

6.1 (c) (iv) Yogini Culture:

Although Yogini cults were not unique to Odisha, two out of four surviving Yogini temples are to be found in Odisha : One in Hirapur near Bhubaneswar, the capital city of Odisha and the other in Ranipur-Jharial of Bolangir District.

The Hirapur temple is ascribed to the Bhauma and Somavansi rulers of Odisha (mid 8th - mid 10th A.D) who were known for their eclectic liberalism and noted for their patronage of philosophy, art, architecture and literature.

JAGANNATH CULTURE

6.1 (d) The principle of Sarva Dharma Samanvaya

Odisha is the land of Jagannâth culture. According to old tradition, Sanskrit *Brahma Purâna* and *Skandha Purâna* as well as in the Odia *Mahâbhârata* written by Sâralâ Dâs and *Dârubrahma Gitâ* by Jagannâth Dâs, a *Savara* leader named Biswâbasu worshipped the image of Nîlamâdhava at a secret place called Nîlakandara on the eastern seashore. Jagannâth is a wooden deity. He is the Dakhinakâlî for the Saktas and Bhairava for the Saivites. He is Mahâgaṇapati for the Gânapatyas and at the same time, he is the Sûryanârâyan for the Sauras. His festivals are of a Purânic origin and the rituals are an admixture of tribal rituals and Sâkta's *nyasa* and mudras and many more. The majority of his rituals are based on *Uddiyan tantras* which are the refined versions of Mahayan tantras as well as *Shabari tantras*, which have evolved from Tantrik Buddhism and tribal beliefs respectively. Of his *mantras* the incantation *Oum* is Vedic and *Hlim, Slim, Klim* are Tantrik. His *kaivalya (mahâprasâd)* is of Jaina origin and *nirmâlâya* is of Saivite origin.

Jainism–Jagannath: Pandit Nilakantha Das argued that the *Jeena* image is actually that of Sri Jagannath. According to him, the word Jagannath is derived from *Jeenanath*. He also wrote that “Jagannath is primarily a Jaina institution”. He argued that the *mahâprasâd* of Jagannath is *kaivalya* and this is a derivative of the *kaivalya* or the concept of salvation of the Jainas. It is also said that the *tri-ratna* of Jainism, namely right faith, right knowledge and right action, are symbolically represented in the trinity of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra. A noted historian, Kedar Nath Mahapatra also supported this view. The Jains believed in image worship. They are believed to place the images of the Tirthankars on a chariot and take them out in a procession. [Barik P. M.: *Jainism and Buddhism in Jagannath Culture, Orissa Review, July – 2005, P-36*].

The historical-cum-archaeological evidence that is available from different parts of the state, e.g. Anandpur (Keonjhar), Chhatia, Ratnagiri, Lalitgiri, Choudwar, Athgarh, Tigiria, Badamba, Banki and Jajpur (Cuttack), Khiching and its environs (Mayurbhanj), Kupari and Charampa (Balasore), Ghumusar (Ganjam) and Nawrangpur, shows that Jainism had a wide influence.

Jagannath is the lord of the universe, omnipotent and omnipresent. The sacred place, Puri of Odisha is prominent as Purusottam Kshetra. Hindus regard it as one of the four holiest centers of pilgrimage from ancient times. Puri was thus recognized as one of the most sacred places. It is also known as Shreekshetra, Niladri, Sankha kshetra and Martya-vaikuntha.

Legend has it that Jagannath was originally the God of the Savaras. Primitive races like the Savaras, Nishads and the Kiratas used to worship trees as their deities from pre- historic ages. In later times, the Dravidians and the Aryans also included tree worship in their religion. Subsequently, tree worship was transformed into the wor-ship of wooden images. Since the original name of the Savara deity was

Nīlamādhava, the name of his new place came to be known as Nīlachaḷa. It is said that wooden images of Jagannath, Balabhadra, Subhadra and Sudarshan represent the primitive art of the Savaras. Sarala Das describes Jagannath as 'Savarī Nārāyana' in his *Mahābhārata* written in the 15th Century.

When the medieval Bhakti Movement was at its height, devotion to Krishna became the central theme of Bhakti. On account of this, Jagannath was seen as Lord Krishna and the following story was narrated: Sri Krishna gave up his body after being struck by an arrow of Jara savara, and Pandavas cremated his body. But one part of it was not consumed by fire and floated in the sea in the form of a log. Coming to know of this in a dream, king Indradyumna got the images of jagannath, Balabhadra, Subhadra and Sudarsan carved from that divine log. To the vaishnavites, it is Srikrishna who has appeared in the form of Jagannath in the Kaliyug.

In order to justify the presence of Balabhadra and Subhadra by the side of Jagannath it was said that Jagannath is Vasudev-Krishna, and, therefore, Krishna's brother Balarama and, sister Subhadra have been placed alongside Jagannath. Vaishnavas identify Sudarshan with Krishna's Sudarshan Chakra.

Buddhism–Jagannath: Some Scholars, like Prof. Wilson, James Fergusson and Gen. Cunningham have referred to the Buddhist origin of Jagannath. Cunningham argues that the figures of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra are the three devotional representations of the Buddhist symbol of Triratna: Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. Sudarshan is also described as a symbol of Buddha's Dharma-Chakra. The 'brahma' that is placed at the navel of Jagannath is nothing but the Buddhist tooth relic that was brought from Kusinagar to Kalinga. Buddhists believe in worship of physical relics after death. The annual bathing ceremony (*Snana Jatra*) and the car festival (*Ratha Jatra*) are Buddhist practices. The *Ratha Jatra* (or the Chariot Festival) of Jagannath resembles the procession of the Buddhist image, which has been referred to by Fa- Hian. During the *Ratha Jatra* and other festivities, caste distinctions are ignored. The Jagannath cult emphasized the brotherhood of all men. Purusottam Kshetra is a sacred place, where the *mahaprasad* or offering to Jagannath is eaten off the same plate by *brahmans* and *sudras*. This unique phenomenon is ascribed to the influence of Buddhism, a universal religion, which Jagannath stands for.

The term Jagannath was applied to Adi Buddha by Raja Indrabhuti of Sambal (now Sambalpur) in his work "Jñān Siddhi". Adi Buddha is even now called Jagannath in Nepalese Buddhism. The assimilation of Buddhism into Brahminical Hinduism took place after the Buddha was accepted as the 9th Hindu *Avatara* (Incarnation of Lord Vishnu) as shown on the panel of ten incarnations (*Dasavatara*) inside the Jagannath temple at Puri. After the decline of Buddhism, Jagannath might have become the New Buddha.

It is also said that forest-dwellers of Odisha like the Savaras adopted Buddhism during Asoka's reign. By 1st century B.C., when image worship became common among the Buddhists, the Savaras came to regard the image of Jagannath as the image of the Buddha. In course of time, the Hindus also regarded Buddha as an incarnation or *avatar* of Vishnu and identified Buddha as Jagannath. **(Barik, Pabitra Mohan: Jainism and Buddhism in Jagannath Culture, Orissa Review, July – 2005, P-37).**

The gap between the human and the divine has been bridged in Jagannath culture because Jagannath is a highly humanised deity. He brushes his teeth, takes bath, changes his clothes, wears robes and gold ornaments studded with diamonds, and sapphires to suit festive occasions and seasons, enjoys 56 varieties of food (*mahāprasād*), and 36 categories of servitors serve him according to their "khatani routine". Jagannath culture does not admit of any distinctions based on caste. Jagannath culture aims at liberating the poor and the down-trodden, for which he is called Patitapaban and for which he rides a rath and gives darshan to his devoties. **[Mohanty, Rajendra Kumar: Influence of Jagannath Culture on People of Orissa, Orissa Review, December – 2005, P-32].**

6.2 Variant Philosophical Traditions :

Buddhism, Jainism and Jagannath culture played an important role in the cultural and philosophical development of Odia civilization. Most Buddhist and Jain texts were written in Pali-Prakrit and the *Prakrita Sarvasva*, a celebrated Prakrit grammar was authored by Markandeya, an Odia.

But even as the Mathara King of 4th-6th century A.D., Sailodbhaba king of 6th-7th century A.D., Bhauma kings of the 7th-8th century A.D. and Somavamsis kings of the 8th-11th century A.D. issued edicts in Sanskrit, they patronized numerous Saiva, Sakta, Vaishnava and Buddhist institutions and the art, architecture and poetry of the period reflected the popularity of Buddhism in the region. In addition, the majority of Odisha's *adivasis* continued to practice some form of animism and totem-worship. Unifying all these different traditions was the Shiva-Shakti cult, which evolved from an amalgamation of Shaivism (worship of Shiva), Shaktism (worship of the Mother Goddess) and the Vajrayana, or Tantric form of **Mahayana Buddhism**.

What made possible this fusion was that, apart from the formal distinctions that separated these different religious and philosophical trends, in practical matters there was a growing similiarity between them. Whereas early Buddhism and the Nyâya School within Hinduism had laid considerable stress on rationalism and scientific investigation of nature, later, both Buddhism and the Shaivite schools emphasized philosophical variants of concepts first developed in the *Upanishads*, along with mysticism and devotion. Tantrism had also developed along a dual track - on the one hand it laid emphasis on gaining practical knowledge and a clear understanding of nature - on the other, it, too, came to be steeped in mysticism and magic.

At the same time, the Buddhist ethos had created an environment where compromise was preferred to confrontation. This allowed tribal deities and gods and goddesses associated with numerous fertility cults to be integrated into the Hindu pantheon. Tantric constructs also met with some degree of approval. Since Tantrism emphasized the erotic as a means to spiritual salvation, the culture of austerity and sexual abstinence that had pervaded early Buddhism was replaced with an unapologetic embrace of all that was erotic.

The most influential body of works of the medieval period was that produced by the Panchasakhâs, which had an important role in the cultural, literal and philosophical development of Odia civilization. They were a great influence on the Odia people as a day-to-day philosophical guide as well as a lasting one on Odia culture. The Panchasakhâs were significant not only because of their poetry but because of the rich spiritual legacy they left behind. In the holy land of Kalinga (Odisha) many saints, mystics, and devotional souls have been born throughout history, enriching the culture and its spiritualism. The area has temples dedicated to Shakti (the supreme female power), to Shiva (the supreme male power), and to Jagannâth Vishnu (Lord of the Universe). Most of the important spiritual rituals have been extensively practised here by several seers - including the Buddhist ceremonies, Devi "Tantra" (tantric rituals involving worship of Shakti), Shaiva Marg (the path followed by devotees of Shiva), and Vaishnava Marg (the path followed by devotees of Vishnu). They were spiritually significant in that they allowed the common man access to spirituality. The Panchasakhâ converted ancient Hindu texts into simple poetry that the people of Udra Desha (Odisha) could easily understand. The following lines give us an idea of the distinctive nature of the achievement of the Panchasakhas:

Odia: Agamyâ bhâba jâṇe Yasovanta
Gâra kamâ Yantra jâṇe Ananta
Âgata Nâgata Achyuta bhâṇe
Balarâma Dâsa tattwa bakhâṇe
Bhaktira bhâba jâṇe Jagannâtha
Panchasakhâ e mora pancha mahanta.

English: Yasovanta knows the things beyond others' reach
 Yantras using lines and figures are known to Ananta
 Achyuta speaks of the past, the present and the future
 Balarâma Dasa is eloquent on tatwa (the ultimate meaning of anything)
 Ultimate feelings of devotion are known to Jagannâtha
 These five friends are my five *mahantas*.

Mahâpurusha Achyutânanda established spiritual centers called "gâdis" throughout east India (in the former states of Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Magadha) and Nepal. Gâdis such as Nemâl, Kâkatpur, Gâroi, and Jobrâ Ghat were places dedicated to discourses, penance, and the provision of services to devotees. Another seer, Arakhsita Dâs, who was not part of the Panchasakhâs but was a revered saint, made Olâsuni near Pârâdip his abode. The Panchasakhâ and Arakhsita Dâs together are known as the sada Goswâmi (Six apostles).

Unlike some other parts of India, Odia society had not yet been deeply differentiated by caste, and egalitarian values remain engrained in the minds of the peasant masses. Hence, any ideology that championed a hierarchical division of society would have been unacceptable. The Shiva-Shakti cult was a compromise in that, while it did not exclude social inequality, it did not preclude social mobility. In fact, the cult became popular precisely because it articulated the possibility of upward mobility through the acquisition of knowledge, skill or energetic personal effort.

6.3 Artistic Tradition

Over 5775 rock paintings having been discovered in Odisha in pre- historic sites such as Kaliakata of Angul, Kuchai and Kuliana of Mayurbhanj, Vikramkhol near Jharsuguda, Gudahandi of Kalahandi, Yogimath of Nuapada, Ushakothi of Sambalpur, Similikhol near Bargarh and have stirred the imagination of scientists about the pre-historic man and his way of life. A wounded deer looking at a hunter has been movingly and vividly portrayed is one of these pictures.

The continuity of this artistic style is to be seen through Buddhist and Jain architecture. The elephant head of Dhauli, the various images in Khandagiri and Udayagiri are notable examples. The Dhauli hill rock-cut elephant above the Edicts is the earliest Buddhist sculpture of Odisha. The stone elephant shows the animal's foreparts only, though it displays a fine sense of form and movement. It has another significance: the elephant probably represented the Buddha to the devotees.

6.3 (a) Kalinga Architectural Style:

Odisha is a land of temples. The concentration of the largest number of temples all over the state has made it a centre of unique attraction for scholars, pilgrims, tourists and others. Out of the five different types of architecture - devotional, memorial, civil, military and domestic- we mainly come across the devotional type of architecture in Odisha while others have disappeared with the passage of time.

The temple architecture in Odisha had its humble beginning in the Mauryan period i.e. 3rd century B.C. as is evident from the archaeological excavations carried out at Dhauligiri of Bhubaneswar. Hathigumpha inscription (line-17) of the 1st century B.C describes Kharavela as the "repairer of all shrines of Gods" (*sava-devayatana-sankara-karako*). A study of the art of the Khandagiri-Udayagiri caves (*gumphas*) reveals the use of West Asian decorative elements. They are: honeysuckle, acanthus, stepped merlons, winged animals etc. Some of the pilasters facing the doorways of the Ananta-gumpha have *ghata* bases, ornamented in the Hellenistic fashion. A *Yavana* (Graeco- Roman) guard is shown on the left pilaster of the cave in the upper-storey of the Ranigumpha. The kilted foreigner is in boots and wears a fillet on the forehead, while a sheathed sword hangs from the left side. [Mitra, Debala *Udayagiri and Khandagiri*, New Delhi, 1992, p.30].

A stone inscription found in the village of Asanpat in Keonjhar district records the construction of a temple by Maharaja Satrubhanja, who is supposed to have ruled in the 3rd century A.D.

The Dhauli hill, otherwise known as Surabha hill, consists of three very short rocky ranges of hills running parallel to each other. The three ranges of the hill with several depressions and prominences contain a number of rock-cut monuments. On the north face of the southern range, the rock, which is called Asvathama, has been hewn and polished encompassing a space of 15 feet long and 10 feet high, where the famous rock edicts of Ashoka have been inscribed. Immediately above the inscription is a terrace, on the right side of which is the forepart of an elephant, about 4 feet high, hewn out of solid rock. The elephant is as old as the inscription and is recognized as the earliest figure of sculpture in Odisha. Originally designed as an emblem of Gautam Buddha the elephant has become an object of popular worship. It is said that the elephant has evidently given the hillock its name Asvathama, meaning the famous elephant of the *Mahâbhârata*. According to R.P. Mohapatra [**Mohapatra, R.P.: *Archaeology in Orissa (Sites and Monuments) Vol. I, Delhi (B.R. Publishing Corporation), 1986, p.99.***] “The elephant figure at Dhauli is a remarkable piece of art and although the anatomical treatment of its limbs is not so pronounced, its workmanship is not inferior to that of any other Ashokan animal figure... It breathes a completely indigenous and, at the same time, an unconventional spirit of creative art”. According to R.Thaper [**Thaper, R.: *Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas, New Delhi (OUP), 2002 (Sixth Impression), p.268.***] “it was probably carved by local craftsmen and not by the special craftsmen who were responsible for the animal capitals. The image of the elephant emerging from the rock is a most impressive one, and its purpose was probably to draw attention to the inscription nearby”.

The most prominent hill range of Dhauli contains the renovated Dhavalesvar temple on its eastern extremity. The present temple was built on the ruins of the earlier temple datable approximately to the Bhaumakara period. J.D. Beglar [**Mohapatra, R.P. op.cit, p.100.**], who furnishes a graphic description of the ruins of the Dhavaleswar temple, assign its construction to 5th century A.D. But taking architectural features, sculptural art and iconography of cult icons, into account the temple can safely be placed in the Bhaumakara period. [**Mohapatra, R.P.: op.cit, p.101**] K.C.Panigrahi [**Panigrahi, K.C.: *History of Odisha (Hindu Period), Cuttack (Kitab Mahal), 1995, p.454.***] on the basis of the surviving evidence on the body of the temple that ‘it was a contemporary of the Lingaraja and Brahmesvara group’.

The latest archaeological excavation of the Radhanagar fort lying on a hillock, Kayama of Jajpur, brought to notice a monolithic elephant is located (only one in the entire sub-continent), the second being at Jaugada (at a place called Gudiali, in between Kavisuryanagar and Purushottampur in Ganjam district) in a kneeling posture, locally known as ‘Hati Pathara’. The third elephant is located at Dhauli (half hewn). One comes across the fourth in Kalsi, near Dehradun in Uttarakhand, in the form of a graffito. Keeping in view the depiction of the elephant, the one located at Kayama may be considered the earliest depiction of Lord Buddha in anthropomorphic form.

Temples as free - standing structures came to Odisha after the Gupta period through Dakshina Kosala. This style continued uninterrupted for nearly one thousand years from the 6th century A.D. to 16th century A.D. Bhubaneswar, the ancient Ekamra Khetra, served as the experimental ground for these temple -building activities. The temple style was in full vigour in the wake of the vast religious and cultural resurgence that took place when the Sailodbhavas ruled from the middle of 6th century A.D till the first quarter of 8th century A.D. The temple - building activities gained momentum under the Bhaumakaras (736- 950 A.D) and the Somavamsis (950-1112 A.D) and reached a climax during the Ganga period (1112-1435 A.D) .The activities, however, continued even under the Suryavamsi-Gajapatis (1435-1542 A.D). The Gangas and Suryavamsis inspired the Odishan architects to continue to create their own style of architectural temple representations without any Islamic or Persian influence. To a keen observer, the temples of Orissa portray a picture of organic evolution from Parasuramesvara to Lingaraja through Muktesvara and Vaital, which ultimately culminated in Puri and Konark.

India's temple architecture is developed from the creativity of *sthapathis* and *shilpis*, both of whom belong to the larger community of craftsmen and artisans called *vishwakarma*. A small Hindu temple consists of an inner sanctum, the *garbha gruha* or womb-chamber, in which the image or the deity is housed, a congregation hall, and sometimes an antechamber and porch. The *garbhagruha* is crowned by a tower-like *shikhara*. At the turn of the first millennium CE two major types of temples existed: the northern or Nagara style and the southern or Dravida style. They are distinguishable by the shape and decoration of their *shikhara* [Dehejia, V. : *Indian Art*. Phaidon: London. (1997). ISBN 0-7148-3496-3]. The Odishan temple architecture is unique and is called the *Kalingan* style of temple architecture. It displays certain special features. Indigenous canonical texts like *Bhuban Pradipa*, *Silpapothi*, *Silpasastra*, *Vastusastra Upanisad*, *Silparatnakara*, *Silpasarini*, *Silpa Prakash*, *Padma Kesara*, *Deula Mapagunagara*, *Bhuban Prabesh*, *Soudhikagama* etc. indicate the standard achieved by our ancestors in the field of temple architecture.

The Odishan temple is remarkable for its plan and elevation. As a rule, the interior ground plan of the temple is square. Rarely, however, the temple has a star-shaped layout (as noticed at Boudh) or a circular plan (Ranipur-Jharial and Hirapur) to conform to the requirements of rituals. Generally speaking, the Odishan temples are distinguished by vertical offset projections called *rathas* or *pagas*. Depending on the number of *pagas*, the temples are classified into *triratha*, *pancharatha*, *saptaratha* and *navaratha*. The earlier temples are characterized by a *triratha* plan.

The design which flourished in the present eastern Indian state of Odisha and northern Andhra Pradesh is called the Kalinga style of architecture. The style consists of three distinct types of temples, namely *rekha deula*, *pidha deula* and *khakhara deula*. *Deula* means "Temple" in the local language. The former two are associated with Vishnu, Surya and Shiva temples while the third is mainly associated with Chamunda Durga temples. The *rekha deula* and *khakhara deula* house the sanctum while the *pidha deula* includes outer dancing and offering halls.

The prominent examples of *rekha deula* are the Lingaraj Temple at Bhubaneswar and the Jagannath Temple at Puri. One of the prominent examples of *khakhara deula* is Voital Deula. The Konark Sun Temple is a living example of *pidha deula*.

The *khakhara deula* embodying an altogether different style of architecture appearing similar to the Dravidian *gopuram design*. The word is derived from *kakharu* (pumpkin, gourd) as the crown looks like a barrel-vaulted elongated roof. The sakta temples are generally of the *khakhara* order. The Varahi temple of Chaurasi in Puri district and the Gouri temple at Bhubaneswar are two famous examples of *khakhara* temple. Other saivite and vaisnavite temples in Odisha represent both *rekha* and *pidha* types. In the formative period of Odishan temple architecture there were only two structures.

The first is original sanctum or *vimana* or *bada deula*. The second is *jagamohana* or *mukhasala*. These designs are governed by specifications laid down in the *Silpasastra*. The vertical projections called *pagas* are designed as miniature shrines with niches which contain different sculptures to beautify the temple. The canons of architecture classifies soil, stone and temples and contains details of designs and placement of icons, decorative motifs, *parsvadevatas*, *digpatis*, *astasakhis*, *naga and nagini*, *sardula*, *ulta-gaja-virala singha*, *navagraha*, *vetal*, *Kirtimukha*, types of scroll like *Phulalata*, *Natilata*, *Patralata*, *Vanalata*, elephant, horse, bull, *Makara* and other animals. After the 13th century there was a perceptible decline in the artistic merit of the decorative programmes of Odishan temple architecture.

The evolution of temple architecture in Odisha is towards the greater elaboration of the plan and pronounced ornamentation over the outside of the walls. Early temples of modest size and somewhat smaller *shikharas* such as the Parasurameswara temple at Bhubaneswar datable to the middle of the 7th century, with a squat and heavy *shikhara* over the sanctum sanctorum and a low flat-roofed *mandapa*, embellished with a relief of dancers and musicians of great charm, gradually matures into an elaborate structure of towering height, embellished with sculptural decorations.

Vaitala Deul which is known for its sculptural grace and exuberance of decoration, with a rectangular sanctum with wagon-vault roof similar to that of the Parasurameswara temple, and is datable on the basis of its decorative motifs and designs, which are mature, expressive and dynamic, to the close of the 8th century. Mukateswara temple is regarded as a gem of Odishan architecture.

The Brahmesvara temple is a panchayatana temple securely dated by an inscription to about 1060 A.D. This is a temple in which the central shrine is surrounded by four small shrines in the four corners of the compound. Though a very beautiful shrine, the spire or *shikhara* appears to be curving rather abruptly under the *amlaka*, unlike the spire of the Rajarani which is perfect and admirable for its style and decoration. The *Jagamohana* has a rather top-heavy pyramidal roof, unlike the Rajarani temple which is of modest height and much simpler.

The Lingaraja temple, datable to about 1000 A.D., is perhaps the most marvellous temple ever erected in this century, the grandest and the loftiest (above 36.50 m. high) marking the culmination of the architectural activities at Bhubaneswar. This temple consists of the sanctum sanctorum, a closed hall, a dancing hall and a hall of offerings, the last two being later additions. The Lingaraja temple is surrounded by a large number of additional shrines. The enormous height of the spire, 5 times the height of the Rajarani temple, dominates the entire surroundings by its soaring loftiness and volume, emphasised by the deeply incised vertical lines of the *rathas*, a pair of which flanking the central *ratha*, carry four diminishing replicas of the spire itself as a decorative pattern. The *jagamohana* and the spire match each other splendidly and both express the greatness of the Lord. The nine lower roofs and seven upper roofs of the *jagamohana* are exquisitely adorned with friezes representing a procession of infantry, cavalry, elephants and miscellaneous other scenes that break the monotony of the rising pyramid and a great *shikhara* surface too is elegantly varied by the introduction of corner miniature *shikharas* and flying lions. The elegant and lovely female figures, loving couples in embrace, and other gods and goddesses decorating the surface are all carved with sensuous charm, beauty and delight in fine form. The mature planning of the whole structure, the proportionate distribution of its part, the graceful curve of its *shikhara* and its elegant architectural and plastic decoration, together with its impressive dimensions make the Lingaraja, at Bhubaneswar, one of the greatest creations of Indian architecture.

It may be mentioned here that in the later temples of Odisha, including the Lingaraja, there are two additional shrines attached along one axis - in front of the *jagamohana*, a *natamandapa*, or a hall of dance and music, and a *bhogmandapa*, a hall of offerings. As a matter of fact, the temple was a total work of art in which we have not only sculptures and painting, but music, dancing and theatrical performances, making it a true civic centre for artistic and cultural activities, somewhat like the modern community halls, which are places for social and cultural gatherings.

Among the later shrines of Bhubaneswar the Ananta Vasudeva temple, founded in 1278, is remarkable in more ways than one. It is the only temple dedicated to Vishnu worship at this predominantly Shaiva site and stands on an ornate platform terrace. It echoes with the developed plan and decorative scheme of Lingaraja, but the grouping of the roofs over the four compartments in a gradual ascent is more spectacular here. Further, the walls of the sanctum and the *jagamohana* display images of the Regents as well as those of their consorts.

The last great temple, the grandest achievement of the artistic and architectural genius of Odisha, is the Sun temple at Konark, which was constructed by the eastern Ganga ruler Narasimha Varmana, about 1250 A.D. It is a vast and wonderful structure, magnificently conceived as a gigantic chariot with 12 pairs of ornamental wheels, pulled by seven rearing horses. The colossal temple originally consisted of a sanctum sanctorum, with a lofty curvilinear *shikhara*, a *jagamohana* and a dancing hall, built on the same axis, and an extensive compound wall with three entrance gateways. The sanctum sanctorum and the dancing hall have lost their roofs and it is only the *jagamohana* which has remained intact with its roof. The sanctum sanctorum and the *jagamohana* together stand on a lofty platform, richly

ornamented by friezes of elephants, decorative ornaments interspersed with sculptures, often of a highly sensuous character. Over the stupendous roof of the jagamohana consisting of horizontal tiers, grouped in three stages, stand life-size female sculptures of great charm, dancers, cymbal players and others adorning each stage. The whole structure of the *jagamohana* unparalleled for its grandeur and structural propriety is surmounted by an effective contrast of light and shade.

6.3 (b) Structural art:

Other cultural attractions include the Jagannatha Temple in Puri, known for its annual Rath Yatra or Car Festival, the unique and beautiful applique artwork of Pipili, silver filigree ornamental works from Cuttack, the *patta* chitras (palm leaf paintings), famous stone utensils of Nilgiri (Balasore) 'Sambalpuri textiles' are famous for their exquisite designs. The different colors and varieties of *sarees* in Odisha make them very popular among the women of the state and the country. The tie-and-dye technique used by the weavers of Odisha to create motifs on these sarees is unique to this region.

6.4 Music

Odissi music is more than 3500 years old and comprises a number of categories. Of these, the five broad ones are: tribal music, folk music, light music, light-classical music and classical music. Anyone trying to understand the culture of Odisha must take into account its music, which forms an important part of its legacy.

6.4 (a) Odissi music:

Odissi Music has three traditions: Austric (Munda & Shabara origin), Dravidian and Aryan. The Austric tradition was the *Akshara Vritta*. The *Mâtrâ Vrittra* was an Aryan innovation. The *Akshara Vritta* continued through the *Dandi Vritta* of Sarala Das (15th century A.D.) and Balaram Das (16th century A.D.). Dinakrushna Das of the 16th Century writes – “***Akshara ganiba hâtare, Tebe se lekhiba patare***” (Count the letters by hand and then write on (palm) leaves). The *Akshara Vritta* was sung with elongation and shortening of vowels and breaking of conjunct consonants. The mixture of Dravidian and Aryan traditions resulted in the development of *râga*, *chhanda*, *vrutta* and *tâlâ*. The Odia *tâlâs* are more complex than Aryan or Dravidian *talas*. There are *râgas* like *hamsa dhruvi* which is both Aryan and Dravidian. Among the pure Odissi *râgas*, *pancham barâḍi*, *chokhi*, *Kalyânâ âhârî*, *kedâr*, *kedâr gouda*, *pâhâḍiâ kedara*, *kâmodi*, *chinta bhairaba*, *râja hamsa*, can be mentioned. According to ancient musicologists such as Siva, Kallinath, Bharat and Hanumanta etc. in the 6 *ragas*, and 36 *Raginis* of the Indian tradition the largest number of 24 *râgas* and *râginîs* of the Odishan tradition are included. Odissi music is intimately connected with dance and stagecraft. **The stage constructed in front of the Khandagiri caves is the earliest example of stage in India.** The dancing image found in Khandagiri, Udayagiri caves continued in Buddhist structures and temples. The Hatigumpha Inscription of 1st Century B.C. credits Kharavela with encouragement of dance, music and theatre. Temple at Puri, Bhubaneswar and Konark, and elsewhere dancing, singing and drumming ladies. In the Sovaneswar, Brahmeswar and the Madhukeswar temples of Bhubaneswar there are inscriptions which reveal that dance and music were introduced in the temples as part of daily rituals. In the Puri temple, the singing of the *Gîta Govinda*, as part of their daily rituals is a continuation of the same tradition.

Varities of songs :

Odissi music is composed following the styles of verses (*pada-rīti*) of four classes of songs such as, '*chitrakalā*', '*dhrubapada*', '*chitrapada*' and '*pānchālī*':

- **Chitrakalā:** The significance of raga and tala is more prominent than the structure of the verses in chitrakala. Kavisurya Baladeva Rath, the renowned Odia poet, wrote lyrics which are the best examples of chitrakala. There are different ways of rendering lyrics and they are named differently. Repetition of the first line is called *dhruva* or *ghosha*. Odissi chaupadi comes under chitrakala.
- **Dhrubapada:** The *dhruva* or *ghosha* that means the first line or lines of the song are to be recited repeatedly and the song starts with *dhruva dhatu* (section).
- **Chitrapada:** Chitrapada means the arrangement of words in an alliterative style in which the significance of *pada* (verses in Odia language) is earmarked.
- **Panchali:** Panchali means multi-lined lyric ('*Bahupadayukta Gita*'). It is divided into two types - '*adhruva*' and '*sadhruva*'. In '*sadhruva panchali*' there is a *ghosha* (The first line or lines are cited repeatedly). '*Chautisha*' belongs to the category of *adhruva panchali*.

Odissi music has another unique characteristic called **chhanda**. *Chhanda* (metrical section) combined *bhava* (emotion), *kala* (time measure), and *swara* (tune). **Odissi music** has its own *chhandas*, *ragas* and *talas* different from Hindustani and Karnatic music. Its *talas* are both *dhira* (slow beat) and *druta* (fast beat). A special feature of Odissi music is the *padi* which consists of words to be sung in *druta* (fast) tempo with rhythmic variations. Odissi music can be sung to different *talas*: *ektala*, *tri tala*, *panchatala*, *saptatala*, *navatala* but their rendering and rhythmic structures or compositions are different from those of Hindustani and Karnatic music. The *chautisha* represents the originality of Odissi style. All the thirty-four letters of the Odia alphabet from '*ka*' to '*ksha*' are used sequentially at the beginning of each line.

Sanskrit and Prakrit classical texts were used to guide Odiā music, which began to be written around the 4th century A.D. Among the more important ones are *Sangitarnava Chandrika*, *Gita Prakasha*, *Sangita Kalalata*, *Natya Manorama*, *Sangita Sarani* and *Sangita Narayana*. These are written on or before the 18th century A.D.

The evolution of **Odissi music** owes a lot to Jayadev and his composition the *Geeta Govinda*. The songs of *Geeta Gobinda* were written with an object to be sung. As such they were musical to start with. In addition, he indicated the classical *rāgas* prevailing at the time in which these were to be sung. Prior to this, there was the tradition of *chhandas* which were simple in musical outline. Ingredients of classical music like *rāga*, *tala*, *geeta*, *chhandas* etc of *Sri Geeta Govinda* were introduced in the rituals of the temple of the Lord Jagannath and accepted as the temple **music of Odisha**. This, over a period of time, led to the culmination of Odissi music that we know today.

Folk dance, drama and songs like *jhumar*, *yogi gita*, *kendarā gita*, *dhuduki vādya*, *prahallād nātak*, *pāllā*, *sankirtan*, *mogal tāmasā*, *giti nātya*, *kandhei nācha*, *kelā nācha*, *ghodā nācha* and *danda nācha* are popular in Odisha. Almost every tribal group has their own distinct songs and dance styles.

6.5 DANCE FORMS

6.5 (a) Folk :

6.5 (a1) Gotipua dance is another important dance form in Odisha. In colloquial Odia *gotipua* means single boy. The dance performance by a single boy is known as *gotipua* dance. It is not known when exactly this dance form came into being. Some historians opine that this dance tradition appears to have originated during the reign of Prataprudradev (1497 A.D to 1540 A.D) and gained popularity during Muslim rule that followed.

6.5 (a2) Mâhâri dance is one of the important dance-forms of Odisha and originated in the temples of Odisha. History provides evidence of the *devadasi* cult in Odisha. Devadasis were dancing girls who were dedicated to the temples of Odisha. The *devadasis* in Odisha were known as *maharis* and the dance performed by them came to be known as *mahari* dance. During the reign of Chodagangadeva, *maharis* were employed in the temples of Puri. After Chodagangadeva's death, Anangabhimadeva built a *natyamandapa* in the Jagannath temple for dance recitals inside the temple. Moreover, in those days, *mâhari* dancers belonged to different categories, namely, the '*nâchunis*' (dancers), the *bahara gâuni*, the *bhitara gâuni* and *gaudasanis*. In Odisha, one can also come across another type of *mâhari* dancers, who are known as *sampradâ niyoga*. The duty of the *sampradâ niyoga* is to dance during the ceremonial procession of the deities. These dancers perform during the Ratha Yatra, Jhulana Yatra, Dola Yatra, etc.

The *mâhari* dancers of Odisha are supposed to place themselves under certain restrictions:

- They should dance during ceremonies connected to Lord Jagannath.
- They should adhere to the specifications prescribed by the *sastras*.
- They must always wear clean clothes.
- They should not be physically handicapped.
- During a performance, the dancers are not supposed to look at the audience.
- The *maharis* are married to the Lord at the age of nine.
- Before their performances, the *mahari* dancers pay obeisance to the Lord.

6.5 (a3) Chhau dance is a form of tribal martial dance having its origin in Mayurbhanj princely state of Odisha. One comes across this dance-form in the Indian states of West Bengal, Jharkhand and Odisha. There are three sub-types of the dance: Sareikella Chau was developed in Sareikella, the administrative head of the Seraikela-Kharsawan district of Jharkhand, Purulia Chau in Purulia district of West Bengal and Mayurbhanj Chau in Mayurbhanj district of Odisha.

6.5 (a4) Ghumurâ Dance (or Ghumra Dance) is one of the leading folk dance-forms in Odisha. It is classified as a folk dance as the dress code of Ghumura resembles that of a tribal dance, but recent researchers argue that the *mudras* present in Ghumura bear greater resemblance to those of other classical dance forms of India. Many researchers claim it was a form of war dance in ancient India and used by Ravana in the *Râmâyana*. Ghumura dance is depicted in the Konark Sun Temple indicating the existence of the dance form in the medieval period. In the Madhya Parba of *Sarala Mahâbhârata* ghumura has been described as follows: "***Dhola mādala gadi je ghumurâ bājai ghumurâ je ghumu ghumu hoi garajai***". In *Chandi Purana* one comes across the following description: "***Biratwara biradhola daundi ghumurâ karamardala bājanti mari galâtura***". Ghumura was also used as a *darbari* dance form in the princely state of Kalahandi and performed by the erstwhile Kalahandi state during war. The typical mixed sound that comes out of the musical instruments like *ghumura*, *nishan*, *dhol*, *taal*, *madal* etc. and the expressions and movements of the artists gives dance a heroic dimension. Traditionally,

this dance is also associated with *Nuâkhai* and *Dasaharâ* celebrations in Kalahandi and in large parts of south western Odisha. The Kalahandi region has taken a leading role in popularizing the *ghumurâ* dance and maintaining its unique identity. Kalahandi is mainly known as the land of *ghumura*. *Ghumurâ* dance is also one of the most researched folk dance-forms in Odisha.

6.5 (a5) Pala and Daskathia : Pâlâ is a unique form of balladry in Odisha, which combines elements of theatre, classical Odissi music, highly refined Odia and Sanskrit poetry, wit, and humour. It is more sophisticated than the other Odia ballad tradition, **Dâskâthiâ**. Pâlâ is presented in three ways: *baithaki* or 'seated', in which the performers sit on the ground throughout the performance. The other one is *thiâ* or 'standing'. *Bâdi* is a kind of *thiâ* in which two groups vie for excellence. This is the most entertaining, as there is an element of competition.

Western Odisha has also a great variety of dance-forms unique to Odishan culture. Children's verses are known as "**chhiollai**", "**humobauli**" and "**dauligit**", the adolescent poems are "**sajani**", "**chhâta**", "**daika**", "**bhekani**" : verses for the young celebrate eternal youth in "**rasarkeli**", "**jaiphul**", "**maila jada**", "**bayamana**", "**gunchikuta**" and "**dâlkhai**". Work-man's poetry comprises "**karma**" and "**jhumer**" pertaining to Vishwakarma and the "**karamâshâni**" deities. The professional entertainers perform **danda**, **dhânggadâ**, **mudgadâ**, **ghumrâ**, **sadhana**, **sabar – sabaren**, **disdigo**, **nachina – bajnia**, **samparda** and **sanchar**. They are meant for all occasions, and have varieties of rhythms and rhymes.

6.5 (b) Odissi Dance

Odissi one of the eight classical dance-forms of India originated in Odisha. It is the oldest surviving dance-form of India if one takes archaeological evidence into account. Odissi has a long, unbroken tradition stretching over 2500 years, and finds mention in the *Natyashastra* of Bharatamuni. Out of the eight recognized dance-forms, only two temple dance styles have their origin in Natya Shastra and are prescribed by the *Agamas* are *Bharata Natyam* and *Odissi*.

The earliest evidence relating to Odissi dance is found in the Manchapuri cave in Udayagiri, which was carved during the reign of Emperor Kharavela. Flanked by two queens, Emperor Kharavela watches a dance recital where a damsel performs a dance in front of the court accompanied by female instrumentalists. Thus the origin of Odissi as a secular dance form can be traced. Later, it got associated with the temple culture of Odisha. Starting with the rituals of Jagannath temple in Puri, it was regularly performed in shaivite, vaishnavite and sakta temples in Odisha. A recently discovered inscription states that a Devadasi Karpursri performed along with her mother and grandmother at a Buddhist monastery. It proves that Odissi first originated as a form of court dance. Later, it was performed in all religious places, with Jaina as well as Buddhist monasteries. Odissi was initially performed in the temples as a religious offering by *maharis* who dedicated their lives to the service of God. It bears the closest resemblance to the sculptures of Indian temples. Odissi dance and Odissi music are classical art forms.



Chapter-VII

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ODIA LITERATURE

7-1 Pre-history of Odia Literature:

Literary history of no language begins with a *maha purana*, *maha kavya* and *maha nataka* or a grand novel. Hundreds of years of oral literary history precede the emergence of such great written texts. Odia and Odisha are no exception.

Odisha is one of the few states, where the transition from pre-literate to literate is captured by over 5775 cave paintings. These are found in Bikramakhol, Ushakothi, Ullafgarh, Gudahandi, Jogimath etc. The well-known historian K.P Jaiswal has accepted these as pre- Brahmi script.

Reference to Odisha in diverse names is found in the *Vedas*, the *Mahâbhârata* and various puranas, but the first reference to Odia language is found in Bharat's *Natya Shastra* (13-8-6-26) 4th century B.C. and *Astadhyayi* of Panini (4-1-170) 3rd century BC. Beginning from Asoka (3rd century B.C.) through Kharavela (1st century B.C.) up to 1051 A.D., the first complete Odia inscription, the Urajam inscription, the developmental history of Odia inscriptions and copper-plate grants is clearly discernible. Although inscriptions bear messages, a few Indian inscriptions, among which Kharavela's Hâtigumphâ inscription is one, display *kavyic* (literary) style of writing.

According to puranic sources, Manu had ten sons. One of them was Ila- Sudyumna, who had three sons, Utkal, Binitaswa and Gaya. Manu distributed his kingdom among his ten sons. So Ila- Sudyumna got the Eastren area. After him, his sons conquered different areas and they named those areas according to their names. The area acquired by the king Utkal was thus named "Utkal". Binitaswa and Gaya named their area as "Binitapur" and "Gayapuri" respectively (*Vayu Purana-85, Masthya Purana-9, Brahma Purana-7, Harivamsa -10*). The *Mahabharat* gives the name Bimala instead of Binitaswa. In the same family was born Bali, who became the father of five sons; Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Pundra, Susam (*Vayu Purana-99, Harivamsa-31*). Thus, it will be seen that Utkal is older than Kalinga.

Kalinga is mentioned in *The Râmâyan*, *the Mahâbhârata* and *The purâns*, in *Astâdhyâyi* and in *Boudha and Jain Literature* and *Sakti sangam Tantra*.

Udra is found in *The Mahâbhârata*, *Skanda Purân* and *Trikânda sesa*. Nâtyasâstra speaks of four *pravrutis* in India of that time. They are: *Avanti, Dâkshinâtya, Pânchâla, Audra mâgadhi*. One significant fact is the quality of early Odia prose. The musicological text, *Sangeet Ratanâkar* states that there are six varieties of prose, which can be sung, one of them being *Utkalikâ*.

Similarly, in the form of folk songs based on the environment, social practices, games, sports, entertainments are composed and sung. Creativity adds different meters, styles and different compositions begin to appear in Odia besides professional songs marriage and funeral songs secular compositions like

webi, loli, koili, sodasâ, chautisâ are found in abundance. This is what has made India a single culture area in spite of the diversity of its languages, religions, castes and communities and cultures.

Odia *chhânda* is different from Sanskrit *chhânda* "**mâtrâ vrutta**". Odia "**akshyara vrutta**" is locally known as *Dândi vrutta*. The two great Odia epics *Sâralâ Mahahabharat* and Balarâm Dâs's *Dândi Râmâyan* was written in this *vrutta*. *Dândai brutta* is unequal number of letters per line in a *pada*, where as *matrâvrutta* is based on *guru* (High)- *laghu*(low) *mâtrâ* equality in a *pada*. [Mazumdar, B.C.: **Typical Selections from Oriya literature, Vol-1, Introduction, p-XIX-XXII**]. [Annexure – XXXII].

Literature is always hospitable to novelty. Starting from Hâtigumphâ inscriptions to Buddhist **Carjya** songs as well as the noted poetic works of Sarala Das, Jagannatha Das and Upendra Bhanja, one can clearly observe the evolving literary trends of Odia language, on the basis of which Odia literature can be broadly categorized into three major categories: **inscription literature** (300 BC–15th century A.D.), **Palm- leaf literature** (7th A.D. – 19th century A.D.) and **printed literature** (19th century A.D. onwards).

The Kalinga war of Ashok (261 B.C.) is one of the turning points in the history of eastern India. The enormity of the war moved Ashoka to embrace Buddhism. He spent the rest of his life in propagating Buddhism in India and South East Asia, where probably some of the Kalingas had migrated.

The next landmark in history is the rule of Mahameghavahan Kharavela (1st c B.C.) who defeated Magadha and brought back the Kalinga *Jina* taken by the Nanda king earlier. The Hâtigumphâ Inscription written in Pali (local name 'palli') in Kalinga Brahmi script is an important document in Indian epigraphy. The Pali of this inscription is not only different from that of the north but contains several Odia words. It is written in a literary style, which is characteristic of few inscriptions in the country. [Prusty S. K.: **Comprehensive Criticism of Odia Language and Literature, A.K. Mishra Publishers Pvt. Ltd. Cuttack-2011, p-135**]

The continuity of inscriptions proves that Sanskrit was the court language and Hâtigumphâ in Pali is an exception. Though Odia did not enjoy patronage of the emperors, it remained the common spoken language of the people. The plethora of Odia words and sentences, especially in the inscriptions of the 1st, 5th, 7th and 9th centuries, provide useful and illuminating examples. The words mentioned in the Hâtigumphâ Inscription are still used actively in present day Odia language.

Sanskrit had such an impact upon all the Indian languages that the *Asanapata* inscription at Keonjhar composed during the reign of Satru Bhanja was written in a mixed form of Sanskrit in place of Pali and the vernacular language of the period. [Odisha Historical Research journal volume XIII, no.2 1969, page-4, 5].

The Dhenkanala Copper plates of Queen Tribhubana Mahadevi reveals that Bhauma Kings were spending huge amounts of money on building Buddhist monasteries and *stupas*. During the 8th century AD, *tantra* was introduced in Buddhism. The three sects of this *tantra*: **Vajrayana, Kalacakrayana** and **Sahajayana** evolved one after another and spread across the globe gradually.

Eminent Odia Buddhist Monk during this century was **Acharjya Pitopada**. He had introduced the **kalacakra** in Buddhist tantra. Buddhist tantra has two major sects: Vajrayana and Sahajayana. According to **Sadhanamala**, there were 4 major hubs for the Vajrayana sect of Buddhism, among which the most important region was **Uddiyana** (Odisha). This region is considered the point of origin of Buddhist tantra. Moreover, **Indrabhuti**, the King of Sambalaka (Sambalpur, Odisha) was the first person in reforming the Mahayana school into Vajrayana. He is the author of famous Buddhist text **Jnanasiddhi**. Similarly, **Anangabrajra**, the teacher of Indrabhuti, had also authored another monumental text **Prajnopayavinishcayasiddhi**. **Lakhminkara**, sister of King Indrabhuti and **Padmasambhava**, the adopted son of the King and the founder of the Tibe at **Lama** school, were also two eminent Odia figures who promoted Buddhist literature and philosophy of Odisha.

The Buddhist *Carjya songs* were written between the 7th and the 12th centuries A.D. They were written in the proto-Odia, Bengali and Assamese language, when the languages were being separated.

It is only natural that their language will be closest to Odia, the most conservative of the three. Many of their links are contemporary colloquial Odia and do not need translation.

During this period, **Sishuveda** (13th century A.D.) represents another important composition. It can be included among the saivaite Nath literature, to which **Gorakha Sahmita** (12th century A.D.) constitutes another important contribution. But what is important during this period is the development of Odia prose. One important composition is **Mâdalâ pâñji**, which is the historical record of the Gajapatis and that of the Puri temple. The next important composition of this period is **Rudra Sudhanidhi** (14th century A.D.).

Pre-literate India was a witness to continuous flow of tales, which are preserved in *the Vedas*, *the Upanishads* and the Puranas. Some of them have been associated with rituals, feasts and fasts; Pali *Jataka Katha* contains Buddhist lore. Secular tales, like Sanskrit *Panchatantras*, *Hitopadesas* and *Bruhat Katha Manjari* spread through Prakrit, Folk tales into all Indian languages.

Some of the texts read as folktales are **Somanâth Vrata Kathâ** (13th century A.D) **Nâgalchauthi Vrata Kathâ** (14th century A.D), **Kâka Charita** and '**Dâmodar Oshâ**' of the 15th century A.D.

The history of regions, literatures and cultures is usually written in terms of (1) kings and emperors, (2) poets and literary texts (3) time periods and (4) literary genres. Odia is no exception to this general rules. Most historians of Odia literature follow one or the other procedures.

Odia prose had begun quite early in the history of literature. **Somanâtha Vrata Kathâ**, **Nâgalchauthi Vrata Kathâ**, **Kaka Charita** are some examples. **Mâdalâ Pânji**, the rewards of the Gajapati and Puri Temple, according to some scholars, began to be written around the 11th century A.D. Between 12th and 15th centuries A.D. were written **chaini chakadâ** and **Purusottam Debâlaya Kâryavidhi**. There is considerable difference of opinion about the date of composition of some of these texts. For example, *Madala Panji* is said to be a document beginning with the 11th -12th century AD. but claimed to be written in the 16th century AD. All these await further research.

An excerpt from of **Somanatha Vrata Katha** (13th century A.D.) is given below:

Parameswara kahanti, devi sunanti. Suna devi pârvati. Mâlaba boli desa, tahin pâtala boli nagra, tahin birabikrama boli râjâ, se râjâ mahâpratâpi, se katakara aneka mahimâ. Ghareghare subarna kalasa basânti. Dhabala mayepura, ati sundra. Subarna kalasa upare neta patâkâ udânti. Chaurasi hata basanti... (Kunja Bihari Tripathy, *Prachina Odia Gadya Sankalan*, Odisha Sahitya Akademy-1982, P-92)

An excerpt from of **Nâgalchauthi Vrata Kathâ** (14th century A.D.) is given below:-

"Suna he narapatimâne, sri nâgul chouthi kathâ. Eka je sâdhaba ghara. Târa sâta bohu. Sâna bohutiki dekhi na pârniti. E rupe ketehek dine Asina galâ. Kârtika galâ. Pimpoi amâsyâ jibâra câridine nâgul chauthi helâ. Sâsu sakâlu srâhâna kalâ."

Bichitra Râmâyan of Sidheswar Das is the first poetical work in Odia of Odisha. But Sarala Das's **Mahâbhârata** is said to mark the beginning of Odia literature and Sarala Das is designated 'the first Odia poet' or the Adi Kavi. Simultaneous and subsequent discovery of shorter literary texts were pushed into the prehistory of Odia literature. However they are so important that without a proper understanding of these texts, fuller appreciation of Sarala Das is not possible

After the first Odia literary text inscribed in Hâtigumphâ (1st century B.C), a number of rock, copper-plate and palm-leaf inscriptions were produced till the 6th century A.D. But the language of these inscriptions has been found in a mixed form of both ancient Odia and Sanskrit, whereas the script is Brahmi. The Asanapata inscription of King Satru Bhanja is the second important inscription after Hâtigumphâ.

7.2 Charya Literature

The beginnings of Odia poetry coincides with the development of Charya Sâhitya, composed by Mahayana Buddhist poets. [Mukherjee, Prabhat.: *The History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Odisha. Chapter: 'The Sidhacharyas in Odisha' Page: 55.*] According to *Pag sam jan Zang*, Tantric Buddhism was first developed in Uddiyana, a country which was divided into two kingdoms, Sambala and Lankapuri. Sambala has been identified with Sambalpur and Lankapuri with Subarnapura (Sonepur). Some leading sidhacharyas belong to Uddiyana. Many others opine that tantric Buddhism originated at Uddiyana, and Sarahapada (633 A.D.), Nagarjuna (645 A.D.), Sabaripa (657 A.D.), Luipa (669 A.D.), Padmabajra (693 A.D.), Kukuripa (693 A.D.) [Bhattacharya, Binayatosha: *Introduction to Sadhanamala- Vol-II, p-Xlii & Xliii*] Thagan, Tailikapada, Abadhuta pada, Nagabodhi, Jyanabajra, Budhajnyanapada, Amoghanath and Dharmashri mitra are inhabitants of Uddiyana or Odisha. [Dasgupta, N.N.: *Uddiyan and Sahore, I.H.Q.P, p-142*] Thus, Charya literature was written in Uddiyana language and poets like Kanhu Pa, Lui Pa, Shabar Pa, Kambala Pa, Birupa Pa, Tanti Pa, Dombi Pa, Kukkuri Pa, Santi Pa, Bhusukupa, Gunduri Pa etc. were born in different parts of Odisha. [Bulletin of the Indian Historical Review, Indian Council of Historical Research and Issues of Social Science Probings: Ed. R. S. Sharma].

Ascharya Charya Chaya or *Boudha Gana O Doha* was written between 7th to 12th centuries. They were written at a time when Odia, Bengali and Assamese were being separated from one another. Due to linguistic changes, Bengali and Assamese were separated from Odia and Odia remained the most conservative language keeping close to the key features of Prakrit. Therefore, it is easy to establish the closeness of Odia with the languages of *Boudha Gana O Doha* and establish the development from one to the other. [Annexure-XXXIII]

The following few lines written by Kanhu Pa will show that the language of the chraya is closest to colloquial Odia.

Nagar bahire dombi tohari kudia
(O Dombi, your hut lies outside the city)

X X X X X

Alo dombi Toe sama kariba ma sanga
(O Dombi, You will be my companion)

The language of Kanhu Pa's poetry bears close resemblance to modern Odia. For example:

"Ekaso padumo chowshathi pakhudi
(One such lotus with sixty-four petals)

X X X X X

Tahin chadhi nachao dombi bapudi"
(Poor Dombi has climbed on to it and dances on it)

Paduma (*padma*, Lotus), *chowshathi* (64), *pakhudi* (petals), *tahin* (there), *chadhi* (climb), *nachao* (to dance), *dombi* (a female from an untouchable caste), *bapudi* ('poor fellow').

There are two levels of meaning of the poems : the colloquial and the spiritual. Thus, its language is considered '*Sandhya Bhasa*' (having dual sets of meaning). Produced below is an English translation of the first verse of *Charyapada*. It was composed by the Buddhist Siddhacharya poet, Luipa.

The body is like the finest tree, with five branches./ Darkness enters the restless mind.

Strengthen the quantity of Great Bliss, says Luyi./ Learn from asking the Guru.

Why does one meditate?/ Surely one dies of happiness or unhappiness.

Don't bind yourself to false hope./ Embrace the wings of the Void.

Luyi says : I have seen this in meditation/ Inhalation and exhalation are seated on two stools.

Saharapâdânâm-

1. Âpane rachi bhava nirbâna I Michhe loa(loka) bandhâbae(bandhâe) âpanâ II
Âmbhe na jânahun achintâ joi (jogi) I jâma (janma) marana bhava kaisana (kesana) hoi II

X X X X

2. Kânjadi khânti mana ketuâla I sadguru bane(bachane) dhara patuâla II
Chia (chitta) thira kari dharahure nahi(nâa or Boat) I Aâna upâye pârai jâi II

X X X X

Sabarapâdânâm-

Uchâ Uchâ pâbata tahin basai sabari bâli I Morângi picha parihana gibata gunjari mâli II

Umota sabara pâgala sabara ma ka ra guli guhadâ tohari I Nia gharani nâme sahaja sundari II

X X X X

Bhusukupâdânâm-

Adharâti bhava kamala bikasau I batisha joini tasu anga ulhsau II

Châlia sasahara mâge abadhui I raonahu sahaje kahai II

X X X X

Sântipâdânâm-

Tulâ dhunidhuni ânsure ânsu I ânsu dhunidhuni nirabara sesu II

Tause heruâna pâbiai I santi bhanai kina sambhâbi ai II

X X X X

Gunduripâdânâm-

Tiadâchâpi joini de anka bâli I kamala kulisa ghânta karahu biali II

Joini tain binu khana hin na jibami I to muhan chumbi kamala rasa pibami II

X X X X

These poems needn't require any translation in to modern Odia.

Affinities with Odia

A number of Siddhacharyas who wrote the verses of **Charyapada** were from Odisha. Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasada Shastri also admitted in the preface of *Boudga Gana o Doha* that the

pronunciation of the word “Da” bears the unique feature of Odia language. Some of the affinities with Odia case can be found from :

The instrumental	-e, - ehi, -ena (bajajhe, sahaben, khabanehin, kammaena) -re(Hâthare, Kahare), -ai (basai, bājai), âi(Jâi),;
The dative in –	-ku(muku, tuku);
The ablative in	-en (Dosen), -lai (talai), -ha (aayesaha), -hi (bhanibanahin),;
The genitive in–	-ra(tâhera), -kera(Janakera), -ara(moara), -ka(chandaka, pathaka, karnaka);
The receptacle in –	-re(kâhâre), -e(sâsughare); –hin(tahin), in(tain);
Post-positional words	- mâjha, antara, sânga;
Past bases in –	-il(gadilâ,), -ili(châdhili, pohâili), -elâ (mâtelâ, uenlâ);
Future bases in –	-iba (Khâiba);
Present participle in–	-anta(bolanta), ante(jâgante, jibante), - anti(honti, nâchanti, bilâsanti);
Conjunctive indeclinable in	-iâ(nâdiâ, kaliâ);
Substantive roots	aach and thâk.
Negatives	-the negative particle in Odia comes ahead of the verb: Na jâi (No. 2, 15, 20, 29); na jivami (No. 4); na chadâ, na jâni, na disâ (No. 6). Charyâ 15 has 9 such forms.
Present participles	- the suffix -ante is used as in Odia of the Sarala and Panchasakhas period: jivante (while living, No. 22); sunante (while listening, No. 30) etc.
Incomplete verb forms —	suffixes -i and -iya used in modern and old Odia respectively: kari (3, 38); cumbi (4); maria (11); laia (28) etc.
Present indefinite verb forms	-ai: bhanai (1); tarai (5); pivai (6).
Future	- the -Iva suffix: haiba (5); kariba (7).
Nominative case ending	- case ending in e: kumbhire khâ, core nila (2).
Instrumental case ending	- case ending -e and -era: uju bate Gela (15); kuthare chijâ (45).

Verb

Present

1st person Singular- suffix [a]-jana, jâ, jana suffix [I] dei, thai, jânai, dekhai, dhâbai

Plural-1st person -in, nti, nte > honti, ramante

2nd person si > janasi, pâria

3rd person mi > kahâmi, jânami

Future- ihai-hoi, hoai. I- bujhai. Ihasi-kari hasi, gamihasi

Prefix

A (aa)-amana (agamana)

ua (uapa)-aopit (upapitha)

Aba-abateana (abachetana)

uda (utu)-oddi	Ababha (abhi)- ababhantara	bi-biapao (bikalpa)
uba(uda)-udyaharana, udaharana	su-sugati	Oma-samarasu
Ahi(abhi)-ahimâna (abhimâna)	ni (nis)-nichhala (nischala)	Aa-aaosa (aadesa)
ni(ni)-nibesi (nibesi)	Padi (prati)-padibesi, pratibesi	

Non-finite Verb

in suffix [i]

Edi, bhidi (1)	chumbi (4)	meli (6)	ghini jâni (6)
dekhigacha heri (7)	thoi, upâdi, puchhi, châpi, mili 2 (8)		chhoi 2 (10)
châdi (10)	mâri, heri (13)	bândhi (14)	hoi chhâdi (15)
sunî (16)	hoi (17)	châhin (20)	jâi, uthi (21)
rachi 2 (23)	dhuni 2 (26)	ujoli (30)	lâi (35)
jâni, bakhâni (37)	lâi (38)	dekhi (41)	jâi (43)
bâli 2 (46)	toil		

in suffix [ia]

jotia (5)	hâria (9)	dhâria (10)	lâia (11)
mâria (11)	kiâ (13)	bujia (15)	chalia (27)
bujhia (30)	ghoria (36)	nasia (39)	

Pronoun

- (1) Ja, jo, jâ, je etc.
- (2) Ke, keho, ko, koi, koe etc.
- (3) E, ehu, eu, esha, ethu, esu etc.
- (4) Haun, ahame, âhme, mai, me, moa. Tumhe, tumhe. Se, te, so (ba.bachana-te). Ja, jo, (je-ba.bachan). ken, keho, koi, koe. E, eha, ehu
- (5) mo, to, tohore, ta, so, ja, kahi, kimpî, ko
- (6) toe, tuin
- (7) toren, tohanre
- (8) tora, to, tohora etc.

The vocabulary of the *Charyapadas* includes non-*tatsama* words which are typically Odia, such as *dala* (1), *Thira Kari* (3, 38), *tai* (4), *uju* (15), *caka* (14) etc.

Charjya Odia	Present Odia	Charjya Odia	Present Odia
Jahi	Jahin	dose	dose, dose
Jâi	Jâi	Pachhe	Pachhe
JâGai	JâGai	Padei	Pade, Padai
JâGi	JâGi	Padhe	Padhe, Padhai
Jetai	Jimiti	(pari) bhâbai	(pari) bhâbai

	Jete, Jete	Pâni	Pâni
Thâi	Thâi, Tâi	Pâsa	Pâsa
Tada	Tada	Piao	Pia
TaNa	Tana	Baisi	Baisi
Tabe	Tebe	Bakhâna	Bakhâna
Tulle	Tule	Bana	Bana
Tusa	Tutha	Bandha	Bandha, Bandha
Thabira	Thabira	Basa	Basa
Thaku	Thâka	Bahai	Bahai
Dalu	Delu	Bâjjai	Bâjai
Thala	Thala	Byahira	Bâhara
dasa	dasa	Bujhai	Bujhai
dikhijjai	dikhai, dekhai	BhaGai	BhaGai
disa	disa	Bhabai	Bhâbai
dibâ	dibâ, Diba	Bhijai	Bhijâi
disai	disai	Bhidi	Bhidi
dei	dei	Majajha	Majha, Majhi
dekhai	dekhai	Mana	Mana
dehâ sarisa	deha sarisa	Marai	Marai
dosa	dosa, dosha	Mârai	Mârai
mâree	mâri	mâiye	mâi ! mâ!
mechhenhi	michhe, michha	mohio	mohi
rajjai	ranjai	ramai	ramai
ruana	ruâ, ruâna	labhabhai	labhai
lippai	lipai	lodai	lodai
likkâ	lukâ	sai	sai
saichha	swaichha	sancharai	sancharai
sarisa	sarisa	sahi	sahi, sahee
siâla	siâla, shiâla	sijjai	sijhai
sidhijâi	sidhijâi	siri	shire, siri
sunai	shunai	sunaha	shuGa
se	se	sohia	sohi, shohi
hoi	hoi		

Some other important words:

a= akhi- âkhi, akilesne- akleshe, achha-achhai, ata- âtha, adharâti, andhâra, apanâ, abhina, amana- amana, amia-amruta, abara- âbara, abasha, abasa-abashya, abikkala, ahâra-âhâra, amhe-âme.

Â= âila-âsila, âkhi, âgi-agi, agni, âge, achhante- achhanti, âmhe-âme, âlo.

U= ui-uin, uichâ, ujjâa, uthi, udi, upâdi, ubhila-upasthita, ubajai-upujai.

e= akka- aka, akelee, adi, athu, abe, ahi, ahu.

Ka= ke, kadua-kadâ, kadabâ-kadâchit, kandha-kândha, karma-karrma, kara, kare, karai, kahai, kahanâ, kahanta-kahantâ, kahi-kânhi, kau, kândai, kândha, kâma, kisa, ki re, kudiâ, kurâdhi, ke, ko, kothâ.

Nagara>naara>nahara, sabara>saara>sahara etc.

Neun> lehun, karun> karahun etc.

Na (nahi)	Pachhe	hu(ho)	Nao (nahi, nahi)
puna, punu	Tahabi (tebe)	binu (binu)	Tabbe (tahahele)
ma(ne, nahi)	Tahapi (tathapi)	ma(na)	

Melodies

From the mention of the name of the râga (melody) for the each *pada* at the beginning of it in the manuscript, it seems that these *padas* were actually sung. All 50 *padas* were set to the tunes of different râgas. The most common râga for *Charyapada* songs was *patamanjari*.

Raga	Pada
Patamanjari	1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 17, 20, 29, 31, 33, 36
Gabadâ	2, 3,
Aru	4
Gurjari, Gunjari or Kanha-Gunjari	5
Devakri	8
Deshâkha	10, 32
Kâmod	13, 27, 37, 42
Dhanasi	14
Gunjari	22, 47
Râmakri	15, 50
Barâdi	21, 23, 28, 34
Shabari	46

Mâlârî 30, 35, 44, 45, 49

Mâlasi 39

Mâlasi-Gaburâ 40

Bangâl 43

Bhairavi 12, 16, 19, 38

While some of these rāgas have become extinct, the names of some of these rāgas may be actually the variants of the names of the popular rāgas as we know them today.

Though the Carjya or Siddha literature of Odisha was centered on Buddhism, it had illustrated its literary excellence as well as musical, and expressional style of presentation. It is called 'colloquial literature' as it reflects the world-view of the society as well as the common men of that time. Also, its written format has been discovered as in Odia. Thus, it can be accepted as the most ancient colloquial literature of Odia language.

The various meters used in Carjya poems which are still in use in present-day Odia classical music are: *desakha (desakhya)*, *pattamanjari (patahamanjari)*, *bhairabi*, *kamoda*, *baradi*, *ramakri (Ramakeri)*, *gujjari* etc.

However, these Carjya poems are also claimed by other linguistic groups of eastern India. But, the scholars of these languages have failed to understand the meaning of certain words which are still in use in modern Odia language. For example, Bengali scholars have misinterpreted the words like 'banda-kurunda' (Penis and scrotum) as 'batua'. There are a number of words present in Carjya literature whose usage (both in spoken and written form) is restricted to Odia only.

7.3 Mâdalâ-pâñji:

Mâdalâ pâñji is a chronicle of Lord Jagannath in Puri in Odisha. It describes the historical events of Odisha related to Lord Jagannath or Jagannath Temple and Gajapati. Though the actual date of the composition of *Panjis* is not known, it is believed that it might have begun to be composed from 11th or 12th century AD. [Mansingh, Mayadhar: *A History of Oriya Literature, Sahitya Akademi, Rabindra Bhavan, 35 Ferozeshah Road, NewDelhi-1, second printing-2005, P-37. And Mazumdar, B.C. : Typical Selection from Oriya Literature, Vol-1, Introduction-XVII*]. The book is a classic and a literary masterpiece in Odia of the first order. Few vernaculars in India possess a work of similar nature. It can be compared with *Datuvansham* of Srilanka, *Rajtarangini* of Kashmir or *Burunji* of Assam. Mâdalâ-pâñji texts represent the oldest prose narrative in Odia.

While writing Odishan history, historians like Sir **W.W.Hunter** and **Andrew Stirling** based their narration on the facts related in the *Mâdalâ pâñji*. The *Mâdalâ pâñji* was traditionally written on a year-to-year basis. On *Vijaya-Dashami day*, the *Karana*, an Odia caste of official history writers of Puri Jagannath Temple and preservers of the *Panji*, read out the portion written during the year.

The language used in *Mâdalâ pâñji* is ancient and very simple. The subject matter of *Mâdalâ pâñji* has been presented in short sentences. The attack on Odisha by Raktabahu, the glories of King Jajati and Janmejaya, the coronation of Chodaganga Dev, the conflict between Bouddhas and Brahmins, the construction of Jagannath Temple, the story of Sibeî Santara and the construction of Konark temple are narrated with remarkable literary skill.

A few excerpts from **Mâdalâ pâñji** are printed bellow;-

*"Thâkure emanta bolichanti je- bho bhabisa mahârâjâmâne debatâ brâhmnanku bala bhandâroku râjaniti-chaeku Madhya kari mu jemanta prakâre bhiâna kari deuachi ethiki tumbhemâne na puni bolo se deigale âmbhara ki galâ âmbhe kimpâ debu emanta na boliba. Eta Odishâ râija je kesharirâjâmânaku âdi kari gangabânse âmbha chapâta sariki râjya âe heuthilâ. Purba dige arka kshetra somodra tira thhâru paschime bhimanagara dandapata sariki dakshine âe heuthilâ. Uttarare kânsabânsa thhâru dakshine rusakoilâ nai sariki. Jitasunâ 15 mâdhe ehi khandamandala hoi âye heuthilâ..." [Tripathy, Kunja Bihari: *Prachina Odia Gadya Sankalan, Odisha Sahitya Akademy-1982, P-65*]*

Besides the Mâdalâ, there were other Karans who wrote regional chronicles known as *Chakadâs* like **Chaini Chakadâ**. "All the Kadatas and Chakadâs taken together will be about a cartload." *Mâdalâ pânji's* language is Odia and was recorded in Odia and Telugu scripts. It is preserved in the manuscript library in Madras, which narrates the story regarding the image of NilaMâdhava or Lord Jagannâth of Udra, as Odisha was known in the middle ages.

7.4 Pre-Sarala Literature

7.4 (a) Nâtha Sâhitya:

12th century A.D saw the rise of the "**Nâtha Dharma**", under the guidance of Matsyandranath and Gorakhnath and it has heavily influenced the religion and literature of the Odias. We see that the "Nâtha community" and "Shaiva community" were imbued with tantric beliefs. In ancient Odia literature, especially Pre- Sâralâ literature, **Sishu Veda**, **Amarakos** and **Gorakha Samhita** hold an important place.

Sishu Veda is a remarkable text in more ways than one. Saivite in content, it is linguistically the last lingering echo of the Buddhist Charya literature of the 7th -12th centuries AD. In the **Sishu Veda**, a very ancient tradition of Odia prose literature has been kept alive. It has been accepted to be the link between **charyâ** literature and Sarala literature, filling a major gap, thus completing the chain that started with the chronicle of Kharavela in the 1st century B.C. and evolved slowly but steadily by a simple natural process.

Though dealing with the esoteric knowledge of tantra, this *Sishu Veda* is written throughout in some of the lilting metres of the Buddhist lyric, and hence it is pleasant both to read and hear. An excerpt from of *Sisu Veda* (13th century A.D.) is given below;-

Odia:-

*Jehneka baka na halai nira
Tehneka mana pabana thira
Baga machhe nire sama kari jâGa
Tebe se pindaku parache praGa .*

English:-

*Like a crane that does not disturb the water
Keep thou thy mind and breath calm,*

*Only when the difference between the crane and the fish dissolves
Shall thy body understand life. (stanza21)*

The verses are the prose commentaries following each verse in this book. This archaic prose speaks of its own antiquity. It undoubtedly belongs to the same category as the temple inscriptions of the 12th-13th centuries. There is no doubt that this is the earliest literary prose in Odia.

The next important writing after *Sishu Veda* is *Amarkos*. Its authorship is not known. But the subject of the text is an extensive one. It establishes the limits of the body on the one hand and recognizes the universe in the body on the other. This **pinda brahmanda tattva** (on the concept of microcosm & macrocosm) influenced Odia literature up to the 16th Century. This Nath cult was

extensively practised all over India. The headquarters of its Satyanath branch was the Saiva pitha at Bhubaneswar in Odisha.

Another ancient prose work of saiva literature is *Rudrasudhânidhi*, a remarkable text, not because it was composed in prose, however poetically motivated, at a time when everything was written in verse, but because it absorbed various contemporary trends, literary and otherwise, synthesized them in a single structure, with a tone both detached and involved and with a competence that was wide-ranging created a scholarly, intelligent work. [Mohanty, J.M.: *History of Odia Literature*, Vidya, BBSR].

As per the literary chronology, it lies between the period of *Sishu Veda* and Sarala Das's *Mahâbhârata*. The style of this prose can be compared to the Maithili poet Vidyapathi's *Kirtilatâ*.

An excerpt from of *Rudra Sudhanidhi* (14th century A.D.) is given bellow;-

“Emanta dekhi se rājâ Ananda samudrare manbohita budilâ. Chintamegha udilâ daridralokaki pâlilâ nidhi. Janma andha pâlilâki dibyânjana mahosadhi. Kâmuka loka pâlilâki basikaranabidhi. Mahâbrudha pâlilâki kalapa osadhi. Sthaba pailaki charana sakti. Mokshyarthi pailaki jibanamukti. Emanta prakare raja Ananda samudre thai bhandarmanta dana dei, jagamanta karai, hatapentha mananta jura heuboli agya dele. Emanta boli huriae matile. Banijâre tâtile. Ta se basudhâmandala katakare.....[Tripathy, K. B. : Prachina Odia Gadya Sankalan, Odisha Sahitya Akademy-1982, P-36]

7.4 (b) Popular Poetical Patterns:

Some of the peculiar patterns of poetry to which the poets in Odisha resorted, all through the old and mediaval periods are: *koili*, *chaupadi webi*, *loli*, *sodasâ*, *chautisâ*, *chitâu*, *champu*, *padiâ* and *janâṇa* etc. But the most popular ancient poems are *Kesava Koili* and *Kalasa Chautisa*. [Annexure-XXXIV]

7.4 (c) Kesava Koili:

Like the *dûta*- poems in Sanskrit literature, a number of celebrated poems in Odia are addressed to the *koili* or the cuckoo. This is the most universal pattern of folk-lyric in Odisha. The poem that is supposed to be the earliest in present Odia combines in itself the twin lyrical patterns of a *chautisha* and a *koili*. **Markanda Das's koili**. It is generally known as *Kesava Koili*, which is the most famous of the *koili* songs in Odia. For centuries this poem was the first text to be read in Odisha's village schools or *chatalis* after the children became familiar with the alphabet.

Kesava Koili describes mother Yasoda pouring out to the cuckoo her feelings for her son Krishna who left for Mathura with a promise to return soon, but did not. It is the deeply pathetic sentiment of an ageing and sorrowing mother expressed in the simple, spontaneous native speech of the common man, with allusions to the common, day-to-day habits and customs of Odia homes.

The charm of this poem lies really in its intimate domesticity as well as the homely diction. The simple words of sorrowing Yasoda strike a sympathetic chord deep in our hearts:

*O Cuckoo, that Kesava has left for Mathura,
But alas, whose sinister influence prevents my child from returning?
O Cuckoo, to whom shall I give milk and sugar any more?
For the one who is so fond of them has left me for ever;
Oh Cuckoo, my darling has left and does not return!
These forests of Brindaban look desolate!
And to Nanda, my husband, O Cuckoo, this home is home no more,
For, how can a home appeal to one without Govinda? x x x*

A century and a half later, Jagannath Das, the author of the Odia *Bhagabata* wrote *Artha Koili*, giving an esoteric interpretation of this charming poem. It indicates the immense popularity that this poem has come to enjoy among the people of Odisha in so short a time.

7.4 (d) Kalasâ Chautisâ:

Chautisâ is a ballad, the stanzas or couplets of which are arranged according to the letters of the alphabet. The Thirty-four letters, from 'ka' to 'ksha', arranged serially, give the name to this pattern. According to this, the first letter of the first two or four lines must begin with 'ka', the first consonant of the Odia alphabet, the lines in the second couplet or stanza begin with 'kha', the second letter of the alphabet and so on till to the last letter, 'ksha'.

The earliest *chautisâ* is the *Kalasa Chautisha* of Bachha Das. It is supposed to be referred to by Sarala Das in his *Mahabharata* about a century later.

The *Kalasa Chautisa* is a panegyric to Lord Siva. It consists of 34 stanzas, and adheres to the alphabetic order of a chautisa. The diction of this chautisa is indeed archaic. That gives the piece the halo of supposed antiquity, but the performance is, on the whole, interesting.

7.4 (c) Bichitra Râmâyana:

Sidheswar Das, author of *Bichitra Râmâyana* is another point of contention. Some critics consider that Sarala and Siddheswar are two names of one and the same person. Sarala Das wrote *Bichitra Râmâyana* under the name of Sidheswar and changed the name as well as the surname to write the three major works under the name of Sarala. Those who contest this point out that it is not only a change of name but also a change of religion. Siddheswar was a devotee of Narayana whereas Sarala was a devotee of Goddess Sarala. On the basis of the use of Prakrit words and style of writing, it can be shown that the two were different and Sidheswar wrote at least 100 years before Sarala. What is much more important in this context, is the fact that *Bichitra Râmâyana* is a *kâvya*, and is translated into Telugu by 6 eminent Telugu poets, Sarala's three major works were puranas. No major Asian poet had attained such a feat till date. *Mahâbhârata*, *Chandi Purâna* and *Bilankâ Râmâyana* are not translations. They were transcreations.

7.5 Sarala Mahabharata and other works by the poet

Sarala Das or Sidheswar Parida is considered to be the first major poet of Odisha. He has written *Sâralâ Mahâbhârata*, *Vilankâ Râmâyana*, *Chandi Purâna* and *Laxminârâyeni Bachanikâ* in Odia. The time and place of his birth is a matter of controversy. Most accept that he belonged to the 15th century. The eminent literateur, Gopinath Mohanty places him in the 10th century A.D.

15th century-Odisha is a high patriotic and enlightened period in Odishan history, when the Gajapati king, Kapilendradev annexed a large part of south India to his empire. It was a period of military expansion. It was a period of resurgence of national confidence. Before this, trade and commerce had brought great prosperity to the land. A brave and talented poet was the need of the hour, who could depict the glory of the land and give eloquent expression to its rising self-confidence. Sarala Das was the man of the moment. He was the first man to disobey the social restrictions imposed by a hierarchical society. He says that he is a Sudra and, with the blessing of Goddess Sarala he ventures to write the *Mahâbhârata*. The *Mahabharat* of Sarala Das is not strictly speaking, a translation of the Sanskrit Mahabharat; it is transcreation of the original text with the help of new prosody called '*dândivritta*'. It is the largest epic in Asia. Its most significant claim to distinction is that in no other modern Indian language was a *Mahâbhârata* produced so early by a single author. The *Mahâbhârata* in Telugu was written by three successive court poets and

was completed in the 18th century. The Bengali *Mahâbhârata* was written by Kasiram Das two hundred years after the Odia *Mahâbhârata* came to be written.

The popularity of Sarala Das's *Mahâbhârata* caused it to be translated into old Bengali. He has added many stories in his *Mahâbhârata*, so that it can become popular among the common people. In the *Bana Parva*, Sarala Das introduces the "**True Mango Story**". This story has found its way, mutatis mutandis, into the Bengali *Mahâbhârata* of Kasiram Das. It indicates the deep influence that Sarala's epic exercised over neighbouring language. As the eminent Bengali scholar Bijaya Chandra Mazumdar observes : "*It is remarkable that this Odia poet acquired celebrity in Bengal and his Mahabharata was introduced in Bengali translation not later than the early part of the 16th century*". [Mazumdar, B.C.: *Typical Selections from Odia Literature, Vol.1, Introduction, P-XXVIII*] [Annexure-XXXV]. Some stories found in the Indonesian islands are similar to the stories introduced by Sarala Das.

Sarala *Mahâbhârata* stories, characters, episodes, and lines have gone deep into the collective unconscious of the Odias. Sayings like "**tulasibana bâgha (the tiger in the Tulasi- forest)**", or "**tulâmuhân kânka (the stork with the cotton wool in its beak)**", given in the fables of Sarala's *Mahâbhârata* are used to describe pious hypocrites in real life. Sarala made Yudhishthir marry the daughter of an Odia merchant. His story "**Druyodhanara raktanadi santarana (Druyodhana's swimming across the river of blood)**" and the treatment of the "**dharama baka upakshyana (The story of the divine stork)**" lend a special character to the Odia *Mahabharata*. Sarala has reduced the more than one hundred question-answers in the original Sanskrit Mahabharata to twenty by excluding the socially irrelevant and outdated events and practices.

Sarala Das wrote the *Vilankâ Râmâyana* in contrast to the *Lanka Râmâyana* of Valmiki. He also wrote the *Chandipurana* and *Laxmi Narayeni Bachanika*. This great unschooled peasant had an intuitive conviction that quietly pervasive qualities of the feminine are far superior to the flamboyant, demonstrative activities of men. **His Chandi, Sita, Droupadi, Laxmi combine in themselves supreme material achievements with supreme feminine charms.** They dwarf the male characters by their resilient vitality and by the original way they think and act as well as by their surpassing beauty.

Some words used by Sarala :

Charya words: keruala, achhante, chahante, jagante dehâ, sarisa, Marai, dosa, Mârai, mâri, mâiye, mechhenhi, mohio, rajjai, ramai, ruâ, labhai, lippai, lodai, likkâ, sai, saichha, siri etc.

Critical words:- Utkarma, dardur, mâghaba, puruhuta, jatudhana, bhabinasta, uttanashayee, râtrichara, manisa, aparâsa etc.

Some other words:- Mohâpâsha>muhânsa, drohi>doreha, madan> mayana, kanaka>kanaya, Amarsa> amarisa, sâgar>sâher, dhikbhaâ>jhingâsa, panchânana>panchâna, pataka> patanga, pakwa>paku; paku, Uraga>udanga, Urasalya>urasalya, Ubhaya>oha, Kanaka> kanaya, madana>mayana, Katyayani>kantani, rajani>rayani, Dyitiya>dyiti, duti, bhagini> bahini, Drohi>doreha, sadrusa>sarish, Dhikbhasa>jhingasa, sagara>saheu, atiya > atitha > atita, amiya > amia > amruta, aho (mukhi) > adho (mukhi), âura > âbara, oho >uvou, kanaya > kanâ > kanaka, kaye - kruta > kada > kê > kaya + e= kaye(kale), kilesa > klesa, khaija > khaijja > khadya, gachhai > grathyate, ghaye > ghae > ghade > ghate, châba > châpa, jadu >jatu, nia > nija, naha > nakha, narabai > narabadi > narapati, sohada > subhata, niyade > niade > nicate, pâyanta > pânta > pântanta, prahu > prabhu, bharaaha > bharaatha > bharaata, bhua > bhuda > bhuta, majura >mayura, meha > megha, jathi >jatathi > jasti, rahi > rahia >radhika, sayala > sâla > sakala, somaya >somâ > somapâ, sampoda > samputa etc.

Genuine Odia words: adhâti, anguli, adhâma, âlata, ubura, âgabali, uchabacha, uaula, bhadanda, tripanda, pâhija, tadaki, tihudi, barasa, bikhanda, meda, latâ, shâyala, halâhola, brundâhola, khurani, khurusâni, khurinâsi, khadiâli, karândi, kalati, kândurâ, karuni, kerânta, kalâti, guâni, kakuali, guguchiâ,

gundari, nadapa, panguphâla, murata, sohada, sinhadâ, sankocha, sorada, poalâ, pâlati, parimunda, juâda etc.

Unlike **charya literature**, in **Sarala literature** there is found a similarity between verb applications in various tenses. In his writings “**si**” was used in present tense, “**ka**” was past and “**mi**” was used in future tense. For example-

Present (si)	Past (ka)	Future (mi)
Jâsi (jâ)	delâka (delâ)	ânimi (ânibi)
bujhasi (bujha)	kahileka (kahile)	jânimu (jânibu)
kahasi (kaha)	basi (basilâ)	
sunisi (suna)	na basilâ (helâ nahi)	
	na phutilâ (prakasa kâla nâhi)	

One also come across similarities as to the application of case in **both Charya and Sarala literature**. For example-

The subjective in - mu > âmbha and aambhara,

The objective in - mote > muku. In some other places “**kai**” is used in the place of “**ku**”.

The genitive in- mora > mote.

1st person singular- suffix [i] used in the place of suffix [e]. Ex- khæ, jae > khâi, jâi etc.

Progressive Assimilation:

sâhasa > sâhâsa, pratijnâ > pratagyân, aâpada > âpâda, kamandalu > kamandala, bâhana > bâhâna, abhista > abhisti, balâtkâra > balatkâra, koupina > kaupuni, bratâchari > bratachari, Upari > upara, panchânana > panchunanu, prustha > pithi etc.

Regressive Assimilation:

sangrâma – sângrâma, mahâmuni- mâhâmuni, sangyâ- sâgyân, kumâr-kumar, padâti-pâdânti, uuna-ana, mahârâja-mâhârâjâ, ekâdasi-ekâdisi, gâyatri-gâitiri, âmalaka-aenlâ etc.

Sarala Das was thus not only a great poet, but also remains the most modern. He holds a place apart in the whole of Indian vernacular literature.

7.6 Panchasakha and Metaphysical poetry

While the literature of the court and that which catered to the elite were written primarily in Sanskrit, and included a variety of commentaries and theoretical treatises on religion, politics, art and literature as well as renderings of the epics, popular literature in Odia initially focused on folk tales, ballads, devotional songs, love poetry and erotica. Details about the literature are given elsewhere.

In 1509 Chaitanya came to Odisha to spread Vaishnavism. Before him Jaydev had prepared the ground by embodying the spirit of Vaishnavism through his *Geetagovinda*. Chaitanya’s path of devotion was known as the *râgânugâ bhakti marga*, but **the Panchasakhâs differed from Chaitanya’s and believed in jnâna mishrâ bhakti Mârگا, which bore similarities with the Buddhist philosophy of Charya literature discussed above.**

Five Odia poets emerged in the late 15th and 16th centuries A.D.: Balarama Das, Jagannatha Das, Achyutananda Das, Ananta Das and Jasobanta Das. Although they wrote over a span of one hundred years and they are collectively known as the **panchasakhâs**, as they adhered to the same school of thought,

namely, *Utkaliya Vaishnavism*. The word *pancha* means five and the word *sakha*, friend. [Mazumdar, B.C.: *Typical Selections from Oriya literature, Vol-1, Introduction, p-XIX-XXII*].

Balarama Das's *Jagamohana Râmâyana* provided one pillar, along with the one provided by Sarala-Das's *Mahâbhârata*, upon which the edifice of Odia literature was built later. His *Lakshmi Purâna* is considered the **first manifesto of women's liberation or feminism in Indian literature**. Apart from *Jagamohana Râmâyana* and *Lakshmi Purâna* he also composed various works such as the *Vendântasâra Guptagitâ*, *Nâma-mâhatmya*, *Bhâva Samudra*, *Kamalalochana Chautisâ*, *Kânta Koili* etc. [Annexure – XXXVI].

The most influential work of the period was Jagannatha Das's the *Bhâgabata*, which had a great influence on Odia people as a day-to-day philosophical guide. There must be few books in the whole of Indian Literature that can compare in depth and pervasive influence with the Odia *Bhagabata* of Jagannath Das. B.C. Majumdar in his **introduction to *Typical Selections from Oriya Literature makes the following observation*** : "There cannot be any hesitancy in making this statement that Jagannath Das, by presenting his Oriya *Bhagabat* to the people, induced all classes of men of his country to cultivate the vernacular language. The benefit which Jagannath Das has conferred upon his countrymen is immense, how the moral ideas preached by him in the book have moulded and still moulding the character of many millions of men can be easily appreciated.... When the people learnt that the *Bhagabat*, which is the most sacred of sacred books, was within their easy reach, the people took to the study of the vernacular with uncommon zeal and energy. This is way the art of reading and writing is known and practiced by the common people more extensively in Orissa than Bengal. Long ago, Bhudev Mukherjee as Inspector of Schools duly observed this fact of Oriya mass education and reported the matter in his public report.... There is not a single Hindu village in Orissa where at least a portion of Jagannath Das's *Bhagabat* is not kept and daily recited."

The **Bhagabata Tungi** (Tungi means 'home') is an integral part of rural community life in Odisha. It is or was till recently a multi- purpose village institution- the village school, the village hall, the village court, the village centre for worship, the village hotel, and the village library, all combined into one. A *Bhagabata Tungi* was the rallying point for the entire village life. Influenced by the devotion and poetry of young Jagannath Das, the noted Assamese poet **Shankardev** wrote the *Bhâgavat* in Assamese, and played a key role in establishing the spiritual centres across Assam called **Nâmaghara** which were modelled on the Odia **Bhâgavat Tungi**. The Lord worshipped in **nâmagharas** is Jagannath of Puri. 158 years after the composition of *Bhagavata* in Odia, Sanatan Chakroborti was inspired to translate it in to Bengali. Yet the *10 skanda* of the Odia *Bhagavata* couldn't be translated into Bengali because of the inability of the Bengali language to convey the exact meaning of the particular skanda. The Bengali translator says :

Suna suna srotâgana Kari nibedana	I	Prathama haite grantha lekhilu âpana	II
Dasamera sesa khanda bhâsha Na pâyila	I	anekeka ta pasi grâme grâme bedâila	II
E hetu utkala bhâshâ karila likhana	I	Jagannâtha dâsa kruta apurba barnana	II
Grantha samâpana hetu utkanthâ hayiâ	I	Bangaja bhâshâyâ utkala misâyâ	II
Ithe sâdhu Jana mora dosa Na lâyibe	I	sâdhu bâkya ânande sunibe	II

Besides this great work, Jagannath Das also composed *Artha Koili*, *Dârubrahma Geetâ*, *Shunya Bhâgabata*, *Dhruba Stuti*, *Tulâ bhinâ* etc.

Achyutananda Das was the most prolific of the panchasakhas and wrote numerous books or *pothis*. **Mâlikâ** is considered to be the best of these book. Achyutananda believed not in one life but in many successive lives. His works include: *Shunya Samhita*, *Chaurashi Yantra*, *Gurubhakti Geeta*, *Khila*

Harivamsa, Gupta Bhâgabata, Kaivarta Geeta, Kâla Nirghanta, Tera Janma Sharana, Brahma Ekakshara Geeta, Gopala Ogâla, Bhâva Samudra, Garuda Geetâ, Brahma Shankuli, Ananta Bata Geeta, Kali Kalkpa Geetâ, Asta Gujjari, Gujjari Râsa, Brahma Kundali, Mahâgupta Padmakalpa, Chausathi Patala, Chayâlîsha Patala, Chabisa Patala, Dasa Patala, Neetya Râsa, Manmatha Chandrikâ, Shiva Kalpa, Achyutânanda Janma Sharana, Chitta Bodha, Râsa Mâla, and Panchasakhâ Bhajana. The term *chaurâshi yantra* refers to '84 machines' embedded within the human body, the later itself is 84 fingers in length and each yantra is located in each finger-length space. However, the most popular one seems to be an **Oracle of Prophecies** named as **Bhavishya Mâlikâ**. His prophecies also include *Aagata Bhabishya Lekhanaa* and *Bhavishya Paraardha*. He had also composed the **Jâiphula Mâlikâ**.

Ananta Das, also known as Shishu Ananta composed various devotional texts, e.g., *Chumbaka Malikâ, Nilagiri Charita, Hetu Udaya Bhâgabata, Artha Târeni Prasnotara, Anâkâra Samhitâ, and Bhaktimukti pradâyaka Geetâ*.

Jasovanta Das composed *Shiba Shirodaya, Premabhaktibrahma Geetâ, Âtmaparatey Geetâ, and Gobindachandra*.

Some words found in the works of the Panchasakhas :

Ancient Words: bakhâna, bebhâra, parimâni, thokâ, judhisthi, kebana, khachuâ, gola, âgusâra, niki, guânara, sansâra jâkena, dusari (two, anya), tesana, bâhudi nailâ, yethuni, yesaneka, aile, charikati, dihudi, parate, shira uhâda, thenta ganthiâ, jura, huriâ, jagusâinh, jagujana, raghunâna, bhânja, bhâyeni, bhârijâ, kahanâ, parighâi, achâbuhâ (âscharjya) putrabanta, dhanabanti, pichâsuni, bhrathâ, tiarile etc.

Mystic Words : mahâsunya, jyotirupa, thularupa, thulasunya, ardhamatrâ, ommkâra shabada, anâkâra, nirâkâra, sâ-kâra, ma-kâra, râ-kâra, chiân chaitan, hlingi, klingi, shilingi, golâhat, sunyapurusa, alekha, niranjan, shishumnâkânda, bamanâdi, ianhalâ, pialâl etc.

Words in the Past tense – [la]-achilain (thilain/thila), luchile, uturilâ, kalain, boilâ, upekhile, kahile, bâhudi nailâ, padina rahilâ, (bhâgabata), bakhânile, boile (guptagitâ), nailâ (arthakoili), aile (Gopalanka Ogâla)

Words in the Future tense - [ba]- bhetiba, na dhariba, ramibi, picha (pieba) (Bhâgabata) puchhibi (Arthakoili) bakhaniba, japibi, hoiba.

[ma]- janimunh (Jagamohana Râmâyana)

[bain]- (ba) - debain (deba) (Gitâbakâsha)

Present tense – [a]- soa (Jagamohan Râmâyan), fite (Bhagabata).

[u]- jânu (jagamohan), na kahantu (Bhâgabata).

[anti]- khedanti (Sodasha chaupadi), jânti, bânchhanti (Bhâgabata), rodanti, ghenithânti, echhanti (Shabdabramha sanhitâ), chhanti (achhanti), dekhanti, basanti, châlanti.

[ai]-namai, darai(Bhâbasamudra), birajai, atai, nuhai.

[ita]- kahita (kahibâku)

[u /ru] - delâruta (Sunyasamhitâ).

Compound verb - Âsiboile (Bhâbasamudra), âni hoijâe, ghenithânti, dagadhi hoili, mililakajain (Jagamohan Râmâyana) nailâ, banchai nânhi, mohihonti chittoi karili (Bhâgabata), dekhâi dele, karuthile (Brahma Gita).

Some grammatical change

Verbal noun-	raman > ramibi (ramana karibi) (Bhâgabata)
	bânchhâ > bânchhanti (bânchhâ karanti) (Bhâgabata)
	sâdhanâ > sâdhanti (sâdhanâ karanti) (Sunya Samhitâ)
	ichhâ > ichhanti (ichhâkaranti) (Sabdabramha Samhitâ)
	danda > danduthâi (danda deuthâi (Sabdabramha Gita)
	danda > dandahoe (dandita hua) (Sabda Bramha Gita)
	smarana > smarilâ (smarana kalâ) (Bhâgabata)
	gopana > gopyakari (gopanakari) (Brahma Gita)

creat some New odia words:

Adjective + Noun- mahâsunya, hinabudhi (Bhâgabata), priyabâni (Ja. Râmâyana), paramabhakti (Bhâgabata).

Noun + Noun - thentaganthiâ, bhâibhârijâ bhayeni (Ja. Râmâyana), kanchikolapa (Gopalanka Ogala).

Numerical + Noun - solakalâ arthamatrâ (Bhâgabata) satachakra (GuptaBhâgabata), sahasreka shira (Jagamohan Râmâyana).

Pronoun + Noun - sarbasanpada (Ja. Râmâyana) je râjya, tuma charana, se gopa (Bhâgabata).

	Panchasakha odia words	Standard odia words
e > a -	nitye (Bhâgabata)	nitye
	sunderi (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	sundari
e > ya -	bebhâra (Bhâgabata)	byabahâra
e > ya -	nâek (Nityarahâsa)	nâyak
i > ya -	gopashisi (Sunya Samhitâ)	gopashisya
u > e -	mukuta mandapa (Bedantasâra Gita)	machakti mandapa
u > o -	maudadhi (Jagamohan Ramayan)	mahoodadhi
ga > ka -	jagati (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	mandana
na > tha-	raghunâna (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	raghunâtha
ha > bha-	shohe (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	shobhe
sa > sa-	gopashisi (Sunya Samhitâ)	gopashisya
mba > ma-	balambika (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	balamika (balmeeki)
‘a’ Anaptyxix-	shântâ (Jagamohan Râmâyan)shântâ	
‘n’ Anaptyxix -	swâminee (Bhâgabata)	swâmi
‘ya’ Anaptyxix -	gopya (Premabhakti Bramhagitâ)	gopa (na)
bhra > bhara-	bhratha (Jagamohan Râmâyan) bharat	
gra > gara-	nagra (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	nagar

'ta' Syncope-	chaubinsha (Bhâgabata)	chaturbinsha
'ra' Apocope-	yudhisthi (Bhâgabata)	yudhisthira
	Âgusâra (Sabdabramha samhitâ)	agrasara
'nga' Syncope-	yâga (bhâbasamudra)	yangya
'ha' Syncope-	bebhara (Bhâgabata)	byebahâra
	sasre (Gurubhakti Gitâ)	sahasre
	maudadhi (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	mahodadhi
'ya' Apocope-	sampradâ (Gurubhakti Gitâ)	sampradâya
	adhyâ (Bhâgabata)	adhyâya
a>ai-	datya (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	daitya
ta>tra-	tailoka (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	trailoka
tha>stha-	thira (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	sthira
ai>ayi-	chaitana (Sunya Samhitâ)	chaitanya
	daitâri (Bhâgabata)	daityâri
	saina (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	sainya
	tailoka (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	trailoka
au>au-	yaubana	youbana
	gauraba	gouraba
	gaura (Bhâgabata)	goura
kati>kti-	mukati (mandapa) (Bedantasara Gita)	mukti
pata>pta-	gupata (Birata Gita, Sunya Samhitâ)	gupta
para>pra-	parâye (Bhâgabata)	prâye
pana<pna-	swapane (Bhâgabata)	swapne
tara>tra-	mâtara (Bhâgabata)	mâtra
nama>nma-	janama (Bhâgabata)	janma
lapa>lpa-	alapa (Bhâgabata)	alpa
rasha>shra-	pârushe (Premabhakti Bramhagitâ)	pârshe
sara>sra/sru-	sirijilâ (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	srujilâ/srujilâ
e>ha-	pâbachha (Birata Gita)	pâhâcha
a>u-	bhaanee (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	bhaunee
o>u-	honti (Bhâgabata)	huanti
da>la-	kheda khedanti (Sholachaupadee)	khela khelanti
da>ra-	mantadâ (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	mantarâ
ta>na-	gheti (Bhâgabata)	gheni
ra>ha-	moha (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	mora

'a'-	chhanti (Bhâgabata)	achhanti
	dyinti (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	dianti
'a'-	jânti (Bhâgabata)	jânti
	jânte (Bhâgabata)	jânte/ya'nte
	khânti (Sunya Samhitâ)	khânti/kha'nti
'e'-	piba (Bhâgabata)	peiba/pi'ba
'ra'-	ta (Bhâgabata)	tahara/ tâ'ra (<i>colicqual odia tâ, tâhâ, tâhâra, tâ'ra</i>).
	dhailâ (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	dharilâ
'sa'-	aile (Jagamohan Râmâyan)	âsile
'ha'-	târa (Bhâgabata)	tâhâra/ tâ'ra.

The Panchasakhas presented ancient Hindu texts in simple prose that the people of Odisha could easily understand. The period under discussion witnessed the revival of Hinduism in Odisha through social awareness, and importance was accorded to castlessness and self-purification. The poets emerged as the custodians of social values, purity, nobility and humanity. Their writings were considered to be a mirror of the times and inspired in the masses a sense of unity.

The Panchashakhâs, along with another seer **Shri Arakhsita Das** are called *sada-goswami* (six apostles). Arakhsita Das, the seer of Olasuni, was the author of *Mahimandala Geeta*, the *Bhakti Tikaa*, the *Saptaanga Abadhuta Samhita* and the *Tatvasara Geeta*. These saints believed in Vaishnavism and also developed the *gyâna mishrâ bhakti mârگا* as has been stated earlier. They composed numerous texts, *mâlikas* and devotional poems. Also, many prophecies are made by these seers in their numerous works. Most of the literature was written by hand on palm-leaves using the Odia script.

7.7 Upendra Bhanja and ornate poetry

After the age of the Panchasakhas, some prominent works came to be written, which include *Usabhilasa* by Sisu Sankara Dâs, the *Rahasya-manjari* by Deva-Durlabha Dâs and the *Rukmini-bibhâ* by Kârtika Dâs. A new form of novel in verse evolved at the beginning of the 17th century when Ramachandra Pattanayaka wrote *Hârâvali*. The prominent poets of the period, include Dinakrushna Dâs, Upendra Bhanja and Abhimanyu Sâmantâ Simhâr. Their *kâvyas* especially those of Upendra Bhanja, are characterised by elaborate ornamentation and depiction of eroticism.

Upendra Bhanja's works *Baidehisha Bilâsa*, *Koti Brahmânda Sundari* and *Lâvanyabati* are considered landmarks in the history of Odia literature. He was conferred the title **Kabi Samrât** (the emperor of poets) for his consummate artistry and rhetorical skill. He is famous for his innovative similes and is regarded as the Kâlidâs of Odisha.

In the history of Odia literature, the medieval period, i. e. the period from the last part of 17th century A.D to the first part of the 19th century A.D, is known as **kâvya-Yuga or rîti-Yuga**. Upendra Bhañja is the most renowned poet of this period. In his hands, Odia could rival Sanskrit in its richness and subtlety. He enriched Odia language and literature and Odishan culture by composing numerous epics, lyrics and lexicons besides creating many new poetic forms, to name a few, *chhânda*, *boli*, *poi*, *chautisâ* and *chaupadi* etc.

In Odia literature, **rîti** generally implies elaborate literary ornamentation and embellishment. Though different from Sanskrit 'rîti', Odia 'rîti' is a reflection of the former. The rîti-yuga in Odia literature, having its genesis in the *Rukmini-Bibhâ* of Kârttika Dâs and *Śâśisheṇâ* of Pratâp Rây, attained new heights of excellence in the compositions of Upendra Bhañja. In Bhañja's poems, the influence of

Sanskrit poets like Bhâravi, Mâgha, Úrîharsha and Kâlidâs is clearly discernible. Upendra has embellished the Odia language through various figures of speech, musical metres, depictions of nature and the use of several other poetical devices. His word-play has almost made his epics inaccessible to ordinary readers. Dhanañjaya Bhañja, the grandfather of Upendra and poet of *Raghunâtha-Vilâsa*, had inspired Upendra to compose epics in an ornate style.

In his epic poem *Prema Sudhânidhi* (16/15), he says ‘**Puñi ehi gîta nârikeḷa-phaḷa-bata**’ (This poem is like a coconut). In his *Lâbanyabatî* (16/44) also, he compares his poem as a juicy coconut which is beyond the reach of a monkey (*Nârikeḷa je rasa-pûra / Bhakshi napârai bânara*). In *Baidehîsa-Vilâsa* (52/52), he describes his poems as difficult but full of delight (*Budhe sarasa karkaśa rasâḷa e gîta*).

Upendra respectfully refers to Sâralâ Das, Baḷarâma Dâs in his poetic composition. His *Baidehîsa-Vilâsa*, an epic poem based on the life of Lord Rama, is composed in ‘ba’ **pûrvânuprâsa**. In writing this, he is deeply influenced by Bâiarâma Dâs.

A Sanskrit verse composed by Paṇḍit Mrutyunjaya Rath, a renowned litterateur of Odisha, is worth mentioning here. Emulating the Sanskrit style pertaining to Odia literature, Paṇḍit Rath has said:

**“Upamâ Bhanja-vîrasya tasyaiva chârtha-gauravaṃ /
Kallole pada-lâlityaṃ santi Chintâmaṇau trayah //”**

Love in Upendra’s writings is very sensuous, alluring and romantic. But it is called ‘*swakîyâ prîti*’, a love directed to one’s own wife, or to an unmarried maiden, the would-be wife. He has never supported or depicted ‘*parakîyâ prîti*’, one’s love for the wives of others. Such attitude strengthens the social discipline by preserving the ethical values of mankind, especially in Odia culture.

An illustration of the heart-touching love is cited here from his work, *Prema Sudhânidhi* (canto-XIV): the young lover and his beloved maiden pine for each other during a period of separation. The prince passionately writes a love letter to his sweetheart, consoling her. One of the stanzas in Odia addressed to the princess is:

“Dûre thile pâsé achhi thibu ehâ gheni /
Kete dûre Chandra kete dûre Kumudinî /
Prîti abheda tâñkara /
Jete dûre thile je jâhâra se tâhâra //”

This may be rendered in English as follows:

“Though I am far from you I’m very near you
bear this in mind, my dear!

The moon and the lily are far from each other
but the love that binds them is intense

Distance makes no difference to lovers who belong to each other.”

Upendra Bhanja introduced about 32,300 new words to Odia language and literature. Plot and character play a negligible role in Bhanja’s writing; they are characterized by lively experiments with technique.

Upendra Bhanja has made a significant contribution to Odia literature. He has left an ever-lasting impression on Odisha’s public life. He is remembered now and will be remembered by future generations. In this context the lines the poet, Gopabandhu Das wrote on Upendra deserve to be quoted:

“O Upendra

The pandits recite your lines at royal courts

Gay travelers do so on the road.

The peasants in the fields and ladies in the inner wings of houses,

And the courtesans, too, do so while they dance”.

Dinakrushna Das’s *Rasokallola* and Abhimanyu Samanta Simhara’s *Bidagdha Chintamani* are also prominent kâvyas of this time. These poets significantly influenced modern Odia literature. Towards the end of the rîti era, the age of Upendra Bhanja, four major poets emerged and gave new directions to Odia literature. These were: **KabiSûrya Baladeb Rath, Brajanâth Badajenâ, Gopal Krushna Pattanaik and Bhima Bhoi**. Kabisurya Baladev Rath wrote *champus* and *chautishas*, which were new literary forms. Brajanath Badjena inaugurated a new tradition of prose fiction. His *Chatura Vinoda* (Tales for Amusement) seems to be the first work that deals with different kinds of *rasas*, predominantly the *bibhatsa rasa*, but it often verges on nonsense.

7.8 Bhima Bhoi : The Saint poet

Bhima Bhoi, the poet-prophet of the Mahima sect, raised his voice against prevailing social injustices, religious bigotry, and caste discriminations. With his firm belief in one God, a society free of discrimination, and in one religion, he led this movement from Khaliapali Ashrama. His mission was “Jagata Uddhara” (liberation of the entire world).

The 19th century in India was a period of decadence and disintegration that called for religious and social reform. Mahima Dharma emerged as a *yuga dharma* (religion of the age) at a time of transition (*yugasandhi*). It appears as a *loka dharma* (religion of the masses), when discriminations based on race, caste and class were rife. In 19th - century Odisha, when this religion developed, society was already riddled with divisive tendencies, casteism, selfishness, savagery and coercion. In the field of religion, irrationality and superstition reigned and corruption was rampant.

Mahima Dharma is contemporary to socio-religious movements like Brahmo Samaj, Prarthana Samaj and Arya Samaj. Yet Mahima dharma differs radically from these. It rested on indigenous foundations and had nothing to do with external forces. It is exclusively Odishan and yet its vision embraced the whole of mankind.

Mahima Gosain, the Guru of Bhima Bhoi, is said to be the original founder of Mahima Dharma. The devotional songs composed by Bhima Bhoi are responsible for the spread of the Mahima religion. Mahima dharma rapidly gained popularity in the tribal belts of not only Odisha but also of neighboring states such as Andhra, Chhattishgarh, Bengal and Assam.

No texts written by Mahima Gosain, the founder of the religion, has been discovered. His oral commandments known as *guru âjñâ* form the basis of this religion. The doctrines are comprehensively reflected in the poetry of Bhima Bhoi. Hence Bhima Bhoi’s writings constitute the earliest source of Mahima literature and codes of conduct. Spreading the central message of Mahima dharma was one of the major objectives of his writings.

Bhima Bhoi dreams of a world that will be ruled by divine laws a world where nothing but the supreme truth will prevail. He raised a powerful voice against inequality among human beings. He included women in the fold of his religion and upheld radical and progressive views like female education and secularism. His immortal words continue to resonate even today:

Let my soul be condemned to hell but let the universe be redeemed

This soul-stirring couplet finds a pride of place in the entrance of the UN building.

Some of his works have been lost, but those that remain show in ample measure the greatness of Bhima Bhoi. They include *Stuti Chintamani*, *Brahmanirûpaṇa Gîta*, *Ādianta Gîta*, *Chautisâ Granthamâlâ*, *Nirveda Sâdhanâ*, *Śruti Nisêdha Gîta*, *Manusabha Mandala*, *Mahima Vinoda*, in four volumes (unpublished), *Brihat Bhajana Mala* and *Bangala Ātha Bhajan*. Some of his works have also been translated into Telugu and in Vijayanagaram people still sing these bhajans. His magnum opus *Stuti Chintamani* is undoubtedly his most important work.

7.9 Modern Odia Literature

The Modern period in Odia literature is characterised by new interpretations, new ways of learning and evaluation.

Odisha was the last to come under British rule in 1803. It formed parts of the neighboring states, Bengal, Bihar, central provinces, Andhra and Madras. The deteriorating administration leading to the infamous famine, *Na'anka Drubhikshya* and the missionary activities backed by the Government. The attempt at destroying the language and cultures of Odisha created great resentment among the Odia-speaking people.

7.9 (a) Language as a source of identity:

In 1867, Deputy Magistrate Rangalal Bandhopadhyaya spoke in public meeting of the primacy of Bengali over Odia. Well-known Bengali scholar Rajendralal Mitra declared that there was no need to have a separate language for a mere 20 lakh Odia population. In fact, Mitra argued that Odisha was doomed to remain backward so long as it had a separate language. The Bengali bureaucrats tried to replace Odia language and script by Bengali. Odia was replaced by Hindi as a school language in western Odisha. Some Bengali clerks claimed that Odia was not a separate and original language and was a mere dialect of Bengali. They sought to persuade the colonial authority to abolish all Odia vernacular schools in Odisha and to change them into Bengali vernacular schools. The collector, Balasore and noted linguist **John Beames** examined both the languages closely and concluded that as a separate language ***“Uriya extends along the sea coast from Subarnarekha to near Ganjam. Landwards, its boundary is uncertain; it melts gradually into the Boud and other rude hill dialects and co-exists with them.”*** He refuted the claim that Odia was a dialect of Bengali. He proved that Odia was more ancient than Bengali, and it had a richer literature. In the Odisha division, there were only seven Odia school teachers; Bengalis formed the majority of teachers, even in remote areas. Consequently, Bengali text books were prescribed for Odia students. At that time, Radhanatha Ray, Fakir Mohan Senapati and Madhusudan Rao were major cultural figures and they promoted Odia by publishing a large number of text-books.

7.9 (b) Madhusudan Das:

Madhusudan Das (1848-1934), popularly known as Utkal Gourab, stands out as a distinguished nationalist who contributed significantly to India's struggle for independence, has a profoundly modern outlook. He gave up his lucrative legal practice in Kolkata and returned to Odisha. Though a Christian, he fought the case of the Puri Gajapati and restored to him the care-taker status of the Jagannath temple.

Madhusudan was the founder of Utkal Sammilani, an Odia movement and pioneer in the field of industrial development. In fact, he was a torch-bearer in the Swadeshi movement in the country. **He organised the first cooperative enterprise of the country 'The Cuttack Cooperative Store'** as early as 1898, after completion of his memorable journey to European countries. He had the distinction of being **the first Indian Minister who resigned office on grounds of principle**. In 1897, he founded Odisha Artware Works, set up in 1905 the export-oriented Utkal Tannery in close association with untouchables.

He observed: “We have expressed our desire for Home Rule, but we do not realize to what extent we depend on other nations. It should be understood that a country which supplies raw materials to other countries for production of industrial goods is industrially very backward. We cover our bodies with clothes, produced in other countries. The luxuries and necessities which we need every day are supplied by other countries. Still, we want self-rule. What is the meaning and purpose of this self-rule? He cited two examples: one related to General Togo of Japan who used shoes made only in Japan, and the other was of an Englishman buying English shoes at a higher cost instead of buying cheaper German shoes. [Joshi, D. K.: *Madhubabu - The Great Personality; Orissa Review, April-May- 2009, P6-7*].

He fought incessantly for a separate province of Odisha, presenting the case of Odisha to members of the British Parliament. Finally, his dream was realised. In his death-bed he received the news that Odisha would be granted the status of a separate province. He was an orator of the first order and a popular poet.

7.9 (c) Literary Movements :

The first printing of the “Bible” in Odia was done in 1804 by Christian missionaries with the help of Pandit Purushottam Ram and Mrityunjya Bidyalkar. In this year Pandit Purushottam Ram wrote a Grammar of Odia in English titled *A Grammar of the Orissa Language*. After Mission Press, was set up at Cuttack in 1836, Odia literature received a new impetus. From here, books were printed and journals and periodicals became available in Odia [Prusty S. K.: *Comprehensive Criticism of Odia Language and Literature, A.K. Mishra Publishers Pvt. Ltd. Cuttack-2011, p-238*]. The first Odia news magazine, *Kujibara Patrika* was brought out by Kujibara Matha of Cuttack in 1769 [Nayak Labanya, *Sadhu sundar Das: Jiban o Sadhana, Jhankar, 31 years, Vol-10*]. This handwritten magazine was published under the editorship of Sadhu Sundar Das, who was not only a holy sage but also a socio- religious reformer, teacher of Vedantism, a great orator and staunch nationalist. [Bisoi, Mamata: *Sadhusundra Das o Kujibara, Konark (Journal of Odisha Sahitya Academi), Vol-57, 1985*] *Kujibar Patrika* was the first independent literary organ of Odisha in which political, religious, social and administrative affairs of the country were commented upon and which attracted the attention of ordinary people and British rulers and Rajas and missionaries alike. This sadhu’s views in his magazine were published and commented upon in London Baptist Missionary reports and journals. [Pattanayak Pathani, *Sanskriti – Itihas - Sahitya: Kujibara Publication, Cuttack, 2007, p-163*].

The first Odia printed magazine *Jñânârûṇa* was published in Cuttack in 1849. It was a Christian missionary journal. The first Odia journal *Utkal Deepika* came to be published in 1866 under the editorship of Gouri Sankar Ray. Its goal was to promote Odia literature and language and draw attention to lapses in government policies. The *Utkal Deepika* launched a campaign to bring all Odia-speaking areas together under one administration, to develop Odia language and literature and to promote and protect Odia interests.

In 1869, Bhagavati Charan Das started another newspaper *Utkal Subhakari* to propagate the Brahmo faith. In the 19th century, a number of newspapers came to be published in Odia. Prominent papers included *Utkal Deepika* (1866), *Jñânârûṇa* (1849), *Prabodha Chandrika* (1857), *Aruṇodaya*(1861), *Utkal Hiteisini*(1869), *Sambâda Vâhikâ*(1872) *Utkal Darpan*(1873), *Utkal Putra*(1873), *Sikshyaka*(1873), *Dharmabodhini*(1873), *Bhakti pradayini*(1873), *Purusottam Chandrika*(1874), *Swadeshi*(1876), *Bârtâ Laharî*(1877), *Utkal Madhûpa*(1878), *Odia gazette*(1879), *Kohinur*(1880), *Dhûmaketu*(1883), *Pravâti*(1885), *Târaka*(1885), *Purusottam Deepikâ* (1880), *Sanskâraka*(1883), *Śikshâbandhu*(1885), *Odia Students*(1886), *Nabasambâda*(1887), *Jagannâth Patrikâ* (1887), *Samyabâdî* (1888), *Odia Patriot*(1888), *Āshâ* (1888), *Sambalpur Hiteisîni*(1889), *Sâhitya Sammilani*(1889), *Utkalpravâ* (1891), *Brâhma*(1892), *Indradhanu*(1893), *Bijuli*(1893), *Utkal chikitsaka*(1894), *UtkalBandhu*(1896), *Prabhâtîtârâ* (1896), *Ganjâm news*(1896), *Utkal Sâhitya*(1897), *Ganjâm Odia Hitabadinî* (1899). These periodicals performed another vital function in that they encouraged modern literature and offered a broad base for Odia-language writers.

7.9 (c.1) Radhanath Ray:

Radhanath Ray (1848–1908) is the most well-known poet of this period. He absorbed western influence, and his kavyas (long poems) included *Chandrabhaga*, *Nandikeshwari*, *Usha*, *Mahajatra*, *Darbar* and *Chilika*. He is the first poet to introduce western forms of literature and free verse in Odia. Besides, with Madhusudan Rao he popularized a form of poetry which is subsequently created an epoch in Odia literature. His writings were inspired by many English authors like Shelley, Keats, Scott and Wordsworth. He gave new directions to Odia poetry by introducing several new forms. He penned satire inspired by the writings of Dryden and Alexander Pope, denouncing despots, tyrants and hypocrites. He is viewed as a national poet of the first order in Odisha.

7.9 (c.2) Fakir Mohan Senapati:

Fakir Mohan Senapati (1843–1918), the most well known Odia fiction writer, was also the first writer of realistic prose fiction in India. Senapati worked as a Dewan in the court of feudatory chiefs recognized by the British administration. Enraged by the attempts of some Bengalis to marginalize or replace the Odia language, he took to creative writing late in life. He translated *The Mahabharat* and *Râmâyan* from Sanskrit, wrote poetry and experimented with many forms of literature. He is now known primarily as the father of modern Odia prose fiction. His **Lachhmania** (1868) is widely recognised as **the first short story of Indian Literature**. [Mansingh, Mayadhar: *A History of Oriya Literature*, Sahitya Academy, Rabindra Bhavan, 35 Ferozeshah Road, New Delhi-1, 2nd Printing-2005, p-166]. It was published in the journal 'Bodhadayini', edited by himself in Balasore. His "**Rebati**" (1898) is the **first tragic short story** in Indian literature. "Rebati" is the story of a young girl whose dream of receiving education is shattered by cruel circumstances. His other famous short stories are "**Patent Medicine**", "**Dak Munshi**" and "**Adharma Bitta**". Fakir Mohan's chief claim to ever lasting fame rests on *Chha Maana Atha Guntha* (1902). This was **the first Indian novel to deal with the exploitation of landless peasants by a feudal lord. It was written well before the October Revolution in Russia and emergence of Marxist ideas in India**. Although it contains a critique of British colonial rule, the novel offers a powerful indictment of many other forms of social and political power as well. What makes *Chha Mana Atha Guntha* (Six Acres and a third) unusual is that its critical vision is embodied in its narrative style. Senapati's novel (*the Odia original was serialized in 1897-1899 and published as a book in 1902*) is justly seen as representing the apex of the tradition of literary realism in 19th century Indian literature. John Boulton, former professor of Oriental studies of London University, says '**Fakirmohan depicted the time when the innocent people had to suffer by the brutal atrocity of the landlords. He not only protested the brutality but also preached ethical and religious values of social and spiritual/ religious commitment of literature in Odia.**'

7.9 (c.3) Gangadhar Meher:

Gangadhar Meher (1862-1924) was born in Barpali of present-day Bargarh district in western Odisha in a weaver's family. He was a renowned Odia poet of the 19th century known as *swabhab kabi*. He was a born poet. In almost all his writings one comes across the working of a highly original mind.

His poetic creations include "*Tapasvini*", "*Pranaya Ballari*", "*Kichaka Badha*", "*Indumati*", "*Utkala Lakshmi*", "*Ayodhya Drushya*", "*Kabita Kallola*", "*Bharati Bhabana*", "*Arghya Thali*", "*Kabita Mala*", "*Krushaka Sangita*", "*Kumara Janmotsav*", "*Bhakti Upahar*", "*Padmini*" and was much sought after by the literary circle of the time. His poems were simple, musical and bore distinct affinities with ancient Odia poetry. While Radhanath borrowed his themes from the west, Gangadhar's stories came from the Indian mythological tradition.

Gangadhar was not only a literary artist, he was also in the forefront of the Odia movement. At that time, Hindi was imposed as a school language of Sambalpur. Sripati Mishra in his book *Simla yatra* writes of

five persons from Sambalpur who went to Simla to meet the Viceroy to present the case of Odia language. It is primarily through their effort that Hindi was replaced as a school language by Odia. The following lines composed by Gangadhar have lost none of their resonance and appeal even today :

Mâtrubhumi Mâtrubhâsâre mamatâ jâ hrude janami nâhi I

Tâku jadi jñâni gaṇare gaṇibâ ajñâni rahibe kâhin? II

If one considers those who feel no affection for their motherland and mother tongue knowledgeable how will one describe those who are ignorant ?

7.9 (c-4) Madhusudan Rao:

Madhusudan Rao (1853-1912) was born in Puri. He passed FA from Ravenshaw College in the year 1871. During that period there was no scope for doing B.A in Odisha. So he served as a teacher in various schools from 1871. He became the deputy inspector of education in 1880 when Radhanath Ray was the Inspector. Text books in Odia were not available in Odisha in those days. Radhanath Ray and Madhusudan Rao wrote first text-book in Odia to find a solution to the problem. A book titled **Varnabodha** was published in 1895, which was written by Madhusudan Rao. This book is a precious asset of Odia language. His other books *Sishubodha*, *Balabodha*, *Sahitya Kusum*, and *Prabandhamala* etc. were great sources of inspiration for writers of Odia text-books.

He adopted the Brahma faith in 1870 and played a major role in preaching the same. He was a social reformer. He established Alochana Sabha in Cuttack in 1890, which grew into Utkal Sahitya Samaj. He was the first President of Utkal Sahitya Samaj. This institution continues to exist and flourish today. He wrote many essays and poems. *Basanta Gatha* & *Utkal Gatha* are his best poems. He was a poet, philosopher and idealist.

7.10 Contemporary Literary Scene :

With the advent of the freedom movement, Odia writers came under the influence of Gandhiji and nationalism. Utkalmani Gopabandhu Das (1877–1928) with four other dedicated teachers founded a school at village Satyabadi near Sakshigopal. A new literary movement was led by this group of writers. Godabarisha Mohapatra, Kuntala Kumari Sabat and Laxmikanta Mahapatra are the other renowned names of this age.

After independence, Odia literature has taken great strides. Besides expanding the genres of novel, short story, essay, drama, poems, newer genres such as biography and autobiography, travelogues, belle letters, children's literature etc. were created. Writings by left - oriented authors, *dalits* and by women have enriched post-Independence Odia literature in many ways. Odia literature has not only established itself in the Pan-Indian context; it has also made a mark at the international level.



Conclusion

Government of India has established four criteria for granting classical status to a modern Indian language. Odia, which has sustained a developmental history of 2500 years of language development and more than 1500 years of literary development, amply fulfils these conditions.

The earliest reference to Odia language and culture is found in Bharata's *Natya Sastra* (4th Cen. B.C.). It refers to Udra *bibhasha* and Audra Magadhi. Panini, the eminent Sanskrit grammarian (3rd cen. B.C.) refers to the Kalinga Janpada (*Astadhyai* - 4/1/70). *Boudhayana* (6th Cen. B.C) refers to Kalinga being outside the Aryan (Vedic) fold.

Odia, being the most conservative among all the Aryan languages preserves its Austric substratum and Dravidian and Aryan super structure.

The Buddhist and Jain texts refer to Kalinga Janapada. The *Anguttara Nikaya* (part-1) refers to the two Utkal *sarthabahas* (wandering merchants) Tapassu and Ballika, who became the first disciples of Buddha. Megasthenis, Pliny, Ptolemy, Strabo, Periplus of the Erythraean Sea and others refer to Calinge, giving the geographical location to a cultural area.

Pre-history

Pre-history begins with the discovery of earliest human relics and human habitations. The earliest man lived with stone tools and technologies attendant on these. The next phase involves a transition from stone to metal. This transition not only revolutionized tools and techniques but also expanded creativity and innovativeness. The phase that followed it is transition to settled cultivation. Relieved from food-gathering and hunting, this gave sufficient time to people for speculation, concentration and knowledge-creation. This prompted them to see the world through words and create philosophies and literatures.

Four prehistoric sites have been found in Odisha. They are Kulianna, Golabai, Sisupalagarh and Asurabandha. The tools and technologies recovered from these places have been reported in historical journals. The skeleton found at Asurabandha is dated between 3500 and 4000 years.

Upper, middle and lower pleistocene sites have been identified in Odisha and palaeolithic tools, vertebrate fossil remains have been found in these sites. Odisha, like Bhimbetika (Madhya Pradesh)

and Mirzapur (U.P.) is known for its upper paleolithic cave painting sites such as Bikramkhol, Ushakothi, Ullafgad, Gudahandi, Jogimatha. More than 5775 cave paintings(suggested dates 20,000-1000 B.C.), have been discovered, which are found nowhere else.

Odisha is the only state where all the three, pre-Brahmi, (early) Brahmi and post-Brahmi scripts have been discovered. There are some scripts which are yet to be deciphered.

History

History deals with changed connectivity between dynasties over time. In this presentation, attention has been focussed on alternate developments. For example, during the Bhaumakara dynasty, eight Goswaminis (Queens) succeeded one after another, which is unparalleled in world history.

Attention has also been focussed on the development of art and architecture, literature and culture. Inscriptions on stone walls and copper-plate grants to families and temples provide continuity to the development of writing in languages. The developmental history of Odia script and language has been demonstrated through inscriptions and copper-plate grants. The shape of Odia letters are determined by the media used for writing. Writing on palm leaves with an iron stylus is responsible for the round shape of Odia letters. Development of Odia language through natural processes of change, Sanskritisation and Prakritisation, borrowing and meaning change have been indicated across time. Depiction of dance, *mudras*, musicians, celestial ladies with musical instruments and references to royal patron age to dance, music and literature in the inscriptions indicate the socio-political and cultural conditions of the time. The 1st Century remains of an amphitheatre in Udayagiri of Bhubaneswar indicates the performance of plays. This also indicates availability of material for entertainment, education and communication.

Maritime History

Overseas contact and maritime trade of ancient Odisha is an established fact. The advantage of being located on the seashore led to the development of some natural ports. The Kalingan traders travelled the countries in South and South-East Asia. The picture of a giraffe on the Sun Temple of Konark speaks of the trade relations of Kalinga with African countries in 13th century AD. The picture of elephants being carried by a boat speaks of vigorous internal maritime activities. The prosperous overseas trade resulted in the economic prosperity of ancient Odisha. This economic prosperity enabled it to rebuild itself after the devastation brought about by the Kalinga war, within two centuries under the rule of Kharavela.

Continuous and prolonged overseas interaction gradually led to political and cultural colonisation for centuries. The traces of prolonged political and cultural interaction between Kalinga and the South and South East Asian countries can be seen even today in their religion, language, literature, art and architecture.

Language

One comes across a sustained developmental history of language in the inscriptions, copper-plate grants and palm-leaf manuscripts. Ashokan edicts (3rd cen. B.C.) which give an account of a bloody war, known as the Kalinga war. It was a war fought between an empire-builder and a people, which alone can account for one million dead, one million taken prisoners and one and a half million banished. The language of these edicts is eastern Pali written in eastern Brahmi script. The style of these edicts is different from that of the north and the west. Some vocabulary items in these are used in Odia even today.

Kharavela's Hatigumpha inscription (1st Cen. B.C) is a watershed in the cultural and literary history of Odisha. By demonstrating unparalleled valour, he not only extended his territory, but brought back the Kalinga Jina from Magadha, which the Nanda Kings had taken away after conquering Kalinga. The

inscription is not merely a royal panegyric; it offers a vivid account of the political and cultural conditions that prevailed in India. The inscription speaks of the training of prince Kharavela in military arts, literature, mathematics and social science. He was reputed to be a great patron of the arts and was credited with encouraging dance and music. The vocabulary items used in this inscription are in use in Odisha even today,

The continuity of development in language, literature and culture after Ashoka and Kharavela can be seen in the following landmarks in the inscriptional history of Odia :

1. Satrubhanja Asanpât inscription 3rd century A.D.
2. Nibinna Plate. 7th century A.D.
3. Bajrahasta Dev's Parlakhemundi inscription 9th century A.D.
4. Soro Gandibeda inscription 10th century A.D.
5. Urajam Inscription – 1051 A.D. (The first complete Odia inscription written in Odia script.).

Literature

The earliest literary evidence is provided by *Baudha Gâna O Dohâ*, (8-12th C.A.D.), short poems written by Kanhupâ, Luipâ, Sabairpâ, Gunduripâ, Sântipâ, Bhusukupâ, which are collected in ***Âscharjya Carjyâchaya*** popularly known as ***Boudha Gâna O Dohâ***, written in the proto-language of Odia, Assamese, Bengali and Hindi. These songs expound the tenets of Vajra Jâna and Sahaja Jâna. They merged into tantra Jâna and flourished into the Natha cult. The vocabulary and the sentences used in these poems read as though they are contemporary odia :

1. Nagar bâhire dombi tohari kudiâ (Kânhipada, No-10)
2. Uchâ Uchâ pâbata tahin basai sabari bâli I Morângi picha parihana gibata gunjari mâli II
(Sabarapâda, N0-28)
3. Tulâ dhunidhuni ânsure ânsu I ânsu dhunidhuni nirabara sesu II (Sântipâdâ)
4. Kânabadi khânti mana ketuâla I sadguru bane (bachane) dhara patuâla II (Saharapâda)
5. Ekaso padumo chowshathi pakhudi I Tahin chadhi nachao dombi bapudi II (Kanhupada)
6. Tiadâchâpi joini de anka bâli I kamala kulisa ghânta karahu biali II (Gunduripâda) etc.

Although Boudha Gana O Doha is claimed to be the precursor of Odia, Assamese, Bengali and Maithili, this is close to Odia, the eldest of the eastern languages. These are also signs of Vajrajana, Sahajajana, Tantrajana etc., the heartland of which was ancient Odisha.

The pre-Sarala literary scene is primarily oral. Sorasâ, Chautisâ, Webi, Loli, Gitâ, samhitâ were orally retained by the illiterate masses. From these, *Mâdalâ Pânji* (chronicle of the Gajapati rulers and of the Puri Jagannâth temple of the 11th century) has been retrieved. Nâtha literature beginning from the 12th century is followed by *Sishurveda*, (13th century) and *Rudra Sudhânidhi* (14th century), *Somanâth Vrata Kathâ* (13th century), *Nagulichaturthi Vrata Kathâ* (14th century) *Kâkacharita*, *Dâmodar Osâ* (15th century). These are some of the literary documents retrieved from the oral sources.

One of the most important pre-Sarala literary texts is *Bichitra Ramayana* by Sidheswar Das. Unlike Sarala Das, who wrote *Mahabhârata*, *Bilankâ Râmâyana* and *Chandi Purâna*, which are purâns, *Bichitra Râmâyana* is a kâvya. It comes out of the Austric *akshara Vrutta* mould and enters into *râga*, *chhânda*, *Vrutta* of the Aryan music tradition. The use of Prakrit words in abundance gives evidence of its pre-Sârâla composition. This was so popular that it was translated in to Telugu by six eminent Telugu poets, one after another.

Sarala Das is the major creator and consolidator of the Odia language and the Poet Laureate of Odisha. His *Mahabharata* is not a translation but a transcreation. Many new stories with local flavour have been added to the *Mahabharata*. One such story is “Satya Âmba” (true mango) story. He has added a new story called “Duryodhana Raktanadi Santarana” (crossing the river of blood by Duryodhana). This story evokes such passion that it brings tears to the readers and listeners. He has also reworked some of the original stories in the *Mahabharata*. In the story of Dharma Baka (the divine crane), one hundred and twenty questions in the original have been reduced to twenty keeping in view the changed socio-ethical conditions. Yudhistira is married to the daughter of an Odia merchant in Sarala *Mahabharata* And, what is more important is the fact that he has used many Prakrit words whenever he found it necessary to express new ideas. *Laxminarayana Bachanika* is a manifesto of feminism of that time.

Sarala Das was followed by five major authors known as Panchasakhâ and a host of minor ones. The five are Jagannath Das, author of *Odia Bhagabat*, Balaram Das, the author of *Dâṇḍi Râmâyana*, Achyutananda Das, author of *Śûnya Samhitâ*, Ananta Das author of *Hetu Udaya Bhagabat* and Yasobanta Das, the author of *Gobinda Chandra and Siva Swarodaya*.

The Assamese poet, Shankardev has not only popularized Odia Bhagavat in Assamese language, but also has played a key role in establishing the spiritual centres across Assam called **Namaghara** on the lines of Odia **Bhagavat Tungis**. After 158 years of the composition of *Bhagavat* in Odia, Sanatan Chakroborti was inspired to translate the *Bhagavata* in Bengali. Yet the **10th skanda** of the Odia Bhagavata could not be translated in to Bengali as he found Bengali language inadequate to express the exact devotional meanings of this particular skanda.

After the age of the Panchasakhas, some prominent works were written including the *Usabhilasa* of Sisu Sankara Das, the *Rahasya-manjari* of Deva-durlabha Das and the *Rukmini-Bibah* of Kartika Das. A new form of novel in verse evolved at the beginning of the 17th century when Ramachandra Pattanayak wrote *Hârâvali*. The most famous poets of the period, are Dinakrushna Das, Kabi Samrat Upendra Bhanja and Abhimanyu Samanta Simhar.

In the 17th century, a different literature in Odia as rich as that of Sanskrit was born. At that time contemporary Odia poet **Upendra Bhanja** not only wrote 80 *kavyas*, but also created many words that contributed to the resources of Odia language and literature. His diction having multiple meaning are very difficult to translate into other languages. Upendra raised Odia poetry to the level of Sanskrit in poetry style and word play. Because of the rich musicality of his songs he was popular among the women at home and farmers in the field. He was conferred the title **Kabi Samrat** (Emperor) of Odia literature.

Odia *chhanda* is different from Sanskrit *chhanda mâtrâ Vrutta* Odia *akshara Vrutta*. is locally named *dâṇḍi Vrutta*. The two great Odia epics Sarala’s *Mahabharat* and Balaram Das’s *dâṇḍi Râmâyan* were written in this *Vrutta*. *dâṇḍi Vrutta* consists in unequal number of letters per line in a *pada*, whereas *matrâvrutta* is based on *guru-laghu* mâtrâ.

It will be evident from the above that Odia language has sustained a developmental history of 2500 years and Odia literature has a continuous history of at least 1500 years. It fulfills all the criteria set up by the Government of India for granting classical status to a modern Indian language.



ANNEXURE

ANNEXURE-I

रजिस्ट्री सं. डी. एल.—(एन)04/0007/2003—11

REGISTERED NO. D1—(N)04/0007/2003—11


भारत का राजपत्र
The Gazette of India

असाधारण

EXTRAORDINARY

भाग II—खण्ड 1

PART II—Section 1

प्राधिकार से प्रकाशित

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

सं. 21] नई दिल्ली, शुक्रवार, सितम्बर 23, 2011/ अश्विन 1, 1933 (शक)
No. 21] NEW DELHI, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 2011/ASVINA 1, 1933 (SAKA)

इस भाग में भिन्न पृष्ठ संख्या दी जाती है जिससे कि यह अलग संकलन के रूप में रखा जा सके।
Separate paging is given to this Part in order that it may be filed as a separate compilation.

MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE

(Legislative Department)

New Delhi, the 23rd September, 2011/Asvina 1, 1933 (Saka)

The following Act of Parliament received the assent of the President on the 23rd September, 2011, and is hereby published for general information.

THE CONSTITUTION (NINETY-SIXTH AMENDMENT) ACT, 2011

[23rd September, 2011.]

An Act further to amend the Constitution of India.

Enacted by Parliament in the Sixty-second Year of the Republic of India as follows:—

1. This Act may be called the Constitution (Ninety-sixth Amendment) Act, 2011. Short title.
2. In the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution, in entry 15, for the word "Oriya", the word "Odia" shall be substituted. Amendment of Eighth Schedule.

V.K. BHASIN,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

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The Odisha Gazette

EXTRAORDINARY
PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

No. 440, CUTTACK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21, 2012/ CHAITRA 1, 1934

LAW DEPARTMENT

NOTIFICATION

The 21st March, 2012

No.2980-Legis.-7/12/L.—Whereas under sub-section (1) of section 8 of the Orissa (Alteration of Name) Act, 2011 (15 of 2011), the State Government is empowered to make, by order, such adaptations and modifications of any law made before the 1st day of November, 2011, relating to any matter enumerated in Lists II and III of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution of India, whether by way of repeal or amendment, as may be necessary or expedient for the purpose of giving effect to the alteration of name of “Orissa” as “Odisha”;

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section (1) of section 8 of the said Act, the State Government do hereby make the following order, namely:—

1. (1) This order may be called the Odisha Adaptations of Laws Order, 2012.

(2) It shall be deemed to have come into force on the 1st day of November, 2011.

2. (1) In this order, unless the context otherwise requires,—

(a) ‘Act’ means the Orissa (Alteration of Name) Act, 2011 (15 of 2011);

(b) ‘appointed day’ means the 1st day of November, 2011 appointed under sub-section (2) of section 1 of the Act; and

(c) ‘existing law’ means any law as defined in clause (c) of section 2 of the Act, in respect of which the State Government has power to make adaptations and modifications under section 8 of the Act.

(2) The General Clauses Act, 1897 shall apply for the interpretation of this order as it applies for the interpretation of a Central Act.

3. (1) As from the appointed day,—

(a) in the long title including the preamble, if any, and short title of every existing law and the citation as to the number and year in any State Act, or any Regulations made under the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution of India referred to in every such existing law, for the word "Orissa" the word "Odisha" shall be substituted; and

(b) in every existing law for the word "Orissa", wherever it occurs in places other than those referred to in clause (a), the word "Odisha" shall be substituted.

(2) Every existing law shall, until altered, amended or repealed by the Legislature of the State of Odisha or other competent authority, have effect subject to the adaptations and modifications as indicated in sub-paragraph (1).

By order of the Governor

D. DASH

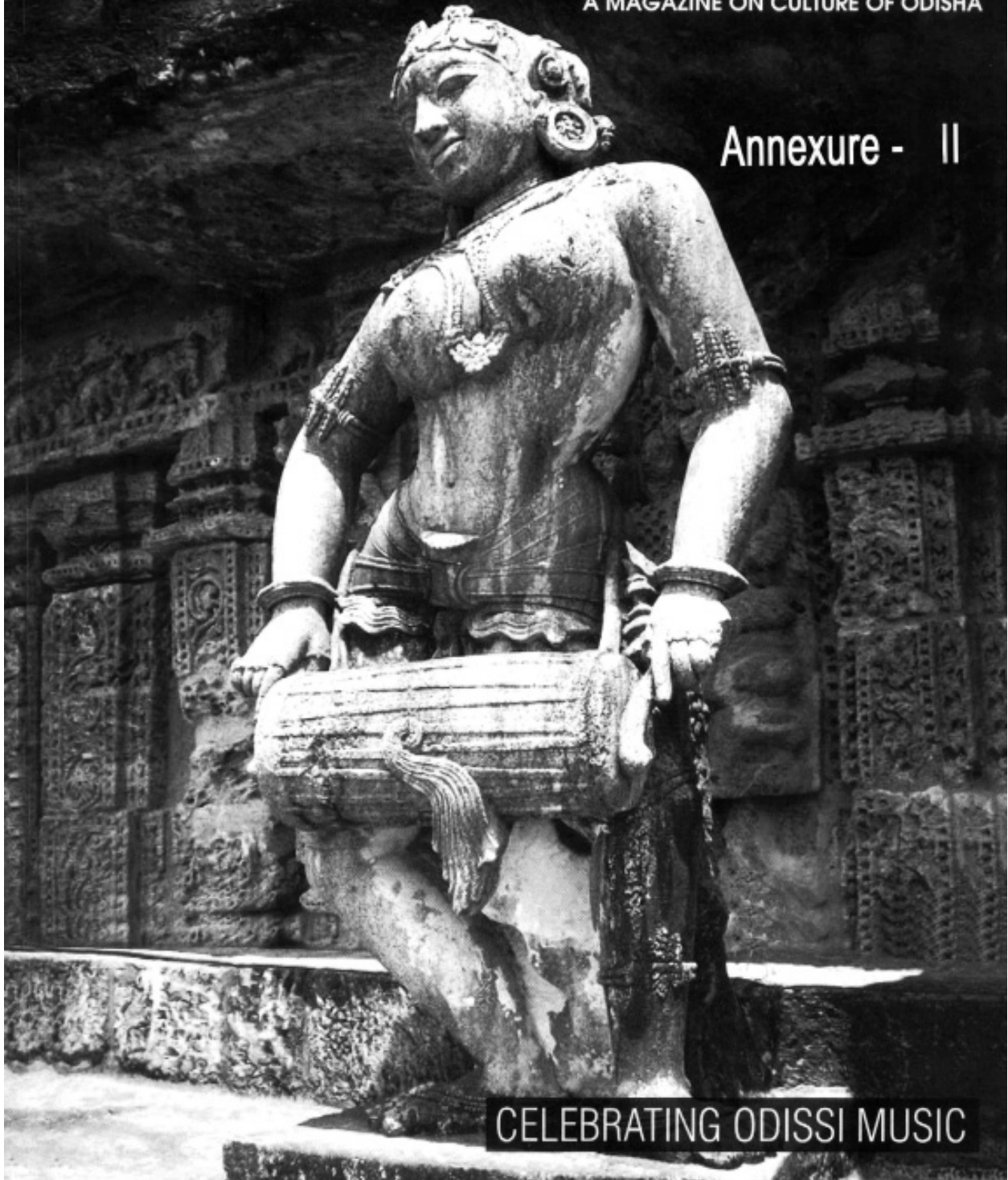
Principal Secretary to Government

THE ODISHAN

Vol 1, Issue 2, 2012

A MAGAZINE ON CULTURE OF ODISHA

Annexure - II



CELEBRATING ODISSI MUSIC

ANNEXURE-II(1)

28. *Atodyavidhi* (Classification of instrumental music)
29. *Tatavadya* (Stringed instruments)
30. *Susira Vadya* (Blowing musical instruments)
31. *Talavyanjaka* (Time measures)
32. *Dhruva Vidhana* (Rules regarding *Dhruva* song)
33. *Avanaddha Vadya* (Leather musical instruments)
34. *Prakeruti vicara* (Types of characters)
35. *Bhumika vikalpa* (Distribution of Roles)
36. *Natyavatarana* (Incarnation of the science of Dramatic performances)

Chapters 28 to 34 of the said text deal with music. The antiquity and classicality of Odissi music can be established after a thorough and proper interpretation. Bharata does not describe Odissi music in *Natyasastra*, but he has mentioned the characteristic features of *UdraMagadhi pravrutti*, *ardhaMagadhi giti*, *Udra vibhasa*, the procedure followed in *purvaranga* in *Udra desa*, the practice of entry to the stage in *Udra* and the regions where *Udra-Magadhi pravrutti* was in vogue. It is beyond doubt that the then *Udra* consisted of the major part of present day Odisha. *ArdhaMagadhi giti* is reflected conspicuously in Odissi songs and *Udra Vibhasa* developed into the present Odia language. Some related verses of *Natyasastra* are quoted and interpreted below. While discussing about the preliminary items of *natya*, *Bharatamuni* has mentioned the name of *Udra* state in *Natyasastra*.

*Yatha hyapaprayegastu prayukto dabati kanat
Ityevavantipancaladaksinatyodramagadhah.*
(N.S. 5:168)

Thus the people of *Avanti*, *Pancala*, southern states and *Udra desa* should perform the *purvaranga* of the two types of extant *tryasra* and *caturasra*

In the same chapter, Bharata has explained about four *gitis*. They are *Magadhi*, *ArddhaMagadhi*, *sambhivita* and *pruthula*. Here *ArddhaMagadhi* points to the *giti* prevalent in *Udra*.

*Castasro gitayah karya Magadhi hyardhaMagadhi
Sambhavitatha tatha caiva pruthula ca prakirttita.*
(N.S. 5: 177)

While describing about sentiment and emotional fervor in chapter-VI of *Natyasastra*, Bharat has classified five *pravrutti*s in vogue in dramatic

performance, namely, *Avanti*, *Daksinatya*, *AudraMagadhi*, *Pancali* and *Madhyama*.

*Avanti daksinatya ca tatha caivodraMagadhi
Pancali madhyama ceti vinjeyastu pravrttayab*
(N.S. 6: 25-26)

Here Bharata has categorically stated that *UdraMagadhi* is a separate *pravrutti*, and that its usage was in vogue in *Udra*. Some scholars hold the view that *Pancali* and *Madhyama* are one and the same. There is a *giti* called *Magadhi* named after *Magadha* but there is no mention of a *pravrutti* named after *Magadha* exclusively. On the other hand *UdraMagadhi pravrutti* is named after both *Udra* and *Magadha*.

Bharatamuni has named the states in the eastern part of Bharata, that use *UdraMagadhi*. Such states are *Anga*, *Vanga*, *Kalinga*, *Vatsa*, *Udra*, *Magadha*, *Paundra*, *Nepala*, *Antargiri*, *Bahirgiri*, *Plavangam*, *Malda*, *Mallavaartaka*, *Brahmottara*, *Bhargava*, *Margava*, *Pragyotisa*, *Pulindha*, *Videha*, and *Tamralipta*. (N.S. 13: 43 to 46)

In chapter XIII of *Natyasastra* Bharata has specified two fold modes of entry to the stage. In the case of *Avanti* and *Daksinatya pravrutti*s the entry is from the northern side where as in *Pancali* and *UdraMagadhi* the entry is from the southern side.

*Avantiyam daksinatyam parsvadvaramchottaram
Panclyamodramagadhyam yojyam dvaram tu
daksinam*

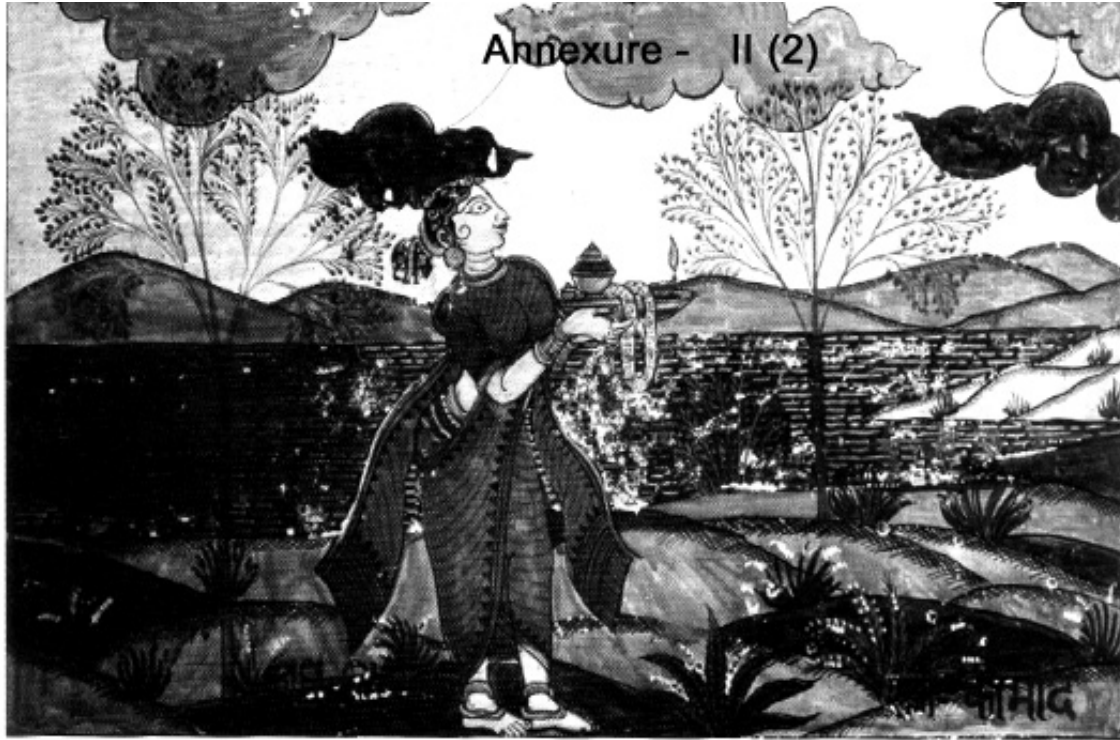
According to Bharata, the seven principal dialects are *Magadhi*, *Avanti*, *Pracya*, *Sauraseni*, *Ardhamagadhi*, *Vahluka* and *Daksinatya*. Besides these, there are many *Vibhasas* (minor or sub-dialects) such as *sakari*, *candali*, *savari*, *dravidi*, *andhri*, *udraja* (Odia) etc. In the 47th verse of chapter XVII volume-II of *Natyasastra* published by Odisha Sahitya Akademi in 2003, the word *Udraja* is not available. But in the 49th verse of chapter-XVII of *Natyasastra* published by Bharatiya Vidya Prakashana (Delhi-Varanasi) in 1998 the name of the sub-dialect called *Udraja* is clearly mentioned.

*Magadhyantija parcyasurasenyardhaMagadhi
Vahluka daksinatya ca sapta bhasa prakirititah.*
(48)

*Saverabhiracandalasacaravidodrajah
Hina vanecaranam ca vibhasa natake smrtah.*
(49)

Here it is observed that the sub-dialect known as

Annexure - II (2)



Parra Chitra. (Courtesy: Jagat Bosa)

Udra or what is known as Odia today, was used in drama and songs. During the period of compilation of *Natyasastra*, *Udra* was assigned to diggers of subterranean passages, prison warders, horse men etc. It establishes that *Udra* as a sub-dialect of *ArdhaMagadhi* was fully developed by the time of Bharata.

Bharata has used the term *abhyantara* in the sense of classical. When the performances follow the *laksana* (rules characteristics, principles) of the *sastras* it is called *abhyantara* (classical). If it is beyond the ken of the *sastras* it is known as *bahya*.

*Laksanabhyantaravaddhi tadabhyantaramisyate
Sastrabhyam bhaved yattu tadbahyamiti sanjitam*
(N.S. 24:77)

In the 29th chapter of *Natyasastra* Bharata has described the rules of *giti*s. The *Magadhi giti* is sung in different *gativrttis*, where as *ArdhaMagadhi* revises its *gativrtti* (tempo) after half time. This *ArdhaMagadhi giti* points to present day Odissi vocal.

*Bhinna crtti pragita ya sa gitirMagadhi mata
Arddhakalnivrtta ca vinjeya tvArddhaMagadhi*
(N.S. 29: 80)

Bharata has differentiated *ArdhaMagadhi giti* from *Magadhi*. He says that any song which has three tempos and three *yatis*, having three types of syllables

in equal measure and requires one of the 21 prescribed *talas* can be called *Magadhi*. Whereas songs which comprise of long and short syllable and move in two tempos (fast and medium) and have half the number of *Kalas* required for *Magadhi* can be called *ArdhaMagadhi*.

*Trilaya triyatiscaiva triprakaraksaranvita
Ekavimsatitala ca Magadhi samprakirtita
Guru laghvaksara kruta drutamadhya layanvita
Magadhyevardha talena yuktvyadardhMagadhi*
(N.S. 31: 404-405)

The lyrical poems, *padavali* verses and *talas* with *dhruva* and *mantha laksana* used in Odissi vocal follows the specifications of *Ardhamagadhi giti* as mentioned by Bharatamuni in *Natyasastra*. Odissi vocal is regular and it conforms to the rules mentioned in *Natyasastra* as well as *sastras* that followed. The music system known as *UdraMagadhi pravrutti* or *ArdhaMagadhi giti* during the period of Bharatamuni is most certainly, what we know now as, Odissi music. The then *Udra* is now a part of Odisha and erstwhile *UdraMagadhi* is now called the Odissi system. Any assimilation, merger, change, addition, deletion, alteration, innovation, improvisation or reformation that has happened over this long period of time is but natural. However, the basic principles governing any system of music remains immune to the vagaries of time. That is the case with Odissi music.

UNBROKER LISTORY OF ODISHE

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

ORIGIN OF UTKALA, KALIᅅGA OᅁRA AND KOᅁALA

Utkala.

According to purānic account the territory of Utkala is older than that of Kaliᅅga, Oᅁra and Kosala. The tradition regarding the origin of Utkala is associated with Vaivaᅁwata Manu, who has been represented as one of the earliest kings of India. It is said that Ilā-Sudyumna, one of the ten sons of Manu was a Kimᅁpuruᅁa¹ as he was becoming woman and man alternately for sometimes. As Ilā she became the mother of puruᅁavas, and as Sudyumna he became the father of three sons named Utkala, Vinīᅁāᅁva² and Gaya. When Manu divided India among his ten sons, Ilā-Sudyumna received a portion, out of which Pratiᅁᅁhāna was given to puruᅁavas, Utkala had the Utkala country, Vinīᅁāᅁva the Western territory and Gaya had the city of Gayā, as well as, the

1. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.* pp. 253-254.

2. 'Haritāᅁva' according to *Matsya* and *Padma Purāᅁas*.

Eastern regions.¹ These three territories were collectively known as Saudyumnas in the *Purāṇas*.

Kaliṅga.

The origin of Kaliṅga recorded in the *Purāṇas* is as mythical as that of Utkala. But the Purāṇic traditions connect Ilā-Sudyumna, the progenitor of Utkala, Viniṭāśva and Gaya with the ancestors of Balī, the father of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra, and Sumha. Pururavaś, the son of Ilā by Budha is known to have founded a new kingdom at Pratiṣṭhāna, modern Allahabad.² His fourth descendant Anu was a famous king in the East, after whom the territory was known as the Āṇava.³ This Āṇava kingdom was divided into two parts between Usinara and Titikṣu who were the sons of Mahā-manas, the seventh king from Anu.⁴ According to this division Usinara obtained the North-western part of the Āṇava kingdom, while the Eastern part of it passed to the hands of Titikṣu.⁵ King Balī flourished in the fifth generation of Titikṣu

-
1. सुषु मस्य तु दायाद ख्यः परम धार्मिकाः ।
उत्कलश्च गयश्चैव विनीताश्च भारत ॥
उत्कलस्योत्कलं राष्ट्रं विनीताश्चस्य पश्चिम ।
दिक्पूर्वा तस्य राजर्षे गंस्य तु गयापुरी ॥
Harivaṁśa—x, 18—19

See also

- Vāyu Purāṇa*—xxcv
- Brahma Purāṇa*—vii
- Matsya Purāṇa*—xi
2. *Vāyu*—xxcv, 21-23.
Brahma—vii, 21-23.
Harivaṁśa—x, 635-636.
3. See the Table of Royal Genealogies given by Pargiter in *A. I. H. T.*, p. 145.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 9.

and ruled over the Eastern Āṇava realm¹. An interesting episode in connection with the birth of the five sons of Balī is found in the *Purāṇas*² and the *Mahābhārata*.³ According to it the blind-Ṛṣi Dīrghatamas, son of Utathya (Usathya) while living in the hermitage of his cousin Saradvanta indulged in gross immorality with the brides of the younger Autathyas. He was, therefore, expelled from the hermitage and was made to float down the river Gaṅgā. The flow of the river carried him up to the Eastern-Āṇava kingdom, where king Balī accidentally rescued him.⁴ Dīrghatamas thereafter married a *Sudrā* nurse of Sudeṣṇā, the queen of Balī and had some children. Subsequently being requested by Balī, who was childless, he begot on queen Sudeṣṇā, by the law of levirate, five sons named Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Sumha.⁵ These five sons were called Bāleya-Kṣatriya or Bāleya-Brāhmaṇa.

After Balī, the Eastern Āṇava kingdom was divided among his five sons and these five divisions were respectively named after them.

The division of Balī's kingdom into Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Sumha, suggests that the Eastern

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1. Vide Pargiter, op. cit., Genealogical Table, p. 147.
 2. *Vāyu Purāṇa*—ic, 26-34 & 47-97
Matsya Purāṇa—xlviii, 23-29 & 43-89.
Brahmāṇḍa III, lxxi, 25-34 & 47-100
Harivamśa—xxx, Verse 1684-1690.
Bhāgavata IX—xxiii, 5.
 3. *Mahābhārata Ādi Parva* civ, 4193-4221.
 4. This also finds mention in the *Rigveda* I, 158 Śukta, hymns 3-5.
 5. This episode is also narrated in the *Mahābhārata (Ādi Parva civ)* with slight variation.

Āṇava territory had extended from modern Bhāgalpur Eastward upto the Ganges' mouth and thence over the entire sea-coast upto Gañjām. In the light of this, it may be pointed out that the Bāleya-Kṣatriyas occupied these fertile tracts from the Saudyumnas whose territories then remained confined to the hilly regions extending from Gayā to the Orissan uplands. This has led Pargiter to conjecture that the Bāleya-Kṣatriyas came from the sea as invaders and driving the Saudyumna stock into the hilly tracts, themselves occupied the Eastern regions forming the five kingdoms. But as the learned scholar himself admits, no such tradition is recorded in the Purānic literature.

Oḍra.

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*¹ states that besides Añga, Vañga, Kaliñga, Puṇḍra and Sumha, Dīrghatamas had a sixth son named Oḍra by queen Sudeśṇā. If this tradition is to be

1. अङ्ग वङ्गकलिङ्गाद्याः सुम्ह पुण्ड्रोद्ग सखिताः ।
यद्विरे दीर्घतमसो बलेः क्षेत्र महाक्षिताः ॥

Bhāgavata Purāṇa—IX, xxiii, 5

(*Gauḍīya maḥa* edition)

In the Bombay publication of this work the name 'Āndhra' is mentioned in place of 'Oḍra'. It may be said that the Purānic tradition has obvious intention of representing the early Eastern dynasties as of Āryan blood. But Āndhras being regarded by Brāhmanical literature as outside the pale of Āryan culture their progenitor could not have been represented by Purānic tradition as descendant of the Āryan R̥ṣi Dīrghatamas. Moreover, Jagannāth Dās, the famous poet of the 15th century A. D., who made a translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* into Oriya verses, mentions the name 'Oḍra' and not 'Āndhra', as stated below:—

accepted the Oḍra country named after this son may be regarded as the sixth division of the Āṇava realm.

Kosala.

Like Utkala, Kaliṅga and Oḍra, the territory of South Kosala has also been attributed to a mythical origin. Rāma, the prince of Kosala being banished with his wife and brother travelled South from Ayodhyā upto Prayāga, then South-west to the Narmadā valley, after which he came towards the region which may be identified with the modern Chhatisgarh area.¹ He dwelt there for a period of ten years and Pargiter believes² that Rāma's long stay in that region gave rise to the name of 'South Kosala' after his original home-land Kosala.

The *Rāmāyaṇa*³ itself states that after Rāma, the kingdom of Kosala was divided between his two sons, Lava and Kuśa; the former obtained North Kosala and ruled from Śrāvastī, while the latter got South Kosala and founded the city of Kuśavatī or Kuśasthalīpura near the Vindhya.

बलीर क्षेत्रे षड्वात्मजे
जन्मिले दीर्घवमा वीर्ये
अत्र ब्रह्म कलित्र तिति
सुहृत् पुण्ड्रये ओद्भवेनि

Śrīmad Bhāgavata, IX Ch. 23
(Oriya version).

This proves the authenticity of the Gauḍīyaṁaṭha edition and not of the Bombay publication.

1. *J. R. A. S.* 1894, pp. 231 f.
2. *A. I. H. T.* - p. 278.
3. *Rām.* VII, cxx. 7; cxxi, 5.

Exactly the same tradition has also been recorded in the *Padma Purāṇa*.¹

The *Mahābhārata*² speaks of a mass migration of the people of Eastern Kosala (Kosala) to the south owing to the terror caused by Jarāsandha and Pargiter asserts that these immigrants dwelt in the Chhatisgarh region.³ Very probably this exodus formed the nucleus with which the territory of South Kosala developed.

Land After People.

The origin of Utkala, Kaliṅga, Oḍra, and Kosala as discussed in the *Purāṇas* appear more mythical than historical. But the fact that South Kosala developed out of the settlement of the people migrating from Kosala provides a reasonable hypothesis for the origin of this territory. It appears plausible that Utkala, Kaliṅga and Oḍra like Kosala, were named after different stocks of people rather than after the names of some founder monarchs. Ancient Indian literature, both Brāhmanical and Buddhistic, while speaking of these territories, repeatedly refer to the people rather than the land, thus lending support to this view. Both *Sūta* and *Vinaya Piṭakas* speak of the 'Okkalā' or 'Utkala' tribe, while the epic and the *Purāṇas* mention the 'Utkalāḥ' people. In the *Apadāna*⁴ of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* of the *Sūta Piṭaka* the Okkalā are mentioned as a people along with the Mekalā. The *Mahāchattārisaka Sūta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*⁵

1. *Padma Purāṇa*, VI cclxxi, 54-55, *Anandāśrama Series*.

2. *Sabhā Parva* xiii, 591 & 592. *Ibid* xxx, 1117.

3. *A. I. H. T.* p. 278 note i & *J. R. A. S.* 1908 p. 32.

4. *Apadāna*, part ii, p. 350

5. *Majjhima Nikāya* iii, p. 78

See also *Aṅguttara Nikāya* ii, p. 31 and

Saṃyutta Nikāya—iii, p. 73.

states that Vassa and Bhañña, two tribes of the Ukkalā people were called *Ahetuvādīs*, *Akiriāvādīs* and *Nathikavādīs*, because they categorically denied Cause, Consequence and Reality. The expression of this text is explained by Barua¹ as unintelligible and uncouth jargon of the country of Ukkala. But Buddha Ghoṣa², the famous commentator of the 5th century A. D., explains it as—उक्कलाति = उक्कल जनपद वासिनो ।

वस्समजाति = वस्सो च मज्जे च द्वे जनाः ॥

This goes to indicate that the Ukkalā are the people forming the Ukkala Janapada.

The Mahāvagga³ of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* refers to the 'Ukkala Janapada', the home-land of Tapassu and Bhallika, who were the first lay disciples of the Buddha⁴. The *jātakas*⁵ also mention 'Ukkala Janapada' in connection with the episode of Tapassu and Bhallika.

In the *Droṇa Parva*⁶ of the *Mahābhārata* Karṇa is said to have conquered the Utkalas along with the Mekalas, Kaliṅgas, Āndhras and others, while in the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁷ Sugrīva is represented as directing Suśeṇa to send his retinue among other countries of the South to Mekala, Utkala and Daśārṇa. The *Vāyu*⁸ and the *Matsya*⁹ *Purāṇas* mention the Utkalas as a people associated with Mālavas, Karusas, Mekalas and others. Both

1. *I. C.*, I, pp. 126-27.

I. H. Q. IV, pp. 518-19.

Dr. Barua's view is undoubtedly wrong in the light of *Majjhima Commentary*, II p. 894, and *Aṅguttara Commentary*, II, p. 497.

2. *Manoratha Purāṇi*, Siamese edition, pt. ii, p. 377.

3. Oldenburg, *Vinaya Piṭaka* I, pp. 3 f.

4. *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya Text*, 1st *Khandhaka*, 4, (S. B. E. XIII, 81-84)

5. *Jāt.* I, p. 80.

6. *Droṇa Parva* iv, 122 also *Bhīṣma* ix, 348.

7. *Kiṣkīndhā Kāṇḍa*, *Sarga* 41.

8. *Vāyu*, xlv 132-33.

9. *Matsya* cxiii, 52-53.

Okkalā (Ukkalā) and Utkalāḥ were undoubtedly the same people and the territory inhabited by them was known as Ukkala or Utkala.

The same observation may also be made regarding the origin of Kaliṅga and Oḍra. Both in Pāli and Sanskrit works¹ we find repeated mention of Kaliṅgā, Oḍḍakā² as well as, Kaliṅgaḥ and Oḍraḥ respectively, while the Greeks³ also speak of the Calingae and the Oretes. It may, therefore, be pointed out that like Utkala the territories of Kaliṅga and

1. For Kaliṅga people :-

Pāli :-

Mahāgovinda Sūttānta of Dīgha Nikāya II, pp. 235 f.

See also the *Jātakas* like *Kaliṅgabodhi*, *Chullakaliṅga*, *Sarabhaṅga*, *Kurudhāmma*, *Vessantara* and *Kumbhakāra* etc.

Sānskrit :-

Mahābhārata, Vana Parva cxiv, 4.

Udyoga Parva xlvii, 70.

Karṇa Parva xl, 29.

Ibid xlv, 14-16.

Matsya Purāṇa cxiii-31.

Padma Purāṇa, Ādikāṇḍa-vi, 37.

See also *Byhat Saṁhitā*, with the commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, Vol. X, Pt. i, Benaras, 1895, p. 305.

For Oḍra people :-

Pāli :-

Apadāna, pt. ii, p. 358.

Sānskrit :-

Mānava Dharmasāstra, x, 43-44.

Mahābhārata, Vana Parva - li, 1988.

Bhīṣma ix 365, *Droṇa* iv, 122.

Padma Purāṇa, *Ibid*, v, 52.

Byhat Saṁhitā, *Ibid*.

2. Pliny's *Natural History*, (Trans by Dr. Bostock and Riley) Vol. II P. 46. List of the Indian Races, quoted by Mc Crindle in *Ancient India*, pp. 129 f

Most part of the list referred to above was borrowed by Pliny from Megasthenes, Cf. Schwabcock pp. 16 f. and 57,

Oḍra were also named after the tribes inhabiting these lands. Medhātithi, the commentator of Manu, while speaking about the Oḍras, has rightly remarked that the country might have derived its name from the tribe.¹

Extent of Kaliṅga.

Among the four political units mentioned above, viz., Utkala, Kaliṅga, Oḍra and Kosala, Kaliṅga was by far the most important power which very often overpowered the other three territories by her force of arms and succeeded in building up a far flung empire which could endure long in ancient times. The rich and fertile coastal plain stretching from the Ganges' mouth upto the mouth of the Godāvarī with her hinterland of wild mountains and uplands formed the traditional homeland of the ancient Kaliṅgas. The *Mahābhārata* indicates that the Northern border of Kaliṅga stretched upto the river Ganges. In the *Vana Parva* the sage Lomaśa is represented as pointing out Yudhiṣṭhira from the Ganges' mouth saying "this is the territory of the Kaliṅgas where flows the river Vaitaraṇī....."² This has led scholars

1. His comment on *Manu* x, 44.

Rajendralal Mitra (*Antiquities of Orissa*, I. p. 4.) has drawn attention to a race of agriculturists known as Oḍs who inhabit many parts of Orissa, particularly the region round about Khurdā, and according to him this race represents the remnants of the original inhabitants who have given their name to the Province. According to Sterling 'the original seat of the 'Or' or Oḍra tribe was limited by the Rishikulyā river on the south and the Kānsbāns on the north'. It is not known from what source he could get the boundary of the Oḍ dominion and as R. L. Mitra thinks it was his probable conjecture.

2. ततः समुद्रतीरेण जगाम वसुधाधिपः
भ्रातृभिः सहितो वीरः कलिङ्गान् प्रति भारत ।

लोमश उवाच

एते कलिङ्गाः कौन्तेय यत्र वैतरणी नदी ।

Vana Parva, cxiv, 4.

like H. C. Raychaudhuri and B. C. Law to suppose that according to the epic Kaliṅga comprised the Eastern coast from the river Vaitaraṇī to the borders of the Āndhra territory at the mouth of the Godāvārī.¹ But a close examination of the epic verses makes it clear that the Vaitaraṇī is referred to only as a river flowing in the territory of Kaliṅga and not as the border of it. The sage Lomaśa declared at the Ganges' mouth that the territory of the Kaliṅgas extended onwards from that spot, indicating that the river Ganges rather than the river Viatarāṇī was the boundary of that territory.

The account of the *Mahābhārata* regarding the Northern extent of Kaliṅga finds corroboration in the works of the early Greek writers. Megasthenes² refers to a territory called *Gaṅgaridum Caliṅgarum Regia* and states that the river Ganges formed the Eastern boundary of it. Pliny³ gives a more comprehensive account of Kaliṅga by dividing that territory into three parts, viz. *Gaṅgarides Caliṅgae*, *Macco-Caliṅgae*, and *Caliṅgae*. Although he mentions the three divisions of the *Caliṅgae* tribes, he presents a common territorial boundary and describes a single capital known as Pārthalis. As regards the Southern boundary of Kaliṅga, Pliny suggests the *Cape Caliṅgae*, identified by Yule with Point Godāvārī, at the mouth of the same river.⁴

The Western extent of Kaliṅga is difficult to determine as it was often fluctuating with political circumstances at different periods. The traditional Western boundary of this territory was, however, fixed at Amarakāṇṭak hills and this limit had recognition in the purānic literature. The

1. *P. H. A. I.* - 5th Edition, p. 88. for B.C. Low see *Geography of Early Buddhism - Kaliṅga*

2. Mc Crindle, *Ancient India*, p. 137.

3. Pliny, *op. cit.* pp. 42-44

List of Indian Races quoted by McCrindle in *Ancient India* pp. 129 f.

4. Mc Crindle, *Ibid.*, p. 144.

*Matsya Purāṇa*¹, for instance, points out that the Narmadā drains the Amaraṅgaṅga situated in the Western part of Kaliṅga. Later *Purāṇas* like *Kurma*² and *Skanda*³ corroborate the account of *Matsya* so far as the Western frontier of Kaliṅga is concerned.

Thus the territory of Kaliṅga may be said, according to tradition, to have extended as far as the Gangetic valley in the North, the Godāvarī in the South, the Amaraṅgaṅga hills in the West and the sea in the East. Too much emphasis cannot, however, be placed on traditional accounts as political geography has frequently been disturbed in course of history leading to changes in territorial limits.

In the 4th century B. C. Kaliṅga was under the rule of Mahāpadmananda, who according to the *Purāṇas* not only conquered Kaliṅga but also occupied Āsmaka (Assaka) which lay to the South-west of Kaliṅga.⁴ The rule of one Nanda king (who was to all probability Mahāpadmananda) over Kaliṅga is known from the *Hāthi-gujhphā Inscription* of Khāravēla.⁵ We know from this Inscription that the Nanda king excavated a canal in the heart of Kaliṅga not far off Nagarī (Kaliṅganagarī) up to which it was extended later on by Khāravēla, and this suggests that the whole of Kaliṅga was under Mahāpadmananda.⁶ But during the time of the last Nanda king we find only a part of Northern Kaliṅga i. e. *Gaṅgaridāe*, included in the Nanda empire. The accounts of the Greek writers like Diodorus, Curtius and Plutarch reveal that Xandrammes or Agrammes,

1. *Matsya*, cxxciv, 12.

2. *Kurma* II, xxxix, 9.

3. *Skanda* v, 3, xxi, 7.

4. *D. K. A.* pp. 23-24.

5. See Appendix to Ch. VI.

6. See Chapter IV.

the last Nanda king, who was the contemporary of Alexander, was ruling over *Prasii* and the *Gaṅgaridae*.¹ It appears that *Kaliṅga* and *Assaka* no longer belonged to the empire of *Agrammes*. The *Gaṅgaridae* portion, however, may be taken to be the same as *Gaṅgaridae Caliṅgarum Ragia* mentioned by *Megasthenes*.

By the time *Chandragupta* raised the standard of rebellion against the last Nanda king and occupied the throne of *Magadha*, the *Gaṅgaridae* portion seems to have been slipped out of his authority. He is never mentioned by the classical writers as the king of *Gaṅgaridae* although *Prasii* continued to be the heart of his empire.² The description of *Pliny* about the *Kaliṅga* territory with its three divisions viz., *Gaṅgarides Caliṅgae*, *Macco-Caliṅgae* and *Caliṅgae*, depicts a large and powerful *Kaliṅga* and to all probability the invasion of *Aśoka* in 261 B. C. was directed against that territory comprising the three divisions of *Pliny* and extending from the *Ganges'* mouth to the mouth of the river *Godāvari*.

Under *Aśoka* *Kaliṅga* formed a part of the *Maurya* empire, which extended from the *Hindukush* in the North-west to modern *Mysore* in the South. The political headquarters of *Kaliṅga* under *Aśoka* was located at *Toṣālī*, and another township named *Samāpā* was made the second administrative seat. The edicts of *Aśoka* in *Kaliṅga* were engraved on the *Surabha* hill³ near *Toṣālī* and on the *Khapirṅgala* hill near *Samāpā*, and the edicts are found even today at these places.

1. *Mc Crindle, Invasion of India by Alexander*, pp. 221, 281.

2. *Megasthenes and Arrian*, 1926, p. 141.

3. The name portion of this hill is unfortunately broken in the inscription. We have restored it with the light of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* written in the 3rd century A.D.

Extent of Utkala.

The early Pāli literature clearly shows that *Ukkala Janapada* or Utkala, as a political entity was existing during the time of Buddha. The *Vinaya Piṭaka*¹, as well as, the *Jātakas*² mention Tapassu and Bhallika, the two merchant-brothers, as going from the *Ukkala Janapada* to the *Majjhima desa* on trade. This indicates that the *Ukkala Janapada* was outside the limits of the Buddhist *Majjhima desa* which extended upto Kajañgala-nigama on the East, and the river Sallavatī on the South-east. Kajañgala is the same as *Ka-chu-wen-ki-lo* of Yuan Chwang and it was located near Rājmaḥal on the South bank of the Ganges, while Sallavatī is identified with the river Suvarṇarekhā. The Ukkala territory has further been mentioned in the *Majjhima Nikāya* according to which it was inhabited by two tribes—the Vassa and the Bhaññas³.

In the *Mahābhārata*⁴ Utkala is found associated with the territories of Oḍras, Mekalas, Kaliñgas and Āndhras. The *Rāmāyaṇa*⁵ further associates Utkala with Mekala and Daśārṇa, while the Purānic tradition declares the Utkalas along with the Karusas, Mekalas, Uttamārṇas, and the Daśārṇas as inhabiting the Vindhya regions.⁶ From this

1. *Mahāvagga, S. B. E.*, XIII, pp. 81-84,
2. तस्मिन् समये तपस्सु भल्लिकु नामा द्वे वणिजा
पञ्चहि सकट सतेहि उक्कल जनपदा मभिक्कम देसं गच्छन्त ।
J. I. p. 80
3. See *infra*, p. 73.
4. *Bhīṣma Parva*, ix, 348.
Droṇa Parva, iv, 122
5. *Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, Sarga* 41.
6. *Vāyu*, xlv. 132-133; *Matsya*, cxii, 52-53
Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*, p. 327, foot note.

Pargiter¹ suggests that Utkal comprised the Southern portion of modern Chotanagpur and he may be correct if the Chotanagpur hills are considered to be an extension of the Vindhya ranges. Moreover, the expression 'Sumhottarāḥ' meaning a people of the Eastern countries in the *Matsya Purāṇaa*² is taken to be 'Sumhotkalāḥ' by scholars³, in which case, Utkala would be at the neighbourhood of Sumha which roughly comprised the modern districts of Bāñkurā, Midnāpur and Mānbhūm.⁴

The *Vana Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*⁵ seems to indicate that Utkala formed a part of Kaliñga which extended upto the mouth of the Ganges during the period of which it speaks. But Kālīdāsa in his *Raghuvamśa*⁶ represents Utkala as a neighbouring State of Kaliñga to the North with the river Kapiśā (modern Kāsāi in Midnapur district) as the common boundary.

The earliest epigraphic evidence of the extent of Utkala is found in the *Midnapur Copper Plates* issued by Somadatta in the 18th regnal year of Śaśāñka.⁷ It is known from this record that Daṇḍabhukti comprising roughly the present Midnapur district of West Bengal formed a part of Utkaladeśa in the early 7th century A. D. But the name 'Utkala' is not found in epigraphic records for a long time thereafter. It appears that Utkala for a time came to be

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1. Pargiter, *Ibid*, p. 327, f. n.
 2. *Matsya*, cxiii, 44.
 3. Pargiter, *op. cit.*
and B. C. Law, *Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 334.
 4. B. C. Law, *Ibid* p. 334.
 5. *Vana Parva*, 114.
 6. *Raghuvamśa*, iv, 38.
 7. *J. R. A. S. B.* XI, p. 1.

known as Uttara Toṣalī comprising the North-eastern part of Orissa.

Toṣalī

The territory named Toṣala or Taṣalī is often met with in ancient Indian literature. It is mentioned in the *Pariśiṣṭha* of *Atharva Veda*¹ along with Kosala, while the *Purāṇas*² associate the people of Toṣala with the Kotalas, Traipurās, Vaidisas, Tumuras, Tuṃbaras, and Niṣādas. The Jaina *Āvasyaka sūtra*, although a late work, speaks of the country of Toṣala existing as early as the time of Mahāvīra as a contiguous territory of Toṣala.³ Bharata in his *Nāṭya Śāstra*⁴, a work of the early Christian centuries, mentions Toṣala as a territory distinct from Kosala and Kaliṅga. In the *Gaṇḍavyūha* a Sānskrit Buddhist text of the 3rd century A. D., a country named 'Amita Toṣala' with its capital city 'Toṣala' has been mentioned as situated in the Deccan.⁵ In this Buddhist text *Upāsikā Achalāsthira* has been represented as instructing Sudhanakumāra an aspirant scholar as follows:

“Now, youngman, go hence, in this Deccan where we are, there is a country Amita Toṣala; there is a town there named Toṣala; it is there that dwells a wandering Parivrājaka of the name Sarvagrāmin.” The text then continues—“He went from there to the country

1. *Atharva Pariśiṣṭha*—Ch. 56.

2. *Vāyu*, xlv, 132-33.

Matsya, cxiii, 52-53.

Mārkaṇḍeya, liv, 51.

3. ततो भगवन् तोसलिम् गउ ... तथ सुमागहो
नाम रठिञ्चो पियमित्तो भगवञ्चो सो माएह ।
ततो सामी मोसलिम् गउ ...

Āvasyaka Sūt a, pp. 219-20

4. *Nāṭya Śāstram*, xiii, 40.

5. Bagchi, *Pre. Ary. Pre Drav, in India* p. 70, also p. 176.

of Amita Toṣala, in search of the town of Toṣala. At the time of sunset, he reached by stage the town of Toṣala. He stopped at the midst of the carrefour of the place, and from lane to lane, from place to place, from chariot-ways to chariot-ways he roamed and ended by seeing Sarvagrāmin. And when the night drew to a close, he perceived in the Northern region of the town of Toṣala the mountain called Surabha, the top of which was covered with grass, groves, plants, forests and gardens.....”¹ The city of Toṣala is very likely the same as the ancient Toṣālī which was the political headquarters of Kaliṅga under Aśoka in the 3rd century B. C. Aśoka inscribed his Rock edicts at Toṣālī on a hill which was then known as (Su) rabha, and the *Gaṇḍavyūha* refers to this very Surabha hill locating it on the out-skirts of Toṣala, the capital of Amita Toṣala. ‘Amita Toṣala’ literally means ‘Great Toṣala’ which later on seems to have been divided into two parts viz., Uttara Toṣālī (North Toṣālī) and Dakṣiṇa Toṣālī (South Toṣālī).

Uttara Toṣālī came into prominence in history under king Śāmbhūyaśa of the *Maudgalyakula* whose feudatory Somadatta ruled in the Gupta year 260 i. e. 580 A. D.² It is difficult to know as to when the name ‘Uttara Toṣālī’

1. गच्छ कुलपुत्रे द्वैव दक्षिणापथे अमिततोसले जनपदे तोसलं नाम नगरं तत्र सर्वग्रामी परिव्राजकः प्रतिवसति ... येनामित तोसलो जनपद स तेनोपजगाम पेत्य तोसलनगरं परिमार्गन् परिगेषमाणोऽनुपूर्वेण तोसलं नगरं अनुप्राप्तः सूर्यास्तं गमन काले स तोसलं नाम नगरं अनुप्रविश्य मध्ये नगरशृङ्गाटकस्यस्थित्वा वीथि मुखेन वीथिमुखं, चत्वरेण चत्वरं, रथ्यया रथ्यं सर्वग्रामिणं अद्राक्षीत् रात्र्यां प्रशान्तायां तोसलस्य नगरस्योत्तरे दिग्भागे सुरभं नाम पर्वतं तस्य शिखरे विविधं तृणं गुल्मौषधिं इनाराम रचिते म्हावभासं प्रातः भास्करमिबोदितं तस्य तमवभासं दृष्ट्वा...

(This passage is quoted by Śāntideva in his *Sikṣā Samucchaya*, Mss. 33, 36, 41, the Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris).

2. *E. I.* XXIII, pp. 201 f.

originated, but it can be said that in 570 A. D., the name Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī was not in vogue, as that region was then known as 'Kaliṅgarāṣṭra'.¹ The name Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī is met with for the first time in the *Kaṇāsa Copper Plates* of Lokavigraha dated in 280 Gupta era, i. e. 600 A. D.² From this it may be concluded that the name Uttara Toṣalī and Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī began to be commonly used from the last quarter of the 6th century A. D. and both the territories were then under the rule of rival monarchs, Śambhūyaśa and Lokavigraha respectively.

The extent of the territories of both the Toṣalīs can be tentatively known from the *Soro*, *Paṭiākelā*,³ *Midnapur*⁴ and *Kaṇāsa Copper Plates*. The modern Midnapur, Mayūr-bhañja and Balasore districts, as well as, the Northern part of Cuttack district may be said to have formed the kingdom of Uttara Toṣalī, while Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī comprised roughly the modern Purī district and parts of Cuttack and Gañjām districts up to the river Rṣikulyā and the river Mahānadī appears to be the dividing line between the two territories.

The *Paṭiākelā Copper Plates* of 283 Gupta era i. e. 603 A. D. indicate that Śambhūyaśa, Lord of Uttara Toṣalī spread his suzerainty over Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī and thus unified both the units under his Sceptre. This unified Toṣalī appears to have passed to the hands of Śaśāṅka sometime before 620 A. D.⁵

The death of Śaśāṅka by 625 A. D. brought about striking change in the political history of this territory. King

1. *E. I.* XXVIII, pp. 83 f.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 328 f.

3. *E. I.* IX, p. 283.

4. *J. A. S. B.* XI (1945), pp. 7-9.

5. *E. I.* VI, pp. 144 f.

Harṣavardhana of Kanauj who conquered major part of Orissa placed it under some protégé and the Orissa portion of Harṣa's empire was then known as Oḍraviṣaya. The *Soro Plates* of Somadatta¹ reveal that Uttara Toṣalī was a part of Oḍraviṣaya in his 15th regnal year when Śaśāṅka was no longer his overlord. The territory was called Wu-cha (Oḍra) by Yuan Chwang who visited Orissa in 636 A. D.

Toṣalī revived with the coming of the Bhauma-Karas to power in 736 A. D. and the Bhauma empire extending from Daṇḍabhukti in the North to Koṅgoda in the South was divided into Northern and Southern Toṣalīs in traditional lines. Śivakara I Unmatta Siṁha, who is regarded as the founder of the Bhauma era, is known to have defeated the king of Rāḍha (part of West Bengal),² and also to have occupied the territory of Koṅgoda³.

The *Hindol Plate*⁴ of Subhākaradeva III dated in the year 103 ie. 839 A. D. registers the gift of the village Naddilo in Kaṅkavirā viṣaya in Uttara Toṣalī, while the *Dharākote Plate*⁵ of the same king dated in the same year records the gift of the village Guṇḍaja in Jaya-Kaṭaka viṣaya of Koṅgoda maṇḍala in Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī.

The territorial division of Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Toṣalīs Somavarṁśīs about the middle of the 10th century A. D. after which the entire Toṣalī assumed the old name Utkala.

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1. *E. I* XXIII, p. 202.
 2. *E. I*. XV, pp. 1-8
 3. *I. H. Q.* XII, pp. 492-93.
 4. *J. B. O. R. S.* XVI, pp. 69 f.
 5. *Ibid*, IV, pp. 189 f.



roughly a square either of twenty *yojanas* or of forty *yojanas*. The maṇḍala states mentioned below more or less conform to the tradition of the *Dharmaśāstra*. These states were Koṅgoda maṇḍala, Svetaka, Kodālaka maṇḍala, Yamagartta maṇḍala, Airāvatta maṇḍala, Khiñjali maṇḍala, Khijjiṅga maṇḍala, Daṇḍabhukti maṇḍala, Khiṇḍiraśṛṅga maṇḍala, Chakrakotṭa maṇḍala etc.¹ The accounts of these maṇḍalas are presented below.

Koṅgoda Maṇḍala

This maṇḍala flourished in the 6th-7th century A. D., under the rule of the Śailodbhava dynasty. It was probably so named because it constituted parts of Kaliṅga and Oḍa (Oḍra) territories and the word Kaliṅgoḍa, thus formed, came to be known as Koṅgoda in common use.²

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang who visited Koṅgoda about 638 A. D. states :

“This country was above 1,000 li in circuit. The country contained some tens of towns to the edge of the sea”.³

According to the description of the pilgrim Koṅgoda was about 200 miles in circumference and it was a hilly country bordering on a bay of the sea.⁴

1. It may be pointed out that Somuṇḍa maṇḍala and Bhrarakoṭya maṇḍala were parts of Khiṇḍiraśṛṅga and Chakrakotṭa respectively. There were some other mandalas which were treated as Viṣayas or districts of a kingdom and, as such, these administrative divisions do not come under the present discussion. As examples of this class of maṇḍalas, mention may be made of Amvavāḍi maṇḍala and Soḍā maṇḍala in Kaliṅga.
2. The name Koṅgoda may also be explained as the 'Land of honey', as 'Koṅgu' in literary Tamil means honey,
3. *Watters*, II, p. 195.
4. *Watters* II. n. 196.

On the basis of this account B. Misra writes, "The hill ranges running from Kāluparāghāṭ Westwards seem to have demarcated its Northern limit. There is no pass through these ranges of hills which reach a point in the South-west frontier of the (ex)-Nayagarh State. The Mahendra hill which runs West-wards from the coast of the Bay of Bengal in the East probably formed the Southern boundary line of Koṅgoda. Again the hills now demarcating the Eastern boundary of the (ex)-Kalahandi State may be supposed to be the natural Western limit of the same Koṅgoda".¹

By the time of Yuan-Chwang's visit Koṅgoda had just emerged as an independent kingdom and was bidding for a mighty political career. In the second half of the 7th century A. D. the territorial extent of this kingdom appears to be far-flung and by that time it comprised considerable portion of Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī. Some of the important towns which were probably included in the expression 'tens of towns' of the Chinese pilgrim, are Guḍḍa, Koṇḍeṇḍā, Saumyapura, Māṭṛchandra-pāṭaka, Jayakaṭaka, Devagrāma, Nivina, Phāsika, etc. which may be identified with modern Buguḍā, Kodaṇḍa, Soonpur, Chandrapuṭu, Jaugaḍa, Degāñ, Niminā and Phāsi respectively in the Gañjām and Purī districts. The 'Vijaya Koṅgodavāska appears to be the capital of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala and this has been tentatively identified with modern Bañkāḍa, in the light of the antiquities found there on the banks of the river Sālīā.² That the headquarters of Koṅgoda was located on the banks of Sālimā is known from many copper plate records, and this Sālimā can be no other than the present rivulet Sālīā which flows into the Chilkā Lake.

The territory of Koṅgoda as known from the account of Yuan-Chwang was hilly and forest-clad and the

1. *D. M. O.* p. 1.

2. *Vide Proceedings of I. H. C.* 12th Session, 1949, pp. 101 f.

most important hill at the heart of this kingdom was Kṛṣṇagiri referred to in the *Gaṅjām Copper Plates* of Mādhavarāja.¹ This hill may be identified with the Kanhagiri of the *Nāsik Inscription* of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi.² Kṛṣṇagiri is situated close to the village Phāsi (Phāsika) and is surrounded by numerous temples and icons of the early mediaeval times.

The fortune of Koṅgoda maṇḍala, however, sank low after the decline and fall of the Śailodbhava dynasty in the first half of the 8th century A. D. and subsequently it was reduced to a district (*viṣaya*) of Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī,³ when the Bhauma-Karas became the suzerain power of both the Toṣalīs.

Śvetaka Maṇḍala

A branch of the Eastern Gaṅga is known to have established itself to the North-east of the Mahendra hill and named the territory as Śvetakādhirājya which may be classed with the other maṇḍala States of the period. The Śvetaka Gaṅgas were very likely the feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas and many of them used in their official records the era founded by the Bhaumas. The find spots of the copper plate grants of the rulers of Śvetaka indicate that this territory was located in the South-eastern part of Gaṅjām district comprising the ex-zamindari of Sāṅkhimeḍi, Baḍakhimeḍi and Chikiṭi.

1. *E. I.* VI, pp. 143-146.

2. Bhandarkar's identification with 'Kānheri' is doubtful. *I. A.* XLVII, 1918, p. 151.

3. See the copper plate grants of Daṇḍī Mahādevī *E. I.* VI, pp. 137 f. *Ibid* pp. 141 f and *J. B. O. R. S. V.* pp. 564 f.

Extent of Oḍra

The Mahābhārata tradition⁵ places the territory of the Oḍras along with those of the Pauṇḍras, Utkalas, Mekalas, Kaliṅgas and Āndhras, while according to the tradition recorded by Manu⁶ the 'Oḍra people are associated with the Pauṇḍrakas, Drāviḍas, Kaṁboja, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Palhavas, Chīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khasas. A

1. In '*Buddhism in Orissa*' (Published by Utkal University, 1958) at p.149 we have taken 'Laṅkāvartaka' as the territory of Laṅkā (the word *vartaka* denoting the territory). But as Dr. D. C. Sircar points out Laṅkāvartaka may be the whirlpool in the Mahānadī near the present town of Sonapur.
2. Laṅkeśvarī is even today regarded as the presiding deity of Sonapur and she is being worshipped in the Laṅkeśvarī hillock.
3. *Sādhana Mālā*, Vol. II, p. 427, *Sādhana* no. 218.
4. Vide *Sādhana Mālā*, II, Introduction. Lakṣmīkarī, the sister of Siddha Indrabhūti, king of Saṁbhala (Sambalpur) married prince Jalendra of Laṅkāpurī.

We further know that Jayadratha who translated *Saṁbara Tantra* (Tantra of Saṁbhala) into Tibetan was an inhabitant of Laṅkāpurī. Dr. P. C. Bagchi (I. H. Q. VI, p. 583) wrongly identifies Laṅkā of Jayadratha with the territory of the tribal people called Laṅggā, who at present live in the North of Beluchistan. He, however, rightly argues that Ceylon was not known as Laṅkā during that period and that the '*Chakrasaṁbara Tantra*' had nothing to do with Ceylon the land of Theravāda Buddhism.

See *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 149.

5. *Vana Parva*, li, 1938; *Bhīṣma*, ix, 365; and *Droṇa*, iv, 122.
6. *Manu*, x, 44.

more definite account about the location of the territory of the Oḍras is met with in the *Natural History* of Pliny in which the Oretes as a people are mentioned as inhabiting the country where stood Mount Maleus.¹ The Greek Oretes has been equated with the Sānskrit Oḍras, and as such the mount Meleus can be identified with the Malaya-giri or Mālya-giri near modern Pāllaharā. This identification seems all the more plausible because Pliny in another passage associates with Mount Meleus the people called Monedes and Sharis who are probably the same as the Muṇḍās and the Savaras inhabiting even today the upland regions of Orissa.²

The earliest epigraphic reference to Oḍras is found in the *Soro Copper Plates* of Somadatta from which it is known that Uttara Toṣalī with its viṣaya of Sarephāhāra (identified with modern Soro in Balasore district) was included in Oḍra viṣaya³ about the middle of the 7th century A.D. The reference is illuminating because Uttara Toṣalī which was then an extensive territory comprising parts of modern Midnapur and Balasore districts formed a part of Oḍra-viṣaya which must have been then a territory of considerable extent and power.

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang who visited Orissa about 636 A. D. gives a vivid account of the territory named 'Wu-cha', which was to all probability the same as Oḍra viṣaya of the *Soro Copper Plates* mentioned above. The

1. "In Indiae gente Oretum, mors est Maleus nomine". *Hist. Nat.* II, 75.

2. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 586.

3. ओड़विषये उत्तरतोषल्यां सरपहाहारविषये (*E. I.* XXIII p. 202).

The suffix 'Viṣaya' of the terms Oḍraviṣaya and Sarephāhāra viṣaya conveys two different meanings. In the case of Sarephāhāra, it denotes to a district of Uttara Toṣalī, but as Uttara Toṣalī with the district of Sarephāhāra was considered to be a part of Oḍra viṣaya the suffix 'viṣaya' in the case of Oḍra clearly denotes to a larger territory.

pilgrim states that the *Wu-Cha* (Wu-tu) country "was above 7,000 li in circuit and its capital above twenty li in circuit. The soil was rich and fertile yielding fruits larger than those of other lands, and its rare plants and noted flowers could not be enumerated; the climate was hot; the people were of violent ways, tall and of dark complexion..... . . ."¹

The area of the territory which was 7,000 li or 1,400 miles in circuit, was undoubtedly very extensive and General Cunningham while giving the political limits of *Wu-Cha* (Oḍra) country writes as follows :

"The ancient province of Oḍra deśa, or Or-deśa was limited to the valley of Mahānadī and to the lower course of the Suvarṇarekhā river. It comprised the whole of the present districts of Cuttack and Sambalpur and a portion of Midnapore. It was bounded on the west by Gondwana, on the north by the wild hill states of Jashpur and Singhbhum, on the east by the sea and on the south by Ganjam. These also must have been the limits in the time of Hiuen-Tsang as the measured circuit agrees with his estimate."²

But the above statement of Cunningham requires some modification regarding the Western extent of the Oḍra country at the time of Yuan-Chwang's visit and as has been said earlier the present districts of Sambalpur Sundargarh and part of Bolangir formed a part of the then South Kosala.

Yuan Chwang locates a famous port named Che-li-ta-lo to the South-east of the Wu-Cha country and a famous Buddhist establishment called *Peu-sie-po-ki-li* on the South-west frontier of the same country, both of which are, however, not yet been properly identified. The word '*Che-li-ta-lo*' has

1. *Watters*, II, p. 193.

2. *Cunningham. op. cit.* p. 585.

been restored as 'Charitrapura' by Cunningham¹ who identifies it with the present town of Purī, whereas Dr. Waddel² suggests the restoration of the word as Chitratola (Chitrotpalā)³ which according to him is a branch of the Mahānadī at Nendrā near which the site of an old fort indicates the place meant for.

But the Chinese *Che-li-ta-lo* stands neither for Charitra nor for Chitrotpalā. The first part of it *Che-li* may stand for *Siri* and *ta-lo* may be 'tra'. So the word can be rendered as 'Śrī-tra' which indicates Śrīkṣetra, the middle syllable 'Kṣe' being dropped. In this consideration Cunningham's identification of the place with the modern town of Purī is acceptable.⁴

As regards the location of *Pue-sie-po-ki-li* the pilgrim states "In a great mountain on the South-west frontiers of the country (Wu-cha) is a Saṃghārāma called Pushpagiri (Peu-sie-po-ki-li)"⁵. St. Julien translates it as "Au milieu d'une grande montagne, qui est située sur les frontières sud-ouest du royaume, s'élève un couvent appelé *pou-se-po-k'i-li-seng-kia-lan* (Pouchpagiri Saṃghārāma)"⁶ Thus both the English and the French renderings leave no room for doubt that Puṣpagiri was located in the South-west frontier of the *Wu-Cha* (Oḍra) country.

1. *Op. cit.* p. 510.

2. Proceedings of *A. S. B.* December 1892.

3. The poet Śāralā Dāsa (15th century A. D.) applies this name to an extinct river which once extended from the village Chitreśwara to the shrine of Utpaleśwara Śiva on the sea shore not far off the holy Chandrabhāgā where stands the famous temple of Konarak. (*Śāralā Mahābhārata*, *Sabhā Parva*).

4. R. D. Banerji writes 'In fact, with the exception of Purī there is no other city or port in South Eastern Orissa with which it can be identified'. *History of Orissa* I, p. 138.

5. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, p. 205.

6. Julien, *Houen Thseng*. I. p. 184.

Cunningham¹, therefore, identifies Puṣpagiri with “the hills of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri situated 20 miles to the south of Katak, and 5 miles to the west of the grand group of temples at Bhuvaneswara”. But these hills were known as Kumārī and Kumāra hills respectively as testified by the inscriptions found in them. Rajendra Lal Mitra² identifies Puṣpagiri with Dhaulī on the supposition that the term ‘country’ or ‘royaume’ mentioned by the pilgrim, is a mistake for the capital city, which according to him was then located at Bhubaneśwar to the South-west of which is located the Dhaulī hill. The suggestion of Mitra is based on wrong supposition, but scholars like R. P. Chanda, and R. D. Banerji accept the view that Yuan chwang’s statement of ‘South-west frontier of the Wu-cha country’ should be modified as ‘South-west of the capital of the Wu-cha country.’ R. P. Chanda, thus taking Jājpur (Virajā) as the capital of Wu-cha, identifies Puṣpagiri with the Ratnagiri³ and R. D. Banerji⁴ confirms the same identification.

Ratnagiri can not be identified with Puṣpagiri of Yuan Chwang for the simple reason that it can not be placed on the South-west frontier (les frontieres sud-ouest du royaume) of the far-flung Oḍradeśa (Wu-cha country). The recent excavation has also clearly revealed that the place was known as Ratnagiri and not as Puṣpagiri during the early medieval times.⁵

It is interesting to note that in Gaṅga year 184 (682 A. D.) less than half a century after the visit of

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1. Cunningham, *Op. cit.*, p. 587.
 2. Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, II, p. 59.
 3. *M. A. S. I.* no, 44, *Exploration of Orissa*, p. 6.
 4. *History of Orissa*, I, p. 137.
 5. Some of the seals found from the Ratnagiri bear the legend ‘Ratnagiri Mahā-vihāra’

Yuan Chwang, a Gaṅga king of Kaliṅga named Devendrarman registered a copper plate grant¹ in the 'Puṣpagiri Pañchāli viṣaya' probably so named because of its proximity to the famous Puṣpagiri. This indicates that Puṣpagiri which was on the South-western border of the Oḍra country was not far off the Northern boundary of Kaliṅga under Devendrarman. Thus like the 'Mahendragiri', Puṣpagiri also occupied a very conspicuous place in the historical geography of early medieval Orissa, and its location may be suggested in the present Phulbani-Ghumsur region.²

In the 8th century A. D., the Bhauma Karas appeared as a great political power ruling over the coastal territory from Midnāpur to Gañjām which they called either Utkala or Toṣalī. In their copper plate charters, this territory was never called Oḍra viṣaya or Oḍra-deśa³ and in fact, this name came to be applied to an extensive outlying region of the Bhauma Kara dominion. Many copper plate charters of the contemporary ruling dynasties refer to a territory named Oḍradeśa or Oḍra viṣaya the location of which is not difficult to determine. The epigraphic records of the Somavāṁśis repeatedly mention Oḍradeśa which apparently extended in between the borders of Kosala and Toṣalī. The *Brahmeśwara temple inscription*⁴ reveals that Janamejaya I (9th century A. D.) killed in the battle the ruler of Oḍra, who has been identified with Raṇabhañja

1. *J. A. H. R. S.* II, pp. 275-76.

2. See N. K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, pp. 49-50.

3. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi in his book, *Chronology of the Bhauma Karas and the Somavāṁśis of Orissa*, has mistaken the territory under Bhauma Karas to be the same as Oḍradeśa. As pointed out here such supposition is not substantiated by contemporary records.

4. *J. R. A. S. B.* XIII, pp. 63 f.

of Khiñjali maṇḍala.¹ That the territory of Khiñjali comprised a part of Oḍradeśa is known from a copper plate charter,² issued in the 9th regnal year of Yayāti I, the son of Janamejaya I. This charter registered the grant of the village Chandragrāma (modern Chāndgaon in Cuttack district) in the Marada viṣaya of Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī to a Brahmaṇa named Saṁkhaṇḍī who hailed from the village Śilābhañjapāṭi in Oḍra deśa. The village Śilābhañjapāṭi was named after the Bhañja king Śilābhañja and it was obviously located in Khiñjali maṇḍala the territory of the Bhañjas. But since the above copper plates place it in Oḍradeśa there is reason to point out that Khiñjali maṇḍala of the Bhañjas was a part of the Oḍra country. The inscriptions of the Somavamśīs further indicate that Airāvatta maṇḍala also formed part of Oḍradeśa. The *Narasinghpur Charter*³ of Udyota Mahābhavagupta states that the villages named Kaṇṭaloṇḍa and Lavakaraḍa were situated in Airāvatta maṇḍala comprising a part of Oḍradeśa.

It may, however, be pointed out that Yamagartta maṇḍala and Khijjiṅga maṇḍala were both outside the limits of the Oḍra country during the period. The two *Tālcher Copper plate Grants*⁴ of Gayādatuṅga, the ruler of Yamagartta maṇḍala indicate that this maṇḍala was

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1. See *infra*, also N. K. Sahu, *A History of Orissa*, II, p. 366. Dr. D. C. Sircar is of opinion that Yayāti I Mahāśivagupta, the son of Janamejaya I was responsible for defeating Raṇabhañja (*O. H. R. J.* I, p. 490.)
 2. *E. I.* III, p. 351-5
 3. *J. B. O. R. S.* §XVII, pp. 15 f.
 4. *J. A. S. B.* (New series), § V, pp. 347—50
Ibid, XII pp. 291—95.

not a part of Oḍra viṣaya (deśa). The donees of one of the grants were a group of Brāhmaṇas who hailed from Ahichhatra and settled in the village Kuruva-bhaṭa in Oḍra viṣaya where from they came to Yamagartta maṇḍala to receive land grants in the village Toro in Venduṅga district of that maṇḍala. The second *Tālcher grant* of Gayāḍatuṅga more clearly distinguishes Yamagartta maṇḍala from Oḍra viṣaya. It speaks of two groups of Brāhmaṇa donees one of which originally emigrated from Varendra maṇḍala and settled in Savira-bhaṭa in Oḍra viṣaya, while the other group had come from Srāvasti and settled in Yamagartta-maṇḍala. These two groups of Brāhmaṇas are said to have been donated land by the king in the village named Vamaitalla in Tuṅkera district of Yamagartta maṇḍala. Likewise, The *Ādipur grant*¹ of Narendra bhañja, ruler of Khijjiṅga maṇḍala, states that the Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭa Devadevadāma who got land grant in that maṇḍala hailed from Oḍra viṣaya (deśa),

The Southern extent of Oḍradeśa can be known from the *Upaladā Copper Plate Grant*² of Rāṇaka Rāmadeva of the Tailapa dynasty, which speaks of the peak of Nasunda hill as the crest Jewel of Oḍradeśa. The village Upalavāḍa granted by Rāmadeva (cir 11th century A.D.) may be identified with the modern Upaladā, the find spot of the grant, situated in the Paralakimedi Taluk of Gañjām district. As to the Nasunda hill, S. N. Rajguru speaks as follows.³

“The Nasunda Parvata of the verse may be taken to be the hill near Nandava forest in the modern Paralakimedi

1. *E. I.* XXV, pp. 147 f.

2. *J. A. H. R. S.* X, pp. 166 f.

3. *Ibid.*

estate (ex-Parlakemidi zamindari) very near the boundary between it and Tekali. The Nandava forest is about 3 or 4 miles from Tikalipatna. The Nandava hills are full of natural beauties and connected with Mahendra Parvata by a range of hills called Durgā and Lāvanyagaḍa, so they are rightly called crest jewel of Oḍradeśa.”

The *Tirumalai Inscription* (1025 A.D.)¹ mentions Oḍḍaviṣaya, which was difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence, and depicts the campaign of Rājendra-Chola who conquered this Oḍḍaviṣaya along with the neighbouring territories of Sakkara-koṭṭa (Chakrakotṭa) and Kosalaināḍu (South Kosala). The Telugu version of the *Dirghasi Inscription* (1075 A.D.)² reveals that Vanapati, a commander of the Gaṅga king Rājarāja I. defeated the kings of Kimeḍi, Kosala, Oḍra, Utkala, Veṅgi and Giḍrisiṅgi, while it is known from one *Drākṣārāma Inscription*³ that Pallavarāju, a general of Kulottuṅga (1070-1118 A.D.) burnt the kingdom of Kaliṅga, defeated the Khaṇḍapālas of Kosala and planted the pillar of victory on the borders of Oḍra.

In the light of the above discussion, it may be said that Oḍradeśa during the period cir. 700-1100 A.D. was more or less bounded by the river Mahānadī in the North, Toṣalī (Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī) in the East, Kosala (Dakṣiṇa Kosala) in the West, and its extent to the South went in irregular lines as far as the modern Paralakimedi region.

1. *E. I.* Vol. IX, pp. 223 f.

2. *E. I.* Vol. IV, pp. 316 f.

3. *E. I.* Vol. XXII, pp. 138 f.

Origin of the word 'Oḍiṣā' (Orissa)

Muslim geographers during 9th to 11th centuries A. D. have mentioned a territory named Urshin or Ursfin which may be identified with Oḍradeśa. Ibn Khurdadhbih, who wrote his Geography in 846 A. D., has mentioned Kudafarid, Kaylkan, al Lava, Kañja, Samundar and Ursfin. The Russian Scholar V. Minorsky identifies Kudafarid with the Godāvarī and Kaylkan with Calingam of the Portuguese. Although the territory named al Lava is difficult to be located the identifications of Kaylkan with Kaliñga, Kñja with Koñgoda and Ursfin with Oḍradeśa appear fairly correct. We are, however, not sure, whether 'Samundar' is to be taken in its literal sense meaning the sea or as the territory bordering the sea. The latter supposition seems to be correct in the light of the *Hudud al Alam*¹ a Persian geography written by the end of the 10th century A. D. This work refers to the territories called N Myas, Harkand, Urshin, Smnder, and Andhras, which were more or less contiguous. N Myas may be the same as Mahiṣa a territory on the Narmadā with Māhiṣmati as the capital.² In that case the geographer here refers to the kingdom of the Haihayas who call themselves Māhiṣmatipuravareśwara.³ A copper plate grant⁴ of king Karaka Suvarṇavarṣa dated

1. *Hudud al Alam* means Regions of the World. It was written towards the close of the 10th century A. D. for the Prince of Guzgan (North-west of modern Afghanistan) whose name was Abul-Harith-Muhmad, ibn Ahmad. The work is translated into Russian by V. Minorsky and is re-translated into English—Oxford University Press.

1937.

2. *Harivamśa* I. 14.
 3. *E. I.* XII, pp. 269 f.
 4. *E. I.* XXII, p. 77.

Śaka year 746 (824 A. D.) states that the Māhiṣaka viṣaya¹ contained 42 villages one of which was Brāhmaṇapallika identified with the modern village Bāmroli near Baroda. Panigrahi² identifies Māhiṣa with the modern district of Midnapur in West Bengal, but this identification having no authentic basis, is to be regarded untenable. His identification of Harkand with Jhārkhaṇḍ is also very doubtful because the word Jhārkhaṇḍ is comparatively a recent one and it cannot be said to be in use before 16th century A. D. Its application as the name of the *Aṭavi* territory as early as the 10th century A. D., seems improbable. We suggest Ākarakhaṇḍa or the Eastern Malwa as the tentative identification of Persian Harkand.³ The territory called Urshin as pointed out above may be the same as Uḍradeśa, and Smnder may be the territory bordering the sea. The *Haraha Inscription*⁴ (554 A. D.) refers to 'Samudra' in the sense of a littoral region of Gauḍa and that region is considered to be the same as the Sumha country. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the Persian geographer also calls Sumha as Samunder. Āndhras is without doubt the same as Āndhradeśa.

The famous Muslim writer Alberuni in his book on 'India' (cir. 1025 A. D.) has referred to a territory called Urdabishau situated 50 farsakhs (about 200 miles) towards

1. The *Salotgi pillar Inscription* (*E. I.* III, p 59) mentions Māhiṣa viṣaya which is probably distinct from this Māhiṣaka viṣaya. The *Hebbata grant* (*A. S. I.* 1925 p. 98) of the Kadamba king Viṣṇu Varman also mentions Māhiṣa viṣaya, which is without doubt the same territory as referred to by the *Salotgi Inscription*, and also the *Ceylonese Chronicle* (*Mahāvamsā* XII, p. 47) According to Rice, Māhiṣamaṇḍala comprised the Southern Mysore and its headquarters was at Maisur (Mysore).
2. *Chronology of the Bhauma Karas*, etc. p. 66
3. The geographer seems to have omitted South Kosala in his account.
4. *E. I.* XIV, pp. 110-20.

the sea in the South, from the Tree of Prayāga¹. Urdabishau can be no other than Oḍḍa viṣaya mentioned in the *Tirumalai Inscription* (1025 A. D.) of Rājendra Chola, and Alberuni is probably correct when he points out that the territory of 'Jaur' (Chola), meaning Rajendra Chola, started from the end of Urdabishau.

When Choḍagaṅgadeva conquered Utkala and declared himself as 'decorated with the rank of full sovereignty over the empire of Sakala Utkala'² Oḍradeśa (or viṣaya) formed without doubt a part of that empire. The *Sakalotkala Sāmrajya* of the *Vizag Copper Plate Charter*³ (1048 Śaka year) of Choḍagaṅga signifies political unification of Kaliṅga, Utkala and Oḍra under one imperial sceptre with a centralised capital at Yayātinagara, identified with modern Jājpur. It was probably this extensive empire which passed by the name Jājnagar in the Muslim chronicles like *Tabaquat-i-Nasiri*, *Tabaquat-i-Akbari*, *Riyadus-Salatin*, *Tarkh-i-Firujahi* etc.⁴ Very probably the chroniclers named the country, as Jājnagar after its capital 'Yayāti-nagar' even after the transfer of the Gaṅga capital from Abhinava Yayātinagar to Abhinava Vārāṇasī Kaṭaka⁵ (modern Cuttack) in 1212-1213 A. D. Blochmann⁶ is the first scholar to identify Jājnagar with Orissa and supporting his identification H. C. Raverty writes "Dr. Blochmann's surmises are quite correct with respect to Jajnagar. It appears to have been named after a town or city of that name subsequently changed in more recent times to Jajpur, the meaning of 'nagar' and 'pur' being the same and in the days when our author (of Taba-

1. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, 1914, Vol. I, p. 200.
2. *I. A.* XVIII, pp. 165 f.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Eliot & Dowson Vol. III
5. *E. I.* XXVIII, pp. 235, f.
6. *J. A. S. B.* 1873, pp. 237 f.

quat-i-Nasiri) wrote and many years subsequently it continued to be a kingdom of considerable power."¹

Regarding the boundary of Jājnagar Raverty writes as follows: "Jajnagar, appears, therefore to have been bounded on the east by the range of hills forming the present western boundary of Udisah Jagannath Katasin on the Mahanadi, being the nearest frontier town or post towards the Lakhanor portion of the Lakhanawati territory. Further, it was bounded towards the east by the river called Braminy by some English writers, and Soank running to the west of Gangpur. Its northern boundary is not very clearly indicated but it evidently included Ratanpur and Sambalpur. On the west it does not seem to have extended beyond the Wan Ganga, and its feeder the Kahan, but its southern boundary was the Gudawari, and South west lay Telinganah".²

The description of the boundary of Jājnagar by Raverty appears confusing. His identification of Katasin with a town on the Mahānadī (Katasingh on the northern bank of the Mahānadī in the Tributary Mahal of Angul) towards the Lakhanor portion of the Lakhanawati territory is not at all clear and Blochmann³ also objects to such identification. After examining all available opinions about the location of Jājnagar, P. Acharya concludes as follows: "I fully agree with Blochmann and Raverty and I am of opinion that the position of Jajnagar in the historical map of the Eastern India will include the whole of the modern Province of Orissa and Orissa States (since merged with Orissa) together with the 'southern districts of Western Bengal such as Midnapore, Howrah and Hooghly' and Bankura of Bengal,

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* pp. 587 f.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *J. A. S. B.* 1875, pp.:285-86

Singhbhum district of Bihar, Bilaspur and eastern part of Raipur districts of Central Provinces and Godavari and Vizagapatam districts of Madras (now in Andhra Pradesh)".¹

The territory of Jājnagar is not known from available sources to be as extensive as supposed by Acharya. It very likely denotes to the Gaṅga empire during the period from Choḍagaṅgadeva (1112 A.D.) to Anaṅgabhīmadeva III (1212 A.D.), when Yayātinagar was the capital of that empire. But when in 1212 A.D., Anaṅgabhīmadeva conquered the Sambalpur-Sonepur region² and transferred the capital from Yayātinagar to Bārāṇasī Kaṭaka³ the enlarged empire with a new capital could not be called Jājnagar after the name of the old capital. If the Muslim chroniclers who flourished after 1212 called this territory as Jājnagar they were certainly influenced by older documents which they consulted to know about this territory. When Shams-i-Seraj-Afif describes⁴ Jājnagar-Uḍisā with its capital city Banares on the right bank of the Mahānadi, he, without doubt, refers to the Gaṅga empire as it stood after Anaṅgabhīmadeva III. Strangely enough, the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* mentions both Jājnagar and Uḍisā as separate territories.⁴

Sāralādāsa in his *Mahābhārata* refers to Jājanagara as a part of Oḍra rāṣṭra, while he locates Yakṣarapura the abode of his tutelary goddess Sāralā. The poet states, "The Goddess, the dweller of Yakṣarapura resides at the place which lies to the North-east of Mahendra, Chandrabhāgā and

1. *J. K. H. R. S.*, I, p. 136.

2. Bracketed portions are ours.

3. *Chāleśvara Inscription J. A. S. B.* (o. s.) LXVII, 1898, pp. 322-26.

4. *Nagari C. P. Inscription, E. I.* XXVII, pp. 235 f.

4. Raverty, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*—Vol. I, p. 592.

5. *Ibid.*, notes.

Konārka, in between Śeta-Bārāhī (Sāta-Bhāiā)¹ and Nīlasundara hill (Purī) on the Eastern shore of Jājanagra Bhuvana in the Oḍra-rāṣṭra Maṇḍala in Bhrata (Bhārata) Khaṇḍa which is a part of Jāmbudvīpa”.² This clearly indicates that the tradition of a separate territory named Jājnagar as a part of Oḍra rāṣṭra or Orissa was continuing as late as the 15th century A. D., when the poet Sāralādāsa wrote his *Mahābhārata*. The mention of the country of ‘Jājnagar-Udisā’ by Shams-i-Seraj-Afif towards the end of the 14th century A. D., is quite significant, and as pointed out above, it refers to the unified Orissan empire of the Gaṅgas after Anaṅga Bhīma III with Vārāṇasī Kaṭaka-modern Cuttack as the capital.

The word ‘Uḍisā’ of Afif is quite likely the developed variant of the word ‘Ursfin’ of Ibn Khurdadhbih (9th century A. D.) and ‘Urshin’ of the *Hudud-al-Alam* (10th century A. D.), the Chinese form of which is Wu-Cha (Wu-ta) of Yuan Chwang (7th century A. D.), the original being Oḍra or Oḍradeśa in medieval epigraphs and ancient literature. On the other hand, the word ‘Oḍra-viṣaya’ of the *Soro Copper Plate Inscription* (7th century A. D.) and subsequent medieval epigraphs, expressed as ‘Urdabishau’ in Alberuni’s account (1025 A. D.), and as ‘Oḍḍa viṣaya’ in *Tirumalāi Inscription* (1025 A. D.) of Rājendra Chola, takes the form of

1. Sātabhāiā, located on the northern coast of Cuttack district is till today a famous seat of Bārāhī worship. The name of the place is very likely derived from ‘Śeta Bārāhī’.
2. जम्बुद्वीप भ्रतखण्ड मण्डल ओडराष्ट्रे
भुवन जाजनग्र पूर्वदिग महोदधि तटे
शेतवाराही नीलसुन्दरगिरि मध्यस्थाने
महीन्द्र चन्द्रभागा कोणार्क ऐशान्ये
स पुरे वास यक्षर पुर बातेनी ।

Virāta Parva

'Oḍivisā' or 'Uḍivisā' in the traditional records consulted by Lāmā Tārānāth and the author of *Pāg-Sām-Jon-Ḍāṅg*, falling back on 'Uḍḍiśa' in the Tantric literature of late medieval time. The *Tantrasāra* in its two *Pṣ̥hatattvanyāsas* refers to God Jagannātha as 'Uḍḍiśa-nātha' while the *Jñānārṇava*² declares 'Uḍḍiśa' as one of the *Śākta-pṣ̥thas*.

It is, thus, evident that the word 'Uḍḍiśa' or 'Uḍiśā' is already developed by the 15th century A. D., and the poet Sārālādāsa naturally makes 'Uḍiśā' or 'Oḍiśā' synonymous with Oḍrarāṣṭra.³ The 'Oḍrarāṣṭra-Oḍiśā' of Sārālādāsa is represented as Oḍiśā-rājya, also as Oḍiśā-rājya in the proclamations⁴ of Gajapati Kapileśvaradeva (1435—1467 A. D.) during whose reign the poet flourished.⁵ From this time onwards the word 'Oḍiśā' denoting to the entire land of the Oriya people, came to be of common use.

1. *Tantrasāra*, Vaṅgavāsī ed. pp. 419-20; 451-52.
In these two cases the pūrṇagiri pīṭha is called *Uḍḍiśanāthātmaka*
2. Vide, Dr. D. C. Sircar, *Śāktapīṭha*, *J. R. A. S. B* XIV. pp. 20-21,
3. जजाति पृथ्वी नवखण्ड कले
नवखण्ड पृथ्वी नव पुत्रङ्कु वाण्टिदेले ।
एहार ज्येष्ठपुत्र पुरु महीपति
ओड़णी भार्यार से अटइ सन्तति ।
महाभारत ओड़राष्ट्र मण्डले
तेणु से ओड़िसा भ्रतखण्ड सभुकाले
Ādi Parva
4. आम्भर ओड़िसा राज्यर लोण कउड़ी मुलकर न्याय्य छाड़िलि छाड़िलि छाड़िलि
Inscriptions in the temple of Jagannāth : Left side No. 3
J.A.S.B. LXII, 1893, p. 93
ए पृथिवी येतेकाल थाइ तेतेकाल ए ओड़िसा राज्यर राजामानङ्कु तिआरु अल्लु..... ।
Right side No. 4 *Ibid*, p. 100
The poet refers to the rule of Kapileśvaradeva as follows :—
5. कलिकाल ध्वंसिण भोगेण कोटिपूत्र
प्रणमिते खरन्ति कपिलेश्वर महारात्रा ।
Ādi Parva

NO. 40: SORO PLATE OF SŌMADATTA, YEAR 15

<i>Provenance</i>	: Badkhuri near Soro, Balasore district.
<i>References</i>	: N.G. Majumdar, <i>El</i> , Vol. XXIII (1935-36), pp. 202 ff. and plate; and S.N. Rajaguru, <i>IO</i> , Vol. I, Pt. 2 (1958), pp. 138-40.
<i>Language</i>	: Sanskrit, in prose, with the exception of four of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end.
<i>Metre</i>	: Verses 1-4 <i>anuṣṭubh</i> .
<i>Script</i>	: Eastern variety of the north Indian alphabet of about the seventh century A.D.
<i>Date</i>	: 15th regnal year, the thirteenth day of Vaiśākha.

TEXT¹*First Side*

- 1 सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति [1*] जयस्कन्धावारादाप्रतक्षकवासकात्परमदैवताधिदैवतश्री-
- 2 पर[म]भट्टारकपादानुध्यातो महाव(ब)लाधिकृतान्तरङ्गमहासान्द्धि-
- 3 विग्रहिकसोमदत्तः कुशली [1*] ओड्रविषये उत्तरतोसल्यां सरेफा-
- 4 हारविषये वर्तमानभविष्यन्महासामन्तमहाराजराजपुत्रकुमारा-
- 5 मात्योपरिकविषयपतितदायुक्तकदाण्डवा(पा)सिकस्थानान्तरिकान-
- 6 न्यांश्च चाटभटवल्लभजातीयान्विषयमहामहत्तरकूटकोलस-
- 7 पुस्तपालाद्यधिकरणञ्च यथार्हम्पूजयत्यवगमयति च विदित-
- 8 मस्तु भवतां यथास्माभिरेतद्विषयसम्ब(म्ब)द्धअडयारग्रामो(मः) श्रीपरम-
- 9 [भ]ट्टारकपादानामाचन्द्रार्कसमकालम्पुण्यभिवृद्धये राजदत्ति-
- 10 ताम्रपट्टस्थित्या वात्स्यसगोत्रवाजसनेयभ्रुवमित्र स्वाम्यारुङ्ग-
- 11 स्वाम्यादीनाम्प्रतिपादितस्तदेषां समुचितताम्रपट्टदा[न*]न्दत्वा
- 12 भुञ्जानानां न केनचिदन्यथा करणीया एषा च दत्तिः परमदैवत-

Second Side

- 13 श्रीपरमभट्टारकपादानां धर्मस्य च गौरवात्प्रतिपालयितव्या ॥

1. From the original plate and the facsimiles in *El*, Vol. XXIII (1935-36), pp. 200 and 201.
2. Expressed by a symbol.

KALINGA

१. कलिङ्गाक्ष गजा श्रेष्ठा।
(कौटिल्य, अर्थशास्त्र २२/१०)
२. उत्कलावर्षितापथः कलिङ्गाभिमुखो ययौ।
श्रियं महेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार नतु मेदिनीम्।
ततः समुद्रतीरेण जगाम वसुधाधिपः।
भ्रातृभिः सहितो वीरः कलिङ्गान् प्रति भारत।
तस्योत्कलो गयो राजन् विमलश्च त्रयः सुताः।
दक्षिणा गण राजानो वभूवुर्धर्म वस्त्रलाः।
(महाभारत)
३. पाण्यांश्च द्राविडा श्वेवा संहितां श्वौड् केरलैः।
अन्द्रां स्तालबनां श्वेव कलिङ्गानुष्टकर्णिकान्।
(महाभारत, सभापर्व ३३/१९)
४. घीनांश्चका स्तथा चोडान् वर्वरान् वनवासिनः।
(महाभारत, सभापर्व ५१)
५. किराता वर्वरा सिद्धा विदेहा स्ताम्रलिप्तकाः।
उड्गाः म्लेच्छाः ससेरिन्ध्राः पार्वतीयाश्च मारिष।
(महाभारत, भीष्मपर्व ९/५१)
६. उड् उत्कल नामानो मगधाः कीकटा मताः।
(त्रिकाण्डशेष)
७. उड्देश इति ख्यातो वर्षे भारत संज्ञितम्,
दक्षिणसौदधेस्तीरे क्षेत्रं श्रीपुरुषोत्तम्।
तत्र नीलगिरिर्नाम समन्तात् काननावृतम्।
तस्यपश्चादिशि ख्यातं कुण्डं रौहिणी संज्ञितम्।
(स्कन्दपुराण)
८. वर्षाणां भारतः श्रेष्ठो देशानामुत्कलः शुतः
उत्कलस्य समोदेशो देशो नास्ति महीतले।
(कपिलसंहिता)
१०. ततो गोदावरीं नद्यां कृष्णवेण्यां महानदीं।
मेकलानुत्कलां श्वौब दशार्णनगराण्यपि।
तथा मस्त्राः कलिङ्गाश्च कौशिकाश्च समन्ततः।
खस्वीक्ष्य दण्डकारण्यं सपर्वत नदीगुहां।
(रामायण, किस्किन्दाकाण्ड - ४१)
११. चतुर्विधा प्रवृत्तिश्च प्रौक्रानाट्य प्रयोक्तिभिः।
अवन्ती दाक्षीणात्याः च पाञ्चाली चोड मागधी।
(भरतमुनि, नाट्यशास्त्र - १३/१७)
१२. आवन्ती दाक्षिणात्या च तथा चैवोड् मागधी।
पाञ्चाली मध्यमाचेति विज्ञेयास्तु प्रवृत्तियः।
(भरतमुनि, नाट्यशास्त्र - ६/२६)
१३. दन्तपुरं कलिङ्गानं अस्सकानं च पोतनं।
माहिससति अवन्तीनं सोवीरानं च रोरुकं।
मिथिला च विदेहानं चम्पा अङ्ग्रेसु मापिता।
बारणासी च कासीनं एते गोविन्द मापिता।
(दीर्घ निकाय - P.T.S 2ND P-235)
१४. जगत्राथात् समारभ्य कृष्ण शिरान्तगः शिवे
कलिङ्गदेशः संप्रोक्तो बाममार्ग परायण।
(शक्तिसङ्गमतन्त्र)
१५. उत्कला मेखलाः पौण्ड्राः कलिङ्गाश्च संयुगे।
निषादाश्च त्रिगर्भाश्च गर्भाश्च बाळ्हकाश्च जितास्त्वया।
(महाभारत, द्रोणपर्व)

ARCHAIC HISTORY

Kaliṅga Before the Mahābhārata War.

The political history of India before the Bhārata war has not yet been properly studied. The Vedic literature and the *Nārasaṁsī Gāthās* of the *Purāṇas* have referred to some kings and royal dynasties who may be attributed to circa 2nd millennium B. C.¹ The Purānic genealogies of the pre-Bhārata period suffer from many lacunae and require careful consideration for reconstructing the political history of the period.² It may, however, be said that the Vedic and the Purānic literatures are concerned more with Northern India than with any other region while alluding to the political life of the country during the pre-Bhārata war period. They had, therefore, little to speak about the condition of Kaliṅga during that period. That Kaliṅga existed as a political entity before the Bhārata war is known from the testimony of the *Purāṇas*³ and the political account of the territory during that period can be gathered from the *Mahābhārata* itself.

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1. The Vedic literature mentions kings and dynasties like Bṛhadāsava, Dṛdhāsava, Juvanāsava, Suhotra, Veṇuhotra, Vitihotra, Somaśravas, Sutapā, Divodāsa, Marutta, Somadatta and Devadatta, while kings like Alārka, Jayamegha, Babhru, Bharata, Arjuna Kārtavīrya and Māndhātā and dynasties like Ikṣvākus, Purus, Yadus and Druhyus are mentioned in the *Nārasaṁsī Gāthās* of the *Purāṇas*.
 2. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.* pp. 144-49.
 3. *Ibid.* p. 10. Also see the Chart at p. 148 as regards Akrodhana.

To all probability Kaliñga was not Aryanised during the pre-Bhārata war period. The people of Kaliñga are branded as *Durdharmans*¹ by the *Mahābhārata* and their territory was outside the pale of the Aryan civilisation even as late as the time of which the *Dharmasūtra* writers speak. But the *Mahābhārata* informs us that the royal families of Kaliñga had contracted matrimonial relations with the Aryan-royal families of Northern India long before the Bhārata war. The *Ādi Parva* records the marriage of the Kaliñga princess Karambhā with the proud Paurava king Akrodhana², where as, we know from the same source that Tam̄su, the grand father of Dūṣyanta (father of the famous Puru king Bharata) married a princess from the Kaliñga royal family.³

The *Śānti Parva*⁴ gives a vivid account of the *Svayamvara* ceremony of the Kaliñga princess, the daughter of king Chitrāñgada, that was held in the capital city called Rājapura. Large number of famous kings of Northern, Southern and Western India are known to have attended the ceremony. Kings like Śiśupāla, Jarāsandha, Bhīṣmaka, Kapotaromā, Nīla, Aśoka, Satadhanvā and Bhoja assembled there to court the princess, while the Kuru king Duryodhana also attended the ceremony along with Kārṇa. The Kaliñga

1. *Karna Parva*, 2066,

2. अयुतनायो खलु पृथुश्रवसो दुहितरमुपयेमे
कामानाम तस्यामस्य यज्ञे अक्रोधनः ।
स खलु कालीर्ज्ञो कारम्भं नामोपयेमे
तस्यामस्य यज्ञे देवातिथि ।

Ādi Parva, 3775.

3. तंसुं सरस्वती पुत्रं मतिनारादजीजनत् ।
ईलिनं जनयामास कालिङ्गवां तंसुरात्मजं ॥

Ādi Parva, 3780.

4. Canto IV.

princess appeared in the arena with her female attendants and by-passed Duryodhana with indifference. Thereupon, the proud Kaurava king being mortified, forcibly caught hold of the bride and placed her on his chariot. The assembled kings took serious offence at the audacious conduct of Duryodhana and were determined not to let him off without a fight. But Karṇa came to rescue of the Kaurava prince and by his skill in archery held the kings at bay. Duryodhana, thus, safely escaped with the princess of Kaliṅga to his capital.

It may further be pointed out that the *Svayamvara* ceremony of Draupadī, the princess of Pañchāla, was attended by the king of Kaliṅga in the company of Duryodhana.¹ This king was very likely the successor of Chitrāṅgada and may be identified with Śrutāyus or Śrutāyūdhā, the famous hero of the Mahābhārata war.

The king of Kaliṅga is known to have been vanquished on different occasions by the great heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. He was defeated by Karṇa², by Rāmayāmadagnya³ and also by the combined power of Sahadeva and Kṛṣṇa who crushed the Kālīṅgas at Dantakura⁴. Sahadeva, in course of his *Digvijaya* defeated the king of Kaliṅga⁵ and the latter is known to have brought tributes to Yudhiṣṭhira.⁶ We further know that he attended the *Rājasūya* sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira, along with the kings of Puṇḍra, Vaṅga, Ākarṣa,

1. *Ādi Parva*, 7020 and also *Uddyoga Parva*, 3403.

2. *Vana Parva*, 15243.

3. *Droṇa Parva*, 2436.

4. अर्यं कर्णटे निजवान् पारुष्यम् ।

ततः कलिङ्गान् दन्तकुरे ममद् ॥

(*Udyoga Parva*, xlvii 70)

5. *Sabhā Parva*, 1175.

6. *Sabhā Parva*, 1874.

Kuntala and Vanavāsī.¹ It may be suggested here that the Kaliṅga king who attended the *Rājasūya* sacrifice after being defeated by Sahadeva is very likely Śrutāyūdha, who has been referred to in the *Sabhā Parva*² as being present in the palace of Yudhiṣṭhira.

The king of Kaliṅga was evidently antagonistic towards the Pāṇḍavas and was friendly to the Kauravas owing to his close relations with the latter. Whereas, the king of the Oḍras is said to have been an ally of the Pāṇḍavas. In the famous Kurukṣetra war the Kaliṅga king with his mighty army consisting of 60,000 war chariots and 10,000 elephants joined with Duryodhana.³ It appears that he was eager to take revenge against the Pāṇḍavas who had treated him in an ignominious manner during the *Rājasūya* sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira. The Oḍra king on the other hand sided with the Pāṇḍavas with all his resources.⁴ In the war, king Śrutāyūdha and his sons Śakradeva, Ketumān and Bhānumān who acted under him as commanders of different regiments, fought under Generalissimo Bhīṣma in the van of the Kaurava forces.⁵ In the third day of Bhīṣma's command a terrible fight took place between Bhīma, assisted by the Chedis and the Kaliṅgas led by Śrutāyūdha. The Pulindas and Savaras of Kaliṅga led by prince Ketumān distinguished themselves in the battle and out-witted Bhīmasena. King Śrutāyūdha displayed his indomitable courage and heroism in his fight against Bhīma, who however, succeeded in slaying the protectors of the wheels of Śrutāyūdha's war-chariot and put the Kaliṅga king in a precarious

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1. *Sabha Parva*, 1270.
 2. *Sabhā Parva*, iv, 121.
 3. *Bhīṣma Parva*, xvi, 623.
 4. *Ibid* xxx, 2084.
 5. *Ibid*, xvii, 6621; iii, 2203

position. Subsequently, Śrutāyūdhā was killed together with his three war-like sons, after wrecking terrible carnage in the armies of the Pāṇḍavas.¹

After the death of Śrutāyūdhā and his sons the Kaliṅga army found no other leaders of the royal blood, as the royal dynasty of Kaliṅga was completely annihilated in the battle. The army for sometimes followed Bhagadatta the king of Kāmarūpa,² and by the time Droṇa organised the *Garuḍavyūha* it was found to have formed the neck of the array.³

If any historical credence be placed on the accounts of the *Mahābhārata*, it may be said that Kaliṅga was a mighty power commanding great political prestige during the period preceding the Bhārata war. Famous kings of Northern India were anxious to have matrimonial relations with the royal family of Kaliṅga and her army was highly reputed for its skill and valour. But the power of Kaliṅga was completely crushed and her royal dynasty wiped off along with many other dynasties of India, in the Krukṣetra war.

1. For the account of fight of Śrutāyūdhā and his sons with Bhīma, see *Ibid*, liv.

2. *Bhīma Parva*, xxvii, 3854.

3. *Droṇa Parva*, xx, 798 and 802.

4. अन्तरे चैव संप्राप्ते कलिङ्गापरयोरभूत् ।

स्यमन्त पञ्चके युद्धं कुरुपाण्डव सेनयोः ॥

Ādi Parva, ii, 13.

Kaliṅga from the Mahābhārata war to Mahāpadmananda.

The Purānic accounts referred to above regarding the dates of the Mahābhārata war indicates a division of Ancient India into two well marked periods i. e., the first period from the birth of Parīkṣita to the coronation of Mahāpadmananda, and the second period from Mahāpadmananda to Pulomā (Pulomāvi) the last Āndhra king. As pointed out above, the second period presents historical inaccuracy and our knowledge about the history of the post-Mahāpadmananda period being rich and full, it would not be in the fitness of things to treat this period as one of the divisions in the history of Ancient India, as well as, of Orissa. We may however, accept the first division, our knowledge of that period being obscure and scanty. The present discussion is thus devoted to unravelling the history of ancient Kaliṅga

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1. Pargiter, *D. K. A.* p. 5.
 2. *Chhand, Up.* i. 10, 1.

during the period from the Mahābhārata war which synchronised with the birth of Parīkṣita to the accession of Mahāpadmananda.

The Vedic and the early Brāhmanical works seldom refer to Kaliṅga and her people, and hence, those are of little help to us in our discussion of the early history of Kaliṅga. The *Vāyu*, *Matsya* and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*¹ speak of various ruling dynasties of India during the period following the Mahābhārata war. The most important dynasties of the period were the Bārhadrathas, Ikṣvākus, Pañchālas, Kāśīs, Haihayas, Aśmakas, Kurus, Maithilas, Surasenas, Vitihotras, etc. Contemporaneous with these dynasties thirtytwo Kṣatriya kings ruled over Kailiṅga during the period under review.² But nothing about the activities of these kings is known from the *Purāṇas* which do not even care to mention their names.

Unlike the Brāhmanical works the Buddhist and the Jaina literature throw considerable light on the early history of Kaliṅga. The *Mahāgovinda sūttānta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* has preserved a vivid picture of the political condition of India of very early times when seven states enjoyed considerable power in the country. Those states are-Kaliṅga, Assaka, Avantī, Sovīra, Videha, Aṅga and Kāśī with their capitals at Dantapura, Potana, Māhissati, Roruka, Mithilā, Champā and Vārāṇasī respectively.³

1. Pargiter, *D. K. A.* pp. 23 and 69.

2. *Ibid.*

3. दन्तपुरं कलिङ्गानं अस्सकानं च पोतनं ।
माहिस्सति अबन्तीनं सोवीरानं च रोरुकं ॥
मिथिला च विदेहानं चंपा अङ्गेषु मापिता ।
वाराणसी च कासीनं एते गोविन्द मापिता ॥

Dīgha Nikāya (P.T.S.), ii. p. 235

Dialogue of the Buddha, II, p. 270

We know from the same source that king Sattabhu was ruling over Kaliṅga contemporaneous with Brahmadata, king of Assaka, Vessabhu of Avantī, Bharata of Sovīra, Reṇu of Videha, Dhatarat̥tha of Aṅga and Dhatarat̥tha, king of Kāśī.¹ Most of these rulers have, however, remained as obscure figures in ancient Indian history, but king Dhatarat̥tha of Kāśī comes to light being referred to in the Brāhmanical works. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*² reveals that Dhṛtarāṣṭra (Dhatarat̥tha) of Kāśī while performing the horse sacrifice was defeated by Satānika Śātrājita³ who carried away the sacrificial horse by force. Śatānika of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* may be identified with the Bhārata king Śatānika who according to the *Purānas*⁴ was the grandson of Parīkṣita and the son and successor of Janamejaya. Hence, it becomes evident that king Sattabhu of Kaliṅga was a contemporary not only of Dhṛtarāṣṭra of Kāśī but also of Śatānika, the Kuru king. It has been shown in the foregoing discussion that Janamejaya, the son of Parīkṣita was flourishing during the later half of the 9th century B. C. His son Śatānika may, therefore be assigned to the first quarter of the 8th century B. C., and thus, his contemporary king Sattabhu of Kaliṅga may be placed in the same period. The Purānic traditions bear testimony to the fact that a neo-Kṣatriya dynasty came to power in Kaliṅga during the post-Bhārata war period as the earlier dynasty was completely annihilated when Śrutāyu perished with his three sons in that war. The founder of this neo-Kṣatriya dynasty is, however, not definitely known, and it may be suggested that he was the predecessor of king

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Śat. Br.* xiii, 5, 4, 22. This is also known from *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, see *Vedic Index*, I, p. 403, II, p. 352.

3. If the epithet Śātrājita is patronymic, Janamejaya may be regarded as Śātrājita.

4. Pargiter, *D. K. A.*, p. 5.

Sattabhu of *Dīgha Nikāya*. The Buddhist work indicates that soon after the devastating Kurukṣetra war, Kaliṅga regained her prestige and power under the rule of Sattabhu and became notable among the contemporary Indian States.

The next ruler of Kaliṅga, so far known to us, is Nālikīra who finds mention in the old *Gāthā* portion of the *Jātakas*¹ and has also been referred to in the *Upālisūta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*.² The episode regarding Nālikīra was widely prevalent in India during the time of Buddha and probably long before that, which indicates that the king belonged to a very early date. The traditions recorded in the *Jātakas* state that once a holy ascetic came with five hundred followers to Dantapura, the capital of Kaliṅga, and encamped in the royal park. When king Nālikīra visited the ascetic the latter asked him as to whether he was ruling righteously or not. The king took the query with bitter feelings and in order to chastise the ascetics invited them all to his palace where he filled their bowls with filth, had them beaten and set dogs against them. The consequence of this ill-treatment towards innocent ascetics proved fatal to himself and his kingdom. He died an inglorious death and was consigned to the hell known as the *Sunakha niraya*, while his country, Kaliṅga, was desolated and reduced to wilderness (*Kaliṅgarañña*). This episode under

1. यथा अहं दण्डकी नालिकीरो ।
अथ अज्जुनो कलाबु चापि राजा ॥
तेसं गांत्तं ब्रुहि सुपापकम्मणं ।
कथ-उपपन्ना इति विहेठका ॥

J. V. p. 143,
(*Gāthā* 68)

2. *Majjh. N.* i. p. 378.
also *Majjh. Com.* (Aluvihāra series) Vol. II, pp. 602 f.

its religious garb, seems to have contained some untraceable facts leading to the fall of Kaliñga. The territory which flourished under Sattabhu suddenly perished during the rule of Nālikīra and this apparently indicates the fall of the Kṣatriya dynasty which came to power over Kaliñga after the Bhārata war. It is possible to suggest that the destruction of the Kuru kingdom, as well as, of Kaliñga was not far apart in time.

By the time the Kurus transferred their seat of Government to Kauśāmbī, the Janaka family was ruling over Videha which was then a prominent kingdom in Northern India. The *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* give glorious accounts of Videha and speak of other contemporary states like Gāndhāra, Kekaya, Madra, Uṣīnara, Matsya, Kuru (Kauśāmbī branch) Pañchāla, Kāśī and Kosala. Although these authorities are concerned more with the North Indian States, they do not fail to refer to the South Indian kingdoms and kings. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*¹ for instance, refers to king Bhīma of Vidarbha in South India, in association with king Nagnajit of Gāndhāra in North-western India, while the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*² gives account of a sage known as Vidarbhī Kauṇḍiṇya. It may be pointed out that the above *Upaniṣad* without mentioning the proper name of the sage calls him after the kingdom of Vidarbha and its capital Kuṇḍina. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*³ further refers to some kings of South India called Bhojas - an ancient ruling family known also from the edicts of Aśoka and the *Hāthīgumphā inscription* of Khāravēla. Although Kaliñga is seldom referred to in the Brāhmanical and Upaniṣadic literature, its existence as a political power

1. *Ait. Br.* vii, 34.

2. *Vedic Index*, II. p. 297

3. *Ait. Br.* viii, 14.

along with Assaka and Vidarbha during the Age of the Janaka family of Videha is known from copious references in Jaina and Buddhistic works. The most important king of Kaliṅga during this period was Karakaṇḍu (or Karaṇḍu) who flourished contemporaneous with Nimi the penultimate ruler of the Janaka family of Videha.¹ The Jaina *Karakaṇḍu Charit*² reveals that Karakaṇḍu was the son of king Dadhivāhana of Chāmpā, who, however, should not be confounded with the Aṅga king Dahivāhana whose daughter Chandanā or Chandanavālā was the first lady converted to Jainism by Mahāvīra.³ We identify Dadhivāhana, the father of Karakaṇḍu with his name sake described in the *Dadhivāhana Jātaka*,⁴ where he has been represented as occupying the throne of Benares. It may be pointed out that Aṅga was a vassal state of Kāśī since the time of Manoja⁵, the powerful Kāśī monarch and hence, Dadhivāhana who came after Manoja, has been confounded by later Jaina writers as the king of Aṅga.⁶ It may, however, be said in support of the Jaina tradition that the episode regarding the birth of Karakaṇḍu and his installation on the throne of Kaliṅga took place at the time when his father Dadhivāhana was probably a Governor of Aṅga with the headquarters at

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1. This Nimi is identified with Nimi of *Malhadaeva Jātaka* (J. VI) and of *Nimi jātaka* (J. I), according to which he was born to round off the royal family of Videha like the hoop of a chariot wheel and was succeeded by Kalāra Janaka who brought the line to an end.
 2. *Karakaṇḍu Charit*, Korāñja series; also vide *Abhidhāna Rājendra* III, 'Karaṇḍu'.
 3. *J. A. S. B.* 1914, pp. 320-21; also *I. C.* II, pp. 682 f.
 4. *J.* II, pp. 101 f.
 5. For conquests of king Manoja see *Soṅamanda Jātaka* (J. V. pp. 315 f).
 6. Dadhivāhana has been represented as the son and successor of king Aṅga in the *Purāṇas*, *Matsya*, iii, 91-108 *Vāyu*, ic, 100-112 as well as, in the *Harivaṁśa* xxxii, 43.

Chāmpā. The Jaina tradition¹ reveals that the queen of Dadhivāhana, who was heavy with child, was once enjoying elephant drive in the forest when she lost her way and ultimately arrived at Kaliṅga. There she gave birth to a son who grew up in obscurity and was named Karakaṇḍu. While the king of Kaliṅga died without an heir the boy Karakaṇḍu was miraculously chosen as king and with his accession to the throne, the prevailing anarchy in Kaliṅga came to an end.

The *Kumbhakāra Jātaka*² and the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*³ reveal that Karakaṇḍu flourished in Kaliṅga as contemporary of Dummukha (Durmukha or Dvimukha) king of Pañchāla, Naggaji (Nagnajit) king of Gāndhāra, as well as, Nimi, king of Videha. Further light on this synchronism is thrown by the later Vedic literature where Somaka, the son of Sahadeva, is represented in association with both Bhīma, the king of Vidarbha and Nagnajit, the king of Gāndhāra⁴, while Bṛhaduktha⁵, the son of Vāmadeva, a contemporary of Somaka⁶ is described as the priest of Durmukha the Pañchāla king. Thus, the combined evidences of the Buddhist, Jaina and Vedic texts testify to the

1. See *Karakaṇḍu Chariu*, also *Abhidhāna Rājendra*, op. cit.

2. *J.* III pp. 376 f.

3. *S. B. E.* XLV, p. 87. Lecture xviii, 45-47.

4. *Ait. Br.* vii. 34.

5. For Bṛhaduktha as priest of Durmukha. *Ait. Br.* viii, 23, *Vedic Index* I p. 370.

6. Vāmādeva as contemporary of Somaka, see *Rgveda* IV, 15, 7, 10. In this connection the following may be cited from *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 34.

एतमु हेव प्रोचतुः पर्वत-नारदौ सोमकाय साहदेव्याय सःदेवाय सारङ्ग्याय
वधने देवावृषाय भीमाय वैदर्भाय नमजिने गान्धाराय ।

contemporaneity of the following kings—Nimi of Vidcha, Karakaṇḍu (or Karaṇḍu) of Kaliṅga, Nagnajit of Gāndhāra, Bhīma of Vidarbha, Durmukha of North Pañchāla and Somaka of South Pañchāla.¹ It may be pointed out that, out of this group of kings Nimi and Karakaṇḍu find no mention in the Vedic literature although both of them are conspicuously featured in the Buddhist and Jaina texts.

The *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*² declares Karakaṇḍu, Nimi, Dummukha and Naggati as “bulls among kings” and states that they adopted the faith of the Jinas and after abdicating thrones took to the life of *Sramaṇas*. This account indicates that Jainism was in a flourishing condition in India when these four ‘bulls of kings’ were ruling. The popularity of Jainism in its ‘*Chaturyāma*’ form was widely prevailing in Northern and Eastern India since the time of Pārśvanāth, whom Jaina traditions regard as the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara and historians consider as the first historical founder of Jainism.³ Pārśva is said to have attained *Mokṣa* 250 years before Mahāvīra’s *Nirvāṇa*, the date of which is unfortunately not above dispute. According to tradition *Vīranirvāṇa* took place 470 years before the Vikrama era i. e. in 527 B. C. But the traditional date of *Vīranirvāṇa* like that of *Buddha-nirvāṇa*, is open to doubt. The Medieval Jaina scholar Hemachandra states that a period of 410 years intervened the decease of Mahāvīra and the Vikrama era,

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1. According to the *Purāṇas* Somaka, the son of Sahadeva, was king of North Pañchāla (Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.* p. 148) So Durmukha who is called a Pañchāla king, may be taken to be ruling over South Pañchāla.
 2. *S. B. E. Ibid.*
 3. *I. A.* II, pp. 261. f. *Ibid.* IX, p. 162. *Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jub. Lec.* Vol. III. pt. 3. pp. 74 f.

and as this is corroborated by various other Jaina accounts¹ we take 467 B.C. as the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* and as such, 717 B.C. as that of Pārśva's *Mokṣa*.² The four bulls of kings mentioned above flourished long before the compilation of *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* in which at least one of them finds prominent mention. It is, therefore, not unlikely that they were the followers of *Chaturyāma Dharma* propounded by Pārśvanāth and were his spiritual disciples. The Jaina *Kṣetra Samāsa* represents Pārśvanāth as preaching at Tamralipta and Kopakaṭaka identified respectively with modern Tāmluk in West Bengal and Kopāri in Orissa.³ Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanāth is prominently represented in the early figure sculptures of Khaṇḍagiri where the famous cave Ananta guṃphā is known from its Serpent symbol to have been dedicated to his honour. The influence of Pārśvanāth on the spiritual life of ancient Kaliṅga was very considerable and there can be no reasonable doubt in the fact that Karakaṇḍu, the earliest known Jaina king of Kaliṅga was one of his royal disciples.

1. The *Jaina Charitra* of the *Kalpasūtra* mentions that its compilation was completed 993 years after *Vīranīrvāṇa* when it was publicly recited before king Dhruvasena I of Valabhi, probably at the time of his coronation. Dhruvasena ascended the throne in 526 A. D. and hence, Mahāvīra's decease may be ascribed to 467 B. C. (993-526). A strong Jaina tradition reveals that Bhadrabāhu the preceptor of Chandragupta Maurya and the tenth Jaina pontiff died 170 years after Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*. The death of Bhadrabāhu is known to have taken place after the abdication of Chandragupta Maurya and as Chandragupta abdicated in 299-98 B. C. the death of the Jaina pontiff may be ascribed to 297 B. C. and that of Mahāvīra to 467 B.C. (297 + 170).
2. Famous Jaina scholars like Jacobi and Charpentier have accepted 467 B. C. as the date of *Vīranīrvāṇa*.
3. N. N. Vasu, *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhañj*, p. xliii.

Karakaṇḍu patronised Jainism, not only in his own kingdom, but also in neighbouring territories where his royal friends were ruling. He dedicated shrines to the Jinas at Terapura in Mahārāṣṭra¹ which was then probably under the rule of king Bhīma referred to in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. The Karaṇḍaka monastery² was very likely named after him and the stone elephant which stood in the monastery was the fore-runner of the Aśokan elephant at Toṣālī (Dhauḷī). Owing to his munificence, religious contemplation and wisdom, Karakaṇḍu is hailed by the Jaina tradition as a 'Rājaraṣ'—an ascetic king. His abdication of the throne for leading the life of a *Sramaṇa*, was an important event in ancient India and it is preserved in the Jaina and Buddhist texts in different manners—the former³ placing emphasis on his deep realisation of the transitory nature of the worldly property and the latter⁴ giving exposition to his reflection upon the worldly prosperity as the cause of sorrow.

1. *A. B. R. I.* XVI. pt. i, ii. See *Karakaṇḍu Chariu* (Korcnja series), Introduction, pp. 42-54.
2. *J.* IV, p. 95.
3. The Jaina tradition presents an interesting story about the conversion of Karakaṇḍu. It is said that the king was fond of a young white bull which was healthy and well-bred. Being engrossed in his duties he failed to look after its welfare for sometime and subsequently found it old and reduced to skeletons. This was a great shock to him and thinking that the world's prosperity and happiness were of a transitory nature, he accepted the path of the Jinas. (*Abhidhāna Rājendra*, III, p. 359.)
4. The *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* narrates that once the king and his retinue ate mangoes from a fruit laden tree in the royal park and the tree was stripped bare of its fruits. The king thereafter compared the fate of the fruit laden tree with that of the barren ones which were spared such ravages owing to their barrenness. Reflecting upon the fact that worldly prosperity was the cause of all sorrows and unhappiness, king Karakaṇḍu (Karakaṇḍu) became a Paccheka-Buddha and went to the Nanda-mūla-pabbhāra with three others, Naggaji, Niṃi and Dummukha. (*J.* III, p. 376 f.)

The *Jātaka* makes us believe that after the fall of Daṇḍakī, the vassal kings—Kālīṅga, Aṭṭhaka and Bhīmaratha came to the hermitage of Sarabhaṅga, which was located on the bank of the Godāvarī, where they discussed about the ill-fated emperor, and subsequently being inspired by the teachings of the sage, all of them renounced the world and turned ascetics.

It is further known from the *Jātakas* that with the fall of the Daṇḍaka empire, Kālīṅga, Assaka, and Vidarbha became independent and the kings who occupied the thrones of these territories made earnest attempt to consolidate their respective strength. In Kālīṅga, after the abdication of Kālīṅga I, his elder son Mahākālīṅga ascended the throne and ruled the kingdom as a benevolent and judicious monarch.¹ His younger brother Chullakālīṅga was very arrogant and created much trouble in the kingdom as a consequence of which Mahākālīṅga ordered for his arrest. To avoid humiliation Chullakālīṅga escaped from Kālīṅga and lived in the guise of an ascetic in the Himālayan forest (Himavā). There he had a romantic association with the princess of Madra whom he married and begot a child.²

A few years after that, Mahākālīṅga of Kālīṅga died issueless. The son of Chullakālīṅga who was then sufficiently grown up came to Dantapura, the capital of Kālīṅga, to claim his ancestral throne. When the people and the

1. *J.* IV, pp. 228 f.

2. The *Jātaka* states that according to prediction of the sooth-sayer the Madda (Madra) princess was to give birth to a son who would be a Chakkavattī and so many powerful kings of Jambudvīpa sought her hands. Her parents, in order to avoid enmity with these kings left the capital city Sāgala and lived in a cottage in Himavā where the princess came in contact with Chullakālīṅga.

courtiers recognised the identity of the prince, they warmly welcomed him as their king. After ascending the throne he was known as Kālīṅga II. In the Buddhist literature he has been described as a C'hakkavattī monarch and his royal chaplain Kālīṅga Bhāradvāja is said to have taught him the duties of a C'hakkavattī.¹

In the *Chullakālīṅga Jātaka*² we come across a war-like and ambitious king of Kālīṅga named Kālīṅga, who cannot be identified with Kālīṅga I, the vassal of Daṇḍakī, but with great amount of certainty be taken to be the same as Kālīṅga II of the *Kālīṅgabodhi Jātaka*. Both the *Jātakas* highly speak of his militant nature and royal dignity and depict him as a chivalrous and over-bearing monarch.

It is further known from the *Chullakālīṅga Jātaka* that Kālīṅga II who was conscious of his invincible power promised that he would give his four beautiful daughters in marriage to the king who could be able to vanquish him in battle. It is said that he sent the princesses in a well-decorated chariot with military escorts to visit different kingdoms as a challenge of war. To the South-west of Kālīṅga lay the kingdom of Assaka which was equally powerful and militant under king Aruṇa, whose crafty minister Nandisena was jealous and intolerant of the glory of Kālīṅga. The princesses crossed the border of the neighbouring state of Assaka and reached its capital Potana, thus offering a *casus belli* for the war between Assaka and Kālīṅga. King Aruṇa was, however, not willing for an immediate contest, but the minister Nandisena, who was looking for an opportunity of such a war, instigated the king to arrest the princesses. This being done, there

1. J. IV, p. 232.

2. J. III, pp. 3 f.

started the war between Assaka and Kaliṅga which was fought mostly due to the chauvinistic spirit of king Kāliṅga of Kaliṅga and the minister Nandisena of Assaka.

The Kaliṅga army, which was very powerful, fought with great valour, but in the long run Nandisena was able to turn the defeat into a victory by his dexterity. Consequently king Kāliṅga was forced to give in marriage his four daughters to Aruṇa with rich dowry.¹ This war took place about the end of the 7th century B. C. and the defeat of Kaliṅga proved a set back on her waxing power and glory.²

The 6th century B. C. is remarkable in the history of India for far-reaching political and cultural developments. It witnessed the appearance of several new States and of vigorous intellectual movement leading to the growth of new political ideology and religious culture in India. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya*³ gives account of sixteen States (*Solasa mahājanapada*) flourishing during the time of Buddha, which were, Kāśī, Kosala, Aṅga, Magadha, Vajji, Malla, Chetiya, Vamsa, Kuru, Pañchāla, Maccha, Surasena, Assaka, Avantī, Gāndhāra and Kāmboja. But the name of Kaliṅga is not

1. *J.* III, pp. 3-8.

2. Dr. B. M. Barua is inclined to identify Kāliṅga II with Khāravēla and connect the account of the *Hāthīgumphā inscription* regarding the invasion of Asikanagara with the Assaka-Kaliṅga* war described in the *Cullakaliṅga Jātaka*. (Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 213-15). The suggestions of Dr. Barua appear far fetched and the *Hāthīgumphā inscription* in no way indicates the defeat of Khāravēla at Asika.

3. *Aṅgu*, N. (P. T. S.) I. p. 213 IV. pp. 252, 256. An account of the 16 States is also furnished by the 'Jaina *Bhagabatī Sūtra*, a considerably late work in which some deviation is found in the enumeration of these States. (Saga XV, Uddessa I) See Ray Chaudhuri, *P. H. A. I.* (5th Ed.) pp. 95-96.

given place in the list although her neighbour Assaka finds mention in it. This probably indicates the political decline of Kaliṅga during this period. It may, however, be said that the list of States in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* need not be considered as exhaustive, and in fact, the account of Kaliṅga as a flourishing State in the 6th century B. C., can be gathered from other literary sources. The *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sūta*¹ enlists Kaliṅga among many other States of India, which obtained the relics of Buddha for worship. The *Dāḥāvaṃśa*² in corroboration of this account presents an interesting tale of the Tooth relic of Buddha that was brought from the funeral pyre at Kusināra by Kṣema Thera to the court of king Brahmadata of Kaliṅga. It may be pointed out that the account of the popularity of Buddhism in Kaliṅga depicted in the *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sūta* might be a later interpolation as pointed out by the commentator and other modern scholars;³ the account of the *Dāḥāvaṃśa* may also be regarded as 'more wonderful than accurate';⁴ but the existence of the State of Kaliṅga at the time of Buddha's *Mahāparinibbāṇa* as suggested in these works cannot be ruled out. The Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvaṃśa* while giving the account of Vijaya's advent to Ceylone, an event that took place in the year of Buddha's death, refers to his grand mother Susimā, who was the daughter of the king of Kaliṅga.⁵

Although the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* ignores Kaliṅga, she finds a place among the early kingdoms of India enumerated

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1. *Dīgha Nikāya* ii, p. 167.
 2. B. C. Law, *Dāḥāvaṃśa* (Punjab Sanskrit Series).
 3. Dr. N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism* etc. p. 14, and *Early Monastic Buddhism* I, p. 4.
 4. B. C. Law, *op. cit.* Introduction.
 5. Geiger, *Mahāvaṃśa*, vi. p. 1, See also Oldenburg, *Dīpavaṃśa*, p. ix, 2 f.

in the *Mahābhārata*. The *Karṇa Parva*¹ states that the Kauravas, along with the Pañchālas, the Śālvas, the Matsyas, the Naimiṣas, the Kosalas, the Kāśīs, the Añgas, the Kaliñgas, the Māgadhas and the Chedis are well acquainted with the law eternal. This account of the epic refers to the pre-Mahāpadmananda period as some of the States mentioned here, particularly those of the Kurus, Naimiṣas, Śālvas and Kāśīs ceased to continue after Mahāpadma. These States may well be assigned to the Mahājanapada period in cir. 6th century B. C.

Our knowledge about the history of Kaliñga in the 6th century B. C. is extremely meagre as we seldom get anything more than a passing reference to this country in the literary sources referred to above. Our source for the 5th century B.C. is still more unpromising and no other work except the *Dāṭhāvamśa* seems to have contained any account of Kaliñga during that century. The historical value of *Dāṭhāvamśa* cannot, however, be set aside as like *Mahāvamśa* and *Dīpavamśa* it claims to have based its accounts on the ancient *Mahaṭṭhakathā*. As pointed out above, this work reveals that king Brahmadata was ruling over Kaliñga at the time when Buddha attained *Parinirvāṇa* (about 487 B.C.)², he was succeeded by Kāśīrāja and the latter by Sunanda. The chronicle abruptly brings the line

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1. कुरवः सह पञ्चालाः शाल्वा मत्स्याः सनैमिषाः ।
कोसलाः काश्यपाश्च कालिङ्गा मागधास्तथा ॥
चेदयश्च महाभागा धर्मं जानन्ति शाश्वतं ।

Karṇa Parva, xlv, 14-16

2. The Ceylonese tradition which regards the year of *Parinirvāṇa* to be 454 B.C. was due to a reform of the calendar of Ceylone in the 15th century A. D. According to the cantonese dotted record the date should be 486-87 B. C.

of succession to a stop after Sunanda and revives it with Guhaśiva who came as late as the 4th century A.D. If the three kings Brahmadata, Kāśīrāja and Sunanda be taken to be historical they must be assigned to the period immediately preceding the invasion of Kaliṅga by Mahāpadmananda. According to the *Purāṇas* thirty two Kṣatriya kings ruled over Kaliṅga from the time of Mahābhārata war to that of Mahāpadmananda, and the last of this series was defeated and killed by the Nanda king. King Sunanda of the *Dāṭhāvamśa* may presumably be taken to be the last ruler of Kaliṅga, who was violently extirpated by the *Sarvakṣatrāntaka* Nandarāja. More than this cannot, however, be said with the present state of our knowledge.

State and Society before Mahāpadmananda.

The present discussion covers a long period from cir. 900 B.C. to cir. 350 B.C. and it is in fact a formidable task to depict a general picture of the state and society of Kaliṅga during this period. So far as political condition was concerned, Kaliṅga was a monarchical State throughout the period and the ideal of monarchy was based on a paternal conception. The king was regarded as a leader and protector of the society and his virtues and vices were believed to be responsible for the prosperity and decline respectively of the State. Kaliṅga was devastated by the unrighteous conduct of king Nālikīra and prospered due to the righteous activities of king Karakaṇḍu. It was this belief which regulated popular opinion about the activities of the king who had thus little scope to disregard popular feelings and become a despot.

The *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka*¹ reveals that king Mahākāliṅga had to order for arrest of his brother Chulākāliṅga

1, J. IV. p. 228,

ANNEXURE-7

FRAGM.XX.B.

Pliny. Hist. Nat. VI. 21.9-22. 1.

The Prinas and the Cainas (a tributary of the Ganges) are both navigable rivers. The tribes which dwell by the Ganges are the Calingae, nearest the sea, and higher up the Mandei, also the Malli, among whom is Mount Mallus, the boundary of all that region being the Ganges. Some have asserted that this river, like the Nile, rises from unknown sources, and in a similar way waters the country it flows through, while others trace its source to the Skythian mountains. Nineteen rivers are said to flow into it, of which, besides those already mentioned, the Condochates, Erannoas, Cosoagus, and Sonus are navigable. According to other accounts, it bursts at once with thundering roar from its fountain, and tumbling down a steep and rocky channel lodges in a lake as soon as it reaches the level plain, whence it issues forth with a gentle current, being nowhere less than eight miles broad, while its mean breadth is a hundred stadia, and its least depth twenty fathoms.

Solin. 52. 6-7.

In India the largest rivers are the Ganges and the Indus,—the Ganges, as some maintain, rising from uncertain sources, and, like the Nile, overflowing its banks; while others think that it rises in the Skythian mountains. In India there is also the Hupanis, a very noble river, which formed the limit of Alexander's march, as the altars set up on its banks testify. The least breadth of the Ganges is eight miles, and the greatest twenty. Its depth where least is fully one hundred feet.

FRAGM. LVI.

Plin. Hist. Nat. VI. 21. 8-23. 11.

List of the Indian Races.

The other journeys made thence (*from the Hyphasis*) for Seleukos Nikator are as follows:—168 miles to the Hesidrus, and to the river Jomanes as many (some copies add 5 miles); from thence to the Ganges 112 miles, 9 miles to Rhodopha (others give 325 miles for this distance).

To the town Kalinipaxa 167-500. Others give 263 miles. Thence to the confluence of the Jamanes and Ganges 625 miles (many add 13 miles), and to the town Palimbothra 425. To the mouth of the Ganges 738 miles.

The races which we may enumerate without being tedious, from the chain of Emodus, of which a spur is called Imaus (meaning in the native tongue snowy), are the Isari, Cosyri, Izgi, and on the hills the Chisiotosagi, and the Brachmauae, a name comprising many tribes, among which are the Maccocalingae. The river Prinas and the Cainas (which flows into the Ganges) are both navigable. The tribes called Calingae are nearest the sea, and higher up are the Mandei, and the Malli in whose, country is Mount Mallus, the boundary of all that district being the Ganges.

(22.) This river, according to some, rises from uncertain sources, like the Nile, and inundates similarly the countries lying along its course; others say that it rises on the Skythian mountains, and has nineteen tributaries, of which, besides those already mentioned, the Condochates, Erannoas, Cosoagus, and Sonus are navigable. Others again assert that it issues forth at once with loud roar from its fountain, and after tumbling down a steep and rocky channel is received immediately on reaching the level plains into a lake, whence it flows out with a gentle current, being at the narrowest eight miles, and on the average a hundred stadia in breadth, and never of less depth than twenty paces (one hundred feet) in the final part of its course, which is through the country of the Gangarides. The royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot-soldiers, 1,000 horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in "prociuct of war."

ANNEXURE-VII(1)

For among the more civilized Indian communities life is spent in a great variety of separate occupations. Some till the soil, some are soldiers, some traders; the noblest and richest take part in the direction of state affairs, administer justice, and sit in council with the kings. A fifth class devotes itself to the philosophy prevalent in the country, which almost assumes the form of a religion, and the members always put an end to their life by a voluntary death on a burning funeral pile. In addition to these classes there is one half-wild, which is constantly engaged in a task of immense labour, beyond the power of words to describe--that of hunting and taming elephants. They employ these animals in ploughing and for riding on, and regard them as forming the main part of their stock in cattle. They employ them in war and in fighting for their country. In choosing them for war, regard is had to their age, strength, and size.

There is a very large island in the Ganges which is inhabited by a single tribe Modogalingae. Beyond are situated the Modubae, Molindae, the Uberae with a handsome town of the same name, the Galmadroesi, Preti, Calissae, Sasuri, Passalae, Colubae, Orxulae, Abali, Taluctae. The king of these keeps under arms 50,000 foot-soldiers, 4,000 cavalry, and 400 elephants. Next come the Andarae, a still more powerful race, which possesses numerous villages, and thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and which supplies its king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 elephants. Gold is very abundant among the Dardae, and silver among the Setae.

But the Prasii surpass in power and glory every other people, not only in this quarter, but one may say in all India, their capital Palibothra, a very large and wealthy city, after which some call the people itself the Palibothri,--nay even the whole tract along the Ganges. Their king has in his pay a standing army of 600,000 foot-soldiers, 30,000 cavalry, and 9,000 elephants: whence may be formed some conjecture as to the vastness of his resources.

After these, but more inland, are the Monedes and Suari, in whose country is Mount Maleus, on which shadows fall towards the north in winter, and towards the south in summer, for six months alternately. Baeton asserts that the north pole in these parts is seen but once in the year, and only for fifteen days; while Megasthenes says that the same thing happens in many parts of India. The south pole is called by the Indians Dramasa. The river Jomanes flows through the Palibothri into the Ganges between the towns Methora and Carisobora. In the parts which lie southward from the Ganges the inhabitants, already swarthy, are deeply coloured by the sun, though not scorched black like the Ethiopians. The nearer they approach the Indus the more plainly does their complexion betray the influence of the sun.

The Indus skirts the frontiers of the Prasii, whose mountain tracts are said to be inhabited by the Pygmies. Artemidorus sets down the distance between the two rivers at 121 miles.

(23.) The Indus, called by the inhabitants Sindus, rising on that spur of Mount Caucasus which is called Paropamisus, from sources fronting the sunrise, receives also itself nineteen rivers, of which the most famous are the Hydaspes, which has four tributaries; the Cantabra, which has three; the Acesines and the Hypasis, which are both navigable; but nevertheless, having no very great supply of water, it is nowhere broader than fifty stadia, or deeper than fifteen paces. It forms an extremely large island, which is called Prasiene, and a smaller one, called Patale. Its stream, which is navigable, by the lowest estimates, for 1,240 miles, turns westward as if following more or less closely the course of the sun, and then falls into the ocean. The measure of the coast line from the mouth of the Ganges to this river I shall set down as it is generally given, though none of the computations agree with each other. From the mouth of the Ganges to Cape Calington and the town of Dandagula 625 miles; to Tropina 1,225; to the cape of Perimula, where there is the greatest emporium of trade in India, 750 miles; to the town in the island of Patala mentioned above, 620 miles.

The hill-tribes between the Indus and the Iomanes are the Cesi; the Cetriboni, who live in the woods; then the Megallae, whose king is master of five hundred elephants and an army of horse and foot of unknown strength; the Chrysei, the Parasangae, and the Asange, where tigers abound, noted for their ferocity. The force under arms consists of 30,000 foot, 300 elephants, and

ANNEXURE-VII(2)

800 horse. These are shut in by the Indus, and are surrounded by a circle of mountains and deserts over a space, of 625 miles. Below the deserts are the Dari, the Surae, then deserts again for 187 miles, these deserts encircling the fertile tracts just as the sea encircles islands. Below these deserts we find the Maltecorae, Singhae, Marohae, Rarungae, Moruni. These inhabit the hills which in an unbroken chain run parallel to the shores of the ocean. They are free and have no kings, and occupy the mountain heights, whereon they have built many cities. Next follow the Narae, enclosed by the loftiest of Indian mountains, Capitalia. The inhabitants on the other side of this mountain work extensive mines of gold and silver. Next are the Oraturae, whose king has only ten elephants, though he has a very strong force of infantry. Next again are the Varetatae, subject to a king, who keep no elephants, but trust entirely to their horse and foot. Then the Odomoboerae; the Salabastrae; the Horatae, who have a fine city, defended by marshes which serve as a ditch, wherein crocodiles are kept, which, having a great avidity for human flesh, prevent all access to the city except by a bridge. And another city of theirs is much admired--Automela, which, being seated on the coast at the confluence of five rivers, is a noble emporium of trade. The king is master of 1,600 elephants, 150,000 foot, and 5,000 cavalry. The poorer king of the Charmae has but sixty elephants, and his force otherwise is insignificant. Next come the Pandae, the only race in India ruled by women. They say that Hercules having but one daughter, who was on that account all the more beloved, endowed her with a noble kingdom. Her descendants rule over 300 cities, and command an army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants. Next, with 300 cities, the Syrieni, Derangae, Posingae, Buzae, Gogiarei, Umbrae, Nereae, Brancosi, Nobundae, Cocondae, Nesei, Pedatirae, Solobriasae, Olostrae, who adjoin the island Patale, from the furthest shore of which to the Caspian gates the distance is said to be 1,925 miles.

Then next to these towards the Indus come, in an order which is easy to follow, the Amatae, Bolingae, Gallitalutae, Dimuri, Megari, Ordabae, Mese; after these the Uri and Sileni. Immediately beyond come deserts extending for 250 miles. These being passed, we come to the Organagae, Abaortae, Sibarae, Suertae, and after these to deserts as extensive as the former. Then come the Sarophages, Sorgae, Baraomatae, and the Umbritae, who consist of twelve tribes, each possessing two cities, and the Aseni, who possess three cities. Their capital is Bucephala, built where Alexander's famous horse of that name was buried. Hillmen follow next, inhabiting the base of Caucasus, the Soleadae, and the Sondrae; and if we cross to the other side of the Indus and follow its course downward we meet the Samarabriae, Sambruceni, Bisambritae, Osii, Antixeni, and the Taxillae with a famous city. Then succeeds a level tract of country known by the general name of Amanda, whereof the tribes are four in number the Peucolaitae, Arsagalitae, Geretae, Asoi.

Many writers, however, do not give the river Indus as the western boundary of India, but include within it four satrapies,--the Gedrosi, Arachotae, Arii, Paropamisadae, making the river Cophes its furthest limit; though others prefer to consider all these as belonging to the Arii.

Many writers further include in India even the city Nysa and Mount Merus, sacred to Father Bacchus, whence the origin of the fable that he sprang from the thigh of Jupiter. They include also the Astacani, in whose country the vine grows abundantly, and the laurel, and boxwood, and every kind of fruit-tree found in Greece. The remarkable and almost fabulous accounts which are current regarding the fertility of its soil, and the nature of its fruits and trees, its beasts and birds and other animals, will be set down each in its own place in other parts of this work. A little further on I shall speak of the satrapies, but the island of Taprobane requires my immediate attention.

But before we come to this island there are others, one being Patale, which, as we have indicated, lies at the mouth of the Indus, triangular in shape, and 220 miles in breadth. Beyond the mouth of the Indus are Chryse and Argyre, rich, as I believe, in metals. For I cannot readily believe, what is asserted by some writers, that their soil is impregnated with gold and silver. At a distance of twenty miles from these lies Crocala, from which, at a distance of twelve miles, is Bigaba, which abounds with oysters and other shell-fish. Next comes Toralliba, nine miles distant from the last-named island, beside many others unworthy of note.

FRAGM. LVI. B.**Solin. 52. 6-17.*****Catalogue of Indian Races.***

The greatest rivers of India are the Ganges and Indus, and of these some assert that the Ganges rises from uncertain sources and inundates the country in the manner of the Nile, while others incline to think that it rises in the Scythian mountains. [The Hypanisis is also there, a very noble river, which formed the limit of Alexander's march, as the altars erected on its banks prove.] The least breadth of the Ganges is eight miles, and its greatest twenty. Its depth where it is shallowest is fully a hundred feet. The people who live in the furthest-off part are the Gangarides, whose king possesses 1,000 horse, 700 elephants, and 60,000 foot in apparatus of war.

Of the Indians some cultivate the soil, very many follow war, and others trade. The noblest and richest manage public affairs, administer justice, and sit in council with the kings. There exists also a fifth class, consisting of those most eminent for their wisdom, who, when sated with life, seek death by mounting a burning funeral pile. Those, however, who have become the devotees of a sterner sect, and pass their life in the woods, hunt elephants, which, when made quite tame and docile, they use for ploughing and for riding on.

In the Ganges there is an island extremely populous, occupied by a very powerful nation whose king keeps under arms 50,000 foot and 4,000 horse. In fact no one invested with kingly power ever keeps on foot a military force without a very great number of elephants and foot and cavalry.

The Prasian nation, which is extremely powerful, inhabits a city called Palibotra, whence some call the nation itself the Palibotri. Their king keeps in his pay at all times 60,000 foot, 30,000 horse, and 8,000 elephants.

Beyond Palibotra is Mount Maleus, on which shadows in winter fall towards the north, in summer towards the south, for six months alternately. In that region the Bears are seen but once a year, and not for more than fifteen days, as Beton informs us, who allows that this happens in many parts of India. Those living near the river Indus in the regions that turn southward are scorched more than others by the heat, and at last the complexion of the people is visibly affected by the great power of the sun. The mountains are inhabited by the Pygmies.

But those who live near the sea have no kings.. The Pandaeon nation is governed by females, and their first queen is said to have been the daughter of Hercules. The city Nysa is assigned to this region, as is also the mountain sacred to Jupiter, Meros by name, in a cave on which the ancient Indians affirm Father Bacchus was nourished; while the name has given rise to the well known fantastic story that Bacchus was born from the thigh of his father. Beyond the mouth of the Indus are two islands, Chryse and Argyre, which yield such an abundant supply of metals that many writers allege their soils consist of gold and of silver.

[*Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian.* Translated and edited by J. W. McCrindle. Calcutta and Bombay: Thacker, Spink, 1877]

LETTER OF J.JAYPRAKASH

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Dilkhusha Palace Premises,
LUCKNOW-226002 (U.P.)
कार्यालय
उपनिरीक्षक पुरातत्वविद्
उत्तरांचल, दिखुशा गार्डन,
दिखुशा कोठी परिसर,
लखनऊ-226002 (उ.प्र.)
दिनांक
Dated this

Tarapur Baddhist Site
material - Stone.

- ① त २ ह ५ द ३ १ ४ - Bramhi script - 2nd C.B.C.
(Bhekhu Tapusa Danam)
- ② ७ ५ ० ५ — Bramhi Script - 2nd C.B.C.
(Kesa Thupa)
- ③ + √ ^ Γ ε — Bramhi script - do -
(Kalinga raja)
- ④ Kalinga gatha — Proto Oriya script - 13th - 14th
Nayakasa. Century
- ⑤ Kalinga Desa Gada — Oriya script - 14th - 15th
Nayakasa Century A.D.
- ⑥ Gupata Khandagiri — Oriya script, 17th - 18th
Pariskhā. Century A.D.

ANNEXURE-VIII(1)

भारत सरकार
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

दूरभाष-संख्या/Tel.-Fax : 0522-481853



क्र. सं.

No

Office of the
DEPUTY SUPERINTENDING EPIGRAPHER
Northern Zone, Dilkhusha Garden,
Dilkhusha Palace Premises,
LUCKNOW-226002 (U.P.)

कार्यालय

उपरीक्षण पुरातत्वविद्
उत्तरांचल, दिल्लीका बगीचा,
दिल्लीका कोठी परिसर,
लखनऊ-226002 (उ.प्र.)

दिनांक

Dated the

Material terracotta / pot shard.

① □ □
(Buddha)

— Bramhi script - C. 2nd C. B. C.

② [7] / A Q U

— Bramhi script - C. 2nd C. B. C.

Kayama Buddhist Site
Material stone.

① ^ ε Γ [ε] - Bramhi script - C. 2nd C. B. C.
(Gajarā [ja])

② 𑀓 𑀔
(Tisa)

— Bramhi script - C. 2nd C. B. C.

LETTER OF J.JAYPRAKASH

भारत-संस्कृत
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
भारतीय पुरातन सर्वेक्षण
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

दुरभाषण-संख्या/Tel., Fax : 0522-481953



क्र. सं.

No

Office of the
DEPUTY SUPERINTENDING EPIGRAPHER
Northern Zone, Diliksha Garden,
Diliksha Palace Premises,
LUCKNOW-226002 (U.P.)

कार्यालय

उपरीक्षण पुरातन सर्वेक्षण
उत्तरांचल, दिलिखुशा गार्डन,
दिलिखुशा पैलेस प्रीमिस,
लखनऊ-226002 (उ.प्र.)

दिनांक

Dated this

Radhaganagar Fort
Material Terra cotta / Pot sherd.

- ① E [J L, [^ I] — Bramhi script - C. 3rd C. B. C.
(Tosali na [gara])
- ② λ [J L ^ I — Bramhi script - C. 2nd C. B. C.
(Ta sāla nagara)
- ③ λ L J — Bramhi script - C. 2nd C. B. C.
(To sali)
- ④ + J ^ Γ h ^ — Bramhi script - C. 2nd C. B. C.
(Kaliga rāna ga)
- ⑤ + L + J L — Bramhi script C. 2nd C. B. C.
(Kāna kamunī)

ANNEXURE-IX(1)

भारत सरकार
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

दूरभाष-फैक्स/Tel.-Fax : 0522-481953



५. त.

No

Office of the
DEPUTY SUPERINTENDING EPIGRAPHER
Northern Zone, Dilikusha Garden,
Dilikusha Palace Premises,
LUCKNOW-226002 (U.P.)

कार्यालय
उपस्थायी पुरातत्व अधिकारी
उत्तरांचल, दिलिकुशा गार्डन,
दिलिकुशा पैलेस प्रीमिस,
लखनऊ-226002 (उ.प्र.)

दिनांक

Dated the

⑥ { { { }
(Raja, Pasada)

- Bramhi script - C. 2nd C. B. C.

⑦ | ^ |
(Nagaro)

- Bramhi script - C. 2nd C. B. C.

LETTER OF J.JAYPRAKASH

ANNEXURE-10

श्री ०. ०. ०.
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
आर्यभट्ट प्रयोगशाला
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

दूरभाष-संख्या/Tel.-Fax : 0522-481963



०. ०.
No. _____
Office of the
DEPUTY SUPERINTENDING EPIGRAPHER
Northern Zone, Dilkusha Garden,
Dilkusha Palace Premises,
LUCKNOW-226002 (U.P.)

आपका
उपरोक्त पत्राचार
शुक्रवार, २५ जून २००५,
दिल्ली के लिए,
संख्या-226002 (U.P.)
दिनांक

Dated the 27th June, 2005

To
Dr. D. R. Pradhan
Secretary, Chinese Institute of
Maritime & South East Asian Studies
Bhubaneswar.

Sir,

My tentative readings are as follows.

Tarapura: Buddhist site
material: stone

- ① Bhokhu Tapusa danama C. 2nd C. B.C.
- ② Kesathupa do.
- ③ Kaligaraja do.
- ④ Kaligagadhanayakasa C. 13-14th C. A.D.
- ⑤ Kaligadesagadhinayakasa C. 14-15th C. A.D.
- ⑥ Gupta Khandagiri Pariksha C. 17th-18th C. A.D.
material: terracotta

⑦ Budha C. 2nd C. B.C.

⑧ [Ke^{*}]sathupa do.

material: stone Kayama: Buddhist site

- ① Gajara [ja^{*}] do.
- ② Tisa do.

Radhaganara: Joit

material: Terracotta

- ① Tosalit na [gara^{*}] C. 3rd C. B.C.
- ② Tāsāla nagara C. 2nd C. B.C.
- ③ Tāsali do.
- ④ Kaligāsāha ga do.
- ⑤ Kanakamuni do.
- ⑥ Rajapāsāda do.
- ⑦ Nagara do.

Yours sincerely
J. Jayprakash

(JAI PRAKASH)

Asst. Suptg. Epigraphist, A.S.I.

ROCK EDICT OF ASHOKA

A series of fourteen Edicts constitute the Rock Edicts of Aśoka. Full sets of Rock Edicts have been discovered at Girnār near Junāgarh in Gujrāt, Kālasī in Derahdoon district of U. P., Yerrāguḍi in Kurnool district of Andhra, Mansehrā in Hazārā district of West Pakistan and Shāhbāzgarhī in Peshwar district of West Pakistan. At Sopārā in Thānā district of Gujrāt, fragments of R. E. VIII and IX were discovered which are at present preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. In Orissa, two sets of Rock Edicts have been discovered, one at Dhaulī on the bank of the Dayā river in Purī district and the other at Jaugada on the bank of the river Rskulyā in Gañjām district. The hill, on which the Rock Edicts were inscribed at Dhaulī, was known as Surabha Parvata and that at Jaugada was called Khapiṅgala Parbata. In both these places the Edicts XI, XII and XIII have not been inscribed and instead of these three, two special Edicts have been engraved in each place. These special Edicts are called *Separate Rock Edict I* and *Separate Rock Edict II*.

Out of the sixteen Edicts mentioned above, the R. E. XIII, S. R. E. I and S. R. E. II are of great importance for history of Kaliṅga under Aśoka. R. E. XIII contains detailed description of the Kaliṅga war, while the other two *Separate Rock Edicts* elucidate the administrative policy of Aśoka in the newly conquered province of Kaliṅga, as well as, his policy towards the unconquered Āṭavika people living beyond the borders of his empire to the West of Kaliṅga. The actual text and English translation of these three Edicts are given below.

A

*Rock Edict XIII, Shāhbāzgarhī (Pakistan) version,
Inscribed on the West face of the Shāhbāzgarhī
rock in Kharoṣṭhī script.*

Edited by—

Bühler, *E. I.*, II, pp. 246 f.

Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, I, pp. 66 f.

Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp 35. f.

Text

- L. 1. (अठ)वष अ[भिति]त [स] [देवन] प्रि[य]स प्रि[य]द्रशिस र[जो]
क[लिग] वि [ि[ज]त ।] दि अद् म[त्रे] प्रण शत सह स्ते ये] ततो अपवुडे
शत सहस्र मत्रे तत्र हते बहु तवत[के] [व] [मुटे] [।]
- L. 2. ततो[प च अ[धु न ल[धे]षु [कलिगेषु] [तिव्रे] [धमशिलन | ध म क]
मत धमनुशस्ति च देवन प्रियस [।] सो [अ]स्ति अनुसोचन^१ देवन [प्रिय]स
विजिनिति कलिग[न] [।]
- L. 3. अविजितं[हि] [वि]जिनमनो या त[त्र] वध व मरणं व अपवहो व
जनस तं वडं[वे] दनि [य] म [तं] गुरु मत[']च देवनं प्रियस [।] इदं
पि चु [ततो] गुरुमततरं [देवनं] प्रियस ये तत्र
- L. 4. वसति व्रमण व भ्रम[ण]व अ ['] जे व प्रपंड ग[ह]थ व येसु विहित
एष अग्रमुटि सुश्रुष मत पितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुन सुश्रुष मित्र संस्तुत सहय
- L. 5. जतिकेषु दसभटकनं सभम प्रतिप[टि]द्रिद् भतित तेष तत्र भोति[अ]प
[ग्र]थो व वधो व अभिरतन व निक्रमणं [।] येष व पि सुविहितनं [सि]ने हो
अविप्रहिनो[एते]ष मित्र संस्तुत सहय जतिक वसन

1. Other versions धमवाय

2. Other versions अनुशय

- L. 6. प्रपुणति [त]त्र तं पि तेष वो अपप्रयो¹ भोति [I] प्रतिभर्गं च [ए]तं सत्र मनुशानं गुह्यमतं च देवनं प्रिय[स] [;] नस्ति च एकतरे पि प्रषड्स्वि न नम प्रसदो² [I] सो यमत्रो³ [ज]नो तद कालिगे [ह]तो च मु[टो]च अप[बुड] च ततो
- L. 7 शतभगे व सहस्रभर्गं व [अ] ज गुह्यमतं [वो] देवनं प्रिय स [I] यो पि च अपकरेयति क्षमितवियमते व देवनं [प्रि]यस यं शको क्षमनये [I] य पि च अरवि देवनं प्रियस विजिते भोति तपि अनुनेति अनुनिक्रपेति [I] अनुत्पे पि च प्रभवे
- L. 8. देवनं प्रियस बुचति तेष किति अवत्रपेयु न च [हं]जैयसु [I] इच्छति हि [देव]नंप्रियो सत्र भुतन अक्षति स[']यमं सम[च]रिद् रभसिये⁴ [I] एषे च मुख मुत विजये देवनं प्रिय[स] यो भ्रमावजयो [I] सो च पुन लधो देवनं प्रियस इह च सवेषु च अंतपु ।
- L. 9. [अ]वपु पि योजन श [ते]षु यत्र अंतियोक नम [यो]न रज परं च तेन अ[']तियो[के]न चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकसुदरो नम निच चोड पंड अव त['] वपं [णि] य [I] [ए] वमेव [हि] द रज विषवस्वि योन क ['] वोयेषु नभक नभितिन⁵
- L. 10. भोज पित्तिनिकेषु अंभ्र पलिदेषु सवत्र⁶ देवनं प्रियस भ्रमनुशस्ति अनुवटंति [I] यत्रपि देवनं प्रियस दुत न ब्रचंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनं प्रियस भ्रमबुटं विधनं भ्रमनुशस्ति भ्रमं [अ]नुविधिर्यति अनुविधियिशं [ति] च [I] यो [च] लधे एतकेन भो [ति] सवत्र विजयो सव [त्र] पु[न]

1. Other versions उपप्रात ।

2. Girnār Kālsi, and Mānsehrā versions have —
नथि चा षे जनपदे यता नथि इमे निष्कया आनता योनेषु
पंडवे चा षरुने चा नथि चा कुवापि जनपदधि यता नथि
मनुषान एकतरापि पि पाषड्धि नो नाम पशदे ।

3. Other versions याचदक ।

4. Other versions have मादव in place of रभसिये

5. Other versions have नाभर्पतिषु for नभितिन

6. Girnār—पारिदेसु; Kālsi—पाजदेषु

- L. 11. विजयो प्रितिरसो सो [1] लघ [भोति] प्रिति ध्रम विजयस्वि [1] लहुक तु खो स प्रिति[1]परत्रि [क] मेव महफल मेजति देवन ['] प्रियो [1] एतये च अठये अयि ध्रमदिपि निपि [स्त] [1] किति पुत्र पपोत्र मे अरु नवं विजर्यं म विजेत [ि]वश्र मजिषु स्प[करिप]² यो विज [ये] [त्तं] ति च लहु द[]इत च रोचेतु तं च यो विजर्यं मज [त]
- L. 12. यो ध्रमविजयो [1] सो हिदलोकिको परलोकिको [1] सब चतिरति भोतु य [प्र][']मरति [1] सहि हिदलोकिक परलोकिक [11]

Translation

- L.1 In the eighth year of his consecration the 'Beloved of the gods', the king Piyadasi, conquered Kaliñga. In that a hundred and fifty thousand people were deported, a hundred thousand were killed and as many as that number perished.
- L.2 After that, with the recent acquisition of Kaliñga, there commenced in the mind of the 'Beloved of the gods' ardent desire for practice of Dhamma, intense love for Dhamma and longing for inculcation of Dhamma. On conquering Kaliñga the 'Beloved of the gods' feels remorse.
- L1. 3-5 When an unconquered country is conquered the slaughter, death, and deportation that occur there, are considered extremely painful and serious by the 'Beloved of the gods'. What is even more deplorable to the 'Beloved of the gods' is that those who dwell there, whether Brāhmaṇas, Sramaṇas or other sects, or house-holders who practise obedience to elders, obedience to mother and father, obedience to teachers, and also seemly behaviour and stead-fast devotion towards friends,

1. Gianār- सरसके; Kālsī-पयकविनो

acquaintances, companions, relatives, slaves and servants, all of them suffer because of injury, slaughter or deportation of near and dear ones.

L1. 5-7

Even those who are fortunate to have escaped, and whose affection is undiminished (by the brutalising effect of war), suffer from the misfortunes of their friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives. This participation of all men in suffering, weighs heavily on the mind of the 'Beloved of the gods'. There is not a single religious order which does not advocate peace.¹ So if a hundredth or a thousandth part of those people who were killed, met death, or were deported at that time in Kaliṅga, would now similarly suffer, it would be considered very deplorable by the 'Beloved of the gods'.

L1. 7-8

If any one does harm that may be pardoned by the 'Beloved of the gods' as far as it can possibly be pardoned. To those Aṭavi people, who are residing in the empire of the 'Beloved of the gods', he appeals and warns that the 'Beloved of the gods' has power even in his remorse, and he tells them to desist from (doing harm), as otherwise, they would be killed. The 'Beloved of the gods' desires that all beings should be unharmed, have self-control and equanimity.

1. For Girmār, Kālsi and Mānshehrā versions this sentence may be rendered as below :-

Except among the Greeks, there is no land where the orders of Brāhmaṇas and Sramaṇas do not exist, and there is no country where even a single religious order of men does not advocate peace.

- L1 8-9 The 'Beloved of the gods' considers victory by Dhamma to be the best victory. Moreover, the 'Beloved of the gods' has obtained such victory in all outlying states to a distance of six hundred Yoyanas where reigns the Greek king named Antiochus and beyond the realm of that Antiochus in the lands of the four kings named Ptolemy, Antigonus, Mages and Alexander; and in the South over the lands of the Cholas and Pāṇḍyas as far as Tāmvapamṇī (Ceylon).
- L1 9-10 Like wise, here in the imperial territories among the Greeks, Kombojas, Nabhākas and Nabhāpaṁtis, among the Bhojas and Pitinikas, Āndhras and Pāradaś, every where people follow the inculcation of Dhamma of the 'Beloved of the gods'. Even in those lands where the envoys of the 'Beloved of the gods' have not paid visit people hearing of the account of Dhamma, the precepts and inculcation of Dhamma of the 'Beloved of the gods' act according to Dhamma and would continue to do that.
- L1. 10-11 It is by this that victory is obtained everywhere and victory every where is based on the sentiment of love. One obtains love through victory by Dhamma. Yet that love is of inferior type because the 'Beloved of the gods' regards that only to be of great merit which pertains to the other world.
- L1. 11-12 The purpose for which this edict of Dhamma has been inscribed is that my sons and grand-sons should not think of making new conquests and should be satisfied in abstaining from conquest by arms, as well as, in prescribing light punishment.

They should consider conquest by Dhamma as the only conquest, as that is of value both in this world and in the other world. They all should take pleasure in that which is the pleasure of Dhamma because that is of value both in this world and the other world.

B

Separate Rock Edict I, Dhaulī version.

Edited by—

Kern, *J. R. A. S.* 1880, pp. 379 f.

Senart. *I. A.*, XIX, pp. 82 f.

Bühler *A. S. S. I.*, I, pp. 114 f.

Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, I, pp. 92 f.

Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 41 f.

Text

- L. 1. [देवान]* [पि]य [स] [वव]नेन तोसजि रं¹ म[हा]मात [नप]ल
[f] [वयो] हालक[र]
- L. 2. [व]तविय [I] [अ] किञ्चि [दखा]मि हकं तं इच्छामि [किंति]
कं[मन] [प]टि [पादये]हं
- L. 3. दुवालो च आलभेहं [I] एस च मे मोख्यतत दुवा[ल] [एतसि]
[अठ]सि अं तु[पे]सु
- L. 4. अनुशथि [I] तुहे हि वहुसु पान सहसेसु आयता पन[य] [ग]ळेम
सु मुनिसानं [I] सवे
- L. 5. मुनिसे पजा ममः [I] अथ[र] पजाये इच्छामि हक[ं] [किंति] [स]वे
[न] [हि]त सुखेन हिदलो[कि]क

1. समाचार्य in Jaugada version.

- L. 6. पाललोकिके[न] [यूजेड्] [ति] तथा [सव मुनि]सेखु पि[इ]छामि
[इ]क['] [1] नोच पापुनाथ आव ग
- L. 7. [मुके] [इयं अठे] [1] [केछ] [व] एक पुलि[से] [पापु]नाति
ए[तं] से पि इंस नो सर्व [1] दे[खत] [हि] [तुने] एतं
- L. 8. सुवि[हि]ता पि[1] [नि]तिर्यं एक पुलिसे [पि] [अधि] [ये] दंधनं
वा पलिकिलेसं वा पापुनाति [1] तत होति
- L. 9. अकस्मा तेन बघन[']तिक अ'ने च¹ [तत] [व]हु जने द[वि]ये
दुखीयति [1] तत इच्छितविये
- L. 10. तुफेहि किंति मभं पटिपादयेमा ति [1] इमे [हि]चु [जातेहि] नो
संपटिपजति इसाय आसुलोपेन
- L. 11. नि[टू]लियेन तलना[य]अनाबूतिय आलसियेन [ि]कलमयेन [1]
से इच्छितविये किंति एते
- L. 12. [जाता] [नो]हुवेषु म[म][र]ति [1] एतस च सब [स] मूले
अनासुलोपे अ[त्त]लना च[1] निति [य] * ए किलंते सिया
- L. 13. [न]ते उग[छे] संचलित वि[ये]तु व[ट]त[व]ये एतविये
वा [1] हेवं मेव ए द[खिये] [तु]फाक तेन बतविये
- L. 14. आनं ने देखत हेवं च हेवं च [दे]वानंपियस अनुसथि [1] से
मह[र]फ [ले] [ए]तस [संप]टिपाद
- L. 15. महा अपाये असंपटिपति [1] [वि] प[ि]टपादयमिने हि एतं नथि
स्वगस [आल]धि नो बाज[र]लि[ध] [1]
- L. 16. दुआ[ह]ले हि इ[म]स कंम[स] [मे]कुते म[ने] अतिलेके [1]
स[']पटिपज[मी][ने] चु एतं स्वग[']
- L. 17. आला[य]स[थ] [मम] [च] [आ]ननियं एहथ [1] इयं च
[लिपि] [ति]सन[ख]तेन सो [त] विय [र] [1]

1. Jaugada version has अन्येच वगे बहुक वेदयति ।

- L. 18. अंत[ल] । ि[प]र्चा [त][सेन] [स्व]नसि ख[नसि] एफेन पि स्रोतविय
[1] हेनं च कर्त्तं तं तुफे
- L. 19. चत्रथ संप[टि] पाद [ि] यतये [1] [एता]ये अठाये इय [']
[लिपि] लिखित [हि]द एन
- L. 20. नगल वि [योहा]लका¹ स[स्व]तं समयं यूजेवू [ि]त [एन] [ज]
[न] स² अफरमा [प]लिवोधे व
- L. 21. अफरमा पलिकि [लेसे] व नो सिया ति [1] एताये च अठाये हक [']
[महा] मते पंचसु पंचसु [व] से
- L. 22. सु [निखा] मयिसामि ए अस्वस्वसे अ [चंण्डे] सखिनालंभे होसति
एतं अठं जानितु [तं] [पि] [त]या
- L. 23. कल ['] ति अय मम अनुसथी ति [1] उजोनते पि चु कुमाले एताये
व अठाये [नि]खाम[यिस][ति] × × ×
- L. 24. हेदिसमेव दगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिनि वसानि [1] हेमेव
वख [सि] लाते पि [1] [अ] दा अ × × ×
- L. 25. ते महामता निखमिसंति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितुं अतने कंमं एतं
पि जानिसंति
- L. 26. तंपि त [थ] । कर्त्तं अ [थ] लाजिने अनुसथीति [11]

Translation

- LI. 1-4 By order of the 'Beloved of the gods' the Minister and the City judiciaries of Toṣālī should speak to themselves thus - whatever I see to be right that I desire to achieve through action and by effective means. This is what I consider to be the best and instruct you all for this purpose.

1. Jaugaḍa version has महामता नगलक
2. Hultzsch's restoration.

- LI. 4-6 You are all appointed in charge of many thousands of persons, so you should cultivate love for all persons. All men are my children, and just as I desire for my own children that they should have bliss and happiness both in this world and the other world, so also I desire the same for all men.
- LI. 6-8 But you do not realise this to the extent its meaning can reach. If possibly one among you can realise it, that even he does only in part and not in its entirety. You all being well placed should perceive this principle well.
- LI. 8-12 In affairs of administration there may be persons who would suffer imprisonment or coercion. In that also may occur accidental death in the prison and many other people may also heavily suffer for that. So you all should desire this—you should strive to practise impartiality. But it cannot be practised by those who have jealousy, anger, harshness, rashness, irregularity, idleness or slackness. So you all should desire that these blemishes should not be in you. At the root of all these lie equanimity and serenity of mind.
- LI. 12-15 In affairs of administration if one is fatigued, one should not exert; so while acting you should have patience and proceed forward. Those among you who approve of this should say—do not see anything else, such and such are the instructions of the 'Beloved of the gods'. Carrying out of these (instructions) in right manner would lead to great merit and improper practice of these would result in great loss because by disregarding these you would gain neither heaven nor royal favour.

- LI. 16-17 Why do I devote my mind so extensively to the fact of discharging this duty in two different manners ? Because, by proper performance of it you will not only gain heaven but also will discharge your debt to me.
- LI. 17-19 This edict should be read out by you on 'Tīṣya Nakṣatra day', and at intervals between the Tīṣya days you should read it out even to a single man. By doing this you will get inspiration for proper performance of duty.
- LI. 19-23 The edict is inscribed here with the purpose that the city judiciaries should always act upto it so that people should not suffer from sudden arrest and ill considered persecution. And for this purpose I shall send out on tour in every five years the Mahāmātras (ministers) who realising the purpose of it would not be harsh in behaviour and pugnacious in temper and would strive with pleasing manners to act according to my instructions.
- LI. 23-24 The prince at Ujjayinī should also send out for this purpose similar officers at intervals not exceeding three years, so also will be in case of Takṣasilā.
- LI. 24-26 Whenever the Mahāmātras would go out on tour, they shall, without neglecting their own duties, realise this-they are doing that which conforms to the instructions of the king.

Translation

- LI. 1-2 The 'Beloved of the gods' orders thus. The Mahāmātra (minister) and the Rājavachanika (officer in-charge of royal decrees) at Samāpā should speak to themselves—whatever I approve of, I desire to achieve through action and by effective means, This is what I consider to be the best and I instruct you all for this purpose.
- LI. 2-4 All men are my children, and just as I desire for my own children that they should have bliss and happiness both in this world and the other world so also I desire the same for all men.
- LI. 4-6 The unconquered people on my borders may ask-what is the policy of the king towards us? They should be made to understand that this is my desire with regard to them.—The king desires that they should not be worried because of him. They should derive consolation from him and get from him happiness and no sorrow.
- LI. 6-7 They should understand this that the king will forgive them as far as it is possible on his part to forgive and that they should practise Dhamma for his sake and gain this world and the other world.
- LI. 7-12 I instruct you for the purpose that by doing so I may discharge my debt towards you and also that I may make you know my policy that unflinching are my promise and determination. By honouring this you perform your duties and console yourself. You realise this, that 'the king is just like our father and as he feels for his own so also he feels

for ourselves as we are like the children of the king.' I instruct you for this and make you know my policy that unflinching are my promise and determination and all pervading is my authority.

LI. 12-13 You are all capable of giving them (frontier people) consolation, as well as, bliss and happiness in this world and the other world. By doing this you will attain heaven and also help me discharge my debt (to my people).

LI. 13-16 This edict has been engraved here for the purpose that the Mahāmātras shall all time attend to the work of conciliation of the frontier people and of promoting Dhamma among them. This edict is to be read out every four months on the day of Tiṣya and also at interval between Tiṣya days. At times, it may be read out even to a single person. By doing this you will get inspiration to act according to my instructions.

APPENDIX

THE HĀTHĪGUMPHĀ INSCRIPTION

INTRODUCTION

The *Hāthīgūmphā Inscription* is incised on the overhanging brow of a natural cavern in the Southern side of the Udayagiri and faces straight towards the R. Es. of Aśoka at Dhaulī, situated at a distance of about six miles. This inscription was first noticed by A. Sterling in 1820 A. D. who published an eye copy of it in *Asiatic Researches* XV, as well as, in his book, “*An account, geographical, statistical, and historical of Orissa or Cuttack.*” The first reading of it was published by James Prinsep along with the eye copy prepared by Kittoe in the *J.A.S.* VI (1837). In 1877 Cunningham published it in the *C.I.I.* I, and in 1880 R. L. Mitra published a slightly modified version in his *Antiquities of Orissa* II. It was by this time that a plaster cast of the inscription was prepared by Locke which is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. B. L. Indraji is credited with the first authentic reading of this inscription and he presented it before the *Sixieme Congress International des Orientalistes*, Vienna, in 1885. Bühler suggested certain corrections of Indraji’s reading in 1895 and 1898. T. B. Block took an inked impression of the record in 1906 and Kielhorn sent that impression to J. H. Fleet, who proposed some more corrections with a short note in the *J.R.A.S.* 1910. Luder also published a note and a short summary of the inscription in the same journal.

F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow made valuable contributions to the study of this inscription in the *Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey* (India-1922 23) and *Acta Orientalia* Vol. I. respectively.

R. D. Banerji visited the spot in 1913 and four years later he prepared the inked impression of the record which was published later by K. P. Jayaswal in *J. B. O. R. S.* III, (1917). Jayaswal also visited the rock that year and prepared a revised reading after an on-the-spot study, which he published in the next volume of the *J. B. O. R. S.* In 1919 both R. D. Banerji and K. P. Jayaswal came to the spot again to re-examine the entire inscription and after their return H. Pandey was deputed to take a cast of it for the Patna Museum. Along with cast two more impressions prepared by M. S. Vats were brought to the Patna Museum and Jayaswal made a fresh study of the record with the help of these materials. In 1924 both Jayaswal and Banerji again came to the site for a further examination and the result was published by Jayaswal in *J. B. O. R. S.* XIII (1927). Both the scholars jointly edited the inscription afresh in the *E. I.* XX (1929 30). In 1929 B. M. Barua edited the "*Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*" with elaborate notes. D. C. Sircar published a newly edited version of the *Hāthigumphā Inscription* in his "*Select Inscription, I*", 1942.

ANNEXURE-XII(2)

Text

- L. 1. ¹नमो अर² हंतानं [॥] नमो सप्तसिधानं [॥] ऐशेण महाराजेन
महामेघ वाहनेन चेत³राज वस वधनेन पसथ सु.लखनेन⁴ चतुरंत लुठ[ण]⁵
गुण उपेतेन⁶ कलिगाधिपतिना सिरिखारवेलेन
- L. 2. [पं]दरस वसानि सीरि कडार सरीरवत। कीडिता कुमार कीडिका [॥]
ततो लेख-रूप-गणना-बबहार-बिधि-विसारदेन सबविजा वदातेन नव वसानि
योवरज⁷ [प]⁸सानितं [॥] संपुण चतुवीसति वसो तदानी दधमान सेसयो
वेनाभि विजयो⁹ ततिये
- L. 3. कलिग राजवसे¹⁰ पुगिस युगे महाराजाभिगेचनं पापुनाति [॥]
आभिमित मतो च पधमेवसे वात विहत गोपुर पाकार निवेसनं पटिसंखारयति
कलिगनगरि खिवीर¹¹[.] सितलतडाग पाडियो च वंधापयति सबूयान
प[टि] संठपनं¹² च

1. In the left hand margin of the first five lines are engraved two Jaina symbols : the Baddha maṅgala at the top and the Swastika below.
2. R. L. Mitra : अरि; Jayaswal : अरा ।
3. Sircar : चेत; चेत is the same as चैत्य ।
4. Sircar : लखनेन, Barua : लखणेन ।
5. Jayaswal : लुठित ।
6. Jayaswal : गुणोपगतेन, Sircar : उपितेन ।
7. Sircar : योवरज ।
8. Barua : व ।
9. Jayaswal : सेस योवन—आभिविजयो,
Barua : वनाभि वजयो ।
10. Barua : राजवंसे ।
11. Jayaswal and Banerji : खिवीर इसितालतडाग,
Barua : गभीर ।
12. Barua : पटिसंठपनं, Sircar : पटिसंथपनं ।

- L. 4 कारयति पनतिसाहिसतसहसेहि पकतियो च रंजयति [॥] दुतिये च वसे अचिर्तायता सातकनि¹ पल्लिमदिसं हय गज-नर रघ बहुलं दंडं पठापयति [॥] कहर्वेणा गताय सेनाय विनासिति असिक नगरं² [॥] ततिये पुन वसे
- L. 5. गंधव वेद बुधो दपनतगीतवादिह संदसनाहि उसव समाज कारापनःहि च क्रीडापयति नगरिं [॥] तथा चबुधे वसे विजाधराधिवासं अहत पुवं कलिग पुबराज निवेसितं³.....⁴ वितधमकुट स.....⁵ निखित छत
- L. 6. भिंगारे हित रतन सापतेये सव रठिक-मोजके पादे वंदाभ्यति [॥] पंचमे च दानी वसे नंद राज तिवस सत ओवाटितं तनमुलिय वाया पनाडि नगरिं पवेस[थ] ति.....⁶[॥] अभिसितो च [छुटेवसे]⁷ राजसेयं⁸ संदंसय तो सयकरवण
- L. 7. अनुगह अनेकानि सतसहसानि विसजति पोरं जानपदं[॥] सतमं च वसं¹⁰ पसासतो¹¹ वजिर घर वि.....स मतुक पद [पुंजा] स[कु]मार.....¹² [॥] अठमे च वसे महति सेनाय महत¹³.....गोरधगिरि

1. Barua : सातकणि, Sircar : सातकनि ।
2. Jayaswal and Banerji : मुसिक नगरं, Barua : असिक नगरं ।
3. Barua : पुत्र राजानं धमेन ।
4. This portion cannot be deciphered. Barua conjectures as व नितिना व पसासयति ।
5. This portion is also quite indistinct. Jayaswal reads दिलमदिते च ।
6. Barua restores the gap as सत सहसेह च खनापयति ।
7. Barua : चदेवसे ।
8. Jayaswal : राजसुर्यं; Barua : राजसिरि ।
9. Jayaswal : पोरं ।
10. Barua : सत मे च वसे ।
11. Barua : अखित; Prinsep : पसासतो ।
12. After पसासतो Barua reads : धजरध रखि तुरंग सत घटानि सबत संदसनं सव मंगलानि कारापयति सतसहसेहि । This reading is partly conjectural and highly doubtful.
13. Jayaswal : महत भित्ति; Barua : मधुरं अनुपतो ।

- L. 8. घातापयिता राजगहं उपवीडापयति [II] एतिन¹ [*] च कंम पदान संनादेन² संचित—³सेन वाद्ने विपमुचितुं मधुरं⁴ अपयातो यवनराज⁵म.....⁶.....⁷ यच्छति.....⁸ पलवभार
- L. 9. कपरुखे⁹ ह्यगज¹⁰रध सह यति¹¹ सवघरावास परित्रेसने¹²..... सबगहणं च कारयितुं वमहणानं जयपरिहारं ददाति [II] अरहत¹³..... नधमे च वसे¹⁴
- L. 10.¹⁵ राज निवासं महाविजय पासादं कारयति अठतिसाय सतसहसेहि [II] दसमे च वसे दंडसंधीसाममयो¹⁶ भरधवस पठानं

1. Indrajī : एतिनं; Barua also reads एतिनं ।
2. Barua : पनादेन; Jayaswal : संनादेन ।
3. Prinsep : पंवात; Indrajī : सवत; Barua संभीत ।
4. Sten Konow : मधुरं; Jayaswal : मधुरां ।
5. Barua : येव नरिदो ।
6. Sten Konow : डिमित; Jayaswal : डिमित; Barua : सवव ।
7. The gap is restored by Barua as सवघर वासिनं च राज भतकानं च सब गहपतिकानं च वमहणानं च अरहतानं समणानं च पान भोजनं ददाति । The reading is doubtful.
8. Barua reads कलिगं याति which is doubtful.
9. Jayaswal : कपरुखे; Barua : कपरुखे; Sircar : कपरुखे ।
10. After गज Barua conjectures two letters : नर ।
11. Indrajī : सहयत; Jayaswal : यन्ने, Barua : याति; Sircar : यति ।
12. Barua reads.—सवघर वासिनं च सवराजभतकानं च सब गहपतिकानं च सब वमहणानं च पानभोजनं ददाति । This reading is subject to doubt.
13. Barua conjectures अरहतानं समणानं च पान भोजनं ददाति सतसहसेहि ।
14. Jayaswal : न.....गिय । Barua, as well as, Sircar read नधमे च वसे ।
15. Both Jayaswal and Barua read उभय प्राचीतरे । But later on the former read बेडुरिय कलिग and the latter - क्कि माने हि ।
16. This is the latest reading of Jayaswal doubtfully accepted by Sircar. Barua reads कलिग राजवंसानं ततिय युग सगावसाने कलिग पुबराजानं यस सकारं कारापयति सतसहसेहि । This reading can not be regarded as tenable.

- महीजयनं.....कारापयति [॥] एकादसमे च वसे¹.....पायातानं²
 च मशिस्तनाननि³ उपलभते [॥]
- L. 11. कलिंग⁴ पुवराजनिवेशितं पीथुं⁵ दं गदभनंगलेन कासयति⁶ [॥] जनपद
 भावनं⁷ च तेरखषससत कतं भिदति⁸ तमिर देह संघातं [॥] बारसमे च
 वसे.....[सत] सह खेहि वितासयति उतरापथ राजानो.....
- L. 12. मागधानं⁹ च विपुलं भयं जनेतो ह्यसं¹⁰ गंगाय पाययति [॥] मागधं च
 राजानं बहसतिमितं पादे नंद्रापयति [॥] नंदराज नीतं कालिंगजिनं¹¹ संनिवेशं...
 [राज] गहरतन परिहारे हि¹² श्रंग मगधसु¹³ च नयति¹⁴ [॥]
- L. 13. ...[क] तु¹⁵ जठर [ल]खिल¹⁶ गोपुराणि¹⁷ सिहराणि निवेशयति सत
 विसिकनं परिहारे हि¹⁸ [॥] श्रमुत मळरियं च हथीनाव [तं]¹⁹ परिहर²⁰...

1. Jayaswal : निरितय; Barua : करुख ह्यराज नररध which is unacceptable.
2. Jayaswal : उयातानं ।
3. Indrajī : मनोरधानि ।
4. Jayaswal : मंहे च; Barua कलिंग ।
5. Jayaswal : पीथुङ्ग दलभ नंगले नेकासयति;
 Barua : पिथुङ्ग दभं नगले नेकासयति ।
 Sylvain Levī, Sten Konow and Luders suggest the reading
 given by us; it is finally accepted by Jayaswal, as well as, by Sircar.
6. Barua : अनुप दभवनं; Jayaswal जिनसदं भावन; Sten Konow, Indrajī,
 Jayaswal, R. C. Mazumdar and Sircar read जनपद भावनं ।
7. Jayaswal : केतुभद तित; Barua : भिदति तिमिर दह; Sircar : भिदति त्रमिर ।
8. Jayaswal : मगधानं ।
9. Jayaswal : ह्यसु; Sircar ह्यसं ।
10. Barua : कलिंग जिनासनं; Jayaswal and Sircar read कालिंग जिनं ।
11. Jayaswal : षडिहारे हि ।
12. Jayaswal : नैयाति; Sircar : नयति ।
13. Jayaswal : त ।
14. Jayaswal : लिखिल; Barua : चयर पलिखानि;
 Sircar : जठर लखिल ।
15. Jayaswal : वरानि ।
16. Barua : सत बासुकी रतनं पेसयति ।
17. Jayaswal : हथिनावन; Barua : हथीस पसवं; Sircar : हथीनिवास ।
18. Jayaswal : परीपुरं उपदेशूह ।

इयं ह्यथी रतन [मा]निकं[॥]पंडराजा एदानि अनेकानि¹ मुत मनिरतनानि
आहरापयति इष ससस[हसानि]

- L. 14.सिनो बसीकरोति [॥] तेरसमे च वसे सुपघत विजयचके कुमारी पवते
अरहते [हि] पखिन संसितेहि² कायनिसीदियाय यापजावकेहि³ राजभितिनं
चिनवतानं वासासितानं⁴ पूजानुरत उवासा⁵ [खा] रबेल सिरिना जीवदेह
सयिका⁶ परिखाता[॥]⁷
- L. 15.सकत⁸ समण सुविहितानं च सबदिसानं⁹ यतिनं¹⁰ सपस¹¹ इसिनं
संधायनं¹² अरहत निसीदिया सर्मापे पभारे¹³ वराकर समुथापिताहि अनेक
योजनाहि ताहि [पनतिसाहि सतसहसेहि] सिलाहि सिहपथ¹⁴ राजिस¹⁵.....¹⁶

1. Barua : विविधा भरणानि; Jayaswal : एदानि अनेकानि; Sircar leaves a gap.
2. Jayaswal : अरहिते यापखिम ब्यसंताहि; Barua : अरहतो परिनिवासतोहि । We accept the reading of Sircar.
3. Jayaswal : यावजावकेहि; Barua : राजभटकेहि ।
4. Sircar : राजभितिनि, चिनवतानि, वासासितानि ।
- 5.(a) Jayaswal : पूजानिकत — उवासा ।
6. Jayaswal : जीवदेह सिरिका ।
7. Barua makes out : राज भतकेहि राजभातिहि राज्या राजपुदेहि राजमहिसिहि खारबेल सिरिना सतदसलेणस कारापितं । This reading is untenable.
8. Jayaswal : सुकर्तं ।
9. Prinsep : सुतदिसानं; Indraji : सबदिसानं; Jayaswal : सातदिसानं; Barua : सतदिसानं ।
10. Indraji : यानिनं; Jayaswal : जातानं; Barua : यतिनं; Sircar : जनिनं ।
11. Barua : तापस ।
12. Barua : लेनं कारयति; Sircar : संघियनं ।
13. Prinsep and Cunningham read सुभारे; Indraji and Jayaswal read पभारे; Sircar : पाभारे ।
14. Prinsep : सपपथ; Cunningham : भगपथ; Jayaswal : सिहपथ; Barua : सिलार्थभानि च ।
15. Jayaswal : राजिय; Haranandan Pandey : रानिस ।
16. Jayaswal : रजी सिंधुलाय निसयानि; Barua : चेतियानि च कारापयति । These readings are doubtful.

- L. 16.पटलिक¹ घतरे च वेदुरिय गभे धभे पटिथापयति पानतरिय² संत
सह सेहि [॥] मुरिय³ काल⁴ वोळिन च चौयठि अंग संतिकं⁵ तुरियं
उपादयति [॥] खेमराजा स वधराजा⁶ स भिखुराजा धमराजा पसंतो सुनंतो
अनुभवं तो कलाणानि
- L. 17.गुणवित्तस कुसलो सव पासंइ पूजको सव देवायतन संकार⁷ कारको
अपतिहतचक्रवाहन⁸वलो चक्रधरो⁹ गुतचक्रो पवत चक्रो राजसि वसुकुल¹⁰
विनिसितो¹¹ महाविजयो राजा खारवेलसिरि [॥]¹²

1. Indrajī : पटलिके; Jayaswal : पटालिको ।
2. Jayaswal : पानतरिया ।
3. Indrajī, Sten Konow, Jayaswal and Banerji read : मुरिय; Barua : वेदुरिय;
Sircar : मुखिय ।
4. Fleet and Indrajī read काले; Jayaswal : कालं; Barua : नील; Sircar कल,
मुरियकाल refers to the period of Maurya rule in Kaliṅga.
5. Jayaswal : अंगसतिकं; Barua : अध सतिकं; Sircar : अंग संतिकं ।
6. Jayaswal : वधराजा; Barua : वधराजा Sircar : वधराजा ।
7. Sircar : संकार ।
8. Jayaswal : चक्रि वाहिनि ।
9. Jayaswal : चक्रधुर ।
10. Jayaswal : वसुकुल; Barua : वंसकुल; Sircar : वसुकुल ।
11. Jayaswal and Sircar read विनिश्रितो ।
12. Tree within railing.

Translation

- Line 1-2.** Salutation to Arhats. Salutation to all Siddhas. Ārya Mahāmeghavāhana Śrī Khāravēla, the Lord of Kaliṅga, who heightens the glory of the Chedi Royal dynasty, who possesses all auspicious signs, and is gifted with qualities spreading over four quarters, and who has handsome brown complexion, played for fifteen years the games of the adolescent age.
- Line 2-3.** Thereafter, proficient in writing, coinage, arithmetic, law and procedure, and skilled in all arts, (he) ruled as the Crown-prince for nine years. After the completion of the twenty-fourth year of age, and with the ripening of the age of minority, (he) as glorious as Vainya,¹ was crowned as king in the third generation of the royal dynasty of Kaliṅga.
- Line 3-4.** In the very first year of his coronation (His Majesty) caused to be repaired the gate, rampart, and structures of the fort of Kaliṅganagari, which had been damaged by storm, and caused to be built embankments for the cool tanks and laid out all gardens at the cost of thirty five hundred thousand (coins) and thus pleased all his subjects.
- Line 4-5.** In the second year, without caring for Sātakarṇi (His Majesty) sent to the West a large army of

Pṛthu, the son of Veṇa.

horse, elephant, infantry and chariot, and struck terror to the city of Asika with the troop that marched up to the river Kṛṣṇā.

Thereafter, in the third year, versed in the art of music (His Majesty) made (Kaliṅga) nagari play, as it were, by arranging festivals and convivial gatherings, organising performances of acrobaticism, dance, as well as, of vocal and iustrumental music.

Line 5-6 Then, in the fourth year, (His Majesty)the Vidyādhara tract, that had been established by the former kings of Kaliṅga and had never been crushed before.

The Rāṣṭrika and Bhojaka chiefs with their crowns cast off, their umbrella and royal insignia thrown aside, and their jewellery and wealth confiscated, were made to pay obeisance at His Majesty's feet.

And, in the fifth year, (His Majesty) caused the aqueduct that had been excavated by king Nanda three hundred years before, to flow in to (Kaliṅga) nagari through Tanasuli.

Line 6-7 Further, in the sixth year of his coronation (His Majesty) in order to display the regal wealth, benevolently remitted all taxes and cesses, on the urban and rural population, to the extent of many hundred thousands.

And, in the seventh year of his reign, (the Queen) of Diamond Place, with a son attained mother-hood.

Line 7-8 Then, in the eighth year, having destroyed the strong (fort) of Gorathagiri with a mighty army (His Majesty) oppressed Rājagṛha.

Getting the tidings of all these achievements, the Yavanarāja, who had retreated to Mathurā for the rescue of his army encamped there, surrendered (?)

Line 8-9. The sage (Khārave¹a), with the Kalpa tree burdened with foliage and with the horses, elephants and chariots.....(distributed gifts) to all houses, inns and residences, and with a view to making gifts universal, gave away the spoils of victory to the Brāhmaṇas.

Line 9-10. And, in the ninth year, (His Majesty) caused to be built the great Victory palace-the royal residence-at the cost of thirty eight hundred thousand (coins).

Then, in the tenth year, (His Majesty) who embodied the principles of politics, diplomacy and peace, caused (the army) to march towards Bhāratavarṣa¹ for conquest.

Line 10-11. And, in the eleventh year, (His Majesty) secured jewels and precious stones from the retreating (enemies). His Majesty caused to be cultivated Pīthuṇḍa, founded by former kings of Kaliṅga with ploughs drawn by asses. Also (His Majesty) shattered the territorial confederacy of the Tāmil states that was existing since thirteen hundred years.

Line 11-12. And, in the twelfth year, (His Majesty) terrorised the kings of Uttarāpatha² by (an army of) hundred thousand. (His Majesty) generated

1. Nerth-India.

2. North western India.

great fear among the people of Magadha while making the elephants and horses drink from the Ganges. (His Majesty) made Bahasatimita, the king of Magadha, pay obeisance at his feet. (His Majesty) then brought Kaliñga Jina that had been taken away by king Nanda, along with the jewels obtained from Rajagṛha, and the treasures of Añga and Magadha.

Line 13-14(His Majesty) caused to erect towers with strong and beautiful gateways at the cost of hundred Visikas.¹ (His Majesty) obtained horses, elephants and jewelleries sending strange and wonderful elephants and ships.....The king of Pāṇḍya caused to be brought here² various pearls, jewels and precious stones hundred thousand in number.

(His Majesty) brought to submission the people of.....

Line 14-15 And in the thirteenth year Upāsaka Śrī Khāravela, a devoted worshipper of those who clothe themselves in fine cloth, enjoy royal endowment and take to rainy season retreat, excavated in the Kumārī hill, where the wheel of victory had been well turned, dwelling cells for resting of the bodies of the *Jāpodyāpaka Arhats* who had renounced their sustenance.

Line 15-16. (As desired by) the Queen (of) Simhapatha, (His Majesty) set up in front of and beside the dwellings of the Arhats with those

1. The value of Visika is not known.

2. The capital Kaliñganagarī.

thirty-five hundred thousand stone slabs, which were raised from the best quarries and (brought) from a distance of many *yojans*, for the convenience of the honoured *Śramaṇas* and for the *Yatis*, *Tāpasas*, *Rṣis* and *Samghāyanas*, who hailed from all directions, and also set up on the pink coloured floor, pillars bedecked with emerald at a cost of one hundred and five thousand (coins).

(His Majesty) revived the *Tauryatrika*¹ with its sixty-four branches, that had been suspended during the time of the Mauryas.

Line 16-17. (Thus reigned) that king of Bliss, that king of Prosperity, that Bhikṣu king and that king of Dhamma, His Majesty the mighty conqueror Śrī Khāravēla, the descendant of Rājaraṣi Vasu,² the embodiment of specific qualities, the worshipper of all religious orders, the repairer of all shrines of gods, the possessor of invincible armies, the administrator of the rule of Law, the guardian of Law, the executor of Law, having seen, heard, felt and (done) good.

1 Performance of dance, song and concert.

2 The ancient Chedi king Uparichara Vasu.

**Fwd:**

1 message

ASURA BANDHA**DP Pattanayak** <pattanayakdp@gmail.com>
To: subratodia@gmail.com

Thu, Apr 25, 2013 at 12:25 PM

----- Forwarded message -----

From: Kishor K Basa <kishorkbasa58@gmail.com>
Date: Tue, Apr 23, 2013 at 3:59 PM
Subject:
To: pattanayakdp@gmail.com

Archaeological excavations were undertaken in Jan-Feb 2013 at the Neolithic-Chalcolithic site of Baanga-Harirajpur, Dist. Puri, Odisha, jointly by the Centre of Heritage Studies, Department of Anthropology, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar and Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Pune, under the direction of Professor Kishor K. Basa and Professor R. K. Mohanty, the latter from Deccan College). Apart from cultural artifacts ascribable to Neolithic-Chalcolithic culture, a human skeleton of an adult individual was recovered from the site from the Chalcolithic level dating approx. 2000 to 1500 B.C. The skeleton was buried in an extended supine position with east-west orientation.

A team of experts, including Prof. S. R. Walimbe and Dr. Veena Mushrif-Tripathy, from Deccan College visited the Anthropology Department of Utkal University from 11th March 2013 to conduct anthropological investigations on the skeleton. A Workshop on *Skeletal Remains from Harirajpur* has been organized by the Department of Anthropology under the Centre of Advanced Study Programme (U.G.C.) from 12.3.2013 to 18.3.2013 in which Prof. Walimbe and Dr. Mushrif-Tripathy acted as Resource Persons. Faculty members and students participated in the said Workshop. The following are important inferences of the study on the skeleton.

The adult represented is a male, died at the age of around 35-40 years, is tall (stature estimation is 169.44 cm, or 5' 7") with slender body built, and resembling local Odishan population in the facial morphological features. The individual was apparently healthy. Bones did not show any sign of infection. There is, however, a significant evidence of healed fracture of left forearm. The left side ulna and radius exhibit oblique fracture resulting from an indirect trauma. This incidence took place during the adult phase of the individual (around 25 years of age), and the fractured bones were completely healed. The injury cannot be taken as indicative of inter-personal clash, but was probably caused by an incidence like falling from tree. The secondary infection, if any, to the open wound was successfully treated. The individual had perfectly normal life once the fracture was completely healed, though had some deformity caused by shortening of the forearm. In any case the injury cannot be taken as cause of death. On the other hand, successful treatment to such kind of serious injury is an indicative of availability of skilled

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medicinal assistance in the vicinity. It also strongly suggests a very stable social system willing to take care of the disabled that existed in rural Odisha about 3500 - 4000 years ago.

There are signs of certain other minor illness, like antemortem loss of one upper molar tooth, traces of age related arthritic problems.

Cause of death cannot be positively asserted. For that matter, the death is not 'untimely'. The average death age during the Chalcolithic period is stated to be around 40 years.

The portion below ankle was probably chopped off. No foot bones are seen in the collection and there are likely signs of cut-marks on the distal end of tibia. It may be noted that practice of cutting lower feet of the dead prior to burial was a common practice in the Deccan Chalcolithic populations.

The anthropology team has arranged to send skeletal sample for possible DNA extraction to Centre for Cellular and Molecular Biology, Hyderabad. Confirmative statement on biological affinity of the individual can be forwarded only after these results are available. The fractured bones will be X-rayed to access the healing process. Necessary steps in this direction have already been taken. Absolute chronological dating will eventually be done by Radiocarbon dating method. Palaeobotanical and palaeozoological studies will shed light on the food economy of the population.



ON YUAN CHWANG'S TRAVDS IN INDIA

ORISSA. ANNEXURE-14 193

river, somewhere about the districts of *Singhbhūm* and *Barabhūm*", and he adds—"Bara Bāzār is the chief town in Barabhūm, and as its position corresponds very closely with that indicated by Hwen Thsang, it may be accepted as the approximate site of the capital in the seventh century".¹ Fergusson does not accept this identification and writes—"The kingdom of Karna Souvarna, I take it, comprehended the northern part of Burdwan, the whole of Birbhūm, and the province of Murshidabad, including all those parts of the districts of Kishnaghur and Jessore which were then sufficiently raised above the waters of the Ganges to be habitable".²

WU-T'U (OTA).

Continuing his narrative Yuan-chuang tells us that from Karna-suvarna he travelled south-west above 700 *li* and came to the *Wu* (or *U-t'u* (烏茶) country. This, he states, was above 7000 *li* in circuit, and its capital above twenty *li* in circuit; the soil was rich and fertile yielding fruits larger than those of other lands, and its rare plants and noted flowers could not be enumerated; the climate was hot; the people were of violent ways, tall and of dark complexion, in speech and manners different from the people of "Mid India"; they were indefatigable students and many of them were Buddhists. There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries, and a myriad Brethren all Mahāyānists. Of Deva-Temples there were 50, and the various sects lived pell-mell. There were more than ten Asoka topes at places where the Buddha had preached. In the south-west of the country was the *Pu-sie-p'o-k'i-li* (restored by Julien as "Pushpagiri") monastery in a mountain; the stone tope of this monastery exhibited supernatural lights and other miracles, sunshades placed by worshippers on it between the dome and the amalaka remained there like needles held by a magnet. To the north-east of this tope in a hill-monastery was another tope like the preceding in its marvels. The miraculous power of these topes was due to the topes having been erected by supernatural beings. Near the

¹ See 'Anc. Geog. of India' p. 505.

² op. c. p. 248. See also Dr. Waddell's Note on king Śaśānka in his "Discovery of the exact site of Asoka's classical capital of Pāṭaliputra".

shore of the ocean in the south-east of this country was the city *Che-li-fa-lo* (Charitra?), above twenty *li* in circuit, which was a thoroughfare and resting-place for sea-going traders and strangers from distant lands. The city was naturally strong and it contained many rare commodities. Outside it were five monasteries close together, of lofty structure and with very artistic images. Far away, 20 000 *li* distant in the south was the *Sêng-ka-lo* (Ceylon) Country, and from this place on calm nights one could see the brilliant light from the pearl on the top of the tope over the Buddha's Tooth-relic in that country.

In the *Life* the pilgrim is represented as going south-west not from *Karṇasuvarṇa* but from *Tāmralipti* to *Wu-t'u*, and the distance between these two places is not given. If we understand *Karṇasuvarṇa* to have been to the north-east of *Tāmralipti* the difference between the statement in the *Records* and that in the *Life* is not important, as *Tāmralipti* would be south-west from *Karṇasuvarṇa* and between it and *Wu-t'u*. The country which *Yuan-chuang* calls by this name, pronounced *Uḍa* or *Oḍa*, has been identified with *Uḍra* or *Oḍra*, the modern *Orissa*. *Fergusson* thinks that the capital may have been on the site of the present *Midnapur*. The *Che-li-to-lo* of this passage is apparently, as *Julien* restores it, *Charitra*. It is translated in a note to the text by *Fa-hsing* (發行), which may mean "setting out", that is, on a voyage or journey; and the city is supposed to have received this name because it was a starting place for navigators and land-travellers. But the *Fang-chih* gives as the translation of the word *Chiao-hsing-che* (孝行者) which may mean "having religious observances", and this seems to agree with the common use of the word *Charitra*. Moreover the pilgrim apparently does not describe the city as a starting-point or terminus of a journey; his words seem rather to indicate that it was a *dépot* and *caravanseray* for traders and travellers to and from the seaports and also by land. *Cunningham* thinks that "Charitrapura was probably the present town of *Puri*, or "the city", near which stands the famous temple of *Jagannāth*". *Fergusson* regards the city as represented by the modern *Tumluk*

which is generally taken to be the old city of Tāmralipti.¹ Dr. Waddell writes that at the time of our pilgrim's visit to this part of India "Yajapur was undoubtedly the capital of the country of 'U-cha'—the northern portion of Orissa". He adds—"Indeed the 'U-cha' of the pilgrim seems intended to represent the Sanskrit Yaja". This, however, is quite impossible as *Wu-t'u* or *U-t'a* (or *-ch'a*) could not be taken to transcribe *Yaja*. *Wu-t'u* is the reading of all the texts of the Records, and of one text at least of the Life. In the C text of the Life we have *-ch'a* which is often used for *t'u*, the characters represented by these sounds having formerly had a similar pronunciation. There can be little doubt that the name transcribed by *Wu-t'u* or *Wu-ch'a* was Oḍḍa or Oṭṭa.

As to the *Che-li-to-lo* of our text Dr. Waddell, after quoting Burnouf's translation of Yuan-chuang's description of the city, writes—"In the locality here indicated—in exact keeping geographically with the distances and directions noted by the pilgrim—in the Mahanadi delta, about 15 miles below Cuttack, we find the older channel of the great Mahanadi River is still known as the "Chitratola River", although no village or town of that name now exists on its banks. But at the highest point of this part of the Mahanadi channel, where the name of Chitratola still clings to this branch of the Mahanadi, at the village of Nendra, opposite Kendwapatana lock of the Kendrapara canal, the villagers point out the site of the old port on what is now a vast expanse of sand in the river bed". Dr. Waddell brings further evidence in support of his view that this vanished town of Chitratola was the *Che-li-to-lo* of the Records. He also thinks that Julien's restoration of *Charitra* is "doubtfully correct", and adds—"The original name seems more nearly to resemble or be identical with the still current name Chitratola". We may provisionally accept the site described by Dr. Waddell as that of our pilgrim's *Che-li-to-lo*, but while this transcrip-

¹ 'Anc. Geog. of India' p. 510. Fergusson op. c. p. 249.
N*1

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HĪNAYĀNIST AND MAHĀYĀNIST.

tion may possibly and probably stand for *Charitra* it cannot possibly be taken to represent a word like *Chitratola*.¹

There is a remarkable contradiction between the statement in our text here, that the Brethren in this country were Mahāyānists, and the express declaration in an interesting passage in the *Life* that they were all Hīnayānists, although in the short account which it gives of the country the *Life* agrees with the *Records* in stating that they were Mahāyānists.² Now in the next century after our pilgrim the Buddhists in this country were evidently Mahāyānists. We find their king at that time copying out with his own hand, and sending as a religious present to the Chinese Emperor Tê Tsung, the Sanskrit text of the Mahāyānist treatise called "Ta-fang-kuang-Fo-hua-yen-ching". This curious beautiful sūtra on its arrival in China was translated into Chinese by the learned Kapin Brother named Prajñā, with the assistance of several learned Chinese Brethren, and presented to the Emperor in A. D. 795.³

KUNG-YŪ (GU OR YA)-T'O.

The narrative in the *Records* proceeds to tell us that from the Oṣa country a journey south-west, through a forest, for over 1200 *li*, brought the pilgrim to the *Kung-yū* (or *-gu* or *-ya*)-t'o country. This country was above 1000 *li* in circuit, and its capital was above twenty *li* in circuit. It was a hilly country bordering on a bay of the sea, with regular harvests, a hot climate. The people were tall and valorous and of a black complexion, having some sense of propriety and not very deceitful. Their written language was the same as that of India, but their ways of speaking were different, and they were not Buddhists. Deva-Temples were above 100 in number, and of Tirthikas there were more than 10 000. The country contained some tens of towns which stretched from the slopes of the hills to the edge of the sea. As the towns were naturally strong there was a gallant

¹ Dr. Waddell in 'Proceedings A. S. Ben.' Dec. 1892.

² *Cā.* 4: Julien I, pp. 184, 220.

³ It is No. 89 in Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue.

army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so there was no powerful enemy. As the country was on the seaside it contained many rare precious commodities; the currency was couries and pearls; and the country produced large dark-coloured elephants which were capable of long journeys.

The *Kung-yü-t'ö* of this passage has been tentatively restored by Julien as *Konyodha* and this restoration has been accepted. But the characters (恭御陀) were pronounced *Kong-gu-t'ö* or *Kong-ya-t'ö* and the original was probably a word like *Kongudha* or *Konyadha*. In his translation of the text Julien makes the author state that —“Les frontières de ce royaume embrassent plusieurs dizaines de petites villes qui touchent à des montagnes, et sont situées au confluent de deux mers”. But there is no word for *two* in the text and the term *hai-chiao* (海交) here means “the meeting of sea and land”. The pilgrim wished his readers to understand that the towns at one extremity “continued the hills” (*chie-shan-ling* 接山嶽), and at the other were on the sea-shore (據海交). This is also the sense in which the compiler of the *Fang-chih* understood the description. Cunningham and Fergusson agree in identifying *Kung-yü-t'ö* with the district about the Chilka Lake, and the latter investigator thought that the capital “was situated to the northward of the Chilka lake and somewhere between Kuttack and Aska, where one of Asoka’s great edict tablets still exists”.¹ This *Kung-yü-t'ö* of our pilgrim’s narrative may perhaps be the *Kāṇḍya* of the *Hemakūṇḍya* (called also *Hemakūṭya*) in the south-eastern division of the *Bṛihat-Sambhitā*’s topography.²

It is strange to find Yuan-chuang here describing *Kung-yü-t'ö* as a great military country without a formidable enemy. At the time of the pilgrim’s arrival in these parts, as we learn from the *Life*, this country had been invaded by Śīladitya, king of *Kanyakubja*, and it was then

¹ A. G. I. p. 513; Fergusson op. c. p. 250.

² *Fleet in Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII, pp. 171, 179.

apparently a part of that great sovereign's kingdom. It will be noticed that the pilgrim, in this description of the country, does not tell us anything about the government.

KA-LENG-KA (KALINGA).

Returning to the narrative in the Records we read that from *Kung-yü-fö* the pilgrim travelled, through jungle and forest dense with huge trees, south-west for 1400 or 1500 *li*, to Kalinga. This country he describes as above 5000 *li* in circuit, its capital being above twenty *li*. There were regular seed-time and harvest, fruit and flowers grew profusely, and there were continuous woods for some hundreds of *li*. The country produced dark wild elephants prized by the neighbouring countries. The climate was hot. The people were rude and headstrong in disposition, observant of good faith and fairness, fast and clear in speech; in their talk and manners they differed somewhat from "Mid India". There were few Buddhists, the majority of the people being of other religions. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries, and 500 Brethren "Students of the Mahāyānist Sthavira school system". There were more than 100 Deva-temples, and the professed adherents of the various sects were very numerous, the majority being nirgranthas. This Country, the pilgrim relates, had once been very densely inhabited; a holy rishi possessing supernatural powers had his hermitage in it; he was once offended by a native and cursed the country; as a consequence of this curse the land became, and remained, utterly depopulated. In the lapse of many years since that event it had gradually become inhabited again, but it still had only a scanty population. Near the south wall of the city (i. e. the capital apparently) was an Asoka tope beside which were a sitting-place and exercise-ground of the Four Past Buddhas. On a ridge of a mountain in the north of the country was a stone tope, above 100 feet high, where a Pratyeka Buddha had passed away at the beginning of the present kalpa when men's lives extended over countless years.

The capital of the Kalinga of this passage has been identified by Cunningham with Rajamahendri on the Godāvari river.¹ Fergusson was of opinion that it was not very far from the Kalingapatam of our maps.²

The Divyāvadāna in giving the names of the kings who

¹ A. G. I. p. 516.

² op. c. p. 250.

will be reigning when Maitreya comes places the names Kalinga and Mithila side by side as the respective residences of different kings.¹ It must be a misunderstanding of some such passage that lies at the root of the statement we find in some Buddhist treatises that Kalinga, with its capital Mithila, was mentioned by the Buddha. In some Buddhist treatises we find a Kalinga with its capital Mithila mentioned by the Buddha as one of the four places possessing inexhaustible treasures of precious substances.² But Mithila was, of course the capital of Videha; and we find in older works such as the "Jātaka", the "Mahāvastu", and the "Dīgha", mention of a kingdom named Kalinga with its capital Dantapura ages before the Buddha's time.³

Our pilgrim's statement here about the desolation of the country caused by the curse of an offended rishi is derived from a sūtra. In this the Buddha asks Upāli if he knew why Daṇḍaka, Kalinga, and Mātanga became uninhabited wastes, and Upāli replies that he heard the desolation was caused by an incensed rishi. When this saintly hermit cursed the land in his anger the supernatural beings blighted and wasted all the region on account of the offence against him.⁴

In the above passage also it is to be noted that the pilgrim represents the Buddhist Brethren of Kalinga as students of the Sthavira system of the Mahāyānists, but in the description in the Life the term for Mahāyānists is omitted. The Buddha in a Tantra sūtra gives Kalinga as one of the twelve districts in which the "attainment of perfection may be sought".⁵

¹ Divyāv. p. 61.

² Ts'eng-yi-a-han-ching, cā. 49; "A-na-pin-ti-hua-ch'i-tzu-ching (No. 649).

³ Jāt. Vol. II, p. 367; Mahāvastu T. III, p. 361; Dīgha II, 167, 285.

⁴ See Nos. 1238, 1239, and 1240. Compare Majjhima I, 878.

⁵ Fo-shuo-ta-pei-k'ung-chih-chin-kang-ta-chiao-wang-yi-kuei-ching, cā. 2 (No. 1060). See above p. 177.

THE SOUTHERN KOSALA.

The pilgrim's description next proceeds to relate that from Kalinga he went north-west by hill and wood for above 1800 *li* to Kosala. This country, more than 6000 *li* in circuit, was surrounded by mountains and was a succession of woods and marshes, its capital being above 40 *li* in circuit. The soil of the country was rich and fertile, the towns and villages were close together; the people were prosperous, tall of stature and black in colour; the king was a kshatriya by birth, a Buddhist in religion, and of noted benevolence. There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries, and about 10 000 Brethren, all Mahāyānists. Near the south of the city (that is apparently, the capital) was an old monastery with an Asoka tope where Buddha had vanquished Tīrthikas by the exhibition of supernormal powers, and in which Nāgārjuna P'usa had afterwards lodged. Contemporary with this P'usa was the king styled *Sā-to-p'o-ko* or "Leading-right" (*yii-chōng* 導 [E]), who treated Nāgārjuna with ceremonious respect, and kept a guard at his residence. The record then tells of the visit made by Deva P'usa from Sengkala to this monastery in order to have a discussion with Nāgārjuna. When Deva arrived and requested to be admitted the disciple in charge of the door reported the circumstance. Nāgārjuna, who had heard of the visitor's fame, merely filled his bowl with water and gave it to the disciple to show to Deva. This last silently dropped a needle into the bowl, and dismissed the disciple. On learning this Nāgārjuna exclaimed—"He is a wise man! It is for the gods to know the hidden springs, and it is the sage who searches out their minute developments; as the man has such excellence call him in at once. What do you mean, asked the disciple,—is this a case of "Silence being eloquence"? Nāgārjuna explained that the bowl full of water typified his own universal knowledge, and the dropping of the needle into it typified Deva's thorough comprehension of all that knowledge. When Deva was admitted he was modest and timid, and he expressed his views clearly and distinctly, wishing to be instructed. Nāgārjuna said to him—"You as a scholar are above your contemporaries, and your excellent discourse sheds glory on your predecessors. I am old and feeble, and meeting one of such superior abilities as you I have a pitcher into which to draw water, and a successor to whom the continuous lamp may be handed over. You can be relied on for propagating the religion. Please come forward, and let us talk of the mysteries of Buddhism". Deva was proceeding to enter on an exposition when a look at the majestic face of Nāgārjuna made him forget his words and remain silent. Then he declared

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himself a disciple, and Nāgārjuna having reassured him taught him the true Buddhism. Nāgārjuna had the secret of long life, and had attained an age of several centuries, with his mental faculties still flourishing, when he voluntarily put an end to his life in the following circumstances. The king *Yin-chêng* was also some hundreds of years old, and his life depended on that of Nāgārjuna by whom it had been prolonged. This king's youngest son became impatient to succeed, and learning from his mother the secret of his father's life, at her instigation he went to the great *Pusa*, and persuaded him that it was his duty to die on behalf of the young prince. Nāgārjuna, accordingly, cut his own head off with a dry blade of grass, and his death was immediately followed by that of the old king.

To the south-west of this country above 300 *li* from the capital was a mountain called *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-ki*, which rose lofty and compact like a single rock. Here king *Yin-chêng* had quarried for Nāgārjuna a monastery in the mountain, and had cut in the rock a path, communicating with the monastery, for above ten *li*. The monastery had cloisters and lofty halls; these halls were in five tiers, each with four courts, with temples containing gold life-size images of the Buddha of perfect artistic beauty. It was well supplied with running water, and the chambers were lighted by windows cut in the rock. In the formation of this establishment the king's treasury soon became exhausted, and Nāgārjuna then provided an abundant supply by transmuting the rocks into gold. In the topmost hall Nāgārjuna deposited the scriptures of Sākyamuni Buddha, and the writings of the *Pusa*. In the lowest hall were the laymen attached to the monastery and the stores, and the three intermediate halls were the lodgings of the Brethren. The pilgrim learned that when the king had finished the construction of this monastery an estimate of the maintenance of the workmen came to nine *koṭi* of gold coins. In later times the Brethren had disagreed, and had referred their quarrels to the king; then the retainers of the monastery, fearing that the establishment would become a prey to the lawless, excluded the Brethren, and made new barriers to keep them out; since then there have not been any Brethren in the monastery, and the way of access to it was not known.

The short account of Kosala, and the stories about its great Buddhist apostle, given in the passage here epitomized, are interesting in several respects. In the Life the country is called "South Kosala" apparently to distinguish it from the Kosala in the north of which Śrāvastī was the capital. Cunningham makes it to be "the ancient province of Vidarbha

or Berār of which the present capital is Nāgpur",¹ and Fergusson seems to agree with Mr. Grant in regarding Chattisgarh as corresponding to the Kosala of our text, and Wyraghur as being the site of its capital.²

The stories which our pilgrim here tells about the relations of Nāgārjuna-p'usa with Deva-p'usa, and with the king of the country, are in harmony with certain legends, and receive some confirmation or illustration from these. Thus when Nāgārjuna tells his illustrious visitor Deva p'usa, by the exhibition of the full bowl, that nothing could be added to his knowledge, he is giving an instance of his claim to be "omniscient". In his Life we find him asserting that he knew all things, and even silencing sceptics by a conspicuous instance.³ But in his attempt to produce an effect on Deva by the claim to omniscience he was not successful, for the silent parable of the needle taught him that Deva had fathomed all his learning. Then the story about the young prince who, acting on the advice of his mother, persuades Nāgārjuna to hasten his accession to the throne by committing suicide, agrees in essentials with the legend from Indian sources in the Tibetan books.⁴ It was the king's knowledge of the fact that his own life depended on that of the "great scholar", that made him so ceremonious and attentive to Nāgārjuna as to keep a guard at his residence. That this p'usa's life extended to a great length, even to several centuries, is also in accordance with some of the legends about him. He is represented in one account as living 529 (or more) years,⁵ and he is generally supposed to have reached a very great age, prolonging his life by various expedients such as imbibing water through his nostrils.⁶ So also our pilgrim's account of Nāgārjuna's proceeding

¹ A. G. I. p. 520.

² J. R. A. S. 1875 p. 260.

³ Lung-shu-p'u-sa-chuan (No. 1461); Wass. Bud. p. 232.

⁴ J. A. S. Ben. Vol. LI, p. 115 ff.

⁵ Tār. S. 73.

⁶ Nan-nai-ch'i-kuei, ch. 8; Takakusu p. 34.

in providing the king with abundant funds by the transmutation of rocks into gold is in harmony with that p'usa's reputation for a knowledge of alchemy.¹

This Nāgārjuna is one of the wonders and mysteries of later Buddhism. He appears in literature as a man of remarkable genius, as an almost universal scholar, a Buddhist religious enthusiast of rare liberality, a profound philosopher, a poet and author of great literary abilities, and an intense lover of his species. He was also according to one authority a king, but the statement is evidently a mistake. Yet notwithstanding his great fame we cannot pretend to have any precise information about the man's life, or his date, or his place of birth. He has even been regarded by one scholar, at least, as a fictitious personage, as only a name, and it seems possible that the legends tell of several individuals with the same name. But even the name is not beyond question. We have three Chinese terms, and one Tibetan term, purporting to be translations of it, but no one of these can be regarded as a correct rendering of Nāgārjuna. Thus the old and common Chinese term is *Lung-shu* or "Dragon-tree"; but it is admitted that *shu*, "a tree", is not the equivalent of *arjuna*, and it has been suggested that it stands for *ju* in an imperfect transcription of that word, *lung* being the Chinese for Nāga. We find *lung-shu* given as the name of an Indian tree, but in this use the term may be for *nāgavriksha* with the same meaning. Then we have our pilgrim's rendering, used also by I-ching, *Lung-mêng* (| 猛), or "Dragon-valiant", and there is the earlier rendering *Lung-shêng* (| 勝) or "Dragon-prevailing". In the Tibetan books we find *Klusgrub* as the equivalent of Nāgārjuna, and the name has been interpreted to mean one "perfected by a dragon"² or one "that forms or makes perfect the nāgas".³ Some Chinese transcriptions of the original seem to indicate a form like Nāgārjuna.

¹ Weber, 'Ind. Lit.' p. 265 note.

² Wass. Bud. S. 234.

³ Tib. Grammar by Csoma de Koros p. 198.

As to this bodhisattva's native place we find one author assigning West India as his home, but the general testimony is that he was a native of South India or of Vidarbha¹ (that is perhaps, Kosala), and the Tibetans make him to have spent much of his life in Nalanda.² His date is variously given as 700,³ 500,⁴ and 400⁵ years after the time of the Buddha's decease. In the apocraphycal line of succession he is placed as the 14th or the 13th Patriarch, and he is said to have died in B. C. 212.⁶ He is said to have been born in B. C. 482,⁷ and he is described as contemporary with, or a little later than, Kanishka in the first century of our era.⁸ His career is prophesied in the final verses of the "Lankāvatara-sūtra",⁹ and if we regard his Life as having been composed by Kumārajīva, its professed translator, he lived in the latter part of the 3rd century of our era.¹⁰ The names of the kings Kanishka and Kilika, of Vasu-nitra, Āsvaghosha, Katyāyanīputra, Dharmagupta, and Rāhulabhadra occur in the writings ascribed to Nāgārjuna, and we may with some probability assign him to the third century A. D.

Of the treatises composed by Nāgārjuna we have about twenty in Chinese translations, of which eighteen are given in Mr. Bunyio Nanjio's Catalogue. Among them the "Friendly Letter" or "Noble Song", which exists

¹ See Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuan-ching, ch. 5 (No. 1340); Ta-shêng-ju-Leng-ka-ching, ch. 6 (No. 177); J. A. S. Ben. Vol. LI, pp. 115 ff. (Here the birth place is Vidarbha in Central India).

² Tār. I. c.; J. A. S. Ben. I. c.

³ Mahāmāyā-ching, ch. 2 (No. 382).

⁴ Ind. Lit. p. 287; Tār. s. 303.

⁵ Schlagintweit's 'Buddhism in Tibet' p. 30; As. Res. Vol. XX, p. 400.

⁶ Fo-tsu-li-tai-t'ung-tsai, ch. 5 (No. 1637); Chih-yue-lu, ch. 3.

⁷ Csoma's Tib. Gr. p. 182.

⁸ Rāja-taraṅginī (ed. Troyer) T. I, sl. 173 and 177. T. II, p. 19. Nāgārjuna here is evidently soon after Kanishka's time. See Journal of the Buddhist Text Society. Vol. V. Pt. IV, p. 7 ff.

⁹ Ju-Leng-ka-ching, ch. 9 (No. 176) and Ta-shêng-ju-Leng-ka-ching, ch. 6.

¹⁰ Lung-shu-p'u-sa-chuan (last page).

in one Tibetan and three Chinese translations, is perhaps the best known.¹ I-ching tells us how, at the time of his visit, the children in India learned it so as to commit it to memory, and devout adults made it a life-long study.² Another of Nāgārjuna's works which was highly esteemed, and attained great popularity, was that called in Chinese *Chung-kuan-lun* (中觀論), always cited and known as the "*Chung-lun*" or "Śāstra of the Mean". This poem formed the basis for the existing "*Chung-lun*" (No. 1179), and the "*Pan-yo-têng-lun*" (*Prajñā-pradīpa-śāstra*, No. 1185). It was, and indeed it continues to be, the text-book for students of Mahāyānism in its Madhyama development. Another important and interesting treatise by Nāgārjuna is the "*Shih-chu-p'i-p'o-sha-lun*" or "*Dasabhūmi-vibhāṣā-śāstra*" (No. 1180). This is a long discourse on the Pramoditā and Vimalā Bhūmis, that is, the first and second of the Ten Stages ("lands") of a bodhisattva's career, the first being the happy state of the newly converted, and the second his separation from sin. This treatise contains a poetical eulogy of Amitāyus' Paradise as giving an intermediate stage, in the course to the perfection of Buddhahood, exempt from all chance of backsliding. But the author praises in the old orthodox way the passing beyond all change of life and death into remainder-less nirvāṇa. Here as in many other passages he makes one common prayer for his own salvation and the salvation of all others. But the greatest work of Nāgārjuna extant in Chinese translation is "*Mo-ha-po-yo-p'o-lo-mi-ching-shih-lun*" or "*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra-vyākhyā-śāstra*" (No. 1169) commonly called the *Ta-chih-tu-lun* (大智度論). The translation, which was made by Kumārajīva in A. D. 405, is in 100 *chuan*. This work is a very learned commentary on the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra, the whole of the first part of it showing an

¹ Journal of the Pali Text Society 1886; Nos. 1440, 1441, 1464 in Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue.

² Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, ch. 32; Takakusu p. 158 ff.

intimate acquaintance with the canonical and other scriptures.

It was not only as an apostle of Buddhism, however, that Nāgārjuna was famous during his lifetime, and long afterwards, both in his own land, and in foreign countries. He was also trained in all the learning of a brahminical student; he knew the virtues and qualities of herbs, the secret influences of the stars, the science of alchemy and the arts of the magician and exorcist; he was also renowned as a physician and the fame of his success as a physician and eye-doctor reached China.¹ We find mention of his *Yen-lun* or Treatise on the Eye, and *Lung-shu-p'u-sa-yao-fang* or "Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva's Prescriptions" in four *chuan* and his *Ho-hsiang-fa* (和香法) are also recorded.² In the "Harsa-carita" we are told that Nāgārjuna obtained from the "Snake-king" in hell the pearl-wreath Mandākini which was a potent antidote against all poisons, and by its touch relieved the pain of all creatures.³ As a defender and expounder of Buddhism he had a creed which admitted the simple meagre system of the "Small Vehicle" equally with the subtle expansive dogmas of the "Great Vehicle". He taught the four doctrines of existence, vacuity, both existence and vacuity, and neither of the two. As a matter of personal religion he is represented as having attained to or realized the first of the ten Bhūmi. It is probable that in the passage which seems to describe him as a king the author of the *Rājatarāṅginī* meant to describe Nāgārjuna as a bodhisattva who was lord of one Bhūmi,⁴ that is, of the first one; this is said of him in several of the Mahāyāna Śāstras.

The name of the king of Kosala of whom the pilgrim tells us in the present passage is given by him as *Sha-to-p'o-ha*, rendered in Chinese by him as *Yin-ch'eng*, "Leading right". Julien, who restores the Sanskrit original as

¹ Ma T. I., cā. 222; J. A. S. Ben. op. c. p. 119.

² Tung-chih-liao-yi-chih-liao, cā. 7.

³ Harsa-Carita (tr. Cowell and Thomas) p. 262.

⁴ Rāja-tarāṅginī loc. c. But Stein's text has *ekobhūmidatta*.

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Sadvāha, translates the Chinese rendering by—"Celui qui conduit les bons". But the name of the king here abbreviated in transcription was Sātavāhana, and the pilgrim's transcription apparently represents, as has been suggested, a form Sātavāha, the translation being incorrect. I-ching gives as the style (or dynastic name) of Nāgārjuna's royal friend *Sha-to-p'o-han-na* which, as Mr. Takakusu suggests, is evidently for Sātavāhana. The personal name of this king is given by I-ching as *Shi-yen-tē-ka*, and this is evidently the *Shan-tē-ka* of a previous translator. We cannot regard these two transcriptions as giving either *Jetaka* or *Jivātaka*, and they evidently represent a word like *Sāntaka*. In the Tibetan books *Sāntivāhana* (a various reading being *Āntivāhana*) is given as a name of the king who was a contemporary and friend of Nāgārjuna. The Tibetan translations also give *Bde-byed* and *Bde-sphyod* as translations of the king's name, and these are taken to represent the Sanskrit *Sanikara* and *Udayana* (or *Utrayana*); *Jetaka* is also given by Tibetan writers as the name of the king who was Nāgārjuna's friend.¹ As king Sātavāhana lived in the first century of our era, his friendship with Nāgārjuna places the latter also in that century, and long before the date indicated by other circumstances. But we should probably regard the "Sātavāha" of our pilgrim, and the "Sātavāhana" of I-ching, as the name of the dynasty which ruled over this part of India from the second century B. C. to the third century A. D.

The name of the mountain called *Po-lo-mo-lo-k'i-li* in the passage now under notice is translated in the B and C texts by *Hei-fēng* (黑峯) or "Black Peak". But in the D text and in the *Fang-chih* the rendering is *Hei-fēng* (黑蜂) or "Black bee", and this gives us as the Sanskrit original *Bhrāmara-giri* or "Black-bee Mountain". The wonderful five-storeyed monastery of this mountain is evidently, as has been pointed out by others, the Pigeon

¹ Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, cā. 32 and Takakusu, 'I-Tsing' p. 159.

² *Tūramātha*, pp. 71, 73, and 303; Takakusu loc. c. note.

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THE BLACK BEE VIHĀRA.

Monastery of Fa-hsien which he describes from the reports of others. Bhrāmari is one of the epithets of Durgā or Pārvati, and Beal thinks that in the names for the great monastery used by Fa-hsien and our pilgrim we have "the mountain of Bhrāmara, the *black bee*, the synonym of Durgā or Pārvati".¹ But a perusal of the passages in the narratives of the two pilgrims will show that there is no hint of the peculiar monastery having ever been other than a Buddhist establishment.² Fa-hsien's *P'o-lo-yue* (波羅越) may, however, represent the word *parvata*, a *mountain*, which he heard as *pāravata*, a *pigeon*, and Śrī-Parvata was the name of the mountain in South India on which Nāgārjuna resided, but the characters cannot be supposed to give a transcription of *Pārvati*. Then our pilgrim's *Po-lo-mo-lo* may be for Bhrāmara, and he probably translated the Indian name of the mountain by *Hei-fāng-fāng* (黑蜂峯) or "Peak of the Black bee", and then one *fāng* was left out by an officious copyist. Mr. Burgess proposes to identify our pilgrim's Black-bee Mountain with the lofty rock overhanging the Kṛishṇā river "about 250 miles south of Mānikdurg and beyond the probable limits of the Kosala kingdom". On this rock is the Hindu temple called Śrī-Parvata popularly known as Śrī-Śailam. Mr. Burgess adds—"That Śrī-Parvata was the proper form of the name seems proved by the Tibetan, and the identity of this with Śrī-Śailam is well known and recognised throughout Sanskrit literature, while the acknowledged great antiquity of the Hindu shrine, the ancient and very remarkable causeways of very early date constructed from different points up to the top of the precipitous hill, and the character of the place, agree sufficiently with the reports of the Chinese pilgrims".³

¹ J. R. A. S. Vol. XV, 1883, p. 344.

² *Fo-kuo-chi*, ch. 35.

³ Burgess, 'Arch. Sur. S. India', p. 7.

Linguistic Survey of India, G.A. Grierson, Vol-V, P-368-369.

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Oṛiyā, with Bengali, Bihārī, and Assamese, forms one of the four speeches which together make up the Eastern Group of the Indo-Aryan languages. Its grammatical construction closely resembles that of Bengali. It has the same weak sense of number, and, as in Bengali, when the plural has to be signified, it must be done with the aid of some noun of multitude. In the case of living rational beings, this noun of multitude is the word *mānś*, which is said to mean literally 'men.' In the case of other nouns it is usually some word meaning 'all.' In the verb, as is also the case in Bengali, the singular of the first and second persons are only used by the uneducated, or when respect is not intended. It has one great advantage over Bengali in the fact that, as a rule, it is pronounced as it is spelt. There are few of those slurred consonants and broken vowels which make Bengali so difficult to the foreigner. Each letter in each word is clearly sounded, and it has been well described as 'comprehensive and poetical, with a pleasant sounding and musical intonation, and by no means difficult to acquire and master.' The Oṛiyā verbal system is at once simple and complete. It has a long array of tenses, but the whole is so logically arranged, and built on so regular a model, that its principles are easily impressed upon the memory. It is particularly noticeable for the very complete set of verbal nouns, present, past, and future, which take the place of the incomplete series of infinitive and gerund which we meet in Bengali, and for want of which that language is sometimes driven to strange straits in order to express the simplest idea. When Bengali wishes to express the idea embodied in what in Latin would be called the Infinitive, it has to borrow the present participle for the occasion, and then has to use it for all tenses, so that the word is used, in the first place, not as a participle, and, in the second place, often not in the present tense. Oṛiyā, on the other hand, simply takes the appropriate Verbal Noun, and declines it in the case which the meaning necessarily requires. As every Infinitive must be some oblique case of a Verbal Noun, it follows that Oṛiyā grammar does not know the so-called 'Infinitive-mood' at all. The veriest beginner does not miss it, and instinctively makes up his 'Infinitive' or his 'Gerund' as he requires it. In this respect Oṛiyā is in an older stage of grammatical development than even Classical Sanskrit, and, among Indo-Aryan Languages, can only be compared with the ancient Sanskrit spoken in Vedic times. This archaic character, both of form and vocabulary, runs through the whole language, and is no doubt accounted for by geographical position. Orissa has ever been an isolated country bounded on the east by the ocean, and on the west by the hilly tracts, inhabited by wild aboriginal tribes and bearing an evil reputation for air and water. On the south, the

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language is Dravidian, and belongs to an altogether different family, while, on the north, it has seldom had political ties with Bengal.

On the other hand, Orissa has been a conquered nation. For eight centuries it was subject to the kings of Tilinga, and, in modern times, it was for fifty years under the sway of the Bhōslās of Nagpur, both of whom left deep impressions of their rule upon the country. On the language they imposed a number of Telugu and of Marāṭhī words and idioms, respectively, which still survive. These are, so far as we know, the only foreign elements which have intruded themselves into Oṛiyā, except the small vocabulary of English court terms, and a few other English expressions, which English domination and education have brought into vogue.²

Oriyā is remarkably free from dialectic variation. The well-known saying, which is true all over the north of India, that the language changes every ten *kōs*, does not hold in Orissa. In Orissa proper, *i.e.*, in what is known as the Mughalbandī, which consists of the regulation districts of Cuttack, Puri, and of the southern half of Balasore, the language is one and the same. Purists discover deflections from the recognised standard in Balasore and Cuttack, but these are very slight, and are merely local peculiarities, which are not worthy of the name of dialects. Three localities each claim to be the places where Oriyā is spoken in its greatest purity, *viz.*, Cuttack, Khurda in Puri, and Gumsar in the north of Ganjam. Probably Khurda has the greatest claim to being considered the well of Oriyā undefiled. Cuttack, especially the town, is to a certain extent affected by Bengalisms, owing to the residence there of a number of Bengalis who have settled in the district for some generations,² and the language of Gumsar is said to be affected by the neighbouring Telugu. Further south in Ganjam, the language becomes more and more subject to the influence of the last named language, so that not only is the vocabulary infected, but even the typical Telugu termination *u* is added by the uneducated to the genuine Oriyā nouns, and the Telugu pronunciation of *ch* and *j* as if they were *ts* and *z* respectively is adopted universally. On the other hand, the Oriyā of North Balasore shows signs of being Bengalised, and, as we cross the boundary between that district and Midnapore, we find at length almost a new dialect. It is not, however, a true dialect. It is a mechanical mixture of corrupt Bengali and of corrupt Oriyā. A man will begin a sentence in Oriyā, drop into Bengali in its middle, and go back to Oriyā at its end. The vocabulary freely borrows from Bengali, and, in North-West Midnapore, even from the Santali which is spoken by the aborigines who there live among their Oriyā-speaking neighbours. All this time, however, the language is Oriyā in its essence. It has put on strange clothes, like Peter in the 'Tale of a Tub,' but the heart that beats under the strangely embroidered waistcoat is the same. Nevertheless a person speaking this Midnapore Oriyā is often unintelligible to a man from Puri, and *vice versa*. According to Babu Monmohan Chakravarti, this mutual unintelligibility is due, not so much to actual change in the language as to differences of pronunciation. In Bengali, the accent is thrown back as

¹ See Boas's *Comparative Grammar*, 1, 110.

² In the north of Orissa, there is a tendency to use Bengali words and idioms which we do not notice in the South. The influence of the Muhammadan languages of Upper India has been very small in Oriyā.

³ These Bengali settlers in Cuttack and Balasore have developed a curious jargon of their own, their ancestral language being interlarded with Oriyā and Hindi expressions. Owing to their frequent use of the word *kārā*, a corruption of the Oriyā *kari*, their speech is vulgarly known as *kārā* Bengali. In former times sales of Orissa estates for arrears of land-revenue were held in Calcutta, and the purchasers were frequently Calcutta Bengalis, who became the ancestors of the present-day speakers of this mongrel language, which has in its turn re-acted on the local Oriyā.

far as possible, and, to assist this, the succeeding syllables are contracted or slurred over in pronunciation. The same method of pronunciation is affected by the speakers of Midnapore Oṛiyā. In true Oṛiyā, on the other hand, every syllable is distinctly pronounced, and the accent is put on the penultimate syllable if it is a long one, and never further back than the antepenultimate. Thus the pure Oṛiyā *ṭāṅkāē* which has the accent on the penultimate syllable, has that accent transferred to the first syllable in Midnapore, all the following syllables being consequently shortened, and the word is pronounced as if it were *ṭāṅke*. In Midnapore, too, the written characters are changed. Sometimes the Oṛiyā character is frankly abandoned, and the language is written in the Bengali character. At other times, when the Oṛiyā character is used, it is changed by an angular shape being given to the curved tops which are so indicative of Oṛiyā writing.

In the west, in Sambalpur, and the Chhattisgarh Feudatory States, there are also slight changes of pronunciation, but not to the same extent as in Midnapore. The pronunciation is said to be 'sharper,' by which it is probably meant that the round sound of *a*, which, in pure Oṛiyā, is something like that of the *o* in *hot*, is gradually approaching the flatter sound of the *a* in *America*, which is the sound that the vowel has in the adjoining Chhattisgarhī. On this point, I have, however, no certain information.

In the extreme north-west, in the Native State of Jashpur, where the Oṛiyā language is spoken it is mixed with the Bihārī spoken in the same State, much as it is mixed with Bengali in Midnapore.

Finally, we come upon a genuine dialect of Oṛiyā in the north-east of the Native State of Bastar. The main language of that State is Halbī, which is a dialect of Marāṭhī. Immediately to its east, the language is Oṛiyā, but in the north-east of the State the Bhatrī dialect, which is a true dialect of Oṛiyā, forms the connecting link between that language and the Marāṭhī Halbī. It is reported to be spoken by 17,387 people. It is written, not in the Oṛiyā character, but in the Dēva-nāgarī used for Marāṭhī.

BIHAR AND ORISSA DISTRICT GAZETTEERS.

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**CUTTACK**

BY

L. S. S. O'MALLEY, I.C.S.

SECOND EDITION

BY

E. R. J. R. COUSINS, I.C.S.

SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRINTING,
 BIHAR AND ORISSA, PATNA.
 1933.

p-47

Oriya is the mother tongue of the large majority of the ^{LANGUAGE.} people, but English, Hindi, Bengali and Telugu are also spoken. English is the language of the small English-settlement, of the larger Eurasian element, and of the better educated Indians. Hindi is used by a large number of Muhammadan residents of the district, and by members of the police force who have been recruited from up-country. There are always a certain number of Bengalis among the professional classes in the district; and Telugu is spoken by some weavers, sweepers and others who have emigrated from the Madras Presidency. It is sufficiently common to make it necessary to employ an interpreter in the criminal courts at Cuttack.

More than 96 per cent of the people speak Oriya*, or as Oriya it is sometimes called Odri or Utkali, i.e. the language of language.

* This account of the Oriya language has been condensed from Dr. Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V.

Odra or Utkal, both of which are ancient names for the country now called Orissá. Oriya, with Bengali, Bihari and Assamese, forms one of the four speeches which together make up the eastern group of the Indo-Aryan languages. Its grammatical construction closely resembles that of Bengali, but it has one great advantage over Bengali in the fact that, as a rule, it is pronounced as it is spelt. There are few of those slurred consonants and broken vowels which make Bengali so difficult to the foreigner. Each letter in each word is clearly sounded, and it has been well described as "comprehensive and poetical, with a pleasant sounding and musical intonation, and by no means difficult to acquire and master". The Oriya verbal system is at once simple and complete. It has a long array of tenses, but the whole is so logically arranged, and built on so regular a model, that its principles are easily impressed upon the memory. It is particularly noticeable for the very complete set of verbal nouns, present, past and future. When an Oriya wishes to express the idea embodied in what in Latin would be called the infinitive, he simply takes the appropriate verbal noun, and declines it in the case which the meaning necessarily requires. As every infinitive must be some oblique case of a verbal noun, it follows that Oriya grammar does not know the so-called infinitive mood at all. In this respect Oriya is in an older stage of grammatical development than even classical Sanskrit, and among Indo-Aryan languages can only be compared with the ancient Sanskrit spoken in the Vedic times.

The archaic character, both of form and vocabulary, runs through the whole language, and is no doubt accounted for by geographical position. Orissa has ever been an isolated country bounded on the east by the ocean, and on the west by the hilly tracts inhabited by wild aboriginal tribes. On the south the language is Dravidian and belongs to an altogether different family, while, on the north, it has seldom had political ties with Bengal. On the other hand, the Oriyas have been a conquered nation. For eight centuries Orissa was subject to the kings of Telinga, and, in modern times, it was for fifty years under the sway of the Bhonslas of Nagpur, both of whom left deep impressions of their rule upon the country. On the language they imposed a number of Telugu and of Marathi words and idioms which still survive. These are, so far as we know, the only foreign elements which have

ANNEXURE-XVI(2)

THE PEOPLE.

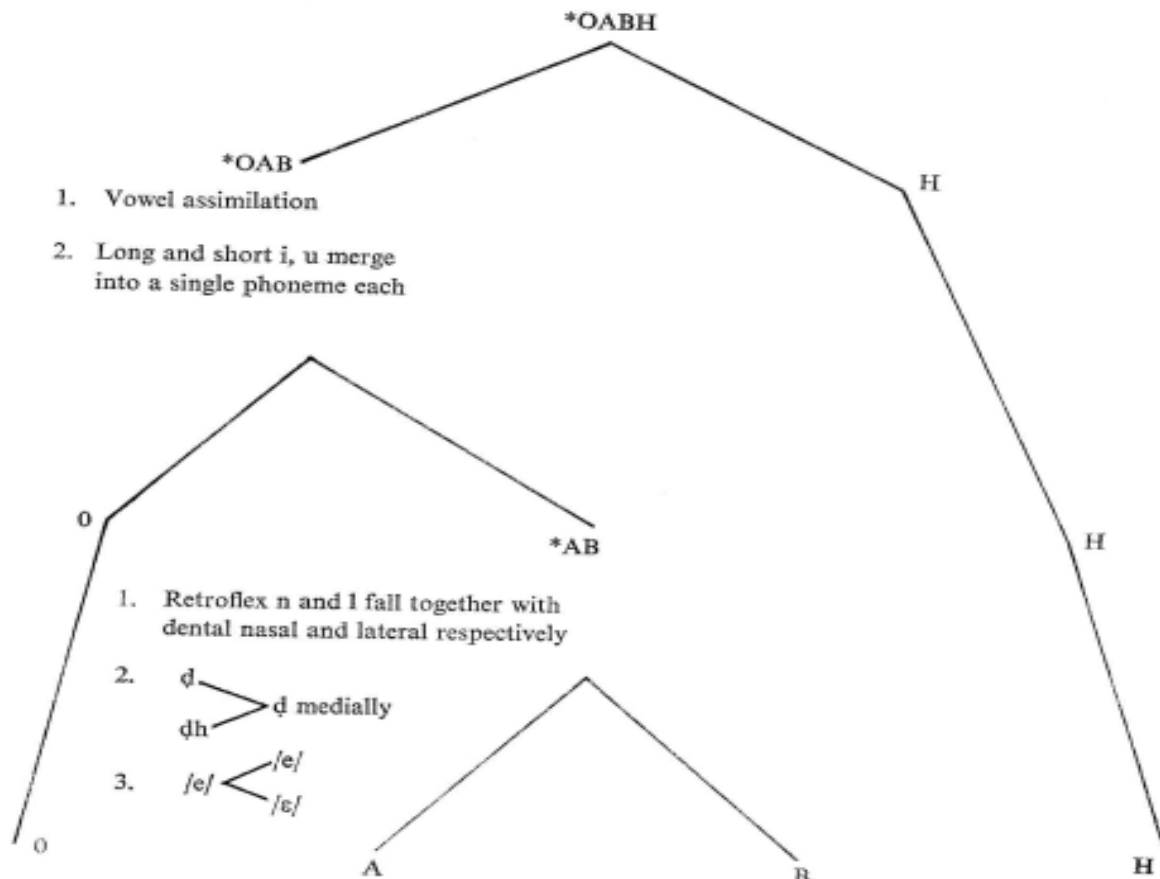
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introduced themselves into Oriya, except the small vocabulary of English court terms, and a few other English expressions, which English domination and education have brought into vogue. Cuttack, especially the town, is however to a certain extent affected by Bengalisms, owing to the residence there of a number of Bengalis who have been settled in the district for some generations. In former times sales of Orissa estates for arrears of land revenue were held in Calcutta, and the purchasers were frequently Calcutta Bengalis who settled in Cuttack. These Bengalis and their descendants have developed a curious jargon of their own, their ancestral language being interlarded with Oriya and Hindi expressions. Owing to their frequent use of the word *kare*, a corruption of the Oriya *kari*, their speech is vulgarly known as *kera* Bengali; and this mongrel language has in its turn reacted on the local Oriya.

Oriya is encumbered with the drawback of an excessively awkward and cumbrous written character. This character is, in its basis, the same as Devanagari, but it is written by the local scribes with a stylus on a *talpatra* or palm-leaf. These scratches are, in themselves, legible, but in order to make them more plain, ink is rubbed over the surface of the leaf and fills up the furrows which form the letters. The palm-leaf is excessively fragile, and any scratch in the direction of the grain tends to make it split. As a line of writing on the long, narrow leaf is necessarily in the direction of grain, this peculiarity prohibits the use of the straight top line, or *matra*, which is a distinguishing characteristic of the Devanagari character. For this the Orissa scribe is compelled to substitute a series of curves, which almost surround each letter. It requires remarkably good eyes to read an Oriya printed book, for the exigencies of the printing press compel the type to be small, and the greater part of each letter is this curve, which is the same in nearly all, while the real soul of the character, by which one is distinguished from another, is hidden in the centre, and is so minute that it is often difficult to see. At first glance, an Oriya book seems to be all curves, and it takes a second look to notice that there is something inside each.

LANGUAGE TREE

DRAWING OF THE FAMILY TREE



A CONTROLLED
HISTORICAL
RECONSTRUCTION OF
ORIYA, ASSAMESE,
BENGALI AND HINDI

by

DEBI PRASANNA PATTANAYAK
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INDIAN
STUDIES, POONA

1966

MOUTON & CO.
THE HAGUE · PARIS

COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF ORISSA

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Further, Oldenberg and Mueller are also of the view that Kalinga was the land of the origin of Pali.⁶ As Oriya, a member of the Māgadhi group of languages, is spoken in the area formerly known as Kalinga, one is tempted to accept their view and believe that basically Pali was a form of Māgadhi, and the original medium of Buddha's discourses which, because of its tremendous religious (and also political) importance, became the *lingua franca*, a sort of Koine, in whole of the northern India. As such, it allowed itself to be influenced by the other Aryan dialects/languages, then prevalent (including the Midland dialect) so much so that it lost its own identity that it was basically the Māgadhi variety of the *Prācyā* or the Eastern dialect. In other words originally a variant form or a variety of Māgadhi, in which Buddha preached, was the base of Pali which accepted features from the other Aryan dialects/languages of the late OIA and MIA (I) periods, especially because it became a sort of *lingua franca* in whole of the northern India due to its tremendous religious (and political and perhaps also commercial) importance. This is also

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Comprehensive History and Culture of Orissa

supported by Kharavela's inscription (1st century B.C.) at Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar, almost at the very heart of Oriya-speaking tract, the language of which has a very close resemblance with Pali. Of course, whether Pali's status as the *lingua franca* in the Aryan world was achieved/acquired before or after Buddha can not be ascertained with any certainty.

Besides Pali, the Aśokan inscriptions at Dhauli, near Bhubaneswar and Jaugada⁷ (3rd century B.C.) in the present-day Oriya-speaking tract, Sutanuka inscription at Jogimara and the above mentioned Kharavela's inscription at Udayagiri provide the specimens for the Māgadhi sub-dialect or variety of the *Prācyā* or the Eastern dialect/language of the MIA (I). It has, of course, been observed that the language of Kharavela's inscription has some characteristic features which are found in the Prakrit of the Midland region i.e. Śuaraseni Prakrit⁸ besides its close resemblance with Pali. But that can be easily explained as Kharavela was a Jaina king and at that time Mathura, situated in the Midland, was an important centre of Jainism leading to Midland influence on the language of the court and official documents. This is further supported by the fact that the language of Kharavela's inscription appears to be completely literary, used only on formal occasions and not based on the speech of the common people. (Kharavela's Mathura invasion may also be remembered in this connection.) In the dramatic work of Aśvaghosa, belonging to the Transitional MIA period, some specimens of Māgadhi form of speech are found.

5. Quoted in: P.C. Majumdar, *SPBK*. Calcutta, 1971, p. 296.

6. *Ibid.*

7. For the linguistic peculiarities of Dhauli and Jaugada inscriptions of Asoka, which represent the Magadhi dialect language, in comparison to the Aśokan inscriptions representing the other Aryan dialects/languages of MIA(I) period see P.C. Majumdar, *SPBK*. Calcutta, 1971, pp. 271-89.

8. (a) S.K. Chatterji, *AMML*. Bhubaneswar, 1966, p. 16.

(b) P.C. Majumdar, *SPBK*. Calcutta, 1971, p. 291.

ANNEXURE-XVIII(1)

୪୨୮

ଓଲ୍ଡେନ୍‌ବର୍ଗ୍ କାନ୍ଥର ଇତିହାସ

ଟାଣି କହନ୍ତି—ଖରୋସ୍ତ୍ରୀଲିପି ବ୍ୟବହୃତ ଅସ୍ଥଳର ଦକ୍ଷିଣ-ପୁର୍ବକୁ, ମଧୁଗୁର ଦକ୍ଷିଣକୁ, ମାଗଧୀ ପ୍ରାକୃତର ଦକ୍ଷିଣ-ପଶ୍ଚିମକୁ, ନାସିକର ଉତ୍ତରକୁ ଓ ଗିର ନାଗର ପୁର୍ବକୁ ଥିଲା ପାଳି ଦେଶ । ମାତ୍ର ପୈଶାଚୀ ଭାଷାର ଅବସ୍ଥିତି ପ୍ରତି ଅଟ୍ଟୋପ୍ରାଙ୍କ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଦେଇ ନାହାନ୍ତି । ଗିରନାର, ସାହୁ, ବରହୁଡ, ନାସିକ ଆଦି ସ୍ଥାନର ଶିଳାଲେଖରେ ଯେ ପାଳିର ସୂଚନା ରହିଛି ଏହି ମତର ପୁନର୍ବିଚାର ଅବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହି ତଥାକଥିତ ସୂଚନା ବା ପ୍ରଭାବ ପାଳିର ନୁହେଁ—ପୈଶାଚୀର । ପୈଶାଚୀ ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ଆମକୁ ଯେତେକ ଜଣା ତହିଁରେ ନିର୍ଭର କରି କୁହାଯାଇପାରେ ଯେ ତାହା କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ପଦ୍ଧତର ଦକ୍ଷିଣ-ପଶ୍ଚିମ ଅସ୍ଥଳର ଭାଷା ଏବଂ ପଶ୍ଚିମ ଓ ମଧ୍ୟଭାଗର ପ୍ରାଚୀନ ଅଭିଲେଖ ଉପରେ ତାହାର ପ୍ରଭାବ ପଡ଼ିଥିଲା । ଅଟ୍ଟୋପ୍ରାଙ୍କଙ୍କ ଅଭିମତ ଉତ୍ତରାଧିକାରୀ ନୁହେଁ, ମାତ୍ର ପାଳି ଚଳେଷତା କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ତାଙ୍କର ଅବଦାନ ଏହି ଯେ ସେ ପାଳିକୁ ମଗଧର ଭାଷା ନୁହେଁ ବୋଲି ଅତି ପ୍ରକୃତପ୍ରକାରେ ଦେଖାଇ ଦେଇ ଯାଇଛନ୍ତି ।

ପାଳି ଗବେଷକ ହର୍ମାନ୍ ଓଲ୍ଡେନ୍‌ବର୍ଗ୍ (Oldenburg) ହିସିଟକର ସମ୍ପାଦନା କରୁଥିବାବେଳେ ପାଳିର ଆହୁରି ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ଗବେଷଣା କରିଥିଲେ । ତାଙ୍କ ସକଳତ ବିନୟିତକର ପ୍ରଥମ ଭାଗରେ ମହାବରଗ ଗ୍ରନ୍ଥର ସମ୍ପାଦନା ହୋଇଅଛି ଓ ତାହାର ମୁଖବନ୍ଧରେ ସେ ପାଳି କଳିଙ୍ଗର ଭାଷା ବୋଲି ପ୍ରକାଶ କରିଅଛନ୍ତି (*) । ସେ କହୁଛନ୍ତି ଯଦି ଭାରତର କେଉଁ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରୁ ପାଳି ସିଂହଳକୁ ଯାଇଥାଏ, ତେବେ ତାହା କଳିଙ୍ଗ ଛଡ଼ା ଅନ୍ୟ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ହୋଇ ନ ପାରେ । କାରଣ ପ୍ରାଚୀନ କଳିଙ୍ଗ ସହର ସିଂହଳର ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ ସମ୍ପର୍କ ଯେତେ ଭାରତର ଅନ୍ୟ କୌଣସି ଦେଶ ସହର ତେତେ ପରମ୍ପରାରେ ଥିବାର ଜଣାନ୍ତି । ଓଲ୍ଡେନ୍‌ବର୍ଗ୍‌ଙ୍କର ବଳିଷ୍ଠ ପ୍ରକାଶ ଖଣ୍ଡଗିରି ଓ ଉଦୟଗିରିର ଲେଖ ଉପରେ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠିତ । ସେହି ଅଭିଲେଖଗୁଡ଼ିକର ଭାଷା ପାଳିର ଅତି ପାଖାପାଖି—ଏପରିକି ତାହା ହିଁ ହେଉଛି ପ୍ରାଚୀନ ପାଳି । ସେ କହନ୍ତି ଯେଉଁ ଅଭିଲେଖ କଳିଙ୍ଗର ଜନସାଧାରଣଙ୍କ ଭାଷାରେ ହିଁ ଲେଖା । ତେଣୁ ପାଳି ନିଶ୍ଚିତରୂପେ ପ୍ରାଚୀନ କଳିଙ୍ଗର ଭାଷା । ଓଲ୍ଡେନ୍‌ବର୍ଗ୍‌ଙ୍କ ଅଭିମତ ପ୍ରକାଶିତ ହେବାପରେ ବୌଦ୍ଧପଣ୍ଡିତ କାର୍ଣ୍ଣି (୨) [H. Kern) ପାଳିକୁ କଳିଙ୍ଗ ଓ ଆନ୍ଧ୍ର ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଭାଷାରୂପେ ଘୋଷଣା କରିଥିଲେ । ଉଲ୍‌ନର୍ (୩) (Woolner) କହୁଲେ—ପାଳି ମଗଧର ଭାଷା ନୁହେଁ । ତାହା ଉତ୍ତରୀନ ନୋହୁଲେ କଳିଙ୍ଗ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଭାଷା ବୋଲି ବରୁର ଚାଲିଛି ; ମୋ ମତରେ ତାହା କଳିଙ୍ଗର ଭାଷା । ଉଣ୍ଡାରକର୍ (୮) ତାଙ୍କ କାର୍ମମାଲକେଲି ଭାଷଣରେ ପ୍ରକାଶ କଲେ—ପାଳି କଳିଙ୍ଗର ଭାଷା ସତ; ମାତ୍ର ମହାଗୁପ୍ତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ମଧ୍ୟ ତାହାର ପ୍ରଚଳନ ଥିଲା । ସତରଂ ଓଲ୍ଡେନ୍‌ବର୍ଗ୍‌ଙ୍କ ମତ

ANNEXURE-XVIII(2)

କଲିଙ୍ଗର ଭାଷା

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ପ୍ରକାଶ ପାଇବା ପରେ ବହୁ ଭାଷାବିତ୍ ଓ ଓଡ଼ିଆଜ୍ଞାନୀ ପୁସ୍ତକ ଓଡ଼ିଆରେ ପାଳିବୁ ଭାବରେ ଦକ୍ଷିଣ-ପୂର୍ବ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଅର୍ଥାତ୍ କଲିଙ୍ଗର ଭାଷା ବୋଲି ମାନିନେଲେ ।

ଅସମୀୟ ପଣ୍ଡିତ ଦେଶିମାଧବ ବଡ଼ୁଆ (୧) ଓଲଡ଼େନ୍‌ବର୍ଗଙ୍କ ପୁସ୍ତକ ସମର୍ଥନ କଲେ ମଧ୍ୟ କଲିଙ୍ଗକୁ ପାଳି ଭାଷାର ଭୂମିରୂପେ ସ୍ୱୀକାର କରନ୍ତି ନାହିଁ । ସେ ଖଣ୍ଡଗିରି ଓ ଉଦୟଗିରି ଶିଳାଲେଖର ଭାଷାକୁ ହିପିଟକର ଭାଷା ବୋଲି ଅର୍ଥାତ୍ ପାଳି ଭାଷାବୋଲି ମାନିବାକୁ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ, ମାତ୍ର ତାହାକୁ କଲିଙ୍ଗର ଲୋକଙ୍କ ଭାଷାରୂପେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିବାକୁ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ନୁହନ୍ତି । ତାଙ୍କ ମତରେ ପ୍ରାଚୀନ କଲିଙ୍ଗ ଓ ଉତ୍କଳର ଲୋକେ ଅସଭ୍ୟ ଓ ଅଶିକ୍ଷିତ ଥିଲେ ଏବଂ ସେହି କାରଣରୁ ମଗଧର ଲୋକେ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଦୂରୀଭାବରେ ଦେଖୁଥିଲେ । ସେଇଲି ଏକ ଅନୁନ୍ନତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ପାଳି ଭଳି ଉନ୍ନତ ଭାଷାର ପ୍ରଚଳନ ଆଦୌ ସମ୍ଭବ ନୁହେଁ । ତେବେ କଲିଙ୍ଗର ସମ୍ରାଟ ଖାରବେଳଙ୍କ ଅଭିଲେଖ ସେଠାରେ ଏପରି ଉନ୍ନତ ଭାଷାରେ ଲେଖିଲା କିଏ । ଏହି ପ୍ରଶ୍ନର ଉତ୍ତରରେ ବଡ଼ୁଆ କହନ୍ତି—କଲିଙ୍ଗର ବେହୁ ଲୋକ ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ଭାବରେ ଏ ଅଭିଲେଖ ଲେଖି ନାହାନ୍ତି । କଲିଙ୍ଗରେ ଲେଖକଟିଏ ନ ପାଇ ଖାରବେଳ ଗୁଜରାଟ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରୁ ଜଣେ ଜୈନ ସନ୍ନ୍ୟାସୀଙ୍କୁ ତାହା ଲେଖିବାପାଇଁ କଲିଙ୍ଗ ଅଣାଇଥିଲେ । ସନ୍ନ୍ୟାସୀ ଜଣକ ଜୈନଙ୍କ ଭାଷା ଅର୍ଥମାଗଧୀରେ ଅଭିଲେଖ ନ ଲେଖି ବୌଦ୍ଧଙ୍କ ଭାଷା ପାଳିରେ ଲେଖିଥିବା ଯୋଗୁ ମନେହୁଏ ଯେ ସେ ଆଗେ ଥିଲେ ବୌଦ୍ଧ ଓ ଯେ ଦେଲେ ଜୈନ । ସେଥିପାଇଁ ସେହି ଅଭିଲେଖର ପାଳି ଉପରେ କିଛି କିଛି ଅର୍ଥମାଗଧୀର ପ୍ରଭାବ ବଡ଼ୁଆଙ୍କ ଆଖିରେ ଦେଖାଯାଏ । ବଡ଼ୁଆ ମହାଶୟଙ୍କର ଓ ଉଦ୍‌ଭଟ କଲ୍ୟାଣ କେବଳ ଅବାପ୍ରବ ନୁହେଁ ହାସ୍ୟାସ୍ତକ ମଧ୍ୟ । ପ୍ରାଚୀନ ଉତ୍କଳର ଲୋକେ ଅଶିକ୍ଷିତ ଥିବାର ପ୍ରମାଣସ୍ୱରୂପ ସେ “ମଝିମ୍ ନିକାୟ” ଶବ୍ଦରୁ ଉଦ୍ଭୂତ ହୁଅନ୍ତି । ତହିଁରେ ଅଛି ଉତ୍କଳର ବସ୍ତ୍ର (ବସ୍ତ୍ର) ଓ ଭଞ୍ଜ (ଭଞ୍ଜ) ଏ ଦୁଇଜାତିର ଲୋକେ ନରୁଥିବବାପା ଓ ଅକରିଆବାପା ହୋଇଥିବାରୁ ବୁଦ୍ଧଙ୍କ ପ୍ରଭୁତ୍ୱ ଧର୍ମ ପହୁଲେ ଘେନି ନ ଥିଲେ (୧୦) । ବଡ଼ୁଆ ମହାଶୟ “ଉତ୍କଳ ବସ୍ତ୍ର ଭଞ୍ଜ”ର ପ୍ରଥମ ଦୁଇଟି ଶବ୍ଦକୁ କହନ୍ତି ‘ଉତ୍କଳ ବସ୍ତ୍ର’ ବା ଉତ୍କଳ ଦେଶ ଏବଂ ‘ଭଞ୍ଜ’ ଶବ୍ଦର ଅର୍ଥ କରନ୍ତି ଉତ୍କଳ ଦେଶର ଅସଭ୍ୟ ଭାଷା । ବଡ଼ୁଆ ମହାଶୟ ଯେ ଏହାର କଦର୍ଥ କରିବାକୁ ଚେଷ୍ଟା କରିଅଛନ୍ତି ଏକଥା ନିଶ୍ଚିତ । ଶ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀୟ ପଞ୍ଚମ ଶତକରେ ବିଖ୍ୟାତ ବୌଦ୍ଧପଣ୍ଡିତ ବୁଦ୍ଧଦୋଷ ବାସୁଦ୍ଧ ଓ ଭଞ୍ଜ ନାମରେ ଉତ୍କଳର ଦୁଇଟି ଜାତିର ଲୋକଙ୍କୁ ଏହା ବୁଝାଏ ବୋଲି ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ କରିଥିଲେ ହେଁ ବଡ଼ୁଆ ଉଦ୍ଭଟ କଲ୍ୟାଣର ଆଶ୍ରୟ ନେଇ ଅଛନ୍ତି (୧୧) ।

ଅନ୍ୟ ଜଣେ ବଙ୍ଗୀୟ ଭାଷାବିତ୍ ପ୍ରଦୋଧ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ବାଗ୍ଚି (୧୨) ଖାରବେଳଙ୍କ ହାତୀଗୁମ୍ଫା ଅଭିଲେଖର ଭାଷାକୁ ମଗଧ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ପ୍ରାଚୀନ ଭାଷା ବୋଲି ପୁସ୍ତକ ଦର୍ଶାଇ

ANNEXURE-XVIII(3)

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ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଜାତିର ଇତିହାସ

ଅହନ୍ତ । ସେ ଦ୍ଵାର୍ଥୀଗୁଣ୍ଠୀର ଭାଷାକୁ ପାଲି ବୋଲି ଗ୍ରହଣ କଲେ ମଧ୍ୟ ତାହା କଲିଙ୍ଗର ଭାଷା ବୋଲି ସ୍ଵୀକାର କରିବାକୁ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ନୁହନ୍ତି । ସେ କହୁଛନ୍ତି, ଖାରବେଳଙ୍କ ଦ୍ଵାର୍ଥୀଗୁଣ୍ଠୀ ଶିଳାଲେଖ ଥାଇ ଥାଇ ପାଲି ଭାଷାକୁ ଭାରତର ପଶ୍ଚିମ ପ୍ରାନ୍ତରେ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶ କରିବା ମୋଟେ ପ୍ରକୃତ୍ୟୁକ୍ତ ନୁହେଁ । ମାତ୍ର ତାଙ୍କ ମତରେ ସେହି ଶିଳାଲେଖର ଭାଷା ପୂର୍ବ-ଭାରତରେ ମଗଧ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ହିଁ ପ୍ରଚଳିତ ଥିଲା । ଖାରବେଳ ସେଠାକାର ଭାଷାରେ ସେହି ଶିଳାଲେଖ ଲେଖାଇଛନ୍ତି । ବଡ଼ଥାଙ୍କ ଭଳି ବାଗ୍ଠିକର ଏହି ପ୍ରକୃତ ପୁରାତତ୍ତ୍ଵ ଅନୁମାନସାପେକ୍ଷ ଏବଂ ଆଦୌ ଗ୍ରହଣୀୟ ନୁହେଁ । ମଗଧ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଏପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ସେତେ ପ୍ରାଚୀନ ଅଭିଲେଖ ମିଳିଅଛି ତହିଁରୁ ଗୋଟିକରେ ସୁଦ୍ଧା ଦ୍ଵାର୍ଥୀଗୁଣ୍ଠୀର ଭାଷା ମିଳେ ନାହିଁ । ସେପକ୍ଷେ ଶିଳାଲେଖ ମାଗଧୀରେ ଲେଖା ଓ ତାହା ସହିତ ପାଲିର ଶାସନର ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧ ସେପରି କିଛି ନାହିଁ । ପୁଣି ଖାରବେଳଙ୍କ ପରି ଦେଶପ୍ରେମୀ ସମାଜ ନିଜ ମାତୃଭାଷା ଗୁଡ଼ିକ ପ୍ରଚଳିତ ଶସ୍ତ୍ର ଗ୍ରନ୍ଥର ଭାଷାରେ ଯଶ-କୀର୍ତ୍ତି ଘୋଷଣା କରିବା ସମ୍ଭବ କି ? ଦ୍ଵାର୍ଥୀଗୁଣ୍ଠୀର ଭାଷା ଯେ ସେକାଳର କଲିଙ୍ଗ ଦେଶର ଭାଷା ଏହା ଅନସ୍ଵୀକାର୍ଯ୍ୟ । ତାହା ହେଲେ ପାଲି ନିହିତଭାବରେ କଲିଙ୍ଗର ଭାଷା ।

ପାଲିର ନାମକରଣ ଅର୍ହତସାଧନ (ସ୍ଥାନସାଧନ) ବୌଦ୍ଧଙ୍କ ଦ୍ଵାରା ହୋଇଥିବା ଇତିପୁର୍ବେ ସୂଚୀତ ହୋଇଅଛି । ବୌଦ୍ଧମାନେ କଲିଙ୍ଗ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଭାଷାରେ ନିଜ ଧର୍ମଶାସ୍ତ୍ର ଲିପିବଦ୍ଧ କରିବାପାଇଁ କାହିଁକି ସ୍ଥିର କଲେ ତାହାର ଉତ୍ତର ନିରୂପଣ କରିବା କଷ୍ଟକର ନୁହେଁ । ସିପିଟନ ସହିତ ପାଲିରେ ଲିଖିତ ଧର୍ମଶାସ୍ତ୍ରମାନ ଅଶୋକଙ୍କ ପରବର୍ତ୍ତୀକାଳର । ଅଶୋକଙ୍କ ସମୟରୁ କଲିଙ୍ଗ ଓ ସିଂହଳ ତଥା କଲିଙ୍ଗ ଓ ବ୍ରହ୍ମଦେଶ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ ଯୋଗାଯୋଗ ଅତି ଘନସ୍ଫୁର୍ତ୍ତରେ ପ୍ରଚଳିତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ଭାରତ, ବ୍ରହ୍ମଦେଶ, ସିଂହଳ ଓ ଶ୍ୟାମ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଧାର୍ମିକ ଓ ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ ସମ୍ପର୍କ ରକ୍ଷା କରିବା ନିମନ୍ତେ ସେକାଳରେ କଲିଙ୍ଗର ଭୂମିକା ବିଶେଷ ଗୁରୁତ୍ଵପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଥିଲା । ତାହାର ମୂଳରେ ଥିଲା କଲିଙ୍ଗର ନୌବାଣିଜ୍ୟ ପରମ୍ପରା । ବ୍ରହ୍ମଦେଶ, ସିଂହଳ ଓ ଶ୍ୟାମ ସହିତ ବାଣିଜ୍ୟ କାରବାର ସହିତ କଲିଙ୍ଗର ସାମାଜିକ ଓ ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ ଆଦାନପ୍ରଦାନ ଚାଲିଥିଲା । ଏପରିକି କଲିଙ୍ଗବାସୀଙ୍କ ଉପନିବେଶ ଉକ୍ତ ଦେଶମାନଙ୍କରେ କ୍ରମେ ଗଢ଼ି ଉଠିଥିଲା । ତେଣୁ ଭାରତର ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଅପେକ୍ଷା କଲିଙ୍ଗର ଭାଷା ହିଁ ସେହି ଦେଶଗୁଡ଼ିକରେ ଗ୍ରହଣୀୟ ହୋଇପାରିଥିଲା । ପୁତରାଂ ତତ୍କାଳୀନ ବୌଦ୍ଧଜଗତକୁ ଅନୁପ୍ରାଣିତ କରିବା ନିମନ୍ତେ ଏକମାତ୍ର କଲିଙ୍ଗର ଭାଷା ସମର୍ଥ ବୋଲି ବିବେଚିତ ହେବା ଅତି ସ୍ଵାଭାବିକ ।

କଳିଙ୍ଗର ଶ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀ

୪୩୧

ଶ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀୟ ପ୍ରଥମ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀ ପ୍ରାରମ୍ଭକାଳରୁ ମହାଯାତ୍ରା ବୌଦ୍ଧମାନେ ନିଜ ଧର୍ମଶାସ୍ତ୍ର ସମ୍ବୃଦ୍ଧରେ ଲିପିବଦ୍ଧ କଲେ । ମାତ୍ର ଶ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀୟ ୫ମ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଓ ତାହାପରେ ମଧ୍ୟ ହିନ୍ଦୁମାନଙ୍କ ଶାସ୍ତ୍ର ଓ ସାହିତ୍ୟ ପାଳି ଶ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀରେ ହିଁ ରଚିତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ଏଠାରେ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖଯୋଗ୍ୟ ଏହି ଯେ ଶ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀୟ ୫ମ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀବେଳକୁ କଳିଙ୍ଗର ଶ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀ ବହୁ ପରିମାଣରେ ବିକାଶପାତ୍ର ହୋଇଥିଲା ଏବଂ ସେକାଳରେ ରଚିତ ବୌଦ୍ଧପୁସ୍ତକର ଶ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀଠାରୁ ତାହା ଅନେକ ପରିମାଣରେ ଭିନ୍ନ ରୂପ ଧାରଣ କରିଥିଲା । ବୌଦ୍ଧମାନେ ସେହି ବିକାଶ ପ୍ରତି ଧ୍ୟାନ ନ ଦେଇ ପୁସ୍ତକରୁ ବୁଝିତ ହୋଇଥିବା ଶ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀର ପରିସର ରକ୍ଷା କରିବା ନିମନ୍ତେ ରକ୍ଷଣଶୀଳ ମନୋଭାବ ପ୍ରଦର୍ଶନ କରିଥିଲେ । ତେଣୁ ପାଳି ସ୍ଥିତିଶୀଳ ଓ ସ୍ଥାଣ୍ଡରୂପେ ବୌଦ୍ଧ ସାହିତ୍ୟରେ ଆବଦ୍ଧ ହୋଇ ରହିଲା । ମାତ୍ର ତେଣେ କଳିଙ୍ଗର ଲୋକଶ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀ ବିକାଶମୁଖୀ ହୋଇ ସମୟ କ୍ରମରେ ଭିନ୍ନ ରୂପ ଧାରଣପୁସ୍ତକ ଅଭିସର ହେବାକୁ ଲାଗିଲା । ତେଣୁ କଳିଙ୍ଗର ଶ୍ରୀ: ୩ୟ ବା ୫ମ ଶତକର ଶ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀକୁ ସେକାଳରେ ରଚିତ ବୌଦ୍ଧଧର୍ମ ସାହିତ୍ୟର ଶ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀ ସହିତ ଚୁକନା କରି ପାଳି କଳିଙ୍ଗର ଶ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀ ହୋଇ ନ ପାରେ ବୋଲି ପ୍ରକ୍ତ କରିବା ନିରର୍ଥକ ହେବ । ଏଠାରେ ଆହୁରିମଧ୍ୟ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ କରାଯାଇପାରେ ଯେ ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣ୍ୟଧର୍ମର ଲେଖକମାନେ କଳିଙ୍ଗର ଶ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀକୁ ପାଳି ନ କହି ଅନ୍ୟ ପ୍ରକାରେ ଅଭିହିତ କରିଅଛନ୍ତି । ଭରତଙ୍କ ନାଟ୍ୟଶାସ୍ତ୍ରରେ (ଶ୍ରୀ: ୧୨-୧ୟ ଶତକରେ) ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଶ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀ 'ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଶ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀ' ବୋଲି ନାମିତ ହୋଇଥିବା ଜଣାପଡ଼ିଛି । ପ୍ରାଚୀନ ସମ୍ବୃଦ୍ଧର ଆଲୋଚନା କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଭରତ ଏକ ନୂତନ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିକୋଣ ପ୍ରଦାନ କରିଅଛନ୍ତି । ପୁରାତନ ତାଙ୍କର ଅଭିମତ ଏଠାରେ ପ୍ରଶିଧାନଯୋଗ୍ୟ । ତାଙ୍କ ପ୍ରଣିତ ନାଟ୍ୟଶାସ୍ତ୍ରରେ ଭରତବର୍ଷ ସାଧାରଣତଃ ବୃତ୍ତଗୋଷ୍ଠି ସାମ୍ବୃଦ୍ଧ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ବିଭକ୍ତ । ଯଥା—ଅବନ୍ତୀ, ଦାକ୍ଷିଣାତ୍ୟ, ଓଡ଼୍ରମାଗଧୀ ଓ ପାଞ୍ଚାଳୀ । ଉକ୍ତ ଗ୍ରନ୍ଥରେ ଅଛି—

“ଉତ୍ତରୀୟା ପ୍ରକୃତ୍ତିଷ୍ଠ ଗୋତ୍ରାନାଟ୍ୟ ପ୍ରୟୋଗୁରୁଃ ।
ଅବନ୍ତୀ ଦାକ୍ଷିଣାତ୍ୟ ଚ ପାଞ୍ଚାଳୀ ଗୋତ୍ରମାଗଧୀ ॥” (୧୩—୧୭)

ସେହି ଗ୍ରନ୍ଥର ଅନ୍ୟତ୍ର ସେ ବୃତ୍ତଗୋଷ୍ଠି ସ୍ଥାନରେ ପାଞ୍ଚଗୋଷ୍ଠି ସାମ୍ବୃଦ୍ଧ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ପ୍ରଦର୍ଶନ କରିଅଛନ୍ତି । ଯଥା—

“ଅବନ୍ତୀ ଦାକ୍ଷିଣାତ୍ୟ ଚ ତଥାତ୍ରିବୋତ୍ର ମାଗଧୀ ।
ପାଞ୍ଚାଳୀ ମଧ୍ୟମାତେତ ବିଜ୍ଞେୟାସ୍ତୁ ପ୍ରକୃତ୍ତିଷ୍ଠା ॥” (୧୫—୧୬)

ଭରତ 'ପ୍ରକୃତ୍ତି'କୁ ବ୍ୟାଖ୍ୟା କରି ବୁଝାଇଛନ୍ତି—
“ନାନା ଦେଶ ଦେଶ ଶ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀର ଦାତ୍ତୀଃ”



KALAHANDI

PRE HISTORICAL SITE OF CUDAHANDI

By
Smt NILAMANI SENAPATI, B. A. (1944),
Chief Editor

Smt DURGA CHARAN KUANGI, M. A. (1951), B.A.,
State Editor

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

Activities of early man in the district of Kalahandi are observed in the form of crude stone tools used by him for hunting and food gathering. These are found scattered in the river terraces, rock shelters and natural caves in different parts of the district. The rock shelters in the Gudahandi hills and the mountainous Maraguda valley on the Jonk river have yielded palaeolithic tools of the Madras hand-axe complex. At Chhilpa on the Tel chopper biface flake industry has been discovered indicating an early phase of lithic culture in the district. The flake industry consists of scrapers, points, nodules, cores and miniature hand-axes. The vallies of the Tel and her tributaries are rich in microliths which are mostly quartzite. The tool types are mainly short blade although geometric objects like triangles and trapezes are sometimes met with. The polished stone celts of the neolithic culture are also found in short blade sites and at Chhilpa the polished stone artifacts include interesting tools like burins and borers. Half a dozen of shouldered shelts of the late neolithic period discovered in the Maraguda valley are preserved in the Museum of Sambalpur University.

PRE-AND
PROTO
HISTORY

Prehistoric drawings painted in red ochre and black tint have been discovered at Gudahandi about 64 kilometres to the south-west of Bhawanipatna and at Jogimath hill about 10 km. to the south of Khariar. At Gudahandi the facades of the natural caves are decorated with drawings mostly of geometrical designs—squares, rectangles, circles and the like figures. These drawings are fast fading away. The most interesting of these prehistoric drawings is a hunting scene which depicts a primitive man throwing a stone missile at a running bison. The missile strikes the game before the agile right hand of the hunter comes to its normal position and the wounded animal casts a pathetic glance at the primitive man turning its head towards him. The face of the man is beaming with joy and his curly hairs become wavy revealing the thrill at the success in the game. The rock shelters in the Gudahandi hill have been precisely depicted in the hunting scene indicating that those natural rock shelters were the habitat of that prehistoric hunter. The Gudahandi paintings are in fact, a great achievement of the primitive artist.

PREHISTOR
PAINTING
AT
GUDAHAN
AND
YOGIMATH

The drawings in the Jogimath hill near Khariar are very likely prehistoric writings in two or three lines written from right to left. The pictographs consist of hills, wavy lines, implements, musical

PERIOD OF THE
GUDAHANDI
AND
YOGIMATH
PAINTING

instruments as well as animals and human figures all having their movement towards the left direction. The paintings at Gudahandi may be placed about 15th millennium B.C., but those at Yogimath are somewhat of later period and may be assigned to about 10th millennium B. C. Pictographic paintings are found in the hill caves near Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh, near Singhanpur in Raigarh district of Madhya Pradesh and at Vikram Khol and Ulapgarh in Sambalpur district of Orissa. Such paintings in the district of Kalahandi are a new find in this sphere and requires proper investigation and research.

THE VIKRAMKHOL INSCRIPTION*

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M. A., (OXON.) BARRISTER-AT-LAW

1. Vikramkhol lies within the jurisdiction of Police thana Jhar-suguda in the district of Sambalpur, Bihar and Orissa. It is approachable from the small railway station Belpahar on the main line of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. From Belpahar one has to go four miles south-west to Grindola, and thence another four miles in the same direction to Vikramkhol. The road from Grindola crosses a corner of the Gangpur State. There is a village, Titliabahal, near the rock of Vikramkhol. The inscription is in a natural rock-shelter, six feet below the top. The rock is a rough sandstone. The rock-shelter is 115 feet in length and 27 feet 7 inches in height from the floor. It faces north-east.

2. The inscribed portion is about 35 feet by 7 feet. Some of the letters are sharply cut, but the incision-marks of the majority do not show sharp cutting. It seems that an iron chisel was not used. Some of the letters are partly cut and partly painted, while some letters are only in paint, but the majority are completely cut. It is evident that all the letters were first painted before being incised, which was the method regularly employed in the period of Brahmi inscriptions. The colour of the paint is red-ochre, with which we are familiar in the pre-historic and historic caves and cave-buildings in India. To take a continuous photograph of all the letters (incised and painted) the incised letters have been carefully coloured. I have also had impressions of the incised letters taken by the usual method, and photographs in four parts of the squeeze are reproduced on the accompanying plates, together with the complete view referred to above and sections of the continuous photograph on a larger scale where the letters are very clear. I have also had tracings made of the painted portions. All this material is now in the Patna Museum. The estampages and the tracings have been made by the curator of the Museum, Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh. The photographs have been taken by the Patna Museum staff under the supervision of the curator. The material has been collected under my direction.

3. The inscription was discovered by an educated Sadhu, Swami Jnanananda. Mr. Lochan Prosad Pandey, founder and Secretary of the Mahakosala Society of the Central Provinces, rendered valuable

* Published in "The Indian Antiquary", Vol. LXII, 1933 (P. 58-60)

service by bringing it to our notice. At first I obtained an eye-copy of the letters, and since then scientific copies have been procured for the Patna Museum. I have to thank Mr. Senapati, Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, for the material help rendered to us in obtaining these copies.

4. An examination of the letters, which at first sight give the impression of having Brahmi forms, showed that the writing was a mixture of Brahmi forms and a developed type of the Mohenjodaro script. As the announcement of the discovery of the inscription and my opinion thereon has led to numerous inquiries, I hasten to publish the record for study by scholars, along with a few observations of my own, a set out below.

Conclusion

5. The inscription is a writing : this cannot be doubted. My reasons for this conclusion are :—(i) The symbols were first carefully painted and then inscribed after the fashion of inscriptions (ii) the writing is in regular lines (the lines are not always straight owing partly to the very rough surface on which they are inscribed), (iii) the symbols have set forms, which disclose 'writing habits' in the phraseology of handwriting experts. The hand which first painted the letters was used to writing with a pen : this is evident from plate 6.

6. The system knows the *bindu* and also, the *visarga*. Some letters have dots placed below them, while in some cases, dots seem to give a discriminative value to the letters, as in Semitic writing.

7. The right hand corner top line on plate 8, where the same symbol is repeated more than once, may point to the employment of numerals.

8. There is an animal figure which is probably not a part of the writing, but a symbol. There is, however, one symbol like a bellows placed side-ways, which recurs.

9. The writing seems to me to be from right to left (see, particularly Plate 6).

10. It is evident that some of the letters disclose accentuation. Repetition of the same letter twice probably suggests consonantal duplication or conjuncts.

11. The writing seems to have reached the syllabary (alphabetic)

ANNEXURE-XXI(2)

Comparision with Mohenjodaro scripts

12. The bellows-shaped letter above the animal figure may be compared with the Mohenjodaro letter No. 119 (Vol. II, P. 440). The first letter (right hand) in the top line on Plate 6 should not be compared with Mohenjodaro No. 162, and the system of dots with the same system in series 175 (*ibid*, P. 445).

13. The letter of the shape of the Brahmi 9 may be compared with Mohenjodaro Nos. 100—102, 133, 144, 146 and 148. The shape of Mohenjodaro No. 133 is identical with the eighth letter of the second line in Plate 8.

14. The fourth letter in line 2, Plate 8, may be compared with Mohenjodaro 96 series. A variation of it is found in the seventh, or bottom line at Vikramkhol.

15. The X-shape of Vikramkhol should be compared with Nos. 98-99 of Mohenjodaro.

16. The circle-letter like the Brahmi *th*, and the oval letters are noteworthy. They seem to be consonants on account of their repetition in one place. In plate 7, the third letter after the animal (reading from left to right) is accentuated. It occurs in plate 8 with two dots inside, resembling the Brahmi *tha*. These shapes may be compared with Nos. 224 and 219 of Mohenjodaro. The form at Mohenjodaro is always oval.

17. The Y-shaped letter has a Kharosthi look, and so have a few more forms. But, on the whole, the theory of a proto-Kharosthi script is excluded, unless we assume that Brahmi and Kharosthi had a common parentage.

18. I regret that I have not got sufficient time at my disposal at present to dive deeply into the matter and propose any reading. I present the problem for the consideration of scholars engaged in this field of study.

19. It seems that the theory I put forward in 1920 (JBORS, Vol. VI, P. 188ff), that Brahmi is an indigenous Indian writing,

ANNEXURE-XXI(3)

than any other script. In that paper I also pointed out a very probable connection between Brahmi and the writing on the Harappa seals¹.

The Vikramkhoh inscription supplies a link between the passage of letter forms from the Mohenjodaro script to Brahmi. The Vikramkhoh record, however, need not necessarily be an Aryan piece of writing².

Age of the inscription

20. Now, what would be the approximate age of the Vikramkhoh inscription? The writing is certainly earlier than the earliest specimen of Brahmi known so far, and Brahmi was completed before 1500 B. C.³. We would be within the range of a fair approximation in dating it about 1500 B. C.

1. "There is the cairn writing in the south but in the north, there is a vast gap between 1500 B. C. and the sixth century B. C. to be filled up by positive evidence. A link seems to be found in the Harappa seals, one of which was published by Cunningham, who maintained that it contained the origin of Brahmi. Two more seals in the same characters were published by the late Dr. Fleet (JRAS, 1912). The readings of two of these seal legends have been suggested by Cunningham and Fleet (JRAS, P. 699) and of the third one by me. (IA, 1913, P. 203,). It seems to me that it is possible to solve them in the near future, especially with our increasing knowledge of pre-Mauryan letters and with an increased number of Harappa seals. Sir John Marshall has got a few more of these seals which he has kindly promised to lend me for study. Letters from the photograph of two of them are reproduced in the chart with the permission of Sir John. Three things are certain about these seals. One of the legends ('C') of Fleet shows that it was intended to be read from left to right as the legend, does not cover the whole space, and its beginning and end are distinguishable. The script has the Hindu system of using abbreviated forms of letters, for one letter which appears in full in one seal ('A') of Fleet, appears as abbreviated, either as a *matra* or as a conjoint consonant in two places (in 'A' and 'B'). Then there is a legature where V is joined to Y or some other letter. That the characters are not a syllabary is seen by the addition on the head of one letter (in 'C') which appears without it in another place ('A'). The addition is evidently a *matra* probably an *a* in a stage when it is fully represented, it is separate from the letter on the top which it is placed. The characteristics therefore seem to be those of the Brahmi, but the letters are so old that they are not yet fully recognised. In the new seals we have a letter which is almost unmistakably *a* and the form is such that the oldest Semitic and Brahmi forms for *a* are derivable from it (the whole legend I tentatively read as Abhayah)"—JBORS, VI, (1920), PP. 199-200.
2. The locality, according to the Puranic race-history, would suggest the record to be a pre-Dravidian 'Raksasa', record. Raksasa is the generic name for the race dispossessed by the Aryans. They extended upto the Indian Archipelago, (Naga was probably a subdivision of theirs). The Gonds are their remnants.
3. I have set forth in some detail my reasons for coming to this conclusion in JBORS., Vol. VI (1920), P. 198 to which reference is invited.

ଓଡ଼ିଆ । ସେ ଲଂଘା ଅନୁକରଣରେ ଉ'ରୁ ଏବଂ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଅନୁକରଣରେ ଉ'ମେ ଲିପି ଉଦ୍ଘାଟନ କରାଯାଇଛି ।

ଲଂଘା ବସ୍ତୁତଃ ନେପାଳରେ ପ୍ରଚଳିତ ଗ୍ରଣ୍ୟ । ଏହାର ମୂଳ ଏକପ୍ରକାରର କଳାସ୍ତକ ବା ଅଳଂକୃତ ନାଗରୀ ଲିପି । ପ୍ରାଚୀନ ମୈଥଳୀ ଲିପି ସହଜ ମଧ୍ୟ ଏହାର ପ୍ରକାର ସାମଞ୍ଜସ୍ୟ ଦେଖାଯାଏ । ସୁତରାଂ ଉ'ରୁ ଲିପିର ଅଦର୍ଶ ଯେ ଏକଧରଣର ପ୍ରାଚୀନ ନାଗରୀ ଲିପି ଏବଂ ଯାହା ନେପାଳୀ ବୌଦ୍ଧ ପଣ୍ଡିତମାନଙ୍କ ଦ୍ଵାରା ଗ୍ରଣ୍ୟ ରୂପରେ ଅନୁସୂତ ହୋଇଥିଲା, ଏଥିରେ କୌଣସି ସନ୍ଦେହ ନାହିଁ ।

ମାତ୍ର ଓଡ଼ିଆ କେଉଁ ପ୍ରାଚୀନ ଗ୍ରଣ୍ୟରୁ ଲିପି ଏବଂ ଏହାର ପ୍ରଚଳନ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର କେଉଁଠି ଥିଲା ?

ଉତ୍ତର-ପଶ୍ଚିମରେ ପଦପ୍ରଥମ ଅକ୍ଷରଣ୍ୟ ପଣ୍ଡିତ ଏବଂ ଉତ୍ତର-ଅଭିଧାନର ପ୍ରଣେତା ଶରତ୍ କନ୍ଦୁ ଦାସଙ୍କର ଅନୁମାନ ଥିଲା (ଗ୍ରୀ: ୧୮୮୨)—“ପଦ୍ମବତୀ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ନାହିଁରସ୍ତାନ ବା ବାବୁଲିଦ୍ଵାର ଲୋକମାନଙ୍କ ଗ୍ରଣ୍ୟ ।” ଅପରପର ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ କେତେକଙ୍କ ମତରେ ଏହାର ମୂଳ ‘ବର୍ତ୍ତୁଲ’ ଲିପି । ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଲିପି ଗୋଲକାଳ; ତେଣୁ ବର୍ତ୍ତୁଲ ଶବ୍ଦରୁ ଏହା ବ୍ୟୁତ୍ପାଦିତ ହୋଇଥିବା ଏକ ସହଜ ଚର୍ଚ୍ଚଣା ।

କିନ୍ତୁ ଏତକରେ ପମସ୍ୟାର ଶେଷ ହୁଏନାହିଁ; କାରଣ ଉତ୍ତରୀୟ ସୂତ୍ରରୁ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଲିପିର ଯେଉଁ ନମୁନା ମିଳେ, ତାହାର ଅବଲମ୍ବନରେ ବର୍ତ୍ତୁଲ ଲିପିର ସ୍ଥାନ-କାଳ-ଭୂତ୍ତିକ ଭାବଗତ୍ୟ ରୂପ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଧାରଣ କେବଳ ଗଲେ ଆଉ କେତେକ ପମସ୍ୟାର ଉଦ୍ଘାଟ ହୁଏ । ଅନୁତଃ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଲିପିର ବର୍ଣ୍ଣନା ପମ୍ବୁକିତ ଯେଉଁ ଢେଙ୍ଗା ପୋଥି ଖଣ୍ଡିକ ମୋର ଦୃଷ୍ଟିଗୋଚର ହୋଇଛି, ତାହା ଦେଖିଲାମାତ୍ରେ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଓ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଲିପି ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଯୋଗସୂତ୍ର ଥିଲା ଉକ୍ତ ସଂଶୟ ହୁଏ । ପୋଥିଟିରେ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଲିପିର ୧୬ଟି ସ୍ଵରବର୍ଣ୍ଣ (ଅ, ଆ, ଇ, ଈ, ଊ, ଋ, ୠ, ଳ, ଲୃ, ଳୃ, ଏ, ଐ, ଓ, ଔ, ଅଂ, ଅଃ), ୩୯ଟି ବ୍ୟଞ୍ଜନ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣ (କ-ମ, ଯ, ର, ଲ, ବ, ଶ, ଷ, ହ, ଣ), ବ୍ୟଞ୍ଜନରେ ସ୍ଵର ସଂଯୋଗ (କା, କ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି), ବ୍ୟଞ୍ଜନର ନମ୍ବୁ ନ୍ୟାସ (କ, କ୍ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି), ତଳ ଉପର ନ୍ୟସ୍ତ ସଂଯୁକ୍ତ ବ୍ୟଞ୍ଜନବର୍ଣ୍ଣ (ରଗ, ରଘ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି), ସଂଯୁକ୍ତ ଅନୁନାସିକ ବ୍ୟଞ୍ଜନବର୍ଣ୍ଣ (ଙ, ଙ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି) ଏବଂ ଆଉ କେତେକ ବିଶେଷ ଅକ୍ଷରର ନମୁନା ଦିଆଯାଇଛି ।

ଅକ୍ଷରଗୁଡ଼ିକର ଆକୃତି ବିଚାରକଲେ ଦେଖାଯାଏ—ଇ, ଈ, ଏ, ଓ, କ, ଖ, ଗ, ଙ, ଚ, ଜ, ଟ, ଠ, ଡ, ଢ, ଟ, ଡ, ଧ, ନ, ପ, ଫ, ବ, ମ, ଯ, ଲ, ଶ, ଷ, ସ, ସ ଅକ୍ଷରଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଅବକଳ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଅକ୍ଷର ପରି; ଅ, ଆ ପୋଥିରେ ମିଳୁଥିବା ପ୍ରାଚୀନ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଅକ୍ଷର ପରି । ଊ, ୠ ୧୩-୧୪ଶ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀର ଅଭିଲେଖର ଅକ୍ଷର ପରି । ଐ, ଔ ରେ କେବଳ ଉପର ମାତ୍ରାଟି ଅଛି; ‘ଐ’ ରେ ବଙ୍ଗଳା ପରି ସୂତ୍ରା ନମ୍ବୁରେ ନ ଥାଇ ପାର୍ଶ୍ଵରେ ଅଛି; ‘ଊ’ ଛନ୍ଦରୂପରେ ମୁଣ୍ଡଳ ଥିବାରୁ ‘ଊ’ ପରି; ‘ଞ’ ବଙ୍ଗଳା ପରି, ‘ଞ’ ର ନମ୍ବୁସ୍ତ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଟି ଅସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ । ‘ଞ’ ପ୍ରାଚୀନ ଅଭିଲେଖର ଅକ୍ଷର ପରି । କେବଳ ର, ଳ, ଳୃ, ଳ, ର

ଅକ୍ଷରଗୁଡ଼ିକର ଗଠନ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ତଥା ବଙ୍ଗଳାଠାରୁ ଭିନ୍ନ । ବନାନ ଭାବେ ସଂଯୁକ୍ତ ସ୍ଵର ‘ଇ, ଈ, ଊ, ୠ’ ମାତ୍ରା ବଙ୍ଗଳା ପରି; ‘ଏ, ଐ, ଓ, ଔ’ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ କେବଳ ଉର୍ଦ୍ଧ୍ଵମାତ୍ରାର ପ୍ରୟୋଗ ହୁଏ । ଅନୁସ୍ଵର ବିସର୍ଜନ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ଓଡ଼ିଆ ପରି ।

ORIYA UPI 'O' BHASA

ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଓ ଓ଼ାଉଁ

ଅନ୍-ମି ସମ୍ପ୍ରୋଟଙ୍କ ଲିପିତାତ୍ତ୍ୱିକ ଭାରତ ଅଭିଯାନରେ ବିଶ୍ୱାସୀ ତିବ୍ୱତଭୃ-
 ବିଦ୍ୱାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରୁ କେତେକଙ୍କର ଧାରଣା ଯେ, ସେ ତିବ୍ୱତ ଭାଷାର ଲିପି ନିର୍ମାଣ ପାଇଁ
 ଏକ ଆଦର୍ଶଲିପି ଅନୁସନ୍ଧାନରେ କାଶ୍ମୀର ଆସିଥିଲେ । ସେ ଯୁଗରେ କାଶ୍ମୀର ବୌଦ୍ଧଧର୍ମର
 ଏକ ମୁଖ୍ୟ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ଥିଲାପାରେ; ମାତ୍ର ସମ୍ପ୍ରୋଟଙ୍କ ତିବ୍ୱତ ଲିପି ନିର୍ମାଣ ସହିତ
 ସମ୍ପର୍କନିତ କୌଣସି ଐତିହାସିକ ବା ଲିପିତାତ୍ତ୍ୱିକ ପ୍ରମାଣ ମିଳେ ନାହିଁ ।
 ଡ. ସେଲଗ୍ରେଭ ନିଜ ମତର ପ୍ରତିରକ୍ଷା ନିମନ୍ତେ କହୁଥିଲେ—“Unfortunately
 the complete destruction by Moslems of the Buddhist
 civilization of Kashmir has removed all evidences which
 might finally have confirmed the Kashmiri origin of
 Tibetan writing.” (ପୃ. ୧୪୯) ମାତ୍ର କାଶ୍ମୀର ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଲିପି ସହିତ ତିବ୍ୱତ
 ବର୍ଣ୍ଣମାଳାର କିଛି ଆକୃତିଗତ ସୌସାଦୃଶ୍ୟ ଦେଖାଯାଏନା । ସୂତରା, ସମ୍ପ୍ରୋଟଙ୍କ ଭାରତ
 ଅଭିଯାନ ପରି ତିବ୍ୱତ ଲିପିର କାଶ୍ମୀର-ମୂଳ ସନ୍ଦେହଜନକ ମନେହୁଏ ।

ତିବ୍ୱତ ଲିପିର ଭାରତୀୟ ସୂତ୍ର ନିର୍ଦ୍ଧାରଣ ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ବାଦ୍ଦେଲେ ବି ସ୍ୱୀକାର
 କରିବାକୁ ହେବ ଯେ, ପ୍ରାଚୀନକାଳରୁ ତିବ୍ୱତରେ ଦୁଇଟି ଭାରତୀୟ ଲିପି—‘ଓ଼ାଉଁ’ ଓ
 ‘ଲନ୍ଦା’ ବା ‘ସନ୍ଦା’ ପ୍ରସାର ଲାଭ କରିଥିଲା । ଶରତଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ଦାସଙ୍କ ମତ ଅଛି—
 “Sambhota framed the system of Tibetan characters
 viz. U-chan or ‘letters provided with heads’ (ମାତ୍ର)
 adapted from the Devanagari, and U-me or ‘headless’
 from the Warty”. (୧୮୮୯, ପୃ. ୨୧୯) । ସେ ଅନୁମାନ କରିଥିଲେ ଲନ୍ଦା
 ହେଉଛି ନେପାଳୀ ବୌଦ୍ଧମାନଙ୍କଦ୍ୱାରା ବ୍ୟବହୃତ ଏକପ୍ରକାର ଅଲଙ୍କୃତ ଦେବନାଗରୀ
 ଏବଂ Warty is probably the language of the people of
 Kafiristan or Bactria (୧୮୮୨, ପୃ. ୨) । ପରବର୍ତ୍ତୀକାଳରେ ଦେବନାଗରୀର
 ଏକପ୍ରକାର ରୂପାନ୍ତର ସ୍ୱରୂପ ଲନ୍ଦା ଲିପିକୁ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିବା ସହଜଯାଏ ହୋଇଥିଲେହେଁ
 ଓ଼ାଉଁ ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ତାଙ୍କର ସୂଚନା ଖୁବ୍ ସ୍ୱାଭାବିକ ହୋଇଛି । ଓଡ଼ିଶା ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତେ
 ସ୍ୱାତନ୍ତ୍ର୍ୟପ୍ରାପ୍ତ ଭାରତୀୟାନ ପୀଠର ନିରୂପଣ କଲେଲି ଏହା ଏକ ସମାନ୍ତରାଳ
 ସମସ୍ୟା ସୃଷ୍ଟି କରିଛି ।

ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଲିପି ଓ ଭାଷା

ତିଳତାପ୍ତ 'ଓଡ଼ାଡ଼ି' ଶବ୍ଦର ଦୁଇଟି ସୁନ୍ଦର ଅନୁମାନ କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ପ୍ରଥମତଃ ଏହା ଗୋଟିଏ ସ୍ଥାନର ନାମରୁ ଉତ୍ପନ୍ନ ହୋଇପାରିଥାଏ ଏବଂ ଏହି ପ୍ରସଙ୍ଗରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଚୈତନ୍ୟ ନାମ 'wu-tu' ବା 'wu-ta' ବରୁଣଣୀୟ । ଦ୍ୱିତୀୟତଃ ଏହା ଗୋଟିଏ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣନାତ୍ମକ ନାମ; ଯଥା—ବର୍ତ୍ତୁଳ ଶବ୍ଦରୁ ଆସିଥାଇପାରେ । ଏହି ପ୍ରକାର ଅନୁମାନର ଅବଲମ୍ବନ ଉଭୟ ଐତିହାସିକ ଓ ଲିପିତାତ୍ତ୍ୱିକ ପ୍ରମାଣ ଓଡ଼ିଶାରେ ଦୁଷ୍ପ୍ରାପ୍ୟ ନୁହେଁ ।

ଐତିହାସିକ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିକୋଣରୁ ପ୍ରାୟ ୭ମ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀବେଳକୁ ତିଳତ ଓ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ ସମ୍ପର୍କ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠିତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ସେତେବେଳେ ବୌଦ୍ଧ ଜଗତରେ ପ୍ରଧାନ ତାତ୍ତ୍ୱିକ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ଉତ୍କଳୀୟାନର୍ଥୀଠ ରୂପେ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଥିଲା ସୁପରିଚିତ । ସାରା ପ୍ରଦେଶରେ ବହୁ ଧାର୍ମିକ ଶିକ୍ଷାନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ଗଢ଼ି ଉଠିଥିଲା । ଚତୁର୍ଦିଗରେ ଏହିପରି ଏକ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ୮ମ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀ ବେଳକୁ ଏକ ବିଶ୍ୱବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟରେ ପରିଣତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ପ୍ରକ୍ଷି ଏହାଠାରେ ଯୋଗଶିକ୍ଷା କରି wu-cha (ଓଡ଼ିଶା) ରାଜାଙ୍କ ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ ଗୁମ୍ଫାଦୂତ ରୂପରେ ଖ୍ରୀ: ୭୯୫ରେ ଚୀନ ସମ୍ରାଟ ଡେ-ସେଙ୍ଗ୍-ଙ୍କ ଦରବାରକୁ 'ଖଣ୍ଡବ୍ୟୁତ୍' ଗ୍ରନ୍ଥ ସହିତ ଯାତ୍ରା କରିଥିଲେ । ଏହିପରି ଆଉ ଏକ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ଥିଲା ଜଗଦଲ ବିହାର ଯେଉଁଠାରେ କ, ପାରସମ ଜୋନ ଜାତ ଅନୁସାରେ, ମୁସଲମାନ ଅଭ୍ୟାସରେ ଆତଙ୍କିତ ବଙ୍ଗ ଓ ବିହାରର ବୌଦ୍ଧସମ୍ପ୍ରଦାୟର ଆଶ୍ରୟ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିଥିଲେ । ତିଳତକୁ ପଳାୟନ କରିବା ପୂର୍ବରୁ ଓଡ଼ିଶାପ୍ରଦେଶର ଅଧିକ ଶାନ୍ତ୍ୟଭାଗ ମଧ୍ୟ ଏହାଠାରେ ସାମୟିକ ଭାବେ ଆସ୍ଥାଗୋପନ କରିଥିଲେ । ସେ ସମୟରେ ଏଠାରେ ତିଳତାପ୍ତ ଶିକ୍ଷାପ୍ରଦାନ (Lotsava) ବହୁ ସଂଖ୍ୟାରେ ଅବସ୍ଥାନ କରି ଧର୍ମଗ୍ରନ୍ଥମାନ ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ ତିଳତଭାଷାରେ ଅନୁବାଦ କରୁଥିଲେ । ତତ୍କାଳୀନ ନଗରକୁମାର ସାହୁଙ୍କ ସ୍ମୃତିକ (୧୯୫୮)ରେ ତିଳତ ଭାରତ ସମ୍ପର୍କର ପ୍ରଚାର ବିବରଣୀ ଦିଆଯାଇଛି ଏବଂ ସେହି ଭିତ୍ତିରେ ତିଳତ ପ୍ରତି ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ ଅବଦାନ ବିଶ୍ୱର କଲେ ମନେହୁଏ, ଏକସମୟରେ, ଯେତେବେଳେ କି ତିଳତଭାଷାର ଏକ ସମୃଦ୍ଧ ଲିଖନ ପଦ୍ଧତି ପ୍ରଚଳିତ ହୋଇନଥିଲା, ସେତେବେଳେ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଲିଖନ ଭାଷା ତିଳତାପ୍ତ ବିଦ୍ୟାର୍ଥୀମାନଙ୍କଦ୍ୱାରା ଅନୁସୂତ ହୋଇଥିଲା ଏବଂ ସେହି ଉତ୍କଳୀୟ ଲିପିମାଳାକୁ ସେମାନେ ଆକୃତିଗତ ବର୍ତ୍ତୁଳତା ହେତୁ କମ୍ପା wu-tu ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ପ୍ରଚଳିତ ଥିବା ହେତୁ 'ଓଡ଼ାଡ଼ି' ନାମରେ ଅଭିହିତ କରିଥିଲେ ।

ଲିପିତାତ୍ତ୍ୱିକ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିକୋଣରୁ ବିଶ୍ୱର କଲେ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଓ ତିଳତ ଅନ୍ତରମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଆତ୍ମନିକ୍ଷେପ ସାଦୃଶ୍ୟ ଦେଖାଯାଏ ଏବଂ କେତେକ ଅନ୍ତର ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଏକାପରି ଲାଗେ । ଦୁଇଟି ଲିପିର ଭୁଲନାସ୍ତକ ଅଧ୍ୟୟନ ନିମନ୍ତେ ଗୋଟିଏ ତିଳତା ପୋଥିରୁ ଓଡ଼ାଡ଼ି ଲିପିର ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣନା ପ୍ରଦାନ କରାଗଲା । ଏହି ପୋଥିଟି ବିଶ୍ୱଭାରତୀ ତିଳତା ବିଭାଗରେ ସଂରକ୍ଷିତ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ରଚନାକାଳ ଆନୁମାନିକ ଭାବେ ୧୭ଶ/୧୭ଶ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀ । ପୋଥିର ପୃଷ୍ଠିକାରେ ଲିପିବଦ୍ଧ ହୋଇଛି ଯେ 'ଶ୍ରେଷ୍ଠ ବ୍ରାହ୍ମ ଲିପି ଏବଂ ତିଳତ

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ଓ ହୋଇ ମଙ୍ଗୋଲୀୟ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଲିପିସମୂହ ଅବିଶିଷ୍ଟଭାବେ ପୁଅକ୍ ପୁଅକ୍ ଦେଖାଇବାପାଇଁ ଅଲଙ୍କରଣରେ ପ୍ରୟୋଜନୀୟ ସଂକ୍ଷେପଣ କରାଗଲା । ଏହା ଅଭୁତପୁଂ ଶ୍ରେଷ୍ଠ ଧର୍ମରାଜ ଶେଞ୍ଚୁ ବଂଶର ଷୋଡ଼ଶ କୁଳପୁତ୍ର ଥୋବେଚେନ ଓଆଡ଼ଙ୍କ ବିଶେଷ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶରେ ରୁଡ଼ାନୁଭାବେ ସନ୍ନିବେଶିତ କରାଗଲା । ଅବତାର-କ୍ରମ ଅନୁସାରେ ବାକ୍ୟେନ୍ଦ୍ର ସୁମତି ଦିନଶାସନଙ୍କ ଇଚ୍ଛାନୁସାରେ ଓ ତାଙ୍କ କୃତ ସଂସ୍କାର ଅନୁସାରେ, ଧର୍ମପ୍ରସାର ନିମନ୍ତେ ଯଥାନୟମରେ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଲିପି ସମ୍ପାଦିତ ହେଲା ।’ (ବାକ୍ୟେନ୍ଦ୍ର ସୁମତି ହେଲେ କ୍ରମ ଦଲାଇଲାମା, ସମୟ ୧୭୧୭-୧୭୮୨ ଏବଂ ଶେଞ୍ଚୁ ବଂଶର ରାଜତ୍ଵକାଳ ୧୭୭୨-୧୭୯୨)

- ୧ । ସ୍ଵରବର୍ଣ୍ଣ (୧୭) ଅ ଆ ଇ ଉ ଊ ଋ ୠ ଌ ୡ ଏ ଐ ଓ ଊ ଅଂ ଅଃ
- ୨ । ବ୍ୟଞ୍ଜନ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣ (୩୪)—କ ଖ ଗ ଘ ଙ । ଚ ଛ ଜ ଝ ଞ । ଟ ଠ ଡ ଢ ଣ । ତ ଥ ଦ ଧ ନ । ପ ଫ ବ ଭ ମ । ଯ ର ଲ ବ । ଶ ଷ ସ ହ । ଷ ।
- ୩ । ବ୍ୟଞ୍ଜନରେ ସ୍ଵର ସଂଯୋଗ—କ କା କି କୀ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ।
- ୪ । ବ୍ୟଞ୍ଜନ ମାତ୍ରାର ନିମ୍ନନ୍ୟାସ—କୃ, କ୍ଳ, କ୍ଷ, କ୍ଵ ।
- ୫ । ବ୍ୟଞ୍ଜନର ଦ୍ଵିତ୍ଵ ବିନ୍ୟାସ—କ୍କ, ଖ୍ଖ, ଗ୍ଗ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ।
- ୬ । ସଂଯୁକ୍ତା ନାସିକ୍ୟ ବ୍ୟଞ୍ଜନ—ଜ୍ଞ, ଞ୍ଝ, ଞ୍ଝ, ଞ୍ଝ, ଞ୍ଝ ।
- ୭ । ଉଚ୍ଚମାତ୍ରାସ୍ଵର ବ୍ୟଞ୍ଜନର ନିମ୍ନନ୍ୟାସ—କ୍ଳ, ସ୍ଵ, ବ୍ଵ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ।
- ୮ । ପୁଂ ଉ ଅନ୍ତର—କର୍, ଖର୍ ।
- ୯ । କଣ୍ଠ୍ୟବର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଲେଖିବାର ଦ୍ଵିବିଧ ଶାଢ଼ ।
- ୧୦ । ଓଷ୍ଠ୍ୟବର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଲେଖିବାର ଦ୍ଵିବିଧ ଶାଢ଼ ।
- ୧୧ । ବିବିଧ ଏକକ ଓ ସଂଯୁକ୍ତ ଅନ୍ତର ଦୃଷ୍ଟାନ୍ତ ।

ଅପରାଧର ଅଧିକାର ଭାରତୀୟ ଆର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଭାଷାର ଲିପିସମୂହ ପରି ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଲିପି ମୂଳତଃ ବ୍ରାହ୍ମୀଲିପିରୁ ବିକଶିତ ହୋଇଥିଲେ ହେଁ, ଏହାର ଅନ୍ୟମାନଙ୍କଠାରୁ ବିଶେଷତା ହେଉଛି : ଗୋଲକାର ଉଚ୍ଚମାତ୍ରା, ସୂକ୍ଷ୍ମ, ସୂତା ଏବଂ କୋଣସ୍ଥାନ ଆକୃତି । ଏହାର ବିକାଶକ୍ରମ ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତରୂପେ ପରିଦୃଷ୍ଟ ହୁଏ ।

- (୧) ବ୍ରାହ୍ମୀ ଧରଣର, ଜଉରଡ଼ର ଅଶୋକାନୁଶାସନ ଶ୍ରୀ: ପୁ: ୩ୟ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀ, ଖାରବେଳଙ୍କ ହାତୀରୁଖିଆ ଅଭିଲେଖ (ଶ୍ରୀ: ପୁ: ୧ମ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀ)
- (୨) କୁଶାଣ ବ୍ରାହ୍ମୀ—ଗଣଙ୍କ ଭଦ୍ରକ ଅଭିଲେଖ (୩ୟ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀ)
- (୩) ଗୁପ୍ତ ଲିପି—ଧର୍ମରାଜଙ୍କ ସୁମଣ୍ଡଳ ଅଭିଲେଖ (ଶ୍ରୀ: ୫୭୦)
- (୪) ପେଟିକା-ଶିର, ଶକ୍ତ-ଶିର ଓ କୁଟିଳ ଲିପି—ମାଧବରାଜଙ୍କ ଗଞ୍ଜାମ ଅଭିଲେଖ (ଶ୍ରୀ: ୭୨୦) ଭୌମକର ଓ ସୋମବଂଶୀମାନଙ୍କ ଅଭିଲେଖ (୮-୧୧ଶ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀ)

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(୫) ଗୁଲରଙ୍କ ‘ପରଚର୍ଚ୍ଚି କଳିଙ୍ଗ ଲିପି’ ଏବଂ ବଜ୍ରହସ୍ତ ଦେବଙ୍କ ଉତ୍କଳୀୟ ଅଭିଲେଖ (ଖ୍ରୀ: ୧୦୫) ।

(୬) ‘ପତ୍ତ-ବଙ୍ଗଳା’ ଲିପି—ଗଙ୍ଗକାଳୀନ ଅଭିଲେଖ (୧୧-୧୪ଶ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀ)

ବସୁନ୍ଧା ୭ମ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀରୁ ଓଡ଼ିଶାରେ ଏକ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ଲିପିର ପ୍ରଚଳନ ଦେଖିଥାଏ । ଭୀଷଣ ମୌଳିକ ଧ୍ୱଂସପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ସୁପକାଶ ପାଇଁ କଥା ଲିଖନ ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ସ୍ୱଚ୍ଛନ୍ଦ୍ୟ ରକ୍ଷା କରିବା ପାଇଁ ନାନା ଧରଣର ଲିପିରେ ପଦ୍ମଶା ନିଶ୍ଚିନ୍ତା ଆରମ୍ଭ କରାଯାଇଥିଲା । ଏହି ସ୍ଥିତିର ପରିସ୍ୱାଦୁକ ସ୍ୱରୂପ ଦେଖାଯାଏ, ଗୋଟିଏ ଅଭିଲେଖରେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଲିପି ବ୍ୟବହୃତ ହୋଇଛି ଏବଂ ଜଣେ ଗଳାଙ୍କ ଅମଳରେ ଭିନ୍ନ ଭିନ୍ନ ଲିପି ଅନୁସୂଚି ହୋଇଛି । ଦୃଷ୍ଟାନ୍ତ ସ୍ୱରୂପ, ଖ୍ରୀ: ୧୧୧୧ କାଳୀନ ଅନନ୍ତଚର୍ମ ଦେବଙ୍କ ମଣ୍ଡାଣୀ ଦାନ ଶାସନରେ ବ୍ୟବହୃତ ମୋଟ ୭୮୮ଟି ଅକ୍ଷର ମଧ୍ୟରୁ ୧୧୧ଟି ଦକ୍ଷିଣ ନାଗରୀ, ୫୧୫ଟି ତେଲୁଗୁ, ୧୦୧ଟି ଗୁଜ୍ଜରୀ, ୧୫୭ଟି ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଏବଂ ଚାନ୍ଦ ଗଜ ଚଳାକାଳୀନ ପ୍ରଚଳିତ ନାନା ଲିପିରୁ ଗୁଣ୍ଡିତ ହୋଇଥିଲା ।

ଏହି ପଦ୍ମ ପ୍ରମୟରେ କୃତ୍ରିମ ଲିପି ଅବଲମ୍ବନରେ ପତ୍ତ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଲିପି ବିକାଶ ଲଭି କରାଯାଇଛି । ଗୁଲରଙ୍କ ‘ପରଚର୍ଚ୍ଚି କଳିଙ୍ଗ’ ଓ ‘ପତ୍ତ-ବଙ୍ଗଳା’ ଲିପିଦ୍ୱୟ ବାସ୍ତବତଃ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଲିପିର ଦୁଇଟି ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଫର୍ମାସ୍ୱ ଏବଂ ଏହା ‘ପତ୍ତ-ଓଡ଼ିଆ’ ରୂପେ ଅଭିହିତ ହେବା ବାସ୍ତବ୍ୟ । ପ୍ରଥମ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀର କୃତ୍ରିମାକ୍ଷରରେ ସଂସ୍କୃତ ଶକ୍ତ ମାତ୍ରା ଓ ମଣ୍ଡଳ ସମାନ୍ତରାଳ ରେଖାରେ ପରିଚିତ ହେଲା ଏବଂ ତାମପାଣ୍ଡୁରେ ପୁଣି ସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତାକାର ‘ନେପାଳୀ-ପୁଞ୍ଜା’ ପଦ୍ଧି ବ୍ୟବହୃତ ହେଲା । ତାଳପତ୍ର ଉପରେ ଲୋହିତ ଲେଖନରେ ଲେଖିବା ନିମନ୍ତେ ଏହି ଦୁଇଟି ପରଚର୍ଚ୍ଚିତ ସଂସ୍କୃତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ପରଚର୍ଚ୍ଚିକାଳରେ ଏହି ‘ନେପାଳୀ-ପୁଞ୍ଜା’ ଅର୍ଦ୍ଧ-ଗୁଜ୍ଜରୀର ଶୀର୍ଷ ମାତ୍ରାରେ ରୂପାନ୍ତରିତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ପ୍ରମୁଖତଃ ଦକ୍ଷିଣ-ଭାରତୀୟ ଲିଖନ-ଶୈଳୀର ପ୍ରଭାବରେ ଏହି ପରଚର୍ଚ୍ଚିତ ନିୟନ୍ତ୍ରିତ ହୋଇଥିଲା ।

ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଅଭିଲେଖମାଳାରେ ଯେଉଁ ଅକ୍ଷର ପ୍ରକାର ନମୁନା ମିଳେ, ସେଗୁଡ଼ିକ ସାଧୁ ବା stylised ଲିଖନ ଶୈଳୀର ଆଦର୍ଶ । ସେ ପ୍ରମୟରେ ସାଧାରଣ ଲେଖାଲିଖିରେ ଯେ ଏକପ୍ରକାର ରକ୍ଷାଅକ୍ଷର ଚଳୁ ନଥିଲା ଏବଂ ତାହା ୭ମ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀ ପୁର୍ବରୁ ଓମଣ୍ଡା ଗୋଲକୃତ ସାଦୃଶ୍ୟ ହୋଇନଥିଲା, ଏପରି ଅନୁମାନ ଭିତ୍ତିସ୍ଥାନ ହୋଇନପାରେ । ପୁତ୍ରସଂ ପତ୍ତ-ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଲିପିର ନିମ୍ନତମ ସମ୍ଭାବ୍ୟ ସମୟ-ସୀମା ୭ମ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀଠାରୁ ନିରୂପଣ କରାଯାଇପାରେ ।

ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ତଥ୍ୟସମୂହ ଉପରେ ନିର୍ଭର କରି ଏହିପରି ସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତମାନ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରାଯାଇପାରେ—

୧୭୨

ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଲିପି ଓ ଭାଷା

(କ) କାଫିରସ୍ଥାନର ଭାଷା କମ୍ପା କାଶ୍ମୀରୀ ଲିପିଠାରୁ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଲିପି ସହିତ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଲିପିର ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧ ନିକଟତମ ଓ ସମ୍ଭାବ୍ୟ ।

(ଖ) ଶଂସିତ ଢଳଣୀ ପୋଥିର ଲେଖକ କୌଣସି କ୍ରମେ ଆଧୁନିକ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଲିପିର ଦୃଷ୍ଟାନ୍ତ ଦେଇଛନ୍ତି ବୋଲି ଧରିନେଲେ ମଧ୍ୟ ଢଳଣୀୟ ପରମ୍ପରାରେ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଲିପି ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଲିପିରେ ପରିଚିତ ଥିଲା ବୋଲି କୁହାଯାଇପାରେ ।

(ଗ) ଉତ୍କଳୀୟାନ ପୀଠ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ସହିତ ଢଳଣୀର ଦକ୍ଷିଣ ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ ସମ୍ପର୍କ ଥିବା ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରୁ ଏବଂ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଧର୍ମଗୁରୁମାନେ ଢଳଣୀୟ ଧର୍ମ-ପରମ୍ପରାରେ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱ ଲାଭ କରିଥିବାରୁ, ପ୍ରାଚୀନ କାଳରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଲିପି ଢଳଣୀରେ ପ୍ରସାର ଲାଭ କରିଥିବା ଏବଂ ସମ୍ଭବତଃ ଏହାହିଁ ସମ୍ଭୋଟକର ଆଦର୍ଶ ଲିପି ହୋଇଥିବା ଅସମ୍ଭବ ନୁହେଁ ।

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ODIA LIPIRA KRAMANKASH

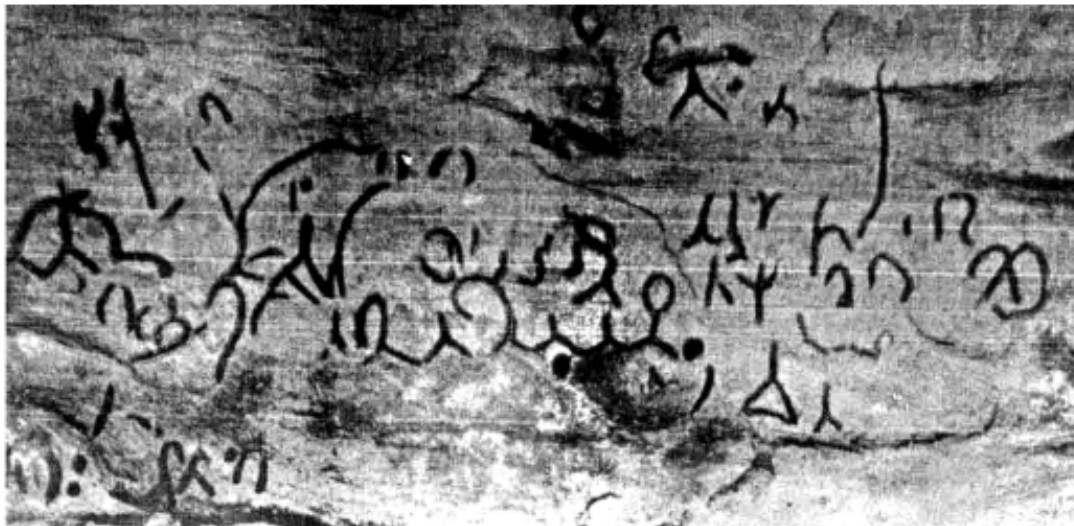
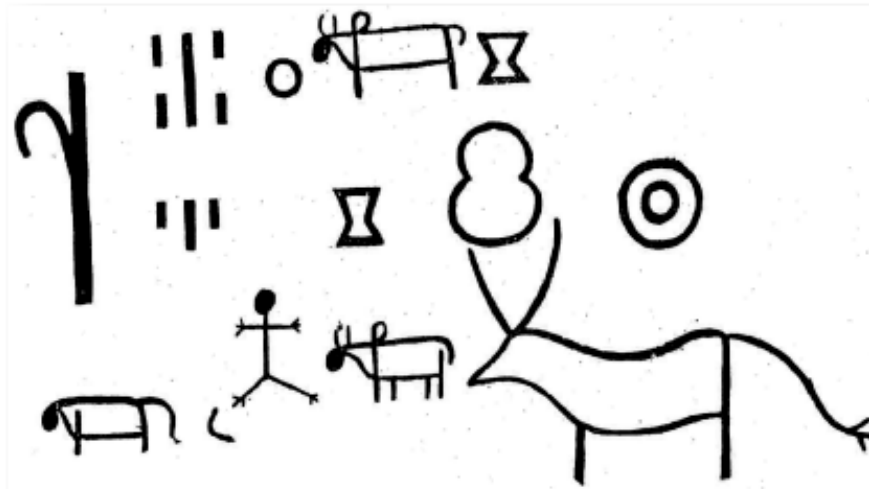
(୧ ନମ୍ବର ଚିହ୍ନ—ପୃ. ୩ ଦ୍ର.)

ଅ	ଆ	ଇ	ଈ	ଏ	ଓ		
ଋ	ୠ	ଌ	ୡ	଎	ଏ		
କ	ଖ	ଗ	ଘ	ଙ	ଚ	ଛ	ଜ
ଟ	ଠ	ଡ	ଢ	ଣ	ତ	ଥ	ଦ
ଧ	ନ	ପ	ଫ	ବ	ଭ	ମ	
ଯ	ର	ଲ	ଳ	ୱ	ଶ	ଷ	
ସ	ହ	ୱ	୲	୳	୴	୵	
ଋ	ୠ	ଌ	ୡ	଎	ଏ	ଐ	ଓ
କ	ଖ	ଗ	ଘ	ଙ	ଚ	ଛ	ଜ
ଟ	ଠ	ଡ	ଢ	ଣ	ତ	ଥ	ଦ
ଧ	ନ	ପ	ଫ	ବ	ଭ	ମ	
ଯ	ର	ଲ	ଳ	ୱ	ଶ	ଷ	
ସ	ହ	ୱ	୲	୳	୴	୵	

ସ୍ଵାଗୀତ-ବ୍ରାହ୍ମୀ (ସଂ:ପୃ: ୩୦୦ ଅଂ)

ANNEXURE-25

PRE_BRAHMI SCRIPT



ଅ	ଆ	ଇ	ଈ	ଏ	ଓ		
ଋ	ୠ	ଃ	ୡ	ୢ	ୣ		
କ	ଖ	ଗ	ଘ	ଙ	ଚ	ଛ	ଜ
ଟ	ଠ	ଡ	ଢ	ଣ	ତ	ଥ	ଦ
ଧ	ଧ	ନ	ପ	ଫ	ବ	ଭ	ମ
ୟ	ଋ	ୠ	ୡ	ୢ	ୣ	୤	୦
କ	ଖ	ଗ	ଘ	ଙ	ଚ	ଛ	ଜ
ଟ	ଠ	ଡ	ଢ	ଣ	ତ	ଥ	ଦ
ଧ	ଧ	ନ	ପ	ଫ	ବ	ଭ	ମ
ୟ	ଋ	ୠ	ୡ	ୢ	ୣ	୤	୦

ଅ - ୠୠୠ
 ଈ - ୡୡୡ
 ଓ - ୢୢୢ
 ଋ - ୣୣୣ

ANNEXURE-XXV

CHAPTER—II

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORIYA LANGUAGE IN THE LIGHT OF INSCRIPTIONS

Orissa is rich in materials for the study of Indian epigraphy. The earliest records of middle Indo-Aryan found in several parts of the Indian sub-continent are also found in Orissa. These are the eleven rock-edicts of Emperor Asoka of the 3rd century B.C. together with his two special Kalinga edicts inscribed on the Dhauli hill near Bhubaneswar and Jaugada Hill on the bank of the Risikulya near Purusottampur in Ganjam District. Though the subject matter of the edicts is same in both the places, the wording is not exactly identical e.g. whereas 'budha' is used in the Dhauli edict No. 4, 'thera' is substituted in its place in the Jaugada edict. On the whole the language of the Orissan version of the Asokan rock edicts approximates to the grammatical Magadhi dialect except that the dental sibilant is used in place of Magadhi palatal sibilant.

I quote below the text of the first rock edict (Dhauri) which prohibits killing of animals in sacrifice and participating in 'Samaj

1. इयं (धमलिपि) देवानं पियेण पियदसिना लाजिना लिखापिता/ (हिद नो कि कि जीव आलभितु पजोहितविये.
2. नापि च समाजे (कटविये) वहुकं हि दोसं समाजसि दखति देवानं पिये पियदसी लाजा अथि पिचु एकतिया समाजा साधु मता देवानं पियस.

ANNEXURE-XXV(1)

3. पियदसिने लाजिने/पुलुवं महानससि देवानं पियस पियदसिने लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहुनि पानसतसहसानि आलिभियिसु सुपटाये ।
4. से अज अदा इयं धमलिपि लिखिता तिनि येव पानानि आलिभियन्ति दूवे मजुला एके मिगे/सेपि चु मिगे नो धुवं/एतानि पिचु तिनि पानानि पछा नो आलिभियिसंति ।

SANSKRIT TRANSLATION

1. इयं धर्मलिपि देवानां प्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा लेखिता इह न कीञ्चित् जीवं हन्तुं प्रहोतव्य (Sacrifice should not be performed to slaughter any animal)
2. नापि च समाजः कर्तव्यः । बहुं हि दोषं समाजे पश्यति देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा । अपि च एकत्रिकाः समाजाः साधुमताः देवानां प्रियेण ।
3. प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा । पूर्वं हि महानसे (in the kitchen) देवानां प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः अनुदिवसं बहुनि प्राणशतसहस्राणि अवधिषु (they killed) सुपार्थम् (for soup or curry)
4. तत् अद्य यदा इयं धर्मलिपिः लिखिता त्रिणि एव प्राणानि हन्यन्ते द्वौ मयूरौ एकः मृग सोपि च मृगः न ध्रुवः । एतानि अपिच त्रिणि प्राणानि पश्चात् न हनिष्यन्ते ।

The words किकि (some), चिकिसा (treatment), तिनि (three), पछा (later or behind), दखमि (I see), चघथ (you want) (cp. Oriya चाहिँवा) used in Orissan version have survived into Oriya with letter or no change.

The Oriya present participle ending in *ũ* or *u* (उँ or उँ) as in करु अछन्ति आसु आसु दोखिलि is traceable to the form करु /करुं used in Asokan rock-edict at Gimar in Gujarat.

1. The minor linguistic differences between Asokan edicts in Dhauli and Jaugada indicate that Orissa at the time when Asoka engraved the edicts was Aryan in speech at least partly.

ANNEXURE-XXV(2)

2. The next specimen of Middle Indo-Aryan is represented by the Hatigumpha Inscription of Kharavela of about the first century A.D. This record sketches the biography and achievements of Kharavela yearwise upto his 13th regnal year. While the language of Asokan edicts in Orissa is simple and colloquial and approximates to Magadhi Prakrit, the language of Kharavela's inscription is chaste and literary. It approximates to Pali (which is, of all middle Indo-Aryan languages, nearest to Sanskrit) showing also many Ardha Magadhi features. As in Pali the dental sibilant is used here in place of palatal and cerebral sibilants.

The Kharavela inscription uses several words which are found intact or further corrupted in Oriya e.g. in the text
दुतिये च वसे अचितियिता सातकनिं पछिमदिसं हयगजनरधवहुलं दडं पठापयति.
(Eng. trans: In the second year (of his reign, Kharavela) disregarding (skt-अचिन्तयित्वा) Satakami, sends army abounding in horses, elephants, infantry and chariots) दुतिय and पछिम are used in Oriya intact and the verb पठापयति has corrupted into पठाअइ>पठाए (in Oriya, the word रथ for Sanskrit and Pali रथ is an Ardhamagadhi feature).

3. The Lithic inscription of king Gana of the 3rd century A.D. in early Gupta script found at Bhadrak and now preserved at the Orissa State Museum is engraved in Prakrit but it is too short to throw any light on the evolution of Oriya. The Text as deciphered by Dr. D. C. Sirkar is as follows :-

1. (सिद्धं) महाराज-सिरि-गणस्य सं 8 मूलजपेन देवा ३ दत् ।
2. आद वप 80 महाकुलपति -अच्च-अगिसमेन पानि दे वडिदं पडिछिदं
3.आधि चासिकं भद अपवस महासर घलि अडसम ।

1. Epigraphia Indica vol. XXIX, No. 23

वडिदं =प्रतीष्टम्=स्वीकृतम्, पडिकिदं= प्रतिधिन्नम(demarcated)

We have got the translation of Dr. Sircaras as modified by Dr. Ghosh- May there be success. In the regnal year 8 of the illustrious Gana. By Mulajapa are given 3 idols (and also) 80 (*ādha*) *vapas* (of land). or com. The apportionment (i.e. the land or com apportioned) at Panida is accepted by the venerable Agisama (Agnisarman), the Mahakulapati. Bhada (Bhadra) Apavasa (Apavarsha) Mahasava (Mahasara) Ghali (and)

ANNEXURE-XXV(3)

Adasama (Atasarman). From the 1st century AD upto the end of the 7th century we have so far found a number of inscriptions in Sanskrit but no not a single one in Middle Indo-Aryan or in the language of the people.

In Orissa we have a number of large Buddhist idols with fairly long inscriptions inscribed on the back of the figures. These may be supposed to be in Pali or an allied language. In Udayagiri of Cuttack District there is a long inscription at the back of a high statue of Buddha which has not been deciphered. Similarly opposite to West Hostel of Ravenshaw College, at the portico of the Solapuama temple there is a statue of Buddha with a long inscription engraved at the back of the figure. That Pali language was cultivated by the Buddhists of Orissa is known from the discovery of inscribed tablets containing प्रतीत्य समुत्पादीय विभङ्गनाम सूत्र in Pali form of the Buddhist canon from the Buddhistic ruins at Ratnagiri.

4. We have however, got a specimen of the contemporary vernacular language of the people in the Nebina (Nimina) copper plate grant of Dharmaraja Deva² of the Sailodbhava dynasty of Orissa at the end of the 7th century. The grant was discovered from the village Nibina in the District of Ganjam. This specimen or passage is imbedded in the Sanskrit text of the inscription and describes the boundary of the gift village. The charter consists of 3 copper plate and the passage mainly accuse in the 3rd plate. It runs as follows :-

1. See page 78, Odisa Itihasa – Dr. Mahatab, Cuttack 1948.
2. Epigraphia Indica Vol.XX 1931-32, No. 8 by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti.

The dynasties who ruled over Orissa from this Sailodbhavas onwards are as follows : The Sailodbhavas (Central Orissa) 575=720, The Bhoumakaras (All Orissa) 8th to 10th centuries. The Somavamsis (All Orissa) 10th and 11th centuries. The imperial Gangas (=Gangas of Cuttack) (All Orissa and outside) 1037– 1435, The Suryavamisis (All Orissa and outside) 1435– 1545, Ministerial dynasities (All Orissa & outside) 1545–1568A.D.

ANNEXURE-XXV(4)

3rd Plate (Obverse)

- Line-43. पश्चिम दिधाहि तृ (=त्रिकुट जोड पापदि वणराइ वाल्मीक वङ्कशिल
वणराइ उतर दिशाहि
- Line-44 तृकुट पाणिसिल.... वणि उतर दिशाहि दिधसिल पुवेहि आदवणराइ
- Line-45 वाड पूव उतर कोणे हि सोमणि तृकुट पुवदखिणं हि से... म तृकुट
पुवदिशाहि खो
- Line-46 लाड पुवदखिण कोणहि वाघगुह तृकुट दखिणहि ,सपवदिसिल गाडि
स्नात तिः ।
- Ling-47 पुर चि टि म्पिर : संवत वैशाख सुदि प्रतमपक्ष द्वितीया ।

Dr. Chakravarti the editor of this charter rightly says that the language of the boundary portion is the current vernacular of the time. His conjecture that the language is a mixture of Oriya and Telugu is subject to correction. I do not find any Telugu work in the passage. It is written in the then Oriya language. The passage is without any verb. It consists of about 26 words. The word *Srabatind* a para might be the name of a village. The word *timpira* is puzzling. I have not been able to find the work in Sanskrit, Oriya, Telugu and Canarese dictionaries. According to S. Rajguru *timpira* is a land measure. In the passage 'hi' *hi* is used as a case ending of the localise. The vowel added to a consonant was pronounced as . The only *tatsama* words used are 'pascima' 'dvi', valmika, and 'koṇa'. All the remaining 22 words are 'tadbhava' words. In Prakrit *n* becomes *ṇ* *banaraji* (Sanskrit) *banarāi*. *taimani* appears to be a corruption of *trimuhāni*.

Tentative English translation :-

- Line 43 - To the west (lie) Trikuta hill, a water course and Papadi forest range, an ant-hill, a curved stone, forest range; To the north (lie)
- Line 44 - the Trikuta Hill, the mouth of three water courses, the Badhai forest, To the north (lie) a long piece of stone, To the east lie, the Āta forest range (and

ANNEXURE-XXV(5)

- line 45 - fence; In the north east corner (lies) the Somani Trikuta. To the south, the Soma Trikuta. To the east (the village) Kho -
- Line 46 - lāda. In the South east corner lies the Tiger Cave Trikuta. To the south (words partly illegible) lie the rocks called Sapabadi, the ditch and the stream.
- Line 47 - two *timpias* of land to Rapu. The language of the passage may be called Audri Apabhramsa or Proto Oriya.

5. The earliest complete Oriya inscription is however, dated 1051 AD (Saka era 973). It was found in the village Urajam in the Chikakol district and is now preserved in the Madras Museum. It belongs to the reign of Anant Vr. Dev, grandfather of the emperor Chudagangadev, whose capital was at Mukhalingam. It is practically the earliest modern Indo-Aryan inscription of India. It reads as follows :

Text of the Urajam inscription, is now preserved in the Madras Museum. I am indebted to the superintendent, Madras Museum for having sent fresh estampages of the epigraph.

Language – Oriya

Script – Nagari (Southern variety) cum-Proto-Bengali.

Date – Saka era 973 = 1051AD.

1. Svasti Samara mu –
2. Khānekaripudarppa –
3. Madana bhujavalaparākrama
4. Gangānvayāvalambanastambha
5. Srimad – Ananta Varna Deva Vija –
6. Ya rājya Samvatsara 16 Tu –
7. la masa sukla paksa dina
8. Pamcami Sanivaraim Yurujamela
9. ṇa daya kariā paṭṭa sthitti (/)
10. Polakhisa Yurujamasa ja –

ANNEXURE-XXV(6)

11. ni (/) Gau (=gao) polakhisa tinni bha –
12. ga Yurujamasa Okku bhāga ho –
13. nta maincanku vo jhya (=bhojya) thilo (/)
14. Yuruja melem (=mele) Gau (m) Polākhi (me)
15. lāna Jyauvante na labhai a
16. imdu (m) thilai kalai raikē ā
17. ṇa Sahasra suvama daṇḍa
18. dhilā (/) ānati Sabu rau
19. cau (?) sammukhem Sarasvatī –
20. Ballabha S (i) lā lekhitam
21. Śakavda 973(/)

The Charter deals with the settlement regarding a ground or field between two neighbouring villages. The field was a place of assembly or meeting where people gathered on festive occasions. The village Urajam had ownership over a quarter of the whole area and the remaining three quarters were owned by the village Polakhi. The local Government settled or granted the whole piece of 'melana' (ground) in favour of the village Urajam by paying some amount (perhaps a thousand) of gold coins (Ganga Fanams) to the Elders of the village Polakhi, as compensation.

The language of the record is southern Oriya which is characterised by some features of Colloquial Dravidian especially Telugu. Sometimes a (अ) whether medial or final equates with a (आ) of standard Oriya e.g. *daya* = *daya* (grace) *jani* = *janī* (be it known), *gāum* = *gaum* (village). The palatal consonant *ca* equates with *sa* e.g. *manica* = *manisa* (man). Tendency to deaspirate the initial aspirate consonant is visible in 'bojhya' with aspiration transferred to the next syllable 'jya'. This stands for 'bhojya (enjoyable). Occasional stressing of final syllables is seen in 'tinni', in 'sthiti' corresponding to 'tini (three and 'sthiti (establishment) in standard Oriya. The dental and palatal sibilants have also been confused in the text. The term 'ānati' (order) is traceable to Sanskrit *ajñāpti*, Prakrit, 'annattī'. Prakritism is visible in genitive singular sign '-sa' corresponding to Sanskrit – 'sya'. The ending 'u' in *okku* (one), *gaum* (village) *rau* (noble person) are due to the influence of the Telugu language. The word *ana* in lines 16–17 is a corruption of Sanskrit *ajñā*.

ANNEXURE-XXV(7)

6. The undated short lithic record of village Gandibeda (in Soro, District Balasore, discovered by Rajguru) appears to be the earliest Oriya inscription in verse. It is engraved in proto-Oriya Script (Buhler's proto Bengali) at the pedestal of a Jain image. It runs as follows :

*Deva – kahi bhagati karuna
acchanti bho kumarasena*

'Oh ! Kumarasena is offering devotion to the deity (deva-kahi) Here – Kahi, the dative singular affix, appears as kai in later Oriya texts whence we get western Oriya – Ke.

The Gandibeda inscription may be assigned to sometime within the eleventh or twelfth century.

7. The Ganjam Copper Plate grant of Maharaja Udayakhedi of the tenth century written in Sanskrit prose devotes eight lines to the description of the boundaries of the gift-village. These lines contain 17 Oriya words as per example.

*Kabidha (Kapitha), (Kudaka, Kutaka, Kolada (name of a village), Khandi, Khulu (Oriya Khāla)
Khedī Schamu-karaṇa (=Chamukarana)
Tanareda, tāmbra, pali, pāṭaka, pauli, banu (=vaṇa), Bila, Bacha, Rotuka,*

Some of these are traced to Sanskrit and in respect of a few, Dravidian affinities are pointed out. The derivation of some are conjectural.

8. The Banapur Copper plates of Somavamsi Indrarath dated between 1023 to 1030 A.D. contain a number of words which are names of various taxes, as per example-*andhāruā, antarabaddibara, Chchāyā, Chitola, Pratyandhāruā*. The old Oriya words *banka (Bakra) ambra (āmra) and khalla (Oriya khāla)* also occur here.

ANNEXURE-XXV(8)

Several inscriptions of the Lingaraja Temple, Bhubaneswar belong to the reigns of early Ganga Kings of Cuttack. Those mostly record votive offerings of land for the upkeep of perpetual lamps and contain village names of philosophical interest such as Haḍākhaṇḍa, Betaṇḍā, Maṇḍigula, Barijanga, etc..

There are also three short Oriya inscriptions on the inside wall of the Pātālesvar Mandir in the premises of the Jagannātha temple, Puri, belonging to Ganga period.

About 24 complete Oriya inscriptions belonging to the reigns of the Ganga dynasty of Cuttack including one from Sonapur, and another from Narasinghnath Temple of Sambalpur District have been published. They indicate that the Oriya language has already passed through adolescence.

9. In the interesting bilingual inscription (in Tamil and Oriya), two kinds of the Ganga dynasty of Cuttack are mentioned namely Naranārasingh Deva and Baḍa Narasingh Deva. The record is dated in the 22 Samvatsara of the former. The grant of 12 *vatis* of land had however been made for the long life of Bada Narasingha Deva, the grandfather of Naranarsingh Deva. The inscription No. 5 of the E.O.L.S (published by the Utkal University) is dated in the 4th anka year of Naranarsingh Deva, which equates with 1252 Saka era as mentioned in that inscription. So his reign began in 1325 A.D. hence the Tamil Oriya inscription of 22nd year of Naranarsingha Deva may be dated 1349 A.D. The details in the record correspond to 4. 10. 1349 A.D. So the epigraph may be dated 4. 10. 1349 (See P.301, Vol-IV, An Indian Ephemeris, Madras, 1922.)

The word *killā* in *killako* line 24 of the record equates with modern Oriya *Kalā*.

It is formed after the analogy of दिला (gave) in old Oriya. The reading 'Basa' in line 33 should be *Yasa* (fame or charitable act)

10. I will now present the text of Sidheswar temple inscription near Jajpur.

ANNEXURE-XXV(9)

Date : 19th year of NARASINGHA DEVA – IV (=1394 A.D.)
Script : – Early Oriya.

1. (वीर श्रीनरसिङ्ग देव विजे राजे समंयु १९ स्नाहि ककडा कीष्ण १४ चन्द्रवारे)
2. चतुरु दिगे दण्डपरीक्षा शिकरण पटनायक विश्वनाथ महासेनत्पीङ्क दण्डपरीक्षा (पू) रुवदीगदण्ड
3. नायक नन्दीकेश्वर सनिमिग्रङ्क वेहोरणे एदण्डपाटर पसा (इ) त मुदुलि कोठकण मागलोक
4. समस्त वेहोरणे अनुमते राअंगवीशे सुइंग्राम ग्राम जीतमाद प ५० स कु
5. ओहोरु पाउका पाइका भेटा परिदर्शना जावत अवदान नास्तिकरि नरहिदेवंक
6. आजकामार्थे
7.
8. सिधेसर देवङ्कु दत ए
9. हा जे हरइ
10. द्रोह करइ

The inscription may be translated as follows : –

On Monday the 14th of the dark fortnight of Karkata during the 19th year of the reign of Vira Narasingha Deva.

In the jurisdiction of Nandikesvar Sandhivigraha, the Military Superintendent of the eastern province working under Bisvanath Pattnaik the great General, Secretary and Inspector General of the whole kingdom and with the approval of the Endowment Commissioner of the province, the sealbearer, private Secretary, and shareholders, the village Bhuigrama valued at 50 madhas of gold of the subdivision Ravanga is granted in favour of the deity Sidhesvar Deva for the longevity of Bira Narasinghadeva, making it immune from all taxes such as choukidari tax, 1/4 tax (a kind of supper tax) and infantry tax, presentation, (greeting tax) and supervision tax. One who takes this away rebels against the deity.

On the whole the language of the record is colloquial and free from Sanskritism. Contraction of syllables in the words is a special feature of the record . There is also confusion between short i and long i and of the sibilants श, स and ष.

ANNEXURE-XXV(10)

11. I now give the text of 31st Anka year inscription of Kapileswar Deva, the first king of the Solar dynasty whose reign in Orissa began in 1435 A.D. This is engraved as the 3rd record on the right side of the Jayavijaya doorway of SriJagannatha Temple, Puri. It is written in early Oriya script in C. 1460 A.D.

1. विरश्री गजपति गठडेश्वर नवकोटिकर्नाटकलवरगेश्वर प्रताप कपिलेश्वर
2. देव महाराजाङ्कर विजे राज्ये (गजे) समस्त अङ्क श्राहि ककडा सु १३
गृवारेश्रीपुरू
3. सोतमकटेके दखिणघरे माजणामण्डपे विजेस्मये अवधारित आग्यां
4. होइला मुदले भो श्रीजगर्नाथ मोहर वाहिज अभ्यन्तर समस्त त तु जाणु
5. मोहोर जेते रतनपदार्थ अछि से तोहोर/एहाउ आवर आन घन
6. ये अछि मुइ ब्राह्मणहाथरे ताहा जेते देइ पारइ ताहा देवि
7. ए भुमिखण्ड तुं जाहाकु अनुग्रहकरु/मोहोर से नेपर.....द।

Here are also not noticeable contraction of syllables in words, confusion regarding the sibilants, the advent of r in the word Jagannath, the extended form *mui* for modern Oriya *mu* which survives in western Oriya, Mudale means (for engraving) as edict. Hatha from Sanskrit हस्त is deaspirated in modern Oriya 'Hata'. The Prakrit case ending (5th case ending) appears as-U as in एहाउ it is replaced by the /ru' in modern Oriya.

The Accusative plural post position – *nti* appears in Kapilesvar's latest Oriya inscription. From the speech of his son king Purusottam Deva containing Perso Arabic words namely 'mukabilare' and the verb 'tiaruachchu', we find that long before the Muslim rule in Orissa, perso-Arabic vocabulary began to be used in Oriya language. In later Oriya inscription and Oriya literature we find Oriya enriched by a large number of Perso-Arabic Vocabulary, especially in administration. In spite of this, the modern academic Oriya language has become more Sanskritised.

ANNEXURE-XXV(11)

CHAPTER – III

THE RELATION OF ORIYA WITH SANSKRIT, PALI, PRAKRIT AND APABHRAMSA.

1. The history of Indo-Aryan from the Vedic period upto modern times has been divided into three stages, namely, the old Indo-Aryan, the Middle Indo-Aryan (C. 500 B.C. to C. 1000 A.D.) and the Neo-Indo-Aryan (C.1000 A.D. upto now). The M.I.A. is generally represented by the stage of "Prakrit" in the widest sense of that term used by modern philologists. Broadly speaking the term Prakrit includes Pali, the canonical language of Southern Buddhists, the different dramatic Prakrits such as Mahārāṣṭrī, Sauraseni, Māgadhi, Ardha-Māgadhi, Paisāchī etc. The last stage of Prakrit is represented by Apabhramsa lit. the corrupt speech. The M.I.A. can, therefore be divided into three stages :-

- (1) The old (inscriptional) Prakrit and Pali.
- (2) The Middle Prakrit comprising dramatic Prakrits, and
- (3) The late Prakrit or Apabhramsa.

It is from the various Apbhramsas that the different Neo-Indo-Aryan speeches have evolved.

2. It is usually held that broadly speaking Oriya has evolved from the Māgadhi Prakrit through the Māgadhi Apabhramsa and is traceable to the Vedic language through Pali and Sanskrit.

3. The Sound-system of Pali consists of the following :-

(i) **Vowels** : a, ā, ī, i, u, ū, e, o as well as the nasal counterparts of some of these :

2. **Consonants** :

Gutturals	: k, kh, g, gh, ṅ
Palatals	: c, ch, j, jh, ṅ
Cerebrals	: t, th, d, dh, n
Dentals	: t, th, d, dh, n
Labials	: p, ph, b, bh, m
Liquids	: r, l, ḷ, ḷh (l)

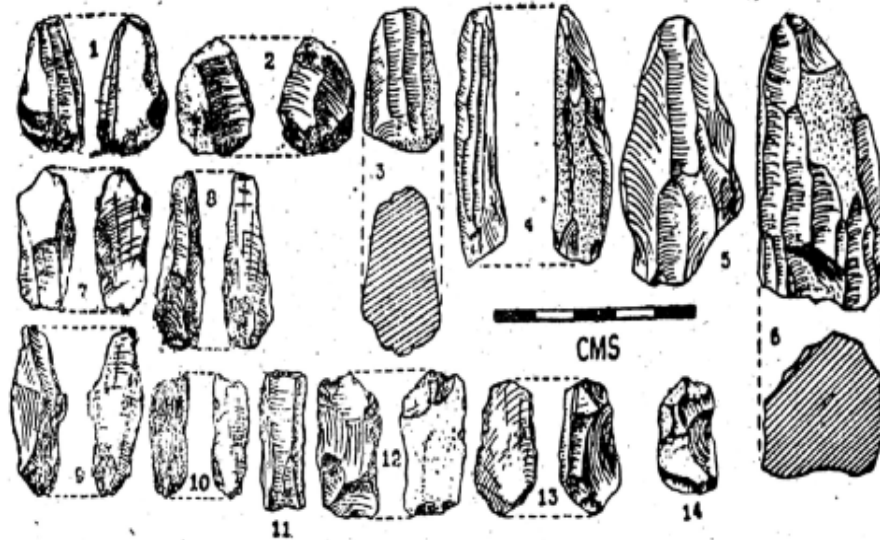
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Prehistory of Odisha

GEOLOGICAL PERIOD	INDUSTRY/CULTURE	SITES/REGIONS
	<i>Early Palaeolithic</i>	
I <i>Late Early Pleistocene</i>	Flakes	Mayurbhanja, Dhenkanal, Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir & Puri District.
II <i>Middle Pleistocene</i> c. 5,00,000 years B.P. ²⁹	Chopper/chopping or Sohan Culture and Handaxe Culture ^{29a}	Mayurbhanja, Dhenkanal, Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Kalahandi & Puri District.
III <i>Late Pleistocene</i> c. 50,000 B.P. to 20,000 B.P.	<i>Middle Palaeolithic</i> Scraper/Borer Culture	Mayurbhanja, Dhenkanal, Sundargarh, Keonjhar, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Ganjam, Kalahandi & Puri District.
IV <i>Late Pleistocene</i> c. 20,000 B.P. to 10,000 B.P.	<i>Upper Palaeolithic</i> Blade and Burin Culture	Mayurbhanja, Dhenkanal, Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Ganjam, Kalahandi & Puri District.
V <i>Holocene</i> c. 8,000 B.C. to 2,000 B.C. ^{29c}	<i>Mesolithic</i> Microliths	Mayurbhanja, Dhenkanal, Sundargarh, Keonjhar, Cuttack, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Ganjam, Kalahandi & Puri District.
VI c. 4,000 B.C. to c. 2,000 B.C.	Protohistory <i>Neolithic</i>	Mayurbhanja, Dhenkanal, Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Ganjam, Keonjhar, Kalahandi, Cuttack & Puri District.
VII c. 2,500 B.C. to c. 1,000 B.C.	<i>Neolithic-Chalcolithic</i>	Mayurbhanja, Dhenkanal, Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Ganjam, Keonjhar, Kalahandi, Cuttack & Puri District.
VIII c. 2,000 B.C. to c. 700 B.C.	<i>Chalcolithic</i>	Mayurbhanja, Dhenkanal, Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Ganjam, Keonjhar, Kalahandi, Cuttack & Puri District.

PALEOLITHIC TOOLS

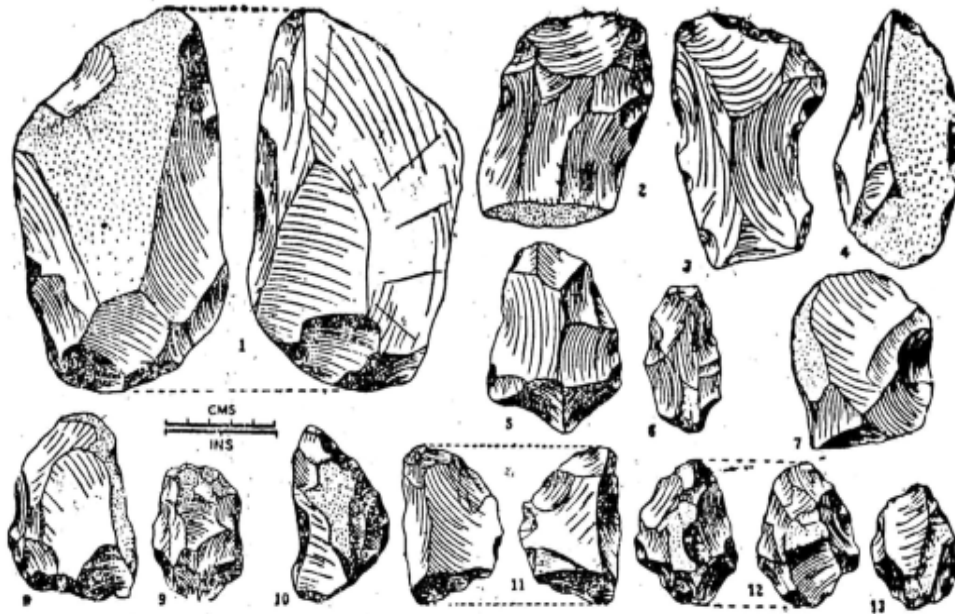
ANNEXURE-27



Stone Age- 1- Patna (Keonjhor), 2 & 4 & 12 & 14 - Bhanjagada (Sundargarh), 3 & 8 & 13- RairangaPur (Mayurbhanja)
5 & 7 - Bisoi (mayurbhanja), 6 & 9 & 11 - Badara (Mayurbhanja), 10- Bhaludunguri (mayurbhanja).

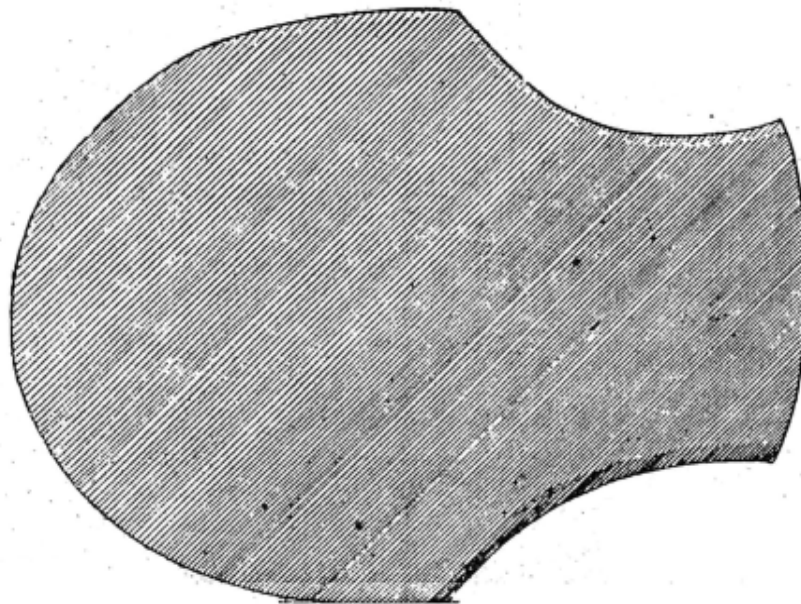


Stone Age- 1 & 6 - Badara (Mayurbhanja), 2 - Barasola (Mayurbhanja), 3 - Bhanjagada (Sundargarh),
5- RairangaPur (Mayurbhanja), 4 - Bhaludunguri (mayurbhanja).



Later Stone Age tools

- 1- Biso (ayurbhanja), 2- Bhalitundi (Sundargarh), 3- domuhani (mayurbhanja)
- 4- Chakrasila(Dhenkanal), 5 ,6, 8, 9, 11, 12 & 13- Harichandan pur(Dhenkanal),
- 7- Talcher, 10- Kaliakata (Dhenkanal).



Copper Handaxe Recovered by Dunaria of Dhenkanal

THE LARGEST STONE AXE



ସେହି ଅଭିଳେଖରୁ ଜଣାପଡ଼େ ଯେ ଶହ ଉଜ୍ଜ ବହୁ ପ୍ରକାଶରେ କୁଶାଣ-ମୁରୁଣ୍ଡକୁ (ଦେବପୁତ୍ରକୁ) ପରାସ୍ତ କରିଥିଲେ । ସେ ବହୁ ସାମନ୍ତ ରାଜାକୁ ବଶୀଭୂତ କରି ପାଟଳୀପୁତ୍ର, ଗୟା, କୃମିଳ, ଦଦାବର୍ଦ୍ଧନ, ପୁଣ୍ଡ୍ରବର୍ଦ୍ଧନ, ବର୍ଦ୍ଧମାନ, ଗୌହଟି, ଖଦ୍ରଜ, ତାମ୍ରଲତ୍ରି ଓ ଉତ୍ତର ଭୋଷଳୀଠାରେ ଲକ୍ଷ ଲକ୍ଷ ଗୋଦାନ କରିଥିଲେ ଏବଂ ଅଭିଳେଖଠାରେ ଥିବା ଶଙ୍କରୀ ମଠ, ଲକ୍ଷେଶ୍ଵରସ୍ଥ ମଣିଉଦ୍ର ମଠ ଓ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ମଠକୁ ଲକ୍ଷ ଲକ୍ଷ ସ୍ୱର୍ଣ୍ଣମୁଦ୍ରା ପ୍ରଦାନ କରିଥିଲେ । ମହାରାଜା ଶହ ଉଜ୍ଜ ଏହି ଅଭିଳେଖର ଶିରୋଗଣରେ ନଟରାଜ ଶିବଙ୍କ ବିଗ୍ରହ ସ୍ଥାପନ କରି ସୁରୁତ ଦେଇଅଛନ୍ତି ଯେ ଅଭିଳେଖ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣିତ ବିଷୟବସ୍ତୁ ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ସତ୍ୟ । ସେ ଯେଉଁସବୁ ନଗର ଓ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ କରିଅଛନ୍ତି ସେଠାରେ ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟୀୟ ୩ୟ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀରେ କୁଶାଣ-ମୁରୁଣ୍ଡ ଶାସନ ପ୍ରଚଳିତ ଥିବା ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ଭାବରେ କୁହାଯାଇପାରେ । ପାଟଳୀପୁତ୍ର, ଗୟା ଓ କୃମିଳ (ଆଧୁନିକ ମୁଜେର ଜିଲ୍ଲାର ପଶ୍ଚିମାଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଅବସ୍ଥିତ) ମୁରୁଣ୍ଡ ସାମ୍ରାଜ୍ୟର ଦୁର୍ଭିକ୍ଷ ସ୍ଵରୂପ ଥିଲା ଏବଂ ସେସବୁ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ସେ ଆଧିପତ୍ୟ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା କରିଥିବା ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରୁ ଉକ୍ତ ସାମ୍ରାଜ୍ୟର ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ପତନ ଘଟିଥିବା ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ଜଣାପଡ଼େ । ବାୟୁପୁରାଣରୁ ମିଳେ ଯେ ମଗଧର ଶେଷ ମୁରୁଣ୍ଡରାଜା ବିଶ୍ଵଶାଣି ଶହ କର୍ତ୍ତୃକ ପରାସ୍ତ ହୋଇ ଗଙ୍ଗାନଦୀର କଳପ୍ରବାହରେ ଡେଇଁ ଆତ୍ମହତ୍ୟା କରିଥିଲେ । ମଗଧର ମୁରୁଣ୍ଡ ଶାସନର ବିଲୋପସାଧନ କରିବାରେ କୃତ୍ରିମ ଅର୍ଜନ କରିଥିଲେ ନାଗବଂଶୀ ମହାରାଜା ଶହ ଉଜ୍ଜ ।

ନାଗବଂଶ

ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ଅପନପାଟ ଅଭିଳେଖ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ପ୍ରାଚୀନ ଇତିହାସରେ ନୂତନ ଆଲୋକ ପ୍ରଦାନ କରିଅଛି । ସେଥିରୁ ଜଣାଯାଏ ଯେ ୩ୟ ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟାବ୍ଦରେ ବିକ୍ରମାଦିତ୍ୟ ରାଜ୍ୟରେ ଉଜ୍ଜ ଉପାଧିଧାରୀ ନାଗବଂଶର ରାଜାମାନେ ପ୍ରଭାବଶାଳୀ ହୋଇଥିଲେ । ଆଧୁନିକ ମୟୂରଭଞ୍ଜ, କେନ୍ଦୁଝର ଜିଲ୍ଲା ଓ ବିହାରର ସିଂହଭୂମି ଜିଲ୍ଲା ନେଇ ବିକ୍ରମାଦିତ୍ୟରାଜ୍ୟ ସମ୍ପାଦିତ ହୋଇଥିବା ଜଣାପଡ଼େ । ମହାରାଜା ଶହ ଉଜ୍ଜ ସେହି ରାଜ୍ୟର ସର୍ବଶ୍ରେଷ୍ଠ ଶାସକ । ସେ ମହାରାଜା ମାଣ ଉଜ୍ଜ ଓ ମହାଦେବୀ ଦମୟନ୍ତୀଙ୍କର ପୁତ୍ର ଏବଂ ନାଗବଂଶର ଗୌରବ ବର୍ଦ୍ଧକ । ସେ ବହୁ ପ୍ରକାଶରେ (ଅଭିଳେଖ ଅନୁସାରେ ଏକଶତ ପ୍ରକାଶରେ) କୁଶାଣ-ମୁରୁଣ୍ଡକୁ ପରାସ୍ତ କରିଥିଲେ ଏବଂ ସୂର୍ଯ୍ୟଭୂଜ ତେଜ ଓ ବରୁଣ ତଥା କଲବଟ ସଦୃଶ ଅକ୍ଷୟଗୁଣରୁ ଅଧିକାରୀ ହୋଇଥିଲେ । ପଶ୍ଚିମରେ ଅସ୍ତତ୍ତ୍ଵ (ଉତ୍ତର ପ୍ରଦେଶର ଆଧୁନିକ ରାମନଗର) ଠାରୁ ପୂର୍ବରେ ତାମ୍ରଲତ୍ରି ଓ ଗୌହଟି ଯାଏ ଏବଂ ଦକ୍ଷିଣ-ପୂର୍ବରେ ଉତ୍ତର ଭୋଷଳୀ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ତାଙ୍କର ରାଜନେତ୍ର ପ୍ରଭାବ ବିସ୍ତୃତ ହୋଇଥିବା ଜଣାଯାଏ । ଅପନପାଟ ଅଭିଳେଖର ଏହି ବର୍ଣ୍ଣନା ଅତିରକ୍ଷିତ ବୋଲି ଅନେକେ ମନେ କରୁଥାନ୍ତି ।

ମାତ୍ର ସେକଲର ଐତିହାସିକ ପୁସ୍ତକମିରେ ଅଭିଲେଖର ବିବରଣ ବିଚାର କରିବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ । ଭାରତରୁ ବୈଦେଶିକ ଶାସନ ହଟାଇବା ନିମନ୍ତେ ସେତେବେଳେ ଯେଉଁ କ୍ୟାପଳ ସାମରକ ଅଭିଯାନ ହୋଇଥିଲା ତହିଁରେ ଅନେକ ରାଜା ତଥା ଗଣରାଜ୍ୟ ସହଯୋଗ କରିଥିବା ଜଣାପଡ଼ି ସୂଚନା ଦେଇଅଛି । ମଧୁରୀ, କୌଶାମ୍ବୀ ଓ ପଦ୍ମାବତୀର ନାଗରାଜାମାନଙ୍କ ସହ ବିଦ୍ୟାଧର ନାଗରାଜା ଶମ୍ଭୁ ଭଞ୍ଜ ସେଥିରେ ସକ୍ରିୟ ଅଂଶ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିଥିଲେ ଏବଂ ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ ଅଭିଯାନନିମନ୍ତେ ଉତ୍ତର-ପୂର୍ବ ଭାରତର ଉନ୍ନତ ସ୍ଥାନରେ ଗୋଦାନ ତଥା ସର୍ପମୁଦ୍ରା ଦାନ କରିଥିଲେ । ଏହି ପରିପ୍ରେକ୍ଷାରେ ଅସନପାଟ ଅଭିଲେଖର ବିବରଣ ମିଥ୍ୟା ବା ଅତରଞ୍ଜିତ ହୋଇ ନ ପାରେ ।

ସେହି ଅଭିଲେଖରେ ଉଭୟ ତୋଷଣୀ ରାଜ୍ୟର ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ ଅତି ତାତ୍ପର୍ଯ୍ୟପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ । ଶ୍ରୀଶ୍ଚାନ୍ଦ ୩୩-୪୩ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀବେଳେ ଉତ୍ତର ଓ ଦକ୍ଷିଣ ତୋଷଣୀ ଏକ ପୁରୁରାଜ୍ୟରୂପେ ସମଠିତ ହୋଇଥିବା ଜଣାଯାଏ । ମହାନଦୀ ଥିଲା ସମ୍ଭବତଃ ଉଭୟ ତୋଷଣୀର ସୀମାରେଖା । ୩୩ ଶ୍ରୀ: ରେ ରଚିତ ଗଣ୍ଡବ୍ୟୁତ୍ପତ୍ତିରେ ଉଭୟ ତୋଷଣୀକୁ ଅମିତ ତୋଷଳ ରାଜ୍ୟରୂପେ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣନା କରାଯାଇଅଛି । ଉଭୟ ତୋଷଣୀରେ ମଧ୍ୟ ମହାରାଜା ଶମ୍ଭୁ ଭଞ୍ଜଙ୍କର ରାଜନୈତିକ ପ୍ରଭାବ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠିତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ଭୃବନେଶ୍ୱର ନିକଟସ୍ଥ ସୁଦରପଡ଼ା ଗ୍ରାମରେ ସେକାଲର ଯେଉଁ ନାଗରାଜାଙ୍କର ବିଗ୍ରହ ଏବେ ପୂଜିତ ହେଉଅଛି, ତାହା ସମ୍ଭବତଃ ନାଗବଂଶୀ ମହାରାଜା ଶମ୍ଭୁ ଭଞ୍ଜଙ୍କ ଦ୍ୱାରା ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠିତ ହୋଇଥିଲା ।

କାଶୀପ୍ରସାଦ ଜୟସ୍ୱାଲଙ୍କ ମତରେ ବୈଦେଶିକ କୁଶାଣ ଜାତିର ଶାସନ ଲୋପକରିବା ନିମନ୍ତେ ଭାରତୀୟ ନାଗବଂଶୀ ରାଜାମାନେ ସଫଳ ହୋଇ ଏକ-କାଶ୍ୟ ସମ୍ରାଜ୍ୟ ଗଠାଇଥିଲେ । ଜୟସ୍ୱାଲ ବିଦଗାର ନାଗବଂଶକୁ ମଧୁରୀ, କାନ୍ତପୁଷ୍ପ ଓ ପଦ୍ମାବତୀର ନବନାଗଙ୍କ ବଂଶ ସହିତ ମିଶାଇ ଏକ ବିଶାଳ ନାଗପରିବାରର ତଥା ଉତ୍ତର-ଭାରତରେ ଏକ ନାଗ ସାମ୍ରାଜ୍ୟର ପରିଚଳନା କରିଥିଲେ । ସେହି ନାଗରାଜ ପରିବାରକୁ ସେ ଭରଣିବ ନାଗ ଆଖ୍ୟା ଦେଇଥିଲେ ଏବଂ ଭାରତରେ କୁଶାଣ ଶାସନର ବିଲୋପ ଭାରଣିବ ନାଗଙ୍କ ଦ୍ୱାରା ହିଁ ସମ୍ଭବ ହୋଇଥିବା ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ ଦର୍ଶାଇ-ଥିଲେ (୨୪) । ପରବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଆକ୍ଷୟିୟା ଦ୍ୱାରା ଜୟସ୍ୱାଲଙ୍କର ସେହି ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ ବହୁ ପରିମାଣରେ ଦୁର୍ବଳ ହୋଇଯାଇଅଛି । ଭରଣିବ ନାଗଙ୍କ ସହିତ ମଧୁରୀ, କାନ୍ତପୁଷ୍ପ ଓ ପଦ୍ମାବତୀର ନାଗବଂଶକୁ ଅଭିନ୍ନରୂପେ ପ୍ରତିପାଦନ କରିବା, ଉଦ୍ୟମ ଭ୍ରାନ୍ତିମୂଳକ ବୋଲି ଜଣାଯାଇଅଛି । ଯୌଜେୟ, କୁଶିନ, ମାଳବ, ନାଗ, ମାଘ ଆଦି ଜାତି କୁଶାଣ-ମୁରୁଗୁଣ୍ଡଙ୍କ ଶାସନ ଧ୍ୟନ୍ତ କରିବା ନିମନ୍ତେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଭୂମିକା ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିଥିବା ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଅଭିଲେଖ ଓ ମୁଦ୍ରାଗୁଡ଼ିକରୁ ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ପ୍ରତିପାଦିତ ହୁଏ । ମାତ୍ର

(24) Jayaswal, K.P. History Of India (150 A.D. to 350 A.D.)

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ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଜାତିର ଇତିହାସ

ଅସନପାଟ ଅଭିଲେଖ କେତେକାଂଶରେ ଜୟସାଲଙ୍କ ପୁତ୍ରକୁ ସମର୍ଥନ କରିଥିବା ମନେହୁଏ । ମଗଧ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରୁ କୁଶାଣ-ମୁରୁଣ୍ଡ ଶାସନ ଲେପ କରିବାରେ ନାଗରାଜା ଶମ୍ଭୁ ଭଞ୍ଜଙ୍କର ସାମରିକ ଅଭିଯାନ ଯେ ସାଫଳ ଅର୍ଜନ କରିଥିଲା ତାହା ନିଃସନ୍ଦେହରେ କୁହାଯାଇପାରେ । ତେଣୁ ପୁଣ୍ୟ-ଭରଣସ୍ୱ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରୁ ସେହି ବୈଦେଶିକ ଶାସନକୁ ହଟାଇବାରେ ନାଗମାନଙ୍କର ଅବଦାନ ସ୍ୱୀକାର କରିବାକୁ ହେବ ।

ଶମ୍ଭୁ ଭଞ୍ଜଙ୍କ ପରେ ବିଦ୍ୟାଧର ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ନାଗଜାତି ଦୁର୍ବଳ ହୋଇପଡ଼ିଲେ । ପାଟଳୀପୁତ୍ର ନେପାଳ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଲିଚ୍ଛବମାନଙ୍କ ଦ୍ୱାରା ହସ୍ତଗତ ହେଲା । କେନ୍ଦୁଝର ଜିଲ୍ଲାର ସୀତାବନ୍ଧୁଠାରେ ରାଜଶତ୍ରୁୟା ନାମକ ଏକ ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ଆଶ୍ରୟସ୍ଥଳୀରେ ଭିତ୍ତିପଥ ସହତ ଯେଉଁ ମହାରାଜ ଦଶ ଭଞ୍ଜଙ୍କର ନାମ ମିଳେ ସେ ସମ୍ଭବତଃ ଶମ୍ଭୁ ଭଞ୍ଜଙ୍କର ବଂଶଜ । ସେହି ଅଭିଲେଖ ତଥା ଭିତ୍ତିପଥକୁ ୪୯-୫୦ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀରେ ନରୁପଶ କରାଯାଇଅଛି । ମାତ୍ର ମହାରାଜ ଦଶ ଭଞ୍ଜଙ୍କ ସମ୍ଭବରେ ବିଶେଷ କିଛି ବିବରଣ୍ୟ ଏପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଜଣାପଡ଼ି ନାହିଁ । ସମୁଦ୍ରଗୁପ୍ତ ଏଲହାବାଦ ଗୁମ୍ଫା ଅଭିଲେଖରେ ସମସ୍ତ ଆଟବିକ ରାଜାଙ୍କୁ ନିଜର ଅଧୀନସ୍ଥ କରିଥିବା ପ୍ରକାଶ କରନ୍ତୁ । ସମସ୍ତ ଆଟବିକଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବିଦ୍ୟାଧର ନାଗବଂଶ ଯେ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଗତ ତାହା କୁହାଯାଇପାରେ । ମାତ୍ର କେବଳ ଏଲହାବାଦ ଅଭିଲେଖର ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ ଅନୁଯାୟୀ ମୟୂରଭଞ୍ଜ ଓ କେନ୍ଦୁଝର ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ଗୁପ୍ତ ସାମ୍ରାଜ୍ୟର ଅନ୍ତର୍ଭୁକ୍ତ ବୋଲି ବିଶ୍ୱାସ କରିବା ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ହେବ ନାହିଁ । ସେଥିପାଇଁ ଆହୁରି ନିର୍ଭରଯୋଗ୍ୟ ପ୍ରମାଣ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ।

ଗୁପ୍ତବଂଶ ଓ ସମ ଦ୍ରଗୁପ୍ତ

୩୯୯-୨୦ ଖ୍ରୀ. ପୂରେ ପ୍ରଥମ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଗୁପ୍ତ ଲିଚ୍ଛବ ରାଜକନ୍ୟା କୁମାର ଦେବୀଙ୍କର ପାଣିଗ୍ରହଣ କରି ମଗଧରେ ଗୁପ୍ତ ସାମ୍ରାଜ୍ୟ ସ୍ଥାପନ କରିଥିଲେ । ପ୍ରଥମ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଗୁପ୍ତଙ୍କର ସାମ୍ରାଜ୍ୟ ଗଙ୍ଗା ଅବବାହିକାରେ ପ୍ରୟାଗ, ସାକେତ ଓ ମଗଧ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ନେଇ ସଂଗଠିତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ସେତେବେଳେ ମଥୁରା ଅଞ୍ଚଳ, କୌଶାୟୀ ଓ ପଦ୍ମାବତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ନାଗବଂଶର ପ୍ରଭାବ ଦୃଢ଼ରୂପେ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠିତ ଥିଲା । ନାଗମାନେ ନବୋଦ୍ଭୂତ ଗୁପ୍ତ ସାମ୍ରାଜ୍ୟର ପ୍ରଧାନ ଶତ୍ରୁରୂପେ ବିବେଚିତ ହୋଇଥିଲେ । ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଗୁପ୍ତଙ୍କର ପୁତ୍ର ସମୁଦ୍ରଗୁପ୍ତଙ୍କ ଶାସନ କାଳରେ ଗୁପ୍ତ ଓ ନାଗଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ପ୍ରବଳ ସଂଘର୍ଷ ସୃଷ୍ଟି ହୋଇଥିଲା । ଏଲହାବାଦ ଅଭିଲେଖରୁ ଜଣାଯାଏ ଯେ ସମୁଦ୍ରଗୁପ୍ତ ସିଂହାସନାରୋହଣ ପରେ ରୁଦ୍ରଦେବ, ମନ୍ଦିଳ, ନାଗଦତ୍ତ, ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରବର୍ମନ, ଗଣପତିନାଗ, ନାଗସେନ, ଅରୁଣ, ନନ୍ଦି ଓ ବଳବର୍ମନ ଆଦି ରାଜାଙ୍କୁ ସମସ୍ତ କରି ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଶାସନ ବଳହୀନକରି ଉଚ୍ଛେଦିତ କରିଥିଲେ । ସେମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରୁ ସମ୍ଭବତଃ ସମସ୍ତେ

ORISSA UNDER THE BHAUMAKAR KINGS

DATES OF PLATES

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Another reference as to the date of the Bhauma rule is obtained from the Chinese source. Thanks to Professor Sylvan Levi for bringing to light that the emperor of China received as present the autograph manuscript of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, the last section of the *Budhāvataṃsa*, from the king of Orissa.¹⁹ The name of this king of Orissa has been rendered into the Chinese language. Professor Sylvan Levi renders this Chinese translation into Sanskrit as well as into English.

) South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 508 (16) Jouve-Dubreuil, Pondicheri 1917 (17) South Indian Inscriptions Vol. II, p. 345
 (18) E. I. Vol. V, p. 157 (19) Ibid Vol. XV, pp. 363-64

According to his renderings the name was Śubhakara Simha or *one, who does what is pure, Lion*. He indentifies this Śubhakara Simha with the donor of plate A and suggests that the name of the said donor may be read as Śubhakara and not as Śubhākara, which means *the store of purity* and not *one, who does what is pure*. But no king under the name Śubhakara is mentioned in the Bhauma plates, although several kings having the name Śubhākara are mentioned in them. Apparently Śubhākara, the name of the donor of plate A, cannot possibly be read as Śubhakara.

Prājña, a native of Kapiśā, had studied Yoga at the monastery of the king of Orissa and thence proceeded to China where he reached before 788 A. D. He was entrusted there with the work of translating the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. But it is not known whether Prājña's journey to China and the presentation of the manuscript of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* by the king of Orissa were two connected occurrences. Assuming that they were so, we can identify the king of Orissa, known from the Chinese source, with the donor of plate I; for, he is represented in his plate as a patron of Buddhism and his name Śivakara implies *one, who does what is pure*.

In the case of acceptance of Professor Levi's identification of the king of Orissa, known from the Chinese source, who may have flourished in 770 A. D. at the earliest, with the donor of plate A, we find that the date of plate N, which is 133 years later than the former, falls in the beginning of the 10th century A. D. when the Somavaṃśī supremacy was prevalent in Orissa. Hence the identification, suggested by him, is not acceptable. Be that as it may, the king of Orissa, known from the Chinese source, seems to have belonged to the Bhauma family; because in no other ancient ruling dynasty of Orissa such name as that of the said king is found. Hence it can be said unhesitatingly that a Bhauma king flourished in the 8th century A. D.

Trade & Commerce.

The period under review is remarkable for the commercial activities both in-land and over-seas. The trade routes which passed through Kaliñga linked her important ports and towns with those of Southern and Western India, as well as, famous places of Northern India. Ancient trade routes have been traced on the basis of the finds of coins and other antiquarian remains. During the rule of Aśoka Toṣālī and Samāpā, the two seats of Maurya administration in Kaliñga were linked with good roads and those two townships were probably connected with other provincial headquarters, as well as, the imperial capital Pāṭaliputra. Under Khāavela Kaliñganagari (the present site of Śīsupālgarh) seems to have been linked with good roads with Assaka on the Kṛṣṇā in the South, Mathurā, Pāṭaliputra and Rājgṛha in the North, and Nāsik region in the West. These roads continued as important arteries of commerce in succeeding centuries. The finds of the Kuṣān coins at Jaugaḍa in Gañjām district, Mānik Pāṭnā in Purī district and Dharmasālā (Kayemā hill) in Cuttack district, indicate that the trade route passed through these places. In between Kaliñganagari and the Kayemā hill it crossed the Mahānadī and its branches somewhere near the present city of Cuttack. It crossed the Brāhmaṇī at Dharmasālā and the Vaitaraṇī near Jājapur. After reaching Bhadrak on the Sālandī it probably turned Westwards, to Sitābīñjī in Keoñjhar district. From Sitābīñjī it passed towards Khichiñg and going in North-eastern direction upto Bāmanghāṭī (modern Rairāñgpur) and Bahaldā it again took a Northern course towards Gayā and Pāṭaliputra. The *Allahabad Inscription* further indicates that Kaliñga was linked with the Jumna valley by a road which passed through South Kosala Mahākāntāra and Korāla. This road was probably a very

old one as indicated by the finds of pre-Maurya coins in Sonepur region. Many other over-land routes seem to have developed in later times, but during the period under discussion the high roads mentioned above were in existence and served the growing needs of communication and commerce.¹

The famous sea-ports through which Kaliṅga was carrying on her over-seas trade were Tāmralipti, Palura and Pīthuṇḍa. These ports were linked with the main high-roads mentioned above. The port of Tāmralipti situated at the apex of the Indian Ocean maintained brisk inter-course both cultural and commercial, with Burma, Ceylon and the islands of the Far East. During the Maurya period it served as the port of embarkation for traders and others from Northern India, as well as, Kaliṅga. It has been pointed out above that Saṅghamittā, the daughter of Aśoka, sailed from this port with eight families of Kaliṅga as her retinue in her mission to Ceylon. The *Dāṭhāvamśa* further indicates that Hemamālā, the daughter of king Guhaśiva, of Kaliṅga accompanied by her husband Dantakumāra went to Ceylon with the Tooth relic of Buddha through the port of Tāmralipti. This port finds prominent mention in ancient Indian, Ceylonese, Chinese and Graeco-Roman accounts and the antiquities recovered from Tāmluk, the site of ancient Tāmralipti indicate its importance as an international port in ancient times. A gold coin bearing Graeco-Roman motif together with pottery fragments and terracotta figurines of Roman origin have been discovered from Tāmluk.² An important find of gold coins of the Roman emperors Constantine, Gordian, etc., in beautiful

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1. For ancient roads of Kaliṅga, See *I.H.C. Proceedings* of the 18th session, Calcutta, 1955, pp. 44-51.
 2. *I.H.C. Proceedings* of the 19th session, Agra, 1956 pp. 89-93

preservation were found from Bāmanghāṭī¹ in Mayūrbhañj district which was linked with Tāmralipti by road. At Tildā situated between Tāmluk and Bāmanghāṭī was discovered a terracotta Greek tablet containing the thanksgiving of an unknown greek sailor to the East-wind. The poet Dandin in his *Daśakumāracharita* has referred to the coming of the Greeks to the port of Tāmralipti. Thus it appears that there was intimate trade relation between the port of Tāmralipti and the Graeco-Roman world during the early Christian centuries when Kaliñga played an important role in the sphere of overseas trade. Polura which is mentioned as Palaura by Ptolemy has already been identified with Dantapura or Daṇḍagula on the basis of geography and philology.² It was an important emporium in Kaliñga situated probably near the mouth of the river Ṛṣikulyā very

1. See Sewell's list of Roman coins in the *J.R.A.S. of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1904. pp. 619 f. Mr. Beglar further reports about the gold coins of Bāmanghāṭī as follows :—

"Some years ago a great find of gold coins containing among others, several of the Roman emperors, Constantine, Gordian etc. in most beautiful preservation, was found near Bamanghati. Mrs. Hayes, the Deputy Commissioner's wife at Singbhum, possesses several very fine ones indeed, made into a bracelet, but in such manner as to leave the coins absolutely uninjured. I tried in vain to procure some, but failed, except the choice ones (choice as to excellence of preservation) picked out and secured by the Deputy Commissioner, the rest got dispersed, and it is now hopeless to try and find out where they are, if they indeed exist at all and have not been melted. The finding of these coins at Bamanghati shows that it lay on some great line of road from the seaport Tamluk to the interior, for it is more probable that they came in via Tamluk than overland from the Roman empire." (Cunningham, Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1874-75 and 1875-76, Vol. XIII, pp. 72-73.)

2. See Ch. II.

close to the modern port of Gañjāh.¹ Ptolemy selected this site as one of the bases for the preparation of his map and according to Gerini² the epheterion or point of departure for ships bound for Khryse (Suvarṇabhūmi) was located near about it—very likely at Gopālpur just a little below the mouth of the Gañjāh.

The port of Pīthuṇḍa (Piṭundra of Ptolemy) has also been already located near Chicacole and Kaliṅgapātanaṁ probably at the mouth of the river Nāgāvalī (Lāṅguliā).³ Both *Periplus* and the *Geographike* of Ptolemy suggest that the ships in the Eastern coast were to visit the naval stations of Calchi, Camara, Poduchu, Sapatma, Kontakossyla, Pitundra, Palaura, Gange and Tamalites from the South in order of enumeration⁴. Out of these ports, Pituṇḍra (Pīthuṇḍa) Palaura (Palura) Gange (unidentified) and Tamalites (Tāmralipti) were the ports through which Kaliṅga had cultural and commercial inter-course with the outside world during the early christian centuries.

Among important industries that developed in Kaliṅga by that time, mention may be made of pearl fisheries referred by *Periplus* to have been operated in the lower Ganges,⁵ diamond mining mentioned by Ptolemy⁶ to

1. See *Buddhism in Orissa* p. 45.

2. *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography* p. 743.

3. See Ch. II.

4. *A comprehensive History of India* II p. 438.

Calchi is identified with modern Kolkei or Korkei and Camara is identified with Kāverīpattanaṁ, Poducchu is very likely Arikameḍu near Pondichery and Kantakossylai is the same as Ghaṇṭasīlā.

5. *Periplus*, p. 63.

6. *Ptolemy*, VII, 1. 17; 65, 71, 76, 80.

have been worked out near the town of Kasa, at the mouth of the river Adamas (the modern Ib river which meets the Mahānadī at Hirākud) in the territory of the Sabarai (identified with Sambalpur), and cotton weaving appreciated as early as the days of Kauṭilya.¹ These and many other industries seem to have flourished owing to brisk trade with other countries particularly with Rome. The *Periplus* has given a long list of commodities which were in great demand by the Greeks and the Romans. The Yavanas were mainly carrying on trade in pepper, so much so that it was called 'Yavana priya' in Indian literature. Besides this, spices like cinnamon, malabathrum (cinnamon leaf) were in great demand. Medicinal herbs and spikenards formed important articles of export. The Romans were fond of indigo and lycium for colouring, as well as, for medicine, while some varieties of gum and resin were required by them for making varnish and medicines. Many of these articles were produced in South India and Kaliṅga seems to have supplied these in considerable quantities. Among articles of import, mention may be made of wines both Italian and Laodicean, storax, aromatic, medicine, glass vessels, gold and silver articles and female slaves.

Trade with outside world made Kaliṅga economically prosperous and her social life became active and vigorous. Thus during the period under review Kaliṅga witnessed a high standard of cultural advancement inspite of political disunity and chaos.

1. *Arthasāstra* II (p. 81)

The *Periplus* (Schoff, pp. 51, 62) refers to large stores of cotton goods, varieties of muslins and mallow coloured cottons in the markets of Tagara and Paiṭhān where they were carried by boats, carts or pack bullocks from Maisolos.

THE TYPICAL SELECTIONS FROM ORIYA LITERATURE, VOL. I

INTRODUCTION.

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It is of much importance to note that the early poets took up popular rustic metre and rustic tune for composing their verses, and in this respect the early poets have been followed generally by all subsequent poets. Mr. Monmohan Chakravarty, who has written two excellent essays on the history of Oriya literature, is not correct when he says that Sanskrit dominated the early poetry of Orissa in the matter of its form and metre. Neither the

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Akṣara-Chhanda nor the Matrā Vṛitta of either Sanskrit or of Prākṛita can be shown to be anyway connected with the genuine Oriya metres ; we are glad to notice that the early poets of Orissa could clearly see that the inherent essential character of the vernacular makes itself unfit to be accommodated within the framework of the Sanskrit metre.

As to the form of poetry, where a composition is not distinctly after a Sanskrit work (either as a translation or as a work in adaptation of the original), the form has not been after the ideal of the old-time literature ; it must be admitted, to the credit of the literary genius of the country, that some forms altogether peculiar to the Oriya literature are met with from the earliest time onwards. Koili as a special genre, and Chautisā as a form for poetry of very early times, and Chha-pai or Na-pai of mediaeval days, are some examples.

Keśava Koili *alias* Yasodā Koili by Mārkaṇḍeya Dās is perhaps the earliest known Oriya poem. Looking to the fact that since very remote time it has been customary with the boys and girls all over Orissa to commit this piece to memory, Sir W. W. Hunter suggested that this Koili must be five hundred years old ; Mr. M. Chakravarty, for want of any definite proof, has stated that it is about three hundred years old. It is strange that no scholar has as yet referred to the Artha Koili by Jagannāth Dās, on the evidence of which work the age of Keśava Koili can be clearly proved to be not less than four hundred years old. Jagannāth Dās flourished during the early years of sixteenth century A.D., and he composed Artha Koili to give a spiritual interpretation of the text of the Keśava Koili. As all the words occurring in the Keśava Koili have been commented upon by Jagannāth, it is undoubted that the text of the Keśava Koili remains unchanged, and we now get quite a correct text ; for this reason this piece is of high philological value. It is evident that the Koili in question was very popular and time-honoured in the time of Jagannāth Dās, and as such the time suggested by Hunter may easily be accepted as fairly correct. To be on the safe side we may say that the early years of the rule of the Solar dynasty is the time when Keśava Koili was composed. The character of a Koili is that it is a monologue, and the person whose words the poet versifies, discloses his thoughts to a cuckoo bird by addressing the bird as O Koili ; this address portion forms the burden of the poem.

I could get only four Koili lyrics which are of old time ; but I have been unable to ascertain the exact time of their composition. They have all been grouped together under the head *Koili lyrics*. Keśava Koili is certainly the oldest, and Bāra-māshi Koili (*s.e.*, the Season Koili) seems not much removed in date from the Keśava Koili ; Kānta-Koili by Balarām Dās may easily be placed towards the last portion of Purusottama Deva's reign, for it was then that Balarām Dās flourished. The fourth, namely, the Jñānodaya Koili, which contains some philosophic dissertations, is of very uncertain date. Some doctrines of the poem smacks of *Alekh* doctrine of which Bhima Bhoi of Sone-

ANNEXURE-XXXII(2)

INTRODUCTION.

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pur has been the last noted preacher; but as Alekhism seems to be as old as, if not older than, the temple at Bhubaneswar, a modern date cannot necessarily be assigned to this poem.

The Chautisā form of poems appears to be as old as the Oriya literature: excepting the Season Koili all other Koilies are in Chautisā form. The form of a Chautisā poem is that it should contain at least 34 lines and the letters *Ka* to *Kṣa* should be the initial letters of the lines in regular succession; in this order of letters, this exception is only made that the vowels *A* or *U* or the consonant *N* takes the place of *Ṇ*, the letter *Ni* takes the place of *Ṇ* and either *A* or *Ā* or *Au* takes the place of *N*. I may note that *Ṇ* is pronounced as *Uma*, *Ṇ* as *Nia* and *N* as *Āna* in Orissa. It is in consequence of the artistic development of this method or fashion that a single letter has been used by some poets as the initial letter of all the lines of a poem, no matter how lengthy the poem is: for instance, the *Rasa-kallola* by Dinakrisna Dās has the *Ka* initial all throughout, and all the lines of *Vaidehisa-Vilāsa* by Upendra Bhanja have *B* or *V* for their initial letters.

The origin of the Chautisā form is easy to trace. In the later time Tantric system a mystic religious value was assigned to each and every letter, and Stotra-verses (hymns) were composed according to the aforementioned *Chautisā* succession of letters, for special efficacy in the prayer or incantation. It is in Orissa only that this form has been adopted in general literature.

Reference by old poets to many Chautisās in the matter of naming the *tune* of their verses or songs, shows that the form got into vogue from a remote past; most of the Chautisās referred to by the old poets are now lost. It may also be pointed out that the adoption of the old Chautisā tunes by the later poets for the tune and metre of their verses, shows unmistakably that the poets have used the popular and genuine Oriya metre in their versification.

I should first of all use this word of caution that the Sanskrit names of some of the tunes should not put us on the wrong scent, for despite the names of the tunes, basic Oriya notes of the songs are unmistakably noticeable when they are sung.

We have to note in this connection that the sections or chapters or cantos of the poetical works are not generally called by the name *अध्याय* or *सर्ग* but by the name *वान्द*; each complete piece of poem as a lyrical piece for instance, is a *वान्द* by itself. Each and every metre of a *वान्द* has been set to tune, and the name of the tune occurs at the heading. The name of the tune occurs as a *राग* or a *दृज* or a *वाणी*; what this direction regarding the tune of the *वान्द* signifies, and how a *दृज* differs from a *वाणी*, may be briefly discussed. It has been suggested to me by Babu Kishori Mohan Dās of Balasore, who knows a good deal of Oriya music, that *वाणी* is the tune which is to be followed in the ordinary recitation of a piece of poetry, while *राग* indicates how the piece is to be regularly sung as a song. This is perhaps the reason why we get the name

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of a राग as well as of a वाणी for the tune direction of one and the same piece of poetry. It is to be noted that a वाक्य has one tune when recited by the वृत्त, and has quite another when sung according to the वाणी and the राग. The term वृत्त does not seem to differ from वाणी, for they both relate primarily to the character of the metre. For the Rāgas we get generally classical names of the old musical literature, as वंलात्री, कामोदी, आपाङ्गुल, भूपाल, भैरव etc.; even such a name as गङ्गमालिका occurs as the name of a राग which is unknown to the Hindu musical literature. An Indian song, we all know, cannot be sung if both राग and ताल are not indicated for it: the वाणी indicates as a metre, how a line of a song is to be divided following the rule of cadence; Vāṇī perhaps differs from Vṛitta in this that the latter merely indicates a metre, while the former indicates a popular tune as well as a metre; this is what appears to be the case even from the names of the Vāṇīs, for we notice that in naming the Vāṇīs, old-time songs have been named, viz., Rukmini Chautisā, Uddhava Chautisā, Bimbādhari Chautisā, Madhupa Chautisā, etc.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ORIYA LANGUAGE

CHARYAPADA : ITS LANGUAGE

In 1907 were discovered by Prof Haraprasad Sastri in the Durbar Library of Nepal some lyrics of later Buddhism now called Charyapadas and some similar verses called 'Doha'. In 1916 he published the former under the title 'A thousand year old Bengali songs with Muni duttas Sanskrit $\bar{t}\bar{i}\bar{k}\bar{a}$ and the later under the title 'Dohā'. His text was based on a single palmleaf Ms. written in an eastern script which was once prevalent in Bengal, Orissa, Bihar and Assam. Buhler called this script proto-Bengali.

Prof. Bendel had published Subhasita sangraha from Nepal; in Apabhraṅsa before 1916. Dr. Sastri however designates its language as old Bengali.

The publication of Dr. Sastri aroused the interest of a host of scholars of Indo-Aryan philology particularly scholars from Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam. In the meantime the text of the Charyapadas was improved upon with the help of its Tibetan translation, particularly by Dr. Sahidullah and Dr. Bagchi. The 48 lyrics of Dr. Sastri have now been supplemented by two more.

The nomenclature of the language of the text however, has been a matter of dispute. Broadly speaking two views have been expressed. Some say that the language comes under M.I.A. (Middle Indo Aryan) other say that it comes under Neo Indo Aryan. The scholars who hold the latter view are again divided in their opinion. Some say the language is Bengali, Some say Hindi, some say it is Oriya, some say it is Maithili. Others say it is Assamese.

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This view is presented below in a tabular form

Language of the Charyapada.*	1. Middle Indo Aryan Prof. Bendel, Dr. Kochhad
	2. New Indo Aryan :-
	(a) Eastern Hindi, Rahul Sankri- tayana, Dharmaveer Bharati, Prof. Srivastava.
	(b) Bengali, prof. Sastri, Dr. Sahidullah, Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Dr. P. R. Sen, Dr. S. Sen, Manindra Basu, Dr. Sashibhusan Dasgupta, Dr. Tarapada Chatterjee.
	(c) Oriya :- B. C. Mazumdar, Dr. K. Kar, Dr. M. Manisingh, Dr. paresh Ch. mazumdar.
	(d) Mathili:- Dr. Jayakanta Mishra
	(e) Assamese :- Biranchi Kumar Bhuyan.

There are certain words in the Charyapada which can not be explained if we take the language thereof as Bengali. On the other hand, these are well explained if we take the language as early Oriya. For example in Charya No.37 are used words which stand for organs of reproduction of man,. In this song the poet Tadakapada means to say that the doctrine of Sahaja tattwa is something that is hidden and indescribable. It can only be realised by the Sadhaka following the instruction of his Guru. In society the organs of reproduction are always kept hidden. But on

* *This language (the hypothetical Neo Magadhan) is the common parent of the modern dialects of the eastern Aryan language viz:- Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Bihari and Awadhi and that the bulk of the literature of the changes might find its closed affinity with this New-Magadhan Language of India.*

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occasions these become exposed or are seen for example when a man crosses a stream (or wades through a stream by swimming). But on no occasion Sahaja tattwa which is beyond speech can be seen.

In the words of the poet

बाण्ड कुरुण्ड संगरे जाणी
वाक्पथातीत कॉहि वखाणी ॥

The first two words are commonly used in Oriya though these are considered as indelicate. These respectively mean 'Penis' and Scrotum. Munidutta explains the compound as वाधकविभेष as 'a type of disease' and perhaps means to say diseased organs of reproduction. These have been misinterpreted in Bengali as standing for भाडकोड (H.P. Sastri) as for बटुआ (betelbag) of the Oriya language (Basu).

There are some other Charya songs in which reference is made to 'the pleasures of the bed' and the act of giving birth to an off-spring. The latter idea is expressed by the terms बिआण 'begetting (in No. 20) prasūta according to Munidutta, विआइला gave birth to (in No. 33) बिआती in No. 2 (a women' and बिआली in No. 4) The word in No. 2 stands for (as far as its spiritual meaning is concerned.) These terms do not occur in Nababidhana Bengali Dictionary. These are common colloquial oriya though these are considered as slang. For the aforesaid terms, prasaba, prasabīta, and prasuti are used in educated circle. Scholars who trace बिआण as corruption of Vijnanā are wrong. The word is tracable to वि+जनम see page 767, pāiasaddamahannava.

In Charya No. 9 अविज्ञाकारकुदम अकिलेभे and Charya No. 35 एवे चिअराज मो-कु णट्ठा the Oriya Accusative post position -ku is used. In other Magadhan Language such as Bengali, Assamese, Maithili, Bhojapuri and Magadhi this post position is not used. In some of these western Oriya -ke is used.

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In Charya No. 8 and 14 the term काच्छी is used as for example खुण्टि उपाडि मिलिलि काच्छि (in No. 8) पाञ्च केडुआल पडन्ते माङ्गे पिटत काच्छी वान्धि (in No. 14). In Bengali Kachhi ' means a rope where as in Oriya it means 'cloth'. The expression means मेलिलि काच्छि 'set sail'

The verbal बुलयेठ in charya no. 15 is used in Oriya and not ;in Bengali as pointed out by Prof. M. Basu. some stanzas look like modern Oriya.

एक घडली सरुइ नाल ।
भणन्ति विरुआ थिरकरि चाल ॥

There are many words in the Charyapada which are found in Oriya but they hardly appear in Bengali such as 'Pākhudi' (petal) (not in Nababidhan Dictionary), Cinā (चिना) as in Kangucinā in charya No. 50, Canchali (Chāncharā) Prof M. Basu says, चञ्चल हइते तुच्छार्थ Johnā (an edible corn) Tailā (high land) keduala (oar) (in No. 14) maṅg/māṅg (helm head) in No. 14 and Kaṭa (in 42 and 43). *

In the car festival of the deity Jagannatha in Orissa when the car is drawn by people an employee of temple standing on the chariot singas songs some of which are considered slang. Such a song of four stanzas of savaripada has been recently detected. My attention has been drawn to it by Dr. Narendra pradhan. The songs begins like this गाइण बुढा टोकीकु रसिला and concludes. बोइला सवरीपाद शुंघाइला गद The poet Savaripada of this song is identifiable with the savaripada of Charyapadas.

* *The language of the Charges represent the Characteristics of Neo-Magadhan of which Oriya in a conservative and faithful descendant. - Dr. R. C. Mazumdar.*

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Dr. H. P. Sastri admit that Orissa was the native place of Kukuripada the author of charya No. 2 and his song is written in Oriya language. In his song some times 'D' appears in place of 'L' in past tense.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ORIYA LANGUAGE

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It is of much importance to note that the early poets took up popular rustic metre and rustic tune for composing their verses, and in this respect the early poets have been followed generally by all subsequent poets. Mr. Monmohan Chakravartty, who has written two excellent essays on the history of Oriya literature, is not correct when he says that Sanskrit dominated the early poetry of Orissa in the matter of its form and metre. Neither the

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Akṣara-Chhanda nor the Mātrā Vṛitta of either Sanskrit or of Prākṛita can be shown to be anyway connected with the genuine Oriya metres ; we are glad to notice that the early poets of Orissa could clearly see that the inherent essential character of the vernacular makes itself unfit to be accommodated within the framework of the Sanskrit metre.

As to the *form* of poetry, where a composition is not distinctly after a Sanskrit work (either as a translation or as a work in adaptation of the original), the form has not been after the ideal of the old-time literature ; it must be admitted, to the credit of the literary genius of the country, that some forms altogether peculiar to the Oriya literature are met with from the earliest time onwards. Koili as a special genre and Chautisā as a form for poetry of very early times, and Chha-pai or Na-pai of mediaeval days, are some examples.

Keśava Koili *alias* Yasodā Koili by Markaṇḍeya Das is perhaps the earliest known Oriya poem. Looking to the fact that since very remote time it has been customary with the boys and girls all over Orissa to commit this piece to memory, Sir W. W. Hunter suggested that this Koili must be five hundred years old ; Mr. M. Chakravartty, for want of any definite proof, has stated that it is about three hundred years old. It is strange that no scholar has as yet referred to the Artha Koili by Jagannāth Dās, on the evidence of which work the age of Keśava Koili can be clearly proved to be not less than four hundred years old. Jagannāth Dās flourished during the early years of sixteenth century A.D., and he composed Artha Koili to give a spiritual interpretation of the text of the Keśava Koili. As all the words occurring in the Keśava Koili have been commented upon by Jagannāth, it is undoubted that the text of the Keśava Koili remains unchanged, and we now get quite a correct text ; for this reason this piece is of high philological value. It is evident that the Koili in question was very popular and time-honoured in the time of Jagannāth Dās, and as such the time suggested by Hunter may easily be accepted as fairly correct. To be on the safe side we may say that the early years of the rule of the Solar dynasty is the time when Keśava Koili was composed. The character of a Koili is that it is a monologue, and the person whose words the poet versifies, discloses his thoughts to a cuckoo bird by addressing the bird as O Koili ; this address portion forms the burden of the poem.

I could get only four Koili lyrics which are of old time ; but I have been unable to ascertain the exact time of their composition. They have all been grouped together under the head *Koili lyrics*. Keśava Koili is certainly the oldest, and Bāra-māshi Koili (*i.e.*, the Season Koili) seems not much removed in date from the Keśava Koili ; Kanta-Koili by Balaram Das may easily be placed towards the last portion of Purusottama Deva's reign, for it was then that Balaram Das flourished. The fourth, namely, the Jñānodaya Koili, which contains some philosophic dissertations, is of very uncertain date. Some doctrines of the poem smacks of *Alekā* doctrine of which Bhima Bhoi of Sone-

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pur has been the last noted preacher; but as Alekhism seems to be as old as, if not older than, the temple at Bhubaneswar, a modern date cannot necessarily be assigned to this poem.

The Chautisā form of poems appears to be as old as the Oriya literature: excepting the Season Koili all other Koilies are in Chautisā form. The

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The origin of the Chautisā form is easy to trace. In the later time Tantric system a mystic religious value was assigned to each and every letter, and Stotra-verses (hymns) were composed according to the aforementioned *Chautisā* succession of letters, for special efficacy in the prayer or incantation. It is in Orissa only that this form has been adopted in general literature.

Reference by old poets to many Chautisās in the matter of naming the *tune* of their verses or songs, shows that the form got into vogue from a remote past; most of the Chautisās referred to by the old poets are now lost. It may also be pointed out that the adoption of the old Chautisā tunes by the later poets for the tune and metre of their verses, shows unmistakably that the poets have used the popular and genuine Oriya metre in their versification.

I should first of all use this word of caution that the Sanskrit names of some of the tunes should not put us on the wrong scent, for despite the names of the tunes, basic Oriya notes of the songs are unmistakably noticeable when they are sung.

Tune and Vāni and Chhānda. We have to note in this connection that the sections or chapters or cantos of the poetical works are not generally called by the name *अध्याय* or *सर्ग* but by the name *वाङ्*; each complete piece of poem as a lyrical piece for instance, is a *वाङ्* by itself. Each and every metre of a *वाङ्* has been set to tune, and the name of the tune occurs at the heading. The name of the tune occurs as a *राग* or a *दृज* or a *वाणी*; what this direction regarding the tune of the *वाङ्* signifies, and how a *दृज* differs from a *वाणी*, may be briefly discussed. It has been suggested to me by Babu Kishori Mohan Dās of Balasore, who knows a good deal of Oriya music, that *वाणी* is the tune which is to be followed in the ordinary recitation of a piece of poetry, while *राग* indicates how the piece is to be regularly sung as a song. This is perhaps the reason why we get the name

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of a राग as well as of a वाणी for the tune direction of one and the same piece of poetry. It is to be noted that a वाक्य has one tune when recited by the वृत्त, and has quite another when sung according to the वाणी and the राग. The term वृत्त does not seem to differ from वाणी, for they both relate primarily to the character of the metre. For the Rāgas we get generally classical names of the old musical literature, as वल्लभ, कामोदी, आपाङ्गुल, भूपाल, भैरव etc.; even such a name as गङ्गालिखा occurs as the name of a राग which is unknown to the Hindu musical literature. An Indian song, we all know, cannot be sung if both राग and ताल are not indicated for it: the वाणी indicates as a metre, how a line of a song is to be divided following the rule of cadence; Vāṇī perhaps differs from Vṛitta in this that the latter merely indicates a metre, while the former indicates a popular tune as well as a metre; this is what appears to be the case even from the names of the Vāṇīs, for we notice that in naming the Vāṇīs, old-time songs have been named, viz., Rukmini Chautisā, Uddhava Chautisā, Bimbādhari Chautisā, Madhupa Chautisā, etc.

TYPICAL SELECTIONS FROM ODISA LITERATURE, VOL. I

Gopi-Bhāṣā.—The popular lyric, *Gopi-Bhāṣā*, seems as old as the old Chautisas; like the *Keśava Koili* it is read in all primary schools, and the popular tradition is that it has been in existence since a remote past; no definite date, however, could be assigned.

Early Religious Epics.—Looking to the fact that Balarām Dās, Jagannāth Dās, and Sāralā Dās, who are the early poets of Orissa, are the authors of the *Rāmāyana*, the *Bhāgabata* and the *Mahābhārata* respectively, it has been asserted by some that the first period of Oriya literature was occupied in translating Sanskrit works in Oriya: this is not a correct statement. None of these works is a translation; the authors have re-told the *Rāmāyana*, the *Bhāgabata Purana* and the *Mahābhārata* in their own way, and they may be regarded as the original works of the authors. The literary activity of the time of the Solar kings of Orissa is marked by the composition of Religious Epics, and in the reign of the very first king Kapilendra *alias* Kapilesvara, Sāralā Dās composed his *Mahābhārata*. Misled by the opinion of Mr. Monmohan Chakravartty regarding the date of Sāralā Dās, I have put in the selections from his *Mahābhārata* after having set out the selections from the writings of Balarām Dās and Jagannāth Dās. The paper of Mr. Chakravartty (J.B.A.S., 1898, p. 332, *et seq.*) in which wrong suggestion has been given regarding the time of Sāralā Dās, is otherwise excellent, and invaluable to the students of Oriya literature. I find that the very introductory chapter (p. 257 of the following selections) gives us the name of Kapilesvara Deva, the reigning king of the poet's time. However, following the order of the selections in the book I notice his work and his life after giving accounts of Balarām Dās and Jagannāth Dās.

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TYPICAL SELECTIONS FROM ODISA LITERATURE

Balarām Dās. — What Balarām Dās has stated of himself in the colophon portions of his Rāmāyana, justifies us in holding that he had composed his epic some time before he was converted to Vaisnavism by Chaitanya Deva of Bengal. He was no doubt devoted to Jagannāth of the Puri temple, and he says that he was inspired

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by the deity Jagannāth to execute his poem, but at the time of writing the Rāmāyana he was a man of the world, living happily with his family and did not earn the name Matta-Balarām by becoming an enthusiast ascetic following the teachings of Chaitanya. In the last but one colophon of the Rāmāyana, the poet says that his father, Somnāth Mahāpātra, was a minister of the Raja and the name of his mother was Manomāyā. Presumably Somnāth was a descendant of Gopināth who was, as the Gopināthpura inscriptions disclose, a minister of Kapilendra Deva. The poet says, he was thirty-two years old when he finished the epic, and that he versified the whole story of the Rāmāyana as he learnt it from the narration of the story by the Pandits. The whole poem was evidently recited by the poet by taking his seat in the Jagamohana or the audience hall of the Puri temple, for the title of the book is Jagamohana Rāmāyana. Though Jagamohana Rāmāyana is the title in the colophon, the work subsequently acquired the name *Dāṇḍī Rāmāyana*, as it became a popular work, and the contents were being recited or sung by the *Dāṇḍa* or road-side (*i.e.*, before the crowded public). In the colophon referred to above and quoted below, the number of the padas of the book has been put down as one hundred thousand. The important lines of colophon are :—

महापात्र मन्त्री सोमनाथ महापात्र ।
 बलरामदास ये ताहार मुहि पुत्र ॥
 मनोमाया अटे मोर जननीर नाम ।
 जनम हइनु सु पाइलि महाज्ञान ॥
 जगमोहन पुरुष अथय अरूप ।
 अग्रतरे तैनेथ विहग अपाप ॥
 सामवेदुं सम्भूत एसातकांड कहि ।
 छायारूप अनन्त अपूर्व तनु वधि ॥
 ताहा प्रसादे मोते सारदा दया कला ।
 रामायण ग्रथ मोर मुखे उचारिला ॥
 चौविंश सहस्र श्लोक ए गौत रस ।
 बालमीक मुनि याहा कलिक प्रकाश ॥
 विदग्धन मुखर ये मुनिहंइ ताहा ।
 दया कले मोते ये कमलादेवी नाहा ॥
 तेनु एहि महाकाव्यकु ये वाच्य कलि ।
 लक्षे पद ठिक करि गौते वसाइलि ॥
 जन्मर मुख मोर अलप वयस ।
 ग्रथकला काले मोते वरस वक्तिप्र ॥

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दारा सुत धन जन सुखभोग शिरो ।
अनपे व्यापने ईद कहन्ति ता हरि ॥

In a colophon in the Sundarā Kānda the poet mentions the title of his book :—

‘जगन्मोहन’ त्रिणि ए रामायण नाम ।
तस्यकारि भक्तिने पादव विद्यास्थान ॥

To induce the proud Brahmans to read this Rāmāyana composed by a Sudra (that is to say by a man of the Kārōṇa caste), the poet writes in another colophon in the Lanka Kānda :—

सुद्धिं क्षीण पापी ने विशेषे श्रद्धयोनि
सुखजने कोप न करिव इच्छा सुनि ॥

Balarām became a disciple of Chaitanya in his old age, and so it is likely that he commenced his literary career during the reign of Purusottama Deva. That after becoming a Vaisnava of Chaitanya's school he continued his literary career in Pratapa Rudra's time is proved by some remarks regarding him in two Gupta Gītās which are not of much literary merit. It has been stated in one of these Gupta Gītās that Balarām Dās, the author of the Rāmāyana, composed a work in the vernacular, entitled the Gītā and could finish only the first chapter of the work. The author of this Gupta Gītā narrates that he himself is the re-incarnation of Balarām Dās in the time of Rājā Mukunḍa Deva and finishes this unfinished Gītā in 35 chapters. This statement stands as :—

श्रीहरि कहिले सुन अर्जुन । प्रद्युम्न अटइ मोर नन्दन ॥
ताहार पुत्र अनिरुद्ध ह्वैव । से पुनि कालरे लय पाइव ॥
सु शैवे दासब्रह्म अवतार । कलिदुगे दासब्रह्म शरीर ॥
प्रतापरुद्र नामे ह्वैव राय । कलि तेते से काल विषय ॥
सोमनाथ नामे श्रुत कुलर । अनिरुद्ध जात ताहारि घर ॥
ता सुत नाम बलराम दास । गुप्त गीता अध्याये प्रकाश ॥
बलराम दास ता गुप्त करि । अध्याये कलि सेहि चिवे मरि ॥
से पुनि सुकुन्ददेव द्विअङ्गे । बलराम दास जनमि लोके ॥
पञ्चविंश अध्याये कहिव सेहि । तो आगे कहिलि अर्जुन सुधि ॥

In the other Gupta Gītā, which contains 22 chapters and as such cannot be the original one of Balarām Dās, it has been narrated that the orthodox Brahmans disputed the claims of Balarām as a religious teacher and that this dispute was referred to Rājā Pratapa Rudra Deva. The date of this dispute has been given in these words :—

रुद्र अंशरे गजपति । प्रतापरुद्र ये नृपति ॥
ताहार सप्तदश अङ्के । मकर मास शुक्लपक्षे ॥

ANNEXURE-XXXVI(3)

INTRODUCTION

xxv

Balarām Dās and so also his immediate successor, Jagannāth Dās, have expressed their thoughts forcibly and gracefully in the simple Oriya language of the people. They did not resort to those verbal jingles which characterize the poems of a later period. The use of sonorous words of Sanskrit origin, in the name of poetic diction, does not vitiate the simple style of the early poets. Balarām Dās is not ashamed of using those words freely which soon after his time came to be regarded as vulgar, for the poet reckons himself as one of the common people of the country. Balarām Dās, as a national poet, has sung for the people, and by making Orissa a miniature world by itself has taught his countrymen to love the land of their birth; the Kailāsā of far north has been located in Orissa and the Kapilāsā hill of Dhenkanal has been made the Kailāsā mountain: even the hilly tracts of Orissa have been made to bear the footprints of Rāma, and the forest tribes of the country have been arraigned as the camp-followers of Rāma; in the Kiskindha Kāṇḍa, for instance, the rude tribes of Bamra and Bonai have been mentioned to be the soldiers recruited by Rāma.

Besides the Kānta Koili and the Rāmāyaṇa, Balarām Dās is believed by some to be the author of the following booklets: viz., (1) Arjuna Gītā, (2) Gaja Nistārana Gītā, (3) Beḍhā Parikramā and (4) Mriguni Stuti. The work Kamala-Lochana-Chautisā composed by the poet in the Chautisā form, has not been noticed either by Hunter or by Chakravartty; the whole of this poem is inserted in this work of selections. Of the works marked above by Nos. 1 to 4 Beḍhā Parikramā contains only a few lines relating to the temple of Jagannāth, and the booklets which bear the honorific title Gītā, relate only to some Pauranic incidents to sing the efficacy of prayer to Viṣṇu. Gaja Nistārana Gītā is identical in form and spirit with the Mriguni Stuti; the latter work being the best of the lot has been selected to represent this class of composition.

Jagannāth Dās.—I cannot too highly speak of what Jagannāth Dās has done to raise his countrymen to a higher level of moral existence. No poet of old time enjoys so much of popularity as Poet Jagannāth Dās does. I know that in Orissa the name of Upendra Bhanja is a name to conjure with, but the popularity of this writer of artificial amorous verses is quite of a peculiar nature and cannot be compared to what Jagannāth commands. There is not a single Hindu village in Orissa where at least a portion of Jagannāth Dās's Bhāgabata is not kept and daily recited. A few facts of his life should therefore interest the readers.

His biographer, Divākara Kara, informs us that he comes of a respectable Brāhman family of Kapileṣvarapura-Sāsana in the district of Puri, and the names of his parents are recorded as Bhāgabān Dās and Padmā; it is stated that he was born in the noon time on one Bhādra Sukla aṣṭami day, but the year has not been mentioned. As Jagannāth was converted to Vaisnavism by Chaitanya Deva himself shortly after his arrival in Orissa in 1510, the poet was very likely born some time in the 9th decade of the 15th century. The father of the poet was a reader of the Purāṇas

ANNEXURE-XXXVI(4)

xxvi

INTRODUCTION

in the Jagannāth temple and gave the poet a good education in Sanskrit. Jagannāth finished his school education when he was 18 years old, and it seems that he took to the composition of the Rāmāyana in Oriya some time before the advent of Chaitanya in Orissa. The reference to this literary performance occurs in the following words of Divakara Kṛṣṇa:—

श्री रामायण ग्रन्थ साधि

श्री भारवते दिजे वृधि ।

This Rāmāyana, however, does not exist; either Balarām Dās has effaced this work or that the writer of Bhāgabata did not care to give his maiden work to the public. Jagannāth Dās renounced his Brahmanism, becoming a disciple of Chaitanya, and became the founder of the Atibaḍī Vaisnava sect. It is reported that poet Balarām Dās was first initiated into Vaisnavism by Chaitanya and Balarām Dās who got then the name नम बलराम induced Jagannāth to accept the new creed.

The accounts of the life of Balarām Dās and of Jagannāth Dās as recorded in the book named Daḍhyatā-Bhakti are fanciful and thoroughly unreliable; the only fact we get in this book, which is correct, is that both these poets flourished in the time of Raja Pratapa Rudra Deva.

How Jagannāth Dās could secure this unique position in literature has to be stated to explain the nature of influence he exercised and still exercises in the country. The establishment of the cult of Jagannāth, enshrined in a temple as awe-inspiring and admiration-extorting as the huge edifice at Bhubanesvar, was an epoch-making affair. That the genuine Hindu people of all classes lose their caste distinction in the presence of god Jagannāth, has been a great factor in the enlargement of the religious views of the people. When Chaitanya preached his religion in this land dominated by the deity Jagannāth, and the common people got the message that they can obtain salvation without the intervention of the Brahmans, by only having faith in God, and by doing good deeds, an epoch of self-culture ensued. When the Brahmans were the custodians of the religious books, the non-Brahman people could not have access to them, even though they learnt the Sanskrit language; that the words of the Sacred Books do not lose their sanctity by being translated into the speech of the common people, was a great edifying lesson to the non-Brahmans who everywhere form the majority. When the people learnt that the Bhāgabata, which is the most sacred of all sacred books, was within their easy reach, the people took to the study of the vernacular with uncommon zeal and energy. This is why the art of reading and writing is known and practised by the common people more extensively in Orissa than in Bengal. Long ago, Bhudeb Mukerjee as Inspector of Schools duly observed this fact of Oriya mass education, and reported the matter in his public report. There cannot be any hesitancy in making this statement that Jagannāth Dās, by presenting his Oriya Bhāgabata to the people, induced all classes of men of his country to cultivate the vernacular language.

ANNEXURE-XXXVI(5)

INTRODUCTION.

xxvii

The benefit which Jagannath Das has conferred upon his countrymen is immense; how the moral ideas preached by him in the book has moulded and is still moulding the character of many million of men can be easily appreciated. The selections from his work will show what poetic faculties and moral powers he possessed.

The poet is also regarded to be the author of two small books, namely, the Gupta Bhāgabata and the Tulābhinā. I give some extracts from these two books though in my opinion the books do not show the hand of the poet of the Bhāgabata. In the Tulābhinā high philosophical thoughts have been tried to be explained in easy language, and hence the title of the book signifies "spinning or carding cotton." Though the small booklet Tulābhinā does not disclose any mystic cult of important nature, it is significant to note that there is a religious sect in Orissa, which goes by the name Tulābhinā, and the persons initiated into the faith perform some mystic practices in secret, which are believed to be tantric in character.

Hunter and Chakravartty do not mention the booklets Artha Koili and Mriguni Stuti composed by Jagannāth Dās; perhaps the last named work on account of its being identical in title with Balarām Dās's Mriguni Stuti, escaped the notice of the learned scholars. The booklet, Artha Koili, is interesting for many reasons; I have already said that this work, as a commentary on the Kesava Koili, establishes the antiquity of the latter work; the colophon portion again discloses that this work (the remarks are applicable to Mriguni Stuti as well) was composed, when the poet did not renounce his Brahmanism by coming under the influence of Chaitanya. Mriguni Stuti and a portion of Artha Koili appear in this work of typical selections.

Special Mention Details

Made On 30/03/2012 Session No .225

Subject :- Demand to declare Odia as 'classical language'

SHRI RAMA CHANDRA KHUNTIA (ODISHA): Sir, the Odiya language etymologically has been derived from the word 'Udra", which means 'agriculture'. Odisha symbolizes the farmers as mentioned in "NatyaShastra of Sage Bharat" in 2nd Century AD. In 261 BC, at the time of Ashoka the 13th Rock edicts -- where it has been mentioned that 1 lakh people were killed and 1.5 lakh were arrested in Kalinga War -- indicate the presence of Odiya language. The great Kalinga State at the time of SamratAairkharbel when Kalinga was spread from Ganga to Godavari up to Mathura in 168 BC, as has been written in Elephanta Caves of Khandagiri and Lalitgiri, and the subsequent information found of Bhouma Dynasty and Kesare Dynasty from 790 to 850, and the 15th Century Mahabharat written by Saral Das at the time of Kapilendra Dev, clearly speak about Odiya language. It has a separate script of its own. It is one of the original oldest languages.

Therefore, I urge upon the Government to declare 'Odiya' language a classical language, as some of the other languages have also been declared 'classical' languages. Thank you.

(Ends)

कुमारी सैलजा
Kumari Selja



संस्कृति मंत्री
एवम्
आवास और शहरी गरीबी उपशमन मंत्री
भारत सरकार
शास्त्री भवन, नई दिल्ली-110115
Minister of Culture
and
Minister of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation
Government of India
Shastri Bhawan New Delhi
D.O. No. 7122/2012-Aka
20 APR 2012

Dear Shri Rama Chandra Khuntia Ji,

Please refer to the Special Mention raised by you on 30th March, 2012 in the Rajya Sabha regarding declaring Odiya a 'Classical language'.

It is informed that with the approval of the Cabinet, Ministry of Home Affairs issued a Notification creating a new category of languages to be known as 'Classical languages'. This Notification also laid down certain criteria to determine the legibility of languages for classification as a classical language.

The criteria to determine the eligibility of languages for classification as a classical language is as under:

- a) High antiquity of its early texts/recorded history over a period of 1500-2000 years (earlier this period was notified as 1000 years)
- b) A body of ancient literature/texts, which is considered a valuable heritage by generation of speakers.
- c) The literary tradition be original and not borrowed from another speech community.
- d) The Classical language and literature being distinct from modern, there may also be a discontinuity between the Classical language and its later forms or its offshoots.

I may mention that my Ministry has constituted a Committee of Linguistic Experts to consider the demands for categorization of languages as Classical language. No proposal for classifying Odiya as a Classical language has been received in the Ministry so far.

With regards,

Your sincerely,

(Kumari Selja)

Shri Rama Chandra Khuntia,
Member of Parliament (RS)
26, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road,
New Delhi-110001

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF CULTURE

RAJYA SABHA

UNSTARRED QUESTION NO. 2654
TO BE ANSWERED ON 5.9.2012

DECLARATION OF ORIYA AS CLASSICAL LANGUAGE

2654. SHRI RAMA CHANDRA KHUNTIA :

Will the Minister of CULTURE be pleased to state:

- (a) how many language has been declared as classical language in the country;
- (b) whether it is a fact that the criteria for declaring classical language has been changed after declaration of some of the languages as the classical language;
- (c) if so, the reason therefor and why this differential treatment to different language; and
- (d) whether Government proposes to declare Oriya language as the classical language considering Oriya as one of the oldest language which has origin before 200 B.C.?

ANSWER

MINISTER OF HOUSING AND URBAN POVERTY ALLEVIATION AND
MINISTER OF CULTURE
(KUMARI SELJA)

- (a) Four languages namely, Tamil, Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannada have been declared as classical languages.
- (b) Yes, Sir.
- (c) The criteria were changed on the basis of the recommendation of the Linguistics Expert Committee.
- (d) There is no such proposal at present.

रामचन्द्र खुंटीया (संसद सदस्य)
RAMA CHANDRA KHUNTIA
Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha)
Secretary All India Congress Committee
National Vice-President
Indian National Trade Union Congress
President : INTUC, Orissa Branch
Vice President : BWI Geneva



26 Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road
New Delhi-110 001

Tele Phone : 011-23386999
011-23384999
011-23782999 (Fax)

E-mail : rckhuntia@gmail.com
inbcwf.org@gmail.com
rckhuntia007@yahoo.co.in
khuntia@sansad.nic.in

5, RF/1, Unit-III, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bhubaneswar - 751 001 (Odisha)
Tel. Fax : (O) 0674-2536646,
(R) 0674-2300969, 2300959

Ref. No. VIP/ODIA/166/12

20th September 2012

Sub:- Declaration of Odia language as classical language.

Respected Sir,

Odia is one of the oldest language which was being used by Udra in 300 BC to 100 BC that is at the time of Kalinga War with Ashok and at the time Jain King Mahameghabahana Ayra Kharbela all these incidents have written in elephant cave of Lalitgiri and Khandagiri, which is named as "Kalinga Shilalekha". The Shilalekha was also found at Dhauli and which was established by Ashoka. The language used in these Shilalekha is identical and very close to Odia Language. Odia language is not the product of neither Drabidian language or Sanskrit Language. It is a separate language. The Odia script has no resemblance with Hindi, Sanskrit, Bengali, Telugu or any other neighboring state. In 100 BC when Mahameghabahana Ayra Kharbela was the Kalinga its territory was expanded from pandya (now known as Tamilnadu up to Ganga and in north it was expanded to Magadh Pataliputra, Mathura, Bidisha, Ujayani and close to Pakistan Boarder in West and that is period from which the Udra Civilization and Odia language start in between three hundred BC to one hundred BC. Even Ashok Shilalekha which is established by none else but Ashoka himself the language is close to present Odia Language. Subsequent information also very much available from the Shilalekha of Bhouma Dynasty and Kesari Dynasty.

The word Odia is anglicized version of Odia which itself is a modern name for the Udra or Udra Tribal that inhabited in the central belt of modern Odisha. The Odisha has also been the home of Kalinga, Kambo, Kosal and Utkal Tribal that played important in the regional history and one of earliest references to the regional history and one of earliest references to the ancient Kalinga appears in the writing of Vedic Chronicles. In 6th BC, Vedic Sutrakara Baudhayan mention Kalinga as being beyond the vedic fold, indicating that Bramhinal influences had not touched the land, unlike some other parts of India tribal customs and traditions played important role in shaping political structure and cultural practice right up to

रामचन्द्र खुंटिया (संसद सदस्य)

RAMA CHANDRA KHUNTIA

Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha)
Secretary All India Congress Committee
National Vice-President
Indian National Trade Union Congress
President : INTUC, Orissa Branch
Vice President : BWI Geneva



26 Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road
New Delhi-110 001

Tele Phone : 011-23386999
011-23384999
011-23782999 (Fax)

E-mail : rckhuntia@gmail.com
inbcwf.org@gmail.com
rckhuntia007@yahoo.co.in
khuntia@sansad.nic.in

5, RF/1, Unit-III, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bhubaneswar - 751 001 (Odisha)
Tel.Fax : (O) 0674-2536646,
(R) 0674-2300969, 2300959

15th C when Bramihnnical influence triumphed and caste difference started inhibit in social mobility. But even till now influence of cast is much less in Odisha.

However inspite of all these rich history and cultural heritage of Odisha and Odia language, Odia language has not been declared as classical language where as four other language Tamil, Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannada have already declared as classical language. I have raised this matter in Parliament on 30.03.2012 and again on 5.09.2012. Replying to my question and special mention Hon'ble Minister has same that the criteria for record history language as classical language has been changed from 1000 years to 1500 to 2000 years recorded history the language. But it is not fair and justice. After declaring four languages as the classical language if the criteria is changed and record history period increases to 1000 to 1500 to 2000 years. It is clear case of discrimination to Odia and other language. As a citizen of India and Odia being one the recognized language in the Indian Constitution we have the right to get the scope as per other language.

Therefore, on behalf of 50 million Odia people Odia language speaking living in Odisha and other part of this country. I urge upon the Government to declare Odia language as the classical language and the criteria of high antiquity of early texts recorded history over a period of 1500-2000 years would be changed to 1000 years as it was earlier.

Yours sincerely



(R.C. KHUNTIA)

Dr. Manmohan Singh, Hon'ble Prime Minister of India, 7, Race Course Road, New Delhi.
Shri Sushil Kumar Shinde, Hon'ble Minister of Home, Government of India, North Block,
Shri Pranab Mukherjee, His Excellency President of India, President House, New Delhi.
Shri Mohammad Hamid Ansari, His Excellency Vice President of India, 6, Maulana Azad Rd.
Kumari Selja, Hon'ble Minister of Culture, Government of India, Shastri Bhawan.
The Secretary, Ministry of Culture, Government of India, Shastri Bhawan, New Delhi.

Village Address : At Begana, P.O. Dhaneswar Via : Korai, Dist.: Jaipur (Odisha)
Tel./Fax : (06726)-265150, (06726)-265013

संगीता गैरोला
SANGITA GAIROLA
Ph. : 23386995, 23381040
Fax : 23384093



सचिव, भारत सरकार
संस्कृति मंत्रालय
नई दिल्ली-110115

SECRETARY
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF CULTURE
NEW DELHI-110 115

D.O. No. 3652/Secy(C)/2012
25th September, 2012

Dear Sir,

Please refer to your letter No. VIP/ODIA/166/12, dated 20th September 2012, regarding declaration of Odia as a classical language.

I have directed Joint Secretary, Sh. Pramod Jain, to look into the matter for necessary action.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sangita Gairola
(Sangita Gairola)

Sh. Rama Chandra Khuntia
Member of Parliament (RS)
26, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road
New Delhi – 110 001



सत्यमेव जयते

प्रधान मंत्री

Prime Minister

New Delhi
26 September, 2012

Dear Shri Khuntia,

I have received your letter of 20 September, 2012 regarding declaration of Odia language as a classical language.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Manmohan Singh
(Manmohan Singh)

Shri Rama Chandra Khuntia, MP
5, RF/1, Unit III
Mahatma Gandhi Road
Bhubaneswar-751001

No. V-13/1084-HMP-2012

गृह मंत्री
भारत
नई दिल्ली - 110001



HOME MINISTER
INDIA
NEW DELHI-110001

सुशीलकुमार शिंदे
SUSHILKUMAR SHINDE

01 OCT 2012

Dear Shri Khuntia ji,

I have received your letter dated 20.9.2012 with its enclosures, requesting to declare 'Odia' language as classical language.

As the subject matter pertains to Ministry of Culture, I am forwarding the same to them for necessary action at their end.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,


(SUSHILKUMAR SHINDE)

Shri Rama Chandra Khuntia,
Member of Parliament (R S),
26, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road,
New Delhi- 110 001.



सत्यमेव जयते

उप-राष्ट्रपति, भारत

VICE-PRESIDENT OF INDIA

October 3, 2012

Dear Khuntia ji

Thank you so much for your letter of September 20, 2012 regarding declaration of Odia language as classical language.

With best wishes

Yours sincerely,

(M. HAMID ANSARI)

Shri Rama Chandra Khuntia,
Member of Parliament,
26, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road,
New Delhi – 110 001.

ANNEXURE-XLIV(1)

निदेशक
DIRECTOR



VPS-18/Rep/2012

उप-राष्ट्रपति सचिवालय
VICE-PRESIDENT'S SECRETARIAT
नई दिल्ली / NEW DELHI - 110011
TEL: 23016344 / 23016422 FAX: 23018124

04th October, 2012

Madam,

I am directed to forward herewith a letter No.VIP/ODIA/166/12 dated 20th September, 2012 alongwith its enclosures (in original) received in this Secretariat on 26th September, 2012 from Shri Rama Chandra Khuntia, Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha), 26, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road, New Delhi regarding deciaration of Odia language as classical language.

This is for your appropriate attention please.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(ASHOK DEWAN)

Smt. Sangita Gairola,
Secretary (Culture),
Ministry of Culture,
502-C, Shastri Bhawan,
New Delhi.

Encl: As above.

Copy to: PS to Shri Rama Chandra Khuntia, Member of Parliament
(Rajya Sabha), 26, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road, New Delhi-110 001.

(ASHOK DEWAN)

कुमारी सैलजा
Kumari Selja



संस्कृति मंत्री
एवम्
आवास और शहरी गरीबी उपशमन मंत्री
भारत सरकार
शास्त्री भवन, नई दिल्ली-110115
Minister of Culture
and
Minister of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation
Government of India
Shastri Bhawan New Delhi-110115

D.O.No. 1732/HCM/2012

05 OCT 2012

Dear Shri Khuntia ji,

I have received your letter dated 20.9.2012 informing me about the history of Odia language in connection with the declaration of Odia as classical language.

I am directing the Secretary (Culture) to look into the request and take appropriate action.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Kumari Selja)

Shri R.C. Khuntia,
Member of Parliament (RS),
5 RF/1 Unit III, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bhubaneswar 751001.

सौरभ विजय, भा.प्र.से.
निदेशक
Saurabh Vijay, IAS
Director

Tel. : 011-23016767, 23015321
Fax : 011-23014580
e-mail : saurabh.vijay@rb.nic.in
No.17/10/P(I)/2012



राष्ट्रपति सचिवालय
राष्ट्रपति भवन
नई दिल्ली - 110004
President's Secretariat
Rashtrapati Bhavan
New Delhi - 110004
12 October, 2012

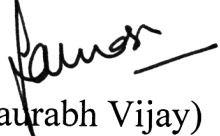
Dear Sir,

Kindly refer to your letter dated 1.10.2012 addressed to the President of India.

The same has been sent to the Secretary, Union Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,


(Saurabh Vijay)

Shri Rama Chandra Khuntia,
Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha),
26 Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road,
New Delhi- 110001

F.No. 8-85/2012-Akademies
Government of India
Ministry of Culture

Shastri Bhawan, New Delhi
Dated the 15th October, 2012

To

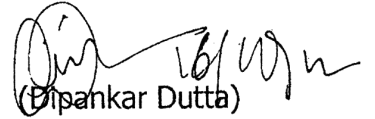
The Acting Secretary
Sahitya Akademi
Rabindra Bhawan
New Delhi

Subject : Declaration of Odia language as Classical Language.

Sir,

I am directed to enclose herewith a copy each of letter No. VIP/ODIA/166/12 dated 20.9.2012, received from Shri Rama Chandra Khuntia, MP (RS) and letter dated 24.9.2012 received from Lekhaka Sammukhya, Orissa on the subject cited above and to request you to place the same before the Committee of Linguistic Experts. The recommendation of the Committee may be intimated to this Ministry urgently for apprising the Hon'ble Member of Parliament.

Yours faithfully,



(Dipankar Dutta)

Under Secretary to the Government of India

Copy to :

1. PA to Shri Rama Chandra Khuntia, MP (RS) and Secretary (AICP)
26, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road, New Delhi-110001
2. PS to HCM with reference to Note dated 11.10.2012

कुमारी सैलजा
Kumari Selja



संस्कृति मंत्री
एवम्
आवास और शहरी गरीबी उपशमन मंत्री
भारत सरकार
शास्त्री भवन, नई दिल्ली-110115
Minister of Culture
and
Minister of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation
Government of India
Shastri Bhawan New Delhi-110115

D.O.No. 1950/HCM/2012

26 OCT 2012

Dear Shri Khuntia ji,

I have received your letter dated 12.10.2012 forwarding the representation of the President, Lekhaka Sammukhya, Orissa requesting to for declaration of Odia as classical language.

I am directing the Secretary (Culture) to look into the request and take appropriate action.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Kumari Selja)

Shri R.C. Khuntia,
Member of Parliament (RS),
5 RF/1 Unit III, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bhubaneswar 751001.

कुमारी सैलजा
Kumari Selja



संस्कृति मंत्री
एवम्
आवास और शहरी गरीबी उपशमन मंत्री
भारत सरकार
शास्त्री भवन, नई दिल्ली-110115
Minister of Culture
and
Minister of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation
Government of India
Shastri Bhawan New Delhi-110115

D.O.No. 1983 /HCM/2012

26 OCT 2012

Dear Shri Khuntia ji,

I have received your letter dated 18.10.2012 informing me about the history of Odia language in connection with the declaration of Odia as classical language.

I am directing the Secretary (Culture) to look into the request and take appropriate action.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Kumari Selja)

Shri R.C. Khuntia,
Member of Parliament (RS),
5 RF/1 Unit III, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bhubaneswar 751001.

ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ ଓ ଗଣଶିକ୍ଷା ବିଭାଗ ଅଧୀନରେ
ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷା ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନ

ୟୁନିଟ୍-୫, ଭୁବନେଶ୍ୱର-୦୧, ଓଡ଼ିଶା
ଫୋନ୍ : ୨୩୯୧୦୨୧, ଫାକ୍ସ : ୨୩୯୦୧୩୩
Website : www.odiabhashapratisthan.org, E-mail : odiabhasapratisthan@yahoo.co.in



Under the Department of School & Mass education

ODIA BHASHA PRATISTHAN

UNIT-5, BHUBANESWAR-01, ODISHA

Ph : 2391021, Fax : 2390133

ପତ୍ର ସଂଖ୍ୟା ...୧୨୪୫...

ତା ...୧୨/୧୧/୧୨...

ପ୍ରାପକ :

ଶ୍ରୀ ରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ଖୁଣ୍ଟିଆ
ମାନ୍ୟବର ରାଜ୍ୟସଭା ସାଂସଦ
ନୂଆଦିଲ୍ଲୀ

ବିଷୟ : ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷାର ଶାସ୍ତ୍ରୀୟ ମାନ୍ୟତା ପ୍ରକଳ୍ପ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟର ଅଗ୍ରଗତି ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ।

ସୂଚନା : ୧. ସଭାପତି, ଲେଖକ ସାମ୍ମୁଖ୍ୟ, ଓଡ଼ିଶା, ଭୁବନେଶ୍ୱରଙ୍କ ତା ୨୨.୧୦.୨୦୧୨ରିଖ ପତ୍ର ।

୨. ମାନ୍ୟବର ରାଜ୍ୟସଭା ସାଂସଦ ଶ୍ରୀ ରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ଖୁଣ୍ଟିଆ, ନୂଆଦିଲ୍ଲୀଙ୍କ ୧୨.୧୦.୨୦୧୨ରିଖ ପତ୍ର,
ଯାହାର ନକଲ ଶ୍ରୀଯୁକ୍ତ ହୋତା ତାଙ୍କର ୨୨.୧୦.୧୨ ତାରିଖର ପତ୍ର ସହ ସଂଲଗ୍ନ ଭାବେ
ପ୍ରେରଣ କରିଥିଲେ ।

ମହାଶୟ,

ଉଚ୍ଚତ ପ୍ରସଙ୍ଗ ଓ ସୂଚନା ଆଧାରରେ ମୁଁ ଆପଣଙ୍କୁ ଅବଗତ କରାଇବାକୁ ଚାହେଁ ଯେ “ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷାର
ଶାସ୍ତ୍ରୀୟ ମାନ୍ୟତା” ବିଷୟକ ଗବେଷଣାଧର୍ମୀ ସମର୍ଥ ଓ ସ୍ଥାୟୀ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତି ନିମନ୍ତେ ତତ୍ସମ୍ପନ୍ନୀୟ ଉପ-ବିଷୟର
ଶୀର୍ଷକ ଓ ବିଶେଷଜ୍ଞମାନଙ୍କ ନାମ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷା ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନ ଦ୍ୱାରା ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ହୋଇସାରିଛି । ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ବିଶେଷଜ୍ଞ
୨୦ରୁ ୨୫ ପୃଷ୍ଠା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ପ୍ରାମାଣିକ ତଥ୍ୟ ସମ୍ବଳିତ ଗବେଷଣାଧର୍ମୀ ସମର୍ଥ ଲେଖି ୨୦୧୨ ମସିହା ଡିସେମ୍ବର
୧୫ ତାରିଖ ପୂର୍ବ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନରେ ଦାଖଲ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ସମ୍ପୃକ୍ତ ବିଶେଷଜ୍ଞମାନଙ୍କୁ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନ ପକ୍ଷରୁ ଅନୁରୋଧ ପତ୍ର
ପ୍ରେରଣ କରାଯାଇଅଛି । ଉକ୍ତ ବିଶେଷଜ୍ଞମାନଙ୍କ ନିକଟରୁ ସମର୍ଥଗୁଡ଼ିକ ପ୍ରାପ୍ତ ହେଲେ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନ ଏକତ୍ରିକୃତ
ସ୍ଥାୟୀ ପତ୍ର ଅବିଳମ୍ବେ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ କରି ପରବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ଅଗ୍ରାଧିକାର ଭିତ୍ତିରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିବ ।

ଆପଣଙ୍କ ବିଶ୍ୱସ୍ତ

ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶକ

रामचन्द्र खुंटिया (संसद सदस्य)
RAMA CHANDRA KHUNTIA
Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha)
Secretary All India Congress Committee
National Vice-President
Indian National Trade Union Congress
President : INTUC, Orissa Branch
Vice President : BWI Geneva



26 Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road
New Delhi-110 001
Tele Phone : 011-23386999
011-23384999
011-23782999 (Fax)
E-mail : rckhuntia@gmail.com
inbcwf.org@gmail.com
rckhuntia007@yahoo.co.in
khuntia@sansad.nic.in
5, RF/1, Unit-III, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bhubaneswar - 751 001 (Odisha)
Tel.Fax : (O) 0674-2536646
(R) 0674-2300969, 2300959

24th November, 2012
New Delhi

Dear Madam,

Sub: Appeal to declare Odia as the Classical Language.

As we all know that the government of India is constituted a committee of linguistic experts to consider the demand for the categorization of language as classical language on the basis of the criteria laid down by the ministry. In the meantime Tamil, Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannada have already been declared as classical language. We therefore the undersign Members of Parliament from Odisha request you to kindly consider and take appropriate step to declare Odia as classical language.

The argument in favor of Odia language to be consider as under:

1. Chandra Gupta Mourya overthrew the last Nanda king in 322B.C. During the time of Chandra Gupta Kalinga declare herself independent. His grand son Chandasoka invented Odisha in 261 B.C. and included Kalinga into his empire. The Kalinga war recorded as the bloodiest war ever in the history of India. Over hundred thousand was killed and hundred fifty thousand was arrested but the great Kalinga war changed Chandrasoka to Dharmasoka and subsequently he embraced to Buddhism which was elaborately written in Palli language and Brahmi script in the ancient form of Odia language.
2. In the early first century B.C under the Chedi chief Mahabegha bahana Aira Kharabela was the most illustrious king rule Kalinga, furnish the detail account on the life and military expedition of this great king in Hati Gumfa inscription found in Udaygiri. The language is close to Odia.
3. The antiquity of land, people and language of Odisha(anciently known as Kalinga) are described in the ancient texts like Mahabharat, Skandapurana etc.
4. Two significant Ashokan inscriptions were inscribed at Dhauri and Jaugeda just after the Kalinga war in the year 261 B.C.. The Language (Pali) and the Script (Brahmi) of both the inscriptions were the proto form of Odia language and script and a good number of words of odia language were found in those inscriptions.
5. The Hatigumpha inscribed by great Kalinga Emperor Kharabela at Khandagiri caves in 1st Century A.D bears the testimony of the language and style of the locality. Its poetic style was subsequently imitated by other inscription at Nanghat, Girnar, Allhabad and Asampat etc. A dozen of Odia words could find their origin from the vocabulary of this inscription. Dr. Mayadhar Mansingh has designated it as the earliest indigenous literary expression of Odisha.
6. First poetics text of our country 'Natya Shastra' composed by Bharat Muni during about 1st Century A.D mentions Udra Vibhasa as a prabriti. This Udra Vibhasa(the language spoken by the downtrodden and farmers) was non but the ancient proto form of Odia language. Prakrit Sarbaswa of Markandeya also gives an example of Udra Bhasa.

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5, RF/1, Unit-III, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
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7. The Buddhist text 'Lalita Bistara' gives a list of 64 scripts known to Lord Buddha. Ugri(Udri) was one of the scripts in the list. Scholars traced that Udri with Udra(Odia) script.
8. The Chinese traveler Hiuen Tsang(7th Century A.D) recorded the academic growth of eminent Kalinga and mentioned, 'The words and language of this region(the land of Odras)differ from the speeches of central Asia.' This proves that by that time the common speech of Odias had acquired a distinct originality.
9. Folk literature created in Odia Language from time immemorial are varied and rich in their own ways. Folk songs, tales, riddles, anecdotes and folk theatres are existing certainly before the written literature show old and rich tradition of odia language. Distinguished foreign scholars like John Beams, Verrier Elvin etc. were attracted towards Odia folk lore and discussed on it.
10. Though all the eastern Indian languages like, Bengali, Assamese, Maithili and Nepali demand that 'Charya Pada' (10th century) as their first written literature, which was found from the Nepal court, only Odia language has the legislate claim being the language of Charyapadas is most closer to and many Odia words found in the text.
11. Oriya prose, which found its origin in the inscriptions of about 11th Century (Urajam inscription) subsequently enriched in Madala Panji (the Jagannath Temple Chronicle of 13 century) and Rudrasudhanidhi, an unique prose text written in the poetic style in the 14th Century.
12. Odia literature is one of the most original and copious literature of India manifested in many genres. It has never been influenced by any language nor borrowed anything from any source during ancient and medieval period. At the beginning odia Mahabharat composed by Sarala Das in 15th Century, which is considered to be the first complete Mahabharat in vernacular Indian languages, the religious and mystic poetry composed by saint poets of Bhakti Cult during 16th century, the archaic poetry during medieval time are the unique features of Odia literature. Many style of poetry like Chautisha, Koili, Poi, Champu, Chupadi, Chitau and Shodhasa etc. are some of the original and new forms which are unique in Odia literature.
13. 1st dictionary of Odia language was composed in poetry by Upendra Bhanja during 18th century entitled "Gitabhidhan" and the encyclopediatic dictionary of Odia languages compiled in 7 volumes by Gopal Chandra Praharaj entitled "Purna Chandra Odia Bhasa Kosa" during 4th decade of 20th century are great works of Odia languages. Philologists like John Beams, Sir Gorge Griarson, and Suniti Kumar Chatterjee in their respective work recognized the ancient characters of Odia language and originality of literature.

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inbcwf.org@gmail.com
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khuntia@sansad.nic.in

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With the above pertinent points we would like to urge before you to take necessary action to determine and grant Classical status to Odia language by putting our proposal before the expert committee.

With best regards

Your sincerely,


(R.C. Khuntia)

To
Smt. Chandresh Kumari Katoch
Hon'ble Minister of Culture
Govt. of India
Shastri Bhawan
New Delhi



प्रधान मंत्री

Prime Minister

New Delhi
6 December, 2012

Dear Shri Khuntia,

I have received your letter of 11 October, 2012 which has also been signed by some of our colleagues requesting for grant of classical status to Odia language.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Manmohan Singh
(Manmohan Singh)

Shri Ramachandra Khuntia, MP
26, Dr Rajendra Prasad Road
New Delhi

रामचन्द्र खूंटीया (संसद सदस्य)
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6th December, 2012
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Philologists like John Beams, Sir Gorge Griarson, and Suniti Kumar Chatterjee in their respective work recognized the ancient characters of Odia language and originality of literature.

Village Address : At Begana, P.O. Dhaneswar Via : Korai, Dist.: Jaipur (Odisha)
Tel./Fax : (06726)-265150, (06726)-265013

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With the above pertinent points we would like to urge before you to take necessary action to determine and grant Classical status to Odia language by putting our proposal before the expert committee.

With best regards

Yours sincerely


(R.C. KHUNTIA)

To
Smt. Chandresh Kumari Katoch
Hon'ble Minister of Culture
Govt. of India
Shastri Bhawan
New Delhi

चन्द्रेश कुमारी कटोच
CHANDRESH KUMARI KATOCH



संस्कृति मंत्री
भारत सरकार
शास्त्री भवन, नई दिल्ली-110001
Minister of Culture
Government of India
Shastri Bhawan New Delhi-110001

D.O.No. 2289 /HCM/2012

7/12/12

Dear Shri Rama Chandra Khuntiaji

I have received your letter dated 11.10.2012 signed by other Members of Parliament, requesting to declare Odia as the Classical language.

The request is being forwarded to Secretary (Culture) for due consideration.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Chandresh Kumari Katoch)

Shri Rama Chandra Khuntia,
Member of Parliament (RS),
26 Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road,
New Delhi 110001.

चन्द्रेश कुमारी कटोच
CHANDRESH KUMARI KATOCH



संस्कृति मंत्री
भारत सरकार
शास्त्री भवन, नई दिल्ली-110001
Minister of Culture
Government of India
Shastri Bhawan New Delhi-110001

Shri R.C. Khuntia

D.O.No.8-85/2012 – Akademies

13/12/12

Please refer to your letter dated 22.11.2012 regarding declaring Odia as a classical language.

2. I would like to inform you that your request has been sent to Sahitya Akademi for placing the same before the Committee of Linguistic Experts for examination and recommendation in the matter.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Chandresh Kumari Katoch)

Shri R.C. Khuntia
Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha),
26, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road,
NEW DELHI – 110 001

**GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF CULTURE**

RAJYA SABHA

**UNSTARRED QUESTION NO. 2816
TO BE ANSWERED ON 19.12.2012**

CLASSICAL LANGUAGE STATUS TO ORIYA

2816. SHRI RAMA CHANDRA KHUNTIA:

Will the Minister of **CULTURE** be please to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that many Members of Parliament, Literary Associations of Odisha have demanded to declare Odia as the classical language;
- (b) if so, the action taken in this regard;
- (c) whether it is also a fact that when some of the languages were considered and declared as classical language at that time the criteria was minimum 1000 years for consideration but after these languages were declared as classical language the criteria for eligibility has been changed to 1500 to 2000 years; and
- (d) whether it is not a discrimination to other languages and whether Government will consider Oriya as classical language as per the old criteria?

ANSWER

**MINISTER OF CULTURE
(SMT. CHANDRESH KUMARI KATOCH)**

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) The same will be placed before the Committee of Linguistic Experts.
- (c) Notification No. IV-14014/7/2004-NI-II dated 12.10.2004, issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India declared "high antiquity of its early texts/recorded history over a thousand years" as one of the criteria to determine the eligibility of a language to be considered for classification as a 'Classical Language' which was later amended to "High antiquity of its early texts/recorded history over a period of 1500-2000 years" vide their Notification dated 25.11.2005.
- (d) Sahitya Akademi, an autonomous organization (working for the promotion of letters and literature of Indian languages) under the Ministry of Culture treats all its 24 recognized languages at par. There is no question of discrimination in any of these languages. Demands/requests for categorization of any language as a classical language is considered as per the latest criteria laid down by the Ministry of Home Affairs for this purpose.

OFFICIAL LANGAUGE BILL-2012

SHRI RAMA CHANDRA KHUNTIA (ODISHA): Sir, I rise to participate in the Official Languages Bill, 2012 and also support some of the arguments put forward by my friend, Mr. Siva, demanding that all regional languages to be taken into consideration for the official purposes of the Union, and also given the status of 'national language'. There is no harm in it. I think, the Government can also consider it for giving recognition to the regional languages. At present, the two official languages that we have are Hindi and English. He was putting his arguments in favour of Tamil. There is no problem.

We also support Tamil. But there is a system which is working. As he has already said, it may also work. I have all respect for the Tamil language, Tamil people and their movement. But, I think, in addition to Tamil, all other languages could also be declared 'official languages.' As he has mentioned, there was an assurance given in this regard in the UPA's Common Minimum Programme. I think, that can also be taken into consideration.

Sir, language is the medium of expression and there is no doubt that it is important for everybody in the country. It has many aspects. If you see our judicial system and the legislative system, the work is done in English only, which is, sometimes, creating problems. Although it is not very much related to this Bill, in the judicial system, such a system is creating problems for a poor worker, a farmer, a woman, a girl who is being tortured or raped, or for his father or mother who do not know the English language, who do not understand whether the lawyer is saying for her or against her or what the Judge is pronouncing. He or she has to only depend upon the lawyer for it, and it happens here in this country where we live in. But, Sir, this system cannot go for a long time, because, if a person has no right to understand what his lawyer is saying, what remark the Judge is making and if he or she cannot understand the judgment that is pronounced, then how can we say that we are giving justice to everybody? That is a situation in all spheres, and the Government has to take it very seriously. We say to a person that 'you are violating the law.' But the law is printed only in English or somewhere, sometimes, in Hindi. We are not giving an opportunity to the general public to understand the law. Suppose, an Act is enacted today, but if it is not translated into the regional language and people do not know what the law is, how can we say that this is the law which you have violated and you are liable to be punished? Sir, these two things are very important. I draw the attention of the hon. Home Minister, through this

House, to these two important aspects, and, I think, the Government has to give a serious thought for giving the real information on any statute or legislation to the public in the regional language, and the deliberation of the judgment also should be made available in the regional language.

Sir, there are three cases. One is, as Mr. Siva said, the Tamil language had been given the status of Classical Language during UPA-I time, and he has also given his thanks for it. There is another case. My other friend, Mr. Singh, was saying that Rajasthani language is not included in the Eighth Schedule. Sir, in my case as well, even though Odiya language is a also very old language, till now, it has not been given the status of Classical Language. The only difference is, the Tamil people have fought a lot for it for more than 65 years. I think, we have not fought enough, and also, the other people have also not fought in the manner as the Tamil people fought for their cause; and we are very much with them for their cause. There are many languages in our country. Sir, in the case of Odiya language, certain things are very relevant. As has been mentioned by my friend, Mr. Siva, I would like to draw your attention to certain aspects related the term '*Janapada*' literally means the foothold of the tribe. The fact that the '*Janapada*' is derived from the jan-point to an early stage of land taken by the Jan tribe for settlement of life, the process of first settlement on land, was in its final stages prior to the times of Bhuddha and Panini. The pre-Buddhist North-Western region of the Indian sub-continent was divided into several *janapadas*, demarcated from each other by boundaries. According to Panini, '*janapada*' stands for country and *janapadini* stands for citizenry. Each of the *janapada* was named after the Khetriya tribe, for the Khetriya *jan*, who were settled there. 'India as known to Panini : A Study of Cultural Material in the Ashtadhyayi', 1963, Vasudevsharan Agarwal's, 'India in the time of Patanjali', 1968 and Socio-economic and Political History of Eastern India, 1977, the History of Literature, 2000 edition, talk about the presence of the Odiya language at that time. The famous Sanskrit Gramarian, Panini's Ashtadhyayi, also indicated the presence of the Odiya language at that time.

Sir, I wish to draw your kind attention to the time of Chandragupta Maurya who overthrew the last Nanda King in 322 B.C. During the time of Chandragupta, Kalinga declared herself independent. His grandson, Chandasoka, invaded Odisha in 261 B.C. and included Kalinga into his empire. The Kalinga War was recorded as the bloodiest war ever in the history of India. Over hundred thousand people were killed and a hundred and fifty thousand were arrested, but the great Kalinga War changed Chandrasoka to Dharmasoka

and subsequently, he embraced Buddhism, which was elaborately written in Pali language and Brahmi script, in an ancient form of the Odiya language. In the early First Century B.C., there was the Chedi Chief, Mahabegha Bahana Aira Kharabela, a great King of Odisha, whose kingdom extended right from Ganga to Godavari and sometimes even to Krishna and, in the north up to Agra. He was one of the most illustrious Kings who ruled Kalinga. A detailed account of the life and military expeditions of this great King can be found in the *Hati Gumfa* inscription in Udaygiri. That language is close to Odiya.

Sir, the first poetic text of our country, 'Natya Shastra', composed by Bharat Muni about the First Century A.D., mentions Udra Vibhasa as a prabriti. This Udra Vibhasa, the language spoken by the downtrodden and the farmers, was none other than the ancient proto form of Odiya language. *Prakrit Sarbaswa* of Markandeya also gives an example of *Udra Bhasa*. The Buddhist text 'Lalita Bistara' gives a list of 64 scripts known to Lord Buddha. Ugri was one of the scripts in the list. Scholars traced *Udri* with Udra, the Odiya script. The Chinese traveller, Hieun Tsang, in the Seventh Century A.D., recorded the academic growth of the eminent Kalinga and mentioned, "The words and languages of this region, the land of Odras, differ from the speeches of Central Asia'.

This proves that by that time the common speech of Odiyas had acquired a distinct originality. The folk literature created in Odiya language since time immemorial, are varied and rich in their own ways. The folk songs, tales, riddles, anecdotes and folk theatres that existed certainly before the written literature, are proof of the old and rich tradition of Odiya language. Distinguished foreign scholars like John Beams, Verrier Elvin, etc., were attracted towards the Odiya folklore and held discussions on it. Though all the eastern Indian languages like Bengali, Assamese, Maithili and Nepali accept 'Charya Pada' of the 10th Century as their first written literature, which was found from the Nepal court, only Odiya language has the legitimate claim to being the language closest to *Chayapadas*, and many Odiya words are found in the text. Odia prose, which found its origin in the inscriptions of about 11th century (Urajam Inscription) subsequently enriched in Madala Panji (the Jagannath Temple Chronicle of 13th century) and Rudrasudhanidhi, a unique prose text written in the poetic style in the 14th century was close to Odia.

Odia literature is one of the most original and copious literatures of India manifested in many genres. It has never been influenced by any language nor has it borrowed anything from any source during ancient and medieval period.

At the beginning, Odia Mahabharat composed by Sarala Das in 15th century, which is considered to be the first complete Mahabharat in vernacular Indian languages, the religious and mystic poetry composed by saint poets of Bhakti cult during 16th century, the archaic poetry during medieval time are the unique features of Odia literature. Many style of poetry like Chautisha, Koili, Poi, Champu, Chupadi, etc., are some of the original and new forms which are unique in Odia literature. Sir, by saying so, I want to mention here, as I was saying earlier, that Tamil language has been declared as classical language but Odia language has not been declared the classical language although it is very old and unique and it has its unique culture and origin.

Sir, this is the situation. As has been said by others also, it is a fact that Tamil people fought in the past for their language. But Odia people and people belonging to other languages might not have fought. But, today, the Bill which has come is a very important Bill. It gives us an opportunity to discuss various languages like Rajasthani, Odia, etc., and their history. As has been said by Mr. Singh, it may be very expensive. Nowadays also, an international conference can also be conducted through translation system. In this new era, it is not very difficult to hire software which can give the opportunity to translate the language and communicate it to various States in regional languages. Such software can be developed. Even in Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha or international conferences, translation system is possible. So, in this new era of developed technology, this is possible. I think, with less expenditure also, this could be possible. The Government of India can think about this as to how to communicate with people in their own language and how to use a regional language as the official language of the Government of India.

With these words, I once again support the Bill moved by brother Siva. I will not insist on making Odia an official language now, but I will definitely fight to the last till Odia language is declared, at least, a classical language. I will fight for that. I also once again request hon. Home Minister to consider that and also consider whether all other languages can also be given an opportunity to be used as official language of the country. Thank you.

ANNEXURE-58

रामचन्द्र खुंटिया (संसद सदस्य)
RAMA CHANDRA KHUNTIA
Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha)
Secretary All India Congress Committee
National Vice-President
Indian National Trade Union Congress
President : INTUC, Orissa Branch
Vice President : BWI Geneva



26 Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road
New Delhi-110 001
Tele Phone : 011-23386999
011-23384999
011-23782999 (Fax)

E-mail : rckhuntia@gmail.com
inbcwf.org@gmail.com
rckhuntia007@yahoo.co.in
khuntia@sansad.nic.in

5, RF/1, Unit-III, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bhubaneswar - 751 001 (Odisha)
Tel.Fax : (O) 0674-2536646,
(R) 0674-2300969, 2300959

8th May, 2013
New Delhi

Ref. No-MP-338/2013

Dear Sir,

With reference to our earlier application for declaration of Odia language as Classical language dated 20.09.2012 addressed to Hon'ble Minister, Culture and dated 24.11.2012 addressed to Hon'ble Minister, Culture department and the letter sent to me from the Ministry of Culture. I am to submit five copies of paper annexure and photo in support of our demand of declaring Odia language as Classical language.

I request you to kindly acknowledge the same and take appropriate action in this regard immediately.

Your sincerely,


(R.C Khuntia)

To,
Shri K. Srinivas Rao
Secretary, Kendriya Sahitya Academy
Ravindra Bhawan,
New Delhi-110001


8/5/13