CHAPTER II

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To reconstruct the ancient history of Odisha was a herculean task. Over the years from Odisha became a separate province in 1936, no attention was given to prepare a sober history of this land. Jagabandhu Singh and Pyarimohan Acharya had written the history of Odisha basing on the epics, folktales, hearsay, imagination and whims. To discern a grain or sober history from their writings was not possible. Before independence, a pious attempt was initiated by the Utkal University in 1944 to bring out a complete history of Odisha through an expert committee. The dream was shattered on the rock of frustration. However in 1959 a new ray of hope was seen when H.K.Mahatab became the Chief Minister of Odisha who sincerely desired that history of Odisha be written covering all the periods. N.K.Sahu got an opportunity there who established himself as a pioneer historian in the reconstruction of the history of ancient Odisha.

Under the leadership of H.K.Mahatab the committee was formed for writing the complete history of Odisha. H.K.Mahatab was the Chairman of the committee and Prof.P.K.Parija, a notable scientist and Vice-Chancellor became its Vice-Chairman The
committee decided to publish seven volumes under the title *Utkal University History of Orissa*. Four eminent historians and scholars were entrusted with the responsibility to write the history of Orissa. N.K. Sahu was assigned with the task to write first four volumes (Vol. I to Vol. IV) from earliest time to 1568 A.D.. Bhawani Charan Roy was supposed to write Vol. V (1568 – 1803 A.D) Prabhat Mukherjee to write Vol. VI (from 1803-1901 A.D.) and M.N. Das was to write Vol-VII (from 1901 to 1948 A.D.)

Prof. N.K. Sahu had won the trust of the expert committee to write the earliest period of the history of Odisha because of his exceptional grasp over ancient period of the history of Odisha and India as a whole. Prof. Sahu in his monumental work *Utkal University History of Orissa*, (Vol-I) has given a detail account of the history of Odisha from pre-historic period to the 5th Century A.D. The book has been divided into VII chapters with systematic analysis of pre-historic sites of Odisha, rock-edicts and analysis of Copper Plate inscriptions in minute details. It is a voluminous book containing 526 pages in which he has highlighted the political and geographical condition of Odisha in the ancient age, the territorial extent and names of various cities along with the genealogy and chronology of ruling dynasties like Nandas, Chedis and Bhauma-Karas etc. The author has taken a lot of pain in writing this volume with enormous care and devotion for which it provides useful informations and data to scholars and historians on the history of ancient Odisha. His another book titled
Kharavela reflects his research bent of mind. Infact, the political history of ancient Odisha is incomplete without a reference to Mahameghavahana Aira Kharavela. N.K.Sahu's Kharavela reflects the glaring achievements of that ruler who surpassed his contemporary rulers in valour and bravery. It is also a voluminous work containing 390 pages with illustrations.

N.K.Sahu discusses the early history of Odisha with a reference to the meaning and significance of studying pre-history, which is an early part of history of mankind when man emerged gradually from the status of animal existence. It is the period that precedes the history of a particular country and it is devoid of any recorded events which occurred in the remote past.²

In this age, man was living on hunting and food gathering and physically unprotected from climatic conditions. By virtue of his brain man invented certain tools to control over others and this brain power which helped him to overcome the obstacles he faced during prehistoric period. The first tool he manufactured was made up of stone for which this age was called as 'Stone Age'. The first evidence of the Stone Age Culture was found in 1838 A.D. from Europe. In India, Robert Bruce in 1863 first picked up the Stone Age implement from the laterite pits of Pallavaram near Madras (present Chennai).³ After eleven years four stone implements, as stated by V.Ball, were found in Odisha from the following places:

(8) Kudabaga
According to Prof. Sahu, prehistoric research in Asia and India started very late. However, regions like Gujurat, Karnatak, Madras and Odisha are found to have contained rich relics of the Stone Age culture.  

During the 19th Century scholars have discovered valuable evidences regarding the evolution of material culture of the early man in Europe. But, in the 20th century, after rigorous research archaeologists found the origin of man in Asia at certain places like, North China, Java and Palestine. In India, the physical remain of early man is yet to be discovered though his stone tools are found abundantly almost everywhere. In the north-western part of India, in the Potwar region and the Soan Valley, a typical pebble-tool culture corresponding to the Choukoutien of North-China, Anyathian of Burma, Tampanian of Java and the Oldwan of East-Africa are found. But, in Peninsular India, the handaxe cleaver industry is found. However, Prof. Sahu, finds enough evidences in the Siwalik range of India to show that, the climate and environment of the region was very conducive during the Pleistocene period for the origin of man in that area, Scholars find vertebrate remains of present day elephants, horses, cattle, reptiles and few primates, but no trace of the skeletal remains of man of the stone age has been found so far. In Peninsular India
also some animal fossils belonging to Stone Age have been found from Hosangabad and Narsinghpur on the Narmada, Nevasa on the Pravara and Kalegaon on the Godavari basin.

Prof. Sahu has taken a keen interest in analyzing the prehistoric remains of Odisha after going through various evidences and research works. Odisha comes under the division of Peninsular India and its Early Stone Age Industry was an extension of the great Peninsular handaxe-cleaver complex which closely corresponds to the Lower Paleolithic Chelles – Acheul industries of Europe and Africa. In the hill-tracts of Odisha and in its laterite plains these stone implements occur in an incredible large number, out of which V.Ball has picked up four in 1875 as stated earlier. After that, Pyarimohan Acharya, in 20th Century collected a number of polished stone-celts from a few sites in Mayurbhanj which are being kept in India Museum, Kolkata and the rest are kept in a small Museum at Baripada, in Odisha. Prof. R. D.Banerji also mentions about some of these Neolithic sites in his book History of Orissa which is sketchy.

In March, 1939, Pyarimohan Acharya and E.C.Worman (Jr.) discovered early stone Age sites at Kuliana, in Mayurbhanj following which the Department of Anthropology of Calcutta University started investigation around Kuliana. After a thorough examination of the surrounding areas along with the banks of river Budhabalanga from Kamarpal to Mahulia, a number of
informations were found, which unfolded the Culture of Odisha during Lower Palaeolithic age.

Prof. Sahu with a few followers started an exploration of the northern half of Odisha comprising of the districts of Dhenkanal, Keonjhar, Sundergarh, Sambalpur and the unexplored part of Mayurbhanj. They found abundant information about the Early, Middle and the Late Stone Age Culture from the river valleys of Mahanadi, Brahmani, Baitarani, Budhabalanga and Khadkei. By the discovery of the middle and the Late Stone Age Cultures, the sequence of prehistoric cultures in Odisha became more or less complete and it brought the upper limit of the Stone Age in this region upto the beginning of early historic period. The works of Prof. N.K. Bose and Dharani Sen in Mayurbhanj also supplement to the knowledge of the prehistory of Odisha.

Geographical Factors

Prof. Sahu here cites how physical geography and environmental conditions shape the culture of a region. Odisha is a linguistic homogenous state but its flora, fauna temperature and rainfall are quite similar to that of Bihar and Chhattisgarh. This hilly forest areas of Bihar, Chhattisgarh and Odisha formed a single cultural unit called Mahakantara. According to the research conducted in the prehistoric sites of that area, the cultural interest was also prevalent during the Stone Age. There is great similarity of Odishan Stone Age industries with Chakradharpur, Chaibasa, Ranchi and Manbhum. N.K. Sahu opines that the
geographic and environmental condition during the Stone Ages would have been same through out. Thus it can be expected that, the cultural succession and the corresponding environmental conditions during the prehistoric times were more or less uniform in all parts of this area. No systematic research is being made, but with the help of available information, he assumed that, the prehistoric man roamed throughout this hilly tract manufacturing and using very same types of implements. The coastal district of Odisha are barren from prehistoric point of view. Because the Stone Age which developed in Ancient period represents an old land surface. The present plain area lying near the coastline is comparatively a new formation. He takes into consideration the view of the geologists and opines that the human habitation perhaps developed here only in recent times which can be called as Holocene. The marshy land with very little vegetation was probably not suitable for early man to live. As a result, the prehistorical people had to live in the broad and fertile valleys of big rivers like the Mahanadi and Brahmani which provided ideal conditions for prehistoric people to live in and migrate as per their will. Due to favourable environmental conditions prehistoric folks roamed freely in the hilly region of Bihar, Odisha and Madhya Pradesh and exchanged mutual ideas for which there is close resemblance between the lithic industries in the upper reaches of the above rivers with those in their lower reaches in Odisha. Perhaps the diffusion started somewhere in the middle of
this hilly area near Bihar and Odisha borders. Almost all the archaeologists and historians agree with the view of N.K. Sahu.

Time Scale

The middle Pleistocene period is generally accepted to be the time when man definitely lived almost all over the world. He closely examines the Early Stone Age industries of Odisha and opines that these are not only similar to those of the Narmada Valley and other fossiliferous localities of Peninsular India in typology and technique but also are quite indentical in their stratigraphic contexts. This close similarity between the Odishan Early Stone Age Industries and the lower Paleolithic industries of fossiliferous sites in other areas suggests that Middle Pleistocene as the most probable date of the earliest human habitation in Odisha, he further adds. In this context N.K. Sahu is right in concluding that until and unless some more convincing data is available this tentative and comparative dating will hold good. A bovid-tooth has been discovered at Mukramatia in Mayurbhanj from a layer of clay on the bank of river Burhabalang. After examining it, Prof. Sahu opines that it belongs to the beginning of the Pleistocene period all over the world. Hence, the layer in which the tooth occurs may be ascribed to the Early Pleistocene time while the implementiferous gravel layer above it may be a later formation that means of the Middle Pleistocene era.
The Peninsular handaxe industry to which Odisha also belongs, has a close similarity with the Middle Pleistocene, Lower Palaeolithic and Abbevillio-Acheulian industries of Europe and Africa suggests N.K.Sahu. But, there is no evidence in Odisha of a culture that flourished during the lower Pleistocene period. So, Prof.Sahu comes to the conclusion that perhaps the Early Stone Age in Odisha ended with the end of Middle Pleistocene Period and the Middle Stone Age covered the whole period of the Upper Pleistocene. The late Stone Age cultures comprising of the microliths and neoliths are purely Holocene in age.¹⁴

**Stratigraphy and Climatic Conditions**

In order to predict the evolution of Stone Age Cultures, N.K.Sahu has tried to understand the climate and meteorological condition of the period. Odisha is situated in a semi-tropical region, experiencing alternately wet and dry climate and under such conditions its rivers aggraded or eroded their banks and the surface of the land underwent considerable changes due to intense weathering. So, he suggests that the cultural relics of the Stone Age man who lived in Odisha by that time got organize in the deposits formed during the period.

He refers to a research book titled *The Stone Age Culture of Orissa*¹⁵ by G.C.Mohapatra from which the succession of the Stone Age Cultures in Odisha is known from the order in which they occur in a particular formation. As per the information there are about thirty-two river-cliff-sections and laterite pits from
which the succession of the cultures and climatic conditions
during Stone Age in Odisha can be known. At the bottom of the
Cliff-sections of many small and big rivers, a deposit of coarse
cemented gravel laying over a layer of clay is seen which
contains the tools of Early Stone Age. These tools also occur in
the gravel pits of the detrital secondary laterite at Kuliana and
Talcher areas. Tools of Early Stone Age are also found at Bonai
in Sundargarh district. But, up till now no microlith has been
discovered either from excavations or from river cliff-sections.
The river-cliff sections discovered from the rivers like, Mahanadi,
Brahmani, Baitarani, Burhabalang and Khadkei and their
tributaries reveal almost uniform characteristics althroughout.

He examines the observation of F.E.Zeuner and Nirmal
Kumar Bose on Mayurbhanj which gives a general stratigraphy of
the Pleistocene river valley deposits of Odisha in a tabular
form. The five cliff-sections occur in succession layers of
mottled clay, cemented coarse gravel with Early Stone Age tools,
red silt, fine gravel with Middle Stone Age tools and red silt which
are related to one another. The secondary laterite of Odisha is at
places found to be rich in Stone Age relics. Prof.Sahu here cites
the reason behind its origin that, due to the intense weathering of
the surface of the primary laterite during a period when the
climate was alternately and severely wet and dry. Since the
primary laterite is regarded as upper Pliocene to lower
Pleistocene formation, the redeposition of its weathered portions
in the form of secondary laterite could not have taken place earlier than the middle Pleistocene age.\textsuperscript{17} Probably due to wet weather conditions the surface of the Primary laterite might have been flown down and laid over the shallow pits and low lying areas as the secondary laterite, that the coarse gravels in the river cliff-sections were also deposited. That is why we find identical stone tools in both these formations. So, after considering the climatic factors N.K. Sahu concludes that both the secondary laterite and coarse gravels may be contemporary to each other.

He states that archaeologists in Odisha depend upon the composition of various formations connected with different stone age industries for reconstruction of its pre-historic environmental condition, as there is no fossil evidences in Odisha. Therefore, Prof. Sahu relied on theory of alternatively dry and wet periods which have been worked out in other tropical and sub-tropical regions inside India and abroad. But, in Odisha no such climatic phases and sub-phases are found during the Pleistocene.

During the first wet-phase of Pleistocene, as per the suggestion of Prof. Sahu man was absent in Odisha and most likely the first man lived in Odisha towards the close of the dry-phase and beginning of second wet phase. It was represented by mottled clay, cemented coarse gravel and secondary laterite with presence of stone implements in the latter two formations. After the second wet-phase there seemed to be dry-phase when a thick
layer of red silt covered coarse gravels. This red silt is totally unimplementiferous which indicates that the Early Stone Age man either become extinct or migrated to some suitable places when the second wet phase reached its Climax.\textsuperscript{18}

After the second dry-phase the third wet-phase started and basing upon the tools of the Middle Stone Age Culture found from this layer, Prof. Sahu which suggests that human habitation was present. The last and the third dry-phase is marked by the deposit of red silt at the top and Prof. Sahu says, in all probability, this dry-phase is continuing even at present time. The Pleistocene climate ended with a highly wet-phase and the presence of coarse material below and finer at the top in the river cliff sections confirm it.\textsuperscript{19}

**Early Stone Age Culture**

During the Early stone Age in Odisha, men lived on the open laterite plains and thinly forested areas near alluvial plains. The coastal districts of Odisha were perhaps not suitable for habitation, which was proved by the absence of sites of this culture in Odisha. The tools of Early Stone Age Culture were made up of coarse grain quartzite. The important tools are, handaxe, cleaver, scraper, point, discoid, flaked pebbles and flaked bifaces etc. Prof. Sahu accept the view of G.C. Mohapatra, who suggests that the physical condition of the tools is more fresh and less weathered or rolled than those found loose.\textsuperscript{20}
Odisha may be regarded as one of the places where the pebble organization-chopping tool tradition of north-west India met that of the handaxes and cleavers of the Peninsula. But, this is neither based on stratigraphic nor typo-technological evidences. However, taking into consideration the relative frequency, typology, technique and stratigraphy, Prof. Sahu regards these pebble tools as part and parcel of the handaxe - cleaver industry of Odisha.21

As per the view of N.K. Sahu the Early Stone Age industry in Odisha is a bifacial one in which flakes occur in a suitable proportion but they do not represent a cultural trait distinct from that of the bifaces. Handaxes, cleavers and scrapers developed respectively. The handaxes are of various shapes, such as, pear, almond, oval, pick-like, triangular, cordate biconial or sub-triangular while the cleavers are 'U' or 'V' shaped. Handaxes were popular in those days as people used them for different purposes viz. i.e. for digging, killing, cutting or chopping, etc.22 Cleavers and scrapers developed later.

The Early stone Age was a period of technical non-specialisation and struggle for existence was the only principle of life. As the earliest men were simple, their tools were the outcome of their needs and designed to serve the basic requirements. Towards the last phase of Early Stone Age, men mastered the art of stone flaking and in the later stone age men developed the skill of making fine stone implements not only to earn their livelihood
but also to satisfy their love for beauty and perfection. This spontaneous growth of artistic faculties urged them to devote a part of their leisure to drawing and engraving pictures of the contemporary wild and domestic life on walls of their rock shelters, on their wooden or ivory tools and produce the sculptured replica of his own kind. These artistic creations of early man have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Odisha like, Morhana Pahar and Singhanpur in the form of painting in the cave walls.

Prof. Sahu states that there was no evidence as to when the pre-history man learnt the use of fire in Odisha. As Odisha is situated in extreme Climate Zone, it is natural for the early man to live in open plains in an altitude ranging between 600 – 1200 ft. above the mean sea level. He says that this warm climate of Odisha prohibited the early man to search for fire. The people of Odisha consumed vegetables and roots as food. For digging such roots he used pointed wooden sticks and handaxes. The early man of Odisha was not very skilled in haunting animals for which he had to eat either dead or killed and half-ate animals. In the later Stone Age period people in Odisha resorted to cooperative haunting from which a sort of language developed. First of all language developed from cries, gestures and signals and it led to the foundation of a community and ultimately to a modern civilization.23

Middle Stone Age Culture
The tools of Middle Stone Age were smaller in dimension than those of Early Stone Age and the difference was due to advancement in skill and technique of haunting. Man in that age was using bow and arrow and instead of going naked used clothes to hide his skin and used other materials for implements. Man has to depend on nature for food and it became easier for him to get meat as diet as advanced technique of haunting developed. Advanced tools gave early man more control over his surroundings. The Middle Stone Age sites are usually not found in the area of Early Stone Age industries because of scarcity of raw material. Prof. Sahu writes that these industries are found in Western Odisha where raw materials like jasper, chert and opal occur in plenty along with many other secondary minerals. He confines the area of Early Stone Age industry to the laterite plains with thin forest cover bordering the coastal alluvium. The Gondwana Coal fields of Talcher and the valleys in the middle reaches of river Mahanadi, Brahmani, Baitarani and Budhabalang are sites of the Middle Stone Age in Odisha.

Late Stone Age Culture

The Late Stone Age culture stratigraphically succeeded the Middle Stone Age and occurred during a period called 'holocene'. The tools of this culture occur on the top of the last silt deposit in the river-cliff sections on the surface, cultivated fields, in the dried up bed of the rivers and streams. Due to their loose occurrence they can't be considered older than those which come
from well stratified layers and so these are believed to belong to the sub-recent times. The Late Stone Age Cultures can be the Microlith and the Polished Stone Celt. The microlith culture succeeded the Middle Stone Age Culture after the Pleistocene and preceded the polished stone celts all over India. The microliths of Odisha as suggested by Prof. Sahu, due to the crude appearance and rolled physical condition are supposed to belong to antiquity.\textsuperscript{25}

The polished stone celt culture signified a great change in the life of pre-historic man because of its advanced technological specialization. In this period man started producing food through plant cultivation and stock-breeding. This innovation in socioeconomic field was considered to be a boundary between savagery and arbarism.\textsuperscript{26} The new barbarism culture was the link between pre-history and history. The author here states that, people during the shouldered celt period knew the use of metals. The polished stone celts continued through the protohistoric period upto the early historic because in many of the excavations of the chalcolithic and early historic sites in India the lowest and the earliest habitation layers yielded a number of celts, hammer-stones and fabricators which are the well-known tool types of this industry.\textsuperscript{27} A small number of these tools are manufactured and used during the early historic period upto the 3\textsuperscript{rd} and 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. This type of an implement has been recovered from the Jaugada excavations in the district of Ganjam.
Microliths

Microlith refers to a very diminutive size of implements which were used in a composite fashion. The raw material used for microlith industry are the same as those of Middle-Stone Age, therefore, the author says, there may be some sort of link between Microliths and Middle Stone Age Culture.

D.H. Gorden in his book *Ancient India* in the chapter 'The Stone Age Industries of the Holocene in India, Pakistan',\(^{28}\) states that Microlithic industries around Chaibasa and Chakradharpur are closely linked with the copper-seams in the neighbourhood. No microliths can be found in absence of copper-seams. Hence, in Odisha, where no copper is found Microlithic industries would have been absent. But now, microlithic industries are found in Odisha, at Udayagiri hills in Puri district, Kaniha in the Dhenkanal district (now in Khurda district) Danguapasi in Keonjhar district which places are far away from copper-seams. Therefore, Prof. N.K. Sahu contradicted the views of Gordon when he said that there was no basis for connection between Microlith industries and copper-seams. The Microlithic tools are scraper, borer, burin, point, lunate and blades. The Microliths of Odisha are small-size with broken blades. So far no trapeze or triangle which characterize the geometric microlithic industry has been found in Odisha. However, coastal microliths are found in Odisha prior to inland microliths. He established firmly that microlithic industries were found in Odisha.\(^{29}\)
In the Late Stone Age, Pottery Culture was unusual. The economy of the age was dependent on nature for food and man relied on wild vegetations and meat of killed animals. This period witnessed the development of technical skill and it led to the invention of agricultural implements and facilitated the knowledge of wood and bone-working. Later forms of microlithic cultures like pottery-microliths and chalcolithic microliths have not been found in Odisha so far. Their place was taken up by the polished stone celt culture. Prof. Sahu states that the polished stone celt culture of Eastern India is contemporaneous with the chalcolithin culture of Western and Central India and South India was the meeting place of both the traits. Hence, it is evident that the progress of man's technical knowledge in this sub-continent had been almost uniform everywhere and the differences are only due to geographical factors and external cultural influences.30

Polished Stone Celts

The Polished Stone Celts or Neolithic Celts have been found from various places in Odisha. But only in Baidipur in Mayurbhanj both pottery and Neolithic celts are found. Though not much facts are available with the Stone Age Archaeology of Odisha, yet Prof. Sahu presumed that unlike his predecessor man played the role of a producer. Man started living in communities, settled around agricultural villages and lived with cooperation from neighbours. Wearing of clothes was known since the Palaeolithic time but in the polished stone celt age man used
cotton and other fibres for the purpose. Gradually, with the development of agriculture man's interest in meat diet and haunting skill deteriorated. Man used celts, chisels, hammer-stones, fabricators, ring-stones for weighing the digging sticks and the mace-heads for agricultural purposes. As Neolithic harvesting developed in Europe similarly, many types of tools and pottery developed at Baidipur in Odisha, opines Prof. Sahu.\(^{31}\)

Thus, with the development of agriculture and settled living, there is the dawn of modern civilization. In that period man lacked the knowledge of metal. But, it was said that towards the end of polished stone celt culture man was aware of the use of metal. That means, the period occupied by shouldered-celts can be regarded as protohistoric not pre-historic. Shouldered celt-culture was prevalent during the second half of the first millennium B.C. and it has come to India from sources in Burma, Malaya and Yunan during historical period.

After analysis the views of D.H. Gordon\(^{32}\) and D.A. Hasan\(^{33}\) Prof. Sahu opines that there was some connection between metal and stone celts. That means those who manufactured stone-celts had the knowledge of metal. However, in India, there is no evidence to show as to which one is earlier. These two forms of celts were confined to North-Eastern India comprising of Uttar Pradesh, North-Eastern Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and Odisha. Therefore, it becomes clear that the culture of stone-shouldered-celts came to India via Burma, Yunan and Malaya
while the knowledge of metal came from Central Asia. Although the metal and stone forms were existing side by side in Indo-China and Malaya only the stone form migrated into India. But the origin of the association of metal with stone-celt-culture and its migration into India can be considered protohistoric. Due to their advanced technique and late origin the polished stone celts they constitute a dominant tools in Odisha as suggested by Prof. Sahu.34

Proto-historic Metal Celts

With the introduction of shouldered celts India prehistory period came to an end. But in Odisha the gap between the prehistory and early history is filled up by the discovery of more stone-shouldered and metal celt sites. Puremetal celt-sites have been discovered from Dunria, in the Pallahara sub-division of Dhenkanal district and khiching, kshetra, Baghada and Bhagrapir in Mayurbhanj district. Some copper implements kept in Baripada Museum are supposed to have come from the Bamanghati and Panchipur sub-divisions of Mayurbhanj district.35 Excluding the finds from Bhagrapir, the specimens collected from other places in Mayurbhanj are yet to be published and are kept in Baripada Museum. These celts recovered from Dunria, Khiching, Bamanghati, Panchpir and Ksheta and the stratigraphy of Bhagrapir and undoubtedly belong to great antiquity. But, no effort has been made to study these celts from metallurgical point of view to find out the technique of their manufacture. However,
from outward crude finish, Prof. Sahu presumes that, they were manufactured at a time when metal-working was not fully developed.³⁶

The copper implements provide only a faint outline of metal using culture inherited from East and West. N.K. Sahu therefore, makes it clear that to know more of it one has to undertake further study on it.

Megaliths

Megalithic civilization, according to N.K. Sahu is an offshoot of the Neolithic culture. The people belonging to this culture speak a typical Austro-Asiatic language and erect megalithic monuments. The Gadabas, Bonddos, Parengas and Ronas of Odisha, the Maria Gonds of Bastar and the Nagas and Khasis of Assam belong to this culture. They live far away from each other, from Odisha to Assam but they observe the same festivals, rituals and ceremonials uniformly. The Megalith custom is confined to Koraput and Kalahandi districts of Odisha and practised by the above tribal groups. The Megalithic practice of Odisha is based on two principles as classified by Prof. Sahu as –

(a) Preservation of the memory of the dead.
(b) Dedication to some deity.

But, in other parts of India, the megalithic monuments were meant for the graves or the burial of the dead. The Megaliths of Odisha can be traced back to the beginning of the Christian era, but the
megaliths custom originated in different parts of world in different times.

According to V.G. Childe the extinct megalithic customs originated around Eastern Mediterranean regions. These megalithic tribes were linked to the megalithic rituals of Austro-Asiatic people of Koraput and the Gond tribes of Bastar and Chotanagpur, Khasis and Nagas of Assam and with the megaliths of Indonesia and South seas.\(^{38}\)

According to Haimendorf, the current megalithic practice is a branch of Neolithic civilization. This practice penetrated into India through Assam with folks of the Austro-Asiatic languages during late-neolithic times. He also provides an idea about the monuments and rituals of megalithic tribes living in various parts of India.\(^ {39}\) Prof. Sahu has rightly agreed with the views of Haimendorf as to the customs and rituals of Megalithic age.

Infact, the most difficult part of the history of Odisha was dealt with Prof. N.K. Sahu. Right from the publication of the *Utkal University History of Orissa*, it became an often referred book of scholars on this neglected and difficult aspect of Odishan history.

**Kalinga Before the Mahabharata War**

The political history of India, in general and Odisha or Kalinga in particular, suffers from a number of defects. The vedic literature and puranas deal more with the history of North-India than with other regions of India. N.K. Sahu finds evidences from Puranas as to the existence of Kalinga as a political entity.
During Pre-Bharata war Period Kalinga was branded as a land of 'Durdharmans', that means a non-Aryan community. But, the Mahabharata informs that the royal dynasties of Kalinga established matrimonial relations with the kings of North-India, even before the Bharat war. The 'Adi Parva' of Mahabharata states about the marriage of Princess Karambha with king Akrodhana. The 'Santi Parva' of Mahabharata also gives an account of the Svayamvara Ceremony of a Kalinga Princess, the daughter of King Chitrangada, which was attended by most of the famous kings and princes of Northern and Southern India, along with Duryodhana and Karna.

There are evidences showing the King of Kalinga attending the Svayamvara Ceremony of Draupadi along with Duryodhan and Karna. The king of Kalinga also participated in the Rajasuya sacrifice of Yudhistira along with the kings of Pundra, Vanga, Kuntala and Vanavasi. The king of Kalinga joined the Bharat war in favour of Duryodhana whereas the Odra ruler was an ally of the Pandavas. The Kalinga ruler displayed great skill and valour in the Mahabharata war against Pandavas but at last died in the hands of Bhimasena. Thus, from the above accounts of Mahabharata, it is known that Kalinga was a mighty power commanding great prestige in the Pre-Bharata war period. Therefore, eminent kings of Northern India were interested to have matrimonial relations with the Kalinga rulers.

**Date of the Mahabharata War**
The Mahabharata War is a great landmark in the history of ancient India in which the Pandavas fought against the Kauravas for their paternal property and kingdom. The war was fought at Syamanta Panchaka just before the emergence of the Kaliyuga. Prof. Sahu discusses the view of several scholars regarding the date of Bharata war. Basing on the literature of Surya Siddanta and Ardharatrika of Aryabhatta it is stated that the Kaliyuga began at Ujjaini from the midnight of 17 February 3102 B.C. He was the first person to predict and propound the date of evolution of Kaliyuga. But, Aryabhatta's prediction is rarely accepted by scholars and Prof. Sahu who holds it as an astronomical fiction.

Varahamihira differs from Aryabhatta in this respect, as the former in his Vrhtasamhita states that Yudhistira was ruling the earth during 2449 B.C. P.C. Sengupta in his book Ancient Indian Chronology has supported the statement of Varahamihira but A.S. Altekar and M.N. Shah have refuted the astronomical datas as unscientific exaggeration. F.E. Pargiter also holds the same view.

As per the Puranic tradition, the Bharata war took place in 1412 B.C. But on the other hand it assigned Pulomavi a period which was historically incorrect. Therefore, H.C. Raychaudhuri rejects the Puranic tradition as to the date of Mahabharat war. A.S. Altekar also questions the accuracy of the Puranic sources because of incorrect computation of the date and time. Prof. Sahu
thinks it worthwhile to examine the list of teachers furnished in the Sataptha Brahmana and Vrhadaranyaka Upanishad to find out the exact period of the Bharata war. As far as the chronological succession list of teachers is concerned. Turakavaseya was succeeded by Jajnavachas Rajastambhayna, Kusri Vajasravas, Upavesi, Aruna and Uddalaka Aruni respectively. Uddalaka Aruni flourished during the days of King Janaka of Mithila in the 6th generation from Turakavaseya, who was the priest of Janmejaya. Then Uddalaka Aruni was succeeded by Kahola Kausitaki and Gunaksa Sankhayana. Basing upon the Prasna Upanishad and Majjhima Nikaya he examines that Tunaksa Sankhayana was a contemporary of Buddha, that means he flourished during 6th Century B.C.. On the basis of this calculation, King Janmejaya who was a contemporary of Turakavaseya also flourished around 790 B.C. Janmejaya was a Sarvabhauma ruler who performed two Asvamedha Yajnas and consecrated with Punarabhiseka and Aindramahabhiseka which indicate his long tenure.

Taking all these facts into account Prof. Sahu assumes that Janmejaya ascended the throne in 840 B.C. and his father Pariksita died at the age of 60 after a rule of 24 years. The birth of Pariksita almost synchronized with Bharata War, that was in or about 900 B.C.44

The archaeological excavations at Hastinapura revealed a culture represented by a ceramic industry called ‘painted grey-ware’ during 1100 B.C. to 800 B.C. This ceramic culture was
associated with places like, Mathura, Ahichhatra and Kuruksetra, where the Bharata war was fought. The archaeological excavations further revealed about a high flood that inundated Hastinapur sometimes after 800 B.C. The Mahabharata also speaks of the high flood in the Ganges. The Puranic sources also corroborate the fact that the City of Hastinapura was submerged by the flood water of the Ganges for which the capital was transferred to Kausambi.

Prof.Sahu after considering these facts presumes that, the devastation caused by this high flood made to people desert Hastinapura. The rulers who succeeded after Janmejaya ruled only for a short period and during the reign of Nichaksu that Hastinapura was completely deserted. Thus, it becomes evident that the Bharat war was fought more than a century before the final destruction of Kuru Kingdom, that is around 900 B.C.

Kalinga from the Mahabharata War to Mahapadmananda

The history of ancient India from the Mahabharata war to Mahapadmananda can be divided into two parts. The first period extends from the birth of Parikshita to the coronation of Mahapadmananda, and the second period ranges from Mahapadmananda to Pulomavi. N.K.Sahu states that vedic literature provides a little information about early history of Kalinga and her people. The Vayu Purana, Matsya Purana and
Brahmanda Purana speak about different ruling dynasties of India in the Post-Mahabharata war period. From these sources, it is known that about thirty two Ksatriya kings ruled over Kalinga, but their names do not figure in history. However, the Buddhist and Jaina literature throw light on the early history of Kalinga which Prof. Sahu takes into account.

As per the Mahagovinda Suttanta of Digha Nikaya Kalinga was a powerful State and its capital was at Dantapura. King Sattabhu was ruling over Kalinga and he was a contemporary of Dhrtarastra of Kasi and Satanika of Hastinapura. Nalikira succeeded Sattabhu and it was during his reign that the Kshatriya dynasty ruling over Kalinga declined. The anarchy prevailing in Kalinga came to an end with the accession of Karakandu to the throne.

Prof. Sahu referring to the Kalingabodhi Jataka states that three generations of kings ruled over Kalinga successively, such as Kalinga-I, Mahakalinga and Kalinga-II. Kalinga-I was a weak monarch who abdicated the throne for his elder son Mahakalinga. Mahakalinga was issue-less, so after his death the son of his younger brother Chullakalinga ascended the throne and assumed the name Kalinga-II. Towards the end of 7th Century B.C. the Kalinga empire declined.

The 6th Century B.C. is remarkable in the history of India for far-reaching political and cultural developments. As per the Anguttara Nikaya there are 16 states flourishing in India but the
name of Kalinga was not in the list. Prof. Sahu says, it may be missing for the political decline of Kalinga during this period.

The *Mahabharata* mentions that Kalinga is one of the early kingdoms of India. Prof. N.K. Sahu rightly agrees with the fact that there is only limited sources available with us to know more about the history of Kalinga in the 6th Century B.C. The *Dathavamsa* speaks only about the history of Kalinga during the 5th Century B.C. Accordingly, it is found that King Brahmadatta was ruling over Kalinga when Buddha attained Parinirvana. He was succeeded by Kasiraja and Sunanda respectively. As per the available facts, Sunanda is presumed to be the last King of Dathavamsa, who was violently killed by Sarvaksatrantaka Nandaraja. No more facts are available about this period of history of Kalinga.

**State and Society before Mahapadmananda**

Kalinga was a monarchical state from 900 B.C. to 350 B.C. and 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 of the State. People regarded the King as an ideal figure. There was a ministry to assist the King in discharging his functions. The Purohita was the advisor of the king in spiritual and temporal matters. He played an important role in the administration of justice. There were judicial officers but king was the highest judicial authority and he imposed serious punishments on offenders only on the advice of his legal
advisers. The Chief Queen or 'Aggamahesi' commanded great respect and influence over the State Administration. The 'Senapati' or Commander-in-Chief was the head of army who worked under the king's advice. The king was well-versed in military techniques and he used to lead the army during war. Victory in the wars depend more on the skill and courage of the Senapati than on the vastness and strength of the army.

In that period, the administrative divisions of the State were known as Janapada and Grama. The Janapada was a bigger unit than Grama or village. According to Buddha Jataka village was the lowest unit of administration and a self-governing institution. The headman of village was called Gramani as per the Vedas and Gamabhojaka as per Jatakas and he used to perform the executive, judicial and police functions of the village.

The Gramani was a servant of the King but he was answerable to the village-council. People used to pay one-sixth of their annual produce to the State as tax. The economic condition of the people was stable and most of them were dependent on agriculture. The peasants were considered proprietor of the land cultivated by them. Cultivation was made with the help of a pair of bullocks and canal irrigation was unknown. The first experiment of irrigation by Canal was made in Kalinga during the reign of Mahapadmananda in 4th Century B.C. 48

Kalinga was the only unfortunate land where rainfall was uncertain and famine was considered a national calamity. During
famine Ministers and Brahmins looked for some miraculous power for producing rain.

Trade and Commerce flourished in Kalinga and it is mentioned in Buddha and Jaina texts. The Buddhna Jataka and Vinaya Pitaka clearly state that Tapussa and Bhallika, the two merchants belong to Utkal or Ukkala. The *Uttaradhyayana Sutra* indicates that there was a famous emporium in Kalinga at Pihunda Port and merchants of Champa during Mahavira used to come here for trade. Trade and Commerce in Kalinga developed mainly due to good transport and communication facilities. Trade was mainly based on exchange of commodities. The important item of export were cotton cloth, rice, hemp, coconuts, molasses and woolen rugs, etc. Some indigenous crafts developed out of forest products such as, baskets, mats - made up of palm-leaf fans and sunshades and vermillion. Carpentry and wood carving flourished in that period. Musical instruments like, flute, drum and cymbals had good market and physicians and fortune-tellers carried on profitable business.

Most of the small industries were run as family professions and hired labourers were employed in big industries. Slavery was a recognized institution and even average standard households had slaves of both male and female variety.

During that period, Kalinga was progressively Organized and social class distinctions sharply developed among Brahmanas, Ksatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. The Brahmanas
occupied a respectable position in society and they helped in averting personal and national calamities. The Jatakas illustrate examples of Brahmans performing sacrifice to avert impending personal evil. They were reading dreams, foretelling fortunes, worshipping demons and performing esoteric practices.\textsuperscript{50}

Gradually, the supremacy of Brahmanas declined and Ksatriyas rose to prominence assuming political power and material prosperity. The Vaisyas constituted the bulk of the population comprising of cultivators, traders and artisans and with them Aryan blood and culture got assimilated giving rise to new castes and classes in the society. The Sudras constituted the lowest class comprising of hill-tribes and others. There was a group of degraded and despised people, called Chandalas, who were treated untouchable.

Thus, Prof. Sahu provides a healthy picture of social and family life with usual love and affection among people. Joint family system was prevalent with patriarchal principle and polygamy for which the position of wife was subservient to the husband. No child-marriage system was prevailing then. The minimum marriage age for girls was 16 years. The Purdah system was rarely seen while suttee custom was totally absent. Widowhood was regarded as a curse but there were instances of widow – remarriage. The society expected issues from every married women and issueless married women were despised as barren and of no use.\textsuperscript{51}
Both men and women cultivated fine arts like, music, dance and painting and the prominent of them received royal patronage. Elementary education was duly looked after both in towns and villages. Schools or Pathsalas were set up and both boys and girls attended schools. Higher education was imparted only in selected towns like Taksasila and Baranasi, but Kalinga had no such centres of higher study.

Various Parivrajaka doctrines had strong foot-hold in Kalinga, but with the popularity of Jainism and Buddhism there was a clash of ideas in society. The Anguttara.Nikaya reveals that the Vassa and Bhanna tribes of Ukkala professed the doctrines of 'Ahetuvada', 'Akiriyavada' and 'Nathikavada' and denied cause action and existence. Purana Kassapa, one of the six Paribrajaka rivals of Buddha had great influence over the people of Kalinga during that time. The Vassa and Bhanna tribes of Utkala were influenced by the teachings of the Mahachattarsaka Sutta preached by Buddha and discarded the teachings of Purana Kassapa. The influence of Buddhism over Kalinga can be known from the coming of the Tooth relic of Buddha to the royal court of Kalinga.

According to early Buddhist literature, in pre-Asokan period Kalinga was outside the Buddhist fold and Jainism had greater foot-hold in Kalinga. Karakandu and Kalinga-I were staunch Jaina followers and during their period Jainism flourished in Kalinga. As per the Hatigumpha Inscription of Kharavela, Mahavira
preached his sermon on the mount of Kumari or Udayagiri, Jainism had greater influence over the people of Kalinga by 6th Century B.C. than Buddhism.54

As per the informations derived from the Jatakas Prof. Sahu states that, People of Kalinga in those days were following demi-gods like, Jakkhas, Nagas, Supannas, Gandhabbas, Vijjadharas and Rukkhadevatass and Samudda devatas, etc. The popular belief in the Demi-gods, was so universal that Jainism, Buddhism and later Bhagavatism and Saivism had to devise means to honour and assimilate these popular gods in their respective faiths.

There was peace and harmony in Kalinga and people were happily enjoying various festivals, games and entertainments. Acrobats, Snake-charmers, Monkey-trainers, Magicians, Dancers and Musicians were wandering from place to place to make money and amusement. R.L.Mehta in his book Pre-Buddhist India gives a true picture of the life of people in Kalinga in those days which have been appreciated by N.K.Sahu.

Kalinga under the Nandas:

Mahapadamananda

The imperial policy of Magadha rulers caused the decline of Janapadas of 6th Century B.C. Kings like Bimbisara and his son Ajatasatru belonged to the Haryanakula dynasty and made Magadha a super power following the policy of Military aggrandizement. Magadha became more hostile to the
ascendancy of a Sudra king called Mahapadmananda to the throne of Magadha. He started the demolition of all the Ksatriya kings ruling in different parts of India.

Prof.N.K.Sahu views that the destruction of Ksatriya ruling families was not only a political necessity but also the outcome of social vengeance of the Sudra Monarch.\textsuperscript{56} Mahapadmananda consolidated the Magadhan empire from Indus Valley upto Eastern Seas. Mahapadmananda defeated and killed king Sunanda to occupy Kalinga. But, R.K.Mukherji opines that Mahapadmananda occupied only a small part of Kalinga which formed the Nanda empire. A considerable portion of Kalinga lay to the south and it was left to Asoka to complete the conquest of Kalinga from North to South.

The Hathigumpha Inscription projects a Nanda king who occupied the heart of Kalinga extending from the Ganges to the Godaviri. There is difference of opinion among scholars regarding that Nanda king mentioned in the Hathigumpha Inscription, K.P.Jayaswal and R.D.Banerji\textsuperscript{57} identify Nandaraja with Nandivardhana while K.C.Panigrahi\textsuperscript{58} following B.M.Barua takes him as Asoka.

Jayaswal and Banerji attempt to identify of Purvananda with Nandi-vardhan who in his turn is identified by them with the Nanda king of Hathigumpha Inscription. Purvananda is a legendary character in the \textit{Kathasarit Sagar} of Somadeva and \textit{Vrhat Kathamanjari} of Ksemendra. Actually, purvananda is not
represented as a ruler, although one Yogananda has been depicted as the re-animated corpse of a Nanda King Purvananda and Yogananda are not associated with one another but both are given a fairy touch by the imagination of story-tellers. So, Prof. Sahu opines that the attempt to identify Purvananda with Nandivardhana is untenable.\textsuperscript{59}

Nandivardhana is a shadowy figure in Indian history and his identification with Nandaraja of Hatigumpha inscription has no historical basis. So to identify Nanda King of the Hatigumpha inscription on the basis of medieval literature is found to be inconclusive. So to arrive at a conclusion it is necessary to look for early literary sources, opines N.K.Sahu. According to Plutarch, Chandragupta Maurya had no family connection with the Nanda King. Again, Chandragupta, who pointed out the low birth of the Nanda King could not be a descendant of the Nanda family.

The Jaina, Buddhist and Brahminical authorities hold Chandragupta as belonging to Maurya Family. The \textit{Vayu Puran, Matsya Puran} and \textit{Brahmanda Purana} state that the Mauryas came to power after the Nandas.\textsuperscript{60} According to \textit{Mahavamsa}\textsuperscript{61}, Kautilya brought Chandragupta to power after the latter killed Dhanananda.

As per the Jaina \textit{Parisista Parvan} Mahapadmananda was the son of a Courtesan barber but the same work declares Chandragupta as the son of the daughter of the chief of the clan of peacock tamers. From these references it becomes obvious
that the Maurya dynasty was different from Nanda Dynasty and there was no blood relation between the two. Therefore, it is quite unhistorical to regard Asoka as a Nanda king, opines N.K. Sahu.  

**Date of Mahapadmananda**

As per Puranic sources, Chandragupta Maurya captured the throne of Magadha by defeating and killing the last Nanda king. The accession of Chandragupta Maurya may be taken to 322 B.C. just after the death of Alexander the Great.

Again, Mahapadmananda and his eight sons ruled for twelve years after which Chandragupta occupied the throne. But, according to *Matsya Purana* and *Brahmanda Purana* Mahapadmananda ruled for 88 years, but Vayu Puran confines it to 28 years. So, Prof. Sahu says, the truth lies with the 'Vayu Purana'. The Jaina and Greek writers state that Mahapadmananda occupied the throne at a mature age and it is quite impossible for him to rule for 88 years. So, the only judicious view is that he ruled only for 28 years, that is from 362 B.C. – 334 B.C. and twelve years later that is (334-12) in 322 B.C. Chandragupta captured Magadha.

**Rule of Mahapadmananda**

Mahapadmananda, after his accession consolidated his empire. He most likely conquered Kalinga towards the later part of his imperial career, in about 350 B.C. After his conquest of Kalinga he took away the image of Kalinga Jina as a mark of his victory.
Mahapadmananda had eight sons of which Dhanananda was the youngest. During Nanda rule in Kalinga, it became a prosperous country because of the various developmental works undertaken by the Nanda rulers. They encouraged trade and commerce throughout the empire and their economic policy made the country prosperous. Thus, Kalinga in the 4th century B.C. was politically organized and materially benefited by the rule of Mahapadmananda and his successors.

Kalinga under the Maurya Rule

After the end of the Nanda rule, Chandragupta established the Maurya rule over Magadha. The Kalinga Empire under the Mauryan rule extended from Hindukush to Mysore, embracing the 'Chakravarti Ksetra'. The rapid growth of Magadha stimulated Kalinga to consolidate her political and territorial status. The people of Kalinga had their colonies in Burma and it is known from the Burmese tradition and Okkalaba at the Irrawaddy delta. Gerini, in his Researches on Ptolemy's Geography has also indicated that the mighty people of Kalinga had established an empire in Burma, long before Asoka waged war against Kalinga. The Jaina Uttaradyayana Sutra and the Mahavamsa speak of the trade relations of Kalinga with over-seas countries like Ceylon and Burma during 3rd Century B.C. The secret behind the commercial prosperity of Kalinga was her maritime relations with other countries.
Kautilya and the Greek writer Diodorus mention about the strong elephant corps of Kalinga, as the best in India. The vast army of Kalinga was another source of her strength. Thus, according to the author, Kalinga was a potential power by that time due to her political, economic and military strength. So, the Magadha rulers like, Chandragupta and Bindusara did not venture to risk a war with her. But, it was emperor Asoka who waged war with Kalinga in the eighth year of his rule.

**Asoka and the Kalinga War**

Kalinga war was inevitable in the logic of history, because Kalinga was a powerful country surrounded on all sides by the Magadhan empire. So, the Magadha emperor was diplomatically pressed not to be indifferent towards Kalinga. Again, the consolidated strength of Kalinga was a potential threat to the Mauryan empire. These reasons have been thoroughly examined by N.K.Sahu which he considers as the reasons of Kalinga war.

Kalinga war was fought more due to economic and commercial reasons than political. Kalinga by that time was a place of strategic importance from commercial view point. The prosperity of Kalinga and its trade-link was considered to be a threat to Magadhan empire. The Commercial crisis of Magadha and its poor performance in over-seas trade created suspicion in the minds of Asoka which necessitated the war.

Lama Taranath\textsuperscript{70} says that, the Nagas stole away the jewels from Asoka for which the emperor became angry and conquered
the territory of Nagas. The Naga people were identified as a group of sea-faring people of Kalinga. Hence, it would be wrong to state that by conquering the Nagas Asoka conquered the whole of Kalinga.

There is a legend behind the Kalinga war. It is said that, Asoka waged the Kalinga war mainly to get hold of a beautiful fisher-woman Karuvaki. But, when he conquered Kalinga Karuvaki did not agree to marry Emperor Asoka because he did not belong to the religion to which Karuvaki belonged. Prof. Sahu, says this story is more legendary than historical.71

Asoka ascended the throne of Magadha in 269 B.C. and from the very first day he started preparing for a war with Kalinga. He increased the military strength of Magadha by recruiting more soldiers and giving them better arms and ammunitions. He also recruited some mercenaries from Syria and Bactria (Greece).

The Kalinga war took place in 261 B.C. in the eighth year of his reign. Emperor Asoka, personally led the invasion from North, West and South directions, but Kalinga offered stiff resistance. There is no mention about the Kalinga war in the Buddhist literature, however, Lama Taranath states that Asoka subdued the south of the Vindhyas with the help of an army of Yaksa mercenaries.

Asoka, in his Rock Edit XIII72 has given a vivid explanation about the war and its consequences, but he speaks nothing about
his plans, campaigns, causes of fight and the fate of Royal House of Kalinga. The horrors and miseries of the war and the casualties suffered by the army and people of Kalinga have been mentioned in the Rock Edit XIII. It reveals that as many as 1,50,000 people were taken as captives, 1,00,000 were killed and more than one lakh people died out of injuries in the war. The casualties clearly indicate that Kalinga was a formidable force which opposed the invasion of Asoka to the utmost extent possible. The war brought enormous misery and disaster not only to the soldiers but also to the civilians including Brahmanas, Sramanas and other religious communities. Those who survived after the war they suffered for the loss of their beloved.

Asoka was deeply moved by the cultural disaster and sufferings of the civilian population. The havoc and bloodshed of the Kalinga war brought about a great transformation in the minds of Asoka and he became a follower of Buddhism.

The Kalinga war was a landmark in the life-history of emperor Asoka and created in him an intense desire for joining the Buddhist fold. Thus, Asoka's conversion to Buddhism was the direct outcome of the Kalinga war. He embraced Buddhism probably four years before the promulgation of Minor Rock Edicts in the eighth year of his reign and as such after the Kalinga war.

Prof. N. K. Sahu suggests that Kalinga war transformed Chandasoka to Dharmasoka, and it generated a popular appeal for Buddhism. Buddhism, which was an obscure and lingering
creed in the Pre-Asokan period suddenly after Asoka's conversion became a vigorous all India religion. It was the Kalinga war, which greatly influenced the events in the history of India, and of the entire world. It ushered in an era of spiritual imperialism flavoured by love and gave the message of peace, fraternity and non-violence to the whole world. The empire of Asoka after Kalinga war became vast.

**Administration of Kalinga**

Prof. Sahu has briefly described about the administration of Kalinga by Asoka. Kalinga constituted the fifth province of Mauryan empire and the other four were Prachya, Uttarapatha, Avantiratha and Daksinapatha. There was uniformity in administration in the Mauryan empire. Each province had its political headquarters along with a second seat of administration for supervision of internal affairs.

The Capital of Kalinga was Tosali. Sampa was the second seat of administration. Although the administrative Organized on of all provinces was the same yet, in Kalinga the administrative system had to be modified under the pressure of local needs and political expediency. The people of Kalinga demanded greater attention and more liberal treatment from Asoka and Emperor was aware of the situation for which he placed Kalinga province under his supervision. He also appointed royal princes as viceroy in Kalinga. The emperor used to give special instructions to the officials for discharging administrative responsibilities. He
appointed a body of ministers for the viceroy of Kalinga, who not only assist and advise the viceroy but also to check and balance his administrative powers. The viceroy was denied to wield unfettered powers, so that the subjects would get relief. The official instructions of the emperor clearly indicate that Asoka was sincerely trying to maintain a benevolent administration in Kalinga, opines N.K. Sahu.74

Asoka regarded the people of Kalinga as his children and ordered his officials to extend all sorts of help to the people in the administration of the province. He also instructed his judicial officers not to inflict sudden punishment on persons, and to behave softly and gently.

Prof. Sahu also refers to an Organized bureaucratic set up both at the central and provincial levels. The central bureaucrats helped the Emperor while provincial bureaucrats assisted the viceroys. Each officer had his duties and responsibilities. The important officials were the 'Mahamatras', 'Rajukas', 'Pulisas', 'Pradesikas', 'Dutas', 'Ayuktas', 'Prativedakas' and 'Lipikaras'. The 'Mahamatras' were of three categories,
(a) 'Anta Mahamatras' or the ministers in charge of border provinces;
(b) 'Ithijaka Mahamatras' or the Ministers in charge of welfare and upliftment of women;
I 'Dharma Mahamatras' or Ministers in charge of spiritual and moral uplift of people.
The 'Rajukas' looked after the welfare of the Janapadas and enjoyed absolute powers in matters of reward and punishment to deserving people. The 'Pradesikas' were entrusted with the task of collection of revenue, maintenance of peace and administration of justice. The 'Yutas' were subordinates to the Pradesikas. The 'Prativedakas' were the reporters and 'Lipikaras' were the writers and record keepers holding the charge of engraving Rock-Edicts. Thus, N.K.Sahu has carefully explained the analysed the Organized on of administration and the role and responsibilities of officials with minute details.

**Propagation of Dhamma**

The Bureaucracy of Mauryan administrative system was Organized in Kalinga. It helped a lot in restoration of stability in this land. By that time, the Buddhist Missionaries initiated steps to strengthen the Samgha. The Buddhist Samgha was divided into nineteen schools of which the Theravada, Sarvastivada and Mahasamghikas played an important role in popularizing Buddhism in India. Kalinga was the meeting place of these three schools of Buddhist Philosophy. Acharya Dhammarakkhita and his disciple Tissa selected Kalinga as their place of retirement for which Asoka built a great monastery called 'Bhojakagiri Vihara' in Kalinga. In the post-Asokan period Sarvastivada had an upper hand in Kalinga while Mahasamghikas were confined to South-Kalinga.

**Success and failure of Kalinga War**
The victory of Asoka over Kalinga was a great military achievement which his predecessors could not achieve. With the conquest of Kalinga the Maurya policy of territorial aggrandizement attained its climax and Asoka won historic fame as a great stateman, able administrator and military genius. It was due to the bravery of the Kalinga forces and people that Asoka even after his conquest of Kalinga was forced to take up the task of consolidating the conquered land out of humanitarian-religious compulsion and administrative necessity. Kalinga under the guidance of Asoka became a strong and developed province of the Maurya Empire.

Conquest of Kalinga, for Asoka, was more important for propagating the ideal of peace and brotherhood among the people. His conversion to Buddhism not only proved to be a boon to his life but also contributed towards his pacific foreign policy. His policy of Dhammavijaya heralded a regime of peace and brotherhood of humanity and accelerated the progress of religion and culture.

It was Kalinga and Kalinga war that helped Asoka to become a well-known figure in history. The war revealed his military genius and Kalinga was the proof of his administrative sagacity. It was this war which converted Chandasoka into Dharmasoka.

Prof. Sahu does not hesitate to criticize Asoka for his double standard. He pursued his glorious policy of peace and
consolidation but at the same time did not forget to criticize people for political expediency. During his reign, the administration of Kalinga was directed towards compelling people to submit to Magadhan Imperialism.\(^7\)

Asoka during his rule over Kalinga proclaimed the principles of 'Rajadharma' for restoring political peace in the province. He was interested for religious toleration in Kalinga and in other parts of his empire. He believed in Dharmayatra, bestowing gifts to Brahmanas, Sramanas and Theras. But, at the same time, Asoka showed no interest in restoring 'the Kalinga Jina' taken away by Mahapadmananda to Magadha from Kalinga. According to Prof. Sahu the Kalinga war was a fatal blow not only to Kalinga but also to Magadhan imperialism. The imperial system consolidated and strengthened by Ajatasatru, Mahapadmananda and Chandragupta Maurya collapsed after Priyadarsi Asoka only for his own pacific policy.

**Successor of Asoka**

Asoka, the great emperor of ancient India faced a terrible period towards the fag end of this life. As a patron of Buddhism, he spent a lot of money from imperial treasury, but his grandson, the heir apparent of Maurya empire. "Samprati" restrained him from making extravagant donations.

After Asoka his son Kunala succeeded to the throne of Magadha, but as Kunala was blind his son Samprati handled the entire responsibility of State Administration. Kunala ruled only for
eight years and thereafter his elder son 'Dasaratha' ascended the throne of Magadha as per the Nagarjuni Hill Inscription\textsuperscript{80}, \textit{Matsya Purana} and \textit{Vayu Purana}\textsuperscript{81}. According to Jaina and Buddhist references Samprati was the immediate successor of Asoka. He was a benevolent ruler who could successfully maintain his hold over the Mauryan Empire.

Samprati was succeeded by Vigatasoka, the third son of Kunala and during his tenure Acharya Posadha preached the Sarvastivada doctrine in Kalinga. The next successor was Salisuka, who was wicked and notorious by nature. His oppressive rule was to some extent responsible for his abdication of the throne in favour of his elder brother Vijaya. During the reign of Vijaya, the Greeks (Yavanas) invaded India and the Mauryan empire collapsed.

\textbf{The Sungas}

The last Maurya emperor was Brihadratha, during whose reign the Court of Pataliputra became a hot bed of conspiracy. His Commander-in-Chief, Pusyamitrasunga killed Brihadratha in 185B.C. in an open parade ground and laid the foundation of Sunga dynasty. Prof. Sahu says that, due to unavailability of epigraphic and literary data it could not be confirmed as to whether Kalinga was a part of Sunga dynasty or not.\textsuperscript{82} Pusyamitrasunga ruled for thirtysix years and his son Agnimitra
ruled for eight years. Agnimitra being a weak ruler his authority was usurped by his Ministers of Kanvayana Brahmanas. According to Puranic sources, the Sungas ruled for 112 years out of which the Kanvayas ruled for 45 years. It means that during Sunga rule the Kanvavas reduced the Sunga Monarchs to nominal authority for 45 years, for which 45 years of Kanvavas reign has been specified in Purans.

Then Simuka came to power over-powering the Sunga-Kanvavas in 73 B.C. At that time, two parallel revolutionary movements started in Kalinga, one by Chedi-Meghavahana dynasty and the other by the Satavahanas. Both these movements took place simultaneously and the importance of Sunga-Kanva declined.

Maurya and Sunga Art in Kalinga

Prof. N.K. Sahu analyses the Maurya-Sunga art in Kalinga. The Pre-Asokan art was wood based crafts, but during Asoka the stone-art technique and plastic-art in stone developed, which were of Achaemenid tradition. But, such Perso-Hellenic influence was absent in Kalinga.

The most vital specimen of Asokan art in Kalinga is the elephant figure in Dhauli. The elephant is found emerging out of the rock with dignified gait. It is 4 ft. in height and its plasticity suggests warm flesh and forward movement. It represents the indigenous art but lacks of luster and polish of the Asokan art. It is a superior artistic figure in a calm and sobre approach.
Prof. Sahu refers to another specimen of Asokan art is the Pillar in Bhubaneswar. In the year 1880 A.D., historian R.L. Mitra declared that the large lingam in the Bhaskareswar Temple might have been the remnant of an Asokan Pillar. In 1946, historian B.M. Barua in his book, *Asoka and his Inscriptions* has confirmed about the Pillar. In 1951 historian K.C. Panigrahi proved it from archaeological point of view.

K.C. Panigrahi associated the Lingam with the bell capital lying in the Asoka Jhara with a big lion figure traced near the Bhaskareswar Temple. But M.M. Gänguli in his book *Orissa and Her Remains* and N.K. Bose refuted the argument that the lingam is the stump of Asokan Pillar.

N.K. Bose further denies the possibility of structural association between the shaft of Bhaskareswar Temple and the Bell Capital of Asoka-Jhara. But K.C. Panigrahi on the other hand, asserts that, the lingam, the bell capital and the Asokan lion, are all made up of the same type of stone. However, Prof. N.K. Sahu opines that, the sand-stone of the lingum and the lion is of fine variety while the bell capital is of a coarse variety of stone.

In 1959, D. Mitra the then Superintendent of Archaeology, Eastern Circle made a trial excavation of the lingam in Bhaskareswar Temple to find out whether it is a lingam or a pillar supposed to be a lingam. After, trial excavation, she found that, the pillar like structure was actually installed as a lingam from the
very beginning, so the question of pillar does not arise. The Lion is peculiary Asokan in style and execution but it can't be compared to the elephant figure in Dhauli and Rampurva bull. The bell capital is definitely belonged to post-Asokan period with no Mauryan Polish or Asokan motifs. The bell capital may be assigned to the period of the Sunga rule when erection of Pillars with such capitals was Common in India.

Prof.N.K.Sahu has discussed about the art and architecture of the post-Asokan period, specifically, to the Sunga rule. He has also discussed about Pottery and Coins of the period found in Kalinga, such as, the Northern Black Polishd ware. The excavations of Sisupalgarh also presents a new type of pottery plain in finish with grey colour found in Kalinga. All these indicate that there was an advanced civilization in Kalinga during Mauryan and Sunga rule.

Prof.Sahu has also discussed about punch-marked silver coins of the Post-Mauryan period discovered in Kalinga. He finds evidence of these coins being used during the reign of Kharavela. The Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela and the Arthasastra of Kautilya refer to such coins.94

Romila Thapar in her work Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas95 states that, there are five Minting Centres during Maurya Period and the coins were issued by commercial institutes as tokens of trade and were duly approved by royal authorities. The punch marked coins indicate the advancement of
trade and commerce in Kalinga during and after Asoka and Maurya rule.

Kalinga under Kharavela

Professor N.K.Sahu was a pioneer historian on Orissan history. His painstaking research focused on an obscure phase of the history of Odisha. His meticulous research led to the publication of a great work titled *Kharavela* which optimizes his research ability as a great scholar. His methodical research led to project Kharavela as a mighty ruler of Contemporary India. This work of Prof.Sahu brought him all India fame when he contrasted the views of historians and brought many hidden aspects of Kharavela's life into lime light. He had meticulously studied the Hatigumpha inscription of Udaygiri in Bhubaneswar engraved in Brahmi script and the language of the inscription is Prakrit. A thorough reading of this inscription enabled him to throw a good deal of light on the career and achievements of Kharavela.

Kharavela was one of the greatest historical figures in the history of Odisha, who had an eventful and glorious career. He was a great conqueror, a benevolent ruler and a patron of art, literature and religion. But, due to paucity of historical evidences and materials he still remains an obscure figure in Indian history. He is known mostly out of epigraphical records and sculptural remains than literary records. The Hatigumpha inscriptions of
Udayagiri hill is the only source to know about the achievements of the great rulers.

Prof. Sahu has identified the 'Kumari Parvata' of the ancient age which was converted into Khandagiri hill during the rule of the Gangas and the Suryavamsis. The name 'Kumara' was taken from Brahminical word 'skanda' and the Jainas reconciled with the change of name expressed in Jaina Prakrit form as 'khanda'. Thus, in course of time 'Kumaragiri' came to be known as Khandagiri, as a set of religion and learning.

In the Odia literature of 18th and 19th century the name of Khandagiri is referred to as the abode of ascetics and mendicants. In the Brahma Kundali of Baranga Dasa and in the Mahimananda Gita of Araksita Dasa, Khandagiri is described as the place of retreat and spiritual contemplation of these two philosophers. A few Sanskrit works written in 18th and 19th centuries also describe the religious sanctity of Khandagiri – Udayagiri hills. The Khandachala Mahatmya of Vamadeva Ratha Sarma gives interesting accounts of the caves, temples and water reservoirs of the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills. Again the 'Odra Khanda' of the Brahmanda Purana describes about the activities of Kharavela from his birth to his coronation. Prior to the British occupation of Odisha the inscriptions of Khandagiri and Udayagiri were in obscure condition. It was A.Stirling who first noticed the inscription in the Hatigumpha of Udayagiri hill and in 1820 he sent Colonel Mackenzie to the spot who prepared for him a
lithograph facsimile of the inscription. The facsimile was published by Stirling in Asiatic Researches and in his book *An Account Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*.¹⁰⁰

James Prinsep, the editor of *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* was the first to decipher the Hatigumpha inscription and his readings provided a new vision for the study of ancient history of Kalinga.

Alexander Cunningham made improvements in the reading of Hatigumpha inscription in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*¹⁰¹ but failed to discover whether the inscription belonged to Kharavela or not. Rajendra Lal Mitra in his *Antiquities of Orissa¹⁰²* stated that the king glorified in this inscription was called ‘Aira’ who ruled during 340 – 325 B.C. But, it was Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indraji who for the first time declared that the king organized in Hatigumpha inscription was Kharavela.

R.D. Banerjee, K.P. Jayaswal and R.P. Chanda have also expressed their readings on Hatigumpha inscription but there is no agreement as to the name of the king glorified in the Hatigumpha inscription and the date of his reign. K.P. Jayaswal after his second visit to Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills has identified the king as Kharavela of the Chedi dynasty. He placed Kharavela in between 207-169 B.C.¹⁰³

D.C. Sircar in his revised reading on Hagigumpha Inscription in 1963 has also provided useful data on Kharavela’s reign. The
Archaeological Survey of India confirms that Kharavela belonged to 1st Century B.C., the time of Chedi rule in Kalinga. B.M.Barua tried to identify the capital of Kalinga during Kharavela and in this direction the opinion of T.N.Ramachandran deserves mention. Ramachandran\textsuperscript{104} identified the capital as Kalinganagara or Sisupalgarh, because:

(i) it was fortified by Kharavela in the very 1\textsuperscript{st} Yr. of his reign

(ii) built the Mahavijaya Prasad in the 12\textsuperscript{th} regnal year of his reign

(iii) extended the Tanasuliya canal into his capital

(iv) installed the image of Kalinga Jina in his capital

All these support the view that Sisupalgarh and Kalinganagar are the same place. Further, B.B.Lal\textsuperscript{105} also identifies Sisupalgarh with Kalinganagar.

Prof.Sahu does not accept all these views. He thinks it premature to accept Sisupalgarh as Kalinganagar without having some concrete evidence. Further, he says that, many more facts about Kharavela's rule can be discovered not only from the inscriptions but also from the art and sculptures of Ranigumpha Caves. Prof.Sahu states:

The engravings at Khandagiri-Udayagiri caves also present epigraphic records about the life and achievements of Kharavela. The Hatigumpha inscription contains the accounts of Kharavela from boyhood to 13\textsuperscript{th} regnal year of his reign in chronological order. As a
place of Jaina religious symbols the inscriptions may be regarded as authentic and reliable.

Prof. Sahoo has discussed about the ancestors of Kharavela. According this record Kharavela belonged to Cheta or Cheti or Chedi dynasty and descendent of Rajarsi Basu. In the context of the record, Chetaraja was the father of Kharavela and was the scion of the Chedi dynasty and since Basu was the well known Chedi king of ancient time, there can be no doubt that Kharavela who descended from these two rulers belonged to the chedi royal family of Kalinga.\textsuperscript{107}

Prof. Sahu refers to Jaina Harivamsa\textsuperscript{108}, Chetiya Jataka\textsuperscript{109} and Mahabharata\textsuperscript{110}. Abhichandra made a new capital at Suktimatipuri which was situated in Suktimati Valley near the Vindyas. The Suktimati river is identified with the river Ken by Pargiter, Mahanadi by Cunningham and Suktel by D.C. Sirkar. Prof. Sahu accepts the view of D.C. Sirkar and agrees that the Saktimati valley is located near the border of Kalinga.\textsuperscript{111}

He refers to Hatigumpha inscription which states that Kharavela was not only the descended of Rajarshi Vasu, but also he belongs to the family of ‘Mahameghavabahana’. The Manchapuri cave inscription indicate that, both Kharavela and Kudepasiri established the authority of their family in Kalinga. Early Jaina and literature refers to Mahameghabahana who is also called “Jamturahana”. The ‘Paumachariyam’ of Vimalasuri traces the ancestry of King Mahameghabahana to Rsabha who
was ruling over some territory at the neighbourhood of the Vindhyas. Referring to these sources Prof. N.K. Sahu opined that Mahameghabahana had the epithet "Vidyadhara Narendra". It thus appears that the tradition regarding Mahameghavahana, described in the 'Paumachariyam' which found in the *Tilakmanjari* and although this ruler acquires legendary character in these literary works there is reason to regard him as a historical king of ancient time. He also referred that Mahameghavahana who is quite likely the ancestor of Kharavela and Kudepasiri cannot be considered to be a legendary figure and he may be regarded as the famous Chedi King of Ancient Kalinga.\textsuperscript{112} He further states that after the decline of Sunga-Kanva Power, the Chedi Mahameghavahans had their political ascendancy with Andhra Satavahanas and established their sway over Kalinga.\textsuperscript{113}

The rule of the Chedi-Mahameghavahana kings over Kalinga continued for a long period. This celebrated dynasty played an important role in history and culture of India since the vedic period and in ancient kalinga. In particular, it succeeded in building a historical structure of political stability which moulded her social order and spiritual tradition for a long time to a considerable extent. Mahameghavahana Aira (noble) Kharavela belonged to this Chedi Dynasty.

**Date of Kharavela**

The credit of Prof. Sahu lies in determining the date of Kharavela which had entered into a great debate among
historians. He rejects the views of K.C.Panigrahi, K.P.Jayswal, R.D.Banerji and others regarding the interpretation of 'Moriya Kala' or 'Maurya Kala of the Hatigumpha inscription as 'Nanda Era' or 'Maurya Era' in connection with the word 'Tivasasata' of the Hatigumpha inscription and says that it should be 300 years and not 103 years. For that purpose, he analyses about the personalities like 'Nandaraja', 'Bahasatimita' and 'Yavanaraja' mentioned in the Hatigumpha inscription and places Kharavela in the 1st Century B.C.

Nandaraja

Line 6 of the Hatigumpha inscription reveals that Nandaraja excavated a canal in Kalinga, which was extended in the 5th regnal year of Kharavela to Kalinganagari through Tanasuli (Tosali) and Line-12 states that, he took away the Kalinga Jina and Jewels from the royal house of Kalinga which were brought back by Kharavela along with the treasures of Anga and Magadha. Regarding the identification of this Nandaraja, great scholars like K.P.Jayaswal and R.D.Banerji prove him as Nandivardhan, the Saisunaga King mentioned in Puranas and Mahabotdhivamsha. K.C.Panigahi and B.M.Barua take him as Asoka. Prof.Sahu points out that Kharavela at both the places of inscription refers to the Nanda King as "Nandaraja" who definitely belonged to Nanda dynasty, not to either Saisunaga or the Maurya dynasty. According to the legendary source like Kathasarita Sagara leanred scholars Jayaswal and Banerji
attempted to identify Somadeva and Vrhatkālha Manjari of Kṣemendra both belonging to the 11th Century A.D. with the Nanda King of Hatigumpha inscription. Prof. Sahu, after following various sources rightly discards the view that, Asoka could not be the Nanda King of Hatigumpha inscription.\footnote{114}

Line-6 of the Hatigumpha inscription states that Kharavela enlarged the aqueduct in his 5th regnal year after a lapse of \textit{Tivasasata} since it was excavated by Nanda King. But the scholars like Luders and V. Smith take the expression 103 years whereas Sten know takes it Mahavir era. Majumdar take in Hindu era, Alberumi take it Harshavardhan era. But Prof. Sahu suggests that, no historical document of Ancient India so far known, has been dated in such an era. So the suggestion that the expression, \textit{Tivasa Sata} reckons a date in the Nanda era appears conjectural and arbitrary.\footnote{115}

\textbf{Bahasatimita}

Line 12 of the Hatigumpha inscription reveals that King Bahasatimita (Brhasatimitra) of Magadha surrendered before Kharavela and paid obeisance at his feet. K.P. Jayaswal identifies this King with Pusyamitra Sunga, who laid foundation of the rule of Sunga dynasty in Magadha in 185 B.C. with a number of well-versed scholars like R.D. Banerji, Sten Konow, V. Smith and Jouveau Dubreuil. Later on Raychaudhuri pointed out that the name Brhaspati can not be equated with Pusyamitra where as R.P. Chand argued stranger in this way. Even if we admit that
Brhaspati was also identified by the ancient Hindu with Pusya, that does not justify the identification of Brahaspatimitra with Pusyamitra any more than the denotation of the same God by the terms Skanda and Kumara justifies the identification of Skandagupta with Kumargupta. So, Banasatimita of the inscription should be regarded as a distinct individual and need not be taken with Pusyamitra Sunga. The speculation of Jayaswal was unacceptable.

In some records of the post-Sunga period the name of Brhaspatimitra occurs in different manners. Some coins found from Kausambi and Ahichhatra region bear the legend 'Brhaspatimitra' which indicates that an important ruler of that name flourished in North India after the Sunga-Kanva period. The two epigraphic records also indicate that Brahaspatimitra is found to be closely related to the royal families of Mathura and Ahichhatra regions. However, Prof. Sahu does not find any clear-cut proof to show that King Odaka belonged to Sunga dynasty and his identification with any of Sunga Kings is far from satisfactory.

Coins discovered from Kosam and Ramnagar, after all examinations, are found to belong to the second half of the 1st Century B.C. Bahaspatimita, the adversary of Kharavela has been described in the Hathigumpha as the King of Anga and Magadha was pointed out earlier. Jayaswal and many other scholars have identified him with the famous Sunga ruler Pusyamitra which is
not true. Prof. Sahu makes it clear that King Bahasatimita of Magadha who submitted to Kharvela is identified with Bahasatimita of the Pabhosa inscription and of the Kausambi and Abhichhatra coins. Epigraphic evidences show that this ruler was ruling over an extensive territory comprising of Anga, Magadha, Vatsa, and Panchala during second half of the 1st Century B.C., so the date of Kharavela may be ascribed to that period.\textsuperscript{116}

**Yavanaraja**

The Hatigumpha inscription further indicates the name of 'Yavanaraja' which is clearly read out. K.P. Jayaswal reads the name of 'Yavanaraja Dimata' and he identifies him with the famous Indo-Greek King 'Demetrius', who was a contemporary of Pusyamitra Sunga. But, his views stood rejected by R.D. Banerjee, R.P. Chanda and H.C. Raychaudhuri, as they did not find any mention of 'Dimata' in the inscription. Prof. Sahu suggests that during the second half of the 1st Century B.C., the Indo-Greeks were moving in Eastern Punjab. Prof. Sahu writes\textsuperscript{117}:

"It was during that time that the Indo-Greek Kings belonging to the house of Euthydemos were lingering in Eastern Punjab, they were Zolius, Apolophanes, Dionysisus, Nicias and Hippostatas whose coins are found in considerable number in that region. The Yavanaraja of Kharavela's inscription might possibly be any one of these kings, but nothing definite can be said about this so long as new data are available to throw further light on the identity of this Yavana King."
Prof. Sahu has given a brief analysis on the personal history of Kharavela, his year of birth and succession to the throne of Kalinga, his dynasty and about his predecessors. As per the data, Kharavela was born in 64 B.C. in the third generation of Chedi dynasty of Kalinga. He belonged to the Mahameghavahana dynasty and he succeeded to the throne in 49 B.C. when he was a crown prince.

His name 'Kharavela' has been derived from the Sanskrit 'Ksaravela' which means 'ocean', and literally it means 'one whose waves are breakish (according to Jayaswal). But S.K.Chatterji defines it of a word derived from Dravidian language 'kar' + 'vel' meaning black and terrible and lance or 'Black lancer'. This view of Chatterji is rejected by Prof.Sahu as he finds no justification about Kharavela belonging to Dravidian race. Rather from the Hatigumpha inscription it is believed that both 'Kharavela' and his successor Kudepasiri take the Epithet 'Aira' in Sanskrit implies 'Arya' which disapproves of Kharavela belonging to Dravidian race.118

Boyhood of Kharavela

Kharavela was young handsome Prince with a tawny brown complexion and he possessed in his body some indications of greatness (Mahapurusa Laksanam). He was gifted with qualities which spread over four quarters. He was bestowed with physical grace, mental alertness, intelligence and many potential qualities. He acquired proficiency in writing (Lekha), Coinage (Rupa)
Arithmetic (Ganana), Legal Procedure (Vyavahara) and Administrative Procedure (Vidhi). He was well trained in Dhanurvidya and Gandharva Veda. The king might have married two queens and was blessed with a son 'Kudepasiri', but there is not much historical evidence to support it.

Achievements of Kharavela

With Kharavela's Coronation in the very first year of his reign, he repaired the gates, ramparts and structures of Kalinga Nagari (modern Sisupalagarh) which had been severely damaged by cyclone. He built the embankments for the pools that contained cool and clear water. He arranged the damaged gardens and parks. For this he spent 35,000,000 coins and made his subjects glad and cheerful.119

In the very second year of his reign his imperial ambition took a turn. By that time the Satavahana dynasty was very powerful in the Deccan. It was ruling in Maharashtra region with its headquarters at Nasik. Its powerful ruler was Satakarni-I. As both the Chedis and Satavahanas rose to political power almost simultaneously, a clash between them for the bid of supremacy was inevitable. Kharavela, without caring for the power of Satakarni dispatched to the western direction of his empire i.e. Deccan his grand army consisting of cavalry, elephantry, infantry and chariots. The vast army of Kharavela marched up to the river Krishna and stormed the city of Asika, the stronghold of the
Satavahanas. The concrete result of this war is not mentioned in the Hatigumpha inscription.\textsuperscript{120}

In the third regnal year of his reign, Kalinganagari, the Capital City of Kharavela, was overwhelmed with joy and jubilation. Kharavela was proficient in all arts of music and dance and he displayed it in that very year. He organized various performances where dance and music both vocal and instrumental, took place. He also arranged ceremonials and social gatherings in which feast and merrymaking, etc. formed part with such activities and social performance the metropolis of Kaling danced with joy.\textsuperscript{121}

In the fourth regnal year, the war drum of Kalinga was heard again. Kharavela mobilized his army and marched towards the Deccan again. The territory of the Rathikas and Bhojakas lying respectively to the south and north of Nasik region were conquered. The Rathikas and Bhojaka Chiefs with their crown cast off their umbrella and royal insignia thrown aside and their jewellery and wealth confiscated were made to pay obeisance at the feet of Kharavela, the victor.\textsuperscript{122}

In the fifth regnal year, Kharavela reflected himself as a benevolent king and he extended the canal from Tanasulia road upto Kalinganagari – the canal which had been excavated 300 years before by a Nanda King for the purpose of irrigation. In his sixth regnal year, Kharavela remitted taxes and benevolences both in urban and rural areas of his kingdom. This clearly shows
that the treasury of Kharavela was overflowed with wealth. As a benevolent ruler he took up this task of remitting taxes to his beloved subjects to win their hearts.

Kharavela led an expedition to the north in his eighth regnal year and attacked Rajagriha and devastaged Gorathagiri. His triumph at Rajagriha created fear among the Yavanas who were then in occupation of Mathura. After their success in that region, they had a plan to attack Magadh. Hearing the exploits of Kharavela the Yavana King fled away from Mathura.\textsuperscript{123} In the ninth regnal year he distributed wealth, which he gained from previous exploits, among the Brahmins and Arhats of his empire. In order to commemorate his victory, he built the 'Great Victory Palace' (Mahavijaya Prasadam) by spending 38,000,00 coins.

In the tenth regnal year, Kharavela was the embodiment of the principle of politics, diplomacy and peace. He directed the army towards North India for conquest but the result is obscure. In the very next year, he ploughed pithunda, established by his ancestors by a plough driven by assess. In the same year, he fought a severe war against the Tamil Confederacy consisting of Cholas, Pandyas, Keraliputras, Satyaputras and Tamraparni and destroyed it completely. He secured from them jewels, pearls and precious stones as a symbol of allegiance.

In the twelfth regnal year, Kharavela for the third time led a campaign towards the north with a vast army and proceeded up to north-west India. By his aggressive march, he compelled the
Indo-Greek rulers for submission who readily surrendered to Kharavela out of fear. He encamped on the river bank of the Ganges and his elephants and horses drank water from the river. The sight struck fear in the mind of the Magadhan people, Bahasatimita, the King of Anga and Magadha surrendered at his feet without waging any war. Kharavela brought back from Magadha the image of Kalinga Jina astrophy of his victory which was taken away 300 years before by a Nanda King. He also brought a vast treasure of wealth from Anga and Magadha. In this year of his reign, Kharavela built beautiful Gopura and Sikhara by spending 100 visika. The king of Pandya brought pearls and gems that worth 1,000,00 coins to present Kharavela.\textsuperscript{124}

In the thirteenth year of his reign, Kharavela by the conquest of the queen of Simhapatha built 117 caves at Kumari Parvata (Udayagiri) for Jaina monks, monks of other religion, sheets and Arhats who came from distant places to take rest. This was the noble service rendered to the Jaina and other monks. He revived the art and architecture of ancient Kalinga (Mukhiya Kala) which was going to be extinguished. In different caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri the images of Jaina Tirthankaras, treets, creepers, images of royal servants were built by him. On the floor meant for Brahmins, Sramanas and Arhats, the pillares decorated with emerald were fixed. Thus, ruled the Kshemaraja, Buddharaja, Bhikshuraja, the mighty monarch Kharavela.\textsuperscript{125}
Administration during Kharavela

Prof. Sahu finds some inferences about the administrative and bureaucratic system of Kharavela and ancient Kalinga from Kirari Wooden Pillar Inscription of the 1st Century A.D. The names of some of the Officers of the Kirari Inscription also are engraved in the Udayagiri caves, which proves that the Kirari Inscription has its resemblance with the administrative system of Kharavela. The author also mentions a few officers of Kharavela's period, such as 'Mahamatra' or Chief Minister, 'Mahascani' or Commander-in-Chief, Pratihara or gate-keepers, Sena-Nayaka or head of security guards, and 'Dandaparika' or Chief Police Officer, etc. Kharavela had a well ordered system of official hierarchy and he prescribed a code of conduct for officials. His Government revived the exuberance of life and artistic activities and made the people gay and happy.

Socio-Economic Life during Kharavela

Prof. Sahu has carefully analysed about the social and economic life of the people of Kalinga during Kharavela's rule. He says that Kalinga attained a high level of culture by 1st Century B.C. though her social life continued in the same form as in the pre-Mahapadmananda period. The Brahmins were enjoying special privileges since the earlier days. As per the Rock Edit XIII of Asoka, the Brahmins constituted an important element in the social structure of Kalinga. Again, the Hatigumpha Inscription of Kharavela reveals that Kharavela showed great respect to
Brahmins. So, it appears that the Brahmins during the time of Kharavela had organized themselves into an important class in society and were respected by the king and the subjects. The Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras played their role in the society.\textsuperscript{127}

There was joint-family system dominated by patriarchal principle. Polygamy was the order of the day and women were treated as inferior to men. But the 'Satee System' was nowhere seen. But the sculptures found in the caves of the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills depict the activities of women in various walks of life like; dancing on sage, driving elephants, fighting with animals and men, guarding the gates and welcoming guests on important cultural-social functions, etc. Women were wearing different ornaments and garments with different hair-styles. The hair-styles of men and women, the bracelets and armlets of ladies and earrings are carved out in the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri.\textsuperscript{128}

Prof. Sahu points out that the art of dance and music was the monopoly of women as in all the scenes of dance and music depicted in the caves of these hills, the women are found indulging in the Gandharva art. The only scene where a male musician is seen is that of the Tatowa Gumpha No.2 and here a dancing girl is depicted in the company of a man playing on lyre. In the Ranigumpha Cave there are two scenes of dance and music, one in the right wing of the lower storey and the other in the main wing of the upper storey. In the former scene a girl dancing gracefully on a Pillared Pavillion and the convert for her
dance played by four female musicians, while in the latter, two girls are seen dancing with vigour and rhythm to the tune of music played by three girls. Such scenes of dance and concert displayed by only the male artists with grace and animation are rarely found in the Indian sculptural art of the pre-Christian era. Prof. Sahu also refers to various musical instruments like, *Vina, Venu, Mrdanga, Muraja, Samatala, Bheri* and *Samkha*, etc. which indicate that there was popularity of music in society.¹²⁹

Due to the patriarchal system men shouldered greater social responsibility and were employed in the armed forces and worked as security guards. They were dressed in simple but both male and female wore ornaments and jewels. As per the depiction in Ranigumpha scene urban life of men and women was highly developed, people led a civilized life. Thus the sculptural records indicate that people were rich and prosperous and they increased their wealth through trade, commerce and agricultural. But, it was only after the Kalinga war that Kalinga suffered a setback and it was only after Kharavela that a sense of patriotism and vigour developed in them.¹³⁰

Prof. Sahu also describes about inland and maritime trade that flourished in Kalinga during Kharavela. The articles of trade were, textile goods, rice, hemp, coconut, malasses, lac, juice and forest products, woolen goods, perfumes and drugs. Maritime trade in Kalinga continued through the Ports of Pithunda, Dantapura and Tamralipti. He also mentions about some
industries which developed in Kalinga during Kharavela and those were, Stone Masonry, Carpentry, Smithy and Weaving, etc. In Kalinga Iron smelting and manufacture of war weapons and agricultural implements were vital industries in the past. In those days, the State protected the agriculture and took all steps to overcome natural calamities. Mahapadmananda in 4th Century B.C. initiated steps for canal irrigation to overcome famine and drought and it was Kharavela who constructed it further upto Kalinganagari. People of Kalinga took the help of animals like elephants, horses and bulls for trade and communication. Thus, the land was prosperous due to trade and commerce.

Religious Condition of Kalinga during Kharavela

N.K. Sahu has vividly analysed the religious and spiritual life and activities of the people of ancient Kalinga and he finds that Kharavela extended royal patronage to Jainism but Buddhism and Brahminism also flourished during his reign. Kharavela was a Jaina. However he showed religious tolerations to all. He had built caves in Khandagiri and Udaygiri for the living of saints belonging to every religion.

Art and Architecture during Kharavela

Prof. N.K. Sahu has explained about the revival of the art, architecture, music, dance and cultural traditions of Kalinga during the period of Kharavela, because the Maurya rulers imposed censorship on these performances. The author traces
the origin of dance and music in India to Pre-Vedic Period. He finds the Sama Veda containing musical lores and poems but its music did not attract people. Therefore, a new school of music called Gandharva Music, developed and gained popularity. According to Bharata's Natyasastra, the Natya Veda or Gandharva Veda and the Natyasastra belonged to the Gandharva School of Musical tradition. The very word 'Gandharva' implies 'ana' meaning vocal song, 'Dha' means artistic playing of musical instruments and 'rva' represents 'Vadya' or musical instruments.¹³³

The Natyasastra of Barata and Naradiya Siksa plead that Gandharva music developed out of Veda, while scholars like Popley and Winternitz¹³⁴ are of the view that Indian Classical Music was influenced by Greek Music. But, Prof. Sahu finds gandharva music possessing a separate identity of its own. The Gandharva Veda consisted of thirty-six thousand verses. It deals with the origin of Saptasvaras, the art and science of playing Vina, the sixty-four Kalas, and the fine art relating to Ragas, the art and science of blending Ragas, Tala and Gitis. It also deals with Jati, Graha, Laya, Sthana, Marga, Anga, Prakriyā, Kriyā, the knowledge of time and concert, etc.¹³⁵

Referring to Hatigumpha Inscription, Prof. Sahu points out that Kharavela was proficient in Gandharva Veda. Besides him, other rulers like, Mahakshatrapa Rudradamana and Samudragupta were also master of Gandharva Veda, as is known from Junagad
Kharavela stands as the earliest ruler to attain proficiency in Gandharva Veda having intense love for the musical tradition of India. He revived the cultural trends of ancient Kalinga in dance, song and instrumental music and by him patronage the Gandharva School of Music flourished in India. This can be known from a dance scene of Ranigumpha Cave lower storey.\(^{138}\)

Prof. Sahu has further narrated about different musical instruments like the *Vina*, *Venu*, *Mrdanga*, *Muraja*, *Samkha*, *Turya*, *Madduka*, *Dundhubi*, *Ghanta*, etc. He also describes about the Play-house or *Preksagrha* or *Rangapitha* which was just like an auditorium where artists perform. Dhiren Dash is of the view that the Ranigumpha Cave of the Udayagiri hill is a rectangular play house constructed by Kharavela and this view has been accepted by N.K. Sahu\(^{137}\).

N. K. Sahu further states that the double storeyed Ranigumpha cave agrees in all specifications and measurements with a medium-size rectangular playhouse prescribed in the *Natyasastra*. It was originally conceived for double purposes, firstly, as a shelter for Arhats during rainy season and as a double storeyed *Preksagrha* of medium size to be organize in the rest part of the year. Thus, Prof. Sahu confirms from epigraphic records and sculptural features that Kalinga during the reign of Kharavela achieved tremendous progress in the field of art, music, dance and drama.\(^{138}\)
Architecture and Sculpture

Prof. Sahu gives an exposition of the artistic and sculptural achievements of Kharavela. He has carefully stated about the location and size of the archaeological excavations of Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar in 1948. It was a well-planned construction near Dhauli hill with roads running across East-West and North-South direction. As per the excavation report human habitation started at Sisupalgarh around 300 B.C. There was no fortification up to 200 B.C., but it was from the 1st quarter of 2nd Century B.C. that fortification started and later it was strengthened by the addition of a layer of laterite gravel 4 to 6 ft. thick. Next, during the time of Kharavela, two brick walls were constructed. The thickness of the outside wall was 3 ft 6 inch while that of inner wall was 2 ft 6 inch. The space between the two walls was filled up with mud, earth, and brickbats.139

The fort of Sisupalgarh had eight large gates, two on each side. Each gate was 13 ft wide and high enough to allow Chariots and elephants to pass. The ancillary gates were meant for the pedestrians both during day and night while the main gates were meant for vehicular traffic only. The excavations of Sisupalgarh140 represent the artistic beauty of the artists of 1st century B.C. The unexcavated portion of the fort contains the ruins of a structural
wall, which according to Prof. Sahu was the Chaitya hall or place of worship of the Jainas residing in the caves. It is by far the earliest example of a structural shrine in India before the Christian era.

**Cave Architecture**

Prof. Sahu also did mention about cave architecture of the period and he said that, the Jaina caves at Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills attributed to the period of Chedi-Mahameghavahana period. These caves were designed as rest houses for Jaina Monks during rainy season. Though these were not planned as the Buddhist Viharas, yet marked an improvement upon the Mauryan style with pillared verandas projecting cell-tops. Well designed pilasters and brackets and elegant carvings. The Jaina caves differ from the Buddhist Chepel both in composition and technique. The caves were cut out of rocks in a systematic order after studying the configuration of the hill and the quality of rock. Cells were excavated at different heights not for saving labour but for strength and durability. For this reason also, N.K. Sahu writes\textsuperscript{141} –

> The double storeyed caves were excavated not immediately above the lower one but at a little back of it. Since the caves were excavated at different heights they were connected with one another by rock-cut steps.

At present there are only 18 caves in Udayagiri and 15 in Khandagiri hills. Some of the important caves of Udaygiri are, the
Ranigumpha, Bajagharagumpha, Chhota Hatigumpha, Alakapurigumpha, Jaya-Vijaya gumphas, etc. Tatowagumpha No.1 and No.2, Anantagumpha, Tentuligumpha, Khandagirigumpha, Dhyanagumpha, etc. are found in Khandagiri hills. Prof. Sahu gives description about the following important gumphas.

**Ranigumpha**

The Ranigumpha is a double storeyed cave of Udayagiri hill which was excavated on three sides of a quadrangle with a courtyard in front. The cave, according to N.K. Sahu, is important both from the view of architectural designs and artistic carvings. The upper storey of Ranigumpha cave was a natural caven converted into a respectable residence with six cells, four in the rear and one on each side. The main four cells were provided with two doorways with pilasters supporting carved arches which are found connected with one another by carved railings. The spaces above the railings and in between the arches have been organize for depiction of a narrative frieze telling the story of a brave lady abducted by a warrior and later on rescued by a king who subsequently married her. Actually, the frieze depicts the marriage of King Kharavela with his second queen, the Queen of Simhapatha.

The lower storey of the Ranigumpha consists of a main wing and two side wings. The long frieze on the façade depicts the
exploits of the Digvijayi King, Kharavela as per the Hatigumpha Inscriptions.

There was a cluster of cells arranged in a circle from the left wing of the Ranigumpha to the right wing of Manchapurigumpha, but a few of them have been destroyed. The cells that exist today are, Bajagharagumpha, Chhota Hatigumpha, Alakapurigumpha, Jaya-Vijaya gumpha, Panasagumpha, Thakuragumpha and Patalagumpha. Their sloping floors, convex ceilings and plastic treatment of decorative motifs indicate that they are classed with the early group of caves.

The Manchapurigumpha\textsuperscript{144} is a double storeyed cave dwelling the lower storey is called Manchapuri while the upper storey is known as Svargapuri. This Svargapuri gumpha has been dedicated to the monks of Kalinga by the Chief Queen of Kharavela. Prof. Sahu here assumes that, by the time, the upper storey was excavated, Kharavela was in full glory of his power in Kalinga.\textsuperscript{145}

The Ganesagumpha

Prof. Sahu also tried to explain the structural design of the Ganesagumpha\textsuperscript{146} of the Udayagiri hills. It consists of two low roofed cells having a benched verandah. An image of Ganesa was carved here during the medieval period. As per the available data, the image was incised in 827 A.D. by the Physician Bhimata, during the reign of Santikaradev-I.

The Vyaghragumpha
The Vyaghragumpha\textsuperscript{147} resembles the head of a yawning tiger. The upper jaw set with teeth forms the roof of the verandah. It is a small cell measuring 7' x 6'4" and the short inscription in two lines inscribed on the façade states that the cave was caused to be excavated by Bhuti, the \textit{Nagara Ahadamsa}. (the town Judge)

The Sarpagumpha

According to N.K.Sahu, the Sarpagumpha\textsuperscript{148} is named so due to the design of the I which resembles a three-hooded snake. The verandah is narrow and the floor is polished. The inscriptions state that one chamber was excavated by Chulakamma and the other by Kamma and Khina.

The Hatigumpha

The Hatigumpha\textsuperscript{149} was a natural cave which was further modified to resemble as the front part of a seated elephant. On the overhanging brow of the cave the inscription of Kharavela was engraved. For the protection of this historic inscription a masonry shed has been constructed in 1902. Prof.Sahu also gives a brief description about Dhanaghara gumpha, Haridasagumpha, Jagannathgumpha and Rosaigumpha.\textsuperscript{150}

Caves in Khandagiri Hills

Prof.Sahu discusses about two Tatwagumphas\textsuperscript{151} in Khandagiri hills which constitute a double storeyed cave dwelling. Cave I consists of a low roofed cell with two doorways and a
benched verandah supported by a pillar which is square below and above but octagonal in the middle. The walls and arches were decorated with designs. The Tatwagumpha cave contains a short inscription made in between the arches stating that the excavation was made by Kusuma, the Padamulika.

The Cave-2 located at a little distance from Cave-1, is a spacious cell with ornamented doorways and pilasters. They have bell-capitals with organ crowned by animals, a pair of lions on the left, four elephants in the middle and a pair of bulls on the right as if they are alive.

The Anantagumpha

This is the most important cave of Khandagiri hills considered by Prof.Sahu because of its relief sculptures conveying religious ideology and due to the decorative motifs. The Anantagumpha forms an oblong chamber with high convex roof and a verandah. It has four doorways each flanked by Pilasters standing on pitchers and having bell capitals organ and crowing animal figures over which spring the arches guarded by three hooded serpent on either side. Prof.Sahu thinks that, due to these serpent figures it might have been named as Anantagumpha. The image and paintings in the Anantagumpha represent both of the Buddhist and Jaina art. The author also gives a brief statement about the Tentuligumpha, the Khandagirigumpha, the Dhyanagumpha, the Navamunigumpha,
the Barabhujigumpha and Trisulagumpha. He also discussed about few caves which have been ruined.155

Prof. Sahu after sincere study and review finds that the caves and rock-cut monasteries of Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills represent different art style from other caves of the same period. Giving an example he says, the bracket figures of Tatwagumpha No.2 are different in style from that of Alakapuri Gumpha. Some of the caves of Khandagiri hills like, Navamuni cave, Barabhuji cave and Lalatendukesari cave contain arts of 11th Century A.D., while the Trisulagumpha represents the art tradition of 15th Century A.D. It is apparent that those arts are later additions.154

Prof. Sahu has successfully depicted the life and achievements of Kharavela along with the sculptural beauty of Khandagiri and Udayagiri in his book titled Kharavela. That book gave him immortal fame. For the first time a monumental work on the mighty Chedi ruler Kharavela was published receiving comprehensive treatment at the hand of a notable historian. The regnal year-wise achievements of Kharavela, his administration, benevolent works, love for art, architecture, religion .......... all were reflected in a coherent way. Infact, Odisha historiography has been enriched by this book of Prof. Sahu which stands even to-day unparalled.

The later Meghavahanas:
The history of Kalinga from the 1st Century A.D. till the ascendancy of the Satavahanas in the early 2nd Century is obscure. But, it was only after the archaeological excavations of Sisupalgarh in 1948, that some ceramic and numismatic evidences have been discovered, and Prof. Sahu opines that during the time economic and cultural activities in Kalinga were active.155 Towards the end of 1st Century A.D. the Chedi-Meghavahana rule declined in Kalinga and the Satavahanas came to power.

**Satavahanas**

Prof. Sahu has failed to provide enough evidences as to the emergence of the Satavahanas as a ruling dynasty in India. It is presumed that the Satavahanas ruled over a territory called Satavahanihara, comprising of modern Bellary district of Karnataka. However the Satavahans revived their strength under Gautamiputra Satakarni during 106 A.D. By that time, Kalinga and Kosala were conquered by the Satavahanas.

According to the *Nasik Cave Inscription* of Vasisthiputra Pulamavi, Gautamiputra Satakarni was a great warrior and during his reign the extent of his empire extends to Asika, Asaka, Mulaka, Suratha, Kukura, Aparanta, Anupa Vidarbha Akara and Avanti, etc. The Satavahana territory extended upto the Vindhyas and Aravali in the North, the Eastern Ghats and the Bay of Bengal in the East and upto the south of Mysore in the South. As per historical evidences Kalinga was considered to be a part of the
Satavahana empire. The Chinese Pilgrim Yuan Chwang testifies the fact that 'Po-lo-mo-ki-li' or Parimalagiri may be identified with Gandhamardangiri located on the borders of modern Sambalpur and Bolangir districts of Odisha, and it was a part of the empire of Gautamiputra Satakarni. However, this view of Prof. N. K. Sahu is not generally accepted because of the doubtful identification of Parimalagiri with Gandhamardana hill. After Gautamiputra Satakarni his son Vasisthiputra Pulumavi occupied the throne. The Satavahana empire declined after the death of Vasisthiputra around 154 A.D. Thereafter, Kalinga was supposed to be ruled by Murunda dynasty.

**Murundas**

According to Zeda Inscription of Kaniska, the word 'Murunda' is a Saka word which mans 'Lord' or 'Master'. So scholars inclined to interpret the word 'saka Murundas' of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription as the 'Saka Lords'. But the Puranas distinguish between Murundas and Sakas. Historians identify the Murundas with the Purundas and stated that they came to India along with Tukharas (Kusans) and started their political career as their subordinates with the decline of Kusanas the Murundas established their own Kingdom in Eastern India.

The rule of Murundas is further corroborated by the Jaina literary tradition. The capital of Murundas was Pataliputra and according to the Jaina script Simhasanadvatrinisika Murundaraja was ruling over the city of Kanyakubja.
A.S. Altekar presupposes that the Murunda Kings perhaps ruled in the Pre-Gupta period. They invaded Kalinga in the 2nd Century A.D. after the downfall of Satavahanas and during their rule a large number of Copper coins of kusan era have been discovered in all the coastal districts of Odisha. 94

Prof. N.K. Sahu, basing on the opinion and informations of scholars, states that, the Murundas of Kalinga were the feudatories of the imperial Kusanas during the rule of Kaniska and Huviska and they continued in Odisha till the reign of Huviska. The Copper and Gold coins, discovered from Sisupalgarh in 1948 indicate that the Murundas were already in power in Kalinga by the last quarter of the 2nd Century A.D. and towards the middle of 3rd Century they were at the zenith of their power and circulated gold coins.

Prof. Sahu says that the Murundas ruled over an extensive territory from Chhotnagpur region of Bihar upto the district of Ganjam in Odisha, King Dharmadamadhara, who circulated gold coins and bore the title of Maharajadhiraja was most likely ruling over this territory as an independent monarch of the Murunda family. The Bhadrak Stone Inscription also reveals that, Maharaja Gana was ruling over a part of Eastern Orissa during the 2nd half of 3rd Century A.D. This Maharaja Gana may be regarded as a vassal of the Murunda King. 157

Both the Puranas and the Ceylonese Chronicles Dathadhatuvamsa a king named Guha or Guhasiva was ruling
over Kalinga. Towards the end of 3rd Century A.D. the Murundas were reduced to the status of feudatories of the Magadha kings. Guhasiva died around 300 A.D. and with his death the Murunda rule in Kalinga came to an end.158

The Guptas

The Gupta campaign of Kalinga took place in between the two North-Indian campaigns of Samudragupta. The Gupta rulers defeated a number of rulers of South India i.e. Mahendra of Kosala, Vyaghraraja of Mahakantara, Mantaraja of Kaurala, Mahendragiri of Pistapura, Svamidatta of Kottura, Daman of Erandapalla and Kubera of Devarastra. All these rulers were ruling over Kosala and Kalinga regions. Kosala kingdom comprised of the modern districts of Bilaspur and Raipur in Chhattisgarh and Sambalpur in Odisha. The State of Mahakantara may be identified with the modern districts of Kalahandi and Koraput as per the Amaravati Stupa Inscriptions.159

Prof. Sahu further states that the territory of Kalinga was no longer a unitary and compact state to offer resistance to invaders, but was divided into four principalities, such as: Kottura, Erandapalla, Devarastra and Pistapura. Samudragupta first of all captured Kottura and then moved towards Erandapalla and Devarastra. Thereafter, he defeated Mahendragiri of Pistapura and marched towards Vengi.160

Except Samudragupta no other ruler of Gupta dynasty had ventured to launch a military campaign against Kalinga. So, after
Samudragupta, Kalinga rose to a height of prosperity under the Mathara dynasty and her political supremacy extended from the river Mahanadi upto river Godavari and Krisna. The Matharas ruled upto 500 A.D. and none of the kings of this dynasty remain under the Gupta rulers.

The Gupt empire came to end in 550 A.D. However, D.C.Sircar on the basis of 'Sumandala Copper Plate Inscription' states that, the Gupta empire was in existence upto 569 A.D. and viceroys like, Prithivi Vigraha-bhattaraka of Kalinga continued their allegiance to the Gupta Emperior. But, Prof.Sahu does not accept his views as the viceroyality of the Guptas seems rather strange as no where in India a Gupta empire was existing in 569-70 A.D. He states: 161

The Gupta era which started in 319-20 A.D. was accepted in course of time as a standard era in India and was in vogue long after the end of Gupta Empire. The mere use of Gupta era does not mean the continuation of Gupta Suzerainty, hence the Sumandala Inscription need not be taken as an evidence of the Gupta rule in Kalinga. Kalinga was not a part of Gupta Empire of Samudragupta but the impact of his invasion produced far-reaching effects in its territory. It paved the way for political unity under the Mathara dynasty.

Cultural Progress:

From 1st Century A.D. to 350 A.D. there was political instability in Kalinga. During the 1st century A.D. the Meghavahanas lost their control due to patricidal wars and the
Satavahanas who had been crushed by Meghavahanas during Kharavela retaliated their defeat by putting an end to the Meghavahana rule over Kalinga. After a few years, the Murundas took possession of Kalinga. After 300 A.D. Kalinga was plunged into a state of political chaos causing division and disunity. The weak and divided Kalinga provoked Samudragupta to march upto Kosala, Korala and Mahakantara. This Gupta invasion generated a new spirit in the minds of Kalinga people and it played a vital role in history.

Religious Progress:

The period ranging from 1st century to 350 A.D. was a period of political turmoil in the history of Odisha but it witnessed marked progress in the fields of religion and culture. Jainism assumed supremacy during Kharavela while Buddhism emerged thereafter. Orissa played an important role in the spread of Buddhism. Mahayana Buddhism spread under the active Patronage of Emperor Asoka, and its Principles were simplified for understanding of common man. The Mahasamghikas and Sarvastivadins made Buddhism popular in Odisha. The Prajnaparamita Literature made Buddhism theistic and "Astagahacrika Prajnaparamita was composed in Odisha."162

Jainism

Jainism flourished in Kalinga during the period of Kharavela, but with the decline of Mahameghavahanas in first century A.D. Jainism suffered a set back. It again revived during
the rule of Murundas in Kalinga. The Jaina Acharyas were satisfied with delivering discourses and no organized activity was seen. The Angas and Purvas restored it and the Council of Pataliputra began to be forgotten. So during 4th Century A.D. efforts were made to revive Jainism. The Jainas were divided into Svetambaras and Digambaras and the revival was initiated by the Svetambaras. However, Prof. Sahu finds little evidence of the spread of Saivism and Vaisnavism in Kalinga in that period. During the Mathara rule in Kalinga both Vaisnavism and Saivism gained popularity. The Cult of Naga worship also became popular in Kalinga during 2nd and 3rd century A.D.¹⁶³

Social Conditions

Prof. Sahu finds inadequate evidences about social condition of the period (1st century to 350 A.D.). However, from the inscriptions of the Kusan age it was found that joint family system was prevalent in Indian society. The father was the head of family and both men and women were fond of ornaments. Women were having beautiful hair-style and using ointments for painting their face with small sticks and sandal paste on different parts of the body. People used to play vina, flute and drum as pastimes. Articles made up of iron were used as weapons and for household need. Prof. Sahu states that, a weapon named caltrops was developed for the first time in India and discovered at Sisupalgarh.¹⁶⁴

Trade and Commerce
In-land and over-seas commercial activities flourished in Kaliga during that period. Kalinga was connected with other parts of the country through trade routes. Tosali and Sampa during the period of Asoka, were two vital seats of Maurya administration in Kalinga and they were connected with good roads. The finds of Kusan coins at Jaugarh in Ganjam district, Manikpatna in Puri district and Dharmasala in Cuttack district indicate that the trade route passed through these places. As per the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, Kalinga was linked with the Jamuna valley by a road which passed through South Kosala, Mahakantara and Korala. These roads served the growing needs of communication and commerce in those days. Kalinga also carried on over-sea trade with other countries.\textsuperscript{165}

Mathara rule in Kalinga

The Mathara and Vasistha families flourished in Kalinga during early Christian centuries. Both the families established matrimonial relations with themselves and were the two powerful families in the deccan. By the middle of the 4\textsuperscript{th} Century A.D., the Matharas attained the status of a ruling power in Kalinga and ruled for about a century. Prof.Sahu gives a genealogical taste of the Mathara and discuss about rulers vividly.

\textbf{Genealogh of Mathara King of Kalinga}

\begin{itemize}
  \item (1) Visakhavarman
  \item \quad (2) Umavarman
  \item \quad \quad (3) Sankarvarman
  \item \quad \quad \quad (4) Saktivarman
\end{itemize}
Visakhavarman: (350 – 360 A.D.)

Maharaja Visakhavarman was the earliest known Mathara King of Kalinga. He changed his headquarters from Vijaya Simhapura to Sripura. G. Ramdas identifies Sripura with modern Srikakulam district in Andhra whereas S. N. Rajguru identified it with Vatiasripura in Paralakhemundi Taluq of Ganjam district. His territory was too small to assume the name of Kalinga hence Visakhavarman did not proclaim himself as the 'Lord of Kalinga'. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Harisena also finds missing the names of Visakhavarman and Umavarman for which Prof. Sahu thinks that these two kings may come to power only after Samudragupta's retreat from Kalinga.

Umavarman: (360 – 395 A.D.)

Umavarma was the successor of Visakhavarman and he started his career as an humble ruler of Sripura, but after the retreat of Samudragupta from Kalinga he captured Kalinga and established his capital at Simhapura. King Umavarman issued four copper plate grants, i.e. Baranga Grant, Dhavalpeta Grant,
Tekkali Grant and Vrihatpostha Grant. He was a very powerful ruler of the dynasty. Prof. Sahu points out that he had tried to unify Kalinga and to restore its lost glory. For his initiative, Kalinga exercised greater influence and power in the history of Eastern India. He was succeeded by his son Sankaravarman (395 to 400 A.D.).

Saktivarman: (400 – 420 A.D.)

Saktivarman was the son of Sankaravarman, who brought about the unity of Northern and Southern Kalinga. He transferred his Capital from Simhapura to Pistapura before his 13th regnal year. Saktivarman extended his territory from Mahanadi to river Krisna and ruled the kingdom with the help of ancient laws. He was the greatest king of Mathar dynasty and during his times Kalinga rose to power and glory in south. It was saktivarman who consolidated the empire founded by Umavarman, suggests N.K. Sahu. Ananta-Saktivarman (420-450 A.D) ruled after him and he was succeeded by Chandravarman (450-460 A.D).

Prabhanjan Varman: (460-480 A.D.)

According to Ningondi Grant Prabhanjan Varman was the successor of Chandavarman, but while giving the account of his Predecessors the Ningondi Grant ignores both Ananta Saktivarman and Chandavarman. Prof. Sahu thinks that the non-mention of the names of Ananta Saktivarman and Chandavarman in the family list implies that there was a conflict between Ananta Saktivarman and Prabhanjana Varman. Due to this internal
dissention the Mathara rule declined giving rise to Visnukundins. King Prabhanjana Varman tried to revive the past glory of his dynasty, but could not, due to inadequate reports. However, he was the only emperor who declared himself as Sakala Kalingadhipati.

**Nanda Prabhanjana Varman (480 – 498 A.D.)**

Nanda Prabhanjana Varman was the successor of Prabhanjana Varman, but the relationship between them is yet to be confirmed by historical facts. However, from the Chicacole and Baranga Grant, the chronological position of Nanda Prabhanjanvarman is ascertained. Prof. Sahu says, the political history of Kalinga took a sharp turn in 498 A.D. as the Eastern Gangas appeared in Trikalinga and extend their sway towards the coastal area. The foundation of Eastern Ganga Empire brought the downfall of the Matharas in Kalinga.

**Importance of Mathara Rule**

The Mathara rule over Kalinga lasted from 350 – 500 A.D., when the Guptas were ruling over Northern India and the Vakatakas over Central India. They were neither the vassals of Guptas nor of Vakatakas, but they played a vital role in the political history of South India during the period. Without going through the achievements of the Matharas the study of the history of South-India would be incomplete. The Mathara rule was a great landmark in the history and culture of Kalnga. It brought about profound changes in the cultural life of the kingdom. Prof.Sahu's
statement inspired the scholars to do more research on the Matharas.

Contemporaries of the Matharas

Prof. Sahu tries to discuss in brief about the contemporary rulers of the Matharas during the period 350-500 A.D. They were the Vasisthas, the Nalas, the Manas and the Bhanjas. The Vasisthas ruled over the Devarastra region the Nalas over Mahakantara. The Manas ruled over the territory to the north of the Mathara Kingdom and the Bhanjas in the Keonjhar region.

Nalas

The Nalas were the descendants of the Nisada King Nala, as per the *Vayu Puran* and *Brahmanda Puranas*.\(^{171}\)

According to the Copper Plate Grants at Kesaribedha in Koraput district of Odisha and Rithapur in Amaravati district of Madhya Pradesh and Stone inscriptions at Podagadh and Rajim, the kingdom of the Nala kings extended from the river Wain Ganga in the west upto Indravati in the South and from the Eastern Ghats in the East upto Mekala region in the North. But as per the estimate made by the author, the Nalas actually got hold over the 'Koraput-Bastar' region of Odisha and Madhya Pradesh (Modern Chhatisgarh) known as the 'Nalavadi Visaya'. The capital of the Nalas was Puskari, a place very close to the destroyed township Podagadh, as per the Podagadh Rock Inscription. The Nalas captured the capital city of the Vakatakas Nandapur.\(^{172}\)
From the gold coins of the Nala Kings discovered so far, it appears that the Nalas perhaps ruled during 5th Century A.D.. According to Rithapur Inscription Maharaja Bhavadatta Varman had two sons named Arthapati and Skandavarman who ruled one after the other. King Bhavadattavarman was the contemporary of the Vakataka ruler Narendrasena. The Vakatakas ruled from 440 to 460 A.D. and from 460-480 A.D. So the rule of Bhavadattavarman may be fixed at 440 to 465 A.D. Arthapatiraja ruled from 465 A.D. to 475 a.D. and he was succeeded by Skandavarman who ruled from 475 to 510 A.D.173

The genealogy of the Nala Kings basing on the informations collected from coins and inscriptions suggest that, the first Nala King was Brisadhvaja who ruled from 400 A.D., he was succeeded by Varaharaja upto 440 A.D. Then Bhavadattavarman came to power in 440 A.D. and ruled upto 465 A.D. Thereafter Arthapatiraja ruled from from 465 to 475 A.D. and Skandavarman from 475 to 500 A.D. Then Prthviraja succeeded Skandavarman and Viruparaja succeeded him. The last Nala king was Vilasatunga who ruled during 700 A.D.174

The victory of the Vakatakas over the Nalas was a decisive one which broke down their strength. Thereafter, the Nalas were subdued by the Chalukya King Kirtivarman and by Vikramaditya-I. The Nalas after defeat shifted their establishment to Upper Mahanadi Valley and established their stronghold over the region. The last Nala King Vilasatunga was probably defeated by the
Political and Cultural Importance of the Nala Rule

Prof. Sahu has tried to analyse the Politico-cultural history of the Nala dynasty with inadequate information. They ruled over Trikalinga and were the enemies of the Vakatakas and an ally of the Matharas. The Nala Kings believed in the Divine Origin Theory of Kingship and rulers like Arthapatiraja assumed the epithet Bhattaraka which conveyed a sense of divinity. They were great warriors and they fought under the banner 'Tripatika'. They were patrons of Brahmanism (Saivism and Vaishnavism).

Trade and Commerce in Kalinga flourished during their rule and the circulation of gold coins bears testimony of the fact. The Nalas were patrons of learning and literature. The eminent writers of the Nala rule were Chulla, who composed the Rithapur Plates of Bhavadattavarman, Kesaribedha Plates of Arthapati in Sanskrit. Jantura Dasa, the grand-son of Chulla was a great poet and composer of Podagadh Stone Inscription.

Manas

The Manas dynasty ruled over the territory lying to the North of the Mathara kingdom beyond the river Mahanadi. The rulers of this dynasty circulated a heard of 147 copper coins containing identical symbols and legends. The symbol on the observe is a couchant bull and the legend on the reverse read as 'Sunanda Vu'. These coins may be ascribed to 5th Century A.D.
When the Matharas ruled over Kalinga 'Sunanda Vu' suggests that King Sunanda belonged to the Manas dynasty who was a contemporary of Matharas of Kalinga.\textsuperscript{177}

**Bhanjas**

The Bhanja dynasty flourished in the Keonjhar region of Odisha. A small inscription of only nine letters has been discovered from a rock-shelter called 'Ravana Chhaya'. The reading of these letters has given rise to a controversy as historian B. Mishra and K.C.Panigrahi read it as 'Ragaraja Sri Disabhanja' and they confined it to 4\textsuperscript{th} Century A.D. But, as per the reading of T.Ramchandran and D.C.Sircar it is 'Maharaja Sri Disabhanja of 8\textsuperscript{th} to 12\textsuperscript{th} Century A.D.\textsuperscript{178}

Prof.Sahu suggests that, the inscription of 'Ravana Chhaya' may belong to a period after the Bhadrak Stone Inscription of Maharaja Gana and before the Soro Plates of Sambhuyasa and its date may be ascribed to the 4\textsuperscript{th} and 5\textsuperscript{th} Century A.D.\textsuperscript{179} Eminent historian R.C. Majumdar also agrees with this period but does not accept the reading. According to him, the inscription reads as, 'Simharaja Sri Disagaja' and remarks that, somebody scribbled on the rock two words denoting a Lion (Simha) and an elephant (Hasti), as an explanatory label of the frescro painting, representing a scene of hunting a lion with the help of elephants. However, Prof.Sahu does not agree with the reading and explanation of R.C.Majumdar. The painting presents a scene of royal procession not lion hunting. Later on, R.C.Majumdar has
agreed with the reading of T.Ramchandran as 'Maharaja Sri Disabhanja'. The end part of the name suggest that Disabhanja probably belonged to the Bhanja family, but there is no clear proof of it. Netabhanja of Navangulakapattana belonged to the Drumaraja family as per Baud Plates and Prof.Sahu says this Netabhanja is very likely identical with his name shake who issued the Russelkonda Grant. It reveals that King Netabhanja was the inheritor of the fortune of 99 past generations of kings, which indicates that the family to which Netabhanja belonged was an old one, and it might have ancestral links with the Disabhanja of Sitabinjhi Inscription. But there is no clear evidence about it.180

Other dynasties

Although, Prof. Sahu’s other volumes on History of Odisha to be published by the Utkal University did not see the light of the day, the research oriented revelation about other ruling dynasties could not be projected before the readers. Still then for the common readers, he revealed about other ruling dynasties like the Vasisthas, Durjayas, Vigrahas, Mudgalas, Dattas, Sailodbhavas, Eastern Gangas, Parvata Varakas, Sharvapuriyas and Panduvamsis (Somevamsis) in his Odia Jatira Itihasa (Vol.I)181 However, other two volumes were also not published by the Odisha State Bureau of Text Book preparation and production. However the hints he had given in that book were taken by researchers who worked on those dynasties and
prepared their theses and were awarded Ph.D. Degree from different Universities of Odisha.

Thus Prof. Sahu was a pioneer researcher in the early history and culture of Odisha. His 'Utkal University History of Orissa – Vol.1' is quite informative. He, for the first time, has critically analysed the pre-historic Phase of Odisha history which was utterly neglected. This shows his mastery over Archaeology. The discussion on various dynasties and critical analysis of the views of other eminent historians and giving his own view on that matter shows his scholastic skill in the subject. His magnum opus, Kharavela reflects his first class mind as a researcher and historian. That book brought immortal fame to him. His discussion on Nalas, Matharas, Manas, Bhanjas and other minor dynasties opened new vistas for other scholars who took up those topics for serious historical analysis and obtained their Ph.D. degree from different Universities of Odisha. A thorough grasp over Ancient Indian History and Culture made him able to produce such a monumental works. However, other volumes on ancient and medieval history of Odisha could not be produced by Utkal University for reasons best known for the authorities. However, Prof. Sahu has left an indelible mark of his scholarship on every page of his two important and valuable books, The Utkal University History of Orissa and Kharavela proving himself as an authority on the history and culture of ancient Odisha.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

4. N.K. Sahu, op. cit., p.3.
8. N.K. Sahu, op. cit., p.11.
11. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
18. Ibid. p.21.
19. Ibid. p.22.
22. Vide, Infra Fig.1
24. Ibid. p.36.
25. Ibid. p.37.
26. V.Gordon Childe, The Prehistory of European Society, 1953, p.34.


30. Ibid. p.41.

31. Ibid. p.42.


34. N.K.Sahu, op. cit., p.45.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid. p.46.

37. Ibid. p.48.

38. V.Gordon Childe, 'Megaliths', *Ancient India*, No.4. 1947-48, p.11.


41. Ibid. 'Bhisma Parva', xvi, 623.

42. Burgess'(tr.), *Surya Sidhanta*, Calcutta University, Reprint, p.19.

43. For more detail see N.K.Sahu, op. cit., pp.168-169.

44. N.K.Sahu, op. cit., p.173.

45. Ibid. p.184.


49. H. Jacobi, (tr.) *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*, 1895, p. 61.

50. For detail see N.K. Sahu, op. cit., pp. 200-203.

51. Ibid, p. 204.

52. *Anguttara Nikaya*, ii, p. 31.


57. R.D. Banerjee, op cit., p. 60.


63. F.E. Pargiter, op. cit., p. 25.

64. N.K. Sahu, op. cit., p. 226.

65. Ibid. p. 227.

67. J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy being a translation of Geography*, Calcutta, 1885, pp.119-139.

68. N.K. Sahu, op. cit., p.238.

69. Ibid. p.240.


74. Ibid. p.251.

75. For more detail see. Ibid. pp.249-255.


78. This fact has been amply described in Asoka's Rock Edict XIII.


80. *IA. Xx*, p.364.


82. N.K. Sahu, op. cit., p.268.

83. F.E. Pargiter, op. cit., p.31.

84. N.K. Sahu, op. cit., p.272.


88. JAS, xvii, pp.95 ff.
91. JAS, xvii, pp.95 ff.
100. A. Stirling, *An Account of Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, 1919, p.100.


107. Ibid. p.18.

108. Harivamsa, xvii, 36.


110. Mbh. 'Vanaparva', xx, 50 and 'Asvamedha Parva', xxxiii, 2.

The epic also states that the Capital of the Chedi Visaya was on the bank of the river Suktimati ('Adiparva', L.III, 35).


114. Ibid. pp.36-37.

115. Ibid. p.39.


117. Ibid. p.49.

118. Ibid. p.55.


120. *Dutiye Cha vase acitayata satakarnim paschimadisam haya-gaja-radha vahulam dandam pathapayati*. . . . . . . . 
*kanhavena gataya cha senaya vitasiti Assika nagaram.* Line 4-5. HGI, Ibid. p.335.

121. *Tatiye Punavase, Gandava vedo budho dapanatagita.* 
*Vadita sandasanahi ussava samaja karapanahi cha kidapayati nagarim.* Ibid.


125. For detail see Ibid. pp.86-89.
127. For detail see, Ibid. pp.100-108.
130. Ibid. p.122.
132. For detail discussion on religious life of the people of ancient Odisha, vide *Infra*. Ch.III.

133. N.K. Sahu, op. cit. pp.151-152.


136. See Fig.2. Scene of dance and music (Ranigumpha : Lower Storey : right wing). The artist has prepared this plate since the scene is very small. This finds place in N.K. Sahu, Ibid. p.156.

137. Ibid. p.162.

138. Ibid. p.175.

139. Ibid. p.178.

140. See Fig.3, 'Remains of residential structures in the Sisupalgarh Fort', Ibid, p.179.

141. Ibid. p.186.

142. Ibid. p.188.

143. See Fig.4. 'Ranigumpha'.

144. See Fig.5. 'Manchapurigumpha'.


146. See Fig.6. 'Ganesagumpha'.

147. See Fig.7. 'Vyaghragumpha'.

148. See Fig.8. 'Sarpagumpha'.

149. See Fig.9. 'Hatigumpha'.

151. See Fig.10, 'Tatowagumpha' No.1 and 2.
152. See Fig.11. 'Anantagumpha'.
154. Ibid. p.224.
155. N.K.Sahu, _UUHO_. p.413.
156. Ibid. p.417.
157. Ibid. p.428.
158. Ibid. p.430.
159. Ibid. p.433.
160. Ibid. p.434.
162. For more detail see. _Infra_. Ch.III.
164. Ibid., p.455.
165. For detail see, _Infra_, Ch.v.
167. N.K.Sahu, op. cit., p.482.
168. Ibid. p.485.
169. Ibid. pp.491-492.
173. Ibid. p.512.
174. Ibid.
175. Ibid. p.516.
177. Ibid, p.519.