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# UNIT-1: HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY: KALINGA, UTKAL, KOSALA

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## Structure

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Kalinga
- 1.3 Utkala
- 1.4 Kosala
- 1.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 1.6 Keywords
- 1.7 Answer to Check Your Progress Exercises

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## 1.0 OBJECTIVES

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After reading this unit you will be able to understand the origin and territorial extent of Kalinga, Utkala, and Kosala.

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## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

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One can develop a better understanding of the history of a particular region or country through the study of its Geography. Thus, scholars rightly stated that *Geography and Chronology are two eyes of all History*. Historical Geography means a geographical study of the history of changing territorial boundaries and administrative divisions on account of frequent political changes. It also relates to the study of the influences of geographical factors upon historical events. Though very limited in numbers some scholars have tried to highlight the importance of geography in historical studies through their works like Alexander Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, and B.C. Law's *Historical Geography of Ancient India*. Among other scholars who enriched the study of Historical Geography of India, mention may be made of D.C. Sircar, A. Bhattacharya, Mark Collins, S.B. Chaudhury, M.S. Pandey, P.K. Bhattacharya, and M.R. Singh. The Historical Geography of Odisha has been dealt with by N.K. Sahu, D.K. Ganguly and J.K. Sahu. As the History of Odisha is so vast, its Geography is also varied and the sources are interesting. Historical Geography of Odisha is based mostly on literary sources for the ancient period, on epigraphic



records for medieval times, and on archival materials for modern study. Some people today are confused while using the term Kalinga or Utkala for the entire Odisha. A detailed study of Historical Geography by scholars justifies the name of Odisha and shows that the claims for Kalinga or Utkala are unhistorical. J.K. Sahu in his book *Historical Geography of Odisha* has discussed in detail all the nomenclatures but in this unit, we will discuss only three names *i.e.* Kalinga, Utkala, and Kosala, along with their origin and territorial extend throughout the ages.

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## 1.2 KALINGA

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Originally, Kalinga was a small state in between the river Rishikulya and the Godavari. But its power was felt far and wide and its empire sometimes covered almost the whole of traditional Odisha. During 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE it was developed into a powerful empire that had challenged the mighty Magadha and also played an important role in the history of Odisha through ages. Many sacred, as well as secular texts of ancient India, have preserved valuable information about the Kalinga country and its people.

### Origin

There are different theories relating to the origin of Kalinga that are discussed below.

Literary sources like Vayu Purana and Harivamsa Purana (Jaina text) present an interesting account of the origin of the kingdom of Kalinga. It is mentioned in these texts that king Bali (a descendant of Pururavas Aila) was blessed with five sons. As king Bali was childless he requested his wife Sudeshna, who in union with rishi Dirghatamas give birth to these five sons named as Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Sumha. After Bali, his sons were ruled over his kingdom and the territories they obtained came to be known after their names. Thus, the region Kalinga was named after its King.

Secondly, the Kalingas as a people or a tribe is mentioned in early Buddhist, Jaina, and Brahmanical literature. The Buddhist chronicles like *Digha Nikaya*, *Mahavastu*, and several *Jatakas* are referred the Kalinga tribe and their capital city Dantapura. Similarly, the Jaina text *Jaina Upanga Prajnapana* groups the Kalingas into a class of the Eastern Aryans. However, the exclusion of Kalinga in the list of sixteen Mahajanapadas during the sixth century BCE may be mysterious. Apart from the above, Kalingas are also mentioned in different Puranas along with other contemporary people like Kalingas are mentioned along with the Vanavasikas, the Musikas, the Maharastras, the Kumaras, and the Mahisakas in *Matsya* and *Vāyu Puranas*. In the *Harivamsa* they are found to be associated with the Pundras. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purana* mentions the Kalingas along with the Kuntalas, Vidarbhas,

Abhiras, and Pulindas. In *Padma Purana* they are mentioned with the Bodhas, the Madras, the Kukuras and the Dasarnas and also with the Kiratas, the Drosakas, the Karabhañjakas, and the Tomaras.

The Kalingas are also found mentioned in Arthasastra of Kautilya, Astadhyayi of Panini, and also referred by the foreigners like Pliny and Ptolemy. Pliny particularly mentioned the Kalinga tribe and their capital at Parthalis. From all these references it reveals that the Kalingas were an ancient tribe having a well-developed society and an independent kingdom that was named after them.

According to *Baudhayana Dharmasutra*, the Kalingas were *mleccha* people (Non-Aryans) and considered as the non-Aryan class. Even the text states that whosoever will visit the Kalinga country has to perform Vedic rituals for purifications like *Sarvaprusti* sacrifice and *Vaisvanariya Isti*. However, in other ancient works like the *Mahabharata* and *Jaina Upanga Prajnapana*, the Kalingas were treated as Aryans. Probably, during the early days, only a section of the people of Kalinga was Aryanised and a majority of the populations remain tribal by faith, because of this in *Baudhayana Dharmasutra* the country was considered as *mleccha*.

### **The extent of Kalinga through the Ages**

The political boundary of Kalinga was changed with the rise and fall of different ruling dynasties. Initially, Kalinga was a small state in between the river Rishikulya and the Godavari. But its power was felt far and wide and its empire under Kharavela covered almost the whole of traditional Odisha.

Lomasa Rishi said to Yudhisthira in the Vana Parva (Tirtha-yatra section) of the Mahabharat by standing on the mouth of Ganges that “*This is the territory of the Kalingas where flows the river Vaitarani*”. This suggests that during the Mahabharat time river Ganges was the northern boundary of Kalinga. Even the work of Megasthenes also refers that the river Ganges was the northern boundary of Kalinga (*Gangaridum Calingarum Regia*). Pliny provides a better picture of Kalihga territory with three distinct divisions namely *Gangarides Calingae*, *Macco Calingae*, and *Calingae*, having only one capital at Parthalis. A critical study of four *Puranas* (*Matsya*, *Kurma*, *Vayu*, and *Skanda*) suggests that Kalinga was originally a country in Dakshina Patha and Amarkantak region was its western boundary. Based on the above sources we may conclude that Kalinga in its flourishing days extended from the Ganges in the north to the Godavari in the south and from the Bay of Bengal in the east to the Amarkantak hill in the west. But this boundary was not fixed and changed from time to time with the rise and fall of different ruling dynasties as discussed below.



Although, from the literary sources it is known that from the end of the Bharata war up to the foundation of the Nanda rule thirty-two Kshetriya kings were ruled over Kalinga no detailed account is available about their reign. The Hathigumpha inscription reveals that Kalinga was conquered by a Nanda king identified with Mahapadmananda of Magadha, who flourished in the middle of the fourth century BCE. The work of Meghasthenese and Pliny indicates that Kalinga had extended from the Ganges to the Godavari in 261 BCE when Ashoka conquered it. As per the scholars out of the three divisions of Pliny, during the Mauryan empire, *Gangarides Calingae* was directly ruled by Magadha whereas *Macco Calingae* and *Calingae* were controlled from provincial headquarters, Tosali and Samapa respectively. The history of Kalinga during Sunga period is not known from any sources but perhaps Kalinga was not so powerful to fight back against the military rule of Sungas. This indicates that Kalinga was subordinate to the Sungas and probably to the Kanvas also.

However, the mid-first century BCE was given a new life to the Kalinga people with the accession of the third Mahameghavahana ruler *Sri* Kharavela. Under his rule Kalinga kingdom was flourished to a new height and Kharavela had achieved a series of brilliant victories and spreading his influence from the North-Western part of India to the far South. But he did not annex any land of other countries and Kalinga under him was confined to its traditional boundaries from the Ganges to the Godavari. After Kharavela due to weak successors again the Kalinga kingdom was confined to the southern-Odisha and northern Andhra Pradesh, for the next 3-4 centuries nothing is known about its activities. Even in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, no such information has been given about Kalinga. It was during the rule of Umavarman (the second Mathara king) who first used the title *Kalingadhipati* in his Vrihatprostha Grant in the second half of the fourth century CE which was subsequently used by all his successors. After the decline of Matharas, Vasisthas occupied the Kalinga which was confined to the southern Odisha and northern Andhra Pradesh with the Godavari as its southern boundary, and they assumed the title *Kalingadhipati*.

The Ganga general of the Vakataka ruler Harisena, Indravarman became the in-charge of the Bastar-Koraput region and used the epithet *Trikalingadhipati*. But it was Hastivarman, the third ruler of Eastern Gangas who extended his territory up to Mount Mahendra and used the title *Kalingadhipati*. Due to internal disturbances for some time Gangas were divided into five branches and were fighting with each other.

But with the coming of Vajrahasta-V in 1038 CE, Kalinga was again united and its glory was retrieved. Vajrahasta-V conquered the Somavamsis and extended Kalinga as far as the Chilika. He also conquered the Bastar-Koraput region and assumed the title of *Trikalingadhipati*. Chodagangadeva was responsible for the establishment of an empire extending from the Ganges to the Godavari with his capital at Kalinganagari (Mukhalingam near Srikakulam). Kalinga, under the Suryavamsi Gajapati kings was



treated as a *Dandapata*, a fiscal division under a governor named *Pariksa* or *Danda Pariksa*. Since 1571, Kalinga Dandapata and Rajmahendri Sarkar had been merged with Golkonda under the Qutb Sahis. The glorious Kalinga empire was thus brought to an ignoble end.

A major part of ancient Kalinga is now included in the present Andhra Pradesh and a small part is left in the newly-formed Gajapati district of Odisha. Even the capital city Kalinganagara is now located on the bank of the Vamsadhara in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. Kalinga was, in fact, a south Indian power. It is, therefore, not surprising that some early Puranas like *Markandeya*, *Brahmanda*, and *Vamana* locate Kalinga in Dakshina-Patha (Southern India).

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### 1.3 UTKALA

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#### Origin

According to Puranic theory, Ila-Sudyumna, the eldest among the ten sons of Manu, had been cursed by Uma (the consort of Lord Siva), as a result of which he became a man and a woman alternately. As a female, she was Ila and became the mother of Pururavas Aila (the ancestor of king Bali) whereas as a male he was Sudyumna and became the father of three sons named Utkala, Vinitasva, and Gaya. Sudyumna divided his kingdom which he received from Manu among his sons, and the region ruled by prince Utkala became known after his name as Utkala.

On the other hand, scholars argued that the Puranic account about the origin of Utkala is based on myths and seems to have been fabricated to give an Aryan color to a tribal people known as the Utkalas who have been mentioned in several works of ancient Indian literature. In the epics *e.g.* the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, Utkala is referred along with Mekala, Kalinga, Andhra, Dasarna and others. Other Brahmanical literature like *Matsya*, *Vayu*, *Markandeya* and *Vamana Puranas*, Utkalas have been mentioned along with other indigenous groups. In the *Vayu*, *Matsya* and *Brahmanda Puranas*, the Utkalas are also described as a Vindhyan tribe, the people residing at the foot of the Vindhya (*Vindhya Prasthanivasinah*).

The Buddhist text *Khuddaka Nikaya* refers to the Utkalas along with the Mekalas. The Maha-Chattarisaka Sutta of the Majjhima Nikaya mentions Vassa and Bhanna as two tribes of the Ukkala People. The Lalitavistara and Mahavastu mentioned Utkala, the territory of the merchants Tapassu and Bhallika. In this process, S.M. Ali in his *Geography of the Puranas* grouped the Utkalas with those people who belonged to a fairly well-developed society and formed independent States. This indicates that the Utkalas was originally a non-Aryan tribe and their main profession was cultivation and had also trade relations with other parts of India.



## Extent of Utkala

Although, Utkala did not find a place in the list of sixteen great states during the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE Vinaya Pitaka and other Buddhist texts mention the two merchant brothers named Tapassu and Bhallika of Utkala who were gone to Majjhima-desa for trade. A critical analysis of ancient literature suggests that the Utkala Janapada included parts of modern Mayurbhañj, Keonjhar, and Sundargarh districts of Odisha, Ranchi, Gumla, and Singhbhüm of Jharkhand, Raigarh of Madhya Pradesh, and Purulia, Bankura and Midnapore of West Bengal.

While we find evidence regarding the existence of Utkala during six century BCE, no such literary references have been found for this country in a few subsequent centuries. It was only during the Gupta period that the expression *Sumhotkala* was used in *Matsya Purana*, indicating the alliance between Sumha and Utkala countries. Kalidas also referred Sumha, Vanga, and Utkala along with Kalinga respectively, in his *Raghuvamsa*. From his work, we can draw the inference that probably Sumha, Vanga, and Utkala were parts of Gupta Empire and located between Vanga and Kalinga. The text mentions that after the victory over Vanga, raja Raghu (Samudragupta) was crossed the river Kapisa and landed in Utkala, so the northern extent of Utkala during Gupta period was up to river Kapisa. On the other hand, the Matharas were ruling over Kalinga during this time and their empire was spread from Rishikulya in the north to the Krishna in the south. So, the extension of Utkala in Gupta Empire was from the river Kapisa in the north to the river Rishikulya in the south.

During Sasankadeva, Utkala's country became under his suzerainty and after his death annexed to the empire of Harsa. In the Adhabar copper plate charter Tivaradeva-Panduvamsi king was mentioned as the Lord of Kosala and Utkala by his son Nannaraja whereas Nannaraja speaks himself as the Lord of Kosala only. This suggests that during the time of Nannaraja perhaps Utkala was lost by him to the Bhaumakaras, who describe themselves as *Utkala-kula*, and merged the Utkala country with Tosali. When the Somavarmsis conquered Tosali in the middle of tenth century CE, they reorganized the newly occupied territory and named Uttar Tosali as Utkala whereas Dakshina Tosali was merged with Kongoda. With the growing power of Eastern Gangas Kongoda was lost by Somavamsis and they consolidated Utkala and Kosala country. Utkala was under the Somavarmsis till Karnradeva whereas in the meanwhile Kosala was lost to the Telugu-Chodas and the Kalacuris. The Somavamsis had struggled hard to maintain their power on Utkala but Chodagangadeva occupied Utkala sometimes before 1108 CE as mentioned in his Mukhalingam copper plate grant (dated 1030 *Saka Era*). After this Utkala became an integral part of the empire of the Imperial Gangas and subsequently of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis and lost its identity forever.

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## 1.4 KOSALA

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Kosala or more popularly known as South Kosala was a geographical unit that consisted of Raipur and Bilaspur districts of Chhattisgarh and erstwhile Sambalpur and Bolangir districts of Odisha in ancient times. However, initially, only Chhattisgarh has represented the region of South Kosala, and western parts of Odisha became added at a later date, probably 9<sup>th</sup> century or even in a later period (with the coming of the Somavamsis). Like Kalinga and Utkala no such Puranic theory has been given about Kosala and the earliest reference is found in the Parisistha of Atharvaveda. Moreover, the Epics and Puranas also throw light on the early history of Kosala kingdom. As per *Ramayana*, after Ram, his territory was divided between his two sons Lava and Kusha. While Lava ruled over North Kosala with Sravasti as his capital, Kusha got the southern part and established a new capital known as Kusavati or Kusasthalipura. Although the mention of *Uttara* Kosala is found in many early texts southern part was always called as the Kosala only. Kosala is also mentioned in the *Vana Parva* of the *Mahabharata*. In subsequent periods scholars for their suitability used the term Dakshina/South Kosala. Even in various Buddhist texts, we found the descriptions about Kosala. *Anguttara Nikaya* included Kosala among the sixteen great states. During Gupta rule, Samudragupta defeated Mahendra the ruler of Kosala in Dakshinapatha.

Inscriptional evidence recovered from the above-said regions known as South Kosala has mentioned the rulers in these inscriptions as lords of Kosala e.g. *Kosaladhisha*, *Kosaladhipati*, *Kosalanarendra*, etc. As per the Chinese traveler Xuanzang (Hiuen Tsang) during the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century the boundary of the Kosala kingdom was extended about 6,000 *li* in circuit (81,000 square miles in area). Since the early eighth century CE, Panduvamsis and subsequently their successors Somavamsis were ruled over South Kosala. However, to avoid the repeated war with the Kalachuris the Somavamsis in the mid-ninth century CE were bound to transfer their political headquarters to the eastern region and enter into the western part of Odisha. We find a number of place names as their capitals like Murasimakataka, Aramakataka, Vinitapura, Yayatinagara, etc. In the mid-eleventh century CE, the Somavamsi king Yajati-II merged both Kosala and Utkala, and set up two different capitals took after the administrative affairs e.g. Suvarnapura became the capital of Kosala and Yajatinagar in Jajpur as the capital of Utkala. In course of time when the Somavamsi power became weak sometime in the latter part of the eleventh century CE, Kosala was occupied by the Telugu Chodas, followed by Kalachuris and the Gangas respectively. At last, the Chauhans were ruled over the region initially from Patnagarh and subsequently from Sambalpur. They had their dominance over 18 states, out of which 10 are now in Odisha and 8 are in Chhattisgarh. Chauhans were considered the last ruling dynasty over South Kosala.



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## CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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1. Write a note on the territorial extent of Utkala.

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2. Discuss the origin of Kalinga.

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3. Give an account on the Kosala

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## 1.5 LET US SUM UP

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The study of the historical geography of ancient Odisha reveals that the present political boundary of Odisha was never a constraint. Odisha was identified by various names like Kalinga, Utkala, Kosala and also by some other names not discussed in this unit. To enhance our understanding on ancient Odisha, we must learn the changing geographical boundary with the rise and fall of different ruling dynasties.

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## 1.6 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

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### Check Your Progress

1. See Section 1.3
2. See Section 1.2
3. See Section 1.4

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## UNIT-2: KALINGA WAR (261 BCE) AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

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### Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Causes
- 2.3 Course of the War
- 2.4 Significance
- 2.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 2.6 Keywords
- 2.7 Answer to Check Your Progress Exercises

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## 2.0 OBJECTIVES

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After reading this unit you will be able to;

- understand various causes of the Kalinga war,
- discuss losses and casualties in the war, and
- know the significance of the war

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## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

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The war between Kalinga and Magadha, popularly known as the Kalinga War of 261 BCE is generally considered a crucial episode in the history of Odisha. This event is important because for the first time we found any written evidence about ancient India and also responsible for the change of the political order that prevailed during 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE. A detailed account of this war is found only in the Major Rock Edict XIII. This is not referred to either in the Ceylonese chronicles like the Mahavamsa and Dipavamsa or in the Buddhist Aardana literature such as the Diyaavadana, Asokaavadana. Kalinga threw off the yoke of the Magadhan imperialism after Nanda dynasty and was an independent country in the period of Chandragupta Maurya. Kalinga was conquered by Mahapadmananda in around 350 BCE and was under the control of Nandas till their decline. Even when Chandragupta Maurya established a

strong empire from Hindukush in the northwest to modern Mysore in the South, Kalinga remained outside of it. As Chandragupta Maurya was busy in consolidating his empire, he did not make any effort during his time to invade Kalinga. Subsequently, Bindusara also remained busy in controlling of revolts organised by his nobles and chiefs. On the other hand Kalinga was established its colonies in Burma and Phillipine Island and even spread its influence over the Islands of Southeast Asian countries. Therefore, when Magadha was struggling for its consolidation, Kalinga developed its strength as an overseas power. The elephantry of Kalinga was being considered by the Greeks as unconquerable and even Kautilya accepted the elephants of Kalinga as the best of their types in India. Hence, Kalinga became a prospective danger for the Magadhan empire and a war between them was unavoidable.

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## 2.2 CAUSES

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The main causes of the Kalinga war were both political and economic. Besides, the legend of Karuvaki is also accepted by some scholars as the immediate cause of the war.

### **Political and Military Cause**

The major cause for the conquest of Kalinga was its military prowess, economic prosperity, and its iron resources. The huge casualties of the war as described in the Rock Edict XIII with one hundred fifty thousand taken prisoners, hundred thousand slain, and as many number dead bear out the military strength of Kalinga and its highly populousness. The existence of an independent Kalinga state on the border of the Magadhan empire was against the concept of Cakavatti raja, an ideology that states of an unimpeded wheel of sovereignty. An independent Kalinga was politically a threat as well because a strong state, according to the mandala theory Kautilya's Arthasastra, was a natural enemy. H.C. Raychaudhuri mentions the evidence of Pliny, who based his work on Megasthenes' *Indica* that at the time of Chandragupta Kalinga was an independent kingdom with an army of 60,000-foot soldiers, 1,000 horsemen and 700 elephants indicating the military might. For such a strong country remaining independent on the border of his dominions could certainly not be a matter of indifference to any emperor. Asoka, therefore, felt the need of subjugating Kalinga.

From the time of the Bimbisara of Haryanka dynasty till Mahapadmananda, the Magadhan kings were pursuing the policy of expansion and conquest. However, Chandragupta Maurya and his son Bindusara Maurya were busy in internal consolidation and suppression of revolts organized by their nobles and provincial chiefs. In the meanwhile, Kalinga became prosperous and stronger which attracted the attention of Asoka after his coronation in 269 BCE. Although Kalinga was surrounded by the Magadhan empire from three sides it remained independent. The existence of

an independent powerful kingdom, which was strengthening its power day by day on the Magadhan border was a threat for the Mauryan Empire and again it was intolerable for an ambitious king like Asoka. Asoka had to wait for the next eight years after his coronation and prepared his military to start his expedition towards Kalinga to remove the potential danger. Finally, the war took place in 261 BCE on the bank of the river Daya.

### **Economic Cause**

Historians consider economic factors as responsible for the increase in the rivalry between Kalinga and Magadha. The overseas activities of Kalinga had increased manifold after it declared its independence from Magadha sometime in 321/320 BCE,. Moreover, Kalinga became rich and also improved its inland trade. Though the Mauryas had maintained relations with the Indo-Greeks of the time, no such evidence is available regarding their commercial relations. This suggests that the Mauryan naval power was not as developed as the Kalings. Thus, the Magadhan empire did not digest the economic prosperity of Kalinga. Besides, the overseas activities and Kalinga's relationship with the Southeast Asian countries, the inland trade was also improved whereas Magadha faced a severe crisis due to a lack of trade routes. The Kalinga kingdom with its flourishing trade and commerce became a tough competitor for the Mauryan empire in the economic sphere.

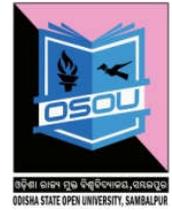
### **Nagas' attack on the jewels of Asoka**

As stated by Lama Taranath (a Tibetan monk who wrote the *History of Buddhism in India* in 1608), the serpents (*nagas*) of the Eastern seas, attacked and robbed the jewels of Asoka which forced the emperor to invade the Kalinga territory. The Avadana genre of the Buddhist text, namely, *Asokavadana* also refers to the stealing of Buddha's relics by the nagas of the eastern seas, Asoka's went to Ramagama to recover it. Romila Thapar states that Nagas of eastern seas were Kalinga rulers who were economically prosperous with the jewel being symbolic of the wealth of Kalinga. Seagoing Nagas was only a representation of the seagoing activities of Kalinga. The archaeological evidence such as monochrome glass beads suggests Kalinga's early trade connection with Southeast Asia

### **Legend of Karuvaki**

H.K. Mahtab in *History of Orissa* opines that the immediate cause of the Kalinga war was Asoka's love for Karuvaki, a girl of the fishing community of Kalinga and fiancée of Kalinga's crown prince. Mahatab says that this legend is prevalent among fisherfolks of Odisha. This appears meaningless in the absence of any sufficient evidence, the Queen's Edict of Asoka mentions the name of Karuvaki - the mother of

Tivara and probably the second queen of Asoka. Scholars propose the above story based on this edict.



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## 2.3 COURSE OF THE WAR

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Asoka's inscriptions have been found across the Indian subcontinent from Afghanistan to Karnataka but the event of Kalinga war is only mentioned in the Major Edict-XIII at selected places. At Jaugarh and Dhauri where Asoka's Major Rock Edicts are found, but the king deliberately deleted 11-13<sup>th</sup> rock edicts and inscribed in their place two separate Kalinga Edicts, known as Separate Rock Edict I and II, probable to avoid any rebellion and not to hurt the Kalinga people. MRE XIII provides a vivid account on the misery and losses on the side of Kalinga and does not mention anything about Magadha. As per the details given in the edict about one hundred thousand people lost their life in the war and one hundred fifty thousand were imprisoned, besides, many more died and suffered due to war.. On the other hand, Emperor Asoka was also greatly disturbed by the destruction and slaughter caused by the war and there was a change in his mind and he tried to build and rule over an empire not by force alone but by a policy of compassion, a spirit of service and welfare and evolving ethical principles of Dhamma.

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## 2.4 SIGNIFICANCE

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The Kalinga war was a significant event in the history of India and had far-reaching consequences as discussed below.

### **Annexation of Kalinga and Establishment of New Administration**

With the victory of Asoka in the war, Kalinga became an integral part of the Mauryan Empire. Tosali (Dhauri) and Samapa (Jaugada) were two provincial headquarters at Kalinga from where administrative activities had been controlled. From both at Dhauri and Jaugada Rock Edicts of Asoka has been found that give detailed accounts on the Mauryan administrative pattern prevailed at Kalinga. Asoka had established a benevolent and well-structured organization of administration in the newly occupied Province of Kalinga. He appointed different officers for looking after various departments like a prince of royal blood or *Kumara* as the viceroy, *Rajavachanika* – high executive officer, *Anta mahamatras* in charge of border Province, *Ithijaka mahamatras* in charge of the welfare of women, moral and spiritual benefits of the people were looked after by *Dharma mahamatras*. In addition, *Dharma mahamatras* had also the power to revise judicial punishments in favor of deserving cases. The other important officials were *Rajukas* (in charge of the Janapadas), *Pradesikas* (who were responsible for maintaining law and order), *Samhartr* (the chief Revenue Collector), *Vachabhumikas* (in charge of cattle farms and pasture lands), etc.



## **The shift of Asoka from *Dig Vijaya* to *Dhamma Vijaya***

The disastrous war between Magadha and Kalinga had severely affected Asoka, who gave up the mentality of territorial expansion and conquest. In search of peace, Asoka accepted Buddhism by Upagupta and did all his efforts for maintaining peace and prosperity in his empire. He had propagated the teachings of Lord Buddha through rock and pillar inscriptions. Asoka devoted all his life to the propagation of Dhamma and financed several missionary activities to far countries. He summoned the Third Buddhist Council at Pataliputra. Instead of conquering the land, he started the mission of conquering the heart of the people.

### **Spread of Buddhism**

After his conversion, Asoka started the mission of the spread of Buddhism to establish universal peace. He personally supervised the work and at the end of the Third Buddhist council and missionaries were dispatched to distance countries like Theras Sona and Uttara to Suvarnabhumi (Myanmar), Asoka's son Mahendra and subsequently his daughter Sanghamitra to Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Majjhantika to Kashmir and Gandhar, Majjhima to the Himalayan region, Mahadeva to Mahisamandala (Mysore), Mahadharmaraksita to Maharashtra and Maharaksita to Yavana country (North-west) for the spread of Buddhism. Therefore, within a very short time, Buddhism which was confined to the Gangetic plains only became a worldwide religion. According to Yuan-Chwang Asoka constructed 84000 stupas throughout his empire and put Buddha's corposal relic in them, eight of them were located in parts of ancient Odisha. This is also archaeologically corroborated from the evidence of stuap remains from Dhauli and Lalitagiri.

### **Development of Art, Architecture, and Literature**

One of the most important facets of the Kalinga War was the growth of art, architecture, and literature in the Indian sub-continent. The Asokan edicts and the construction of stupas have added a new chapter in the history of ancient India. The spread of Pali and Prakrit language with Brahmi script in major parts of India and Khorosthi script in north-western provinces were the outstanding contributions of Mauryan empire. Besides, the development of rock-cut and structural stupa architecture also began a fresh episode in the field of art and architecture.

### **CHECK YOUR PROGRESS**

1. Discuss the causes of the Kalinga war.

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2. Explain the significance of the Kalinga war.

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## 2.5 LET US SUM UP

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The Kalinga war was a turning point in the history of ancient Odisha. Although we can never get a satisfactory answer to understand the exact causes of the war but it has a far-reaching significance that brought about a significant shift in Asoka's policies. It created a strong desire in Asoka for setting up an ethical state. He played a great part in the spread of Buddhism, ushered in the development of socio-cultural and religious contact between India and other countries. Besides, India witnessed the emergence of stone art and architecture in the Mauryan period

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## 2.6 KEYWORDS

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**Dhamma** : Dharma.

**Elephantry** : An army troop who used elephants.

**Sramanas** : People who practiced an ascetic/strict and self-denying life style in pursuit of spiritual liberation.

**Stupa** : A form of Buddhist architecture.

**Rock-cut** : Structure created by excavating solid rock.

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## 2.7 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

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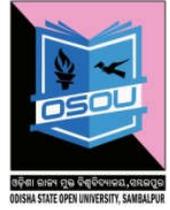
### Check Your Progress

4. See Section 2.2
5. See Section 2.4

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## UNIT-3: KHARAVELA- CAREER AND ACHIEVEMENTS

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### Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Early Career
- 3.3 Military Achievements
- 3.4 Administration
- 3.5 Public Work
- 3.6 Religious Activities
- 3.7 Date of Kharavela
- 3.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 3.9 Keywords
- 3.10 Answer to Check Your Progress Exercises

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### 3.0 OBJECTIVES

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After reading this unit you will be able to;

- explain the early career and military expeditions of Kharavela,
- know his administrative structure and various work for general people, and
- examine the various issues relating to his date.

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### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

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After the conquest of Kalinga and its incorporation into the Mauryan empire, the apparatus and institutions of the empire were established in the incorporated province of Kalinga. Tosali, identified with Dhauli, became the seat of provincial capital and Samapa, identified with Jauagarh, became a major administrative centre. The Mauryan Imperial system accelerated the material cultural developments in Kalinga. Indigenous political elites would have been incorporated into the Mauryan administrative apparatus. The archaeological evidence from different parts of Odisha, such as from

Sisupalgarh and Dhauli around Bhubaneswar, Jaugarh in Ganjam district, Radhanagar in Jajpur district, and Narla-Asurgarh in Kalahandi reveal fortification of sites and introduction of money economy and long-distance trade in Odisha in the Mauryan period. Organised religions such as Buddhism began to appear in the Bhubaneswar area, Lalitagiri, and Udayagiri in the Maurya and post-Mauryan period. In short, the Mauryan state system accelerated the development of the material cultures of various pre-state societies including in Odisha which like the Deccan under the Satavahanas, finally saw the emergence of the state system in the post-Mauryan period. The rise of the Mahameghavahanas under Kharavela of Kalinga signified this process of the secondary state formation in the Post Mauryan Kalinga. Kharavela's state borrowed some elements such as taxation, administrative, and welfare structure of the Mauryan state, used Brahmi script and Prakrit language, and continued to use Karshapana coin. But it also bore a stamp of its own with its welfare measures, aggressive policy of expansion, and its patronage of Jainism. However, historians still debate whether Kharavela's state was an inchoate or transitional or a matured state. Kharavela was one of the great personalities among the rulers of ancient India. Detailed information regarding his career, achievements from his boyhood up to the thirteenth year of his rule as *Maharaja* of Kalinga in perfect chronological order is described in the Hatigumpha cave at Udayagiri hill in Bhubaneswar in Odisha. This seventeen-line inscription is written in Brahmi script and Prakrit language. There are short inscriptions in the Khandgiri-Udayagiri complex, such as in the Jambesvara Gumpha and Bagha Gumpha which refer to a few officials and persons as well.



**Hatigumpha Inscription** (Source - Google)



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## 3.2 EARLY CAREER

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Kharavela is mentioned in the inscription as '*Airena Maharajena Mahameghavahanena Cheti-raja-vasa-vadhanena*'. Scholars have diverse of opinion on the expression of each part. 'Aira' is interpreted as 'Veera', 'Ayira' Arya, and Aila. Likewise, Mahameghavahana is considered to be the grandfather of Kharavela, the founder of the dynasty in Kalinga which came to be known as Mahameghavahana after his name. The Manchpuri cave inscription describes Kharavela's son as '*Maharaja-Kalingadhipati-Mahameghavahana-Kudepasiri*'. Similarly, another inscription at Guntupalli in West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh refers to '*Mahameghavahana-Kalinga-Mahisakadhipati-Siri-Sada*'. While earlier scholars like R.D. Banerji, K.P. Jayaswal, and others interpreted '*Cheti-raja-vasa-vadhanena*' as one who increases the glory of the Cedi dynasty, later on J.K. Sahu identified this expression of the inscription as Chetaraja, who was the father of Kharavela. Thus, Kharavela was the third ruler in the Mahameghavahana dynasty also known as Kalingarajavamsa. It is also mentioned in the inscription that Kharavela as a young prince was physically attractive and had various propitious signs on his body signifying that he was predestined to be great and famous in his future life. It is important to note here that both the Jaina and Buddhist sources refer to 32 physical auspicious markers on the body of great people. Kharavela's life and achievements are known solely from the Hatigumpha inscription but archaeological evidence indirectly corroborate the text of the Hatigumpha inscription and imagery of royalty as carved in the Ranigumpha and Manchapuri gumphas in the Udayagiri-Khandagiri complex. Kharavela's Hatigumpha inscription is the first epigraphic reference to the term Bharavarsha with which India was and is known. Synchronism method (of the names and places mentioned in the Hatigumpha inscription) has been used to arrive at the date of Kharavela.

During his childhood, Kharavela played various games and at the same time received education in different disciplines like royal correspondence (*lekha*), coinage (*rupa*), accountancy (*ganana*), civil law (*vyavahara*) and religious law (*vidhi*). Unfortunately, at the age of fifteen, his father passed away and as Kharavela was a minor at that time he controlled the thread of the Government as the Crown prince (Yuvaraja) and ruled over Kalinga for nine years. At the age of 24, his coronation ceremony was performed, and he became the king in the Meghavahana royal dynasty of Kalinga in its third generation.

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## 3.3 MILITARY ACHIEVEMENTS

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As per the Hathigumpha inscription, Kharavela had a powerful army that included cavalry, elephantry, infantry and chariots. From the very beginning, he cherished an

insatiable ambition of conquest and expansion. So after the coronation, he immediately devoted his attention to strengthening the defence of his capital city Kalinganagari whose fortification was damaged by the storm. The gates, towers, and ramparts were repaired and made strong. He also erected the embankments of the Khibirarishi lake, beautified the city with the restoration of cisterns, tanks, and gardens at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousand 350000 karshapanas (silver coin). After a flurry of defensive and welfare activities in his capital in the very first year of his reign, which entailed huge expenditure, Kharavela started his career of conquest from his second regnal year. Both expansions, as well as plunder, may have prompted him to undertake the military expedition. During the time of King Kharavela, the political scenario of the Indian subcontinent was dominated by several existing as well as newly emerged ruling dynasties e.g., Satavahanas in the Deccan, Neo-Mitra dynasty in Magadha, Tamil confederacy in the south, and the *Yavanas* (Indo-Greeks) in the north-west. In those circumstances, the ambitious king Kharavela could not remain indifferent and made all-out efforts for the expansion of Kalinga.

Both the Meghavahanas and Satavahanas appeared almost simultaneously in the political vista of the early historical period, and both tried to extend domination over the Deccan region, and a clash between them became unavoidable. Keeping in view the circumstances, Kharavela started his first military campaign towards the Satavahanas of Maharashtra in his second regnal year. He despatched his huge army to the west, which marched up to the river Krishna (*Kanhaverna*) and ruined the city of Musika (identified with Nalgonda in Telengana where river Musa meets Krishna), which was under the suzerainty of the Satavahanas. Although, the consequence of this operation is not known and it suggests that the campaign could not settle on anything as there was no direct encounter between Kharavela and Satakarni.

After the gap of one year again in his fourth regnal year, Kharavela directed another invasion against the Satavahanas. Probably, in the meanwhile Satakarni-I had breathed his last, leaving his two minor sons and his queen Nayanika, who had assumed the reins of administration as the regent. Kharavela had aided the resources of the invincible Vidyadhar territory with him and marched headlong to the West. This time Kharavela entered into the heartland of the Satavahana territory and crushed the Rathikas and the Bhojakas who were protecting as feudatories the regions lying to the south and north respectively of the capital of the Satavahana kingdom, Nasik. The result of this victory had made Kharavela invincible and his influence spread over Deccan from sea to sea (the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea).

In his 8<sup>th</sup> regnal year Kharavela directed his next military expedition against Magadha – the traditional enemy of Kalinga. While marching towards the north his army demolished the fort of Gorathagiri, one of the hill fortresses guarding Rajagriha, and put the city in great trouble. At the same time, a *Yavana* king (Dimita – may be

identified as Indo-Greek ruler Demetrius) after taking possession of Mathura was proceeding towards Pataliputra. Thus, Magadha was facing a grave danger, being invaded on two sides by two powerful forces. However, ensuing events took a different turn, and Magadha was saved from the danger of invasion. The information of the accomplishment of Kharavela at Gorathagiri scared the *Yavana* king who immediately returned to Mathura. This activity diverted the attention of Kharavela who followed him and forced him to leave Mathura which was a famous centre of Jainism. As a memory, Kharavela brought from Mathura a Kalpa tree in a ceremonial military procession to Kalinga.

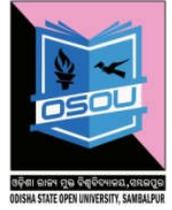
Kharavela led the second invasion to North India in his tenth regnal year and returned with rich booties.

For the first time, in the eleventh regnal year, Kharavela turned his attention to the Southern Indian states. He secured the jewels and precious stones of the retreating enemies and destroyed the Pithunda (to be identified with Macchalipattinam) which was the capital of Ava countries.. He crushed the Tamil confederacy. The details of the Tamil confederacy were not mentioned but most likely, it consisted of chieftaincies of Pandya, Chola and Cheras. As a consequence of this victory the Pandya king, the head of the confederacy surrendered before Kharavela. The latter brought with him riches of the Tamil confederacy to Kalinganagari.

In the 12<sup>th</sup> regnal year, he marched towards North India for the third time. This year he advanced with a vast army as far as *Uttarapatha* (North India) where he forced several chiefs to submission. On his return from *Uttarapatha* he planned to attack Magadha and encamped on the banks of the river Ganges near Pataliputra. The people of Magadha were scared at the sight of his elephants and horses near the Magadhan palace of Sugamgiya. Therefore, the king of Magadha Bahasatimita (can be identified with Brhaspatimitra who belonged to one of the six lineages of the Sungas) was forced to surrender at his feet. This event was considered as a revenge by Kharavela for the humiliation Kalinga faced earlier under the Nandas and Mauryas. Kharavela also brought back the image of Kalinga-Jina which was taken away by Mahapadmananda from Kalinga in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The installation of Kalinga-Jina was considered very glorious from the standpoint of religious and military prestige.

Hence, within a brief period, Kharavela had achieved a series of brilliant victories and spreading his influence from the North-Western part of India to the far South. A detailed analysis of all the military achievements has revealed that Kharavela did not aim at building a large political empire of Kalinga by annexing defeated territories on the other hand probably his main ambition was to heighten the prestige of Kalinga by defeating the rising powers of his time. His political and military performances are

exceptional in history and this great monarch fully justifies the epithet of Chakravarti, as given to him in the inscription of his queen.



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### 3.4 ADMINISTRATION

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No detailed account of the administration of Kalinga under Kharavela was given in the Hathigumpha inscription. However, as reflected from other information it may be inferred that the organization of government by Kharavela to some extent followed the pattern laid by Ashoka in Kalinga. The work and achievements as mentioned in the inscription required the services of a large number of officers for controlling different departments. Thus, Kharavela modeled his administration on the model of Mauryan bureaucracy as given below.

<b>Mahamada</b>	Chief Minister
<b>Nagara Akhadamasa</b>	City Judicial officer stationed in Kalinganagiri
<b>Mahasenani</b>	Commander-in-chief
<b>Pratihara</b>	Chamberlain
<b>Senanayaka</b>	Head of the security guards in the capital
<b>Dandapasika</b>	Chief Police Officer
<b>Bhandagarika</b>	Treasurer
<b>Padavithidapalika</b>	Officer regulating markets
<b>Saugandhika</b>	Officer for perfumery
<b>Gomanadalika</b>	Superintendent of Cattle
<b>Mahanasika</b>	Superintendent of royal kitchen
<b>Padamulika</b>	Royal Attendant
<b>Lehaharaka</b>	Postal Officer
<b>Dhavaka</b>	Letter carrier
<b>Kulputrakas</b>	Nobles of blood royal
<b>Samahatri</b>	Chief Revenue Collector
<b>Sannidhatri</b>	Revenue officer

Lipikara	Engraver
Gramika	Village headman




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### 3.5 PUBLIC WORK

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The importance of Kharavela was not only for his military operations and well-organized administration but also for his various public works in the interest of the state. He undertook various constructive works and arranged entertainment to please and amuse the people. In the very first reign year, he strengthened and beautified the capital Kalinganagari not only by repairing the gates, towers and ramparts which had been previously damaged by the storm but also by constructing embankments for cool tanks and laying out gardens and parks at the cost of thirty-five hundred thousand (35,00,000).

In his third reign year Kharavela organised various performances of dance and music which to a great extent pleased the people. The inscription reveals that Kharavela was proficient in fine arts. It also enlightens us that Kharavela revived the *Tauryataika* (performance of dance and music with its sixty-four branches) which had been suspended in Kalinga from the time of the Mauryas. All these artistic activities imparted a grandiose look to the capital city.

The fifth reign year is noteworthy for an imperative developmental work undertaken by the ruler. A canal (*tanasuliyavata*) that had been excavated for irrigation work about three hundred years before by king Mahapadmananda was renovated that year and was extended up to Kalinganagari to provide the need for irrigation and transportation as well as to serve as the moat of its fortifications. He remitted and exempted taxes and gave relief to citizens

In the sixth year, Kharavela made a public display of royal wealth that had been accumulated by conquering the enemies and he remitted several taxes imposed on the people. The next year (seventh year) his chief queen of Vajiraghara gave birth to a child (boy) and attained motherhood.

In the ninth reign year he constructed the Great victory palace (mahavijayaprasada in Kalinganagari at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousand (3800000) to celebrate his achievements in the first North Indian expedition (8<sup>th</sup> reign year).

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### 3.6 RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

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Unlike Ashoka, Kharavela was a Jaina. As mentioned in the first line of the Hathigumpha inscription, he has paid high homage to the Arhats of the Digambara

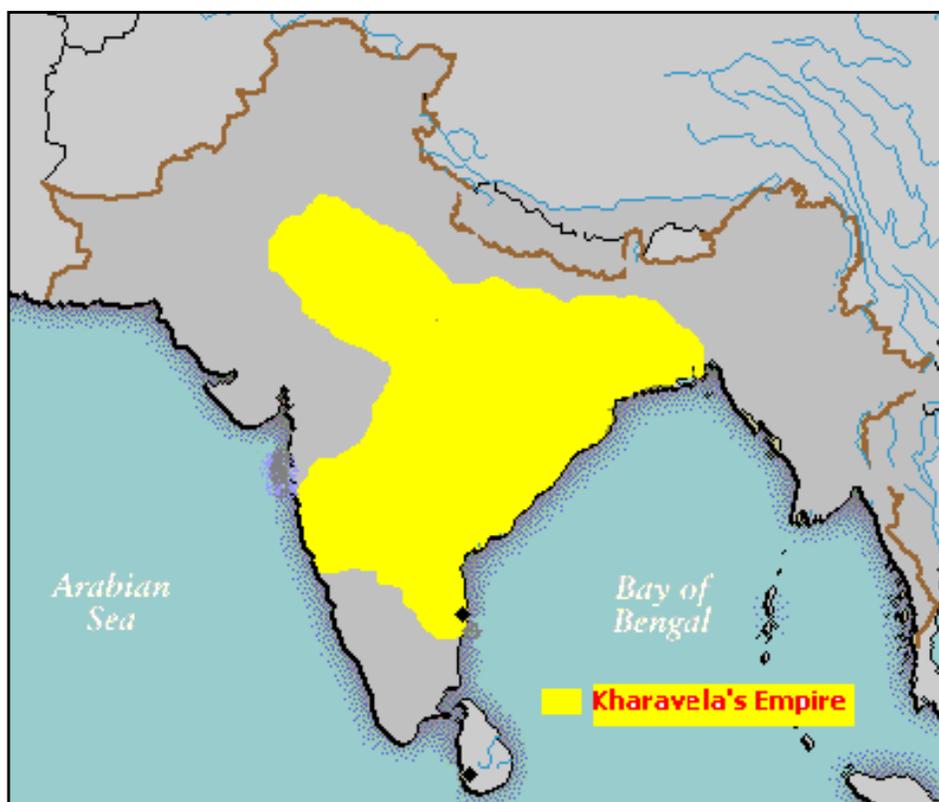
sect and the Siddha of the Svetambara sect revealed his religious faith in Jainism. The popularity of Jainism during his patronage had reached its zenith not only in Kalinga but also in other parts of the Indian sub-continent. A careful analysis of his military campaigns revealed the fact that his expeditions were most often associated with religious enthusiasm for enhancing the glory of Jainism.

In his eighth regnal year during his first expedition towards North India, he liberated Mathura-a holy centre of the Jainism, from the *Yavanas* and brought from there a Kalpa tree in a ceremonious military procession to Kalinga. In the tenth year he pursued a policy of *digvijaya* (conquest in all direction) against the kings of Bharatavarsha and brought about the conquest of many lands.

In his twelfth regnal year he defeated the king of Anga and Magadha and brought back the image of Kalinga-Jina which was carried away by Mahapadmananda.

Kharavela excavated several caves for the Jaina monks in the Kumari hills. The members of the royal family as well as officials and nobles followed the footsteps of the monarch and also excavated caves for the Jainas. Many of the caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri in Bhubaneswar is ascribed to the time of Kharavela. Among them the caves of the chief queen of Kharavela and those of Kudepasi and Vadukha are prominent. Although a Jaina, Kharavela was liberal and tolerant towards all religions. He declared himself as the worshipper of all religious orders and as the repairer of all religious shrines. Being persuaded by the queen of Simhapatha (another queen of Kharavela along with Vajiragara), he built a magnificent rest house for the *Sramanas* and *Yatis* (Jaina saints), *Tapasas* and *rishis* (Brahmanical sages) and *Samghayanas* (Buddhists), who used to visit Kumari hill from different parts of India. He donated Chinese silk (china-vatani) and white clothes to the Jaina monks. Realising the relation between life and body, he convened a religious assembly of monks from all directions to discuss religious matters on the top of Kumari hill where there was a relic hall. This hall can be identified with the apsidal structure on the top of the Udayagiri hill excavated by 'teh' Archaeological Survey of India. The compilation (*upadayati*) of the Jaina sacred texts, seven Angas in this assembly learned Jainas from all over India was the crowning outcome of this conference in the 13<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Kharavela.

We know about his activities up to his thirteenth regnal year after which nothing is known about him. However, the Rani gumpha in the Udayagiri complex contains imagery of royalties with his pomp and glory which accompanied the victory celebration in the Kalinganagari, the capital of Kharavela.



Extent of Kharavela's Empire (Source - Google)

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### 3.7 DATE OF KHARAVELA

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As the Hathigumpha inscription is undated and damaged at some places, scholars have faced problems while examining the date of Kharavela. Although the Hathigumpha inscription provides a few suggestive evidences regarding the date of king Kharavela, misinterpretation of this evidence has given rise to confusion and controversies.

1. As per the scholars like D.C. Sircar, N.N. Ghosh, H.C. Raychoudhury, N.K. Sahu and others, the script and language of the Hathigumpha inscription are dated to the post Sunga period on orthographic and palaeographic ground, *i.e.*, later than the second century BCE.
2. The Hathigumpha inscription refers to a historical personality named-Satakarni, who was a king of the Satavahana dynasty. The 4<sup>th</sup> line states that Kharavela in the second year of his reign sent a large army to the west without caring for Satakarni. Evidently, Satakarni was the third ruler of the Satavahana dynasty and was ruled for ten years during the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.
3. In lines, 6<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> of the inscription the scholar found the references to a Nandaraja-who most probably identified with Mahapadmananda (ruled from 362 BCE to 334 BCE) of the Nanda dynasty. In his fifth regnal year, Kharavela



extended a canal up to Kalinganagari which was originally excavated by a Nandaraja before three hundred years (*Ti-vasa-sata*), and made it flow to his capital. If the canal was constructed during the ending years of Mahapadmananda, about 336 BCE and if the phrase *Ti-vasa-sata* be interpreted as 300 years then the fifth ruling year of Kharavela dated to 35 BCE. However, the term three hundred have been used as a round figure and only suggests that Kharavela was flourished in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Few other scholars have interpreted *Ti-vasa-sata* as 103 years. But it cannot be considered as correct because after 103 years of Mahapadmananda, Mauryas were ruling over Kalinga and the rise of a powerful ruler like Kharavela in that period appears incompatible.

4. Although, scholars were not unanimously agreed on the identification of Bahastimitra of Magadha but N.K. Sahu and D.C. Sircar hold the view that Bahasatimitra whom Kharavela claims to have defeated can no other than the king Bahasatimitra of the Pabhosa and Mora inscriptions and also of the Kausambi and Ahichhatra coins. The king has been ascribed by them to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

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### CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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1. Discuss the early career of Kharavela in the light of the Hathigumpha inscription.

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2. Write a note on Military achievements of Kharavela.

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3. Determine the date of Kharavela.

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### 3.8 LET US SUM UP

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Hathigumpha inscription reveals the personality of Kharavela as a brilliant conqueror. As a military genius, he stands unique by spreading the sphere of his political influence from the northwestern part of India to the far south. However, he was not an imperialist and his military campaigns were mostly based on the principle of *Dharma vijaya* which aims not to annex the conquered territories. Kharavela was not only a great conqueror but also a benevolent ruler: Here it may be pointed out that Ashoka being a conqueror had to follow the appeasement in Kalinga. But Kharavela was the ruler of the people and his policy was not to appease but to please the people which he achieved with enormous success. Kharavela was a great patron of religion and his period is a golden age for Jainism. Instead of his devotion to Jainism, he was not an extremist and he was broad in outlook. He was also an earnest lover of music and fine art and spent huge sums for the merrymaking of the people. He was a great builder too. He built the great victory place and many temples and caves. Those glorious achievements have earned Kharavela a great name and fame among the rulers of ancient India.

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### 3.9 KEYWORDS

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**Kanhvena:** River Krishna

**Uttarapatha:** Ancient route of North India

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### 3.10 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

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#### Check Your Progress

6. See Section 3.2
7. See Section 3.3
8. See Section 3.7

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#### SUGGESTED READING

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