CHAPTER - II

TRADE AND COMMERCE
Large scale trade activities lead to the growth of urban centres in early India. Decline of trade led to the decline of towns during different phases of Indian history. Thus urbanisation was linked with trade and commerce. Orissa in the past played an important role in the field of trade and commerce and maritime activities due to her geographical location, close associations with the sea, and a well communication system.\(^1\) The *Voita Vandana* festival of Orissa is the reminiscent of her maritime tradition.

An important source of information for the study of trade and commerce of Orissa is the account of the celebrated Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hsuan-Tsang. However, the information about the trade and maritime activities of Orissa is neither exhaustive nor conclusive.\(^2\) The Buddhist Jātaka Stories,\(^3\) *Brihat Kathā, Kathākosa*, Jaina literature and ceylonese chronicles reveal that in the remote past Kalinga proved to be an advanced centre of trade and commerce. Among all the adventurous Indians the people of Kalinga appear to have been pioneers of overseas trade and colonisation.\(^4\) Infact the

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people of Kalinga played an important role in spreading and carrying Indian
culture and civilization outside India.5

The merchants, sailing from the Orissa Coast6 sailed as far as
eastern, lands of Shimhala, Jāvā, Sumātrā, Bāli, Borneo, Shyam, Indo-Chinā
and Burmā for trade and colonisation.7 All through the ages Orissa had been
politically great economically prosperous, and culturally quite advanced.8

For the study of economic condition of Orissa the literatures are
no less important. In this regard the classical writings are of great help. The
writings of pliny (Natural is Historia), Ptolemy (Geographike Huphegesis) and
the Periplus of the Erythraean sea refers to the different ports on the coast of
Orissa. Kautilya’s Arthāśāstra Mentions some of the industries for which
ancient Kalinga was famous not only in India but also abroad. One of the
most important industries of ancient Kalinga the textile industry.9 The Jātakas
and some Buddhist and Oriya literature also throw light on the industry and
trade of ancient Orissa.

Some excavation sites of Orissa clearly indicate the development of urban centres, trade and commerce of the period. The excavations at Śiśupālgarh\textsuperscript{10} about 3 kms to the south-east of Bhubaneswar, Jaugarh\textsuperscript{11} in Ganjam district and Asurgarh\textsuperscript{12} in Kalahandi district of Orissa have contributed a lot to know about the economic condition of Orissa in the early period. The antiquities collected from the excavated sites show a high degree of economic progress resulting from a prosperous trade particularly with the Roman empire.\textsuperscript{13} The punch-marked coins, a copper coin of Kaniska, Puri-Kusāna coins and gupta Gold coins have been come to the notice from the different excavated sites after its excavations.\textsuperscript{14} These coins throw sufficient light on the system of coinage that prevailed at that time for the development of trade and commerce.

The coins which have been collected from the different excavated sites clearly indicate that trade was in a flourishing condition and ancient Orissa definitely had trade relation with other territories of India.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[IAR, 1956-57, PP.30 - 31.]
\item[IAR, 1972-73, p.29.]
\item[B.S.Das, op.cit., p.35.]
\item[A.S.Altekar, " A Note on the Kuśhān Gold Coin", \textit{Al.}, No.5, pp.100-1.]
\end{enumerate}
As in northern India, the history of coinage in Orissa also begins with the punch-marked coins. It is believe that all these coins came into circulation in Orissa in the 4th century B.C. The Punch-marked and Puri-Kusāna coins were in a wide circulation in the district of Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and all the four Coastal districts (Ganjam, Puri, Cuttack and Balasore) of Orissa. The similarity of the material remains from the different excavated sites, the iron implements and potteries spread over different widely scattered districts and the wide distribution of the Punch-marked and Puri Kusāna coins clearly prove the growth of material culture in Orissa. It can ascertained that coastal Orissa in the early christian centuries was hectic commercial and mercantile activity.

The Buddhist literature Si-U-Ki, Dāthadhātu Vansa and Lalitā Vistāra record the existence of a number of ports in ancient Orissa. Ptolemy has also given a very interesting description of Orissan ports. Arthaśāstra of Kautilya describes the shipping activities and its administrative system in the development of trade and commerce in ancient Orissa. He has mentioned that the people of Orissa travelled with their voyage in the month

17. Ibid.
of Asādha (June) to Kārtika (October). Gunadhya’s Buddakahā, Somadeva’s Kathāsaratīsaṅgar and Acharya Dandi’s Dāsakumār Charita also describe the sea voyage activities of the people of Orissa. The description of the sea voyages from the ports of Tāmralipta and Che-lī-ta-lo to Simhāla, Chinā and other places as given by the famous Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-Tsang bear ample testimony to the maritime activities of the people of Kalinga in ancient period.

The above mentioned information clearly gives certain idea regarding the origin and development of trade and commerce in ancient Orissa. The different coins also help to identify the development of trade and growth of urban centres in different places and in different times. On the basis of the following sources of information, it may be explained in-details how the primitive men could able to establish trade and market centres in the different stages of their life.

In the palaeolithic age (Old Stone Age), man was basically a hunter. Hunting and fishing were their chief occupations. In course of time

the food gathering economy changed in to food producing one. In the Neolithic Age (New Stone Age) there was some kind of change in atmosphere, man started cultivation instead of fishing and hunting, which gradually developed in to permanent agriculture based villages. With the growth of agriculture the rural economy of the people gradually changed its character because of surplus production which gave rise to the development of market towns specially on land and riverine routes, the centres of pilgrimage, commercial relationship, development of guilds, and the introduction of metallic currencies to constitute a proper society, a group of human beings were in some productive relationship, which involved the creation and transfer of surplus production.

The 'surplus' and 'Scarcity' constitute the two basic factors which formed the nucleus of trade and market and even civilization. Both the words, scarcity and surplus, are interlinked. When Scarcity or want arises, the surplus is consumed. In other words, Scarcity arises when production is less in comparison with demand. Actually in this system, two requirements are to be satisfied, firstly, a demand of goods and secondly, the need for an

23. Ibid., p.XX.
25. D.D.Kosambi, The culture and civilization of Ancient India, p.34.
organisation of producer to provide the supply of goods.\textsuperscript{26} To meet the situation, the society distributes the surplus products through the market system.

As a result a market system followed in the wave of this sound process of production and distribution.\textsuperscript{27} Men moved to a central and convenient place for the transaction of the surplus goods. Men in need of certain articles, came to this central place with some other form of surplus product for the purpose of exchange of goods. In this way goods were exchanged and market trade was established. This type of development clearly shows that the market was the social arrangement, found in every civilization to facilitate the supply of the means of subsistence through trade and commerce. Therefore, market was not only the economic arrangement on the principle of demand and supply but it was a social need.\textsuperscript{28} It is clear that markets were social need, evolving gradually. Trade came with the coming of man, who gradually developed the institution of market, which came to fulfil his growing social and cultural needs. The word commerce means to carry on trade to have intercourse and to exchange all the reciprocal goods and services. Trade was an important branch of state finance, which was

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{26} R.Firth, \textit{Primitive Polynesian Economy}, p.16.
  \item \textsuperscript{27} C.M.Polanyi and H.W.Pearson, (Ed.) \textit{Trade and Market in Early Empire}, p.326.
  \item \textsuperscript{28} Ibid, p.289.
\end{itemize}
mainly executed by the *Vaiśyas*. As a profession commerce had a social status in the society from time immemorial. It is a well accepted fact that economic system in ancient India was associated with the *Vaiśya* community. They were professionally associated with both the production of the commodities and exchange. They provide the economic support to the elaborate structure of the society. Commerce naturally passed through different stages of development till it formed a most important part of economic organization.

It is an established fact that agriculture formed the predominant feature of Orissa's rural economy. Although the rural economy was increasingly agrarian in character, the development of different craft and industries cannot be ignored. The geographical location of Orissa helped her in rising to great heights in respect of trade and commerce from pre-Buddhist period.

The system of trade and commerce originated in Orissa from village *hātas* (Market). Village *hātas* played an important role in the economic life of the people. It served as the centre of business activities in

local area. It was a centre of exchange of articles by different communities of people. In the inscription there is a clear cut indication of different hāṭtas that flourished in Orissa. The inscription from Jājpur assigned to the 7th-8th century A.D.\(^{33}\) suggests the existence of hāṭa that was operational in a number of villages. A copper plate grant\(^{34}\) of the Bhañja king Neṭṭabhañja, assigned to the 8th century A.D. informs us that Aṅgulaka (Angul) was a prosperous town. The merchant community sold different articles on a large scale there. One such hāṭa was established by Mādhavidevī the queen of Subhākaradeva-I (A.D.790) of the Bhaumakara dynasty near the Mādhaveśvara temple in modern Jājpur.\(^{35}\) The Purī plates of Ganga Bhānudeva II\(^{36}\) also refers to the Tārāpur hāṭa, Khādioṅga hāṭa, and Mahantapadā hāṭas. The Alalpur plates of Narasimha II\(^{37}\) also refers to the Uchabapadā hāṭa, Yaitrapadā hāṭa, Jayapura hāṭa and Vāraṅga hāṭa. These inscriptions mainly refer to the hāṭas in the modern coastal districts of Puri and Cuttack. The Puri copper plate\(^{38}\) inscription of Ganga king Bhanu II dated A.D.1312 mentions a number of hāṭas. Besides this the description of Hsuan-Tsang reveals that there were a number of towns flourished in the

\(^{33}\) Ibid.  
\(^{34}\) JBORS, XVII, pp.114-116.  
different parts of Orissa in the 7th century A.D. In due course the village hātas converted to small towns and trade centres.

It is evident from literary as well as archaeological sources that important routes existed in Ancient and early medieval Orissa for internal trade and royal activities. The Geographical location of Orissa helps her to open communication to outside Orissa for trade purposes. There was rapid development of trade and communication in Orissa during 3rd century B.C. During this period Orissa was well populated. The population growth indirectly helped her to open new market and trade centre not only in Orissa but also in outside Orissa. The two special rock-edicts one at Dhaulī and other at Jaugarh of Asoka and the excavation findings of Jaugarh and Śiśupālgarh provide ample evidence regarding the life style, pattern of administration and socio-economic condition of the people. Jaugarh and Śiśupālgarh have been identified respectively as Somapā and Tosāli of Asoka as mentioned in the inscriptions, and these two metropolises were the key centres of trade and royal activities.

41. E.Hultzeh, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, pp.92-100.
42. B.B.Lal, op.cit., p.80.
From very ancient period Orissa had cultural and commercial contacts with the rest of India. The trade routes, highways and roads, were the main links, which sustained this contact. There are large numbers of evidences to prove that Orissa in the ancient period had been connected with other territories of India by some well known routes. The literary and archaeological sources gives information that both the land and sea routes were used by the people for the trade purposes.

The history of Orissa begins with the Kalinga invasion of Asoka in 261 B.C. The Rock Edicts XIII of Asoka throws a flood of light on the social and economic condition of Orissa in the 3rd century B.C. The spread of Buddhism in Kalinga during the reign of Asoka and the frequent visit of propagators and Dharma Mahamatras brought a great change in the social life of the people. From Kalinga, Asoka started his religious adventure to other distant overseas lands.

During the reign of Asoka the important urban centres were Bhrgukaccha (Broach) in the Indus delta, Puṣhkalāvatī, Śrāvastī, Champā (Modern Bhagalpur in Bihar), Pāṭaliputra (Patna), Vārāṇasī, Kauśāmbi,

44. E. Hultzch op.cit., pp.66-70.
45. Percival Spear (Ed.), *The Oxford History of India*, p.123.
Ayodhya, Mathurā, Sākala (Sialkot), Vidiśā and Ujjainī in central and Malwa region, Tāmralipti (Modern Tamluk in Medinapore district of Bengal) Tosāli and Samapā (Jaugada) on the east and South east. These urban centres were well connected with communication network.

By the time of Aśoka Kalinga had a direct link with Pātaliputra via Tāmralipti. Towards north there were two possibilities of easy communication. One on the Birupa branch of Mahānadī and another was Kimbhirā branch of Birupa up to the river Brāhmani. The road from the southern bank of the Brāhmani to Jāipur, lays after crossing the rivers Kharswān and Budhābalaṅga a branch of Vaitarani river. The road from Jāipur, situated on the bank of vaitarani, stretched up to Medināpore (West Bengal) via Dhāmnagar, Bhadrak, Soro, Remunā, Bastā, Rāibaniā and Kharagpur. From Medināpur the road stretched to Garhmandāran, Burdwān (West Bengal) and Trivenighāt on the Ganges. Just below the foothills of Dharmasālā a route stretched up to Anandapur on the bank of Vaitarani. From Anandapur, following the vaitarani valley a road stretched up to Khiching (Mayurbhanj district) via, Thākurmundā and Pānchpid (Karanjiā). From Khiching the road went in north-eastern direction up to Bhaladā (Mayurbhanj).

46. A. Ghosh, *City in Early Historical India*, p.94.
via, Jasipur and Bāmanghāty (Rāirangpur). From Bahaldā it went in a northerly direction via Saraikela to the Mānbhūm district of Bihār, where it touched the Subarnarekha valley. From this place a road was linked up to Pātaliputra where it met with all other royal routes to Mathurā and Takṣašīlā. It is believed that these routes were followed by the Nanda king and also Aśoka Maurya and after him Khārāvela. ⁴⁹

It seems that there was a route from Pātaliputra to Tāmralipti, which was a flourishing port in Ancient period. We have several references to river traffic which brought merchants and their commodities from Sahajāti, Kauśāmi, Vārānāsi, Pātaliputra and Campā to Tāmralipti and further to Subarṇabhūmi. ⁵⁰ Asoka bade farewell to his daughter Theri Sanghamitrā to Ceylon for propagation of Buddhism from Tāmralipti. ⁵¹

In the district of Mayurbhanj, punch-marked coins belonging to the mauryan period have been discovered at Bahaldā region. A large number of Kuśāna coins belonging to early christian centuries have been unearthed at Bhanjakiā and khiching and some Roman gold coins have been brought to

⁴⁹. OHRJ, Vol.IV, No.3 and 4, p.45.

Jātaka, Vol.IV, p.15, 159.

light in and around Bāmanghāty region. The findings of coins from different places of Mayurbhanj clearly indicates that the district was well-connected with the port of Tamralipti. It is very likely that Asoka during his campaign against Kalinga proceeded from Pātaliputra along the Ganges to Tamralipti and then he marched through Mayurbhanj and Balasore to Udauli (8 kms from Bhubaneswar) where his edicts are found. We can assume that the road from Pātaliputra to Tamralipti and Kalinganagar was used as royal road as well as for trade purposes.

Megasthene, the Greek traveller testifies the royal road leading from North-Western frontier up to Pātaliputra. The whole country was well connected by a network of roads, some of which had milestone to indicate distances. An important route that lead from Mathura to Vidiśā and Sanchi joined with the southern route from the Gangā Plain and its easterly branch by way of Sāhājati sectors of Bāgh and Chedi kingdom on the Narmadā, Dakshin Kosala and Kalinga. This route could be traced from Tosāli to Vidiśā as the antiquities of the following sites make us believe that, this route started from Asokan provincial head quarter Tosali and went along

54. H.C. Roychoudhuri, Political, History of Ancient India, PP. 233-34.
55. JESHO, Vol. IV, PP. 257-96
the river Dayā, through Aragadā, Govindpur, Kantilo, and picked up the Mahānadi basin and then passed Bārmula, Boud, Manamundā, the bank of river Ang and reached at Sripur, Ratanpur and finally reached at Vidisā and Ujjainī.\textsuperscript{56} Perhaps this was one of the ancient routes which connected Tosāli with central India. During the 4th century B.C the coastal route between Tosāli and Tāmrālipti was very hazardous due to the number of tributary rivers. But in the 1st century B.C. this route was very popular as a result of large scale trade and commercial activities. This route could be traced from Tosāli, Cuttack, Lalitgiri, Dharmasālā, Jājpur, Soro and Tāmrālipti.\textsuperscript{57}

Another coastal route was connected to Ratnagiri. (famous Buddhist Vihar) which is situated in the undivided Cuttack district and on the bank of river Birupā (Mahānādi branch). The archaeological findings clearly indicate that Ratangiri was a famous Buddhist centre.\textsuperscript{58} The students not only from India but also from outside were coming here to learn Buddhist philosophy, so this place was well connected with land routes and sea routes. There was a land route which connected Ratnagiri and Lalitgiri,\textsuperscript{59} another Buddhist Vihar. Both Ratnagiri and Lalitgiri are situated on the bank of river

\textsuperscript{56} K.N. Mahapatra, History of Tosali (Oriya), P.25

\textsuperscript{57} P. Acharya, \textit{O.H.R.J.}, Vol.iv, No. 3 and 4, P.43.

\textsuperscript{58} N.K. Sahu, \textit{Buddhism in Orissa}, PP.81-89.

\textsuperscript{59} Basad on the excavation work at lalitgiri, 1990-91. (I.A. 1984, P.58)
Birupa. So we can presume that Ratnagiri was connected with Tosāli to Tāmiralipti via lalitgiri. Another sea route also connected Ratnagiri with Tāmiralipti. This route could be traced from Ratnagiri, Indupur (situated on the confluence of Birupā and Brāhmani), Alapuā, Dāndishāi, Aul and Rajnagar (situated on the sea shore of Bay of Bengal), Chāndbāli, Chāndipur, Bālāsore and finally connected Tāmiralipti.

Though Ratangiri was connected with sea route, we can presume that the route definitely used for trade purposes. According to local tradition Dārisāhiganda, a place situated near Dāndisāhi, was used for the halting place of the ships. The people of this area had their trade relation with other parts of the country. Because the place is very close to sea and it was an important route to Ratnagiri. However intensive exploration and under water excavation is highly necessary to trace out this ancient and important route.

In the 1st century B.C. Kaliṅga was free from the clutches of the Magadhān empire and was under the control of king Khāravela. The Hāṭigumphā inscription of Udayagiri hill situated near Bhubaneswar town gives us clear idea about the thirteen years reign of Khāravela.\(^{60}\) We know from the Hāṭigumpha inscription that Khāravela conquered the Uttarāpatha, the Dakshinapatha and the Madhya Desa. The campaign of Khāravela towards

\(^{60}\) E.I, Vol. XX, p.129.
Northern, Southern and central India not only extended his political supremacy but also opened some new trade routes. He launched his first campaign towards South, the ancient city of Musikas, situated on the bank of river Krishnā. Then he marched up to the territories of Rāstrīkās and Bhojakas in the Vindhya region. In his eighth regnal year, he entered into the territory of Magadha. From there he proceeded to Pātaliputra, the capital of Sunga dynasty. From Pātaliputra he marched up to Mathurā along banks of Gaṅgā-Yamunā.

The route that connected Kalinganagar with Pātaliputra and Mathurā in the north was passing through Jāipur, Āṇandpur, Khichiṅg, Sitābhiṅjhi, Asaṅpat, Bhanjakiā, Bāmanghāti, Bhaldā, Siṅghbhūm, Gorāṭhagiri and Pātaliputra, where it met with all other royal routes to Mathurā and Takṣaśīlā. The other trade route which leads to south India from the capital of Khāravela, Kalinganagar, passes through Pūrī, Pālur, Rāmtirtham, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Kāveripatnam. Perhaps this route was followed by Khāravela to reach south. All these suggest that

61. Ibid.
62. OHRJ Vol. xiii, no.2, pp.1-8
64. Amita Roy, Life and Art of early Andhra Desa, p. 53.
ancient Kalinga, during the early centuries of Christian era, had contacts with northern and southern India. Another evidence is that the Sātavāhanas of Andhra who ruled south Kalinga comprised of modern Ganjam district. \(^6^5\) Inscriptions of later Sātavāhana have been discovered at Koḍāvali of East Godāvari district which formed a part of Kalinga. \(^6^6\) Archaeological excavation at Rāmatirtham and Sālihundam yielded a number of coins of the later Sātavāhana rulers belonging to 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. \(^6^7\)

The Kuśāna and Pūrī-Kuśāna coins which have been discovered from the different parts of Orissa prove that the Kuśāna rule extended up to Orissa and these coins were perhaps infiltrated in to Orissa through trade. The distribution of these coins suggest a probable trade route from Pātnā to Bilāspur, via Rāipur Sambalpur and Kālāhāndī region of Orissa. The other trade route is known from the distribution which says that Vaiśālī was the great trade centre from where southern and northern trade routes were linked up with Vāranāsī and Śrāvasti. \(^6^8\) Tāmrālīpti was linked up with Vaiśālī. Tosālī was also an important trade centre as evidenced from the discovery of

\(^{66}\) E.I., vol. viii, p. 60 ff.  
\(^{67}\) C. Margabandhu, *Archaeology of the Satavahana - Kshatrapa times* p. 58.  
\(^{68}\) JNSI, vol, xxvi, p. 39.
different types of coins. It was connected with the important trade centres like Vārāṇasī, Vaiśālī, Pātaliputra and Tāmralipti. From the Allāhābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta we come to know that Samudragupta sent an expedition to southern India through Kośala, Mahākāntāra, Kalinga etc. If we assume that Samudragupta sent the expedition from Kauśāmbī, then the route to Kośala is quite easy. From Kośala his army proceeded up to Sonepur in Bolāṅgir district of Orissa and after crossing the Kalingāghat (Phulbani district) they reached in Ganjam. The copper plates of the Vigraha dynasty show that the southern Purī and northern of Ganjam area of Orissa were under the Gupta rule. In 4th century A.D. Kālidāsa refers to a route to Kalinga while describing the war campaigns of king Raghu in his Raghuvamsa.

In 7th century A.D. Sasāňka, king of Karnasuvara and Harsha, king of Kanauja, in course of their expedition against Orissa, marched through Daṇḍabhukti (Midnāpore and Mayūrbhañj) and entered Kaṅgoda (north Ganjam). During the second quarter of the 7th century A.D the chinese pilgrim Hsuan - Tsang visited Utkala and Puspagiri monastery and followed the same route. From Tāmralipti he travelled north west to Karnasuvara and

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69. Motichandra, Sārthavāha, pp. 11-19.
70. N.K Sahu, Utkal University History of Orissa, p. 2 33.
71. P. acharya. op.cit, p. 447
72. Raghuvamsa, iv, 38
then travelling south west he reached Odra country. From Odra country he travelled south west direction and reached Kangoda. After crossing the Kalingaghāt he reached the kingdom of south Kośala he went to Āndhra (An-to-lo). It is clear from the above description that in early period Kalinga and Kośala were linked by highways. In between Kaliṅga and Kośala, Kalingaghāt served as the gateway for traders, travellers and invaders. The king Pulakeśīn II of Chālukya, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantadurgā of 7th and 8th centuries A.D. respectively subdued the Kalingas and entered Kośala apparently through kalingaghāt. In 8th century A.D, the Bhauma-karas came from the north and established their kingdom in Tośāli. In 9th and 10th centuries the Somavamsīs and the Kālachuris occupied Kośala from the west. The epigraphic records reveal the names of some important highways inside Orissa. Nalinakshapura grant of the Ganga king Sāmanta Varman mentions

73. T. watters, op. cit. p. 193

74. Ibid.
A cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 510.

75. Ibid., p. 195

76. Ibid. p. 198.


78. Sāmangada plates (I A, xi, pp. 108ff)

79. Gaṇjām plates (EI, xviii, p. 253 ff)

the name of Dharmarāja Kalinga Marga. The Balodā charter\textsuperscript{81} of Tivaradeva, king of Kośala mentions the name of Sundārīkā Marga.

Besides the land routes the ancient rivers of Orissa also played an important part in the economic life of the people as well as in the development of the territories. The excellent geographical position of Orissa and its close association with the sea provided an opportunity to its people for oceanic and riverine trade. Most of the navigable rivers of Orissa are connected with the sea. So it was possible to make easy contacts with the neighbouring territories. The inter-state trade was mostly carried by the riverine routes rather than by the land routes. Because the land routes were not convenient in all seasons particularly during the rainy season.

The rivers of ancient Orissa namely Tel, Mahānadī, Birupa, Brāhmaṇī, Vaitaranī, Suvarnarekhā, Prāchi, Rṣikulyā and Vamśadhārā bore the route for inland navigation between the western hilly tracts and the eastern seashore. On the banks of these rivers many ancient towns and trade centres like Suvarnpura, Yayātinagara, Guhadevapātaka or Virajā and Kalinganagara were flourished.\textsuperscript{82} Now a days we can find a number of towns

\textsuperscript{81} EI, VII, pp. 102 ff.

\textsuperscript{82} U.Subudhi, "Inland trade of Orissa in the early medieval period (A.D. 650-1200)\textsuperscript{*}, JORS, no.3, pp. 22-23.
still existing as the trade centres. The towns like Sambalpur, Sonepur, Baud, Kantilo and Cuttack are on the bank of river Mahānadi, Kākatpur on the bank of Prāchi river, Bhimnagari, Jenāpur and Dhāmā on the bank of the Brāhmaṇi river, Ānandapur, Jājpur, and Chāndbāli on the bank of river Vairarani, Jaleswar, Bālesore and Piplī on the bank of Suvarnarekha river, Pālour on the bank of Risikulīya, Kalinganagar on the bank of Vamsadhāra are the silent witness of the glorious past.

The river prāchi is one of the most important and sacred rivers of ancient Orissa. It is a small river compared to other rivers of Orissa. Trade and commerce was also carried on in this river in ancient period. Some markets were established along the river coast. The markets still now hold their old names such as:- Nuahāta, Ratnapurhāta, Tulsipurhāta, Narasinghapurhāta, Banamālipurhāta. Niālihāta and Kākatapurhāta. Trade and commerce was also carried on the river Chitroṭpalā, tributary of Prāchi.

The different stories and numerous other folk tales indicates about merchants of Kalinga going beyond the sea for exploration, business and adventure. That was a characteristic feature of ancient Orissan life. We

84. Ibid. p. 196.
85. Ibid. p. 60.
posses reliable evidence regarding the sea routes followed by the people of ancient Kalinga. That Orissa had trade relation with the Gangetic valley in the Pre-Christian era is evidenced by the Buddhist literature. Tapusa and Bhallika, two merchants of Ukkala (Utkal) while proceeding to Madhyadeśa met Buddha at Uruvela. The same two merchants also went to Simhala or modern Srilanka. In ancient period Orissa was actively engaged in the overseas trade. We get reference about number of ports on the Orissa’s coast from the accounts of Periplus (1st century A.D), Pliny (1st century A.D) and Ptolemy (2nd century A.D). Through these ports Orissa maintained commercial relation with the countries of south East Asia and Srilanka. Besides Jain and Buddhist text the references to Kalinga occur in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyan, the Purānas and other sanskrit literature. In ancient period Kalinga was an important maritime power of India. According to Kālidās, the king of Kalinga was not only the 'Lord of Mahendra Mountain' but also the 'Lord of the Sea'. The great sailors of Kalinga crossed the dangerous sea and reached the distant lands. At that time Kalinga was the only power, which controlled the trade routes.

87. Aṅguttara Nikāya, i. p. 26, Mahābhāgga. xiii, pp. 81-84.
88. E.Z vol.i. iv. p. 152 and 312.
The ancient Kalinga, on the east coast of India, extending from the mouth of the Ganges to the Godāvarī river in south had occupied an important position in the maritime activities before the birth of Christ. The sailors of ancient Kalinga did not leave any thing regarding their maritime activities. But some local traditions and stories prove their existence. In the fullmoon day of October-November (Kārtika purnima) the people of coastal Orissa celebrate the ritual in memory of the ancient voyages. Traditions say that from this day the merchants of ancient Kalinga started their voyages to the distant lands. Besides local traditions and rituals we have to depend on scattered references in foreign and Indian literature. The coastal settlements, urban centres, ports, communication patterns, coinage, innovation of ship building and navigational techniques give ample evidence about the Kalingān sea trade and its relation with other countries. The famous medieval Oriya poet Upendra Bhanja, has described about Orissan maritime trade in his kāvya Lābanyabati. A later Oriya Kāvyaparimala written by Narasimhasena also refers to the journey of a trader named Ratnākar to Simhala. The sculptural carvings on the temples of Bhubaneswar, Pūrī, Konārk are the brightest

A. Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 59.

91. Sarala Das, Mahābhārat (oriya) pt. i. p. 131.

92. Upendra Bhanja Lābanyavati (Oriya), Prt. ii, Stanza. 17.

example of Kalingān sea trade activities. One of the earliest representations of ship in sculptural art is noticed in a stone pannel in the Orissa State museum, Bhubaneswar. In the Lingarāj temple, Bhubaneswar (11th century A.D), there is a representation of a boat which can be noticed.

The tradition of boat rituals is also associated with the sea. The sea gods and goddesses of Orissa were very important for the sea going merchants. While they travelling to the distant lands they tossed their cargo and offered prayer before the gods and goddesses for their safety journey and return. That led to the establishment of a number of Mangalā (female deity) temples on the bank of the ancient sea ports and sea routes. Still some of the temples are existing and are worshipped by the local people. The most important temples are Rāmachandī at Konārk, Mangalā at Kākatpur, Sāralā at Jhankad (near to Paradeep), Bhagavati at Banpur, Charchika at Bānki, Harchandi at Asureswar, Chandidevi at Indupur, Samalāi at Sambalpur, and Hingulā at Tālcher.

To establish their commercial links inside and out side India the people of Kalinga had established number of ports on the sea coast. From

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these ports they had started their journey to the distant countries. On the one hand the rivers of Orissa helped them to establish trade link with other parts of India and on the other the sea help a lot to contact with the neighbouring countries. There are reliable evidences regarding the sea routes followed by the Indians as well as the kalingāns in ancient time. Beginning from the north there was a famous port of Tāmrālipti, which is now represented by Tamluk in Midnāpur district of west Bengal. It was one of the greatest sea ports of India which was connected both by sea and land routes. From this port there was a regular voyage which either proceeded along the coast of Bay of Bengal to Burmā, Malaya peninsulā, East Indies and Indo-china. Tāmrālipti was famous for the export of clothes to other countries.

There were other similar ports one at Paloura on the kalingān coast is attested by Ptolemy (2nd century A.D). It is possibly identical with the village of Paloura near Chilikā lake. Due to its geographical location Paloura developed into a major port of Eastern India, from which ships sailed across Bay of Bengal to the Far East. There was a regular coasting voyage

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97. R.D. Banerjee, op.cit. p. 94.
from the mouth of the Ganges along the eastern coast of India to Ceylon. People from all parts of India came by land or river route to the nearest seaport, and then made a coastal voyage to Tamralipti and paloura where ships made a direct voyage to the Far East. The existence of ancient trade routes between the eastern islands, the coast of Bengal, orissa, and Madras is thus established on good authority.

Besides the port of Paloura other important ports of kalinga were che-li-tä-lo, Pithunda and Mänikapätana. Due to the existence of these ports kalinga dominated the maritime trade in ancient period. The Geographical location of Kalinga was also one of the important factor to control the different trade routes passing through this region. Che-li-tä-lo was not only a port but also an important trading centre. The celebrated chinese pilgrim, Hsuan-Tsang who visited orissa in 7th century A.D. refers the port town Che-li-tä-lo near the coast of the sea in the south east of this country, which was resting place for sea going traders and strangers from distant lands. The scholars have divergent opinions regarding the actual location of the port che-li-tä-lo. M. Julien, A. Cunningham took che-li-tä-lo to bé a chinese rendering of the sanskrit name Chäritrapura and identified it with the present

100. T. Watters, op.cit, pp. 193-94
town Pūrī. 102 R.D. Banerje 103 and N.K. Sahu 104 has accepted Cunninghams identification of Che-li-ta-lo with present puri town and also suggested that the name of the port can be rendered as sri-tra (or sriksetra). From the accounts of Hsuan-Tsang it is known that chāritrapūra was an important port on the kalingān coast and there was a sea route from this port to the Seng-ka-lo or Srilanka country.105

Another notable port of Orissa was Mānikāpātnā, situated near the mouth of chilikā lake. After the excavation of this site a number of items have been found which clearly prove the existence of this port town. Definitely Mānikāpāṭāna was a flourishing port town in ancient and early medieval period.106 No doubt the ports of orissa for the eastward voyages were Tāmralipti, Palour-Dantapurā, Che-li-tā-lo, Pithunda and Mānikāpāṭāna which played an important role in the maritime activities.107

102. S.N. Majumdar Sastri (ed) cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, pp. 138.
103. R.D. Banerje, op. cit, p. 138
104. N.K. Sahu, Utkal University History of Orissa p. 142.
The port town which existed in Ancient period were definitely controlled by certain rules and regulations. Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya is the only source which provides a clear account of the maritime history of India. The text clearly indicates the rules and regulations for the ports, traders, trades and the system of trade, and the pattern of tax related to sea trade. The same rules were also applied to the ports of orissa because it was under the control of Magadhan empire.¹⁰⁸

The Geographical location of Orissa had given an opportunity to her people to have trade relations with the foreign countries. Regarding Orissa’s trade relations with its neighbouring countries, we have very little information. These information are not sufficient to prove its relations with other countries. There are number of evidences preserved in different places in Orissa and in foreign countries which indicate that in ancient period definitely Orissa had trade relations with other countries. The sailors and merchants of Orissa had landed at various places including Srikshetra in Burma, Tākolākokkonagara, Kātahā, Purva Kalinga in Jāvā, Ţonking in Cămboďā and kwān-fu in China.¹⁰⁹

The ancient Kalinga had trade relation with Burma. There is some evidence that Tapusa and Bhalika two merchant brothers of Ukkala (Utkala) landed at the port of Adzeitta and from there they proceeded to


Burma.\textsuperscript{110} Coins and medals with Hindu symbols found in Pegu establish the relationship between Orissa and Burma. Reliable evidence is available regarding the sea routes followed by the traders of Orissa. There was regular sailing of vessels from the ports of Tāmralipti and Palour to Burma, the Malaya peninsula and the East Indies and Indo-china beyond it.\textsuperscript{111} In addition to the sea route the traders also proceeded to the East and South East by land route through Eastern Bengal, Manipur and Assam. From the Chinese text we get certain information that there was trade route by land between Bengal and China through upper Burma and Yunan. Through this route the Indian merchants came and establish there trade centers and colonies in the different parts of Burma.\textsuperscript{112} It was very easy to reach Burma through Assam by land routes. The merchants of Orissa also followed the same route and they established their colonies in Burma. The Assam Burma route started from Pātaliputra passed by Campā (Bhalupur) and Pundra Vardhana (North Bengal) and proceeded up to Kāmrūp in Assam. From Assam the routes to Burma were three, as at the present time; viz. (1) by the valley of the Brahmaputra and up to the Patkoi range and then through its passes up to Upper Burma; (2) through Manipur up to Chindwin valley; and (3) through Arakan up the Irawady valley.\textsuperscript{113}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{110} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{111} R.C. Majumdar, \textit{Hindu colonies in the Far East}. p.12.
\item \textsuperscript{112} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{113} D.C. Sicar (ed.), \textit{Early Indian Trade and Industry}, P.44.
\end{itemize}
In ancient period there was a land route which connected Bengal with China through East Bengal, Manipur and Assam. So it was very easy on the part of Kalingān merchants to reach China. The maritime intercourse of India with China dates from about 680 B.C. There was a sea route followed by Orissan merchants. The Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang, Fa-hien and I-Ting visited Orissa also followed the same route and have left some accounts to know about the commercial activities of the people of Kalinga. King Śubhakar of the Bhauma-kara dynasty went to China carrying many Tantric texts, including *Mahā Virochana Sutra*, to strengthen the trade and cultural ties with China.

*The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* describes the trade relations of Orissa with the Roman empire in the early centuries of the Christian era. The excavation findings of Śisupālgarh, Mānikāpātānā and Tāmralipti also throw light on this aspect. The discovery of Roman coins in Mayurbhanj in Orissa, Bilāspur in Madhyapradesh and Vizagāpaṭnam in Andhrapradesh strongly suggest the trade relations with the Roman empire. An other

important discovery at Sisupālgarh is Iron Caltrop. Generally the Caltrops were used by the Romans to check the speed of the horses and elephants.\textsuperscript{118} The coins and different articles which are discovered from the different sites of Orissa and from other places clearly indicate that these were probably brought by the Roman merchants.\textsuperscript{119} The Roman gold coins which have been discovered in large quantities from the coastal side of the south India have not been found extensively in Orissa.\textsuperscript{120} This may be due to inadequate archaeological excavations.

In ancient period there was close cultural and trade relations between Ceylon and Kalinga. The relation between the two countries existed from the 5th century B.C. Ceylon occupied a strategic position so far as inter-oceanic trade was concerned. It was a meeting and resting place of the merchants and sailors coming from the Eastern as well as the Western sea. In early period not only the trade link but also the strong political link existed between the two countries. The \textit{Dāthāvamsa} reveals that the tooth relic of Buddha was taken to Ceylon from Kalinga. In the 3rd century B.C. Asoka sent his daughter Sanghamitra to Ceylon to propagate the principles of

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  \item \textsuperscript{118} \textit{AI}, No. 5, p. 91
  \item \textsuperscript{119} G.L. Adhya, \textit{Early Indian Economics}, pp. 125-136.
  \item \textsuperscript{120} T. Marshall, \textit{Taxila}, Vol. II, p. 620.
\end{itemize}
Buddhist philosophy.\textsuperscript{121} The trade and cultural contacts converted later in to matrimonial relations between Orissa and ceylon.\textsuperscript{122}

Kalinga had close and intimate relation with South East Asian states like Jāvā, Sumāṭrā, Bāli, Bornio and Mālaya, which are collectively known as Suvarṇadvipa.\textsuperscript{123} It is attested by literatures, inscriptions, folk literature etc. Ancient Orissa maintained a prospective commercial relationship with Suvarṇadvipa. It is evident that the sailors of Kalinga sailed for South East Asia since early times. Though there is no direct record available regarding Kalingān sailors, we have to depend on evidences form foreign and Indian literary sources. The maritime relation between Kalinga and Jāvā can be established on the basis of old Javanese and Sanskrit inscriptions. According to Javanese legend, twenty thousand families were sent to Jāvā by the king of Kling (Kalinga).\textsuperscript{124} Another legend gives the credit for the colonisation of Jāvā to the people of kalinga.\textsuperscript{125} The Buddha images of


\textsuperscript{122}. K.S. Behera, op.cit., 115-121.

\textsuperscript{123}. R.C. Majumdar, Ancient Indian Colonisation in the Far East, Vol. III. p.2.

\textsuperscript{124}. Ibid.

Ratnagiri (Orissa) resemble the Buddha figures of Java. There was also a Hindu kingdom in central Java which the Chinese called Ho-ling or Kalinga. The subject of close relationship between Java and Orissa does have tremendous potential and can be an independent topic of study.

Bali had intimate contact with ancient Kalinga. There are many similarities in words, food habits, customs and traditions of the people of Bali and Kalinga. The trade relation between Kalinga and Bali has been clearly mentioned in the literature. One important and noticeable event is that in the town of Cuttack Bali yatra festival is observed every year in the month of Kartika (November). The festival is observed only to reflect the ancient maritime contacts of Kalinga with Bali. Recently the government of Orissa has sent a sea voyage from Orissa to Bali only to focus the glorious maritime activity of ancient Kalinga and its relation with Bali. Thus it is true beyond all possibilities of doubt that ancient Orissa maintained a prospective commercial relationship with Suvarnadvipa, Ceylon, Burma, Java, Bali, and all other parts of further India.


127. H.B. Sarkar, Cultural Relations Between India and South East Asian Countries, p.83.

The problem of transport is vitally connected with the trade and commerce of a country. It always plays an important part for the congenial growth of trade and commerce. Without proper communication system the economic condition of any state can not be stable. The Jātakas, the Arthaśāstra and the Greek and Chinese accounts have referred to the different systems of communication and transport. We learn from Jātakas that there were four minor but important transport systems which connected the trade centres of Eastern India; a fifth led to Kalinga's capital. These five connected Rājagriha with Kapilavāstu, Sravasti, Mithilā, Campā and Kalinga.

In the Rigveda there is a description about the path making. All movements of men particularly that of trade presupposed the preparation of huge roads connecting village with village and town with town. From very early times India was connected by a network of roads. It was necessary to lay out vast roads in all directions linking up the various parts of an empire both from strategic and commercial point of view. Definitely transports and communications are the very arteries of a great empire. Kautilya has described the comparative usefulness of various kinds of roads. The roads were classified accordingly as they were used by beasts of burden, men on


foot, or in conveyances. The most important was the kings highway or the Rajmarga. These Rajmargas were both in towns and villages used for the conveyance of marketable commodities. Other kinds of roads were the Rathya or Rathapatha. The rathya was the charriot road. The Kharoshtrapatha was meant for asses and camels. The amsapatha or shoulder path was traversed by men alone carrying merchandise on their shoulders.\textsuperscript{131}

Kauṭilya mentions war chariots and elephants as means of transport.\textsuperscript{132} He repudiates the general view that water route is preferable, as it is less expensive and involves less labour and holds that water way is more risky and can not be used in all the seasons.\textsuperscript{133} Water transport may be divided in to two ways, river traffic and overseas traffic. India is above all a land of rivers. Communication of water here has been developed side by side with land communications. Many references to boats and ships are scattered all over early literature especially in the Rigveda that the ferries were used for crossing the rivers is mentioned in the Buddhist and sanskrit literature.\textsuperscript{134} River navigation and coasting trade afforded unusual facilities for transporting merchandise.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{131} M.A. Buch, op.cit, pp. 186-191.
\item \textsuperscript{133} H.P. Chakraborty, Trade and Commerce in Ancient India, p. 246.
\item \textsuperscript{134} M.A. Buch, op.cit., pp. 199- 201.
\end{itemize}
Trade received special impetus during 1st and 2nd century B.C due to the improvement and development of means of transport. Jātaka informs us that during this period the use of iron brought a new change in the development of transport and communication system.\textsuperscript{135} Trade also largely depended on routes and means of communication which presented a problem for a sub-continent like India. It was difficult to bring different commodities to the market place from villages and other distant places.\textsuperscript{136} The travellers had to pass through dense forest and deserts and hill tracts with little trace of route. Long journeys took weeks and months, but sometimes the traders failed to reach their destinations. Thus the problem of transport was a great challenge.\textsuperscript{137} But at the same time we also get references to the Rājamārga, Mahāpatha and Mahāmārga which suggest the existence of good roads and highways.\textsuperscript{138} Kauṭilya says that the state constructed and maintained trade routes. The state made roads for cart traffic as well as tracks for beasts of burden like horses, asses and camels.\textsuperscript{139} It opened trade routes to rural areas and also constructed roads for different purposes in the urban area.\textsuperscript{140}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{135} R.S. Shrama. \textit{Light on Early Indian Society and Economy}, p. 60.
\bibitem{137} H.P. Chakraborty, op.cit, pp. 76-77.
\bibitem{138} Ibid.
\bibitem{139} R.C. majumdar and A.S. Altekar, \textit{The Vakātaka - Gupta Age}, p. 91.
\bibitem{140} U.N. Ghoshal, \textit{A History of Indian Public Life}, p. 91.
\end{thebibliography}
Orissa, the ancient kalinga was prosperous and had a good economic background\textsuperscript{141} as known from various literature indigenous as well as of the accounts of foreigners and inscriptions. The peaceful atmosphere, good inland roads, inland river traffic must have facilitated the rise of Orissa in ancient and early medieval period. No doubt the kings of orissa, must have given special attention not only to the rise of economic growth but also to their military expedition in different parts of the region. Some inscriptions of Orissa testify to the fact. The first line of Hāthigumpha inscription of khāravela refers that, khāravela repaired the roads, gates, walls and ramparts of the city Kalinganagara.\textsuperscript{142} In ancient Orissa the common people and traders depended upon traditional methods of transport. They used to go in pilgrimage on foot. Evidences are found in temple sculptures. In Mukteswar temple there is a representation of a group of people going on a pilgrimage on foot. In Lingarāj temple there is also representation of a man taking his son on his shoulder. This indicates that the people mainly travelled for distant land on foot.

An inscription of Ganga king Anantavarman informs us that bullock-cart, buffaloes and asses were used by the common people for

\textsuperscript{141} B.S. Das, op.cit. pp. 32-37.
\textsuperscript{142} H.K. Mahatab, \textit{History of Orissa}, pp. 66-68.
conveyance.\textsuperscript{143} Even the traders used this conveyance for their distant trade. However the Buddhist literature clearly refers to the fact that the Utkalas were coming to Gayā with goods loaded in carts for trade purposes.\textsuperscript{144} The existence of bullock cart is proved by sculpture preserved in the Orissa museum. Among the sculptures of Konark temple there is a representation of bullock cart. Hsuan-Tang in his description of Kangoda mentions that Kalinga produced large dark coloured elephants, which were capable for long journeys.\textsuperscript{145} This suggests that elephants were also used for conveyance. Though the elephants were very costly and precious only the rich merchants and the nobility class of people were using it for their conveyance. But the common people mainly used bullock cart in a large scale to carry their goods from one place to another. Even now a days the people living in remote villages fully depends on traditional mode of transport like bullock cart for their conveyance.

From the earliest times we see a fair amount of the development of vehicular traffic. The one great agency for traffic was the beast of burden, the ox, or the mule, or the donkey. More developed agency was Rath or Chariot. Carts as well as chariots were drawn by oxen or mules or horses.

\textsuperscript{143} A.P. Sha, \textit{Life in medieval Orissa (A.D. 600-1200)} p.107.
\textsuperscript{144} \textit{JAHRS}, II. No.1., p. 26.
\textsuperscript{145} S. Beal, op.cit., p. 207.
Rath or chariot is a refined carriage suited to persons of position. Rath was used by the king, ministers and wealthy people. It was one of the chief means of transport. In the archaeological gallery, state museum Bhubaneswar one panel depicts a chariot drawn by some horses. On it some 4 to 5 persons are shown sitting and going to a distant place.

In Ancient period the trade routes of Orissa generally followed the high ways and river valleys. The main rivers of Orissa were used for the purpose of the transport of goods. The main routes of internal trade were probably the water ways of the state in proximity to which stood the principal towns. The rivers like Mahanadi, Vaitarani, Suvarnarekha, Brâhmanî, Birupa, Tel and Vâmsadhârâ formed the main artery of Orissa’s internal trade. Through these rivers the goods were transported between coastal and Western Orissa. The land routes were intersected by rivers which were crossed by the ferry. The use of boats and ferries in river transport is proved by references to ferry places (ghatâ or nadîtara sthâna)\textsuperscript{146} in our epigraphic records and by sculptural representation of boats. Representation of boats is found in temple sculptures at Konârk and Pûrâ. A boat appears in the Bhoga Mandap of the great temple at Pûrâ. The representation of boats is also noticed in Brahmeswar and Lingaraj temple. One of the earliest

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representations of ship in sculptural art is noticed in a stone panel in the Orissa state museum, Bhubaneswar. Moreover, in Oriya literature, poetry and Puran the description of boat is found. The use of boats and ferries in river transport is proved by the Bhaumakara inscription, which refers to ghatta and ferry places which indicates the importance of river traffic.

The use of wooden boats by the traders was prevalent. The Chinese traveller Fa-hien who visited India by sea in a merchant ship gives a vivid description of such ships. According to him each ship was capable of carrying two hundred people. Ferries for crossing the rivers are mentioned both in the Buddhist and Sanskrit literature. River navigation and the coasting trade afforded unusual facilities for transporting merchandise.

The progress of a state depends upon its transport and communication, development of trade and commerce, and export and import etc. The period from 300 B.C. to A.D. 300 was one of the most remarkable

150. R.C.Majumdar, op.cit., p.10.
period in the history of Orissa. During this period Orissa was prosperous in every sphere due to the increase of communication network, which led to the shifting of the focus of economy from agriculture to industrial base. Due to the increase of routes to different urban centers, Kalinga was economically sound at that time.

*Jātaka, Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, *Mahābhāṣya* of Pāṇaṭjali, *Charaka Samhitā, Sanyukta Nikāya* and Indica of Meghāsthines mention the export, import and as well as the production of goods in Orissa in ancient period. In *Arthaśāstra* it has been mentioned that Kalinga was one of the ancient country which produced the best type of cotton clothes. At that time Mathurā was a great centre for the manufacture of special type of cloth which was called *Sataka* in India. Other cloth producing centers were Kāsi, Vanga and Apāranta. Cloth was manufactured and exported in such quantities that Kalinga became famous outside India. There were frequent sea voyages made to the countries outside the country. The export of cloth is indicated by the *Mānasollāsa* which mentions the Kalinga fabric in the list of its varieties for the royal use. This would lead us to suggest that clothes woven in Kalinga were sold in different parts of India by Kalingān merchants.

152. B.S. Das, op.cit., p.48.
It is known from the early Indian literature that Orissa was famous for her elephants. Hsuan-Tsang has also stated that Kalinga produced large dark-coloured elephants.\textsuperscript{155} The elephants of Kalinga were in great demand in the neighbouring states is revealed by Hsuan-Tsang account. This would suggest that the elephants of Orissa were an important commodity in her interstate trade by the land and river routes. The periplus mentions the ivory of Orissa, a particular type of ivory which probably attracted Romans to Orissa for trade.\textsuperscript{156} But the elephant trade was primarily a royal monopoly. The kings were capturing the elephants from the forests and taming them for royal expeditions and exports. The sculptures depicted on the gateway of the temples of Lakshmaneswar, Parsurāmeswar and Swarnajaleswar show the art of taming the elephants.\textsuperscript{157} It is clear that elephants were also exported from Kalinga to other territories.\textsuperscript{158}

The inscriptions of the period also mentions different articles of goods exported from Kalinga. The chief export commodity were cotton.\textsuperscript{159}

\textsuperscript{155} T.Watters, op.cit., p.196.
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\textsuperscript{156} E.H.Warmington, \textit{The commerce between the Roman Empire and India}, pp.63-64.
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\textsuperscript{157} N.K.Sahu, \textit{Odiya Jâtira Itihāsa} (Oriya), p.312.
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\textsuperscript{158} Beal, op.cit., p.207.
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\textsuperscript{159} A.Acharya, "Antiquity of Orissa's Handloom", \textit{Studies on Orissān History Archaeology and Archives}, pp.544-549.
Sugarcane, rice, bajra, silk, salt, elephants, coconut, gems, pearls, sandal wood, ivory, ornaments, diamonds, spices, earthen potteries etc.

In the *Rāmāyan* and in the Buddhist literature it has been mentioned that rice was the most important articles of food. The export of rice from Kalinga is confirmed by the reference in the *Manasollasa*. The Kalinga rice in the list of its varieties was suitable for the kings' dietary. Salt was another commercial product of Kalinga. It was exported to other territories of India. The ruler of Orissa appointed salt tax collectors (*Lavanadhikāri*) who used to collect tax from the producer and as well as from the traders, which has been mentioned in one of the Ganga inscriptions. Orissa was famous in exporting diamonds also. Dimond was probably one of the valuable commodities sold at Kalinganagara. Diamonds were available from the territory of Sabarāi regions of Sambalpur and from the mouth of the river.

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166. B.S.Das, op.cit., p.48.
Adams, a branch of the Vaitaranī river. The Dimond of Sambalpur region was very famous not only in India but in outside India also.

Besides exporting a number of articles to other parts of India and outside India, Orissa imported various articles too. However, it seems that certain metals like silver and copper were probably imported in to Orissa from Ceylon. Some spices such as cloves, spikenard, and other fine spices were imported from Jávā and Sumātrā. The silk of China was very famous which was supplied to kalinga. The most significant Roman export to India was the large number of coins, invariably made of gold and silver. A large number of Roman coins have come to light in the whole of India. There was a deliberate exportation of Roman money to India to create a market of Roman currency. The antiquities unearthed by the excavations indicate the trade relations of Orissa with Roman empire. In

172. M.N.Das (Ed), *Side lights on History and culture of Orissa*, P.120.
Orissa gold coins have been discovered from the excavation site of Śiṣupālgarh and also from other places.

The development of several crafts and industries in ancient and in early medieval Orissa is very much important. It is an established fact that agriculture formed the predominant feature of Orissa's rural economy. Although the rural economy was increasingly agrarian in character, yet the development of various industries and crafts during this period can not be ignored. Various sources like literature, coins, inscriptions and existing monuments refer to some important crafts and industries of the period. Some important village crafts were wood work, pot making, ironwork, ivory work, weaving, basket making, stone work and gold making etc.

We do not come across so many kinds of artisans in the earlier texts. The Dīgha nikāya, which belongs to pre-maurya times, mentions about two dozen occupations, but the Mahāvastu which belongs to this period mentions 36 kinds of workers living in the different town of India. the Milinda Panho or the questions of milinda enumerates as many as 75 occupations, 60 of which are connected with different kinds of crafts.176 Craftsmen are mostly associated with towns in literary texts, but some excavations show that they also inhabited in the villages. In the village settlement of Orissa,

176. R.S.Sharma, Urban decay in India, p.143.
carpenters, blacksmiths, gold smiths, potters etc lived in one end of the village and agricultural and other labourers lived at another end.

Eight crafts were associated with the working of gold, silver, lead, tin, copper, brass, iron and precious stones or jewels. All this shows great advance and specialization of Orissa in mining and metallurgy. Technological knowledge about the work of iron had made great progress. Iron artifacts have been discovered in greater numbers from the excavated sites of Śiśupālgarh and Manamunda. It seems that ancient Orissa had made special progress in iron manufacture.

Cloth making was the most important and popular industry that made great progress in Orissa. In ancient period Kalinga was one of the great centers for the manufacturing of fine cotton goods. It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata that the people of Kalinga along with others presented different varieties of clothes to the Pāṇḍavas. Ancient Orissa textile industry was

178. AI, No.5, pp.62-105.
180. Motichandra, op.cit., p.68.
dependent on the short staple variety of indigenous cotton grown in and around the Sambalpur region. It was a popular industry which provided employment to large number of people.

Another important industry of Ancient Orissa was carpentry. The carpenters' work included the making of carts for the transport of goods, furniture, wood work of the houses, chariots and shipbuilding. Ship building was another industry of Kalinga. The people of Kalinga were expert in their Oceanic trade. This might have given impetus to the ship building industry. The traders and common people used small boats to cross the river. In the oceanic trade they used big ships. The ship building industry was in a flourishing conditions, which is mentioned in the different literatures.

An other important craft was stone work. The art and architecture on the walls of the temples of Orissa clearly proves the artistic talents of the stone workers. Beautiful images of Lord Buddha Mahāvira and other god and goddesses made of stones also prove the artisans' achievements. From the different excavation sites of Orissa we find a number of stone implements and objects which belong to ancient period.

Ivory work industry was also in a flourishing condition during the ancient period. Orissa was a land of forests and hence, was rich in
elephants. In view of this, it would not be unreasonable to presume that ivory work industries flourished in Orissa. The epigraphic and literary texts refer to the existence of elephants in Orissa. Since ancient Kalinga was famous for elephants, ivory work must have formed another industry. It should be borne in mind that the existence of the ivory-work industries always depended upon the availability of hastidantas or ivories. The name Dantapura was derived from the elephant tusk or ivory for which Kalinga was famous. Probably there was a flourishing ivory industry at Dantapura.182

Pottery was another important industry of Orissa. Since very early times pottery has been utilised by the village potters for expressing their artistic talents. Different potteries belong to different period are found from the excavation sites of Śiśupālgarh,183 Jaugarh, Asurgarh,184 Manumundā, Lalitgiri, Udaygiri and Ratnagiri185 of Orissa. The articles like bowls, sprinklers, lid, Handi, Surahi, Karai, Earthen lamp, Jar, and Cups have been discovered from the above mentioned excavated sites. The people of Orissa were great experts in the use of potters wheel. Another significant development in ancient Orissa was ceramic industry. The appearance of an

183. *AI*, No.5, p.68.
exotic ceramic industry known as roulted ware found from the depositional layer at Śiśupālgarh and Mānikapātāna dated to 1st century A.D.\textsuperscript{186}

The most important feature of the ancient Indian economy was the formation of trade guilds. Artisans were organized into guilds. On the basis of different texts we can say that artisans of this period were organized into number of guilds. But we have no direct evidence about the existence of guilds in Orissa during the ancient period. We can presume that the monasteries and Buddhist Vihāras of Orissa were organized by the donation from rich merchants. The existence of different ports and the inland and over sea trade of ancient Orissa helped to the establishment of different industries in the towns which might have given rise to guild system in a rudimentary form.\textsuperscript{187} Under the same condition merchant guilds might have come into existence.\textsuperscript{188}

In ancient Orissa, trade and commerce was in a flourishing condition. It was considered to be the exclusive prerogative of the vaisya caste, even though the members of the other caste also sometimes took to trade and commerce. The business was carried on both by means of barter or

\textsuperscript{186} AI, No.5, p.68.
\textsuperscript{187} B.S.Das, op.cit., p.39.
\textsuperscript{188} B.S.Das, op.cit., p.35.
exchange. In ancient Orissa as elsewhere, barter system was popular in the rural commercial transactions. However the necessity for a common media of exchange gave rise to the idea of money economy. Subsequently certain types of coins came into existence. The earliest coins of Northern India, the Punch-marked coins, have been discovered in the villages of Jāgamarā and Jhārpadā near Bhubaneswar, Bahaldā in Mayurbhanj district, Asurgarh in Kalāhāndi district and Sonepur in Bolāngir district. These coins were in circulation in Orissa up to the middle of the 4th century A.D.\textsuperscript{189} The Hatigumpha inscription refers to the use of coins during the reign of Khāravela. King Khāravela by spending huge amount of coins repaired the gates and walls of his capital Kalinga Nagara.\textsuperscript{190} The coins of Kaniska and Huviska called Puri-Kuśāna coins, all in copper have been discovered in large numbers in different parts of Orissa such as Pändyā, Jaugada in Ganjam district, Gurubai Salt factory near Mānikapātnā in Puri district, near the foot of the Kāyamā hill in Cuttack district, Bhanjakīā, khiching in Mayurbhanj district, Sitābinji in Keonjhar district. The copper coins were issued to meet the need of common people for local transactions whereas the gold coins were used for foreign trade. The introduction of money economy, trade and commerce helped the growth of urban centers in Orissa.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{189} D.K. Ganguly, op. cit., p.264.
\item \textsuperscript{190} A.C. Mittal, op. cit., pp.356-357.
\end{itemize}