CHAPTER - SIX

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION
The original sources are very scanty to throw light on the social condition of Khīnjali maṇḍala. But the social system of Khīnjali maṇḍala bears similarity with other parts of the sub-continent. However the epigraphic records of the Bhaṅjas and the contemporary ruling families provide us with some facts about the social condition prevailing in Khīnjali maṇḍala. Caste system or the division of society into four varṇas was in prevalent there. The main division comprised of the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. Varāhamihira while describing the Varṇa\(^1\) and Jāti\(^2\) has associated the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras with white, red, yellow and black colours respectively\(^3\). The Śirpur stone inscription\(^4\) of Queen mother Vāsaṭā acquaints us that she was the protector of the four varṇas i.e. Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. These four Varṇas or groups are said to have been created from the head, breast, thigh and feet of the creator respectively.

At first there were two groups, the Aryans and the nor-Aryans. The former were fair skinned and the latter were dark skinned. This division was based on colour of the skin. But later on with the multiplicity of work again the population was divided on

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2. *Ibid*.
3. *Ibid*.
the basis of work. So different types of works were divided and different sections of the society were entrusted to perform different work for its smooth and scientific function. At the outset it should be made clear that the division of the society was made not on the basis of birth as it is today but on the basis of work. A Brahmin could be a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya or Śūdra and vice versa with the change of profession. With the domination of the Brahmins in the post-Vedic period the ‘Varṇas’ assumed the forms of castes and the basis of castes was determined by birth. So ultimately on the basis of birth castes were formed. Inspite of the repeated efforts by the social reformers this caste system has continued to pollute the social setup like a decease and its eradication has become a Herculean task.

**Brāhmaṇas:**

The Brāhmaṇas were at the top of the Varṇāśramadhārama and were respected by the people at all levels of the society. Smṛti writers\(^5\) attributed high social status to the Brāhmaṇas. Itsing\(^6\) describes the position of the Brāhmaṇas as dignified and honourable all over India. They were regarded as Devas (Gods). They enjoyed such positions due to their holiness and dutifulness. Rulers patronized them with lavish grants of land

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and money. These grants were also made for the spiritual upliftment of the donor and his ancestors. The land grants were made both by the princes\textsuperscript{7} and the people\textsuperscript{8} almost equal in manner. The Brāhmaṇas enjoyed tax-free lands and various services rendered by other classes of people in the society. The donated villages were completely free from administrative oppressions.

Brāhmaṇas were identified with different classes in respect of their original home provinces. The North Indian Brāhmaṇas were grouped into five classes, namely Sārasvata, Maithila, Gauḍa, Utkala and Kanyākubja. All of them together were called Panchagauḍa\textsuperscript{9}. In South India the Brahmins were known as Drāvida, Tailaṅga, Karnāṭa and Gurjāra. The Brāhmaṇas were conventionally known by their surnames as Upādhyāya\textsuperscript{10}, Svāmi\textsuperscript{11}, Śarmā\textsuperscript{12}, Dikṣīta\textsuperscript{13}, Kara\textsuperscript{14}, Svarodayi\textsuperscript{15}, Bhaṭṭa\textsuperscript{16} and Āchārya\textsuperscript{17}. They were sincere and rigid in safeguarding the Vedic literature and culture. Some of them accepted priest craft as their profession. The royal priest exerted considerable influence on administrative and

\textsuperscript{8} E.I., Vol.XXXVIII, Part-III, p.146f.
\textsuperscript{9} Skanda Purāṇa, Sahyādri Khaṇḍa, Uttarārdha, X, p.2-3.
\textsuperscript{10} E.I., Vol.XXXIV, pp.116-123.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid, III, p.352.
\textsuperscript{13} J.B.O.R.S., II, p.54.
\textsuperscript{14} E.I., Vol.XI, p.96.
\textsuperscript{15} J.B.O.R.S., XI, p.54.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{17} O.H.R.J., Vol.V, pp.184-85.
social spheres. In the Bhañja royal family of Khiñjali mañḍala the royal priests were Bhaṭṭa Sumaṅgala\textsuperscript{18}, Bhaṭṭa Durgada\textsuperscript{19}, Bhaṭṭa Rājaḍa\textsuperscript{20}, Bhaṭṭa Arkadeva\textsuperscript{21} etc. whose advices were sought at the time of issuing land grants.

The Brāhmanaṇas who migrated to Khiñjali mañḍala settled there permanently. Distinction among the Brahmins is noticed in respect of their gotras, pravaras and anupravaras. Gotra is generally referred to family relationship. The seven eponymous sages are Kāśyapa, Vaśisṭha, Bhṛigu, Gautama, Bhāradvāja, Atri and Viśvāmitra after whom the gotras are named. Later on the eighth gotra in the name of sage Agastī was added to the list. These gotras were subsequently subdivided into a number of other gotras namely Vatsa, Kṛṣṇatreyya, Kausta, Haritaka, Kumara, Harita, Gargya, Piṅgala, Viśvāmitra, Jatukarṇa and Kātyāyana. Pravaras and Anupravaras were used to glorify the names of those illustrious persons who contributed to the enhancement of the family prestige\textsuperscript{22}. Pravara is generally constituted of three or five Rṣis and accordingly the Brāhmanaṇas were recognized as Trayarsa or Pañchārṣa. Some Brāhmanaṇas had also Akarṣi pravaras. The Brāhmanaṇas were also

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{E.I.}, Vol.XXIV, pp.172-75. \\
\textsuperscript{19} \textit{I.O.}, Vol.VI, p.164. \\
\textsuperscript{20} \textit{O.H.R.J.}, Vol.IV, pp.67-76. \\
\textsuperscript{21} \textit{E.I.}, Vol.XXVIII, pp.272-78. \\
\textsuperscript{22} \textit{U.N.Ghoshal, Studies in Indian History and Culture, (Calcutta, 1957)}, p.6.
divided into a number of social groups on the basis of gotras and pravaras. Even matrimonial relation was prohibited among them having similar gotras and pravaras.

The main function of the Brahmins were the study and teaching of the Vedas as laid down in the Smṛtis. They were recognized in the society according to their specialization in any of the three Vedas-Rig, Yajur and Sām. The Atharva Veda was not popular in the society at that time. Brāhmaṇas belonging to Rig Veda were a few in number and they were included in Aśvalayana branch. Brāhmaṇas of white Yajurveda were included in Aditya community and were known as Vajasaneya branch. They had two branches namely Kanva and Madhyāndina. Brāhmaṇas of Black Yajurveda were divided into three sections, which are mentioned in the copper plate grants of Orissa as Taitiriya, Maitreya and Katha. Kautheniya branch was popular among the Samveda Brāhmaṇas.

Sovereign rulers as well as the feudatories under them made lavish grants of money and lands for the repair of temples, worship of deities and maintenance of the temple priests. Priests became custodians of such grants and led a comfortable life out of the income of the temples. Numerous illustrations of various such

donations are available from the epigraphic records of the period under review. The twin temples of Nilamādhava Viṣṇu and Siddheśvara Śiva\(^{24}\) standing on one platform were constructed during the reign of Dhṛtipura Bhaṅjas and the Brāhmaṇa donees of Gandharāḍī were beyond doubt, the priests of the temple. The priests were instructed to lead an austere and devoted life. Brāhmaṇas, habituated to gambling and prostitution were deprived of all privileges. Some Brāhmaṇa priests did not only confine themselves to traditional duties like study, teaching and religious rites but showed their worth in statecraft. Almost all the high offices like Mantrin, Sandhivigrahika and Mahākaśapāṭalika were reserved for them. During the rule of Vaṅjulvaka Bhaṅja kings Bhaṭṭa Bapuka\(^{25}\), Bhaṭṭa Stambha Deva\(^{26}\), and Bhaṭṭa Bapu Deva\(^{27}\) were appointed as ministers and Bhaṭṭa Keśava Deva\(^{28}\) was the chief minister of Vidyādharā Bhaṅja.

It is known that many people of tribal origin came in contact with the Aryan culture and accepted Varṇaśramadharma. Some of them became well versed in Vedas and Vedāṅgas and identified them as Brāhmaṇas. Some of their non-Aryan names,

\(^{24}\) E.I., Vol.XX, pp.100-04.
\(^{26}\) E.I., Vol.IX, pp.271-77ff.
\(^{27}\) Ibid., Vol.XXXVII, p.257f.
\(^{28}\) Ibid., Vol.XVIII, pp.282-300ff.
namely Lumbādeva, Apudeva, Chhedimaśvamī, Chhedīśvamī, Chharampaśvamī, Heraṅgaśvamī continued even after the aryanaisation. Many Brāhmaṇas also switched over to other professions for better earning. The Sinīhapura copper plate grant of Dharmakheḍi reveals that donees Nāyaka Duduravālaka and Nāyaka Chāmaṇḍaka adopted Kṣetriya profession and achieved praise-worthy success in the field of defence. Some Brahmins also adopted trade and commerce and identified themselves and Vaiśyas.

In the Orissa Museum plates of Neṭṭabhaṇja the donee was Ibadatta of Kaśyapa gotra, devoted to Vaiśya profession.

Kṣatriyas:

Next to the Brāhmaṇas were the Kṣatriyas. The king belonged to the Kṣatriya class and his fundamental duty was to fight for the protection of the people. He respected the Brahmins and looked in to the varied interest of the kingdom. We get the references of Rāṇakas, Mahārājas and Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras in the copper plate grant of the Bhaṇjas of Khiṅjali maṇḍala. It

indicates about the existence of the Kṣatriya caste in this kingdom. The account of Taranath\textsuperscript{35} refers to the existence of Kṣatriya caste in Orissa during the eighth century A.D. Further Khurdhbih while speaking of the caste system in Deccan has mentioned about Kṣatriya and Sabkufria\textsuperscript{36}. The former is obviously the same as the Kṣatriyas, whereas the latter seems to stand for Sanskrit Satkṣatriyas, since we are told that they were superior to all the remaining castes and that the kings were chosen from among them. The distinction between the Kṣatriyas and Sabkufrias seems similar to that between the Kṣatriyas and the Rajanyas, the former constituted the general military order, whereas the latter were members of aristocracy descended from the royal stock. As many of the observations of the said Muslim writer were applicable to the Bhauma-Kara kingdom, we may conjecture about the prevalence of two types of Kṣatriyas in Orissan society during the period of the Bhauma-Karas\textsuperscript{37}. The same can also be expected in Khiñjali mañḍala during the Bhañja rule, as the Bhañjas were the feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas.

\textsuperscript{36} H.M.Elliot and J.Dowson, \textit{History of India as told by its own Historians}, (London, 1870), Vol.I, pp.16-17.
However it appears that the Kṣatriyas of Khinjali maṇḍala originally belonged to some tribal families who were aryenised through process of acculturation and entered into Kṣatriyahoood of Varnaśrama system. The epigraphic records of the feudatory rulers corroborate this fact. It is said that the Bhañjas were born of egg (Aṇḍaja Vanīśa Prabhava)\(^3\). The eponymous prince was born of a peahen's egg and was brought up by sage Vaśistha. Śatrubhañja of Asanpat stone inscription was of Nāga origin\(^3\). Some scholars hold the view that the tribal chieftains of the above were the heads of the various tribal communities and later on included in Kṣatriya Varṇa by the Brāhmaṇas\(^4\). Such efforts considerably helped to popularize and consolidate Brāhmanism. Many non-Aryan Gods and Goddess were recognized as Brāhmaṇa deities. Brahmanism also accepted the Tantric cult of the tribal. Some Brāhmaṇas even identified themselves as princes by practicing Kṣatriya profession. People of tribal community took to military profession and were regarded as lesser Kṣatriyas.

Statecraft and military training were the most important subjects of study for the Kṣatriyas. They became capable of defending their people and state from all sorts of dangers, both

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internal and external. The Smṛti writers assigned bravery and capability to the Kṣatriyas in protecting the innocent and punishing the wicked. The Kṣatriyas were usually appointed in important positions of civil and military services. Of course, sometimes men of other castes, namely the Brāhmanas and the Vaiśyas were appointed in Kṣatriya profession. But the Kṣatriyas were far more in number in comparison to others.

The Kṣatriyas had a fresh hand in establishing matrimonial relation with other castes in the society. This is evident from the fact that Nettabhaṅja of the Bāṇatumba copper plate grant married a lady of Kṣatriya caste (Kṣatri Devī) as well as a lady of Kaivarta caste (Kaivarta Devī).

Vaiśyas:

The Varṇāśramadharma provided the third position to the Vaiśyas in the society. The Vaiśyas or the artisan class also called as Vāśas or Vitas were a rich community of the society. Their duty mainly comprised of cattle breeding, tillage, business, money lending on interest and growing crops. Trade, cattle

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41. Parāsara 1.p.64 and Sukara 1, p.41.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
breading and agriculture were the main sources of their livelihood\(^4^6\). The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang\(^4^7\) also states that trade was the main occupation of the Vaiśyas. On their shoulders rested mainly the economic prosperity of the kingdom. Some of the members of this community also led the life of aristocrats being the possessors of large tracts of lands. One such reference is met when we learn that Śarabhapurīya king Suravāla had to purchase the village of Saṅgama from a person named Bota who belonged to the Vaiśya Varṇa to donate the same for the maintenance of the temple of Jayāśvarabhaṭṭāraka\(^4^8\).

People of various vocations may be included in the Vaiśya class. The kings in different periods have recorded the donations made by them in the copper plate charters. In this they were assisted by the gold smiths. The kings circulated coins of gold, silver and copper. They must have sought the help of gold smiths, silver smiths and copper smiths in this work. Besides in the sculptural pieces of the period under review so many varieties of ornaments are seen. The artists manifested them in stone. This clearly proves that the people used various types of ornaments

\(^{4^6}\) Vanijyam Karshaṇam Chaiva gāvam cha paripālanam.
J.P.Sahu, \textit{op.cit.},p.117.


prepared by metal workers. It is certain that they had a flourishing business. Various types of arms and ammunition seem to have been prepared by the ironsmiths because weapons had a special value. Besides, the stonecutters must have used iron tools like hammer and chisel for making of images and buildings. In this context it will not be out of the topic to mention something about the stonecutters. They would have formed a special class, as their service was required for the construction and reparation of palaces, buildings, temples and Vihāras etc.

The weaver community had also a flourishing business. The draperies and garments used by the various figures of the period speak of the excellence of the weavers. This artistic proficiency in textile industries still continues with full sway.

Oil industries owned by oilman must have flourished because so many kinds of earthen lamps have been discovered in the excavation of Belkhanḍi\textsuperscript{49}. Besides the use of oil lamps it has got its own utility in other day-to-day work.

\textsuperscript{49} N.K.Sahu, Archaeological Finds in Asurgarh, \textit{Third Purva Bharat Sanskrutik Sammelan}, (Bhubaneswar, 1976), p.133.
The physicians also are grouped among the Vaiśya varṇa. The Vaiśyas were the backbone of the society. They provided maximum amount of revenue to the state.

**ŚŪDRAS:**

The Śūdras were in the lowest rank of the society. According to the Hindu law books they were to serve the three other castes such as the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas for their livelihood\(^{50}\). Their status was extremely low and they did not even enjoy any freedom of occupational practice\(^{51}\). They had to work under several restrictions with regard to propriety of conduct in their day to day life\(^{52}\). Unlike the Vaiśyas they were forbidden to receive the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Śāstras etc. Pāṇini acquaints us that the Śūdras were divided into two groups—one lived in the society and the other lived outside the society\(^{53}\). However, the Śūdras were allowed to adopt the profession of upper varṇas if they failed to earn their livelihood by service. In this case they could adopt the vocation of the Vaiśyas like business, agriculture, industry etc.

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We cannot correctly determine which classes actually were included in the Śūdra caste. Simply we can form an idea and say that the tribal who entered the Brahmanical fold and subsisted on the service to the higher castes, came to be known as Śūdras. Gradually in the other parts of India various professionals and artisan groups, in course of time came under this caste. The son adopted the craft of his father from his childhood. The manual skill and talent became a family inheritance, which continued from generation to generation.

The artisans formed separate groups by themselves. Some documents of this period indicate of guilds (Śrenīs) of oilmen, gardeners, potters, perfumers, braziers, weavers, distillers, goldsmiths, betel-sellers and stonecutters etc. The magnificent temples constructed during the reign of the Bhañjas in Khiñjali maṇḍala clearly speak of the artistic temperaments of the Śilākuṭas (stone-cutters). The beautiful and life size images executed during this period testify to both volume and skill of the stonework. It may be said that under the masterstroke of their chisels the stones were transformed into figures of permanent beauty and grace. The Tālcher copper plate of Śivakara III points to the existence of
carpenters\textsuperscript{54}. The great demand of oil for lighting the perpetual lamps in temples gave an importance to the rise of tailaka (oilman) caste. We come to know about the Gokuta\textsuperscript{s} (milkmen) in Bhauma-Kara\textsuperscript{55} and Šulki\textsuperscript{56} records. In these records the Oriya term ‘gauda’ has been sanskritised as gokuṭa. They used to deal with milk and milk products. There are ample references in the inscriptions to the offerings of Gandha and Dhupa to the deities. Men and women used many scented pastes and perfumes to beautify themselves. Therefore a class of people known as Gandhikas (perfumers) lived in Orissan society during those days.

The above-mentioned castes in those days were only various professionals and artisan groups. Most of them belonged to the castes of Vaiśyas with regard to their connection with the economic life of the state. But later on they came under the caste of the Šūdras by the progressive assimilation of the Vaiśyas with the Šūdras.

**KARAṆAS:**

The Karaṇas seem to be the state officials in the early epigraphs. It is known from a land grant made by Śrī Charamparājā

\textsuperscript{54} B.Mishra(1), *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, (Calcutta, 1934), p.43.
\textsuperscript{55} B.Das, *op.cit.*, p.163.
\textsuperscript{56} B.Mishra(1), *op.cit.*, p.43.
of Kongoda belonging to Šailodbhava dynasty of seventh century A.D.⁵⁷. In spite of the fact that the Karaṇas had formed themselves into a caste in tenth century A.D. it cannot be certainly said whether they were sub-section of the Kāyasthas or not. In the Manusmṛti⁵⁸ the Karaṇas have been described as the scions of the Vṛtya (Kṣatriyas of ancient time). They are depicted as the off-springs of Vaiśya males and Śūdra females in the Yajñavalkyasṁrti⁵⁹. Lexicographers of medieval time identify the Karaṇas with the Kāyasthas. Kṣiraswāmin⁶⁰, while writing the commentary on the Amarakośa, mentions the Karaṇas as officers like Kāyasthas. Mirashi⁶¹ finds no difference between the Karaṇas and the Kāyasthas. D.C.Sirca⁶² is of the opinion that the Kāyasthas are a professional class of scribes intermixed with the tribal Karaṇas and crystallized into a caste in the medieval period. Karaṇas as a caste figure in the epigraphic records of the Bhaṅjas of Khiṅjali maṇḍala. The names of Karaṇas are mentioned in the Peṭṭsara grant of Netṭabhaṅja⁶³ and the Orissa Museum plates of Śilābhaṅja alias

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⁶⁰. Śūdra Varga, 1-2.
⁶¹. C.I.I., p.C.IXIX.
Tribhūvana Kalaśa. The Karanas also appear as a caste in the Mahābhārata. In Orissa of modern time the Karanas are found in large number and they are very much similar to the Kāyasthas living in Bihar and Bengal.

**TRIBALS:**

Orissa contains at present a very large number of tribal populations mainly the Śavaras, Bhuyans, Biñjhāls, Bhūmijās, Goṅḍs, Hos, Juāṅs, Khariās, Kondhs, Korās, Orāms, Santāls and Sudhas. But there were many other tribal who remained firm in their religion and culture. Among the above-mentioned tribal, some of them inhabited in Khiṅjali maṇḍala as narrated below.

**ŚAVARAS:**

It is known from the accounts of Pliny and Ptolemy as well as from the classical literature that the Śavaras widely inhabited in south-east India and a major part of Orissa was included in it. Some scholars believe that the surrounding area of river Śavari in Korāpuṭ was the original homeland of the Śavaras. The Nātyaśāstra

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of Bharata\textsuperscript{69} describes that they had a special language of their own. The Kādambarī of Bāṇabhaṭṭa\textsuperscript{70} gives a clear picture of the Śavaras of the forest. A Śavara has been depicted as an ignorant one who is hated by others. The Dheṅkanāl grant of Śulki ruler Jayastambha Deva\textsuperscript{71} reveals that Kulastambha, a ruler of this dynasty defeated a tribal chief named Dhekaṭa. According to B.Mishra\textsuperscript{72} this Dhekaṭa was the Śavara chief Dheṅkā after whom the modern Dheṅkanāl has been named.

It proves that the Śavaras were living in Orissa in ancient times. Now days in Phulbāṇī and Gaṅjām as well as in the hilly area of southern Orissa the Śavaras are found. Nothing is known about their origin. Some say the Śavara who killed Kṛṣṇa is the first Śavara. Some other says that the Śavaras were created to carry stone during the time of the construction of first Jagannāth temple and to pull the chariot\textsuperscript{73}.

**GONDŚ** :

The Goṇḍs are an important tribe of Phulbāṇī and Berhampur area. They are of small stature and dark in colour. Their

\textsuperscript{69} Bharata Nātyaśāstra, pp.17-50.
\textsuperscript{70} Kādambarī (Purvabhāga), pp.66-67.
\textsuperscript{72} B.Mishra(2), Dynasties of Medieval Orissa, (New Delhi, 1933), p.32.
bodies are well proportioned with a round head, distended nostrils, a wide mouth and thick lips, straight black hair and scanty beard with moustaches. Their long hair is fastened in a knot behind. They are very fond of hunting. At present they are generally engaged in agriculture and a bulk of them are firm labourers.

The original home of the Gond is thought to have been in southern India. Later on they migrated to Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa. Some authorities including Russel and Hislop regard the Kondhs as a branch of the same original tribe as the Gonds and there are strange linguistic reasons in support of their theory⁷⁴.

**BIŇJHĀLS :**

The Biňjhāls are a primitive race who appear to have been among the earliest inhabitants of Orissa. Tradition associates them with Vindhya mountains and their former home is believed to have been Ratnapur of Bilāśpur district in Chhattisgarh state. Majority of the Biňjhāls are cultivators and the rest are farm servants or field labourers. Those who have settled in the plains have taken to improved method of rice cultivation. The staple food of the poor consists of roots and Mahuā flower. They eat rice in the form of ‘Pakhāl’ (cooked rice soaked in water).

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The marriage of the Binjhāls takes place after the girl attends maturity. Special facilities are given to young girls on festival days to mix with other sex. Child marriage is not common among them. Widow marriage and divorce are allowed. A widow is expected to marry the younger brother of the deceased husband. The dead bodies are usually buried but persons of advanced age and rich persons are generally cremated.

**KONDHS:**

The Kondhs are the principal inhabitants of Baud and Phulbānī districts. Being Dravidians they were in the tract of the country before the advent of the Aryans. They have been classified under the ancient Gondid race of the Proto-Australiadi group, which according to scholars like Risley, preceded the Aryans by many thousand years. The Kondhs are so hospitable that they will give shelter to an enemy who may come as their guest. They do not drink milk but kill cows for beef. They had the custom of human sacrifice, which was stopped with great difficulty. Ultimately they agreed to stop the practice on being assured that they will pay no land tax. They however never scarified a Kondh. They used to kidnap a non-Kondh boy from the plains. The boy lived in the

Kondh village as a very honoured guest. He used to get plenty of wine and whatever food he wanted and had the company of any Kondh girl he wanted. He naturally did not try to run away. On the day of the sacrifice he was so drunk that he was completely anaesthetized. Portions of his body could be cut away without feeling any pain. So far as the life was concerned it was not cruel because he did not feel any pain. Instead of Meriā, as the sacrificial boy was called off, they started sacrificing a buffalo, which they purchased by running into debt. The buffalo sacrifice still continues.

**DUMĀLS:**

The Dumāls are another important primitive tribe of Orissa. They belong to agricultural community. But most of them identify themselves as Nanda Goutras. About the origin of the Dumāls some say that they have come out from egg (Dimba). Other are of the opinion that they are the cowherds of the Rājā of Puri. Every day they used to supply milk, curd and Ghee (butter) to the Jagannāth temple. Once a vulture sat on the temple. The Pujā Paṇḍā had a dream and came to know that the Ghee served to the Jagannāth temple was impure. For this Jagannath was dissatisfied and the vulture appeared on the temple. The news was

communicated to the Rājā. The Rājā was annoyed with this and decided to punish the cowherds. One official secretly informed the cowherds about the decision of the Rājā. Those who supplied Ghee to the temple left the place at night and moved towards west. After many days they settled at Dumālgarh in Āṭhmallik region of ex-Baud state. In course of time those cowherds of Dumālgarh came to be known as Dumāl Gouras. Baud became their main centre of habitation. From there they have spread to other places. Due to heavy concentration of this caste in Baud, the Rājā of Baud was known as Deḍhalakṣa Đumbādhipati or the king of one and half lakhs of Đumāls. The Rājā employed many of the Đumāls in respectable posts. He gave some Đumāls as dowry to the Rājā of Pāṭnā. The Đumāls adopted Mahākur as their surname. Afterwards Mahākur became Mahākuḍa, Mahākuḍa and Mahākul. Some say that the Đumāls had come from Odisiṅga region of Āṭhmallik. It has significance from the geographical point of view, because in the copper plates of Trikaliṅga Guptas its name is found. Some others say that the Đumāls had come from Khemiḍi area. It is said:

‘Khemidi rājya nijasthāna,
Deḍhalakṣa dumba Kalābhīaña’.

From the above proverb it is known that Khemidi was the original inhabitant of the Ąumāls and more than one lakhs Ąumāls settled there.

MARRIAGE:

Marriage has played a vital role in Indian society throughout the ages. The accounts of Iban-Khurabadbha(bih)\textsuperscript{81} and other contemporary epigraphic records refer to inter caste marriages of the Anuloma form in India during this period. The practice of Anuloma and Pratiloma marriages were in vogue among the various social groups. The princely houses of Khiṇjali maṇḍala i.e. the Bhaṇjas had established matrimonial relations irrespective of caste. Princes of this family namely Vakula Mahādevī and Dharma Mahādevi\textsuperscript{82} were weeded to Bhauma rulers. Trikaliṅga Mahādevī, the queen of Bhaṇja king, Vidyādharabhaṇja\textsuperscript{83} was a princess of the Somavamsīs who were the lords of Trikaliṅga. The Bāṇatumba grant\textsuperscript{84} of Bhaṇja king Netṭabhaṇja indicates that he had at least two  

\textsuperscript{81} H.M. Elliot and J. Dowso, \textit{op.cit.}, p.16.
\textsuperscript{82} B. Mishra(1), \textit{op.cit.}, p.53.
\textsuperscript{83} \textit{E.I.}, Vol.XVIII, pp.282-300.
wives, one is Kṣatri Devī of Kṣatriya caste and the other is Kaivarta Devī of fisherman caste.

The contemporary Smṛtis\(^\text{85}\) mention that girls should be married before they attended puberty and therefore we can say that this was followed by the Brāhmaṇas and those high castes who were much under their influence.

So far as the form of marriage is concerned polygamy existed in the ruling class. The Bhaṇja king Nettabhaṇja married three queens namely Rāṇī Kṣatri Devī, Kaivarta Devī and Meghāvalī Devī\(^\text{86}\).

**STATUS OF WOMEN:**

In the period under discussion women were considered as the chief of the household. They took part in fasting, worshipping and the other ceremonies with their husbands. The internal administration of the family depended upon them. They had rendered significant services in the administration in the kingdom of the Bhauma-Karas, the sovereign of the Bhaṇjas. The genealogy of the Bhauma-Karas furnishes a list of nine queens who ascended the throne and assumed sovereign titles like Mahārājādhirāja,

Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Paramamāheśvarī. Mahādevī Vāṣṭā, the queen of the Somavamśis, took up the reins of administration as the regent of her minor son Bāḷārjuna and showed accomplishments and administrative abilities. In the Bhaṇja records we come across some chief queens who were endowed with the right to register land grants with their seal. Queen Viajayā (Vidyā) Mahādevi, the consort of Raṇabhaṇja Deva donated a grant. Jivaloka Mahādevi, the queen of Neṭtabhaṇja Tribhūvana Kalaśa was given the responsibility of such a work. Widow marriage was not in vogue in the royal and noble families. Queens spent their lives in religious and administrative works. Mahādevī Vāṣṭā and Kolāvatī Devī of Somavamśi dynasty, Pṛthvī Mahādevi, Goswāminī Devī, Tribhūvana Mahādevi III, Gouri Mahādevi, Vakula Mahādevi and Dharma Mahādevi of Bhauma dynasty were famous in their own ways. The śāstras prescribe an austere and restrained life for the widows. They were also prohibited from using precious jewels and perfumes. Among the Vaiṣyās and Śūdras, however widow marriage was promulgated and such women were known as punarbhūs. Satī as a social custom was not observed during this

period. So queen Gouri Mahādevī and Vakula Mahādevī, ascended the throne after the death of their husband Subhākara Deva V.

Though much is not known from the epigraphic records about education of women, it may be said without doubt that they were highly educated and as such they ascended the throne and ruled well for years together. Two Bhaṅja princes namely Vakula Mahādevī and Dharma Mahādevī who had married had shown their excellency in administration. Some sculptures on the temples of Bhubaneswar show that women wrote love letters. It testifies to the fact that women were educated\(^90\).

From these facts mentioned above conclusion may be derived that the women of Khiṅjali maṇḍala probably acquired prestigious position in their respective families in particular and in the society in general by taking different important responsibilities.

**FOOD AND DRINKS:**

So far as the food of the people is concerned they took both vegetarian and non-vegetarian items. Rice\(^91\) and wheat\(^92\) were the common food of all the people. The temples of Bhagavatī and

\(^{92}\) *Ibid.*
Mukteśvar contain several figures in base relief with cakes of different kinds in their hands. Chāru was prepared from rice, milk and butter. The Buddhists and the Jainas lived on vegetarian food where as meat was the favourite food of the non-Aryan communities.

Fruits were available in plenty in different parts of Orissa and as such it must have formed an important part and daily food of the people. Vegetarian food appears to be popular with the people. But non-vegetarian food was not unknown. People were also given hunting rights in the epigraphic records. This may suggest that meat was taken by the people, though it cannot be confirmed whether hunting was a favourite pastime or for collection of food.

Drinking was prevalent in the society. Cups of drinking wine are found on the walls of the temples of Bhubaneswar. The records of the Bhañjas also refer to Sauṇḍhikas or distillers, which mean distillery industries, were established for manufacture of wine.

DRESS AND ORNAMENT:

The various sculptures of the period under discussion state that using adhovasana (dhoti of modern times) round the waist and uttariyas or aprons, as the upper garment was popular. The female wore sarees round the waist and used bodices to cover the breasts. Dancing girls were using close-fitting tunic and caps as known from the sculpture of a dancing girl in the Vaital temple of Bhubaneswar.

Both men and women of the period under discussion used same types of ornaments such as the kuṇḍāla (ear ring) keyura (armlet), Kaṅkaṇa (bracelet), mekhalā (belt) and pearl or bead necklaces. Apart from that the females used manjiras (nūpura) or anklets.

Hair dressing was very common with both men and women. While the males kept long hairs and used tiara, the females prepared beautiful knots and bedecked them with flowers. Of the perfumeries used in this period, the sandal paste was most popular. 

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97. Ibid., p.106.
ENTERTAINMENTS:

In the medieval period many parts of Orissa including Khinjali maṇḍala was full of dense forests and provided ample opportunity to the hunters for hunting. Kings, nobles as well as common people were busy in hunting varieties of animals. It appears that hunting was an entertainment of the people of high birth and this was a tradition maintained from the ancient time.

During the period under discussion gambling was very popular. This game attracted kings, their subjects and even the Brāhmaṇas. Gambling was so widespread that many writers of this time raised their voice against its devastating effect. In the Śirpur Stone inscription the donor Mahārānī Vāsaṭā had warned the Brahmin donees not to be edited to women and gambling.

Music and drama were surely another pastime of the people of Orissa. They have created a lasting impression in the minds of man as a source of enjoyment. The people of Khinjali maṇḍala were not an exception of it. Among the musical instruments Veenā, Bheri, Turi, Conch, Mṛduṅga and Karatāla were famous.

Making of toys was another pastime of the people of Orissa. Wooden and mechanical toys were made for the enjoyment of the children. Now days also the children of western Orissa play with the earthen and wooden toys of cow, elephant and horse in the Bhādrava Amāvāsyā (September) day. Some of the ancient villages have earned a name for the manufacture of wooden toys. The tradition of mediaeval Orissa has been kept alive even today.

**Education:**

The Bhaṇja copper plates provide very limited information about the system of education in Khinjali maṇḍala. It is gleamed from the records of the dynasty that the Brāhmaṇas, who occupied the highest position in the society, were proficient in different branches of knowledge and were the most educated class. The contemporary records mention that the Brāhmaṇas imparted education to other classes⁹⁹. During the period under review, in the Brahmin villages Agrahāras were the main centres of learning and education. They played the role of Gurukūla Āśrams of ancient times. The Bhaṇja rulers patronized the learned Brahmans and made them settle in certain villages with the purpose that the culture of the land would be protected and education would be spread among the

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people. The organisation of the tribal people also might have been an object of this step. In villages and towns some Hindu temples served the purpose of schoolrooms for imparting elementary and preliminary education.

Many scholars well versed in different branches of knowledge and learning flourished during this period. One such scholar was Bhadreśvara, who was a poet having proficiency in śāstras and was patronized by Nettabhaṅja.

The Sanskrit language is used in all inscriptions of the dynasty, which would undoubtedly suggest its popularity in Orissa during this period. The texts are composed partly in prose and partly in verse. The verses are highly ornate and are in rhetorical style, which shows the poetic skill and erudition of the Bhaṅja court poets.

The epigraphic records of the period also show that the Brahmins had mastered different Vedas and Vedāṅgas. A large number of land grants made to the Brahmins indicate that the rulers of Bhaṅja dynasty encouraged Vedic study in Orissa.

ECONOMIC CONDITION

Land:

In the medieval period of Orissa land was considered to be the basis of economic life and the yardstick of financial standard. The wealth of a person was measured by the amount of land he possessed and accordingly he enjoyed social prestige and influence. Land was divided into a number of categories, namely the arable land (Kṣetrabhumi), fallow land (Khilabhumi), homestead land (Vāstubhumi), grazing land (Gocharbhumi), forestland (Aranyabhumi), and garden land (Udyanabhumi). The epigraphs of the time describe the cultivable land as Kṣetrabhumi and Kṣetrakara (land tax) had been given prominent place among varieties of taxes imposed by the king upon the subjects. Fallow land (Khilabhumi) was unsuitable for cultivation. In the royal charters low and wastelands (sagartosara) have been grouped into one class. Homestead land (Vāstubhumi) was generally situated in the neighbourhood of cultivable land.

The Bhañja rulers of Khiñjali maṇḍala donated lands to vassals, officials, temples, and religious institutions and above all to the Brāhmaṇas. They donated lands without any reference to their
sovereigns. An analysis of the copper plate charters of this time reveals that there were two categories of land grants, namely secular and religious. Majority of the charters mention a single village as grant⁠¹⁰¹ but in some other instances we find grant of more than one village to a donee⁠¹⁰². On certain occasion, a large number of donees were also assigned a single village or a single piece of land⁠¹⁰³. Secular lands were generally made to the vassals and the officials.

The number of religious land grants to the Brāhmaṇas far exceeded to that of the secular assigns. The Bhaṅja rulers were lavish in their donations to persons, who had come from outside and made settle permanently in their kingdom. Raṇabhaṅja Deva, a prominent ruler of Khiṅjali maṇḍala of Dhṛtipura branch granted a number of villages to the Brāhmaṇa donees of which a few examples can be cited here. The Tāsapaikerā charter of this ruler mentions the donation of the village Tāsapaikerā to Bhaṭṭa Śrīdhara, son of Bhaṭṭa Śrī Bāpula⁠¹⁰⁴. His Baud grant issued in 26 R.Y. was the donation of the village Vāllāśrigā in Khaṭiyā Viṣaya to a Brāhmaṇa donee named Bhaṭṭaputra Dāmodara of Maugalya

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Satrubhanja Deva of the same line granted the village Milupadi in the Royara Viṣaya in Udbhaya-Khiṇjali maṇḍala to Bhaṭṭaputra Kṛṣṇa, son of Ākhaṇḍala belonging to Kāśyapa gotra106. The Orissa plates of Vidyādharabhaṇḍa of Vaṇjulvaka branch refer to the assignment of a village Tūṇḍurāva to Bhaṭṭa Dāruṇkaṇḍa of Upamanyu gotra107.

Gift of lands to temples and other religious institutions has been also depicted in the epigraphic record of the Bhaṇjas. Sometimes the queens and the mother of the kings donated land for religious purposes. The queens of Neṭṭabhaṇja named Rajni Kṣatri Devī, Kaivarta Devī and Rājaputri Meghāvali Devī granted a village called Bandhutuṅga to Brāhmaṇas108. Mahādevī Vidyā (Vijayā) the queen of Raṇabhaṇja Deva of Dḥṛtipura donated lands for the worship of Vijayeśwara Śiva109. Lands might have been donated by king Raṇabhaṇja himself for the worship of Nilamādhava Viṣṇu, installed in the twin temples of Gandharādi. At a later date (middle of the eleventh century A.D.) a reference to the grant of land to

107. Ibid., pp.271-77.
Bhagvat Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭāraka (Lord Śiva) by Mahāmādhavabhaṅja\textsuperscript{110},
a Bhaṅja king has been made.

Although the entire village or a group of villages were often donated, it was also no less usual to allot area of much smaller extent such as parts of village or plots of land. The Daśapallā grant\textsuperscript{111} of Netṭabhaṅja mentions the endowment of a piece of land in the village of Duolladā in Ramalava viṣaya of Khiṅjali maṇḍala to a Brahmin named Bhaṭṭa Puruṣottama. In such grant of land, special attention was paid to the measurement of land endowed, the settlement of boundaries and also to the quantity of its produce.

Land grants were also made by the Bhaṅjas in the forest area. Yaśabhaṅja of Khiṅjali maṇḍala granted tax-free village called Patikomyana with the trees, creepers and forest along with the right for fishing and catching tortoises\textsuperscript{112}. R.S.Sharma is of the view that the next result of the land grants was to create feudal conditions in which superior landholders were imposed upon ordinary cultivators\textsuperscript{113}.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{110} Ibid., Vol.XXX, Part-VI, p.225.
\item \textsuperscript{111} J.B.O.R.S., XXX, p.100.
\item \textsuperscript{112} E.I., Vol.XVIII, p.298.
\end{itemize}
Land Sale:

An example of land sale is given in the Madras Museum plate\textsuperscript{114} of Narendradhavala of Nala dynasty. It appears that a person named Seḍā purchased the village Tādeśvaragrāma from Śilābhaṅja Deva by Kraya Śāsana\textsuperscript{115}(sale deed) paying some rupyaka i.e. Silver or money. Some years later, the village was resold by Seḍā as a Kraya Śāsana to three persons on receipt of an amount of rupyaka weighting 10 palas 2 maṣas and 4 gunjas. This Śilābhaṅja Deva is identified with the father of Śatrubhaṅja I and grandfather of Raṇabhaṅja I of Dhṛtipura branch.

Right Over Land:

Scholars have expressed divergent views over the question of ownership of land in ancient India. Some hold that king was the sole owner of the entire landed property and people enjoyed it on his behalf by paying one-sixth of the total product as land revenue\textsuperscript{116}. It is also assumed that peasants were the absolute owner of the land and there was no interference from the side of the state. The tenants only paid the land revenue for good administration and

\textsuperscript{115}. Deed of purchase.
security of their life and property. A clear picture can be drawn only after an analysis of the contemporary epigraphs on the ownership issue.

Kings donated villages to the Brāhmaṇa donees, which included Kṣetrabhūmi, Khilabhūmi, Vāstubhūmi, Nidhi, Upanidhi etc. Grantees were warned not to indulge themselves in debauchery and gambling. The donors on the other hand reserved the right to withdraw land grants on the violation of the above principles. Heirless property was unquestionably transferred to the royal possession. All these indicate that the king was the sole owner of the lands of the state. It is to be noted that the land grants, even the grants of the crown land were made in the presence of the officials and people.

We come across instances of land grants, which have been renewed and reissued in favour of separate donees. Nettabhaṇja Deva of Vañjulvaka branch donated Machchhaḍā grāma in Machchhaḍā Khanḍa viṣaya to Brāhmaṇa Rudrata belonging to Vatsagotra117, but in the Gañjām grant, Vidyādharabhaṇja, the next ruler donated the same village to Bhaṭṭa

Purandara of Rohita gotra. It is evident from the difference of gotras that Bhaṭṭa Purandara was not the descendant of Bhaṭṭa Rudrata. It seems that Bhaṭṭa Rudrata or his son were issueless and the same village was declared a hairless property (Aputrika Veni) and was subsequently converted into crown land.

The Bhaṅjas granted lands or jagirs to the officers as well as to the soldiers. Sometimes donees received land in the forms of gifts. The grantees, without infringements from the donors, enjoyed proprietary rights over these lands. But these grantees had to seek prior permission of the rulers whenever they wanted to part with their lands. These lands were later on converted into land free holdings by the rulers. The powerful feudatory chiefs of our time issued land grants independently without seeking permission or recommendation of their overlords.

**Purpose of Land Grants:**

The purpose of land grants to the Brāhmaṇas was meant for the religious merit and fame of the donor and his forefathers. Patronisation of scholarstic pursuits was considered another purpose of such grants. Orissa being a forest-clad area, mostly inhabited by the tribals, donation of lands to the Brāhmaṇas was meant to

aryanise the tribal folk. For fulfillment of this objective, grants were made to scholars and students, well versed in various Vedas\(^{119}\). Grants were also made to monks\(^{120}\) and ascetics\(^{121}\) for the above purpose. Land was donated to provide Vali (charity), Chāru (oblation), Naivedya (offerings), Nṛitya (dance) and Vaditra (musical instruments) for the worship of the deities\(^{122}\). The priests and servants attached to temples maintained their livelihood out of the income of the Devagrahara village. On the occasion of the construction of a temple or rising of religious edifices land grants were made.

Grants were also made to commemorate the demise of some important family members of the royal family. The Baud copper plate grant of Neṭṭabhaṅja Deva was donated in the memory of the death of his queen\(^{123}\). Epigraphic records often mention the grant of forest and mountainous regions as well as waste and fallow lands. The purpose behind such grants was probably to reclaim and convert it into arable lands.

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Nature of Land and Demarcation of Boundaries:

There were vast tracts of fertile land in Khinjali maṇḍala. During his visit to Orissa Hiuen-Tsang refers to the fertility of soil and rich cultivation in Odra, Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda and Kośala. About Koṅgoda he says that the ground was low and moist. It was regularly cultivated and productive\textsuperscript{124}. It is important to mention here that the Bhaṅjas of Vaṅjuvaka branch built their new Khinjali maṇḍala over the tract of land where Koṅgaoda was in prevalent from sixth to eighth century A.D. Therefore it can be undoubtedly said that the soil of Khinjali maṇḍala was rich and fertile and it produced abundance of grain.

The villages and private lands were properly demarcated and Pustapālas were appointed to keep the land records according to such demarcations. The Bhaṅja copper plates often refer to the marks delineating the boundaries of the villages. The boundary of viṣaya and village was generally marked by the rivers, forests, public roads, mounds of earth and stones.

Revenue System:

The power and influence of any state during this period extensively depended upon the strength of its royal treasury. The weakness of the monarchy was consequent upon the emptying of the treasury. Kautilya\textsuperscript{125}, the ancient polity writer, mentions Kośa (treasury) as one of the seven important limbs of the state and the affluence of this organ was always sought for. He had also pleaded strongly against the oppression and collection of unjust taxes for the royal treasury. Smṛiti writers are of the opinion that ruler should collect taxes for paying wages and for the management of people’s business\textsuperscript{126}. Excessive and illegal taxes were considered injurious to the financial condition of the people and they lead to economic hazards. A king with depleted treasury was held responsible for the destruction of the vitality of the country as well as the people. The mention of Atibrakara in the Hindol Copper plate grant of Śubhākara Deva III\textsuperscript{127} of Toṣali, the Samyakara in the Tālcher Copper plate grant of Śubhākara Deva IV\textsuperscript{128} and the Mrdukara in the Dheñkanāl grant of Tribhūvana Mahādevi\textsuperscript{129} indicate that all of them desisted from exorbitant taxes. The feudatory chief of the Bhauma-

\textsuperscript{125} R.K.Ray, \textit{op.cit.}, p.238.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid, p.238.
\textsuperscript{127} J.B.O.R.S., Vol.XVI, pp.69-83.
\textsuperscript{128} B.Mishra(1), \textit{op.cit.}, pp.32-39.
Karas including the Bhañjas of Khiñjali mañḍala must have followed the principle of their sovereigns regarding their taxation policy.

The main sources of revenue were nidhi, upanidhi, bhāga, bhoga and hiranya. Nidhi\(^{130}\) may be the same as the modern income tax. Upanidhi\(^{131}\) means a sealed deposit. Here it may refer to that amount which was paid by the people to the authority who guaranteed the safe custody of their deposits. Bhāga refers to the state share of the total output of the lands possessed by an individual. It was the quarter part of the total produce\(^{132}\). Bhoga was a kind of tax imposed upon people for enjoying the benefits of the amenities provided by the king\(^{133}\). Hiranya\(^{134}\) was perhaps collected from those people who used precious metals and jewels. Besides all these, the Bhañjas also imposed taxes on such professionals as weavers, distillers and cowherds and river transport facility. While issuing grants to Brahmins, the Bhañja kings empowered them to collect all sort of taxes from the people of the donated villages and utilized the amount collected therefore for their own betterment. Sometimes villages were donated to temples and

\(^{131}\) *Ibid.*
the revenue collected from the villages were spent for the maintenance of concerned temples. The Pāṭnā Museum plates\textsuperscript{135} of Raṇabhaṅja issued in his 22 regnal year, record: the donation of village Vahiravāḍā by his queen Vijaya Mahādevī to God Vijayeśvara.

Uparika was the head of the revenue administration. He was assisted by the Viṣayapatis and Bhogis of respective districts and villages in collection of revenue. The Daṇḍapāśika who was the authority of law and order, also helped the Uparika in case of disputes regarding fixation of the amount of revenue and measurement of lands.

Agriculture:

The economic life of the people during the period under discussion solely depended on agriculture. Generally all the families owned certain amount of lands and cultivated it for the maintenance of their family. In case a peasant became incapable of cultivating the land, he had the right to lease out the same on the basis of sharing the produce. Agriculture being solely depended on monsoon vagaries of rainfall led to flood, drought and famine.

\textsuperscript{135} E.I., Vol.XX, pp.100-04ff.
In the beginning both settlement and agriculture followed the courses of the river, which acted as a powerful fertilizing agent of the soil in its neighbourhood. Later on because of the immigration of a large number of Brahmins from different parts of the country, there was a steady increase in the cultivated area. The Bhaṅgas of Khiṅjali maṇḍala granted many villages to a number of Brahmins who settled in their kingdom.¹³⁶

**Products:**

It is not possible to compile a complete list of agricultural products of Khiṅjali maṇḍala as the epigraphic records do not have much information on the subject. However, it is certain that paddy (dhānya) was cultivated from remote antiquity as the staple food crop of the people. The Hindol plates¹³⁷ of Bhaumarkara king Śubhākara Deva, a sovereign ruler of the Bhaṅgas of Khiṅjali maṇḍala describe the sowing of paddy.

Besides paddy, wheat, barley, sugarcane¹³⁸ were also produced. Though the epigraphic records do not make any mention of cotton, but from numerous references to weavers in the land

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grants it can be said that cotton was cultivated to feed an important
cottage industry of the state. Among the pulses (simbidhānya)
Mudga, Chaṇaka, Varaka, Kulutha etc. were chief products. Oil
seed was cultivated both for cooking and burning of lamp.

Forest:

The vast tracts of dense forest considerably influenced
the economy of Khīṇjali maṇḍala. The forests of this kingdom were
rich with varieties of trees, bushes and vines. Tribals living in the
forest clad areas, depended on the forest products for their
livelihood. They gathered fuel, house building materials, bamboo,
honey, wax, gums, horns, ivory, medicinal herbs, roots and fruits
and sold them in the markets. The forests were infested with wild
animals. Catching of elephants, popularly known, as Khedā was an
interesting game of the people. Elephants were tamed and reared at
home by the people and the kings. Since the early days Kaliṅga was
famous for large sized elephants, which were sold to the kings of
foreign countries at exorbitant prices.
Industry:

Although agriculture formed the main part of the economy of Khiñjali maṇḍala many crafts and industries also developed during this period.

Textile industry was improved during this period. The huge references of weavers in the Bhañja copper plates\(^\text{139}\) and the sculptural representation on the twin temples of Gandharādi near Baud show that fine fabrics were produced at that time. It is known from the sculptures of Khiñjali maṇḍala that different types of dresses like dhotis and sharees were produced.

Iron industry was another important one prevailed in Khiñjali maṇḍala. Articles of common use like hammer, axe, sickle, knife sword etc. were manufactured from iron.

The discovery of a large number of copper plates indicates that copper industry must have provided employment to a large number of artisans.

The sky-scrapping temples and its fine artistic execution of iconography suggest that the stone industry reached its

perfection in Khiñjali maṇḍala. Numerous handicraftsmen and artisans were being engaged in construction of temples and palaces. Temples and other monumental structures were constructed on the basis of industrial art and engineering skills.

Woodwork industry also existed in Khiñjali maṇḍala. The name Vardhaki (carpenter), mentioned in some of the copper plates\(^{140}\) refers to the wood industry. Trees like śāl, śiśam, sandalwood etc. were precious which were utilised for making various types of furniture. Popular vehicles like śakaṭa (bullock cart) and chariot were made of wood. Doors and windows of the houses and temples were made by the carpenters.

Potters (Kumbhakāra) are mentioned frequently in the Bhañja copper plates\(^{141}\) of Khiñjali maṇḍala. Availability of earthen pots, images and toys gives an idea about the improved pottery of the time. Potters were engaged in making bricks for construction of buildings and temples. Ancient potteries have been discovered in many places of Gañjām district, the ancient kingdom of the Gañgas of Kaliṅga and the Bhañjas of Vañjulvaka.

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Trade:

Through commercial activities certain places became important. The Baud copper plates\(^\text{142}\) of Nettabhaṇja, the earliest known ruler of Bhaṇja dynasty assigned to eighth century A.D. informs us that Aṅgulaka was made prosperous by the merchants community who sold commodities of all descriptions in large scale. Referring to Koṅg-u-to (Koṅgoda) Hiuen-Tsang says that the people of Koṅgoda used cowrie shells and pearls in commercial transactions. They harnessed elephants and made long journey\(^\text{143}\). It is important to note here that Khinjali maṇḍala was established by the Bhaṇjas over the land where the kingdom of Koṅgoda was in prevalent earlier. From the accounts of Hiuen-Tsang it is known that elephants were used for inland transport. For the water borne trade boats were used. The articles of internal trade included all sorts of commodities like couch shells, sandalwoods, ornaments, betel leaves, sugar, cloth earthen vessels etc.

Currency System:

The Bhaṇja copper plates do not mention any thing about the currency system. However, basing upon the currency

\(^{142}\) J.B.O.R.S., Vol.XVIII, pp.104-118.
system prevailed in the neighbouring state of Khinanji mandala which is known from the inscriptions of the contemporary rulers an idea about the currency system of Khinanji mandala can be formed. Cowrie shells continued to be the most popular medium of exchange in Orissa. Here Cowrie currency was popular as it was in Bengal, Assam and other parts of India. The earliest possible evidence regarding the prevalence of Cowrie currency in Orissa is to be found in the account of Hiuen Tsang144, who visited Orissa in the seventh century A.D. Next we find its reference in the copper plate grant of Subhakara Deva II of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty145. Four Cowries were equal to one Kahana. The word Kahana appears to have been derived from Karsapana of the Sanskrit language and Kahapana of the Pali language. Karsapana generally meant the weight of one Kansa or 80 rati weight of copper coin. So the value of silver was 16 times of the value of copper.

The Sulki146 and the Tunga147 copper plates mention the term Pala, which is used to denote the amount of the nominal rent, derived from a specified plot of land donated by kings. The Talcher

144. Ibid.
145. B.Mishra, op.cit., p.15.
147. Ibid., Vol.XXXXIV, Part-II, p.100.
plate\textsuperscript{148} of Gayādatuṅga informs that the nominal rent per annum of
the donated land was fixed at 4 palas of Silver. The Gaṅjām grant\textsuperscript{149}
of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Prṭhūvarmā Deva indicates that the revenue of
the village Doliti was fixed at 4 silver palas. D.C. Sircar holds that one pala was equal to 64 maśās\textsuperscript{150}.

It is interesting to note that no coins of the Bhaumakaras of Toṣali and the Somavamśis of South Kośala have been discovered so far. Nothing is known as to why they did not issue any coins in their names. It is natural that the feudatory chiefs who served under their sovereigns might not have issued any coins on their own behalf.

\textsuperscript{148} J.A.S.B., Vol.XII, pp.391-95.
\textsuperscript{149} E.I., Vol.IV, pp.198-201.
\textsuperscript{150} E.I., Vol.XXVIII, Part-I, p.12.