



Khinjali Bhanjas of early medieval Odisha

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This work sets out to analyse the inscriptions of the Bhanjas of Khinjali mandala; an important dynasty of early medieval Orissa. Its emphasis is on processes the sociopolitical dimensions of the Bhanja grants. So far thirty-seven donative records of this dynasty have been reported, suggesting that they liberally extended their patronage to the brahmanas in particular and a rare occasions to shrines as well. The cause and the consequences of such donations constitute the subject matter of this treatise. An attempt has been made to examine the Economy, Society, Religion and Polity and in the Conclusion an effort has been made to sum up the emerging trends in the aforementioned region. The sociological process of Sanskritization (MN Srinivas²) gets highlighted in the process.

The brahmanas were the harbinger of socio-cultural changes that took place in early medieval Orissa. This facilitated the rise of sub-regional kingdoms. The largest number of brahmanas from outside were attracted to Orissa* The large stretches of backward hilly area, with a great degree of tribal content, were experiencing socio-political, transformation during this period. In the new settlements the brahmanas provided only the managerial function, the labour being provided by the masses, mainly comprising of tribals. The brahmanas acted as a catalyst in unleashing the process of peasantisation of the tribes. Secondly, the brahmanas, in alliance with the tribal chiefs developed a Hindu/Brahmana kingship on the debris of tribal chieftainship. The brahmanas legitimised the authority of the ruler while the latter provided economic benefits to the former. Moreover, the brahmana migrants from North India, disseminated the knowledge of the calendar, agricultural seasons, plough agriculture the utility of cattle for cultivation and so on." In course

of Hinduisation of the autochthonous deities[^] and culture the neo-Dvijas (especially the brahmanas and the kshatriyas) were the most ardent supporter of the brahmanical ways of life.

The rarity of large donations has already been pointed out. The brahmana donees mostly received a village, a part of it or some plots of land. Therefore, they cannot be seen as big landlords, consuming the resources of the state.

On account of the immigration of a large number of brahmanas from different parts of the country there came about a steady increase in the cultivated area, as is shown by the copper-plate inscription. In almost every Bharija inscription, migration of the brahmanas have been



mentioned. Actually the grant of land in a forest area or virgin region facilitated reclamation of those land and extension of cultivable land. These instances suggest that there came about steady extension and improvement of cultivation.

In most of the inscriptions the king's desire for merit has been mentioned as the prime reason for donation.

However, the increasing desire of the brahmanas for material progress and the political compilation of the kings besides their religious zeal must have played a significant role.

Money, Crafts and Market Though, we have no evidences about the existence of gold coins (hiranya) in the Bhanjas periods, a study of Bhanja copper plates prove the existence of silver coins (rupyah) in the period under review. Probably there was a dearth of coined money (rupyah). In the Madras Museum Plates of the time of Narendra Dhavala the ruler sold the village Tadesvaragama to Seda at the price of 10 palas, 2 mashas, and gunjas. It may, however, be suggested that the three contractions actually indicate 3 varieties of coins. The term pala is used to denote the amount of the nominal rent derived from a specified plot of land donated by kings. It is difficult to infer the value of pala*. Sircar holds that one pala was equal to 1 Karsha or 6k mashas. According to Sircar, a mashka of silver has the weight of 5 or 8 rattis, while gunjas otherwise called raktika (modern patti) is 1/6th of a masha.

Although agriculture always formed the predominant feature of Orissan economy, we have evidence that several crafts and industries developed during the Bhanja period. The textile industry was flourishing in the Bhanja region for we get references to the weavers in several charters of the Bhanjas. Iron implements were most common during the period. In the Copper plates, we find terms like lauha khadaga (iron swords) and loha churana (iron powder) repeatedly. Our inscriptions mention the goldsmith (svarnakara). This clearly shows that articles of different metals such as gold, silver, bronze and iron were manufactured in Orissa. Moreover, the discovery of a large number of copper-plates indicate that copper industry must have provided employment to a large number of artisans in the state. After iron copper was possibly the most useful metal at that time. Iron plates were not suitable for charters of land-grants, for iron corrodes easily owing to moisture. Therefore copper was usually employed for permanent charters*. The business of engraving letters in the copper-plates was a highly technical art and no doubt well-paid engravers or were permanently maintained by the state for this. In this respect Orissa fed the Indian tradition while exhibiting her own identity.

Orissa was very rich in elephants, and we can speculate that it may have been a centre of ivory works. An inscription mentions the grant of land including the donee's privilege to enjoy h&stidanta (ivory) which obviously suggests that luxury articles were manufactured from ivory for the royal households perfumery was also one of the flourishing industries in Orissa during the Bhanja period. We find frequent mention of breweries (saundhikas) in the land grants of the Bhanjas. The Komanda Copper plates of Nettekhanja were discovered along with a fresco painting representing a war-expedition which contains a line of writing, recording the name of a bhanja ruler. Moreover in almost every copper plate a bull, or a lotus or any



royal symbol was depicted in a very artistic manner. All these indicate great specialisation in the field of art and metallurgy.

The temples and images belonging to this period speak of the artistic activities of the Bhanja period.

The fine workmanship on stones indicate that iron instruments of great fineness were used. As such, tools and implements necessary for carving stones might have offered a good vocation to masons, stone cutters and sculptors, working on the monasteries, temples and statues. The above discussion on the economic pursuits of the

people persuades us to suggest that various crafts and industries were practised in Orissa during the Bhanja period. There is nothing to show that the state itself played an important part in industrial production.

There is no specific evidence to show any trading links between the Bhanja territories and the outside world. But one can speculate the export of luxury commodities like ivory products. Through commercial activities certain places gained their importance. A copper-plate of Nettabhanja (c 8th A.D.) informs us that

Angulaka (probably identical with Angula in Dhenakanal district) was made prosperous by the merchants community who sold articles of all kinds on a huge scale* The Orissa Museum Plates of Nettabhanja mentioned the ruler donating a part of village Gundapa at Ak in Nauvakhauda vishaya to a merchant Ivadatta for his service to the king. The nature of the service is not mentioned. The landgrant was not made revenue free like brahmadeya lands. This implies two things - (a) firstly the merchants had a significant role in the royal administration as well as in the spread of the material culture; and (b) secondly that their socio-political significance during the period was mainly due to their role in the economic activities of the region.

There is no epigraphic evidence to suggest the routes of inland trade and the means and mode of transport. It is likely that bullocks, buffaloes, horses etc., were used for conveyance. The chief routes of internal trade were probably the water-ways of the state. The epigraphic references in the Bhanja period to the grant of right over landing-places on the bank of rivers (phatti) and ferry places (naditarasthana) to beneficiaries suggest the use of boats on a considerable scale. In the Baud Plates of Kanabhanja a term pataka has been mentioned. According to B.C. Mazumdar, patakas were the representatives of the trade guilds. If this interpretation is considered to be true then we find that merchants organised themselves

in guilds. Trade and commerce, as the tertiary sector was still in a very incipient stage, as the feudal lords controlled the trading activities in broadly two ways. First as their main customers and secondly on account of their socio-political significance they could dictate and regulate trading activities compared to the brahmanas the merchants had a negligible role to play in the spread of material culture.



The history of markets, trade and metallic money is far from satisfactory* The picture that one gets about crafts and industries is a shade better. However, it may be pointed out that textiles, iron artefacts and gold ornaments could have been produced on a scale so as to meet the local requirements. There is nothing to indicate large scale production and especially production for long-distance trade. Similarly, the evidence for perfumes and ivory work is at best suggestive and not conclusive. What emerges is that crafts and manufactures were possibly not organised on a large scale, involving division of labour, specialization etc. This sector, therefore will have to be viewed within the overall context of the buoyant rural economy.

D.K. Ganguly has divided the brahmana beneficiaries on the basis of their privileges, into five categories as enumerated below:

(i) Tax-free land-owning donees, (ii) Tax-free land-owning trustees, (iii) Donees, enjoying the revenue of tax-free

holdings.

(iv) Trustees, enjoying the revenue of tax-free

holdings. (v) Tax-paying donees

In the Khinjali Bhanja charters we notice of categories of brahmana beneficiaries (i), (ii), (iii) and (iv).

The Brahmanas were the agents of the sacred domain and they were granted land apparently for the attainment of religious merit by the ruler representing the temporal domain. Actually, the Bhanja rulers were the patrons of the brahmanas and supported them financially while on the

other hand, the brahmanas provided social and political legitimacy to the Bhanja rule. They traced their lineage to the lunar dynasty or the egg of a pea-hen in order to mystify their origins and provide a halo round the ruler. It was an effort to conceal their social origins as most probably they emerged from the local tribes. Thus, the brahmanas and Bhanja rulers were bound in a sort of patron-client relationship.

The brahmanas were primarily, involved in religious worship, performance of rites and rituals and sacrifices. In most of the Ehanja inscriptions about 32 in number, we find the mention of various Vedic sacrifices like Vajapeya and Asvamedha yajna* One can also speculate that the distribution of sacrificial food among the -people by the ruler could have helped in strengthening the exchange mechanism by maintaining social harmony and reducing social tension. In several land charters we find that the names of brahmanas are mentioned along with their gotras, pravaras, charanas, sakhas and the name of the very specific Veda in which he had some specialisation. For example, in the Ganjam Plates of Satrbhanja, the donees • Bhattaputra Bappi, son of Batta Kesi of Bharadvaja gotra, Angirasa and Brihaspatya pravara and Taittiriya Sakha of Yajurveda. Similarly, in the Orissa Museum Plates of Nettabhanja, the donee is Bhatta Dhauri of Bharadvaja gotra, Angirasa pravara and Brihaspatya anupravara



and a student of the Chhandoga charana and Ka-Uthuma sakha of the Samaveda* In the Tasapaikera charter 7 of Ranaka Ranabhanja deva, the donee Bhatta Sridhara belonged to Bharadvaja gotra of Angirasa pravara and a student of Madhyadina Sakha of Ya. However, although the main function of the brahmanas was the study and teaching of the Vedas some of them served as astrologers (jyotishi) also. The Antirigriz Plates of the Bhanja ruler Yasabhanja refers to the grant of land to an astrologer named Jagadhara Sarcan in the second half of the 12th century A.D. Similarly in the Antirigram plates of Jayabhanja (brother of Yashabhanja) the same astrologer was donated a village n?-eg Rengarada. Epigraphic evidences indicate that the brahmanas were also employed as royal officials occupying influential positions in the state. The Brahmanas served as dutas of land grants. They also served as pratihara (Chamberlain), mantrin (minister), lekhaka., ranaka (a feudatory status) and mahdalika (governor) • J Thus, the brahmanas followed any vocations both religious and secular during this period.

RELIGION IN SOCIETY

The history of religion in Khinjali mandala can be reconstructed from the available epigraphic data. The evidence basically relates to the gods, religions institutions and sects that found favours with the members' of the ruling family. Patronage is rarely disinterested and the inscriptions therefore may yield information about the contemporary socio-political realities in addition to the overall religious setting. To elaborate, the religious policy of a state depends on contemporary conditions, past traditions and religious belief of its people on the one hand and individual predilection of the rulers on the other. In monarchical states nothing plays a more important part than the religious beliefs and political ideals of the monarch. Religion besides being a matter of personal faith, belief, popular rituals and constituting a major component of 'popular culture' has also to be perceived as an instrument of state policy, especially ideology of the ruling clans and state.

The religious belief and policy of the Khinjali-Bhanjas can be conveniently gleaned from the name of the deities, the imprecatory verses in praise of the various gods, vedic sacrifices and the titles used by them in their inscriptions. From the thirty six Bhanja inscriptions, we find that Saivism, Vaishnavism and Saktism were mainly prevalent during the period. -

In the first copper-plate of Sri Satrbhanja, one of his titles was p_aramavaishnava. It is interesting to note that although, he embraced Vaishnavism, the invocatory verses used in his copper-plate grants are in praise of God' Siva. The predecessors of Satrbhanja were probably Saivites and used these invocatory verses in their grants in praise of Siva Nataraja. Admittedly, though we have not yet found any such grants of Silabhanja or his predecessors it may be discussed on the basis of the circumstantial evidence that the early Khinjali Bhanjas used Siva prasasti in their grants. The invocation of Siva, as noticed above, had become conventional during the time of Satrbhanja. So he did not give up the conventional verses in his documents even after embracing Vaishnavism. In case of the third king in the dynasty, Ranabhanja, we notice one peculiarity in his grants that is, the change of personal faith from Saivism to Vaishnavism and reversion to the faith of his forefathers at the end.



In the early part of his rule, his ninth regnal year he was a paramamahesvara and from his eleventh regnal to twenty-sixth year, he was a paramavaishnava.

But in the closer part of his reign, that is, in his 58th regnal years, he was again paramamahesvara. Rangbhanja's marriage seems to be a factor that led him to embrace Saivism once again and ultimately to realise the synthesis of Vaishnavism and Saivism. It was this realisation that probably enabled him to patronise Saivism. It was this attitude of the monarch that led to the construction of the twin temples of Side svara and Nilamadhava at Ganganadi. It was this synthesis which ultimately led to harmonise the two leading faiths in the Hari Hara cult later on.

But he used the conventional invocatory verses in praise of Siva-Nataraja in all his grants. In all the copper plate - grants (except no. 13) issued from Dhruvipura, the capital of the early Bhanjas of Khinjali mandala, the prasasti commences with the following invocatory verse referring to Siva-Nataraja who seems to be the God of devotion of the family.

His predecessors, however, used the traditional title of paramamahesvara*. These kings being subordinate to their contemporary overlord Dandimahadevi and her father Lalitabhara of the Bhaumakara dynasty, were influenced by the then popular Vaishnavism. Actually the cult of Neo-Vaishnavism came to Orissa towards the second half of the 9th century A.D. Almost in every charter issued from Vanjulavaka the prasasti commences with the invocatory verse, referring to Siva-Nataraja who seems to be the presiding deity of the dynasty. Although Satrbhanja alias Tribhuvanakalasa adopted Vaishnavism and used the title paramavaishnava, he did not give up the conventional verse in praise of Siva in his documents. Another ruler Nettabhanja-II was a worshipper of Visnu and assumed the title of paramavaishnava and like his predecessor Satrbhanja, he had not changed the traditional invocatory verse in praise of Nataraja in his document. Among the Bhanja rulers with their headquarters at Koladakataka Satrbhanja III introduced Vaishnavism in the family. All the subsequent rulers embraced the same religion. In the 'Antirigram plates of Jayabhanja, he mentions that he was a Saiva but later on, he embraced Vaishnavism which was then popular in South India as well as in Orissa. Another later Bhanja ruler, Nettabhanja in the Banatumva and Baudh plates has described himself, as paramabrahmanya and paramamahesvara. The invocatory verses used in praise, of Siva are unique in its style.

In the Bhanja inscriptions, we find the Imprecatory verses customarily indicating their patronage of Saivism. Among the Bhanja rulers of Khinjali branch Nettabhanja and Vidyadharabhanja were devout worshippers of Siva (Paramamahesvara). The Orissa Plates of Vidya dharabhanja opens with the verse which glorify the third eye of Hara (Siva) and invokes the protection of the waves of the divine Ganga. Satrbhanja was also a follower of Saivism but in his earlier years he was a Vaishnava. In the two known records of Satrbhanja of Dhruvipura and Khinjali mandala, he is represented as a devout worshipper of Vishnu, while Satrbhanja of Kangalapada Plates is described as a devotee of the God Mahesvara. In the Kumurakela Charter of Satrbhanja the seal contains the legend 'Sri Satrbhanja devasya and over the name of the king is a half-moon which is a Saiva symbol. We also find the figure of a bull, Nandin, depicted. In the text the phrase paramamahesvara occurs as an appellation of the Rajas.



It is evident therefore that Siva was worshipped in both the forms viz. Mahadeva and Bhairava or Rudra, apart from the Linga (Phallus) worship. Mahadeva represents a god of mild disposition and the benevolent aspect of Siva Bhairava or Rudra manifest the ferocious aspect of the god. In the Baudh Copper Plates of Nettabhanja, Siva has been mentioned in his normal form - the matted hair of Sthanu (Siva) - the radiant front side of which shines deep brown splendour having the choice of upward flow from the eyes (of Siva) - which is brilliantly white with the rays of the crescent - which holds excellent blue appearance in some places, which is red with the gems having the radiance of ruby and sapphire and adorning the hood of serpent and which is as charming as the rainbow, on account of the holding of the different colours.

Another form of Siva-worship was Harihara - a composite image of Siva and Vishnu.

It is interesting to note that some of the Brahmin donees mentioned in the Bhanja grants "bear Saivite names viz., - Bhatta Rudrata °, Bhatta Mahakantha, Bhatta Siva Svami, Mahadeva etc., which indicate the existence of a Saivite tradition in Khinjali mandala region. These Saivite donees must have exercised a profound influence on the people of the donated villages to incline more and more towards Saivism.

Thus the inscriptions of the Bhanjas indicate that Saivism was a deep-rooted religion in Khinjali mandala* -Nevertheless, the religious spirit of the Bhanjas was Catholic in character. Eclectic in their view they adopted a policy of toleration to win the popular support of the diverse sects of Khinjali mandala for the stabilisation of their power and the integration of their kingdom.

Vaishnavism

The cult of neo-Vaishnavism came to Orissa towards the second half of the 19th century A.D. During the reign of the Bhanja kings Vaishnavism seems to have progressed. In spite of being staunch Saivites in their early phase, they had a leaning towards Vaishnavism. Satrbhanja and Ranabhanja • Call themselves devout worshippers of Vishnu (-par am aval shnava) in their charters. This describes Ttettabhanja as -paramavaishnava and the charter commences with an invocation to god Narayana.

Interestingly, the same Bhanja rulers were devotees of Siva and Vishnu simultaneously which paved the way for the process of synthesis of Saivism and Vaishnavism in Khinjali mandala. For example, Ranabhanja was a Par am am ahe svara in his earlier phase, but in the later part of his reign he was a Paravaishnava and again in op the last phase of his reign he was a Daramamahe svara.

In the Kuraurakela Charter of Satrbhanja it has been mentioned that land-grant was made on the day next following the yogdasi tithi of the month Kartika which is specially sacred because of Vishnu's turning over his side preparatory to his waking up. It has been stated that the gift was made after worshipping God Vishnu; on the seal, of the charter the 'Kalasha1 is



depicted which is associated with Vishnu. In the text the phrase parama-vaishnava occurs as an appellation of the Rajas, the imprecatory verses of Vishnu, describe him as Lakshmiapati.

It is interesting to note that in the later phase, some of the brahmin donees mentioned in the Bhanja grants bear Vaishnavite names, e.g. Bhatta Narayan, Bhatta Sridhara, Bhatta Visnusvarsi, Hiatta Narayari svami Bhatta Harisvami and Vasudevasvaniin, which once again indicates the existence of a Vaishnavite tradition in Khinjali mandala. These Vaishnavite donees might have exercised some influence on the people of the donated villages. Thus, the above epigraphical evidence reveal the leaning of the Bhanjas towards Vaishnavism, the co-existence of Saivism and Vaishnavism and their interrelation which ultimately led to their synthesis.

Sakti Cult

Stambhesvari (the goddess of the Post or Pillar) was one of the famous formless autochthonous deities widely worshipped during the period in Khinjali mandala. She was worshipped as a manifestation of Sakti in the form of wooden posts or pillars and also through stones.

It is also suggested that the representation of Stambhesvari was probably made out on a stambha (pillar) indicating a Siva-linga. She was originally an aboriginal Goddess worshipped by the non-Aryan tribes of hinterland Orissa. In course of time, she was like many other tribal deities driven a place in the Hindu Pantheon. She was adopted and worshipped by bearers of Brahmanic culture who settled. Subsequently, she was transformed ° The earliest amidst the tribes from a nomadic cult to Sakti cult. Reference to Stambhesvari is found in the Terasinga Copper plates of Tushtikara. Some scholars have linked it with Subhadra on the similarity of iconography and iconology to a certain extent. Gradually when the chiefs established small kingdoms of their o\ai they had to depend upon the sturdy tribals for the consolidation and the defence of their newly established kingdoms. Early medieval Orissa experienced a process of Hindu-Tribal God Vijaesara (Vijayesvara), evidently a Siva-linga. However, the document describes Ranabhanja as a devout worshipper of Vishnu, while the initial verses contain an invocation to Siva. The charter on the whole has Siva-stuti as well as Vishnu-stuti and it also mentions the name of Goddess Stambhesvari, which was tribal in origin and later on was encompassed within the Hindu pantheon.

The heads of Bhanjas are decorated with a conical tiara and trifoliate halo with Kirttimukha and heavenly-bodies in the top. It is further interesting to note that there is the representation of a Dhyani Buddha on the Kritti of the figure thereby indicating the impact of Buddhism on the Bhairava 7 cult In 10th century A.B.

In the Sonpur Plates of Ranabhanja, the name of God Stambhesvari, Lakshmi, Indra, Aditya, Soma, Agni, Brahma, Varuna etc., have been mentioned besides Siva. The Bhanja monarch, Ranabhanja constructed the twin temples of Vishnu and Siva side by side. Unfortunately the sculpture in the niche of the temples have become the victims of local vandalism. However, the significant image of Vishnu in the temple of Nilamadhava is an exquisite production of Vaishnavite art of the 9th century A.I/. The site is "at a distance of about 16 km from the modern town of Baudh. The temples are made of sandstone and



belong to the Sikhara type of the medieval period. The image of Vishnu with bejewelled and conical tiara and the representation of the heavenly bodies on the top figure indicates that it was produced in or about the 9th century A.D. When the temples were discovered in the early part of the 20th century A.D. many sculptures of the temples were intact but unfortunately, those sculptures do not exist there at present.

Within the compound of the modern Ramesvara temple at Baudh there stand three much older shrines known locally as Ehuvesvara, Svapnesvara and Paschima Sambhunatha. All the three are of an identical design and have the same features in respect of ground plan, elevation and decorative detail. It has a star-shaped plan with nagara style of architecture. In addition in Ghumsor region near the Kullada fort is the famous Sakti shrine, of a Goddess Vyaghra devi, the tutelary deity of the Bhanjas'.

Thus we find the existence of diverse sects in Orissa during the period of our study. However, the religious temper of the period was by no means sectarian, characterised by primordial attachments. Religious toleration was practised by various Bhanja rulers, who adopted different religious sects. Bhanja ruler Ranaka Ranabhanja though a paramamahesvara in his early life, started worshipping the Sakti deity Stanbhesvari which is of autochthonous origin. Similarly, rulers such as Silabhanja alias Tribhuvanakalasa were devout followers of Siva, but at the same time they worshipped the god Vishnu. The Bhanja king such as Satrbhanja and Cry Ranaka Ranabhanja were Paramahansa or devout followers of Vaishnavism, but they did not omit the customary verses in honour of Siva in their charters* We find members of the same royal family as votaries of different religious cults. Some Bhanja kings were Vaishnavas and others were Saivas. Satrbhanja and Ranaka Ranabhanja were vaishnavas, whereas Vidyadharabhanja and Natabhanja were Bhanja patronage, thus, was wide spread. Royalty could ill afford to be seen as sectarian.' The idiom and appearances were important for broad based popular endorsement of royal activity and the legitimation of authority. Personal religious belief and the attendant issue of are not discovered. However, the religious policy of a dynasty and royal patronage are not private but public affairs and have to be seen perhaps, as motivated and not entirely disinterested.

Thus, the Bhanjas in harmony with the sentiments of the age became eclectic in their outlook and contributed to the rise of the Hari-Hara cult, beautifully illustrated by the significant twin temples of Gandaradi.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The rise of the Bhanjas in Khinjali mandala seems to have ushered in an era of possibilities in the sub-region. The early historical background is anything but clear in this area., The scattered and fragmentary evidence do not allow the reconstruction of the contours of development in the area prior to the coming of the Bhanjas. The Bhanjas surface at the end of the eighth century A.D. and were in charge of the political destiny of Khinjali-mandala during the 9th-10th centuries.

The economic history of the period, in this sub-region is characterised by agrarian dynamism. The spread of rural settlements is indicated by donations in forest and jungle tracts and the increasing reference to settlements. The reference to. Khandas, Patakas, Pallis is an



indication of the spread of rural settlements. Evidence for various types of land suggest the growing concern with agriculture. We come across references to paddy (dhanya), mahua and mango orchards. The mention of the rivers in the context of defining the boundaries of the donated land, and the evidence for bandha, tanks, etc., are important because they suggest the sources of irrigation. The pre-occupation with the settlement boundaries as shown by the frequent references to stone slabs again indicates the spread of settlements.

Usually, one is led to believe that in early medieval times the king was the owner of the land, however, the land-sale charter of Narendradhavala suggests the possibility of private ownership in land as well. The brahmanas are usually seen as recipients of large donations and therefore as agents of feudalisation. However, in this case, they emerge as petty land-lords, mostly. In a region experiencing transition they may have to be seen more as the harbingers of socio-cultural change than any thing else. The introduction of a peasant economy, in an area is the basic pre-requisite for other developments.

The data on money crafts and exchange networks, though not very impressive, is sufficient to suggest that the need for manufactures, was most probably locally met. The list of commodities do not warrant any kind of favourable assumption about long distance trade. The paucity of actual metallic money and the unambiguous nature of the data in many cases relating to crafts leads one to conclude that the non-agrarian sector of the economy has to be viewed essentially in the rural context.

The coming of the brahmanas and the multiplication of their settlements had much to do with the internal transformation of society in Khinjali mandala. The brahmanas seems to have introduced brahmanic ways of life in the area and helped the growth of a social structure over which they presided. The brahmanas appear not only as beneficiaries of land-grants but held many high-ranking offices. They also appeared as astrologers. We get details of the gotra, pr'avara, etc., of the incoming brahmanas.'

Saivism and Vaishnavism received extensive patronage under the Bhanjas. Stambhesvari, the aboriginal goddess, along with other minor deities, was also worshipped during the period. Temples, as an institution, make their first appearance in the area during this period. The twin temples of Siva and Visnu, near the town of Baudh, are good examples of this. Religious patronage was wide-spread and not focussed on any particular sect, suggesting, perhaps, the socio-political compulsions of the state.

The conventional details about administrative divisions, the civil, military and judicial functionaries and the revenue terms, can be gathered from the numerous references in the epigraphic material. They give us some idea about the administrative divisions, hierarchy of officials, including the feudatories, and the possible sources of revenue of the state. What, however, is possibly more important is the images of kingship that we get, because it becomes difficult to reconcile the imago of an all powerful ruler in full command over every detail with the existence of numerous feudatories, who were staking claim to power, in the existing power structure. The fact that the Bhanjas appear to be semi-independent rulers with a band of feudatories below them, may explain the compelling need for such images.



Notes and References

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2. Cited in B.K. Ganguly, Historical Geography I Dynastic
3. History of Orissa, Cal, 1975, pp 159 and 169.
4. I.O., II, Pt. I, pp. 158, 183, 195, etc.
5. E.I., XI, p. 98.
6. Ibid, XX, p. 100.
7. O.H.R.J.1, I, No. 2, P. 7; E.I., XXVIII, p. 298.
8. J.B.O.R.S., II, pp. 367 ff.
9. OHRJ, XI, pp. 9-17 ff. '
10. Ibid, I, p. 178.
11. A.S.I., XXVIII, p. hh.
12. OIIRJ, I, p. 178.
13. S.I., XVIIH, no. 29, II, pp. 16-22.
14. s'.i., XXVIII, pp. M+-5o.
15. JBORS, XVI, p. 81.
16. JBORS, Vol. II, pp. ^-26-27.
17. Ibid., XVI, pp. 81-83; E.I., Vol. XXIX, pp. 85-96;
18. IHQ, XXI, p. 22.
19. Ibid., II, p. 1+23. '
20. J.I.H.,: XXXIX, .pt.,II, p. 303.
21. JT.B.O.R.S., II, p. 367.
22. O.H.R.J., XI, p. 9.
23. J.B.O.R.S., XVI, pp. 81-83; 3.1., XXIX, p. 85;



24. IHQ, XXI,' p. 221.
25. A.P. Sah, 1976, op. cit., pp. 533
26. Ibid., IX, pp. 275-277 ff.
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