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Dedicated
to
the memory of
the late Maharaja Brothers
Purna Chandra Bhanja Deo & Pratap Chandra Bhanja Deo
of Mayurbhanj State,
who established the Archaeological Department
and
Patronised Historical Research
not only in Mayurbhanj, but also in whole Orissa
of ancient, medieval and modern periods
based on authentic and scientific materials
through
the humble activities of the Author
of this volume.
Padmasri Paramananda Acharya

Born in Baidyapur village of the then Mayurbhanj State, Orissa. Sri P. Acharya graduated from Calcutta University in 1923 and joined the State Services as Archaeologist in 1924. As a school-boy he was familiar with the original historical traditions of the Bhanja Dynasty which was fruitfully utilised by him in his later professional life. As a college student he worked with Mr. V. J. Menon, a Dutch scholar and later associated himself with famous Archaeologists like Rai Bahadur R. Chanda and Mr. R. D. Banerjee.
He pursued his studies on archives and archaeology in England in 1934. In 1935 he was appointed as the Corresponding member of Indian Historical Records Commission by the Government of India. After the merger of the State with Orissa Sri Acharya held the post of Superintendent of Archaeology, Museum and Research, Government of Orissa and was the Chief Editor of Orissa Historical Research Journal up to his retirement in 1954.

A pioneer in the domain of archaeological research in Orissa, his studies ranged from exploration and excavation works to epigraphy, numismatics, architectural art and sculptures, iconography etc. He is the first to discover pre-historic sites in Orissa. The reconstruction and conservation of the Khiching temples reveal his archaeological acumen. His discoveries in this field are too many to be cited. So also is the case with his research publications and this book contains only a few of them. The President of India conferred on him Padmasri in 1964. He still continues his research activities inspite of his advance age.

Anant Misra
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Preface

I have devoted my life to the study of Orissan Archeology, History and Archives both in the field and in literature. My memory takes me back to the period of my boyhood when I was interested in collecting Chaṭakaṇḍapāṇḍa in my birth place at Baidyapur. I did not know why I read with care the history of Mayurbhanj when I was a lower primary student. I practically got the whole book in to my memory including the genealogical table of 44 generations of the rulers of Mayurbhanj.

When I was a student of third class (now class IX) of the Baripada High English School in 1912, I happened to see a copy of the Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj by Prāchya vidyāmahārāva Nagendranath Vasu, who was the honorary Archeologist of the Mayurbhanj State. My first paper on the fall of Hariharpur (now Haripur), the old capital of Mayurbhanj, written in Oriya was published in Utkal Sahitya in 1913. In 1912 I read the text of copper plates of the Bhanja kings issued from Khiebing which were published in the Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj and tried to find out the names of rulers mentioned there in the genealogical accounts of the Mayurbhanj State, but I was disappointed not to find even a single name.

From my childhood we learnt the story that the first Bhanja king of Mayurbhanj was born from the egg of a peahen (Mayurāṅgodbhava) and this egg-born child was taken of care by the sage Vasīṣṭha (Vaśiṣṭhamuni pratipālita). I also learnt these terms from the text of horoscopes of children which were cast by my father, late Chhakadi Acharya. I can not say what prompted me in those days to know all these stories but I was curious that the Virudhas written in the horoscopes had maintained the age-old tradition of the Virudha found in the copper plate grants. Somehow I doubted that the tradition of Rajput origin of the Bhanja Rulers was a later creation in the 19th century but I could not discover materials in support of my theory. So I left the matter there as it was beyond my capacity to go further in those days.
In 1928, when I was in the M. Sc. Class in Botany of the Calcutta University I asked one day Pandit Tarakeswara Gangooly as to how Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda had reconciled the copper plates tradition with that of Rajput origin. He talked with Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda about the point and Mr. Chanda asked him to tell me if I could produce evidence prior to 1871 when the Bhanja copper plates of Khiching were first published, and then he would consider my question. It was not very difficult for me to collect horoscopes prior to 1871 and I showed him two, such horoscopes dated before 1850. Upon this evidence he rejected the tradition of Rajput origin of the Bhanja rulers of Mayurbhanj and accepted my views to the effect that the Bhanja Rajas of Mayurbhanj are the descendants of the ancient Bhanja kings of Khiching according to the text of the copper plates. Raj Bahadur R. Chanda's first report on Khiching was published in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1922-23. The hobby of my childhood thus helped me in the building of my career and although I was a graduate in Science, I was selected by him as his assistant for the Archaeological works of Mayurbhanj. I worked with him at Khiching in the winter months of 1923 as his Assistant. One day at Khiching, I happened to see the photograph of a Chaapakapathara in a paper published by Mr. Chanda and on enquiry I learnt from him that it was a Stone age implement called Neolithic. He had written a paper on a piece of Neolithic of the Indian Museum which was claimed by a scholar to contain an inscription of the period. Mr. Chanda refuted this claim and held that the so-called inscription was nothing but the Persian numerals of the number in the Register of the Indian Museum which was cut on this piece by the Marker! I spoke to him that such stone implements called Chaapakapathara were abundant in my village. On my return from Khiching, I collected and presented a number of Neolithic implements to the Indian Museum which are mentioned in the Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1924-25. After this, many Neolithic sites in Mayurbhanj were discovered. In 1940 the first discovery of the Palaeolithic site at Kuliana was made by me with an American scholar. I think, I am the first discoverer of pre-historic sites not only in Mayurbhanj but also in Orissa. As a result, Mayurbhanj area has been declared now as a 'best site for pre-historic antiquities.'

From 1st April 1924, I joined the service of the Mayurbhanj State Government and good many of the papers published in this book
were written when I was in the service there up to 31-12-1948. From the above, it would appear that I was destined to be an Archaeologist.

After my appointment, I had to work in the field at Khiching and at the Bengal Secretariat Record room under the direction of Rai Bahadur Chanda, but all other activities of mine were left to my initiative. My first duty was to search historical palm leaf manuscripts and Sanands granted by previous rulers of Mayurbhanj to prove the authenticity of the genealogical table which was published in the Annual Administrative Report of Mayurbhanj for the year 1894-95. I discovered a palm leaf manuscript of “Rasalahari” an Oriya Kavya by Maharaja Raghunath, Bhanja, at the end of which the poet named his four predecessors namely Krishna Bhanja, Trivikram Bhanja Sarvesvara Bhanja, Viravikramaditya Bhanja. I at once noticed that the names of Krishna Bhanja and Trivikrama Bhanja were not there in the published genealogical list. Here I got a proof to show that the genealogical table which omitted the names of Kings of the copper plates was of doubtful origin. Further research helped me to discover the original paper sanads granted by Maharajas Krishna Bhanja and Trivikrama Bhanja which conclusively proved my point. Rasika Mangala, a biography of Rasikananda also gave the name of Maharaja Krishna Bhanja. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar published a paper in the Vol: 11 of the Journal of the B & Q Research Society, 1916, dealing with the History of Orissa in the 17th century and in this paper there is a reference that Khan-i-Duran killed Raja Krishna Bhanja in 1660. Subsequently, I found from a Dutch Record that Krishna Bhanja was murdered by the Governor of Orissa (Khan-i-Duran). Apart from the Sanad, the authenticity of Maharaja Trivikram Bhanja was found in a reference in Sirehnam Master’s Diary in the account of Trade at Balasore. From all these independent evidences, I had to reject totally the genealogical table of the Bhanja Rulers, which was published in 1894. At this time I collected a palm leaf manuscript called ‘Bhanja Vamsa Malika or ‘Bhanja Vamsanucharita’ which gave a list of rulers in which the names of Krishna Bhanja and Trivikrama Bhanja were included. As Vamsanucharita did not give the names of the rulers earlier to the 16th century A.D., I came to the conclusion that the names of Rulers of the copper plate grants were forgotten at the time of compilation of ‘Vamsanucharita’. While searching records I discovered a petition (arji) in 1926. (Mr. R. Hunter, Commissioner of the Cuttack Division to Mr. J. Momason. Acting Secretary to Government, Balasore, 5th January, 1833.)
written by Maharaja Jadunath Bhanja in 1832; This letter written in Kaithi is preserved in the Baripada Museum, Letter No. 4400 of the Book entitled 'Selections from Official Letters and Records relating to the History of Mayurbhanj', published by Mayurbhanj state in 1943 gives a summary of this Kaithi document in English and records 250 generations of the rulers of Mayurbhanj. The script of the document is Kaithi but its language is Persian. It records that the Bhanja dynasty is very old having 250 generations but the names of the early rulers are omitted. Jadunath Bhanja gave the list of rulers from the time of Jagannatha Bhanja up to his time.

These Virudas are also found in Upendra Bhanja's Lavangavat as follows:—

“‘वे बंदे हत्तु दुर्गों देशी । बरहि कौरस समभि ॥
विशिष्ठ बशिष्ठ पालका । श्रीमाने दृष्ट राजटीका ॥’

This list is corroborated by that of the 'Vamsanucharita'. From the Panda family of Jajpur, I procured a list of rulers, who visited Jajpur before 1800 A.D. and this list of rulers is corroborated by Jadunath Bhanja's petition and 'Vamsanucharita.' Apart from the list it gives the Virudas of the Bhanja Rulers of Mayurbhanj in which 'Mayurandodbhava' and 'Vasistha-muni-Pratipalita' are also recorded. In this way the real History of Bhanja rulers came to light by my research.

The subsequent research on the Bhanja dynasty pushed back the date of Bhanja Kings to the 5th century A.D. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar records that the Bhanja Dynasty is a single dynasty which has survived for a period of 1500 years in Vol. IV of 'The History and Culture of the Indian People' published in the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series in Bombay. A stone inscription has been recently found at Asanpat in the Keonjhar District, which was studied by Sri Satyanarayan Rajguru, who thinks that its date is the 3rd. or the 4th. century A. D.

In the copper plates issued from Khiching the King was described as one whose sins were destroyed by the worship of the feet of Hara. ‘हृर्वरारागनलिखित पाप: ’।

This epithet indicates an image of Hara. While working in 1923, I restored at Khiching a big image of Hara after joining many broken parts and also the images of Nataraja and Mahishamardini.
In the 'Records' section I have dealt with the Sanada of Krishna Bhanja and Trivikrama Bhanja under captions 'A Sanada of Raja Krishna Bhanja of Mayurbhanj' and 'Mayurbhanja and the European Factories at Pipili and Balasore.'

My next important contribution to the History of Orissa is the identification of Chandrika Devi, the real builder of the Ananta Vasudeva Temple at Bhubaneswar, in 1278 A.D. She was the daughter of the famous Gaṅga King Anaṅgabhima Deva. My paper on this subject will be found in the "Epigraphy" section entitled "The commemorative inscription of the Ananta-Vasudeva Temple of Bhubaneswar." Up to 1939, all scholars believed that the Ananta Vasudeva temple was built by Bhavadeva Bhatta, the minister of Harivarmadeva, King of Bengal, due to wrong fixation of the inscription-slab of Bhavadeva Bhatta sent by the Asiatic Society of Bengal to Bhubaneswar in 1838 by mistake. This inscription slab was first found some time in 1795 A.D. in Dacca and subsequently, brought to the museum of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta and finally despatched to Bhubaneswar by wrong identification in 1838.

My most important contribution to the History of Orissa is the identification of Adinagara with Yayatinagara, 'the capital of the Somakuli Kings of Orissa. This identification gave clue to the date of Indraratha, the Somakuli King of Yayatinagara, who was defeated by Rajendra Chola during his march to Bengal in 1023–25 A.D. By this discovery, the date of the Somakuli kings of Orissa was easily ascertained and the chronology of the Somakuli kings was satisfactorily settled. My paper on this subject entitled 'Identification of Indraratha of Adinagara found in the Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Chola I' was read at the session of the Indian History Congress held at Lahore in 1940 and published in the Journal of Indian History' in 1941. I have also settled the chronology of the Somakuli kings in a paper in which I have shown as to how B. C. Majumdar read wrongly the text of the Jatesinga Dungari copper plate of Yayati Deva II. Recently a copper plate of Indraratha has been found from a Buddhist Stupa at Banapura in the Puri district and has been published in 'Jhankara', an Oriya monthly, by Dr. K. B. Tripathy.

My next important contribution to the History of Orissa is the identification of Jajnagar of the Muslim history with Orissa. discarding all other suggestions of my predecessors. My three papers on Jajnagar are published in this Volume.
All other papers included in this Volume have thrown new light on other aspects of the History of Orissa as a whole.

While I was the State Archaeologist of Mayurbhanj, I had several occasions to explore the antiquities scattered all over the Princely States of Orissa. I discovered the biggest Hindu images of Anantasayi Vishnu at Sarang and Bhimkand in the old Talcher state in 1946 and 1949 respectively. My survey of the Archaeological relics in the valleys of the Vaitarani, the Brahmani and the Mahanadi in Orissa has brought to light the Archaeological wealth of Orissa, which was unknown before 1924.

I am highly grateful to the Government of Orissa for kindly giving me financial assistance for publication of this volume.

I am personally thankful to Sri B.K. Misra, I. A. S., the then Secretary and Director of Cultural Affairs Department of the Government of Orissa, for his initiative in sanctioning funds in bringing out this Volume.

I am also very much indebted to Sri Kedarnath Mahapatra for his help in seeing the proof of this book without which it would not have been possible for me to do the work. I am also thankful to Sri Prasanna Kumar Mahapatra, the proprietor of Sri Sarada Press, for quickly printing the book in his Press.

I acknowledge with thanks the permission kindly granted by the Superintendent of the Museum for using the Blocks printed in the Orissa Historical Research Journal.

P. Acharya
23 - 12 - 68.
STUDIES IN ORISSAN HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHIVES.

1

A NOTE ON THE BHUVANESVARA INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRA DEVI.

This dedicatory inscription was composed by poet Umapati on the occasion of consecrating a temple at Bhuvanesvara by Chandra Devi, the daughter of Anaṅgabhīma Deva, the wellknown Gajapati king of Orissa. Her husband was Paramarī Deva, a Haihaya prince, “who fell in battle against the enemies of Viṣṇu vārasimha”, the son of Anaṅgabhīma Deva I. Chandra Devi lived long after the time of Narasimha I. The date of erecting the temple is 1200 of the Saka year when Bhānu Deva I, the son of Narasimha I, was ruling in Orissa. Bhānu Deva I ruled from Saka 1186—1200-1.

Though the inscription is incomplete, yet its contents throw a flood of light on the period of reign of Anaṅgabhīma and his son Narasimha I, who occupied the throne of Orissa from 1211—1264 AD. During this period the kings of Orissa had to fight with the Hindu kings of Tummaṇa (a part of modern C.P where once the Chedi or Haihaya kings ruled), and with the Muhammadan kings of Bengal. The

copper-plate grants of Narasimha II and Narasimha IV, the Châtevara inscription, and Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, all mention such events as are corroborated by this inscription. The present inscription relates that Anaṅgabhima "overcame a Yavana enemy", and Paramardī Deva, the son-in-law of Anaṅgabhima, "having found the enemies of the battle-loving king Vīra Narasimha Deva, to be dwelling in the world of Gods, went thither in fury to conquer them with full display of glory".

The copper-plates also speak of Narasimha's invasion of Rāgha and Vareadra, and the defeat of Yavanas there, "Rāghavarendrī Yavani nayanājanātīru purīva etc." 3

The Châtevara inscription mentions that Anaṅgabhima had a Brahmin minister named Vishnu who fought for him with the king of Tumma country "Tumma-prithvi-patih", and with the Yavanas, "Yuvanavanindu-samare". The marriage, as disclosed by this inscription with a Haihaya prince, leads one to assume that the two independent powers, the Haihayas and the Gaṅgas, became friends after the end of the war. As Chandra Devi did not claim any royal title, it is not improbable that Paramardī Deva had no hand in the affairs of Chedi kingdom, but it can be assumed that he occupied a high official rank at the royal court of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa, with a high title such as Samantarāya or likewise, what we find to be mentioned in Tabaqat-i-Nasiri quoted below.

"The leader of the forces of Jajnagar was a person, by name Sambanṭar, the son-in-law of the Rāi, who during the time of Malik Izzuddin Tughril-I-Tughan Khan, had advanced to the bank of the river Lakhanavati and having shown the greatest audacity had driven the Musalmān forces as far as the gate (of the city) of Lakhanavati" (pages 762-63). "In the year H. 642 (A D. 1245) the infidels of Jajnagar appeared before the gate of Lakhanavati" (p. 665).

There is an agreement between all these sources. It is all probable that Paramardī Deva was better known to the Muhammadan historian as the "son-in-law of the Rai". 4 Arguing against the remark of Babu N. N. Vasu on the identity of this "person by name

3 Ibid, 1895, Part I; 1896, Part I.
Sabantar, the son-in-law of the Rai”, the following was written by late Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti.

“In J A S B, Volume LXV. 1896, pages 232-4, Babu N N Vasu has argued that the ‘Sabantar who led the forces of Jajnagar was probably Narasimha I, and that Minhaj, by mistake has described the son to be the son-in-law’. Now that the fights have been in this article shown to have taken place in the time of Narasimha Deva himself, he will not, I trust, be identified with the son-in-law”.

Mr. Chakravarti could not then account for the statement made by Minhaj for want of adequate information as has been revealed by this inscription of Chandika Devi, but his remark held good against Babu N. N. Vasu’s views.

This inscription has yet a greater importance than what is shown above. It gives the date of a temple which falls at a period when Orissan monarchy rose to its climax in all respects. A little before this, the great Sun temple at Konarak had been built by Narasimha Deva. So the style of the construction of this temple would manifest a greater affinity to that of the temple at Konarak.

It is not exactly known from which temple this inscription was removed by “Colonel Stewart” to whose collection it belongs. The editor of the epigraph wrote the following in this connection. “The contents show that it has been brought from Bhuvanesvara and it is impossible to discover from which of these temples it came. It belongs to a Vai uva sanctuary and this fact excludes the great Līgārāj and other Siva temples of the place.” But it does not exclude the beautiful Ananta Vasudeva temple, which bears an inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva.

2
THE COMMEMORATIVE INSCRIPTION OF THE
ANANTA-VASUDEV TEMPLE OF
BHUBANESWAR.

( Rectification of a century-old mistake )

1. Introduction

The following four stone inscriptions are known to belong to temples of Bhubaneswar which were "carried thence by Major-General Charles Stuart of the Bengal army." 1

I. Inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva 2 now fixed on the western compound wall of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple.

II. Meghesvara inscription of Svanesvaradeva 3 now fixed on the western compound wall of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple.

III. Brahmesvara inscription of Kolavatidevi 4 mother of Mahārajādhirāja Udyota Keśari, now lost.

IV. Inscription of Chandralevi 5 now preserved in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

1 E. I., Vol. XIII, p. 150.
2 (a) Prinsep - J. A. S. B Vol. VI 1837, pp. 82-97.
   (c) Kielhorn - E. I., Vol VI, 1900-01, pp. 203-207.
   (e) N. N. Vasu - Castes and Sects of Bengal, Vols. I & II.
3 (a) Prinsep - J. A. S. B Vol VI, 1837, pp. 278-283.
   (b) N. N. Vasu - Ibid. Vol. LXII, 1897 pp. 11-23.
   (c) Kielhorn - E. I., Vol VI, 1900-01, pp. 198-203.
The first three inscription-slabs were kept in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from where they were returned to Bhubaneswar by the orders of the Committee of the Society in 1837 at the suggestion of Major Markham Kittoe. From the "List of donors and donations to the Museum of the Asiatic Society from January 1822" published as Appendix III of the Vol. XV (1825) of the Asiatic Researches, it is found that "General Stuart" donated eight Sanskrit stone inscriptions belonging to India out of which there were "two stones from Bhubaneswar in Orissa with Sanskrit inscription". "The Indian Museum is the offspring of the Asiatic Society of Bengal which was founded in 1784. The question of the storage and preservation of various curiosities received from its members came up before the Society as early as 1796, but it was not until 1814 that the Society resolved to establish a Museum in the Society's premises to be divided into two sections, viz., (a) archaeological, ethnological and technical and (b) geological and zoological". No list of antiquities presented to the Society before 1814 is available and the first list was published as an appendix to the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XI. (1816) and all the subsequent volumes contain such a list up to the year 1836. No list mentions the name of Col. Mackenzie who visited Bhubaneswar and halted there from 5th to 11th of April, 1815 or of any other donor presenting anything from Orissa. Mackenzie made several drawings of sculptures belonging to temples of Chandresvara of Bhubaneswar as found from his manuscripts and drawings.

Now the doubt naturally arises as to how the committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, who only got "two stones from Bhubaneswar" could identify three stone inscriptions belonging to that place and return them there for restoration to their original places? So it can safely be said that at least one slab containing the Sanskrit inscription does not belong to Bhubaneswar.

In the present article I have made an attempt in correctly identifying the commemorative slab which was originally fixed to the

Ananta-Vasudeva temple of Bhubaneswar. In 1929 I wrote the following in an article entitled "A note on the Bhubaneswar Inscription of Chandra Devi":—

"It is not exactly known from which temple this inscription was removed by Colonel Stuart to whose collection it belongs. The Editor of the Epigraph wrote the following in this connection:—

"The contents show that it was brought from Bhubaneswar and it is impossible to discover from which of these temples it came. It belongs to a Vaishnava sanctuary and this fact excludes the Lingaraja and other Siva temples of the place." But it does not exclude the beautiful Rajarani temple and the Anantavasudeva temple, but the latter bears an inscription of Bhagva Bhavadeva.

"I am inclined to suggest that this slab containing the inscription was removed from the Rajarani temple which has no cult-image within it. The inscription states that the temple built by Chandra Devi stood on the bank of Vindusagar and so an objection may naturally be raised against the identification proposed above."

After writing this I have been informed that there is a tradition at Bhubaneswar that the Rajarani temple was built by a wealthy prostitute for the God Siva, and the gate-keepers Chanda and Prachanda on the door jambs of this temple prove that it is a Siva temple. As the result of subsequent investigation, I venture now to put in writing the following accounts which will show that Chandra Devi, and not Bhagva Bhavadeva is the real builder of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple of Bhubaneswar.

II. Criticism of the story of Identification:

Inscriptions Nos. 2, 3 and 4 contain passages describing the locality, family and persons well known in the history of Orissa. On the other hand the inscription No. 1 "mentions the three geographical divisions of old Bengal, Gauda, Radha and Vaiga. The village Siddhala, the beauty of Radha and the granted village of Hastinibhitta are untraceable. According to some Siddhala lies in the Kalna sub-division of Burdwan district, it is very curious that the inscription makes no mention of Bhubaneswar where the temple was erected, or
of the king of this tract." The records of the Asiatic Society of Bengal do not furnish us with any definite information as to how it came to the Museum of the Society. The editor of the Journal notes that "we cannot discover by whom the stone was presented to the Society." The slab was "marked No. 2" in the collection of the Society's Museum.

James Prinsep's following note published at page 724 of Vol. V, 1836, of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal clearly gives an idea about this question. "Many of the inscriptions in our Museum bear no record, either of the places whence they came, or of their respective donors. Unless therefore they contain in themselves such information as may supply a clue to their origin, the greater part of this work is lost. Publication in some cases may lead to their recognition, and this is one of my motives for including them in my present series of lithograph. The inscription, marked No. 5, in the Museum (Plate XXXIII) is neatly cut on a stone, about 3 1/2 feet long by 1 1/2 feet broad . . . ."

The manner in which its identification as belonging to Ananta-Vasudeva temple has been made, will convince any one that there was not any datum to identify it with an inscription of a temple of Bhuvaragwar. Lieut. Markham Kittoe who was Curator and Librarian to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta until 1838 visited Bhuvaragwar and Khandagiri during the cold weather of 1836 for examining the inscription published by Stirling in the Asiatic Researches. Vol. XV, p 313 and on that occasion he was fortunate to discover the Dhauli edict of Asoka. In the proceedings of the Society's meeting, dated the 3rd May, 1837, the following finds mention :—

"Lieut. Kittoe had met with obstructions in his enquiries from a mistrust of the resident Brähmins, which he found to originate in their temple having been robbed some years ago of slabs containing inscriptions, by some officers; and he strongly urged the justice of

restoring any such that might have come into the Society's possessions. One he suspected, from its dimensions,\textsuperscript{14} was the identical one published in the Journal for February.

"The Secretary stated that on examination he found this to be the case as a second inscription of precisely the same character, now under publication, containing the name of the Raja of Orissa, who founded Bhuvaṃśwar temple. The meeting resolved unanimously, the slab should be restored and the Lieutenant Kittoe had their warmest thanks for the suggestion."\textsuperscript{15}

The following quotations from the notes of James Prinsep, the then Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the inscription of Svapneśvara Deva and 'Brahmeśvara inscription, from Cuttack, throw further light on this point.

"The subject selected for this month's (April. 1837) illustration is a slab of dark stone marked No. 6 in the Society's Museum. Nothing is there recorded of its origin but the character in which it is cut (as may be seen by the lithographed specimen in pl XVII), from a similar stone of some what smaller size; and which publication has led, in rather a singular manner, to the discovery of the source whence both were derived,

"Lieutenant Kittoe, as I have before mentioned was lately requested on the part of the society to re-examine the inscription on the Khandagiri rock, published in Stirling's memoirs on Cuttack (As Res, XV). In doing this he came most unexpectedly upon a number of highly curious ancient temples and inscriptions of which he hastened to make drawings and facsimiles. He found himself impeded and foiled by the Brāhmans of the spot, who even went so far

\textsuperscript{14} "Dimension of the slab. 3 feet by 1\frac{1}{2} feet, marked No. 2" Vide plate VII J. A S. B., Vol. VI. The inscription slab of Chandra Devi is "3 feet 10 inches in width and one foot 8\frac{1}{4} inches in height." It is not known why Kittoe stressed so much on the dimensions of the slab, but they are not identical as found now.

as to obstruct one of the copies which had cost him the most labour. Upon seeking the cause of so unusual a want of courtesy, the priests told him how their images and relics had been carried off by former antiquaries, and pointed out whence the commemorative slab had been actually cut out from the temples of Ananda-Vasudeva at Bhubaneswar by late Colonel Sahib. The dimensions of the slab and the subject of invocation tallied so exactly with the inscription translated by Captain Marshall, that Lieutenant Kittoe wrote to me on the subject and on referring to the list of donations at the end of the eleventh volume of Researches, I find General Stewart set down as the donor of “two slabs with inscriptions from Bhubaneswar in Orissa.”

“There was nothing in the first of the two whence we could guess its locality; the person noted as the founder of the temple being a private individual, named Bhagyā Śiv Bhava Oeva, but in the slab, now confidently conjectured to be its companion, we have a Raja’s name and ancestry which ought to afford a better clue. The date of Raja Ananga Bhima (1174 A.D.) also agrees closely with what was assumed from the style of the alphabet, and the ‘Samat 32’ of the Basudeva slab. It will hence become a question whether the figures are, in all cases, to be referred to a Cuttack era, or whether the same Devanagiri alphabet was in use from Shelkawati to Benares, Dinajpur and Orissa, in the 12th century, while each prince had then an era of his own.

* * *

“I cannot conclude these preliminary remarks without animadverting upon ruthless spoliation which is often carried on by

16. I found the list in the 15th volume of the Researches

That the reference given here is wrong can also be proved from the following note given at page 881 of the Journal, Vol. VI of 1887. “The subject now to be explained is inscribed on an oblong slab of sandstone 4½ ft. by 5½ which I conjecture to be one of those presented by General Stewart and inserted in the Catalogue of Vol. XV of the Asiatic Researches as ‘a stone slab from Ajayagarh in Fund-akhand with a Sanskrit inscription’ or a ‘stone bull from Kalajjar with a Sanskrit inscription.”
soi-disant antiquaries, to the perversion of the true object of research - the preservation of ancient monuments, and their employment to elucidate the history of the country. The facts told by these two Bhuvanéswar stones were utterly unintelligible, until accident pointed out whence they had come and the local history of the temples was or would have been equally lost in another generation. It is to be hoped therefore that the Asiatic Society will hasten to restore them to their former positions. Such an act will contribute tenfold to the true objects of our institution by the confidence it will inspire in the minds of the people who now watch our explorers with jealousy, and with hold valuable information lest it should only yield to fresh acts of plunder and demolition.

"Since writing the above, I am happy to perceive that the Society has determined on the immediate restitution of the two slabs through Lieutenant Kittoe who has been requested to explain that their removal was the act of an individual and never had their sanction, unless they had been assured that the objects were going to decay, or held in no estimation where they were." 17

Besides the two slabs of stones identified last year as belonging to the Bhuvanéswar temples, in Cuttack and consequently returned to the Bráhmans after perusal, there was a third broken into two pieces, which Mr. Kittoe pointed out as being in the same character and from the same locality. Before returning this he kindly took for me a very exact impression, whence I have copied the reduced facsimile in plate XX.V. The stone was, as stated above, returned to Bhuvanéswar; but Mr. Kittoe did not find as he anticipated any resulting cordiality or good-will among the priesthood of the place, on the contrary, they brought him a long list of puréained slabs, and impetuously urged him to procure their return as he had done that of inscriptions." 18

Mr. Kittoe did not lose any time in giving effect to the restoration of the inscription slabs of Bhuvanéswar according to the decision of the Asiatic Society arrived at the meeting of the 3rd May of 1837 quoted above. The following from the proceedings

of the Society, dated the 7th June and 2nd August, 1837, show that the inscription slabs of Bhuwaneswar were despatched to and arrived at Bhuwaneswar from Calcutta.

"Read a letter from Lieutenant Kittoe, stating that he had dispatched a cart to Tamlook to take down the Bhuwaneswar slabs, the restoration of which had given the greatest satisfaction to the priests and people." Vide Journal, Vol. VI p 492

"Lieutenant Kittoe announced the safe arrival of the Bhuwaneswar inscription slabs which he was about to return to their respective temples". Vide p 617.

These extracts read with Prinsep's note no the Brahmeśvara inscription, go to show that the inscription slab was returned along with inscription slabs of the Ananta Vāsudeva and Megheśvara temples to Bhuwaneswar from Calcutta in 1837. As the inscription slab of the Brahmeśvara temple is not found now, it may be inferred that either it was not despatched from Calcutta at all or it was left at some intermediate station by the cart driver on his way to Bhuwaneswar or it has been subsequently removed from the compound wall of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple and replaced with the Megheśvara slab by some one after the visit of Dr Rajendralal Mitra in 1889 who found the slab struck to the wall. It is now impossible to discover the truth until the rediscovery of the Brahmeśvara slab is made.

However Lieutenant Kittoe's keen interest in the matter of restitution of the inscription slabs of Bhuwaneswar has done great harm in its employments to elucidate the history of the country and has put a veil over the eyes of the scholars for a period of one century and thereby the 'true object of research' has been frustrated.

The above quotation leaves enough room for doubting the identification of the inscription slab of Bhāsa Bhavadeva ever belonging to the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple of Bhuwaneswar. Neither Kittoe nor Prinsep has any note to show as to how they identified the slab under reference that it originally was fixed to the said temple; and the inscription itself does not furnish us with any independent evidence in this connection. Their single evidence was the sameness of character with another inscription from Bhuwaneswar. The knowledge in palaeography, a century ago, was in its infancy
and even a versatile scholar like Prinsep did not know that the character in north-eastern India or Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was the very same in form in that remote period.

It is not understood how Major Kittoe 'suspected' the inscription slab of Bhāṣyabhāvadeva to have originally belonged to the Ananta-Śaṅkara temple. He was only informed at Bhubaneswar "that the commemorative slab had been actually cut out from the temple of Ananc'a (Ananta ?) Śaṅkara of Bhubaneswar by a Colonel Saheb." Perhaps the invocation-‘Namo Bhagavate Vasudevāya’- of the inscription misled him. Prinsep had also such a notion as he described it as the 'Bhāṣudeva slab'.

It has been stated above as to how the register of antiquities of the Society’s Museum was maintained. Bhāṣyabhāvadeva’s inscription was ‘marked No 2’ whereas that of Śvapanīvara Deva was ‘marked No 6’. It is unfortunate that the number of the Brahmāvara slab was not noted by the editor. Its number would be either 5 or 7 as two stone inscriptions from Bhubaneswar were presented by Stuart in one occasion and therefore the recording of serial numbers would have been made at the time of donation. In the list of donations by “General Stewart” mentioned above, the following stone inscriptions of India are noted:

1. "A stone slab from Ajayagerh in Bundelkhand with Sanskrit inscription"
2-3. "Two ditto from Burro Pitari near Bhilas with ditto.
4. "Another ditto from Oudipoor near ditto.
5. "Another ditto from Mahoba in Bundelkhand near ditto.
6-7. "Two stones from Bhubaneswar in Orissa with Sanskrit Inscription.
8. "One ditto from Ajayagerh"

Two inscriptions from Bhubaneswar are to be identified with the inscriptions of the Megheśvara and Brahmāvara temple and their numbers were marked 6 and 7 in Stuart’s collection.

It seems that Prinsep was in doubt about Kittoe’s identification when he wrote that ‘there was nothing in the first of the two whence we
could guess its locality." If any one of them would have questioned the propriety of identification of three slabs out of two from Bhubaneswar, the mistake done would have been detected and verified in 1838 just a century ago.

It will not be out of place here to mention two other instances of committing a similar mistake unknowingly like Prinsep and Kittoe, that have been repeated at a later period in connection with these inscriptions of Bhubaneswar. Since 1837 the inscription slabs have been fixed on the western compound wall of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple.

In 1880 Dr. Rajendralal Mitra did not write anything about the inscription of Svapneswara Deva although the inscription slab was stuck to the same wall of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple. He thus writes:

"There are existing two large slabs stuck on the western wall of the courtyard of the famous temple (of Ananta-Vasudeva) bearing Sanskrit inscriptions. One of these was originally intended for the temple of Brahmeswara, and the other for that of Ananta and Vasudeva. Both of them had been removed from their proper places by General Stewart, and deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at about the early part of this century. When Major (then Lieutenant) Kittoe visited Bhubaneswar in 1838 the priests complained bitterly of the sacrilege, and he suggested the restitution of the stones. The society readily permitted this, but in replacing them through some mistake or other, the Major selected the outer wall of the temple for both of them, instead of their respective places. Before making the restitution James Prinsep published transcripts and translations of both the records in the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal." 15

Writing on the Megheswara inscription of Svapneswara Deva of Orissa Mr. N. N. Vasu quotes the above extract and writes:

"I went personally to inspect those two slabs and made rubbings of both. Both the slabs now lie at the identical place where Dr. Rajendralal saw them. I was assured by the old Pandas of

the temple that they remained at the very spot from before the time of
the Doctor’s inspection, without suffering a change of place or alteration
of any kind,

"It is, indeed, surprising that there is no conformity at all of
the Brahmaśvara inscription described by the learned Doctor with the
inscription I inspected. In fact, there is no Brahmaśvara inscription at
all in the temple. I am quite at a loss to determine how he identified
this with the Brahmaśvara slab.

"As far as I am aware nobody has yet deciphered this inscrip-
tion under notice," 20

Dr. Kielhorn’s note on these two inscriptions runs as follows:—

"The two inscriptions, of which I give an account here from
excellent impressions prepared for Dr. Hultzsch by Mr. Krishna Sastri,
are on the slabs of dark stone which are now in the Western wall of the
courtyard of the temple of the Ananta-Vasudeva at Bhubaneswar in the
Puri District of Orissa, two stones were taken away from Bhubaneswar
and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Stewart about
1810, but to please the people, they were returned to their original place
in 1837. In the latter year the inscriptions were both edited with
specimens of facsimiles of the character by Mr. Prinsep in the Jour.
Bengal. As. Soc., Vol. VI, p. 89 ff., and p. 280 ff., the one here marked
A . . . ., and the inscription A has been edited again (ibid., Vol. LXVI,
Part I, pp. 11 ff.) by Mr. Nagendra Nath Vasu, who was not aware
of its having been published sixty years before" 21

In 1912 Mr. M.M. Chakravarti in his article entitled “Bhaṣa
Bhāvadeva of Bengal” published a photograph of the inscription of
Svapnēśvaradeva and wrongly described the same as the inscription
of Bhaṣa Bhāvadeva. 22 If either Dr. Mitra, Mr. Vasu or Mr. Chakra-
varti could make a mistake inadvertently, it is easy to imagine the
difficulty of Prinsep and Kittoe.

Rāghavendra Kaviśekhara’s genealogical account has been
cited as a corroborative evidence in support of the identification of

Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's inscription belonging to Bhubaneswar and so I like to discuss below its historical value.

Prāchyavidyamahārṇava N. N. Vasu had first some doubt as to the exact temple from which the inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva was removed. He wrote:—

"When we first read the contents of this eulogium, it struck us as to how a Bengali Brahmin of Rādhā country could have built this magnificent monument in a foreign country like Utkala."23 But this doubt was removed when he unexpectedly found a passage in the genealogical account composed by Rāghavendra Kaviśekhara in 1660 A.D., which mentions that Harivarmadeva whose valour was proclaimed in many countries like Āṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga.24 (Vaṅgāṅga-kaliṅgādyaśeshajanapadabahumatađbhutakarma) erected one hundred and eight temples for various gods at Ėkāmrakṣetra. Rāghavendra Kaviśekhara's account runs thus:—


On the authority of this account Mr. Vasu came to the conclusion that "when Harivarmadeva erected hundreds of temples at Bhubaneswar, it was no wonder on the part of his chief minister to build the Ananta- Vāsudeva temple during his reign."26 At page ix of this book we find that the title 'Gaṅḍāvṛangadhipa' or the over-lord of Gaṅḍa, Oḍrā and Vaṅga, has been applied to Maharaja Harivarmadeva. On the other hand these titles are not found either in the account of Rāghavendra Kaviśekhara or in the copper-plate grant of Harivarmadeva which was published by him. Commenting on the copper-plate grant of Harivarmadeva Mr. N. G. Majumdar has written the following:

24. Ibid., p. 6 (ii).
25. Ibid., p. 6 ii.
26. Ibid., p. 6 xv.
"A very indistinct photograph of only one side of the plate is
given by Mr. N. N. Vasu in his *Castes and Sects of Bengal* Vol. II,
frontispiece. On pages 215-17 he also has given an extremely tentative
reading of portion of the document, which I am afraid, is too-
conjectural to be utilised for historical purposes." 27 No where in Mr.
Vasu’s tentative reading of the copper-plate of Hari-varmadeva we find
any title like *Gauḍāravangadhipa* or any information of erecting temples
at Bhubaneswar as are met with in Raghavendra’s account which was
composed, it is stated, on the basis of traditions and older genealogical
accounts. The annual report of the Dacca Museum for 1936-37
mentions that the Samantasar copper-plate of Hari.varmadeva has been
acquired for the Museum and Dr. N. K. Bhattachari remarks that the
text of Mr. Vasu "was vitiated by preconceived readings."

Mr. M.M. Ganguli took this unreliable account of Rāghavendra
to be a "copper plate inscription" and wrote thus:—

"We learn from a copper-plate inscription composed by
Rāghavendra Kaviśekhara that Harivarma Deva was a king of Bengal,
and the seat of his government was Vikramapura." 28 "On going
through the inscription of Rāghavendra Kaviśekhara referred to at page
379, I am convinced that the palace with the temple of Rāmeśwarā was
built by Harivarma Deva, the king of Bengal, in the beginning of the
eleventh century A.D.We learn from the inscription that Harivarmadeva
built 108 temples of Hara, Hari, Rāma, Sītā, Lakṣmana and Hanumān
in Ekāmra Kānana and laid out flower gardens, etc. The site, now in a
ruinous state, was occupied by his garden and garden houses. The
temple of Sītā, Lakṣmana and Hanumān still cluster round the temple
of Rāmeśvarā." 29

Commenting on the authenticity of genealogical accounts of
Bengal which narrate that Adi Sura brought Brahmins of *five gotras* to
Bengal, Mr. R. P. Chanda is of opinion that "on the contradictory
evidence that we meet in the eulogium of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of
Bhuvaneswar against the story of bringing Brahmins belonging to
Sāvara Gotra, doubts naturally arise in our mind as to the historical
truth of the story of Adi Sura. So long as any copper-plate or stone

29. *Ibid* pp. 300-01,
inscription dispel this doubt, it is quite useless to make an attempt in compiling the history of Adi Sura on the authority of self-contradictory genealogical accounts. So until and unless any genuine and contemporary records of Harivarma Deva showing his supremacy over Orissa is found, it is equally useless to accept the views advanced by some scholars on these points.

It is quite possible for any Hindu monarch or his minister to erect temples in a place of pilgrimage like Bhuvaneswar and put commemorative inscriptions in them and no one would ever object to doing such religious work even in another kingdom where the question of political supremacy does not arise at all. It may be that Raghavendra Kaviśekhara’s ‘Bhavabhumi vārttta’ was composed with historical data, but the date of the manuscript has not been clearly established and, moreover, it does not refer directly even to Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva.

All these facts lead to the conclusion that the Ananta Vāsudeva temple of Bhuvaneswar was not built by Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of the village of Siddhala in Rāgha country, who built the temple of Narāyana in his native village.

III. Deities of the Ananta-Vāsudeva Temple and their reference in the Inscriptions of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva and Chandrādevi

The inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva mentions in verse 3 that the village Siddhala is the ornament of Rāgha where his forefathers dwelt. In verses 4 to 25, the poet describes the versatile qualifications and fortunes of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva and then in verse 26 Rāgha country is again described where, on the outskirts of a village, he excavated a tank for the supply of water to the public.

Inverses 27, 28 and 29 mention is made of his installing a stone image of Narāyana (V.27) and of building a temple for him (V 28) and of building the images of Narāyana, Ananta and Nṛsimha in the niches of the said temple (V. 29). The strain of description lends support to the suggestion that all these works were done in the Siddhala village mentioned in verse 31 Mr. N. G. Majumdar rightly remarks:— “The name of the village is not mentioned.

It was evidently Siddhala, the home of Bhavadeva." 31 He again notes at p. 192 "some writers identify Siddhala with the present village of Siddhala near Ahmadpur in Birbhum district." ( Vide Birbhum Vivaraṇa by Harekrishna Mukherji) In the J. R. A. S., 1935, pp. 97-99, Dr N. K. Bhaṣṭasali notes this stating that it "may be correct."

Verse 28 describes the temple erected by Bhaṣṭa Bhava Deva. The poet compares this edifice which surpasses the charms of the abode of Indra, with Siva's abode Kailāsa for its height, Hari's for its beauty, ornamentation and flashing discs. Beholding its attractiveness even Siva is desirous of abandoning Kailāsa, his abode.

The above description suits well to a temple standing in a solitary place, but such description of one in the vicinity of earlier temples, such as the Great Liṅgarāja and Brahmeśvara, is beyond the conception of any poet. Had the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple been loftier than the Liṅgarāja temple, there was no difficulty in accepting the truth in the fancy of the poet. The following suggestion of Mr. N. G. Majumdar would have been quite correct if the date of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple would have been earlier than that of Liṅgarāja or Brahmeśvara:—

"It is rather tempting to suggest that the poet here is reminded of the existence of Triḥuvaneśvara (Liṅgarāja) close to Ananta-Vāsudeva. According to Vaishnavite tradition Siva asked the permission of Vāsudeva to stay in Ekāmrakshetra (i.e Bhuvaneswar) and the latter granted it." 32 This tradition has got nothing to do with the construction of the temples at Bhuvaneswar. It only establishes the supremacy of Vaishnavism over Saivism.

The images known as Narāyaṇa, Ananta and Nṛsimha by name (Narāyaṇa-ānanta-nṛsimha murtti), were installed (v. 29) in the niches of the temple of Narāyaṇa built by Bhaṣṭa Bhavadeva. Due to mistake in identifying the images of the niches of this temple with the cult images of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple, all writers have been misled in expressing their views. The views of previous writers on this point are quoted below:—

32. Ibid., p. 40, Note No. 6.
Dr. Rajendralal Mitra writes as follows about the images of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple:

"The presiding divinities of the temple are two brothers Balarama and Krishna under the names of Ananta, 'the eternal' and Vasudeva. The images are of very coarse make and about 5 ft high. The figure of Ananta has over its head a canopy formed by the expanded hood of a many-headed cobra. Though the temple is occupied by two images, it is held to belong exclusively to Vishnu...." 33

Mr. M. M. Ganguly mentions that "the temple of Ananta-Vasudeva is a Vaishnavite one dedicated to Ananta and Vasudeva or Balarama and Krishna, a dual image of whom is enshrined in the vimana."

Dr. Mitra's two images have been represented in a single image in the account of Mr. Ganguly who perhaps did not see the images at all. His conception of the single image of Ananta-Vasudeva is perhaps due to the idea of the image of Harihara.

Mr. M. M. Chakravarti has written the following:

"From the inscription one learns that Bhavadeva built a high wheel-crested temple, placed in its inner sanctum the images of Vasudeva, Ananta and Nrsimha...." 34

"..... Within the inner sanctum may be seen the three images (not two as Dr. Mitra says)." 35

Mr. Gurudas Sarkar also supports the views of Mr. M. M. Chakravarti. 36

The verse 29 has been translated by various scholars.

(1) Captain G. T. Marshall translated it as follows:

34. Orissa and Her Remains, p. 369
36. 'Mandirer Katha'. (Bengali)
“He (Bhavadeva) placed in that house of Vishnu, in the innermost sanctuaries, the images of Nārāyana, Ananta and Nṛsimha, as the Vedas in the mouths of Bramhā.” 37

(2) Dr Rajendralal Mitra published this translation in his Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 86.

(3) Dr. Kielhorn summarised the contents of the verses as follows:—

“This Bhavadeva, then, had a reservoir of water constructed in the country of Radha (V 26). Moreover, at the place, where the inscription is, he set up a stone image of Nārāyana (Vishnu) (V 27) and founded a temple of God (V 28) in which he placed images of his in the forms of Nārāyana, Ananta and Nṛsimha (V 29). 38

Like Captain Marshall and Dr Mitra, Mr. N. N. Vasu interpreted the verse to mean that three images were placed in the Garbhagriha of the temple. 39

Mr. N. G. Majumdar also translated this verse 29 in the same way as follows:—

“(Verse 29) There, in Vishnu’s temple in the respective sanctums (Garbhagrihas) he ardently placed images of the god in the form of Nārāyana, Ananta and Nṛsimha like the (three) Vedas in the mouths of the creator (i.e., Bramhā).” 40

None of the above scholars, excepting Dr. Kielhorn, has been able to fully interpret the verse in its real sense. Mr. Majumdar’s reading is not grammatically correct as he has put ‘i’ in place of ‘i’ in the word murtti which is murtti, the plural form of murtti in the objective declension unless it is a printing mistake.

Garbhagriha is an architectural term signifying a single room with one door. But in the inscription we find the plural form in the locative of the word ‘Garbhagrihāntara’ situated in the ‘Veśma’ erected

for the god. I consider it to be a technical term of the architecture signifying the places exterior or attached to the sanctum, that is, the three niches of the temple, where in Parśvadevatās are placed. If it is taken in this sense, i.e., antara means bahirbhāga (outside) and not inside, the translation of verse 29 will stand as follows:—

There in the Viśnū's temple, in three respective niches outside the sanctum, he ardently placed the images of gods. Nārāyana, Ananta and Nṛśimha like the three Vedas in the mouths of Brāhma.

It may be said here that only three faces out of four of Brāhma are represented in sculpture and three parśvadevatās of this temple have been compared here with three faces of Brāhma representing three Vedas (Vedatrayī).

However none of these images with the exception of Nṛśimha which occupied the eastern niche but is now missing are found to occupy the temple and the priests of the temple do not know any existence of Nārāyana, Ananta and Nṛśimha in the Garbha griha. They perform the daily worship of Ananta (Balārama) Vaṣudeva (Jagannātha) and Subhadrā, and while doing so they recite the following dhyānas of each god:—

1. Dhyāna of Vaṣudeva:

कलाभ्रान्तविण्ठुकन्दरसुवंचं पदा्भिलापितमतं
शक्राधमरमवन्दतपदयुगं शहारात्साहिन्यमा
अनन्त्याणुवायरायिन्य प्रभवतं सोऽकैऽकुतुम विसुे
संसाराद्यकततारणं त्रिजगातिभ्यं भजे केसाम्यम ॥

2. Dhyāna of Ananta or Balārama:

हृदयं शोभितलालाहे समुपलं कादन्वरीच्छलं
र्त्तेरपित्यक्षङ्गलं मुखालेकारकान्तभूमिश्चलम्
वनाम गुरुचाब्रमणगुप्तं नागेन्द्राज्ञोक्ष्यति
संप्रामे चपले शाशांकवल्लं श्रीकामपालं भजे ॥

3. Dhyāna of Subhadrā:

नामभूषणभूपितं सुमनसामानश्वकलोपिनी
पुलेवित्सरसीलोकलोकनयं धीरमछणानुचाम
The description of three images, which are worshipped in the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple, is given below:

1. The standing image of Ananta measures $55'' \times 18''$. It has a seven-hooded snake canopy and two hands. The right hand holds the Hala (Plough) and left hand Mushala. There is a head-dress (Mukuta) which is very indistinct. The outer garment hangs from the left shoulder with a knot near the right knee. A similar image of Ananta is fixed to the raised wall at the bathing ghat of Bindusāgara in front of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple.

2. The standing image of Subhadra measures $40'' \times 17''$. A temple - decoration is carved on its back slab and there are two full-blown lotuses above the head of the image. The image itself stands on a lotus pedestal. Two palms are broken. The image is decorated with a Vānamāḷa and other ornaments. Two female attendants are found standing on her each side.

3. The standing image of Vāsudeva measures $58'' \times 18''$. It has a semicircular halo. There is the mukuta on its head and it wears a sacred thread. The image has four hands, the left upper hand holds a conch or Sankha and the lower hand a discus or Chakra; the right upper hand holds a Gadā and the lower hand holds a Lotus-bud. The image has two silver eyes which perhaps have been put by the priests. This piece of sculpture is similar in design to that of the Bindusāgara tank in front of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple.

All the three images stand on one stone platform facing to the west and have been fixed at the back with the masonry construction.

The images of Mātangi Mahālakshmi measuring $34'' \times 21\frac{1}{2}''$ is kept in the south-west corner of the sanctum and a stone pillar known as Sudarśana is also kept at her side.

If we take the above images of Vāsudeva to be the very same with Nārāyaṇa of Bhāṣya Bhavadeva's inscription, we get the image of Vāsudeva and Ananta in place of "Nārāyaṇa and Ananta" of the said inscription. But how does a female image come in to occupy the place of Nṛśimha? On enquiry, I learnt that the priests do not know
anything about the image of Nṛsimha and their old palm-leaf manuscript which are read in the procedure of worship of these gods, are silent about Nṛsimha. The priest informed me that there are only two Nṛsimha images at Bhuvaneswar, one the Ugra Nṛsimha in the Uttarēśvara temple and another the Lakshmi Nṛsimha in a temple facing west on the southern side of the compound of the Liṅgarāja temple. The image of Nṛsimha of the Uttarēśvara temple does not originally belong to that temple as it is kept now in the Nāpanandira. It measures 46" × 23". The width of space occupied by the image of Subhadrā is only 17" and so an image of 23" wide cannot be put in there. But the dimensions of the image of Nṛsimha are exactly similar to the eastern niche of the temple which is generally in all Vaishnava temples occupied by the image of Nṛsimha and the carvings and dimensions of this image are identical with that of the images of Vāmana in the northern niche and Vṛāha in the southern niche of the temple. So the image of Nṛsimha of the Uttarēśvara temple can be identified with the image of the eastern niche and not of the sanctum of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple. It seems that it was removed along with the commemorative inscription by Major Stuart from the temple and left at his camp for some reason or other. The image of Lakshmi-Nṛsimha of the Liṅgarāja temple compound measuring 64" × 32" is in a temple occupying an independent position and for it there is no space at all on the stone pedestal of the cult images of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple.

There is also another temple known as Ananteśvara facing north on the southern side of the Liṅgarāja temple compound. The workmanship of these images is different from that of the images of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple which are no doubt earlier. These images are also called Ananta, Vāsudeva and Subhadrā and their description is given below.

The image of Ananta measures 47" × 19". The back slab has a trifoliate arch with a Makara design at each end. The canopy consists of seven snake-hoods and there are two Vidyādhāris on back slab beyond the hood. The 5th and 6th hoods from left are broken. Both the hands are broken from the elbow. The image stands on two other lotuses at the extremity of each side and two devotees sit on the intermediate lotuses. All these five lotuses are carved on a single lotus pedestal. The image has mukuta, sacred thread, necklace and garland of wild flowers (Vanaṃīśa).
The image of Subhadra measures 32″ X 14″. There is a trifoliate arch on the back slab. At both ends of the arch there are two Vidyadharis holding garlands. Her right hand is broken and she holds the petals of a full-blown lotus which emerges from the lotus pedestal with her left hand. The image stands on the middle one of the three lotuses and the remaining two are vacant.

The image of Jaganmātha or Vasudeva measures 43″ X 19″. In the middle of the trifoliate arch a Rāhamukha is carved and on each side of the Rāhamukha, there is one female riding on a flying male Vīdhyaḍhara. At the two Makara (crocodile) bases of the arch there are two images of Garuda. It has two hands and not four like the images of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple. As the hands are broken at the elbow no weapons are found now. The image possesses necklace of Kāustubha, sacred thread and garland of wild flowers. The image stands on the middle lotus out of five and on the right there is the image of Lākshmi holding a lotus and standing on the lotus flower at the side, and on the left there is the image of Sarasvatī playing on the Veṇa. There are two devotees, now broken, on two lotus seats on each side between the middle one and the two end ones.

All the three images stand on a common pedestal which has been divided into three compartments by insertion of four pilasters lending support to a projection. One pilaster to the right of Ananta is missing and so also a portion of the projection.

The images of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple and that of the Ananṭeśvar temple are found to be made according to the texts of the Hayaśirsha Pancharātra, Matsya purāṇa and Pratishṭha-prasaṅga as quoted in the Haribhakti-Vilāsa. Mention of Purusottama, Balarāma, Sriṅgāma and Subhadra in the epigraph of Chandrādevi also indicates that the texts of Pratīṣṭhāprasanga was very familiar in Orissa in the 13th century A.D.

The name of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple is very significant. Rai Bahadur K. P. Chanda writes the following in this connection:

"In all available exposition of the Pancharātra system, Vasudeva is mentioned first and is followed by Śaṃkarsana. But in both of our inscriptions (of second century B.C.) the order is changed Śaṃkarsana is named first and Vasudeva comes as the second. The mention of Śaṃkarsana first and Vasudeva afterwards in two records
of such two distant places as Ghasundi in Rajputana and Navaghat in the Deccan, shows that in those days Samkarsana was popularly recognised as a divinity equaling Vasudeva in rank". 41 The names of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadra of Puri on this analogy seem to be of remoter antiquity and "may perhaps be the last remnants of the primitive Vedic Pañcharātra ritual". 42

When the images of the inscription of Bhaṣṭa Bhavadeva cannot be identified with those of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple, it can safely be said that Bhaṣṭa Bhavadeva, the minister of Harivarmadeva, did not build the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneswar. The inscription slab, which is fixed now on its compound wall, was identified by mistake to be its commemorative slab. Then where is the inscription slab of this temple which was removed from it by Major Stuart?

According to the text of inscription No. 4, it can be said with certainty that Chandrādevī built the present Ananta-Vāsudeva temple. The deities namely Baliśrāma, Kṛṣṇa and Subhadra (Bali-Kṛṣṇa-Subhṛāmecha) mentioned in the inscription are even now worshipped in the temple. The locality and the position of the temple at Bhuvaneswar remain the same according to the description given in the inscription of Chandrādevī. Mention is made in the inscription of Bhaṣṭa Bhavadeva that in the front of the temple he excavated a tank (verse 31) and outside the temple laid out a garden (verse 32). This vāpi or tank of the inscription of Bhaṣṭa Bhavadeva has been identified with Vindu-sāgara of Bhuvaneswar. Mr. N. G. Majumdar writes that "the tank referred to in the inscription is no longer traceable and some scholars are of opinion that it has been probably absorbed in the tank of Vindusāgara". 43 The poet Vāchaspati of Bhaṣṭa Bhavadeva’s inscription does not give any religious importance to the tank, but the poet Umāpati of the inscription of Chandrādevī written in 1278 A.D. puts it saying that "these holy places do not attain the divine rank of even a drop thereof" 44 and this statement of Umāpati seems to have been based on the authenticity of the Garuda-purāṇa which mentions the sanctity of the Vindusāgara. The date of

41. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 5, p. 121.
42. Indo-Aryan Races, p. 121.
43. Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III., p. 32.
Bhaṣṭa Bhavadeva’s inscription according to the calculation of Mr. Majumdar has been estimated as belonging to the “first quarter of the 12th century and even the last quarter of the 11th century A.D.”45 and if Mr. M. M. Chakravarti’s suggestion about the absorption of the tank dug by Bhaṣṭa Bhavadeva in the Vindusāgara at a subsequent period to that of the first quarter of the 12th century A. D. is accepted, the attainment of the divine rank of Vindusāgara is to be attributed to a period of less than 100 years from the time of the poet Umāpati which is perhaps untenable.

The descriptions given in the Ekāmra-chandrika, Kapilasambita, Śvapādrimahodaya and Ekāmra-purāṇa go to show that in the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple are enshrined the stone images of Jagannāth, Balabhadra and Subhadra which are known as ‘Silabrahma’ whereas such images at Puri are known as ‘Dārubrahma’.

The above four Upapurāṇas faithfully record the religious traditions sacred to the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple and the Vindusāgara tank of Bhuvaneswar and it will be observed from the books that no-where names of ‘Nārayanānanta-Nāsimha’ or ‘Nārayana-nānanta’ from the inscription of Bhaṣṭa Bhavadeva, occur; and this goes, to some extent, against the identification of the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva with that built by Bhaṣṭa Bhavadeva, whereas, on the other hand, the inscription of Chandrādevi, daughter of a Gaṅga King of Orissa, makes distinct mention of gods Śrīkṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Subhadra, and of Purusottama in verses 13, 21 and 23 which are found in the above-named Upapurāṇas. There are also two temples still standing in a dilapidated condition in the compound of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple dedicated to goddesses Lakṣmi and Sarasvatī; these temples were built in imitation of such temples in the compound of the Jagannātha temple at Puri.

From all these points one is arrived at a definite conclusion that the inscription slab of Bhaṣṭa Bhavadeva identifies as the inscription of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple and subsequently returned to Bhuvaneswar and fixed in its present position, does not belong to Bhuvaneswar, it originally belonged to the temple of Nārāyana or Ananta-nārāyana erected at the village Siddhala in Rāgha or Uttara Rāgha (according to the Belava copper-plate of Bhoja Varman) from where it was brought to the collection of

45. Inscriptions of Bengal Vol. III. p. 32
the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Calcutta, by some antiquarian whose
name was not recorded in the list of donors of the Asiatic Society.
Had it not belonged to the collection of the Asiatic Society of
Calcutta, there would have been left a chance of its being considered
as an inscription from Bhuwaneswar, but its return from the collection
of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta is unquestionable and so there is
no doubt about the fact that the inscription of Chandra Devi, now
preserved by the Royal Asiatic Society of London, is the original
slab of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple of Bhuwaneswar. It is also
desirable that if the original slab cannot be brought back from
London, a plaster cast of it may be put at the place of Bhağa
Bhavadeva’s inscription which may be removed from Bhuwaneswar
and preserved in the Indian Museum in Calcutta or in the Museum
at Bhubaneswar.

Stone images of Ananta or Balarāma, Vasudeva or Kṛṣṇa and
Subhadra were identified in his article on ‘Ekānamsa and Subhadra’
first by my friend late Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh to whom I owe
many suggestions; it was published in the Journal of the Royal
Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. II, 1933, No I, pp 41-46,
together with a plate showing a set of images preserved in the
Lucknow Museum. It will appear from what I have narrated above
that there are three such sets of sculptures at Bhuwaneswar. The
catalogue of antiquities of the Gwalior Museum contains a photograph
of images of Balarāma and it is expected that such sculptures are
scattered in other parts of India. A proper survey of these three
Vaishnava images will enable us to locate the area where the
Pañcharatra system of worship was prevalent and popular in ancient
and mediaeval periods of Indian History.

In conclusion I acknowledge with thanks various suggestions
which I received from Mr. Kedarnath Mahapatra of Bhuwaneswar.
Thanks are due also to my friends Pandit Binayak Mishra and Pandit
Bhagavan Panda for helping me in preparing the correct reading of
the text of the inscription of Chandra Devi from a photograph which, was
collected for the Baripada Museum of the Mayurbhanj State through
the kind permission of the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of
London.

* A plaster cast of Chandra Devi’s inscription is now preserved in
the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.
Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M. A., Director General of Archaeology in India, visited Bhubaneswar in early January, 1939, and I had the privilege of showing him the images of the Ananta-Vāsudeva and Ananta-Śwar temples and on examination he was pleased to agree with my identification. I had the opportunity of discussing this with Dr. R. C. Majumdar who expressed his appreciation and promised me to make arrangements for its early publication in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal', the General Secretary of which kept it pending for publication since June, 1937, and returned the same at my request in March, 1939. Out of three inscription slabs removed from the temples of Brahmeśvara, Megheśvara and Ananta-Vāsudeva of Bhubaneswar by Major Stuart, popularly called "Hindoo Stuart", two slabs belonging to the temples of Brahmeśvara and Megheśvara were presented by him to the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, and the slab belonging to the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple found its way to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, in a manner quite unknown now. The published text of the Megheśvara inscription is found to be satisfactory, but the texts of the other two inscriptions, and particularly the text of the Brahmeśvara inscription, have been improved to some extent and I intend to re-edit them shortly.

3

THE TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRĀ DEVI IN THE ANANTAVĀSUDĒVA TEMPLE AT BHUVANESVARA. *

This commemorative inscription was first published by Dr. L. D. Barnett in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XIII, pp. 150-55 for the years 1915-16. Dr. Barnett deserves thanks for his careful edition of the text of the inscription and useful notes.

While I was in London in 1934, I had the opportunity of examining the original inscription preserved in the hall of the Royal

* Published in the Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol.
Asiatic Society of Great Britain, and through the courtesy of the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society, I procured for Baripada Museum a photograph of the inscription which helped me in preparing the transcript as published below. Recently a plaster cast copy of the inscription slab has been brought from London to the Orissa State Museum. My reading differs here and there from that of Dr. Barnett, and in the footnotes of the text given below all variant readings have been noted.

Colonel Charles Stuart, popularly known as the 'Hindoostan Stuart', removed a good many sculptures and inscription slabs from Orissa before 1814. His collection of sculptures found way to the British Museum, London, where they are kept as Stuart-Bridge Collection. It is not known how many inscription slabs he removed, but it has been definitely known that he presented "two slabs with inscriptions from Bhubaneswar in Orissa" to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and it seems that he presented this inscription slab to the Royal Asiatic Society, London, before his death on the 31st March 1828. So it is found that since 1814 to 1915, no body knew about the existence of this inscription, and up to the end of 1939, it was not identified as the original inscription of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple of Bhubaneswar.1

The inscription slab measures 46 inches in length and 21\frac{1}{2} inches in breadth. The thickness, though immaterial, was not noted by me. The piece of the stone slab containing the inscription is in perfect preservation and contains 17 lines of writings, all four sides of which is marked by a border of double lines—leaving the margins on three sides—top, left and bottom.

The writing begins just below the border at the top and gives the full text of the praśasti. The area of writing covers a space of 42\frac{1}{2} inches in length, and 13\frac{1}{2} inches in breadth. So the space extending 3 inches below the last line has been left blank. This blank space suggests that there were not as many verses composed as would have been necessary to fill up the whole space of the slab. It is not understood what led Dr. Barnett to write the following:

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"The inscription is imperfect containing only the first block of the record. Owing to its incomplete state, the purport of the inscription is not clear."  

The stone slab is a complete one and the text of the prāṣasti is also complete and gives the full story. One peculiarity noticed in the inscription is this that the name of the poet which is generally found in the concluding verse, is found in the verse 17, and there are 6 more verses giving further details of the prāṣasti. This is due perhaps to the unnecessary blank space below the writing which was filled up with a few more new verses as the post script.

The date of the inscription is given by the chronogram ‘Vyoma-viyat-phaunindrarasana-chandra’ e.g. 0021 which gives the numerical figures of 1200 according to the rule ‘Aṅkānām vāmategatiḥ’. The Saka year 1200 corresponds to 1278 A D. when Bhānu, the son of Narasimha Deva was on the throne. As no other data are available, the exact date of the inscription is not possible.

The chronology of the Imperial Gaṅga kings of Orissa was settled by M.M. Chakravarti in 1903, but it seems that it escaped the notice of Dr. Barnett and so he had to remark as follows:—

"These facts in themselves show that the date given in verse 14 for the foundation of the temple is impossible × × ×. Hence it is clear that the writer of the present document in fixing the date of the foundation of the temple had no reliable materials at his command and utterly mis-calculated it."  

But the chronology of the Gaṅga kings proves that Umāpati, the poet had all reliable materials at his command which are corroborated by Minhāz, the Muslim historian, and the date of the inscription is correct without any doubt. H. K. S. who relied on the date given in the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1896 without a reference to M.M. Chakravarti’s paper of 1903, was similarly misled and wrote that "the date 1200 would thus be correct for Narasimha Deva II and not for his father Bhānu."  

R.D. Banerji relying on these notes has written in his

5. Ibid.
History of Orissa, Vol. 1, p. 267 that "This Chandrika built a temple of Vishnu at Bhubaneswar in the Saka year 1200 i.e., 1278 A.D. during the reign of her brother’s grand-son, Narasimha II".

The contents of the praśasti prove that the temple bearing this inscription is situated at Ekamra or Bhubaneswar where there are many temples. Dr. Barnett attempting to identify the temple has written as follows:

"It is, however, impossible to discover from which of these temples it comes. It belongs to a Vaishnava sanctuary."

It has been proved by me that this inscription belonged to the Anantavāsudeva temple.

The inscription gives the following genealogical table of the Imperial Gaṅga kings of Orissa.

| Narasimha Deva I (1238–1264 A.D.) | Chandra Devī who was given in marriage to Paramādi or Paramardī Deva belonging to the Haihaya family constructed the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple in the Saka year 1200 or 1278 A.D. |
| Bhāundeva I (1264–1279 A.D.) | |
| Choḍagaṅga (1111–1147 A.D. in Orissa*) |
| Anākabhīma III (1211–1238 A.D.) |

Verses 2, 3, 7, 10, 14, 19 and 20 refer to the events of the reign of Choḍagaṅga, Anākabhīma II and Narasimhadeva I. Choḍagaṅga has been called an emperor (Samrāj) whose empire extended from the Gaṅges to the Godāvari. Then the poet omits

6. Ibid.
the names of the immediate successors of Chodagaṅga (1147-121) and in verse 3 eulogises the activities of Anākabbhīma III who is said to have had a very powerful cavalry and defeated the Javanas with impetuosity after entering into their territory in Bengal. The war of Anākabbhīma with the Javanas is also referred to in the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri 8, an extract from which is quoted below.

"In the year 641 H., the Rāe of Jajnagar 9 commenced molesting the Lakhanaawati territory; and, in the month of Shawwal, 641 H., Malik Tughri-il-Tughan Khan marched towards the Jajnagar country, and this servant of the State accompanied him on that holy expedition. On reaching Kātāsin, which was the boundary of Jajnagar (on the side of Lakhanaawati), on Saturday the 6th of the month of Zi-Kadab, 641 H. (15th April 1244 A. D.) Malik Tughri-il-Tughan Khan made his troops mount, and an engagement commenced. The holy warriors of Islām passed over two ditches, and the Hindu infidels took to fight. So far as they continued in the author's sight, except the fodder which was before their elephants, nothing fell into the hands of the foot men of the army of Islām, and moreover, Malik Tughri-il-Tughan Khan's commands were that no one should molest the elephants and, for this reason, the fierce fire of battle subsided."

"When the engagement had been kept up until mid-day the foot men of the Musalmān army—every one of them—returned (to the camp?) to eat their food, and the Hindus in another direction stole through the cane jannah and took five elephants, and about two hundred foot and fifty horsemen came upon the rear of a portion of the Musalmān army. The Muhommadians sustained an over-throw, and a great number of those holy warriors attained martyrdom, and Malik Tughri-il-Tughan Khan retired from that place without having effected his object, and returned to Lakhanaawati."

"In the same year (642 H.) likewise the Rāe of Jajnagar in order to avenge the plundering of Kātāsin, which had taken place in

8. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 738.
9. Minhaz, the author of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri has described Orissa as Jajnagar which he came to know perhaps when he was in Bengal from a source unfortunately not given by him. The Muslim historians described Orissa as Jajnagar after Minhaz up to the time of Akbar.
the preceding year, as has already been recorded, having turned his face towards the Lakhanawati territory, on Tuesday the 13th of the month of Shawwal, 642 H. (14th March 1245 A. D.) the army of the infidels of Jainagar, consisting of elephants, and Payiks (foot men) in great numbers arrived opposite Lakhanawati. Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan came out of the city to confront them. The infidel host, on coming beyond the frontier of the Jainagar territory, first took Lakhanor; and Fakhru-ul-Mulk Karim ud-Din Laghri who was the Feudatory of Lakhanor with a body of Musalmans, they made martyrs of, and, after that, appeared before the gate of Lakhanawati".

"The leader of the forces of Jainagar was a person, by name, Sabantar (Sawan.tara ? ), the son-in-law of the Râs, who during the time of Malik Izz-ud-Din Tughril-i-Tughan Khan, had advanced to the bank of the river of Lakhanawati, and, having shown the greatest audacity, had driven the Musalmân forces as far as the gate (of the city) of Lakhanawati".

The expression “on coming beyond the frontier of the Jainagar territory” seems to be the translation of the Sanskrit ‘Svantopasarpajjavam’ of this inscription. This similarity of expression and the disclosure of relationship of the King of Orissa with the leader of the forces of Jainagar suggest that the fight of Tughril Khan of Bengal with the King of Jainagar took place with Narasimha Deva I, the son of Anaâgabhîma Deva. The date of this fight is “March 1245 A. D.” The mention of Paramarâdî as “the son-in-law of the Rai” by minhâz suggests that the war of the Ganga kings of Orissa with the Muhammadan kings of Bengal was fought by the son-in-law of Anaâgabhîma Deva III during the reign of Narasimha Deva I.

Line 3 of verse 3 refers to the powerful cavalry of Anaâgabhîma which was composed of swift horses. Verses 8 and 11 of the Megheśvara inscription also refer to the horses of Anaâgabhîma.

Verse 7 mentions Chandra Devi’s husband who was an ornament of the Haihaya lineage. The Châteśvara inscription mentions that Anaâgabhîma’s minister named Vishnu defeated in battle the King.

10. Tobâquat-i-Nasîri, pp. 739-40
11. Ibid p. 762-63
of Tumhāra (Tumāna prthvipatī). Dr H.C. Ray writes that 'It was probably after his (Anangabhima's) victory over the rulers of Tumāna that he gave his sister Chandrika in marriage to the Haihaya king Paramardi' 14. The title of Śāmantarāya (Sabantra in Persian) indicates that Paramardī Deva was not a ruler and the want of any title in the name of Chandrā Devī also points to the same conclusion. An inscription dated 1211 A.D., the year in which Anangabhima ascended the throne, refers to the gift of a land by a certain Kardama Rāja who was a Viceroy and who belonged to the Haihaya dynasty.' 15 This also goes against the conclusion of Dr. Ray.

Verse 20 says that Pāramāḍī Deva lived happily with his wife and that after winning several victories for King Narasimha Deva, he breathed his last in the battle.

Verse 10 describes the usefulness of the 'Ganīhasindhu' stream which flows near Bhubaneswar. The description suggests that this stream was made to flow near Bhubaneswar by Chauḍgāṇga. It seems that in order to make a good water supply to the town of Bhubaneswar this stream was dug out of the Kuakhāi branch of the Kātajori river by the orders of Chauḍgāṇga. The history of digging the canals from the rivers is very old in Orissa. Kharavela's inscription refers to a canal dug out by a king of the Nanda dynasty. The name of the Kātajori means Kāta (cut or dug) jori or 'jodi' (river) and points to its artificial origin. The rivers in the Puri District flow at right or acute angles from the river Kātajori and such a course is only possible in the case of men-made streams.

Verse 19 refers to the accomplishments of the princesses of the Gaṅga house. Chandra Devī learned the art of singing, dancing and playing on musical instruments. In addition to these she also received religious training when she was a child.

Verse 14 gives the date when the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple was built by Chandra Devī, daughter of Anangabhima Deva and sister of Narasimha Deva I. She survived her brother Narasimha Deva I (1238-1264) and her nephew Bhānudeva I (1264-1279). In the

Saka year 1200 (1178 A.D.) she built the Ananta-Vasudeva temple. The use of the expression ‘Chiram śasati’ by the poet signifies that Bhānudeva was still occupying the throne although Dr. H. C. Ray writes that “It seems therefore certain that the temple was constructed in the last year of Bhānu and the inscription was written and the temple dedicated in the beginning of the reign of Narasimha II.”16 “Paramardi, we are told fell in battle against the enemies of Narasimha Deva (Narasimha II). I have accepted Dr. Barnett’s suggestion that this prince is probably Narasimha II. The date fits in well with the identification.”17 This conclusion of Dr. Ray is untenable.

Before the construction of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple in 1278 A.D. the sun temple at Konārka, called Konākona18 in the copper plates of Nardsimha Deva II, was built by Narasimha Deva I. Dr. H. C. Ray suggests that Konākona “subsequently came to be known as Konārka or Konāraka.”19 The temple of Konākona was known as ‘Pagoda of Conmereon’ in the 17th century.20 It seems that Konākona was shortened to Konako or Konāka and as a result of its association with the sun (arka) Konāka was subsequently known as Konārka.

The poet Umāpati composed the pṛaṣasti (v. 17). He was a devotee of Siva (Tripurāri).

I have elsewhere described the deities named Ralarāma, Kṛshna and Subhadrā21 enshrined in the temple. As the style of the images is different from that of the other images in the temple it seems that the Ananta-Vasudeva temple was rebuilt for the deities by Chandra Devi in a subsequent date, and the cult images are earlier in date than that of the existing temple.

The Praṣasti of Chandra Devi consists of 23 verses. Dr. Barnett has mentioned the names of 8 different vītas namely Vasanta-tīlaka, Mandākranta, Sragdharā, Sardula-Vikridita Aryā, Anusṣṭap.

17. Ibid, p. 484.
20. Bowrey’s Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, p. 129.
Prthvi and Puspitāgrā which have been used by the poet Umāpati in composing the 23 verses of the Praṣasti. Below is given the list of verses composed in different metres.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metres</th>
<th>Verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Vasantatilaka</td>
<td>1. 15, 17 &amp; 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sārddula vikrīditā</td>
<td>4, 6, 14, 19, 20 &amp; 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Anusūh</td>
<td>5, 8, 9, 13, 18 &amp; 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Prthvi</td>
<td>10, 11 &amp; 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Puspitāgrā</td>
<td>16.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TEXT*

(1.1) सम्भान्तज्ञमभिरुपमथूपास्मान-लोकालसेन्द्रू नयनामाणशशस्तनानिः।
भिन्नाभिलापरिताति जयति शम्भो-नंत्राम्‌ताति सुराराजपुरानानां।

वीर सम्राट् समरदिलारातिराजन्यस्वरूपस्मेरा (1.2) भूमिजीकता वसुवादेवतारायणं सः।
आणामवादसरसित् यथेतद्वीमस्तुवंभु-ज्ञौका सोन्ते सूरसहरीकामुक्षोहस्य हः॥

यह यो वैजयन्तीपरं इव सुभ्य्यसामार्मभाभं।
प्रवस्तरातिराजहजुवत्तिजनोद्योगी (1.3)त गम्भीरसर्व।
श्रास्तदशीपरिवर्ततरस्त्रास्तहार्ष्यार्गकोऽहः:
सोन्ते ् च स्वान्तापश्चत्त जवमपि जवनं ् सत्रे सत्रहै।

* From the photograph and plastercast of the original.
1. Expressed by a symbol. 2. The letter म्य appears to be written as म्य। 3. The letter श्र is written as श्र। 4. The letter स of समर is written below ट of सम्राट। 5. The letter व of ब्रुधा is written below त of अक्ष। 6. It is written as स्वन्ते which was read by Dr. Barnett. 7. There is no sign of अन्तूर in न of जवन।
8. The letter य of येत्रेजः is written as the sign of य with द of छलादः. 9. रबि was read as बबु by Dr. Barnett, but the form of र of रबि is the same as that of र of बब्र. 10. The letter ष of षूर्षण has no stroke in it. It appears that the forms of Oriya letters ष and ष were formed during later half of the 13th Century. 11. ष has been written in place of ष. 12. The sign of ष्या in ष्य of बंश is not given. 13. The text gives the reading of परम्प्री Prakṛta form of परम्प्री. 14. ष्य is written as ष्य. 15. The letter ष्य of ष्यु is not clear. 16. The sign of ष्या is not given in ष्य of ष्या. 17. Four letters after ष्यम are not clear. 18. ष्यम्ब्री gives proper meaning and not ष्यम्ब्र as suggested in the correction.
19. As स्य is given after a letter which appears as ध or ध I have taken it as य which is also suggested in the correction. 20, ती of मजली is given as ता 21. The sign of चा of ता is not given 22. The original gives the reading of तान 23 सिंह has been written as सिंह 24. The letters सति of शासित are not clear 25. The sign for त is not given in स्प of तिवार 26. The letter ध is written for उध 27. The letter श of शिवार is written as स 28. The letter हि of तुहिनगर is clear Dr. Barnett read the first seven letters as अपि तिवार 29. The reading of गमंगहर fits in well and is clear Dr. Barnett read it as गम्म-गहर which does not give any meaning. 30. The letter रू of तुहिनगर is written below क of समय.
The reading of सुख is clear as suggested in the correction. 32. The reading of चन्द्रपर्वत seems to be appropriate. In this inscription the forms of letters प and य are almost similar.

Dr. Barnett suggested the reading as चन्द्रपर्वत. It can be read as चन्द्रबर्वत. The text of verse 18 rather supports the reading of चन्द्रपर्वत. 33. परमशि is found in the original. 34. The sign of य is not given in या of मन्य। 35. The letter घ of अन्य is written as घ। 36. देवयान has been written as देवयान। 37. The reading देवा is clear Dr. Barnett read it बिष्णु which also gives the meaning. 38. The mid-stroke of प is wanting and the letter is written as प। 39. The reading of परमशि is clear. 40. The reading of सकल is clear Dr. Barnett read as सकल। 41. देशार्थ has been written as देसर। 42. अन्तर्भ केशवम was read by Dr. Barnett as मूर्ति केशवम। अन्तर्भ केशव means enshrined Kesava.
TRANSLATION

1. Victorious are the deeds of Sambhu (Siva) who exercises the soothing influence through the glance of the moon-eye (not the sun-eye and fire-eye, the other two eyes of three eyed Siva) and which are indolent with play which he manifested in the beggar’s guise, and which are revered by the fortunate Indra, the enemy of Jambha and the king of gods, and therefore are dear like the nectar to the eyes of the damsels of heaven.

2. Chordaanga was not only a hero but an emperor also and performed the worship of the goddess Earth with lotus faces of the hostile kings cut off in battle while smiling; (he) was the sole enjoyer of the region extending from the river Goda (Godavari) to the river of gods (Gangá) and after his death became a gallant to the mistresses of the gods.

3. In his (Chordaanga’s) lineage was like a flag the heroic Anaalkabhum, whose profound strength was celebrated by the damsels of a multitude of hostile kings destroyed by his power, and who was exceedingly proud of his swift horses, the speed of which surpassed that of the snakes’ foe Garuda. He made an end of the war by defeating the Javanas with impetuosity after entering into their territory beyond the frontier.

4. Distressed by the sparks of his radiant gems, Sesha, the king of snakes, felt ashamed of his gems of less lusture upon his thousand heads, and therefore, plunged down into the waters of Patala and this moving sun, the king of planets, cannot be compared with the gems of the motionless radiance for the reason that the moving sun appears as if the flying leaves carried into the sky by the tempests raged by the blasts issuing from the nostrils of his elephant troops.

5. From this terrestrial moon of kings was born the beauteous Chandrika whose moon-like face filled the hearts of the people of the world with showers of nectar.

6. "Dwelling in the lotus of whose face, Lakshmi, the Goddess of fortune, thinks not of the lotus-lake Having an eternal home in

* Dr. L. D. Barnett’s language has been quoted in regard to the verses 6, 8, 18, 20 and 23 and has been freely utilised in the translation of other verses for which I owe a debt to him,
whose modest lotus eyes, she has no longing for Kṛṣṇa; but as she embraces her limbs in delight, she takes no thought of the gods, thus Chandrika becomes as if it were a prison-house to enslave the glances of the whole world."

7. Her husband Paramarddī was an ornament of the Haihaya dynasty, the best of heroes, possessor of native strength and was as charming as the moon, the lord of stars.

8. "There is this province of Utkala, where the five friends of the god of five arrows—the eye and others—appear fulfilled of desire in (their several) series of objects."

9. There lies this holy place called Ekāmra (famous for a single mango tree) now adorned with hundreds of mango-groves, wherein there exists only a single Devakula (temple) surrounded by numerous temples.

10. There dwells Girijāpati (the lord of Mountain's daughter) where flows in the vicinity a stream called Gandhsindu, which is as if a true fount worthy of gods, and in order to enjoy its beauty and utility which are superior to that of Indra by his descendants, Lord Kṛttivāsa founded got it by valiant Chodagaṅga.

11. There lies the incomparable ocean, the Bindu-sara, the water of which springs out of nectarous swells and is worthy to be drunk by the sight and is the remover of weariness of pilgrims. Other holy places do not attain the divine rank of even a drop of its water. In order to remove sorrow of the world Purajit (the conqueror of Tripura, Siva) created this lake as a token of grace to the people (by Chodagaṅga).

12. See how the female monkeys jump on the back of old (big) turtles while swimming on the surface of its water and make them into pleasure boats; when the turtles dive in, the monkeys become submerged and jump on the bank after their monkey-like diving in water; beholding all these the crowd on the banks are thrown into consternation.

13-14. Here, on the bank of this ornament of holy places which is thick-set with various trees and sanctified by the residence of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva and thus serves the purpose of Nandana, when there had elapsed the Saka king’s year denominated by "sky, sky, snake-king’s tongues, moon" or 1200, King Narasimhadeva’s son King
Bhānudeva has long been reigning over this kingdom as far as the sea, the daughter of Bhīma (Anāgabhīma) constructed for Hari a temple to last as long as the sun and the moon shine in the sky.

15. She made these two portions (Vāsudeva and Saṅkarshana) of Hari who eternally retires in great ocean, to enter into or be installed in the temple which suggests the primal sphere whence arose the universe by the stately display of firm golden capital upon its lofty spire and is a fitting representation of the form of Brahmā. (Here the poet describes the Kalaśa of the temple)

16. Having been adorned with a sun-like disc (Ckakra) this temple excels Siva with a spotted moon on his crest. The inside sanctum built according to the principles of architecture devised by Maya, the great architect, also excels the sun wherein only one Nāryana resides but hererin two gods Ananta and Vāsudeva have been enshrined.

17. The blessed poet Umāpati, a devotee of Siva, the foe of three cities, duly composed in no long time this dedicatory eulogium having merits of every kind of a banner brilliant with gold for this temple constructed by her.

18. "Seeing the face of the daughter to be modest like a moon king Bhīma called her name Chandra-devi."

19. Learned in songs, a seat of sport in skilful practice of arts of musical measure, beating of time, and the dance, and having a soul inspired with devotion to Achyuta (Vishnau) from the childhood onwards and the radiance and beauty of the moon this daughter Chandrika together with jewels was given (in marriage) by her father to Paramarddi, the knight, (kshatriya) and the scion of Haihaya lineage.

20. "After he had practised with his wife diverse kinds of pleasure in which delight was attendant upon amorous passions; the valiant Paramadī-deva, having found the enemies of the battle-loving king Vīra Narasimha-deva to be dwelling in the world of the gods, went himself thither in fury to conquer them, I knew with full display of glory."

21. At the vast holy place (Kṣetra) called Eakāmra which is very dear to god Kṛttivāsas and well known for bestowing divine achievements, and ever brilliant with flowers of every season, she, with eagerness, and being inspired with faith, built this temple full of
carvings and adorned it with an auspicious pitcher-capital for god Purushottama in order to go the place of Vishnu, the eternal.

22. She constructed this peerless temple similar to the divine image of Kesava which is beautiful from top to bottom, the giver of piety, the visiting place of virtuous people being adorned with the protesting discus and exceedingly bounteous in distributing the holy food.

23. Inspired with spiritual devotion and joy, she according to her ability decorated with diadems and other ornaments Baladeva, Kṛṣṇa and Subhadra with a view to attain the final bliss.
**4**

**GENEALOGY OF THE SOMAKULĪ KINGS OF KOŚALA AND UTKALA**

The Brahmeśvara and Balijhari inscriptions of Mahābhavagupta Udyotakesarī corroborate each other from which the following genealogical table of the Somakuli kings of Kośala and Utkala is prepared and the name of Karuakesārī has been added to the list at the end from Sandhyākaranandin’s Ramacharita.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kośala line</th>
<th>Utkala line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Janamejaya (Mahābhavagupta I)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Yayāti (Mahāśivagupta II)</td>
<td>2. Vichitravīra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bhimaratha (Mahābhavagupta II)</td>
<td>3. Name not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Dharmaratha (Mahāśivagupta III)</td>
<td>4. Abhimanyu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Joint rulers of Kośala and Utkala**

5. Naghusa (Mahābhavagupta III)  
6. Chandibara alias Yayāti II (Mahāśivagupta IV) brother of 4  
7. Udyotakesārī (Mahābhavagupta IV)  
8. Karuakesārī

* This paper was read at the meetings of the Indian History Congress, Madras in 1944.
The above list differs from that given by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who accepts Yayatī II of the Jatesinga Dungri copper plate as the founder of the family. While reviewing Mr. R. D. Banerji’s *History of Orissa* Vols. I and II, Dr. Bhandarkar wrote the following in this connection:

“But Banerji holds that the first king of this dynasty is Mahābhavagupta – Janamejaya and not his father Sivagupta. He, however, ignores in this connection an attributive occurring in the Jatesinga-Dungri plate published by Mr. B.C. Mazumdar in J.B.O.R.S. Vol. II, page 52 ff which were issued by Mahāśivagupta-Yayatideva, successor of Mahābhavagupta deva. The former speaks of himself here - Svabhujoparjiita - Trikaliṇapadhipati; Lord of the Trikaliṇa (country) acquired through his own arms. Evidently he was the first king of the dynasty of Trikaliṇa, and must be taken as the father and not the son of Mahābhavagupta wrongly taken as the first king by Banerji. It is true that the Jatesinga-Dungri plates couple the titles of the supreme ruler not only with the son of Mahāśivagupta but also with the father, Mahābhavagupta – The first, however, made himself the founder of the Trikaliṇa family. The father no doubt, was an overlord, but must have ruled elsewhere. There is a nominative termination after Svabhujoparjiita - Trikaliṇa adhipati; which has been ignored, but which shows that it is an epithet of Mahāśivagupta. The transcript of Mr. Mazumdar is quite clear on the point and is in entire agreement with the facsimile which accompanied his article.”

On the other hand specific mention has been made in the inscriptions of the years 24 and 28 of Yayatī, the year 3 of Bhimaratha and year 4 and 18 of Udyotakesari that Janamejaya was the founder of the family and Dr. Bhandarkar has ignored this point. When the contemporary family records gives the name of Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta as the founder of the family I think Mr. R. D. Banerji was right in taking Janamejaya as the founder of the family and Dr. Bhandarkar’s argument on his own interpretation of the attributive Svabhujoparjiita - Trikaliṇapadhipati is untenable on the ground discussed below.

There are found altogether 22 inscriptions of the Simakula Kings up to July 1942 and these are arranged in the appendix chronologically according to Balijhari and Brahmeśwar inscriptions. Against the name of each ruler are given the year of the inscription, place or the residence and name of the Sándhivigraha. It is generally found that the post of the Sándhivigraha is hereditary and in this dynasty the names of Sándhivigraha help us to know the chronological position of each ruler. Pandit Binayak Misra discussed this point in his paper on Balijhari copper plate in 1930-31 and in his book entitled The Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa. I have verified the names of Sándhivigraha from the facsimile prints. The genealogical table given above is prepared from the inscriptions arranged according to the chronological order.

In the inscription of Janamejaya, Malladatta, son of Dhāradatta is the Sándhivigraha. Malladatta is again found to be a Rasaka in the inscriptions dated the 31st year of the donor. The inscriptions No. 9-12 were issued with the knowledge of Sándhivigraha Rāsaka Dhāradatta and the inscription No. 13 of the year 28 of the donor was issued by Sándhivigraha Simhadatta who is also the Sándhivigraha of Bhimaratha. It seems that Dhāradatta survived his son Malladatta and as he was very old, these grants were issued by Mahākṣapatalika with his knowledge. Rudradatta was the son of Devadatta, the brother of Simhadatta and grandson of Harṣadatta. It seems that Harṣadatta was the son of Malladatta and so the genealogical table of the family of the Sándhivigraha is as follows:

Rāsaka Dhāradatta
   /\                       /
  Rāsaka Malladatta       Rāsaka Rudradatta
   \                      /\                        /
    Harṣadatta           Devadatta
                     /\                        /
                   Simhadatta

As Rudradatta served three kings named Naghṇuṣa Mahābhavagupta III, Yayāti II, Mahāśivagupta IV and Udyotakesari Mahābhavagupta IV, it seems that he began his service early and lived long just like his great-grand-father Dhāradatta.

It is interesting to find that the inscription Nos. 1556, 1557, and 1570 of Bhandarkar's list were issued in the 3rd year of reign of
Mahâbhavaguptâ I Janamejaya, Mahâbhavaguptâ II Bhûmaratha and Mahâsîvaguptâ IV Yayâti II respectively. When Janamejaya possesses the title of Trikalingadhipati in his earliest record, it seems that he assumed it himself and not inherited it from his father Sivagupta or Mahâsîvagupta.

The inscription of the year 8 of Janamejaya mentions Mahâsîvagupta and other inscriptions mention Sivagupta who had no title of Trikalingadhipati attached to his name. In the inscriptions Nos. 5-14 and 18 the title of Trikalingadhipati occurs twice before the name of the donor—first in the genealogical portion and then in the text showing the Samvat or regnal year of the donor. In the inscriptions Nos. 10–14 the title of Trikalingadhipati is found attached to the name of the predecessors of the donors. In the grant Nos. 16 this title only once occurs before the name of the donor and in the grant No. 17 the title has an epithet of Svabhujoparjijita. The use of the title of Trikalingadhipati without any epithet in all other inscriptions makes it difficult to explain the necessity of the new epithet in a single inscription and we must wait for the further discovery of similar inscriptions when it may be possible to find out any further clue to the significance of its use.

In the Jatesinga dungri copper plate of Yayâti II there are many new Virudas which are not found in the copper plates granted by his predecessors, and these Virudas are all recorded in the inscription before 'Svabhujoparjijita Trikalingadhipati'. If Svabhujoparjijita is separated from Trikalingadhipati, it cannot be connected with the preceding virudas which are really acquired by Yayâti II. The Viruda Trikalingadhipati was assumed by all his predecessors and even by his father. The only possible interpretation of Svabhujoparjijita as an adjective to Trikalingadhipati seems to be this that the re-establishment of former powers of his predecessors along with his own conquest of countries after the attack of Râjendrachola is due to Yayâti II, who perhaps was the head of the army during the life time, of his father in whose copper plate the title of Trikalingadhipati was used according to the family tradition. When Yayâti II succeeded him he not only introduced the new Virudas but put an adjective Svabhujoparjijita to the family title Trikalingadhipati by virtue of his actual reconquest of the lost territories.

In the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. XX p. 76-82 Dr. D. C. Sircar has published a paper on the genealogy of the Somakuli Kings, but it has not been possible for me to include his points in my paper.
### Appendix - Chronological Table of Inscriptions of Somakuli Kings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Inscriptions</th>
<th>Name &amp; Title of the King with that of the Predecessor</th>
<th>Samvat</th>
<th>Place of Issue or Residence</th>
<th>Name of Mahāsāndhivigrāhi</th>
<th>Reference in L.N.I.I &amp; E.I.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>P.M.P. Śrī Śivaguptadeva pādaṇudhyāta P.P.M.P. Somakulaśilaka Trikalingaśipati Śrī Mahābhaṇa guptaśajadeva. The portion dealing with the Samvat records the name Śrī Janamejayaśa deva.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Suvarṇapura</td>
<td>Name not given</td>
<td>E.I. Vol. XI, P. 94 No. 1557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Same as No. 1 with Paramāvara before Śrī Mahābhaṇa gupta deva.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mūrasima</td>
<td>Malla (datta) son of Dhara datta</td>
<td>J. &amp; P.A.S.B. Vol. I p. 12, No 1558.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Same as No. 1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>E.I. Vol. III, p. 341 No. 1559.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>P. M. P. Śrī Mahāśivagupta-śajadeva pādaṇudhyāta and then follows as No. 1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>Rānaka Malladatta son of Dhāradatta</td>
<td>E.I. Vol. VIII, p. 141 No. 1560.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Same as No. 1 but the title of Trikalingaśipati is attached to the name Janamejaya in the portion of the text referring to Samvat.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Arama</td>
<td>Mal'adatta</td>
<td>E.I. Vol. XXIII, P. 248 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Inscriptions</td>
<td>Name &amp; title of the king with that of the predecessor</td>
<td>Samvat</td>
<td>Place of issue or residence</td>
<td>Name of Mahāsandhivigrāhi</td>
<td>Reference in L N I I &amp; E I</td>
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<tr>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>Same as No. 1 but the title of Trikalingādhhipati is attached to the name Janamejaya in the portion of the text referring to Samvat.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Vijaya Kataka</td>
<td>Ranaka Malla datta</td>
<td>E.I Vol. III, p 347 No 1562-64,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>P.P.M. Sri Mahābhavagupta rājadēva pādānudhyāyi P.P.M.P. Somākulatīka Trikalingādhhipati Sīrī Mahāśīvagupta, rājadēva in the Samvat portion Trikalingādhhipati is attached to Srimat Yāyatı deva-raja.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Vinitapura Kataka</td>
<td>Pānaka Dhāradatta</td>
<td>J. &amp; P.A S.B Vol.1 P 14 No 1565,</td>
</tr>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Same as No. 9 with the exception that Trikalingādhhipati is attached to Mahābhavaguptarājadēva.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td>E.I Vol.III, p 351 No. 1566,</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Same as No.9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td>E.I Vol XI, p. 96 No. 1567.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Same as No. 10</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Yayātinagara</td>
<td></td>
<td>J. &amp; P.A S.B. Vol. I p. 16, No.1568,</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Same as No. 10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>Simhadatta</td>
<td>J. &amp; P.A S.B. Vol. I p 19, No.1569,</td>
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<tr>
<td>No. of Inscriptions</td>
<td>Name &amp; title of the king with that of the predecessor</td>
<td>Samvat</td>
<td>Place of issue or residence</td>
<td>Name of Mahāsāndhivigrahī</td>
<td>Reference in L.N.I.I. &amp; E.I.</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>P.P.M.P. Somakulatilaka Trikalingadhipati Mahāśivagupta rājadeva pāḍānuḍhyāta P. P. M. P Somakulatilaka - Trikalingādhipati Śrī Mahābhavagupta rājadeva and in the portion of the Samvat P.P.M.P.S.T. are attached to the name Bhimaratha.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yayātinagara</td>
<td>Simhadatta</td>
<td>E I. Vol. III, p.356 No. 1570.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Paramamāheśvara Mātopiṭrī pāḍānuḍhyāta Mahārajadhīrāja Parameśvara Paramabhatṭāraka Somakulatilaka Trikalingādhipati Śrī Mahābhavagupta rājadeva. No title or name in the text referring to the Samvat</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rudradatta, son of Devadatta</td>
<td>E.I. Vol.XXII, p. 135-138</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Suvarnapura</td>
<td>Rānaka Rudradatta</td>
<td>J.B. &amp; O.R.S. Vol 11 No. 1556.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No of Inscriptions</td>
<td>Name &amp; title of the king with that of the predecessor.</td>
<td>Samvat</td>
<td>Place of issue or residence</td>
<td>Name of Mahāsandhivigrahi</td>
<td>Reference in L.N.I.I &amp; E. I.</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>P. M. S. T. Trikalingadhipati Srimad Udyotakeśari Deva.</td>
<td>18</td>
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THE DATE AND POWER OF THE SOMAKULI KINGS OF ORISSA.*

The verse 2 of the Brahmeswar temple inscription refers not only to the conquest of Odra by Janamejaya but also the capture of all the fortunes of the king of the Odra country. This reference of the conquest of Odra is corroborated by the Kalachuri inscriptions. The Kalachuri king Laksanaraja of Dhalala, son of Yuvaraja I, is said to have defeated the Lord of Kosala (Kosalanatha) and took possession of jewels and gold which were obtained from the Odranripati. This cross reference is very important for the date of the Somakuli kings as it furnishes an evidence that Janamejaya was the contemporary of Laksmanaraja.

In verse 3 of the above inscription Yayati has been described as a king who possessed the seven attributes of the king "Saptangarajyeśvara" from which it can be inferred that he was a powerful king. In his copper plate of the year 8, Yayati is said to have defeated the Ochedis and made Dhalala uninhabited. It seems that after Janamejaya's defeat at the hands of Laksamanaraja, Yayati took revenge and subdued Chedinatha. On this identification it can be inferred that Janamejaya and Yayati flourished in the second quarter of the 10th. century.

In verse 6 of the Brahmesvara inscription it is found that after the death of Bhirmaratha, his kingdom was devastated by various warriors. In the Tamil inscriptions of the years 13, 16, 17, and 19 of Rajendra Chola, Dharmaratha has been mentioned. By this identification we are now in definite foot to know the date of Dharmaratha who died before 1025 A D. and from this date the period of rule of the Somakuli kings of Kosala and Utkala can be ascertained with much accuracy.

* : This paper was read at the meetings of the Indian History Congress, Madras 1944.
In connection with the date of Somakuli kings the views of the previous writers are quoted or abridged below.

Fleet made a thorough study of the palaeographic considera-
tions and came to the following conclusion:—

"The general result of the palaeographic considerations taken
together, is, that these records cannot possibly be placed before
A.D. 900 They may belong to any later period But on the whole,
I should say that the characters are of the 11th. century and that the
kings mentioned in them are to be placed somewhere between A.D.
1090 and 1106."  

These arguments fully corroborate our conclusion which is
now based on the date then wanting.

Kielhorn writes that "this inscription can not have been
written earlier than about first half of the 12th century A.D.
Kielhorn's view is found to be far from truth.

Ganagamohan Laskar did not discuss the date of the inscrip-
tions which he edited in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic

Hiralal accepted the views of Fleet and so also B.C. Mazumdar
in E. I. Vol. X.

Pandit Binayak Misra's views are quoted below:—

"If Janamejaya be placed in the last decade of the 9th.
century A. D., the commencement of Yayati II's reign falls between
950-70 A. D. "  In order to arrive at this date he allotted 26 years to
Janamejaya, 24 years to Yayati I, 10 years to Bhimaratha and 10
years to Dharmaratha and Nahusa and gets 70 years after the date of
Janamejaya. Elsewhere he writes that "Udyotakeshari may be assigned
to the beginning of the 11th. century A. C." He again has discussed
the date of Somakuli kings in his book entitled "Orissa under the
Bhauma Kings" at pages 71-74 and writes that Udyotakeshari can be
assigned therefore to 1020 A. D. at the latest and allotting 25 years for

5. Ibid., Vol IV, 1896-97 p 256.
7. Ibid. p. 12.
his predecessors he suggests the date of Janamejaya is §95 (wrongly
printed 995).

Dr. H. C. Ray writes as follows on the date of these
inscriptions:—

"As we have dates recorded of his (Janamejaya) reign upto
the 31st year, we can approximately assign him to the period
975-1010 A.D. If this period for him is correct, he may have
been the Kosalanatha who was defeated by Tripuri Kalachuri
Laksmanaraja".8

As his (Yayati's) grants record his 28th year, he may have
flourished during the period c. 1010-1050 A.D. He was thus a
contemporary of Rajendra Cola, and must have witnessed the latter's
northern expedition, which was undertaken sometime between
1022 and 1025 A.D."9

On the date of Bhimaratha, Dr. Ray writes "His inscriptions
show that he ruled for at least 13 years. On palaeographical evidence
we may refer him approximately to the period 1050 to 1075 A.D.10

The above assumptions of Pandit B. Misra and Dr. H.C. Ray are
untenable for the reason that Bhimaratha's successor Dharmaratha
was living before 1025 A.D. and so the period of rule of his prede-
cessors Janamejaya, Yayati and Bhimaratha is undoubtedly earlier
to 1025 A.D. The total of actual years of reigns of Janamejaya,
Yayati I and Bhimaratha is (31+28+13) 72 years and if we take it
as 75, we get the earliest date of Janamejaya as 950 A.D. by
deducting 75 from 1025 or a decade earlier. This date is corroborated
by that assigned long ago by Dr. Fleet approximately. As the name
of the king of Odrastra who was defeated by Janamejaya, is not
given, it is not possible to know about the dynasty to which he
belonged. It is not definitely known if this vanquished king of Odra
belonged to the Bhauma dynasty or to some other dynasty after
the fall of the Bhaumas. The copper plate inscriptions go to prove

that there were Rhañja, Tuñga, Sthambha, Nanda and Varaña families in Orissa in the period who had no royal titles such as Paramamahēśvara Paramabhāṭāraśka etc., but they issued copper plate grants. The mention of Silābhañjāpatai Visaya in Oḍrāḷ in the inscription of Yayati suggests that the Bhañja rulers were there before the advent of the Somakuli kings in Orissa as the name of the Visaya is derived from the name of Silā Bhañja. The dates 288 and 293 of the copper plates of Ranaabhañja Deva of Khijingakūra (modern Khiching in Mayurbhañj) gives us the dates 894 A. D. 899 A.D. according to the calculation of the Harsa era. On the other hand we get the date of one of the copper plate grants of Dandīmahādevī of the Bhauma dynasty as 137 which gives us the date of the grant as 793-94 A. D. according to Harsa era as accepted by Pandit B. Misra and Dr. R.C. Mazumdar.

As no other inscription of the Bhauma kings after Dandī Mahādevī is known, there is no harm to suppose that the Bhauma dynasty ceased to rule after her and as there was no supreme authority in the beginning of the 9th century A.D. in Tosala or Utkala, Govinda III of the Rāstrakūta family (who ruled from 794-813 A.D.) is said to have invaded Orissa and this invasion perhaps crushed the Bhauma power in Tosala. In the first decade of 9th century Devapāla of the Pala dynasty of Gauḍa defeated the Utkalas of S. W. Bengal. From Taranath's account it is found that there was political chaos in Orissa in the 9th century A.D. when several ruling families tried to maintain their independence. The copper plate grants of the Bhañjas, the Sthambhas etc. fully support the account of Taranatha about the condition of Orissa in the early part of the 9th century A. D. and so the conquest of Orissa by Janamejaya from west was not an difficult thing.

The date of the successors of Dharmaratha namely Nahusa Yayati II and Udyotakeśari can thus be assigned to a period later than 1025 A.D. and if we can allot 45 to 50 years, we get the date

12. Orissa under the Bhauma kings p. 78-79.
15. Falas of Bengal p. 56.
of Udyotakeśari somewhere in 1070 A.D. The inscriptions of Yayāti II and Udyotakeśari make reference to their power and conquest. It is found from the description of the route of expedition of Rajendra Chola that there were several small but powerful principalities situated in the region of the N. E. of Chakrakoṣa in Bastar and to the S.W. of the river Gaṅgā in Bengal. Let us see what was the political condition of eastern India from 1025 to 1125 A.D. and how it helped the consolidation of power of Yayāti II and Udyotakeśari.

I

On the Bengal and Bihar frontier there were the following Pāla kings:

Mahipāla I (c. 992-1040 A.D.), Nayapāla (c. 1040-1055 A.D.) Vigrāhapāla III (c. 1055-1081 A.D.) and Rāmapāla (c. 1084-1126 A.D.)

II

On the Central Provinces side there were (a) Kalachuri Kings of Tuḥmāna and (b) Dāhala.

(a) Kings of Tuḥmāna were Kāmalarāja who defeated the Utkalanripa, Ratnarāja I, Prthirāja (1079 A.D.) and Jajālla deva I (1114 A.D.).

Kings of Dāhala were Gaṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya (c. 1030-41 A.D.) who defeated the ruler of Utkula, Lakshmi Karna (c. 1041-70 A.D.), Yaśakarna (c. 1073-1125 A.D.).

III

On the Kaliśāga or southern side were the Gaṅga kings of Kaliśaganagara such as Vajrahasta V (c. 1138-70 A.D.) who assumed the title of Trikaliśāgadhipati, Bājarāja I (1070-76) who defeated the king of Utkula and Kośala* and Anantavarma Chodagaṅga (1076-1147 A.D.) who finally occupied Orissa from the last Kośari king.

* Dr. Ray writes at page 461 that “the Utkula or (Oḍa) ruler was probably one of the latter Karas of Tosali while the ruler of Kośala was possibly a scion of the Somavamsis of that country”. But this is not tenable as we find that there was a single king in Utkula and Kośala at that time.
It seems that the king of Utkala who was defeated by Kamalarāja of Tuhmāna and Gāngeyadeva Vikramāditya of Dāhala and Vajrāhasta of Kalinganagara, was the same person as the elder brother of Nahusa who was jointly attacked by Haihayas of Tuhmāna and Dāhala, and then by the Ganga king Vajrāhasta; and this date may be assigned to a period a little before 1040 A. D. During this attack the kings of Dāhala and Kalinganagara occupied a portion of Utkala and Kosala and such an occupation is proved by the use of the title of ‘Trikalingadhipati’ by Lakshmikarna, the son of Gāngeyadeva of Dāhala, and Vajrāhasta V. After the attack of the Kalachuris and the Gaṅgas Nahusa occupied the throne of Utkala and there was no king in Kosala. The Balijihari copper plate of Udyotakeśari mentions about Nahusa’s rule in Utkala but the Brahmesvarā inscription is silent about him.

The verse 7 of the Brahmesvarā inscription mentions that Chandībara was made king by all the ministers and the verse 8 mentions that he ably administered both the kingdoms. The contents of verse 8 are found in the verses written in lines 21 to 25 of the Balijihari inscription of Udyotakeśari.

The Gaṅga king Bājarāja I defeated the king of Utkala or Ōdra in 1075–80 A. D. and so the period of 35 years is to be allotted for the reigns of Nahusa, Yayāti II and Udyotakeśari. In this period no powerful kings were found in Bengal, Tuhmāna, Dāhala and Kalinga and therefore it seems that Yayāti II and Udyotakeśari both were able to recover the position lost by their predecessors. The Jatesinga Dungri copper plate grant of Yayāti II shows that he enjoyed supremacy over many kingdoms. The Balijihari inscription of Udyotakeśari of the 4th year does not mention his special activity, but the verses 9 and 10 of the Brahmesvarā inscription are very eloquent in citing his famous deeds and illustrious character and the conquest of Dāhala and Gaṅga* and then the subjugation of many other kings. The copper plate grants of Yayāti II and Udyotakeśari were issued from Suvarsapura and Yayatinagara respectively and it is inferred that their capital was in the western Orissa. Taking advantage of this long distance, a ruler of Ōdra probably belonging to the Bhanja dynasty tried to establish

* The text was read as ‘Simhalam Choḍaganaṇ’ in verse 10 of the Brahmesvarā inscription, but the impression gives the reading of Dāhalaṃ choḍra gоṇḍu. I have prepared a revised text of Brahmesvarā inscription which will be published in some journal.
independence but was again subdued by Udyotakeśari. The construction of Brahmēśvara temple by his mother at Bhubaneswar goes to show that he had his capital in eastern Orissa in the 18th year of his reign. So it seems that the period of Yayati II and Udyotakeśari was most glorious.

As no historical interpretation has been given by any one of the Virudas of the Jatesinga Dungri inscription, it is given below:—
The text of Jatesinga dungri copper plate (Murajamara charter of Mahāsīvagupta Yayati) is in prose from the beginning to the end excluding the imprecatory verses and it resembles Kādamvari in style.
Mr. B. C. Mazumdar was not able to decipher correctly the text, but due to his physical infirmities under which he undertook the task he deserves full admiration of all. The correct reading of the Virudas of Yayati II is given below:—


X. Mr. Mazumdar's reading is 'Kurumba; but the vowel sign of 'K' is not found in the facsimile of the plate and the letter 'da' is clear.
*Mr. Mazumdar read 'Dāhajvāri' and suggested it to be the 'Dravidajayi'. But the reading of Dāhajvāro is clear. In Subhasitaratna bhandagaram p. 112 there is a verse on one Hamira which runs as follows:—

“Garva-ganrthika-Gurjara-Jvarakarā Kārnāta-Kārnātavi
dāvagair drāvidendra - vijaya dalana-Gaundendra Smarakara”.

The association of Jvara (fever) attributed by poets to Gujjara is thus corroborated.
† It was read as 'Kanst'. I verified the plate in January, 1944 at Patna and the 'c' is written below the line between the space 'rij' & 'sva'. Dr. D. C. Sircar has also given a correct reading of the passage in the Indian Historical quarterly Vol. XIX. 1944. p.81-82.
The virudas and the translation thereof of the text quoted above are noted below:

1. Atisayorjjila-pratapa-bharavanata-samasta-nripati-Kadamva
chuḍāmanu-parichumbita-pāda-pīṭha.

Yāyāti’s foot-stool is kissed by the crest-jewels of the group of feudatory kings who were subdued by his exceedingly powerful prowess.

2. Prathitānēka-Nala-Nahusha-Māṇdhātri-Dilipa-Bharata-
Bhagirathādirāja charitah.

Who in character and might resembles such renowned kings
such as Nala, Nahusha Māṇdhātra, Dilipa, Bharata and Bhagiratha.

3. Karna-Lata-Gurjāreśvara dāhajvara - bhu-vitakalatra-
Kāṇchi-Kalapa-bharana-lampataḥ.

Who, as the lampataḥ, has taken away the ornaments such
as Kāṇchi and Kalapa of the girdle of the chasteless lady earth
belonging to the king, who was the scorching fever to the kings of
Karnāta, Lāta and Gurjara countries.

In simple language he conquered the lands of the
overlord of Karnāta, Lāta & Gurjara. This passage perhaps refers
to the conquest of Yāyāti of the lands owned by the Kalachuri kings
of Dāhala.


who was the supreme lord in svayamvara (election) by the
people of Kaliṅga, Kongada, Utkala and Kośala.

This fact is evident from the Balijhari copper plate grant
and this inscription.

5. Gauḍa - Rājhamvara - prakarshanadhāta Marutah,
who like the strong wind, had blown off the (clothes) of the
ladies of Gauḍa and Rāṇḍha.

This viruda has a bearing on the conquest of Gauḍa and
Rāṇḍha countries.

6. Sitāmsu-Vamsa-vimalamvara-purna chandra,
who is the fullmoon of the dynasty of the moon.
7. ‘Svabhujopārijita Trikaliṅgadhipati,’
who has become the lord of Trikaliṅga by the conquest of his own arms.

8. Paramamāheśvarah Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Śrī Mahābhavagupta padānuḍhyāta Mahārajādhirāja Paramēśvara.

who is Mahārajādhirāja Paramēśvara and who meditates on the feet of the Paramamāheśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka Śrī Mahābhavagupta.

9. Pranamita-rājanyopasevita padārvinda yugala,
whose lotus like feet are worshipped by the princess while bowing down their heads.

10. Śrī Mahāśivagupta Śrī Yayātideva kuśali.

His name is Mahāśivagupta Yayātideva who lives in peace.

The attributes ‘Lampataḥ’ ‘Śvayamvara-prasiddha’ and ‘Amvara-prakarṣhanodghāta-māruṭa’ under 4, 5, and 6 above respectively seem to be eulogistic but real and similar to the attributes of Yuvarajadeva I Keyurvarsha, the Kalachuri king in the Bilhari inscription which is quoted below for the sake of comparision.

Keyurvarsha “who fulfilled the ardent wishes of the minds of the women of Gaṇḍa, who was a deer to sport on these pleasure hills the breasts of the damsels of Karuṇa and ornamented the fore-head of the women of Liṣa.”

According to the light of above interpretation, the above attributes of Yayāti II do not seem to be entirely hollow and high sounding as interpreted by Mr. B.C. Mazumdar22 and R. D. Banerji.23

SOMAKULI KINGS OF TRIKALINGA AND THEIR CONNEXION WITH BENGAL*

Dr. D. C. Sircar has written the following in his paper on “Bengal and the Rajputs” which he read at the meetings of the Allahabad Session of the Indian History Congress held in 1938:

“According to the Jatesinga-Dungri inscription (Bhandarkar’s list No. 1556), King Mahāśīvagupta I Vaiśyādeva was lord of Trikaliṅga which he acquired through his arms. He is also called the full-moon in the sky of Vaṅga and is said to have seized Gauḍa and Rādhā. Whatever be the value of these claims, the fact that his family has been called Vaiśyapāṇya has led Bhandarkar to suggest that the family of the king came from Vaṅga or eastern Bengal.”

On referring to the ‘List of Inscriptions of Northern India’, I find that Dr. Bhandarkar after summarising the inscription has written in the foot-note 2 at page 215 that “as he is said to have acquired Trikaliṅga through his arms, he seems to be the first of his dynasty, which, as his next epithet shows, came from Vaṅga (East Bengal)” and in the foot-note 3 he has given the reading of the text—

असृमद् ब्रह्मान्ये चौँगे

in support of the word ‘Vaṅga’ found in line 3 Plate II. From this it appears that Dr. Sircar’s conclusion is entirely based on that of Dr. Bhandarkar.

This theory of emigration of Vaiśīti, one of the Somakuli kings, from Bengal was advanced by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar in 1916 who first edited this inscription and deciphered the couplet following the imprecatory verses as follows:

‘असृमद् ब्रह्मान्ये काळे यत् कविक्षित नृपविवेचि
सत्याघ पादरीधिस्मिन् वथाति प्रदात...”

* Reprinted from the Mayurbhanja Chronicle, April, 1942.
In the foot-note he wrote thus:— "We expected naturally the word raja-devaḥ here but the partly intelligible letters look wholly different from the components of the word suggested."

Mr. Majumdar's historical note on the above couplet runs as follows:—

"The sentence, with those illegible letters after the name of Yayāṭi, means distinctly as follows:— Whoever will become king in future in our Bengal line (Asmad-Vaṅgānvaya), the dust of his feet am 1 — Yayāṭi. That the different branches of the Kośala Guptas reigned independently at different places was shown by me in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XI, pages 101-4. It appears that a branch of the Kośala Guptas became supreme in Bengal and Yayāṭi or more properly his father Janamejaya, who was a scion of that family, conquered that Trikālaṇa countries and became the supreme lord of the Sambalpur tract which was an outlying portion of the Kośala-deśa. Perhaps Yayāṭi did not cease to acknowledge the supremacy of those who were ruling a portion of Bengal, and for that reason called himself the dust of the feet of the Bengal king who might be expected in future to interfere with the grant. This explains clearly why we get the Bengali Kāyasthas in the service of the Kośala Guptas" (J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. II, p. 51).

In his Orissa in the Making pp. 173-5, published by the Calcutta University in 1925, Mr. Majumdar adhered to his previous findings and tried to explain his theory in the fanciful way.

Then Dr. H. C. Ray included this inscription in the "Dynastic History of Northern India" Vol. I, which was published in 1931 and in a foot-note at page 402 he wrote the following note of warning:—

"In view of the importance of this inscription it deserves to be re-edited in E. I. Before its re-edition it would be risky to form any theory on the origin of the Dynasty on the basis of the word Vaṅgānvaya which according to the editor describes the lineage of Yayāṭi. For this theory see O. M., p. 174 ff."

Dr. Ray very rightly doubted the correct reading of Vaṅgānvaya but he accepted the reading of Siṭāṇavaṅga vimānbarapurvachandra 4 in line 3 of the second plate, first side of the inscription.

4. Ibid p. 53.
Dr. Bhandarkar supported Dr. Ray for the suggestion that the Somakuli kings should be considered separate and distinct from the Pandavas of Kosala, but it is not clear as to how he did not take notice of Dr. Ray's note of warning in the interpretation of Vaṣṇavaya. It has been shown above that Dr. Bhandarkar introduced the correct reading of kshine in place of kala in the 6th line of the inscription which follows asmad vaṣṇavaya. It is a pity that this mistake escaped the notice of such an eminent scholar of India like Dr. Bhandarkar who would have been able to decide the controversy in the best interest of history.

I am indebted to my friend Pandit Binayak Mishra for the suggestion of the correct reading of this line where he read asmad vamsākāsaye which he published in his "Medieval Dynasties of Orissa," p. 107, in 1933. Recently I had the occasion to study the Jatesingha-Duāgri (Mr. Majumdar's Murāja-mura) inscription in connexion with my paper on the Brahmesvara Inscription of Bhubaneswar and I found that the reading of the text as published by Mr. Majumdar is far from what is met with in the facsimile print of the plates. I am not going to give here all the improved readings of mine but I can safely say that Mr Majumdar made a mistake in reading Vaṣṇa for Vamsa everywhere. The portion of the text of line 3 of the second plate, first side, may be cited as an instance where the actual reading is sīkamsu-vamsa-vimalambara-purvachandra but it has been read by Mr. Majumdar as sīkamsa-vamsa-vimalambora-purvachandra.

Yayati belongs to Somokula which has been written in this inscription as Sīkamsu-vamsa and the epithet Sīkamsu-vamsa-vimalambara-purvachandra of this inscription stands for Somakulatilaka which is met with in all the copper-plate inscriptions of this dynasty. So there is no word vaṣṇa anywhere in this line.

The couplet beginning with asmad vamsākāsaye has been written after the imperative verse—

Samanyoyam dharmasethu nripamam
kale kale palamiyo bhavadbhih
sāryamana bhavino pārthīvan
bhuyo bhuyo yachate Ramchandra

and before

Itil kamadalamuvindolam
sriyananuchintya manushya jivitancha
sakalamida-mudhritam cha vudva
nahi purusai parakirttoy vilopya.

So there is no doubt that this verse is one of imprecatory verses of the inscriptions. Let us compare the reading of this verse with that published in other inscriptions edited by different authors at different times and everybody will agree with me that it is an imprecatory verse commonly found in the copperplates of other parts of India.

The following verses will show that the couplet under reference is an imprecatory one and has no specific reference to Vakya.

1. "Asmin vamsakshaye kshire ye kechit raja bhavisyati
Tasyapade lagnoham mamadatta nopahret."6

2. अस्माद बश परिच्छेदे य: कथित् नुपतिभैतृ
तस्याद पद्लम्बोस्म समद्वतानुपालनात्।।7

This verse is found in the Devalpadi copperplate inscriptions of Netta-Bhanja published in the J. A. H. R. S. Vol. VII., p. 113, but it has not been deciphered correctly.

3. "Asmin vamsè parikshine ya kascht nripatirbhavet
tasyaham padalagnosmi sasanam na vyatikramet."8

4. "Asmad vamśa parikshine yah kaschit nripatirbhavet
tasyaham karalagnosmi sasanam na vyatikramet."9

This verse is found also in the Khaira Plate of Yasovarmadeva in E. I. Vol XII, p. 214, in which the word hasta has been replaced by kara of above.

5. "Asmin vamse dvijagnopi yacchanyo nripatirbhavet
tasyapi karalagnoham sasanam na vyatikramet."10

8. Ibid XXI, p. 96.
10. Ibid. XI, p. 145.
6. "Asnud vanše yadayksine yah ko pi nripatirbharet
tasyaham kare laganaham sasunum na vyatikramet."\textsuperscript{11}

All these references leave no ground for any shade of doubt that Mr. Majumdar's reading of the couplet supported by Dr. Bhandarkar is entirely fanciful.

Like the reading of 'Vangamaya' many other fanciful readings of Mr. Majumdar can be cited. In his paper on the 'Taspikera Charter of Rānaka Rana Bhaṇja' and Kunarkela Charter of Rānaka Satru Bhanja Deva\textsuperscript{12} he picked up the reading of Boudhapoti (Lord of Boudha) in the well-known form of order 'Manayati vodhayati
samadisayati' and utilised the grant to prove his own pet theory.

It is thus proved that the Somakuli kings of Trikaliṅga had no connexion with Bengal and their dynasty never came from Vaṅga. The Brahmeśvara inscription relates that the founder of the family came from Trilīṅga.

7

THE BRAHMEŚVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF THE FIGHTEENTH REGNAL YEAR OF KING UDDYOTAKESARI *

The following four inscriptions are said to have belonged originally to the temples at Bhubaneswar.

A. The Brahmeśvara temple inscription I of Kolāvati Devī, the mother of Uddyotakesari. It is now lost.

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid. p. 312.


This paper has been revised and edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D

(b) Mitra, Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II, 1890, pp. 87—89.
B. The Megheśvara temple inscription 2 of Śvapneshvarā Deva. It is now fixed on the western compound wall of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple.

C(1). The inscription 3 of Bhaṇḍa Bhavadeva which is now fixed on the western compound wall of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple.

C(2). The inscription 4 of Chandrādevi. It is now preserved in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, but belonged originally to the Ananta Vāsudeva temple.

The three inscriptions A, B and C(1) were removed from their original temples and deposited in the Museum of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. In 1837, at the suggestion of Major M. Kittoe, the then Curator of the Society’s Museum, these three inscribed slabs were returned to Bhubaneswar by the Committee of the Society. The list of donors and donations to the Museum of the Society for 1852, published as Appendix III of the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV (1825), records that General Stuart donated eight Sanskrit stone inscriptions out of which there were two stones from Bhubaneswar in Orissa with Sanskrit inscriptions. No list of antiquities presented to the Museum of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal before 1814 is available; the first list was published as an Appendix to Vol XI (1816) of the Asiatic Researches and all the subsequent volumes contain such a list up to the year 1836. No. list other than that of Vol XV gives the names of any antiquity from Orissa. So doubt naturally arises as to how the Committee of the Society which got only two stone inscriptions from Bhubaneswar could have referred three stone inscriptions to that locality and returned them for restoration to their original places 5. This leaves enough margin to arrive at the conclusion that out of the three inscribed slabs, one at least does not belong to Bhubaneswar and the in-

(b) N. N. Vasu, Ibid., 1897, pp. 11-23.

(c) Kielhorn, E. I., Vol. VI, pp. 263-207.
(d) N. N. Vasu, Castes and Sects of Bengal, Vols. I and II.

scription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva furnishes such internal evidence as to prove, without any shade of doubt, that it originally did not belong to any temple at Bhubaneswar.

In the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1837, it is recorded that three inscribed slabs were returned to Bhubaneswar, but the Brahmaśvara temple inscription is not found now anywhere at Bhubaneswar. Rajendralal Mitra saw the inscription there and noticed it in his Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II. He did not notice the Megheśvara temple inscription, although N. N. Vasu in 1895 found this record on the same spot in the compound of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple just at the side of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva’s epigraph. The Iaṇḍas of Bhubaneswar, whose predecessors were successful in bringing back the inscriptions from Calcutta in 1837, are unable to say anything as to its whereabouts. Prinsep edited many inscriptions in 1837 and 1838; but he never chose to produce the full facsimile of any of them excepting this one. He wrote, ‘Before returning this, he (Kittoe) kindly took for me a very exact impression, whence I have copied the reduced facsimile in plate XXIV.’ Due to the loss of the original slab of the inscription, this facsimile serves now the purpose of the original slab. Finding some glaring mistakes in the printed text of the epigraph, I attempted to decipher the inscription from the published facsimile and the result is recorded in this paper.

The Brahmaśvara temple inscription, as already noticed, was first edited by J. Prinsep, and published in the J. A. S. B. for June, 1838, with the facsimile plate No. XXIV which is reproduced here for easy reference. The enclosed plate shows that it was not only broken into two, but a portion of the writing was lost. Prinsep’s note on the slab


In 1946 it has been shown by Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya that this inscribed stone containing Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva’s eulogium was deciphered at Dacca sometime in 1791–95 A.D. and it has been suggested that the temple containing the inscription was built at Vikramapura the old capital of Vaṅga (I H. Q., XXII, pp. 134–15). This piece of evidence, brought to light in a most unexpected manner, corroborates fully my conclusion arrived at in 1939.

runs as follows: 'Although, as it will be seen, the slab was in a state of considerable mutilation, yet from the inscription being in verse, my Pandit, Kamaśākanta Vidyālaṅkāra, has been able by study of the context to fill up all the gaps, with, as he says, hardly a possibility of error, and indeed where the out-line of the letters is preserved I have found his restoration quite conformable."

I made an attempt in comparing the printed text with letters of the facsimile plate some years ago and found that the text prepared by Pandit Vidyālaṅkāra was not quite satisfactory. Subsequently in 1929 my friend Pandit Binayak Misra edited the Narsingpur copper plate grant of Uddyotakesari and the genealogy recorded in that grant helped me to detect further mistakes in the reading of the names of Yayāti, Bhimaratha and Dharmaratha, which were also noticed by Pandit Misra in his article. The text of the Ratnagiri copper plate grant is a replica of the text of the Narsingpur charter up to line 23 and it may be said that the Ratnagiri grant either belongs to Uddyotakesari or to one of his successors. There are two more short inscriptions in the Khandagiri caves which were inscribed during the reign of Uddyotakesari. All these inscriptions are noticed in Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions of Northern India which also contains a genealogical table (pp. 404-05) of the rulers who were responsible for the incision of these epigraphs. Bhandarkar says, 'Some more kings of this dynasty seem to be mentioned in No. 1572 (the Brahmaṇḍvara temple inscription), but this inscription requires to be carefully edited before we can utilize it for genealogical purposes.'

The inscribed slab under discussion is dated in the 18th year of the reign of Uddyotakesari, but it omits to mention the distinguishing family titles, namely Mahābhavagupta and Mahātivagupta, which are met with in the Narsingpur grant. No satisfactory explanation of this omission of the titles is possible; but it may be

pointed out that it is not a royal, document like the Narsingpur charter of the year 4. The Khandagiri inscriptions also do not contain any distinguishing family title.

In my revised text of the inscription, I have suggested new readings of passages in the broken portion of the slab with the help of the parts of letters still visible. Vidyalaṅkāra's readings have been altered only when they are unsupported by the letters clearly visible in the facsimile. Where the letters appear obscured in the facsimile, I have retained the readings offered by Vidyalaṅkāra, as he had the opportunity of examining the inscribed slab.

In line 3 and verse 3, Vidyalaṅkāra reads sumra ω-bharittrari-raja-kamra-ramasī; but the facsimile clearly shows bhasari rōja-ramasī. The form of rōja is different from rita in kirtana in line 12, but is similar to the letter rōja in ghaṛavya in line 11. The Pandit introduced the word kamra for the sake of metre between the words rōja and ramasī. But the passage bhasari-raj-rajasī-śimanta-vibhānti-hṛd requires only four syllables at the beginning for which I have suggested āṣyante su. Again in line 4 containing the portion of the 4th pada of verse 3, I have suggested yaṣatīv-abhavād-yo in place of Vidyalaṅkāra's reading yaṣatī-ṛpavād-yo. The restoration made in this verse is in full conformity with the following text of the Narsingpur copper-plate:

Raj-abhī-janama-jayo-tha-ṛpatī-jato Yaya'is-tatāh
Sriman Bhimaratho-bhuvās-adanu ca ksma-cakra-raksamaviḥ

In line 5 containing the last two lines of verse 4, Vidyalaṅkāra's restoration sadaṛa is acceptable; but his reading dirgharavō is not found in the facsimile print where the letter bhiṁratho are very clear and, as suggested by the genealogical list of the Narsingpur copper plate, these letters without any doubt give the name of king Bhimaratha.

In line 6 and verse 5 Vidyalaṅkāra reads-raja baḥvävā kavi-dharma-paro-pavṛāh-. Two letter are broken in this line and the subsequent 8 letters are mutilated to some extent. In place of the missing and mutilated letters I have suggested va-bhuv (in place of va-ka) and dharmaratho pratitāḥ.13 Bhūvi in place of kavi

13. See editorial note on the text, infra—Editor.
gives better sense and the reading of the name as Dharmaratha is supported by the Narsingpur copperplate grant. I am not sure about the reading pravita.

In line 9 and verse 8 the last word was read as nandanaḥ, but as the letter ta is clear, I have suggested vanditaḥ in its place.

In line 10 and verse 10 Vidyālaṅkāra reads simhaḷam c-ṣa-gauḍau, but the facsimile clearly shows ṣahalam c-ṣa-gauḍau. The form of the conjunct ṣa in Oṣa here is similar to that in line 3. The countries called Dāhala, Oḍra and Gauḍa are well-known and are adjacent to Dakṣinakosala to which the royal family under discussion belonged. In Vidyālaṅkāra’s reading simhaḷam coṣa-gauḍau, there is no geographical contiguity and significance.

In line 17 and verse 15 Vidyālaṅkāra’s reading in the 4th pada is caṇḍala-khaṇḍanāḥa-nayana. But there is no such word as khaṇḍanāḥa in the inscription. The correct reading of the word is karvaṇaḥa and the passage signifies that the eyes of the damsels are not only fickle (caṇḍala) but also extended up to the ears (karvaṇaḥa).

In line 20 which is in prose Vidyālaṅkāra reads somaṃṣ-odbhava-bh patrol in the missing portion, but the facsimile print clearly shows somaṇaḥ śrīkaṇṭaśānuṣṭhānaṃ trīkaliṅgaṇāḥpata. The epithets somaṃṣ-odbhava-bh patrol are most common in the inscriptions of this dynasty and accordingly, in the missing portion, kulaṅgaṇāḥpata suggested by me seems to be very appropriate. I have suggested Sutradaḥara-rayogā ṣiteśaṇaṃ in place of Vidyālaṅkāra’s rayah at the end of the record.

The inscription, written in 20 lines, is composed in 17 verses and ends in prose in the last line. It opens with a verse saying that Candra and Lakṣmi came out of the Samudramanisha (the churning of the ocean by the gods on one side and the demons on the other) In the family of the moon was born king Janamejaya, the lord (adhipa) of Trilokasa, who conquered Oḍra after killing the king (nṛpati) of the country in battle (v. 2). After him his son Yāśātī adorned the earth with all the kingling prowess (v. 3), he was succeeded by his son Bhimaratha who was famous for various qualities (v. 4); from him was born Dharmaratha (v. 5) who died childless and his kingdom was laid waste by many warriors and thus there was a period without any events.

14. See editorial note on line 2 (v. 2) of the text below - Editor.
when a powerful hero belonging to the family was ruling elsewhere in Orissa (v.6) is Then Caṇḍiḥarā was made king by his ministers, he was the son of Abhimanyu and the great grandson of Janamejaya, the founder of the family (v.7) Caṇḍiḥarā’s reign was eventful in all respects (v.8) His son Uddyotakesari was a powerful king (v.9), who defeated the kings of Dāhala, Oḍra and Gauḍa and made a large number of kings bow down at his feet (v.10). His mother Koḷāvatīdevī was a very pious lady (v.11), She built a temple at Ekāmra (Bhubaneshwar) for the Sivalinga called Brahmaśvara (v.12) which was worshipped by Brāhma himself (v.13) She also appointed Devadātīs for the temple (v.15), The eulogy was composed by Bhāṣa Purusottama who was a very learned man (v.16) and who piously wished that his composition would last for ever (v.17). The inscription was written on the third day of the Sukla-paksha in the month of Pālguna in the 18th regnal year of Paramamaheśvara Maharajadhiraja Somakulūkaka Trikaliningadhīpati Uddyotakesari&rājadeva. It was engraved on the stone by Rāya the mason.

Verses 2-10 of the inscription under discussion narrate the genealogy of the Somakuli kings of Kosala and Utkala. We quote below for easy reference the substance of the genealogical portion of the text of the Narsingpur copper-plate grant as it has greatly helped us in restoring the lacunae in the record under discussion.

The Narsingpur inscription opens with an invocation to the moon (v.1) who was the progenitor of many illustrious ruling dynasties (v.2). To this dynasty belonged Janamejaya whose son was Yayāti, the father of Bhimaratha (v.3). After him Dharmaratha was the king who had to fight with hostile kings (v.4). His successor Naghusa was the brother of the king of the country the capital of which was in the vicinity of the eastern sea (v.5-6). After Naghusa his younger brother Yayāti was made king of both the countries of Kosala and

15. Cf. ‘A Note on the Later Somavamśīs’ I.H.Q., XXII, pp.300-07 where it has been shown that the above suggestion is due to wrong interpretation of a verse of the Narsingpur or Bulijhari grant—Editor.

16. This suggestion is wrong. For the proper interpretation of v. 6 of the Narsingpur (Bulijhari) grant and its bearing on the Somavamśi genealogy, see ‘A Note on the Later Somavamśīs’, I.H.Q. XXII, pp. 300-07.—Editor.
Utkala by the warrior chiefs (vv. 8–9) 17 Yayati's son was Uddyotakesari (v 10) 18

A genealogical table prepared from all published inscriptions is given below for easy reference.

Sivagupta's son
Janamejaya (Mahabhavagupta I)

Kosala line

Utkala line

Yayati (Mahasivagupta II)

Vichitravira

Bhimaratha (Mahabhavagupta II)

Abhimanyu

Dharmaratha (Mahasivagupta III)

Joint rulers of Kosala and Utkala

Name not known

Naghusa (Mahabhavagupta III)

Chandihara alias Yayati II (Mahasivagupta IV)

Uddyotakesari (Mahabhavagupta IV)

Karnakesari 19

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17. This interpretation is wrong. See *I.H.Q.* loc. cit.—Editor.

18. I read a paper entitled 'The Somakuli kings of Kosala and Utkala based on this as well as other inscriptions of this dynasty at the Indian History Congress, Madras, 1944. See *Proceedings of I.H.C.*, 1944, pp. 180–195.

19. The author has omitted two other known rulers of the family. The suggestions about the unknown elder brother of Nahusa (Naghusa) and about the latter's relation with Chandihara are wrong. For a correct and up-to-date genealogical and chronological table of the Somavamsis, see 'A Note on the Later Somavamsis' in *I.H.Q.*, XXII, p. 307—Editor,
Brahmşvara Temple Stone Inscription of the time of Udyota Kesari — Page 73

Stone broken into two pieces

Hin. As. Soc.
The Brahmesvara inscription is probably the last inscription of the Somakuli kings of Orissa and it gives the names of all kings from Janamejaya, the founder of the dynasty, to Uddyotakesari, as noted above. In verse 2 of this inscription Janamejaya has been described as Trilingsadhipati 21 before his conquest of Candra-deva and in line 20 Uddyotakesari has the title of Somakulavilaka and Trilaingsadhipati. In a charter 22 of the third regnal year of Janamejaya he has been described as Somakulavilaka Trikalinadhipati. The title Trikalinadhipati in Janamejaya’s earliest inscription suggests that he assumed it after the conquest of Candra-deva from Triilings. But the Bhauma predecessors of Janamejaya never used the title Trikalinadhipati; although it was used by the kings of the early Ganga dynasty. I shall discuss the location of Triilings and Trikalinings in another paper.

**TEX 23**

Line 1. "अधियुधवेंद्रमहेंद्रेन्द्रनिरतिः[भीस्वयसुकताहार्येः]*--
[भृं]*महन्नेनस्वरेन्द्रेन्द्रे
[भीस्वयसुकताहार्येः]*--
[विश्वनायनरुपः]*[भीस्वयसुकताहार्येः]*--
[सः]*

Line 2. वृद्धसितः साहदिया जातवान॥

20. For inscriptions of two later members of the family of the Somavamśas, see I. C., III, p. 124, B Misra, Orissa under the Bhauma kings, p. 74 and Plate Cf also I. H. Q, loc. cit.—Editor.

21. For the reading Trilingsadhipa, see editorial note on line 2 (v.2) of the text below.—Editor.


23. From the eye-copy published by Prinsep in J.A.S.B., 1838.

24. Siddham or Om, Siddhii expressed by a symbol.

25. Read स्त्रीलिङ्गिनः

26. The eye-copy published by Prinsep probably suggests the reading लिङ्गाधिपः; but it appears that the tracing was influenced by Vidya-lakara’s reading. This reading seems to go against certain known facts of history. Even if it is accepted, one may suggest an expression like parabhava-strilings-adhipah, to indicate ‘one who has defeated the King of Strilings (Triilings)’—Editor.
दन्ताः [स्नित्वं] [राक्षिणमसिष्ठां समने रिप्रूपलं]

Line 3.

हिपे

य: कुन्तामहातोऽद्यन्यन्ते [र्मी] [समाध्यवान] || 2
[तस्यन्ते सुन सुम] [भदरराजरमणी सीमित्व[वाच्यानिवर] [डिंक्यातो नवविकमादुसु] [स्तिति] [सभ] [राजस्येवारम्]: ||
[वाल्याण्डतैैैनम्] ||-

Line 4.

चरितस्थियांगी महाधामको
राजा शोभम्मो यथा [तिरभवदृ यो] [सेविनीमंडन: || 3
तस्यन्ते कीलकालक्षणिक शुक्लपी मूलाबृहः [संस्कृति] [सम] [सा] [दत] [सुतसन्त[वैधक] मला [गा] [संभी] [यज्ञकर] || 1]

Line 5.

माधवन्यात्यासक्षिणिणिविवर: प्रवाहार्श्चिति: [सदा] [रा] [गा] [भी] [गा] [रथो महारथमु: शूरो वैष्णवी || 4
तसमाजः व्युत्ताः[ज्ञ] [तिनिति] [रा] [र] [जेत] [स्वाद: परशुराम इव हिदु [र्व] || 1

Line 6.

मध्यविद्यनाकं इति तीर्थत्र्यनापो
राजा वासु [ब सु] [बि धर्मस्वय हर्ष] || 5
तस्मिनवाते दिवमुप्रतिप्यन्त राजमले
नामामत्तेश्वरपह्वते] सकले[स] पि राघ्वे शेस्विनरित्वतव[ति] [वाक्य] ||

Line 7.

प्रवैरे
काल: [सन्यन्तगमधुन्त] यथाकालश्चित्त || 1|| 6

27. The eye-copy does not support the reading दन्ताः,—Editor.
28. Probably तस्मातः is better, as तस्यन्ते actually occurs at the beginning of the next verse.—Editor.
29. Traces in the eye-copy suggest the reading प्रवैरे: The visarga changed in sandhi too in the preceding aksara shows that प्रवैरे: is impossible.—Editor.
तत्त्वज्ञानिः । जन्मेन्यक्ष्य तनयो भूतः प्रविष्टः शिवी सर्वशारीप विचित्र श्री यस्यमानुष्य जन्मात्मकः ।

तनयो(५) सा[ब] भिमानुर्योगितवली

तत्त्वपि[५] नेता: तृत्य: 
श्रीधराधर इत्यभूननरप[निति] सविष्टमालये: श्रूत: ॥ ७

सूत्यामात्यसुहुप्राधिनान्तरवादोधुप्यथा–
योग समपरिपाल्य राजगुरुबन्ध निकटगतीः ज्ञात: ॥

तूतो(५), मेकनरेष्वरीश्वरमणन्दोऽभ्रोऽ[चछ्व] चछ्व[३१], चछ्व[३२]–
[बोकी*] ज्ञानिकापदेशीसयुगः । स[वाण्ती*] निबन्धः ॥ ८

श्रीमात्रूचितर्ज्ञतितवज्ञस[सु] धार[कै] कर्त्तारमणिः
सम्भवतेषु प्रश्नपतो

भरतवदासा जगजल्वा: 
सूत्यचन्द्र[सोः] [सम्मृन्ति*] जकरहापवक्रोऽ[सोः]
पृष्ठार्थः सनवेत सु[सू] रुदरादुहोत्कृक्त: केसरी ॥ ९

वामकीवार्जन्तेश्वर प्रतिभमाफल खादल्यो सूर्यः

गोपी

युक्तः सनमनयोपदिः [रद्वर*] घातक[सः] [रः थो वि*] नित्यः
उदामातीविपत्तिरुगः [र] गतिविनमद्युभुरः [क] [रुगः [७*] ] ॥ ३३
[राजः]: कृप्त्वन्तोपानवनन्तिरसो जिध्युद्धर्वस्मेजः पातः ॥ १०

तन्मात्रा दिनकुलस्य दुहिता कोलाचरी नामलो
[वासी*] श्रीवकरान्तरवस्य सहिष्य दूर्गव ल[रुगम] तिर्थः

यस्य: कीर्तितमुद्दृष्टसु धरात्मचयो वात्यामिरहुस्तः कृतः
हस्ताक्ष शांतिश्रम लोकायतिन्त्र

स्य सोहस्त्रमुदगच्छितः ॥ ११

30. तत्त्वपि is metrically absurd. I suggest तत्त्र श्री— Editor.

31. Read रुगुः.

32. Traces support neither नन्दन: nor बनिर्भर—Editor.

33. The use of the three synonymous words भू: ग्रंथिवी and उर्वरी in the same verse would make the suggested reading rather doubtful — Editor.
श्रीमद्व्रजोभास्वम् प्रभु[तमसः]ह्यवः स्पर्शतो मुक्तिवस्य
प्रासादः[सं]आकृतिप्रस्तरश्रवरयः[ह्य]ति स्वायुक्तः।
एकाः सिद्धाः चूरमरकली [चार]गाला-
समैतः
कालावत्या तैवः चितमॊक्वुटिनिः [कारितः] कीर्तिराजः।। 12
लोकलोकमहीतप्रसामजलधिकंपश्चलिपिशिन्दकः-
मध्यथा [यु]क्रमेहलिकापुरिः श्रावायाहेमालयः।। 11

राजङ्गि रूपव्रजिनिनिः देवी [खलोकी] [पतिः]-
[नभी]हा च चर्चति व श्रीवस ब्रह्मचारीर [सं]मिस्याः।। 13

वद्वर्म भ्रजायनककलशोतितुद्रवश्च।
स्तरायनः
हीलालोकस्य [रक्तः]-

दिकुबकः त्रासः
प्रासा[डो] [सं]स्य न्यायशु[ब] [तीव्र] [सस] [प्रदीपो]
मुखः वद्वरः सकलगणसं शयान्युक्तशितः।। 14

राजालक्ष्मी तिस्वीपितज्ञसुभाषं देवीप्यमाना दिन याः-
[कोडंतः]

स्त्रह्यतः स्थिरा इव श्रीवोहतीभरवयायाः।।
[सु] [न्यायित्वाः] कनोनिकाः सं राजायनं प्रविष्टाः नुः
ससं चबलकर्णं मन्द हृदयनुक्ताः शरीरिः।। 15

ज्ञातः व्यायः [रथशाहकवितः]-

वद्वर[व्या] करणा [रथशाहकविताः]-

ताककः विश्वमरी
[श्रा]वाचित्यकरसन्निः [नयो] [दुहु] दिनित्तिवृकान्तः।।
तारायोऽर्थवर्त्ताः 37 जाज्ञानिगुणां शुभं शरस्कन्ती-
स्मः श्रीपुष्पोलाम वनविगोरो [सं] कादीदिमो बाहुल्याम्।। 16

सनगवनसुमुखः मेन्दीनी यावः [दार्शे]
[मिस्याः] वनानिजनेत्त्रे पुष्पवन्ती च यावः।।
अविजजहुपरस्यो यावदैत्यात् [प] चित्र-
ज्ञातवदनृवेष्टयतः[स्थु] [प्रशर्तिः ॥] 17
Line 20 परममाद्वितीयमहाराजाधिराजसमिख्यातिः के निकलिङ्गार्थिति श्रीमद्वौलीकेशराजादेवस्य विजयराज्ये समवनः। ॥ ॥

Translation. 39

(The translation of Sāradā Prasād published in Prinsep’s paper has been quoted in the case of verses 8, 9, 16 and 17 and has been freely utilized in the translation of other verses)

1. Let the full-moon which was born with Śrī from the midst of the ocean called Kṣīrodadhi (ocean of milk) when it was churned with the Mandara mountain, encircled by the king of serpents serving the purpose of the churning rope and pulled by Brahmā, U pendra (Vishnu), Maheśvara, Indra and Bali, spread over the three regions with the light as sweet as nectar.

2. In his (Moon’s) family was born Rāja Janamejāya, the king of Trilīga, whose bright fame was incomparable among the kings. He was the destroyer of enemies and he drew to himself the fortune (Lakṣa m) of the king of the Odra country, who was killed by his kunta in a battle wherein his enemy’s elephants were overcome with fatigue fighting with their tusks and trunks.

3. After him his son Yayāti was a celebrated king, who deprived the wives of his inimical kings of their pride of lovely treasures, who was the master of the king lom with its seven limbs, who was of wonderful understanding in power and morals, charitable and most virtuous, and whose lawful deeds and conduct remained unchangeable from his very childhood.

4. After him his son Bhīmaratha became king who was the kalpa tree of the Kali age and the crown jewel of the princes, modest, of boundless spirit, and whose steadiness, riches, gravity, depth of knowledge (was well-known) and who was wise in producing prosperity and three sorts of power and success, a hero and destroyer of his enemies, and who had qualities of a Maharatha.

38. Read समवन्

39. The translation is in some cases rather free and is not always satisfactory. Of editorial notes on the text — Editor.
5. From him was born on the earth the powerful king named Dharmaratha as the second Parāṣurāma, who suppressed his enemies by his invincible hand possessing strength of the thunderbolt and was powerful like the mid-day sun.

6. When he, the Rājamalla (best of the kings), departed unto heaven without issue, and all his kingdom was laid waste by various warriors of different countries, there was a lapse of short and eventless time.

7. Then Chāṇḍīhara, son of Abhimanyu and grandson of Vīchitravīra, a lineal descendant of the celebrated Janamejaya, was made king by the ministers, and he was powerful and spirited like his father.

8. He reigned impartially, cherishing all his servants, ministers, people, those who sought refuge, kinsmen and desired friends and made both the kingdoms indisputable who was the cause of delight of all the earth, and whose lotus-like feet were brightened by the splendour of the head-jewels of many prostrate kings.

9. From him arose Uddyotakāsāri, like the sun from the eastern mountain, illuminating the earth and heaven by his lustre, radiant as the sun and moon beams; who was rich and was the crown jewel of the circle of earth defended by its four oceans, and who was the conqueror of earth like Māndhātā, Prthu and Bharata.

10. He defeated the whole force of his enemies of Dāhala; Caura and Gaudā, as it were, in child’s play, with the help of well-armed warriors and elephants and he made the earth (tortoise) sink with the weight of the swift march of his army, akṣauhini in number, and was victorious and made a large number of kings bow down at his feet.

11. His mother, Kolāvati by name, was the daughter of the solar race and the chief queen of the lunar race and was like Durgā and Lakshmi in beauty and action; her fame spread like the flags high up in the air, and seeing this the people thought that these are as if flying in order to destroy the black spot of the moon with the brightness of her fame.

12. By that Kolāvati was caused to be erected this cloud-touching (very high) temple with four caruśala temples, which appeared to be the crown over the head of the earth-goddess and an obstruction
on the speed of the sun's chariot due to the height, for God Brahmeśvara, who destroys the sins of those who only bowed down their head and gives salvation to those who worship by actual touch, at a place called Siddhavirha in Fkarma.

13 The Lokaloka mountain, the seven oceans and islands are the foundations, and the Meru mountain stands at the centre with the Himalayālinga as the peak, and Brahma, the lord of the three regions, worships this līna with the water of the Gaṅges day and night here; this god Brahmeśvara is the very same one.

14 Like the evening lamp on the summit of a mountain lighted by the youthful goddesses, the lustre of rays issued from the golden Kalāśa (pinnacle) of this temple lights up all the regions.

15 By her were dedicated to God Siva some beautiful women, whose limbs were adorned with ornaments set in gems and thus appearing as the everlasting but playful lightenings, and who were restless with the weight of loins and breasts, and whose eyes were fickle and extended up to the ears and who looked lovely like the pupils of the eyes of men.

16. Puśhottama Bhāṣya, the best of poets, indited the eulogy, which spreads the white fame of the kings of the lunar line, who was learned in the Vedas, grammar, political science, poetry, logic, etc. and like Brahma, of true, pure and humble understanding, and born of an innocent family.

17. As long as the earth with its mountains, forests and seas and the three regions with the eyes of the sun and moon, and autanapadi (the Pole star) in the firmament shall endure, so long may this eulogy exist as nectar in the mouth of every one.

18. On the 3rd day of the bright half of Phālguna of the regnal year (Samvat) 18 of the victorious reign of Paramamāheśvara Maharajādhiraja Somavamsōdbhava Trikaliṅgadhipati Uḍḍyotakesari this inscription was incised by the mason Rāya.
HISTORICAL REFERENCES RELATING TO ORISSA IN SANDHYĀKARA NANDI'S RĀMACHARITAM.

Rāmacharitam is the mine of historical information not only on the history of Bengal, but also on that of Assam, Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa. In this paper historical references found in the verse 45 chapter III and in the Commentary on Simha of the verse 5 chapter II I will be discussed. In the verse the author mentions that the king of Utkala (Utkalatra) who was the offspring of the ornament of Siva (Bhavabhūnasantatiibhū) and in the Commentary the name of the king of Utkala (Utkaleśa) was Karnakeśāri. So it seems that Karnakeśāri was the offspring of the ornament of Siva. It is a fact that the verse was written by the author and the commentary was written by another person at an interval of time and so Utkaleśa of verse 5 chapter II may or may not be the same person with Utkalatra of verse 45, chapter III. No one excepting Mr. N. N. Dasgupta ever attempted to study the verse and Commentary together although the expression Bhavabhūnasantati has been variously interpreted with all sorts of possibility of meaning based on stories from Puranas and fancy. Both Jayasimha and Rāmapāla have been wrongly attributed with works which are wanting in the text of each. As we do not possess the commentary on verse 45 Chapter III, we do not know what was actually meant by the expressions used by the author. Had there been no commentary, we would not have been able to interpret the word simha as Jayasimha, the benefactor of king Karnakeśāri of Utkala. So the commentator should be credited with the intimate knowledge of the history of the reign of Rāmapāla. The commentary gives us information on the history of persons who would have remained unknown without this and therefore the history of persons relating to the period before their joining with Rāmapāla is

less expected than that of the later period. So it is very reasonable that the commentary mentions the most important part played by Jayasimha which he performed on behalf of Rāmapāla and not in his personal capacity as the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti. But the passage of the commentary has been interpreted by all writers to this effect and Dr. R. C. Mazumdar’s views are quoted below from a book very recently published. “We know from Rāmachritam that Jayasimha, king of Daṇḍabhukti had defeated Kamakehr, king of Utkala before he joined Rāmapāla in his expedition against Bhima. Rāmapāla’s conquest of Utkala might have been a continuation of the old campaign and was undoubtedly facilitated by the success of his allied chief.”

Dandabhukti is an old kingdom, the existence of which has been proved by the Midnapore copper plates belonging to the time of Sasānaka. The Baudha copper plate of Tribhuvana Mahādevi of the Bhauma dynasty, the Irda plate, The Tirumala Inscription of Rajendrachola and Rāmacharitam all mention Daṇḍabhukti which was situated on the north of Orissa most probably comprising the modern districts of Midnapore and Bankura. Before 1025 A. D. Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti was defeated by Rajendrachola and as the family surname Simha is different from pala, Jayasimha was perhaps not a descendant of Dharmapāla or Nayapāla. If he belonged to the new dynasty, it can be inferred that he was placed in that position by some powerful neighbouring king and so he cannot be considered to be powerful enough to wage war against a Keśari king of Orissa. But if it is admitted that he was really powerful to defeat the king of Utkala, then he could have easily attacked all the neighbouring princes of South west Bengal and even Rāmapāla and Bhima. The author or the commentator of Rāmacharitam has not used a word which suggests either Karvaikshari’s defeat by Jayasimha or Rāmapāla’s conquest of Utkala and in support the text and commentary with English translation are given below:—

**TEXT OF VERSE**

Bhavabhūsaasantaatibhuvam—anujagrāhajitam-Utkalatramyah Jagatavatisa samastam Kalingatah—tān Niśācharān nighan”.

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TRANSLATION

"He—(Rāmapāla) did favour to the vanquished king of Utkala, who was born in the lineage of the Nāgas (or Śoma or Ganga), the ornament of Bhava (Siva), and rescued the whole world (from the terror of) Kalinga after having extirpated those robbers (of that place)

TEXT OF COMMENTARY

"Simha iti Daṇḍabhuktiḥbhūpatir—adbhuta prabhāvā-kara karaṇakamalamukula tulitotkaleśa Kauṇa keśarī saridvallabha kumbhāsambhavo Jayasimha".

TRANSLATION

Jayasimha, the king (bhūpati) of Daṇḍabhukti and the mine of extraordinary prowess lifted Kauṇakaśarī, the king of Utkala from his degraded position in his hollowed palm resembling the lotus petal in the same way as the sage Agastya (kumbhāsambhava) lifted the ocean (Saridvallabha) occupying a place below the ground level."

In the verse we find the word Anujāgraḥa in the sense of showing favour or affording protection, and in the commentary the word tulita in the sense of raising or lifting a thing or person fallen from a higher position to a lower one. None of these words suggest any sense of defeat or attack as has been interpreted by many. The verse mentions that Niśācharas from Kalinga were extirpated. Who were these Niśācharas from Kalinga who defeated the king of Utkala and deprived him of his royal position?

The Dirghāṣṭi stone inscription mentions that the king of Utkala was defeated by Vanapati the commander-in-chief of the army of Devenāravarman Rājarāja I of Kalinganagara before 997 Saka era or 1075-76 A.D. Rājarāja ruled from 1069-1076 A.D. and the defeat of the king of Utkala cannot therefore be placed before 1072 A.D. It therefore seems that the verse of Rāmācharitam refers to this incident in the history of Utkala by Rājarāja’s Commander-in Chief Jayasimha perhaps played the same part in the expedition of Rāmapāla against the army of Kalinga as Vanapati did against the army of the king of Utkala and for this reason the Commentator mentions his activities in so many

eulogistic expressions. Rajarāja’s son Chōdagaṅga succeeded him, but from 1076 to 1112 A.D. no inscriptions mention his relation with a king of Utkala or Gaṅga. The Korni copper plate of 1112 A.D. mentions that Chōdagaṅga first replaced the fallen lord of Utkala in his former position in the eastern region. So it can be inferred from the inscriptions of Chōdagaṅga that he did not venture to attack Utkala so long as Rāmapāla was alive and so the date of Rāmapāla can be safely assigned to a period from 1070 A.D. to 1110 A.D. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar actually suggested this when he wrote that “It was not perhaps till after the death of Rāmapāla that the Gaṅga king succeeded in finally conquering Crissa and annexing it to his dominion” 6 History repeats itself and the political exigencies made Chōdagaṅga to reinstate the king of Utkala in the same way as he was reinstated by Rāmapāla before nearly 30 years. Like verse 45, the Korni copper plate does not mention the name of the king of Utkala and so it is difficult to say whether the protegee of Chōdagaṅga was Karuṇa Keśari or his successor Suvarṇa Keśari who according to the Madalapanji was the last king of the Keśari dynasty of Utkala. Most probably the predecessor of Karuṇa Keśari was Udyota Keśari who ruled at least 18 years according to his inscription and so the first year of his reign cannot be placed before 1050 A.D. In the above light the verse and Commentary of Ramacharita give us this historical fact that Rāmapāla with his ally Jayasimha afforded protection to the king of Utkala (Utkalatra & Utkaleśa) named Karuṇa Keśari born in the lineage of Soma (Bhavabhusanasantatī) who was defeated by Rajarāja I and got back his lost kingdom. So the expression Bhavabhūṣanasantatī was used by Sandhyākaranandin only to stand for Somakula to which the Keśari dynasty of Orissa belonged and this interpretation supported by contemporary evidence rejects all possibility of the meaning of it as the Nāgavamśa or Gaṅgavamśa. Nāgavamśa kings never ruled in Utkala or Koṭala at that time and the Gaṅga king Rajarāja was a party against whom Rāmapāla had to send his expedition. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has come to this conclusion independently and writes thus—“It is therefore, more reasonable to hold that the king of Utkala, defeated by Rāmapāla, belonged to the Somavamśi dynasty which is known to have been ruling in Orissa in the 11th Century A.D. Rāmapāla did not defeat the king of Utkala, but actually protected him.


7. Ibid. p 161.
The expression *Bhavabhūṣṇavasantati* was first interpreted by H. P. Sastri as Nāgavamśa which was criticised by R. Chanda who suggested that the expression would mean Somavamśa or Chandravamśa and assigned the epithet to be applicable to Choḍagaṅga who claimed descent from Moon (Soma or Chandra) R.D. Banerji10 supported the view of H. P. Sastri and suggested that Karnā keśarī was the ruler over North Orissa adjoining Daṇḍabhukti Mr. J. N. Vasu11 took Karnakeśari as a provincial ruler of Daṇḍabhukti in Utkala and Jayasimha was established as a feudatory of Rāmapāla after the defeat of Karnakeśari in Daṇḍabhukti Pandit Binayak Misra12 suggested that the epithet refers to Rajarāja. N.G. Mazumdar13 accepted the meaning as Nāgavamśa but interpreted the verse in a roundabout way suggesting that Rāmapāla fought with Harivarma Deva or his son who vanquished the king of Utkala who belonged to the Nāgavamśa. The supremacy of Harivarmadeva of the Varman dynasty of Bengal in Orissa is no longer accepted as having any shade of historical truth.14 Like N.G. Mazumdar who suggested an interpretation of the expression in a fanciful way on one hand, Mr. N.N. Das Gupta15 has gone further to suggest the meaning of the expression *Bhavabhūṣṇavasantati* in a peculiar way of fancy. He writes as follows:

But consistency of facts can only be preserved if it be supposed to imply what was called the Keśarī dynasty. Bhavabhūṣṇa, or literally, the ornament of Bhava, an epithet of Mahādeva in his water presiding character, denotes the serpents, which are but the mane (kesara) of him. Setting it in a historical background, it would be noticed that prior to the expedition of Rāmapāla against the Kaivartas the lord of Utkala was one Karnakeśari, who was overthrown by Jayasimha, king of Daṇḍabhukti and an associate of Rāmapāla in that famous expedition. Because of the cognomen Keśara the house of Karnakeśari had been, so it appears, claiming descent right from the

12. Orissa under the Bhauma kings p. 73.
13. Inscriptions of Bengal p. 29.
15. Indian Antiquary p. 244.
keśara (mane) of Bhava, just as the Chalukyas did from the Chuluka or water vessel of Brahma.

"While mentioning that Kava keśari was worsted by Jayasimha Sandhyakara Nandi otherwise designates the former as sarid vallabha kumbha-sambhava, that is, having originated from the pitcher of the lord of water (Cf. II, 5 Com.). This also tends to the same conclusion. It is a most befitting conception that Mahadeva, when viewed as a deity in association with the lordship of water, should also have a pitcher on his head, instead of the serpents, that being clotted together, ordinarily constitute his crest and mane."

Mr. Das Gupta was the first scholar who tried to interpret the verse and the commentary together and in a round about way of argument he came to the conclusion that Bhavabhūsanasantati actually refers by the poet to the Keśari kings of Orissa.

The interpretation given above on the verse and the commentary of Rāmācharitam fully establishes the historical fact of Orissa during the last quarter of the 11th Century and the first decade of the 12th Century A.D. when the Keśari kings of Utkala were finally crushed by the Ganga kings of Kaliaganagara. Rāmapāla’s help to the king of Utkala against the aggression of the Ganga Kings can be attributed to his political farsight for the safety of his kingdom which he maintained peacefully so long he survived. But the conquest of Cheḍaganga right up to the bank of the Ganges seems to be due to Cheḍaganga’s ancient grudge against Rāmapāla who drove out his father Rājarāja from Utkala. By this conquest Cheḍaganga took possession of the kingdom of Daṇḍabhukti and Apara Mandara which find mention in the commentary. The inscriptions of the successors of Cheḍaganga refer to Cheḍaganga’s conquest of Mandara whereas

* Sarit-vallabha-Kumbhasambhava seems to be a favourite expression of the poets. In the inscription of Bhaṣa Bhavadeva the expression is found in verse 20 in which Bhaṣa Bhavadeva has been described as Baudhāṃvodi Kumbhasambhava munih" the very sage Agastya to the sea of the Buddhists. The difference in the meaning of both the expressions is this that in the Rāmācharita the comparision stands for a portion only so far the act of raising the sea with the palm by Agastya was concerned whereas in the Bhavadeva’s inscription the full simile was used.
according to Rāmācharitam Lakṣaṇamīśura was ruling there. The Tirumalai inscription states that Rāma Sura was the ruler of Daksina Rādha. So it is possible that Sura dynasty continued to rule in Daksina Rādha the capital of which was Mandāra or Apara Mandāra. M.M. Chakravarti has suggested that Sāmanta Sena was a feudatory of Chōdagaṇḍa and writes as follows:

"Chōdagaṇḍa conquered and apparently killed Mandāra king on the back of the Ganges ( Mandāra seems identifiable with Suhma ) after he had conquered Utkala; and Utkala must have been conquered by him several years before Saks 1040 (AD 1118.9). Is it therefore possible to infer that Chōdagaṇḍa after killing the king of Suhma, put Sāmanta Sena in charge as feudatory 16 ?

9
IDENTIFICATION OF "INDRARATHA OF ADINAGARA"
FOUND IN TIRUMALAI INSCRIPTIONS
OF RĀJENDRA CHOLA I.

Parakṣesari Varman Rājendra Chola Deva ruled from 1012 to 1044 A.D., and in his Tamil Prāṇastī of the 13th year recorded first in the Tirumalai Inscriptions, mention has been made of the conquest of a number of kings and countries lying between the Godavari and the Ganges, which are not found in his inscriptions of the 9th year and so it seems that during the period from the 10th year to 12th year of his reign, i.e., from 1022 to 1024 A.D., he was engaged in the expedition to Bengal through the hilly tracts of Bastar, Sonepur and Sambalpur, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Dhalbhum and Vishnupur. That this route is of ancient date is found to be true from the following description of Major Markham Kittoe who

* Read at the Lahore Session of the Indian History Congress.
first surveyed in 1838 the Calcutta–Bombay Dak road from Midnapore to Sambalpur and of Mr J. D. M. Beglar who made an Archaeological survey as an assistant to Major-General A Cunningham in 1874–75 and 1875–76 in the same area.

After the survey of the open country Major Kittoe writes:—

"I reached the foot of the pass called "Nitai Maungur" (Nitai Managaḍa) or the "Thaçoorani" ghat from the hill of that name, which commands it; X X X it was here on this occasion where I observed a break in the hills to the northward of the pass, that led to the discovery of a defile by which this valley can be entered with a scarcely perceptible ascent, I further discovered that a fine road existed by which many years ago merchants used to travel, it is now blocked up with fallen trees, overgrown with high grass; there are several tanks and mango topes, one of the former called the Brinjarah's tank Judging from the vast number of large peepul and banyan trees of great size and age that occur by the road side, together with what information I was able to collect, I think that the road must be of great antiquity."

Coming from the east, one meets with this first hill range called Similipal in Mayurbhanj and thereafter the Baitarani valley stretches from this place to the Gandhamardan range in Keonjhar State; on the west of the Gandhamardan range stretches the Brahmani valley separated by another hill range from the Mahanadi valley in the Sambalpur tract."

Mr. Beglar's report on this ancient road is quoted below:

'Some years ago a great find of gold coins containing, among others several of the Roman emperors, Constantine, Gordian, etc., in most beautiful preservation, were found near Bamanghati, X X X X X. The finding of these coins at Bamanghati shows that it lay on some great line of road from the sea port Tamluk to the interior, for it is more probable that they came in via Tamluk than overland from the Roman empire A road from Tamluk to Barahat would pass through Bamanghati, Porahat, Konkelnagar, Barampur all said to be ancient places of note; further the road from Ratanpur and Bajam would also naturally pass through Bamanghati or Bamanhati and on through or near Kichong (Khiching) which last

I have seen and the remains of interest which I will notice further on.\textsuperscript{2} Several copper plates belonging to the 9th and 10th centuries A. D. of the Bhanja kings of Khijji\text{ngak\text{\textc{c}}\text{\textc{c}}a, modern Khiching, the ancient capital of the Bhanja kings of Mayurbhanj, have been discovered from the Bhamangi Sub-Division of the Mayurbhanj State and the recent discoveries of Punch-marked coins there throw light on the earlier antiquity of the place.

Professor Nilakanta Sastr\text{\textc{c}} in his book on 'The Cholas' gives the full translation of the text of the Tirumalai inscription at pages 248-49 and the portion necessary for this paper is quoted below:

\textquoteleft (He seized) a large heap of family treasures together with many (other) treasures (which he carried away), after having captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon together with (his) family, in a fight which took place (at) Adinagar\text{\textc{c}}, (a city) whose great fame knew no decline; Od\text{\textc{c}}avisay\text{\textc{\textc{c}}}, which was difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence; the good Kosalai-nadu, where brahmins assembled.'\textsuperscript{3}

The text of the Tamil Pra\text{\textc{c}}asti\text{\textc{\textc{c}}} of the Tirukkalar\text{\textc{\textc{c}}} copper plate of the 18th year and the Tanjore inscriptions of the 18th year is essentially the same with that of the Tirumalai inscription so far as the northern India expedition of Rajendra is concerned. Four other inscriptions belonging to the 16th and 17th year have been published in nos 464, 635, 636 and 639 of the South Indian Inscriptions Vol. V, but I have not been able to utilise these texts for want of the English translation.

In the Tirumalai inscription Hultzsch read the name of the king as 'Dhiratara' in 1890\textsuperscript{6} and he changed his reading to 'Indirada\text{\textc{\textc{c}}} in 1891\textsuperscript{7} with the foot note stating that 'this doubtful

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{2} Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XIII, pp 72-73.
\item \textsuperscript{3} The Cholas, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 248-49.
\item \textsuperscript{4} South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, pp. 465-69.
\item \textsuperscript{5} Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 165-9.
\item \textsuperscript{6} Ibid., Vol. I, p. 69.
\item \textsuperscript{7} Ibid., Vol. II, p. 198.
\end{itemize}
name might be the corruption of Indraratha. If the reading of the Tirumalai inscriptions should turn out to be the correct one, the king's name would be either Dhiratara or Iradaran. At that time the location of Takkana ladam and Uitra ladam was identified with southern and northern Lata or Guzarat, and following Hultsch's suggestion of the king's name as Indraratha, Kielhorn in his Inscriptions of Southern India No. 733, identified him with Indraratha of the Udayapur inscription who was at war with Bhoja-deva and since then the reading of the name of the king in the Tamil text has been accepted by all as Indraratha and Professor Nilakanta Sastri writes as follows in this connection:—

"Of Indraratha of the lunar race whose defeat at Adinagar led to the surrender of the Odra (Orissa) country and the (southern) Kosala, nothing can be added to Kielhorn's suggestion that he might be the same as the opponent of Bhoja of Dhara mentioned in Udaipur inscription."

geographical proximity of both the countries, but now it has been
definitely settled that Tamil Takkava ladam stands for Dakshina
Raṣha, an ancient kingdom in eastern India. So the king named
‘Indraratha’ belonging to the ancient race of the moon, is to be
searched in eastern India in the neighbourhood of Oḷra and Dakshiuśa
Košala and not in western India, and the correct identification of this
king depends on the identification of ‘Adinagara’ the capital of the king,

Hiralal’s identification of ‘Sakkargottam’ with Chakrakotya in Bastar State and R. D. Banerjee’s identification of ‘Tandabutti’ with Dandabhutti in Midnapore area and ‘Takkana Ladam’ with Dakshina Raṣha in South-west Bengal, made me curious regarding the location of the city of Adinagar in the area covered by the modern Province of Orissa and Orissa States in the Eastern States Agency and finding no place bearing that name, it struck me that the Tamil text of Yayatinagara mentioned in the copper plate grants of the Śomavamśi kings of Utkala and Kośala had been incorrectly read as Adinagara. In November, 1939 I wrote to the Government Epigraphist for India suggesting the reading of Yayatinagara in the Tamil inscriptions of Rajendra Chola dealing with his expedition to Ganges and in reply the Assistant for South Indian Epigraphy wrote to me in his D O, letter dated the 30th November, 1939 as follows:—

“Though in the Tirumalai inscription the reading Adinagara is clear, in the Tirukkalar copper plate inscription of Rajendra Chola (S.I.I. vol. III, p. 407) the text may be read as Yayatinagara etc. In another inscription of this king (S.I.I. Vol- V, No. 464) the portion concerned reads Van-girii Ayadinagar etc. It is not impossible that Yayatinagar and Ayadinagar in these two records may have been meant for Yayatinagara.”

Up till then I had no knowledge in the existing literature on the Chola kings and in December 1939, I sought help from Professor Nilakanta Sastri at Calcutta during the 3rd session of the Indian History Congress and he was very kind to advise me to refer to his book on “The Cholas” on procuring which I found a reference to Dr. S. K.

12. Ibid., p. 71.
Aiyangar's paper on "Gangai-konda Chola" in which Dr. Aiyangar wrote as follows:

"It seems to me that Indraratha was the dominating ruler of whole region and these were places of importance in his territory; and Indraratha must have belonged to the dynasty of the Somavami of Cuttack, a ruler who has not yet come within the ken of the epigraphist though no doubt the late Professor Keilhorn noted an Indraratha among theoes defeated by king Bhoja of Dhara. His capital Sadinagar (Sadinagar of Tamil hitherto read Adinagar, Jajnagar of the Muhammadan historians) is not other than Yayatinagar, believed to be the foundation of one of the early Kesari kings of Orissa. This Yayatinagar is identified with a place called Binka (Sonepar Binka of the maps) on the river Mahanadi by Pundit Hiralal."

Dr. Aiyangar correctly guessed the identification of the ruling family to which 'Indraratha' belonged and 'Adinagar' with Yayatinagar the capital of the Somavami kings of Kosala and Utkala but he failed to give his reason for writing "Sadinagar of Tamil hitherto read as Adinagar" and on this ground Professor Sastri rejected his suggestion stating that Dr. Aiyangar "did not say how he got his new reading Sadinagara."

Let us see how the records of the Somavami kings help us in the identification of Yayatinagara and the name of the king mentioned in the Chola records Pandit Binayak Misra has dealt with 21 inscriptions of this dynasty in his book "Dynasties of mediaeval Orissa" pp. 66-71 with a genealogical table. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar has also included all these 21 inscriptions in his "Inscriptions of Northern India" and has given also a genealogical table at pp. 403-4 under "Somakulis of Trikalinga." In Pandit Misra's list there are two Yayatis whereas in Dr. Bhandarkar's list there are three Yayatis. I will discuss this point below but I am giving here the names of kings according to Dr. Bhandarkar's list with the places of residence of the kings or places of issue of the copper plates against each king for my purpose.

14. Ibid., p. 550,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of kings according to Dr. Bhandarkar’s list</th>
<th>Year of the grant</th>
<th>No. in L.I.N.I.</th>
<th>Place of residence or issue of the grant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Mahāśiva-gupta Yayāti deva I.</td>
<td>Samvat 3</td>
<td>No. 1556</td>
<td>Vijaya Pattana Kataka Subarnapura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>6 No. 1558</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>6 No. 1559</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>8 No. 1560</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>31 No. 1562</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>31 No. 1563</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>31 No. 1564</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mahāśīvagupta Yayātirāja deva II (10)</td>
<td>8 No. 1565</td>
<td>&quot; Vinītapura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>9 No. 1566</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>15 No. 1567</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>24 No. 1568</td>
<td>Yāyāitinagara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>28 No. 1569</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Mahābhava gupta Bhīmaratha</td>
<td>3 No. 1570</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>13 No. 1561</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>13 No. 1561</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Mahāśīvagupta Dharmaratha</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Mahābhava gupta Nahusha</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Mahāśīva gupta Yayāti III.</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Mahābhava gupta Udyota Kešari (17)</td>
<td>4 No. 2976</td>
<td>Yāyātinagara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>18 No. 1572</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Abhimanyu</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Šomeśvara (18)</td>
<td>1 No. 1744</td>
<td>Suvarṇapura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The inscriptions Nos. 1568 and 1569 mention that Yāyātinagara was on the bank of the Mahānadi.
Suvarnapura of the above inscriptions has been correctly identified with modern Sonpur situated at the confluence of the Telariver with the Mahanadi: Messrs B. C. Mazumdar 15 and Hiralal 16 have identified Vinitapura with modern Binika or Binka on the Mahanadi in the Sonpur State. Hiralal further suggests as follows:

"The name Yayatinagara was apparently imposed upon Vinitapura during the reign of Yayati otherwise known as Mahashivagupta. It is noteworthy that prior to his time the name Yayatinagara does not occur in any inscription. In fact he himself used the older name Vinitapura in the records of the 8th and 9th years of his reign, which fact shows that till then the idea of naming the town after himself had not occurred to him. It was probably sometime between the 15th and 24th years of his reign that the town changed its name. Since then the official name seems to have become Yayatinagara, and we have in all four inscriptions mentioning it, two of which belong to the 24th and the 28th years of his own reign, and two to the 3rd and 13th years of his son's. This name apparently continued to be used as long as Vinitapura was the capital, at least in official circles, but as is well known the original name usually sticks so persistently in the popular mind that it is difficult to eradicate it. Many a monarch has endeavoured to change the names of big cities after his own, but the old name has naturally asserted the ground, and I suppose the same happened with Vinitapura, which name can now be traced in the corrupted form Binka." 17 Pandit Binayak Misra suggests that "Yayatinagara should be in the Sambalpur District. Rai Bahadur Hiralal identifies this place with Binka in the Sonpur State, but there is no relic of antiquarian interest to support this identification." 18

Yayatinagara finds mention in the Pavanadutam or the wind messenger composed by peet Dhoyi Kaviraja whose date according to the calculation of M. M. Chakravarti falls "in the fourth quarter of the 12th century." 19 Interesting details of the ancient geography of India are furnished in "the description of countries

17. Ibid., p 189.
18. Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa, p. 75.
and people the wind messenger would have to pass over from the hill range called Malaya in southern India. The poet then described Kalinganagari from where following the foot of the Vindhya range inhabited by the Sabara tribes, the wind messenger is directed to visit Yayatinagara (Nagarimakhyayatam Yayateh) and then it would move on to Suhma-desa on the Ganges and then arrive at Vijayapur the capital of Suhma. Prof. Nilakantha Sastri in commenting on Bhma’s conquest in eastern India (Sahaparva) remarks “Suhma Raqah”20. The route of the wind messenger from Yayatinagara to Vijayapura in Suhma (same as Raqha) in south-west Bengal lay in the same direction to that of Rajendra Chola in 1022–24 A.D. Again the Muslim historians of the 13th and 14th centuries of the Christian era called Orissa as Jajnagar and this shows that the name of Yayatinagara continued to be remembered long after the invasion of Rajendra Chola. Modern Binka town in Sonpur may or may not be the site of ancient Yayatinagara but it is certain that Yayatinagara was situated on the bank of the Mahanadi somewhere in the Sonpur State or the Sambalpur District which was the capital of the Somavama kings of Utkala and Koatala in the beginning of the 11th century A.D., when Rajendra Chola invaded the kingdom. But the knowledge of the exact site of Yayatinagara would no doubt, help us to investigate further the forgotten past of the kingdom. The geographical situation and the archaeological remains of the Sonpur town go in favour of the identification of Yayatinagara there and not at Binka according to Hiralal’s argument, but it is better to wait for the discovery of the archaeological evidence.

This identification of the locality of Yayatinagara, the capital of the Somavama kings whose genealogical list furnishes us with two kings named Bhimaratha and Dharmaratha with ‘Ratha’ endings in their names, helps us to conclude that the Tamil text of the inscriptions of Rajendra Chola recorded the King’s name as Dharmaratha and his capital as Yayatinagara; but unfortunately these names were not correctly deciphered from the inscriptions carelessly written by the scribe who was ignorant of pronouncing Sanskrit words. Much ink has been split over the question and much ingenuity has been displayed in conjectures as to the route by which the army of Rajendra Chola reached Bengal and I hope to discuss other questions of this invasion later on in a subsequent paper.
Now an objection may be raised as to how I have suggested that the correct reading of the king's name in the Tamil inscription is Dharmaratha and not Indraratha which is found in the Sanskrit text of the Tiruvalangadu copper plate 21 verse 114. In reply, I can say this much; that by the time when Sanskrit verses were composed for Tiruvalangadu plates, the people forgot the name which was perhaps copied from the Tamil inscriptions in which it was written as pronounced by the scribe. When Hultzsch read it he found the name as ‘Dhiratara’ and he left a remark that "the doubtful name might be the corruption of Indraratha." Unfortunately I have not been able to consult with any Tamil epigraphist and so I am not very sure about the suggestion; but the readings of Hultzsch tempted me to suggest the king's name as Dharmaratha. It has been shown above that Indraratha of Udaipur inscription has nothing to do with Rajendra Chola's Invasion of Bengal. If the reading of the text of Rajendra Chola's Tamil inscription will not permit us to accept the name of Dharmaratha, then there would be no harm in assuming a king named Indraratha in the family; but the genealogical list as prepared from the Narsinghpur and Ratnagiri copper plate grants and Brahmesvara inscription does not allow us to arrive at such a conclusion. The Brahmesvara inscription was first published in the journal of the Asiatic Society in 1836 pp. 657-62 and as its original inscription slab is missing now, no one attempted to prepare a text from the facsimile print of it. Dr D. R. Bhandarkar has remarked that "some more kings of this dynasty seem to be mentioned in No. 1572 but this inscription requires to be carefully edited before we can utilise it for genealogical purposes." 22 I have prepared a correct and revised reading of the text of this inscription from the facsimile print and in this inscription the genealogical list of the Somavamśī kings of Kṛśala line is given according to that of Narsinghpur copper plate and the Praṣasti gives also the list of the Utkala line the titles of Mahābhāvagupta and Mahāśīvagupta are not found in the Praṣasti of the Brahmesvara inscription and on the other hand the text of Narsinghpur copper plate altogether omits the names of Vichitravīra, Abhimanyu and Chanḍīhara (alias Yayāti II). This is rather strange to see such differences in one official document and in another private one belonging to the same king. The verse 9 of the Narsinghpur copper plate goes to state that Yayāti II was made

the king of two kingdoms Utkala and Košala by warrior chiefs 23 and in the verses 7 and 8 of the Brahmesvara inscription similarly narrate that Chandīhara was made king by the ministers and well managed both the kingdoms. However from the study of both the inscriptions one can prepare the following genealogical list:—

**Mahābhava gupta Janamejaya**
(Nos. 1557-60, 1562-64)
Nos. 1572, 2076-77.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Košala Line</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Mahāsīva gupta</td>
<td>1. Vichitravira (No. 1572)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yayāti I (1565-1569)</td>
<td>2. Name not given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nos. 2076-77</td>
<td>3. Abhimanyu (No. 1572)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mahābhava gupta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bīmarattha (1561 &amp; 1570)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nos. 2076-77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mahāśīva gupta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharma rattha (1572 &amp; 2076)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nos. 2076-77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Died childless. He was wrongly identified with Indrarattha of the Rājendra. Chola’s inscription and died in 1022 A.D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. (Mahābhava gupta ?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahuśa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No. 1572 &amp; 2076-77)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Mahāśīva gupta Chandīhara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No. 1572) alias Yayāti II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nos. 1556) 2076-77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No. 1572 and 2076-77)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Names of kings mentioned in No. 1744 cannot be reasonably connected with the above list and so it is omitted.

It seems that there is a direct reference to Rājendra Chola’s invasion in the verse 6 of Brahmesvara inscription. In the Narsinghpur

Copper plate no out-side attack on the country is mentioned and this is due to perhaps the panegyrist’s intentional omission of the defeat of his patron’s ancestor; on the other hand the Brahmesvāra inscription is not strictly an official document and as its Prāṣasti is the composition of a famous poet who perhaps did not hesitate to record the historical events. The verse runs as follows:—

Tasmin—gāte divam—aputrini rājamalle
Nānabhaṣair—upahate sakalepi rāṣṭre
Deśāntara—sitavatī pravala—pravīre
Kālah kiyān—agamad—aṭra yathā kathanchit.

“'When he the Rājamalla (the best of the Rājas) departed into heaven without issue, and all his kingdom was laid waste by various warriors of other countries, sometime passed away until the arrival of the powerful hero who was residing in another kingdom in the neighbourhood.'"

The above arguments leave no room for any doubt as regards the correct identification of the king Dharmaratha of lunar dynasty of Yayātinagara with 'Indraratha' of the ancient race of the moon of 'Adinagara' as mentioned in the Tamil inscriptions of Rājendra Chola.

Up till now no inscription of the Somavamśi king of Utkala and Kośala or no reference to these inscriptions was found which threw light on the definite date of this dynasty and by this identification we are now in a position to ascertain the period of these kings who were famous in the history of Orissa and were known as belonging to the Kośari dynasty of the Madalāpaṇji (Chronicles of the Jagannātha temple at Puri) tradition.
THE KESARI DYNASTY OF THE MĀDALĀPANJĪ

In 1825, Andrew Stirling published an historical account of Orissa entirely based on the Rajacaritra of the Madalāpanjī, the chronicle of the Jagannātha temple at Puri. In this account, he dealt with 36 generations of the Kesari kings beginning with Yayātikeśari. As the date of Yayātikeśari was given in the Saka era, Stirling placed the beginning of Kesari rule in A.D. 473, from which date he counted 'the commencement of the real history of the province'. But, as the Saka era was not current in Orissa before the tenth century A.D. its use in the Madalāpanjī in the above context cannot be accepted as genuine.

In 1843, Bhabani Charan Bandyopadhyaya published his Purusottamacandrika which is a poetical work in Bengali based on the Madalāpanjī, and, in 1872, W. W. Hunter in his Orissa, Vol. I, pp. 198-99, paid high tribute to Bandyopadhyaya for his researches, Hunter chiefly derived his material from the Purusottamacandrika, the account in which he considered fuller and more carefully prepared than Stirling's. He says, 'It contains, however, rather germs of history than an historical narrative. It furnishes a list of a hundred and seven kings of Orissa from 3101 B.C. to the British accession in A.D. 1803 with the exact dates of their reigns'. It is unfortunate that Hunter totally disregarded the views of the then Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, who rightly pointed out that the inclusion of king Bhoja of known date in the Madalāpanjī and his ascription to an age earlier than Vikramāditya and the inclusion also of Vikramāditya in it are both against history and chronology.

Of the five Somakuli copperplate grants discovered at or near Cuttack between 1874 and 1884, two were edited by Rangalal

1. The article has been edited for the Journal by Professor D. C. Sircar.
3 Ibid., p. 264.
4 Ibid., p. 262.
Banerji 5 and one by Rajendralal Mitra, 6 while Volumes I and II of Mitra’s Antiquities of Orissa were published in 1875 and 1880 respectively. Both Banerji and Mitra identified Yayāti of the copperplates with Yayātikeśari, the founder of the Kesari dynasty of the Madalapāṇji, who was regarded as a feudatory of the later Gupta kings of Magadha.

M. M. Chakravarti read a paper on two copperplate inscriptions of Gaṅga Narasimha IV at a meeting of the Asiatic Society in 1891, though the paper was published in its Journal in 1895. While referring to the evidence of the Madalapāṇji, he clearly states that ‘unless corroborated, its statements cannot be fully relied upon’ 7. In another paper read by Chakravarti at a meeting held on the 6th of July, 1892, an abstract of which was published in the Society’s Proceedings, 1892, pp. 140-41, the learned author observed that the Madalapāṇji, being based on unsatisfactory, imperfectly reported and contradictory traditions was a very unsafe and confusing guide. ‘The work’, he says, ‘should be deposed from the high pedestal which it now occupies and placed in the proper rank.’

Credit thus goes to Chakravarti for his bold evaluation of the evidence of the Madalapāṇji, the unreliability of which he also demonstrated in his papers on the Eastern Gaṅgas 8 and the Suryavamšas.9

Six Somakuli copperplate grants were published by J. F. Fleet in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol III, 1894-95 pp. 323-59. Fleet regarded the donors of the charters as ‘Kings of Kātaka’ apparently because Rangalal Banerji had translated Vijaya-Kaṭaka occurring in the description of the place of their issue as ‘the great and glorious Kaṭaka’, though it really means ‘the Victorious Camp’. But a distinct service to the cause of historical research was rendered by Fleet by elaborately discussing the palaeographic peculiarities of the inscriptions in order to determine their date as well as the date of the compilation of the Madalapāṇji and the historical value of the tradition regarding the kings of the Kesari dynasty.

Fleet showed that the inscriptions should be assigned on palaeographical grounds to a date later than A.D. 900, preferably to the eleventh century, so that the kings who issued them may have flourished between A.D. 1000 and 1100. He compared the Madalapāṇji with the Keśugudeśvarajavali and Raṇavalikathā of South India and pointed out that ‘these annals are in reality absolutely worthless for any purpose of ancient history’, and while expressing doubts about the historicity of the majority of the names in the list, further observed that ‘everything relating to ancient times which has been written on the unsupported authority of these annals has to be expunged bodily from the pages of history’. Finally, Fleet drew attention to the reference to the Yavana invasion and pointed out that the Madalapāṇji could not have been reduced to its present form before the sixteenth century A.D.

While generally agreeing with Fleet’s observations, M. M. Chakravartī disagrees with the statement that the names of the Kesari kings ‘may be possibly real names of the later rulers, misplaced in order to make out a consecutive chronological series’, and refers to the Brahmaśvara temple inscription at Bhubaneswar, which is not later than the tenth century A.D., but mentions Udyotakesari and his ancestors Janamejaya, Vichitravira, Cauḍihara and Kolāvati, of whom the names of Janamejaya and Kolāvati are found in the Madalapāṇji. Chakravartī therefore concludes that the Kesari kings need not be considered as mythical or later rulers as suggested by Fleet.

In the Brahmaśvara inscription, however, no ancestor of Udyotakesari bears a Kesari-ending name and, in the Madalapāṇji, there is no mention of Udyotakesari at all. The latter mentions Vasukalpakesari and his queen Kolāvati (according to Chakravartī’s reading) who according to the Brahmaśvara inscription, was the queen of Cauḍihara and the mother of Udyotakesari. There is no mention of Vasukalpa-

11. Ibid., p. 335.
12. Ibid., p. 336.
13. Ibid., p. 338.
15. Ibid., p. 336.
kesari in the Brahmeśvara inscription. The Madalapasi account is thus distorted and cannot be satisfactorily reconciled with the evidence of the Brahmeśvara inscription. It should also be noted that the printed Oriya text of the Madalapasi 17 mentions the queen of Vasukalpakesari as Tulacdi and not as Kolavati. Since the text of the Brahmeśvara inscription 18 as published in 1838 was defective, Chakravarti took it to be a Kesari record and the mention of Udyotakesari in it was regarded by him to be a strong evidence against Fleet's remarks. As the name of Karnakesari was traced in Sandhyakaranandi's Ramacarita 19 and that of Udyotakesari in the Bhakti Bhagavatamahakavya 20 by Kavidinātma Jivadevačārya, Chakravarti now found no difficulty in supporting the existence of the Kesari dynasty in the historical chapter in the Gazetteers of the Cuttack 21 and Balasore 22 Districts. Thus the tradition regarding the rule of the Kesari dynasty, being supposed to be corroborated by epigraphic and literary evidence, came to be regarded as historical.

R. D. Banerji's History of Orissa, Vol. I, published in 1930, accepts the Madalapasi tradition of the Kesari dynasty as partly true. Banerji draws our attention to the kesari-ending name of the Bhauma-Kara king Unmaṭa-kesari and those of kings Udyotakesari and Karnakesari and also to Sylvain Levi's reference to the Chinese mention of an early Orissan ruler with name ending in a word meaning 'the lion.' He thought that Udyotakesari did not belong to the Bhauma-Kara family and expressed his doubt whether Karnakesari should be assigned to the Bhauma-Kara or Somakuli dynasty. 24

This uncertain position was solved by the publication of the Balijhari (Narsinghpur) copperplate grant 27 of Udyotakesari in 1931,

17. Published by the Prāchi Samiti in 1940.
as it definitely proved that the Brahmeśvara inscription is a Somakuli record. In the light of the Balijhari inscription, I re-edited the Brahmeśvara inscription. In 1930 was published the first plate of the Ratnagiri grant, which contains the same text as the earlier part of the Balijhari grant and was therefore supposed to be another record of Udyotakesari. The recent publication of the second and third plates of the Ratnagiri inscription has shown that it is a charter of the Somakuli king Karna, who was the younger brother of Purandara, the son of Janamejaya and the grandson of Udyotakesari.

The genealogy of the Somakuli kings is given on the next page.

Among these Somakuli kings, only the name of Udyotakesari ends in the word kesari. When none of the names of Udyotakesari's predecessors and successors ends in kesari, it is sufficient proof that the name ending of that king has no special dynastic significance. It is well known that the Sanskrit words kesari and simha, meaning 'a lion' are often used as suffixes to personal names.

As regards Chakravarti's reliance on the mention of Karnakesari, king of Utkala, in the Ramacarita, we feel that, since the name of Karnadeva of the Ratnagiri copperplate grant does not end in kesari, he is certainly different from Karnakesari of the Ramacarita. I tried formerly to prove that Karnakesari was the immediate successor of Udyotakesari. But now I think that the identification of Karnakesari of the Ramacarita should be deferred until further light is forthcoming.

29. [It is difficult to agree with this view since there are numerous, instances e.g., of a king named Saṅgrāmasimha being mentioned as Saṅgrāmadeva, Saṅgrāmaraṇa, etc. There is little doubt that some of the later Somavamśi kings (e.g., Udyotakesarin and Karnakesarin) had names ending in kesarin and that this fact was responsible for their being popularly known as belonging to the Kesari dynasty. It has to be noticed that it was Udyotakesarin's father who was the first Somavamśi king of the Puri-Cuttack region with which only the Madalapañji is concerned—D. C. Sircar].
Coḍaganga, mentioned in the *Madalapanjī*, is known from inscriptions to have conquered Utkala before A.D. 1192. The defeated Utkala king was certainly a Somakuli, though we are not sure whether

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sivagupta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Janamejaya I Mahābhavagupta I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c. A.D. 940)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Yayāti I Mahāśivagupta I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c. A.D. 975)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bhimaratha Mahābhavagupta II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c. A.D. 1000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Dharmaratha Mahāśivagupta II Abhimanyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c. A.D. 1015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Indraratha Mahābhavagupta III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(killed by Rajendraola's army shortly before A.D. 1025)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Naghuṣa Mahābhavagupta IV30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Caṇḍihara Yayāti II Mahāśivagupta II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c. A.D. 1030-55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Udyotakesari Mahābhavagupta V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c. A.D. 1055-75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Janamejaya II Mahāśivagupta IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c. A.D. 1075-85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Purandara Mahābhavagupta VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Karna Mahāśivagupta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c. A.D. 1085-1100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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30. [Naghusa (Nahuṣa), probably styled Mahābhavagupta III, was the younger brother of Dharmaratha while Caṇḍihara Yayāti Mahāśivagupta III was the son of Abhimanyu and a younger cousin of Naghusa. The adoption of the names Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta by the kings of this family alternately would suggest that Indraratha, whose name is mentioned in the records of other dynasties was just another name of Naghusa · Mahābhavagupta III. See *The Struggle for Empire*, ed, Majumdar, pp. 209-10.—D. C. Sircar]
he was Karnadeva or his successor. The name of Suvarna Kesari, given in the Madalapaśī, is entirely imaginary Bandyopadhyaya and Hunter mention Suvarna Kesari whereas the printed text of the Madalapaśī gives the name as Śunyakesari.

The rule of the Kesari dynasty, according to the Madalapaśī, covers the long period of over 550 years from A.D. 474 to 1132. But during this period, a large number of inscriptions belonging to the Vigraha, Mana, Gauḍa, Bhauma and Somakuli dynasties, which flourished from the middle of the sixth century A.D., have been discovered. These epigraphic records do not allow any scope for the rise of the Kesari dynasty in the fifth century A.D. and their uninterrupted rule up to the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. 31

Chakravarti’s third argument in favour of the existence of the Kesari dynasty is the Bhūktibhāgavata, composed in A.D. 1510 by Jivadevācārya, the minister and spiritual guide of the Sūryavamśi Gajapati king Pratāparudra who ruled from A.D. 1496-97 to 1533-34. This work specifically mentions the Kesari-kula and Udyotakesari. 32

Thirty-six verses at the close of the Bhūktibhāgavata give an account of the author’s ancestors who were the spiritual guides of the ruling dynasties of Orissa, namely the Bhojas, Kesaris, Gaṅgas and Sūryavamśis. In these verses, Jivadeva claims that his forefathers were at first the spiritul guides of the Bhojas who were the devotees of Virajadevi at Jaipur. Next they became the spiritual guides of the kings of the (Kesari-kula(Kesari dynasty) that constructed the temple of Bhubaneswar. 33 Then they also served the Gaṅga and Sūryavamśi kings of Orissa as their preceptors.

H. P. Sastri first reported the discovery of a manuscript of the Bhūktibhāgavata, as already indicated above, and published only an


32. [ The expression is Udyotakesari-kulasya. —D.C. Sircar ]

33. [ This appears to be based on a wrong interpretation of one of the stanzas —D.C. Sircar ]
English translation of the stanzas at the end of the work. Some years ago, K. K. Kar published a paper entitled ‘Gajapati Pratāpadraṅka Gurn Kavidināma Jivadeva’ in the Oriya monthly journal, Navabharata 34 in which he published the full text of the verses with their Oriya translation. The praṣasti verses of Jivadeva are reproduced in the Appendix below.

H. P. Sastri’s translation of verses 6, 7, 9, 10, 11 and 13 runs as follows:

6. ‘When the Bhojas were dethroned for their misbehaviour, the Kesaris became supreme in the country 35 [Kesari-kula of the text has been translated as ‘the Kesaris’.]

7. One Bhavadeva with great spiritual powers was the spiritual guide of Udyotakesari. 36 [Udyotakesari-kulasya gurur - babhava, tesu prasidha-mahima Bhavadeva-nama.]

9. The kings of the Kesari dynasty having perished by the fire of inflicting injuries to Brāhmaṇas, some kings belonging to Gaṅgavamsa, devoted to gods and Brāhmaṇas, came to the power.’

10. ‘The first king of this dynasty was Cōdaṅgaṅga, practised in mantras and great in the favour of Śakti. He had for his spiritual guide Gauriguru, versed in Tantras like Bṛhaspati, belonging to the Vātsa-gotra

11. ‘In the Gaṅga dynasty was born Lāṅguliya 37 Nṛsimha whose body had a tail, who was the hero of the world, who was celebrated for the favour he enjoyed of the gods, and who destroyed the army of the king of Delhi.’

13. ‘In course of time, a king named Nṛsimha (another king) rose in the Gaṅga-vamsa, a ready poet, who built the temple of Kouārka, the banner of the steede of which struck the heaven.’

35. [This is Sastri’s translation of only the first half of the stanza—D. C. Sircar]
36. [Found in the text.]
37. [It is not found in the text of the verse—D.C. Sircar]
It is not possible to say as to how Jivadeva came to know the name of the Kesari-kula which he mentions before Udyotakesari and Coḍagana of the Gaṅga dynasty. Jivadeva does not mention the king from whom Coḍagana got the kingdom, but only that the kings of the Kesari dynasty perished by the fire of inflicting injuries to the Brāhmaṇas. After Coḍagana, he mentions Narasimha I omitting his predecessor Anāgabhīma who is credited with the construction of the Jagannātha temple in the Madalaṇāji. He does not say that Coḍagana built the Jagannātha temple. Although, according to the copperplate grants of Narasimha II, the Konārka temple was built by his grandfather Narasimha I, Jivadeva states that the said temple was built by Narasimha II. He has attributed the epithet Lāṅgulīya to Narasimha I in whose body there was a tail, a fact also mentioned in the Madalaṇāji. All this considered together raises a serious doubt about the authenticity of the account of Jivadeva though it has some historical basis. Whatever that may be, it seems that the Bhaktibhagavata-mahakavya is the source of the account of the Kesari dynasty in the Madgalapanji.

Jivadeva mentions the Kesari dynasty for the first time. There is no corroborative evidence in its support; but his reference to Udyotakesari, Coḍagaṅga, Narasimha I and II, Nīhāraka Bhānu, Gajapati Kapilendra, Gajapati Purusottama and Gajapati Pratāparudra are corroborated by inscriptions. Thus the tradition recorded by Jivadeva is trustworthy with the exception of his reference to the Kesari-kula. In our opinion, M.M. Chakravarti's argument is not valid and the Kesari dynasty should be considered as mythical as suggested by Fleet.

As has been stated above, Fleet suggested that the Madgalapanji was compiled in the sixteenth century A.D. Rama Prasad Chanda also came to the same conclusion and referred the compilation of the work after the Mughal occupation of Orissa. The Madgalapanji mentions the name of Bhoja and his descendants and then refers to the Yavana (Mughal) rule, Yayātikesarī of the Kesari dynasty being assigned to A.D. 474, 146 years after the foreign conquest. After the Kesari family the Gaṅga dynasty is stated to have ruled.

We are not concerned with the kings of the legendary period from Yudhishthira, whose names were perhaps borrowed from the Purāṇas, especially the Bhāgavata Purāṇa of which an Oriya translation was available in the sixteenth century. It is certain that no textbook on history was available to the compiler of the Madalapanji. What was then the source from which he derived material for the history of the Kesari dynasty, the founder of which is credited with the re-establishment of the worship of Jagannātha? The work is primarily an account of Jagannātha and his worshippers. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, some traditions may have been current about the Jagannātha temple which was built by Coçagāna; but the Madalapanji gives the credit of building the temple to Anangabhīma. The account of the Kesārīka temple as given in the work, however, finds corroboration. But the story of 18 generations, namely six successive kings called Deva, six Narimhas and six Bhaṃus, is not corroborated by the genealogy found in the grants of the family.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a large number of local Mahātmyas in Sanskrit (e.g., Kapilasamhitā, Virajamahātmya, Ekārancandrika, Ekāra Purāṇa and Svavādhrimahodaya) were written in Orissa. It is strange that although these works deal with the temples ascribed to the Madalapanji, to the Kesari dynasty, they do not at all refer to the Kesāri dynasty. These works prove the late origin of the tradition regarding the Kesari dynasty. I have therefore come to the conclusion that Bhaktibhāgavata is the source of the Madalapanji. The compiler has borrowed the list of Puranic king from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and that of the kings of the historical period from the Bhaktibhāgavata which mentions the Bhojas followed by the Kesaris and, in order to fill up the gap in the chronology, he brought in names either from the Purāṇas or local tradition.

Thus it is clear that the tradition of the Kesari dynasty is not earlier than the sixteenth century A.D., when Jivadeva wrote, and found its place with much elaboration in the Madalapanji towards the end of that century. One interesting fact needs mention about the increase in the number of the kings in the Madalapanji. In 1822 or

39. [See above, note 3—D. C. Sircar.]

40. [It is difficult to accept the suggestion. — D. C. Sircar]
1825, Stirling gave a list of 36 kings. In 1872, Hunter quoted a list of 63 kings with exact dates of their periods of rule. In 1940, the Prachi Samiti of Cuttack published the text of the Madalapājya which contains a list of 65 kings.

In conclusion, I have no hesitation to say that the whole traditional account of the Kesari dynasty as recorded in the Madalapājya lacks corroboration from contemporary records and hence it is entirely unauthentic. I agree now with Fleet that the whole account should be expunged bodily from the pages of history.

APPENDIX

[ Navabhārata (Oriya), Vol. VI, Nos. 5 and 6, pp. 221-25, 293-96; Utkula University Souvenir, 1948, pp. 108ff ]

41. Orissa, Vol. I, p 237 Jagabandhu Sinha published a book entitled Pracīna Utkala in which it is stated that Hunter’s list omitted the names of many kings of the Kesari dynasty.

42. [ प्रभूति:—D. C. Sircar ]

43. [ सूत्युद्धव:—D. C. Sircar ]
यः पश्चातामुखगते नयपलम्बुः
सुल्यः विजित्य सहसा पुनरानिताय || ४
बालस्य हरायः १५ तणुभागपदान्तजेवं,
व्यावस्थवतिकेकुशलदिविकरा बमूःः।
भोजनबययचुतिलुभं गुरवं, पवित्रा
मन्नै कसाहनपरा भूवि वाजःकृका। || ५
भोजेः पु तेवचविनयादिव राजपीठादृ
प्रवेदेः केशरिकुलः तद्येषकार।
वैरचिता द्रिइवरा गुरवस्वित्वे
जाता जगात्याविव्वसमोनगित्यः। ॥ ६
उददृतकेशरिकुलस्य गुहविभूव
तेपु प्रसिद्धमहिमा भवदेवनाम।
सोमेन्द्रो नृपकुलस्य समाचरीया
बशः स तेन क्रुतिनैव क्रुत्रंगितः। || ७
येनोद्भव सकलाविस्तरत्यन्त्रस्ते
तन्न्वां छेष् महति मजज्जि सर्वादोः।
वत्सायपितामरकुलरीहः क्रुतितः:॥ ५५
लेव बमूः वत वात्विपुलावकारः। || ८
सूपेः पैशारिकुलप्रभेः तेपु
विप्राकाराद्रहस्तः प्रलिबं गतेः।
वैविहवातिपद्धत्युज्जवलाभिका
मूपा बमूःजुः केचन गर्वशयः। || ६
वेज्जादिक: समम्बवह तन्त्रसिद्ठि:
शक्तियासामपरो मुषि चोइङङः।
गौरीवुम्भयु समुहाधिकोलस्य वससे
च्छोः गुहः सुरपतेरिव तन्त्राचितः। || १०
गजानन्दः समसुतिवेवततार तस्मिन
देवविसादसिको भगवानतिशः।
भिः (दि) भीतिस्वत्तचतः प्रश्वतान् भुवतो
लाहः कुस्मितत्तवृंगवेदः। || ११
तत्त्वज्ञानेऽन्तरे कालेवर यथा प्रकृतिः
शास्त्रेऽन्तरे कर्मसिद्धां कालेवर यथा प्रकृतिः

श्रीपरमेश्वरकृतगर्भवर्तीम् वर्ननम्
श्रीदयाभिधिताय श्रीपरमेश्वरकृतगर्भवर्तीम्

ध्येयमिति गृहस्थम् तद्ध्वाराय गृहस्थम्
ध्येयमिति गृहस्थम् तद्ध्वाराय गृहस्थम्

भूय भूय भूय भूय भूय भूय भूय भूय भूय
भूय भूय भूय भूय भूय भूय भूय भूय भूय

थोरो थोरो थोरो थोरो थोरो थोरो थोरो थोरो
थोरो थोरो थोरो थोरो थोरो थोरो थोरो थोरो

श्रीमद्भागवतम् च दशमहाभाषा
श्रीमद्भागवतम् च दशमहाभाषा

[ 46. जन्मवंशीय दोष शास्त्री — D. C. Sircar ]
[ 47. परंपरात्मक — D. C. Sircar ]
द्रत्वा द्विजाय स न्यो धरणीयनानि रत्नानि नीलगिरिकृतमर्मिनिराय।
ढाविभाशन्तुमुपलाभ्य धरां ध्वमनि-बंजीतेन्भगवतोहनितमकसादस।

20

tasyātmāt jō gajapati: puṁpocchōbhū-
śīlālātārpuṁpocchām eva saṁjñātā।

21
catuḥ sāmaṁsambhūpasyate vanāni
valūkamev chauro rāmayāmbū।

22

viṣayāgra mūjvalenā bijitā sogri
rataṁ kāśānchab eva dhājagātā।

23

tasyānāṃnāturākāḫāvyācha pibanat
māmāsura nālakṣṇātmataḥpam।

24

gopālādvyājulādevirùtā: suśūnto-
saṁyānābuddhāsāntayā yaśāṅkhyātā।

25

śrīmānāḷīcānūṇhī: kābārāraja:
vyāto gāmācaraśāhāvācārīvya।

26

ḥānāṇdùtre gajapati: puṁpocchmaṇād
κृत्या जग्निन सुप्रया ध्रवलानि ऽहत्वा।

27

vīśatāsma: sāmaṁnātha dharā mūjābyān
chiterātāpurisā eva padāya kriṇān।

28

śrīmānāṭīḥočchānugṛho hṛstā raṣhī
yāgaṇīvīrā evaśvāmānā śāsanaṇā।

29

bhāyaśyā muṣṭikārṣuṣṭhālām ś teṣā:
sālōvāyāya śāhā puṁpocchmāya।

30

śvārākhaṃgāriske puṁpocchmaṇād
tasyātmāj 49 suṛtāmaṁ vi bīrāraṇā।

31

mahābhātvamāṇāci haṁ cāṛāchānā:
śoṅdānāśvānāśvamānāśvamānā 50ketā।

32

samālōkāyaśāya: kṛtaṁāramāv
sākṣeyo bijitā yājanāmakṣārānā।

48. [ śrīmālītī.—D. C. Sircar ]
49. [ tasyātmāj.—D. C. Sircar ]
50. [ mālāy.—D. C. Sircar ]
नवार निवापसलिने स विशेषपथां गांवपात्तुशुश्याः सिद्धं त्रिपरं ॥ २७ ॥

यो चैरोष्कं परित्सुरादुर्जीर्ष्य- दोषं एवं वालिलमहीविलयो वरेन्द्रः ॥

अद्गृ तवापरिसंहित ५१ ताहतात्तमा इति तनोति बसुङ्कुस्मुतात्तराय ॥ २८ ॥

गोपालसूतिरं चिरा नवहेमसुम्बा वननामस्वीलिनीलातुक्करमाणाः ॥ ५२ ॥

सर्वाः सुविद्य विहरन्ति वद्यमुफ्ति- सुक्रास्व जपकं हृदे सुचियां तुल्नान्न ॥ २६ ॥

तस्यामदु गुरुसी तथ्याजातं ॥ ५३ ॥

शैलाक्षोचन्दनावरुणगुरोरोश्वाः ॥

शैविज्ञेव कविधितलमपरिप्रेष्टन्त्रो रत्नावतीशुरुक्षितारं त्रिणामकः ॥ ३० ॥

शैरुद्देशून्नपतवाध वक्कुटाली ॥ ५४ ॥

करणांदेशार्जुनेन वस्तुगुदारे ॥

तेनास्य श्रीकृक्रियाना गजाङ्गिसस्य कान्यं निक्षेपमिदमुख्याल्ममकिसिद्धम ॥ ३१ ॥

अद्गृ दस्य सम्पदाकारे स्वादेश- तिराशयात्तुम्भवात्त्वा: कविधितलमोइयम।

गोदारीरिपरिनेव निवसंनकर्पणमा- मासेन तत्त्र गकयेण महाप्रवर्धम् ॥ ३२ ॥

विज्ञेव दूषेनामपि वनकुश्यवेद कान्तारे पवित्रदशाबद्विधाति ॥

अवयार्धरोपि कुटिलार्य खलस्य नेन्द्रो व्यालस्य चुम्बनमिव प्रथमं भवानाम् ॥ ३३ ॥

पशु कृति: सुचितिरिमम श्रीलाम्याः

कुपशास्य पाददत्तासि दलश्रीवलति ॥

51. [ परिसुधः—D. C. Sircar ]

52. [ मानाः—D. C. Sircar ]

53. [ Better राजः—D. C. Sircar ]

54. [ वक्कुटाली—D. C. Sircar ]
ON BĀLAVALABHI OF RĀMACHARITA
and
THE EPIThET BĀLAVALABHI-BHUJANGA OF
BHATTA BHAVADEVA *

The epithet Bālavalabhi-bhujanga, the another name of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, finds mention in the stone inscription I now fixed on the compound wall of the Anantavāsudeva temple at Bhubaneswar (to which it did not originally belong before 1837) and in the colophons of Bhavadeva’s works entitled Karmānuśāṇa-paddhatī,2 Prayaschitta-nirūpama 3 and Tautātimata-tilaka.4

* Published in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Aligarh Session, 1944.
The inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva was first edited in 1837 by Prineep and then it has been re-edited by R. L. Mitra (1880), Keilhorn (1900-01), N. N. Vasu (1904-05), M. M. Chakraverti published a paper on Bhatta Bhavadeva of Bengal in 1912 but none of them treated Bālavalabhi as a place name. In the case of M. M. Chakraverti the omission of reference to Bālavalabhi in Ramacharita published in 1910, may be due to over-sight, but all other scholars noted below have treated Bālavalabhi as a place name. It will be shown in this paper that the occurrence of Bālavalabhi signifying a kingdom is the result of wrong reading of the text of Rāmcharita and Bālavalabhi of Bālavalabhi-Bhujanga has no geographical meaning and the epithet only signifies the literary merit of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva.

M. M. H. P. Sastri edited the Rāmcharita in 1910. He read Bālavalabhi in the text of the commentary on Vikrama of verse 5 of Chapter II and identified it with Bagādi taking the same to be a name of a province in Bengal. His reading of the text of the commentary and note in English are quoted below:

Text

"X X Vikrama ēti Devagūma pratīvadhā vasudhā Chakravāla - Bālavalabhi (bhi) taranga-vahala galahasta-prasasta-hasta-vikramo Vikramarāja X X."

Note in English

"Vikramarāja, the Raja of Devagrama and the surrounding country, washed by the waves of the rivers Bālavalabhi or Bagādi, one of the five provinces into which ancient Bengal was divided."

R. D. Banerji criticised this identification of Bālavalabhi with Bagādi and wrote thus:

"The identification stands without any support. From the description given in the commentary on the Rāmcharita it appears that Bālavalabhi was pre-eminently a land of rivers and must be identified either with eastern or southern Bengal."

Nagendranath Vasu wrote as follows in Bengali on Devagrāma and Bālavalabhi:

"Devagrāma prativalba-Bālavalabhi: Devagrāma was the chief place in this country and even now it is known as Devagrāma in the district of Nadia. Vikrampur, the capital of Vikramarāja is now situated at a distance of 4 miles south-east of Devagrāma. The country surrounded by the rivers Bhagirathī and Ichhāmatī like the horizon, was known as Bālavalabhi." 9

R. D. Banerji rejected this identification as follows:

"There are hundreds of villages in Bengal bearing the name of Devagrāma, and I do not find any reason to confine it to one of them. Even in Nadia District itself there are several Devagrams, and so the attempt to identify it with the materials at present at our command is premature." 10

R. D. Banerji was right in rejecting the above identification of Bālavalabhi but supported M.M. Sastrī as regards the reading of Bālavalabhi accepting it to be a name of a country and wrote thus:

"The position of Devagrāma in Bālavalabhi, the king of which Vikrama Kesari, comes next in order, is far less certain.

"X X X The explanation of this (the commentary) is not quite certain and nothing can be made out beyond what has already been stated by M.M. H.P. Sastrī. Vikrama Kesari was the king of Devagrāma, and the surrounding country which was washed by the rivers of Bālavalabhi." 11

It is not understood as to how J.C Bose has identified Vikramakeśari, of the love story of Sasisekha 12 with Vikramarāja of the Ramācharita. The story of Sasisekha composed by Fakirarāma is found to be composed in Oriya by Banamāli Dāsa in his Chāta-Ichhāvati, which records the name of the Raja as Bhoja and not Vikrama Keśari at Dantan which is not corroborated by the story current in Orissa.

11. Ibid. P. 89.
N. G. Mazumdar first suggested connection of Bālavalabhi of Rāmcharita with the epithet Bālavalabhi-bhujanga of Bhāṣa Bhavadeva and wrote as follows:—

"The epithet Bālavalabhi-bhujanga has been the subject of much speculation but it has not yet been satisfactorily explained. The word ‘Bālavalabhi’ occurs, however, as a place name in the Rāmcharita commentary. The situation of Bālavalabhi is not known. The commentary places it in or near Devagrāma which also is equally obscure. It is impossible to ascertain at the present state of our knowledge, why Bhavadeva was called ‘the serpent of Bālavalabhi’. A place called Vṛiddhavalabhi situated in the Gauḍa country is mentioned in the colophon of a MS. of Sarvadeva-pratisṭha-paddhati of Trivikrama Suri. Thus it appears that there were valabhi major and also valabhi minor in Bengal. 12" The above quotation is mentioned in the foot note 2 of History of Bengal (1943) at page 326.

Dr. H. C. Roy in his Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. I, p. 341 writes that “Vikramarāja” was “the ruler of Bālavalabhi which was close to Devagrāma”. His view on Bālavalabhi is quoted below:—

"The next principality is Bālavalabhi which is described by the Commentator as DevAGRama Praśadha. We have already pointed out that the name occurs in the Bhubaneswar Praśasti of Bhāṣa Bhavadeva Pandit H. P. Sastri has identified it with Bagdi (Vagadi), one of the five provinces into which ancient Bengal was divided, while others locate it in Nadia district. There is no evidence in support of either of these identifications. It is likely that it was the name of a district in West Bengal. It is to be noted that Bhāṣa Bhavadeva, who is described as Bālavalabhi-bhujanga was a resident of Rādha.” He further writes in the foot note on the same page that “Bāla has the sense of ‘new’; so the principality may be designated ‘New-valabhi’. Is it possible that it was a colony of the people of Valabhi in Kathiawar which was destroyed by the Arabs in the second half of the 8th century A.D.?" He has written the following elsewhere. “In the Bhubaneswar inscription Bhāṣa Bhavadeva is called Bālavalabhi - bhujanga.

Keilhorn could not explain the word. The commentary of the Rāmācharita II. 5 mentions a Śāṁanta of Rāmapala, Vikramarāja, the ruler of Bālavalabhi. There is no doubt therefore that Bālavalabhi was the name of a place. In the Rāmācharita it has been placed near Devagrama which has however not been identified. It was probably a place in West Bengal. 13

Rāmācharita has been re-edited by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, Dr. R. G. Basak and Pandit N. Banerji and published by the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi in 1939. In this edition the learned editors have done their best to present the book to the public in a way for which they deserve thanks for their labour and scholarship. The commentary of V. 5 of Chapter II of the Rāmācharita is very important for historical purpose and the improved readings, such as ‘Kānyakuvja-rāja-vāhini-ganjana-bhujang’ and the insertion of the word ‘Vāla’ between the words ‘taranga’ and ‘Vahala’ have made the commentary very valuable. Although they have written in the foot note at page XXVI that “M M. Sastri identifies Bālavalabhi with Ragdi, but there is no evidence in support of it”, yet they have accepted the reading of the text as Bālavalabhi and its interpretation as a place name originally given by M. M. H. P. Sastri and so in the ‘Introduction’ at p. XXVI they have written as follows:— “3 Vikramarāja — Ruler of Bālavalabhi which included Devagrama”. Mr. P. L. Pal also calls Vikramarāja as the ruler of Bālavalabhi 14

History of Bengal, edited by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar and published by the University of Dacca is the latest and the best book so far published in India by Indian authors. In this book Bālavalabhi has been treated as a country vide text and foot note at page 157, text at pages 202 and 305, foot note 2 at page 320 and index page 699. At page 202 it is written that Bhavadeva “was also known as Bālavalabhi-bhujanga The first part of the compound is the name of a kingdom, also referred to in the Rāmācharita, but the exact source of the expression is difficult to understand”. At page 157 the following is given in the foot note:—

13. Ibid., p. 336.
"MM. H. P. Sastri identified it with Bagdi. Balā-Balabhi, according to RC. was close to Devagrama which is located by N. Vasu in Nadiya. Ain-i-Akbari mentions 'Deul' which is identified by Beams with the ancient stone fort of Deulgaon on the boundary of the districts of Midnapore and Balasore. If this Deulgaon represents ancient Devagrama, we may find in the Pargana of Bibli a contracted form of old Balā-Balabhi. Bibli has been identified with Pipli, the site of the earliest English factory in Bengal, at the mouth of the Suvarnarekha river."

Bibli cannot be taken as Apabhramsha of Balavalabhi due to the fact that Bibli is a wrong reading of the Persian text Pipli of the Ain Piplipata in De Barros' map (cl570) clearly proves that the place was known then as Pipli in Orissa. Deulgaon cannot be taken as an apabhramsha of Devagrama for the reason that there is no antiquarian evidence at the place in support of the identification. Deula is the apabhramsha of Devālaya.

The commentary under 'Vikrama' is given below from the text of the Rāmācharita which shows that there is no such word as Balavalabhi in it.

"Vikrama iti Devagrama prativaddha- vasudhachakravālavālavalabhit-a-rangavala - vahala - galahasta - prasasta hasta vikramo Vikramarāja."

Before giving the meaning of the passage in English, I like to give below the equivalent English words for the Sanskrit words,

1. Prativaddha - being surrounded by.
2. Vasudhachakravalavala - the elephant force (valavala) or metaphorically the mountains on the horizon of the land. Mountains are described by poets as the Dik-vāraṇa and here the poet's word Chakravalavala vala means elephant and the poet's choice for this word may be attributed only to the alliteration of the word vala here.
3. Bhita ranga-vala vahala - all the army of four categories (Chaturanga) who are frightened at
4. Galahasta-prasastahastavikramah — one who was capable of driving out the enemies in seizing by the neck.

15. The Rāmācharita 1939, p. 42.
Thus the idea of the Sanskrit passage can be given in English as follows:

The kingdom of Devagrāma was surrounded on all sides by hills at the sight of which enemy army consisting of four categories become frightened and retreat with fear without being able to attack the country and thereby it appears that these enemies as if have been turned out being seized by their necks by the ruler Vikramarāja.

The interpretation on ‘Vikrama’ in the above light clearly shows the power and strength of Vikramarāja of Devagrāma and is in full tune with the passage of the Sanskrit commentary in which the military activities of other rulers are described. But the printed text with the reading of Valavalabhi-tarangavala gives no meaning whatsoever. The word taranga after Bālavalabhi at once suggests that Bālavalabhi was either a lake or a river and R. D. Banerji therefore suggested that Bālavalabhi was pre-eminently a land of rivers. In verse II, Chapter III of the Rāmācharita rivers called ‘Valabhi’ and ‘Kali’ in Varendra are mentioned. If it is accepted that Bālavalabhi and valabhi are the same, we must have to locate Devagrama in Varendra which was excluded from the area in which the Samanta chakra (allies or the confederacy of the neighbouring princes) was formed at the request of Rāmapāla for the recovery of Junakobhu varendra. So Devagrama cannot be located in North Bengal. R. D. Banerji’s suggestion for the location of Bālavalabhi in Eastern Bengal is impossible according to the contents of verse 44 of Chapter III which narrates that “the Varman king of eastern country sought his own safety by conciliating Rāmapāla with the offer of his chariots and elephants force.”

The editors of the Rāmācharita therefore very rightly have come to the conclusion that “an analysis of the list shows that leaving aside localities whose identifications are unknown or doubtful, almost all the allies of Rāmapāla belonged to South Bihar, South east Bengal, and the border land between Bengal and Orissa.”

The identification of Vikramarāja of Devagrama of Rāmācharita may be made with one Vikramāditya of the Aditya dynasty of Patkum in the Manbhum District. Devapura-Dalmi was their capita in where there are ruins of ancient monuments. The Manbhum is surrounded

16. Ibid, P. XXXIII.
17. Ibid, p. XXVIII.
on all sides by mountains and its geographical situation fully corroborates the description given in Rāmācharita.

As Bālavalabhi is not a place name, the epithet Bālavalabhi-bhujanga of Bhaṣṭa Bhavadeva must be considered as a personal title only.

After the first publication of the Rāmācharita in 1910, M M Chakraverti's paper on "Bhaṣṭa Bhavadeva of Bengal" was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VIII pp. 313-348 in 1912, he added a note on the significance of the title of Bālavalabhi-bhujanga but he did not say a word on the locality of Bālavalabhi, identified with Bagdi, by M M Sastri

"This section I conclude by drawing attention to the peculiar title of Bhavadeva, Bālavalabhi bhujanga. Valabhi, the word found in some of the MSS, must be correct as it appears in the contemporaneous inscription. Vadabhi is not exactly incorrect, for I think it represents the correct pronunciation in the vernacular, and in Prakrited changes to l and r and vice versa. But Vadabhiyā in H. P. Shastri's MS No. 240 is found in no other MSS and goes against the inscription. I suspect it is a clerical mistake, probably arising from the idea that Vadabhiyā should be derived from some gain (village) or family name. Such surnames were not uncommon in later Smṛti writers of Bengal, e.g. Campahotti or hittiya of Aniruddha Bhaṣṭa, Kanjiviliya of Kuber, Naraya of Bhīma, Šhudiyanch of Sulapani, Paribhādiya of Jimutavāhāna. But I think the epithet Bālavalabhi-bhujanga is not derived from the family, but is a personal title of Bhavadeva, like the title Sphurita of his great grand father Budha. Being a personal title it is not now capable of explanation, the literal meaning being "a young serpent of the turret" 19

The text — 'Iti Śri Bālavadabhi (Valabhi in India office MS) bhujanagara paranamno Bhaṣṭa Bhavadeva' of the colophon of "Prāyas-chittanirupan" seems to be a copy of the last line of Bhaṣṭa Bhavadeva's inscription — Praśastiṣṭhyām Bālavalabhi-bhujanga paranamna Bhaṣṭa Śri Bhavadeva. "Such a similarity of texts of two different writings of long intervals is very significant and it seems that at the time of composing the verses of the Praśasti of Bhavadeva;
the poet Vāchaspati was aware of this title; and the verse 24 "Yāsya khalu Bālavālabhī etināma nādrita kena, Mīmāṃsāyāmapi sapulakamakarnitodgitam," was composed while possibly the manuscript Tautatimata.tilaka, an authority on the Purva Mīmāṃsa by Bhavadeva, was in his possession in which the title was perhaps written in one of the colophons. So far only one incomplete manuscript has been noticed and the fragmentary manuscript contains only two colophons without any such title. In many works of reputed authors it is found that the contents of all the colophons are not the same and in many cases the author's distinctive titles occur either at the beginning or end. As the first and the last portions of this MS are lost, the titles of Bhavadeva in the colophons are lost. In Sāhityadarpaṇa the author Visvanātha kavirāja has given his titles in the colophons of the chapter I and the colophons at the end of the other nine chapters do not mention any title. The first colophon runs as follows.

"Iti Srimannārayanaacharanārvinda-madhuvrata, Sāhityaravākarmadhāra Dvani prasthāpana paramāchārya kavisūratirnakara-Asthadābhasa-vara-vilasini bhujaṅga Sandhilvigrasika Mahāpatra Sri Visvanathā kavirāja etc."

The title 'Asthadābhasa-vilasini bhujaṅga' of Visvanātha clearly proves that Bālavālabhī-bhujaṅga of Bhavadeva is a literary title. The epithet Kānyākuvajaraṇa- vahini - gṛijana - bhujaṅga of Bhimayasa, the king of Magadha mentioned in Rāmācharita seems to have been used in the same sense. But the meaning of the epithets of Visvanātha and Bhimayasa is quite clear, whereas that of the epithet Bālavālabhī-bhujaṅga of Bhavadeva is not so. Captain Marshall noted the following on 'Bālavālabhībhujaṅga'.

"The meaning of this surname is not apparent; it is compounded of these words 'Vala' 'Young, ignorant etc.' Valabhi 'the frame of a thatch, a turret; also I believe the name of a city and a dynasty and Bhujaṅga 'a snake, an adulterer.'" 21

M. M. Chakraverti and N. G. Mazumdar are of the same opinion with Marshall vide quotations given above.

Let us see how the Sanskrit lexicons help us in our attempt in interpreting the epithet.

21. J. A. S. B. Vol. VI. 1837. p. 96,
1. The word ‘Bala’ has different meanings in the lexicon but its meaning ‘abhinava,’ ‘new’ is well applicable here.

2. The words valabhi, valabhī, vadabhī, vādbhī are all used in giving the same meaning as in the lexicons. The Monier William's Sanskrit English Dictionary gives the following meanings of valabhi:
   (i) Ridge of a roof, (ii) top or pinnacle, (iii) turret, (iv) Upper room.

3. The above Dictionary gives the meaning of bhujanga as (1) Serpent (2) dissolute friends of a prince, (3) any constant companion of a prince, (4) a lover, (5) a paramour of a prostitute and (6) the keeper of a prostitute. The meaning under (5) and (6) is quite clear in case of Aspaasadabhasa varovilasini bhujanga of Visvanātha. But it is not clear in the case of Balavalabhībhujanga unless we take the meaning of Valabhi in its figurative sense as lofty or of high merit in a feminine sense and with its reference to Titā or gloss on the Mimāṃsa which was perhaps called Valabhi; it can be interpreted that Bhavadeva superseded all others on the subject. The epithet ‘Baudhāṃvadhi Kumbhasambhava munih’—the very sage Agastyā to the sea of the Baudhas of Bhāṣṭa Bhavadeva indicates that he was a supporter of the Vedic rituals with which Mimāṃsa deals.

12

THE BONAI COPPER PLATES OF UDAYA VARĀHA DEVA*

This copper-plate is one of the two copper-plates from the Bonai State published without facsimile plates in Vol.VI, pp. 236-245 of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society in 1920 by late Mahākāpādhyāya H.P. Fastrī, M. A., C. I. E., I happened to see at Ranchī in May 1936 the original copper-plate in possession of late Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, M. A., B. L., who first collected it, and on cursorily going through the lines I detected the mistake in reading of the text in lines 2 and 7 where Vanaimondala has been clearly written but the late editor read it as Talaimondala. This made

me curious to redecode the plate a photograph of which is enclosed with this article. At my request Raja Dhananidhara Indra Deo, the Ruling Chief of the Bonai State of Orissa, was very kind to request Rai Bahadur S C Roy for sending me the plate, and thus I had the ample leisure to study it carefully. It throws light on the existence of a ruling family about which even the tradition is silent. I gratefully thank Raja Saheb of the Bonai State for giving me the opportunity of examining the original plate.

My readings given below are improved in many places. Mr H. P. Sastri read only "Vaśisṭha vāsaka Śri Chitrakūṭa vinirgatarā" in line one of the plate but letters here give definitely the following reading:—

Om Svasti prahasitasamasta-rṣīvāsakā Śri Chitrakūṭa vinirgata

Although the first few letters are worn out to some extent yet no one can actually find there any reading of 'Vaśisṭha Vāsaka'. 'Prahaśita-samasta-rṣīvāsakā' is the concluding portion of the text which describes the place of issue of the copper-plates of the Tūṅga dynasty, and particularly the Bonai copper-plate of Vinita Tunga which was edited along with this plate by late Mr H. P. Sastri gives the following text.

1 1. Om svasti avadhoddhata dvipagāṇḍūsthala-madalina-madhukarāvali-samkū

1 2 lairekapradosadvibudhyate yo vipravarai rksāmaya-prajvedadvamibhirnivaha.

1 3 pratikṣitah sakalajanapada-anavaratadvijahuta-huta-vahodgatadhamasamohaya,

1 4. prahasita-samasta-rṣīvāsakā’

This similarity of text dispels all doubt about the accuracy of my reading. In his "Dynasties of the Mediaeval Orissa" P. 62 Pandit Binayak Misra remarks that "the eulogical text of the grant of the Mayur family is a replica of that of the Tunga grants." In support of this it may be stated that the portion 'Samvīryāscharto nija bhujā mahimopārītā nischalā yāsya Lakṣmī' in the line 3 of this grant seems to have been taken from the following verse of the grant of Vinita Tunga:—
"Samviryāścha bhūto nijabhujamshimoppārijita śrī balavān
Rajāvanāryaśatro satatamapivālana nishaḥ yasya lakṣāmi"

Now the question naturally arises as to why the portion of the text of the inscriptions of the Tunga rulers was borrowed or adopted by the Varāha rulers. No connection of the Tunga family with the Varāha family has yet been found. It is curious that the name of one Vilāsa Tunga is mentioned in the Jayapura copper-plate of Devāṇanda Deva.1 Pandit Binayak Misra has suggested that "Vilāsa Tunga seems to be an adjective of Devāṇanda;"2 The name of one Vibhrama Tunga has been found in the same manner in the Adipur copper plate grant of Narendra Bhanja Deva of Khijjina Kotta 3 (modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj). I am unable to suggest any explanation excepting this that there was some family connection of these ancient ruling families with each other. The stone inscription on the pedestal of the image of Avalokiteśvara of Khiching mentions the name of one Dharuṇi Varāha who installed the image in the reign of Rāya Bhanja. It is not exactly known who was this Dharuṇi Varāha.

As regards the reading of Vaṇāi plate in lines 2 and 7. I am sure that it is absolutely correct. The shape of other letters of Va and na found in line 2 and elsewhere is similar and quite distinct from letters of ta and la that occur in this inscription. The importance of reading of Vaṇāi lies in the fact that there now exists an Indian State in Orissa bearing the same name and its has Euler got the emblem of the peacock like that of the Bhanja ruling families of Orissa, which has been carved out in the seal of this copper plate. Although the ruling family of Bonai claim descent from Kadamva family of Sakaladip or Ceylon according to tradition, yet it records that "in gratitude for this service the peacock was adopted as the family crest" by the founder of the family who was rescued from danger by the bird peacock under a Kadamva tree. So it may be said that the tradition of the Kadamva origin of the Raj family of the Bonai State is a modern one.

2. Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa, p. 35.
Mm Sastri’s another inadvertent mistake in reading is the village name Kolāmchā, which he read as Kōnara, whence the Brahmins came. The strokes of a and m are clear and the other letters va and na in the same line are different. Many inscriptions of Orissa and Bengal go to show that Brahmin families came as donees from Kolāmchā and other places of Madhyadeśa.

The plate mentions that Udaya Varāha had the title ‘Paramasaugata’ or devout worshipper of Sugata or Buddha, but he granted villages to Brahmins. An inscription on the pedestal of the image of Avalokiteśvara of Khiching mentions that one Dharaui Varāha established the image there and so it seems that he was a Buddhist. Such Buddhist titles are met with in the copper-plate inscriptions of Bhauma family 5 and Simha family 6 of Orissa who granted villages to Brahmins. This shows that in those days the followers of the Buddhist and Brahmanic faiths maintained no distinction at all in Orissa.

The following office bearers have been addressed in connection with the grant by the donor:


Here I intend to discuss to some extent the significance of these terms. Dr. Vogel in his Antiquities of Chamba State has discussed at pages 110–136 on the terms of Rājānaka, Rājaputra Kumārāmatya, Uparika, Dauḍapāśika, Chāta, Bhaṭṭa etc. Dr. Prananath, 7 Mr. V. R. RamchandraDikhitar 8 and C. V. Vaidya 9 have made attempts to explain some of these obsolete terms. Dr. U. N. Ghosal’s 10 attempt on the interpretation of some Revenue

5 Dynastics of Mediaeval Orissa, p. 16.
6 Ibid P. 24.
7 A study in the Economic condition of Ancient India.
8 Hindu Administrative Institutions.
9 History of Mediaeval Hindu India Vol. 2 and 3.
10 Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue system.
terms and Pandit Binayak Misra's note 11 on some of these terms from Bhumia grants of Orissa deserve notice also. Besides these authorities there are many other notices in the volumes of the Epigraphia Indica and other Journals which do not require specific mention.

Rajânaka:—Dr. Vogel notes that "in the Rajatarangini it is used in exactly the same sense as Rajânaka to denote a feudatory chieftain. This word is not found in the classical literature of India and seems therefore, to be a Sanskritised rather than Sanskrit word." 13 "It is the title by which the vassals of the Rājās of Chamba designate themselves in their inscriptions. It corresponds to modern Rana. It will be noticed that Ranika as well as the following Rajaputra is a title of nobility or a class-name and not the designation of an official. But the fact that the members of those noble classes were commonly entrusted with important State offices explains their being mentioned in the beginning of the list." 14 I think the significance of the title is the very same here also.

Rajaputra:—Dr. Vogel writes—"As to the word Rajaputra, literally 'a king's son or a prince'. Dr. Sleet is of opinion that in such passages as the present it has some technical official meaning. He adduces Māraśi rāut or rāut and, 'Gujārti rāvat, a horse soldier, a trooper,' which he derives from Skr. Rājaputra and believes to indicate its technical meaning. But on account of its connection with Rajānaka and for the reason stated above I see no necessity to assign it here any other than its ordinary meaning. It is, however possible that from its original sense of 'the son or near relative of a rāja' it has already like the modern Rājput, come to be used for the nobility in general." 15 Vaidya interprets it as "Kṣhatriya warriors related to the kings." 16

Pandit Binayak Misra notes that "Rājaputra (descendants of degenerated ruling families) in Orissa a class of people call themselves Rājput which seems to be the contracted form of Rājaputra.

11. Orissa under the Bhumia kings.
12. Antiquities of Chamba State, P. 110
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., P. 121.
15. Ibid. P. 121.
17. Orissa under the Bhumia kings, p. 97.
In Orissa there is a caste called Rajput whose status is equal to or little less than the Khandayatas from which the militia of the country was generally recruited. There is an Oriya proverb, "Rajput, apamakamaku majhabhut" that is, a Rajput is a very careful about his own business. So it cannot be said definitely whether the modern word Rajput can convey any sense of the ancient meaning of the word which has been attributed to it by Dr. Vogel.

_Mahasamanta:_—Literally Samanta signifies that the owner is a vassal under the ruling Prince and Mahasamanta therefore may be taken as the head of a number of Samantas. Dr. Prannath has discussed fully on the significance of the term Samanta in his book on "A study in the economic condition of ancient India," Chapter I sections II and III and chapter VI and nowhere mentions anything about the term Mahasamanta. Mr. Dikshit has also quoted from Sukraniti giving the meaning of the term. According to Sukraniti the officer of one hundred Gramas is a Samanta, whereas according to Manchapanjita a ruler of 1000 Gramas is called a Samanta. So it is very difficult to understand the real significance of the term Samanta or Mahasamanta. Vaidya interprets it as "the chief officer over the Sardars."

_Kumaramatyā:_—Dr. Vogel tried to explain the terms as follows: "The office of Kumaramatyā is well known from Gupta Inscriptions. Whereas the word Rajamatyā as stated above, means 'councillor of the king', the term Kumaramatyā may be rendered by 'councillor of the crown prince'. It seems that in the days of the Imperial Guptas, there existed, side by side with the State council, a special council to advice the heir-apparent who usually takes part in the State affair as coregent (Skr. Yuvaraja). The office of Kumaramatyā appears to have existed throughout the Gupta epoch."

At the conclusion referring to an inscription on the stone Lingam preserved in the Lucknow Museum he writes "The inscription, which is dated in the Gupta year 117 (A.D. 436) mentions a Prithvisena who was Mantri and Kumaramatyā and afterwards general"
(Mahāvalādīkṛta) under Kumāragupta I. As his father Sīkharāsvāmin is stated to have been Mantri and Kumārāmātya under Chandragupta II, we may conclude that the office in question was hereditary. Mr. Vaidya interprets Mahākumārāmātya as “the chief officer over king’s sons.” Pandit B. Misra has separated the word Kumārāmātya into Kumāra and Amātya and has translated Kumāra as the prince that is the younger son of a king and Amātya as the minister. Mr. J. C. Dey has objected to the probability of this sort of interpretation and has written that the title-holders as Kumārāmātya and Rāja-sthāniya were not the sons of the reigning kings in many cases and concludes that “it seems to be a fact that an extension of political power and a greater degree of administrative organisation necessitated the creation of these two classes.”

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal’s following note clearly interprets the term supporting the view that the title has no connection with the blood relation of the sovereign of the country.

“We get light on this official term from Bhāṣa (Pratijñā Yougan dharāyana, II). When Salaṅkāyana, Minister to king Pradyota Mahāsena, having captured king Udayana of Kaushāmbi, brings him to one of the gates of Ujjayini and the news is announced to the Mahāsena the latter ordered the Chamberlain, : ‘Gachha, Bharatarohakam bruhi “Kumāra-vidhi visisṭhena satkāreṇa . . . . pravesyatām Amātyah (ed., 1912 P. 33).’ Go and tell Bharatarohaka to receive the Minister with the honours due to a (royal) prince.’ Bharatarohaka was the Prime Minister of Ujjayini. The king is here conferring an honour and a dignity on the minister Salaṅkāyana whose title has been simply tatrābhavān Amātyah (p 30) for the distinguished act of capturing Udayana, son of Satānīkam, grandson of Sahasrānīka, the Vatsa king whose, ‘Bharata pedigree goes back right into the Veda. It was the honour and dignity of Kumāra, that is, although not of royal blood, by virtue of the roral degree, the Amātya was titled Kumāra and became entitled to the status of a real prince of the blood in court etiquette, He is distinguished from the real princes by being called Kumārāmātya ‘the prince the Minister.’

23. Ibid. p. 123.
“This seems to be the real significance of the Kumārāmātya title of the inscriptions. Though not a prince by birth the grantee was made a titled prince.”²⁷

Uparika:—This term is generally found either before or after the Kumārāmātya and Antaranga and Dr. Vogel writes that “There is nothing to indicate its meaning.”²⁸ Mr. J. C. Dey however writes that “the English equivalent for Uparikas will be Governors.”²⁹ Mr. Vaidya interprets Rajastāniyoparika as the chief district officer.” The real meaning is uncertain.

Sandhivigrāhika:—The term indicates that the officer was in charge of Sandhi (peace) and Vigrāha (war) and it stands for the minister of peace and war or foreign minister in modern sense. Vaidya interprets it in the way stated above.³⁰

Tadāyuktaka:—Here the word Tāt makes the term very complex to understand. If it refers to Sandhivigrāhin then it will mean the officers concerned to the affairs of peace and war. According to Kamandakīya Nītiśara, quoted by Dr. Pran Nath, ‘Ayuktakas’ are “Servants employed by kings and feudal chiefs,”³¹ from whom people are afraid of being oppressed. Ayuktakas were officers entrusted with Police duties according to the interpretation of Dr. Pran Nath. Mr. Vaidya’s interpretation of Ayuktaka as ‘Agent’ is not clear at all.³²

Daṇḍahāśika:—Dr Vogel writes—“The term Daṇḍahāśika is derived from Daṇḍa and Paśa, the latter words meaning ‘sling or snare’. The compound Daṇḍa and Paśa, may therefore, be rendered as ‘rod and rope’ the latter expression indicating punishment by confinement. From this it is evident that the Daṇḍapāśika originally at least was an officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals.”³³ Mr. Vaidya interprets it as “executor of punishment.”³⁴

²⁷. Ibid, P. 399.
³¹. A study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India, p. 53.
³³. Antiquities of Chamba State, p. 129.
Stānantarika:—Mr. Dikshitar writes that Stānīkas were one of the important officials in the rural areas according to Arthaśāstra. “The Stāniya was the officer in charge of the Stānika cr a group of eight hundred villages. He was answerable to the finance minister or the Samāharta.”

Dr. Pran Nath writes:— “A country (dea) had an average area of 100 yojanas, so it was probably divided into 10 Janapadas, and each Janapada in its turn was divided for administrative purposes into 4 Stanas, each stāna being under the administration of a Stānika.”

He again writes:— “From the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya we learn that each Janapada was divided into four Stanas and each Stāna was governed by a Stānika (corresponding to the modern thānādar or Darogā). In that work the word Stāna generally contained a fort called Stāniya, which again was garrisoned by a force — half soldiers, half police—who are frequently referred to in copper-plate grants and other inscriptions as Cara-bhāgīs, Chaṭṭa-bhāgīs, Chaṭṭa bhāgīs Chaṭṭas and bhāgīs” etc. But here we get the word Stānantarika and not Stānika and after it, we have Chaṭṭabhāga whose station was the Stana which was a place of terror. So the mention Stānantarika along with Chaṭṭabhaḷa may not have any connection with Stana. Here it may be suggested that Stānantarika may be interpreted as Customs officers.

Chaṭṭa bhāga:—Dr. Vogel took up first the thread of discussion and Dr Pran Nath has elaborately discussed on the meaning of these terms. Dr. Pran Nath writes as follows “Chaṭṭas and Bhaḷas were persons employed for watch and ward, for collecting revenue and for arresting thieves and robbers. Some of them were in the services of Estate owners, and others under the officers in charge of Praganahs and Janapadas” Mr. Vaidya takes them to be as “Policemen and soldiers,”

Vallabhā:—Pandit Binayaka Misra translates this term as the “favourite of king” Mr. Dey writes that “Vallabhas were apparently minor government servants.”

35. Hindu Administrative Institutions, p. 320.
36. A study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India, p. 49.
37. Ibid, p. 59-60.
38. Ibid, p. 64-65.
Chetas, Bhasas and Vallabhas have been given the epithet Rajaprasadinah which has been translated as those who were granted royal bounties. As these office bearers of one copper-plate grant differ from those of another, it is not possible to ascertain the complete list.

**Conditions of Grants.**

The conditions of the grants consist of the following terms:

1. **Nividharma.** The term nividharma has been interpreted by Dr. U. N. Ghosal as “the condition that the donee should not destroy the principal but should make only use of the income arising from it.” Here the term is Nibidharmena karatvena and I am unable to suggest any interpretation for it.

2. **Sakhetaghatanadhyetatsanadigulmakah:** In Bhauma grants of Orissa these very conditions occur with many other privileges. Pandit B. Misra interprets them as follows:— Khepa means ‘hamlet’, ghata means landing places on the bank of the river, nadyetatsana or naditara stana means ‘ferry places’ and gulmaka means ‘thickets’. Dr. Ghosal has discussed only Tara or Taradeya interpreting as ‘ferry dues’ and gulmadya interpreting as the “dues paid at the military or police stations.” Dr. Pran Nath also interprets in the same way and writes “the king’s taxes and other dues were first collected at the gulma headquarters.” So Gulmaka means an officer commanding a Gulma. Pandit Misra’s interpretation therefore seems untenable. Similarly his interpretation of Ghata as ‘landing places’ is equally untenable.” I think the modern Oriya word for Ghata, a place where customs dues etc. are collected. In early British records it is found that at a place called Khunda Ghat the rulers of Mayurbhanj used to collect pilgrims’ tax from the pilgrims proceeding to Puri for their safe travel in the territory of Mayurbhanj. I have not been able to interpret the term Khepa.

In conclusion I intend to discuss the relation of this Varaha dynasty using the emblem of the peacock which is also the emblem

41. Orissa under the Bhauma Kings p 95.
42. Hindu Revenue System, pp. 292 and 298.
43. A study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India, p. 53.
of the Bhanja dynasties of modern Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Baud, Daspalla, Kanika and now extinct Gumsar in Orissa and the ruling family of the Bonai State.

It is found in this grant that the founder, a Rānsaka of the Varāha family was an immigrant from Chitrakuta, modern Chitorgarh in the Udaipur State in Rajputana. According to tradition recorded by Major Kittoe in 1837 in J.A.S.B pp. 665-671, the founder of the Bhanja family came from Chitorgarh in Rajputana. The modern tradition of all the Bhanja families in Orissa goes to state that the founder was an immigrant from Jaipur in Rajputana and this also gives the same geographical area of Chitorgarh. Mahāmāhopādhyāya Gourisankar Ojha and other authorities have shown that there was established a branch of the Maurya family at Chitorgarh from the study of inscriptions. According to this tradition it seems that the Bhanja family may be the same as the Varāha family. Mr. H. P. Sastri was of opinion that both the families belong to one dynasty and wrote as follows:

Varāha rulers belonged to “the Mayur or the Bhanja dynasty” and “in this charter we get three new names of the Bhanja dynasty. It is not yet possible to connect this group of kings with other groups of the same family.”

The copper-plate grants of the ancient Bhanja kings of Orissa had a bull in their seal but all the modern Bhanja dynasties together with the ruling family of the Bonai State, have got a peacock in their seal. In the tradition of Mayurbhanj as recorded in the Gazetteer of Orissa Feudatory States p. 239 we find that a Ruler of Mayurbhanj extended his territory by defeating one who had a peacock in his banner (Mayuradhvaja) and according to that dying king’s prayers the conqueror adopted the seal representing peacock as his own. If this tradition is to be believed we have to assume that a king of the Mayura or Varāha family was defeated by a Bhanja king and this possibly gave rise to the naming of the State as Mayurbhanja. Pandit Binayak Misra holds this view and writes that “however, Mayurbhanja the name of the State suggests itself that it owes its origin to the names of Mayura and Bhanja families.” Pandit Misra’s suggestion

45. Dynasties Mediaeval Orissa, P. 62.
finds support from the following account of Sir W. W. Hunter:—
"But a fourth great city flourished under Hindu dynasties and Tamluk now an island river village of Bengal, formed the maritime capital of Orissa. One local legend relates how its kings conquered the latter province in pre-historic times and gave their name to a great district within it; while a later tradition ascribes the foundation of Tamluk to the monarchs of Morbhanj, the largest and most powerful of the Orissa Tributary States. Certain it is that a most intimate connection subsisted between the two. The first king of Tamluk bore the title of "The Peacock Banner" (Mayuradwaja and Sikhidwaja) and begot a long line of thirty-two princes of the warrior caste. This dynasty bore the heraldic device of the peacock exactly as the Morbhanj family does at the present day and it was succeeded by another line of four peacock kings who invaded Tamluk from the Morbhanj State thus giving rise to the later legend. The great district of Midnapore now stretches between Tamluk and the Morbhanj State; but the hereditary bird of the latter, the peacock, still surmounts the temple at Tamluk and Morbhanj Rajas long retained property in the intermediate tract." 46

In Bhagavati Sutta the following finds mention:—

"Ihaiva Jamvudvive bhārate vāde Tāmalittināmam nagari hoṭhvā tathvaṁ Tāmalittie nagarie Tāmalī nāmam Moriya putte gāhavai hoṭhvā.” 47

"In this Jambudvīpa Bhāratavarsa, there was a town called Tāmalitti (Tamralipti, Tamluk) and in this Tāmalitti there was a king named Tāmalī of the Moriya Mayura) family." From this it is clear that the Moriya family was established in Tamluk in the early days of Indian History. The whole thing has been so much shrouded in legendary tales that without getting any contemporary evidence it is not safe to accept anything definitely but it seems that these traditions are not altogether useless for historical purposes.

46. Hunter's Orissa, Vol. I pp. 308-09
47. History of Midnapore in Bengali by J. C. Bose, p. 311.
COPPER PLATE OF UDAYA VARAH

The Seal

There is a Peacock facing to the left and below it there is an inscription Sri Udaya Varaha.

TEXT

(Obverse)

11  अभित प्रहसित-समस्त-चिन्तामणि-श्री चित्रमुखविनिमृत्रि (रा-

21  एक बलायमध्ये बासिस्य: प्रविधिद्वारोऽसदृशोऽसदृशोऽसदृशो

31  ब संबीतियाः भूता निजामुजसराज्योपालित निश्चित वस्तु ल

41  चमिः। राजा दचि बराहः। रुप-वीर्य-गुणानितः तत्वान्वयो देव

51  बराह श्रीमा जिति-विवः। तत्काल वक्ष्ये धर्माङ्गो दुधावेशिव

61  बन्धवा पारमसंगत समभित्तोऽभियासाध भराध राजाक

71  श्रीदेवबराह श्रुताः। बलायमध्ये एतद्विपयेस्मत् (रा)

81  नो राजाणक-राजपुत्र-महासाम्बत-कुर्मालेयार्यं श्रीमाणिनीतः

91  हिक तदायुक्त-राजानितिक-थानान्तरक्रियानिधिः राजप्रसादिन

101  अति बलवत्त्वाखियार्याि मानवति बोधयति कुशालवेदाधिप

111  तिरिक्त विदितमस्तु महतं एतदिवेशे रेकेलविवेश सम (रा)

121  इसमायम: ताक्षरास्त्रीयत बालमनिविवेकाकरिवेन

(Reverse)

131  प्रतिपादितः तदर्शसर्जस्मे गौरवादभविः। परिपालनीयाः व

141  प्र(परा)स(शर)र गोलाय वशिकारक्रियायाव वाजन(नेत) चरणाय

151  कोलाङ्ग

161  बिनिगताय भत उनो(ञ्चल)ल पौशाय केशव भत पुशाय भत पुरो(र)

161  पीताय उत्सरसनिती संक्रान्तिताय अक्रान्ती नित्यता

171  कोशिकागोलाय त्रिपत्थ्रक्रियाय भाट मूलत्रिविकास्याय कोरु

181  सो(शोष)म सुताय भत उच्चाधिकर्ष भत बच्चाप्र धर्माण करते

191  न प्रतिपादित: एकाः क चर्मशाले-वहुमन: कुशाळाधि राजाः सग—

201  रावतैं:। वस्त्र वस्त्र वदना भूमिस्तर्यमत तस्य तदा फलय माथू फ
13

NOTE ON THE ORIYA PORTION OF THE VELIGALINI COPPER PLATE GRANT OF KAPILEŚVARA

Thanks are due to Dr. D. C. Sircar for the care and interest with which he edited the above-named copper-plate grant as it is an important document for the history of Orissa. Kapileśvaradēva or Kapilendrađēva (as in the Madalapānī), the greatest king of Orissa, is described in the Madalapānī as a beggar boy and a thief. It is stated that it was through the grace of Lord Jagannātha of Purī that he was selected as the successor by the last Gaṅga king named Bhānudeva. But the discovery of contemporary records like the grants of Raghudeva, the nephew and Viceroy of Kapileśvara, which have also been carefully edited by Dr. Sircar, has conclusively proved that Kapileśvara belonged to a respectable ruling family of the Solar dynasty.

In his paper published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIII, Dr. Sircar wrote as follows: ‘In these lines, I am placing before scholars my transcript and translation of this interesting docu-

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ment with the hope that improvements on them may be suggested by more competent students of Orissan epigraphy. By expressing his views in the above manner, Dr. Sircar has shown his humility only. Dr. Sircar is not a scholar in Oriya and Telugu; but the manner in which he has edited this trilingual inscription, written in Telugu and Oriya scripts deserves great credit. This very inscription was edited first by the late Raja Sahib Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeva of Tekkali, who was a scholar in both Oriya and Telugu, in the Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, Vol VI, pp. 94-111, but he failed to do any justice to this interesting document. Raja Sahib of Tekkali also published a paper in the Oriya monthly Sahakara, Vol. XX, pp. 756-763, in December, 1939 which included the text of the Oriya portion and his transcript there is not at all intelligible. Dr. Kunjabihari Tripathi, M.A., Ph. D. (Lond.), has edited also this Oriya portion in the first issue of the Kovarka, pp. 95-97, for September, 1958 an Oriya quarterly which is published by the Orissa Sahitya Academy. Dr. Tripathi's reading is in no way helpful. We are fortunate that the inscription was re-edited by Dr. Sircar in the Epigraphia Indica and the Journal of the Asiatic Society for the benefit of scholars in general.

After going through Dr. Sircar's paper published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, I found that improvement is possible both in regard to his transcript and translation as well as his interpretation. I therefore requested Dr. Sircar to send me a reprint of his paper on the 'Veligalini Grant of Kapileshvara, Saka 1280' published in the Epigraphia Indica, and I am very thankful to him for complying with my request.

The grant was made on the occasion of the Simha-Brihaspati-puṣṭakā. This occasion occurs every 12 years when Jupiter enters Leo and, during the period of one year when Jupiter remains in Leo, a bath in the river Godāvari is considered most meritorious. Kapileśvaradeva, the king of Orissa, made the gift of lands in the form of tiṣṇus to Brahmans in order to commemorate himself, his father Jageśvaradeva and his mother Belamadevi on this auspicious occasion most probably at Rajahmundry in the river Godāvari on the Vaiśākhā pūrṇima day. The astrological works called Jyotirnibandha and Nirnayasindhu discuss the significance of the Simha-Bṛhaspati-yoga.
in relation to the river Godāvari. The Jyotirnibandha quotes verses from the Brāhma Purāṇa, Bhagavata Purāṇa and Brāhmaṇa purāṇa and these Puranic references appear to be older than Saka 1380. It seems that Dr. Sircar has missed this significance and therefore has translated this portion of the text as follows: ‘(while the king was taking bath for the purpose of making a grant) in the bed of the river Gautami (i.e. Godāvari) the Sṛi-hasta (i.e. the king) poured water (i.e. made gift of the village Veligalini by pouring water in the hands of the donees) at a time when the kala (i.e. tihi) was Pūrva (i.e. Puruimā), (the week-day) Brhaspati (and the lagna) Simha.’

While dealing with the date of the grant given in the Sanskrit portion of the copperplate grant, Dr. Sircar has written as follows: ‘The Sanskrit portion states that the grant was made by king Kapileśvara while he was camping on the bank of the Godāvari on the occasion of the Vaiśākhi (i.e. the full-moon day of the lunar month of Vaiśakha) in the year 1380 of the Saka era, otherwise styled Bahudhanya. The Vaiśākhi-purūima in Saka 1380—Bahudhanya began on Thursday, the 27th April, A.D. 1458, and ended next day. Normally therefore the date of the grant should be taken as the 28th April, A.D. 1458. But the Oriya part of the inscription edited here seems to give the name of the week day on the said date as Brhaspati, i.e. Thursday. It is therefore possible that the grant was made on the 27th April, A.D. 1458.’ Elsewhere also he has written, ‘The Oriya part of the inscription seems to supply the name of the week-day Brhaspati, i.e. Thursday.’

From the above observation of mine, it will be clear that actually there is no mention of the week-day (Thursday) in the Oriya part of the inscription. The reference is to the planet Jupiter. The Vaiśākhi-purūima in Saka 1380 fell on Thursday, the 27th April, A.D. 1458, and this is the date of the Veligalini copperplate grant.

The text of the inscription may be divided into three parts, Part I dealing with the locality and the occasion of the grant, Part II with the donees and Part III with the conditions of the grant.

My transcript of the Oriya text is given below. The corrections have been shown within brackets.

**TEXT**

_Obverse_

1. Međura-thala.madhya Belagalini-kahākara.7 nāmā-khaṇḍe ati-
2. to(thye)-bhogyama-Danapāsā-mula-koṭha-desa(śa)ru pheḍi Srīhasta 8
3. santake Gau(Gau)tami-udad(di)-garabha(garbha)-nīre Simha-
   (Simha)-Bre(Bṛi)haspati.punya 9 (punya).-
4. kāli(kāla)-smac(samaye) Srī-haste pānī(pani) ebhāḍilā-bhumī(mi)-
   dānānā-gotra-Bṛa-
5. mha(hma)naṅku (t*) Bi (Vi)ra-Srī Gajapti(pati) Gau(Gau)desa(śva)  a
   na(na)ba(va)-koṭi-Karaṇātā-
6. Kalabarage(varge)sa(śva)ra-Pratāpa Kapi pślesa(śva)ra-
   deba(va)-mā(ma)hāraṇā-
7.  śkara data(tta) Jagesa(śva)rapura-sā(śa)sana-Belama pura-
   sa(śa)sana-Pratāpa-Ka-
8. pślesa(śva)rapura-sā(śa)sana(t*) E tīni sā(śa)sanaktu
   bhā 40 lekhāo bhāga 120 madhye, 10
9. Bādi-tola 11 (tā)-jalabhumi(mi) madha (dhya) lari dei-hoilā (t*)
   E gā(gaḥ)ara bhumī

7 Dr. Sircar reads the word as _koshtha-karava_. There is no o sign
   with kā which is clear. The letter after kā is of peculiar shape. It looks
   like ha (cf. ha in mahāraṇa at the end of line 6). If it is a conjunct it
   may be mūḥa. The fourth letter is of peculiar shape and I read it as ra.
   Thus Dr. Sircar’s _koshtha-karava_ stands for kahakira or kāmḥakara
   according to my reading. It is a Telugu place name which has been
   used in Oriya.

8. This form of ha is still in use in the Karani script. There is no
   sign of super-script r with it.

9 Dr. Sircar’s reading is _pura_. The y sign in this letter is the
   same as that nya in māinya line 10.

10 This stands for _madhye_ in Karani writing.

11. This letter is la; but the word _tola_ does not give any sense. ḍaḍi-
10 gā(gan)a ambhe(ambhe) sarva māinyamānya(chhatisa)ābādāna(avadāna) madha(dhya)kari chhāsilake bho-

Reverse

11 ga karāibā (ll*)

Translation

Beligālini-kābhakara-khaṇḍa (or Kāmbhākara-khaṇḍa) situated in the holy place of Mēđura and allotted for the hospitality and entertainment of guests is separated from the original Koṭha-deśa (or Khasmahal) of the king by the seal and signature (Sri-hasta-santake) of the king who poured water on the gift of land (pavi-chhāṣila.bhumī) or donated the land to Brāhmaṇas of various gotras on the auspicious occasion of Simha-Brihaspati (when Jupiter is in Leo) in the stream of the river Gautamī (i.e. Godāvarī).

The gift of Vīra-sī-Gojaṇati-Gauḍesvara-nāvakṣi-Karuvā-Kalavarasvarā Mahārāja Kapileśvaradeva consists of Jāgēsvarapura-śāsana, Belamapura-śāsana and Pratāpa-Kapileśvara-pura-śāsana and these three śāsanas, consisting of 40 bhāgas (shares) each comprise 120 bhāgas in total including homestead land, garden land and cultivable wet land.

I make the donees enjoy the lands of the village and the village itself declaring it free from all imposts including thirty-six taxes.

14

TRILINGA, TRIKALINGA, KALINGA, ODRA & UTKALA.*

In verse 2 of the Brahmesvara inscription Janamejaya has been described as lord of Trilinga (Trilīṅgaḥhipa) and the conqueror of Od̄rādeśa. Janamejaya's copper plate grants mention that he had the title of Trikaliṅgāḥhipati and not Trilīṅgaḥhipati. This inscription mentions in the last line that Udyotakeśari had the title of Trikaliṅgaḥhipati which was assumed by all his predecessors. The omission of the title of Trilīṅgaḥhipa in all the earlier inscriptions of the dynasty

seems to be rather confounding and its occurrence in the latest
inscription as a title of the founder of the family gives no clue to
suggest any satisfactory explanation.

But Trilinga as a geographical term possesses an interesting
history which is discussed below.

A. Trilinga from other epigraphic sources:—

1. Akkalapundi grant of Singaya-Nayaka 1 of the Saka year
1290 (1368 A.D.) mentions Deśāstrilīṅgananāma and Trilīṅgadeśādhipati.

2. Srirangam plates of Mummandi-nayaka 2 of the Saka year
1280 (1358 A.D.) gives the boundary of Tilinga as follows:—

Paschāt-purastādapi yasya desau,
Khyātau Mahārāṣṭra-Kālimga-ṣeṇjou,
Avāg-udak-Pāṇḍyaka-Kāṇyakuvja
Deśasobra tatrāsti Tilinganāma, V. 5

"To the west and the east, two famous countries Mahārāṣṭra
and Kālimga; to the south and the north Pāṇḍya and Kāṇyakuvja,
it is that country which is called Tilinga."

These two inscriptions belong to the same family and we
find Trilinga in one and Tilinga in another which shows that Tilinga
was derived from the Sanskrit Trilinga.

3. The Thana plate of Ram Chandra 3 of the Saka year 1194
(1272 A.D.) mentions the defeat of the Tilingas (Tilīṅga-tuṅga-taran-
mulana-damāvala)

4 Purule plates of Indravarman 4 the lord of whole Kalinga,
(Saṅkala Kālimga) mentions that the donee came from Trilinga and
got land in Kalinga. The date of this plate has been assigned to
631 A.D. by Sri Subba Rao. 5

5. J. A. H. R. S. Vol. VI, p. 79
These inscriptions give a history of Trilînga from the 7th century A.D. to the 14th century A.D.

B. Mention of Trilînga in the Purâvas and Sanskrit literature.

Sylvain Levi writes as follows:

Trilînga "takes diverse forms which presents the terrible perplexity of the scribes in face of a kind of monstrosity. The P.W. records the forms Trilînga and Tailanga; the Mârkaṇḍeya P. 58, 28 and the Vâyu P. 45, 11, write; Trilînga".

This Trilînga no doubt, is derived from Trilînga.

Rajasekhra's Viddhasalabhanjika 7 mentions Trilînga twice at pages 43 and 139 and so also Vidyânâtha's Pratâparudriya 8 at pages 118 and 151. Rajasekhra's date is in the 1st quarter of the 10th century A.D. 9 and the date of Vidyânâtha is the first few decades of the 14th century A.D. Rajasekhra's patron was the Chedi King Keyurarâja Yuvarâja I and Vidyânâtha's patron was Kâkatiya king Pratâparudrâdeva.

It will not be out of place here to discuss on the historical value of Viddhasalabhanjika and Pratâparudriya.

The historical bearing of Viddhasalabhanjika was first discussed by Hultsch 10 in 1905 who suggested the identification of its hero Karpurâvara with Keyurarâja Yuvarâja I, the Kalachuri king. He further suggests that Trilîngadhipati corresponds to the title Trikalingadhipati which is applied to the Kalachuri Kings in their copper-plate inscriptions. Prof. V. V. Mirashi discussed its historical value in a paper entitled 'Yuvarâjadeva I of Tripuri' 11 in 1930. Then Sri D. Sharma referred to its historical bearing in a paper called 'The Staging of Viddhasalabhanjika' 12 in 1931. Sri Sharma writes that "the king has been called the 'lord of Trikalinga'; and refers to the

6. Pre-Aryan & Pre-Dravidian pp. 75-76
7. 'Balamonorama series' Madras, p. 931
8. Jibananda Vidyasagara’s edition, 1883
9. Kavyamimansa, p. XII.
10. I. A. Vol. XXXV, 1905, pp. 177-73
book edited by Jibānanda Vidyāsāgara which gives the text Trilingādhipati at p. 43 and Trilingādhipa at p. 138. This change of text is certainly misleading. Prof. Mirashi has also published a paper called ‘Historical data in Rājasekhara’s Viddhaśālabhanjikā’ in 1933.13

In the Act IV of Viddhaśālabhanjikā, the king is addressed twice as ‘Karaṇchuli-tīlaka’, at pages 145 and 148 and Hultzsch took it to be the same as Kalachuri-tīlaka (the ornament of the Kalachuri) He also suggests that ‘Nripuri’ of the text stands for ‘Tripuri’. In some copper-plate inscriptions of the Somavamsī kings we find the use of vowel ri for r such as (ṣṛ) for (ṣr). This sort of change of spelling is due to the ignorance in Sanskrit of the scribe. The text for the original ‘Tripuri’ was perhaps read by the scribe as Nṛpuri’ from the similarity of letters ta and na. From this it appears that Rājasekhara’s original text of ‘Karpuravarṣa’ ‘Karaṇchuli-tīlaka’ and ‘Nṛpuri’ was coined as such by him or the original text of Keyuravarṣa, Kalachuri-tīlaka and Tripuri was changed to Karpuravarṣa, Karaṇchuli-tīlaka and Nṛpuri by the careless copyists. As the hero has been addressed as Trilingādhipati and Kalachuri-tīlaka, it may be that these titles were used to signify the same country having two names, or Trilinga was an adjacent country to Kalachuri country in the early 10th century A.D. when the Kalachuri King assumed the title of Trikaliṅgādhipati, So Trilinga cannot be taken as a mistake for Trikalina

Mr. G. Ramdas has quoted a verse from a work called Trilinga Grammar belonging to the 12th century A.D.14

Vidyānātha was the court poet of king Pratāparudradeva of the Kākatiya dynasty of Warrangal and wrote a treatise on Alambāra called Pratāparudriya. The date of this has been assigned to the last few decades of the 13th century or the first few decades of the 14th century as Pratāparudradeva is said to have ruled from 1263 to 1328 A.D. In the book, king Pratāparudradeva has been addressed as “Trilingādhipati” (p. 118) and Trilingadeśa-paramēśvara” (p. 151). The commentator interprets that Trilinga is the same as Andhradeśa.

13. Ibid. Vol. LXII, 1933, p. 35-37
The mention of Trilinga kingdom in Viddhasālabhanjikā of the early 10th century A.D. and in Pratāparudriya of the early 14th century A.D. gives an idea of the extent of the kingdom in the central belt of India from the valley of the Narmada in the north to that of the Godāvari in the south and it practically gives us the same boundary as quoted above. Rājaśekhara's Kāvyamīmāmsā deals with the geography of India in detail. Although he was at the court of Yuvarājadeva I of the Kalachuri dynasty and wrote on Trilinga, yet he is silent on Chedi or Dahala and Trilinga countries in Kāvyamīmāmsā. He only mentions that Kośala was then included under Purvadeśa lying to the east of Banaras. It seems that kingdoms of Kalachuri and Trilinga were then included in Kośala, otherwise Rājaśekhara would not have left them out if these kingdoms would have had separate existence. It is a fact that we do not get any clear boundary of these kingdoms from the works of Rājaśekhara.

C. Trilinga from foreign sources:

(i) "Īrānātha" writes Caldwell "repeatedly designates the Telugu country Trilinga" and describes Kalinga as a portion of Trilinga and Kalingapura as its capital.\(^{15}\) Īrānātha’s Tibetan History of the propagation of Buddhism in India was written in 1573 A.D.\(^{16}\)

(ii) The Arab and Persian authors write Tilong and Tilingana.\(^{17}\) Hobson-Jobson contains quotations from passages translated into English under 'Telinga' and these give us dates from 1309 to 1590 A.D.

(iii) Ptolemy’s (C. 150 A.D.) writing has been transliterated as Triglypton or Tirlingon.

Sylvain Levi referred to all these sources excepting Rājaśekhara and Vidyānātha and remarked thus:

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17. Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian p. 76.
"But on the other hand it is astonishing that the name of the country is not met with till a later period, only after the year 1000 A.D. By a singular anomaly Ptolemy is the only guarantee of the name for all the earlier period." 18

Rājāśekhara's reference to Trilinga is certainly earlier to 1000 A.D. but it was not known to Levi; and as the commencement of the Ganga era was not established in 1923, he perhaps took the date of Purle copper plate grant as a document belonging to the 11th century A.D. The date of this inscription is fixed now as 631 A.D.

The above references clearly show that the antiquity of Trilinga is well established for a period of 1000 years from 150 A.D. from the time of Ptolemy to Taranātha.

Cunningham suggested that the Sanskrit equivalent of the Greek Trilīṇaṅga is Trikalinga and Trilinga 19. But Caldwell very rightly doubted this identification and wrote thus:—

"General Cunningham thinks Telinga derived, not from Trilinga, but from Trikalinga, but this derivation of the word needs to be historically confirmed. Kalinga and hnga may probably in some way be connected, but the nature and history of connection has not as yet been made out." 20

Elsewhere he writes:—

"The foreign name Trilinga must have been the name by which the place was called by the natives of the place, whilst Triglypton or Triglyphon must have been a translation of the name which had come into use amongst the Greeks. Hence the antiquity of Trilinga, as the name of the State, or of the capital city of a State, situated somewhere in India in Ptolemy's time, must be admitted to be established 21.

McCrindle fully agrees with Caldwell and writes as follows:—

"The Andhras and Kaliṅgas, the two ancient divisions of the Telugu people are represented by Greeks and Gangetic nations. It

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18. Ibid. p. 77
21. Ibid. p. 28.
may be taken as certain that Triglyphon, Trilīṅga or Modogaliṅga was identical with Telングana or Trillingam, which signifies the country of the three līngas. The Telugu name and language are fixed by Pliny and Ptolemy as near the mouths of the Ganges or between the Ganges and the Godāvāri. Modo or Modoga is equivalent to muda of modern Telugu. It means three." 22 McCrindle's Ptolemy was published in 1883 and Yule and Burnell's Hobson Jobson was first published in 1886 and from the following note on Telenga, it appears that the authors had not the occasion to take advantage of McCrindle's views because this note seems to support the views expressed by Cunningham in his 'Ancient Geography of India' which was published in 1871.

"Though it has not, perhaps, been absolutely established that this name from a form Trilīṅga, the habitual application of Tīrīṅga, apparently to the same region which in later days was called Tīlīṅga, and the example of actual use of Trilīṅga both by Ptolemy (though he carries us beyond the Ganges) and by a Tibetan author quoted below, do make this a reasonable supposition." 23

McCrindle's researches on Ptolemy's Geography are confined to the study of places in India proper but Girini's researches on Ptolemy's Geography are extended to further India and Indo-Malayan Peninsula. Girini writes that "the Andhras of Orissa and Telengana in conjunction with their near relatives, the Kalingas, founded, it appears, in that region, kingdom consisting of three districts or separate communities called Tri-Kalinga or Trilinga, a name from which the town Telengana was derived and employed to designate the country of Kalinga proper, on the western side of the Gulf of Bengal, as well as the country of Mons or Telenga (Talsings) on the opposite shore, which had been colonized by them." 24 The identity of Trilinga with Tīrīṅga in the above extract is perhaps due to the influence of Cunningham on Girini. No direct reference to or even tradition of Tīrīṅga has been recorded in any work on this subject of the Further India up till now.

The history of the colonisation of Burma by the people of Kalinga or Trilinga of India proper is forgotten in such a way in Eastern India that the tradition is even silent; but the study of history

22. Ptolemy's Ancient India by McCrindle 1927, p. 234
23. Hobson Jobson 1903, p. 912
24. Gerini's Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia, 139,
in Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Java etc. has dispelled the obscurity to a great extent and thereby the dark period of the then-history of Eastern India has become brighter now. Kalinga is mentioned as a civilised country in the Dhauli edict of Asoka and the title of Kalinga-dhipati of Khāravela is found from the Haligumpha inscription.

"The coast of Kalinga appears to be that part of the continent which commenced with the Archipelago at an early date, and emigration thither was most ripe; and the name appears to have been in great measure adopted in the Archipelago as the designation of India in general or of the whole of the peninsular part of it. Throughout the book of Malay historical legends called Siyara Malaya the word Kalinga or Kling is used for Indus in general but more particularly for the southern parts." 25

The geographical and ethnical names such as Srikṣetra 26 Utākala 27 Kalingarāttah 28 and Tilangs 29 in Burma shows the influence of the people of Eastern India on the western side of the Bay of Bengal who established their colony there before the Asokan period. But we have not yet got any reference from Indian sources to Trikalinga in that period. The remark of the reviewer of the Gazetteer of the Pegu District is worth while quoting here in this connection.

"The only city of Pegu is referred to in inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as Ussa Pegu, and the identification of Ussa with Orissa has been placed beyond doubt by Mr. Duroiselle, the Government Epigraphist. The long debated question of the origin of the name Talaing may also be looked upon as settled. According to Mr. Stewart the non-inhabitants of the country were confounded by the Burmese with Indians from Kalinga (Talaing) and Orissa (Ussa)," J. R. A. S. 1918, p. 150.

Cunningham writes that "the Mahābhārata names the Kalingas three separate times and each time in conjunction with different peoples." 30 Sylvain Levi has discussed all the three appellations which

25. Hobson Jobson, Kling, p. 488
26. Girini p. 66
27. Ibid. p. 73
28. Ibid. p. 32
29. Ibid. p. 30
30. The Ancient Geography of India 1924, p. 594
do not help us to find out the term Trikalinga from them. Asoka’s Edicts only mention Kalinga and “after him under Kharavela, Kalinga became the centre of a powerful empire of which the Chief assumed the title of Chakravartin.” As Kharavela’s inscription omits Trikalinga it is unsafe to think of Trikalinga in those days. Pliny mentions Macco-Calinae, Gangarides Calinae as separate peoples from Calingae and this led Cunningham to write that the name Trikalinga is probably old and was known as early as the time of Megasthenes, from whom Pliny chiefly copied his Indian Geography. Cunningham’s chief sources of information on Trikalinga are the (1) Copper plate grant from near Jaba’pur in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. VII, p. 485 and Colonal Francis Wilford’s article on the Indian Geography published in the said Journal Vol. XX, 1851 which was written as early as 1811.

Wilford writes as follows on Trikalinga:

“Sri Karna Deva takes the title of king of Trikalinga or the three shores to the east, west and south of India. In his grant found lately at Benares he calls himself Sri Karna Deva King of Trikalinga or India.” “The sea coast of Calinga of India is divided into three parts emphatically called Tricalinga or three shores. The first Calinga includes the sea coast about the month of the Indus; the second extends all round the peninsula; and the Gangetic shores, from Cuttack to Chatganah constitute the third. No emperor in India, would pretend to celebrity, and lasting fame unless he was the master of these three shores when he assumed the title of Tricalingadhipati, the lord-paramount of Tricalinga.” Elsewhere in the same paper he writes: — “This is a well known legend in India and these three towns are styled Tripuri or Traipuri under Triprasura who was Tricalingadhipati and had a town in each Kalinga. These were destroyed at once by unerring arrow of Siva who was standing in the district of Tipperah. One of these towns was to the east-wards of the Ganges, the other near Amaracantaca, and the third to the west of Indus.” Unfortunately Wilford has not given the reference from which

31. Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian, p. 75
32. Ancient Geography of India 1924, p. 594
34. J. A. S. B. Vol. XX 1851, p. 233
35. Ibid, p. 484.
Purāṇa he got this title of Tripūrāśura and no Sanskrit Dictionary gives the meaning of Kalinga as sea shore. But it is certain that he got Trikalinga of India from the Benares copper plate. According to Wilford's interpretation Pliny's three Calingas may be interpreted as the three shores of India and Further India, and we have found it historically true that the two shores on the east and west of the Bay of Bengal represents two Kalingas but there is nothing to support that the western coast of India was known ever as Kalinga.

In Harṣācharita (Book VIII) the epithet 'Trisamudrādhipati' is found and it reminds us Trikalingādhipati in the same sense as put by Wilford.

Caldwell writes that "Dr Kern also in his translation of Varāhamihira's 'Brihat Samhitā' mentions that the name Trikalinga is found in one of the Purāṇas." 36 But in Hobson Jobson 37 is quoted his translation at page 498 in which there is no reference to Trikalinga.

Burnell however writes "Western and Eastern Kalinga" 37 and in the foot note he adds:

"Kalinga, or rather Trikalinga is very old name for the greater part of the Telugu coast on the Bay of Bengal. Dr. Caldwell took this (Pliny's Modogalingam) to be for the old Telugu, 'Modaga' and 'linga', and to mean three lingas, and, thus accepted the native chronology of Telugu. There can be no doubt about that it is merely Mudu Kalinga or three Kalingas and has nothing to do with linga. In his second edition, however, Dr. Caldwell gave up this explanation .......

The Trilinga theory is certainly not supported by Ptolemy's Triglypton or Trilingon which is most probably a copyist's error for Trikalinga. At all events a derivative of 'Glypto' could never mean linga. Cunningham recognises three Kalingas and rightly doubts the name having any thing to do with linga." 38

I am not sure how far Kalinga is to be taken in the sense of Trikalinga as accepted by Burnell. The misconception. I suppose,
rests with Pliny's mention of three nations of Kalinga, coupled with Sanskrit Trikalinga which has led the scholars to interpret Ptolemy's Trilingon as Trikalinga. But the evidence of the preservation of 'Taling' and 'Kalingarattah' in Further India and 'Tilang' in the Arabic and Persian languages deserve consideration and definitely supports the explanation that Ptolemy's Trilingon refers only to Trilinga and not Trikalinga, a Sanskrit word, which after translation became Modogalinga by Pliny.

As the term Trikalinga possesses considerable historical importance in the mediaeval period of the history of Eastern India, I am giving below the references arranged according to the dynasties which claimed the title of Trikalingadhipati or whose records mention Trikalinga as a kingdom.

1. *The Eastern Gangas of Kalinga*

   A. Early Gaṅgas:—

   (i) The Jirjingi plates of Indravarman 39 of the Ganga era 39 (533 A.D.)

   (ii) Samantavarman's C. P. grant 40 of the Ganga era 64

   B. Later Gaṅga kings

   (i) Vajrahasta V (1038-1070 A.D.)

   (ii) Chodagaṅga (1076-1147 A.D.)

   (iii) His successors upto Narasimhadeva II (1278-1305 A.D.)

The copper-plate grants 41 of Vajrahasta V mention that his predecessor Gunamahārānava came from Trikalinga kingdom which was ruled by the Gaṅgas.

Sahityadarpana, a treatise on Alamkāra written by Visvanātha (early 15th Century A.D.) mentions that the then king of Orissa possessed the title of Trikalingabhumiilaka (chapter iv). From this it appears that the title was assumed by the Gaṅga kings from 1038 A.D. to 1420 A.D. for nearly 400 years.


2. The Eastern Chalukya inscriptions show that there was a kingdom called Trikalinga adjoining to Veṅgimanḍala. The Masulipatam plates of Amma 1 (918-975 A.D.) tell us that king Vijayaditya IV (918 A.D.) ruled Veṅgimanḍala joined with Trikalinga forest (Trikalingatavī-yuktam) (950-970 A.D.)” 42

3. Somakuli kings of Utkala and Kosala had this title from 950 A.D. 43


Among the Kalachuri kings the following possessed the title of Trikalingadhipati.44

(i) Gaṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya (C. 1030-40 A.D.)
(ii) Lakṣmikarnadeva (C. 1040-70 A.D.)
(iii) Yasaśkarnadeva (C. 1073-1125 A.D.)
(iv) Gayakarnadeva (1151 A.D.)
(v) Narasimhadiva (1153-70 A.D.)
(vi) Jayasimha (1175 A.D.)
(vii) Vijayasimhadiva (1180-95 A.D.)

5. Chandatreyas of Jejakabhuṭṭi.

Among the kings of this dynasty only Trailokyavarmadeva (1205-1247 A.D.) assumed this title and his Rewa grant of 1240 A.D. mentions the title.45

6. The Paithan plate of Yudava king Rama Chandra of the Saka year 1193 (1272 A.D.) mentions that Jaitungi I “slew the king of Trikalinga and seized the whole of his kingdom and rescued king Gaṅapati from the prison.”46

The above references clearly prove the existence of the Trikalinga kingdom on the north of the Godāvari. It seems that this kingdom was first established by the early Gaṅgas. It is also possible that Janamejaya’s predecessor of Trilinga conquered Trikalinga from

42. E. I. Vol. XXIII p. 69.
44. D. H. N I. Vol. II Hāyāyas of United and Central Provinces,
45. Ibid p. 724.
the eastern Chālukyas and assumed the title of ‘Trikalingadhipati’ which is found in the earliest inscription of Janamejaya as he inherited it from his father. The fall of the eastern Chālukyas has a bearing on the rise of the Somakuli kings and thereby help us in assigning the date of Janamejaya.

The geographical extent and significance of Trikalinga have been interpreted by many writers as follows Under Trilinga necessary quotations have been given above.

1. In 1871 Cunningham said that “Trikalinga or three Kalingas must be the three kingdoms of Dhanakataka or Amaravati on the Krishna, Andhra or Warrangal, and Kalingas, or Rajamahendri.” 47

2. In 1874 Burnell wrote that Kalinga or rather Trikalinga is the very old name for the greater part of the Telugu coast on the Bay of Bengal. 48

3. In 1888 Keilhorn wrote that “regarding the expression Trikalingadhipati, ‘lord over the three Kalingas’, I agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the term Trikalinga to denote, or to be an older name of, the province Telingana” 49 and he referred to this note in Epigraphy Indica Vol. II, p. 298 which was published in 1894.

4. In 1895 Fleet wrote on the significance of the title Trikalingadhipati of the Somavamsi kings of Cuttack as follows:—

“They were paramount kings of Košala country; for, the charters issued in the thirty-first year of Mahābhavagupta I style him Kosavlendra or lord of Košala and convey villages in different divisions of the Košala territory, X X X and, unless one of their titles, Trikalingadhipati, was simply a meaningless attribute, they were also paramount kings of the territory that was known as the three Kalingas, and which included evidently Kataka, or Cuttack, and probably the whole of Orissa.” 50 Elsewhere he writes “lords of Kalinga or three Kalingas.”

47. Ancient Geography of India 1924 p. 594.
48. Elements of South Indian Palaeography p. 23.
5. In 1898 M. M. Chakravarti wrote the following:—

"Lastly, Dr. Fleet thinks that Sivagupta and his descendants were kings of a dominion which included 'probably the whole of Orissa', and who had their capital at Kataka (327). This conclusion does not appear to be borne out by the facts. The epithet 'Trikalingadhipati' is merely an honorific title, just as the old kings of Orissa used to style themselves as 'kings of Gaura and Karnata' without having the smallest bit of land in those countries. The word Kataka should be taken as a common noun denoting 'camp' the old name of modern town Kataka being 'Baranavi Kataka'. × × All these facts and a careful earding of the grants lead me to the conclusion that Sivagupta and his descendants were really kings of Kosala or Daksina Kosala (identifiable with the N. 16. part of Central Province's)."

6. In 1905 G. M. Laskar wrote as follows:—

"The title of Trikalingadhipati (lord of the three Kalingas) used by these kings requires a little consideration. The word Trikalinga is a vague term to us. But it seems to be sure that it included the whole of Kalinga with at least a few districts in the neighbourhood. Now Kalinga was a strip of country between the sea coast and the Eastern Ghats. It extended to about Vizagapatam in the south. Its northern limit is said in the Mahābhārata to be the river Vaitarani (mod. Byterain), which river and the Kalinga people the Pāndavas are described to have reached at the same time on their southward progress from Bengal in the course of pilgrimage. According to this account, Kalinga would include a considerable portion of Orissa. But the limits of countries fluctuated from time to time and there is no certainty that the same river was the northern boundary of Kalinga also at the time of inscriptions under notice. Be that as it may, we find in these inscriptions some points which would indicate that Kosala was included in the countries known as Tri-Kalinga (or the three Kalingas). The grantors of these charters have the title Tri-Kalingadhipati attached to their names, but not the title Kośalendra (lord of Kośala), although they were undoubtedly the masters of the Kośala country. Indeed, by the latter title Mahā-Bhavagupta I is referred to in charters B. C & D. But this title is not used along with their names nor is it joined to the title Trikalingadhipati, which is almost invariably prefixed to their names. This seems to show that the title Trikalingadhipati was thought sufficient by these..."
kings to imply their possession of Kosala also. It is therefore probable that Kosala, (i.e., Southern Kosala) was included in Trikalinga (three Kalingas). Thus we see that they possessed at least a part of Trikalinga and therefore the title Tri-Kalingadhipati was not altogether an honorific one as thought by Mr. M. M. Chakravarti. I do not mean to say, however, that the whole of Trikalinga was under their rule."

7 In 1926 and 1928 Sri G. Ramdas discussed on the significance of the title of Trikalingadhipati and wrote as follows:—

"Thus Trikalinga means high or elevated or hill Kalinga and signified in those days the region of the Eastern Ghats from the upper course of the Mahanadi to about the source of the Languliya river in the south. It cannot be understood to signify the country occupied by the Kalinga proper, Koagada and Orissa; nor does the affix 'Tri' means three".

8. B. C. Mazumdar has interpreted Trikalinga as denoting three countries Kalinga; Koagada and Utkala. He has further identified Koagada and Kalinga with the modern Puri and Ganjam districts respectively. Pandit B. Misra and Dr. R. G. Basak have accepted Mazumdar’s identification.

9 R. D. Banerji writes as follows on Trikalinga:—

"The country of Kapinga was divided from very early times into three parts and was called Tri-Kalinga. The existence of the term Trikalinga in Sanskrit tempts us to accept Mudu Kalinga as a direct translation of the Sanskrit form or vice versa. The natural division of the northern extremity of the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal is very well suited to the term Tri-Kalinga. The vast country of the western shore of the Bay of Bengal, which extended from the Delta of the Ganges to that

of Godavari was called Kalinga in the ancient times; 56 but at pages 204 & 218 he writes that Trikalinga-dhipati is "the high sounding title" and "the meaningless title" respectively.

10. Sri R. Subba Rao writes that 'Trikalingas' are Utkala or north Kalinga, Kalinga proper and Tel Kalinga or south Kalinga" and Trikalinga country "extended from the river Ganges in the north to the river Godavari in the south." 57

11. From the geographical existence of a country called Madhyama Kalinga in the Ganga inscriptions 58 Dr. D. C. Gangooly was of opinion that it "corresponds roughly to the modern Vizagapatam District. X X The designation was probably given to this province in order to distinguish it from south and north Kalinga which corresponded roughly to the modern Districts of Godavari and Ganjam respectively. These three divisions seem to have constituted the country known as Trikalinga." 59

12. Dr. R. C, Mazumdar's note on Trikalinga is very illuminating and it runs as follows :

"In Eastern Chalukya records of the 10th and subsequent centuries Trikalinga is distinguished from Kalinga and is obviously regarded as a place of less importance than Kalinga. Without entering into further discussion on this point, I think we have to admit that we cannot take Trikalinga in the Present record to denote the whole Kalinga, and that it was the designation of a separate region, most probably the hilly tract to the west of Kalinga." 60

13. Dr. H. C. Ray at first took the title of Trikalinga-dhipati as a conventional 61 one. His notes at page 392 Vol. I and pp. 783-84, Vol. II on Trikalinga only refer to Pliny. He has also criticised the interpretation suggested by G. Ramdas. But in the map No. 1 of Vol. II he has shown the position of Trikalinga as the very same

as Dakṣīṇa Kośala comprised in the modern area covered by the Ex-States of Kanker, Patna, Kalahandi, Sonpur and Baudh and the Districts of Raipur in M.P. and Sambalpur and Ganjam in Orissa.

There are a few other references to Trikalinga but I have omitted them for the reason that they do not contain any new interpretation.

The Jirjingu copper plate of Indravarman of the year 39 of the Gāṅga era is assigned to the period of the first half of the 6th century A D, (538 A.D.) and this is supported by the palaeographic evidence (475-550 A.D.) 62 Prof. M. Somasekhara Sarma writes that a copper-plate of Śamanataravarman dated 64 of the Gāṅga era mentions Trikalinga. The term Sākala Kalinga shows that the kingdom of Kalinga was divided into different parts and the term Madhyama Kalinga shows that it was divided into at least three divisions. In eastern India we find from inscriptions that countries are generally divided into north and south such as Uttara Rādhā and Dakṣīṇa Rādhā, Uttara Toṣala and Dakṣīṇa Toṣala and so we shall not be wrong if we assume that there were Uttara Kalinga and Dakṣīṇa Kalinga as suggested by Dr. Gangooly. If this interpretation is accepted; we can safely say that Trikalinga comprised northern, central and southern divisions of Kalinga and Trikalinga was used in the same sense as Sākala-Kalinga. The kingdom of the Gangas in the Kalinga country of the early period was known as Trikalinga as we find in the expression “Trikalīṅga-Mahibhujām Gāṅgānām” in the copper plate inscription of Vajrahasta V. who ruled from 1038-1070 A D. and although we do not find this expression in other inscriptions it seems that the Ganga kings were known as kings of Trikalinga. The Eastern Chalukya inscriptions support this assumption. But the significance in the use of the title by the kings of the Somakuli dynasty followed by the Gaṅgas, Haihayas and Chandrātreyas seem to be very different from that of the original meaning which was then considered perhaps to be of highest honour as suggested by Wilford.

The Gaṅga and Vīgra ha inscriptions clearly prove their independence in the 6th century A.D., but in the 7th century we find Saśāśaka, the king of Karusuvarva as the overlord of the Śailodbhava king Madhyamarāja. 63 Just at this period Harṣavardhana also tried

to establish his supremacy in Koṅgada. 64 At the same time Pulakesi II had also conquered Southern Kosala and Kalinga 65. This goes to show the weakness of the Gangas in this area. The kingdom of the Sailodbhavas was known as Koṅgada Maṇḍala which formed a part of Dakṣiṇa Toṣala under the rule of the Bhauma kings. The Talcher copper plate of Śivakara III of the Harṣa year 149 mentions that Unmataśimha conquered Rāṇha and his son Subhākara Deva subjugated the Kalinga people. 66 The copper plate inscription of Jayavarmadeva 67 of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga mentions Unmatakeśari as his overlord. From this it appears that the title of Trikalingādhipati had no specific regal significance for Sasāka or Harṣavardhana or the Bhauma kings. The Bhaumas ruled long and it was natural for them to use this title but they have not done so. But it is not understood what led the kings of Somakuli dynasty to use this title after 400 years and the significance of this title of Trikalingādhipati used by the later Ganga kings of Kalinga and Utkala, the Haihayas and the Chandrātreyas is equally unintelligible to us. Thus it appears that it was simply honorific in the 10th century A.D. and onwards.

The Brahmesvara inscription is definite about the fact that Janamejaya conquered Oḍra while he was the ruler of Trikalinga and Kosala. The titles of Mahāśivagupta and Mahābhavagupta of the copper-plates of Janamejaya suggest that he was connected with the Sirpur family. Dr. H.C. Ray has suggested that the family of Janamejaya is different from that of the Sirpur kings 68 and his suggestion has been accepted by Dr. Bhandarkar. 69 But I am unable to agree to his suggestion for the reason that Janamejaya can not be connected with any other known family. The copper-plate inscriptions of Janamejaya do not mention the conquest of Oḍra like this inscription. The copper plate inscription of the year 31 only mentions that Janamejaya was known as Kośalendra. In the inscriptions of the Pandava family these virudas of lord of Kośala (Kośalendra) and Mahābhavagupta followed by Mahāśivagupta are also found. 70 Such

65. Ibid., p. 130.
66. Orissa under the Bhauma kings p. 4.
a similarity definitely suggests the family connection of Janamejaya with that of Tivaradeva. It is possible that the descendants of Tivaradeva conquered Trilinga and Trikalinga countries and were known as lords of Trilinga and Trikalinga (Trilingadhipati and Trikalingadhipati). This helps us to locate Trilinga and Trikalinga countries in the neighbourhood of Kosala. As Odra country lay also in the neighbourhood of Kosala, Janamejaya had no difficulty in acquiring it and extending the boundary of his kingdom to further east up to the Mahodadhi or the Bay of Bengal.

Odradeśa and Utkaladeśa are the very same country and not two separate countries. In his map of Eastern India drawn by Pargitar Odra and Utkala are shown as two separate kingdoms. 71

B.C. Mazumdar also holds the same view and writes thus:

"The whole of Utkala country consisted of a narrow strip of land extending through the native states of Nilgiri, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar to the western limit of Gangpur." 72

"The high lands of Orissa extending from the southern limit of Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj to the left bank of the river Mahanadi constituted the land of Odra." 73

"The hilly country lying between Kalinga and Dakṣina Kosala was the Odra land while Utkala as a separate country to the north of Odra has been clearly recognised in all old records. To fix limits of the Odra country with some definite marks, we have also to mention this fact on the authority of epigraphic records (e.g. Jallaja Deva's inscription of the 12th century A.D.) that the native states of Daspalla and Baud, lying to the east of the Tel river were within the Andhra country." 74

Against this identification of Utkala and Odra as two separate kingdoms the following epigraphic and literary references are noted below.

71. J.A.S.B. 1897
72. Orissa in the making. Plate II. p. 15.
73. Ibid. p. 17.
74. Ibid. p. 16.
The copper plate grant of Somadatta, one of the four copper plates discovered from Soro. "Records the grant of the village called Adyārā situated in the Sarephāhāra Vīsaya in Uttarā Toṣāla which again formed the part of Oḍrāvīśaya,"75 As Sarephāhāra has been identified with Soro, the extent of northern Toṣāla is safely located in the district of Balasore. Somadatta of the Soro plate seems to be the same person mentioned in the Midnapur copper plate of the year 19 of Saṣāka (शस्त्राक) in which Daṇḍabhukti has been described to be in Utkaladeśa.76 The Bauda copper plate grant of Tribhuvana Mahādevī of the Bhauma dynasty mention that Uttara Toṣāla included Daṇḍabhukti Maṇḍala which is identified in the Midnapur and Bankura area of south Bengal. As this inscription shows that Odra is in the same area of Utkala B. C. Mazumdar’s views are untenable.

Somadatta’s inscription is the earliest copper plate grant in Orissa so far discovered and its date is early 6th century A. D.77 The next copper plate inscription containing Odra is dated in the middle of the 8th century A.D. in which Harṣadeva of the family of king Bhagadatta has been described as the overlord of Gauḍa, Odra etc., Kaliṅga and Kośala (Gauḍo adi Kaliṅga-Kośalapati)78 According to the copper plate inscriptions of the Bhauma dynasty the sea-board districts of Orissa were known as Toṣāla, subdivided into two called Daḵṣīna Toṣāla and Uttara Toṣāla and in one inscription (L. I. N. I, No. 2059) the Ruler’s family belonged to the Utkalakula. The Pala inscriptions of Bengal mention Utkalā79 and the conquest of Utkala by Vigraha Pala shows the weakness of the Bhaumas of Toṣāla. The Kalachuri inscriptions 80 mention Utkala and Dirghasi inscription of Rajaraja I 81 mentions Utkala in the Sanskrit portion and Odra in the Telugu portion. The importance of Dirghasi inscription lies in this that it mentions both Utkalā and Odra which refer to the same geographical area.

75. E. I. Vol. XXIII, p. 202
77. E. I. Vol. XXII, pp. 199-200
78. L. I. N. I. No. 1402
79. D. N. N. I. Vol. I, p. 291 & Orissa under the Bhaumas, p. 84
80. L. I. N. I. No. 1578 & 2031
The copper plate grant of Yayati of the year 9 was issued from Vinitapura in Kośala and its donee Samkhapāni, a resident of Silābhanjapati in Oḍra, was granted a village in Maradvīśaya situated in Dakṣīṇa Toṣāla. This inscription furnishes us with an evidence that Kośala, Oḍra and Toṣāla were then separate from each other.

On the other hand we get the following literary references of Utkala and Oḍra:—

In Kalidāsa's Rāghuvamśa we find that Utkala was situated to the north of Kalijāga. From Yuan Chuan's description we find that Koṅgada was situated to the north of Kalijāga and Utkala or Oḍra (Ucha) lay to the north of Koṅgada. In Rajasekhara's Kāvyāmānasā we find the countries called Kalijāga, Kośala, Toṣāla and Utkala (Kalinga—Kośala—Toṣālakāla). The author of the Sanskrit lexicon called Trikāṇḍāraśa defines Oḍra as the another name of Utkala (Oḍra Utkalanāmānā). From all these references it is clear that Oḍra and Utkala stand for the name of the same country and not two as defined by B. C. Mazumdar and Pargitar.

From the epigraphic reference to Tri-Kalinga it will appear that it was not an independent territory with its own king. It was a tract of land which changed hands from time to time.

Its history starts from about the 6th or 7th century A. D. Prior to it there is no historical reference to it. From 6th or 7th century till the 13th century it figures in the epigraphic records of the kings of different dynasties.

From the nature of references it appears that the kings of the territories adjoining this tract were eager to annex it to theirs and looked upon the possession of it as an achievement and were proud of assuming the title Trikaliṇādhipati.

It is quite natural that the tract having no lord of its own should excite the greed of the neighbouring princes. Besides, in those days of keen rivalry for supremacy and desire for expansion at the cost of the neighbours Tri-Kalinga, the Mid-Deccan tract, had acquired strategic importance; hence the desire among the princes of the neighbouring kingdom to annex it.
It is a problem to distinguish between Tri-linga and Tri-Kalinga. There is mention of Trililinga in the Puranas; and in the writing of the Greek historians, while there is nothing in hand to trace back the antiquity of the name Trikalinga to that period.

Curiously enough the earliest epigraphic reference to Trikalinga is to be found in the copper plates of the 2nd and 3rd king of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga, viz Indravarma and Samanta Varman. In the context of what has just been said above, it may be possible that the eastern portion of Trilinga might have been called Trikalinga after the occupation of it by the above Gaṅga kings of Kalinga.

But the original word Trilinga did not become extinct. Both the words remained in use synonymously. That's why we find the use of both in the records of the Somavamsi and Kalačuri kings. Since Trikalinga sounded more dignified, specially owing to its association with Kalinga, which was one of the most powerful kingdoms in India that word was probably more frequently used.

From the thirteenth century the word Trikalinga seems to have lost its glory and made room for its aged rival 'Trilinga.' The absence of any reference to Trikalinga after the thirteenth century, except that in the plates of Chandella king Tailokya varman (1265) and use of the word Trilinga in Šrirangam and Akkalpundi plates, in Vaidyanath's 'Prataparudriya' and in Taranath's history lend support to this view.

It is difficult to say anything definite regarding the location of Trilinga or Trikalinga. From the epigraphic references it appears that it extended from the Godavari in the south to the river Tel on the north along the western border of Kalinga and Toṣala, and the southern borders of Dāhala and south Keśala. It roughly included the ex-States of Kankar, Bastar, Kalahandi, the hilly portions of Ganjam and Koraput and some portions of the M. P., roughly comprising Jhālūkhandha or Goudwana of the Mughal period 82

But according to the Srirangam plates, the central tract of the Deccan plateau from the Vindhyaas upto the border of the southernmost Pandya kingdom was known as Trilinga. This might have been the

82. Orissa in the making, pp. 63 ff,
original extension of the territory of Trilinga, but in the medieval period it did not extend beyond the Godavari, because the whole of the land to the south of the Godavari was occupied by different dynasties like, the eastern Chalukyas, the western Chalukyas, the Māhārāstras Kadambas of Banavasi Bānas etc. Only a narrow strip of hilly and deeply wooded tract lay unoccupied along the borders of the old kingdoms of Kośala, Kalinga and Tosala. Oḍra or Utkala was included in the last named kingdom.

15

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE WORDS ODISĀ AND ODIĀ

Orissa is the anglicised form of the Oriya word Odišā. Stirling derives the word from “Ordesa or Oresa the old original seat of Odra tribe.” In Hobson-Jobson it is written under Ooriya that “the proper name of the country (Orissa) is Odradesa and Ordesa whence Oriya.” Again it is written there that “Oriissa n.p. (Skt Oḍrāśṭhra the land of Oḍras). The word is a prākṛita form of Utta, north or applied to north part of Kalinga.” Hunter in his Orissa p 172-73 has laboured to give all sorts of lexicographical derivations of the words Odra and Utkala with the meaning of non-Aryan origin. None of these words Oḍrāśṭhra, Ordesa or Oresa give us Odišā through phonetic changes of Prākṛta grammar. These derivations have not been challenged by any one and so we do not exactly know as to how and when our country was known as Odišā and we, the people of Odišā and our language as Odiā. Let us see how history helps us in our investigation.

In the Bhāgavata, IX. 5, 23 we find a verse which narrates that the queen Sudeshuśā bore six sons named Āngu, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Suhma, Punda and Oḍra to her husband king Bali by the sage Dīrghatamā and the Viṣayās (Countries) over which they ruled were called after their names. Again in the same Bhāgavata we find the king Sudyumna had three sons named Utkala, Gayā and Vīniṣṭāsva. According to Vāyu-Purāṇa (85. 19) and Harivamsa (10.9) we find that the country allotted to Utkala was known as Utkala-

Thus we find Oḍradaṇa and Utkalaraṇa. The words Oḍra and Utkala find mention even in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata associated with Kalinga which was situated near the river Vaṅgaviṇa.

These references from the Purāṇas do not help us much in giving definite historical data but from them we only know that historical traditions have been faithfully recorded there.

In Purushottamadeva's Trikaṇaḍaśesha Oḍra and Utkala are described as synonymous. As the date of Purushottamadeva is not well established the work Trikaṇaḍaśesha does not help us much for the history of these words relating to earlier period of the Indian history. Let us see how the epigraphic records and well known Sanskrit works help in furnishing us with data on the history of the words Oḍra from which the geographical word Oḍiśa and ethenic and linguistic word Oḍia have been derived. According to Pṛākṛita grammar Oḍiśa and Oḍia are tadbhava words from Oḍra; and Utkala is the tatsama word of Utkala.

During the third and second centuries B.C. we have the edicts of Asoka at Dhauli and Jaungada and the Hāṭigumpha inscription of Kaṅravela at Udaygiri which mention Kaṅga and so the southern limits of Oḍra or Utkala of the Pauranic tradition did not extend beyond the Mahanadi at that period.

The earliest reference to Oḍra as the literary language finds mention in Bharata's Nātyaśāstra which is dated according to some in the first century A.D. and others one or two centuries later. Kālidāsa describes Utkala which was geographically situated to the south of Vaṅga and north of Kaṅga. Vaiśāhamihiṭa was living in the 6th century A.D. and in his Bhātisamhitā mention of Oḍra and Utkala as geographical place names is met with. Thus we find that the word Oḍra has been used by famous authors at different times with ethnic, linguistic and geographic significance. During the 7th century A.D. Yuan Chuang, the Chinese traveller mentions Oḍa lying south-west of Kaṅsavaṇa and north of Koṅgada and Kaṅga. The Sore copper-plates dated in the 6th century A.D. mention Oḍavishaya and Uttara Toshala and Midnapore copperplate belonging to Saṅgika mentions Utkala. Oḍra also finds mention in the epithet 'Gaṅḍa Kuniya-Kośa-koṭalapati' of Harsaṇeva of Kāmārupa. The Bhauma inscriptions mention Uttara Toshala Utkala and Dakshina Toshala; Koṅgada maṇḍala was included within Dakshina Toshala. Rajaśekhara in his Kavyamimamsa mentions Koṅga-Kośala-Toshala-Utkala. The
copper plates of Gayāda Tuṅga mention Oḍravishaya. Rājendra Chola’s inscriptions mention before 1025 A. D. Kosala, Yāyatīnagara and Oḍjavishaya. The Dirghasi inscription mentions Utkala in Sanskrit and Oḍjavishaya in the Telugu text. The Gaṅga inscriptions from the time of Choḍagaṅga to Narasimha deva IV e. g. from the first quarter of the 12th century A. D. to first quarter of the 15th century A. D. mention Utkala. The Muslim historians of the 12th and 16th centuries A. D. always have described this part of the country as Jajnagar. Towards the end of the 14th century Shams-i-Siraj Affī has described at one place ‘Jajnagar-Uḍisā in his Tāriḵ-i-Firozshahi. Firo Shah invaded Orissa in 1361 A. D. Kapilendra Deva’s Jagannātha temple inscription dated 1443 A. D. mentions Oḍiśarajya Saraladāsa in his Uriya Mahābhārata (Adiparva) writes that Oḍiśa is the another name of Oḍarāshtra. In Ferishtah’s account on the other hand relating to Nizam Shah and Mahammed Shah III (1461,1422), the Bahmani Sultans of Kulkarga, Jajnaagar and Oḍisah are mentioned as totally separate territories” but in Nizamuddin’s Tāriḵ-i-Akbari only Oḍiśa finds mention. So Ferishtah’s account on the existence of two separate kingdoms called Oḍiśa and Jajnaagar does not find corroboration even from the contemporary Muslim history.

The above references go to prove that Oḍra-vishaya of the 7th century A. D. was popular as Oḍjavishaya in the 11th century A. D. Oḍjavishaya was changed into Oḍaviśa which form has not been found from any inscription, Oḍaviśa was changed into Oḍivisa as mentioned by Tararanath, the Tibetan historian, who perhaps wrote it from some earlier account. The form Oḍiviśa was further shortened into Oḍivisā and Uḍiśa which form was current certainly earlier to 1367 A D. when Uḍiśa was written by Affī. So it appears that Oḍiśa was derived from Oḍravishaya through the following phonetic changes, Oḍravishaya - Oḍjavishaya - Oḍaviśa - Oḍiviśa - Oḍiśa. Bharata described Oḍra as Vibhāsha and through phonetic changes the Oḍra became Oḍriya whence Oḍiśa has been derived.

The earliest use of the word Oḍiśa is thus dated some wherte in the middle of the 14th century A.D. The use of the word Oḍra is found in the Dantewāra inscription of Bastar dated in the middle of 14th century A. D. vide Epigraphia Indica Vol XI,

The Paurānic form Utkala is still popular. Those who maintain that Utkala is derived from Uttara Kaliṅga have not produced any evidence on the use Uttara-Kaliṅga from any inscription or literature.
SECTION B.

PAPERS ON THE HISTORICAL RECORDS.

16

RAJA MAN SINGH FROM SOME ORIYA AND PERSIAN RECORDS OF ORISSA.

The conquest of Orissa by Raja Man Singh has been recorded in the Akbarnamah,¹ Ain-i-Akbari,² and Tabaqat-i-Akbari,³ and these works are, no doubt, the best sources for this period of the history of Orissa. As early as 1822 Andrew Stirling collected certain data on the activities of Raja Man Singh from the Madalanpanji, the Oriya Chronicle of the Jagannatha Temple at Puri, and Persian revenue records which he himself examined and regarded as genuine.⁴ The names of the authors of Stirling's Persian Records and the Madalanpanji are not as well known as those of Abul Fazl and Khwaja N. Ahmed. Raja Man Singh's name is also recorded in four Oriya stone inscriptions which are undoubtedly contemporary records. In this paper I intend to discuss the historical value of those inscriptions and the Persian records examined by Stirling which furnish more interesting historical information than that recorded in the Akbarnamah and the Ain-i-Akbari on the administration of Raja Man Singh in Orissa.

Out of these four Oriya inscriptions two were found at the village of Kasiari in the Sadar Sub-Division of the Midnapore District in Bengal. The Achyutasagara inscription of Sirjang, dated Yugavda 4696, Sakavda 1617, Yavanabhoga 28 and Anka year 34 of Ramachandra Deva, was discovered first by John Beams and referred to in the footnote of his paper entitled

1. English translation, Akbarnamah, Vol. III
4. Stirling's Oriisa (1) Asiatic Researches, Vol, XV, 1825
   (2) Bengal Secretariat Reprint, 1944
"Notes on the history of Orissa". The Achyutagangā inscription of Sirjang gives the date of Yugaśāda 4699, Sakaśāda 1520, Yavanbhoja 30 and the Anka year 37 of Ramachandra Deva. My friend Sri Sudhakar Patnaik, B A., has published the text of these two inscriptions in a paper called "The Sirjang inscription of Achyuta Balíar Singh Mahapatra".

The dates mentioned in these two inscriptions correspond to 1593 A.D. and 1593 A.D. respectively. The Oriya inscriptions of the village Kasiari are dated in the Saka year 1526 which corresponds to 1604 A. D. when Raja Man Singh was ruling in Orissa. The Kasiari inscription No. 1 is fixed to the wall of the Jagamohana of the Sarvamangala temple at the S E E corner. The inscription slab contains 7 lines of writing but as a portion of it is covered by the masonry wall of the Barwari Natamandira, I could not fully decipher the text which is given in Appendix A.

The purport of the inscription is this. In the happy and prosperous kingdom of Maharaja Man Singh in the Saka year 1526 and the Anka year 47, on Monday the 3rd Makara, the temple of Mangala Thakurani was erected by Chakradhara Bhuyan, son of Raghunatha Bhuyan, nephew of Jadu Bhuyan and grandson of Govinda Bhuyan of the village Kulyasena.

The brass image of Vijaya Mangala Thakurani contains an inscription of two lines on the pedestal, the text of which is given in Appendix B. The English rendering of the inscription is given below.

In the happy kingdom of Maharaja Mana Singha, Chakradhara Sarma, son of Raghunatha Sarma, the moon of the family caused the worship of the deity Sarvamangala in the Saka year 1526.

The late N N. Vasu read Raghunath Bhuyan of the first inscription as Raghunath Bhanja. The latter was a nephew (sister's son) of Raja of Utkala and the younger brother of the Raja of Mayurbhanja. He took up arms against his uncle, the ruler of

5. J. A. S. B. 1883, pp. 233-34
6. The Journal of the Orissa Academy, 1940, pp. 21-32
Utkala and occupied its northern part. According to Mr. Vasu probably it was this prince who built the temple of Sarvamangala.

The above inscription mentions the name of Raghunatha Bhuyan and not Rathunatha or Raghu Bhanja as deciphered by N. N. vasu. The date, 1604, of the inscription goes against the date of Raghu Bhanja of the Madalapanji or 'Durga Punji’s (Raghu Bhanj ?) of the Akbarnamah. So Mr. Vasu was entirely wrong in giving the reading of Raghunatha Bhanja for Raghunatha Bhuyan.

The date, 1526 Saka year or 1604 A. D., of the Kasiari inscriptions is corroborated by that given in the Ain-i-Akbari which records that “Man Singh remained in Bengal till 1013, when the sickness of the Emperor induced him to resign his appointment in order to be in the capital”. Raja Man Singh was the real conqueror of Orissa. He conquered Orissa in the 35th year of Akbar’s reign in 1000 A. H. (1591-92). Man Singh remained in Bengal and Orissa till 1013 (1604-5), when Akbar’s illness induced him to return to the court hastily. So the date of the Kasiari inscription is very accurate as regards Man Singh’s Subadari in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

In the Madalapanji and the Akbarnamha we find that Raja Man Singh took a special interest in the worship of Jagannatha at Puri. In 1592 A.D., soon after the defeat of the Afghans and the capture of Cuttack, Man Singh “went off to pay devotions at Jagannatha. His idea was that he would be nearer Raja Rama Chand and that when an opportunity occurred he would be nearer to him”. The ‘Ram Chand’ is no other person than Ram Chandra Deva of the Sirjang and Kasiari inscriptions whose Añka years go to prove that he established supremacy in Orissa in 1568 A. D., when the Afghans of Bengal were in occupation of Orissa. Raja Ram Chandra lost no time to revive the worship of

7. Archæological Survey of Mayurbhanj, 1911, pp. 125-26
8. Akbarnamah, Vol III, p. 934
10. History of Orissa, by R. D. Banerji
12. Ibid. p. 941.
Jagannātha after the sacrifice of Kalapahar and was styled by the people as the second Indradyumna after the founder of the worship of Jagannātha at Puri. Even Abul Fazl described him as "one of the famous Zamindars of Orissa." 13 In the Madalapānji it is narrated that Raja Man Singh visited Puri with the son of Telanga Mukunda Deva upon whom he wanted to bestow the management of the Jagannātha Temple. Rai Bahadur R.P Chandha has identified this son of Telanga Mukunda Deva with the Tila Rajah of Akbarnamah. 14 Raja Man Singh's plan could not be carried into effect as Ram Chandra Deva was actually in possession of the Temple long before 1592 A.D.

In the Madalapānji it is further mentioned that Gaurā Rāni, wife of Rajah Man Singh built the Muktamandapa within the enclosure of the Jagannātha temple at Puri. Baharistan-i-Ghaybi describes Rāni Gaur as the chief wife of Raja Man Singh. 15 Dr. Borah writes in the notes that "Rani Gaur evidently means the Rani who hailed from Gaur, i.e., Bengal and probably refers to the princess of Kuch Bihar who was married to Raja Man Singh". 16 When Nathan, the author of Baharistan-i-Ghaybi describes Rani Gaur as the chief wife of Raja Man Singh, Borah's identification of Rani Gaur with the princess of Kuch Bihar whom the Raja married 17 towards the end of 1596 A.D. cannot be accepted. Further as Nathan should have known that Raja Man Singh had 1500 wives, 18 his testimony leaves no doubt that Rani Gaura was the Pāmmahisṭi (chief wife) of Raja Man Singh. The Madalapānji thus furnishes us with additional information on Raja Man Singh, not available in the Persian accounts.

According to Stirling, though the Afghan usurpers were defeated by the armies of Akbar under the command of the General Khan Jehan and others and Todar Mall visited the province in A.D. 1580 to superintend the introduction of his settlement of

13. Ibid., p. 97
15. Baharistan-i-Ghaybi, p. 7
16. Ibid., p. 794
the crown lands, the arrangements for the annexation of the Subah of Orissa to the empire, were not completed until the arrival of Raja Man Singh in 999 Amlī.¹⁹

Though in some respects, Ain-i-Akbari covers the period up to the 40th year of Akbar’s reign (1594-95 A.D.), in the matter of administrative arrangements and statistical information, it does not go beyond 1599 A.D. ²⁰ As the conquest of Orissa by Man Singh was not completed before 1593, ²¹ the administrative arrangements introduced by him are not to be found in the Ain-i-Akbari.

Apparently, Abul Fazl depended on the reports of Raja Todar Mall at the time of compiling the Ain-i-Akbari. The Persian documents utilised by Stirling, however record Man Singh’s administrative arrangements and are therefore very valuable for the historical geography of Orissa at the time of its conquest by Raja Man Singh.

After return from Puri to Cuttack Raja Man Singh “summoned” Raja Ram Chandra Deva, presumably for a settlement but “he objected.” ²² Then Man Singh had to “wage war on him.” ²³ “On hearing of this H. M., who appreciates dignities became angry and issued censure. The Rajah recalled his troop, and apologised. Ram Chand, on seeing the graciousness of H. M., took the thought of paying his respects on 21 Bahman he visited the Rajah (Man Singh), and was treated with much respect.” ²⁴

This quotation from the Akbarnamah, clearly shows that Raja Man Singh had no free hand in dealing with the Zamindars of Orissa.

Raja Man Singh made settlements with the powerful Princes of Orissa who were best qualified to control the turbulent people by their local rank and family influence. Among these princes the rulers of (1) Khurdha, (2) Saranggarh, and (3) Al are styled as Rajas and the rulers of (1) Keonjhar, (2) Mayurbhanj, (3) Bisenpur (modern

¹⁹. Stirling’s Orissa, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1904, p. 43.
²⁰. Blochman’s preface to the Ain-i-Akbari.
²³. Ibid.
²⁴. Ibid. pp. 967-68.
Bankura), (4) Fathihabad, (5) Narayangarh, (6) Karangarh (Karnagarh), (7) Baghbhum (all in Midnapore) are styled as Zamindars. It is interesting that all the places under the control of these Princes are in existence and can be easily identified. The principalities allotted to the local Princes by Raja Man Singh in 999 Amli seem to be different from the Sarkars of the Ain-i-Akbari.

In the Ain-i-Akbari, we find "Raja Ram Chandra, Zamindar of Orissa" was a Mansabdar of 500 and "Adwand and Sundar Zamindars of Orissa" were Mansabdars of 200. But in Man Singh's settlement paper, it is found that the Mansab of Raja of Khurdha was 3500 and those of the Rajahs of Sarangarh and Al were 500 each. So the number of Mansabdars in the Ain-i-Akbari and Stirling's Persian Records remains the same. The Madalapañji narrates that Raja Man Singh allotted Al and Sarangarh to the sons of Mukunda Deva and the Persian records narrate that the Rajahs of Al and Sarangarh were Mansabdars and so Adwand and Sundar of the Ain may be identified with these Rajas of Al and Sarangarh respectively. From the above it is clear that the accounts of Madalapañji and the Persian records of Orissa give more authentic information on the history of Orissa than those of Akbarnamah and the Ain-i-Akbari.

As Massir-ul-Umara is reputed to contain "by far the best account of Raja Man Sing" including details of his conquest of Orissa, I tried to ascertain its exact contents and got the Persian portion translated into Oriya by Maulavi Emmanul Hak of Baripada. Massi-ul-Umara contains an interesting account of the Jagannātha Temple at Puri. The portion on the history of Orissa seems to be copied from the Akbarnamah, but it does not give the details of Raja Man Singh's conquest of Orissa or his administrative arrangements. Thus we find that Oriya inscriptions and the Persian revenue records of Orissa examined by Stirling furnish us with some more information on the history of Orissa than what we find in the famous Persian works noted above.

Stirling personally examined all these Persian records and writes:

"The details of the arrangements adopted by Raja Man Singh for the disposal and management of the above important class of

estates, cannot be very interesting to the general reader, but I shall
nevertheless introduce an extract from some old revenue accounts in
my possession which describe these arrangements ......... .......

Elsewhere he writes thus:

"I shall proceed to furnish abstract statements of the land
assessment of Cuttack according to its present dimensions translated
from revenue accounts in the private possession of the family of the
former Dewan of the Marhatta Government, the authenticity of which
I see no reason whatsoever to doubt." 28

It is unfortunate that since 1822 no one in Cuttack has
attempted to find out these Persian Revenue accounts examined by
Stirling. I am told that there are three almirahs full of Persian
records in the Collector's Record Room at Cuttack and it seems to me
that the documents mentioned by Stirling may be found in those
almirahs. It is also unfortunate that the name of the family of the
Dewan of the Marhattas at Cuttack was not recorded by Stirling.
The Persian revenue records furnish authentic information on the
early Moughal administration of Orissa as is evident from the pages of
Stirling. As it may not be too late yet to search them out in the town
of Cuttack I invite the Orissa Government and the Utkal University
to take up the search at an early date.

Appendix A

प्रथम धांड़ा—श्री शुभमस्त्रु श्री मानसिंध महाराजाचूर बिजे शुभमस्त्रु समस्त ५७
बाँकू श्री ... ...

२य „ मकर दिव ३ ने शु ५ सोमबार १५२६ शके कुल्यसेन आमर
श्री मोक्षिन्द्र शूषाङ्कुर प्रपीत्र

३य „ श्री रजुताठ शुभमस्त्रु (मु)श्री यथू शूषाङ्कुर पुत्रा दृष्टान्त श्रीकंतल शुभमस्त्रु
४िथ „ श्री महाबल ठाकुराचूर अथवा प्रमाणेऽद्विधा हेला हे
५िम „ श्री राजल आध्यात्म ... ... बिकल प्रस ... ...

६िघ „ न कमला वासुरणा किसू
७िम „ ए करण हरिदास

27. Stirling's Oriissa, p. 44.
Appendix B

प्रथम घाँड़ि—श्री मानसिंह महाराज शुभराष्ट्रे निजकुलकुमुदानन्द श्रील श्री
रघुनाथ शाम्रा
२य घाँड़ि—मृणालसुत्र श्री चक्चर शाम्रा मृणाल करिते द सार्वमण्डल दत्तमाक
पूजा, शकाद्वाद कालिता रघुनाथ।

17

KASIARI INSCRIPTION OF
RAJA KALYAN MAL*

Kasiari is an important village situated in the Sādar Sub-
Division of the Midnapore District of Bengal. Late Mr. N. N. Vasu
in his Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj, Vol. I, first noticed
the Oriya and Persian Inscriptions in 1911, and the three Oriya inscrip-
tions of the Sarvamangala temple were referred to by late Mr.
Radhanath Pati, a pleader of Midnapore and a resident of Kasiari,
in a Bengali brochure called Kesadi. I visited the place in 1940
and copied the inscriptions from the original slabs. Mr. Vasu did
not publish the inscriptions and Mr. Pati was not able to decipher
fully the text of each inscription. Mr. Jogesh Chandra Bose referred
to these inscriptions in his Medinipur Ilihas (Second edition, 1346
Bengali Sal.), but he was not able to throw any light on the impor-
tance of these inscriptions. Out of the three, two refer to the
period of Raja Man Singh and one to that of Raja Kalyan Mal.
I intend to write a separate paper on Raja Man Singh based on
these inscriptions and so the inscription belonging to the time of
Raja Kalyan Mal is dealt with below:

The inscription slab measuring 42" × 14" is fixed above the
arch left to the entrance of the Bārūdwari (with 12 doors) Nata-
mandir of the Sarvamangala temple and it contains 7 lines of writing
in Oriya characters of the early 17th century in Oriya language.

* Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol.
No XXI (p. 33-90).
Text of the Inscription

[Translation and analysis]

Extract in English

In the Saka year 1537 (1615 A.D.) Amka year 11 during the prosperous reign of Emperor Shah Salim when Raja Kalyana Mal was in the Subah, this Natamandira was constructed at Kasiarigars by Sundara Das with the help of masons named Sridhara Maharan, Danai Maharan, Banamali Das, Arjuna Maharan and others. The purport of the last line of the text is not clear as it is not fully deciphered.

From the above it is clear that Raja Kalyan Mal was the Subahdar or the Governor of Orissa in 1615 A.D.

Historical Note

"Raja Kalyan son of Raja Todar Mal was appointed Governor of Orissa on the 6th July 1611" and "on the 18th September 1617 (not 8th September 1617), he waited upon the Emperor to explain some charges of misconduct brought against him and after enquiry his innocence appeared clear and having given him a dress of honour and a horse, the Emperor appointed him to do duty together with Mahabat Khan in Bangash (Memoirs pp. 202, 389-99 and 402)" In Baharistan-i-Ghaybi, Mirza Nathan also describes him as ""Raja Kalyan, son of Raja Todar Mal"" at pp.10 and 143. As no surname 'Mal' was attached to the name Raja Kalyan in
these Persian works, a lot of confusion prevails regarding his identity with "Kalyan Singh, son of Raja Man Singh" and "Raja Kalyan of Jaisalmer." The Puri District Gazetteer narrates at page 36 that 'Hashim Beg' was succeeded in 1610 by Raja Kalyan of Jaisalmer whose niece had been married to Jahangir before he became Emperor" and from this it appears that the compiler of the Gazetteer identified Raja Kalyan Mal with "Kalyan of Jaisalmer" who was exalted "with tika of Raja and the title of Rawal" by Jahangir as recorded in Tuzuk, pp. 325-26 and the confusion may be due to the wrong indexing in Tuzuk at p. 467, where 'Raja Kalyan' of pages 192, 199 and 202 has been shown as 'Kalyan of Jaisalmer' who was granted the title of Raja mentioned at pp. 325-26. Again Raja Kalyan Mal has been written as Raja Kalyan Singh, son of Raja Todar Mal by (1) Sir J. N. Sarkar and (2) Mr R. D. Banerji. Mr. Banerji also writes about "Raja Kalyan Mall" towards the end of page 35 (3) "Sri Ram Sharma in his article 'Bengal under Jahangir' (Journal of Indian History, Vol. XI, 339 IX 15) accepts Raja Kalyan to be a son of Man Singhon an alleged statement of Nathan" (4) Dr. Borah writes that Raja Kalyan Singh has been described in Tuzuk (text 199 translation 402) as a son of Todar Mal. I do not find the surname 'Singh' anywhere in the English translation of Tuzuk by Rogers and Beveridge, but Sir J. N. Sarkar's reference seems to be the Persian text of Tuzuk which I have not consulted. I have not seen the paper of Sri Ram Sharma. In the English translation of Baharistan-i-Ghaybi it is recorded at page 7 that "Kalyan Singh, son of Raja Man Singh" escorted "Rani Gawr, the chief wife of the Raja who was coming to the court from Rothas." This Kalyan Singh does not possess any title of Raja. But Raja Kalyan, son of Raja Todar Mal recorded at pages 10 and 143 of Baharistan-i-Ghaybi, is found to be similarly recorded at page 402 of Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. Dr. Borah has wrongly identified "Kalyan Singh, son of Raja Man Singh" with "Raja Kalyan, son of Raja Todar Mal" which is proved from his note at page 793-94 and index at p.891 but he writes "I believe the first statement made by Nathan is either a mistake of his own or an error of the copyists." The printed text of Baharistan-i-Ghaybi at page 4 narrates that Jhítmas Khan was ordered to take back from every place men and followers of Mirza Ria Man Singh and the cannon that were brought from Bengal and Rothas for service in Bengal on his way from the capital city of Patana and he met the party headed by Kalyan Singh and Rani Gawar at Sarai-Bandagi. From this it is clear that Mirza Nathan did not
make any mistake in his statement. In the Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, P. 486 Blochmann notes that Raja Man Singh had a son named Kalyan Singh. "Who is not mentioned by Mhammedan historians" but Mirza Nathan's mention of Kalyan Singh removes the doubt entertained by Blochmann. In Akbarnamah (Vol III, p. 812) Raja Todar Mal's son Kalyan Das is described to do important duties and at page 1249 'Kalyan Das, the son of Raja Todar got to a mansab of 1,000 zat and 500 horses and the charge of Fort Kalingar'. The surname 'Mal' is attached to Raja Kalyan in the Kasiari Oriya inscription which is not found in any Persian work or in the Oriya Madalpāṇi. This surname 'Mal' connects him with Raja Todar Mal. The above note, I hope, clarifies the confusion on the separate identity of (i) Raja Kalyan Mal, son of Raja Todar Mal, (ii) Kalyan Singh, son of Raja Man Singh, and, (iii) Raja Kalyan of Jesalmir.

In Baharistan-i-Ghaybi pp. 10-11 we find a paragraph describing the valour of Raja Kalyan Mal which goes to show that he acted himself just like his father Raja Todar Mal when he was put to the test.

Abul Fażl writes thus:—

In the battle with Daud Khan-i-Kararani. "When Khan Alam had been killed and Munim Khan's horse had run away, the Raja held his ground bravely and not only was there no defeat, but an actual victory. 'What harm' said Todar Mal, 'if Khan Alam is dead; what fear, if the Khan-i-Khanan has run away, the empire is ours'.

On his way back to Orissa from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) Raja Kalyan Mal arrived at a place where a group of mischievous Afghans raised their head in rebellion and seized the elephants and many of the gifts and rare articles of Orissa belonging to Iradat Khan and blocked the way against him. Mirza Nathan writes as follows on Raja Kalyan Mal's bravery.

"Although a group of timid people advised the Raja to fall back, the Raja, with the idea that if he would make a retreat, he might court a defeat and scandal, and it would be impossible for him to show his face before Islam Khan and other nobles of the State, and explain his conduct before the imperial enquiry ordered the Nagarehi (the chief of the beaters of kettle drum)
to beat the drum of war relying absolutely on God. Getting ready for the battle, he advanced with four divisions of the army. No sooner had he advanced a short distance than the Afghans offered a great battle, at first they attacked the vanguard of the Raja and then the right and the left wing of the army; but the Raja having strongly fixed the foot of bravery did not fall back an inch and his companions held back the enemy with over powering force and at the death of their leader the affairs of the Afghans were reduced to great straits and they fled away to jungles and deserts.

This success of Raja Kalyan was amply rewarded by the Emperor and finally he was appointed as the Governor of Orissa in 1611. Soon after taking over charge of Orissa the Raja thought in his mind that he would accomplish such a service which would not only draw the attention of his master but would also keep the high and low of that region under his control. He then put in the forefront of his mind the idea of the conquest of Khurdah and marched against Raja Purusottam Dev. The Raja after gaining the victory returned to Cuttack and sent the bride (dolah) along with the elephant Sisnag and all the peshkash in cash and kind in charge of trustworthy officers to the august court.

Referring to this incident the Puri District Gazetteer mentions at page 47 that "in 1613-14 Raja Kalyan invaded the country. The following year the Khurdha Chief met and killed Kalyan in battle". The same book again mentions at page 36 that "Kalyan lived till 1617 when he was, according to the chronicles of Jagannatha, killed by the Raja of Khurdah". Mr. R. D. Banerji very rightly criticised this statement of the Gazetteer as false on the authority of the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri and two versions of the Gazetteer indicate that the dates given in the temple Chronicles are entirely untenable.

Mirza Nathan also records that Raja Kalyan Mal was removed from his Governorship by Islam Khan, the Governor of Bengal without the Emperor's approval, but he was re-instated very soon. The subsequent career of Raja Kalyan Mal has already been referred to above.
BRUTON'S ACCOUNT OF CUTTACK AND PURI *

A. History of the publication of Bruton's Account:

William Bruton visited Cuttack and Puri in 1633 A. D. and his account was first published by J. Okes in 1633 when Bruton, 'an eye and ear witness of the description', "was a resident in the parish of St. Saviour's Southwark in England."1 The next publication of Bruton's account was made in 1745 by Thomas Osborne. Then again in 1751 Thomas Osborne compiled a book entitled the Collection of Voyages and Travels in eight volumes and Vol. VIII of this series is a reprint page by page of Vol II of the 1745 publication in which Bruton's account was printed at pp. 267-279. Then again in 1809-12 Bruton's account was included in the enlarged edition of Hakluyt which has not been consulted by me. In 1895 C.R Wilson of the Bengal Educational Service published his work entitled The Early Annals of the English in Bengal Vol I, Book I, in which he included extracts from Bruton's account in Chapters I, II and III. I have prepared the following text of Bruton's account from the photostat copy of pages 268-279 of Vol. II of the 1745 publication which was not consulted by Wilson. I am grateful to the authorities of the Asiatic Society for kindly supplying me the photostat copy of these pages.

B. Bruton's Career:

The early career of William Bruton is not known, nor his later career after his residence in the parish of St. Saviour's Southwark in England. He was away from England for a period of seven years during which according to his account he was at Masulipatam in April; he came to Orissa in May and continued to stay there up to the middle of November 1633.


His account does not give the date of his return from Puri to Hariharpur. It seems that his published account of Puri is left incomplete in print. Towards the end he writes "This city of Bengal is very great and prosperous". It shows that Bruton went to Bengal from Orissa. It further shows that Bruton wrote some more paragraphs before this in which the city of Bengal was described. The mention of Satgan in one of these paragraphs suggests that it was Hugli where the Portuguese had their factory. The paragraph dealing with the affairs of Bengal after the account of Puri may be due to omission of some paragraphs from his original writing. The word 'decipher them' at the end of the para suggests that he made his selection.

From his reference to verses of 'Revelation' of the New Testament, it appears that Bruton was a keen student of the Bible and a pious Christian. From his reference to various explorers, it appears that Bruton was well acquainted with the then literature of exploration published in England.

C. Identification of the Court of Malcandy:

C. R. Wilson identified Malcandy with Mukunda Deo relying perhaps on the account of the fort described by Abul Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 127, translated by Jarret and published by the Asiatic Society in 1891. Not being satisfied with it, the late Prof. G. S. Das resorted to a new method and on palaeographic grounds suggested that Malcandy stands for Mahanadi. Credit goes to Shri S. C. Deo, Curator of Archives, for suggesting the identification of Bruton's Malcandy with Manikhaudi of Malalapañji and Manikhandi of Maraqa't-i-Hassan. Shri De's other suggestions need contemporary corroboration. A section of residents of Cuttack speak even now 'Ladi' for 'Nadi' (river) and 'Laqia' for 'Naquia' (cocoanut) and Manikhaudi was pronounced in this way Persianised as Mankhandi and written as Malcandy. There is now no trace of the Manikhandi palace at Cuttack. If we believe the account of Malalapañji of the Govinda Vidyaśāhara's period we will have to admit the existence of the Katakā Saṁvarā and Manikhaudī Saṁvarā

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which are supported by the account of Shams-i-Siraj Afif written in the Tarikh-i-Firozshahi. Manikhaqū palace was distinct and separate from the Kutaqi Srinavara or the Barabati fort, the early history of which is equally obscure.

D. Orissa’s relation with Qutbshahis of Golconda:

Bruton’s narrative of the 8th May 1633 about the preparation for a war against the Qutbshahi Sultan is an interesting piece of historical information. As a result of this war, the Qutbshahi Sultan of Golconda was made a feudatory of the emperor of Delhi and paid a tribute of Rs. 20,000 which was credited to the revenue of Orissa 4

The site of the English factory at Hariharpur, modern Jagatsingpur was popularly known as Firingi Kuda and left unoccupied till recently. The site is now included in the premises of the H E. School at Jagatsingpur and recent digging has revealed the old masonry foundation.

* * *

Although diverse learned, painful and skilful mathematicians and geographers have, with great industry, spent much profitable time in finding out the circumference of the terrestrial globe, in describing empires, kingdoms, principalities, lordships, regions, provinces, territories, variations of climates and situations, with diversities of dispositions of tongues, religions, habits, manners, laws, and customs of sundry nations, though much labour, peril and cost have been worthily employed by Pitus* the second, Ortelsius,* Jadoco,* Hondius,* or, to come nearer to our English worthies, such as are described in the book of Hacklewoik’s voyages; namely Windam,5

4. J.-N. Sarkar—Studies in Mughal India, p. 22
* Nothing is known about these persons,
* The following notes are taken from Webster’s Complete Reference Dictionary and Encyclopaedia (1949).
5. Windam, I am unable to give particulars,
Chancelour, 6 Grinwill, 7 Willoughby, 8 Drake, 9 Cavendish, 10 Gilbert 11 Chidly, 12 Frobisher, 13 Clifford, 14 Sidney, 15 Devereux, 16 Wingfield, 17 as also the exceeding pains taken by Mr. Samuel Purchase 18 and the learned and renowned knight Sir Walter Raleigh 19 in their descriptions of the whole world; not forgetting the perils that Mr. Sands 20 passed in his tedious travels, with his exact relations and descriptions; with Atlas newly imprinted (a rare-work); and lastly, William Lithgow 21 deserves a kind remembrance of his nineteen years sore and dangerous travels of his feet and pen, worthy your observation and reading.

But all these authors and actors, both of history and travel, did never discover all, but still (out of their plentiful harvests of observation) they left some gleanings for those that come after them to gather; for the manifestation whereof, in this following discourse, I have tried and bound myself to speak only truth, though it seem incredible or hyperbolical, and, if I should in any way swerve or stray from the truth, there are living men of good fame, worth and estimation, who are able and ready to disprove me.

6. Chancelour, Richard Chancellor, (d 1556), Navigator
7 Grinwill, I am unable to give particulars
8 Willoughby, Sir Hugh (?-1554) English arctic navigator
9 Drake Sir Francis (1540?-1596) English navigator
10. Cavendish, Thomas (1535-1592) —do—
11 Gilbert, Sir Humphrey (1535—1563) —do—
12 Chidly, I am unable to give particulars
13 Frobisher, Sir Martin (1535—1594) English navigator
14 Clifford George, third Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605), Naval commander
15 Sidney, I am unable to give any particulars
16 Devereux, Walter (1541—1576) Colonist
17 Wingfield, Edward—Maria (1560) Colonist
18 Samuel Purchase (1577—1626) English compiler of Travel literature
19 Sir Walter Raleigh (1572—1618) English courtier, navigator and statesman (The discovery of Guiana, History of the world).
20 Sands, I am unable to give any particulars
21 Lithgow William (1582—1645) Scottish traveller.
Therefore briefly to the matter in hand: I William Bruton was shipped, as a quarter master, from the port of London, to serve in the good ship called The Hopewel, of the burthen of two hundred and forty tons. To relate our long and tedious passage by sea, and our arrival at every port and haven, were but little to the purpose, and would more tire than delight my reader, therefore to begin, that after my arrival in those parts, and in my services and passages there for the space of seven years, I observed many things, and put them in writing, but afterwards I came to know that the same things had been discovered and described formerly by more sufficient and able men of capacity than myself. I thought good to keep them to myself, and discover nothing but that which before was not so fully or scarce known, as I shall now decipher them.

The twenty-second of March 1632. ** I being in the country of Coromandel 22 with six Englishmen more, at a place called Massalupatam 23, a great town of merchandize, Mr. John Norris, the agent there, was resolved to send two merchants into Bengallo 24 for the setting of a factory there; and these six Englishmen (of the which I was one) were to go with the merchants, and withal to carry a present from the agent to the Nabob, 25 or king of that country, to obtain the promises* that formerly he had granted to the English for traffic, and to be customfree in those of his dominions and ports. Wherefore a junk** was hired at Massalupatam, to be our convey, the said junk did belong into those parts, and the names of the Englishmen, that were appointed for that voyage, were Mr. Ralph Cartwright merchant, Mr. Thomas Colley, second, William Bruton, John Debson, Edward Peteford, John Bassley John Ward, and William Withball.

* C.R. Wilson quotes from this passage.
** 1632 seems to be mistake for 1633 which finds mention below.
22. Coromandel or East coast of India.
23. Masulipatam in Andhra.
24. Bengal, it is from Persian 'Bangala', Sanskrit Vanga.
25. Nawab.
* This fact lacks support from any earlier account.
** Junk; A large eastern ship, especially (and in later use inclusively) a Chinese ship. This indeed is the earliest application also. ** This is one of the earliest words in the Eu ropeo-Indian vocabulary. It occurs in the travel of Friar Odorico written down in 1331 etc.-Hobson-Jobson p. 472.
Though we hired the aforesaid *Junk March*, yet it was the sixth of April following, before we could be fitted to depart from *Massalupatam*, and in such various weather, with many difficulties and dangers (which to relate here would be tedious, and impertinent to my intended discourse); the twenty-first of April, being the Easter-day, we were at anchor in a bay before a town called *Harassapoo*re 26: it was a place of good strength, with whom our merchants hold commerce with correspondence. This twenty-first day in the morning *Mr. Ralph Cartwright* sent the money ashore, to the Governor of *Harassapoo*re, to take it into his safe keeping and protection until such time as he came ashore himself. So presently there came a *Portugal* frigate fiercely in hostility towards us, and we made ready for their entertainment, and fitted ourselves and the vessel for our best defence; but at last they steered off from us, and, upon our command, she came to an anchor somewhere near us and the master of her came on aboard of us, who being examined whence he came, and whether he was bound, to which demands he answered nothing worthy of belief, as the sequel shewed; for he seemed a friendly trader, but, was in deed a false invader (where opportunity and power might help and prevail); for, on the 22nd day *Mr. Cartwright* went ashore to the governor of *Harassapoo*re and, on the twenty-fourth day, the said master of the frigate (with the assistance of some of the ribble-rabble rascals of the town) did set upon *Mr. Cartwright* and *Mr. Colley*, where our men (being oppressed by multitudes) had like to have been all slain or spoiled, but that (Lucklip) the *roger* 27 (or vice-king there) rescued them with two hundred men.

In the fray *Mr. Thomas Colley* was sore hurt in one of his hands and one of our men much wounded in the leg and head; their *nockada* 28 or Indian pilot was stabbed in the groin twice and much mischief was done, and more intended; but by God's help all was pacified.

The twenty-seventh day of April we took leave of the governor and town of *Harassapoo*re (I mean three of us); namely *Mr. Cartwright, William Bruton* and John *Dobson*, leaving *Mr. Colley* and the four men with him, till news could be sent back to them from the

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26. Hariapur or Harispurgarh situated at extreme south-east of the Cuttack District, at the mouth of the Patua river.

27. Wilson suggests Lakshmis the Raja.

28. Hobson—Jobson spells it Nacoda, the master of a *nativa* vessel (p. 612).
Nabob's court at Cutteke or Malecander, of our success and proceedings there with our other goods; for he is no wise merchant that ventures too much in one bottom, or that is too credulous to trust Mahometans or Infidels.

And having laden our small boats with the goods, which were gold, silver, cloth and spices (of which spices those parts of India are wanting), and they almost are as dear there as in England, we passed some two leagues and a half in water, and after that the said goods were carried by land in carts, till we came to a great town Balkhad, but it was more than three hours after sun setting, or late before we came thither.

The twenty-eighth day of April, in the morning, the Governor of this town came and saluted our merchant, and promised him, that whatever was in his power to do him any friendly courtesy, he should command it: and indeed he was every way so good as his word; for he lent us horses to ride on, and cowlers (which are porters) to carry our goods; for at this town the cart did leave us, and our goods were carried on men's shoulders; then we set forwards being accompanied with the governor, with his music, which were shalms and pipes of sundry forms, much after the forms of waits or hautboys, on which they played most delicately out of tune, time, and measure. In this manner the governor with a great number of people, did bring us about half an English mile out of the town, we courteously took his leave of us, but yet he sent his servants with us as guides, and that they might bring his horses back unto him, that he lent us.

This town of Balkhad is a strong, and spescious thing, very populous, there are many weavers in it, and it yeildeth much of that country fashion cloth. This day at the hours of between eleven and twelve of the clock, it was so excessively hot, that we could not travel, and the wind blew with such a sultry scalding heat, as if it had come forth of an oven or furnace, such

29. Cuttack or Malecandy. In all subsequent writing he uses Coteke or Malecandy.
30. Mahmedans.
31. Balikuda in the Cuttack district.
32. Is it for cowherds or gaudas who are bearers in Orissa.
a suffocating fume did I never feel before or since, and here we were forced to stay near three hours, till the sun was declined, we having happily got under the shade of the branches of great tree all that time. Then we set forward for the town of Harharrapoore, which in the space of two hours, or a little more, we drew near unto; so we stayed a while, till our carriages were come up together unto us; which done there met us a man, who told us, that his master stayed our coming; then we speedily prepared ourselves for the meeting of so high esteemed a person; and; when we come to the town, and, there met us; at a great pagoda or Pagod which is famous and sumptuous temple or a church for their idolations service and worship there used; and, just against that stately and magnificent building, we were entertained and welcomed by one of the king’s greatest noblemen, and his most dear and chiefest favourite, who had a letter from the king his master, and was sent from him to meet us and conduct us to his court. The nob'eman’s name was Mersymomeine; he received us very kindly, and made us a very great feast, or costly collation, before supper; which being done we departed for our suroy, or inn where we lay all night with our goods; but Mersymomeine stayed with his followers and servants in his and their tents at the Pagod.

The twenty-ninth day of April we stayed at Harharrapoore, and this great man; but the greatest cause of our staying was, by reason that the Nockada or pilot of the frigate whose men affronted and hurt some of our men at Harssapoore, for which cause the frigate was stayed there, and the pilot of her came to this great man, thinking by gifts to win to clear his vessel, (the which he thought to make prize of) but he would not be allowed by such rewards or promises but told him that he must appear before the Nabob and seek to clear himself there.

The thirtieth day of April we set forward in the morning in our way to the city of Cotek; (it is a city of several miles in compass, and it standeth a mile from Malcandy, where the court is kept), but Mr. Cartwright stayed behind and came after us, accompanied with the said nobleman: we went all the day on our

33. Hariharpur is the old name of modern Jagatsinghpur in the Cuttack District.
34. Pagoda is a south Indian word for Mandira or temple.
35. Wilson takes him as Mirza Momin.
36. Sarai or resting place.
Journey, till the sun went down, and then we stayed for our merchant, being eight English miles from Coteke; and about twelve or one of clock at night they came where we were, so we hasted, and suddenly got all our things in readiness, and went along with them; and about the time of three or four of clock in the morning we came to the house of this Mersymomeine at Coteke being May day.

Here we were very well entertained and had great variety of sundry sorts of meats, drinks, and fruits: such as the country yields even what we could or would desire fitting for our use. About eight of the clock Mersymomeine went to the court, and made known to the king, that the English merchant was come to his house; then the king caused a great banquet to be speedily prepared, and to be sent to the house of Mersymomeine which banquet was very good and costly. Then, about three or four of the clock in the afternoon we were sent for to the court of Malcandy which is not half a mile from Coteke. The magnificence of which court, with the stately structure and situation of the palace, as well as my weak apprehension can enable, I describe as followeth.

The Court of Malcandy in Bengalla

GOING from the house of Mersymomeine we passed over a long stone causeway of some two feet in breadth, and at the end thereof we entered in at a great gate, and, having conducted along farther, we came into a bazar, or a very fair market place, where was sold a great number of all sorts of fruits, herbs, flesh, fish, fowl, rice and such like needful commodities and necessaries as the country yielded (which is very fertile) Having passed this place we entered in a second gate, where was a guard of some fifty armed men and so we come into a place all paved with great stones, or it may fitter be called a fare and spacious street, where merchants, seated on both sides the way, were buying and selling all kinds of their own and foreign wares and merchandises that were very rich and costly.

Passing this place, we entered in at a third gate, where was another guard of one hundred men armed; by this gate was a great pagodo or pagod which joined to the southernmost part of the king's house. In this street there were houses but one side of the way; for, on that side the king's house was on, there was no other house but that. Then we came to a fourth gate, which was very spacious and high, and had two lofty stories one above the other, and upheld by mighty pillars
of grey marble, most curiously carved and polished: at this gate was a
great guard of one hundred and fifty men, or more; all armed.

Going through this gate, we entered into a great broad place, or
street much of the breadth of the street between Charing-cross* and
White-hall, ** or broader, and no dwelling in it; here we passed the
wall of the king’s house, or palace, till we came to the court gate.

In this broad street are every day one thousand horses in
readiness for the king’s use, for he hath always three thousand at an
hour’s warning, in the two towns of Coteke and Malcandy, where of
one thousand always wait at the king’s gate and so by turns all the
rest attend as their places and services require.

Over against the gate of the house is a very great house of
timber, whose chambers are made with galleries, built and adorned
with great arches to uphold the roofs, in these galleries there were
men that played on all kinds of loud instruments: every morning
they began to play at four of the clock, and gave-over at eight.

On the north side of the gate is a small tower, built with two
hollow arches, wherein are placed two mighty images of stone, with
great pipes of iron placed in their breast, and by devices in the tower
rooms, they make fire and water to flash and spout of those pipes on
festival days. On the south side of the gate there standeth a great
elephant artificially wrought of gray marble, but for what use, I know
not.

At the entrance into the palace gate, we passed through a
guard of an hundred and fifty men armed, the pillars within are all of
grey marble, carved three stories one above the other. The outward
court was paved all with rough-hewn marble. On the south side of
the palace were houses wherein were men, cunning workers in rich
works employed only for the king’s use and service.

On the north side, in the palace, a fair fabric built, wherein were
erected two stately tombs, which were founded by one Backwreanne 37—
he was Nabob, and predecessor to this Nabob now governing, and at the

* An important place in the city of London.
** As above.
37, Bakar Khan, who was a Subadar of Cuttaock.
east end of the palace there was a fair place made and paved with broad grey marble, and curiously railed about, the rails being four foot and an half high from the ground, and a very fair tank which is a square pit paved with grey marble, with a pipe in the midst of it, whose water descended between two walls, with the forms of fishes of different kinds carved in stone very artificially, as if they had been swimming or gliding up the wall against the stream.

At this east end there was also a second gate, where was a guard of an hundred men armed; here stood also men that did keep the time of the day by observations of measures of water, in this manner following; first they take a great pot of water, of the quantity of three gallons, and putting therein a little pot of somewhat more than half a pint (this lesser pot having a small hole in the bottom of it), the water issuing into it having filled it, then they strike on a great plate of brass, of very fine metal, which stroke, maketh a very great sound: this stork or a parcel of time they calls a goomt; the small pot being full, they call a gree; eight grees make a par, which par is three hours by our account.

They likewise begin the day at the hour of six in the morning; and it is ended with them at six at night; here we entered into the second palace, which had in the midst thereof a fair and sumptuous theatre built and about it were made small banks, whereon were planted great varieties of fruits and flowers, very sweet to the scent, and pleasing to the sight; this place was also curiously railed in round; then we entered into a narrow passage between two high stone walls, where there was another guard of two hundred and fifty men armed; this passage brought us to a third gate, wherein we entered into a third palace, of pleasant prospect; for in the midst of it there was a very fair pavement of marble,—square, of the largeness of—yards every way, and railed some three foot and a half higher than the ground, that was on the outsides of it: it was likewise delicately

38. Goomt, It's meaning is not clear. It may be a ghanta in Oriya.
39. Grees. It is ghadi in Oriya.
40. Par, It is pahara in Oriya.
railed about, and in the midst of it there was a fair arched place roofed, into whose entrance was an ascent of four steps high: and all the rooms in it were spread or overlaid on the floor with rich carpets exceeding costly.

The space between the outward rails and these rooms was about thirty feet, and the length eighty feet, on the one side, but on the other side was a fair tank of water.

This place they called the derbar (or place of council), where law and justice were administered according to the custom of the country, and it was likewise adorned and beautified with very pleasant trees and flowers, and banks about them with gutters between the banks, in which gutters water passed for the cooling and watering of them, and the waters proceeded from the tank aforementioned. Here we stayed the space of two hours, or thereabouts looking up and down, and being looked upon by soldiers, and such—fashioned gentlemen as the court yielded; for there were more than an hundred men armed, which were the Nabob's or king's privy guard: at last the word came forth, that the king was coming; then they hasted and overlaid the great large pavement with rich carpets: and placed on the midst against the rails one fairer and richer carpet than the rest, wrought in Bengalla work: they likewise placed a great round pillow of red velvet on the carpet; they placed also six small pillows of gold on the ends, and sides of the rich carpet to hold it flat, or press it to the ground, lest it should be raised with the wind. They also placed upon the rails a panel of velvet to lean on: at the last His Majesty came, accompanied with the number of forty or fifty of his courtiers, the most part of them were very grave men to see to, also the Nabob's own brother (a comely personage) did bear the sword before him, Then the noblemen (Mersymomeine) presented our merchant (Mr. Ralph Cartwright) to the king, who did obedience to him, and the king very affably bended forward, in manner of a courtesy and respect, and withal leaned his arms on two mens shoulders, and slipped off his sandal from his foot (for he was bare legged), and presented his foot to our merchant to kiss, which he twice refused to do, but at the last he was fain to do it: then the king sat down, and caused our merchant to be placed by his brother; his council sat all along by the foot-place of the rooms before mentioned;
his brother and his favourites sat thwart the place or pavement, every one sitting in the fashion of a tailor *, cross-legged.

The assembly being set, our present was presented to the king, which was some twenty pounds of cloves, twenty pounds of mace, twenty pounds of nutmegs, two bolts of damask half a bale, or fourteen yards of flannel cloth, one fair looking glass, whose frame was gilt, one fowling piece with two locks, and one double pistol; this was the present which the king received with much acceptation and consent, and withal demanded the cause of our coming, and our request: to whom our merchant answered that he was come to desire his majesty’s favour and licence for free trade in his country, and not to pay any Junken or custom. At this request he seemed to make a stand, and pausing a little, he conferred privately with his council, but gave us no answer.

Our merchant likewise requested that the English merchants trading for the East Indies might have free licence to come with their shipping, small and great, into the roads and harbours of his sea-port towns, or to any havens or navigable rivers, or any such place or places as shall be found fitting for the safe guard, building, or repairing of the said vessels belonging to the honourable company; and likewise to transport their goods, either off or on the shore, without the lett or hindrance of the natives of the country, likewise to have his licence to coin moneys, gold and silver, country money, and such as is current with the merchant.

By this time that our merchant had ended the relation of his suits, and cause of his coming, the king’s minister, with a loud voice called to prayer. Then the king speedily arose from his seat and all his company went with him, and we were dismissed till prayer was ended. When the minister came there was a large covering spread over with rich carpets, the covering was of black and white clothes: on this they all stood, and, when they kneeled, they did kneel with their faces towards the going down of the sun, (which is to the west). Prayer having ended, the assembly sat again concerning our propositions, all other business were laid aside, being now the shutting in of evening, there came a very brave shew of lights in before the king. The foremost that came were six silver lanterns, ushred in by very

* This word is not found in Cambridge 20th Century Dictionary.
grave men, holding a staff overlaid with silver, and when he came to
the steps of the pavement, he put off the shoes, and came to the
carpets, making obedience; so likewise did those that bore the
six lanterns, but all the other lights, being 130, flood round
about the rails. Then the usher took the lantern that had two
lights in it, and, making obedience, lifted his arms aloft, and made an
ample oration, which being ended, they all gave a great salame, or a
kind of reverence, with a loud voice: and departed every one, and
placed their lights according as their several offices and places did
require. Here we stayed till it was between eight and nine of the
clock at night, but nothing accomplished: only we had some
fair promises of furtherance by some of the courtiers, thus we were
dismissed for that time, and we returned for our lodging at
Mersymoneine's house at Coteke accompanied with a great multitude of
people and many lights who much admired our kind of habit and fashion.

* The second day we came in the afternoon again to the court
before the Nabob, which being set, there met us at the derbar (council
house) our old enemy thenockada of the frigate, who made a great
complaint against us, that we had fought to make prize of his vessel
and to take his goods by force, he had likewise given a great gift
to a nobleman, to stand his friend, and to speak in his behalf.

Our merchant pleaded likewise, that all such vessels as did
trade on the coast, and had not a pass either from the English, Danes
or Dutch, were lawful prize. He answered that he had a pass. Our
merchant did him produce the same before the Nabob and he would
clear him, to which the Nabob and whole council agreed, but he
could shew no pass from any of the afore-named three nations, but he
showed two passes from or of the Portugals, which they call by
namefriuses and thus was cast, and we had the better of him
before the king and council.

But then stood up the nobleman, to whom he had given a
reward who had also a little knowledge or insight in sea-affairs, and
said, what stranger, seeking a free trade, could make a prize of any
vessel within any of the sounds, seas, roads, or harbours of His
Majesty's dominion? This he spoke not so much for the good of the
king but thinking and hoping, that the vessel, by his means should
have been cleared, with all her goods, and the nockoda (or pilot)

* The following passages are quoted in Chapter II by C. R, Wilson.
acquitted: that so by those means he might have gained the more and great rewards: but he was quite deceived in his vain expectation; for the Nabob perceiving that she belonged to Pipely, a port town of the Portugals, whom Nabob affects not, where the Portugals were resident, and that she was not bound for any of his ports, he made short work with the matter, and put us all out of strife presently: for he confiscated both vessel and goods all to himself; whereby the noble-man was put by his hopes, who was indeed a governor of a great sea-town, where to much shipping belonged, and many ships and other vessels were built. Our merchant, seeing that he could not make prize of the vessel or the goods, nor have any satisfaction for the wrongs which he and our men had received, he rose up in great anger and departed, saying, that if he could not have right here, he would have it in another place, and so went his way, not taking his leave of the Nabob, nor of any other: at which abrupt departure they all admired.

The third day in the morning the king sent for our merchant by the lord controller of his court, who went with him accompanied with Mersymomeine and others to the derbar where there was very grave assembly set; then came the king, who being set, he smiled upon our merchant, and (by an interpreter) demanded the cause why he went away the last evening (or over-night) in such an anger? To whom he answered boldly, and with a stern undaunted countenance; that he had done his masters of the honourable company wrong, and, by his might and power had taken their rights from them, which would not be endured or put up. The king, hearing this demanded of the assembly, which were as well merchants as nobles, in the Persian tongue, of what strength and force our shipping were, their number, burthen, and force; where our chief place of residence was for trading; he likewise sent for Persian merchants, and diligently inquired of them the same demands and questions; who answered that we had great trading on the coast of Carmendel, India, and Persia: and likewise

41. Piply, a port on the Subarnarekha where the Portugals had their factory. It was situated on the opposite side of Shahbandar village. The whole town of Piply has been washed away by the river.
in the south seas as Bantam, Japaro, Jambee and Mocossar. They further told the Nabob, that our shipping was great and of great force withal, and likewise, if his pleasure was such as to be at odds with us, there neither could, would or should any vessel, great or small, that did belong to these parts, stir out of any havens, ports, or harbours, of His Majesty's dominions, but they would take them and make prize of them, for they were not able to withstand their force. At these words the king said but little, but what he thought is beyond my knowledge to tell you.

Then the king turned to our merchant and told him in Moor's language (the which he could well understand) that he should grant the English free trade upon these conditions following:

That if the English ship or ships should at any time see any ship or ships junk or junks, or any other vessel of the Nabob's or any of his subjects, in distress, either by foul weather, or in danger of enemies, or in any other extremity, that we (the English) should help, aid, and assist them, to our powers; or if it happened they were in want of cables, anchors, water, victuals, or any other necessaries whatsoever, that did belong to them, that we the said English should help them as we were able; likewise that we the said English should not make prize of any vessel belonging to any of the dominions of the said Nabob; and that we the said English should not make prize of any ship, vessel, or vessels, within the ports, rivers, roads, or havens of the Nabob; though they were our enemies, but at the sea we might make prize of them, if we could. To this all our merchants agreed. Then the king caused articles on his part to be drawn and published in this manner following:

42. Bantam—The province which forms the western extremity of Java, properly Batum. It formed an independent kingdom at the beginning of the 17th century and then produced much pepper, which caused it to be greatly frequented by European traders. An English factory was established here in 1603 and continued till 1682.—Hobson-Jobson p. 62.
43. Japaro—I am unable to identify.
44. Jambee—do do
45. Mocossar—Macassar or Makasar in Celebes, Indonesia.
46. Moor's—Mohmedan.
"Here I the said Nabob, vice-king and governor of the country of Woodia 47, under the great and mighty prince Prdesha Shassall:m, do give and grant free licence to the aforesaid Ralph Cartwright merchant, to trade, buy, sell, export and transport, by shipping, either off or upon the shore, not paying any junken or custom, nor any under me to cause them to pay any, likewise, that if they do convey goods by shore between factory and factory, or any other place, for their better advantage of gain, within these his dominion, I strictly charge and command that no governor custom-gatherer or other officer whatsoever, shall make or cause them to pay any junken or custom: but shall suffer them to pass free without let, hindrance, molestation or interruption of stayage, but shall (I say) help and further in any thing that shall be the furtherance of business. Moreover, I do grant to the English merchants to take ground, and to build houses fitting for their employment and where they shall see convenient for their best utility and profits, without let and hindrance of any of my loving subjects

"And further, I do give and grant to the English merchants free licence to build shipping, small or greater any other vessel which they shall think best, and fittest for their occasions and uses; they paying no more than the custom of the country to the workmen; and likewise to repair shipping, if any such occasion be to require it."

"Likewise I the Nabob do command, that no governor or officer whatsoever under me shall do the English any wrong, or cause any to be done unto them, as they answer it at their perils, wheresoever they are resident; neither shall any wrong be done to any servant of theirs, that doth belong unto them."

"And again, if any controversy should be between the English and the people of the country if the matter be of any moment, then the said cause shall be brought before me, the Nabob at the court at Malcandy and at the derbar I will decide the matter because the English may have no wrong (behaving themselves as merchants ought to do)".

This licence formed and given at the royal court of Malcandy, the third day of May 1633*, but not sealed till the fifth day of May following at night.

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47. It is the same as the modern word Odia which stands for language and people of Orissa.

* This date seems to be correct as it refers to the document.
The fourth day of May the king sent a great banquet to the house of Mersymoniue to our merchant; and there came the great man that spoke on the neockada's side against us, at the derbar, about the frigate aforesaid: he brought with him, to our merchant, for a present a bale of sugar, a bottle of wine and some sweetmeats, saying, he was sorry for the things before done and past, but if any thing lay in him to do the company and him any good, he and they should be sure of it. This man was a governor of a town called Bollasarye 48, a seatown where shipping was built, as is aforesaid, his name was Mercossem 49, and understanding, that the merchant was minded to travel that way, he promised him to do him all the courtesies that could be.

The fifth day of May, in the afternoon, we were before the king again at the derbar, at our coming he called for our Parwan (which was our warrant or licence). and then he added to it the free leaves of coinig of moneys, and sealed it with his own signet himself, and so all things were strongly confirmed and ratified for our free trade in his territories and dominions **.

The sixth day of May the king made a great feast at the court where were assembled the most and chiefest of all his nobles and governors that were his command, and being set, he sent the lord controller of his house for the English merchant Mr, Ralph Cartwright, to come unto him, who came with all speed; and when he was in the presence of the king, he caused him to sit by him, and take part of the feast, (for the king was exceeding merry and pleasant); then the king caused a vest or robe to be brought, and with his own hands put it upon our merchant and thus was he invested and entertained in the presence of this royal, noble, and great assembly.

This day the king was in magnificent state and majesty, on rich Persian carpets (as is before mentioned); but over this great company was a large canopy of branched velvet of four colour, and in the seams between the joinings of it was yellow taffeta, which hung down like into the vallence * of a bed; it was about eighty feet in

49. It stands for Mir Kasim.
** Wilson's quotation ends here.
* The modern spelling is valunce or valance.
length, and forty feet in breadth; and it was upheld with four small pillars overlaid with silver, whose height was 12 feet and thickness one foot. Here we stayed till about the hour of five in the afternoon, and then we took our leaves of the king, and the rest; and departed to Coteke to the house of Mersymomone.

** Thus have I plainly and truly related the occurrences that happened at the court of Malecandy: but although the palace of the Nabob be so large in extent and so magnificent in structure, yet he himself will not lodge in it but every night he lodgeth in tents with his most trusty servants and guards about him: for it is an abomination to the Moguls (which are white men) to rest or sleep under the roof of an house that another man hath built for his own honour. And therefore he was building a palace, which he purposed should be a fabrick of a rest and future remembrance of his renown: he likewise keepeth three hundred women, who are all of them the daughters of the best and ablest subjects that he hath.

The seventh day of May we went up and down the town of Coteke: it is very populous of people, and hath daily a great market in it of all sorts of necessaries which the country affordeth: it is seven miles in compass, and hath but two great gates belonging to it: it is three miles between the one gate and the other.

Upon the eighth day of May we went to the court at Malecandy, again to desire of the king a warrant, or free pass, for safe convey of letters, or any other such occasion, through his countries.

Here we found His Majesty sitting, in the outward palace of the court, on the pavement, by the tank before-named, with a very fair canopy over him, made of damask, and upheld by four small pillars overlaid with silver, with his nobles by him, for this effect and purpose following:—

He was by the great mogul commanded to wage war with all expedition against the king of Golconda * (a great prince neighbouring upon his countries), who had wrongfully, with hostility, entered on the south-west part of his country, and had made some

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** Wilson's Chap the II ends with this paragraph.

* This seems to be the same as Golconda.
spoil and havock on the same. The king, I say, had here called all his commanders, leaders, and captains together, giving them a great charge concerning the good usage of his men, and their best endeavours in the management and performance of their services in those. He likewise gave gifts to leaders, and money to the soldiers, to encourage them. The army consisted of thirty thousand men, which was ten thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, armed, for the most part, with bows and arrows; and some again with darts, like our javeline, but far more sharp: some again with a kind of sauchion**, seymitar*** or like a banded sword by their side: some of which weapons have cut in sunder two malefactor, which have been condemned to die, being bound back, to back at one blow given backwards by the executionor. But, our commission being granted, and our business ended finally, our merchant reverently took his leave of the king, and the king, with his nobles did the same to him, wishing him all good success in his affairs in his country: and so we departed.

The ninth of May we gathered together all our things, and at night we departed from Coieke.

The tenth, at the hour of two in the afternoon we came to the town of Harharrapooe, and hosted in the house of our interpreter.

The eleventh day, we went to the Governor of the town, and showed him our frmand, or commission from the king, the Governor made a great salame, or courtesy, in reverence unto it, and promised his best assistance and help in any thing that he could do, and there the said governor had a small present given to him.

The twelfth day of May Mr. Thomas Colley, came to us at Harharrapooe, and the rest of the Englishmen with him, with all the goods: then we hired house for the present, till such time as ours might be built, for our further occasions to the company’s use.

† This town of Harharrapooe is very full of people, and it is in bounds of six or seven miles in compass: there are many merchants in it and great plenty of all things; here is also cloth of all sorts, great

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** This is not found in any dictionary.

*** Modern spelling is scimitar.

† This para is quoted by Wilson in Ch. III.
store, for, there do belong to this town at the least three thousand weavers, that are house keepers besides all other that do work, being bound or hired.

The fourteenth day the two merchants went abroad, and found out a plot of ground, fitting to build upon, then they laid the kings deroy* on it and seiged upon it for the company's use; and there was no man that did or durst gainsay them for doing the same.

The fifteenth day they hired workmen and labourers to measure the ground, and to square out the foundation of the house, and likewise for the wall, which was one hundred covets square, which is fifty yards, every covet being half a yard, or a foot and half: and it behaved us to make haste, for the time of the great rains was at hand.

The sixteenth day they laid the foundation on the walls, being nine foot in thickness: much haste was made and many workman about it; but this our first work was but labour lost and cast away, for it came to nothing.

For on the eighteenth day the rains began with such a force and violence, that it beat down all our work to the ground, and washed it away, as if there had not been anything done: this storm continued without ceasing (day and night) more or less three weeks complete.

The sixteenth day of June Mr. Ralph Cartwright took his journey for Ballazary 50, and two Englishmen with him, who were Edward Peteford, and William Withal, and from thence he was minded to travel further into the country of Bengalla, and the eighth of July following are received a letter from Mr. Cartwright concerning his proceedings and troublesome passage; for he found not the country according as was reported, by reason of the time of the great rains that fell: yet he was safely arrived in Pipely.

* * *

50. The name of the place is written here as Ballazary but at page 41, it is written as Ballasarye. The modern spelling is Balasore. It seems to me that in the 17th century the Oriya name was Balijhari. There are various interpretations on the origin of the modern word Balasore
The three and twentieth day of July, in the morning, we had news, that there was an English ship arrived at Harassapoore, and had shot off three places of ordinance; and stayed all night: and the next day in the morning, she having not a bost to come from her, she weighed anchor, and set sail for Ballazary.

The twenty-fifth of August, in the morning Mr. Thomas Colley died of a fever at Harharrapoore.

The fifteenth day of September, I received letters from Mr. Cartwright from Ballazary and withal he sent me the name of the ship to wit, the good ship Swan, and Mr. Edward Austin (or Ostin) commander.

The nineteenth day of September there came two merchants from Ballazary to Harharroope: the one of them his name was Mr Robert Littler, the other Mr. John Powle: purser of the ship Swan.

The fourth day of October our merchant Mr. Robert Littler took a journey for Jagarnat, and he returned the sixteenth day to the factory at Harharrapoore.

**A bri-f Relation of the great city of Jagarnat**

The fifth day of November I was sent about the company's business, to the great city of Jagarnat; and I travelled this day to a town called Madew 51 and lodged all night in a pagod or pagodo.

The sixth day I William Bruton travelled eight course, which is thirty-two miles English, and came to a town named Amudpoore 52 where I found, met together, of men, women, and children, more than three thousand, and all of them were travellers and rangers of the country, having no residence, but are called Ashmen (because

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* The modern spelling is Jagannath.

51. Madew seems to be modern Madhab near Niali, where there is a temple of Jagannath.

52. Amudpoore seems to be Ahmadpur, about a mile to the north of Satyabadi Police Station on the Jagannath road from Cuttack to Puri.
they cast ashes upon themselves), also they are called Packeires which are religious names given to them for their supposed holiness, but indeed they are very rogue, such as our gypsies are here in England, when they see their time and opportunity to put roguary and villainy in practice at this town. I made no great stay for I had a good charge about me of the company's.

The seventh day of November in the morning, about two of the clock, I hasted from Amudpore, over a passage, and so for Jaggarnat, which was ten course between, that is forty miles English: so about the hour four in the afternoon I draw near to this great city of Jaggarnat, to which I passed over a great stone causeway on either side whereof was a very godly tank to wash in; this causeway was about half a mile in length: then, as I came to the west end of this city, I entered into a very fair place for situation, furnished with exceeding store of pleasant trees and groves, and on either side of the way tanks of water, and pagods in the midst of them. From thence I passed up into the high street, where I was entertained by a Bramin (which is one of their religious men, or idolatrous priests): but let his religion be what it would, into his house I went, and there I lodged all the time of my stay there.

The eighth day of November, in the morning after I had gone about the affairs that I was sent to do, I went to view the city in some part, but especially that mighty Pagoda or Pagod, the mirror of all wickedness and idolatry: unto this pagod, or house of Satan (as it may rightly be called) belong nine thousand bramins or priests, which daily offer sacrifices unto their great god Jaggarnat; from which idol the city is so called: and when he is but named, then all the people in the town and country bow and bend their knees to the ground, as the Moabites 53 did to their idol Baalpoor; 54 here they also offer their children to the idol, and make them pass through the fire: and also they have an abominable custom to cause or make them pass through the water, as sacrifices unto the said ungodly god.

53. One of the ancient people of Moab living north of the lower Jordon and the Dead Sea.
54. Baal is a god of the Phoenicians.
This idol is in the shape like a serpent with seven heads, and
on the cheeks of each head it hath the form of wing upon each cheek,
which wings open and shut, and flap, as it is carried in a stately chariot
and the idol in the midst of it: and one of the mughals* sitting behind
it in the chariot upon a convenient place, with canopy to keep the
sun from injuring of it.

When I (with horror) beheld these strange things, I called to
the minister of the third chapter of Rev. *st*, and 1st verse, and likewise the
16th and 17th verses of the said chapter, in which places there is a beast
and such idolatrous worship, mentioned; and those sayings in that text
are herein truly accomplished in the 16th verse, for the bramin are all
marked in the fore-head, and likewise all that come to worship the
idol, are marked also in their fore-heads: but those that buy and sell
are all marked in the left shoulder; and all such as dare or presume to
buy and sell, not being marked, are most severely and gravely
punished.

They have built a great chariot, that goeth on a sixteen wheels
a side and every wheel is five feet in height, and the chariot itself is
about thirty feet high. In this chariot, on their great festival days
at night, they place their wicked god Jagannath, and all bramin:

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* It is not clearly understood what is meant by the word mughal by
Bruton. Nowadays no Muslim or Christian is allowed in Hindu
temples. But we do not know what was the custom in the early 17th
century, Bruton writes that he stayed in a house of a Brahmin or
priest at Puri and they were allowed to take shelter in the Hindu
temples. It seems that in the 17th century, the Hindus used to
entertain non-Hindus in their temples.

The verses of it run as follows:—

1st verse (1) "And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast
rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his
heads the name of beast phamy",

16th verse (2) "And he causeth all, both small and great rich and
poor, free and bond to receive a mark in their right
hand, or in their fore-heads."

17th verse (3) "And that no man might buy or sell save he that had
the name of the beast or the number of his name."
being in number nine thousand, then attend this great idol, besides 
asman and Jackeires some thousands, or more than a good many. 
The chariot is most richly adorned with most rich and costly 
ornaments: and the aforesaid wheels are placed very complete in a 
round circle so artificially, that every wheel doth its proper office 
without any impediment: for the chariot is aloft, and in the centre 
between the wheels; they have also more than two thousand lights with 
them; and this chariot, with the idol is also drawn with the greatest, 
and best men of the town; and they are so eager and greedy to draw it 
that whosoever, by shouldering, crouding,* shaving, heaving, thrusting, 
or any violent way, can but come to lay a hand upon the ropes, they 
think themselves blessed and happy. And when it is going along 
the city, there are many that will offer themselves as a sacrifice to this 
ido1, and, desperately lie down on the ground, that the chariot wheels 
may run over them whereby they are killed outright; some get 
broken arms, some broken legs, so that many of them are so destroyed, 
and by this means they think to merit heaven.

There is also another chariot, which hath but twelve wheels, 
and that is for an idol or a devil of on inferior rank, or lower degree, 
and he goes not abroad or in progress, but when Bramins please. 
This Pegado is situated by the sea-side, and is to be seen into the 
sea at the least, ten or twelve leagues: for the air and sky is clear and 
pure in those parts, that it may be seen far. It is enclosed with a wall 
of stone much about twenty-two feet in height, and the enclosure is 
four-square, and every square is 150 geometrical paces, so the four 
squares in the total are six hundred paces or yards about; it standeth 
due east, west, north and south: and every square has a great gate 
for the entrance into it, but the south and west gates are barred up 
till the festival times, and none commonly used but the north and 
east gates, but especially the north gate: for it hath all its prospect 
into the high or chief street of this city.

Now, in some other parts of this country the people adore 
and worship other creatures for their gods: some worship the celestial, 
as the sun, moon, and stars: some again terrestrial, and they of the 
mountains, valleys, and woods; some aquatic, and those of the seas, 
rivers, and fountains: some running after a beast like an ox, the dog,

* Modern spelling—crouding.
and the cat: some after hawk, some after the sheep: and some so foolish, that they doted upon the very herbs and flowers in their gardens. For indeed they have very rare flowers for colour, such as I never saw in England, or elsewhere. Some of this nation have erected in themselves a god, in the likeness of Jupiter, and chain him by the leg in their pagod to the extent that he might not leave them nor forsake them: and keep continual watch and guard night and day, lest any of their anemies should come and entice him away by bribery, and so to prevail with him to come forth of it, and by that means their city come to ruin and destruction: so much for their idolatory.

This city of Bengalla is very great and populous; it hath many merchants in it, yieldeth very rich commodities, as good cloth in abundance, sugars, silks, taffetas, stuffs, wax, gum lack, butter, oil, rice and wheat, with many other good commodities vendible. It is likewise famous for its multitude of rhinoceroses, it has a beast much like unto an unicorn, and because it hath but one horn, some believe and take it for the unicorn's horn the virtue it hath in it. The city was once free from taxation, till Ebebar* the great mogul caused it to be united to his empire. The chiefest cities which join nearest to it, Cawgan** and Satagan*** on the banks of the Ganges eastward; it was once the seat of the great Bengalian king Malchiram as Mr. Purchas relate in his pilgrime. This city* lies westward towards Pegu and near to Kosmas and Arakan, two famous cities for traffic and situation; lying upon the river and within some few leagues of the gulf called the Bengalian gulf, which is very dangerous one; for at some certain times of the year it is very hazardous for vessels to pass without shipwreck; there are many other lakes and rivers which I could not mention, but for brevity sake I omit them. But there is no strong drink suffered to be drunk within the city, except a stranger bring it in

Bruton's account of Jagannatha is abruptly ended here. The name of "this city of Bengalla" is not given by Bruton.

* Ebebar seems to be a mistake for Ekebar or Akbar.

** Catigan can be identified now with modern Chittagong.

*** Satagan is Saptagram of Bengal near Hugli.

* The name of the king is unknown in the history of Bengal.

+ The name of the king is unknown in the history of Bengal.

- Purca, see note 14 ante.

* This city seems to be the same as Chitagong.

** After a digression in which Bruton mentioned about the places of Satgaon and Chittagong, he returns to the town of Puri where he did not find liquor or wine used by the people.
privately, and so it is not known: and thus much shall suffice for the impious religion of Juggarnut and stately court of Malcandy.

The most of the people have no learning, but do all things by memory: they wear commonly long hair, and are very strict in their time of fasting: but when the ceremony is over, they freely commit all kinds of wickedness again. In some places they have their edicts or laws written and in other places unwritten, they know not what belongs to bonds or bills, and they lend without witnesses, or any sealing of writing, even upon their words: and he that is found to deny his promises, hath the top of his fingers cut off. Their habit is various and different: some of them go in linen and woollen: some are clothed with beasts' skins, or birds feathers; others go naked and cover only their secret parts: their bodies are for the most part, black, which is not accidental but arising from the quality of seed they are begotten: most of them are of a large stature: they have many wives, which they purchase and buy of their parents: some they keep to their vessels, to do their drudgery; others, which are handsomer for issue sake and pleasure.

Here are greater store of beasts than in any other part of the Indies: as oxen, camels, lions*, dogs, elephants: they have dogs which are as fierce as lions, with which they usually hunt and pursue those wild beasts, as we do our bucks, for their delight and pleasure. They ride on goodly horses, booted and spurred; so likewise do their women.

These people are notable ingenious men, let it be what art science so ever, and will imitate any workmanship that shall be brought before them: for the most part of them hate idleness and those that do not study in some art or other, are counted drones, and stand for cyphers and dead men amongst the best and chiefest sort of people: they have custom, that always before dinner they call their children and young people in their houses together, and examine how they have spent their time from the sun-rising: if they could not give a good account of it, they were not to be admitted to the table: and so everyday; and, if they did

* The lion was not found in Orissa in the 17th century. It seems that Bruton mistook tiger for the lion.
not the next time improve themselves in some knowledge of laudable things they are most severely punished and chastized.

These barbarous and idolatrous people, although they be so ignorant in the true worship of God, cannot endure a perjured person, not common swearer, nor a common drunkard, but will punish them very severely by stripes, or else by forfeiture of their commodities; a perjured person, say they, is an arch-enemy to their God and them; and it is so hateful that if it be committed by their father, brother or kindred, they presently condemn him, according the nature of the offence; for though they love the perjury, by reason of benefit that cometh unto them by it, yet they hate the person, even to death: for say they, he who was sometimes perjured in their behalf, may undo what he hath done, and speak the truth when time serves. They instance a story of Solyman* the great Turk, who loathed and abhor'd the traitor that betray'd Rhodes into him: and in stead of his daughter whom he expected to be given him in marriage for a reward, he caused him to be flayed and falsed, and told him in division, that it was not fit for a Christian to marry with a Turk, unless he put off his old skin, Likewise they instance Charles the fourth, who rewarded the soldier (that betray'd their lord and masters krantius) with counterfeit coins: and being desired to deliver them current money, answered, that counterfeit coin was the proper wages for counterfeit service. Thus, a liyar, or perjured person amongst the idolatrous people, they will not believe though he had spoken or sworn the truth: for he that been once false, is ever to be suspected in the same kind of falsehood; wherefore just and upright dealing is aptly compared to a glass, which, being once broken, can never be repaired: or to opportunity which once omitted can never be recovered. And so I conclude the relation, wishing all men to prefer knowledge and honesty before wealth and riches: the one soon fadeth, the other abideth for ever; for amongst all the goods of his life, only wisdom is immortal.

* Sulaeman.
A SANAD OF RAJA KRISHNA BHANJA
OF MAYURBHANJ

When I first read the name of Krishna Bhanja of Hariharpur in the article entitled "History of Orissa in the 17th century from Persian sources" by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, I did not give any importance to it on the consideration that there might be a mistake in recording the name of the ruler of Mayurbhanj in the same manner as is found in the account of Riyazu-s-Salatin wherein the cousins of the reigning Raja were mistaken for the Raja. At pages 327 and 337 of Riyazu-s-Salatin mention is made of "Rajah Jadardhar Bhanj, Zamindar of Morbhanj" and "Jagat Isar, Rajah of Morbhanj" respectively. Both of them are described as Rajas of Mayurbhanj, but the former was Maharaja Raghumuth Bhanja's uncle named Chakradhar Bhanja and the latter was the Maharaja's grand uncle named Jagateswar Bhanja who was perhaps murdered by Mir Zafar according to Siyarul Muta-akhkhirin. This event took place in 1742 A.D. when Maharaja Raghumuth Bhanja was the ruler. Raghumuth Bhanja ruled Mayurbhanj from 1728-1750 A.D: In this article I have made an attempt to corroborate the fact narrated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar from some local and foreign sources of evidence.

I discovered a palm-leaf manuscript called Rasalahari, an Oriya poem composed by Maharaja Raghumuth Bhanja, and in the concluding chapter the poet mentions his four predecessors namely Krishna Bhanja, Tribikrama Bhanja, Sarvesvara Bhanja and Virvikramaditya Bhanja. In the genealogical table of the rulers of Mayurbhanj published in the Annual Administration Report for 1894-95, the predecessors of Sarveswar Bhanja are found to be Harihara Bhanja (1643-1683) and Jagannatha Bhanja (1600-1643). I had to

* A paper read at the public meeting of the Fifteenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Poona in December 1938.

1. Hariharpur was the capital of Mayurbhanj in the 17th and 18th centuries.
reject these names on the evidence of *Rasalahari*. During my search for records, sanads and manuscripts in 1924, 1925 and 1926 I was able to discover a sanad of Krishna Bhanja dated below and a sanad of Tribikrama Bhanja dated 1693 Sal (1685-86 A.D.) and 32 anka (25 actual years of reign). From the sanad of Tribikrama Bhanja the date of his accession is found to be 1660 A.D which is also the year of demise of Krishna Bhanja according to the views of Sir Jadunath Sarkar. This Trivikram Bhanja of Mayurbhanj who ruled the State from 1660-1688 is mentioned as 'Tillibichrum bung' in Walter Clavell's 'Account of the trade of Ballasore', dated the 15th December 1676. Other sources of evidence have been dealt with in the historical note below.

It may not be out of place here to digress a little. It is not known who was the author of the genealogical table mentioned above. From the original documents such as *Bhanja Vamsamalika* and the petition of Maharaja Jadunath Bhanja, dated 16th January 1833, to the Agent to the Governor General, I am convinced that the compiler prepared a genealogical table out of his memory giving dates of each ruler even to the accuracy of months and days. A set of Bhanja copper plates were published in 1871 but he took no notice of them. Maharaja Jadunath Bhanja stated in his petition that from Adi Bhanja to Harihara Bhanja for a period nearly covered by 250 generations no names of rulers are preserved. Harihara Bhanja was the father of Krishna Bhanja. Maharaja Jadunath Bhanja was able to give a genealogical table of 10 generations before him in which Krishna Bhanja's name was included. In the *Bhanja Vamsamalika* faithful narration of events from 16th century onwards has been recorded which is corroborated by independent evidence from outside.

This sanad was found in the possession of Babu Umakanta Acharya of Baripada in 1926 during the search of records, etc. It is badly mutilated and its lower portion is lost.

This is a bilingual document written in Oriya and Devanagari.

The seal represents a peacock facing to the right uplifted plumes in the centre, and the name of the donor is written in

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3. Strensham Master’s Diary, Vol II, p. 84.
Devanagari characters at the edge of the seal. The lower portion being damaged, it has not been practicable to restore fully the reading of the seal. The partial reading runs as follows:—

**SRI SRI RADHAKRISHNA PADA.... KRISHNA BHANJA.**

**TEXT**

L. 1, Sāri Jagannātha Sarana/Sāri Khichingesvari charaue sarana/ Sāri-mat Sāri Krishna Bhanja Deva Rajāṅkara:


L. 3. Tikāitakum phitaivā nimante to 500 kham deva/Tikāita ( phiti asi ).

L. 4. le mulakalantra maidha pahuchāidevā/Ethaku mahā hoile

L. 5. nidhā dei takām sujbāiwa/Ethku anyatha nāhim.


**Translation**

Raja Krishna Bhanja Deva, who seeks protection from Jagannātha and the feet of Khichingesvari, orders to write the salutation to Maku Mahapatra on the 14th day of Makara (January and February); it is ordered to this effect that you will send Rs. 500. for the release of the Tikait from the confinement. After the Tekait’s release, the money will be repaid together with the capital and interest. You shall have to pay if the matter is delayed. There is no alternative order to this and this is written after due consideration. Lakshminarayana Tīka ( ita ) etc.

**Historical Note**

This document does not bear any date. But its donor Raja Krishna Bhanja Deva is undoubtedly the same person as the one mentioned in the Persian and Dutch Records of the 17th century. Gopijana Ballabha Das, a disciple of Prabhu Rasikānanda Deva Gosvāmi of Gopiballavapura in Mideoapore, completed the writing of Rasikamangala, the biography and teachings of Rasikānanda, in 1655 A. D. The book was written just after the death of the great Vaishnava

apostle, in 1652 A.D. The following lines find mention in the prologue of Rasikamangala about Maharaja Krishna Bhanja Deva whose grandfather Maharaja Vaidyanatha Bhanja was a disciple of Rasikānanda and Śyāmānanda.

Vandinu Sri Krishna Bhanja Deva Maharaja
Dṛdhabhave Śyāmānanda Pade Sevapuja

* * *

Punyavale Pravāla Pratapi Nṛpavara
Vairiraja Asi Yara Charana Kinkara (pages 5 and 6).

"Let me adore Maharaja Sri Krishna Bhanja Deva who is a devout worshipper of the feet of Prabhu Śyāmānanda who is a highly dignified king and through the power of virtues only whose feet are served even by the hostile princes."

From the above account it is clear that Krishna Bhanja was living in 1655 A.D. and was a devout Vaishnava. The seal of the document discloses the fact that Krishna Bhanja was a devotee of Rādhākrishna.

The Mughal Governor Khan-i-Duran’s despatches, written during the reconquest of Orissa in 1660 A.D. graphically describe the power exercised by Krishna Bhanja ‘the leading zamindar of this province’ over the vast country from Midnapore to Bhadrakī.

"The Farman appointing Khan-i-Duran to Orissa was sent from the Imperial Court on 3rd April, 1660. He received it at Allahabad where he was Subadar, and soon set out for his new province.

On the 26th September he entered Medinipur, the first town after crossing the Orissa frontier. After spending some days here to settle the district, organise the civil administration and revenue collection and station faujdars in all directions, he set out for Jaleswar, in the meantime writing to the zamindars of northern Orissa to meet him on the way and pay their respects as loyal subjects." Khan-i-Duran reached Jaleswar in the latter half of October 1660 A.D.

5. J. N. Sarkar’s ‘Studies in Mughal India’, p 206.
"At the news of Governor's approach, both Bahadur 6 and Krishna Bhanja, the Rajah of Hariharpur (i.e., Mayurbhanj), wrote to him professing submission and promising to wait on him at Jaleswar. The Mughal faujdar of Remuna, on the Mayurbhanj frontier, wrote to the new Governor that the agents (wakils) of these two zamindars had reached him to arrange for their masters' interview. He was ordered in reply to reassure them with kindness and send them back to their masters that they might come without fear or suspicion and see Khan-i-Duran at Jaleswar, Bahadur evidently changed his mind and held off: Krishna Bhanja 7 came, but with a terrible fate which is best described in the Governor's own words: "When I reached Jaleswar, which is near his zamindari, Krishna Bhanja saw me after wasting a month on the pretext of choosing a lucky day (for the visit), and offered false excuses (for his late disloyal conduct). During the inquiry and discussion for settling the amount of revenue to be paid by him, he, inspired by pride in the largeness of his force, drew his dagger and rushed towards me. His companions too unseathed their swords and made repeated charges. The grace of the Emperor saved my life. We slew Krishna Bhanja and many of his men. The rest fled. Some chiefs such as Udand, the zamindar of Narsingpur, Chahttreshvar Dhol, the zamindar of Ghatsila, and Harichandan, the zamindar of Nilgiri, threw away their weapons and delivered themselves up as prisoners."

"The relatives of the slain Rajah (of Mayurbhanj) raised disturbances, molesting the ryots.  
* * * 8

The above quoted account apart from being an one sided version of the Governor bears certain points which clearly throws some light on the power and influence of Krishna Bhanja, the Raja of Mayurbhanj.

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6. Bahadur was the zamindar of Hijih in Midnapore. The Batavia Dag Register describes him as 'Badorehan' (Bahadur) Khan in letter dated November 1660. (The English Factories in India, 1661-64, p. 58).

7. "He kept one thousand and ten or twelve thousand foot soldiers, and was obeyed and helped by all the zamindars of this country. (During the anarchy) he had plundered the tract from Bhadra to Medinipur, carried off the ryots to his own territory, increased their cultivation and ruined the Imperial dominions". J N. Sarkar's 'Studies in Mughal India', page 207.

8. Ibid. pp. 207-08,
According to the statement of the Governor, Mayurbhanj Raja's military power was not inconsiderable and he occupied a position which is in every way similar to that of the Raja of Khurda, "the leading zamindar of this country", in South Orissa, "whose power and influence has been recognised in Orissa even up to the date of the conquest of Orissa by the British."

Khan-i-Duran's account is full of self-applause and he has blown his own trumpet in such a way that the Emperor had perhaps no occasion to suspect the veracity of his statement in regard to the rebellious conduct of the zamindars. That Khan-i-Duran suppressed the truth of affairs which happened at Jaleswar, is evident from the following Dutch version which goes to show that Krishna Bhanja was not a rebellious prince. From Khan-i-Duran's own statement it is found that Krishna Bhanja professed submission and promised to wait on him at Jaleswar and he was not only given assurance but also was desired by the Governor to come without fear and suspicion to Jaleswar to meet him there. Krishna Bhanja's dealings with the new Governor before the date of interview is in no way condemnable and he relying on the words of the new Governor, came forward to meet him but Bahadur, the Zamindar of Hijli suspecting the Governor's assurance, changed his mind and held off. That Bahadur was right in his judgment as to the character of Khan-i-Duran, is evident from the Dutch records,

"The great Rajah Krishna Bens 9, (Bhanja) with two or three other important chiefs and several thousands of attendants, came to wait upon the new Governor, Khan-i-Duran, in order to do homage to him as the emperor's representative; whereupon they were suddenly attacked with the connivance, it was thought of the Governor—and a frightful slaughter ensued. The result was a rebellion."10

9. Foster has given footnote on the words Bens as follows:—"Dr. Thomas thinks that this represents 'Krishna Vansa.' Probably he was the representative of the ancient ruling family", I think sir Jadunath Sarkar's article 'The History of Orissa in the 17th century from Persian sources, published in J.B. & O.R.S Vol. II, pp. 153—165, 1916, or his book 'Studies in Mughal India' (1919) escaped the notice of Dr. Thomas and so the mistake in identification thus arises.
The Persian records narrate that Krishna Bhanja drew his dagger and rushed towards the Governor, whereas the Dutch records narrate that Krishna Bhanja's followers were suddenly attacked with the connivance, it was thought, of the Governor. So the report of the third party is to be considered as of having more weight than that of an interested one, as the treachery played by the Governor is found to be fully suppressed in his reports to the Emperor.

From Khan-i-Duran's account it appears that Harichandan, the zamindar of Nilgiri, Udand, the zamindar of Narsingpur, and Chhatreswar Dhol, the zamindar of Ghatsila (Dhalbhum), betrayed their liege lord, the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, and sought the Mughal protection. These three zamindaries find mention in the Man Singh's list of eleven dependent zamindaries under Mayurbhanj 11 which was written in 1592 A. D.

Khan-i-Duran mentions that Krishna Bhanja spread his power over the country from Midnapore to Bhadrak, but the area of the country that was under Mayurbhanj according to Man Singh's list of dependent zamindaries actually extended from Bhanjabhum in Midnapore to Almunda in the subdivision of Bhadrak; so Krishna Bhanja made no new acquisition during the interregnum that prevailed in Orissa before the arrival of Khan-i-Duran Nilgiri is now an Indian State on the south of Mayurbhanj and its former rulers obtained the title of Harichandan from Mayurbhanj. T. Motte writes in 1766 that Nilgiri "pays rupees thirty thousand annual tribute to the Mahrattas, by whom the Rajah is maintained against the claims of Mohur Bunge. 12

This document goes to reveal another fact that ransom was required for the release of the Tikaita, the heir apparent of Krishna Bhanja. From the account of the Bhanja Vamsamāniśka palm leaf

11. Stirling's Orissa, p. 47.
manuscript dealing with the genealogical account of Mayurbhanj, it is found that Krishna Bhanj’s son and successor Tribikram Bhanj “suffered much at the hands of the Yavanas while he was the Tikaita”. This possibly took place at the time when Ihtisham Khan, the predecessor of Khan-i-Duran, was Subahdar in Orissa. It is said of him that he ordered “all the Mansabdars, zamindars, Chaudhuries and Quanungoes, etc., of the province * * * to meet him at Narayangarh whither he would march from Medinipur, the northern frontier of the province, some time after 14th November, 1659”. And he imprisoned a large number of Zamindars of Orissa for default of revenue. This document is dated on the 14th of Makara (the last part of January, 1669) when the Tikaita had to remain as a captive and in order to release him, his father Krishna Bhanja was in need of money for the payment of his ransom.

The KHICHINGESVARI of this document requires some note. Khichingesvari was the lady of the Khichinga, the corruption of KH1JJINGA, the ancient capital of the Bhanja princes of Mayurbhanj in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. The deity is still recognised as the patron Goddess of the Raj family of Mayurbhanj and an image of her is now enshrined in the palace at Baripada. The importance of the art and architecture of the remains of Khiching has been dealt with in a separate book called ‘Bhanja Dynasty of Mayurbhanj and their capital Khiching’ by Rai Bahadur R. Chanda, the retired Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

As regards the Orthography the following require comment:

1. Consonants are not doubled always, as in Jagannatha in line 1 and Nirne in line 6.

2. Dental Sa is generally used in place of palatal Sa as Sarana line 1.

3. Dental Na is used in place of celebral Na as Charane in line 1.

4. Compound consonants as in the cases of NGA, NJA, NKA have been written as anuswara in letters GA, JA and KA. Such forms are also now in vogue in the documents of the courts.

13. J. N. Sarkar’s ‘Studies in Mughal India’, p. 204.
This document bears also some palaeographical importance. The peculiar forms of Uriya script that require note are given below:

1. Sri—This is the symbolical form of the letter and was in use until the introduction of the press.

2. Kri—In place of Kr. we meet Kri, which is due to the phonetic difference of R in Bengali and Oriya. In many copper plates of Orissa belonging to the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. such use of Ri in place of R is often noticed.

3. Shna—In this double consonant the letter na has been written on the side of Sha; but nowadays it occupies the place below Sha. The modern Bengali form is almost similar to this form of Oriya. Shna of the 17th century A.D.

4. Na, Nya, La and Bha—The modern Oriya letters do not possess the horizontal stroke of letters forming a word. But in Na, La and Bha of this document the horizontal stroke is only taking the shape of a semicircle showing the connection with the form of the latter type of Kutila or Nagari characters. The Na found here is almost similar to that of Bengali form and in the double consonant NYA, YA is almost the same as the Kutila form.

20

MAYURBHANJ AND THE EUROPEAN FACTORIES AT PIPLI AND BALASORE *

*The earliest European settlements in the Gulf of Bengal were established in Orissa. It was the same with the Portuguese as with the English and the Dutch. Ascending along the western shore of the Bay of Bengal the coast of Orissa was the first to offer a landing place. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, that is, a short time after the

* A paper read at the public meeting of the Sixteenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Calcutta in December 1939.
discovery of the sea route to India (1498) the Portuguese established themselves on the coast of Madras. Alarm at the growth of a foreign power, the natives rose against the Portuguese who escaped northwards and in 1514 founded a town in Pipli about four miles from the mouth of the Subanarekha River, establishing their earliest settlemente on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. Pipli was then an important harbour on the Orissa coast and a great centre of Portuguese trade when their fleets commanded the whole sea board from Chittagang to Orissa. It was also a great slave market where the Arakanese and the Portuguese pirates sold their prisoners."

Before the English had any footing in Orissa the Dutch settled in Pipli in 1625 and in Balasore in the same year.2 A small party of the English East India Company from Masulipatam arrived at 'Harssapoore' or Harishpur in Cuttack on the 21st April, 1633 and Mr. Ralph Cartwright, the chief merchant, was successful in obtaining necessary privileges from the Governor of Cuttack for the trade in Orissa on the 5th of May. After a few days the factory at Harharapoore or Hariharpur, an adjacent village to modern Jagatsinghapur in Cuttack, was built and next month the factory at 'Bullazary' or Balasore was founded by R. Curtwright.3

Before the coming of the Dutch or the English to the shores of Orissa, the Portuguese established themselves at Pipli in 1516 according to the authority of the 'Travels of Sebastien Manrique' quoted by Hunter.4 The date of establishment of the Portuguese at Pipli has been disputed by Mr. O'Malley who puts it as 1599 (vide Balasore District Gazetteer, P.36 and P.204, without the mention of any authority). The earlier date takes us back to the period when Prataparudra Deva (1497–1541) was the independent king of Orissa. After his death Govinda Vidyadhara usurped the throne of Orissa and both the Madalapañji and Akbarnamah narrate how one Raghu Bhanja rebelled in the north of Orissa with the assistance of the independent Sultans of

2. Ibid. Foot note.
Bengal. Who was this Raghu Bhanja? From the surname, only it seems that he belonged to the Mayurbhanj family and was the sister's son of the king of Orissa. According to the account of Bhanja Vansamalika of Mayurbhanj one Jagannatha Bhanja married the daughter of the king of Orissa and according to the tradition of Keonjhar State king Prataparudra of Orissa got the Bhanjabhumi Baripada Dandapata as the dowry. This Bhanjabhumi Baripada Dandapata finds mention in the Madalapanji and Mr. M.M. Chakravarti has identified this with Mayurbhanj. According to this, Raghu Bhanja was the son of the sister of the son of king Prataparudra Deva and so it was natural for him to claim the throne of Orissa as a nephew in absence of any direct heir. Whatever may be the relation of Raghu Bhanja with the independent king of Orissa it is certain that he assumed independence in north Orissa and occupied the country which extended from Midnapore in the north to Bhadrak in the south which was recognised by the Moghal Government as is found in the arrangement of 1593 A.D. made by Raja Man Singh and published in Stirling's Orissa. The details of the arrangements adopted by Raja Man Singh for the disposal and management of the above important class estates, cannot be very interesting to the general reader, but I shall nevertheless introduce an extract from some old revenue accounts in my possession, which describe those arrangements, as the documents in question are certainly highly curious. According to this account there were eleven "dependent chiefs" under Mayurbhanj among which the Zamindary of Jamkunda was one within which was situated Piply. The following extracts from the "Narrative of journey to the Diamond Mines at Sambhulpur" written in 1766 by Tomas Motte throws some light on the supremacy of Mayurbhanj not only over Piply but Balasore also.

"The Mohur Bunge country extends from the Neelgur (It gives name to that range of hills which extends to the west of Midnapoor P.16) hills to the sea; but having borne with impatience a foreign yoke, each expression of such impatience has been punished by dismembering part of the country, since every officer who behaved remarkably well in the expeditions against rebellious princes, was rewarded by a portion of their land, under the name of a Tallook".

"The first considerable avulsion from the Mohur Bunje Zemeendary was the Fouzdarry of Pipley; the next that of Ballasore; since which so many small Talooks have been taken from it, that the Rajah has now no land to the eastward of the road* I came".9

"Pipley was once the mart of this country, but the waters washing away great part of the town, at the same time that a dangerous bar was formed at the mouth of the river, the merchants, encouraged by Shuja Khan, then Nabob of Orissa removed to Ballasore".10

Shah Shuja was the second son of Shah Jahan and the prince Viceroy of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from 1640 to 1657 and it is said that he granted a farman to the English in 1651-52.11

It seems that the sea board portion of the territory of Mayurbhanj was separated by the Moghal Governors during the reign of Shah Jahan who, though at first oppressed the Portuguess, yet granted privileges to them along with the English East India Company. The reason for separating part of the territory from Mayurbhanj may be attributed to the direct control of the ports and the remonstrance on the part of the rulers of Mayurbhanj has been characterised as rebellion because they perhaps protested against the unjust annexation of portion of the territory which was a great source of income to the State. After annexation, the port at ripi was named perhaps as Shadhandar.

No evidence on the Political relation of the princes of Mayurbhanj with European trading Companies owning factories at Pipli and Ballasore is available now excepting a small Zamindary of Mayurbhanj in the Balasore town where there are some Paik families who were granted Jagir lands by the rulers of Mayurbhanj for "the watch and ward" of Balasore town. On the other hand there is definite evidence on the commercial relation with the English Company in the "Accont of the trade at Ballasore" dated the 15th December, 1676 written by Walter Clavell from which extracts are quoted below:

* Motte entered Mayurbhanj after crossing the Subarnarekha from Jaleswar and came to Balasore through Basta, Garpapada following practically the route on the present Oriysa Trunk road.

10. Ibid. PP. 12-13.
'Ballasore begun to be a noted place when the Portuguez were beaten out of Angelin (Hijali) by the Moores, about the yeare 1635 at which time the trade begun to decay at Piply, and to have a diminution in other places at these partes; and the Barr opening and the river appearing better than was imagined. The English and the Danes endeavoured to settle Factoyes here (in 1633), to be out of the troubles the Portuguez gave to other nations and had themselves, the rather because the Cloth of Harrapore (Hariharpur), where our first Factory was settled (in 1632) was without much difficulty to be brought neither by land, and the River where our vessels usually had lain at, being stop't up, it was noe easy matter to bring the Cloth by Sea, nor see safe to have vessels ride before that place as here, in the roade of Ballasore. And the Raja of Tillibichumbung his country lyeing neare the place where the greatest quantity Taster (tassar) or Herbs is procurable, a settlement was thought the more convenient, because Gingham, Herba Tassatyes, Herba Lungees (Lunggi, loin-cloth) and other sorts of Herbs goods might be made neare and brought hither, and nowhere so good Herbs goods procurable. The waters of Casharry giving the most lasting dye to them, and within two days journey of this place.'

Sir R.C. Temple, the Editor has not added any note suggesting identification of 'The Raja of Tillibichumbung' or 'his country ying near Ballasore' and so an attempt has been made here to identify Tillibichumbunge and his country.

In Clavell's 'Accompt' no such faulty construction appears elsewhere as 'And the Raja of Tillibichumbung his country'. The exact reading of the text can't be suggested without the examination of the manuscript, but it seems that there is some mistake in deciphering the text. 'Tillibichumbung' of this account stands for Trivikrama Bhanja who was the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj from 1660-1688 A.D. It further seems that the word 'of' in the clause 'Raja of Tillibichumbung can't stand for Mayurbhanj and Clavell's subsequent mention of his country suggests that 'Tillibichumbung' stands for a name of a person and not for any geographical place name. So the omission of 'Of' will make the sentence clearer than the one as it stands. I have also some doubt about the correct reading of 'Tillibichumbung his' which
stands possibly for Tillbichrumbunges' and I like to suggest that the reading as follows:—

'And Raja Tillbichrumbung's country'—Whatever may be the writing in the text of the Manuscript either of the corrections suggested above improves the meaning of the sentence to a great extent.

During the search of manuscripts and sanads in the year 1925-26 a Sanad of Maharaja Trivikrama Bhanja Deva was discovered by me in the possession of Mahant Rasikananda Deva Gosvami of the village Kisorapur of the Pergannah Rahanda.

The document measures 1½" × 4½" and is a trilingual one in which the seal and signature of the donor are inscribed in Devanagari character and the grant portion in Persian and Oriya writing which purports to the same thing.

The importance of seal and signature in such royal documents is well known without which no grant was ever considered to be of any value. In the seals of the rulers of Mayurbhanj the name of the donor finds always mention with that of his father, and this long established custom is still in vogue. The signature of the ruler in this grant as well as that of his successors up to the present day is only 'Radhakrishna' which is written in Devanagari and not the name of the ruler mentioned in the seal. The signature of Radhakrishna indicates that the donor was a follower of the Vaishnavie faith and this custom was perhaps introduced in the beginning of the 17th century when Maharaja Vaidyanatha Bhanja Deva accepted the post-Chaitanya Vaishnavism preached by Rashikananda Deva Goswami of Gopiballabhapur.

The Sanad was granted in 1693 Sala and in the 32 Anka or Regnal year of the donor for the management to the temple at Kisorapur village.

TEXT

(L. 1) Sri Trivikrama Bhanja Deva Maharajankara 32 Anka Sana 1693 Sala.
(L. 2) Kisorapura Devalayaka etc.
(Then follows the details of articles granted).

Translation.

This is granted by Maharaja Trivikrama Bhanja Deva to the temple situated at Kisorapura in the Sala 1693 and in the regnal year 32
The mention of the Anka or regnal year in a document is very important as it furnishes the date of occupying the Gadi by a ruler and hence the discussion of the system of reckoning the Anka will be of general interest. The system of reckoning the Anka in Mayurbhanj is as follows:—

The numerical figures 1, 2 and 6 or any number associated with 6 such as 16, 26 etc. and all figures having a zero with the exception of 10, are not counted.

Sir W. W. Hunter wrote first in 1872 on the Anka system as follows:—

"But although the Maharaja of Khurda have ceased to be an independent dynasty, they still exercise one of the most cherished prerogatives of an Eastern Royal House. The whole Orissa population date their document according to the year of the Raja’s reign. They have thus an era equally distinct from the Christian, the Musalman, and the Hindu methods of reckoning the time. The first, sixth, tenth and twenty-sixth years after each accession are deemed unlucky, and never counted in the current chronology. A new Maharaja, therefore, begins in his second Anka, or year, to reign in the affections and the documents of his people.” 13

John Beams wrote the following on this subject:

"In reckoning the Anka the first two years and every year that has a 6 or 0 in it are omitted; we must thus omit the years 1, 2, 6, 10, 16, 20, 26, and 30." 14

Mr. M. M. Chakravarthy wrote as follows on the same subject:

"The peculiarities of the Anka (regnal) years are not well known. So for the convenience of the readers they are noted here. The special characteristics are:—

(1) I and all figures ending in zero (except 10) and 6 should be omitted.
(2) The last Anka year of one king and the first Anka year of the succeeding king (i.e. 2) fall in the same year.
(3) The year begins on the day of Suniya Simha (‘Bhādra-pada’) Sukla dvādasī.” 15

Thus the Mayurbhanj system virtually differs from that recorded by Hunter, Beams and Chakravarti. It is similar to Beam's system so far as the initial year, that is 3, is concerned and Chakravarti's system so far as the year 10. Hunter's system is different from that of Beams and Chakravarti and so also from that of Mayurbhanj.

According to the mode of calculation discussed above 32 Anka corresponds to 25 actual years of reign.

In converting the Sala era into Christian era, it should be borne in mind that the Sala new years begin on the day of Suniya which generally falls in the month of September and it is a lunar year. The date of Suniya varies every year according to that of the Christian year. So it is very difficult to find out the exact date and month of the Christian year corresponding to the Oriya Sala year. But so far the year is concerned only 592-93 is to be added to the Sala year to find out the Christian era and thus Sala 1093 corresponds to 1685-86 A.D. From this date if 25 years of actual reign of Maharaja Trivikrama Bhanja is deducted, it gives the year of his accession to the throne in 1660-61 A.D. According to Khan-i-Duran's account Maharaja Krishna Bhanja * died in November 1660 A.D. and so there is no doubt that Trivikrama Bhanja Deva was the successor of Krishna Bhanja.

From the Sanads granted by Maharaja Sarvesvara Bhanja Deva who occupied the Gadi of Mayurbhanj in 1688 A.D., it can be said that Maharaja Trivikrama Bhanja written as "Trillichrumbung" ruled Mayurbhanj from 1660-1688 A.D. Thus the contemporary Oriya records help us in indentifying unintelligible names found in the English records.

II.

W. Clavell testifies to the importance of Tassar textiles of Mayurbhanj by saying that "Noe where so good Herba goods procurable." Even now the Tassar Textiles of Mayurbhanj have not lost their old position like the cotton textiles of Hariharpur, Muktapur and Mahanpur lying to the south of Balasore Award of gold medals by the judges of various exhibitions in India on the Tassar Textiles from Olmara and Rahaldna of Mayurbhanj proves that the ancient tradition is still surviving there.

* See Proceedings of I. H. R. C., 1938.
W. Clavell writes elsewhere, "Could the difficulty of putting off our Europe Commodityes be once removed, and the fear of the want of Phyrmaud (farman), it were much for the Companyes advantage to send servants to Mucktapore, Harrapore, and Mohumpore to provide with ready money the goods that come from those places and to Danton or Jellasore (? for) Oremara and Cashary goods."

The Editor has indentified "Mucktapore" in Midnapore "Harrapore" in Cuttack and "Mahumpore" in Midnapore. I think, all these places lay to the north of Soro in Orissa. The location of these places from the description appears that all of them were situated in a compact geographical area and not so widely separated. 'Danton' is modern Dantun in the Midnapore District of Bengal and 'Jellasore' is modern Jaleswar in the Balasore district of Orissa. Un 'Oremara', Sir Richard Temple writes in the foot note that "Oremara may represent Ulmara in Midnapore district or Urmullah in Balasore district. 'Oremara' stands for modern Ulmara an isolated Pergannah belonging to Mayurbhanj State which is surrounded by British districts of Midnapore and Balasore and is still famous for Tassar textiles. 'Cashary' is the modern Kasiari * in Midnapore. From Rennell's map of Bengal No. 7 it is found that there were good communication from Balasore to Mayurbhanj; One road from Balasore passed through 'Harrapore' or Hariharpur, the then capital of Mayurbhanj and was extended in the north-westerly direction towards Bihar. Again two roads are found from 'Foolerra Gaut' (Fuladi Ghat) near Balasore to 'Raugegaut' (Rajghat where there is a ferry on the Orissa Trunk Road through Mayurbhanj). From Rajghat another road was extended in a northerly direction to "Cassaree (Kasiari in Midnapore) through 'Roybunnea (Baibania in Balasore) on the Mayurbhanj border and 'Woulmara' (Olmar) on the right bank of the Subarnarekha. It is possible therefore that the communication for trade and commerce was good in the 17th century in Mayurbhanj and thus helped the transactions at the port of Balasore. Yuan Chwang mentioned the sea ports of Tam-mo-loih-ti (Tamralipti) and Che-li-to-lo on the Orissa Coast in the 7th century A.D. The location of Tamralipti is the modern Tamuluk in Midnapore but no exact site of Che-li-to-lo has yet

* According to Man Singh's arrangement Kasiari was situated in Mayurbhanj because it was included under the Zamindar of Kharchand, a feudatory of Mayurbhanj,
been identified excepting this that the port was somewhere on the mouth of the Mahanadi in the Cuttack district. The records of the East India Company prove that Hariharpur on the Mahanadi in Cuttack was a famous trade centre in the 17th century. In De Barros' map (Circa 1550 A.D.), "t'ipilipatam" only finds mention in Orissa. In Gastaldi's map drawn in 1561 in 'Regno De Orissa' places called 'Orissa', 'Ramena', 'Ingeli', 'Picolda' and Popoloom on a river find mention. Orissa may be identified with Cuttack, 'Remena' with Remuna situated about 6 miles west of Balasore, 'Ingeli' with Hijiji in Midnapore and 'Popoloom' with Pipli on the Subarnarekha. I could not suggest any identification on 'Picolda'. In Bleav's map 15 (Amsterdam 1650) 'Orixà' and 'Pipilipatam' find mention in Orissa, 'Orixà' may be taken as Cuttack and 'Pipilipatam' as Pipli or Pipili which is written according to Oriya pronunciation. Out of places such as 'Maniapatam', Calecota, 'Caregorae', 'Polarin' and 'Conterpatam' shown in this map on the sea coast of 'Orixà', only Manikpatna and Kallikota on the Chilka lake and Polarin or Palur near the mouth of the Rasikulya river could be identified now but other places are very difficult to identify. All these three maps drawn before 1650 show only one river called Ganga in Orissa. The map of Mathew Vanden Broucke (1660)19 shows the places in Orissa such as 'Sjangermaat' (modern Jagannath or Puri), 'Cottack' (Cuttack) 'Harriapoor' (Hariharpur in Cuttack), 'Badreek' (Bhadark) 'Bellasoor' (Balasore) 'Ramnoina' (Remuna in Balasore), 'Narsegapoor' (Narsinghpur or modern Kanpur on the eastern border of Mayurbhanj), 'Pipeli' (Pipili) 'Jallessor' (Jaleswar), 'Danthun' (Dantun), 'Casseeiri', (Kasiiri) Matthias Van den Broucke was the head of the Dutch merchants in India from 1658 to 1664 and so this map is almost contemporary to the 'Accompt' of Trade at Ballasore written by W. Clavell, Renell's map published in 1779 showing the places in Mayurbhanj and north Balasore is the most accurate one in comparison with others mentioned above. In this connection the 'Chart of the River Hooghly, Bengal, drawn by Tomas Bowrey in 1687 may be mentioned which shows 'Ballasore' and Pipelly'.

16. Portuguese in India—frontispiece map,
20. Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669-79, Hakluyt Series II, Vol. XII.
21

TWO FORGOTTEN MUGHAL SUBADARS OF ORISSA.

Stirling in his *An Account of Orissa*, opines as follows relating to the history of Orissa in the 17th century A.D.

"The slender information extant of the proceedings of the Mogul officers from the retirement of Raja Man Sing in A. D. 1604 to the deanship of the famous Nuwab Jaffer Khan Nasiri (A. D. 1707-1725) has to be gleaned from a few scattered notices in Persian histories of Bengal and scarcely intelligible revenue accounts, though the century in question must be regarded as a most important period in the annals of the country, when we consider the deep and permanent traces impressed on the state of affairs, by the arrangements, institutions, offices and official designations, introduced by the Imperial Government during that interval." 1

From 1822 to up till now many distinguished historians have tried to fill up the gaps of the period from various sources such as English, Dutch, Persian and Oriya manuscripts and records. The researches of Sir Jadunath Sarkar based on Persian sources have bridged the gaps to a great extent and the "List of Mughal Governors of Orissa" 2 furnishes such information as is recorded in the Persian sources. R. D. Banerji writes that "we do not know as yet who was governing the Province from 1678 till about the end of the 17th century. 3 In the footnote he mentions "Abu Noor Khan (1682), Akram Khan (1697)" and gives the reference to a note at page 153 of the book entitled the *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*.

Hon'ble H. K. Mahatab in his 'History of Orissa' in Oriya writes that "the names of the Subadars of Orissa up to the end of

the century after 1678 are not known". But Sir Sarkar in his above list has been able to fill up the gap to some extent as will be found from the following quotations:

"Shaista Khan again, Jan. 1680 - Jan. 1688, governs through deputies: Bussrug Ummed Khan (his eldest son), Iradat Khan (son of Shaista) appointed October 1882 but cancelled Abu Nasar (son of Shaista) appointed 14 Jan. 1683 (after some time made substantive Subadar 5). Elsewhere he writes: "But though Shaista Khan himself lived at the provincial capital in royal magnificence and ease, he was no Viceroi faineant: he succeeded in enforcing peace and administrative control, because he was assisted by four exceptionally gifted sons—Buzrug Ummed Khan... Abu Nasar, the deputy Subadar of Orissa."

As Abu Nasar Khan was appointed on the 14th Jan. 1683, it may be that he is the same person called Abu Noor Khan (1682) mentioned by R. D. Banerji 'Akram Khan (1697), seems to be the same person as Nawab Akram Khan about whom Sir Jadunath Sarkar is silent. It seems that he was appointed Subadar of Orissa after Abu Nasar Khan.

Nawab Abu Nasar Khan and Nawab Akram Khan built mosques at Jajpur and Cuttack during the reign of Aurangzeb. The mosque at Jajpur is still called Abu Nasir mosque which was erected in 1098 Hijra (1686-87) A. D. according to the inscription inscribed on it. The following is the English translation of the Persian inscription.

"In time of Aurangzeb, whose splendour reached the stars and will remain as long as the stars endure, in the time of the Nawab whose virtues are altogether beyond praise or description, the Nawab established in the city of Jajpur a mosque of such magnificence that the domes of it make the sky conceal itself. If you desire to hear the messages of the angels, spend a night in it. Abu Nasir Khan reigned when the mosque was erected—then was the time of Abu Nasir Khan. The arithmetical value of the letters gives the date of the building 1098 Hijri."

6. Ibid. P. 375
7. List of Ancient Monuments in Orissa Division, Bengal, revised and corrected up to 31-8-1895, Calcutta 1896, pp. 10-11.
The Juma Meszid at Balubazar in Cuttack according to the Persian inscription inserted on it, was built in 1102 Hijra (1690-91 A. D.) by Zaibun Nisa Khanun, the Shahazada Begum, wife of Akram Khan, the Governor during the reign of Aurangzeb.

These two corroborative and contemporary inscriptions from Orissa prove without any shade of doubt about the history of the reigning Mughal Nawabs of Orissa during the reign of Aurangzeb in last quarter of the 17th century.

According to the Madalapanji or the chronicle of the Jagannath temple at Puri, Maharaja Mukunda Deva and his son Maharaja Divyasinha Deva of the Khurda family ruled in Orissa from 1658-1688 A. D. and 1688-1715 A.D. respectively. The text of the Madalapanji has been printed in Oriya by Professor A.B. Mohanty, and the account of Mukunda Deva contains the following reference to Nawab Nasar Khan:

"In the 38th Anka year (31st year of the reign) of this Maharaja, Nawab Abdul (Abu?) Nasar Khan came up to Pipli in order to spoil the Jagannath temple. Mukunda Deva with family met with him at Danda Mukundapur and resided there at his palace. At Pipli there was a thunder stroke in the month of Chaitra and so the Nawab returned to Cuttack after making friendship with the Raja."

From the above we learn that Nawab Abu Nasar Khan met Maharaja Mukunda Deva in the year 1687 A.D. in his 38th Anka year.

The account of Maharaja Dibyasinha Deva contains the following reference to Nawab Akram Khan. "On the 18th day of Rshabha in the 7th Anka year the Mughals appeared at Puri. The images of the temples were concealed in a place behind the temple of Bindra."

On the 19th day of Rshabha and the Harana Ekadasi Nawab Akram Khan who was appointed by Padsha Auransbah came to Puri. His brother Marmast Khan Jamsula and Jaman Koli accompanied by 50 cavalry came also with him. They in the presence of Raja Divyasinha Deva broke the Gomuta (the small closed room with a small door) of the lion gate of the temple. They also removed the disc fitted at the top of the Bhogamandapa and the wooden image of Jagannath, The brother of the Nawab went up to the Sinhasana of the temple."
"This desecration took place on the 17th May 1695." 8 This account of Madalapanji finds also corroboration from the Persian account of Tabrisul-ul-Nazirin according to which "Aurangzib sent orders to Mir Saiyad Mahumod of Bilgram to destroy the temple and idol of Jagannath. Divyasinha was compelled to break the statue of Rakshasa which stood over the entrance to the temple and surrendered the wooden images, which were carried off to Bijapur, where the emperor then was." 9

From the above we come to know that during the last two decades of the 17th century A. D. Nawab Abu Nasar Khan, son of Shaista Khan and Nawab Akram Khan, the son-in-law of Aurangzeb ruled in Orissa from 1683 to 1698 A. D.

In the list of ‘Mughal Governors of Orissa’ we find No. 19 with an interrogation, 1689-1698 Ibrahim Khan (Subadar of Bengal) 10 but the contemporary inscription of Juma Mosque at Cuttack and the Madalapanji mention that Nawab Akram Khan was the Governor of Orissa during this period.

22

GOPIBALLABHPUR FARMAN OF BADSHAH GAZI
ABDUL FATEH MAHAMMAD NASIRUDDIN SHAH

While searching papers relating to the history of Mayurbhanj, this Mughal Farman was brought to my notice by the Late Mahanta Nandanandanananda Deva Gosvami of Gopiballabhpur. The Mahanta family of Gopiballabhpur are the descendants of Rasikananda Deva Gosvami who was the first disciple of Prabhu Shyamananda Deva Gosvami who has established a family of followers known as ‘Shyamanandis-Sampradaya’ Both Shyamananda and Rasikananda preached post-Chaitanya Vaisnavism in the districts of Hugli, Howrah,

   But the actual date as calculated by Sri K. N. Mahapatra is the 16th May, 1692, on which day fell Harana Ekadasi on the 19th of Eshava
9  Ibid.
   * Read at the Indian Historical Records Commission, Baroda.
Midnapore, Singhbhum, Mayurbhanj, Balasore and many other places in Orissa and Chota Nagpur in the first half of the 17th century and though their influence many people of high and low castes including even aborigines, embraced the religion and chief among their disciples was the Maharaja Baidyanatha Bhanja Deva of Mayurbhanj. Gopi-\-janaballabha Dasa, a disciple of Rasikananda, has written a work entitled “Rasikamangala” in 1655 A. D. after the death in 1652 A. D. of Rasikananda, which is an authentic biography of the great Vaishnava apostle. Since the beginning of the 17th century the relation of the Mahanta family of Gopiballabhpur with the Bhanja ruling family of Mayurbhanj has been very cordial generation after generation and the Mahanta family has been endowed with enormous land grants for the maintenance of the family deity. There is another Persian document dated 1771 directing the local officers of Chakla Hugliy in Bengal to pay proper respect to the possession of the family and another Oryia letter from Rajaram Pandit, the Marhatta Subadar of Orissa fully establishes the influence of the family in Orissa. The importance of the family is best described in a Bengali letter dated 23rd September, 1803 written to Mahanta Vikramananda Deva Gosvami by the Magistrate of Midnapore at the direction of H. E. the Governor General of India, regarding the settlement of the affairs in Mayurbhanj just before the conquest of Orissa by the British Government and this Farman is another earlier evidence in their favour.

Moghul Farmans are very rare in Orissa and in that consideration I made an attempt in bringing this document to the light only to invite the attention of the Persian scholars. I tried my best to get the document on loan and get the text deciphered by my friends in Calcutta or elsewhere but the late Gosvami as well as his son the present Gosvami were unwilling to part with it even for a few days I thank them for allowing me to have a photograph of it from which the text in Persian has been made by a local man of Baripada town and the English translation of the text has been prepared by me from a Bengali version compared with the Persian text and so I am not sure how far I have become successful in my attempt.

In the Appendix the Persian Text is given but the text of the seals as it seems is not fully deciphered for the defect in the photography.

The Farman measures $33\frac{1}{2} \times 18\frac{3}{4}$ in. At the top there are three lines below which are there two seals-one square and the other circular.
In the circular seal the central circle contains the name of the Emperor Muhammad Shah Bhashah Gazi Suheb Qoran Abdul Fateh Nasiruddin. There are twelve small circles in between the space of the outer and inner circles and the names of 12 Moghal emperors namely—(1) Ibn Babar Badshah, (2) Ibn Humayan Badshah, (3) Ibn Akbar Fa'ishah, (4) Ibn Jahangir Badshah, (5) Ibn Shahjahan Badshah, (6) Ibn Alamgir Badshah, (7) Ibn Shah Alam Badshah, (8) Ibn Amir Taimur Saheb Qiran, (9) Ibn Miran Shah, (10) Ibn Sultan Mahammad Shah, (11) Ibn Sultan Said Shah and (12) Ibn Umar Shah Badshah are inscribed. The square seal records "Farman Badshah Gazi Abdul Fateh Mahammad Nasiruddin Shah". Below the seals follows the text. On the reverse of the Farman are official entries together with two seals one round and another rectangular and one of them records the name of the wizir, "Quamruddin Hossein Shah Nasratjang Khan Bahadur". The reverse of the Farman has been pasted with a rough cloth in a careless manner which gives rise to the wrinkles throughout the body. The document badly requires scientific treatment but I was not successful in my mission.

**Translation of the Text**

*(Obverse.)*

It has come to the notice of His Imperial Exalted Majesty that priest-hood of the Kasba Gopiballabhpur belonging to the Province of Orissa has fallen vacant at the death of Govindananda, who was its occupant and Brindaban has prayed for being honoured as a successor to him. His Imperial Exalted Majesty who is as bright as the sun and the master of the world, issued this command of granting the preference to Brindaban of the said Kasba exactly in the same manner and condition under which it was granted to the deceased priest excluding the claim of all others. It is hereby also ordered that all His Majesty's present and future servants should regard him as the sole and permanent priest with the knowledge that he was honoured with all customary rites pertaining to the religion and he should be paid as before by the Zamindars and Adhikaries of Killahs and Mahals belonging to the Provinces of Orissa and Bengal and also the dues from the capital for the maintenance of the temple on condition that he should pray to God for the prosperity of His Majesty's Empire for ever. It is written on the 25th Jamadiul awl in the 14th year of the reign.
(Reverse.)

1. Received on the 15th Sawal in the 14th year of the reign.
2. Entered in the office of the Dewan Ala on the 29th Ramzan in the 14th year of the reign.
3. Compared, entered and written on the 25th Jamadial awal in the 15th year of the reign.
4. Put up before His Majesty according to the command of the highest of the high.

Note

The Farman states that Brindaban succeeded Govindananda and their relation is found out from the following genealogical table printed in Rasikamangala.

1. Rasikananda Deva Gosvami.
2. Radhananda Deva Gosvami.

4. Brajajanandana Deva Gosvami


The genealogical table shows that Govindananda was the nephew of Brindabanananda.

There is a copy of Sanad granted by Maharaja Viravikramaditya Bhanja Deva (1711-1727), dated 1713 A.D. stating that he made the gift for the maintenance of a temple at Brindaban which was in the charge of Adhikari Vichitranaanda Deva Gosvami. The genealogical table given above shows that all the three sons of Brajajananda died without having any issue and so the succession devolved on Brindabanananda and as there were other claimants for the priest-hood
he thought it safe to have the recognition from the highest authority at Delhi and got it from the Emperor.

I am unable to give the date of the Farman

In this connection I intend to discuss another Farman of Mahammad Shah, the original of which is missing but its contents go to show that it was issued at the same time to Maharaja Viraviṅkramaditya Bhanja Deva.

There is a printed copy of the translation of the Farman in the State records of Mayurbhanj. In a letter addressed to the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, Orissa, dated the 25th January, 1832 Maharaja Krishna Chandra Bhanja writes as follows:—

“... A copy of the sanad from the Emperor of Delhi to the Chief of Mohurbhanj, is herewith submitted; it establishes that the chief held under a feudal tenure from the Emperor. The original Sunnad was filed in Mr Wilkinson's Court at Ranchee or Hazureebagh either by Raja Treembikram Bhunj or Jadoonath Bhunj.”

Trivikram Bhanja ruled from 1811 to 1828 and Jadunath Bhanja from 1829 to 1863 and Major T. Wilkinson was Agent to the Governor General of the South West Frontier Agency from 1833 to 1838.

The printed copy contains the following:—

“... In the name of God, Great and Good.

Firman of Mohammed Jehan Shah Bahadoor.

“The humble memorial of Moharaja Pura Bikramjeet Bhanj Deo, Bahadoor. MUSNUD NASHEEN of Mohurbhunje in the Province of Orissa.

“Soobhnath Bhunj Deo Raootra, brother of my friend, the above Moharaja, having appeared before the Court on his behalf,

* The correct name is Bīrbikramaditya Bhanja Deo and this is due to the mistake in reading, Arabic ‘b’ for Persian Hindi ‘P’ like many instances in Ain-i-Akbari and Akbarnamah and as ‘Parbada’ for Baripada in Ain-i-Akbari and ‘Durga Punj’ for ‘Durga Bhanj’ in Akbarnamah.
presented the petition sent by the said Moharaja, which is to the effect, that the Sunnud granted by the Royal Court in the name of Moharaja Baijnath Bhunj Deo, Bahadur, deceased, is lost, and praying that another Sunnud may be granted, agreeably to the request of the Moharaja, enquiry was made in the Khas (royal) office, and it appeared that a special Sunnud was actually granted by this court to the said Moharaja, and indeed a copy of the said Sunnud exists in the office. Agreeably to the request of the Said Moharaja, therefore, two Sunnuds are awarded to him by His Majesty, and it is ordered that the Chair of the State of the said country continue to be held as heretofore without the interference of any body—that no man or deputy in his territory has any authority whatever—that disregarding the order of any other ruler, the said Maharaja do exercise the same authority within his own country, with the titles he holds, generation after generation, as he does now, save and except that when his services are required for any purpose, he will have to attend before us and carry out the orders.

"Written on the 10th of Jamadial Awal in the 14th year of our reign.

"(Sd.) KAMANUDDIN KHAN HUSSEIN, BAHADOOR. Wuzier, etc., etc.

"19th Jamadiassani in the 14th year of our reign.

Kamanuddin
Khan Hossein, Bahadoor,
Wuzier Mohamed Shah
Badshah.

16th Ramjan, in the 14th year of our reign.

"Received on the 11th Shawul in the 14th year of our reign.

"Entered in the office of the Dewan Ala on the 15th Ramzan of the 14th year of our reign."

"Compared. Entered in the diary on the 25th Jamadiul Awal of the 14th year.

Entered on the 17th Ramzan of the 14th year
"The great firman was written by order of His Majesty."

The text of this lost Farman is very similar to that of the Gopiballabhpur Farman of Mahammed Shah and so it may be that
the brother of Maharaja Viravikramaditya Bhanja Deva and Mahanta Brindabansanda Deva Gosvami or his representative went together to Delhi and got the Farmans. Maharaja Baijnath Bhanja Deo of this Farman is no other than Maharaja Baidyanatha Bhanja Deva who was a disciple of Rasiknanda Deva Gosvami and according to “Rasikaman-gala” he expired before 1630 when Shyamananda breathed his last at Kanhupara in Mayurbhanj State where there is his Samadhi. The historical value of this Farman granted to Maharaja Viravikramaditya Bhanja Deva was doubtful before the discovery of the Gopi-ballabhpur Farman of Mahammed Shah now published for the first time.

23

MAYURBHANJ DURING NAWAB ALIVARDI KHAN’S EXPEDITION TO ORISSA IN 1741 AND 1742. *

In January, 1741, Nawab Alivardi Khan marched from Murshidabad with a large army against Rustam Jang, the Nawab Nazim of Orissa who “threw up an intrenchment from the mountains of Neelgury 1 to the river, and there waited the arrival of Alyvardy Khan unsuspicous of the treachery of Mekhless Khan”

“Alyvardy Khan arrived at Midnapore by rapid marches; and, after engaging in his interest the Zemindars of that quarter, proceeded to Jelasore, where he encamped. At Rajghaut on the opposite side of the river Sebunrekha, the Moorbunge rajah had garrisoned another tannah, and thrown up an entrenchment. All Alyvardy Khan’s attempts to gain him were ineffectual; but at last Alyvardy Khan ordered his artillery cannonade the place, when the rajah and his

* Reprint from the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Mysore.

1. Maulavi Abdus Salam, the translator of Riyaz-us-Sulatia puts ‘Tilgadi’ in place of Gladwin’s ‘Neelgury’ (Nilgiri). His reading ‘river Jon’ seems to be a mistake for the river Sona, a tributary of the Burabalang, N. N. Vasu in his Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj, p. 13, has attempted to identify ‘Tilgadi’ with a rocky region called ‘Tilgadia’ in Mayurbhanj which is not very helpful.
men deserted the post, and retreated into the jungles. He then marched forward, unmolested to Ramchunderpoor, between four and five ome from Moorshed Ku’y Khan’s entrenchment.”

In the battle of Phulwarighat (March 1741) near Balasore, Rustam Jang was defeated and soon after Alivardi Khan occupied Cuttack and appointed his nephew Saulat Jang as the Governor of Orissa and returned to Bengal most probably before the monsoon. Saulat Jang was unfit for governing the newly acquired province of Orissa and in the month of August, 1741, he with his family was placed under confinement by Mirza Baqar, the son-in-law of Rustam Jang and having thus restored his authority in Orissa here-conquered Midnapore and Hijli. Upon this Alivardi Khan decided to march into Orissa to vindicate his power and prestige and after a short skirmish Mirza Baqar left Cuttack for Deccan early in December 1741. After staying at Cuttack for about three months Alivardi Khan appointed Shaikh Masum as the Governor of Orissa and returned to Bengal after finishing administrative arrangements in Orissa.

“When Alivardy Khan arrived at Balasore, he resolved to punish the Moorbusnje rajah, for having joined Mirza Bauker. The rajah resided at Hirhirpoore and was then celebrating his nuptials, not thinking it possible that Alyvardy Khan would attempt to molest him, surrounded by jungles and mountains. Alyvardy Khan advanced, with fire and sword, putting great numbers to death, making prisoners of women and children, burning the towns and villages, and carrying off the cattle. The rajah and his family took refuge in the mountains.”

Gulam Husain Salim, the author of Riyaz-us-Salatin, narrates the account of the Mayurbhanj affairs in detail and adds the name of the reigning Prince of Mayurbhanj. He writes that “On the banks of the river Sabaurikha (Subarnarekha), at the ferry of Rajghat, Rajah

3. Hariharpur, the former capital of Mayurbhanj.
Jagardhar Bhanj, Zamindar of Morbhanj, had established a garrison of his Chawars and Khandait and had erected entrenchments."

He again writes as follows:—

"Inasmuch as Jagat Isar, Rajah of Morbhanj, had taken sides with Mirza Baqir, and had not submitted to the authority of Mahabat Jang, the latter was in anxiety owing to his insolence. Therefore, on arrival of the port of Balasore, he girded up his loins in order to chastise the Rajah. The latter was at Hariharpur which contained his mansion, and was at the time plunged in pleasures and amusements. His knowledge of the denseness of the forests that surrounded him, coupled with his command of numerous hordes of Chawars and Khandait, made himself insolent and so he did not pull out the cotton of heedlessness from the ear of sense, not cared for the army of Ali Vardi Khan. Ali Vardi Khan's army stretching the hand of slaughter and rapine, set about looting and sacking the populations, swept the Rajah's dominion with the broom of spoliation, captured the women and children of the Khandait and Chawars, and sowed dissensions amongst them. The Rajah seeing the superiority of Ali Vardi Khan's army, with his effects followers and dependents, fled to the top of a hill, and hid himself in a secret fastness, beyond the ken of discovery. Ali Vardi Khan then subjugated the tract of Morbhanj, shewed no quarter, and mercilessly carried fire and sword through its limits. "*

On receiving the news of approach of Mahratta freebooters, Mahabat Jang abandoned the pursuit of the Morbhanj Rajah, and withdrew towards Bengal."

"As yet Ali Vardi Khan had passed through the forests of Morbhanj when the army of Mahratta freebooters swooped down from the direction of Chaklal of Bardwan." 7

5. Dr K. K. Dutta takes Chawars to be the mixed Kshetris by caste. In Mayurbhanj the term Chuada is applied to all aboriginal people who formerly served as Paiks in large numbers and there are also many Paiks who hold hereditary land grants for their service. Khandait are not mixed Kshetris. They are a warrior caste in Orissa from which ancient Oriya Paiks were generally recruited.


Sayar-ul-Mutakherin furnishes us with an account of the affairs of Mayurbhanj which materially differs from the above quotations which is narrated there as one of the cause of discontents of the Afghan troops and officers headed by Mustafa Khan against the actions of the Nawab Alivardi Khan. At the instigation of Mustafa Khan Alivardi Khan resolved to fight with the Marhatas, but in the actual field some of the Afghan Commanders lagged behind and at this the Nawab "concluded that they must be dissatisfied with him". On coming to the last “subject of discontent” the author of Sayar-ul-Mutakherin writes as follows:

“But as if all these subjects of discontents had not sufficiently operated on their minds, the Viceroy had added another of late, which gave general offence, and in particular sunk deep in Mustapha-qhan’s mind. It was this: As the army in its late expedition to Oressa was passing through the possessions of the Radja of Mohur-bendj, it had been exceedingly harassed by that Prince who had vowed a personal attachment to Mirza-bakyr, and seemed ambitious to give proofs of it at this particular conjecture. He had even been guilty, they say, of some excesses. A conduct so characterised could not fail to render him an object of wrath for the Viceroy, who on his side, resolved to make an example of him on his return from the expedition. The Radja sensible now of his danger, had thrown himself into the arms of Mustapha-qhan, who interceded vigorously for him. But this intercession of his had been taken so ill, that it had even produced some very severe looks, with a severe reprimand. A few moments after an order was given to Mir-adjaaffer to dispatch the man, the moment he should make his appearance in the hall of the audience; for the Radja finding his application to the General had produced nothing but further token of wrath, had resolved to risk a visit on his own bottom; and he came without a safe conduct. But the hall being already taken possession of by Mir-djaaffer qhan, who filled it with armed men, the Gentoo no sooner made his appearance, than he was set upon instantly, and hacked to pieces; whilst all his attendants were sought out and knocked down, as if it had been a hunting match. After this execution his country had been thoroughly plundered and sacked to the great regret to the general, who

9 Ibid., p 379.
conceived his honour deeply wounded in this whole management. All these transactions having taken place a few days before the arrival of the Mahrattas had discontented not only the General himself, but every one of the Afghan Commanders, who as well as their soldiers, looked out for a favourable moment for quitting the service, nor did they make any secret of their intentions.10

It is rather strange that the author of *Riyaz-us-Salatin* who took sufficient care to record the names of the Ruler puts two names in two places of his narrative.

"Rajat ragardhar Bhanj Zamindar of Morbhanj" was prominent during the first expedition in 1741 and 'Jagat Isar' Rajah of Morbhanj * * seeing the superiority of Ali Vardi Khan's army, with his effects, followers and dependents fled to the top of a hill, "at the time of his return during the second expedition in 1742." But the author however remains silent about the assassination of the Ruler of Mayurbhanj as recorded in *Seyer-ul-Mutakh rin*.

Messrs. N. N. Vasu and R. D. Banerjee and Dr. K K. Dutta have tried to identify these personalities mentioned in *Riyaz-us-Salatin* but none of them have been fully successful. Mr. Vasu writes: "It would be altogether different if we take Jagardhar and Jateswar to be the names of one and the same person, and consider them to have been erroneously used to represent separate personalities.

* * * Be that as it may, it is true that after the assassination of Chakradhar Bhanja, Mayurbhanj was greatly troubled by the ravages of the Muhmedam army.11 Mr. Banerji took 'Jagat Isar' of the Persian text to be 'Jagadisvar'12 and wrote the following:—

"The name of this chief is omitted in the genealogies accepted by the Mayurbhanj State. In the Persian Original it is once written Jagardhar and again Jagadisvara. The king may be the same as Chakradhara Bhanja who was the successor of Raghunatha Bhanja and the predecessor of Damodar Bhanja, since Chakradhar written in Persian can easily be misread Jagardhar.13"

10 *Ibid.* p 381
Dr. K. K. Dutta has also adopted the rendering of ‘Jagadisvara Bhanja’ quoting authority of Riyaz-us-Salatin and Yusuf, but Riyas-us-Salatin contains ‘Jagat Isar’ and I have not verified the text of Yusuf.

The Sanskrit rendering of ‘Jagat Isar’ of the Persian text would be either Jagadisvara or Jagatesvara and so also ‘Jagardhar’ according to Mr. Banerjee’s suggestion, would be Chakradhar or Chakradhara. Maulavi Abdus Salam has suggested the identification of ‘Chapra’ with ‘jobra’ and similarly ‘Jagardhar’ would be Chakradhar. Thus we find that the names of Chakradhara, Jagatesvara or Jagadisvara are expected to be found in the genealogical table of the rulers of Mayurbhanj in 1741 and 1742 A.D.

Now let us see how the Oriya records from Mayurbhanj help us in correctly identifying the persons found from the Persian sources.

According to Vansanucharita of Mayurbhanj House the following genealogical table furnishes us with the names of the rulers from 1660 to 1760 A.D.

Maharaja Trivikrama
Bhanja Deva
(1660-1688 A.D.)

Maharaja Sarbesvara
Bhanja Deva
(1688-1711 A.D.)

Chhotaraya Jagadisvara
Bhanja Deva
Rautaraya Dilipesvara
Bhanja Deva

Maharaja Vīravikramaditya
Bhanja Deva
(1711-1727 A.D.)

Maharaja Raghunatha
Bhanja Deva
(1727-1749) (died childless)

Maharaja Chakradhar
Bhanja Deva
(1749-1760)

14. Alivardi and his times, p. 54.
In Vansanucharita it is recorded that Maharaja Raghunatha Bhanja Deva succeeded his father while he was a baby of 6 months old on the 18th of Vaisakha in 1134 Amli Sal. He married the daughter of Maharaja of Sambalpur and on his way back the Mahrattas appeared in Orissa. But no reference to the war with Alivardi Khan is found in Vansanucharita. It is found in Gladwin's 'Narrative' and in Riyaz-us-Salatin that when merry-making was going on at Hariharpur, the capital of the State, Alivardi Khan arrived there and it may be supposed that Maharaja Raghunatha Bhanja was married in Phalgun (February and March) of 1742 A.D. when he was only 15 years old and he died at the age of 23 on the 1st day of Vichha (November and December) in 1157 Amli or 1749 A.D. As he was minor almost throughout his short career, it seems that the administration of the State was conducted by his grand-uncle Jagatesvar Bhanja and uncle Chakradhar Bhanja who sided with Rustam Jang and Mirza Baqar supporting the cause of righteousness. It may be supposed that the author of Riyaz-us-Salatin took them to be the rulers of Mayurbhanj and described as such in his work.

There are nine Sanads granted by Maharaja Raghunatha Bhanja now preserved in the Museum at Faripada which furnish us with Amli year 1137 (Anka 5), 1144 (Anka 13), 1146 (Anka 15), 1148, 1150 (Anka 21), 1151 (Anka 22) and Anka 25.

Out of these the Khiching Sanad of the Amli year 1151 and Anka year 22, is important as it discloses that the landed property of Jagatesvara Bhanja was granted to the Thakurani of Khiching who is the patron deity of the ruling House of Mayurbhanj. So it may be concluded that Jagatesvara Bhanja Deva was assassinated by Alivardi Khan.

The seal of the Sanad bears a peacock facing to the left with an inscription in Devanagiri — "Srimat Viravikramaditya Suta Sri Raghunatha nripa" The signature 'Radhakrishna' in Devanagiri is also met with in the Sanad.

Text of the Sanad

L. 1. Sri Jagannatha Sarana Sri Khichingesvar charane sarana
L. 2. Srimat Sri Raghunatha Bhanja Deva Maharrajankara
L. 3. Dasupurapi dhara Sara dhera Adhikari Mahapatra Pancha-
L. 4. nēekaku mādha lekhā / 22 anka sana 1151 sala Dhanu di24
L. 5. nara/E nimānte agyān delhā/Adipura vije Sri Sri Sri
L. 6. devotraku Sri Jagatesvara Bhanja gosāimvāvā
L. 7. anka ohhādi delā Sukruli gām khanja kari dyai yai-
L. 8. thila/Ethaku e dine ehānka jāgri tale e gām khanja
L. 9. kāri diājivāre e pratibadalaku sāviṣa sadāvra-
L. 10. ta khanja Kerekera gam sae dasa ta 110 anka e de-
L. 11. votraku khanja kari diāgalā/E gām āsimānte
L. 12. gachha–māchha upuripaepanchaka vāvasavāva khandakha-
L. 13. ndiyana bhāibhāga muṇi ogera khanja gala/E
L. 14. hirupe e gāmra sevaku nēkarau thīvā/ehi
L. 15. agyān e gampradhāna parajakā/E Parichhā Govardhana
L. 16. Bhanja vāvumka thāre ruju hoi e
L. 17. kara panchā sujha-vujha kariva/E pramāna/E pramāna.

English Translation.

(This is a sanad of ) Maharaja Baghunatha Bhanja Deva who seeks protection from Jagannatha and the feet of Khichingesvari, the Goddess of Khiching.

It is written to the Sardar, Adhikāri, Mahāpātra, Panchanāyaka of the pir of Dasupur (Daspur), dated the 24th Dhanu (early January) of 1151 Sal (1744 A.D.), and the 22 anka year of the Prince. The order is issued to this effect that the village Sukruli belonging to my grand-uncle Sri Jagatesvara Bhanja, was dedicated to the Thākurāni present at Adipur, Khiching. This day the village is granted to her Jagiri (service tenure) and in return to this Rs. 110 of the village of Kerkera, formerly allotted for the purpose of Sādavrata (gift) is dedicated to her including the rights of the limits rents derived from the forest and fishery, other irregular cesses, rights of division, and brothers' share etc. In this way the rents and cesses will be realised for the purposes of the worship of Thākurāni. This order is issued to the Pradhan (head man) and the tenants of the village to settle all these rents (kara) cesses (Pancha) with Govardhana Bhanja Babu, the Parichha (manager). This order is to be treated as authoritative.

Notes on Revenue terms

The terms Sardāra, Adhikāri, Mahāpātra, Pañcha–nāyaka, Ghaḍai and Gaḍamalika occur in the Sanads of Maharaja Sarvesvāra
Bhanja and Maharaja Jadunatha Bhanja. I am unable at present to account for the proper use of these terms, but I suggest the following:

Saradara.—It is a designation of the revenue officer in the division of a Pir. He collects the revenue from the Pradhans of the villages and deposits it in the State Treasury.

Adhikari.—This designation is given to a person having religious control over the people of the Pir.

Mahapatra.—This designation is given to a person having military powers in the Pir. He was the head of Paiks enjoying lands for their service.

Ghadai.—Possibly keeper of stores.

Gadhamalika.—The person enjoying this designation was entrusted with protection of the fort of the Pir.

In his ‘Patna University Readership lecture 1931’ entitled “Bihar and Orissa during the fall of the Mughal Empire” Sir J. N. Sarkar, Kt, C. I. E., has discussed the historical value of works written by Persian authorities at pp. 6 to 12. According to his estimate Seyer-ul-Mutakherin “is the most important and detailed history of these eastern provinces”. He further writes “Tarikh-i-Bangala by Salimullah, written by order of Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal from 1760 to 1764 and translation incompletely and incorrectly by Francis Gladwin under title of A Narrative of the Transaction in Bengal (1788) and Riyaz-Us-Salatin has so independent value as it is a mere compilation.” Moreover Riyaz has incorporated the earlier accounts of Salimullah with only a few changes. The English version of Sayar and Salimullah are very unreliable.”

I have not been able to verify the quotations made in this paper with the original and so I had to depend on the English translation. Dr K. K Datta also in his Alivardi and his times refers to another author named Yusuf whom I have not consulted. It has been narrated by Ghulam Husain and Salimullah that Mayurbhanj country was “thoroughly plundered and sacked” after the flight of the ruler to the hills by the army of Alivardi Khan, but the author of Riyaz narrates at page 337 that Alivardi Khan subjugated the tract of Morhbanj and in the next page it is narrated by him that on receiving the news of the approach of Mahratta free-booters, Mahabat Jang (Alivardi) abandoned the pursuit of the Mayurbhanj Raja and went
towards Bengal. From this it is not safe to arrive at the conclusion that Alivardi Khan subdued the territory of Mayurbhanj and reduced it to submission as has been suggested by Dr. K. K. Dutta in his book at page 54. The evidence of 'submission' on the part of the ruler of Mayurbhanj is found only in the account of Riyaz which is not entirely trustworthy. Alivardi Khan's expeditions to Orissa and subsequent Marhatta inroads in Bengal gave the rulers of Mayurbhanj an opportunity of occupying an unique position on the northern frontiers of Orissa which they maintained upto the British conquest of Orissa in 1803.

24

MAYURBHANJ DURING THE EARLY MARATHA AND BRITISH OCCUPATION IN ORISSA.*

Before discussing the relation of the Marathas and the British with the rulers of Mayurbhanj, which never formed a part of Moghal-band Orissa, I propose to deal with the position of the northern divisions of Orissa under the Moghals.

Todarmall's sarkar Jaleswar was split into seven sarkars by Shah Shuja (C. 1650 A.D.) out of which six sarkars namely, Remna, Basta, Jaleswar, Malijettah, Goalpara and Mazkurin were added to Bengal. These northern sarkars were placed by Murshid Kuli Khan (1722 A.D.) under two Chaklas called Bandar Balasore and Hijli and the Zamindary of Tamulk. In 1728 the southern half of these six sarkars with Balasore port was re-added to Orissa, but kept in Bengal for revenue purposes. As the sarkars of Jaleswar, Basta and Remna surrounded the Mayurbhanja State on the north, east and south, thecession of the whole of Orissa bounded by the river Sonemakia which runs by Ballisar Bendar "by Nawab Alivardi Khan to the Marathas in 1751 and the "Chakla of Midnapore in the district of the Soubah Orissa" by Nawab Mir Kasim to the British in 1760, brought the rulers of Mayurbhanj into direct contact with the two growing political powers of India.

It appears from two palm-leaf manuscripts called 'Mayurbhanj Chauhadi Sima,' dated 1731 A.D. which deal fully with the boundary of the State that the northern boundary of eastern Mayurbhanj was the river Suvarnarekha which still remains, separating Dhalbhuma from Mayurbhanj up to the western limit of Nayabasan pargana. The pargana Nayabasan lies on both the sides of the Subarnarekha and to the east of Nayabasan lie the parganas of Rohini, Barajit and Dippa Kiarchand on its left bank and the Nayagram pargana on its right bank. The northern boundary of Mayurbhanj terminated at Nayagram garh from where again the eastern boundary commenced extending up to the village Mulida in the pargana Bhelorechur, a few miles below Rajghat. In this area there were border forts at Nayagram, Jamirpal, Oimara, Raibania, Fulhata, Baradia, Amarda and Kannipur. The Midnapore District Gazetteer records at page 193 that "before the establishment of the British rule, the Nayagram and Jamirpal estates were separate and their zamindars were feudatories of the Raja of Mayurbhanj from whom they received the titles of Mangaraj Bhuyan and Laikara Bhuyan respectively." Nayagram estate was annexed by the British in 1803. No report is available on the Fatiabad pargana in which Raibania garh is situated. The Olmara pargana of Mayurbhanj is bounded on the north and west by the Jamirpal and Nayagram parganas of the Midnapore District and on the south by Fatiabad pargana of the Balasore District. It is not understood how the Olmara pargana remained in Mayurbhanj, being separated from the limits of the State. The boundary report then narrates that the boundary line passed on the Badadanda from Basta to Ramechandrapur. This boundary line is also corroborated by Motte's Narrative in which he writes that "the Rajah has no land to the eastwards of the road I came" Motte crossed the river Subarnarekha at Rajghat on the 25th, March 1769 and "entered Mohur Bunge country." The southern boundary was demarcated by rivers Budnabalanga, Gangabara, Prasanna and Sona separating Mayurbhanj from Moghalband and the Nilgiri State. Other boundary stations are not necessary for this paper.

Now let us see how the contemporary records help us to identify the boundary of Orissa ceded to the Marathas by the Nawab Alivardi Khan by the treaty of peace of 1751 A.D. Up till now no copy of the original treaty of 1751 has been published anywhere. From Nos. 1241-47 of the Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II pp. 330-32 it appears that the copies of the treaties between Alivardi Khan and Raghuji Bhonsla were preserved at Murshidabad up to 1769, but these letters do not contain any clause on the boundary of the ceded portion of Orissa.
The terms of the treaty or treaties have been referred to by the authors of Siyar-ul-Mutaakhirin, Vol. II, p. 113 published in 1780, in which the boundary was demarcated by "the river Sonamakia which runs by Bullisar bender". The first English author to refer to this is Stewart who in his 'History of Bengal,' P. 302 (Bangabasi Calcutta reprint) writes in 1813 that "the river Soonamookhy which runs by Balasore was considered as the boundary of two dominions. "Grant Duff then in 1826 writes in his History of the Marathas', p. 504 (Bombay Times of India Press, reprint) that "Alivardi Khan * * ceded whole of the province of Kattack as far as Balasore". But on the other hand Maulavi Abu al Salam, the translator of Riyazus-Salation writes in 1904 that "the river Sonamukhia (or Subarnarekha) near Jaleswar was the demarcation line of the boundaries of the Provinces of Orissa and Bengal" (p. 362), although the author of Riyaz is silent about it. I have not examined the Persian text of the Siyar but the English translation is quoted above from the reprint published by R. Cambay & Co.

R D Beanerji has quoted the terms of the treaty in his 'History of Orissa', Vol. II, p. 110, from the Bakhar of the Bhonsla of Nagpur in which the river Subarnarekha is given as the northern boundary of Orissa and from Siyar putting a sign of interrogation against Sonamukhia in clause V of the treaty, and at page 118 he writes that "The river Sonamukhia is perhaps a mistake for the Subarnarekha, which we find to be the southern boundary of the Province of Bengal as soon as the English East India Company had assumed the reigns of Government of the Province." As the Regulation I of 1793 mentions the province of Orissa under the British administration the southern boundary of the Province of Bengal was on the north of the Midnapore District and so he was certainly wrong on this point. Dr K K Datta has accepted the note of the translator of Riyaz.

The sources of Stewart's 'History of Bengal' are the Persian records whereas Grant Duff relies on the Maratha records. It is not understood how Grant Duff's sources differ from the Bakhars of the Bhonslas. It may be that Kasirai Rajeswar Gupta's Bakhar escaped the notice of Grant Duff. As I have not personally seen this Bakhar, I am not sure about its authenticity. The important point on the situation of the boundary of Orissa, ceded to the Marathas by Alivardi Khan is the situation of the Balasore town.
there has not been any change in the position of Balasore town, so Persian Balisar cannot be a mistake of Jalisar, the boundary of the Ordred Orissa must be searched for near Balasore and not at Jaleswar. There is a river called Sunai, shortened perhaps from Sunamukhi or Sunamuhini which joins with the Burabalanga river to a little west of Fuladighat and this river was the boundary at the time of treaty of 1751 and not the Subarnarekha. Both the rivers Sunai and Burabalanga rise from the Simlipal hill range of Mayurbhanj and like the Burabalanga on the northern Mayurbhanj, the Sunai is an important river in the southern Mayurbhanj. We do not know which was more important in the middle of the 18th Century and which was the tributary and which was the main river. From its mention in the treaty of 1751 it seems that the Sunai was the main river.

Rennel's Bengal Atlas sheet 7 (1779) shows that the "Soane River" is much wider than 'Burabalang River' and thus proves its importance. In the 'Diaries of Streynham Mastr' the river near Balasore is called 'Ballasore River' and in Motte's 'Narrative' 'Ballasore' is stated to have been built along the river 'Boree Bellaun' (modern Burabalanga).

In Rennel's map the boundary of the Maratha Orissa is shown all along the bank of the Subarnarekha excluding a small portion on the west of Jaleswar where the boundary is shown on the right bank of the river and this boundary line in the map has got nothing to do with the actual possessions of the Marathas and the British in 1779 or even earlier. The British got Midnapore Chakla in September 1760 from Nawab Mir Kasim of Bengal. Before 1760 the Marathas, taking advantage of the great political changes in Bengal, extended their possessions not only beyond the river near Balasore but far beyond the north of the river Subarnarekha also, excluding the small portion lying on either side of the Badsahi road from Dantan to Basta. The Midnapore District Gazetteer rightly narrates at page 32 that "The Subarnarekha river was not, however, the real boundary as the Marathas held territory north-east of the river in Pargana Bhograi, Kamarda, Pataspur and Shabanda (Shabbandar)."

The southern half of the six Sarkars are no doubt the Sarkars of Jaleswar, Basta and Remna which were kept in Bengal for revenue purposes and it is possible that the Sarkars Jaleswar, Basta and a greater portion of the Sarkar Remana lying near the port Balasore were not
ceded by Nawab Alivardi Khan. So the rivar ‘Sonamakia’ or ‘Soonamookhy’ should be identified with the Sunai which runs near by Remna and also Balasore.

No Oriya record is available showing the relation of the ruler of Mayurbhanj with the Marathas or the British, but the volumes of Calendar of Persian Correspondence contain a few references which are very valuable for the history of Mayurbhanj. Letter No. 1021 dated the 15th March, 1761, goes to show that Maharaja Damodar Bhanja’s offer of friendship was accepted by the Governor of Fort William in Bengal. The following letters show the relation of the Marathas with Damodar Bhanja. Letter No. 2481, dated 24th November, 1764, discloses that Bhawani Pandit intended to “root out the rebellious Zamindars of Hurruapor” (Haripur, the then capital of Mayurbhanj). This is corroborated by Motte’s Narrative in which it is found that Bhawani Pandit actually invaded Mayurbhanj and Damodar Bhanja retired to the hills and thus frustrated the plan of Bhawani Pandit. Motte further writes thus in April, 1666 when he was at Balasore—"There is usually at Ballasore, a party of thirty horse and five hundred foot, but at this time they are with Pellejee, collecting the tribute of the Mahurbunge country."

Maharaja Damodar Bhanja always resisted this claim of supremacy by the Marathas and maintained friendship with the British as is evident from the settlements made by him with the British. Letter No. 191, dated the 17th May, 1767 narrates that “Lieutenant Fergusson has settled the pargannas in the Mayurbhanj Raja’s possession for Rs. — a year”. No record is available about the Marathas against this action on the part of the ruler of Mayurbhanj. These pargannas were Nayabasan and Bhe lorachaur on the protest of the right bank of the Subarnarekha. That Bhe lorachaur was in the possession of the British is proved from the following quotation:— "We might, in exchange, give them Bolooricheur, the only parganna we possess to the S. Ward of the Subunrika. We should gain some advantage by the bargain in point of value, and it would, besides, render our territories on this side more compact and save us a number of disputes."

Had the Subarnarekha river been the boundary according to the treaty of 1751 the British could not have claimed Bhe lorachaur as a British possession and there would not have been any occasion for negotiation for its transfer to the Marathas.
Thus it is found from the contemporary records that Maharaja Damodar Bhanja sought and got help from the British power and maintained his position as an independent ruler against the claim of supremacy by the Marathas.

25

AN ORIYA LETTER FROM THE MADALAPANJI RELATING TO RAGHUJI BHONSLA'S MARCH TO ORISSA & BENGAL IN 1743 A.D *

In December, 1946 when I was at Barambagarh in connection with some Archaeological works I came to know about this letter from Pandit Sribatsa Misra Vidyalankar and got a copy of it from his notebook. Pandit Misra was deputed by the Raja Sahab of Baramba State to Puri for collecting historical materials of the Baramba State from the copies of the Madalapanji which are kept under the custody of the Deul-Karana Radhamohan Patraik and the letter under reference was copied by Pandit Misra from the palm-leaf bundle No. 60 page 80. Thanks are due to Pandit Misra for bringing this letter to the light.

Text of the letter

Virakiṣoradevamkara mīnā 18 dine
Siddha Śri Bahādurā Khān jaimkara
Śri Jagannātha Mahāprabhukara samasta
Sevaka mānamku chitāu | Narasimhapura Simānā Padamāla ṭhāru lekhitum, Ṛṣa Raghjuji Mira Habibula Khan Saheba ghodāre aile, Ambhe Phulajhari ṭhāre mulākāt Kalu. Tāmku Dasapulla sima Belapāda ṭhāre ārakari Narasimhapura simāre kari Bada-ambi Āṭhagāḍa simāre gheni Katakā galum,
Paramesvaramku sevā karuṭhiva. Ambhe eṭhāre thivāru Odiśā Sarahadaku na jīvāra jāivā.

* Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Jaipur Vol. XXIV, p 115 ff
(The letter) dated the 18th Mina of the reign of Virakişoradeva, is written by Bahadur Khan to all the sevākas (servants) of Jagannātha Mahāprabhu at Puri from Padamal in Narasimhapur. Raja Raghuji and Mir Habibullah Khan came on horse back. I met them at Phuljar and made them to cross (the river Mahanadi) at Belpada in Daspalla and I am on the way to Cuttack with them via Bada-ambi in Athgarh. Please do regularly the worship of the god. As I am here, they will not enter Orissa.

Historical Note.

(1) Position of the Rajas of Khurda.

As the Anka year of Raja Virakişoradeva of the Khurda dynasty is not given in the letter, there is no certainty about the year when it was written. The 18th day of Mina of the letter corresponds to 30th or 31st March. Dr. K. K. Dutta ¹ writes that Raghuji Bhonsla marched to Bengal in February 1743 and as Raghuji first came to Orissa in 1743, it is quite clear from this letter that he arrived at Padamal in Narasimhapur on the 30th of March 1743.

According to Stirling ² Virakişoradeva ruled from 1743 to 1786 and according to Hunter ³ from 1736–1773. As Ramachandra deva II, the predecessor of Virakişoradeva was living in 1741 and helped Rustum Jang during Alivardi Khan’s campaign against him, Hunter’s date cannot be accepted as correct.

The mention of Virakişoradeva’s name in a public document like this requires some elucidation:

Hunter writes as follows:

“But although the Maharajas of Khurda have ceased to be an independent dynasty, they still exercise the most cherished prerogatives of an Eastern Royal House. The whole Orissa population date their documents according to the year of the Raja’s reign.” ⁴

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1. Alivardi and his times 1939 p. 82.
Stirling also writes as follows:

"Down to the present moment the Rajas of Khurda are the sole fountain of honour in this district and all deeds whatever is drawn out in Uria language bear the date of the Anka or accession of the reigning prince of that house." 5

The power and position of Virakisoradeva have been graphically narrated by T. Motte as follows:

"When Ragoojee entered Orissa, at the instigation of Meer Hubbeeb, who had fled disgusted from Alliverdi Khan’s service in 1738, he found these parts divided into small zemindaries, dependent on the rajah of Pooree, at whose capital is the famous temple of Jaggernaut, near the Chilka lake. This prince was regarded by his subjects in a religious light also, and appeared formidable to the Mahattas, who, apprehensive lest he might seize a favourable opportunity to cut off the communication between Nagpoor and Cuttack, resolved to reduce his power by dividing it. He made the petty zemindars independent of him, and formed the chuklas of Dinkanol, (Dhenkanal), Bonkey, (Banki), Nersingpoor, (Narsingpur), Tigorea (Tigiriar) Tolechair (Talecher), Chundaparra (Khandapara), Dispulla (Daspalla), Hindole (Hindol), Ungool (Angul) and Boad (Baud)." 6

(2) The route through which the Marathas of Nagpur entered Orissa and Bengal.

All the authorities, European or Indian, on the Maratha invasion of Orissa and Bengal are silent about the route through which the Nagpur Marathas entered Orissa and Bengal. From this letter however we come to know definitely that Bahadur Khan met Raghuji Bhonsla at Phuljhar from where they came to Belpada in Daspalla which is situated at the entrance of the Barmul Pass on the right bank of the Mahanadi. From Belpada Raghuji Bhonsla came to Padamal after crossing the Mahanadi and then came to Cuttack via Narsingpur, Baramba, Tigiria and Athagarh which are situated on the bank left of the Mahanadi after recrossing the Mahanadi at Cuttack

5. Asiatic Researches Vol. XV. 1825, p. 293
6. Early European travellers in the Nagpur territories, p. 27,
This route of Raghuji from Phuljhar to Sonepur seems to be the same as that followed by Leckie in 1790 with the exception that Raghuji came to Athgarh from Narsingpur but Leckie crossed the Mahanadi at Subarnapur and came to “Bealpara” via Charchika, Baidyaswar, Padmavati, Contilo. Regarding the advantage of the route from Sonepur to Raipur via Borasambar and that of Sonepur to Raipur via Sambalpur and Sarangarh, Leckie writes as follows:—

“Tuesday 4 (May). We struck of the usual road to Nagpore which is by Sumbhulpore (Sambalpur) and Surengarh (Saranagarh) to go by Burrosnber (Borasambar) district, which is shorter by six stages than the former.”

In 1766 T. Motte travelled on the right bank of the Mahanadi from Cuttack after crossing the Kathjuri river near Cuttack to Baud. Motte notes that “May 25 – I here struck out of the high road to Nagpore, and, crossing the river Maha Nuddee, saw it no more till I reached Sumbhulpoor.”

The Persian writers of history of this period are silent about the route which brought Bhaskar Pandit to Ramgarh and Panchet (Panchkota) from where he attacked Burdwan. R. D. Banerji writes with a reference to Siar-ul-Mutakherim (English translation) that “Bhaskar Pandit, the General of the Maratha army, entered Chhota Nagpur through Chhattisgarh and fell upon the Midnapur district through Mayurbhanj and Panchit.”

But at page 375-76 of Siar we find the mention of sudden arrival of Marathas in Ramgarh area from where they turned towards Panchit and Mayurbhanj and fell upon Midnapoor. Bhaskar Pandit’s entry to Ramgarh or Hazaribag area from Central Provinces could only be possible through Surguja State and Ranchi district and that is the reason which perhaps led R. D. Banerji to come to such an absurd conclusion, Dr. K. K. Dutta on the authority of Karim Ali and Yusuf Ali writes that “Bhaskar marched unopposed through Orissa XXXX overpowered its deputy Governor

7. Ibid. p. 62
8. Ibid. p. 30
Saikh Masum Khan and made his peshkar Durlabhram a captive. Then he proceeded through Panchet. ” 10 As Bhaskar Pandit marched from Nagpur in the company of Mir Habibulla according to Riyaz-us-Salatin (English translation) p. 338 who was familiar with the routes of the Mahanadi valley, Dr. Dutta’s conclusion seems to be historically correct. Bhaskar Pandit arrived at Cuttack soon after Alivardi’s departure for Bengal from Orissa, and as Alivardi followed the direct Badsahi road through which Motte trave’led in 1766 from Jalasore to Cuttack, Bhaskar Pandit selected the direct route to Panchet (Manbhum) through hilly tract of eastern Keonjhar and western Mayurbhanj, and Singhbhum and Manbhum districts following the route which was followed by Firoz Shah in 1360 as recorded in the Sirat-i-Firozshahi.” 11 Midnapore, Bishnupur and Burdwan can be easily reached from Panchakota or Sikhar bhum.

(3) Mir Habibulla’s relation with the Marathas of Nagpur

Riyoz-us-Salatin mentions that Mir Habibully personally went to Nagpur to persuade Raghuji Bhonsla to undertake the conquest of Bengal whereas Siyar-ul-Mutakherim and Ahwai-Alivardi Khan mention that he was captured by the army of Bhaskar Pandit. R. D. Banerji on the authority of Marathi Riyasat writes that “When Mir Habib went to invite the Marathas of Nagpur, Raghuji I was absent on a campaign in the Karnataka when Mir Habib went to Berar and sought Bhaskar Ram.” 12 In support of the account of Riyoz & the Marathi Riyasat, we have Motte’s Narrative quoted above which mentions that Raghuji entered Orissa at the instigation of Mir Habib.

(4) The Jagannath temple and The Pilgrim tax

Bahadur khan writes to the Sevakas of the Jagannath temple at Puri that they would do the worship of the god regularly. This request by Bahadur Khan may appear strange now, but the maintenance of the regular worship of Jagannath at Puri had a financial aspect for the administration of Orissa in those days.

10. Alivardi and his times p. 58-59.
12. History of Orissa Vol, II, p. 91,
The following extract from *Riyaz-\textsuperscript{13} Salatin* clearly establishes the importance of the Jagannath temple to the then Government:

"During the commotion of Mahammed Taqi Khan's time, the Raja of Parsutam (Purusottam) or Puri had removed Jagannath, the Hindu God from the limits of the Subah of Odisah (Orissa) and had guarded it on the summit of a hill across the Chilka lake. In consequence of the removal of the idol, there was a falling off to the tune of nine lakhs of rupees in the imperial revenue accruing from pilgrims. Establishing friendly relations with Mir Habibulla Khan, and paying Nazar to the Nazim of the time, Rajah Daud (Ran Chandra) Deo brought back Jagannath, the Hindu God to Parsutom (Puri) and re-established the worship of Jagannath at Puri."

Lest the Sevaks of the Jagannath temple might remove the idol of Jagannath out of fear of being attacked by the Marathas, Bahadur Khan informed them that there was no chance of attack of Orissa, that is the Jagannath of Orissa. It seems that Mir Habibulla or Bahadur Khan was conscious about the loss of revenue under the head of the pilgrim tax which was only possible due to regular worship of Jagannath at Puri.

I have not been able to get any information about Bahadur Khan of this letter.

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26

A PEEP INTO SOME ANCIENT MILITARY AND FEUDATORY TITLES OF ORISSA. *

Titles such as Mangaraja, Viravara, Maroddaraja, Jagadeva, Bhramaravara, Harichandana, Srichandana, etc., are well known in Orissa and many Rulers of Orissa States and Zamindars are found to possess these titles. As these titles are of ancient origin, it is very difficult to explain as to how they came to be bestowed on persons whose descendants have been using them since time im-

* The Journal of the Orissa Academy,
memorial by succession and therefore, the proper significance of their
use is beset with uncertainties. These titles are commonly found in
the families who were once feudatories of the Kings of Orissa. A study
of the use and significance of these titles will, no doubt, throw much
light on the feudal system of the ancient kingdom of Orissa.

An inscription in the Lingaraja temple of Bhubaneshwara
belonging to Gajapati Kapilendra Deva (1434-35 to 1466 A.D.) proves
that there were feudatories under him. The Gopirâhpur
inscription of the time of Kapilendra Deva goes to show that
Kapilendra himself had the title of Bhrâmarâvara and another
inscription mentions his title as Kumâra Mahâpatra. These titles
furnish proof quite contradictory to the low origin of Kapilendra as
recorded in the Madala Panji and from the title of Bhrâmarâvara it
may be inferred that he was a feudatory chief who came to power at
the fall of the Ganga dynasty in Orissa. Likewise Telingâ Mukunda
Deva, perhaps a southern feudatory chief, having the title of
Harichandana assumed the sovereignty of Orissa.

Raja Mânsinha’s allotment papers published by A Stirling in 1822 contain a list of feudatories under the Rajas of Khurdha, Aul, Sarangarh, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Bisenpur in Orissa. Among these the family of Khurdha in southern Orissa and Bhanja family of Mayurbhanj in northern Orissa were very powerful, as is evident from the following account of the 17th century A. D. by Khan-i-Duran (1560-1667), the Moghal Governor of Orissa. The despatch to the Emperor Aurangzeb by Khan-i-Duran mentions that Raja Krishna Bhanja of Mayurbhanj “the leading Zamidar of this province was obeyed and helped by all the Zamidars of this country,” and Raja Mukunda Deva of Khurdha, “the leading Zamidar of this country whose orders are obeyed by all other Zamidars, whom all the Zamidars of this country worship like a god, disobedience of whose order they regard as great
sin.” Due to revival of worship of Jagannâtha by Ram Chandra

3. A. Stirling — Orissa pp. 44-49.
5. —do— p. 208,
divided, appear to me to have differed little in their several feudal relations to the Rajah of Orissa from that of the Jaghir-dars of the late Peshwa or the present Thakur Chiefs of Rajpootana with regard to their respective sovereigns. All were Khettry or military tribes, in other words Khundaita, a word derived from Khanda meaning in Sanskrit a sword, and which in form in the present principle signifies a person carrying a sword or *per excellence* one of the military caste. The Chiefs however *received from the supreme Rajah various titles*. A few only were originally Rajahs and these, I believe were Chiefs of Aul, Coojung (Kujang), Koonjur (Keonjhar), Mohurbhunj (Mayurbhanj) Puttiah and Daspullah. Others were styled Mahanaiks or Great Sirdars and to others the title of Khandait seems to have been exclusively confined."

"Khoordah, however, was not a zamidari when the Province of Cuttack was conquered by the British arms, but the wretched remnant of the once flourishing, civilised, populous and extensive dominion ruled over by the ancestors of the Rajah previous to the Mogal invasion. The Rajahs of Orissa ceased at that time to be in fact sovereign and independent princes, and they appear to have submitted from thence forward to the receipt of an annual Khelat from Delhi, and afterwards from Nagpoore, conferring the highest rank and titles which sovereignty could bestow on any Chief. Notwithstanding this anomaly, however, they retained their rank in the eyes of the natives of the Province, the exercise of some of the attributes of and all the reverence and veneration attaching to royalty. Even in the fallen condition of Rajahs of Khoordah, they continued to exercise the regal privilege of conferring titles on the inhabitants of the Magulbandee and the Gurbajt countries, which was never objected to by the Maharratas. I am informed, indeed, that no title granted by the Mahratta Government was considered to confer any distinction in Orissa, until confirmed by the Rajahs of Khoordah. It is always known that Rajah Mukund Deo, even when expelled from the last remaining portion of his hereditary dominions, and living as prisoner on the bounty of the British Government, frequently conferred titles on the natives of Cuttack." The present Raja of Puri belonging to Khurdha family even now confers titles on the Suniân Darbar to various peoples according to the tradition of the house.

Below is given a list of titles which are enjoyed now by many rulers of Indian States in Orissa as well as Zamindars in the British districts of Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam which were once under the
suzerainty of the kings of Orissa. It is very difficult to ascertain the date of grant of these hereditary titles. It can only be with certainty alleged that it is very ancient.

(a) Rulers of Orissa States Titles.

2. Dhenkanal Mahendra Bahadura.
3. Hindol Mardaraja Jagadeva.
6. Nayagarh Manadhatu
7. Ranpur Vajradhara, Narendra, Mahapatra.
8. Talecher Viravara, Harichandana, Mahapatra.
9. Tigriria Viravara, Chamupatisinha, Mahapatra.

(b) Zamidars of British Districts.

2. Sukinda* Harichandana, Mahapatra.
3. Chandra Harichandana.
4. Dompara Bhramaravara Raya.
5. Parikud (Banpur) Mansinha, Harichandana, Mardaraja, Bhramaravara Raya.
7. Tarala Harichandana.
8. Surangi Harichandana, Jagadeva.
11. Panchikote Narendra Mahapatra.

* Dependent under Keonjhar according to Raja Mansingh’s list.
† -do- Aul according to Raja Mansingh’s list.
There might be other different titles, but it is not possible to trace these feudal title holders from any authentic report.

Like the feudatories or dependent Chiefs under the Rulers of Khurdha there were eleven dependent Chiefs having 42 killahs under the rulers of Mayurbhanj according to Raja Mansingh's allotment papers of 1592 A.D. published by Stirling at page 47. In this list the name of Nilgiri Narsingpur (near Subarnamukha on the eastern border of Mayurbhanj) and Ghatisila (the capital of Dhalbhum) found in Khan-i-Duran's account of 1663 A.D. is mentioned as Camp followers of Krishna Bhanja. "Mr. Motte has written in his Narratives mentioned above that the Raja of Nilgiri "pays thirty thousand annual tribute to the Mahrrattas by whom the Raja is maintained against the claim of Mohur Bunge (Mayurbhanj)."

The following translation of a fragmentary passage from the manuscript called Bhanjavansamalka gives the titles of the dependent Chiefs of Mayurbhanj including Nilgiri which is now an Indian State, the Ruler of which possesses the title of Mardaraja Harichandana.

"This is the form of address to the feudatory Chiefs.

"1. The Rana sardara of Dhalbhum performs the ceremony of Tikka in the event of succession and receives presents wearing the costumes of a lady.

"2. Nayan Das Harichandan Bhuyan Mahapatra of Nilgiri on whom the title of Raja has been conferred very recently.

"3. Gopinath Das Jaya Bhujanga Manadhata Bhuyan Mahapatra of Kainsari belongs to a very old family and possesses the title of Raja.

"4. Nanda Kishore Das Mahapatra of Kapitipada has been recently conferred on the title of Raja.

"5. Jagannath Das Mahapatra of Pudadiha.

"6. Pratap Das Srichandan Bhuyan Mahapatra of Gilakantha.

"7. Brundabana Das Rajakumar Sametsur Bahadur Viravahu Mardaraja Bhuyan Mahapatra of Uparabhag has been conferred the title of Raja by the present Manimahabara.

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"In this way orders should be issued to 22 zamidars with
due consideration of their present and past titles."

Due to loss of leaves of the palm-leaf manuscript the titles of
other 15 Zamidars cannot be accurately ascertained. In these titles
"Dāsa Mahāpātra" is a common title of six dependent Chiefs out of
seven in the list. In the list of titles of rulers of Indian States and
British District Zamidars mentioned above "Mahāpātra" is attached
to Seven families.

The number of 22 zamindars or dependent Chiefs under
Mayurbhanj according to Rhanjaavanamalika is corroborated by the
following extract from the letter dated 24th, September, 1803 written
by Mr. Ernst, one of the Commissioners of the affairs of Cuttack to
the Chief Secretary to the Government.

"It appears that the zamidency of Morebhunge consists of
22 estates, the proprietors of which pay tribute to the Rajah and are
bound to afford him military aid whenever he may require it."

Out of the remaining 15 dependencies the title of the following
feudatories are only available from various authentic sources.

The sanads granted by Maharaja Chakradhara Bhanja Deo in
the amli year 1164 (1756 A.D.) to the Zamidar of Bamanghati
mention the following titles.

"Ude Dāsa Rajakumāra Narendra Bhuyān Bahadura Mahā-
pātra." In the sanad granted by Maharāja Tribikrama Bhanja Deo
in the year 1230 (1812 A.D.) the title of Satrudalana finds mention
in addition to his above titles. But the letter dated 9th May, 1821
from Major Roughsedge to the Zamidar of Bamanghati has been
addressed only to "Narendra Mahāpātra." In another official
document the titles of the feudatory chief of Jasipur are found to
be "Bahuvalendra Jagadeva Bhuyān Mahāpātra." The sanad granted
by Maharāja Jadunath Bhanja in the amli year 1252 (1844 A.D.)
mentions that the Zamidar of Karanjia named, Nara had the titles of
"Dāsa Srichandana Fouzdar, Bhāghalānjā, Mardarāja, Bhuyān
Mahāpātra." Before the establishment of British rule the Nayagram
and Jamirapal estates were separate and their zamidars were feudato-
ries of the Rajah of Mayurbhanj, from whom they received the
titles of Māngarāja Bhuyān and Paikarā Bhuyān respectively"

The titles "Sríchandan" and "Bahubalendra" were given to Raj families of Narayangarh and Mayana in Midnapore respectively by the kings of Orissa.

I could not come across any report or document showing the titles of feudatories under Keunjhar and Bishnupur according to Stirling on Raja Manasinha’s list of 1592 A.D. and so I do not include any in this article. Besides these titles of feudatories there are various titles of purely military origin which could be gathered from families holding such titles. The contents of Bhānjavansa malika mentioned above, gave me a clue to investigate the subject, but the paucity of data from published reports has made me unable to throw much light on the subject; I have ventured to write this article in the hope of drawing attention of others in Orissa in order to prepare a complete list of these Oriya titles with significance as far as now ascertainable. I intend to conclude this article with some quotations of curious feudatory tenures under Sambalpur and Chota Nagpur.

The titles of the 18 feudatories under the rulers of Sambalpur before the British rule have not been found in any authentic publication or manuscript. The Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of 1867 mentions that the chief of Sonpur had at first the title of "Mahapatra" Lieut. Kittoe visited Sambalpur in 1838 and he mentioned the names of 11 zamindars out of 18 in his "Account of a journey from Calcutta via Cuttack and Poree to Sambalpur". Lieut. Kittoe, however, has furnished us some "Curious tenures" of the feudatories of Sambalpur which are quoted below.

It has been shown above that the Zamindar of Dhalbhum used to appear before the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj in the costumes of a lady. The ancient Zamindar of Palahara which is now an Indian State, had to observe such a practice at the court of Sambalpur, Lieut. Kittoe’s account in this connection runs as follows:-

"The estate of Lehra was formerly one of the eighteen dependencies of Sambalpur, as I have before said; but some years ago the uncle of the present zamindar willed his estate to the Keunjur Raja, or rather gave it to him as a dowry on the marriage of his...

daughter (an only child). This questionable act has led, as may well be supposed, to continual feuds between the two powers, the zamindar refusing to pay the homage required by the Keunjur Raja, and the latter refusing to accept the tribute (which amounts to 250 rupees per annum) unless the former consents to attend once a year at the Keunjur darbar, and there presents a nuzzar together with his tribute, dressed in woman's attire, i.e. sari and charis (bangles) on his arms and in this condition prostrate himself at the Raja's feet.” 16

Continuing further, Lieut. Kittoe describes another instance of conditions of feudal tenures performed by the ancient Zamindar of Redhakhol which is at present also an Indian State, and was formerly one of the eighteen dependencies of Sambalpur. He writes:

“Most of the minor ‘garhas’ were originally held on the like curious tenures and some even still more absurd for instance the adjacent State of Rehrakol the Zamindar used to perform (once a year) what was termed the Mugger bath or alligator’s roll when attending with his tribute on his lord (Sambalpur). The ceremony is thus described:— Zamindar besmeared himself with mud and when arrived with a stipulated distance he had to lie down and roll along the ground in that condition to the Raja’s feet, which he saluted, his nuzzar was then accepted and he was allowed to rise.” 17

The Maharajas of Chota Nagpur were also the feudal superiors to many estates the exact number of which cannot be ascertained from any authoritative source. Only one instance of showing the condition of holding subordinate tenures has been recorded in the Gazetteer of the Hazaribagh District at page 148. After the British occupation in 1772 Maninath Singh “was the first Chief to repudiate the supremacy of the Maharaja of Chhota Nagpur by refusing to receive investiture from him. This used to be given by the Maharaja smearing his own big toe with sandal wood and placing it on the forehead of the recipient.”

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE LALBAGH PALACE, THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT CUTTACK.

Cuttack was the capital of the Gangavamsi and Surjyavamsi Kings of Orissa from 1132 A.D. to 1568 A.D. From 1568 to 1592 there was struggle between the Pathans and the Mughals, and in the 35th year of Akbar’s reign according to Akbarnama, Raja Man Singh fully conquered Orissa in 1591-92 A.D. and annexed it to the Subah of Bengal. In Abul Fazl’s Ain-i-Akbari written in 1594-95 (English translation Vol. II p. 127) there is a description of Cuttack which narrates that “It is the residence of the Governor and contains some fine buildings” Raja Mukunda Deo built here a palace nine stories in height”. In 1607 during the second year of his reign, Jahangir made Hashim Khan “Governor of the Province of Orissa,” 1 and since then Cuttack was the residence of the Mughal Governors of Orissa. Hashim Khan was succeeded by Raja Kalyan Mall in 1611 who remained the Governor upto 1617. Then came Mukram Khan as the Governor who perhaps served upto 1628 Sir Jadinath Sarkar has published a list of Mughal Subadars of Orissa from 1628 to 1725 in his book “Studies in Mughal India” p. 199, and from this list it is found that Baqar Khan was the Subadar from 1628—1632 and Mutaqad Khan from 1632—41. The only Persian account on the Lalbagh palace of Cuttack is found in Riyaz-us-Salatin by Ghulam Husain Salim who wrote it in 1787—88 and just mentions ‘Lal Bagh Palace’ during Alivardi Khan’s second march in 1741 without any description, but fortunately we have got three interesting pre-British accounts in English which help us to reconstruct the history of the Government house or the residence of Governors of Orissa from 1633 to 1790.

The English merchants first arrived at Cuttack 2 (spelt ‘Coteke’) on the May-day (i.e. the 1st of May) of 1633. The Court of Malcandy at

Cuttack described by William Bruton is nothing but the Manikhandi fort which existed in the middle of the 16th Century A.D. The English merchants met the 'Nobob' at the Manikhandi fort, but Bruton has not given the name of the Nawab. C. R. Wilson identified Agha Muhmmed Zaman, as the successor of Baqar Khan who was the Subadar for one year in 1632-33, and was succeeded by Mutaqad Khan in 1644 A.H. or 1634-35 A.D. C. R. Wilson put much reliance on the English records of 1704 disregarding the evidence found in Badshanamah on the appointment of Mutaqad Khan as the Subadar of Orissa in 1632. The extracts from Bruton's narrative quoted below on the construction of a new palace by the Nawab clearly proves that the Subadar was the man who was appointed on the understanding of a long service, otherwise Bruton would not have used the expressions such as 'he was building a palace' for future remembrance of his renown."

From the following quotation from Bruton's narrative it is clear that even in May 1633 A.D. there was no separate house for the residence of the Subadar as he was then sleeping in the night in tents.

"Thus have I plainly and trully related the occurrences that happened at the court of Mulcandy; but although the palace of the Nobob be so large in extent, and so magnificent in structure, yet he himself will not lodge in it, but every night he lodgeth in tents, with his most trusty servants and guards about him; for it is an abomination to the Mughals (which are white men), to rest or sleep under the roof of a house that another man hath built for his own honour. And therefore he was building a palace, which he purposed should be a fabric of a rest, and future remembrance of his renown; he likewise keepeth three hundred women, who are all of them the daughters of the best and ablest subjects that he hath."

The accommodation for 300 women in the palace gives us the idea of a number of rooms that were built there. Riyaz-us-Salatin mentions (English translation p. 335) 'Lalbagh palace situate in the city of Katak' in 1741.

The second English account on Lalbagh was written in 1766 by Thomas Motte (not Mr. La Motte as recorded by Stirling) in his

'A narrative of a Journey to the Diamond Mines at Sumbulpoor in the Province of Orissa.' Motte halted at Cuttack from 6th, to 9th of May 1766. Motte writes:

"Each of the sides of the triangle, on which Cuttack is built, is two miles, but that on the banks of the Cotjuree is Cuttack is built, is two miles, but that on the banks of the Cotjuree is best inhabited. On it is Llobaugh, the residence of the Governor of the province, a large building laid out in a number of courts, in the Morisco taste, but much out of repair; the Governor when one part is ready to fall, removing to another. From the principal entrance of this palace, runs the great street, formerly built in a straight line, one mile and a half long, and still the chief place of business in the town. On the right of it is the English factory, the meaneness of which does not credit to so flourishing a company."

In this account of the 18th century the name of the residence of the Governors is given as 'Llobaugh' or Lalbagh the proper signification of which is not ascertainable now.

The third account in English on Lalbagh of Cuttack is found in the "Journal of a route to Nappore by way of Cuttack etc." by Leckie who halted at Cuttack from 31st, March to 17th, April of 1790. Leckie writes:

"There is a number of brick and stone buildings; amongst which are, the Laul Baugh, the residence of the Rajah, situated on the Cutjoors, surrounded by a high stone wall with gate ways; several religious edifices, both Hindoo and Mahomedan, particularly a very handsome mo-que, built by the order of Zeebul Nissau Khanum, Aurungazeb's daughter, during the Government of Ekraum Khan. The fort of Beerbauty, to the northward of the town, is surrounded by a wet ditch, about 150 feet broad, which is supplied from the Mahanuddy by a channel covered with large stones. It is built of the stone already mentioned. and the walls do not appear thick or in good repair. There are embrasures for cannon only in the bastions, in the parapet and curtain loopholes."

A fourth account was written by Stirling in 1822. He writes:

5. 'Asiatic Miscellany' Vol. II. 1786 p. 28.
"The only Mohammedan monuments worthy of notice at the capital, are a small neat mosque built by Ikram Khan, a Governor during Aurangzeb's reign, towards the centre of the town, and the Kadam Rasool, an antique looking edifice standing in the midst of a fine Garden, which contains certain relics of the Prophet commissioned from Mecca by the Newab Nazim Shuja ud Din Khan, or his son Mahommed Taki Khan, the latter of whom lies buried within the enclosure.

The Mogul and Marhatta Subadars always resided in the palace of the Lal Bagh on the banks of the Catjori, which we must suppose to be the "Stately Court of Maleandy, (whatever that word may mean), described by Mr. Cartwright who visited the "Governor of Coteke," in 1632, though there are no traces of splendour remaining to warrant the high wrought description of the palace, given in Bruton's narration."7

Stirling's suggestion for the identification of Lalbagh with Bruton's 'Court of Maleandy' is totally wrong.

O'Malley quoted Bruton's narrative at page 297 of the Cuttack District Gazetteer under Lalbagh without any historical note.

"I do not know if there is now any relics of the palace of the 17th. century in the Lalbagh area where the present Government house of Orissa stands."

Both Leckie and Stirling mention one Mughal Governor named Ikram or Ekram Khan during the reign of Aurangzeb, but no such name has been mentioned by Sir J. N. Sarkar in his list of Mughal Subadars of Orissa.

ATHARAGADA OR EIGHTEEN FORTS

In the Jharkhand area which extends from the south of Gaya and Bhagalpur to Jhadi Jeypur and Bastar comprising the whole of the hilly tracts of Chhotanagpur, Orissa States, Chhattisgarh and Jeypur Agency, the term Atharagada has a definite significance as of the interior subdivisions of the kingdom itself. It is well known that Chhattisgarh was so called from the existence within it of 18 garhs of Ratanpur and 18 garhs of Raipur over which the Haihaya kings established their supremacy. In latter times, according to this tradition of integral parts of a kingdom, the kingdom of Sambalpur was also known to possess Athargarha. Evidence has been found that Mayurbhanj, Kalahandi, Jeypur, Vizianagar, and Bastar each had 18 garhs under it before the Moghal period. In Bahari-Stan-i-Ghybi mention is made that the kingdom of Assam had also 18 forts. Sirat-i-Firozahahi mentions also that the Raja of Sikharbhong in Manbhum "was an important Chief with thirty-six minor Chiefs as his vassals" vide J. R. A. S. B. Vol. VII. 1942 p. 52.

It seems that the conventional expression of the term Athargarh is of ancient origin. ‘Kamandakiya Nitisara’ mentions in chapter VIII that according to the view of Brihaspati there were "18 kings of a Mandala." Any one having 18 kings under him used to assume the title of Mahamandalesvara and the Kesari copper plate of Satru Bhanja shows that he had the title of Mahamandalesvara. The epigraphic records of the 10th & 11th centuries bear testimony to this. The earliest direct reference to Athargarth is found in the Bonai copper plate grant of Vimitatunga Deva who was 'the lord of Gandrama country consisting of the 18 feudatories' or Asghadasagondramadhipati.1 The Raipur inscription of 1415 A. D. mention that Sinahana Deva, king of Raipur, conquered ‘18 forts or strong-holes of adversaries.’2

Below are given the lists of Athargarhs of the kingdoms of 1. Ratanpur, II. Raipur, III. Kalahandi, IV. Mayurbhanj, V. Bastar, VI. Sambalpur, VII. Jeypur and VIII. Vizianagram,

1. J. B & O R. S. Vol. VI, p. 239.
I. Athargarhs of Ratanpur:


II. Athargarhs of Raipur:


III. Athargarhs of Kalahandi:


IV. Athargarhs of Mayurbhanj:


V. Athargarhs of Bastar:

“In 1502 A.D. Pratap Rajdeo came to the throne. He conquered 18 forts round Dongar and assigned them to his younger brother as an appanage.” The details of these 18 garhs are not available in any printed book.

4. Ibid p. 201.
5. Ibid. p. 203-204.
7. Sil’s History of Central Provinces and Berar, p. 115.
VI. Athargarhs of Jeypur:


VII. Athargarhs of Vizianagar:


VIII. Athargarhs of Sambalpur:


This list of 18 garhs was first published by Sir R. Temple in his report of 1863 after deriving the materials from the report by Major Impey.

Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., in his monograph on the Territorial System of the Rajput Kingdoms of Mediaeval Chattisgarh, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol XV, 1919, No. 5, has elaborately discussed the significance of the term of the Sambalpur Atharagarh, and has come to the following conclusion:

"It is surely curious too that, though Mr Motte (1766) has nothing to say as regards this "Athargarb" of States, Kittoe some 70 years later can give a partial list of the members of the confederacy which Major Impey in 1863 records in the fullest detail. Such a development of information varying inversely with the writer's proximity in time to the state of affairs he is describing, is in itself

9. The modern History of the Indian Chiefs, Rajas, Zamindars etc. Part - II
suspicious. And this alone might tempt one to conclude that the application of the term Atharagarh to the States which at one time acknowledged the hegemony of Sambalpur and Patna is without historical foundation” (P. 223).

Elsewhere he has written that “according to modern local tradition as officially recorded, these Sambalpur Garhs were not, as in Chhattisgarh and elsewhere, interior subdivisions of the kingdom itself, but constituted (it is said) the units in a cluster of 18 independent States (of which Sambalpur was only one) in feudal subordination to or confederation with the Rajas of Sambalpur and Patna” (P. 218).

He again writes commenting on the application of the term Athargarh of Sambalpur as follows:—

“But in the 19th century its real significance was forgotten while the memory of the confederacy of States survived, with the result that the term Atharagarh was mis-applied, a result of the more likely to occur as the wider the extension of its meaning the more flattering it was to the traditions of the fallen house of Sambalpur.” (P. 226).

The use of the term is so misunderstood even now that Lie G C Praharaj, the compiler of the Oriya Bhāsākosh, has written under Atharagada that the 17 States of Orissa Tributary Mahala together with Angul were known as Atharagara of Orissa.

Chhattisgarh of the Central Provinces and Sikharbhum furnish us with the evidence that there were kingdoms in which there were $18 \times 2 = 36$ States ruled by vassals. This supported by ‘Kamāндakīya Nītisāra’ which mentions Sattrimsaka Mandalas e. g., a mandala divided into 36 divisions. The same authority also mentions Chatur-panchasatakas – Mandalas, that is a Mandala consisting of 54 Divisions and Nādeva-prakriti-mandala consisting of 72 divisions. So it seems that kingdoms were divided to 18 or multiples of 18, such as 36, 54, or 72 feudatory parts. In Mansimha’s allotment papers published by Stirling at p. 44 under the Raja of Khurdi there were seventy one Killahs excluding his own estate of Khurdi. This gives us 72 garhs. As the Raja of Khurdi was the most powerful of all the neighbouring 18 garh kingdoms referred to above his claim over 72 feudatory kings under him is corroborated by Kāmandakīya Nītisāra.
TWO COPPER PLATE GRANTS FROM THE VILLAGE THEMRA IN THE SAMBALPUR DISTRICT

In May and June 1929 when I was busy in studying the records relating to the history of Mayurbhanj in the Record Room of the then Political Agent of Orissa, these two copper plates, written in Oriya script, were brought to my notice. These copper plates were then found in possession of late Pandit Somanath Misra, the father of Sri Bipin Bihari Misra, a resident of the village Themra, situated in the Sadar Sub-Division of the Sambalpur District. Sri Bipin Bihari Misra is the 6th in descent from the donee Divyasimha Misra.

On the 26th of September 1953 through the courtesy of Sri Bipin Bihari Misra, I was able to re-examine the copper-plates and got their photographs which are reproduced in this paper.

A. The Copperplate grant of Jayanta Simha

This plate contains 11 lines of text on the first side and seven lines on the second side. It opens with the adorations to Siva and a Sanskrit verse stating that Ajita Simha had a son named Jayanta Simha belonging to the Chauhana dynasty. Jayanta Simha granted the village Sodasā (present Sodanga) to one Divyasimha Misra on the 20th, April, 1790 A. D. The date of the grant is given as the Vikrama Sambat 1847 when there was an eclipse.

The script of the grant is Oriya and the language is Sanskrit.

The conditions of the grant are as follows:

1. The grant of the village bounded by trees was made with the rights of the land and water and mines and minerals.

2. The witnesses were (a) the Gurus, the Goddess Somalai, Vimalēśvara and eight cardinal deities.

3. The grant was to continue as long as the sun and the moon shine.

* From the U. H. R. J., Vol. II, April, 1953
(4) No successor ruler or persons belonging to the four castes who would interfere in the grant will be involved in incurring the Mahāpātaka.

The last verse of the grant was imprecatory one from the Śastraś

The text of the grant is printed at the end of this paper.

**B. The copperplate grant of Rajyeshvari Ratna Kumari, the Patta Mahishi (chief queen) of Jayanta Simha**

This plate contains 10 lines on the first side and 9 lines on the second side. It opens with a Sanskrit verse stating that Ratnakumāri, the scion of the Gaṅga family is the Patta-Mahishi of Jayanta Simha of the Chauhāna dynasty who was enthroned as the Rājyeshvari by the officers.

People and the feudatory chiefs (Sarvāṃmaṭyā-Prajāṃpāi). She granted the village Themra to Divyasimha Misra, in the bright fortnight of Tṛtiya of Vaiśākha in the Sambat year 1861 corresponding to 1804 A. D.

The script of the grant is Oriya and its language is Sanskrit.

The conditions of the grant are as follows:

1. The grant is made with the rights of water, lands, and minerals situated within the boundary marked by trees of the village Themra.

2. The witnesses of the grant are Dikpālas, Aditya and Chandra.

3. The grant will last as long as the earth will bear the mountains, waters and forests and as long as the sun and the moon will rise.

4. Those persons who will create troubles in the village will suffer from committing the sin (Pātaka) of killing the cow, mixing the poison in the sacred dishes of lord Jagannātha at Puri and cohabiting with their own begotten at Kāśi.

The text of the grant is given below at the end of this paper.

**Historical Note**

The date of the copper-plate grant of Jayanta Simha is 28th April 1790 A. D. and that of Rājyeshvari Ratnakumāri, the chief queen of Jayanta Simha is the month of Vaiśākha (April-May) of 1804.
Late Sri Ram Chandra Mallik, the retired Deputy Inspector of Schools of ex-Patna State, published in Oriya a short Koshala-Itihāsa in two parts. Part-I deals with the history of Patna and part-II the history of Sambalpur. Although Sri Ram Chandra Mallik has not given the sources of his book, yet he has left a good many materials for the traditional history of the Chauhāna families of Patna, Sonpur and Sambalpur. According to this history, Jayanta Simha, the king of Sambalpur ruled from 1782 to 1818. Ajita Simha, the father of Jayanta Simha ruled Sambalpur from 1742 to 1766. Ajita Simha had 8 queens and two sons named Abhaya Simha (whose mother was the 5th Rāni), and Jayanta Simha (whose mother was the 6th Rāni). After the death of Ajita Simha, Abhaya Simha ascended the throne of Sambalpur in 1766 and ruled upto 1777 A.D. Due to the partisan movement among the followers of the two brothers Sambalpur had a troublous time. The followers of Jayanta Simha declared him at a place near Bāmāḍā (Bamra) the king of Sambalpur in the presence of the neighbouring Zamindars. On hearing this Akabara Rāya, the Dewan put Jayanta Simha and his followers in the prison without giving them any water and food. After 21 days it was found that all the followers had lost their life, but Jayanta Simha was not there. It is not known as to how Jayanta Simha escaped. He not only escaped but went safely to Garhmandal where the Rāja appointed him as the Dafādar of 50 horsemen.

Raja Abhaya Simha died without any issue and the whereabouts of the next claimant Jayanta Simha were not known. Although there were more than one whose claim to the succession was rightful, Akabara Rāya selected a boy from the family of Padmapura and enthroned him as the king of Sambalpur. By this arrangement of Akabara Rāya, the Rāja of Sārāngagāḍa was very much dissatisfied and invited Jayanta Simha from Gach Mandala and helped him to invade Sambalpur. When Jayanta Simha appeared near the temple of Samalai at Sambalpur, Akabara Rāya was frightened and begged pardon of him after presenting gold coins and performed the ceremony of Tikā of Jayanta Simha as the king of Sambalpur. After this king Jayanta Simha entered into the palace and killed the boy Balabhadra Sāe by dashing him against the throne and then Balabhadra’s mother was killed by being thrown into a pan (Karāi) of boiling ghee. Soon after Jayanta Simha ordered to behead Akabara Rāya and appointed his son as the Dewan of Sambalpur, who was again murdered by the order of the king. It is said that Jayanta Simha ordered one Māna Misra, the Dewan, to kill Manohara Simha of
Khinda who was full of personal charms and beauty and was suspected by the king for intriguing with the queens, but Mana Misra refused to obey the order and left the service. Jayanta Simha was able to carry out his designs through one Govinda of Sonpur who was appointed as the Dewan of Sambalpur.

According to Sri Ram Chandra Mallik's narrative, Jayanta Simha had three queens named Ratnakumari, the daughter of Raja Vaidyanatha Deo of Gangapura, Mukta Devi, the daughter of the Haibaya family and Rahasya Kumari Devi, the daughter of the Baghela family. Queen Rahasya Kumari gave birth to a son named Maharaaja Saee, who was the son and successor of Jayanta Simha.

In this traditional account, Ratnakumari has been described as the daughter of the Raja of Gangapura who belongs to Nag family, but in the copper-plate she describes her as the Gangaja e.g the daughter of the Gaag family. The Rajas of Ramra belong to the Gaag family. From this it appears that it is difficult now to ascertain the historical value of this traditional account. But we are lucky to have some English records of this period which furnish some contemporary evidence regarding the history of Ajita Simha. Abbay Simha, Akabara Raya, Jayanta Simha, Maharaaja Saee, Ratnakumari Devi and Mukta Devi of Sambalpur from 1766 to 1818.

In the tradition Jayanta Simha has been described to be involved in the interregnum feuds and murder but that was the period when such things were very common all over the country. From the British records it is definitely known that Jayanta Simha in spite of various troubles was able to establish the independence in 1788 according to Foster's account of Nagpur in 1788 quoted below:

"On the south east Sambalpur and other independent petty Hindu States separate them from the Province of Cuttack which holds of Nagpur".1

The history of Jayanta Simha up to 1800 A.D. is not known from any contemporary source. The narrative of the history of Sambalpur of this period is well worth quoting below:

1. C.U. Wills's British Relations with Nagpur State in the 18th century, Nagpur, 1926, p 96.
“About A. D. 1797, in the reign of Jeth Singh, successor to Udbhaya Singh, another violent quarrel with the Nagpur Marathas took place. It appears that Nanā Sāhib a relation of the Nagpur Rājā was going on a pilgrimage to Jagannāth with a large party of followers. On his way he was treacherously set upon by the Sarangarh and Sambalpur people, and also by those of Sonpur and Bod. He contrived, however to push his way to Cuttack, where there were some Marāthā troops. Bringing these with him on his return, after severe fighting he took the Bod chief and Prithvī Singh, the chief of Sonpur, prisoners. He then encamped for the rainy season in the Sonpur country. Mean while Jeth Singh had been strengthening the Sambalpur fort in expectation of being attacked. As soon as the rains were over Nanā Sāhib appeared before Sambalpur, and regularly invaded the town. For five months he remained before the walls without being able to effect an entrance, but by chance one of his men discovered that the moat near the Samalāi gate was fordable. The Nanā, on hearing this, assembled his people, made a rush across the moat, and forced the gate.” 2

The above account is corroborated by Colebrook’s despatch No. 32 dated Nagpur, the 6th April 1800 to the Governor General which is quoted below.

“Intelligence was yesterday received that the fort of Sambalpur has been surprised by the Rājā of Berar’s troops and taken with little resistance. This occurrence has been deemed of sufficient magnitude to be announced by a salute which was yesterday fired from the park of artillery. Sambalpur was the principal fortress of a chief of mountaineers, who takes his title from that place and who holds an extensive tract of country between Chhattisgarh and Cuttack. He was nominally subject to this government, but did almost maintain independency and only paid small tribute very irregularly. Governing a numerous tribe of hardy mountaineers and possessing such a stronghold as Sambalpur, he had been hitherto able to elude the power of the Rājā of Berar; and all attempts to subdue his country had invariably failed. The reduction of his strongest fortress will, it is thought, be now followed by his speedy submission and by the fall establishment of the Marathā authority throughout his territories. The sudden attack which has been thus successful was not preconcerted, Chandāji Bhonsle, an officer of the Rājā’s troops, being in the neighbour-

2. Grant’s C.P. Gazeteer, 1870, p. 453.
hood, strayed with two rocket-men into the forest of bamboo canes which surrounds the fort and coming unexpectedly upon it, found it carelessly guarded and remarked that the wall had fallen into the ditch in one place. He wantonly threw a rocket into the fort by which the thatched buildings it contains were accidently set on fire. Observing that the garrison was busied in endeavouring to extinguish the fire without suspecting the occasion of it, Chandaji sent for troops from the camp who arrived in time to surprise the fort. They made themselves masters of it and put the garrison to the sword."

The subsequent story is narrated as follows:

"The fort was taken after a fierce resistance, the Raja Jeth Singh and his son Maharaja Sa being taken prisoners. The Nana Sahib took them off to Nagpur with him, and the Nagpur Raja had them confined at Chanda. Bhup Singh, a Maratha Jamadar, was left in charge of Sambalpur to collect revenue, and administer the country in behalf of the Maratha government. Bhup Singh, however, soon got into trouble with his government, and on being summoned to Nagpur, refused to go. The Nagpur Raja then sent a large force to compel him to obedience, but getting the assistance of the Raigarh and Sarangarh people, he lay in ambush at the Singhor pass, where he drove back the Marathas, and completely routed their force. He, however, foolishly made an enemy of one Chandra Gaonthiyia, by 'looting' his village, which was near the pass. Consequently some short time after, when a second body of Marathas arrived from Nagpur, Chandra, instead of sending word to Bhup Singh, placed the Maratha troops in ambush in the same pass where they had been previously defeated, and sending word to Bhup Singh that a few troopers only were looting the country on the western side of the ghat, induced him to bring a force through it, when the Marathas fell upon his party and almost annihilated it. Bhup Singh fled to Sambalpur, whence, taking the Ranas of Jeth Singh with him, he retired to Kolabira."

This happened at Sambalpur not long before the war of 1803 with the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur by the East India Company.

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3. C. U. Will's *British Relations with Nagpur State in the 18th century* pp. 150-151.

The British force occupied Cuttack in October 1803 and "Lt. Col. Broughton occupied Sambalpur on the 22nd, January 1804." 5

"On their arrival, Tatia Pharmavis, the Maratha manager who had replaced Bhup Singh, withdrew with all his people to Nagpur". 6

After occupation of Sambalpur, the British authorities did not find any body to make Treaty alliance perhaps due to absence of Jayanta Simha or his son Maharaja Sai from Sambalpur in January 1804, and perhaps they did not want to establish any political relation with the Rânis of Jayanta Simha. The clause 10 of the Treaty of Deogaon dated the 17th November 1803 included the territories occupied by the British after the date of the Treaty as the cession of territories in perpetual sovereignty by the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur. Due to reluctance of the Bhonsla Raja, the British Government restored the Sambalpur and Patna area to him by the Treaty dated the 24th August 1806. Although the Sambalpur and Patna area was under the British occupation from January 1803 to August 1806, neither the British nor the Maratha administration was operative there. This unusual political situation favoured the assumption of the ruling power by the Rajyeshvari Ratnakumari Devi as mentioned in her copper-plate grant issued in April-May 1804 in which she is described as being elevated to the position of the Rajyeshvari by all officers, people and the feudatories during the period of the absence of her husband Jayanta Simha and his son Maharaja Sai in the prison at Chandà by the Bhonsla Raja. As the British authorities in that period were supporting the feudatories of the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur for their separate existence, it seems that Rani Ratnakumari was supported by the British military officers in asserting her claim over the Sambalpur State.

The subsequent history of Sambalpur has been described by Hamilton in his Hindoostan, Vol. II, 1820, pp. 20-21 as follows:

"In August 1806, advertting to the friendly relations then subsisting with the Nagpoor State, the British Government agreed to restore the territories of Sumbhulpoor and Patna, consisting of the

5. C U. Will's British Relation with the Nagpur State in the 18th century, p. 185.
following pergunnahs, viz. Sumbhulpoor (Sambalpur), Sohnpoor (Sonpur), Saurungur (Sarangarh), Burgur (Bargarh), Saktee (Sakti), Serakole (Lerakhol), Benria (Bamra), Bonee (Bonai), Kartickpoor (Kartikpur), Patna (Patna), Khas Patna (Khas Patna), Nawagar (Nawagarh or Bendra Nawagarh), Gharilano (not identified), Tanagu (not identified) and Borra Summbah (Borasambar). To these cessions, however, the Zemindars of Sumbhulpoor and Patna opposed so effectual a resistance, that in 1807, the Nagpore state was obliged to solicit the assistance of the British Government, being unable itself to raise funds sufficient to equip an adequate force, Mr Elphinstone, who then resided as ambassador at Nagpore, was in consequence directed to interpose with the Zemindars, many of whom refused to be thus transferred, and as the British Government was bound by treaty either to support them in their independence, or to find them compensations within its own territories; it was compelled to adopt the latter alternative."

"After trying open force without success, the Maharattas in 1808 obtained possession of Sumbhulpoor by an act of the most deliberate treachery. In effectuating this, they first entered into a solemn engagement, confirmed by oaths and religious ceremonies, by the conditions of which the Ranny, or Queen on paying up arrears and settling the future amount of the revenue, was to be left in independent possession. Having thus lulled her suspicions, they took advantage of her confidence, suddenly attacked her troops, and took the fortress by surprise. The Ranny being thus periliously assailed escaped with great difficulty, and arrived in such distress on the British frontier, where she solicited and received protection from the Government, and to support her dignity had a pension of 600 rupees per month assigned."

After the Maratha occupation of Sambalpur in 1808, both Rani Ratnakumari Devi and Rani Mukta Devi had to leave Sambalpur and take shelter in the British occupied area, Rani Ratnakumari Devi went to Hazaribagh, the head-quarters of the then South-West Frontier Agency of Bengal and sought help from the Lt. Col. Broughton, the Agent to the Governor-General, at whose proposal, the Government of Bengal sanctioned a monthly allowance

Rs 600/- for her maintenance. Similarly Rāni Muktā Devi went to Cuttack where at the instance of the Commissioner, the Government of Bengal granted her the Zamindary of Panchāgarh in the Puri District for her maintenance.

After the defeat of the Raja of Nagpur in 1817, Sambalpur area came under the British occupation. Major Roughsedge, the Commander of Ramgarh Battalion stationed at Hazaribag was placed in charge of the Sambalpur area. He pleaded for the release of Raja Jayanta Simha and his son Mahārāja Sai with Sir Richard Jenkins, the Resident at Nagpur and obtained their release from Chánda in 1817. Raja Jayanta Simha was restored to power in 1817, but he died in 1818. With the death of Jayanta Simha the feudal superiority of Sambalpur came to an end. His son Mahārāja Sai was made Raja of Sambalpur in 1820 but the dependency of the feudatory chiefs of Sambalpur Alhargarh was annulled and they were granted separate Sancads having direct relation with the British Government in 1821.

From the history of Sambalpur written by Sri Ram Chandra Mallik, it is found that Rāni Ratnakumari died at Hazaribagh after her return from pilgrimage at Banaras before 1817. After restoration of Sambalpur to Raja Jayanta Simha, Rāni Muktā Devi was brought from Panchāgarh to Sambalpur. She survived her husband and was allowed Rs, 1000/- p. m. from the revenue of Sambalpur during the reign of Mahārāja Sai who ruled Sambalpur upto 1827. No information is available about her subsequent life.

A
Copper-plate grant of Jayanta Simha
found from village Themra in the Sambalpur District.

TEXT

First side

L1. नमः शिवायां || श्री दैवतित्वसंह देव नृपतिः इति विषयमीहः चसो-
L2. द्रव्यः, श्री मधीरजयवन्तित्वसंह नृपति समयसंह नामसंह: ||
L3. युक्तवहे मनोरचन्द्रि भववे प्रामाणिषेदैः नमः
L4. अेस्वभुक्तोद्वे श्रमिष्ठयाः श्री विद्विषिः चतुः || वैशाः
Copper Plate Grant of the Chief Queen of Jayanta Simha

Page—277
Copper-plate grant of Rajyesvari Ratna Kumari, the Patamahishi (chief queen) of Jayanta Simha of Sambalpur found from village Themra.

TEXT

First side

L1. दृष्टि चाहिः श्रीमधीरजन्तशिन्ह नृत्ये श्रीहाद्वारः।
L2. शोद्व, स्वाध क्ष्वतुमारी पट्टमहिशी नाम्ना स्मृता गः।
L3. क्षता पर्वर्षामाय प्रजावृत्ति निन्हुपिता राज्येचलिचेद
L4. धुमा,क्ष्वता सिंहांकुले०४ च नाम्ना वे विन्यसिना।
L5. य वि० स्त्रने श्री सोमलाहें त्युलङ्गि मयं एः
L6. ठेमान्त्वः च दानं, तेस्राम सज्तन्त्वल निन्हिनिखालायः।
L7. न्यित्त् ॥ शाक्ययुक्त तृतीयायं बैशाखे शुक्लपञ्चके ॥
L8. शाक्यकालनागेन्द्र १५६१ संवत् चर्चापि सम्बते ॥ विनः
L9. लालित्यचन्द्रा मे दानसिंहचन्द्र संस्कृतं साहित्यं ॥ याबद्धमूलगंध—
L10. लो धृते सरोकारकानं ॥ याबद्धचित्तातुलुत्ततो च—

Second side

L1. नगरकों मूलसंस्कृतम् ॥ ताबल्स दानमोगेन भी
L2. चक्षु सिरुब्रजम् ॥ प्रामेकदिरिमसन्तुजा रुपावकराः
L3. कैसिस्व क्षेत्रयति वे से गोनाशान पा—
L4. तकप्रकारसुखान्त: प्रयागे नराः ॥
L5. जने श्री पुरुलोचने श्री जगन्नाथ—
L6. धामगुम्बान्ने विषयार्थाणं गति—
L7. मापुयुक्तम समाना काचयं न्यायसंस्कृतम् ॥
L8. श्री श्री श्री रत्नकारार्थी शासन ए सहि ॥
SECTION C

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

30

THE SCULPTURE OF ORISSA FROM IMAGES OF GODS AND GODDESSSES.

The most authentic history of Orissa does not go beyond Mauryan period of the Indian History. The image of Yaskini found at Dedarganj in Bihar and now preserved at the Patna Museum is the earliest historical sculpture of human form in India and although no such human figure of Mauryan period has been found in Orissa yet the head of the elephant carved on the Dhauli rock along with Asoka’s Edicts is a best example of Mauryan art in Orissa. So far no image of any deity belonging to the Mauryan period is known to us.

After Asoka, Mahâmeghavâhana Kharavela of Kalinga established an empire after conquering Magadha and spreading his power upto Mathura in northern India; in southern India his power extended upto Tamraparni. After this conquest of northern as well as southern India, the sculptors of Kalinga were influenced by the art of north and south and the sculptures of Khandagiri and Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar prove the influence of northern and southern India.

Since the 1st century B.C. to 600 A.D. we do not get any Archaeological evidence on the nature of sculpture of Orissa. During this period the Indian art developed with a new phase in the Gupta sculptures. From 630 to 642, Yuan Chüang visited Orissa and he saw many images of gods at Chellitalochin. As this port of Orissa has not yet been located and identified, we are not sure about those post-Gupta sculptures of Orissa.

The Buddhist and Brahminic sculptures of Jajpur, Ratnagiri, Lalatigiri and Udayagiri of the Cuttack District are found to be fully influenced by the Gupta Art. It has been cited above that there is some southern influence in the sculpture of Khandagiri and Udayagiri of the Puri District, but no such influence is noticed in the sculptures of the Cuttack hills. This change may be attributed to the
discontinuity of the Kalinga school of art due to the long absence of patrons. In the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. with the advent of patrons like the rulers of the Bhauma dynasty, the artists of Utkala carved out sculptures according to the technique of the Gupta School of Art then popular all over the northern India.

The earliest images of Buddhist and Brahmanic deities are found at Muttarā (Mathura) and it seems that the sculptors got the inspiration from the Gandhar Art in which inward significance of an image is wanting; but during the Gupta period the prevalence of Dhyana of Gods changed the outlook of the artists in regard to the making of images. Gautama Buddha had to practice austere Yoga and Tapasya (meditation and austerities) for attaining Siddhi or supreme knowledge. Principles of Yoga are also very popular in the Brahmanic religion. The sculptors of Mathura adopted these principles of Yoga from life and applied them in carrying out the images of the Buddha which are the creations of pure imagination. The human figure of Gautam Buddha as found in early sculptures is not a copy of the statue of Gautama, but an artist’s production according to 32 signs of Mahapurusha described in the Sàstras. The pre-Gupta artists did not observe the attributes of Yoga and signs of Mahapurusha in making the images; but with the rise of popularity of image worship the artists were very attentive to carve images according to Dhyana of the deities, but all along imaginary human form was the ideal of the artist. The images of the Buddha are found in sitting or standing posture called asana without which no Yoga is possible. The sitting posture is the Paryankasana and the standing posture is Kayotterganasana of the Sanskrit text. So a Yogi performs his meditation either in a sitting or a standing posture. In the human form, the face, fingers and legs are the moveable parts — but really the face is the index of mind, and in the face the lips, eye-brows, eye-lids and eye-balls indicate different expression of the mind by change of position. The sculptors of northern India of the by-gone days fully understood the importance of the position of eyes and lips and were able to carve out the faces of deities giving different expressions, but at the same time without forgetting the posture of eyes prescribed in the Yoga. With the popularity of images of the Buddhist and the Jaina pantheons, there was introduced the worship of images of Brahmanic gods and goddesses. The sculptors following the orders of their patrons used to carve images of the Buddhist, the Jaina and the Brahmanic faiths according to dhyana and they were also too many to engage them in carving out images with perfection and excellence.
The temple of Vishnu at Deogarh (about 600 A.D.) in the district of Jhansi in U. P. possesses some typical sculptures built according to principles stated above. In the panel in the eastern wall of the temple are fixed two images— one is a four-armed deity in human form and the other is a two-armed man carved in a sitting posture of Yogi. Both are inclined to each other as if it appears that they are engaged in conversation. Their faces and eyes show that they are lost in contemplation without having any serious talk. In another panel a scene is carved out showing Anantasayi Vishnu (Vishnu in an inclining pose under the hood of Ananta serpent) and Lakshmi. As Vishnu is in a pose of taking rest in lying down posture, his face naturally gives the idea of Yoganidra which is though not actual sleep, yet it manifests outwardly the normal conditions of sleep with full internal consciousness. Lakshmi too though outwardly engaged in massaging the right leg of Vishnu is also absorbed in meditation and thus engaged in discharging her duties with full detachment of mind. In this scene the lower human figure is represented to draw the sword from the scabbard as if he is in active service, but his face indicates that his inward mind is detached from his outward action. These self-contradictory poses of mind and body of these sculptures are no doubt very interesting for the study of Gupta Art.

The sculptures in the pannel of the northern side of this temple give a clearer idea in regard to the incongruity in poses of the body and the expression of the face. In the picture a Nāga is seen to tie the legs of an elephant with its tail and the helpless elephant is praying for protection by uplifting its trunk with an offer of lotus to god Vishnu who is descending on the back of Garuḍa. In this picture the god Vishnu, his vehicle Garuḍa and Nāga have human faces and the poses of their eyes indicate that they are lost in meditation. The attacking Nāga's folded hands indicate that he begs pardon from which the idea of the release of elephant, not actually shown in the relief, is clear.

The railings of the Buddhist Stupa of Amaravati in the Guntur district of the Andhra Province have sculptures dating back from the 2nd century A.D. In respect of carving of Buddha images credit goes to the sculptors of Southern India for making earlier images than the sculptors of Northern India. They also carved Brahmanic images about the same time as that of Deogarh. The comparison of the contemporary Brahmanic sculptures from South India with those of North India will show the difference in spirit of the respective
sculptures. Let us take the image of Anantāsāyī Vishnu of Badami in Bijapur district of Bombay Province and compare it with that of Deogarh described above. In the Badami relief Vishnu is depicted as reclining on the hood of Ananta, but he is not engaged in Yoga and is not lost in meditation. He is watching with open eyes, and the attendant figures are all gazing at him. The difference of the poses of eyes in this image of Bedami with that of Deogarh is really due to the difference in the spirit of artists in carving out images of gods and goddesses. The northern India images possess expression of human activity controlled by principles of meditation whereas the images of southern India only possess the expression of direct action like any ordinary person. Though Ellora and Elephanta geographically belong to southern India, but the sculptures of both the places are typically northern in style and spirit. This is illustrated by the images of Siva of Ellora and Elephanta which are absorbed in Yoga or meditation. The most typical image of Elephanta is the marriage of Siva, but the special expression of both the bride Parvati and bridegroom Siva is not quite befitting the occasion as both are absorbed in meditation. This speciality of Ellora and Elephanta is due to the Aryan-speaking Maharashtra which imbibed the spirit of northern India. The sculptures having half shut eyes and wide open eyes is no doubt due to difference in the cultural influence of northern India with that of southern India, in other words of the Aryans with Dravidians or the art of Indo-Aryan school with that of Dravidian school. Late Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda pointed out this difference of two schools of art. Fergusson long ago pointed out the difference between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian style of architecture by the study of stylistic development of architecture in India. The study of art of India from archaeological point thus leads us to conclude that the sculpture and architecture were greatly influenced by the culture of races inhabiting the northern and southern India or of Indo-Aryans and Dravidians.

**Hindu & Buddhist Sculptures of Orissa.**

In the post-Gupta period the artists of Northern India maintained the spiritual significance in the outward form of the sculptures; and this rigidity of balancing the form with spirit in course of time gave rise to local variations and by the time of the 8th century, there developed a number of provincial schools of sculptures similar to the development of provincial languages. The rise and growth of local school of art in Orissa are so prominent and distinct as is not
marked elsewhere in northern India. The geography of Orissa divides the country into divisions having isolation due to the intervening hills as well as association due to the connecting rivers; and this environment gave rise to local sub-divisions of Art with some distinct features. So far four such sub-schools are well known at (1) Jajpur, (2) Lalitigiri, Udayagiri, and Ratnagiri in the Jajpur sub-division of the Cuttack district (3) at Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarak and (4) at Khiching in Mayurbhanj. It seems that there are two other centres of sub-school of Orissan Art in the hilly tracts of Orissa, one in the Brahmani valley and another in the Tel valley where only casual Archaeological exploration has so far been conducted. Even before October, 1946 the existence of the biggest image of Anantasayi Vishnu, 50 feet long and carved on a rock in the bed of the Brahmani opposite to Talcher town, was not known to scholars of India. I have got information that there is a similar image at a place of some 20 mil’es from Talcher. We find the biggest temples in the sea board district of Puri but the biggest sculptures are found in the mid region of the Brahmani valley. I throw out a suggestion for a sub-school of Art in this area which may be proved by the study in detail of sculptures of the Brahmani valley. In the Tel valley I examined the ruins of Baidyanath in Sonepur State, Belkhandi in Kalahandi State and Patnagarh in the Patna State. From the special features of the sculptures of the Natamandir of Baidyanath and that of Belkhandi and Patnagarh I am fully convinced that these works of art belong to another sub-school in Orissa. The date of the Brahmanic sculptures of Baidyanath seems to be of the same age as that of Jajpur or a little earlier.

1. Saptamātrikā images of Jajpur:

The Madalapanji gives us information that Yayati Kesari ruled Orissa from 474 A.D. and built various temples including the great Lingaraj at Bhubaneswar. But the copper plate grants and stone inscription of the Somakuli kings prove that Yayati Mahasivagupta I was a king of this dynasty towards the end of the 10th century A.D. This proves that Yayati Kesari of the 5th century A.D. is entirely traditional. There may not be any truth in the names and dates of kings of the tradition, but in the tradition there is always the historical chronology. During the 5th century the northern India witnessed many developments and the copper plate grants of Midnapore, Soro, Patiaikilla and Ganjam furnish evidence that Orissa did not lag behind northern India. In the 6th century the influence of Brahmanism
was not less in any way than that of the Buddhism which is proved by the copperplate grants and the records of the Chinese traveller Yuan Chuang.

According to Madalapani Jajpur was an important centre of the Brahmanic cult, and Yayati Kesari brought ten thousand Brahmins from Kanyakuvja and performed ten horse sacrifices at Jajpur. Even now the Brahmins of Orissa pay reverence to those ten thousand Brahmins in the Mahavakyā.

Jajpur is also known as Virajākṣetra or the holy place of the goddess Viraja. Viraja is also another name of Brahmani, one of the seven mothers—Sapta Matrika—of the Chandi Purana. Virajākṣetra finds mention in Mahabharata. The seven mothers are well known in India. Besides the Brahmanic images Jajpur is rich in Jaina and Buddhist images also. Sculptorally the Brahminic, Jaina and Buddhist images are all same.

The faces of Varahi and Narasimha of the seven mothers are like that of the Bear and Lion incarnations of Vishnu. The faces of other five images of the Matrikas are similar to that of women. All these mothers with the exception Brahmani having 3 faces out of four in the sculpture, have got one face each. The images of Mothers of Jajpur are classified as big and small according to their sizes. Out of the big groups only Varahi and Aindrani are available and out of small group five images are being worshipped now in a room at the Dasavamodhaghat of Jajpur. As all these images are built in the Mugni stone, the sculptors had the advantage of carving delicate details. At the first glance of these images of mothers, the observer is struck with the artists’ sense of roundness associated with the beautiful female form. If the sculptor had not been a master artist he would not have been able to carve these imaginary images endowed with such natural expressions of internal feelings. The artists were fully conversant with the observation of Nature and the tenderness of animals towards their offsprings was not overlooked by them, and Varahi with her Bear’s face is looking at the human child with affection and her human body is enlivened throughout with motherly feeling. The ornamental decoration is elegant and her upper arms showing the power of protection are well fitted to the whole body. It seems that the chisel of the artist has given the life-like shape to the imaginary image of the goddess. in the Matrikas called Vaishnavi and Kaumari of Dasavamodhaghat the child seated in the left knee of each Matrika
and embraced by her left lower arm seems to be a real human child. She is engaged in offering protection by her right lower hand. The face is full of mother's pride. The introduction of upper two arms shows her superhuman power of protection.

The images of Matrika Brahmani Kaumari, Indrani of the Saptamatrikas placed at the south east corner of the Markandesvara temple at Puri are similar in shape to those of Jajpur. But they show the sculptor’s clear conception of relief together with finer workmanship. The faces of Matrikas of Jajpur are carved with natural expressions whereas those of Puri not only possess the same, but also a little more as they are lost in meditation-like the images of the Gupta period. The position of the child on the left knee and all other details are found according to Dhyana of Brihat Samhita. The image of Jogesvara Siva in the group on one side though calm and dignified in expression is not quite absorbed in meditation (Dhyana).

The images of seven mothers adorn the walls of the Mukhamandapa of the Parasurameswar temple of Bhubaneswar and Simhanath temple of Baramba State. These two are the earliest temples of Orissa, which have been assigned to the 7th Century A D.

2 Mahayana Buddhist sculptures of Lalitigiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri in the Jajpur Sub-division of the Cuttack District.

The hills called Lalitigiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri are situated separately from each other forming a triangle in the valley of Birupa and a branch of the Brahanani river and all of them are full of Mahayana Buddhist images. One peculiarity of the remains of these hills is this that there is no stone temple or Vihara here. A large number of bricks strewn here and there indicate that all the monuments were built with bricks. Another peculiarity is this that all these images were built with the stone that was available locally and not with Mudra stone like the images of Jajpur and Puri. The images of these hills are very life-like. The seated image of Bodhisattva from Ratnagiri at once gives the idea of fullness of life as it appears from within. The image of Vajrapani from Lalitigiri is so perfect a work of art that its photograph appears to be a photograph of a living man. The dual attributes of Vajrapani firstly a devotee himself and secondly a god to the worshippers—appear to have been
successfully carved out by the sculptor. The eyes of the image are half-shut and fixed at the tip of the nose; and from this posture it appears that the god is engaged in meditation, but at the same time the position of the hand shows that he is also busy in bestowing abhaya (protection) to his worshippers. The image of Vajrapani of Udayagiri, and that of Kuvera from Lalitgiri and a female figure from Ratnagiri are best specimens of sculpture of the period. The facial expression of these images is in harmony with the bodily form.

These hills of Cuttack District are mines of relics of the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries of the Christian era and what are discussed here are only a few that are lying on the surface. It seems that Yuan Chüang’s Puspagiri is one of these three hills. It is expected that excavation will reveal much more. Twenty years ago I visited these hills and I have not been able to see them again. I earnestly hope these national wealth are still there. Any damage, to them is irreparable. At Ratnagiri I saw the head of a Bodhisatva image measuring 43 inches from the tip of forehead to the end of chin and 44 inches form ear to ear. It seems that it was a portion of the seated image the size of which can be well imagined.

It seems that the image of Santamādhava of Jajpur—(now preserved at the compound of the quarter of the S.D.O.) is a Mahāyana image of Padmapani or Vajrapani and originally belonged to these hills. It measures 22 ft from tip to toes. The relics from Guhiratikiri not very far from Jajpur of which a few are now in the Orissa State Museum, may be compared with those of Udayagiri.

The liveliness and spontaneity of expression are the special characteristics of the sculptures of Cuttack hills. Although some schools of Art developed in Orissa with great elaboration afterwards, we miss the freshness of expression everywhere with the exception of images of a small temple at Khiching in Mayurbhanja discussed below.


Among the temples of Bhubaneshwar, the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva only is dedicated to Vishnu and the rest to Siva. The Linga of the Lingaraja temple is worshipped as Harihara (half Hari and half Hara), but images of nitches of the temple go to prove that it was built for Siva. In the enclosure of the Lingaraja temple there is a small temple called Anantesvara, but the deities are stone images of
Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra like those of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple. The great Lingaraja temple is adorned with sculptures described in Vaisnavic Puranas. All these three temples were built by the artists of one school having the same tradition.

The divine, human, animal figures and vegetative designs with which the outer walls of the Lingaraja temple have been decorated, clearly represent the dexterity and imagination of the artists. All the designs are not only artistic but lively also. For a detailed report of all the pictures of the Lingaraja a separate volume is necessary. Out of 10 digpalas, only eight are placed in the four corners of the temple. The vehicle of Varuna is carved as if it is in motion but there is no sign of movement in the deity who is engaged in yoga and the contrast of the posture of each is in harmony. Another picture depicts the scene of Guru and Sisya (teacher teaching the disciple. In another is depicted the child Krishna and Yosada engaged in churning Dahri and with a smile looking at Krishna seated nearby. A male figure, may be Nanda, sitting opposite, enjoys the scene. The way in which the artist has carved out the image of Yosoda in the stone leaves ample space in the background for the relief of the observer whose sight is not confused with details of overcrowding. From this it is inferred that the artists of the Lingaraja temple were alert in giving relief to the eyes of the visitors to appreciate the art fully. The over decoration of the temple of Konarak when compared with the restraint of decoration of the Lingaraja temple gives some clue to study the mind of artists of the 10th century A.D. when that of the 13th century A.D. when the ideals of Orissan sculpture were at the climax casting the shadow of decline.

The images of Parvati, Kartikya and Ganesa occupy the niches of the Lingaraja temple on the north, west and south respectively. The modelling of Parvati and Kartikeya when compared with the sculptures of Cuttack hills, will appear artificial and stiff. The details of dress and ornaments carved by the artist in the image of Parvati give him enough credit for his patience and skillfulness and his sense of round. The sense of round is also very vividly exhibited in the body of Ganeśa— who, in dhyāna is described as "बर्बर शृङ्गयुज्मनुष्य आजनात्रु बल्बेदरु सुन्दिर".

That is, Ganesa is beautiful with all ugliness of limbs or with a dwarfish, fat, elephant-headed and long-bellied appearance. The
carving of the image of Ganesa according to Dhyāna and at the same time a beautiful piece of work of art give great credit to the Orissan artist for his ability in the production of a real form. Ganesa with one elephant face is common in Orissa but there is an image of Ganesa from Orissa with five elephant faces in the British Museum belonging to the collection of 'Hindu' Stuart.

The image possesses 10 hands and a female figure sits on his left thigh, and so it is a rare piece of Brahmanic iconography which is not yet identified.

The characteristics of the niche images of the Jagannātha temple are the same as those of the Lingaraj temple. Due to heavy plastering of the Jagannātha temple the outward form of its architecture is totally spoiled, but the temple is a prototype of the Lingaraja in all its features.

The sun temple of Konarka was the biggest of all the temples of Orissa and so its decorative sculptures are proportionately the largest. In the modelling of sculptures of Konarka some softness is noticed in the finishing touch. The image of the Sun god riding on horse carved in a running attitude can be compared with Varuna of the Lingaraj temple.

4 Khiching

Eight copper plate inscriptions discovered from Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar describe that Khijjinga Kotta (modern Khiching) was the capital of the Bhanja kings who were "free from sin by worshipping the feet of Hara" (हरचरणराधनचरणपप:).

This image of Hara with two attendants has been found from the ruins of the temple. All these three images were installed on a single pedestal. This temple found in ruins has been fully restored by His Highness, the Maharaja Sir Pratap Chandra Bhanja Deva. The dates of the copper plates of the Bhanja kings are assigned from the middle of the 9th to the middle of the 10th century A.D. So the Bhanja Kings were powerful after the fall of the Bhumas and before the advent of the Somakuli Kesari kings. A few other copper plates discovered from Angul prove the existence of the Bhanja kings, earlier than the 9th century A.D. The rock inscription at Dongnaposi in Keonjhar found near the rock painting pushes back the date of the
The Sun-God—Konarka
Bhanja kings to the 4th century A.D. and the family tradition gives still earlier history of the dynasty.

Khiching is situated on the bank of the Vaitarani like Jajpur. As Khiching lies on the route from Magadh and Gaya to Utkala, it imbibed all the culture of northern India as well as of Utkala on the south.

The earliest temple of Bhubaneswar is the Parasuramesvara temple. It perhaps had no porch or Mukhamandapa which was added later on. But all the temples of Khiching possess no Mukhamandapa. The history of the southern Bhanjas of Bauda has been reconstructed from 22 copper plates and in Baud, two types of temples are found — one is similar to the Parasuramesvara having a Mukhamandapa such as the twin temples at Gandharadhi and another is a star-shaped temple having no Mukhamandapa at Baudgarh. The Archaeological Department of Mayurbhanj commenced its work at Khiching in 1923 when excepting two temples built with Mugni stones all others were in ruins. The two temples standing in a dilapidated condition have been fully restored and the great temple fallen into heaps has also been restored with considerable labour and expenditure. The height of the temple is only 72 feet, which is insignificant when compared with that of Great Lingaraja or the Jagannatha temple. But the decorative sculptures of this temple are quite different from those of any temple in Orissa. This peculiarity of sculptures is due to both the patron and the artists who possessed exceptional aesthetic taste.

In many images of deities carved with attendants or worshippers it is found that the sculptor’s special care was concentrated in carving out the main image and not the other figures which were given the subordinate position in the matter of execution. But the attendants of the great image of Hara of the Khiching temple are found to be executed with the same zeal of the artist. The two small female images on two sides of the big image of Siva enhance the beauty of the composition of the whole sculpture. According to Puranas, Siva is the great Yogi and so the sculptor’s full stretch of imagination has been concentrated in carving out the human face of the deity with the Yoga posture. Besides this spiritual activity, the deity is not negligent to bestow favours on the worshippers. On either side of the image of Hara were installed the images of Chanda and Prachanda. The standing pose of these images clearly shows as to how the artist carved the images from the observation of nature — the images stand with stress on one leg.
which is straight and the position of knee of the other shows its relaxation. Iconographically these three images are unknown elsewhere in India. The bodily form of Chanda at once puts the idea of sense of round generally met in the body of a youth. The benign expression of the face of the deity has been superbly carved out on the stone surface. Cut of four hands of the deity two are broken at the joint of the elbow, the palm of the front right hand was carved with the sign of protection to the devotee whereas that of back holds rosary (Akshamāla) which indicates that the deity is absorbed in meditation. The gods and goddesses of Brahmanic and Buddhist religions are generally carved with multiple of hands such as 4, 6, 8, 10, 12 or 18 and this multiplicity of hands no doubt indicates their supernatural activities. The face of the image of Prachanda, another attendant of Siva, is carved with a terrible expression but the other parts of the body are prototype of that of Chanda. The sculptors of Khiching paid special attention to the modelling of the lower parts of the images. The special feature of the sculptures of Khiching has led the critics like late Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda, Dr Kramrisch, Dr. Coomaraswamy and Dr. Rene Grosset to define it as the Mayurbhanj school of Art.

Hara and his attendants Chanda and Prachanda are the cult images of Khiching and so they were enshrined in the Cella or the Grābbha-grīha. Below is given the description of some important images which decorated the great temple of Khiching. The niche images of the Lingaraja of Bhubaneswar are Pārvatī, Kartikeya and Ganeśa, but the niche images of the temple of Hara at Khiching are Mahishamarddini, Kartikeya and the dancing Ganeśa. These images were never meant for worship which is proved from the height at which these are fixed in the Lingaraja temple. Such is the case of the niche images of the Jagannātha and the Konarka temples. The construction of three temples and the steps leading to the nice images of the Lingaraja or the Jagannātha temple is the work of the decadence period and not contemporary, which mars the beauty of the main temple. In my opinion these relics were made by those who were the followers of blind faith without a sense of beauty. These temples were the works of independent Oriya nation and it is hoped that now the nation will restore the original beauty of the temples by removing these ugly looking structures added only to mar the grandeur of the ancient monuments.

Among the niche images of the temple of the Hara at Khiching only the image of the Mahishauaramarddini has been restored almost
fully. The images of Kartikeya and Nataraja Ganesa have been fixed in
the niches after piecing together many parts discovered at the time of
excavation. The image of Mahishasura mardini is one of the
best sculptures of Khiching. In this image the composition of the
plastic form of earthly man and heavenly deity has been extraordinarily
manifested by the sculptor on the stone. The description of beauty
of Durga as given by the great Kalidasa is his Kumarasambhava seems
to be personified in this image. The position of her eyes and the
expression of her face remind the observer of the passage of Chandipurana wherein she is described to possess military sternness (समर-
निंदुत्रता) mingled with kindness (कुप्या), i.e., “चित्ते कुप्या समरनिंदुत्रता ्च दुष्या
स्वैयैव मेवी सुमज्जहराः". The act of killing with compassion by the Devi as
described in the scripture is firmly represented in the sculpture by the
able artist who lived in the cultural environment of his age.

The Nāgas and Nāgis purely introduced for decorative purposes
are found at upper positions than in the niches. The images representing
the upper half of human body with the lower half of the tail of a
serpent are products of pure imagination. The execution of the human
part of the Nāgas is different in outward form.

Above the door lintel of a temple of Siva is seen the Nataraja
Siva. This image of Khiching temple was very badly damaged when
it was broken but it is lucky that the face of the image is left
unhurt. The colossal dancing Siva of Elephanta is no doubt a master
piece of art. The fullness of well built muscles of this image makes it
very life like. The half shut eyes indicate that the great Yogi Siva
is absorbed in dhyana even when he is engaged in dancing with regular
control of movement of limbs by the measures of music. The complete
picture of the image of dancing Siva can be fully imagined from another
image of dancing Siva from Orissa now preserved in the British
Museum. The comparison of these images of dancing Siva with the
brass images of dancing Siva of southern India, many of which are
preserved in the Madras Museum and elsewhere clearly shows the
difference of technique of the North Indian or Indo-Aryan and the
South Indian or Dravidian art. Apart from the position of feet, the
South Indian image looks on with wide open eyes. The roundness of
the body of the north Indian image is wanting in that of the south
Indian which is comparatively slender in proportion of the body.

The story of Brahmanic and Buddhist sculptures of the
mediaeval Orissa will remain incomplete without the mention of Jaina
sculptures of the period. The images of Rṣkava and Mahāvīra are so life-like that their photographs appear to be those of two nice little boys. These unique Jaina sculptures are preserved in the London Museum.

I have in this paper just touched the main points on the interpretation of mind and activity of the sculptors and worshippers of Orissa from the study of sculptures and I hope younger scholars will throw clearer light on this obscure subject by further research. I am a disciple of late Rai Bahadur R. Chanda who was engaged in investigating the mind of the sculptors from the study of sculptures and advised me to take up the thread and in this paper I have said many things which I learnt from him. I also express my indebtedness to may other critics of Indian Art.

31

DATE OF THE LINGARAJA TEMPLE AT BHUBANESWAR AND THE JAGANNATHA TEMPLE AT PURI.

It is rather unfortunate that the three famous temples of Orissa—Lingarāja, Jagannātha and Konārka do not possess any commemorative inscriptions like the Brahmēsvara, Meghesvara and Ananāvāsudeva temples of Bhubaneswar which were built by relations of the reigning sovereigns of Utkala; and from this it appears that the great patrons of art and architecture in Orissa were not keen to leave their name behind. But the people of Orissa were not forgetful of the memory of their great kings, and traditions are current in Orissa and also recorded in the Madalapanji or the chronicle of the Jagannātha temple, that the Lingaraj temple was built by the kings of the Keśarī dynasty and the Jagannātha and Konārka temples were built by the kings of the Ganga dynasty of Orissa, and though these traditions do not give us the exact dates of the temples yet they furnish us with the chronological data on the dates of these temples. In this paper I have made an attempt to assign approximately the definite dates of the Lingarāja and Jagannātha temples from the study of inscriptions.
A. The Lingaraja Temple

The Brahmesvara temple was built by Kolavati Devi, the mother of Maharajadhiraaja Udyota Kesari and this Udyota Kesari is no other than the king of the same name who granted the Balijhari copper plate. As the name Udyota Kesari is found after Mahasiva-gupta Dharmaratha, who was defeated by Rajendra Chola in 1024-25 A.D., his date is to be assigned after 1025 A.D. Two kings named Nahusa and Yayati II preceded Udyota and if we allot 25 to 30 years for them, the date of succession of Udyota Kesari can be assigned to 1050-1055 A.D., and the date of the Brahmesvara temple which was erected in the 18th year of his reign thus comes to some time near 1070 A.D.

R. Chanda writes in his note on The Lingaraja or the Great Temple of Bhubaneshwar that 'between the style of decoration of the Brahmesvara and the Lingaraja there is considerable resemblance. The Brahmesvara and the Lingaraja represent a single line of artistic tradition, the latter monument having been in all probability erected by one of the ancestors of Udyota Kesari, say about 1004 A.D'.

The Ganga king Rajaraja I of Kalinganagara defeated the king of Utkala in 1075-76 A.D. and it proves clearly that the power of the Kesari dynasty was weak in 1075 A.D. On the other hand the inscriptions of Yayati II and Udyota Kesari show the opulence and power of the Somakuli Kesari dynasty of Orissa and the weakness of the dynasty may naturally be attributed to a successor of Udyota Kesari after his death before 1075 A.D. During the period of 50 years from 1025 to 1075 A.D. we find from inscriptions of the Somakuli kings the names of Nahusa, Yayati and Udyota Kesari and as the Brahmesvara temple was built in the 18th year of reign of Udyota Kesari, we may safely say that Udyota Kesari ascended the throne about 1050 A.D. If 20 years are allotted to Yayati II, he ascended the throne in 1030 A.D.

Stirling recorded the following tradition in connection with the construction of the Lingaraja temple:

1. L. I. N. I. Bhandarkar No 1572.
3. Journal of Indian History, April, 1941, pp. 1-11.
“Towards the close of his reign Raja Yayati Kesari began the buildings at Bhubaneswar.”

Ananta Kesari, the second successor of Yayati, “began the building of the great temple at Bhubaneswar.”

“He was succeeded by Lalat Indra Kesari, a personage of high repute in the legends of the Bhubaneswar temple, in consequence of his having built or completed the great pagoda at that place sacred to Mahadeo under the title of the Ling Raj Bhubaneswar.”

It is all possible that the great structure is a work of two generations and the construction of the temple was begun by Yayati I towards the close of his reign and completed by Udyota Kesari at the beginning of his reign after 1050 A.D. It seems to me that Lalatendu or Lalata Indra was a title of Udyota Kesari and the tradition has only adopted the title and not the name. There is a cave called Lalatendu Kesari's cave in the Khandagiri hill, but the inscription in it refers to Udyota Kesari who was really the Lalatendu or the Moon on the forehead of the Somakuli Kesari kings in consequence of his having built or completed the great Lingaraja temple at Bhubaneswar.

So Chanda's suggestion of 1000 A.D. for the date of the Lingaraja temple accepted by Dr. A. K. Commaraswamy 6 and Mr. Percy Brown 7 needs correction according to the new epigraphical evidence now available and the date of the Lingaraja temple can be safely assigned to the middle of the 11th century A.D.

**B The Jagannatha Temple**

Dr. A. K. Commaraswamy 8 assigns c.1150 A.D. as the date of the Jagannatha temple, but Mr. Percy Brown 9 puts the date of the temple as 1100 A.D.

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5. Stirling's *Orissa* (Bengal Secretariat 1904 reprint from the *edition* of 1822) Calcutta p. 70.
7. *Indian Architecture*, 1942 p. 120.
8. *History of Indian & Indonesian Art*.
9. *Indian Architecture* p. 120.
M. M. Chakravarti has approximately assigned 1193-94 to 1198-99 A.D. as the date of the Meghesvara temple at Bhubaneswar which was built by Svapnesvara Deva. The date of the Anantavasudeva temple by Chandradevi is 1278 A.D. 1 These two inscriptions do not mention anything about the erection of the Jagannatha temple by Chodagangadeva or Anangabhimandeva of the Ganga dynasty. But according to verse 27 of the copper plate of Narasimha II, Chodaganga built a Prasada for Purusottama and from this M. M. Chakravarti writes that "Under his order was built the great temple of Jagannatha at Puri." 13 This is the only authentic record relating to the date of construction of the Jagannatha temple by a successor of Chodaganga. Mr. R. Suba Rao gives the period of rule of Chodaganga from 1076 to 1147 A.D. 14 and writes that Chodaganga transferred his capital to Cuttack in 1135 A.D. 15 So the date assigned by Dr. Coomaraswamy comes nearer to the last year of Chodaganga's reign in 1145 A.D.

M. M. Chakravarti wrote the following in his paper on the "Jagannatha temple in Puri:" —

"1. The present temple of Jagannatha was built under the orders of Chodaganga.

"2. It existed there at about 1070 A.D. and might have been built between 1085-90 A.D.

"3. The conquest of Orissa took place very early in the reign of Chodaganga, probably in the first decade of his reign (1075-1085 A.D.)" 16

The above conclusion and the date given by Mr. Chakravarti are not proved by the epigraphical records. Full suzerainty of Chodaganga was not established in Orissa before 1118 A.D. and his capital was not located there before 1135 A.D. So the construction of the Jagannatha temple was taken up by him after 1135 A.D. and the work

13. Ibid. 1903, p. 110.
15. Ibid., p. 53.
was finished during his life time e.g. 1145 A.D. The date of the Jagannātha temple at Puri can thus be safely assigned to the middle of the 12th century A.D.

As regards the date of the Konārka temple both traditions and inscriptions in copper plates of Narasimhadeva II to Narasimhadeva IV agree in ascribing it to king Narasimhadeva I who ruled from 1238 to 1264 A.D., and built the Konārka temple. Here also the date of the Konārka temple can be safely assigned to the middle of the 13th century A.D.

32
STUDIES IN THE TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE IN ORISSA *

1. Pre-lingarāja Temples:

The earliest relics in art are found at the Dhauli hillock dating back to the 3rd century B.C. and the next relics in art are found in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills dating back to the 2nd and 1st century B.C. In between Dhauli and Udayagiri—Khaṇḍagiri stands Bhubaneswar where the early evidences of the temple architecture of Indo-Aryan type in Orissa dating back to the 7th century A.D. are to be found in a large number of temples. The only exception is the flat roofed shrine belonging to Mahāsura-mardini called Sīkhara Chauḍi temple situated on the top of the hillock called Sīkhara Chauḍi, a few miles north-west of the village Patia not far from the Mancheswar Railway station in S.E. Rly.

The early R-khā deula or Indo-Aryan temples such as, the Sartrughneśvara group of temples do not possess the mukhaśalas or jaśāmohanas whereas the temples, such as the Kapalini, Paraśurāmeśvara, Sīkhiśvara Mohini and Mārkaṇđeśvara all possess the Mukhaśalas. All these Mukhaśalas are oblong in design with a roof imitated from that of the thatched ones of the locality. With the exception of the Paraśurāmeśvara deula in which there are two entrances in to

Rajarani Temple—Bhubaneswar

Mukteswara Temple—Bhubaneswar
the Mukhaṭḍas, all other deulas possess only one entrance in the front for entry into the porch.

Temples of this period provided with Mukhaṭḍas of the oblong type are also found at Simbanatha, situated in the bed of the Mahanadi within the ex-Baramba State and now included in the Athgarh subdivision of the Cuttack district, at Gandharāhi, situated in the ex-Baud State, now included in the Baud-Phulbani District on the upper valley of the Mahanadi and at Vajrakot on the right bank of the Brāhmaṇi river, situated in the ex-State of Talcher, now situated in the Talcher subdivision of the Dhenkanal district. The Mukhaṭḍa of the Vajrakot temple has been broken. The temple of Kośaleśvara at Baidyanath on the left bank of the Tel river in the ex-State of Sonpur, situated in the Sonpur subdivision of the Bolangir district, now broken, having a Muk asala with a flat roof and a peculiar ground plan, is a land-mark of temple architecture of the Tel valley. The temple at Charadā in the Sonpur subdivision, though late, possess a Mukhaṭḍa of the Kośa’cāvara type. In the interior of the Puri and Cuttack Districts there are good many brick-built temples of the Indo-Aryan style with Mukhaṭḍa also.

Temples (deulas) of the later period without Mukhaṭḍa or Jagamohana are found to exist at Kośa (ancient Kodālaka, situated in the Kāmakaḥyanagar subdivision of the Dhenkanal district), at Khiching (ancient Khijjāgakotta), situated in the Panchpir subdivision of Mayurbhanja district and at Baidyanath in the Sonpur subdivision on the left bank of the Tel river, at Baudghar, in the Baud Sub-Division of the Baud-Phulbani District. The special features in architecture of the temples at Baudgarh are their star-shaped ground plan which is very rare elsewhere. The Biranchinarayana or the Sun temple at Paliṣā, situated in the Bhadrak Sub-division of the Balasore District is of a special architectural design having four entrance doors on its four sides.

The Muktaśvara temple and the Rājarāti temple of Bhubaneswar are later in date than the Paraśurāmeśvara temple of Bhubaneswar noted above and their peculiar feature in architecture is this that these two temples possess the Mukhaṭḍa or jagamohana with a tower or Sikhar built with Piqha type of roof although the deula or Vīmāna is of the Sikha type.

Fergusson in his The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture writes as follows:—
"The temple of Muktesvara is very similar in general design to that of the Paraśurāmesvara, but even richer and more varied in detail and its porch partakes more of regular Orissan type. It has no pillar internally, and the roof externally exhibits at least the germ of what we find in the porches of the great temples at Bhubaneswar and the Black Pagoda".

B. The Lingaraja Temple of Bhubaneswar:

The temple architecture of the Muktesvara at Bhubaneswar reached its elaborate feature in the middle of the 11th century A.D. when the Lingaraja temple with Deula or Vimanā and the Mukhaśala or the jagamohana was constructed there retaining the full tradition by the architects. The architects who designed the Lingaraja deula could not conceive to design the Mukhaśala to be constructed simultaneously and so it was constructed after the construction of the bada portion of the deula. R D Banerji, the then Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, who was deputed in 1927 by the India Government to advise the repairs of the Mukhaśala undertaken by the P.W Department of the Bihar and Orissa Government, has written the following about the construction of the Mukhaśala of the Lingaraja temple.

"The Vimanā of the Krittibasa possesses a single opening on the east. During the repairs it was discovered that the stone door-frame from which the wooden gates are hung conceals behind it two different stone door frames, the sizes of which do not correspond. The stone lintel of the front door frame is much lower than that of the rear one, proving thereby that the Vimanā and the jagamohana were not built at the same time. When both of them were finished sufficient care was taken to finish the interior in such a fashion as not to leave any indication of the joining of the structures from the outside." 2

Although the Deula or Vimanā and the Mukhaśala or the Jagamohana of the Lingaraja temple were not constructed simultaneously, it is found that both the structures were built with a foundation

The Lingaraja Temple—Bhubaneswar.
of plinth built up to the ground level and the first layer of the stone of the temple was placed on it.

According to the height of the Deula or the Vimana the positions of the Parśvadevalas were at a height proportionate to the structure beyond the human reach in the Brahmājy as well as such, it seems that, the artists carved the images of the Parśvadevalas—Gaurī, Karīkeya and Parvati to be viewed from the ground level. The artists of the temple had the full sense of presenting the object of art at an angle from the ground from where it looks beautiful to the eyes. There is a difference in the view of an object when it is seen at the front and at an angle placed at a height. But this object of seeing the images of the Parśvadevalas has been totally obstructed by the construction of the ugly looking structures in their front with crude steps serving the purpose of approach to the images perhaps for the daily worship which was not conceived by the builders of the temple.

The Brahmeśvara temple along with its deula or Vimana and Mukhāla or Jagamohana is contemporary with the Liṅgarāja temple with this difference that the former is a comparatively smaller one than the latter. Due to the enormous height of the Liṅgarāja deula or Vimana it has no difference in the shape of the tower or ṣikhara from that of Brahmeśvara but in the Mukhāla or Jagamohana of the Liṅgarāja, which is a piṭha deula, the height has necessitated a two-storey tiers with 9 cornices in the lower storey and 6 cornices in the upper storey whereas the Mukhāla or the Jagamohana of the Brahmeśvara temple has a single tier.

Like the Mukteśvara or the Rajarāni temple there was only one entrance door in front of the Mukhāla or Jagamohana of the Liṅgarāja temple but in the middle of the southern and northern sides of it like Mukteśvara there were two windows fitted with five stone bars carved with female figures but not with jali or lattice windows of the Mukhāla of the Mukteśvara temple.

Andrew Stirling is the first European scholar who wrote an account of the Liṅgarāja temple as early as 1822*. After him W. W.

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* Stirling’s report on Cuttack proper or Orissa was first published in 1822 from which a reprint was published in the Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta in 1904. Stirling’s work was also published in the Asiatic Res. arche Vol. XV, in 1825.
Hunter's Orissa was published in 1872. The first scientific attempt was made by Rajendralal Mitra whose *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. I and Vol. II were published in 1875 and 1880 respectively. Fergusson's *History of India and Eastern Architecture* was published in 1876. The thoroughness with which Rajendralal Mitra studied the Liṅgarāja temple is proved from the following quotation on the opening of the southern side of the Mukhaṭaḷa or Jagamohana of the Liṅgarāja temple:

"I must content myself, therefore, by referring the reader to the annexed photograph of a part of the southern façade of the building (plate XXXIV). It includes the whole of the central projection of the building and portion of the side ones. The door-way in the centre seen in the photograph was originally closed by six mullion bars, each bearing the figure of a danseuse. On the north side that mullion are still in situ but on the south three of the bars were sometime ago, removed to form as door-way for the convenience of the priests who found the passage through the Natamandira circuitous and tiresome."

R. D. Banerji's description in this connection is quoted below:

"There are two openings on the sides, one of which is now a door way and the other a window, closed with large pillars used as bars. Over each of the side openings there is a long bas relief. The doorway is on the south side and, instead of a Navagraha slab we find that this has relief and the ornamentation over this portion are exactly the same, as on the north. These two factors prove that originally the southern opening of the Jagamohana was also a window."

James Fergusson's *History of India and Eastern Architecture* was published in 1876 and Rajendralal Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa* Vol. II was published in 1880, and the revised edition of Fergusson's work was published in 1910 in which there is a diagram of the ground plans of the Deula or Vimana and the Mukhaṭaḷa or Jagamohana marked darker in shade than that of the Natamandira and Bhogamandapa. Below the ground plan the following is written.

subsequent work (in the 15th century A.D.)

subsequent work (after 13th century A.D.)

This shade indicates original work
Plan of Great temple at Bhubaneswar compiled partly from
plan in Babu Rajendralal Mitra's work, but corrected from Photograph
scale 50 ft. to 1 in. He further writes that, "The Nata and
Rhogamandapas shaded lighter, were added possibly about the 12th
century or even later." In the Mitra's work the ground plan of the
Liṅgarāja has been published in Vol. II, plate XLVIII. As I have not
been able to see the first edition of Fergusson's work, it seems that
Mitra supplied him with a copy of the ground plan of the Liṅgarāja
temple before the publication of his work. Mitra's plan has been pub-
lished without any distinguishing shades of the earlier and later works
of the 4 parts of the Liṅgarāja temple, but both Fergusson and Mitra
have not shown the structures in front of the Pārśvadevatās. Both
Fergusson and Mitra have not shown, the entrance on the southern side
of the Mukhaśala or Jagamohan and from this it appears that they both
have ignored its existence. M. M. Ganguly in his work entitled Orissa
and her remains, Calcutta, 1212 has not given any ground plan of the
Liṅgarāja temple. Mr. Percy Brown in his work entitled Indian
Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods) 1959, has given a ground
plan of the Liṅgarāja temple at page 85 and in the plate LXXXV. He
has used the same shade for all the 4 parts of the temple and has also
shown a door on the northern side of the Mukhaśala or Jagamohana
which is not actually found there. He also has not shown the structures
in front of the Pārśvadevatās of the temple on the southern, western
and northern sides of the Deula or the Vimanā. I have enclosed in this
paper a correct ground plan which indicates the original work as well as
subsequent additions to the Liṅgarāja temple.

Although the knowledge of the architects in regard to the
temple architecture consisting of a Deula and a Mukhaśala achieved
much progress with a much bigger size in proportion in the Liṅgarāja
temple when compared with that of Mukteśvara, there was no modific-
tion of the component parts of the temple. The architecture of the Liṅga-
raja temple can be assigned to the middle of the 11th century A.D., the
end of the second stage of the development of temple architecture, the
first being the Paraśuāmeśvara-Mohini group of temples. The patrons
for the first stage of the development of architecture were, it seems, the

* As the plan by Mitra is corroborated by Percy Brown it seems that Fergusson's correction from Photograph is also incorrect.
Bhauma Kings and those of the second stage beginning with Muktesvara and ending with the Līgarāja of Brahmesvara were the Somakuli or Somavamsi kings whose rule was terminated during the end of the first decade of the 12th century A.D. when the kings of the Ganga dynasty became powerful in Orissa. Like the Bhaumas and the Somakulis, the Gangas were also great builders of temples. The great temples at Puri and Konarka were built by the Gangas in the middle of the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. respectively.

The construction of the Natarāmadvara together with the structures in front of the Pārśvendevarāja and the Bhogamanṭapa, has been discussed below under the Section E.

A few salient remarks made by Fergusson, the pioneer in the study of the Indian Architecture are quoted below on the beauty of the Deula and Mukhusala of the Līgarāja temple.

"The outline of this temple in elevation is not, at first sight, pleasing to the European eyes, but when once the eye is accustomed to it, it has a singularly solemn and pleasing aspect." 6

"It is not only the divisions of the courses, the roll mouldings on the angles, or the breaks in the face of the tower; there are sufficient to relieve its flatness, and with any other people they would be deemed sufficient; but every individual stone in the tower has a pattern carved upon it, not so as to break its outline, but sufficient to relieve any idea of monotony." 7

"A week's study of the Jagamohana would every hour reveal new beauties." 8

C. The Jagannātha Temple of Puri:

The Jagannātha temple of Puri was built by Chodaganga Deva, the first Ganga king of Orissa who occupied Orissa first between 1110 and 1112 A.D. Before this date Chodaganga had no relation whatsoever with Orissa. As he ruled up to 1147, and according to some 1150 A.D., it seems that the erection of the Deula or Vimanā and Mukhusala or Jagamohana of the Jagannātha temple was completed towards the close

8. Ibid, p. 103.
of his reign, e.g. approximately the middle of the 12th century A.D. This date gives a margin of difference of one century from that of the construction of the Liṅga-raja Deula and the Mukhāṭa-la at Bhubaneswar. Due to the progress of time and the change of patronage it is natural to expect a change of the Architectural design in the Jagannātha temple. So far the original Deula and the Mukhāṭa-la are concerned, it is not possible to visualise the exact outline of the tower of the Deula which has been very thickly covered with plastering, but in the Mukhāṭa-la a slight change was introduced by the provision of three entrance doors instead of one door like that of the Liṅga-raja, but the tower of the Mukhāṭa-la was built with two tiers like that of the Liṅga-raja temple. Both the Deula and the Mukhāṭa-la were built from an invisible foundation like that of the Liṅga-raja according to the old tradition. The porticoes were placed on the same high position in the Rabapaśa beyond any human reach like that of the Liṅga-raja. The Sīhhras of the Deula and Mukhāṭa-la of the Jagannātha temple are of the same pattern as that of the Liṅga-raja with the exception that these are higher than the Liṅga-raja. In the Mukhāṭa-la or the Jagamohana of the Jagannātha temple of Puri originally there were three entrance doors—one from the north, one from the east forming the main entrance and one from the south. But now the northern entrance is totally closed due to the construction of a strong room adjoining the wall of the Mukhāṭa-la. The main entrance door has also been partly encroached upon by the Naṣa-mandira. The entrance door on the southern side is in the full view.

The ground plan of the Jagannātha temple was first published in 1872 by Hunter, in the Orissa Vol. I, p. 129. The plan was prepared by Radhika Prasad Mukherji, the then Assistant Engineer of the P.W.D., Fergusson also published the same plan in the History of Indian and Eastern Architecture in 1876. This plan is found to be printed in his work Vol. II p. 108 of 1910 Edition. In the footnote of page 109 Fergusson notes as follows:—

"The plan is reduced from one to a scale of 40 ft. to 1 inch, made by an intelligent native assistant to the Public Works Department, named Radhika Prasad Mukherji and it is the only plan I ever found done by a native sufficiently correct to be used, except as a diagram, or after serious doctoring".

Rajendralal Mitra also utilised the same plan in his work. In 1912 M. M. Ganguly also utilised a plan quite similar to those mentioned above, but mention has not been made by whom it was
prepared. The speciality of all these plans is this that they have shown
the position of the structures of the Parśadévata on the southern,
western and northern sides of the Deula or the Vimāna.

Mr. Percy Brown has published the plan of the Jagannātha
temple in the plate CVIII, but he has not shown the structure of
Parśadévata. He has assigned 1000 A.D. as the date which is
incorrect.

The exterior of the Deula or Vimāna and Muktātā or Jagannātha
mohana of the Jagannātha temple has been thickly plastered so that
the original outline and carvings are totally obliterated from the view.
The Jagannātha temple was known to the late 17th century Europeans
navigators in the Bay of Bengal as the White Pagoda due to the white
wash put on the plaster. The account of the Mādālāpanji of the 16th to
18th century is found to be trustworthy. It records that before the
British conquest of Orissa in 1803, the Jagannātha temple was plastered
and white-washed four times since 1627 A.D. So naturally when
Fergusson visited Puri in 1838 or near about he found nothing but
towers fully white-washed. Observing this whitewash and plasterings
Fergusson has written as follows:

"It is not the details, which, however, is seriously obscured by
the plasterings applied during the last two or three centuries—but the
outline, the proportions and arrangements of the temple shows that the
art in this province had received a downward impetus at the time".

In his account of Kangika Fergusson has written as follows in
connection with the Jagannātha temple:

"Stirling's statement that the present edifice was built by the
Raja Narasingh Deva who ruled from about 1238 to 1264 is supported
by the copper plate inscriptions. Complete as this evidence appears,
one is almost tempted to question it, for the simple reason that it
seems improbable—after the erection of so inferior a specimen of the
art as the temple of Puri (Circa A.D. 1100) appears to be—the style
could have reverted to anything so beautiful as this. In general design

9 Ibid., p. 109.
† No copper-plates of the Ganga dynasty were published before
1895. It seems thatBurges introduced the last portion. Fergus-
sson's text of 1878 has not been available to me.
No. 9
Plan of the Jagannatha Temple, Puri
pp. 296 - 311

This shade indicates original work.

subsequent work (after 13th century A.D.)
and detail it is so similar to the Jagamohana of the Great temple at Bhubaneswar that at first sight I should be inclined to place it in the same century; still the details of the tower exhibit a progress towards modern forms which is unmistakable. Narasingh-deva must, however, have employed architects of very different tastes and abilities to those engaged a century earlier in erecting the Puri temple.\textsuperscript{10}

The above view of Fergusson was severely criticised by Rajaendralal Mitra in his Antiquities of Orissa—Vol. II, 1880 pp. 117-118. Mitra fully set aside the argument of Fergusson. Further Mitra proved that the tradition of art in Orissa was continuous from Liṅgarāja to the Sun temple with proportional development which was necessary in course of time. A great feature in the comparative study of the towers of Liṅgarāja and the Jagannātha with that of the Sun temple was overlooked by Fergusson in regard to the point that the tower of the Mukhaśala or Jagamohana of the Konārka temple is of three tiers whereas that of the Liṅgarāja and the Jagannātha are only of two tiers which indicates the development and not the retardation of the architectural design in the temple construction.

In connection with the plastering of the Jagannātha temple, I intend to record here my personal experience. In 1927, I was curious when I missed the images of the Asthadikpales on the Deula of the Jagannātha temple while comparing that with the Liṅgarāja temple of Bhubaneswar. On examining minutely various parts of the Deula I noticed small portions of carvings and I was convinced that the Dikpala images had been concealed with in the plaster. At my request late Raja Ramachandra Deva of Puri ordered the removal of the plaster of the Deula at a spot selected by me. I selected the north-west corner of the temple where the images of Varuṇa and Vāyu are placed in the Liṅgarāja temple. My curiosity was fully satisfied when the images of Varuṇa and Vāyu were found in a good state of preservation after the removal of the plaster about one foot deep there. This exposure of the two Dikpala images clearly proves that the Jagannātha temple is fully decorated like that of the Liṅgarāja temple or the Konārka temple.

I will discuss below in the Section E about the construction of the Natamandira, together with the structure in front of the Parāva-
devatās and the Bhogamandapa of the Jagannātha temple which are subsequent additions after the construction of the Konārka temple.

D. The Sun Temple of Konārka.

According to copper-plate grant of the King Narasimhadeva II, grandson of the king Narasimhadeva - I of the Gaṅga dynasty, the Sun temple of Konārka was built by the Narasimhadeva—I, who ruled in Orissa from 1238 to 1264 A.D and it is safe to assign the date of the Sun temple to the middle of the 13th century A.D. Thus it appears that a period of a century elapsed between the date of the Jagannātha temple of Puri and that of the Sun temple of Konārka. During this period of 100 years no dated temple has been found in Orissa. It has been stated above that originally there was no structure in front of the Parādevata images in the Jagannātha temple of Puri. The temple of the Kākuṇḍa village, situated near the road from Pipili to Khurda-road Railway station on the right bank of the Daya river in the Puri District, shows a structure which provides shade to the images of the Parādevata of the temple. As no such structure is known to me at any other place in Orissa, the date of the Kākuṇḍa temple seems to be later than that of the Jagannātha temple of Puri and I suggest its date somewhere 1200 A.D.

The drawing prepared by Fergusson in 1838 and published in his work entitled, Illustrations of Indian Architecture; shows that the tower of the southern side of the Konārka Deula was still standing there more than 120 ft in height. This portion of the broken tower had fallen to the ground sometime before 1869 when Rejendralal Mitra visited Konārka.

An illustration from the Antiquities of Orissa Vol. II by Rajendralal Mitra shows the position of the Konārka Deula and the Mukhaśala before 1870. In this, the Konārka Deula is seen as nothing but a heap of sand and stones fully covered with wild creepers. After the clearance of the sand and stones, all embedded lower portions of the Deula and the Jagamohana including that of the Natamandira in front were brought to light.

The description of the different parts of the Konārka temple are given below:

I. As the Sun temple was conceived to be a pattern of Raitha, it necessitated the provision of the wheels 24 in number representing
The Sun-Temple—Konarka
12 bright fortnights and 12 dark fortnights in a complete cycle of a year — on which the Ratha or the Deula and the Jagamohana were built. The construction of the wheels necessitated a raised platform of prīṣṭha on the outer sides of which the wheels were carved. Such a high plinth prīṣṭha in a temple architecture is entirely new in Orissa and so it is one of the special features of the Konarka temple. In the temples built subsequently to Konarka, a high plinth was an essential feature.

II. The plinth consists of a stylobate, 1 foot in height, forming a pedestal of the plinth which is divided in two parts namely the lower one measuring 13 ft. 3 inches and the upper one or Khorprīṣṭha measuring 2 ft. 3 inches in height. Thus the pedestal and the plinth measure 16 ft. 6 inches in total height. The 24 wheels, each measuring 9 ft. 9 inches in diameter, rest on the stylobate. 7 horses, 4 on the right side and 3 on the left side of the front staircase also stand on the stylobate. The body of each horse measure 5 ft. 2 inches. There are 3 flights of steps now broken, to the plinth, situated opposite to each of the 3 doorways leading to the Jagamohana, from the north, east and south side. The Deula with 3 parśvadevatas structures and the Jagamohana were laid out on the raised plinth leaving a berm measuring 8 to 12 ft in width, over which one can go round the Deula and the Jagamohana on all sides. The berm is a new feature in the Konarka temple.

III. The next feature of the Konarka temple is its structure built in front of the parśvadevatas which can be easily approached by steps from both sides of the berm. Just like the prīṣṭha and the berm, these structures in front of the parśvadevatas are not found anywhere in the temple architecture in Orissa and hence these are new conceptions in the temple architecture in Orissa which had great influence in the subsequent period to be discussed below. These structures, in front of the parśvadevatas of the Konarka temple were not known to the scholars of the 19th century A.D. because these were then buried in the heaps of stones of the fallen tower and sand. During the first decade of the 20th century when debris and stones were cleared, remains of these structures were brought to light. Bishen Swarup in 1910 and M. M. Gruguly in 1912 have given descriptions of these structures. With the collapse of the tower of the Deula, the towers of these structures were also fallen leaving their floors on the level of the parśvadevatas. Below them floors there are rooms facing outside provided with doors fitted with Navagraha slabs. The Navagraha
architraves of the northern and western sides are preserved whereas that of the southern side is broken due to the fall of the superstructure.

IV With the exception of a small portion of the Bāṭa or the shrine, the whole of the tower or sikhara of the Deula has collapsed. From the height of the Mukhāsāla or the Jagamohana it can safely be said that the Konārka Deula was the highest in Orissa.

V. The Mukhāsāla or the Jagamohana was built in front of the Deula as its component part. It possesses three entrance doors from outside to the interior fitted with three door jambs and lintels. There are three steps from the ground level on the northern, eastern and southern sides of the Jagamohana which lead to the entrance-doors. Originally on the southern entrance steps there was a pair of horses, on the eastern entrance steps a pair of Gajasimhas and on the northern entrance steps a pair of elephants on the ground level. On both the sides of the main or the eastern entrance steps there were carved 7 horses which appered as if engaged in pulling the Raṭha. These 3 entrance doors in the Jagamohana of the Konārka Deula are similar to those of the original entrances of the Jagamohana of the Jagannātha temple at Puri, but the tower of the Jagamohana of this temple is built with 3 tiers necessary for the height of the adjoining ċūla whereas the tower of the Jagamohana of the Liṅgaṛaja and the Jagannātha temples are of two tiers and in this respect we find a progress in the conception of the architecture here. Fergusson did not notice these special features namely the three entrances and three tiers of the tower of the Jagamohana of the Konārka Deula and depending only on the decoration of the exterior of the Jagamohana suggested that the date of the Konārka temple was earlier than that of the Jagannātha temple at Puri which was refuted by Rajendralal Mitra.

VI. The Arūva pillar constructed in front of the Sun temple is also a special feature. Such pillars are not provided originally in front of the Liṅgaṛaja and the Jagannātha temples. The Arūva pillar was standing at Konārka when Abul Fazl wrote the Aʿl-i-Akbari. It was removed to Puri during the Maratha rule in Orissa towards the close of the 18th century A. D.

VII. The Natamandira with a plinth or pristha as high as that of the temple built in front of the Konārka deula is entirely a new type of temple architecture in Orissa which exercised a great influence
KONARAK TEMPLE
SCALE 128 = 1’

No. 11 Plan of the Sun Temple at Konarka
Pp. 296 - 311
on the temple architecture in the subsequent periods not only in other new temples, like the Lakṣmi temple within the enclosure of the Jagannātha temple, the Pārvati temple of the Liṅgaraja temple enclosure and the Ananta Vāsudeva temple of Bhubaneswar but also in the older temples like the Liṅgaraja and Jagannātha temples. But Bishen Swarup in his work on the Koṇārka, has given the name of the Nātamanīdura or Bhogamāṇḍapa but in the description he is silent about the Bhogamāṇḍapa the construction of which as a part of the temple was not known in the 13th century A.D. It seems that the conception of the construction of the Bhogamāṇḍapa is a development of the 15th century A.D. in Orissa and I have not been able to trace its source.

The ground plan of the Koṇārka temple was published by Bishen Swarup in 1910 and then by M. M. Ganguly, Gurudas Sarkar, Nirmal Kumar Bose and Percy Brown. In no plan the three doors of the Jagamohana were shown.

B. After the construction of the new type of architectural structures namely the Parāvadevatas temples and the Nātamanīdira together with the high plinth in the Koṇārka temple, it was felt, as it seems, that such additional structures were necessary in the Liṅgaraja and the Jagannātha temples which had earned reputation and also were visited by a large number of pilgrims by the time when the Koṇārka temple was finished. The Parāvadevatas temples of the Liṅgaraja and the Jagannātha temples clearly show that these structures were constructed long after the original temples. Although there is a raised plinth in the Koṇārka temple on which the Parāvadevatas temples were built at the time of construction of the Deula, construction of such high plinth was not possible at the Liṅgaraja and the Jagannātha temples and as such the Parāvadevatas temples were constructed with crude steps for the approach just in front of the Rāhapāga in which the Parāvadevatas were placed in the temple.

Similarly the Nātamanīdira was also constructed in front of the Mukhāṭala of the Liṅgaraja and the Jagannātha temples which were built on a high plinth being entirely the new structures where the architects had a free hand.

The dates of construction of the parāvadevatas temples and the Nātamanīdira of the Liṅgaraja and the Jagannātha temples are not known but it is certain that these structures were added after the construction of the Koṇārka temple built in the middle of the 13th century A.D.
In the ground plans these additions are shown in different shades from that of the Deula and the Mukhaśāla.

Fergusson rejected the traditional date of the Konarka temple on the ground of want of decoration and on the report of Abul Fazl.11 As regards the art of the Natamandira of the Liṅgarāja temple he wrote as follows:

"It is elegant, of course, for art had not yet perished among the Hindus, but it differs from the style of the porch to which it is attached × ×. All that power of expression is gone which enabled the early architects to make small things look gigantic from the exuberance of labour bestowed upon them. A glance at the Natamandira is sufficient for the mastery of its details".12

It seems that at the time of addition of the Natamandira in the Liṅgarāja temple the southern window of the Mukhaśāla was converted into an entrance door by the removal of three pieces of window bars whereby a second entrance to the inside of the Mukhaśāla was provided. It may be recalled that a second entrance from the southern side of the Jagamohana of the Paraśurāmāvarta temple was provided at the time of the construction of the Mukhaśāla. As there were three doors from outside to the interior of the Mukhaśāla of the Jagannātha temple, there was no necessity for an extra door there.

According to the tradition recorded in the Madalāpanaṇji, the Bhogamanaṇa was added in front of the Natamandira of the Jagannātha temple by the Gajapati Puriṣottama Deva (1467-1497 A.D.) during the early period of his rule. It seems that the Bhogamanaṇa of the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar was erected also during this period. We find at Bhubaneswar and Puri that the Bhogamanaṇa was erected on a plinth similar to the height of the Nātaman aras there. *

It further seems that apartments of the Natamandira and the Bhogamanaṇa were constructed in the Lakṣmi temple situated within compound of the Jagannātha temple of Puri and in the Paraśṭhari temple situated within the compound of the Liṅgarāja temple and also in the Ananta Vāsudeva temple of Bhubaneswar. The date of Ananta

12. Ibid. pp. 103.
* The spire of the Bhogamanaṇa of the Jagannātha temple is of three tiers like that of the Jagamohana of the Konarka temple.
The Ananta Basudev Temple - Bhubaneswar

The Parsurameswar Temple - Bhubaneswar
ANANTA BASUDEVA TEMPLE

scale 32' = 1"

A. **VIMANA AND JAGAMOHAN**
B. **NATMANDIR AND BHOGMANDAPA**

No. 12 Plan of the Ananta Vasudeva Temple,
Bhubaneswar pp. 296-311
Vasudeva temple is 1278 A.D. according to the inscription slab of Chandradevi. This temple possesses all the apartments of Deula and Jagamohana with the parśvadevata temples on the three sides of the Deula. It is only fortunate that out of the three parśvadevata temples of the Anata Vasudeva Deula only one; situated on the back of the Deula on the eastern side, is in perfect condition and other two are broken leaving only the bases on the plinth. Like the Konarka temple there are no side doors in the Jagamohana due to its smallness in size. The stones of the Natamandira and the Bhogamandira clearly indicate that their construction was made in a subsequent period about the date of which no record is available.

Thus we see the that development in the temple architecture in Orissa from a single cell chamber to four apartments was continuous for a long period from the 7th century to the 15th century A.D. A detailed study of each apartment of different temples is as laborious as anything but the craftsmanship of the architects of each period was stamped in the monuments in its best illustrations.

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DIKPĀLAS AND THEIR SĀKTIS IN THE TEMPLES OF ORISSA

The history of temple architecture goes back at least to the period of 7th century A.D. if not earlier in Orissa. In the early period the temples called Lakshmanesvara, Bharatēśvara, Satrughnesvara and Svarnajālēśvara were constructed at Bhubaneswar. The special features of this group of temples is the absence of the porch (Mukhaśāla or Jagamohana) in the front. The temples called Tāraṇāmeśvara, Vaitāla and Siśireśvara belong to a later phase of this period due to the presence of Mukhaśālas attached to them. In all these temples are found the Ashṭa-grahas or eight planetary deities in stead of popular nine ones carved on the lintels of the door frames of temples. The Navagraha slab of the Konarak temple is well known, but in early temples the planet Ketu is not included. It seems that the conception of the 9th planet Ketu in the temple architecture is a of later date. Similarly the introduction of Dikpālas in the temple architecture is also of later origin. In the Satrughnesvara temple, one of the earliest temples of Bhubaneswar, the Saiva deities are placed in the niches of 8 corners of the temple. In the Paraṇāmeśvara temple there are 8 niches which are now found empty. In absence of any sculpture there it is not safe to conjecture that the niches were meant for the Dikpālas or the cardinal deities.

The temples of Mukteśvara and Gourī in the premises of the Kedārakunḍa are later in date than the Paraṇāmeśvara temple. There are 8 niches on four corners of the Mukteśvara temple which are empty now, and it is not possible to suggest the purpose for which these were constructed.

Next to Mukteśvara is the date of the Rājarāni temple not far from it and its date has been assigned by all to 1000 A.D. In this temple the 8 Dikpālas or cardinal deities have been prominently carved out according to their positions as mentioned in the lexicography of Amara or Amarkosha. From this survey it appears that no temple before 1000 A.D. was adorned with Dikpālas.

The Amarakosha contains the following verse on the eight Dīkṣāpālas:

इङ्रो बाहिन: पितृपितिनैहलोकरुपोमहत्
कुवेरक्रियापत्यः पूर्वाविदिता दिशामन क्रमात्।

In the consecutive order from the eastern quarter are to be placed Indra, Vahni, Yama, Naiṛṭa, Varuṇa, Vayu, Kuvera and Iṣāna.

The Pratima-lakṣaṇa and Brhat Samhitā give the description of the vehicles and weapons (Ayudhas) of the 8 Dīkṣāpālas. The quarters, vehicles and weapons of the Dīkṣāpālas of the Rajarāni temple are noted below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Quarter</th>
<th>Vehicle</th>
<th>Weapons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Indra</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Vajra and Ankuśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agni</td>
<td>S. E.</td>
<td>Ram</td>
<td>Akṣamālā and Kamaṇḍalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Yama</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>Daṇḍa, Khadga, Triśula and Akṣamālā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Naiṛṭa</td>
<td>S. W.</td>
<td>Human body</td>
<td>Khadga and Dhāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Varuṇa</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>Maṇḍara</td>
<td>Samgha and Padma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Vayu</td>
<td>N. W.</td>
<td>Deer</td>
<td>Chakra and Ketana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Kuvera</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>Seven pitchers</td>
<td>Vara and Abhaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Iṣāna</td>
<td>N. E.</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>Triśula and Kapala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The images of the above Dīkṣāpālas of the Rajarāni temple of Bhubaneswar are in a good state of preservation and that of Varuṇa is a fine specimen of image-sculpture. All the images of the Dīkṣāpālas are carved out in standing postures.

The date of the great Liṅgarāja temple of Bhubaneswar has been assigned to about 1050 A.D. This temple has been adorned with the 8 Dīkṣāpālas in a sitting posture. The Mukhaśāla of the Liṅgarāja temple does not possess any image of the Dīkṣāpālas from which it can be said that up to the middle of the eleventh century the introduction of the Dīkṣāpālas in the Mukhaśāla of a temple was not popular in the temple architecture.

Among the temples of Bhubaneswar, the temple of Brahmaśvara possesses an inscription which gives its date as well as the name of the builder of the temple. The name of the builder is Kolavati Devi, the mother of Maharajadhiraja Udyota Keśari, the son of Yayati II of the Somakuli Dynasty, popularly known as the Keśari dynasty in the chronicle of the Jagannath temple at Puri. According to the Madalāpanji,
these deities. Even in the Jagamohana of the Paranāmeśvara temple, the Liṅgāraja temple was built by Yayati Keśari. So the temple of Brahmeśvara comes chronologically after the temple of Liṅgāraja. In the Brahmeśvara temple there are Dikpālas both in the main shrine as well as in the Mukhasāla. This is no doubt a new addition to the temple architecture at Bhubaneswar.

The temple of Jagannātha at Puri constructed perhaps in the middle of the 12th century A D, and naturally decorated like the Liṅgāraja, has been fully covered with plaster in the subsequent period. Due to the covering of the plaster the decorations and the images of the Dikpālas have been lost to the sight of the pilgrims. At my request the Raja Ramachandra Deva of Puri caused the removal of the plaster in a small place at the southwest corner of the temple and the image of Vayu was found at a depth of 12 inches of the plaster. If the coat of plaster is removed the decorations of the walls of the Jagannātha temple will be found similar to those of the Liṅgāraja temple.

The temple of Megheśvara of Bhubaneswar is also dated by an inscription. It was built by an officer of Aniyanakabhimadeva during the period of 1190–99 A.D. In this temple there are images of Dikpālas. As the temple is not fully decorated it seems that its Mukhasāla was not provided with Dikpālas like the Brahmeśvara temple.

I have not noticed the images of the Dikpālas in the Jagamohana of the Kośarakā temple. As the main temple is broken much below the height of the wall assigned to the Dikpālas, there is no chance of knowing the Dikpālas. The date of this temple is about 1250 A.D. and it is natural that it possessed the images of Dikpālas. I have not noticed any image of the Dikpālas meant for the great temple in the collection of sculptures from its ruins.

In 1278 A.D. Chandra Devi, the daughter of Anāgabhima Deva, sister of Narasimha Deva I and aunt of Bhānu Deva I, built the Anantavāsudeva temple at Bhubaneswar. In this temple, which is in good preservation, there are images of 8 Dikpālas at the four corners over which are the images of their Saktis (female energies) in the main shrine as well as in the Jagamohana. Thus we see in this temple that a new type of architectural decoration was first introduced in Orissa.

In the Devi-Mahātmya or Chaṇḍi we find the description of Sapta or Ashṭa-Maṛkās and at Jajpur and Puri we have the images of
there are Sapta-Mātrika images on its wall. So the conception of Saktis or female energies of deities was not a new thing. Even in the Devi-Kavacha of Devi-Mahātmya the Saktis of the Dīkpālas find mention as follows:

"प्रतीच्छ रज्जु माहेश्वरी अण्गनेवा मेवाहिनी ।
दत्ति चैव बाराही नैस्तिकः खण्डाधरिणी ।
प्रतीच्छ चारुशीरोभुव नावयाः सुगवाहिनी ।
उदाच्छ रत्नकुंवेरी ऐशान्याः शुल्कवाहिनी।"

Let Indraṇī protect (us) in the east, the Sakti of Agni in the south-east, Vārāhi in the south, the Sakti of Nairpta in the south-west, Vāruni in the west, the Sakti of Vāyu in the north-west, Kauveri in the north and Iśāni in the north-east.

In the above description we find Vārāhi or Yama-sakti having the vehicle of buffalo. The image of Vārāhi of the Sapta-mātrikās having the vehicle of buffalo is carved with the face of a boar, but the face of Yami is of human form. With the exception of this difference of the image of the female energy of Yami there is no other difference in the scripture and the sculpture of the Saktis of the Dīkpālas from that of the Sapta mātrikās.

The temples called Sāri, Chitrakārini, Yameśvara, Mitṛēvara and Varunēvara of Bhubaneswar are all later than the Ananta-vāṣudeva temple and the Dīkpālas with their Saktis adorn both the main shrines and Jagamohanas of this group of temples.

M. M. Ganguly in the Orissa and Her Remains p. 174 first discussed the importance of Dīkpālas in the temple architecture of Orissa, but he did not notice the female energies of the Dīkpālas.

The images of Dīkpālas and their Saktis have been carved in various ways by different sculptors in a period of 500 years from 1000 A.D.
In 1924 Ramaprasad Chanda, the then Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta first drew the notice of scholars to the names of the planets inscribed on the door architrave of the sanctum of the Paraśurāmesvara temple of Bhubaneswar.  It was subsequently reported by R. D. Banerji, Dr K. C. Panigrahi discovered the second inscription on the graha-slab of the Satrughnesvara temple. He assigned the Paraśurāmesvara and Satrughnesvara temples on the palaeographic grounds to the first quarter of the 7th century A. D. 3

The graha slabs of the Paraśurāmesvara and Satrughnesvara, the earliest temples so far known in Orissa contain the images of 8 grahas below which there are inscriptions giving their names namely 1 Aditya, 2. Soma, 3. Āgirasa. 4. Budha 5. Bṛhaspati, 6. Sukra, 7. Saniśchara and 8. Rāhu.

In the Navagraha pujapaddhati there are Vedic mantras attributed to the 9 planets which are found in the astrological works. I have not been able to consult Jyotiśa belonging to Vedāṅga and so I am unable to give the date of its origin. But Varahamihira's Brhat-Samhita is a dated work of the 6th century A. D and it allots one chapter each to 9 planets namely 1. Aditya, 2. Chandra, 3. Rāhu, 4. Bhauma, 5. Budha, 6. Bṛhaspati, 7. Sukra, 8. Saniśchara and 9. Ketu. Varahamihira has allotted the 3rd position to Rāhu and the ninth position to Ketu, but now-a-days Rāhu is allotted the eighth position.

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In the Paraśurāmeśvara and Satrughneśvara temples the planet Ketu is absent and Rāhu occupies the 8th position. Although we find earlier references to 9 planets in Varāhamihira, it is not understood as to why the Tsilpis or architects of the temple deviated from the tradition of the literature or Sāstra in these two temples of Bhubaneswar. It is reported by my friend Sri Kedarnath Mahapatra, that one of the group of five ancient temples at Kuale in the Dhenkanal district dateable in the early eighth century contains a slab with eight grahas. This deviation is due perhaps to the astrological calculation of the period of life made according to the Ashtottari or 108 years and Vimsottari or 120 years. In the Ashtottari system Ketu is absent whereas in the Vimsottari Ketu finds a place in the list of 9 grahas. The conception of grahas in the early temples of Orissa may be due to the popularity of the Ashtottari system there. Again in the subsequent period in the Mukteśvara temple, of Bhubareswar the date of which is generally assigned to the middle of the tenth century A.D. we find the full set of Navagrahas, the representation of which continued in the Orissan temples up to the middle of the 13th century A.D. when the Konarka temple was built.

Mrs. Devala Mitra, the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, Calcutta reports in the guide book entitled "Udayagiri and Khandagiri, 1960" that in the cave of Khandagiri there are two images of Tirthankara Rishabhanatha carved on the back wall of the cave and in the two sides of the images are carved 8 grahas (page 60). In the cave 9 of Khandagiri there are two chlorite images of Rishabhanatha belonging to the same art tradition as that of the images of the cave 10, the back slab of which contains Astagrahas also. The date of the cave 10 falls in the later half of the 11th century A.D. The dates of the Mukteśvara, Rajārāni and Lingarāja temples of Bhubaneswar are earlier than that of the cave 10 of Khandagiri, but the date of Brahmeśvara temple of Bhubaneswar is contemporary with that of the cave 10. The cave 10 is contemporary with the cave 11 which contains an inscription recorded in the 5th regnal year of the Somakuli King Udyota Kesari and the Brahmeśvara temple was built by the mother of Udyotakesari in his 18th regnal year. The Jaina panel contains Astagrahas whereas the Brahmeśvara temple contains Navagraha. It seems that Astagraha according to the Ashtottari system of calculation of Jyotisha, was popular among the Jainas, whereas the followers of the Brahmanic faith adopted the Vimsottari system prescribed by Varāhamihira. The Navagraha slab of the Konarka temple proves that the Brahmanic art tradition continued in Orissa much longer.
The Grahapuja-paddhati gives the description of figures of each graha, the main features of which are given below but in the lithic representation we miss most of the attributes.

1. Rabi has 2 hands holding lotus-stalk and has a ratha drawn by seven horses.

2. Chandra has 2 hands holding a qada and Varada mudra and has a ratha drawn by 10 horses.

3. Mañjula has 4 hands holding a khojya, Sakti, qada and Varada mudra and with a ram as his vehicle.

4. Budha has 4 hands holding sword, shield, qada and varada mudra with the lion as the vehicle.

5. Brhaspati has 4 hands holding danqa Akshasatra, Kamanśalu and Varada mudra with the swan vehicle.

6. Sukra has 4 hands holding danqa, akshasatra, Kamanśalu and varada mudra with the frog vehicle.

7. Sani has 4 hands holding Sla, bow, arrow and the varada mudra with the vulture vehicle.

8. Rahu has 4 hands holding sword, Salas and varada mudra with the makara vehicle.

9. Ketu has 2 hands holding qada and varada mudra with the vulture vehicle.

The images of grahas carved in the Paraśurāmesvara and other temples are small ones and those at the sides of the Jaina Tirthankaras are smaller still. In the representation of the Navagraha in a slab nearly 20' x 4' x 4' of the Konarka temple which is the best specimen of its kind, we find that with the exception of Rahu all the other eight grahas are in the human forms having 2 hands each, all seated cross-legged excepting Ketu. The image of Rābi holds two lotus stalks but those of Chandra, Mañjula, Budha, Brhaspati, Sukra, Sani and Ketu show varada mudra in their right hands and hold a vase in the left hands. The image of Rāhu is represented by his head, his right hand holding the crescent of the moon and the vase in the left hand. In the iconographic representations we miss plurality of hands, in cases of Mañjula, Budha, Brhaspati, Sukra, Sani and Rahu and so also
weapons and vehicles in all the 9 cases. Ketu has no legs and it sits on the coil of a serpent. The face of Rahu is hideous and that of Bṛhaspati possesses long beard. All other grahas have got cleanly shaved faces.

35

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ANCIENT ART OF ORISSA

I

The ancient art of Orissa is divided into architecture and sculpture with the inclusion of paintings, decorative motifs and designs familiar to the creativeness of the then artists. The earliest specimen is the front part of an elephant carved on the top of the Rock-edicts of Asoka at Dhauli dating back to the 3rd century B.C. This piece of solitary specimen of the Maurian art in Orissa establishes the capability in carving the life sketch in stone by the Orissan artists of those days.

The next in importance are the caves of the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills not far from Dhauli and Bhubaneswar. The caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri belonging to the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. furnish us with evidence that the art in Orissa was then in a thriving condition. In these caves we find the capability of artists in carving out caves from solid rocks. Most of the caves are even well decorated with human sculptures combined with animal and plant life. Very little comparative study of these sculptures and designs has been made with other contemporary monuments like Bharhut and Sanchi. These caves were meant for the Jaina mendicants and such early art of the Jaina sect is rare elsewhere in India. No trace of Buddhism or Brahminism is found anywhere in the caves of these two hills.

From the 1st century B.C to the 5th century A.D. we have not got any specimen of art in Orissa. This long absence of artistic work has been a problem to historians as well as to archeologists. The darkness of history is faintly brightened by the Bhadrakali temple inscription belonging to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. Near about 15 miles s.w. of Bhadraka in Gandivedha were found coins bearing the inscription of
Nanda and the design of a bull on the reverse which contribute a very meagre idea. Similarly the find of a large number of copper Kushan Coins is in no way helpful. But the rock paintings of a procession followed by the king on the elephant at Sitabinjhi in the Keonjhar District dispels the darkness to some extent of the period and establishes that the trend of art in Orissa was not interrupted.

II

Then again we are plunged into darkness for a period of two hundred years up to the middle of the 7th century A.D. Although there are good many copperplates of the later half of the sixth century, no monument or temple belonging to the period has been brought to light. This dark period in Orissa is the most prosperous one in the history of India for development of culture representing the literature, art architecture and sculpture of the Gupta age. Yuan Chhanga during his visit in 630 to 42 A.D. came to Orissa and refers to buildings and sculptures in the port of Chelitolechewi, but the identification of this port has not been made as yet. The Archaeological relies at Jajpur, and Cuttack hills called Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri and Bhubaneswar go to prove clearly that the descendants of artists of Orissa were capable of producing objects of art to their best ability after imbibing the spirit of the Gupta art from the North.

The artists as a rule depend on the patrons who employ them and with the continuous works they find scope for maintaining the culture and high ideals. Towards the middle of the 7th century or in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. a powerful dynasty of rulers called the Bhaumas ruled in Orissa who were more or less tolerant towards Brahminism although they were followers of Buddhism. During the period of rule of these rulers, Orissa was lucky enough to have in possession of a large number of temples and stupas decorated with sculptures. The period of rule of the Bhauma kings roughly continued for 300 years from the middle of the 7th century A.D. and that of their successors, the Somakuli Keśari kings for 150 years after the Bhaumas. During this period the division of art into architecture and sculpture became very conspicuous and we may safely say that this is the most glorious period in the history of Orissa. The practice of religious faiths of Buddhism and Brahmanism and even Jainism was followed according to texts of Sanskrit works of Yoga and the artists while carving sculptures were also fully imbibed with the
idea regarding the posture of deities in yogasana in which the position of the eye in the sculptures was copied from the living yogis. So the Bhauma art in Orissa is the product of the post Gupta art in India.

With the rise of the supremacy of the Bhauma kings extending over an area from Midnapur in the North to Mahendragiri in the south comprising the hilly tracts of Orissa upto Baud and Sonepur, the country of Utkala had a stabilised administration for a period of at least 200 years from 700-900 A. D. It is the general rule that while peace and tranquility prevail in a country, the people find opportunity in developing the objects of art and science.

The geography of Orissa divides the country into regions having isolation due to intervening hills as well as association due to connecting rivers, and this environment gave rise to the local groups or schools of art with some distinct features in each group or school. So far these local schools are known, such as:— (1) Jajpur, (2) Cuttack hills (3) Bhubaneswar Puri and Konarka, (4) Khiching in Mayurbhanj, (5) Baidyanath and other places in Balangir, (6) Bhimkanda, Sarang, Kualo, Vrajagot etc. in the Talcher area of the Dhenkanal District. All these local schools did not develop at the same time in the centres noted above. The first flow was perhaps in the coastal tracts and the second one in the hilly tracts towards the close of the period as is evident from the workmanship of temples and sculptures found in those regions.

Jajpur was the centre of culture as it was the capital of the Bhauma kings. It is not known how many temples and stupas were there, but the remains of the past indicate that there were numerous temples and stupas there. The prominent faiths were Buddhism and Saktism. The Matrika images of Saktism are the best specimens of Indian art. The chisel of the artist has brought the life-like shape to the imaginary images of the Goddesses. As all the Matrika images are carved in the Mugi stones, the sculptors had the advantage of carving delicate details in the hard substance. At a glance of these images the observer is at-once struck with the artistic sense of roundness, naturally associated with the beautiful female form. If the sculptor had not been the master artist, it would not have been possible to carve out such images with natural expressions. Like the images of the Matrikas of Jajpur, there are a set of Matrika images at Puri. These images of Puri are further developed by the
artists as we find in their facial expressions as if they are lost in meditation like the images of the Cuttack hills.

The colossal image of Padmapani at Jajpur seems to be the result of competitive activity of the Mahayana Buddhism with Saktism. This image unfortunately has been badly damaged and not yet completely restored. The pedestal and the lower part below the knee are missing. When complete it was an image of about 22 ft. high and as such it was the biggest image of the Buddhists in Orissa.

At Khadipada on the left bank of the Vaitarani at a distance of about 8 miles N. E. from Jajpur, there was a Buddhist site containing a good many Buddhist images. One of them contains the inscription of Santikaradeva of the Bhauma dynasty.

About 20 miles south of Jajpur are situated the famous ruined Buddhist centres in the Cuttack hills, known as the Ratnagiri, the Udayagiri and the Lalitagiri. These hills are included in the Asia range of hills of the Cuttack district. The history of these hills is not well known. The recent excavation at Ratnagiri carried by Srimati Devala Mitra, the Superintendent of Archaeological Department, Eastern Circle is expected to throw more new light on their history. All the three hills are mines of relics of the Buddhist Art. The Buddhist stupas are no more than heaps of brick ruins, the sculptures are abundant everywhere. The sculptures of the hills are carved in the locally available stone called Khandolite. The images of the three hills one very life-like. The image of Vajrapani from Lalitagiri is so perfect in execution that its photograph appears to be that of a living man. The dual attributes of Vajrapani—firstly a devotee himself and secondly a God to the worshippers appear to have been successfully carved out by the sculptor. The eyes of this image are half shut and fixed at the tip of the nose and from this posture it appears that the God is engaged in meditation, but at the same time the position of the hand shows that he is also busy in bestowing abhaya (protection) to the worshippers. The facial expression of these sculptures is in harmony with the bodily form. In a word, it may be said that liveliness and spontaneity of expression are the special features of the sculptures of the Cuttack hills from which they spread to other parts of Orissa.

Neither at Jajpur nor at Cuttack hills we have got the complete shape of the architecture of the monuments in which these
No. 14 Circular Temple of Sixtyfour Yoginis at Hirapur Page - 323
sculptures were enshrined or decorated. But we are lucky to find a good number of earlier temples of this period preserved in a far better way which furnish us both the outward and inward form of architecture along with divine, human and animal forms of sculptures and decorative motifs. The sculptures however at Bhubaneswar rank secondary in importance to the architecture and in spite of this, in sculptures of Bhubaneswar we find the influence of the Cuttack hills very clearly. The form of temple architecture at Bhubaneswar is unique in India and we do not find any such temples elsewhere.

At Bhubaneswar the Sikha of the earliest temples is well developed, but there is no such temple in which the Sikha is flat, like that of the Gupta temple at Bhumra. There is a tiny little temple called Sikha Chandi on the top of a hillock near Patia about 8 miles north of Bhubaneswar. The roof of this temple is a flat one and the back slab containing the image of Mahishasuramardini forms the back wall of the temple. The image is earlier than the Matrikas at Jajpur.

Among the temples of the earlier period of Bhubaneswar are the Lakshmanesvara, the Bharatesvara, the Satrughanesvara, the Swarnajalesvara which have no mukhasalas in front of the Vimana; but the Parasuramesvara, the Sisiresvara, the Vaitala, the Markandesvar and the Mohini possess Mukhasalas. The temple at Simhanatha in old Baramba state (now in the Cuttack district) situated on an island in the bed of the Mahanadi, the temple of Vajrakot in old Talcher state (now in the Dhenkanal district) and the twin temples of Gandharadhi in old Baudha state (now in the Phulabani District) are architecturally similar to these temples of Bhubaneswar.

After this phase of architectural development in temples, we find only the Muktesvara temple at Bhubaneswar which is perhaps a work of the last decades of the Bhauma period. There is a Chaunhasathi Yogioi temple at Hirapur at a distance of two miles as the crow flies from Bhubaneswar to the east which though architecturally different, is sculpturally similar to Muktesvara. The temple of 64 Yoginis has a circular wall which bends inwards at about 10ft. high with an entrance in front. There is a square structure in the centre. The deities are arranged in different niches on the inner as well as the outer walls. The 3 temples (3 out of 4) with a star shaped ground plan at Baudgarh and the temples at Khiching belong to this period with this difference that the temples at Baudgarah and Khiching have no Mukhasalas. The
sculptors at Baudgarh and Khiching fully assimilated the workmanship of Bhubaneswar or that of the sea-board districts of Orissa. The temple of the Sun-God at Pilia near Bhadrakha is a peculiar one of this period having four doors on four sides in which is enshrined a sun God with four faces. The two Anantasayi Vishnu images in the upper valley of the Brahmani in the old Talcher area are also to be assigned to this period. One of them at Bhimkund measures 42'-3", the other at Sarang five miles from Talcher town measures 49'-10". The vitality and expression of the sculptures of these two images at once astonish the visitors. The image at Bhimkund is better preserved as it was carved out of a sand stone rock only exposed to weather, whereas that at Sarang is carved out of a rock on the bed of the Brahmani river, the floods of which year after year pass over it, some times covering it fully with sand.

The Temples of the Tel valley or of the Balangi district possess the Sikharas similar to those at Baudgarh and other places. The well preserved temple at Charda is a later type of structure than that of Vaidyanath and Patnagarh, but its mukhasala is a prototype of that of the Vaidyanath temple which is an earlier one. In these temples the architecture of the Mukhasala is a unique feature in Orissa. The Mukhasala at Vaidyanath is in a very dilapidated condition and its original Vimana is lost. The Mukhasala is built with a flat roof with an intricate ground plan with four pillars on a square base in the middle and the inner side of the wall of the Mukhasala and the pillars are fully decorated with life-like figures of Brahmanic Deities. The styles of sculptures are different from those found in other parts of Orissa. It is unfortunate that the temples of this style at Patnagarh and Belkhandi are not only in ruins, but totally changed by modern structures. There are some ruins of temples including a temple for 64 Yoginis at Ranipur-Jharial which may or may not be of this period.

At Khiching in the Mayurbhanj District the Bhanja rulers built their capital and they were also patrons of art. All religious faiths thrived there. Their date may be assigned to the early part of the 10th century A.D. when the art of temple building in other parts of Orissa was very popular and every where a Jagamohana was added to the Vimana. But the artists and patrons did not follow the established path and not only erected temples without Jagamohana but adorned the temples with sculptures both divine and human following the principle of the artists of the early Bhauma period. The artists of
Khiching were very lucky that they got the best muguni stone with which they built temples as well as the sculptures and other decorations.

From the copper plate grants of the Bhanja kings of northern Orissa issued from Khijinga kota (modern Khiching) we find that they were the worshippers of the image of Hara and actually this image of Hara with two attendants was found from the ruins of the temple. We have got a large number of Siva Linga temples all over Orissa and even at Khiching there are too many. It is not understood what was the urge for the patron to build the image of Hara for his worship. This question is yet to be solved. While making images the sculptors usually pay more attention to finishing the upper part carefully and leave the work of the lower to the assistant sculptors. The best peculiarity of the art of Khiching is that even a small decorating image has been executed with full care of modelling the lower part. Iconographically the image of Hara with his two attendants called Chanda and Prachanda is rare in India.

Towards the close of the Bhanuma period in the sea-board districts of Orissa especially in the Cuttack and Puri districts, due to want of stone, the people started building Indo-Aryan style of temples with bricks. Even at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri people used bricks for building stupas although the stone blocks were abundant there.

III

Towards the middle of the 10th century A.D the Somakuli Keśari kings became the rulers in Orissa. It is presumed that they occupied the whole area of the Bhaumas. Their period of rule ended in 1111 A.D. and their ruling period may be calculated only for about 150 years. There is no doubt that the early Keśari kings namely Janamejaya and Yayati were great builders of temples. According to the Madalapanji, Janamejaya established himself at Chowduar and Yayati Keśari at Jajapur and Bhubaneswar. At Bhubaneswar Yayati Keśari built the great Lingaraja temple. The Brahmesvar temple inscription records that queen Kalavatidevi wife of Yayati II and the father of Udyota Keśari built the Brahmesvar temple. This contemporary inscription and the comparative study of the temple architecture of Brahmesvar and the great Lingaraja leaves no doubt that Yayati II of the Somakuli Keśari dynasty is the builder of the Lingaraja temple. In the early Bhauma temples at Bhubaneswar we first find the Aṣṭa Grahas (eight planets) excluding Ketu and the names of the planets are
inscribed in the temples of Lakshmanesvar and Parasuramesvara at Bhubaneswar with contemporary letters. In the Muktesvara and other temples of the subsequent period we find the 9 planets or Navagrahas. Inclusion of Ketu in the list of planets is certainly a subsequent thought.

In the temples of the Bhauma period, we do not find the Aśhadikpālas but we find them first at the Rajarani temple in the standing posture. The Rajarani temple is a work of the Keśārī period. The decorations of the dikpālas in the Lingarāja temple and in all subsequent temples indicate that those works were done during the Keśārī period. A few temples of the Kesari period are in existence, but the Lingaraja surpasses all in height and grandeur indicating the vitality, courage and culture of the artists and their patrons. It is only a matter of regret that they have not left any record behind to satisfy our curiosity. The three niche images of the Lingaraja temple, Ganesa, Kartikeya and Parvati are colossal ones and show the sculptor’s great ability in his profession.

The Somakuli Keśārī kings were ousted by the Gańga king Anantavarma Chodagaṇga Deva of the Gańga dynasty of Mukhalingam in about 1111 A.D. His inscription in the Lingaraja temple of the year 1112 A.D. shows his supremacy over Orissa. According to the tradition recorded in Madalapāṇji, the Jagannātha temple at Puri was built by Anasgabhima Deva (1212-1238 A.D.) and the Konārka temple was built by his son Narasimha Deva I (1238-1264 A.D.). But recently the discovery of the Dasgoba and the Nagari copper plates have proved it conclusively that the Jagannātha temple was built by Chodagaṇga Deva before his death in 1147 A.D. The Dasgoba copperplate was issued by the grand son of Chodaganga in 1198 A.D. and the Nagari plate was issued by Anangabhima Deva in 1230 A.D. These two copper plates and all subsequently issued copperplates upto Narasimha Deva IV, mention that Chodagaṇga Deva was the builder of the Jagannātha temple at Puri. Thus its date may be fixed sometime between 1135-45 A.D. The copperplates of Narasimha Deva II the grand son of Narasimha Deva I mention that Narasimha Deva I built the Konarka temple during his reign So the date of the Konarka temple may be fixed between 1250-62 A.D.

The Jagannātha temple was fully decorated like the Lingaraja or the Konarka temples but cover of plaster of 12 inches or so in a subsequent period has distorted the outward form of the Sīkharas as
well as the vertical portion of the walls. The Jagannātha temple has Dikpālas similar to those of the Lingarāja, but their existence there was not known up to 1927 when at my request the late Raja Rama Chandra Deva of Puri got the plaster removed by employing masons and the images of Varuna and Vāyu were visible in similar postures to that we find in the Lingarāja temple. Similarly many decorated temples in Orissa have lost their architectural beauty by plastering in subsequent times by the unskilled repairs.

As the Jagannātha temple built sometime in 1140 A.D. has been fully covered with plaster, it is unfortunate that we have not got any other temple for comparative study of the development of art and architecture from the time of Lingarāja to that of Kanarka. Moreover the Śikhara or the Vimāna of Konarka is gone. But in the Jagannātha temple we find that the niches for the Pārśvadevatas are within the walls like the Lingarāj, whereas in the Konarka there are separate small size temples with approaches from the ground, outside the main walls. This is a new addition to the Architecture of the temple at Konarka. The Gopinātha temple at Kakudia seems to have been built after the Jagannātha temple for the reason that it has got pillars with a projection at the base and a structure for shade at the top. It seems that this small structure developed fully at Konarka for the shelter and worship of the Pārśvadevatas. Such structures in the Lingarāja and Jagannātha temples were built after the Konarka temple.

The other important variation is the raised plinth both for the Vimāna and the Jagamohan at Konarka which we miss at the Jagannātha and the Lingarāja temples. The date of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple at Bhubaneswar is 1278 A.D., and thus its date is not far from that of Konarka. Both the builders were brother and sister. So what we miss at Konarka we find in the Ananta Vāsudeva where again the female energies of the Dikpālas, find place in the temple niches.

As regards the sculptures from Lingarāja to Konarak we find the same spirit of the artists of the Bhauma and the Keśari periods, who were cleverly adopting the posture of yoga. In the Lingarāja the Dikpāl Varuna is found carved out in such a way that its vehicle is in motion, but the deity sits on it in a yogasana with half shut eyes. Similarly at Konarak we find the rider the Sun-God sitting on the running horse in a dhyāna posture.
The Konarak temple is the climax of development of art and architecture of the Oriya artists of the middle of the 13th century A.D. After this the Oriya artists built temples with intricacy of ground plan from Pancha Ratha to 11th or 13th Rathas which has made the shikhara almost circular in appearance, but it seems that their activity was stereotyped having lost the spontaneity of workmanship.

IV

After the Gangas, the Suryavamśi kings came to be very powerful in Orissa and they extended their territory far and wide. But they never attempted to build temples like the Jagannātha or the Konārka. It is attributed to king Purusottama Deva that he added two new structures in architecture called Nātampandira and Bhogamandapa to the Jagannātha temple. The workmanship of the Bhogamandapa of the Jagannātha temple shows the deterioration of art in the 13th century A.D. It seems that two similar structures were added to the Lingarāja temple during this period. The addition of these two structures has modified the surrounding of these two temples to a great extent. After this the Orissan temple is said to possess 1. Vimāna, 2. Jagamohana, 3. Nātampandira, and 4. Bhogamandapa.

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NOTES ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AND TEMPLES AT KHICHING

The exploration of Archaeological remains at Khiching goes back to 1837 when Lieutenant Tickell visited the place soon after the formation of Kolehan in the District of Singhbhum. Tickell wrote a Memoir on Hodesum (improperly called Kolhan) in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1840 pp. 706-709. In this Memoir he wrote as follows:—

"In none of these places could I perceive inscriptions of any kind, and I cannot here avoid expressing a regret, that my ignorance
of Indian antiquities prevented my throwing any light on the history of these truly interesting relics;—Interesting, as being situated in such unknown wilds, as indices of the entire revolution that has taken place in the political history of the country, and as proofs of these untrampled jungles having once been the seat of opulence, industry, and power, so utterly decayed, so long departed, as not to have left a record behind."

From the above it is clear that in the middle of the 19th century people clearly forgot the history of Khiching.

In 1871 two copper-plate grants belonging to the Bhanja kings of Khijjinga Kotta were published in the said Journal, but the editor failed to throw any light on the Archaeological remains of Khiching. In 1875–76 Beglar, an assistant of Cunningham, the then Director General of Archaeology in India, visited Khiching while surveying the Archaeological remains in the hilly parts of Orissa, but he too did not throw any light on the history of the place.

In 1905–06 Maharaja and Ruler Sri Rama Chandra Bhanja Deo established the department of Archaeology in Mayurbhanj State and N. N. Vasu was appointed as the State Archaeologist. Credit goes to Vasu that he identified Khiching with the Khijjinga–Kotta and excavated few mounds, outside the Thākurāni compound.

The Thākurāni of Khiching is called Khichingesvari and is the patron deity of the Bhanja rulers of Mayurbhanj. In the Sanads issued by the Bhanja rulers of the 17th and 18th centuries A.D., she is used to be invoked in each Sanad along with Jagannātha by each ruler.

In 1922 late Maharaja Purnachandra Bhanja Deo requested the Director General of Archaeology in India to depute an officer to fully explore Khiching–Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, the Superintendent of the Archaeological section, of the Indian Museum, Calcutta visited the place in the winter of 1922 and submitted a report to the Director General of Archaeology stating that the sculptures of Khiching belong to a new school of Art in Orissa. The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj then arranged to excavate the Thākurāni's compound under the supervision of Rai Bahadur Chanda. Sri P. Acharya had the opportunity of working under Rai Bahadur Chanda during the winter of 1923. When the broken images were pieced together, many important deities were identified, chief among which is the image of Hara with two attendants
Nandi and Yringi. The copper plates describe the Bhanja rulers as “Haracharauradhana-kshayita-pāpa” e.g., “one whose sin has been washed away by the worship of the feet of Hara.” The worship of Siva in the form of Linga is very common, but the worship of Hara in the human form as a cult image is very rare. The identification of Hara of the copper plate grants of the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. with this image was very significant for the date of remains of Khiching. The Archaeological Department of Mayurbhanj was established in 1924–25.

After the excavation it was decided by the Maharaja to preserve the image sculptures and decorative stones of the broken temple in a Museum. The Museum building was completed in 1928 when the sculptures were arranged in the Museum.

While the Archaeological works were going on it was observed that unless the temples, which were then standing in a dilapidated condition were protected, they would collapse like the temple of Hara. Sri P. Acharya, the State Archaeologist dismantled the temples of Chandrašekhara and Kutaiturdi and restored them from the bottom to the top. After the restoration of these two temples H. H. Maharaja Sri Pratap Chandra Bhanja Deo of Mayurbhanj decided to restore the broken temple of Hara for the use of the Thakurani. The broken temple was so badly damaged that even its ground plan was disturbed. The State Archaeologist and his assistant late S. P. Bose were able to find out the ground plans by piecing together the original stones and then the reconstruction was on easy matter. In 1942 the reconstruction of the temple was over and after consecration of the temple by His Highness the Thakursūni was enshrined there. The majority of sculptures arranged in the Museum were originally used in the temple in their respective places.

While the reconstruction of the temples was going on some Archaeological sites at Khiching were excavated and studied. The most important site is Biratgarh which was fully covered with sal jungle. The excavation brought to light many antiquities from brick buildings which are exhibited in the Museum. The discovery of real Kushan coins pushes its date to the 2nd century A.D. or a little later.

From the study of cult images of Khiching it is found that Brahmanism including Saivism, Saktism, and Vaishnavism, developed
at Khiching side by side with Buddhism and Jainism. From this existence of different religious cults at Khiching it appears that the Bhanja rulers were tolerant in religious affairs of their subjects although they were followers of the Brahminical faith.

The peculiarity of sculptures of Khiching which was styled by Rai Bahadur Chanda as a local school of Art has been described by Rene Grosset of the Museum Gemme of Paris as the Mayurbhanj school of Art in his work, the Civilisation of the East. Dr. Stella Cramrisch has also described the art of Khiching as a separate branch of the Orissan schools of sculptures.*

REPORT ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION IN TALCHER.

Valentine Ball of the Geological Survey of India visited Talcher in December 1875 and found a palaeolith at Kusramunda on the 11th, December, 1875 and in his 'Jungle Life in India' pp 567-8 he writes as follows:—

"December 11th. Kusramunda:—To-day I found an ancient stone implement of the chipped quartzite type very similar to a form of which great numbers have been found in Madras. Subsequently I met with a few others"

From his note published at pp 122-23 in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1876 and the plate I of the App.B.of the Jungle Life in India, I was interested to see the site called Hariehandpur in Talcher. I left Baripada on the 16th, Feb, 1949 for Cuttack where I met Mr. Samuel Das, the Chief Administrator of merged States of Orissa and Mr. Das was very kind to give me a letter to Mr. Durga Prasad Tripathi, the Administrator of Talcher. I left Cuttack in the morning of the 18th. February for Talcher by train and arrived there at noon. I met Mr. Tripathy who was very kind to arrange a Jeep for my journey to Hariehandpur on the 20th. morning. At Talcher I met the Ruler of Talcher and he was pleased to suggest that I should see

Balangi, and Bhimkand which are on the way to Harichandpur and also the temple at Vajrakot from Kaniha.

I left Talcher at 8 a.m. On the way at Balangi 12 miles N.W. of Talcher I found a modern Siva temple, but on the wall of this temple there is an image of Siva in the posture of Yoga. It is an image with two hands and the workmanship is very fine. The date of the sculpture may be 8th or 9th century A.D. The iconographic peculiarity of the image is rather rare to my knowledge in Orissa and the image can be mistaken for that of a Dhyani Buddha if one overlooks the vehicle the bull and the third eye on the fore-head.

At Bhimkand situated at about 18 miles N.W. of Talcher after crossing a jungle of shrubs one meets with a sand rock adjoining the paddy fields to its west and north. On the northern side of the rock is carved out an image of Vishnu in a sleeping posture. The image sleeps on his right side for which two right hands are not carved. The image measures 41 feet 6 inches from top to toe. The waist measures 6 ft on its exposed side. The measurement from the right shoulder to the left one is 8 feet. The head measures 4 feet 6 inches from the forehead to the chin. The measurement of the left hand from the elbow to the tip of the finger is 12 ft 6 inches. The diameter of the Chakra is 4 feet. The length of the Gada is 5 feet. The measurement of the legs from the knee to feet is 11 ft. Each foot measures 4 ft. 4 inches. The palm measure 5 feet 10 inches.

The proportions of different limbs to the body of the image appear very beautiful to the eye. The style of the sculpture appears to be very natural inspite of the hugeness of the image and the image can be assigned to the 8th or 9th century A.D. from its natural softness of execution.

This image lies on the right bank of the Brahmani river which flows at a distance of about one mile, but the image of Vishnu carved out of a similar rock measuring about 49 feet lies at Sarang on the exposed rock in the bed of the river. I saw the image in October 1946 but on this occasion it was covered with the sand of the river. The village Sarang is situated on the left bank of the Brahmani, quite opposite to the temple of Paschimeśvara on the Talcher side at a distance of about 2 miles from the Talcher garh. At Paschimeśvar there is a sitting image of Dhyani Buddha which is built with several pieces of stones. Such images built with more than one piece of stone are
common at Udayagiri not far from one of the branches of the Brahmani in the Cuttack District.

Carving out of an image of 41 ft. 6 inches in length with due proportions of the limbs is no doubt a bold conception on the part of the sculptor. As there are two such unusually big sculptures in the Brahmani valley, it seems to me that this area was once inhabited by highly civilised people.

The Puri District possesses all the three big temples of Orissa which are works spreading over a period of two centuries from 1050 A.D., but the Talcher State possesses two colossal images which were left unknown till now so to say. The great image of Gomtesvāra on the Doddabetta hill in the Mysore State measures 57 ft in height and the is biggest free standing image of India, but the image of Vishnu at Sarang is the largest sleeping image in India and stands second in measurement to the Gomtesvar image of Mysore.

From Bhimkand I went to Vajrakot which is situated at about 32 miles from Talcher on the right bank of the Brahmani. Tradition has it that Vajrakot was the capital of Jīta Rāja. The word Jīta is a apabhramśa of Aditya and the Kṣhatriyas of Aditya family were once ruling in Manbhuma area. The Kṣhatriyas of the Pala family are the rulers of Pañ-Lahara State since centuries past. So long no epigraphic record is found, it is unsafe to accept these traditions as true.

At Vajrakot there stood a large number of temples, which is proved from the stone blocks of temples scattered all over the village. Fortunately there stands only one temple of Śiva Vrīngesvāra The temple is of the Pāraśurāmesvāra style, but Pāraśurāmesvāra has got a developed Jagamohana in its front, whereas the Vrīngesvāra temple had a pillared hall in its front quite detached from the temple. The door frame is very prominent with various designs. There is one Dvārapāla with a female attendant on each jamb. The images of the Gaṅgā and the Jamunā are carved not on the jambs, but on the front wall out side the jambs. The workmanship of these sculptures of the Gaṅgā and the Jamunā is very excellent and reminds one of those of the post-Gupta period. On the lintel there are 8 images of celestial planets instead of Navagrahas of the Hindu Astronomy and it is remarkable that the first one is Sūrya holding two lotuses but the other six images are of one type. The last one
is that of Rabu shown with its bust only. The temple has three 
Parśvadevatas namely Ganeśa on the south, Karukikeya on the west 
and Mahishāsuramardini locally known as Vringesvarī on the north. 
The image of Ganeśa possesses some peculiarities which are not met 
generally, the main peculiarity is its sitting posture. The temple is 
sparingly decorated.

Near the Upper Primary School there stand two jambas 
with a lintel. The decoration of the jambas and the workmanship 
of the Drācapālas are of the same style as that of the Vringesvarī 
temple. This temple had a porch or a pillared hall.

The remains of Vajrakot are very interesting as they are now 
situated in such unknown wilds which was the seat of opulence and 
power in the days of yore.

In this connection, I like to deal about the Archaeological 
remains at Khiching in the Vaitarani valley, at Vajrakot in the 
Brahmani valley and at Baudha garh in the Mahanadi valley of Orissa. 
Khiching, Vajrakot and Baudha Garh are in no way geographically 
connected with each other, but the temples without porch of these 
places establish a connected link of the civilisation that once spread 
in these hilly parts of Orissa.

It is a matter of regret that famous Antiquities like the 
Anantaśāyi Vishnu images at Sarang and Bhimkand, the Vringesvarī 
temple at Vajrakot situated in the Brahmani valley were unknown 
to the world of scholars as yet. The Antiquities in the upper and 
the lower valleys of the Brahmani river indicate the existence of such 
relics in the middle portion of the valley in the area of Dhenkanal 
which is surrounded by hills like the upper one.

On my way back I visited Harichandpur from Kahnia, the 
headquarters of the Kaharia sub-division. The formation of the soil is 
mainly laterite. From the jungles I collected a few pieces of Palaeoliths. 
On enquiry I came to know that villagers find Chadaka Pathara from 
the fields and so Harichandpur is also a Neolithic site. In 1875 V. Ball 
collected only a single piece and in 1949 I collected during my short 
search about a dozen and it is hoped that many more can be found by 
thorough search.
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CUTTACK AND ITS MONUMENTS *

(a) A Short Historical Account of Cuttack

Cuttack, the capital of the Province of Orissa, is situated in Lat. N 20° 29' and Long. E 85° 50'. The town of Cuttack stands at the apex of the delta of the Mahanadi, the great river of Orissa. The town extends from the Mahanadi on the north to the Katjuri on the south and covers an area about four square miles. The Railway line is the base of the triangle of the town of Cuttack with the Mahanadi and its first branch the Katjuri on the right as two other sides. The situation of Cuttack on a tongue of land near the bifurcation of the Mahanadi was commanding in various ways to be fit for the capital of a Province in bygone days. The scenery of the town on its south, west and north is very lively due to appearance of forest clad hills on the far off horizon on all the three sides as far as the eye can reach, and this pleasing prospect of the town gives a permanent impression on the mind of the visitors. The geographical position of Cuttack as a town at the bifurcation of a river is unique in India, where all big towns are generally situated at the junction of two rivers which was called in Sanskrit 'Pattana'. The geographical situation of Cuttack is such that it served as the only narrow strip for the land route through the country and as such people coming from the north to south or from south to north had no other alternative but to cross the Mahanadi at or near Cuttack. The hill ranges to the west and wide rivers to the east of Cuttack exclude all possibility of the alignment of the high way from north to south and it seems that the Nanda and Maurya kings of Magadha had to cross the Mahanadi at or near Cuttack and the same route was traversed by Kharavela at the time of his Magadha campaign. Neither the Dhauuli rock edicts of Asoka nor the Aatigumpha inscription of Kharavela mentions any high way from Kalinga or Orissa to Magadha. The route of communication

from the Central India lay through the valley of the Mahanadi and terminated at Cuttack.

On the north and south of Cuttack are situated respectively the sites of Chaudwar and Sarangarh where there are ruins of big forts, the fort of Chaudwar lies on the left bank of the Virupa, and that of Sarangarh on the right bank of the Katjuri which branches off at Naraj where the Mahanadi first emerges from its rocky bed to the alluvial plains. Although the geographical position of Cuttack is favourable for commercial and traffic points of view since time immemorial, there is no evidence to prove its antiquity belonging to the Mauryan period and several centuries afterwards of the Indian history.

The word CUTTACK is an Anglicised form of the Sanskrit word KATAKA which signifies seven different meanings out of which the two noted below namely (1) the "military camp" and (2) "the fort or capital or the seat of the Government protected by the army" are applicable here. According to the MADALAPANJI, the chronicle of the Jagannatha temple at Puri, recorded by Stirling as early as 1822, "it was one of the five KATAKAS † or capitals of Gangeswar Deo, the second Prince of Ganga Bansa line, and is still distinguished as Katak Biranasi or Benares, by which name also it is mentioned in Perishteh's History of Bengal, and the "Ayin Aebere".1

There is absolutely no evidence on the foundation of the Cuttack town, but according to the tradition recorded in the Madalapanji, it was the work of the Kesari dynasty. Stirling on the authority of the Madalapanji and other sources writes that "Raja Nirupa Kesari, a martial and ambitious prince, who was always fighting with his neighbours, is said to have first planted a city on the site of

† Elsewhere at pp. 71 Stirling writes that Gangeswar Deo the Ganga king "had five Katakas or Royal Metropolises. viz. Jajpur Chaudwar, Amarvati, Chatta or Chatna and Biranasi, the modern Cuttack." In a manuscript of the Madalapanji the names of five Katakas namely (1) Jajpur Kataka, (2) Chhatia or Amaravati Kataka, (3) Chaudwar Kataka, (4) Baranasi Kataka and (5) Sarangarh Kataka are mentioned. Stirling omitted Sarangarh.

the modern Cuttack, about A. D. 989. The reign of Markat Kesari was distinguished for the construction of a stone revetment, or embankment faced with that material (probably the ancient one of which the remains are yet to be seen), to protect the new capital from inundation in A. D. 1006".2

The modern researches on the inscriptions on the Somavamsi or Somakuli kings have conclusively proved that the tradition of the Somakuli kings gave rise to the origin of the Kesari dynasty of the Madalapanji. The last king of Somakuli dynasty, was defeated by Chodaganga, the first king of the Ganga dynasty, during the first quarter of the 12th century A. D.

Stirling writes:—

"No information whatever is afforded as to the origin and pedigree of the Princes called the Keshari Vansha or Kesari Bansha. The founder of the new dynasty was Jajati (Yajati) Keshari, a warlike and energetic prince, but who he was or whence he came we are not apprized. He soon cleared his dominions of the Javanas who then retired to their own country. His Court was held at Jajapur where he built a palace (Nour) and Castle, called Chaudwar, or Mansion with four gates. "3

From the above traditions we get Jajapur and Chaudwar as the places where the Kesari kings established court or the fort. On the other hand the copper plate inscriptions state that Mahāśivagupta Janamejaya, the first king of the Somakuli dynasty came from Dākhina Kosala and established Vijaya Katakas or the victorious camps. His son was Māhasivagupta Yayāti. Tradition no doubt has made a confusion in the order of line. There is a tradition at Chaudwar that Janamejaya of the Pauranic tradition performed the snake sacrifice there. So we may accept that Jajpur and Chaudwar were the places of residence of the Kesari kings. From the copper plate inscriptions of the Somavamsi or the Somakuli kings we know that there was a place called Yajātinagara on the Mahanadi and the Madalapanji mentions also Abhinava Yajātinagara. If Yajātinagara is to be identified with Binka or Sonpur, Abhinava Yayātinagar is to be located at Chaudwar on the Virupa branch of the Mahanadi or at Jajpur.

2. Ibid. pp. 70
3. Ibid, p. 69.
The Madalapanţi compiled by the retired Prof. A.B. Mohanty and printed in Oriya mentions at page 23 that Chodaganga after occupation of Utkala first made an entry to Jajpur where he built his palace. Stirling adds that "Traditions also ascribes to him (Churanga or Saranga Deo) the building of the forts and palaces both at Sarangar and Cuttack Chaudwar."

The establishment of Cuttack and the construction of revetments of rivers at Cuttack are mentioned in the Madalapanji during the Kesari period, but such traditions are not corroborated by any other contemporary source. So Vijaya Kataki mentioned in the copper-plates of the Somakuli or Somavamsi Kesari kings bears no reference to the Cuttack town as accepted by Dr. Fleet.

The following further traditions on Cuttack are recorded in the Madalapanji:

"Anangabhima Deva used to reside at the town called Chaudwar Kataki. While he was residing there, and day the king crossing the Mahanadi saw on its southern bank in the vicinity of Viswaswara Siva situated in the village Barabati in the Kodinda Dandapata, that a heron had killed a hawk. The king was astonished at this unusual event and laid the foundation of a Kataki in the Barabati village and after building the palace and making it a Kataki, called the place as the Varanasi Kataki and left Chaudwar Kataki."  

On the ruins of Chaudwar Kittoe wrote as follows:

"The road was very good as far as Chaudwar where we turned off and passed over the ruins of that ancient city, which extend for many miles. There are very few ruins above the ground, but the foundations of many are visible, particularly of the walls and moat which were faced with stone; there are numerous reservoirs also, and the remains of temples, the stone was removed in former years to build the fort of Cuttack and the revetment."  

These traditions are no doubt genuine and furnish evidence that Anangabhima Deva transferred his capital from Chaudwar Kataki.

4. Ibid p. 71
5. Madalapanji edited by Prof. A.B. Mohanty, pp. 27.
to the village Barabati on the opposite bank of the Mahanadi. The establishment of the capital between the Mahanadi and the Katjuri by Nrupa Kesari and the building of protective revetment by Markata Kesari long before Anangabhima Deva, do not find support from contemporary records. The Nagari copperplate of Anangabhima Deva discovered in August, 1949 mentions that in the year 1251 Saka or 1220 A.D. it was issued from Abhinava Varaṇaśī Katāka. The naming of a capital as New Varaṇaśī Kataka by Anangabhima Deva is very significant and furnishes evidence that the traditional story about the foundation of the capital at Cuttack is not based on true fact. So it may safely be concluded that Varaṇaśī Kataka or modern Cuttack town, was founded by Anangabhima Deva III sometime after 1211 A.D. and before 1229 A.D. According to inscriptions Anangabhima Deva ascended the throne of Orissa in 1211 A.D. The copper-plates of the Somavamsi Kesāri Kings mention Yayatīnagara as one of their capitals. In the Madalapanji there is mention of one Abhinaba Yayatīnagara in the account of Anangabhima Deva. As Chaudwar and Jajpur were the capitals of the Somavamsi kings, it seems that one of them was called Abhinava Yayatīnagara. When Anangabhima Deva established his new capital at Barabati, it seems that he called it as Abhinava Varaṇaśī Katāka. The kingdom with its capital Yayatinagara was known to Muslim historians of the early 13th century as Jajanagar. With the beginning of the 13th century some historical accounts are found from the Muslim Historian Minhaz who in his Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, mentions that in 1205 A.D. Sheran brothers were deputed by Bakhtiar Khilji towards Jajnagar 7 and in 1211 A.D. when Anangabhima Deva came to the throne, Ghyasuddin I was used to get tribute from Jajnagar. 8 The power and opulence of the Ganga kings of Orissa in the early 13th century prove the claim of the Muslim historian to be false. Further it seems that there is a mistake in the decipherment of the Persian text of the place in Tabaqat-i-Nasiri which is identified with Tripura.

For over 200 years from 1211 A.D. to 1421 A.D. during the Ganga rule the Muslim historians described Orissa as Jajnagar in connection with various raids by the ruling Muslim powers which are supported by contemporary inscriptions of the Ganga kings of Orissa; but it is strange that the Madalapanji contains no mention of these historical events.

During the fights between the Rai of Jajnagar and the Sultans of Lakhanavati of Bengal in 1243–46 A.D. the author of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri does not hesitate to describe the defeat of the Sultan at the hands of the king of Orissa. Then again in 1323 A.D Ulugh Khan raided Jajnagar from Warrangal which is described by (1) Barni, (2) Yahiya, (3) Nizamuddin, (4) Badaoni and (5) Ferishtah. In 1361 Sultan Ferozshah Tughlaq of Delhi came to Jajnagar for hunting excursions of elephants. This event has been described by (1) Shams-i-Siraj Afif, (2) the unknown author of Sirat-i-Firozshahi, (3) Aynul Malk Mahru,(4) Yahiya, (5) Nizamuddin, (6) Badaoni and (7) Ferishtah. Out of these the first three authors are contemporary and the narrative of these authors gives us some idea about the events that happened at Cuttack in 1361 A. D.

Aynul Malik Mahru writes:—

“They (the kings of Jajnagar) have not been reduced by any force and have never paid tribute to any one; but they were reduced by His Majesty’s invincible army, and the booty taken was immense.” 9

The description of elephants presented by the Rai of Jajnagar is given by Aynul Malik Mahru, who as it appears, was present at Cuttack-Banaras which is quoted below:

“Out of nineteen celebrated elephants, Rai sent to His Majesty eighteen No crown head had such elephants in his Pilkhana. They were such that it is impossible to describe their excellence. No poet can describe them, no painter can paint their excellence. Every one of them was as majestic as mountain, and more formidable than the latter. In size and gait each was better than the other.” 10

Shams-i-Siraj Afif writes as follows about Jajnagar and Varanasi Kataka:—

“The country of Jajnagar was very prosperous and happy. The author’s father, who was in the royal suite, informed the writer

10. Ibid pp. 286,
that it was in a very flourishing state and the abundance of corn and fruit supplied all the wants of the army and animals, so that they recovered from the hardships of the campaign. Sultan Firoz rested at Banarasi, an ancient residence of the arrogant Rais. At that time the Rai of Jajnagar, by name Adaya, had deemed it expedient to quit Baranasi, and to take up his residence elsewhere; so Sultan Firoz occupied his palace. The writer has been informed that there were two forts in Banarasi, each populated with a large number of people. The Rais were Brahmans, and it was held to be a religious duty that every one who succeeded to the title of Rai at Jajnagar, should add something to these forts. They had thus grown very large."

The narrative of Afif states that "there were two forts in Banarasi, each populated with a large number of people." Out of these "two forts" the first fort is, no doubt the Barabati fort, but it is not possible to identify the second fort in the present area of Cuttack town.

In 1361 A.D. Sultan Firozshah stayed long at Baranasi Kataka (modern Cuttack) and visited Puri but the Madalapanji or the temple chronicle makes no reference to this historical event. Like the Firozshah's account the Madalapanji omits another interesting Persian account on the expedition of Jajnagar by Sultan Hussang of Malwa in 1421-22 A.D. Due to possession of elephants the Gajapati kings of the Ganga dynasty of Orissa were troubled by the Muslim Sultans from Bengal, Jaunpur and Bihar, Central India and the Deccan, and the accounts of these expeditions are given by the various Persian historians; but the chronicle of the Jagannatha temple on the other hand did not mention any account; and the reason may be attributed to this that these raids or expeditions for getting some elephants which had no price so to say for the kings of Orissa, did not produce any permanent political effect in the country.

Bhanu Deva IV of the Ganga dynasty was the king of Orissa (called Jajnagar by Muslim Historians) when in 1421 A.D. Hussang Shah of Malwa came to Cuttack.

† He has not been identified. The ruling king was Vira Bhanu Deva.

During the period from 1435 A.D. to 1534 A.D. when Orissa was ruled by kings namely Kapilendra Deva, Purusottama Deva and Pratapa Rudra Deva of the Solar dynasty, Cuttack remained the capital of Orissa.

Stirling notes as follows about the reign of Govind Deva or Gobinda Vidyadhara.

"Two remarkable personages became first generally known during his administration. Mukunda Harichandan, the Telinga, who received the Government of the town Cuttack, and Danaye or Danardan Bidyadhar, who was appointed Prime Minister."

"The usurper's nephew Raghu Bhanj Chotra and Balunki Chandran taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by his absence, formed a conspiracy against his authority; they drove Mukunda Harichandan from Cuttack and gained possession of the capital. These occurrences obliged the Raja to return with a large part of his army, and a pitched battle took place between the parties, when the insurgents were defeated and pursued as far as the Ganges. Raja Gobinda Deo died on the banks of the river at Das Aswamedhghat."

"There being no heir left of the Rajas of Orissa, a Chief named Narsing Jenna, distinguished for his bravery and conduct, stepped into the vacant seat of Government. Jealous of the influence of Danaye Bidyadhar, he procured his attendants from the Deecan, and then with assistance of his rival Mukunda Harichandan, threw him into chains and imprisonment at Cuttack. In the meantime Raghu Bhanj Chotra, having recovered from his former defeat, entered Orissa again at the head of a large force to assert his claims to the Raj. He was opposed by Mukund Harichandan, who took him prisoner after many bloody battles."

Then Telinga Mukund Deo occupied the throne of Orissa. He was a man of courage and ability. "He has been honoured with a notice in the work of the Jesuit Tieffenthaler, who extends our knowledge of his character by informing us that the last king of the Orissans was called Mukunda, who was very polite to strangers and had four hundred women."

12. Stirling's Orissa, pp. 82-83.
Tieffenthaler's statement regarding the number of his women and his hospitality to strangers are corroborated by the account in Hapt Iqlim.

Kalapahada, the Afghan General of Salaiman Karani, the King of Bengal, invaded Orissa in 1563 A.D. He occupied Katak Banaras, the then Capital of Orissa.

Badaoni (Vol. II pp. 174) writes that "Salaiman conquered the town of Katak Banaras, the mine of unbelief."

The Moghal settlement of Orissa finds mention in the Ain-i Akbari by Abul Fazl Allami.

Orissa was under the Subah of Bengal in which there were Sarkars named (1) Jaleswar, (2) Bhadrak, (3) Katak (Cuttack), (4) Kaling Dandapat and (5) Raj Mahendra.

Under Sarkar of Katak there was a Mahal called "Katak Benares, Suburban District with city, has a stone fort of great strength and a masonry palace within." 14

Abul Fazl writes about Cuttack that "It is the residence of the Governor and contains some fine buildings." 15

The mention of the "Governor" suggests that at the time of writing of the Ain-i-Akbari in 1594-95 Cuttack was the capital of the Moghal Government. From 1592 when Raja Man Singh finally conquered Orissa, all the Moghal Subadars of Bengal or Naib Nazims of Orissa under Subadars of Bengal resided at Cuttack which was the capital of the Province of the Moghal Orissa till 1751 A.D.

On May-day of 1633, a small party of English merchants headed by Cartwright arrived at Cuttack from Masulipatam via Harigharpur.

C R Wilson writes as follows:—

"Agha Muhammad Zaman of Taharan, a Mogul Viceroy, now abode in the stately palace of "Malcandy." The English travellers

15. Ibid, pp. 127,
reached the place from the east, over a long narrow causeway, and were conducted through a labyrinth of buildings, to the court of public audience.” 16

They halted at Cuttack up to the 9th of May, 1633, when they took leave of the Moghal Court. During the rule of Khan-i-duran from 1660-67, may local Oriya rulers were put into prison at Mankhandi palace according to Maraqat-i-Hassan.

Among the buildings of the later half of the 17th century the Juma Muszid in Balubazar bears a Persian inscription.

The next important building is the Kadam-i-Rasul which also bears Persian inscriptions during the rule of Murshid kuli Khan.

Cuttack was the scene of struggle in 1741-42 when Alivardi Khan, the Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa wanted to establish his supremacy in Orissa. During his first campaign "A providential victory thus fell to the good fortune of Ali Vardi Khan Mahabat Jang, 17 " Issuing proclamations, Ali Vardi Khan won over to his side the Collectors, Zamindars and officers of Orissa. And in the course of one month, having finished the organisation and settlement of the Subah of Orissa, he entrusted the charge of that Province to said Ahmad Khan, his nephew. Ali Vardi Khan then returned, triumphant and victorious, to Bengal."

"Saulat Jang was of a churlish disposition and regulated himself by avarice. The citizens and soldiers en masse broke out into revolt, and under cover of the darkness of night they besieged Saulat Jang, took him prisoner along with his followers and relations, and looted his treasures and effects. Then inviting over Mirza Bapir Khar, son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khan, from Sikakul across the Chilkah lake, they placed him on the masnad of the Nizamat of Orissa, and advancing with their forces they conquered Mednipur and Hijli.” 18

Soon after Alivardi Khan set out for Cuttack with immense army equipped with a battering artillery On the approach of Alivardi Khan, the "Kataka Army" returned to Balasore and lost heart.

18. ibid p. 332-33.
"Ali Vardi Khan, after holding a thanksgiving service for meeting Saulat Jang and obtaining victory, allowed Saulat Jang to retire to the city of Katakā for rest, whilst he himself, after resting some time and being freed from all anxiety on account of the enemy entered Katakā triumphantly."

Ali Vardi Khan returned to Bengal following the Badshahi road through Mayurbhanj where he halted for some time to chastise the Ruler of Mayurbhanj. In the meantime, the Maratha army from Nagpur passing through western Mayurbhanj entered the Chakala, Burdwan and so Ali Vardi returned to Bengal with forced marches and defeated the Maratha army.

After a long struggle for 10 years, in 1751 Ali Vardi Khan made a treaty with the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur under the terms of which the Province of Orissa virtually became a territory of the Maratha empire with the capital at Cuttack.

The history of Cuttack is inseparable from the history of Orissa. The treaty of 1751 with the Marathas by Ali Vardi Khan practically dismembered Orissa from the Moghal empire. "The conditions of the treaty being very indifferently observed, on the part of the Bengal government, a fresh army invaded Orissa in 1160,(1752–53 A.D.) under the command of Raja Bhonsla and Mir Habib Ullah, who in the same year in their camp at Choudwar, near the Mahanadi, projected and arranged a partition of the province between themselves, for the maintenance of their respective armies. Its resources on this occasion were estimated at only ten lacs. The northern portion from Pattaspur to Burrunwa, yielding six lacs, was assigned for the support of the Afghan troops, and the southern from Barrunwa to Malud, rated at four lacs was to be held by the Marathas. On the treachery murder of Habib Ullah Khan shortly afterwards, in his camp at Garpedda, near Balasore, Raja Janoji became master of the whole province from Pargunanah Pattaspur to the Thaneh of Malud." 19

Abul Fazl was the first Muslim writer who described the town and fort of Cuttack in 1594 A.D. The next authentic description is found from the European traveller Mr. T. Motte who visited Cuttack in 1766 A.D.

19. Sterling's Orissa, pp, 89.
On the 19th October, 1766 A D. Motte met Bhawani Pandit and wrote as follows about their talk:

"I went again to the Mahratta camp; found Bowanee Pandit had considered what I had advanced at the last meeting. He seemed convinced. It was more for the interest of Jannoojee to cede Orissa to the English, provided the payment of the stipulated sum was secure. I answered, as a gentleman must be sent to Nagpoor, his residence there would be the best security. He had, according to the custom of the country, given me a dress of muslin, stained yellow. In the warmth of conversation, he declared, if I was sent to Nagpoor, he would go with me; and exchanged turban with me, by which we became sworn brothers. 20"

The Maratha camp three miles from the town is the same place which is now situated to the east of the Railway Station where the headquarters of the Orissa Military Police are located.

Cuttack was the scene of first treaty of the East India Company with the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur in 1781. In that year a large army appeared at Cuttack under Chima Sau for collecting the arrear of Chauth by military raid from Bengal. The Collector of Midnapur named Colonel Pearce came to Cuttack with some company's army paid Rs 120,000/- towards the payment of Chauth and utilised the Maratha force against the Nizam in the Deccan. Hunter records this event as follows:

"The Marhattas demanded black-mail from the then British Province of Bengal, and we found ourselves too weak to venture on any bolder policy than conciliation and bribe." 21 During the period of his stay at Cuttack Chimna Sahu had a fight with the then Raja of Dhenkanal and this event is the theme of the Oriya poem Samaratara by Brajanath, Badagina who, it is said, read the poem before Chimna Sahu

In 1790 Mr. Leckie visited Cuttack on his way to Nagpore. He arrived at Cuttack on the 3rd March and halted there up to the 17th, April, 1790.

20. Early European Travellers in the Nagpur Territory p. 49.
From Leckie's 'Journal' we come to know that in 1790, the Katjuri was flowing from the Mahanadi at a place not far from Dhavaleswar island with a hillock in the Mahanadi.

No historical account of Cuttack town from 1731 to 1802 A.D. has yet been discovered. In 180, Lord Wellesley resolved to root out once and for ever the Marhattas from Orissa. In July, 1803, first preparations for the conquest of Orissa were made in Ganjam and on the 4th September, 1803, the British troops marched out from Ganjam, and they did not receive any opposition before their arrival at Cuttack on the 8th October 1803. Hunter writes:

"We reached Cuttack city, which we entered unopposed—the gates open, and all the inhabitants' houses empty. Six days sufficed to build our batteries and extend our approaches to the fort. This stronghold, firmly fixed between two branches of the Mahanadi, formed the one difficult fortification in Orissa. Faced with stones, defended by eight small towers, surrounded by a high rampart and a deep moat, 20 to 30 paces broad, and in some places by a double ditch, its single weak point was the number of hollows in the neighbouring fields, which afforded good cover for the besiegers. At 10 A.M. on the 4th, October, an English officer blew open one of the small gates, receiving a wound the same moment in the neck, and a storming party dashed into the heart of the fortifications. A few moments ended the struggle. The Colonel of the attacking party fell with a wound in his leg; two or three soldiers were killed; the Marhattas leaped the ramparts and streamed out of the other gates; about thirty of their dead bodies were carried out in bullock carts to the river, where they were eaten by wild beasts and birds." 

After the conquest, Cuttack was made the capital of Orissa by "the Commissioners for the affairs of Cuttack." It remained as a Divisional Headquarters upto the 31st March 1936 under the Governments of Bengal and Bihar & Orissa. The separate province of Orissa was formed on and from the 1st of April 1936 according to the India Act of 1935.

During the long period of over 130 years, Cuttack developed to a great extent and is now the centre of activities of the Oriya people.

23. Ibid. p. 57-58.
MONUMENTS AT CUTTACK

1. The headless image.

Although the Jagannatha temple at Puri and the Sun temple at Konarka were built at the time when Cuttack was the capital of the great Ganga Kings of Orissa, no relics of any temple with the exception of the headless image now preserved at the State Museum have been recovered from the Cuttack town. This image can be compared with any image sculpture of the Sun god of Konarka.

The Ganga king Anangaabhima Deva (1211-1238) built a temple for the image of Purnasottama at Abhinava Varaṇasi Kataka and consecrated the image and temple in 1230 A.D. according to the Nagari copper plate issued by him. Feroz Shah destroyed the temple and the image in 1361 A.D. The image of Vishnu called Purnasottama was perhaps destroyed by Firoz Shah and thrown into a tank.

2. Stone Revetment of Cuttack.

Among the civil works of great engineering skill of Cuttack are the abatements of the rivers Mahanadi and Katjuri, which protect the city from the floods of these two rivers.

The traditional date of these works goes back to the 10th century A.D. when the Kings of the Kesari dynasty of the Madalapanji were ruling in Orissa; but up till now no evidence has been found which supports the tradition. The stone revetment of Cuttack is such an engineering work in Orissa that there is no second work in India which can be compared with it.

Lieutenant John C. Harrish, a Bengal Government Engineer studied the flood of the Mahanadi and Katjuri rivers, during the season of 1855 A.D. with special reference to its effect on the Cuttack town and submitted a report to the Government suggesting measure of danger to this town, the cause and remedy. This Report was published in 1860 as "Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXXV—Papers relating to the Cuttack Rivers.

Lt. Harrish gives a general description of the Cuttack protective works as follows:
"The revetment may be described as an irregular line of masonry, partaking of the character of a wall in some portions, of a simple casing in others, constructed of large blocks of laterite and sandstone, set in mud cement, and painted with lime plaster exteriorly, the weight of its crest varying from 17 to 36 feet above the low waterline, and width at top and bottom respectively from 3 to 4 and 5 to 8 feet.

"Upon what foundations this wall rests, is matter of the purest speculation at this day. It is not known in fact to have any foundations whatsoever, other than such as it has formed for itself by settlements, either gradual, owing to the action of gravity upon the loose soil beneath it, reduce as this is, during floods to a semi-fluid state or again bodily, in the form of breaches after the subsidence of the waters." ¹

"All evidence that I can obtain from history, traditions, and from nature, is in favour of the supposition that the Katjooree's breadth has increased amazingly in size since the period of the foundation of Cuttack. The measure of the change is indeterminate, as is the period it has occupied nature in effect it; but as the mind can comprehend the lapse of time, so can the change be comprehended to have taken place. The Katjooree has doubtless sprung from nothing, originally risen from insignificance within the space of a few centuries. Such is my belief; such I trust, will be found that of all interested in my theme." ²

Colonel H. Goodwyn, the Chief Engineer while forwarding Lt. Harriss's letter to the Superintendent of Embankments, Fort William, concludes with a reference to Mr. Moffat Mill's minute dated the 23rd January 1847, which is quoted below. Moffat Mill was the Commissioner of the Orissa Division.

"The Cuttack revetment has this year (1847) given way in several places and understand that its restoration will cost not less than 3,90,995 Rupees. The Mahanadi river, which is said to rise near Bustrar, enters the plains at the station of Cuttack, throwing off its tributary, the Katjooree, to the south of the town. In the

¹. Cuttack Rivers p. 44.
². Ibid. p. 42.
rains the torrents descend with fearful rapidity, and to protect the town from inundation on the southward; this solid embankment was constructed by the Mogul Government in the reign of Jahangeer, 225 years ago, and has been always kept in repair by our Government.”

Moffat Mills has not given any reference from which he got the information that “this solid embankment was constructed by the Mogul Government in the reign of Jahangeer, 225 years ago.” Col. Goodwyn remarks on this that “This must be the modern wall built on the Katjooree side.” We, however, have not got any contemporary evidence from the Persian sources regarding the maintenance or repair of the revetment during the Moghal rule in Orissa.

The stone revetment is a horse shoe pattern. It begins on the left bank of Katjooree from near the Purighat and stretches westward as far as the Chahataghat of the Mahanadi and then stretches on the right bank of the Mahanadi upto Jobraghat. This continuity of the revetment indicates that the revetment was made at the time of the bifurcation of the Katjooree river from the Mahanadi; otherwise there is no reason why so much labour and material were utilised for erecting the revetment from the Chahataghat to Satiebura burial grounds. The Katjooree river has receded from the opposite bank of the Chahataghat to Naraj since the time of erection of the abatement. From Lt. Harrish’s report it is learnt that Katjooree was widened one-third of a mile within a period of 15 years. From Leckei’s Journal we learn that in 1790 the Katjooree was flowing off the Mahanadi at a place south of Dhabaleswar. He writes:—

“About two miles from Cuttack, to the west, at the foot of a Hindoo temple the Cutjora, separating itself from the Mahanaddy, flows to the southward of the town.”

The present good condition of the Cuttack revetment particularly of the Katjooree side is due to the constant repair during the British period by the Government. Moffat Mills writes that “The existence of the town depends on the continuance of the revetment. Cuttack contains a population of about 50,000 persons; there are about

3. Cuttack Rivers p. 32
4. Early European Travellers in the Nagpur Territories p. 55 and p 57,
6,300 houses of which 1/6 are pueka, many of them built of stone, (amongst them that fine mansion, the 'Lalbagh' which is built on the revetment). The city is situated on a tongue of land at the bifurcation of the Mahanuddy and on the high road to Ganjam; it affords convenience for carrying on a commerce with Sumbulpoor to the West, Madras to the South, and the Low countries to the East while its proximity to the Hills points it out, in a political point of view, as the most desirable place for the cantoning of troops. I am of opinion that the restoration of the revetment is a work of too great public advantage to be weighed by considerations of expense only and would, therefore, earnestly recommend that it be re-built."

It is pity that we do not know when and how this great work of engineering was executed as a protective measure of the capital of Orissa since the time of Anangabhima Deva III in the first quarter of the 13th century A.D. if not earlier as is known from the tradition. According to the Nagari Copper plate Abinava Varāṇāsi Kataka was built earlier to 1230 A. D. The modern village Bidasani (a corruption of Vāranāsi or Vāranāsi Kataka of the inscription) has been built on a place where the Katjuri river was once flowing.

### 3 Forts and Palaces of Cuttack.

According to the tradition recorded in the Madalapanji printed by the retired Professor A. B. Mohanty, the Ganga King Anangabhima Deva built a palace at the Barabati village and called it Vāranāsi Kataka. Stirling and Kittoe both recorded the tradition on the foundation of the Barabati fort at Cuttack. The newly discovered copper plate of Anangabhima Deva III (1211-1238 A. D.) dated in the year 1230 A. D. mentions Abhinava Varāṇāsi Kataka.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif in his Tarikh-i-Firozsahi writes that "The writer has been informed that there were two forts in Banarasi, each populated with a large number of people. The Rais were Brahmans and it was held to be a religious duty that every one who succeeded to the title of Rai at Jajnagar, should add something to those forts. They had thus grown very large," From this account we come to

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5. Stirling, page 71
6. J. A. S. B. 1538
know that there were two forts at Baranasi Kataka and one of them is certainly the Barabati fort and we cannot locate where the second one was situated. Firoz Shah came to Cuttack in 1361 A.D.

Abul Fazl Allami's description of the Barabati fort in Ain-i-Akbari was perhaps based on the report by Raja Man Singh who conquered Orissa in 1592 A.D. Ain-i-Akbari was compiled in 1594-95 A.D. Abul Fazl writes:—

"Katak (Cuttack). The city has a stone fort situated at the bifurcation of two rivers, the Mahanadi held in high veneration by the Hindus, and the Katjuri. It is the residence of the Governor and contains some fine buildings. For five or six Kos round the fort during the rains, the country is under water. Rajah Makand Deo built a palace here nine storeys in height; the first storey was taken up for the elephants and the stables; the second was occupied by the artillery and the guards and quarters for attendants: The third by the patrol and gate keepers, the fourth by the workshops; the fifth, by the kitchen the sixth contained the public reception rooms the seventh, the private apartment; the eighth, the women's apartments, and the ninth, the sleeping chamber of the Governor." 8

The Persian word 'asianah' of the Ain-i-Akbari was translated by Gladwin during the last decade of the 18th century A.D. from which Stirling adopted the description in 1825 A.D. Rajendralal Mitra objected to the translation of nine storeys in height and suggested the nine quarters. But Jarret retained the translation of Gladwin without criticising the views expressed by R.L. Mitra. But M.M. Chakravarti rejected Jarret's translation of the Ain-i-Akbari and stated that the fort was built by Mukunda Deva who was defeated and killed in the battle in 1568 A.D. Ain-i-Akbari was written after 26 years of Mukunda Deva's death. That the fort was built by Mukunda Deva was certain. Ain-i-Akbari writes that the seven the chamber was used by the Mughal Governor, who was Raja Mansing Bruenon's account States that it was the office of the Governor in 1633 A.D.

We have a description of the splendour of Malecandy fort by Bruon who visited it with Ralph Cartwright in May, 1633, C.B., Wilson writes as follows on this visit of the English merchants:—

8. Ain-i-Akbari Vol. II, p. 126-127,
"Agha Muhammad Zaman of Tahran, a Mogul Viceroy, now abode in the stately palace of 'Malcandy'. The English travellers reached from the east, over a long narrow causeway and were conducted through a labyrinth of buildings to the court of public audience. 9 Bruton writes—"Thus have I plainly and truly related the occurrences that happened at the Court of Malcandy; but although the palace of the Nabob be so large in extent, and as magnificent in structure, he himself will not lodge in it etc.' 10 Bruton's Malcandy fort is the Manikhandi Naura of the Madalapanji which was occupied by Mukunda Deva. So Ain-i-Akbari's fort is Manikhandi of the Madalapanji. In 1660 A.D. Maraqat-i Hassan mentions the fort Mankhandi.

O'malley, the compiler of the Gazetteer of the Cuttack District writes that "Malcandy is apparently a corrupt form for Mukunda Deva". 11 Stirling identified the stately court of Malcandy with the Lalbag Palace on the bank of the Kathjuri, which is not tenable.

T., Motte visited Cuttack in 1766 on his way to Sambalpur. On the 6th of May 1766 he saw the Barbati fort from the opposite bank of the Mahanadi and writes that "the great number of mosques with which it is adorned and the regular appearance of the citadel strongly resembling the west side of Windsor Castle unite to make the prospective view of the place extremely grand." 12

T. Motte describes the Barabati Fort as follows:

"Cuttack is not fortified now, but on the side next the Mahan Nuddee is a citadel, called Barabattee, because it is said to contain 12 basties, or 240 biggahs of land. But this must be understood not only of the fort itself, but of the official sief annexed to the command; for the fort itself did not appear to me above 800 yards in circumference. It is square with a small bastion at three angles; at the fourth, to the N.W a very large one, evidently the improvement of an European engineer, to counteract a lofty mosque, which commands that quarter of the fort; the ditch is 20 yards wide; and 7 deep, lined with stone, and a perfect square without; for the bastions having been added

10. Ibid. p 13. The full account of Bruton has been published before.
12. Early European travellers in the Nagpur territories, p. 16.
since the fort was built there are no projections in the ditch to answer the projections of the bastion. The works are formed of two stone walls, each 18 inches thick, built perpendicular two feet from each other, which distance is filled up with rubbish. The outer wall being raised five feet higher than the inner forms the parapet, which is only one stone thick. The entrance is defended by three gateways, so strong, it would be impossible to force them, if they were manned by brave fellows, for the passage between them is narrow and winding, with a stone wall on each side, thirty feet perpendicular, from the top of which, if they were to let large stones fall, every man in the passage must be crushed. The fort is, however, too small to make a long defence against an European enemy.”

Stirling was present at Cuattack from 1818 for a year or two and saw the then condition of the Barabati fort. His description is quoted below:—

“Its square sloping towers or bastions, and general style, bespeak clearly a Hindu origin. The Mohammedan or Marhatta Governors added a round bastion at the N.W. angle, and constructed the great arched gateway in the eastern face, which alterations are alluded to in a Persian inscription, giving for the date of the repairs and additions according to the rules of the Abjad, the fourth year of the reign of Ahmed Shah or A.D. 1750. The fort has double walls built of stone, the inner of which enclose a rectangular area measuring 2,150 by 1,800 feet. The entrance lies through a grand gateway on the east, flanked by two lofty square towers, having the sides inclining inwards, from the base to the summit. A noble ditch faced with masonry surrounds the whole, measuring in the broadest part two hundred and twenty feet across. From the centre of the fort rises a huge square bastion or cavalier supporting a flag staff. This feature, combined with the loftiness of the battlements on the river face, give to that edifice an imposing, castellated appearance, so much so that the whole when seen from the opposite bank of the Mahanadi, presented to the imagination of Mr. La Motte, who travelled through the province in 1767 A.D., some resemblance to the west side of Windsor Castle. No traces of the famous palace of Raja Mukund Deo nine stories in height, mentioned in the Ayin Aoeberi, are to be found within the walls of fort.
Barabati, but the fragments of sculptured cornices, &c., which have been dug up at different times, and more especially a massive candelabra, or pillar furnished with branches for holding lights, formed of the fine grey indurated chlorite or pot stone, are probably the remains of some large and splendid edifice.\textsuperscript{14}

The Barabati Fort suffered much from the vandalism of the Public Works Department of the Government. Toynbee wrote the following in 1872 on the then conditions of the Fort at Cuttack.

"There is but little in the present appearance of the fort which answers to the above description. The Public Works Department have converted this fine building into an unsightly series of earthen mounds, and the ground within the moat into a wilderness of stone-pits. The stones composing the walls of the moat which surrounds the fort are now being used to build a hospital. Some of the fort stone was, I believe, used for the lighthouse at False Point and for other public buildings; the dust of the rest is shaken off our feet against us on the station roads. The "great arched gateway of the eastern face," as Stirling calls it, and a fine old mosque, called after Fatteh Khan Raham, are almost the only objects of antiquarian interest which remain intact. The fate of many interesting ruins in the province has unhappily been similar."\textsuperscript{15}

Fergusson has written the following on the Barabati Fort. "It too however, has suffered, first from the intolerant bigotry of the Muslim and afterwards from the stolid indifference of the British rulers, so that very little remains. But for this the great palace of Mukunda Deo, the contemporary of Akbar, might still remain to us in such a state at least as to be intelligible. Abul Fazl's description of this palace, however, has been misunderstood by the translators, who have represented it as consisting of nine storeys instead of nine courts or enclosures."\textsuperscript{16}

Late M. M. Chakravarti, vide J. and P., Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol XII, suggested the meaning of the word "ashianah" as quarters and not storeys. Sir Jadunath Sarkar was written to give his

\textsuperscript{14} Stirling's Orissa p 18-19.
\textsuperscript{15} Toynbee's A sketch of History of Orissa, 1872, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{16} History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol II, pp. 112-13.
opinion on the meaning of the word ‘*ash’ana*” and he wrote as follows to support the meaning as given by Jarrett in his English translation of the Ain-i-Akbari:—

“Received your query about the correctness of Jarrett’s translation of the Persian account of Katak in Akbar’s time.

“I accept the first suggestion of Monomohan Babu, that the town of Katak and not its fort was situated at the junction of the two rivers. This is the correct interpretation of the Persian text, which uses the words “Katak is a stone (Persian Sangin may mean either built of stone or very hard and strong) fort “loosely in the sense of ‘a city with a fort’

“But I cannot see how Monomohan Babu’s second suggestion that the “Nine storied palace” can be a mistranslation of “a palace with 9 quarters or residential wards.” “The Persian text has Ashinah, which means a nest, perch, or lofty seat, and cannot be taken to mean paras or wards lying side by side. There is nothing incredible in a palace of nine storeys if built of wood and bamboos on a stone foundation. The Dravidian temples have gopurams (gateways) towering up to 13 storeys, but built of stone. In the Gaekwad’s dominions, in the old Hindu city of Sidhpur, there are the ruins of a stone palace known to have been of seven storeys.”

As Abul Fazl’s description was furnished by some one who saw the palace at the Barbatii fort, it seems that it was destroyed by the Moghals, and this assumption is proved from the fact that neither Bruton or Motte has left any account on the existence of a palace nine storeys high. Stirling writes that “From the centre of the fort rises a huge square bastion or cavalier supporting a flag staff.” This high bastion cannot be explained now.

4 Lalbagh, Juma Musjid and the English factory

The Lalbagh palace of the Moghal period stood on the bank of the Katjuri, but there is nothing now which gives any appearance of the ancient palace. The date of the erection of the palace may be ascribed to the year 1633 A.D. according to William Bruton’s following description:—

“Although the palace of the Nobob be so large in extent, and so magnificent in structure, yet he himself will not lodge in it, but
every night he lodgeth in tents, with his most trusty servants, and guards about him: for it is an abomination to the Moguls (which are white men) to rest or sleep under the roof of a house that another man hath built for his own honour. And therefore he was building a palace which he purposed should be a fabric of a rest, and future remembrance of his renown.” 17

No other description of the palace has been found up till now from any Persian sources. In the Lalbagh area, the Juma Musjid of Cuttack town was built in 1102 Hijra or 1690 A.D. by Zaibun Nisa Khanam, the Shahzada Begum wife of Ekram Khan, the Governor, during the reign of Aurangzeb as known from its inscription. The Musjid was quite near to the Lalbagh Palace,

T. Motte’s account of the condition of the Lalbagh Palace is quoted below as it gives some idea about the extent of the Palace in 1706 A.D. “Each of the sides of the triangle, on which Cuttack is built is two miles, but on the banks of Cutjeree is best inhabited. On it is Lollbug the residence of the Governor of the Province, a large building, laid out in a number of courts, in the Morisco taste, but much out of repair; the Governor, when one part is ready to fall, removing to another. From the principal entrance of the palace, runs the great street, formerly built in a straight line one mile and half long, and still the chief place of business in the town. On the right of it is the English factory, the meanness of which does no credit to so flourishing a company,” 18

The Juma Musjid is a nice building belonging to the Mughal period, but it is so much encroached now from all sides that no visitor is attracted towards it.

Like the Lalbagh Palace, no relic of the English Factory built in the 17th century at Cuttack is seen anywhere. The name Firingi Bazar in the Cuttack town indicates the locality where once stood the English factory.

5. Kadam Rasul

Kadam Rasul is another building of the time of the Moghal rule in Orissa. It contains certain relics of the Prophet commissioned

18. Early European travellers in the Nagpur Territories, p. 16.
from Mecca by Shujauddin Mohammad Khan. The inscription in the building records that it was built in the year 1127 Hizra or 1715 A. D. during the reign of Shah Alam Badshah.

There are three other inscriptions in this compound one of which records that Nawab Mahmmod Taqi Khan was buried within the enclosure of the Kadam Rasul in the year 1147 Hizra or 1734 A.D.

6. Temples and Maths

There are many temples dedicated to various Hindu deities at Cuttack, but none of them possess any special features. There are also a goodmany maths at Cuttack. The building of the Māstaram Math belongs to the Maratha period, but it is out of repair and is in a dilapidated condition.

MONUMENTS OF THE CUTTACK DISTRICT

Monuments at Jajpur

There are in Orissa the Pancha Kṣetras or 5 places of pilgrimage dedicated to Brahmanical Pancha devatas, namely, Ganeas', Bhāskar, Vishnu, Siva and Durgā. Jajpur or Virajā Kṣetra belonging to Durgā, stands on the right bank of the Vaitaraṇi, the Styx of the Hindus. Jajpur is a Subdivisional head quarters of the Cuttack District.

Virajā is the another name of Brahmāṇi, one of the seven Mātrikas of the Chandi Purana and is the patron deity of the city of ten horse sacrifices which is guarded by eight Chandis and eight Sambhus.

Besides this, Jajpur is famous as a place of offering Pinda by the Hindus to ancestors and so is called Nābbi Gaya indicating the Vaishnavic influence.

In the Mahābhārata Book II Ch. 85 we find the mention of the Vaitaraṇi and Virajā Tīrtha in the following verse after enumeration of holy rivers of eastern India like the Lauhitya the Karatoya and the Ganga:—

“ततो बैतरणी गंगा सर्वप्रभमोचनीम्
विरजातीर्थमासय विरजाति च शशी शी II”
This reference to Jajpur or Viraja Tirtha on the Vaitarani in the great epic, shows that it was the first Kshetra or holy place in Orissa that attracted pilgrims from upper India. The stone images of Jajpur bespeak its ancient importance.

The most notable objects of antiquarian interest are the four big images which are first met by a visitor of Jajpur at the compound of the S. D O. One of these is an image of Bodhisatva Padmapani, now lying on the ground on its back. It measures 16 ft. without feet and pedestal. The complete image in standing posture would have been 21 feet.

The three other big Matrika images, Varaha, Chamunda, and Indrani, in the said compound, measuring about 9 feet in height, were removed from the Cenotaph of Saiyid Bokhari of Mukti-Mandapa hall of Jajpur, Mukti-mandapa is a large platform constructed with dressed stones and measures 100 feet square. These images of Matrikas originally stood on the platform which was broken down by the Muslims. Stirling wrote on them in 1822 as follows:

"They lie with their heels upper most, on a heap of rubbish, in precisely the same position, apparently, that they assumed, when tumbled from their thrones above, by the Mussulman conquerors of the province who destroyed a celebrated temple at the spot and further desecrated it, by creating on its ruins, a shrine and mosque of their own worship."

As regards the workmanship of the images Stirling remarks that "though the subjects are grotesque, the execution is distinguished by a degree of freedom; skill and propriety, quite unusual in the works of Hindu sculptures." p. 114.

He further writes that "on the banks of the river, one meets with the sort of a raised gallery filled up with mythological sculptures, amongst which seven large colossal figures of the female divinities called Matrika, are particularly remarkable. They are said to have been recovered, lately out of the sand of the river, where they were tossed by the Moguls on their shrines being destroyed — by a Mahajan of Cuttack, who built the edifice in which they are now deposited." (p. 114)

After Stirling Lieut. M. Kittoe visited Jajpur in 1837 and he wrote as follows in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1838 pp. 54-55,
"I visited the different temples, none of which are worthy of notice or at all ancient, though they occupy the places of those destroyed by the Muhammadan invaders. I remarked a number of Jaina and Buddhist figures in different places scattered about."

Actually no temple, contemporary to the sculptures of Jajpur, is in existence and so evidence for the study of characteristic features of early Orissan architecture of the temples of Jajpur is lost to us, but the ornamented stones and sculptures that decorated these ancient temples, furnish us with some idea about the style of architecture of the place.

Among the modern temples of Astha Sambhus of Jajpur, the Akhandaleswer temple is one, but there is a large number of old sculptures one of which is a Jaina deity. At Varahanatha there is a Siva linga with a human face. The lingas called Harantesvar and Trilochanesvara also possess human faces. Nearby Trilochanesvar there is another Siva linga with four faces. Siva Lingas with human faces have been found rarely elsewhere in Orissa.

The early sculptures of Jajpur scattered all over, can be well compared with those of Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri and Udayagiri which are of Buddhistic origin. All over Jajpur Brahmanic Pancha-devata images are found along with Buddhistic and Jaina images.

The monolithic pillar or the Subhastambha is the unique piece of old architecture of Jajpur. Fergusson, the eminent authority in architecture, writes that "Its proportions are beautiful, and its details in excellent taste originally it is said to have supported a figure of Garuda'. On the sculptures of Jajpur, he says, that, "They are in quite a different style from anything at Bhubeswar or Konarka, and probably more ancient than anything of the same kind at those places."

The pillar "is square at the base for 1 ft. 5 inches, octagonal for next 9 inches and 16 sided above. The cap consists of a 16 sided Cylindrical block 4 feet high, ornamented with Kritimukha heads with heavy pearl garlands pendant and surmounted by a lotus caly. Its total height from the present ground level to the top of the square abacus is nearly 33 feet." The Aruna Khamba at Puri affords an analogous instance which is a few inches higher and
much more slender and light. Mr. J. A. Page is of opinion that the
Gruda found at Jajpur is not its capital for the reason that the
square abacus at the top of the pillar has not been damaged in any
way by its removal.

At Siddheswar 4 miles east of Jajpur there is an inscription
of five lines covering a space of 5 ft. long on a Siddha Stambha which
is not yet deciphered,

All the existing temples of Jajpur, though modern, are built
according to the Orissa style of Architecture, which is a living art
now in Orissa.

Hunter writes that “The Mahammedans of the 16th and 17th
Century stabled their horses in Hindu palaces and tore down the great
temples, stone by stone, to build Royal residences for their own Chiefs.”

Adjoining the compound of the Subdivisional officer stands
the mosque of Nawab Abu Nasir Khan which contains a Persian
inscription stating that it was built in the year of the Hira 1093
corresponding to 1656 A.D. The mosque was built with the materials
obtained from the demolished Hindu temples. T. Motte who visited
Jajpur on the 2nd May of 1766 wrote as follows on the mosque:

“This is built in the style of the Turkish Mosques, having a
lofty minaret at each end of the front angles, which takes of their
disagreeable acuteness, and being built airy and light, form a pleasing
contrast to the disgusting clumsiness of the domes.”

Markham Kittoe remarks that “The mosque is rather a pretty
object but of rough workmanship.”

This is a short account of the relics of Jajpur and the period
may be assigned on stylistic grounds from the 7-8th century to the
18th century A.D.

Mahāvinayaka hill is the seat of Ganeśa with very few relics
of the ancient period.

**BUDDHIST MONUMENTS OF THE CUTTACK HILLS**

The Asia range of hills situated within the Jajpur subdivision
is the eastern most hill range in the Cuttack district, and the Udaya-
giri is the most easterly peak of this hill range. To the south of the
Asia range is situated at a distance of about 5 miles the isolated Nalati-
giri and to its east almost at the same distance stands the isolated Ratnagiri. The Buddhist relics in all these three hills can be conveniently visited from the Gopalpur Canal Bungalow which can be approached from the Dhanmandal Railway Station by a road up to Balichandrapur whence there is a road on the canal bank. The alternate route is the road from the Kendrapara Road Railway Station via Salepur and Mahanga.

**Nalatigiri**

The Nalatigiri or Lalitagiri has been divided geographically into three hilly areas called the Olasuni, Landa (bald) and Parabhadri (pigeon hole). The eastern part of Nalatigiri is called the Olasuni; the middle part is called Parabhadri and the western part is called the Landa. The relics of the eastern side of the Landa hillock are numerous. Besides Mahayana sculpture images, there are ruins of brick-built shrines. In the northern side of the Parabhadri, there is a long shelf cut off the hillside popularly called Hatikhal. On this shelf there are remains of what was once a gallery of life-size Buddhist images. It seems that the top portion of the shelf or cave has fallen. The images that are exposed over the surface by reckless digging for bricks are best specimens of the post-Gupta in Orissa. A visitor can find a shelter at the rest house at Haribhaktapur, quite close to the Landa hillock.

**Udayagiri**

The Asia range of hills is surrounded by the river Virupa and its branch Genguti which joins with the Kumbhiria, a branch of the Brahman, which again joins the Virupa to the east of the hill range. A thorough survey of this has not yet been made.

From the Gopalpur bungalow, the eastern slope of the Udayagiri containing the Buddhist ruins can be visited after crossing the river Birupa. At the foot of the hill there is a Vapi which bears two inscriptions belonging to one Ranaka Sri Vajrāṇīgā. To the west of the Vapi are scattered the ancient ruins.

J. Beams removed a gateway of excellent workmanship from this area to the Cuttack town and kept it on the left bank of the Taladanda canal quite close to the West Hostel of the Ravenshaw College from where the gateway and a few other Buddhist sculptures brought by J. Beams from Udayagiri, have been removed to the Patna Museum.
Apart from the vast ruins of brick built shrines and Buddhist sculptures on the slope of the Udayagiri, there is a row of alto-relievo sculptures on the peak. No detailed report about these sculptures is available. Late Rama Prasad Chand did not see them. Recently Dr. V. D. Sharma, M. A. D. Phill (Oxon), officiating Superintendent of the Department of Archaeology, Eastern Circle of the Government of India was successful in getting a few photographs of these sculptures.

A detailed report of the sculptures of Udayagiri is given in the Memoirs of. Archaeological Survey of India, No.44 by Late R.P. Chanda.

**Ratnagiri**

Ratnagiri can be visited from Gopalpur on foot only. It is situated to the east of the stream called Kelua and on the left bank of the Virupa below the junction of the Kumbhira. The hillock is flat at the top and the village Ratnagiri is situated on its slopes to the west and south. The whole hillock is a quarry of antiquities, and the Buddhist sculptures are of human size. A head of Buddha is exposed there which measures 4' x 3'. The measurements of the head go to prove that the image to which it belonged is about 16 feet high if it were a seated image or is about 26 ft. high if a standing one.

Late R. Chanda mentions that from Ratnagiri he collected a stone slab bearing an inscription in Gupta characters of the 6th century A.D. on paleographical grounds. In the account of Yuan Chwang the University and monastery of Puspagiri find mention, and the vast ruins of these three hills in the Cuttack district can be identified with the site mentioned by Yuan Chwang. From the inscription of the Nagarjunikunda it is learnt that Buddhishri built pillars at Puspagiri. All these stray references need corroboration from the local evidence which is not possible from the surface relics of these hills.

Between 1950 and 1953 I surveyed the coastal area of the Cuttack district and discovered some ancient brick temples of Indo-Aryan style at Panchalinga near Parabat and at the Tandikul in the Balikuda area. Some interesting sculptures at Paramahansa, and the unique Durga image in Sukhesvara Nuagan were also noticed by me. I took the photograph of the Châtesvara temple, built by Vishnu
Acharya, the capable general of Anangabhima Deva (1211-1238) for the first time. I also discovered a Panchayatana Vishnu temple at Ganeswarapur, situated to the east of the Jaulaka hills and the images of Indra and Indrani at Amaravati Kataka near Chhatia.

The Madalapanji printed in Oriya states that during the rule of the Bhoi dynasty in the middle of the 16th century A. D. Kataka Sri-na-a-ra was occupied by Danai Vidyadhar and Manikhandi Sri-na-a-ra was occupied by Telenga Mukunda Deva. So we find the truth of the account of Tarih-i-Ferozshahi.

From 1660 to 1750 no account of the forts of Cuttack is found. In 1757 according to a Persian inscription of the Barabati fort noticed and published by Kittce in 1837, the main gate of the Barabati fort was repaired and reconstructed during the Marhatta rule.

Then we find the description of the Barabati fort and the Lalbagh palace by T. Motte in 1766, when the Manikhandi palace was converted into Lalbagh palace by the Muslim Government.

Monuments of the Puri District:

The monuments of the Puri district specially the Dhauli, the Udayagiri and Khandagiri, hills and the temples at Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarka are too well known to be described here. Survey made after 1950 has brought to light many new temples in the Puri district of which I made notes only. At my request my friend Sri K. N. Mahapatra discovered the temple of sixty-four Yoginis at Hirapur, Gopinatha temple at Kakudia and a Siva temple at Buddhapada. I discovered the Gaṅgeśvar temple near Gopa and a Siva temple at Kalarahang and a Durga temple at Sikkarchandi near Patia. My friend Sri K. N. Mahapatra also brought to notice the Varahi temple at Chaurasi and many other temples in Kakatpur area. I first noticed that the Jagannatha temple at Madhava was built by Anangabhima Deva. Broken temples at Punjiama and a big brick temple near Banapur were also discovered by me in the Puri district.
MONUMENTS OF THE BALASORE DISTRICT

The date of Sora copper plates is the early seventh century, but so far no monument has been discovered which can be ascribed to that period. There are some ruins at Kopari the date of which has not yet been assigned. N. N. Vasu made an archaeological survey of some places in the neighbourhood of Balasore from which it is learnt that during the 10th century there were some monuments there. The Fort at Raipania situated on the border of the Midnapore district is the biggest fort in Orissa, but its history is still unknown. The study of forts in North Balasore and Mayurbhanj will throw light on the military organisation against the attack of the enemy from the North. At Gaganeswar near Kasiadi in the district of Midnapore there is a Fort with strong laterite walls, and in this fort there is a stone inscription belonging to the period of Kapilendra Deva. The inscription has been so badly damaged that no decipherment is possible.

(i) AYODHYA—The former Nilgiri State is now a subdivision of the Balasore district. At Ayodhya in Nilgiri there are vast ruins of a town where there were a large number of Hindu and Buddhist temples. But not a single is there with its former grandeur. From the inscriptions on the images, the date of Ayodhya can be safely assigned to the 10th century A. D. if not earlier. Some Matrika images have also been found from villages not far off Ayodhya.

(ii) BIRANCHI NARAYANA TEMPLE at Palia near Bhadrak—A temple of Indo-Aryan Style with four doors on four sides. The image enshrined has also four faces on four sides.

(iii) MANI NAGESVARA—The temple at Maningesvara is of about 10th—11th century. The reconstruction has spoilt the original structure.

* Vide 'ORISSA REVIEW' Vol. VI, Orissa Monuments Special, 1949, Published by the Public Relations Department, Govt. of Orissa.
(iv) SERGARH—There are some temples and images at Shergarh.

(V) HARICHANDANGARH at Kurdia contains vast ruins of an old fort.

Monuments of the Mayurbhanj District

The hill system of Mayurbhanj divides Mayurbhanj into eastern and western parts. In the eastern part flows the Burabalanga with its tributaries. The valley of the Burabalanga is full of Pre-historic sites out of which Kuliana is famous for the Palaeolithic implements and Baidyapur for the Neolithic ones. Besides these stone age relics, some relics of the copper age have been discovered also in Mayurbhanj. In March and April, 1949, Dr. Zeuner, the Geochronologist of the London University who was brought by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India, visited Kuliana which is one of the important Pre-historic sites in India. In 1940 Dr E. C. Worman of the Peabody Museum of the Harvard University, U. S. A. visited the Neolithic sites of Mayurbhanj and he published a paper entitled *The Neolithic problem in the pre-history of India* in which a map has been attached showing places of Southern Asia. This map mentions Mayurbhanj of Orissa as a find spot of stone celts.

The discovery of old coins in Mayurbhanj has thrown a flood of light on the history of Orissa. The punch marked coins are the earliest and pre-Maurian in date. The coins next in date are (1) the copper Kushan coins (ii) the gold Roman coins (iii) the gold Gupta coins of Kumaragupta and (iv) the copper Puri-Kushan coins.

In eastern Mayurbhanj, particularly in the valley of the Son, a tributary of the Burabalanga, temples dedicated to Chamunda are found. The date is about 9th and 10th century A. D. About a dozen copper images of the Jaina Tirthankaras and Śāsanadevis have also been found together with many images of Parśvanāth, Rishabha and Mahāvīra.

The Khakara style of laterite temple at Vishnupur is also an important old relic belonging to Chamunda worshipped in the Vaishnava manner.

The ancient monuments at Khiching have been very popular recently. Besides temples, some residential sites and many other old relics have been unearthed at Biratgarh near Khiching. The discovery of a large number of real Kushan coins and Puri Kushan coins pushes the date of the site to the 3rd and 4th century A. D. but
the temples and their sculptures are much later in date which is about the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. About a dozen copper-plates of the Bhanja Kings of Khiching have been preserved at the Museums at Khiching and Baripada in Mayurbhanj.

**Khiching**

Khiching, the ancient capital of the Bhanja kings of Mayurbhanj in the 10th Century A.D. situated on the left bank of the Vaitarani at a distance of 91 miles from Baripada, bears eloquent testimony of the taste of the builders of the temples. At one time there were many temples at Khiching, but now there are only three which have no porch or Mukhamandapa in their front. This is a very special feature of Architecture of the temples of Khiching when compared with those of Bhubaneswar.

The porch indicates the comfort of the devotee from the Sun and the absence of porch indicates the higher sentiment of the devotee before entering the shrine. At Telkupi in Manbhum in Bihar, and at Barakar in Burdwan in West Bengal, we find such temples without porch which are rectangular in shape, but at Baudh-garh, the capital of southern Bhanja Kings, there are three temples which have no porch, and the ground plan is star shaped instead of being rectangular. There is a slight provision for shelter in the shape of a porch supported by two pillars in the front.

Mr. Percy Brown in his *Indian Architecture* states that "The temples of Orissa provide the most logical beginning for a study of the Indo-Aryan style. The main group is concentrated in the town of Bhubaneswar where there are over thirty examples." From Bhubaneswar, towards the north, an offshoot of the movement is to be found, in a series of ruined shrines in the State of Mayurbhanj."

("The Indian Architecture, P. 118,"

Elsewhere he writes that "One of the most remarkable characteristic of the Orissa temple, is the plain and featureless treatment of the interior, constrained with the profusely ornamented walls of the exterior, the surfaces of which are charged with a superfluity of plastic patterns and forms." On the temples of Khiching, Telkupi and Barakar in which he traces the northernly development of Orissan style, Mr. Percy Brown again writes that "The Architectural style of Khiching examples is very similar to that of Orissan group, but the
wealth of carving and figures sculpture with which they are decorated, is slightly different in handling, suggesting the existence of a separate and local school of plastic art. Still more to the north, shrines in the Burdwan and Manbhum districts show more individuality in their design the increased distance from the centre of the movement causing them to be less under the influence of the parent style.

The absence and presence of the Porch in early temples are illustrated well in Baudha. The star-shaped temples of Baudhagarh have no porch, but the twin temples of Parasurameswar style at Gandharadhi have got porches. So it is evident that the Orissa style of temple architecture was modified by builders according to their artistic taste.

At Khiching there are 14 monolithic pillars supporting the tiled roof of a hall, not meant for worship. The pillars are square at the top and bottom. The bases of the pillars are similar to those of Bharhut style and the capitals are clear derivatives from the bell capital of Asokan pillars. The shaft is eight sided. No where in Bhubaneswar such pillars are found.

The sculptures of Khiching which decorated the temples there, are best examples of the plastic art of the period, and like architecture the sculptures of Khiching possess some specific features. The artists carved images not according to the stereotyped way, but by actual observation from nature. The modelling of the lower parts of images was done with a special attention by the sculptors. The modelling and expression of the face are very elegant. Many critics of art, Indian and foreign, have therefore defined it as an independent branch of the schools of art in Orissa.

**Monuments of the Keonjhar District**

The note on the Archaeological finds in Mayurbhanj is applicable to Keonjhar also and according to tradition both Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar formed a kingdom of which Khiching was the capital. The District has not been properly surveyed and so with the exception of Danguaposi no other monument is known.

**The Rock Painting at Danguaposi and Sitabinja in the Keonjhar District.**

The village Danguaposi is about 42 miles from Keonjhargarh and there are huge rocks and jungles in its neighbourhood. There is a
hillock locally called Ravanaachaya in which one big boulder is placed by nature above the other. The upper boulder is projected on one side about 15 feet forming as if a ceiling of a house. There is a fresco painting in red ocre representing a royal procession of foot soldiers, men on horse back and a person on the elephant. Besides the red colour other colours are used in showing the lips, belts etc. There is a line of writing at the bottom which can be deciphered with difficulty as it has been exposed to the actions of the weather for several centuries. The scene of the procession has also been damaged by the weather action. The ceiling is about 25 feet or more in height from the ground level and it is very difficult to erect a manchan there due to the rock bed, and so no close view of the painting and writing is possible.

Pandit Binayak Misra and Sri K. C. Panigrahi published a paper on this in the Modern Review in 1938 (pp. 301-325) and they read the inscription as Ragaraja Sri Disabhaja. The letters belong to the 4th-6th century A.D. To corroborate this inscription in a stone seal found at Khiching with letters Ragaraja which can be read as Rajaraja. So it seems that Disabhaja used only the epithet Rajaraja in his seal and his capital was at Khiching which is not far off from Danguaposi.

No proper study of the painting and the inscription has yet been made and a careful study of these will throw some light on the dark period of the history of Orissa.

The Bhanja Raj family of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar claim that they sprang from the same family and their ancestors divided the ancient Bhanja kingdom into Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. The copper plates of the northern Bhanj dynasty are much later in date than this inscription of Danguaposi.

Monuments in the Sundargarh District

This district comprises the former states of Gangpur and Bonai. The Bonai copper plate of Udaya Varaha is an important historical document. Its seal is peacock like that of the present rulers of Bonai. The rulers of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Boud and Dasapalla

* Recently a stone inscription has been noticed by Sri S N. Rajguru from Asanapat in Keonjher which refers to a king with Bhanja surname belonging to the 3rd century. A.D. according to palaeography,
have got a peacock in their seals. The history of the Raj families of Gangpur, Bamra and Bonai is shrouded with legendary accounts. So far no important archaeological monument has been known in this area.

**Monuments of the Brahmmani Valley**

The present Dhenkanal District comprises the former states of (1) Dhenkanal, (2) Hindol (3) Talcher, (4) Palahara and Angul subdivision of Orissa.

Prehistoric sites at Harichandpur in Talcher and Kaliakata in Angul were noticed by Valentine Ball in 1876. The recent investigation has proved that the sites are very important for study.

From this area a good many copper plates of the (1) the Bhauma (2) the Stambha or Sulki, and the (3) Nanda dynasties of Orissa have been found and the antiquity of the monuments goes back to 8th and 9th centuries A.D. But this area has not been fully surveyed as will be evident from the following:

There are reports on the discovery of gold Gupta coins and Ganga coins from Angul.

**Bhimakand, Sarang & Vajrakot in Talcher**

Bhimakand is situated at about 18 miles of Talcher. After crossing a jungle of shrubs from the road one meets with a sand rock adjoining the paddy fields on its west and north. On the northern side of the rock is carved out an image of Vishnu in sleeping posture. The image sleeps on his right side for which two right hands are not carved. The image measures 41 ft. 6 inches from top to toe. The waist measures 6 feet on its exposed side. The measurement from the right shoulder to the left one is 8 feet. The head measures 4 feet and 6 inches from the forehead to the chin. The measurement of the left hand from the elbow to the tip of the finger is 12 ft. and 6 inches. The diameter of the Chakra is 4 ft. The length of the Cada is 5 feet. The measurement of the leg from the knee to foot is 11 ft. Each foot measures 4 ft. and 4 inches. The palm measures 5 ft. and 10 inches.

The proportions of different limbs to the body of the image appear to be very beautiful to the eye. The style of the sculpture appears to be very natural inspite of the hugeness of the image, the
date of which can be assigned to the 8th and 9th century A.D., from its natural softness of execution.

The image lies on the right bank of the Brahmani which flows at a distance of about one mile, but the image of Vishnu carved out of a similar rock measuring about 50 ft. lies at Sarang on the exposed rock in the bed of the river. I saw the image in October, 1946, when it was covered with the sand of the river. The village Sarang is situated on the left bank of the Brahmani, quite opposite to the temple of Paschimesvara on the Talcher side at a distance of about 2 miles from the Talchergarh. At Paschimesvar there is a sitting image of Dhyani Buddha which is built with several pieces of stones. Such images built with more than one piece of stones are common at Udayagiri not far from one of the branches of the Brahmani in the Cuttack District.

Carving out of an image of 41 ft. 6 inches long with due proportions to limbs is no doubt a bold conception on the part of the sculptor and as there are two such unusually big sculptures in the Brahmani valley, it seems that the area was once inhabited by highly civilised people.

The Puri District possesses all the three big temples of Orissa which are works spreading over a period of two centuries from 1050 A.D., but the Talcher area possesses two big images which were left unknown up till now so to say. The great image of Gomatesvara on the Dodd-betta hill in Mysore State, measures 57 feet in height and is the largest standing image of India, but the images of Vishnu at Sarang and Bhimakand are the largest sleeping images in India, and stand second and third in measurement when compared with the image of Gomatesvar of Mysore. But the image of Gomatesvar is a Jaina one, whereas the images at Sarang and Bhimakand are Hindu ones.

Vajrakot is situated at about 32 miles from Talcher on the right bank of the Brahmani. Tradition has it that Vajrakot was the capital of Jita Rajas. The word Jita is a apabhramasa of Aditya and Kshatriyas of the Aditya family were once ruling in Manbhum area. The Khstriyas of the Pala family were rulers of Pal-Lahara since several centuries past. So long no epigraphical evidence is found it is unsafe to accept these traditions as true.

At Vajrakot, there stood a large number of temples which is proved from the stone blocks of temples scattered all over the village
Fortunately there stands only one temple of Siva called Bhingesvar. The temple is of the Paraburamesvara style, but the Parasurameswar has got a developed Jagamohana in its front whereas the Bhingesvar had a pillared hall in its front quite detached from the temple. The door frame is very prominent with various designs. There is one Dvarapala with a female attendant on each jamb. The images of the Gangā and the Yamuna are carved not on the jambs, but in the front wall out side the jambs. The workmanship of those two sculptures of Gangā and Yamuna is very excellent and reminds one of those of the post-Gupta period. On the lintel there are 8 images of celestial planets or Astagraha of the Hindu Astronomy and it is remarkable that the first is Surya holding two lotuses and other 6 images are of one style. The last one is that of Rahu shown with its bust only. The temple has three parāvadevatās namely Ganeśa on the south, Kārtikeya on the west and Mahishāsuramardini locally known as Bhingesvari, on the north. The image of Ganeśa possesses some peculiarities which are not met generally. The main peculiarity is the sitting posture. The temple is sparingly decorated.

Near the Upper Primary School there stands two jambs with a lintel. The decoration of the jambs and the workmanship of the Dvārāpalas are of the same style as that of Bhingesvar temple. The temple had no porch or pillared hall.

The remains at Vajrakot are very interesting—interesting as being situated in unknown wilds which speaks of the entire revolution that has taken place in the history and also as proofs of a place which was once the seat of opulence and power.

In this connection I like to deal with the archaeological remains at Khiching in the Vaitaranī valley and at Baudhagarh in the Mahanadi valley of Orissa. The geographical situation of Khiching, Vajrakot and Baudhagarh is in no way connected with each other, but the temples of Indo-Aryan style without porch of these places, establishes a connecting link of the civilisation that once spread in these hilly parts of Orissa. It is a matter of regret that antiquities like the Vishnu images at Saranga and Bhimkand and the Bhingesvar temple at Vajrakot situated in the Brahmani valley were unknown as yet. The Antiquities of the upper valley and the lower valley of the Brahmani indicate the existence of such relics in the middle portion of the valley situated in the area of Bhenkanal which is surrounded by hills like the upper one.
II Temples at Koalo in Dhenkanal

Koalo is situated about 6 miles east of Talcher town in the Dhenkanal area. Koalo is the corruption of the Kodalaka of the Stambha or Sulki copper plates. There are half a dozen temples here which have no porch, but the decoration of these temples are not very praiseworthy. Beautiful sculptures are found on the body of the biggest of the five temples called Kanakesvara. The place needs further study.

III Temple at Talmul in Angul.

Talmul is situated about 15 miles south of Angul town. More than one copper plate have been found here. There is a temple here dedicated to Durga Mahisasuramardini. The temple is not a big one, but it possesses some special features of architecture in Orissa. It had a mukhasala attached to its front which had a roof supported by pillars. The temple and the mukhasala have been constructed on a raised platform which adds to the height of the temple. The pillars are similar to those of the Chaulkunjii at Khiching. The parivadevatas of the temple are very life-like and good specimens of plastic art, and so also the deity in the temple.

A large number copper plates of (i) the Bhauma (ii) the Stambha and (iii) the Nanda dynasties of Orissa have been found in the Dhenkanal, Angul, Hindol and Talcher areas.

IV Monuments in the Mahanadi Valley.

The valley of the Mahanadi comprises the present districts of Sambalpur and Bolangir, Baudh subdivision of the Phulbahi district; Daspalla, and Khandapara areas of the Puri district, Narsinghpur, Boramba, Tigrira, Athgari and Banki areas of the Cuttack district. This vast area is full of ancient monuments, but very little study of their importance has been made.

(a) Monuments of the Sambalpur District

Valentine Ball reported the discovery of some palaeolithic implements at Bursapali near Kudderbuga as early as 1876 (Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1876 pp. 132-23). Some years ago specimens of old writing were discovered at Vikramkhol which have not yet been deciphered. It has been suggested that these writings might
throw light on the missing link between the Indus valley civilization and the Vedic culture. So far no definite decision has been arrived at by anybody.

The diamond trade of Sambalpur is very ancient, but it has totally died out now.

There are no monuments worth the name which can be assigned to a date earlier than the 15th century A.D. at Sambalpur but they have got some special features which have not been studied as yet.

The temple at Narsinhanath in the Borasambar zamindary belongs to the Ganga period. The temple has got an inscription, belonging to the period of Vaijal Deva of the Chouhan family of Patna which was written in 1421 A.D.

(b) Monuments of the Bolangir and the Kalahandi Districts

In these two districts, the former states of Patna, Sonepur and Kalahandi are included. A large number of copper plates of the Somakuli and Bhanga dynasties have been found in the Bolangir district. It is situated in an area bounded by the rivers Anga and Tel, the tributaries of the Mahanadi. This district is full of ancient monuments.

Thanks are due to the Archaeological Department of the former Patna State as some Archaeological works were done there before integration.

Cunningham's assistant J. D. Beglar surveyed this area in 1875-76 and his notes are printed in Vol XIII of the Archaeological Survey Reports.

(i) Kosalesvar temple at Baidyanath on the Tel in Sonpur

Baidyanath is situated at about 6 miles north-west of Sonpur town. The main temple is broken and on it there has been erected a modern one. But the Mukhasâla of the original temple stands there in a dilapidated condition. The architecture of this mukhasâla is a type itself in Orissa, and the sculptures which decorated it, are the best specimens of the plastic art dating about the 8th century A.D. or earlier. Recently a temple of Kosalesvara type has been found at Charra in the Sonpur subdivision, which is in a good state of preservation.
Another temple at Baidyanatha built with carved stones is standing close by the Kosalesvara which can be compared with any temple of Bhubaneswar of the later period.

(ii) Further up on the Tel is situated Belkhandi which was excavated by Sri K. N. Mahaputra of the Archaeological Department of the Kalahandi State in 1947-48 and it is reported that some Important relics have been found there. Beglar describes it as Rajapadar.

(iii) At Ranipur-jharial are found a large number of temples and vast ruins. The brick built temple is a unique specimen of architecture in Orissa. Another important structure is the circular enclosure of the Chausathi or sixty-four yoginis. The other temple dedicated to the 64 Yoginis is at Bhedaghat in Central Province. The date of this temple is much later than that of Kosalesvara, noted above and those of Patnagarh and Saintala noted below.

(iv) There once existed several temples at Patnagarh of which the materials have been used up in building modern ones, but the sculptures, the photographs of some of which have been published by late P. C. Rath in the Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society Vol. II Nos. 2-3, are quite similar to those of the post-Gupta art of the Cuttack hills or elsewhere. The temple at Saintala also belongs to the period of those of Patnagarh or a little later, and late P. C. Rath has published some photos of the sculptures of this temple in an article of the Journal noted above.

(v) Harisankar temple is situated on the southern slope of the Gandhamardan hill on the northern slope of which stands the Narasimhanatha, temple. There are some other temples there and the place is visited by a large number of pilgrims.

(vi) Yuan Chwang has described a place called ‘Polomolokili’ which is Parimalagiri. The location of this place is somewhere in western Orissa. There is a vast Archaeological site in the Kharial subdivision of the Kalahandi district not yet visited by any Archaeologist. Sri D. P. Tripathi, an O. A. S. officer described it in the proposed Gazetteer of Kharial.

(c) Monuments on the banks of the Mahanadi from Sonpur to Athgarh.

(i) Temples at Gandharadhi.
The twin temples of Nilamadhava Vishnu and Sidhesvar Siva at Gandharadhi on the south bank of the Mahanadi, 8 miles from Baud are similar in architecture to the Parsuramesvar temple of Bhubaneswar. Here two temples dedicated to Vishnu and Siva are constructed in the same compound. At the top of the Siva temple is placed a Sivalinga and at that of the Vishnu temple a Chakra or disc. There are mukhasalas in front of the temples which are in a dilapidated condition. Like the twin temples of Gandharadhi there are twin temples dedicated to Sidhesvara Siva and Nilamadhava Vishnu at Kantilo in Khandapara. The outer walls of these temples have been covered with plaster recently, and so the ancient form of the architecture is lost.

(ii) Temples at Baudhgarh:

At Baudhagarh quite close to the palace there was a Buddhist monument which has been destroyed. Only the image of the Buddha is seated there perhaps on its original position now. Two copper plates belonging to Tribhubana Mahadevi of the Bhauma dynasty were found when the debris were cleared some years ago. The land granted in these copper plates is situated in the Dandabhukti area which has been identified with the Midnapur and Bankura districts of West Bengal. It seems that these plates were carried from Midnapore area to Baudha by the descendants of the donee.

Beglar wrote as follows on the group of temples of Ramnath situated at the western end of the Baudha town.

"The principal shrine is a comparatively modern erection well plastered over, consisting of a sanctum, a Mahamandapa, and a portico; in short it is a complete temple, and possibly is only an ancient one repaired; it is dedicated to Ramesvara, faces east, and is surrounded by no less than nine small shrines, all in decay and all of about the same age. Of course I was not allowed to approach too close to the sacred shrine, but I was sufficiently thankful to have been allowed access even into the court-yard."

"Besides this great shrine there are three smaller isolated temples, which have not been covered with plaster or repaired, and which, therefore, now stand with all the beauty of their elaborate carving; so hard and durable is the stone, that the carvings appear nearly as sharp as the day they were executed; the colour too, a deep purplish red, adds in no small degree to the beauty. Each of these
temples stands by itself on a raised platform, and each consists of a cell and its attached portico only. The plan will show the minute recesses and angularities in plan which produce so charming an effect in the variety of light and shade, and confer an appearance of greater height from the continued clusters of vertical lines than they really possess, but it will be noticed that they are very small. In regard to the elevation, it is in the usual style of the elevations of the single-celled types common in Bengal, of which the ones at Barakar may be taken as fair-types; but I cannot do justice to the elaborate carving which literally covers the temple from crown to base without the aid of photographs of the temples. One faces west and two face east; they have all a group of the Navagrahas over the entrance, and as they are considered subordinate in sanctity to the great temple of Ramesvara, I was allowed to approach and take a plan of one of them. These temples are planned on the principle of intersecting squares laid down by Fergusson as the most common type of the plan of mediaeval temples in India. Really this form of intersecting squares is very rare, as may be seen on comparison of such plans as have yet been obtained; they are certainly extremely beautiful, and though small they are gems of art in their own humble way. I cannot assign to them any great age; the ninth century is the earliest which may safely be assigned to them, and when we remember that most of the temples of Orissa (some of them inscribed and, therefore, not uncertain in date) are of this period and show a remarkable predilection for the Navagraha, I think there will be no reasonable doubt in assigning these to that period also, an age not inconsistent with the elaborate profuse and minute ornamentation bestowed on them, or the general outline and disposition of the plan and facade."

**Banesvarnasi in the Narsinghpur area of the Cuttack District.**

Banesvarnasi is now a hillock island in the bed of the Mahanadi. On the eastern side of the hillock there are extensive ruins of brickbuilt and stone temples. Among the sculptures of this place two Buddhist images of Tārā carved in the red sandstone are unique specimens of plastic art in Orissa. Images carved in red

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sand stone are not met elsewhere as such kind of stone is not geologically possible in Orissa. The style of the image is quite similar to that of others of the period viz. 9th and 10th centuries A.D. and so the builder had to bring the stone from a place like Mirzapur in United Provinces or Rajputana where such stone is found in abundance or the quarry of the stone is some where in Narsingpur or in its neighbourhood. The site was discovered by K. G. Gupta, the then Commissioner of Orissa in February, 1902;

At present there is one image of Tarā at Banesvarnasi and another has found its way to the Patna Museum.

The site of Banesvarnasi requires investigation for the study of its history, architecture and art and so no definite report on the importance of the site is possible now.

Champeswar is another important place of Archaeology in the Narsingpur area where there are good many Brahmancial sculptures which may be assigned to the 9th and 10th centuries A. D. From the village Balijhari a copper plate of Udyota Kesari, a king of the Somakuli dynasty, was found some years ago.

**Simhanatha in the Baramba area of the Cuttack District.**

There is a romantic islet in the bed of the Mahanadi where there is an old temple dedicated to Siva called Simhanatha. The style of architecture of the temple quite resembles that of the Parasurame-svara of Bhubaneswar. The decorative sculptures of the temple which are life-like and very elegant form good specimens of the plastic art in the upper Mahanadi valley. There is a Mukhamandapa of the temple which is profusely decorated with mythological scenes from the Rama- yana, the Bhagavata and the Markandeya Purana. In this temple though the presiding deity is Siva, there are decorative sculptures of the Vaishnavic and Sakta cults, which indicates the influence of the Panchadevata worship which was so popular in Orissa in its famous Pancha-Kahetras,

In the great temple of Jagannatha at Puri we find the deities of Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra who are also prototypes of Vishnu, Siva and Durga, and in the Simhanatha temple we find the representation of these three cults. At Kantilo and Gandharadhi, Siva and Vishnu are worshipped side by side in the
same compound. So it seems that the cult of Jagannatha originated in the upper valley of the Mahanadi and migrated to the sea board district of Puri.

To the south of Simhanatha on the right bank of the Mahanadi are situated Baidyanatha or Baidyeswar and Ramanatha. At the southern foot of the Ramanatha hillock there is a small temple of the type of Vaitalad eula of Bhubaneswar dedicated to Mahishasuramardini. This small temple furnishes evidence that type of temple architecture of Vaitaladeula was also common in Orissa. Mr. Kittoe saw the temple in 1837 and published the drawing of one side of this temple at pages 828-29, plate XL, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1838 and I located the temple with the kind help of the Rajasaheb of Baramba.

Rautrapur and Dhavaleswar in Athgarh area of the Cuttack District

(1) Rautrapur

Kittoe visited Grameswar near Rautrapur in Athgarh in 1837 and published drawings of some sculptures in plates XXXI & XXXII in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal of 1838, pages 660-62. Kittoe remarks:— "Stand the ruins of a small and once highly elegant temple dedicated to mahadeo by name Grameswar, it is of white sand stone of very fine grain, what remains of the sculpture is truly elegant, the figures and idols are very graceful." (p 661) No further report on the place is available from any other source although it is quite close to Cuttack.

(ii) Dhavaleswar.

Dhavaleswar is another picturesque islet in the Mahanadi about 5 miles west of Cuttack. The temple here was built according to tradition by Gajapati Prataparudra Deva. (1497-1534 A.D.,)
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TYPES OF TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE ACCORDING TO MANASARA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ORISSAN TEMPLES.


"The Northern or Indo-Aryan style of architecture covers the whole area occupied by the Aryans, usually designated as Hindustan, to the north of the Tapti and Mahanadi rivers" (p. 260)

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"The peculiarities of the Nagara style, except in one or two rather unessential points, would correspond to these details of 'Northern or Indo-Aryan style'. The amala or amalaka sila is not mentioned in the Manasara under this appellation, but the Murdhanishtaka (Brick at the top) seems to serve the same purposes of the amula-sila. The Kalaṣa or dome, śikha and śikhara, are the distinguishing features of the style found also in the Manasara in addition to the square shape". (p. 261-62)

Quoting Burgess Dr. Acharya writes as follows:

"The temples at Bhubaneswar ... differ very markedly from those in the west in being almost entirely astylar pillars having been introduced in latter additions. They have the early form of śikhara nearly perpendicular below, but curving near the summit, and the crowning member has no resemblance to any thing like the small domes on Chālsakyān Spires" (p. 262)

"Burgess, following the classification of Fergusson, has included the style found at Puri, Bhubaneswar and Konarka under the Indo-Aryan or Northern style. But he has admitted that it 'may be separated in to distinct order'. What is called Vesara in the Manasara seems to be identical with this style. The main characteristic feature of the style is according to Manasara its round shape and this is clearly exhibited by temples and images on the Orissan countries", (p. 262)
"The identification of Nagara with Northern India needs, however, an explanation. It seems to have been never before used exclusively in that sense". (p. 262)

But it is found used more frequently as the names of villages, towns, and rivers in Bengal, Bihar and United provinces of Agra and Oudh, Rajputana, the Panjab and Gujrat." (p. 262)

After dealing with this geography of Northern India from the foot of the Himalayas on the North to the Vindhya range on the south, Dr. Acharya comes to the conclusion that, "This is the very tract which seems to have been covered by the Nagara style about the time of Manasara." (pp. 263)

"The southern and eastern tracts represented by the Dravida and the Vesara styles can also be associated respectively with the Tamil and the Telugu, including the Orissan scripts. As based on scripts and languages, these divisions, Nagara Dravida and Vesara, have existed apart from the architectural styles". (p. 263)

Dr. P. K. Acharya assigns the date of 'Manasara' from 500 A. D. to 700 A. D. " (p. 282)

The word Vesara applied to the Orissan temples by Dr. Acharya, is borrowed from the following verse of Manasara, the text of which was published by him in Vol. III of the Manasara series. I had not the occasion to see the text of Manasara, but fortunately Dr. Acharya quoted the verse in the foot note at p. 258.

बेदास्यं नागरं प्रोक्तं वस्त्रं द्राचिंद्रं महेतं
शुद्धरं वेसरं प्रोक्तमध्यं स्वानं भवसकं।

(Manasara XLII, 124-25)

The names Nagara, Dravida, Vesara of the above verse, were taken to mean the geographical as well as ethnological terms by Dr. Acharya and so he assigned the Vesara style of architecture of temples to be that of the Orissan style. He interpreted Nagara to mean North-Indian, Dravida, south Indian and Andhra Telengana. But the interpretation of the vesara should have been as the technical term based on the number of angles or corners found in each structure or temple. As Dr. Acharya failed to grasp the meaning of the term Vesara in its proper sense, he has been misled to interpret the term
Vesara, which is not an original Sanskrit word. So far the angles or corners are concerned the word Vesara is derived from the Sanskrit word Vyasa, the *apabhramśa* or *prakrit* form of which is Vesara, meaning a structure without angles or corners (Vi—without asra-angle or corner). This angleless or cornerless word Vyasa is qualified by the adjective Suvrta (completely circular) in the verse.

Now let us translate the above Sanskrit verse of Manasara into English.

I. NAGARA is called of a structure with four corners, Veda four, asra—corners.

II. DRAVIDA is called of a structure with eight corners, Vasu—Eight, asra—corners.

III. VESARA is called of a structure with no angles, (Vi—No, asra—corners) Vesara is derived from the word Vyasa.

It is not understood why in Manasara an *Apabhramśa* word was used. It seems that it is due to the metre in which the verse was composed or the word Vesara was Sanskritised by that time.

In the Oriya language we find the words such as Vebhara and Vena which are derived from the Sanskrit words *vyavakhara* and *vyavasaya*. Similarly the word vesara has been derived from vyasra.

IV. ANDHRA is called of a structure with six corners, (Sat—six, asra—corners.)

The Nagara type of temples consisting of the four corners or four sided temples are divided into (i) Square types and (ii) oblong or rectangular types. Both the types of temples possess perpendicular wall or *Bada* as called by the Orissan architects up to the height of the temple on which the *Sikhara* is constructed. The *Sikhara* of the square pattern of temples are again divided in to *Rūka* type and *Pjidha* type according to the manner the spire goes upwards up to the height where a circular *Veki* is constructed. On the *Veki* is built another circular and corrugated structure which is called—*amalaka śila*, on the *amalaka śila* is placed the *Khapuri* or the skull of the head which is also circular in shape. The top most portion is the *Kalaśa* over which rests the symbol of the deity, a trident in the *Siva* temple or disc in the case of the *Vishnu* temple. The *Rekha* type of *sikhara* of the temple is called
the Indo-Aryan type of temple architecture according to the terminology used by Fergusson. The *Pida* type of *Sikhara* of the temple is different from that of the *Sikhara* of the Indo-Aryan type. The spire of the *Rekha* type of temple goes tapering high up gradually becoming narrower up to the height of the *Veki*, the spire of *Pida* type of temple instead of going high up in curvilinear way goes up with inverted steps up to the *Veki*.

Square inside and outside with a flat roof, a temple of the Gupta pattern is found on the Siharachandi hill near Patia, not far from the Mancheswar Railway station. It is a tiny little structure, the outside and inside walls of which are strictly plain.

Square type of *Nagara* temples with *Rekha* spires are first met with at Bhubaneswar namely the 3 temples of *Satrubhamesvara* group and *Svarajaleswar* temple and a few other temples having no *Mukhaštala* or *Jagamohana*. At Khiching in the Mayurbhanj District there are three temples of *Nagara* type, *Rekha* temples without *Mukhaštala*. The square type of *Rekha* temples known as *Parasuramesvara* and *Mohini* at Bhubaneswar, however possess oblong type of *Mukhaštala*, the roofs of which are copied from the thatched type of house. Such *Mukhaštala* are found at *Gondharadhi* temples in Bauda-Phullbani district and *Simhanatha* temple in the Cuttack district. The square *Nagara* type of *Rekha* temple such as *Muktesvara*, *Rajrani*, *Liṅgarāja*, *Brahmeswar* and others at Bhubaneswar, *Jagannatha* temple at Puri and Konark temple and many others in Orissa, all possess a *Mukhaštala* of *Pida* type of spire of *Nagara* architecture. It is not known why the oblong type of *Mukhaštala* introduced at the *Parasuramesvara* and other temples noted above were subsequently abandoned and a square type was adopted at all other temples.

The *Nagara* type of *Rekha* temples at Paliabindha, 6 miles east of Bhadrakh town in the Balasore district, possess four doors on its four sides and so it is a unique type itself in Orissa. Professor S. K. Saraswati, in the chapter XX on Art, 1—Architecture of the History and Culture of Indian people Vol-V (P. 573), gives reference to such four faced temples at Khajorabo, one of them is the temple of *Brahma* and other is the temple of *Mrtyunjaya Mahādeva*. He has also given the ground plan of these two temples—in Fig : 7 and 8 of his book.
(ii) The oblong type (East-West walls are longer than the north and south walls) of Nagara temples of Orissa do not possess a Sikhara type of spire and all such temples possess a half barrel shaped dome most probably adopted from the shade of bullock carts built with bamboo batons with wickerwork sheet called Chanscha in Oriya or palm leaves properly spread in a semi-circular shape. The length of these temples is not very high and the temples are also not of big dimension. In Orissa temples of this type are not many. The earliest is the Vaisal Deula at Bhubaneswar with an oblong (North-south walls are bigger than the east-west walls) Mukhasala, attached to an oblong Vimana having east-west walls longer than north-south walls. There are a few other temples at Bhubaneswar among which Gauri temple at Kedargauri is important. The Mahishasuramardini temple at Ramanath near Baidyabeswar is a tiny little temple without any Mukhasala. The Varahi temple at Chaurai in the Puri District is another important instance of oblong (east-west walls are longer than the North-south walls) Vimana of the type of Nagara architecture with also an oblong (North-south walls are longer than that of east-west walls) Mukhasala fully decorated in the outside. Another instance is the Gaigesvari temple at Vayalibati in the village Erbang near Gop on the Konark road from Bhubaneswar. The Vimana is built with oblong type of Nagara architecture but its Mukhasala is a square type of Pidha deula. All these temples are situated near about Bhubaneswar. In the north Orissa at Shergada in the Balasore district and at Kishore pur in the Mayurbhanj district, there are two such oblong type of Nagara temples built with laterite stones. It is peculiar that in all these oblong type Nagara temples contain the Saka deities. Prof. Saraswati gives illustrations of two such temples, one at Gwalior-Teli-Ka-Mandir and another at Jageshwar, Navadurga temple in Almora district at P. 553 of the book noted above. The Chaubhat-yogini temple at Khajuraho in M.P. is a rectangular temple and so it is a Nagara type of architecture. (vide P. 575) History & Culture of the Indian People Vol. V.

The roof of the oblong type of Natamandira constructed in front of mukhasala of the Ligaraja and Anantavasudeva temples at Bhubaneswar and that of the Jaganatha temple at Puri is flat roofed and is quite different and separate from that of Rekha Pidha or barrel type of sikara of temples noted above. The above description goes to prove clearly that all temples of
Orissa are of Nagara type of architecture and therefore Dr. P. K. Acharya’s suggestion that these are of the Vesara type is totally untenable.

Although the inside of the Nagara temples is plain, its outer walls are divided into Triratha and Pancharatha and sometimes more which goes up from the bottom to the top up to Vekti. The outside walls are full of decorations with floral and animal designs adorned with Parsvadevatas and Dikpulas.

II. There are two circular temple in Orissa, one at Hirapur which is an earlier one among the group of such temples in India. Hirapur is situated on the left bank of river Bhārgavi and also on left side of the old trunk road from Cuttack to Puri, beyond Balianta where the river Bhārgavi is bifurcated from the Kuṣabhadra river.

It is the hypaethral temple without the roof or circular temple in the ground plan belonging to the 64 yoginis placed in the wall of the inner side and 9 Kātyāyanie on the outer wall of the structure. Being circular it is really a structure without any corner or angle and hence according to Manasara it is a vesara or Vyasa type of architecture. The date of this temple is near about 9th or 10th century A.D. The other circular 64 Yogini temple is found at Ranipur-Jharial in the Bolangir district and another is situated in the Kalahandi district according to Cunningham's Archaeological Survey report Vol. XIII. In the area of the modern Madhya Pradesh there are such circular 64 Yogini temples at Bheraghat and Mitauli vide Professor S. K. Saraswati's chapter on Art in the History and culture of the Indian people Vol. V (P. 575). Besides 64 Yogini temple, Prof. Saraswati has also discussed other Sīkharā temples of circular shape in his paper noted above at P. 573 and 574. Prof Saraswati has located the existence of the circular temples from the Gangetic region in the Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and as far South as Coimbatore. These circular temples are really the Vesara or Vyasa (without corner or angle) type according to Manasara, the significance of which was not understood by Dr. P. K. Acharya and even by Prof. S. K. Saraswati.

Prof. S.K. Saraswati begins his chapter on the architecture as follows:—
The Indian Silpotastras recognise three main styles of temples known as the Nagara, the Dravida and the Vesara. The descriptions given of them are, however vague and inadequate, and it is not possible at the present stage of our knowledge to equate the description of texts with any of the extent examples of Indian temple architecture. The term Dravida indicates that the names are primarily geographical? (P. 530).

According to Manasara there is no geographical classification of temples, the idea of which has misled the scholars for classifying temple architecture, so far. The classification of Manasara is according to the ground plan divided into the angles or a circle. The technical terms the Nagara, the Dravida and the Andhra used to describe the temple architecture give the apparent idea of geographical regions, but actually these terms mean the ground plans of the temples.

III. & IV. The Six cornered Andhra type of temple architecture and eight cornered Dravida type of architecture are not found in Orissa. Prof. S. K. Saraswati after taking great pains, illustrated 57 ground plans and temples at pp. 700–729, of the book entitled The History & Culture of the Indian People, Vol. V belonging to all parts of India, but in none of them, an illustration of the ground plan of the Andhra or the Dravida type of temple architecture is found.

There are three temples at Baudhgarh in the Baudh-Phulbani District which are star-shaped in the ground plan. Prof. Saraswati has dealt with these temples at P. 556-57 of the book noted above. He writes that "the angular faces thus formed the exterior walls of the temple give it the shape of an eight pointed-star" (P. 556). In Manasara no such temple finds mention. So these temples are of a peculiar type of architecture in Orissa, even in India. These temples have no Mukhatalās.

I am indebted to Sri Radha Mohan Mahapatra, M.A. for the valuable help rendered to me in writing this paper.
41

VARIETIES OF STONES USED IN BUILDING TEMPLES AND MAKING IMAGES IN ORISSA.

I have made an extensive survey of temples and images of gods and goddesses in Orissa particularly in the Districts of Puri, Cuttack, Balasore, Mayurbhanja, Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, Boud-Phubani, Bolangir, Kalahandi and Sambalpur in Orissa where there are a large number of ancient relics, both in the form of temples and images built with different kinds of stones which are mostly available in the neighbourhood of the locality of temples. I have partly surveyed the temples of the districts of Sundaragarh, Koraput and Ganjam. Among the districts of Orissa, Puri is the richest so far the number of temples and images is concerned and next to Puri comes the Cuttack district.

The names of stones used in building temples and making images are (i) sand stone, (2) khondolite, (3) Muguni and (4) Laterite. Excluding the Laterite other three kinds of stones are found to be used in recording the commemorative inscriptions. Such a wide use of those stones in temples and images, no doubt, is an interesting subject of study and so I am making an endeavour in throwing some light on the subject as far as I have been able to do.

The earliest relics are found at the Dhauli rock in the Puri District and at Jaugarh in the Ganjam District where there are two Asoken inscriptions. The Dhauli rock is the khondolite whereas Jaugarh rock is granite. At Dhauli, in addition to the rock edicts there is a carving of the front part of an elephant which is the earliest specimen of the plastic art in Orissa.

The next in date are the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri where caves and sculptures have been carved out of the existing rock of sand stone. This, no doubt, gave an impetus to the architects and artists to exhibit their excellence in building temples and making images at Bhubaneswar in the subsequent periods of history. In addition, the sculptors used the Muguni stones for making images also. In the same age the architects and sculptors were busy in building
temples and making images not only at Bhubaneswar, but also at Jajapur and in the Cuttack hills called Nalatigiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri in the Cuttack District with materials of Khandolite and Muguni stones. The source of sand stones of the temples at Bhubaneswar are the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills and the khondolite stone of the temples at Jajapur are the Cuttack hills and the isolated hills in the neighbourhood of Haridaspur railway station. But the source of the Muguni stones used at Bhubaneswar, Jajapur and Cuttack hills is not yet known. It is certain that the quarry of the Muguni stone used at Bhubaneswar is somewhere in the Khurda and Nayagarh subdivisions of the Puri District and that of the Muguni stones used at Jajapur and Cuttack hills and other places is somewhere in the Sukinda area of the Cuttack District. The Muguni stone is composed of fine grains but not very hard to carve images on it. Its appearance is black, greenish-black or bluish black. The Muguni stone was first termed chlorite by Stirling and since his time all writers have used the word chlorite. But the geologists do not admit that it is of chlorite sacist. A geologist's help is necessary to examine the different samples and give the verdict on these stones. The 64 Yogini temple at Hirapur near Bhubaneswar is circular in shape without any roof on it. The images are built with Muguni stones. The sources of the material are the same as that of the temples of Bhubaneswar.

The construction of the big temple of Lingaraj at Bhubaneswar was finished in the middle of the 11th century A.D. and after about hundred years the Jagannath temple at Puri was built. The biggest Sun temple at Konark was built in the middle of the 13th century A.D.

In the District of Puri large size stone ashlars are found at old Bhubaneswar town, in Gundicha Mandir at Puri and at Konark. These large size ashlars are very difficult to transport from place to place even with many men. As regards the transportation of these heavy stone blocks from the quarry to the temple sites at Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konark, it seems now-a-days a work beyond human power so to say. Towards the end of the 18th century a Maratha Officer managed with the help of the masons to drag the Aruna pillar of Konark described by Abul Fazal in his Ain-i-Akbari, from Konark to Puri on the sand beach and over the river Kusanbhadra. But within 100 years the Navagraha slab of the Konark temple was carried only a few hundred yards from the temple site.
and abandoned there, and then the stone block was cut into two pieces by 1/3 and 2/3; the smaller piece containing the Navagraha was even too heavy to be carried a few yards when the attempt was abandoned and left there. Sir W.W. Hunter who visited Konark from Puri in 1870, has left a vivid account about the removal of the Navagraha śīla which is quoted below from his *Orissa* Vol. I, pp. 290-92.

"On the 4th February 1870, I started from Puri about mid-night by palanquin and reached Konark at day-break. The eastern entrance was till lately surmounted, as in other Orissa temples, by a chlorite slab, on which the emblem of the seven days of the week, with the ascending and descending modes are carved". The beauty of this elaborate piece proved to it a more fatal enemy than time itself, and tempted English antiquarians to try to remove it by sea to the Museum at Calcutta. A grant of public money was obtained but it sufficed only to drag the massive block a couple of hundred yards where it now lies, quite apart from the temple, and as far as ever from the shore. The builders of the twelfth century had excavated it from the quarries of the Hill States, and carried it by a land journey across swamps and over unbridged rivers for a distance of eighty miles."

"All ancient statues and idols are carved in chlorite obtained from the hills on the western boundary of the District" *Orissa* Vol. II Appendix - II, P. 36.

For the sandstone blocks used in the temples of Bhubaneswar, the quarries were located at Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills and in their neighbourhood where there are abundant source of stones, but the quarries of the Muguni stone of the cult images are not known. Not only the images of Bhubaneswar but also the images found at Puri, Konark, various places in the Prachi valley and in the Kakatpur area of the Puri District, are carved in the Muguni stone, the quarries of which must be located somewhere in the hilly tract of the Khurdha and Nayagarh Sub-divisions of the Puri District. While I was in active service at Bhubaneswar, I made an attempt to locate the sites of the quarries, but I was unsuccessful, I located the quarries of the Khondolite stone with which the temples of Jagannatha at Puri and the Sun at Konark were built, to the west of the hillock called Visvanatha Mundia near the Motari.
station on the Railway line from the Khurdha Road Junction to Puri on the left bank of the river Daya. The bilblocks are composed of Khandolite rocks and there are remains of the quarries there.

Then what was the method of transport of the massive blocks of stones from the quarries to the temples at Puri and Konark?

Hunter rightly imagined that the builders of the ancient temples carried the stone blocks "by a land journey across swamps and over unbridged rivers". While rebuilding the large temple at Khiching in the Mayurbhanj District, I had to adopt the method of dragging the stones from the quarry situated about 3 miles from the temple site on the land route over a nulla. Like-wise the ancient temple builders knew the method of dragging heavy stone blocks, sometimes over the round rollers of wood, on the ground and inclined approaches on the rivers which were almost dry during the winter and summer seasons. I can not remember the name of the writer of a book who suggested that water route by rivers was more convenient for the transportation of stone blocks to Puri and Konark, but I am unable to accept the suggestion for the reason that various practical difficulties were involved in the transport by boat in the rivers during the rainy season. The rivers of the Puri District, namely the Daya, the Bhargavi, the Ratnachira and the Kusabhadra, were never navigable during the winter and summer seasons, when the operations in the quarries were possible. For the transport of massive stone blocks like that of the Nava-graha slab and Elephant of the Konark temple from the quarry to the river ghat, was done on the land route. At the river-ghat a heavy structure like a Jetty had to be built for loading the stone block in the boat and again such a structure was necessary at the river-ghat for unloading the stone block on the river bank from where the block had to be carried on land route to the temple site. A carved stone of a temple of Bhubaneswar, is preserved in the Orissa Museum which represents the carrying of an elephant on a boat for transportation. But elephant is a living animal which moves with the direction of the mahunt but no stone block would be manipulated like a living animal. But I think that dragging of stone blocks in the land route over the round rollers of logs was easy and less trouble-some. For small
blocks of stone, the river route was practicable as the blocks could be easily manipulated by human power. The temple of Harachandki is situated on the sea-beach near the mouth of the river Bhargavi where no big stone blocks are found. It was possible for the builders to load the stone blocks near the village Mctari in the boat in the Daya river and carry the boat to Sardeipur where the Daya branches off from the Bhargavi and then the boat was diverted on the down stream up to the temple site at Harachandki. Similarly small blocks of stone might have been transported to the Jagannatha temple and the Konark temple by the river routes. But carrying of such stone blocks on bullock carts on land route is more practicable. The river route may be possible for the khondolite blocks of the Jagannatha temple, Konark temple and Harachandki temple but what about the method of transport of the massive blocks of the muguni stones of the Konarak temple and the Gundicha temple at Puri? I think that so long the quarries of the muguni stones are not discovered; it will be useless to discuss the method of transport of heavy blocks to the temple sites.

Besides the temples of Jajpur and the Buddhist monuments on the Cuttack hills called Nalatigiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri situated in the Jajpur Sub-division, few other temples are scattered in different parts of the Cuttack district. There were good many early temples at Jajpur but no specimens of those temples are in existence now. Only the Matrika images of muguni stone are there to prove Jajpur's antiquity. Besides the muguni images there has been discovered a Buddhist Padmapani image carved in khondolite stone. The stones of the temples of the subsequent period of Jajpur are of khondolite variety, which are found in the Cuttack hills called Nalatigiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri. In these Buddhist monuments, the images are carved in khondolite stone. Only a few pieces of muguni stone relics have been found there. The structure of the monastery was however built with bricks. It is not known why the builders used bricks in building work where there was abundant stock of khondolite stones. The source of the khondolite stones is the Assia hill range and hillocks near Haridasapur area. It seems that the area of the muguni stones is situated in the western part of the Jajpur Sub-division which is not yet explored. The adjoining hilly area of the Dhenkanal district may be the source of the muguni stone.
In the Sadar sub-division of the Cuttack district a few temples have been found. The temple at Paramahamsa is built with khondolite stone. The Chatesvara temple at Kishanpur is a work of the Ganga period. It possesses an inscription on a slab of muguni stone. The Gopinathpur temple of king Kapilendradeva's period is broken, but the commemorative inscription written on the slab is there. The temple at Nuagaon in Mahanga area is an old one. The image of Mahishamardini there is a big image of the muguni stone. There are good many temples and ancient relics at Chowdwar. The temples are built with khondolite stones and images with muguni stones. The Narayana temple standing at the foot of the Jalauka hill however is built with sand stone of the locality and the image is made of muguni stone. The life size images at Satbhaya on the sea beach under the Police Station of Rajnagar of the Kendrapara sub-division are very important but it was not possible for me to visit the site. Up till now no archaeologist has gone there, so I am unable to say anything about the iconography of the images and the nature of stone in which these are carved. This is a most inaccessible area with antiquities which has not been noticed by even the Revenue officers.

The temples and images of the Athagarh subdivision of the Cuttack District are also important. Only two places of this subdivision situated on the bank of the river Mahanandi are known. A temple of the Parsurameswar style situated on an island of the Mahanandi under the area of the ex-State of Baramba is built with Khondolite stones. Another important place is the Banesvaranasi which is also an island in the bed of the Mahanandi under the area of the ex-state of Narsingpur. Here was also a site of the Buddhists. Two images carved in red sand stone of the Mirzapore type are found there. One image of Prajnaparamita has been removed to the museum at Patna during Bihar and Orissa administration. The image of Tara is there now in a modern temple. The quarry of such red sand stone is not known to me any where in Orissa. At Champeswar village there are good many images of Muguni stones the quarry of which is not known.

In the Dhenkanal district on the Kapilas hill there is a temple which was built with the stones of the locality. An inscribed kalasa belonging to the time of Narasingh Deva I of the Ganga dynasty is carved out of the muguni stone the source of which is not known. At
Bhimnagar there are images made of muguni stone, the quarry of which in the district is not known. The temples at Kualo (ancient Kadalaka of the Stambhia dynasty) are built with the sand stones of the locality. The big images of Vishnu at Saras and Bhimkand are carved out of the sand stone rocks found on the site. The temple at Vajrakot under the Police station of Kaniha in the Dhenkanal district is an ancient one, which is built, with sand stones found in the neighbourhood.

The Sun temple at Paliabindha village, in the Bhadrak Sub-division of the Balasore district has peculiarity of architecture in having four doors on four sides. I am sorry I did not note the variety of stone with which the temple was built. Narendraipur of this Sub-division is another site where I am told there are life like statues of stone. In the Sadar Sub-division of the Balasore district the temple of Maninagesvara which is an ancient one, has been rebuilt but the images of gods and goddesses are of muguni stone which was freely used there. The temples at Shergarh are of Khakhara type and built with laterite stones. The village Ajodhya of the Nilgiri Sub-division is full of Buddhist and Jain images of the muguni stones, the quarry of which at a village near Patpur is famous in the north Orissa and is still under operation for making utensils of house-hold use. The quarry of the muguni stone of Nilgiri was the source of stone for making images in the Balasore and eastern part of Mayurbhanj district. The book entitled the *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj* published in 1911, contains the pictures of a good many images built with muguni stone found in the eastern part of the Mayurbhanj district and the northern and western parts of the Balasore district. In the eastern part of Mayurbhanj at the village Kishorapur, there is a temple of the Khakhara type of Architecture. The temple is built with laterite stones, but the images of Chamunda are built with the muguni stone.

In the western part of Mayurbhanj district is situated Khiching, the ancient capital of the Bhanja kings of northern Orissa. All the temples and images of Khiching are built with the muguni stones. The quarries of the muguni stones of Khiching are situated at the villages of Kesna and Adipur at a distance of about 2 miles south-west of Khiching. When I was engaged in rebuilding the fallen big temple and the dilapidated temples, the old quarry at Kesna
was used for the stones necessary for building work of the temples. The archaeology of the Keonjhar district is little known and only some scattered pieces of images of the muguni stones have been found here and there. The Vaidakhia area of the Anandapur Subdivision is said to be full of excellent ancient images. I only surveyed a place near the road side to Hadgarh at the foot of the hill and the rest of the places were not visited by me. The source of the muguni stones of the Keonjhar area is not known.

I am told that in the upper valley of the Brahmani river comprising the eastern part of ex-state of Bamra of the Sambalpur district and ex-state of Banai in the Sundargarh district there are stone temples, which I have not visited. The temple of Rambha at Barkot on the bank of the Brahmani has been noted by poet Radhanath Ray.

The upper valley of the river Mahanadi comprises the Phulbani-Boud district up to Sonepur where the biggest tributary the river Tel meets with it. At Boudhgarh there is a big image of seating Buddha built with sand stones, the source of which is not known. There are three temples of Indo-Aryan style of architecture with star-shaped ground plans built with red sand stones, but it is not known from where those stone blocks were procured for the purpose. About 10 miles west of Boudhgarh lies the village Gandharadi where there are two temples called Nila-madhava and Sihdesvara, built with sandstones found in the locality. But the images are carved in Muguni stones, the quarry of which is not known also.

The three western districts of Orissa namely Kalahandi, Bolangir and Sambalpur are situated in the valleys of the Mahanadi and the Tel, where there are good many temples and images which are noted below.

The temples of the Sambalpur town are not very old but they possess certain type of architecture which has not yet been properly studied. The source of the stone blocks of these temples is not known to me. In the Baragarh Sub-division there is an old temple at Narasinghnath where are found also a few Buddhist images. But I had no occasion to visit the place. It was an important place under the Chauhan kings of the Sambalpur area which is known from an inscription dated 1421 A.D. of Vaijala Deva, a Chauhan king of the Patna.
kingdom. The Bolangir district contains good many temples. The temples at Baidyanath and Charada area are of special interest both in architecture and in sculpture. The mukhadas of these two temples form a type themselves and sculptures similar to their are not found any where else in Orissa, except in the broken temples at Patanagah. The most well known archaeological area in the Bolangir district is Ranipur-Jharial where there are temples of various styles of architecture, the chief of which is the circular temple of the 64 Yoginis. There is also a big brick-built temple, the upper portion of which is now out of existence. Temples of this type are found in the Raipur district of Madhya pradesh. There are also some big stone structures built with granite stones. The quarries of the stones used for temples and images of the Bolangir district are not known yet.

In the Kalahandi district there are many temples, the most important of which though totally dilapidated, are at Belkhandi, where some archaeological works were done before 1947. The images are carved in sand stone of yellowish colour the quarry of which is not known.

Mrs. Devala Mitra, the Superintendent of the Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India photographed a good many Jaina images at a place not far off from Jeypur town in the Koraput district. I only saw the photographs, so I am unable to say about the nature of stone of the images.

In the district of Ganjam the temples at Ganjam and on the Buddhabhol hill near Buguda are made of sand stone blocks which are locally available.

The above account goes to show that thorough and careful survey of the temples and sculptures of Orissa and also of the quarries from which the stones used for the temples and images were taken is essentially necessary to know how our ancestors were procuring them for building the venerable ancient monuments, which are now the pride of our nation.
APPENDIX - A

Quotation from Rajendralal Mitra's 
Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. I, Ch. II
(Indian Studies, Past and Present, Vol II, No. 1
PP. 176-178.)

"Material - Laterite: In a country so abounding in stones of various kinds as Orissa, it is not to be supposed that any other material would be employed in the construction of buildings designed for the habitation of the image of the ever-present God, and intended to last for eternity, and accordingly it appears that they were the only substance used, and not a trace of bricks is anywhere to be met with. Of stones, the most common is laterite, next sandstone, and lastly muguini, or chlorite. For outside walls, kitchens, porticos, and all structures of secondary importance the first is the best suited. It occurs almost everywhere in Orissa within a few feet under the soil, and in many places crops up to the surface. Around Bhubaneswar large tracts lie barren, or covered with stunted jungle, from the soil or mould having been washed away from its rocky substratum." (P. 176)

Sandstone: Sandstone is also abundant everywhere. The low range of hills which runs along the whole length of the province, dividing it into two parts, consists principally of this stone, and it is quarried and worked with ease. It is commonly of a grey colour and coarse grain; but a finer variety of an ochreous tint varying in shade from a light fawn to dark brick-red is met with at Atgharh in the Tributary Mehalas, and in a few other places, and is largely used for outer facings of temples, and for sculptures. This variety is of small grain, homogeneous texture and great firmness, admitting of very delicate carving without breaking or chipping. As it had, however, to be brought from a great distance, the builders generally tried to economise its use, and to replace it by the grey kind whenever it was practicable without injury to the appearance of their work.

Chlorite: The muguini is a kind of serpentine, or chlorite. It is of a dark slaty colour, and fine composition, susceptible of
a high degree of polish, and when polished, it assumes, like slate, a black colour. In the present day it is largely employed in the manufacture of plates, basins, and other domestic utensils. The rock yields a beautiful compact and very tough material, though soft and easy to work. It is admirably suited for fine carving, as may be well seen in some of the beautifully sculptured doorways of the Black Pagoda, which are carved from this variety of rock. Blocks of almost any size can be obtained, the only impediment being the difficulty of transport from the high hills on which it occurs." It is, however, not met with in Cuttack, and the distance from the Nilgiri Hills, in Balasore, where it is quarried, to Bhubanesvara and Puri, was so great that its use had to be confined to statuary and finer kinds of sculptures, which were not intended to be much exposed to sun and rain. "For facing the sills and jambs of the entrance to temples, for the paving of the cells, as also for thrones of the sacred images, it was also largely employed; in short, it supplied the place of marble which was not accessible to the Uriyas, and was and is to this day, held in high estimation.

Granite: In descriptions of Orissan antiquities, granite is frequently mentioned by European writers, but I have not seen it employed for building purposes either at Puri or at Bhubaneswar. According to Dr. Oldham, than whom few can speak with more authority on questions of Indian Geology, "throughout the country, south of the Mahanadi, Dykes of all kinds are rare, trap is entirely wanting, and granitic veins are seldom seen." 2 It is probable therefore that, as in the infancy of geological science at the end of the last and the beginning of this century all hard grey-looking stones were mistaken for granite, non-professional men in Orissa, as elsewhere, frequently took the one for the other. Between thirty and forty years ago the Asoka pillars were described by more than one writer as made of granite,

2. Ibid., 1. p. 264.

Granite ashlar used in building are found at Ranipur-Jharial in the Bolangir District and no where else.
but it is now as well-known that they are all formed of sandstone. In the same way Bishop Heber called several structures in Agra and Delhi as constructed of granite, which have since turned out to be sandstone or marble. It is true granite, however, is wanting, gneiss is common enough, if not abundant, and a granitiferous variety is frequently employed for statuary, particularly on the Altis and the Nalti Hills, some of the statues of the Black Pagoda are also said to be made of this material, but the bulk of them are of sandstone." (P. 178)
SECTION D
LITERARY HISTORY

42

NEW DATA ON THE DATE OF (I) EKĀVALI
AND (II) SĀHITYA DARPAṆA *

Vidyadhara's Ekavali and Viśvanātha's Sāhityadarpāṇa are
two well known works on the Sanskrit Alamkāra literature. These
works were composed by their authors under the patronage of the
Ganga kings of Orissa.

I. The Date of Ekavali.

Before 1903 all scholars had no other alternative but to
depend on the traditional chronology of the history of Orissa as was
published in English by A. Stirling 1 in 1825 and by W.W. Hunter 2
in 1872. In 1903 M.M. Chakravarti 3 settled the Gaṅga chronology
from Chodaganga to Narasimhadeva IV. He could not get the data
to fix the date of Bhanudeva IV which was subsequently fixed by Prof.
R. Subba Rao. 4

Credit goes to M.M. Chakravarti that he first made an
attempt to fix up the dates of Ekavali and Sāhityadarpāṇa according
to his chronology in the Appendix II. of his paper noted above vide
pp 142-147

In the Introduction of Ekavali printed in 1903 both R.G.
Bhandarkar and K.P. Trivedi suggested that Vidyadhara, the author

   pp. 187-89.
   97-139.
of Ekaṇālī, was patronised by either Kesari Narasimha (1282-1307 A.D.) or Pratāpa Narasimha (1307-1327 A.D.). The names of the kings and their dates seem to be based on the list of the Gaṅga Kings of Orissa published by Hunter. M. M. Chakravarti referred to this date of the Ekaṇālī and after rejection came to the conclusion that Vidyādhara’s time fell during the rule of Narasimha Deva I and not Narasimhadeva II. 5

However Chakravarti’s attempt for assigning the date to Ekaṇālī in the Gaṅga chronology based on epigraphic sources is praiseworthy for laying out a foundation for the literary history of Orissa.

After Chakravarti, Dr. S. K. De and Mm. P. V. Kane discussed the date of Ekaṇālī and Sahityadarpava, and they both followed the traditional chronology of Hunter and not that of Chakravarti, Dr. De’s first edition of the History of Sanskrit Poetics was first published in 1923, but it seems that Chakravarti’s paper escaped his notice not only then, but also in 1960. Like Dr. De, Mm. P. V. Kane did not discuss the views of M. M. Chakravarti in his work printed separately in a book form in 1951.

Dr. S. K. De has written that the date of Vidyādhara, the author of the Ekaṇālī, has been fixed with sufficient approximation by K. P. Trivedi and R. G. Bhandarkar. The Ekaṇālī in its turn is quoted by Singhbhupāla whose date is fixed at 1330 A.D. while Mallinātha at the end of the 14th century commented upon it. The internal evidence of this text, therefore, assigns it to a period between the first quarter of the 13th century and the first quarter of the 14th century. The approximation is considerably narrowed down by the identification of king Narasimhadeva panegyrized in the illustration verses of the work with either of two Narasimhas whose dates fell between 1282 and 1327. Mm. P. V. Kane came to the conclusion that the Ekaṇālī must have been composed between 1285–1325 A.D. 7 In the Gaṅga chronology we find that four Narasimhas ruled as follows:

(1) Narasimha Deva I ruled from 1238–1264 A.D.
(2) Narasimha Deva II , , 1278–1305 A.D.

5. J. A S B. 1903 p. 146.
7. Mm. P. V. Kane—History of Sanskrit Poetics 1951, p. 282.
(3) Narasimha Deva III ruled from 1327-1352 A. D.
(4) Narasimha Deva IV " " 1378-1414 A. D.

So the period allotted by Dr. De and Mm. Kane may be adjusted only during the rule of Narasimha Deva II (1278-1305), but Chakravarti assigned the date of Ekāvali to Narasimhadeva I (1238-1264 A. D.) So that date suggested by Dr. De and Mm. Kane did not solve the problem of dating Vidyādharā and his work Ekāvali. No internal evidence from the Ekāvali was adduced by Trivedi, Chakravarti, Dr. De and Mm. Kane on its date; Both Dr. De and Mm. Kane referred to Singhbhūpāla’s mention of Ekāvali of Vidyādharā with king Narasimha Deva who was his patron. In the Trivindrum edition of Rasarāvāsa Sudhakara Singhbhūpāla’s date was suggested to be about 1330 A. D. Mm. Kane wrote as follows about the date of Singhbhūpāla.

"The date proposed by A. N. Krishna Aiyangar (1340-1360 A.D.) is more likely to be correct in view of the Šrīrangam plates of Anapota, Mādhava Nāyaka, dated saka 1343 (1421 A. D.) 8"

This date of Aiyangar has also been referred to by Dr. De vide foot note to p. 239

Singhbhūpāla’s passage under reference is quoted below from Rasarāvāsa Sudhakara p. 206

"Bho mlechharasavadin Utkulādhipate Śrīgararasaśādīn Narasimhadevasya chittananuvarttamānena Vidyadhirena Kavīnav vāśham abhyanturo Kṛtosievam Khaṭu Samarthītam Ekāvalyanāmānena”.

The manner of addressing and criticising Vidyādharā’s Ekāvali in regard to the theory of Rasa, suggests that Singhbhūpāla was a living contemporary of Vidyādharā and the king Narasimhadeva of Utkala. The date of Singhbhūpāla from 1330-1360 A. D. suits well to the date of Narasimha Deva III (1327-1352 A.D.). If we assume the date of reference to 1350 A.D., the composition of the Ekāvali is to be assigned to 1340 A. D. when Narasimhadeva III patronised Vidyādharā.

Credit goes to Sri S. N. Rajaguru to pick up a number of verses from the Ekāvali as the internal evidence regarding the name of

8, Ibid.
Kamalā, the queen of the king Narasimha Deva III in his paper entitled "Date of Vidyadhara, the author of the Ekāvalī." From the genealogical table of the Gāṅga King published by M. M. Chakravarti in the Appendix I, we find the names of queens of kings. Narasimha Deva, I, II, III and IV, are respectively Sītā Devī, Chodā Devi, Kamalā Devī, and Gāṅga Devī. Such praise verses of the Ekāvalī, as stated by Sri Rajguru cannot be well interpreted without accepting Kamalā as a proper name. These verses are similar in nature to the verse beginning with "Durgalābhite," etc. "Umasvallabhah" of the Sāhityadarpāva in which no substitute will serve the purpose. The aim of the author is to sing the glory of the husband of the queen named Kamalā. The synonyms of the word Kamalā of the Sanskrit lexicons have also been used in these verses such as noted below.

Kantah kim Kairavinyah Kalayati Kamalollasane naisa Saktin Nathah kim'asaravān mudayati knmude naisa Lakṣmī vitāvan"

The word kamalollasana has double meaning, one means kamala or the lotus and other Kamalā the name of the queen.

K.P. Trivedi also interpreted independently this verse referring to the queen of king Narasimha Deva and wrote in the Note p. 562 that "the moon cannot open the sun lotuses, the king can gladden Lakṣmī his wife."

The external evidence, namely the date of Singhabhūpāla's Rasārvāva Sudhākara and the internal evidence, namely Kamalā, the queen of Narasimha Deva III (1327–1352) fits in well to the date of the Ekāvalī and thus we can safely arrive at the date of the composition of the Ekāvalī somewhere between 1310 and 1350 A.D., when all persons namely Vidyadhara, king Narasimha Deva III. Queen Kamalā and Singhabhūpāla were living and we possess epigraphical evidence of the last three persons which fix the date of Vidyadhara, the author of the Ekāvalī.

So, we can safely arrive at the conclusion that the date of the Ekāvalī is in the middle of the 14th century A.D.

Sri K. N. Mahapatra has written a paper entitled "King-Narasimha eulogised in the Ekavali of Vidyadhara" and he has identified the panegyrized king with Narasimha Deva I (1238-1264). He has not produced any authentic internal evidence and so his views are untenable.

II. The date of Sahityadarpana:

M. M. Chakravarti in his note entitled Sahitya darpana, its date and place, has written thus. "I am not satisfied with the time and the locality in which Sahityadarpana is said to have been composed. Dr. Weber following Pandit Jaganmohan Sarma in the preface to his edition of Chanda-Kausika said that the Sahityadarpana was only composed towards the middle of the 15th century in East Bengal on the bank of the Brahmaputra (Hist. Ind. Lit. p. 231 note 244). Prof. Macdonell evidently adopts this view (Sans-Lit App p. 436).

"How far this conclusion is based on facts, and how far on mere tradition I do not know. But the Sahitya darpana itself does not support it".

Chakravarti came to the conclusion that Visvanatha lived during the rule of Narasimha Deva II (1279-1305) after identifying Bhānudeva of Chandraśekhara’s verse with Bhānudeva I, and elsewhere in the same paper he wrote that "Visvanatha would seem to be at least not later than the beginning of the 14th century A. D.".

Dr. S. K. De without referring to the date, suggested by Chakravarti, came to the conclusion that Visvanatha might be assigned "to a period between 1300 and 1350 A.D. or roughly in the first half of the 14th century".

Mm. Kane, after elaborate discussion on the date of Sahityadarpana and Visvanatha, has written as follows:

13. Ibid
"The date above assigned to Viśvanātha viz between 1300-1380 A. D. is thus confirmed by unimpeachable and independent testimony." 16

Achārya Sri Kṛṣṇamohan Śāstri in the publication of Sahityadarpaṇa in the Kasi Sanskrit Series No. 145 by Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office in 1955, has discussed the date of Viśvanātha and Sahityadarpaṇa, in the Sanskrit Prasthāvāna, but as he entirely depended on the traditional genealogy of Hunter, he could not throw any new light on the subject.

In the Sahityadarpaṇa published by Messrs. Motilal Banarasi Das in 1955, there is a note in Hindi which states that Viśvanātha belonged to the 14th century of the Vikrama era.

From the references noted above, it is found that no definite date has been assigned to the Sahityadarpaṇa and its author Viśvanātha for want of definite and authentic evidence on the subject. For this reason I have tried here to throw light with recently discovered data from epigraphic and literary sources for which all credit goes to Sri S. N. Rajaguru for his Historical note at pp. 78-79 in the paper entitled The Kenduli copper-plate grant 17 and the 'Introduction to the Chandrakola Natika, 18

The evidence derived from both the epigraphical and literary sources on Kṛṣṇānanda Śāndhivigrāhika throws a flood of light on the date of Sahityadarpaṇa and its author Viśvanātha. In the copper-plate of the Sankarānanda Maṭha 19 of Puri, issued in 1396 A. D., we find the name of Kṛṣṇānanda Śāndhivigrāhika who is also the author of the Kavya entitled Sahṛdayananda. Sri Rajaguru has traced that verse II of the Sahṛdayananda, has been inserted in the copper-plate grant of the Sankarānanda Maṭha in the Gaṅga Praṣasti with a slight variation. From this verse it appears that Kṛṣṇānanda had a hand in introducing some new verses in the Praṣasti. It seems that his work Sahṛdayananda was also completed by 1396 A. D. The verse No. 52 of Sarga III of the Sahṛdayananda beginning with Suchimukhena etc.

17. O. H. R. J. Vol V 1957, No. 1 & 2
19. J. A. S. B 1895, p. 152
has been cited by Viśvanātha in his Sāhityadarpaṇa, as verse, 8 of Chapter VII. This citation in the Sāhityadarpaṇa from Sahyādayanaṇanda by Kṛṣṇānanda Sandhīvigrhaṇika who was living in 1396 A. D. clearly proves that the date of Sāhityadarpaṇa is later than 1396 A. D.

The Prasthāvana 20 of the Chandrakala Nāṭika states that the drama was staged at Vārānasī Kāvaka, the then capital of Orissa (modern Cuttack) soon after the succession to the throne by King Niśamka Bhānudeva who succeeded his father in 1313-14 A. D. * There are several citations in the Sāhityadarpaṇa from the Chandrakala Nāṭika. Depending on this evidence Sri S. N. Rajaguru has suggested the date of the Sāhityadarpaṇa as follows:

"As the Chandrakala Nāṭika was repeatedly cited in the Sāhityadarpaṇa, it is quite clear that the work was written by Viśvanātha Kaviṁraja during the later part of Bhānu deva's reign e. g between 1420-30 A D." 21 I am of opinion that Viśvanātha wrote his Sāhityadarpaṇa between 1415 to 1420 A.D. The grounds on which I have come to this date are (i) the last 14 years of the reign of Bhānu deva IV in Orissa was full of disturbances due to the invasion of Husang Shah of Malwa in 1421-22 A.D. and (ii) the court conspiracy which culminated in the usurpation of the throne by Kapileśvaradeva in 1435 A.D. Sandhīvigrhaṇika Viśvanātha, if he was then living, is not expected to have the mental peace for production of a work of such a high order.

Before the discovery of (i) the Ms. of the Chandrakala Nāṭika in which the name of Niśamka Bhānu is mentioned and (ii) the inscription of Niśamka Bhānudeva or Bhānu deva IV in the South Indian Inscriptions and (iii) the Sahyādayanaṇanda by Kṛṣṇānanda, Stien's reading of Samvat 1449 in a Jammu Manuscript of Sāhityadarpaṇa, was the universally accepted date of the Sāhityadarpaṇa, Stien's explanatory observation on the Jammu Ms of Sāhityadarpaṇa made in the introduction p. XLVIII is quoted below.

20. O. H. R. J. Vol. VI, Pt. iii, App. p 1

* Sri K. N. Mahapatra suggests that Niśamka Bhānu or Bhānu deva IV ruled from 1407-1434. (Vide A descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscript of Orissa Vol II p. LXXXI.)

21. Ibid., Introduction p. 10
"In the six column which gives the date of writing if recorded in the Ms. figures without further remarks must be taken as referring to Vikram era, where other eras are used in the Mss. these have been specifically named."

Dr. De's note in this connection is quoted below.——

The other more or less terminal date is given by the date of a Ms. of Sāhityadarpana discovered by Stien at Jammu, which was written in Śāṃvat 1440 — (1381 A.D.)* This certainly negatives the date (viz the middle of the 15th century) assigned by Weber, Eggling and Harihārand Shastri."

In the face of the epigraphical evidence regarding Kṛśnānanda, the author of Sāhīdayānanda in 1396 A D, and the references in the Prabhavana of the Chandrakala Naṇika to Niśamka Bhāṇudeva in 1414-15 A. D. the date of Jammu Ms. of Sāhityadarpana as read by Stien cannot be accepted.

How unexpectedly the epigraphical evidence to a passage of Sāhityadarpana has been found is noted below.——

Although no copper-plate grant of Bhāṇudeva III (1352-1378 A D) has been found, we know from the writing of Viśvanātha that his father Chandrasekhara Śāndhivigrāhika adored the court of the king Bhāṇudeva who has been described in a verse beginning with "Durgālaṅghita Vigrāha" etc, by Chandrasekhara as Umāvallabha i.e. the husband of the queen Umā. Viśvanātha himself has given the meaning of Umāvallabha as follows in his Sāhityadarpana, Chapter II.

"Atra prakarananābhidhaya Umāvallabha—svādasyomānāmnī Mahādevi tadvallabha Bhāṇudeva nṛpatiruptheri niyantrite vyanjan-yaiva Gaurīvallabharupthera vodhayate" (Vṛti II—26).

* Sri S. N. Rajaguru writes: "The manuscript must have been copied from some old Ms. of Orissa where no other Samvat except the Saka—Samvat was in vogue. Therefore, it is certain that the Kashmir manuscript of the Sāhityadarpana was copied in 1440 Saka Samvat or 1518 A.D. (Vide O. H. R. J. Vol. III Pt. iii, Introduction P. VIII ff.) Ed.

Haraprasad Sastri, referring to this passage, wrote as follows:

"We have got the names of queens of the kings of Orissa down to Narasimhadeva IV 1385, but there we find no queens of that name. That, however, is not reason to think that she did not exist". H. P. Sastri's expectations have come true by the discovery of an inscription of queen Umādevi belonging to Bhānu-deva in the Pārvatī temple situated in the premises of the Liṅgas-raja temple at Bhubaneswar. Sri S. N. Rajaguru states that another inscription of Umādevi dated Saṅkha 1301–1379 A.D. has been found at the Simachalam temple. The testimony of Viśvanātha and the two inscriptions prove that the epithet Umapallabha referred to Bhānu-deva III who ruled from 1352–1378–79 A.D. So this date fixes the date of Chandraśekhara, the father of Viśvanātha who has been described by Viśvanātha as Mahaputra Chaturdasaḥasavitrasmi-bhujaḥga Mahakaviśvara Śrī Chandraśekhara Sandhiavigrahika" (Vide Viṣṭi 26).

It is not known whether Chandraśekhara, the father of Viśvanātha, survived his patron Bhānu-deva III and continued to hold the post of the Sandhiavigrahika under Narasimhadeva IV (1378–1414 A.D.) It seems that Chandraśekhara was succeeded by Kṛṣṇananda sometime before 1396 when Viśvanātha was also in the court of Narasimhadeva IV during which period he composed a kavya entitled the Narasimhavijaya. It is fortunate that the discovery of the Chandrakala Natika written in early period of Niśamka Bhānu-deva or Bhānu-deva IV has helped us in settling the date of the Sahityadarpana for all time to come. There is no doubt now that the work was produced in the second decade of the 16th century A.D.

SARASVATIVILASA AND ITS AUTHOR

In the preface of the Sarasvativilasa Dr. R. Shama Sastri has written thus:—

"Sarasvativilasa pruneta Prataparudrakhyoyam Mahärhjä Kada Kutra vā rājyam chaḥāretyetadapi na niranäyi" ¹

"It has not been settled as yet when and where Maharaja, known as Prataparudra, the author of Sarasvativilasa established his kingdom."

The editor further writes that though king Vira Prataparudra Deva, son of Purusottama Deva and grand son of Kapilendra Deva of the solar dynasty, whose capital was at Cuttack near the Mahānadi river, appears to have been the author of the book, yet there definitely appears another king Prataparudra Deva belonging to the Kakatiya dynasty of Ekasilañagara.

From the above it is clear that Dr. Sastri had some doubt as to the authorship of the Sarasvativilasa.

The introductory chapter as well as the colophons of the different chapters of Sarasvativilasa go to show that its author was Prataparudra Deva, the Gajapati king of Orissa, who ruled from 1497 to 1541 A. D. Rev Thomas Foulkes in his preface on "The Hindu Law of Inheritance according to the Sarasvati vilasa" as follows:—

"The work itself furnishes precise and abundant evidence of its authorship."

That it could not be the work of Prataparudra Ganañapi, is sufficiently evident from the circumstances. Prataparudra Deva, the Ganañapi king of Warangal, was carried a prisoner to Delhi in A.D. 1322, when his capital was captured by the Mahomedans."

1. University of Mysore, Oriental Library publication 1927 No.71
Recently discovered epigraphical records also corroborate the statement made in the introductory chapter of Śaraśvati Vilāsa as regards the genealogy of the author.

The date assigned by Dr. Foulkes for Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva has now been corrected by the epigraphical records.

28-8-1935

44

THE ORISSAN RECEPTION OF KĀVNA SAMHITĀ

The Kāvna recension of the Sūkla Yajurveda as prevalent in Orissa presents an interesting feature in that it is divided into forty-one chapters (and called locally Ekacaliṣa-mantra) as against forty found in manuscripts of the work available in Maharashtra and other parts of India and in the printed editions of the work. 1 Śaṅkara’s Bhaṣya on this Samhitā also mentions it as consisting of forty chapters. 2 The contents and arrangement of chapters 1 to 34 of the text is the same in both the recensions, with minor textual variants. The arrangement of the further chapters however differs.

Chapter 35 of the Maharashtraan Kāvna-Samhitā contains four anuvākas consisting of 55 mantras, whereas in the Orissan text this chapter is split up into three: Chapter 35 in two anuvākas

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* A paper read in the Vedic Section of the 21st All India Oriental Conference, Srinagar, 1961.


2. See Kasi Sanskrit Series 35, Banaras, 1915, p.8. This edition of Śaṅkara’s Bhaṣya contains only chs. 1-23 and the further portion of the commentary had been considered lost. A manuscript of Sayāva-bhaṣya containing this supposedly lost latter half (chs. 21-40) is available in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. It is a palmleaf manuscript in Oriya scripts, dated the 4th (or 18th) April, 1678 A.D.
comprised of 32 mantras, chapter 36 in one anuvāka with 2 mantras and chapter 37 in one anuvāka with 22 mantras. The last anuvāka of the Maharashtrian text which forms chapter 37 of the Orissan text contains only 21 mantras, the extra mantra in the Orissan text being the one beginning with dadvikraṇ̄ya which finds a place also in chapter 34 of both the recensions. Chapter 36 of the Maharashtrian text corresponds to chapter 38 of the Orissan text. Chapters 37 and 38 of the Maharashtrian text, containing three and seven anuvākas respectively, together form chapter 39 in ten anuvākas of the Orissan text. The last two chapters, 39 and 40 of the Maharashtrian text correspond to the last two chapters, 40 and 41, of the Orissan text.

The reason for the arrangement of chapters in the Orissan text is explicit from the statement of the purpose of the mantras given at the beginning of the chapters in this recension, a feature not found in the Maharashtrian text. Specific purposes are assigned to the mantras as grouped in chapters 35, 36, 37 and 39 of the Orissan recension which explains the difference in the contents of the chapters in this version from the Maharashtrian version.

Another feature of the Orissan Kāvya-Samhitā is its division into two ‘twenties’, called respectively Tala-kudi, ‘lower twenty’, and Upara-kudi, ‘upper twenty’, with an extra chapter at the end, as against the division into ‘tens’ (Daśakas) found in the Maharashtrian text and followed by Śāyana in his Bṛāṣya.

In Orissan manuscripts of the Kāvya-Samhitā, the number of the anuvākas and the total number of the mantras contained in each anuvāka is given at the beginning of each chapter whereas in the Maharashtrian recension these details are given at its close.

Apart from minor verbal variants, the number of mantras differs in the two recensions in some of the chapters. In chapter 11 there is an extra mantra in the Maharashtrian text. In the Orissan text there are in all ten extra mantras distributed in chapters 8, 22, 23, 25, 39 and 49. Thus the total number of mantras in the Orissan text is 2095 as against 2086 in the Maharashtrian text. In a manuscript of the Kāvya-Samhitā written about 115 years ago, which the present writer had the occasion to examine, the colophon gives the total number of mantras as 2100.
A critical edition of the 41-chapter recension of the Kāśva-Samhitā based on manuscripts available in Orissa is a desideratum for Vedic studies. There are in Orissa even today Pandits who can recite from memory the entire Samhitā. This oral tradition also can be of use in the edition suggested above. It is also worthy of being recorded on tape and preserved for posterity, for this hereditary tradition is waning day by day.

45

A NOTE ON LAKSHA IN RAJASEKHARA’S KAVYAMIMAMSA *

Rājaśekhara was well acquainted with the details of geography of India. In the Kavyamimāmsa, one chapter XVII, called Desavibhaṣa or the divisions of the country, describes the names of countries, mountains, rivers and products. He has divided India into five parts, namely, (1) Pauravaśa, (2) Dakṣināpatha, (3) Paschadiśa, (4) Uttarāpatha and (5) Madhyaparśa. Within the Pauravaśa which is the part lying east of Benares, he has mentioned the names of 16 countries where the products called lavika, granthiparṣkā, aguru, drakṣa and kasurikā are found. Again in the description of Uttarāpatha he has mentioned 21 countries in which drakṣa also finds mention as a product of the countries. The countries under Pauravaśa are identified with the modern provinces of Bihar, Bengal and Eastern Central Provinces excluding Nepal. In this part of Eastern India, nowhere drakṣa or grape is grown wild or cultivated; but in the Uttarāpatha comprising modern Punjab, N. W. F. Provinces and Kashmir, drakṣa is grown and cultivated. So, there is no doubt that drakṣa in Eastern India is a mistake for lakṣa or rākṣa, the red-dye of which a famous cosmetic of Indian ladies is prepared. Due to the mistake of copyists, Rajaśekhara’s text of lakṣa was current as drakṣa which has been printed in the book published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, Vol. 1. I am of opinion that Rajaśekhara’s original text was lakṣa or alakṣa which is a well-known cosmetic of the ladies.

* From Siddha-Bhārati or the Rosary of Indology, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma Presentation Volume, 1950.
of India even now-a-days. The history of lac has been elaborately written by Watt in the Dictionary of the Commercial products of India (pp. 1053-56). Hobson and Jobson also contains quotations from Western writers under the word Lac, In the Periplus (80 A. D), the lac-dye is mentioned as conveyed from India to Aduli on the African coast of the Red Sea (Watt p. 1054). Watt’s following note fully supports Rājaśekhara’s statement on the area where lac is grown: ‘Lac is met with practically throughout the warm tropical areas of the whole of India, but most abundantly in Central Provinces, Bengal (which then included the Bihar and the Orissa Provinces), Assam and Burma’.

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A SHORT NOTE ON ŚRĪDHARA SVĀMĪ AND BALADEVA VIDYĀBHUṢĀNA

(Two all-India reputed Oriya Vaisnava scholars)

Credit goes to Dr. J. N. Farquhar and Dr. S. K. De, two eminent scholars of the 20th century, for throwing light on the contributions of Śrīdhara Svāmī and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣāna, two great Oriya Vaisnava scholars, whose history is obscure, Some credit should also be given to late Nagendranath Vasu and Saundaranānda Vidyavindna for writing on Śrīdhara Svāmī and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣāna in Bengali Viśvakosa and Srikshetra respectively. Recently my attention was directed to study the sources of history of these two eminent Oriya Vaisnava scholars and below is given a short sketch of their lives.

1. Śrīdhara Svāmī

In Bengali Viśvakosa there is a paragraph about Śrīdhara Svāmī in which his guru’s name is given as Paramananda and about his Bhaṣya of Bhāgavata and Bhagavatgīta and a few other works. No other information has been received.

Among the European scholars Dr. J. N. Farquhar in his work entitled “An outline of the Religious Literature of India” (Oxford University Press, 1920) wrote as follows on Śrīdhara Svāmī:
"Probably about A. D. 1400 Sridhara Svami, Maharaj of the
Senkarite monastery, Govardhana, in Puri wrote a commentary on the
Bhagavata Purana, the Bhagavata Bhadartha Dipika, which is by far the
most famous exposition of the work. He was clearly an excellent
scholar, and he must have had access to a very trustworthy tradition.
He begins his commentary with the distinct statement that the great
Purana was not written by Vopadeva. The fact that this theory was
already current proves that Sridhara wrote at a time considerably
latter than A. D. 1300, when Vopadeva flourished. As the comment-
yary was well known everywhere by the end of the fifteenth century,
Sridhara’s floruit may reasonably be placed about A. D. 1400. His
interpretation of the Purana is Advaitist, since he was a follower of
Samkara; and since the Bhagavata, itself tends to be monistic, his
Dipika is usually regarded as most authoritative." (P, 297)

After Dr. Farquhar, Dr. S. K. De has written on the work of
Sridhara Svami. His paper entitled "Pre-Chaitanya Vaishnavism in
Bengal" was published in Festschrift Moriz Winternitz pp. 195
first in 1933. Dr. De has reproduced this article in his "Early
History of the Vaishnava Faith and Movement in Bengal" in his first edition
of 1942 which was not consulted by me, but I have consulted the
second edition of his work published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya,
Calcutta in 1961. Dr. De has written on Sridhara Svami as follows:

"It appears probable, on the other hand, that Madhavendra
Puri and his disciple Iśvara Puri were Saṅkarite Sanyāsins of the
same type as Śridhara Svamin, who in his great commentary on the
Srimad Bhagavata attempted to combine the Advaita teachings of
Samkara with the emotionalism of the Bhagavata. Whatever
may be the value of this attempt at reconciling Jñāna and Bakti,
tradition alleges that Śridhara’s interpretation caused a great sensation
in his sampradaya at Benaras." (pp. 17-18) Dr. De’s reference to
Varanasi may be attributed to the tradition recorded by Chandradas in
his Sanskrit Bhaktamala (published by Venkateswar Press, Bombay,
1926) in which Śridhara Svamin’s superhuman activities have been
narrated. Chandradas says what he writes, has been heard by him.
It seems that Chandradas’s record is very late, say about 18th
century A. D. or less.

The devotional interpretations of Sridhara were apparently
accepted by a class of devotional Sanyāsins, who first laid the
foundations of a Vaishnava Bhakti movement in Bengal on the
ultimate basis of the *Srimad Bhagavata*. Chaitanya, himself a Sanyāsī of this type, moulded this movement into an entirely new shape by his own practice and experience of Bhakti. (P. 23).

Dr. S. K. De has remarked on the date of Sridhara Svamin that “as Sridhara refers to Vopadeva, he could not have been earlier than 1300 A.D.” in a foot-note at P. 17 of his work.

The well-known Vaisnava work entitled *Chaitanya charita-mṛta*, written in Bengali by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in 1615 A. D. also throws light on the influence of the commentary of the Bhagavata by Sridhara Svamin on Śrīkṛṣṇa Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. The verse in question is quoted below in Bengali as follows:

“श्रीघर स्वामी प्रसादिते भागवत जानि
जगत्तूलूश श्रीघर स्वामी गुरु करि मानि”

(Antya Lila Chapter VII)

“I have learnt Bhagavata through the grace of Sridhara Svami and I respect Sridhara Svami as my guru (the preceptor)”.

Inspite of this reference by Śrīkṛṣṇa Chaitanya Mahaprabhu in *Chaitanya Charita-mṛta* written in 1615 A. D., the history of the life of Sridhara Svami was so forgotten that Dr. Faraquhar only referred to him to be the Mahanta of the Govardhana Matha of Puri, but Dr. S. K. De could not find a tradition about Sridhara Svami supporting Dr. Faraquhar’s view. Dr. Faraquhar assigns a date for him about 1400 A.D. Dr. De suggests a date after 1300 A.D. It may be said that before the visit of Śrīkṛṣṇa Chaitanya to Orissa in 1509–10 A.D. One Jivadeva Acharya of Orissa wrote (i) Bhakti Bhagavata Mahākāvyya and Bhaktivaihghava Nāṭaka in Sanskrit which go to to show that Sridhara Svami’s influence was very intensive in Orissa even after his death.

Now the question arises as to the place to which Sridhara Svami belonged. Tradition in north Orissa is still current about the residence and birth place of Sridhara Svami. Some 60 years ago late Chandramohan Maharana, a resident of Remuna and the Headmaster of Government H. E. School wrote a paper in the *Mukura*, an Oriya Monthly Magazine on the tradition of Sridhara
Svami. In it he stated that Sridhara Svami's residence and birth place was at Maraigan, a village situated about 3 miles north of Kṣīra Chora Gopinātha Temple of Remuna. Remuna is a town situated about 5 miles west of the Balasore town, the headquarters of the Balasore district of Orissa.

According to the copper-plate of Narasinhadeva II (1273-1308) Remuna is mentioned as a temporary residence (Kataka) of the Gaṅga king Narasimha Deva II. Manomohan Chakravarti in his Geography of Orissa in the 16th century has recorded that Remuna Dauḍapāla had more than 28 Bīsis under it. So it was the headquarters of a district in the modern sense. This account he got from this Desakhaṇḍa portion of the Madalapaṇḍi (J. A. S. B. 1916). The great tank lying near the Gopinātha temple goes to prove that perhaps the said king dug this out there to provide water to the pilgrims going to the Jagannātha temple who used to take shelter there on their way. There is another big tank called Kuta Pokhari near Remuna which was perhaps the site of the temporary capital. The antiquities of Remuna have not been properly studied as yet, but the extent of the area goes to show that at one time it was a flourishing place. One of such noted pilgrims was Mahāvendra Puri who visited Remuna on his way from Vṛndaban to Puri and also halted at Gopinātha temple on his return journey to Vṛndaban from Puri according to Chaitanya-charitamṛta. We find mention in this work as to how the name Gopinātha was well-known as Kṣīrachora-Gopinātha since the time of Mahāvendra Puri, the guru of Śrīkrishna Chaitanya Mahaprabhū. Near the village Maraigan, there are many villages belonging to the Atharva-vedi Brahmanas of the Paipālāda Śakhā which is this source of Gopala-Tapini and Śrīkṛṣṇa Tapini, the basis of the Vaisnavism. The text of Paipālāda Śakhā was not known till 1958 and later Professor Durgamohan Bhattacharya who has edited the Text, collected manuscripts from these villages. So it seems that Sridhara Svami was influenced not only by the Gopinātha temple at Remuna, but also by the Atharva-vedins of the neighbouring villages of his residence at Maraigan. At Maraigan the descendants of Sridhara Svami have been residing till now and it is proved that they are the descendants of Sridhara Svami.

In 1963, while staying at Baripada I made correspondence with a member of the family of Sridhara Svami named Sri Sashi-
bhusan Satapathy and last year Sri Sashibhushan Satapathi came to see me at Baripada, but due to my absence I was not lucky enough to see him. This living tradition of Sridhara Svami goes to prove that Sridhara Svami's birth-place is at Maraigan not far from Remuna in the Balsore district of Orissa. The history of Remuna and that of Gopinatha temple there, has been so forgotten that along with it the history of Sridhara Svami and Baladeva Vidyabhusana has also been forgotten. Like Sridhara Svami who influenced Srikrsna Chaitanya Mahaprabhu to initiate a new Vaisnava movement, Baladeva Vidyabhusana has been successful in giving philosophical interpretation to the Vaisnavism of Sri Krishna Chaitanya which developed at Navadvipa, Sriksetra and Vrindaban.

II. Baladeva Vidyabhusana

In Bengali Visvakosa, Volume 12, page 169 it is there a long account of Baladeva Vidyabhusana about which details will be dealt with below. Visvakosa records that Baladeva Vidyabhusana was a famous Brahmana Pandita belonging to Bengal. (pp. 169) This statement is not correct which will be shown below. He was an Oriya Brahmana.

About Baladeva Vidyabhusana Dr. Farquhar has written very little which is quoted below:—

"At the beginning of the 18th century Baladeva wrote for the sect a bhasya on the Vedanta Sutra calling it the Govinda Bhasya and giving its philosophic point of view the distinctive name Achintya-Bhedabheda, thus expressing that the relation between God and the soul is in the last analysis inconceivable." (pp. 311)

Dr. S. K. De has made several references to Baladeva Vidyabhusana in his work and at Page 15 he has written that "Baladeva, a native of Orissa belonged to the 18th century."

Late Sundarananda Vidyavidoda in his Bengali book entitled "Sriksetra", 3rd edition published in Bengali san 1358 or 1950 A.D. has dealt with elaborately on the life of Baladeva Vidyabhusana of which important features are noted below:—

"Baladeva Vidyabhusana was born in the 18th century A. D. in a village near Remuna of the Balsore district. No time about his birth is known definitely. He wrote in Saka 1658 (1764 A. D.)
a tika on Rupa Gosvami's Stavamala. In the foot note he writes that in the Tika of Utkalika Vallari of Stavamala the date of Tika was mentioned.

"Baladeva Vidyabhusana studied grammar, poetics etc. from a famous place on the other side of Chilka lake. Then he studied Nyaya and Veda and went to Mysore to study Vedanta. At this time he was initiated by the Tatvavadins and associated with many Pandits and came to stay at the Tatvavadi Matha at Puri. After sometime he was initiated by Radha Damodar, a prasisya of Rasikananda Deva Gosvami and studied Sat Sandarva. He obtained the title of Vidyavinoda at the Galta conference at Jaipur where he composed Govindabhasya. Others say that he learnt Bhagavata from Visvanatha Chakravarty. × × × Afterwards Baladeva became a Sanyasi and was known as Ekanti Govinda Das.

I was interested about Baladeva Vidyabhusana for a long time, but I was not successful to get any authentic information from various persons of Orissa and Bengal and also from the members of the Mahanta family of Gopiballabhapura lying just outside the border of Mayurbhanj in the Midnapore district of Bengal. The Mahanta family of Gopiballabhapura are the descendants of Prabhu Rasikananda Deva Gosvami, the first disciple of Prabhu Shyamananda Deva Gosvami, thus all the disciples of the Mahanta family of Gopiballabhapura are known as the Shyamananda-Sampradaya to which Baladeva Vidyabhusana belonged. A friend of mine named Sri Kulamani Mahanty, a devout Vaisnava of Baripada went to Vrindaban on pilgrimage in 1962 and I requested him to collect the traditions about Baladeva Vidyabhusana from Vrindaban and he kindly gave me a note which seemed to me to be authentic. From this account I came to know about the Galta Conference where Baladeva propounded his theory of Achariyabhedabheda on Brahma-sutra. He also gave me a list of works of Baladeva. Then in September, 1965 I got four books printed by Bhaktivinoda Brahma of Berhampur of Ganjam district of Orissa in which a short account of Baladeva Vidyabhusana was printed, but the dates given there are found to be inaccurate. Then in October, 1965 I requested my friend Sri Lalita Prasad Dutta, son of Bhaktivinoda Thakur about the account of Baladeva, and Sri Lalita Prasad, a devout Vaishnava now was very kind to send me the account of life Baladeva published in 1885 in the Sajana-Tosvi magazine edited by Bhaktivinoda.
Thakur. This account of Baladeva was written in Bengali by late Visvambharananda Deva Gosvami, a very learned man of Gopiballabhagura. The account published in books from Berhampur in Ganjam states that Baladeva was a *Khandayata* by caste before he was initiated into *sanyasism* and no evidence was given as regards its authenticity. In other respects the account of Oriya books is similar to that of Visvambharananda Deva Gosvami written some 80 years ago and published in *Sajjana-Tasiri*. Visvambharananda was a cousin of the then Mahanta of Gopiballabhagura and Baladeva belonged to the Shyamandana Sampradaya of Srikrishna Chaitanya sect, it seems that this account is very trustworthy.

From these accounts it is known that Baladeva’s residence and birth-place was a village near Remuna and after initiation into Sanyasism he studied Sanskrit at Puri and also from a Pandit at Parikud in the Chilka lake. Then he went to Vrindaban where he came in contact with Visvanatha Chakravarty and other learned Vaisnavam Sanyasis. While staying somewhere in Braja it so happened that the four Sampradaya Vaisnavas of Southern India came to Galtama near Jaipur, the capital of the then Jaipur Kingdom of Rajasthan, and objected to the worship of Radha and Krsna. Sawai Jaisingh, the founder of the Jaipur Capital city in 1728, could not reply to the satisfaction of the Southern Vaisnavas and as a result he was compelled to remove the image of Radha from Govindaji temple and sent word to Vrindaban Sanyasis to come and reply and satisfy the Southern Vaisnavas, at the Galtama Temple. Upon this Baladeva Vidyabhusana was deputed by the Vaisnavas of Srikrishna-Chaitanya Sampradaya of Vrindaban to meet with the opponents at Galtama. Baladeva heard all arguments of the opponents and remained quiet and begged permission to allow him one month’s time to produce necessary literature to convince them. Within a period of one month, while staying at the Govindaji’s temple, Baladeva Vidyabhusana wrote out three *Bhasyas* called *Govinda-bhasya* of Brahmasutra, Bhagavatgita and Dasopanishad establishing Achintyabhedabhedab theory of Vedanta which was accepted by all opponent Sampradayas. After this the image of Radha was defied and the worship of Radhakrsna was established with all the Vaisnava Sampradayas of India.

In none of these accounts we get the date of Galtama Conference which is traditionally recorded, so we are not sure of the
exact date. In this connection the history of the Jaipur State dispells all doubt.

Jaisingh of Jaipur succeeded at Amber in 1693 A.D. He got the title of Sawai (One and one-fourth) from the Moghul Darbar and was known as Sawai Jaisingh II of Jaipur. He transferred the capital to Jaipur city in 1728 A.D. The hillock called Galta is situated within a short distance of Jaipur city which was chosen as the temple site of Govindji. Sawai Jaisingh ruled upto 1743 A.D. So the date of Galta Conference may be safely assigned to a period of 10 years from 1730-1740 A.D. when Baladeva Vidyabhushana was in the prime of youth, say about 30 years old. He composed the Tika of Utkalika-Vallari in 1765 A.D. Visvambharananda Deva Goswami wrote that in 1885 there were men who saw Baladeva. If we accept the age of the persons as about 100, Baladeva was living a long life about 90 years old. Baladeva wrote Tika and Bhashya of works which number 24. The list of works is given below.

1. Govinda Bhashya Tika of Brahmasutra.
2. -do- -do- of Dasopanishad.
5. Tika of Gopala Tapiui.
6. Tika of Bhagavata (Vaisnavanandini of 10th Skandha)
7. Siddhanta Ratna
8. Siddhanta Darpaana
9. Kavya Kaustubha
10. Sahitya Kaumudi
11. Prameya Muktavali
12. Tika of Tatva Sandharva
13. Tika of Utkalikavallari (Stavamala)
14. Tika of Nataka Chandrika
15. Tika of Bhaktirasamrta Sindhu
16. Tika of Lalita Madhava
17. Tika of Vidagdha Madhava
18. Tika of Stavavali
APPENDIX

From the History of Dhenkanal written in Oriya by late Ramachandra Bhaktivinoda and published in 1929 it is known that there is a Matha called 'Brahmachari Matha' near the Sikharesvara temple on the Kapilas hill in the district of Dhenkanal. According to tradition, Pratapa Bhanu Deva, the Ganga Emperor of Orissa placed Sri Rama Krishna Svami of the Bhogavardhana Pitha (Govardhana Matha) of Puri in charge of the Sikharesvara temple and established this Brahmachari Matha for him. This information is obtained from the 'Gurukramamnaya' 'Sri Rama克ৃষ্ণানামাঙ্গ নাম দৃষ্টস্য শিষ্যান্যাসন' traditional account of the preceptors maintained in this matha. Sridhara Svami, the disciple of Sri Rama Krishna, who stayed in this matha on the Kapilasa hill was able to write the famous Commentary of the Bhagavata Purana through the grace of Sikharesvara, and Nrsimha, the God of his devotion. From his time disciples of the Govardhana Matha have been holding the post of Svamis of this Brahmachari Matha, in succession. The relevant verses from this work are quoted below.

"ব্রাহ্মণ প্রকাশিত্ত: শিষ্যাদ্ধমাত্র ভোগবতি তে মহা঵র্ণ
সরস্঵তী বসন নীলাভিনাথ পরিচিত যথাপুরা
নিতীতস্মাত্সম কুত্ততন্ম: য ৭৫

tৈরামক্ষণানন্তস্যেবেচ্ছান্তোমূঢ়ঃ শিষ্যস্তব মহাপতিঃ
স্বরবিভাসনান্তোযুকৃত্যবর্ষায়পুরায়া তেনে মহিদ্যার: । ৭৫

tৈবেতভ্রমিতে স্বাভীবিধ্বস্তঃ নেতৃত্বা
প্রসাদাতুন্তু পতি: ক্ষিপ্তৌ শিবালয়ে । ৫০"
NOTE ON THE DATE OF A MANUSCRIPT OF JIVADEVA'S BHAKTI VAIBHAVA.

Dr. D.C. Sircar made a communication discussing the date of a Manuscript of Jivadeva's Bhaktivaibhava in the Asiatic Society of which the following is the synopsis.

"This manuscript has been noticed in H.P. Shastri's Catalogue, Vol. VII, pp. 274-78 (No. 5347). The post-colophon stanza in it is of exceptional interest to the student of East Indian history because it throws welcome light on the gata-rajya reckoning of Govindapāla and Lakṣmīnārasana. The verse states that the copying of the manuscript was completed on Sunday, Bhadra-sudi II, in the 29th Anika (24th regnal year of Mukundadeva (A.D. 1559-68), the last independent king of Orissa. The details of the date show that it corresponds to the 18th August A.D. 1583, though the king died 15 years earlier, and that the year has to be counted from Mukundadeva's succession and not from his death."

1. Notice of the Monthly General Meeting of the Asiatic Society held on the 5th November. 1962, Dr. Sircar has further elaborately discussed the subject in the paper entitled 'A Manuscript of Jivadeva's Bhaktivaibhava, Indian Studies, Past and Present, Vol. IV, pp. 105-110,
The date of the manuscript of Bhaktivaibhava in the sixteenth century A.D. and the reckoning of the Anka year in Orissa in the qata-rajya of Mukundadeva Harichandana seem to be very unusual, and I was curious in investigating further on the subject. I was lucky in discovering another palmleaf manuscript of Jivadeva's Bhaktiwaibhava in the library of the Utkal University, in which the post-colophon verse of the manuscript of the Asiatic Society occurs in word per word with this difference that it reads Khyata-Kirte-rasita-haridine Bhadra-mase-hni Saure whereas the Asiatic Society manuscript has Khyata-Kirteh-rajata-haridine Bhadra-mose-hni Saure, there being a difference of a fortnight only. The last two letters of the manuscript of the Utkal University are missing due to the breakage of the leaf. They are found to be Guptini in the manuscript of the Asiatic Society. 2

The post-colophon verses of the two manuscripts show that the copyist first wrote the manuscript of the Utkal University library, for which he composed the post-colophon verse suitable for the date, and when he completed another manuscript within a fortnight, he used the same verse with a slight change, Asita stands for the dark fortnight and Rajata for the bright fortnight of Bhadrapada.

I do not agree with Dr. Sircar as regards the interpretation of the weekday mentioned in the verse. Dr. Sircar has translated ahni-Saure as Sunday, but I think it stands for Saturday. The copyist has Saure; but, if a visarga (h) is added after it, the meaning becomes clearer as Saureh ahni (in the day of sauri or Sani, i.e. Saturday). If the word Saur is taken as the locative of Saura, the meaning is still Saturday: because both the words Sauri and Saura are synonyms of Sani. When the word Saura is an adjective, it means 'relating to the sun' and the translation is the solar day' and not 'Sunday'. In the commentary on the Amarakośa published by the Nirmayasagara Press, Bombay, 1907, Verse 26 of Kanda, I p. 20, Saura has been interpreted as Sani and not Ravi or Aditya. So Dr. Sircar's interpretation is untenable.

2. I am indebted to Pandit Banambar Acharya for informing me about the existence of the manuscript of the Bhaktivaibhava in the Utkal University library. Pandit Acharya showed me the manuscript which has been edited for publication.
According to this calculation of Dr. Sircar, Bhadra-Sudi II, Sunday, in Mukundadeva's 29th Anka corresponds to the 18th August, A.D. 1583, and, naturally, Bhadra-vadi 11 should occur on Sunday in August, A.D. 1583; but it actually occurs on the 3rd August, 1583, on Sunday. This goes against his calculation.

Now let us examine the points regarding the Anka reckoning of king Mukunda Harichandana which according to Dr. Sircar continued up to the 29th Anka year or 24th actual year of reign, i.e., A.D. 1583, 15 years after his death. If this gata-rajya reckoning of Mukundadeva was popular and current in Orissa, we are sure to find its corroboration from other contemporary records of the period. After the Muslim conquest in A.D. 1568, Ramachandradeva, the founder of the Khurda dynasty, assumed independence in Orissa and used his own Anka years. From A.D. 1583 to 1604 we find the use of his Anka years 24, 34, 38 and 47 which correspond respectively to A.D. 1587, 1595, 1598 and 1604. These years are found in the following stone inscriptions: (i) Baripada Museum bilingual inscription, (ii) Sirjang inscriptions and (iii) Kasiari inscription. The find spots of these inscriptions are in the Mayurbhanj, Balasore and Midnapore Districts of North Orissa and Western Bengal. The 24th Anka of Ramachandradeva is recorded along with the well known Indian eras, namely Saka 1509, Vikrama 1645, and Sali 994, the 34th Anka year along with Yugabda 4696, and Saka 1517, 88th Anka year with Yugabda 4659 and Saka 1520, and 47th Anka year with Saka 1526. These dates support the reckoning of the Anka years of Ramachandradeva of Orissa from A.D. 1568. Thus the gata-rajya reckoning of Mukundadeva Harichandana from 1559 is not proved by any contemporary epigraphical records. So the 29th Anka year of Mukundadeva mentioned in the manuscript of Bhaktivahava can never correspond to the 18th August A.D. 1583.

Now the question arises as regards the identification of Mukundadeva in whose 28th Anka year these two manuscripts of Bhaktivahava were copied. As Mukundadeva Harichandana of the Chalukya dynasty did not rule up to his 29th Anka year, he is to be

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4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
excluded for our purpose. The next Mukundadeva after Mukundadeva Harichandana in the history of Orissa is the first Mukundadeva of the Bhoi dynasty of Khurdha, who ruled from A.D. 1659 to 1689. Although Orissa came under the Suzerainty of the Mughals since A.D. 1592, the Rajas of Khurdha were very often attacked by the Mughal Governors of Orissa. The position of Mukundadeva is best described in A.D. 1669 by the author of Maraqat-i-Hassan during the governorship of Khan-i-Duran, which is quoted below:

"When the Khan reached Katak, Rajah Mukundadeva of Khurdha, the leading Zamindar of the country whose orders were obeyed by all other Zamindars, whom all other Zamindars of this country worshipped like a god, and disobedience of whose order they regard as a great sin, waited on him with due humility accompanied by other Zamindars and khandaitas of central Orissa."

This Mukundadeva of the Khurdha dynasty enjoyed a rule up to 38 Ankā years according to the calculation of Sri Kedarnath Mahapatra who has specialised in the history of the Bhoi dynasty of Orissa from A.D. 1555 onwards. Sri Mahapatra has mentioned in his paper written in Oriya noted above the said king's Ankā years of 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 21, 23, 27, 33 and 35 from various documents and so it is natural that Mukundadeva's 29th Ankā year which was then current in Orissa, was noted by the copyist in these two manuscripts of the Bhaktivaihava.

Thus Mukundadeva mentioned in the manuscripts of the Bhaktivaihava is to be identified with Mukundadeva of the Bhoi dynasty who ruled from A.D. 1659 to 1689 and the dates of these two manuscripts correspond respectively, to Saturday, the 19th August A.D. 1682 and Saturday, the 2nd, September A.D. 1682. This proves that Dr. D.C. Sircar's theory of the Gata-rājya reckoning in Orissa as well as his calculation of the date of the manuscript of the Bhaktivaihava are quite wrong and as such untenable.

ON THE WORSHIP OF THE IMAGES OF
RADHA - KRṣṆA

I

In our time the worship of the images of Radha-Krṣṇa is very wide and popular all over India. The worship of the images of Radhā-Kṛṣṇa was made popular by the Nimbarka Sampradāya, Chaitanya Sampradāya and Vallabhāchārya Sampradāya. Among these Sampradāyas there is an inter-relation, the discussion of which is beyond the scope of this paper. In the Appendix I, are given short accounts of the Sampradāyas of Nimbarka and Vallabhāchārya.

R. D. Banerji writes as follows on this subject:

"Not only do we find a very great scarcity of combined images of Kṛṣṇa and Radha in the Eastern school, but no image of Kṛṣṇa by himself earlier than the fifteenth century has been discovered anywhere in Bengal and Bihar. The popularity of Radha Kṛṣṇa cult in the north-eastern provinces of India appears to date from the advent of the great reformer Chaitanya". 1

We do not find the sculpture of adult Kṛṣṇa earlier than the 13th century A. D. although there are descriptions of the image of adult Kṛṣṇa in the Sanskrit literature.

II

According to the Purāṇas, Kṛṣṇa is an avatāra of Viṣṇu and according to the Bhagavata Purāṇa, Kṛṣṇa is Bhagavān himself. Early sculptures of four-armed images of Viṣṇu are found in India in many places and particularly in Orissa in the Prāchī Valley of the Puri District, where there are a large number of four-armed images of Viṣṇu from the beginning of the 9th-10th century A. D.

1, Eastern Indian school of medieval sculpture, Chapter VI, Page 127
Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series Vol, XLVII, 1933
The sculptural evidence for two armed Kṛṣṇa besides four-armed Viṣṇu is also found in Orissa in the name of Gopinātha. The transitional Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa image also is found in Orissa. In the Orissa State Museum there is a sculpture of the image of four-armed Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, the upper two arms of which hold the Ayudhas Chakra and Samkha and the lower two arms hold the Vamśī or the flute and the pose of standing of the image is tribhāṅga or triflection instead of popular straight legs of the images of Viṣṇu. There are two other images of Viṣṇu Kṛṣṇa at Puri, one at the Jagannātha-vallabha Maṭha and the other at the Saējabhuja Gaurāṅga Maṭha. Dr. J. N. Banerji in his Bengali work entitled Paschopāsana writes at P. 110 that there is a temple of the image of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa at Udipi which was dedicated by Mādhvāchārya. The date of Mādhvāchārya is attributed to 1199-1278 A. D. I do not know if the image of Udipi is the same as that of Orissa. But it appears to be certain that this transitional image of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa gave rise to the conception of two armed Vamśī-dhari image of Kṛṣṇa generally known as the image of Gopinātha in Orissa. I have found the images of Gopinātha in the north Orissa from Remuna, 4 miles west of Balasore, to Puri in the south of Orissa. All the famous Brāhmaṇa āsanas of the Puri District contain a temple of Gopinātha on the western end. From the study of images of Gopinātha found at Remuna, Balasore (in the premises of the Fakir Mohan College), at Dharmasala of the Cuttack District (now preserved in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar), at Baliana, at Sarkana, at Hirapur, at Danda-Mukundapur, at Satyabadi and on the southern bank of the Mārkandesvar temple, Puri, it goes to indicate the date of these sculptures is the 13th century A. D. or its near about. The Dharmasala image of Gopinātha bears an inscription stating the name of the sculptor who was a resident of Abhinava Varavasi Kataka (modern Cuttack). Abhinava Varavasi Kataka was established in the 1st quarter of the 13th century A. D. Among the images of Gopinātha, the image at Remuna is popularly known as Kṣirachorā Gopinātha and that of Cuttack (now enshrined at Satyabadi) is known Saṅgī-Gopāla according to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja’s well known work Chaitanya Charit- tāmṛta written in 1615 A. D. I am told that there is an image of Gopinātha near at Agarpara in the Bhadrak Sub-division of the Balasore District and it seems to me that a thorough survey will bring to light a large number of images of Gopinātha in various other parts of the coastal Districts of Orissa.
No. 16  Block of the Krishna Vishnu image of the Orissa State Museum

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In Rupa Gosvami’s collection called *Padavali*, is found the following Sanskrit verse which is the Dhyana of the image of Gopinatha described above.

“कुळनौवरकारिपि मिन्दुवदनं बहिष्कृतसिविविष्यं
श्रीवत्साकं मुदारकाेंस्तुभवं पीतान्तर सुन्दरं
गीपीनां लयोप्रलाचितततुं गोगोपीसंचािपुरं
गोविन्दं कल्पवुशवादनपरं दिश्याङ्गस्यं भजें।”

The popularity of the Bhagavata cult in Orissa influenced Sridhar Svami to make a *Tika* of it. Sridhara Svami’s birth place is at Maragáñ situatéd about 4 miles north of the temple of Kšira-chora Gopinatha at Remuna. The village Maragáñ is surrounded by the residences of the Brähmanas of the Atharva Vediya Paipalaḍa Sañkha, Atharva Veda contains a large number of Tapini Upamisadas dealing with the Vaiṣṇavite Kṛṣṇa, Rañhā and Vṛindavana etc. The influence of the Tapini literature which was perhaps composed in Orissa, was very great on the society, which gave rise to the development of the Bhagavata Vaiṣṇavism, the direct result of which was the conception of the image of Gopinatha or the adult Kṛṣṇa known as Govinda. From the popularity of the Gopinatha cult the great Sanskrit poem *Gitagovinda* of Jayadeva developed in Orissa according to tradition and the Prakṛta poems of Chaṇḍidāsa in Bengal and Vidyāpati of Mithila in Bihar. From the 12th to the 16th century A.D. there are Sanskrit and Prakṛta literature on Rañhā, but no image of Rañhā is found any where in Orissa and Bengal or in the eastern India before the 17th century A D. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja mentions in his work entitled *Chaitanya charitamrita* written in early decade of the 17th century that Chaitanya used to hear *Gitagovinda*, the poems of Chaṇḍidāsa and Vidyāpati, and Vilvamangala’s Kṛṣṇa Karuṇamṛta and the Jagannātha Vallabha Nātaka by Rāya Rāmānanda.


“The last record of Kapilendra at Puri is the second in point of date, having been incised in the 19th *Aska*—Sunday 12th April, 1450. It records an order for the performance of dances at the time of
Bhoga from the end of the evening Dhupa up to the time of Barasingara (bed time). It refers to a number of dancers from Telengana and that besides dancing, four Vaishnava singers will sing Jayadeva’s Gitagovinda”.

He again writes as follows on an inscription of the Jagannatha temple recorded during the reign of Prataparudra Deva at page 334 of the History of Orissa, Vol. — 1.

“Prataparudra is known from a number of inscriptions discovered at Puri and other places. The earliest of them are to be found on the left hand side of the Jaya Vijaya gate of the Jagamohana of the temple of Jagannatha. In the 4th Ahka, Wednesday the 17th July 1499, orders were issued for the performance of dancing at the time of Bhoga of Jagannatha and Balarama from the end of the evening dhupa to the time of Barasingara or bed time. The dancing girls of Balarama and of Kapilesvara, the old batch and the Telanga batch, all of them were to learn the singing of the Gitagovinda only. Besides dancing, four other Vaishnava singers were also to sing from the same work of Jayadeva. It is stated at the end of the record that the superintendent who allows any other song except those in the Gitagovinda will cause a violation of the orders of the God Jagannatha”. The Madalapanj records the story of Abhinava Gitagovinda composed by a king of Orissa which was discarded by Lord Jagannatha with the exception of one chapter. This goes to establish the popularity of the Gitagovinda in Orissa. The popularity and sanctity of the Gitagovinda in the Jagannatha temple were there long before the advent of Chaitanya to Puri. But nowhere in Orissa is found the image of Radha during the rule of the kings of the solar dynasty although the images of Gopinatha were worshipped at various places in Orissa and particularly in the capital town at Katha (Cutta). The story of Baqa vipra and Chhota vipra as given in Kriyadasa Kaviraj’s Chaitanya Charitamrita about the journey of Gopinatha from Vrindavana to Vidyānagara from where it was brought to Cutta by king Purusottama Deva, forming the basis of the Kanchi-Kaveri Kavya of Orissa seems to be a tradition of the image of Gopinatha at a time when there was no existence of Vrindavana in its present site. Vrindavana was reclaimed by Sanatana and Rupa Gosvamis who were directed to revive it by Chaitanya. The image of Gopinatha of Cutta was transferred from Cutta to Khurdha and then to Rathipur near Khurdha Road Railway station and from there
to Kantalabai near Bhusandapur Railway station on the shore of the Chilka lake and from there this image of Gopinātha was transferred to the present village of Satyavadi some time in the first quarter of the 19th century by Rāja Ramachandra Deva III of Puri. The technique of carving of the image of Gopinātha now enshrined at Satyavadi is entirely of the Orissan style like that of the images of other places of Orissa. Had it been removed from Vṛindāvana in the Uttar Pradesh, the technique of the image would have been of the North Indian style or if from Vidyānagar, it would have been of the South Indian style. The image of Gopinātha when installed at Satyavadi had no female consort attached to it. Soon after a love story of Gopinātha with a village girl named Lakṣmi was developed and the deity by dream demanded a female consort and accordingly with the help of the Rāja of Raipur the image of Lakṣmi or Rādhā was constructed and installed on the left side of Gopinātha in the temple and now the female figure is worshipped as the deity of Rādhā. It is very difficult or next to impossibility to trace the origin of the traditions of Gopinātha called Sakhī Gopala or Kṣirachora Gopinātha as they are shrouded in mystery beyond conception of scientific research.

III

According to the Chaitanya Charitamrīta Mādhavendra-puri, preceptor of Iswarapuri, who is also the preceptor of Śrī Chaitanya, first installed an image of Gopala at Giri-Govardhana, Mādhavendra-puri also visited the temple of Gopinātha at Remunā on his way from Vṛindāvana to Puri. The deity Gopinātha stole a pot of Kṣira and in a dream asked the Pujari to hand it over to Mādhavendra-puri. For this event the deity was named Kṣirachorā Gopinātha.

After him Chaitanya visited Vṛindāvana and returned to Śrīkṣetra. On the way back from Vṛindāvana he instructed Rupa Gosvāmin and Sanātana Gosvāmin to restore the ancient site of Vṛindāvana and also write literature on Bhagavata Dharma. When Sanātana Gosvāmin and Rupa Gosvāmin arrived at Vṛindāvana, they had no place to live in there. They slept under the shade of trees at night and used to eat whatever eatables they could find there and in such precarious position they developed Vṛindāvana.

The Chaitanya Charitamrīta describes their activities at Vṛindāvana as follows:
“अनिवेशक दों हे रहो यत दुःखगणः
एकेक दुःखर तस्य एकेक रात्रि शाखन ॥
श्रिपुरुषे स्तुतिमित्वा काहाँ मधुकरी ॥
शुक्रारट चाणा चिन्नाय भोग परिहरि ॥
करोधा मात्र हते काठा चिन्हः बहिष्वरस ॥
कष्टायका कष्टिणामनाम तरः चक्रास ॥
कष्टप्रहर कष्टिण मजन चारिदस्तः शयने ।
नाम संकीर्णनमे रहे सेविदिने ॥”

Madhya Lila, Chap VII

In the Chapter V of Antya Lila of the Chaitanya Charitamrita the following is written:——

“हृदभाईैः मिले भृन्दावनः भास कैल ।
प्रस्मुरे ये आजः दौः है सब निर्वाहित ॥
नाना शाख अनन्त तूमस्त्यः उदातिला ।
बुध्द्वार्तने कष्टिणसेवा प्रकाशा करिला ॥

× ×
मदनगोपाल गोविन्देश्वर सेवा प्रकाशन”

From the above account it appears that the worship of the images of Kṛṣṇa called Madana Gopāla and Govinda was established at Vrindāvana by Sanātana Gosvāmin and Rūpa Gosvāmin who also wrote on the līla of Radha and Kṛṣṇa. But they did not conceive the image of Radha to be associated with Kṛṣṇa in the form of the plastic art. It appears that the image of Gopāla established by Madhavendra-puri at Giri Govardhana was that of a Child Kṛṣṇa and not that of an adult Kṛṣṇa, but the images of Madana Gopāla and Govinda were of adult Kṛṣṇa.

Now the question arises as to how Sanātana Gosvāmin and Rūpa Gosvāmin could conceive the images of Madana Gopāla and Govinda which are the different names of Gopinātha or Kṛṣṇa. From the Chaitanya Charitamrita we find that Sri Chaitanya visited the temple of Gopinātha at Remuna and Sākṣi Gopāla at Cuttack on his way to Puri. It seems that he also visited the temples of Gopinātha at Baliana, Hirāpura and Dānda Mukundapura, on his way to Puri. It
states that Chaitanya spent some hours at Toṭā Gopinātha of Puri where there is a sitting image of Gopinātha. What was seen by Chaitanya was also visited by Śanātana Gacvāmin and Ṛupa Gosvāmin, who came to Puri from Vṛindāvana. So it is quite reasonable to think that Sanātana Gosvāmin and Ṛupa Gosvāmin had to build the images of Madana Gopāla and Govinda according to that of Gopinātha of Orissa.

Now the question is when and by whom was the worship of the images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa introduced at Vṛindāvana and other places?

The first idea of the worship of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is found to be recorded in Kavi Karṇapura’s Chaitanya – Chandrodaya Nataka written in 1579 A. D. In the Act VII of the drama Chaitanya asked Rāya Rāmānanda—“किमुपस्यमयाः” (what is to be worshipped here) and in reply Rāya Rāmānanda said—“पहसी श्रीकृष्णारायणिये” (it is the worship of Śri Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā). Although the drama was written long after the death of Chaitanya, according to Kavi Karṇapura the idea of worshipping Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa goes back to the life time of Chaitanya. But the idea was in a fluid state for the reason that in the same Act Sārvabhauma Bhāṭaḥahārya speaks to kīrti Pratāparudra as follows about Rāya Rāmānanda.

"भद्राराज स बलु महेन्द्रभवति पूर्वमयस्माकमुपस्यहास्यप्रमाण मासीति। संप्रदति भगवदनुग्रहे जाते तन्यहिंसात नो जाता II"

(Maharaja, he is a follower of the Sahaja cult of Vaisnavism. Previously he was a person of ridicule by us. Now being favoured by Bhagavāna, we are apprized of his power).

The relation of Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa as described in Jayadeva’s Gitagovinda and Rāya Rāmānanda’s Jagannātha Vallabha-Nataka, was not approved by the society. It seems for this reason that the marriage of Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa has been performed in the Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa before the marriage with Ayana, the brother of Yaśodā. It is peculiar that the name Ayana occurs in the Bengali and other literatures of India, but his name is Chandrasekha in the Oriya literature.

After the coming of Sanātana Gosvāmin and Ṛupa Gosvāmin four other Gosvāmis from Bengal named Jiva Gosvāmin, Raghunātha Bhaṭa, Gopāla Bhaṭa and Raghunātha Dāsa joined with them at Vṛindāvana. All these are known as Saḍa-Gosvāmis or six Gosvamīs
who along with a host of other workers devoted their lives to develop Vṛindāvana as a Tīrtha and also wrote various works on Vaiṣṇavism. The date of compilation of the Chaitanya Charitamrīta is 1615 A.D. and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, its author, has not mentioned in it about the worship of the image of Rādhā either with Madana Gopāla or Govinda at Vṛindāvana. Thus it appears that the image of Rādhā was introduced at Vṛindāvana after 1615 A.D.

Dukhi Mandala of the village Dharanda near Kharagpur was a pious Vaiṣṇava from his childhood. Then he became a disciple of Hridaya Chaitanya of Ambikā and visited all the Tīrthas of India including the four Īḍās and settled at Vṛindāvana at last and learnt Vaiṣṇava literature under the direction of Jīva Gacāmin. Kṛṣṇadāsa used to sweep the Rātha-Kuṇja. One night he got a Nepura of the left leg of Rādhā, who was busy in Līlā with Kṛṣṇa. The Nepura mark was there in his forehead and chest as soon as he put it there. Thus Kṛṣṇadāsa was known as a favourite of Srimati Rādhā and was named Syāmānanda. Syāmānanda was assigned the preaching work named Syāmānanda, Syāmānanda was assigned the preaching work in Utka and so had to come to Utka where he found Rasikānanda as his fittest devotee.

Rasikānandagāla, a work on the life and activities of Rasikānanda Deva Gosvāmin of Gopālabbhāpura and Prabhu Syāmānanda the preceptor of Rasikānanda, was written by Rasikānanda’s disciple. Gopījana Vallabha Dāsa between the years 1653 and 1655 A.D. after the death of Rasikānanda in 1652 A.D. It is an authentic work on the Gaṇḍīya Vaiṣṇava movement in Orissa after Chaitanya Charita-mrīta. Syāmānanda met Rasikānanda at Ghatsila in Dhalbhuma and made him his first disciple, Both the Guru and Sishya came to Rohini, a village in the present Midnapore District. Rasikānanda decided to leave his parental house and both Guru and Shisya with their family came to a place on the right bank of the river Suvarnarekha and established themselves there. The patron deity of Rasikānanda was Gopālabbhā and according to the name of the deity the village was named Gopālabbhāpura where the Matha of Rasikānanda was established and it is still to be found there.

At that time the deity Gopālabbhā had no female consort in the temple. The Matha at Gopālabbhāpura was established before the 20th year of Rasikānanda who was born in 1590 A.D. Two
brothers named Bhima and Srikara, who were friends of the father of Rasikānanda, were very rich and influential in the locality. They advised Rasikānanda to give up the life adopted by him, but at last they were converted to Vaiṣṇavism preached by Rasikānanda when he was 20 years old e.g., in the year 1610 A.D. Then it struck to Rasikānanda to have a female consort of Gopīvallabha, the patron deity of Rasikānanda who built an image of the Thakurani called Rādhā there and brought the image of Gopīvallabha from Gopīvallabhapura and celebrated the marriage with great pomp at the expenses paid by Bhima and Srikara. This is the earliest reference regarding the Union of two deities of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa ceremonially performed according to the social custom.

After returning to Gopīvallabhapura with the images of Rādhā-Gopīvallabha, Rasikānanda made Mahārāja Vaidyanaṭha Bhanja of Mayurbhanj his disciple at Baripada, the then capital of Mayurbhanj and soon after the image of Kṛṣṇa named Govinda of Gopīvallabhapura was married with an image of Rādhā as the daughter of Mahārāja of Mayurbhanj at the village Khadiasul situated half way between Gopīvallabhapura and Baripada. Mahārāja of Mayurbhanj made a grant of the village as the dowry of the image of Rādhā. Thus the Guru and Sishya were of equal faith by a social relation made by the marriage of the deities. The gifted village still belongs to the Mahanta family of Gopīvallabhapura as a Lakhrakj village.

Vaiṣṇava traditions are very valuable to the followers of Vaiṣṇavism who rigidly maintain and persue them. After Chaitanya Charitamṛta traditions on the activities of Gauḍiya Chaitanyism were compiled by Narahari Chakravarti during the earlier decades of the 18th century A.D. in his work entitled Bhaktiratnakara. The work goes to narrate the story as to how the images of Rādhā brought from Utkala (Orissa) were installed by the side of Madanagopāla, Govinda and Gopinātha at Vrindāvana.

The following verses are recorded in the Chapter VI of Bhaktiratnakara:

"Śrī Govinda ye samay prakṛta hōila।
Se samay śrīmati rāvindra naḥiṇī hōila॥
Hōila śrī madanmohan prasu ṭhē॥
Sākhye kāhīye śrīyugal āhāl jāh॥"
The English rendering of the above quoted lines is given below:

"There was no image of Rādhā when the image of Govinda was installed at Vrindāvana. There was no image of Rādhā attached to the image of Madanamohana. Below is given a short description as to how the dual images were installed there."

According to tradition recorded in the Bhaktiratnakara it is known that in the village named Rādhānagara of Utkala there lived a Dakṣīṇātya Brāhmana named Brāhabhānu at whose house Rādhikā lived like a dear daughter. After sometime the Brāhmana died and the Rāja, after hearing the story came to Rādhānagara and saw the beautiful image of Rādhā. Rādhā appeared in a dream before the Rāja and told him to transfer her image to the Chakravedha (Premises) of the Jagannātha temple. When the time came for her departure to Vrindāvana the image of Rādhā again appeared in a dream and told the Rāja, named Puruṣottama Deva to send her image to Vrindāvana. The Rāja accordingly arranged to send the image of Rādhā to Vrindāvana which was known to all the people of Gaṅga and Utkala. She was placed at the left side of the image of Govinda there. The whole story is given in the Sadhana Dīpikā. Similarly the image of Rādhā sent from Orissa was installed at the left side of Madana-Gopāla at Vrindāvana." In the Chapter XIII of Bhaktiratnakara there is an account as to how an image of Rādhā was sent by Jahnava Devī, wife of Nityānanda to be installed at the side of the image of Gopinātha enshrined at Vrindāvana.

From a study of the list of villages in Orissa published in the Administrative Atlas, a part of the Census of India 1961, I found two villages called Rādhānagara in Orissa, one of it is situated in the Cuttack District under the Police Station of Kissan Nagar (Krṣṇa nagara and the second is situated in the Balesore District under the Police Station of Remunā, quite close to the temple of Kṣirachora Gopinātha. It seems that both the villages may be the place of origin of the image of Rādhā in Orissa.

Puruṣottama Jena, the King of Orissa mentioned in the Bhaktiratnakara is to be identified with Puruṣottama Deva of the Bhoi dynasty of Khurdha was ruled from 1607 to 1623 A.D. Rasikānanda, the founder of the worship of the twin images of Rādhā-Krṣṇa after 1610 A.D. had no idea about the images of Rādhā enshrined at Rādhānagara and subsequently transferred to the premises.
of the Jagannatha temple. I am tempted to suggest that the images of Radha were sent to Vrindavana from Orissa from the place of their origin sometime between 1615-1620 A.D.

Thus we see that the images of Gopinatha or Krishna and Radha were first conceived in Orissa and subsequently installed at Vrindavana where the worship of the Yogala images of Radha-Krishna was introduced during the first quarter of the 17th century A.D. Gradually the worship of the images of Radha-Krishna spread to different parts of India.

Although Haribhaktivilasa, the most important Vaishnava work on rituals, was compiled at Vrindavana by Gopal Bhaṭṭa or according to some by Sanatana Gosvami, in which there is a chapter on the description of image-making, but it is strange that this work does not mention about the images of Radha and Krishna although the same Gosvamis were worshipping the images of Madanagopala, Govinda and Gopinatha at Vrindavana.

As regards the possibility of the identification of the bas-relief of two sculptures found in the Stupa at Paharpur as Radha and Krishna, a discussion has been made in the Appendix-ll of this paper.

IV

The Philosophy of the worship of Radha Krishna.

The greatest achievement of Chaitanya is the re-establishment of the Tirtha of Vrindavana, the site of which had been deserted due to long neglect. In addition to the reclamation of Vrindavana the six Gosvamis devoted their whole lives in writing Vaishnava literature and philosophy. Chaitanya selected Sanatana and Rupa Gosvamis for the exploration and development of Vrindavana during his last visit to Vrindavana. He first came to Orissa in 1510 and made tours for six years. During his last tour he met Rupa and Sanatana on his way back from Vrindavana to Puri. The event is to be dated sometime in 1516 A.D., after which the exploration and development work at Vrindavana was undertaken by Sanatana Gosvamin and Rupa Gosvamin, who were subsequently assisted by four others named Jiva Gosvamin, Raghunatha Dasa, Raghunatha Bhaṭṭa and Gopala Bhaṭṭa. Dr. S.K. De in his work entitled "Early History of Vaishnava faith and movement in Bengal" (Calcutta
1916) writes at P. 1660-64) as follows regarding the date of Śanātana, Rupa and Jīva Gosvāmis.

"With regard to the exact dates of Rupa, Śanātana and Jīva, no authentic information is available". The Bhakti-ratnakara records that both Śanātana and Rupa died in the same year at the interval of a few months. If this is true, Rupa must have been alive in 1554 A.D. Beyond this nothing at present can be said with regard to the dates of these two Gosvāmis. (P. 164)

Dr. S K. De's conclusion is quoted below:

"To them was due the building up of modern Vṛindāvana as the chief intellectual and religious centre of the sect, where its philosophy, its theology, its ritualism and its Rasa Śāstra were created. They reclaimed the sacred sites, identified them and gave to each a distinctive name. They made their wealthy disciples and admires build the great temples, groves and bathing places, and thus laid the foundations of its modern glory and sanctity, (P. 118). Dr. De states in the foot note that Akbar paid a visit to Vṛindāvana in 1573 and recognised spiritual activities. Thus political situation in the country was favourable for the spread of the movement.

Dr. De further discusses that the second part of Jīva Gosvāmi's 'Gopala Chāmpa' was composed in 1592 A. D. when he was advanced in old age (P. 164). It seems that Jīva Gosvāmin lived for some more years.

In order to popularise the Vaiṣṇava literature and philosophy expounded by the six Gosvāmis in Gauḍa, Rādhā and Utkala Jīva Gosvāmin deputed three preachers named Nārottama Thākura, Śrīnivāsa Āchārya and Śyāmānanda to eastern India. The manuscripts were sent in a bullock cart which were stolen at Vīṣṇupura in the Bankura District and subsequently restored by Vīra Hambirā, the Raja of Vīṣṇupura. It seems that all this happened before the year 1600-1605 A. D. up to which Jīva Gosvāmi was also alive.

Śyāmānanda was allotted the duty of preaching in Orissa and he was lucky to get as his disciple Rasikānanda Deva Gosvāmin who established Śyāmānanda Parivara of the Gaudīya sect of Vaiṣṇavism. It has been narrated above as to how he introduced first the worship of the images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. In the Śyāmānanda Parivara there were some devout Vaiṣṇavas, chief among whom, was Baladeva Vidyābhumīa of Govinda Bhāṣya fame.
The Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava of Vṛindāvana were undisturbed for a century and a half. During the reign of Aurangzeb who began to destroy the temples of Vṛindāvana, the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas removed the images of Madanagopāla, Govinda and Gopīnātha with the images of Rādhā to a place of safety at Galta situated in the princely kingdom of Amber in Rajputana. During the period of rule of Sawai Jaiasingh (1699–1743 A.D.) the capital of the kingdom was transferred from Amber to a place which was named Jaipur in 1728 A.D. About the time from 1735–40 A.D. according to tradition the southern Vaiṣṇavas raised a question on the Vedānta interpretation about the worship of the image of Rādhā in the company of Kṛṣṇa. Sawai Jaya Singha who was a great learned man and also a follower of the Syamaṇandaparīvāra, the head of which were the Mahantas of Gopīvallabhapura and their deputies at Jaipur were unable to satisfy the southern Vaiṣṇavas by giving a suitable reply. As a result the image of Rādhā was separated from Madanagopāla and other gods. Thus Sawai Jaya Singha who was an ardent worshipper of the images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa was very much shocked and sent for scholars at Vṛindāvana to come to Jaipur and give nistha in favour of worship of the images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. Vaiṭāṇāṭha Chakravarīti was then the head of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava sect at Vṛindāvana and he was too old to go to Jaipur and take part in the deliberation. So he sent Baladeva Vidyābhūṣana, who was a competent scholar on the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava philosophy as propounded by Sanātana Gosvāmin and others.

Baladeva Vidyābhūṣana was born according to tradition in a village near Remunā where there is the temple of Kṛṣṇachora Gopīnātha. He was a versatile scholar and studied carefully the Vaiṣṇava literature. He went to Jaipur and heard the arguments put forward by the southern Vaiṣṇavas against the worship of the images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa who wanted philosophical interpretation based on Prastāna-trayī like other Vaiṣṇava sects of India. Baladeva took time and within the stipulated period produced the Govinda Bhāṣya on the Brahma-Satra Bhāgavatgīta and Duṣṭopaniṣat in which he dealt with the theory of Achintya bhūdabheda incomprehensible difference and non difference on the images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa which was accepted by the southern Vaiṣṇavas and consequently the philosophy in the worship of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa was recognised by all India Vaishnavas. Thus we see that the beginning of the worship of the single image of Gopīnātha and also the dual images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa later on and finally the propounding
of the philosophy of the worship of Radhā-Kṛṣṇa, were distinct contributions of the scholars of Orissa to Vaiṣṇavism.

The followers of Mādhva Philosophy adopt Nārāyaṇa as the supreme deity and they conceived three Saktis, namely Śri, Bha and Lila. Similarly Baladeva Vidyābhūṣana conceived Kṛṣṇa as God Himself (Kṛṣṇastu-Bhagavān svayam and his three Saktis or energies were namely Sāmpī, Saṁdhīni and Ḫladīni and Radhā was interpreted to be the Ḫladīni sakti. Thus the deification of Radhā was established on the basis of Vedānta philosophy according to the theory of Achintyābhedabheda which was originally suggested by Sanātana Gosvāmin in his works and later on established by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣana as stated above. After deification of Radhā, the cult of Radhā Kṛṣṇa spread like wild fire in the country and like Janmastami of Kṛṣṇa, Radhastami of Radhā was introduced in the Smrti literature after the middle of the 18th century A.D.

APPENDIX - I

(1) Note on Nimbārka or Nimbāditya

No definite date is known about the advent of Nimbārka. The following is an abstract of what has been discussed by the late Dr. J. N. Banerji in his Bengali work entitled Panchopasana.

"Nimbārka or Nimbāditya was the founder of the Saṅka Sampradāya. It has been assumed by the scholars that he was born after the demise of Kamānuja in a Brahmin family at the village Nimba or Nimbapur in the Southern India. The religious life of Nimbārka was spent at Vṛndāvana near Mathura and for this reason he preached Vaiṣṇavism in which the worship of Radhā-Kṛṣṇa was stressed upon. He propounded a short Tika of Vedāntasūtra called Vedāntaparijata sanrābha and his whole arguments were limited to 10 verses called Daṇḍāloki which discussed the Dvaita-Dvaita-vada. The main deities of the followers of Nimbārka or Saṅka-sampradāya are Gopijana-vallabha–Gopala Kṛṣṇa and his Ḫãdīni energy Śrīmatī Rādhikā".

From the above account it is clear that Nimbārka first introduced the conception of the worship of Radhā and Kṛṣṇa in the 12th century A.D. But no images of Radhā and that of Kṛṣṇa worshipped
by him or his followers have been found. Another point is that about Rādhā conceived as the Hladī sāktī of Kṛṣṇa in the 12th century A.D., we have not got any reference in the literature of the period.

As regards the name of Rādhā, Nimbārka perhaps got his idea from the Sanskrit works like Dvanyāloka or Subhāṣīna-ratnakara. It is not exactly known if Jayadeva developed his idea of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa from the secular literature noted above or from the preaching of Nimbārka of whom he is regarded as a follower by many scholars. The date of Saṅkṛti-Karnamṛta is 1266 A.D., but there we have not got any direct reference to Jayadeva’s Gīta Govinda or to Nimbārka. On the whole we do not get any contemporary reference to Nimbārka’s conception of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa worship.

(2) Note on Vallabhaṭṭachārya:

Vallabhaṭṭachārya and Chaitanya were contemporary. Vallabhaṭṭachārya was born in 1479 A.D. and died in 1531 A.D., whereas Chaitanya was born in 1486 A.D. and died in 1533 A.D. From the chapter VII of Antyādha of Chaitanya Charitamṛta we find that Vallabha Bhaṭṭa met and discussed with Chaitanya at Puri regarding the Tīka of Bhāgavata made by him. The Tīka was decried by Chaitanya, who only supported the Tīka made by Śrīdhara Svāmī.

The tradition of appearance in a dream of Deva-daman or Srinathaji at the Govardhana hill in Vrindāvana before Vallabhaṭṭachārya seems to be similar to that of Bāla Gopāla there before Mādhavendra-puri. Both Mādhavendra-puri and Vallabhaṭṭachārya built temples for their deities there. Vallabhaṭṭachārya stressed on the worship of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa at Vrindāvana. The image of Nathaji was removed to Nathadvāra in Udayapur, Rājaputna during the reign of Auraṅzib but we do not know the date of the image of Gopāla worshipped by Mādhavendra-puri. According to Rasikamāṇḍala, when Rāsikānanda Deva Gosvāmin visited Vrindāvana he found the image and temple of Gopāla at the Govardhana hill. But according to Bhaktiratnakara, when Jahnava Devi visited Govardhana she did not see the temple of Gopāla. It seems that Narahari Chakravarti who wrote Bhaktiratnakara in the 18th century, did not see the temple and so he omitted it in the account of Jahnava Devi.
APPENDIX - II

A note on the identification of the so-called images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa at Paharpur:

In the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1926-27 Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikṣit, the then Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, described a *bas-relief* representing an amorous couple as *Rādhā Kṛṣṇa*. The date of the Paharpur Stupa is attributed to the 7th century A. D. So these images were considered to be the earliest representation of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. As the main attributes, the peacock plume and flute of Kṛṣṇa are not found in the sculpture of Kṛṣṇa at Paharpur, Rao Bahadur Dikṣit's identification was not based on known facts.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji wrote a paper entitled "*Purāṇa legends and Prakṛti literature in New Indo-Aryan*" which was published in the *Bulletins of the school of Oriental and African Studies Vol. VII* (1935-37) pages 457-466. In this paper Dr. Chatterji writes that "But it appears that there is a plastic and dance in Bengal dating from the sixth century A. D. as the existence of Rādhā as the Gopī *par excellence*." Dr. Chatterji came to the conclusion that "Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in their oldest plastic representation is found at Paharpur stupa (p. 462). Dr. Pusalkar in his work entitled "*Studies in Epics and Purāṇas*" published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay supports Dr. Chatterji's conclusion.

Dr. Sukumar Sen in his book entitled, "*A history of the Brajabuli literature*" 1935 has written as follows on this subject:—

"The earliest representation of the Kṛṣṇa legends in art in Bengal is to be found in the Paharpur bas-relief (vide notes on the Paharpur reliefs by K. N. Dikshit, Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report (1926-27)). The reliefs probably date in the sixth century A. D. In one relief Kṛṣṇa in his familiar pose is accompanied by a female apparently a beloved Gopī. Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji first pointed out the female figure to be that of Rādhā" (P. 480).

Sri S. K. Saraswati in his work entitled "*Early sculptures of Bengal*" 1937, doubted the identification of the *bas-relief* and put a mark of interrogation and there he tried to identify the female figure as *Rukmini* or *Satyabhāma*. Sri Saraswati accepted the identification of the male figure as Kṛṣṇa, but it is not the image of Kṛṣṇa at all, and
so the suggestion of identification of the other figure with either Rukmini or Satyabhama does not arise at all.

In the chapter on Religion in the "History of Bengal," edited by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, and published by the University of Dacca, in 1943, Dr. P. C. Bagchi writes as follows on the subject:—

"Another special feature of Bengal Vaishnavism is the Radha-Krishna cult. It was well established in the time of Jayadeva (end of 12th century), but it is not known how early it was started. It is highly improbable as we have already seen, that the amorous scenes at Paharpur contain a representation of Radha". He further notes on Radha that "Mr. S. K. Saraswati (sculpture 44) gives good ground for not accepting the identification of the group at Paharpur with Radha-Krishna. He suggests identification either with Krishna-Rukmini or with Krishna-Satyabhama on the basis of certain passages in Vishnu-Dharmottara or Brihat Samhita".

Though the theme of Radha-Krishna was popular in literature and legends of India since the early centuries of the Christian Era, no sculpture of the images of Radha-Krishna is definitely known to have existed before the 17th century A.D.

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2. Pushpavama Vilasa
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Subhashita Ratnakara
Saduki Karnamrita
Gitegovinda
Padavali
Padavali
Jagannathvallabha-natakam
Padavali
Chaitanya Charitamrita
Gopijana Vallabha Dasa
Rasikamaśagala
Puruṣa Vodhini Tāpinī
Gopāla Tāpinī
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SECTION E
HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

49
ANCIENT ROUTES IN ORISSA *
(Read at the meeting of Indian History Congress,
Calcutta, 1955.)

From the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, it is learnt that in eastern India there were two dynasties named Utkala and Kaliṅga according to names of which these two countries were called Utkala and Kaliṅga. Pradyumna had three sons, named Haritāśva or Vinitāśva, Gaya and Utkala and each created a kingdom in their own names. As Gaya and Utkala are linked together, it is presumed that there were routes of communication among the people. The said Purāṇa also states that the king Vali had six sons named Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Suhma, Punḍra and Oḍra who were allowed to rule the countries called after their names. We do not know the boundaries of these three kingdoms called Kaliṅga, Utkala and Oḍra from the Purāṇas, but it is certain that a greater part of these kingdoms is comprised in modern Orissa.

The legendary account of Gayāsura from the Purāṇas furnishes information that the corpse of the demon Gaya stretched from Gaya to Pithapura near Rajmahendri; his head lay at Gaya, his naval part at Jajpur in Orissa and his feet at Pithapura. From this legend it is found that the people of this area belonged to one culture. The offering of Piṇḍa to forefathers at Gaya, Jajpur and Pithapur is still current among the Hindus of India, and it is natural to think that for the pilgrims to Gaya-Jajpur-Pithapur, there was a pilgrim route in early days. Among these three places Jajpur in Orissa is also a central place which connects Pithapur in the south and Gaya in the north. Besides Jajpur, Sriketra or Puri of Orissa is another famous place of pilgrimage in India. Nowadays a large

number of pilgrims pay a visit to these places annually. The antiquity of places of pilgrimage in Kalióga (modern Orissa) is as old as Baudhâyana Srautasutra and Manu Samhita where 'Tirôha-yâtra' finds mention. These places of pilgrimage used to attract a large number of pilgrims from different parts of India from the north, west and south of Orissa and it is certain that there were ancient trade or pilgrim routes in those days. Now-a-days these ancient routes are abandoned due to the establishment of railway lines and high ways throughout India, but the study of ancient routes will be profitable for us in locating places of archaeological interest.

The following historical events in Orissa furnish us sufficient materials for the study of ancient routes in Orissa.

1. Routes to and from the North of Orissa.

In the Buddhist account it is found that two merchants named 'Tapasu' and 'Bhallika' of Utkala who, on their way to Madhyadessa, first gave bôney to the Buddha at Buddhagaya. These merchants had 500 cart-loads of merchandise with them. To carry 500 carts from Utkala to Magadha was only possible through a developed highway.

Then the Hatigumpá inscription of Khárvála mentions the conquest of Kalióga by the Nanda king of Magadha. It is not known on which route the soldiers of the Nanda king marched to Kalióga from Magadha.

The Mauryan Emperor Ásoka the great came with a large army and conquered Kalióga in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. The strength of the Mauryan army can be imagined from the number of the dead, the wounded and the prisoners. According to Ásokan inscriptions the number of the dead was innumerable, the wounded were 1,00,000 and the prisoners were 1,50,000. The Ásokan army was no doubt more than 5,00,000 and one can imagine the huge preparation for the movement of such an army in those days. It is certain that the Mauryan army travelled all the way from Patna to Tossli on a highway where there were possibility of supply of water and food stuff.

Then in the 2nd or 1st century B.C Kháravela of Kalióga not only marched as far as Rajagryha in the north, but he advanced in the west to the kingdom of the Sátavâhanas and in the south to the
kingdom of Pāṇḍyas. The army of Kharavela consisted of 4 categories of Chaturāṅga. It is needless to mention that for the movement of Rathas a good highway is essential.

The above three events happened two thousand years ago. If we assume that Tossil of the Asokan inscriptions and Kalāṅganagara of the Kharavela inscription were situated somewhere near Bhubaneswar, we must also assume that in those days, the Mahanadi was crossed at a place near the present Cuttack town. There are two possibilities of easy communication towards north, one on the Virupa branch of the Mahanadi and then on the Kimbhira branch of Birupa up to the Brahmani, or on the places just east to the foot of the hills up to Dharmasala. The road from the southern bank of the Brahmani to Jajpur, lay after crossing the rivers Kharswan and the Budha, a branch of the Vaitarani. From Jajpur the road stretched northwards up to Midnapore via Dhamnagar, Bhadrak, Soro, Remuna, Ramachandrapur, Garhpada, Basta, Amarda, Raibania, Gaganeswar, Kesari and Kharagpur. From Midnapore it stretched to Garh Mandaran from where it was bifurcated, one towards Burdwan and the other towards Saptagram and Trivenighat on the Ganges. The road just below the foot of the hills up to Dharmasala stretched in the north westerly direction up to Anandapur in Keonjhar on the Vaitarani and then following the Vaitarani valley it reached Khiching in western Mayurbhanj. From Khiching the road went in north-easterly direction up to Bahalda in Mayurbhanj via Bamanghati (modern Raipangpur town). From Bahalda it went in a northerly direction via Saraikela to the Manbhum district where it touched the Subarnarekha valley. From this place the road to Gaya or Patna is quite possible. Out of these two possible routes which one was in actual use, is to be considered. A trade route can be determined by the find-spot of coins and other antiquarian remains. On the eastern route beyond Remuna no archaeological evidence earlier to 1000 A.D. have been reported. But on the western route from Dharmasala to Bahalda, there are reports on the find of coins. From Kayama hill near Dharmasala Kushan copper coins have been found. From Sitabinjhi in Keonjhar situated in the Vaitarani valley Puri-Kushan coins have been unearthed. At Khiching and Bhanjakia Kushan and Puri-Kushan type of copper coins have been found. At Raipangpur, Roman coins of Gordian type have been found. At Tentala, Kushan coins and at Dundu near Bahalda silver punch marked coins have been unearthed. There are reports of discovery of such coins in Singhbhum and
Manbhum districts. All throughout this route there is abundant water supply by the rivers and rivulets. From the above account it seems that there were trade or pilgrim routes from the Subarnarekha valley in Manbhum Singhbhum and northern Mayurbhanj districts to the Vaitarani valley in the western Mayurbhanj, eastern Keonjhar up to Aundapurn so far as the hill area is concerned. The rest of the route towards south of Anandapur is quite possible up to Puri. So it is suggested that this route was followed by the Nanda king, Asoka and Kharavela. I have just made a bird’s eye view, but to establish it fully further careful survey in Orissa and Bihar is necessary.

From the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta we come to know that Samudragupta sent an expedition to southern India through Kosala, Mahakantara, Kalianga etc. It has been accepted that the expedition of Samudragupta started from Patliputra or Patna. If so, then we must find out a route from Patna in Bihar to Bilaspur and Raipur in Madhya-Pradesha. The possible route is through the districts of Palaman via Sirguja to Bilaspur. The other route is from the Ranchi district via old Gangpur and Raigarh to Bilaspur. Both the routes are very difficult for the movement of a large army. Samudragupta’s Allahabad inscription indicates that his activities were more centred round Allahabad or Kausambi. If we assume that Samudragupta sent the expedition from Kausambi, then the route to Kosala is quite easy. From Kosala to Kalianga there were too many Balangir and the trade routes lying in the Kalahandi, the Baud-Phulbani districts of Orissa. In Baud-Phulbani district there is the Kalianga ghat which connects Baud with Berhampur in Ganjam. Baud can be easily reached via Anga valley in the Balangir district from the Phuljhar area of the Mahanadi valley of the Kosala kingdom. Again from Kosala one can come to the Ganjam district via western part of the Balangir and the eastern part of the Kalahandi districts through the Mohanaagiri-ghat. Actually there was a salt route in this area. This area even now can be called the Mahakantara. The exact relation of the Gupta empire with the Utkala kingdom during the expedition of Samudragupta is not clear. Recently copper-plates of the Vignara dynasty have been discovered and these documents show that the southern Puri and northern Ganjam area of Orissa were under the Gupta rule.

The political geography of the time of Samudragupta as is found in the Allahabad prasasti, is corroborated by the description of Raghu’s campaign in the regions of Utkala and Kalianga on the eastern
sea. The country of Utkala of Kalidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa is mentioned after Suhma and Vaṅga. The king of Utkala guided his army towards Kaliṅga. Although Utkala finds mention in Raghuvaṁśa, its political relation with Raghu remains as dubious as that of the Allahabad prāṣasti of Sāmudragupta. From the description of Raghuvaṁśa we are not benefited by any clear idea about the route of Raghu's campaign in Utkala.

During the second quarter of the 7th century A.D. Yuan-Chuang visited the capital of Utkala and Puspagirī monastery from Karnasuvarṇa first and then went to Koṅgada and Kaliṅga. From Kaliṅga he went to Mahākosalā. He came to Karnasuvarṇa from Tāmralipta or modern Tamulk. The capital of Ucchā or Utkala was in these days near modern Jajpur. The Puspagiri monastery and the sea port called Chelitalo were situated towards south and southeast of Jajpur. But the Chinese pilgrim instead of coming straight from Tamulk or Tāmralipta to Jajpur had to go to Karnasuvarṇa which was situated in a north-westerly direction from Tāmralipta. From the Chinese pilgrim's route, it seems that in the early 7th century A.D. there was no good road from Tāmralipta to Jajpur. The Hijili area of the Midnapore district was a group of islands some 300 years ago. It is found that there are a large number of parganas with Chara endings, a Chara is really an island. The present name of Bastā has been derived from the ancient name Vamādačaua which finds mention in the Asankhali copper-plate of Narasimha Deva II issued in 1303 A.D. The presence of Charas indicate no continuous land mass and hence no road. Karnasuvarṇa has been identified with Rangamati in the Murshidabad District. That Karnasuvarṇa was a real geographical place is proved from the two copper-plate inscriptions of Jayanāga and Bhaskaravarṇa. Cunningham suggested the place somewhere near Barabazar in the Manbhum district on the Suvarnarekha. The antiquities of the Manbhum district are too many. Besides Cunningham's Assistant Beglar reports the traditions of Saśāṅka of Karnasuvarṇa in Manbhum. Hewitt in his 'The Ruling Races of Pre-historic Times' page 327 notes that the Rajas of Chota Nagpore had the hereditary title of king of Karnasuvarṇa. The recently discovered Midnapore copper plates give the names of feudatories of Saśāṅka who were the rulers in north Orissa. One Sailodbhava ruler of Koṅgada (modern Ganjam) mentions Saśāṅka in the Gupta year 300. The identification of Karnasuvarṇa with a place in the Manbhum district
helps us in tracing the route of the Chinese pilgrim from Karnasuvarna to Ucha on the trade and pilgrims highway from Magadha to Utkala.

In the life of the Chinese pilgrim it is stated that Harşavar dhana made a march through Orissa up to Ganjam from Uttar Pradesh.

In 1023-25 Rajendra Chola of Tanjore sent an army to the Ganges. Marching in southern India his army arrived at Sakra-koṣa, modern Chitrakota in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh. The army passed through the Masuni country and arrived at Yayatinagara on the Mahanadi near Sonpur of the Balangir district. Then it passed through the Odra country which was difficult for access and then reached the country of Daṇḍabhukti situated in the western Midnapore and Bankura area of modern west Bengal. To reach Danḍabhukti from Sonpur one would have to follow the course of the Mahandi up to Cuttaec and then following the trade route through eastern Keonjhar and western Mayurbhanj will reach the Dhalbhum area of eastern Singhbhum from where Danḍabhukti is quite approachable, or one would have to go through the eastern part of the district of Sambalpur, Bonai Sub-division of the Sundargarh district and Keonjhar district and then would arrive at the trade route somewhere near Khiching in Mayurbhanj. I was able to identify Adinagara or Yadinagara of the Tamil inscriptions of Rajendra Chola with Yayatinagara only on the study of possible route of the expedition.

It seems that towards the middle of the 11th century A.D. a route was possible to Orissa from the right bank of the Ganges in Hugli through Garh Mandaran, Midnapore, Raibania Amarda, Basta and Remuna. On this route in the second part of the 11th century A.D. Jayasimha, the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti, an ally of Rāmapāla, helped Kurukṣetari of Utkala who was defeated by the Gaṅga king Rājarāja. This account is mentioned in the Rāmācharita of Sandhyākara Kandin. Soon after the conquest of Utkala in about 1111 A.D., Chodagaṅga spread his powers up to the Gaṅgas and established a frontier station at Garh Mandaran.

From the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, it is learnt that in 1245-1247 there was a war between the Muslim Sultan of Bengal and the Gaṅga
king Narasimha Deva I. During this war the army of Jajnagar (Orissa) followed this route from Cuttack to Garh Mandaran and thence to Lakeshavat or Gaur. In the Asanakhali copper-plate of Narasimha Deva II of 1303 A.D. a ‘Rajapatha’ on the village of Vamsadz finds mention. In 1351 Shamsuddin Illias Shah of Bengal attacked Jajnagar by following this route.

In 1360 Sultan Feroz Shah of Delhi came with a large army from Jaunpur via Bihar and Chotanagpur to Jajnagar—Orissa. At that time the capital of Orissa or Jajnagar was at Varaṇasi Katakā. The following quotation from R.·D. Banerji’s History of Orissa, Vol.I, p. 282 will show that he had a wrong idea about the route of Sultan Feroz Shah’s expedition to Orissa.

“Firoz Tughlaq advanced from Bihar towards Gaqhakaṇṭakā. Jajnagar lay at the extremity of this province, which is the same as the British District of Jubbulpur. Having crossed the Mahānādi he reached the town of Banārsī. The Haihaya King of Jajnagar fled into Telengana.”

At page 258 he writes: "Jajnagar is Jujjalanagar in Chhattisgāṭha”, Elliot and Raverty both identified ‘Kara’ of Tarikh-i-Firozshahi with Karā of Jubbulpur. But the text of Sirat-i-Firozshahi is ‘Sikarā’. I identified this ‘Sikara’ with ‘Shikhara’ of the Sikharbhūm in Manbhum where there is a ruling family at Panchakot (Panchet) with the surname of Sikhara. Sikharabhūmī finds mention in Sandhyākaranandin’s ‘Rāmcharita” One can easily come from Bihar sheriff of the Patna district through the Hazaribagh district and reach Sikharbhūm of the Manbhum district. At the time of Ferozshah’s invasion the king of Sikharabhūmī had 36 feudatories under him. After defeating the Sikhar king Sultan Firozshah came towards Jajnagar. Two places namely Tinanagar and Kinanagar find mention in the text of Sirat-i-Firozshahi Kinanagar may be identified with Khichinganagar, the capital of the Bhanja kings. Kinanagar was on the route of the army of Firozshah. Thence Sultan came to Kalakalāghāt of the Cuttack district situated near the eastern border of the Denkanal district. Then the Sultan arrived at Benaras (Varāṇasi Katakā) the capital of the king Pirbhān Deo. Pirbhān Deo in Persian stands really for Vira Bhanu Deva in Sanskrit or Oriya.
The above account gives a direct route from Bihar sheriff to Cuttack. It seems that Firozshah followed the ancient trade route noted above. Historian Badaoni has written that the Sarqi Sultan of Jaunpur in 1393-94 invaded Jajnagar. As a hoard of coins of Sarqi Sultans of Jaunapur has been found from the Brahmani valley, it seems that there was another route from the Ranchi district through the valley of the Brahmani.

Chaitanya came to Jagannatha from Navadvipa first by the river route upto Deobhog on the Ganges and from there by land route upto Dantan in the southern extremity of the modern Midnapore district.

The Van Den Broke's map was prepared in 1660 A.D. In this map places like Jagannatha, Cuttack, Bhadrak, Balasore, Remuna, Narsinghpur, Pipili, Jaleswar and Dantan are shown on a high way. In 1766 Motte went to Sambalpur from Jaleswar and he has left a description of the places from Jaleswar to Cuttack on the way which was then known as the Badsahi road, and the road from Cuttack to Sambalpur has been fully described by him also.

II. Route to and from the West of Orissa

According to the traditions of the Madalapāṇjī, Indradyumna came to Puri from the country of Mālava. The special Kaliṅga edicts of Asoka at Dhauli state that the Kumara used to visit Tosali from—Ujjayini occasionally, and he had to travel through Madhya Bharat, and Madhaya Pradesa to Orissa. The Hatigumpha inscription states that Khāravela went to Vidarbha area and it seems that he followed the route on the valleys of the Mahanadi and the Aṅga upto the border of the Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh. The discovery of punch marked and other coins from Sonpur indicates that it was situated on a high way. The Somakuli Keśari kings came to Orissa from Mahākośala through the Aṅga and the Mahanadi valleys.

In 1421-22 Hosang shah of Mandu came to Cuttack cunningly disguised as a horse merchant and halted on the other side of the river Mahanadi. From Mandu in Mālava to Cuttack in Orissa is a long distance and Hosang had to follow the route in the Narbada valley towards the east and then reached the Raipur or Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh from where the route to Orissa in the Mahanadi valley is quite easy. In 1741 Bhaṣkar Pandit was escorted to Cuttack from Phuljhar in the Raipur district.
On the west apart from the route to Cuttack through the valley of the Mahanadi below Baud, there was a route to Ganjam through the Kaliaghat, and also from near Kanker in Bastar district there was a route to Vizagpatam district through the Ampani and Parbatipur ghat or the Salur ghat. Another route from Phuljhar passed through the Kalahandi district upto the border of the Ganjam district through the Mohanagiri-ghat. All these routes were famous for trade in salt and other commodities to Madhya Pradesh and beyond.

III. Route to and from the South of Orissa

There are Asokan inscriptions at Dhauli in the Puri and Jangada in the Ganjam districts. It is certain that in the Mauryan days there was easy communication between these places. The land route is possible through Nayagarh and there was also a route on the land which separated the Chilka from the sea and also a route near the existing Trunk road to Madras. The discovery of Kushan coins at Gurbai on the strip of land between the Chilka and the sea suggests a trade route in that area. In the 7th century Sañjña, Harṣavardhana and Yuan Chuang went to Koṅgada (modern Ganjam) through one of these routes. The area of Koṅgada was occupied by the Bhaumars. Choṅgaṇa came to Cuttack area of Orissa through one of these routes in 1111 A.D. It is not definitely known through which route Ulugh Khan entered Jaṅnagar in 1323 A.D. The mention of Manikpatna in the tradition of Puruṣottama Deva’s expedition to Kāśi suggests that he went on the strip of land which separates the Chilka lake from the sea. In 1624 Shah Jahan entered Orissa through the pass of Khalikot from the south and went upto Uttar Pradesh and returned on the same route.

IV. Sea Route

From the works of Ptolemy and Pliny we learn that there were a number of ports on the sea coast of Orissa, but none of them has yet been indentified. The port mentioned by Yuan Chuang has not yet been located. The people of Kaliṅga carried sea borne trade with the East Indies. They had trade also with ports of far off Persian gulf and the Red sea. Vasudeva Somayāji, the author of Gaṅgavamsañucarita has described that he came to Puri from Burwa, a port in Ganjam by a boat and returned on the
land route to Khalikot after crossing the Chilka lake in a boat in the year 1762 A.D.

This is just a sketch of the history of routes spreading for a period of over 2500 years and I venture to suggest that the study in detail of each route will bring to light new historical materials.

A NOTE ON THE "BHUM" COUNTRIES IN EASTERN INDIA.

Mayurbhanj is popularly known as Bhanjabhumi or Bhanjabhum (the country of Bhanja Princes). In the Rasikamangala, a book written in the middle of the 17th century, Mayurbhanj is described as Bhanjabhum. Similarly Dhalbhum, Singbhum, Sikharbhum Mandhum, Tungbhum, Mallbhum etc. are known after the family surname of Dhal, Simha, Sikhar, Manu, Tunga and Malla families.

Evidence is not wanting that the countries were so called after the names of tribes or families or even brothers belonging to a family long after the tribe or the family had ceased to exist, as for instance, Aikshakus, Panchalas, Kasis, Kalingas, Utkalas etc. In eastern India it is said in the Purana that the queen Sudesna bore six sons who were named Anga, Vanga, Kalinga Pundra, Odra and Suhma to her husband the king Bali and the countries over which they ruled were called after them. "Anga Vanga Kalingadyah Suhma-Paundra Udra Sanjika; Janjire Dirghatamas Vatah Kṣatra mahikaitah; Chakru svanamna Viṣayān Sadimān Prāchyakamschate." Here we find 6 brothers mentioned in a Bengali Book. The Oriya translation made by Jagannātha Dāsa in the 16th century A.D. also mentions 6 brothers. A Bombay publication includes Andhra in place of Odra. Pargiter omits Odra vide Ancient Indian Historical Traditions pp. 158 & 272. Sudyumna had three sons named Utkala, Gaya and Vinitāsya who had territories of their own, thus Utkala had

* Vide Indian Culture 1946.
the Utkala country, Vinitása had the western country and Gaya had the city of Gaya. These 8 ancient divisions of eastern India had geographical contiguity and so it is natural that in this area the ancient tradition of naming countries after the family surname of the rulers survived or revived in these kingdoms with bhum suffix.

The country names ending in 'Bhum' suffix are bounded on the north by Birbhum, on the east by Mallabhum (in the district of Bankura), Baghbhum (in the district of Midnapore) in Bengal, and on the south by Bhanjabhum or Mayurbhanj and by Singbhum and Nagbhum (Chotia Nagpur or Ranchi) on the west. The surname Bhanja has been found from the epigraphic records as early as 5th century A.D. from a rock inscription of Sītabinji near Keonjhar. The Brahmi inscription in 13 lines of about the fourth century A.D. incised under a beautiful Natarāja figure and found from Aasanapat in the Keonjhar district speaks of one Satru Bhanja, who was a very powerful ruler.

*Acharanga Sutra* is an old Jaina treatise composed in the 4th century B.C. which mentions countries called 'Vaijąabhumi' and 'Subhabhumi'. The corruptions of 'Vaijābhumi' and 'Subhabhumi' have been suggested as Vijayabhumi, Vaijąbhumi or Bhanjabhum and Simhabhum or Subhabhum respectively. Whatever may be the modern form of the corruption of these places, it is certain that there existed countries in this area with Bhum suffix in the 4th century B.C. if not earlier.

Mr. Nanda Lal Dey suggests that the countries with 'Bhumī' suffix were derived from Mahāvīra and he writes:— "Manbhum is evidently a corruption of Manyabhumi which means the 'Venerable country' and evidently derived its name from Mahāvīra, who was called the 'Venerable Aseetic Mahāvīra.' Singbhum is a corruption of Simhabhum, which means the country of the Lion. It also derived its name from Mahāvīra who was compared to a lion and whose symbol was the lion". Blochman’s note in this connection is quoted below: "It is remarkable that among names of the Jungly and hilly frontier

1. (A) J & P A S B. Vol IV, p. 285-86,
   (B) J.B. & O.R.S. Vol XIII, p. 90,
   (C) I H.Q. Vol IV, p. 44,
districts, we find so many endings in Bhum. Thus we have Birbhum, Sainbhum, along with the left bank of the Ajai, in Birbhum district; Sikharbhum or Shergarh, the Mahall to which Banigaj belongs; Gopibhum, along with right bank of the Ajai Bamanbhum or Brahmanbhum, in northern Medinipur District; Manbhum, Barabhum, Dhalbhum, Singbhum in Chutia Nagpur; Tunbhum in southern Purulia, Malbhum, the frontier of Burdwan and Medinipur Districts; Bhanjibhum, with the town of Medinipur etc. Similarly the frontier district between Rangpur and the Brahmaputra, comprising Mahals Bhitarbund and Bahirband, is called in the Suja's rentroll 'Bangalbhum'. The Ain also mentions a Mahall Bhowalbhum under Sirkar Mandaran."

The compiler of the Bankura District Gazetteer estimates the age of the division of countries with 'Bhum' suffix as follows:—

"The names of some of these tracts are of considerable antiquities being found in the Brahmanda section of the Bhavisyat Purava which was probably compiled in the 15th or 16th century". 4 The epigraphic evidence of some of these tracts with Bhum suffix and surnames of some ruling dynasties goes back to a much earlier period than the 15th century as stated by the compiler of the Gazetteer.

In his article on "Geography of India, with extract from a paper by the late Prof. H. H. Wilson" Dr. J. Burgess writes the following:—

"1824 Prof. H. H. Wilson found some fragments of a geographical work, which formed the subject of a paper he contributed to the Oriental Magazine for that year. As this paper has not been republished in his collected works, and the Oriental Magazine is now practically inaccessible to most, I venture to submit his version of the fragments with as much of his prefatory remarks and foot notes as is of interest:—

"The work, he says from which they are taken, is professed by a section of the Bhavisyat Purava, it is not however, found in the entire copies of that Purava, and is, no doubt, a distinct

4. The District Gazetteer of Bankura, p. 22.
composition. Much of the work is either of some antiquity or is made up of ancient materials, but there is very large proportions that is clearly quite modern."

The manuscript of Bhavishyat Purasa from which Wilson derived the material or his paper, is now preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta and Mr. H. P. Sastri's 'Descriptive Catalogue' Vol. IV contains quotation from the manuscript at pages 59-62. Wilson's reading of Nari Khandā seems to be a mistake for Jhārikhandā; which was popularly known as Jharkandā during the Moghal and subsequent periods of Indian history.

"Division of Pundra Desa, from the Brahmanda section of the Bhavishyat Purata:-- That part of Bharata or India known by the name of Pundra, consists of seven principal divisions: Gour, Varendra, Nivritti near the country of Sumbha, the forest tract called Narikhanda, Varahabhumi, Vardhamana and Vindhyaparswa or the country along the foot of the Vindya mountains. These we shall severally describe.

"Narikhanda (Jharikhanda) is a district abounding in thickets. It lies west of Bhagirathi; north of the Dwarikeswari river. It extends along the Panchakuta hills on its west and approaches Kikata (Magadha) on the north. The district is celebrated for the shrine of Vaidyanatha. In the division of Virabhumi, the no less eminent form of the same divinity, named Bakreswara, is present in the world. There is no want of water, and numerous small streams run through the forest; the principal of these is the Ajaya.

"In that part of Viradesa is the city of Nagara (the capital of Birbhum till the 13th century); also Sipulya and other towns. On the southern confines towards Odra country is Kindavisha, Suvarnamukshya is in the forest.

"Varahabhumi is the next division of Pundra. The centre portion is the forest; along the skirt of it Dhavalabhumi. In one direction it is contiguous to Tungabhumi, and another to the Sekhara mountain; and it comprises Varabhumi, Samantabhumi, and Mana-bhumi. This country is overspread with impenetrable forests of Sal and other trees. On the borders of Varabhumi runs the Darikesi river."
The principal towns are Pushpepatan, Kusumapattan, Chatranagar, Raghunathpur, Dhawalapur, Sivullapal and Barahanagar. The chief villages are Chakravestanas, Kichandra, Suvarnatapan Nandala, Kesara, Raypura, two Sarangas, Virabandhana, Swavarnarikketc.  

Account of the Bhum Countries.

1. Aditbhum or Adityabhumi:

The early British records mention a country in the jungle Mahals of Midnapore known as Aditbhum which is no doubt a corruption of Adityabhumi.

In Mayurbhanj there are a few Kshatriya families possessing the surname Jit or Jits which seems to be an apabhramsa of Aditya. “The present reigning family of Patkum claims descent from Vikramaditya” 6 Vikramaditya the traditional founder of the Patkum family, seems to be a person no other than Vikrama of the Aditya family.

The title of Aditya of the Papkum Raj family seems to have been continued from the Gupta dynasty of Magadha. Sasanka the king of Kusumavarna, who had the second name Narendraditya has been accepted as a descendant of the Gupta dynasty or a branch of the Gupta dynasty of Magadha. Dr. Radhagobinda Basak writes as follows on this point:—

“The late Mr. R. D. Banerji also referred to the opinion of some numismatists who held that the inscription on the alleged Sasanka coins reads Narendraditya and he inferred, with some degree of probability, that Sasanka, like the former imperial Guptan rulers, enjoyed a second name with an aditya title.” 7

The genealogical table of the Patkum Raj family contains 63 names from Vikramaditya, the founder of the family. From 28th

generation up till now the names of successive Rajas have been repeated one after another with the titles of Vikramaditya Udayaditya and Satrughanaditya. Such repetition of titles or names is found in the genealogy of the Somavamsi kings of Dakshina Košala and Utkala whose titles Mahāśīvagupta and Mahābhavagupta were alternately assumed by the rulers. The names of successive rulers of the Puri Rajas are Ramachandradeva, Virakshoradeva, Divyasmhadeva and Mukundadeva. The Raj families of Bamra, Bonai and Palahara possess titles of Sudhaladeva and Tribhubanadeva, Indradeva and Chandradeva, Ganeswarapala and Munipala respectively. In the genealogical table of the Gupta dynasty this peculiarity is also met with such as the second names of Chandragupta II, Kumaragupta, Skandagupta, Narasimhagupta and Chandragupta III were Vikramaditya, Mahendraditya, Vikramaditya, Valaditya and Dvadasaditya respectively. Thus the second name of Narenraditya of Sasanka is very significant and suggests his connection with the Aditya family of Adityabhumi. If this identification is accepted it will lead to the correct identification of Karnasuvarna which is still a controversial question. As I propose to discuss on the identification of Karnasuvarna in a separate paper, I have not purposely raised any argument here. According to tradition Devapura (modern Disapura Dalmi) was the ancient capital of the Patkum Rajas. This Devapura may be identified with Devagrama belonging to Vikramaraja mentioned in Ramacharita and Vikramaraja may be identified with one of the Vikramaditya of the Patkum Raj family.

The commentary of Ramacharita explains the word Vikrama of verse 5 of chapter 2 as follows. “Devagramaprativaddvasudha-chakravāla-valavālabhita-rangavāla-vahala-galahasta-prasastahasta-vikrama Vikramaraja” I have shown in a separate paper that there is no reading of ‘Balavalabhi’ in the text of Ramacharita.

The above text describes the power of Vikramaraja of Devagrama kingdom which was surrounded by hills on all sides as if serving the purpose of the elephant force (Vala-vala) protecting the border and terrifying the enemies containing of four categories and thus its ruler was in an advantageous position and so was capable of driving out the enemies by seizing their neck. This interpretation is in conformity with the purpose of the author of Ramacharita. The hills are described by poets as Dik-Varana and Sandhya-karanandi here uses chakravala-vala-vala.
This Devagrama kingdom of Ramacharita seems to be the same Devagrama kingdom of the Garuda stambha inscription (Badal stone inscription) in the verse 16 of which Surapala’s queen Vavvadevi has been described as the daughter of the king of Devagrama. From this it seems that there was matrimonial relation between the two families which helped Ramapala to form his Samanta Chakra.

The epithet Atavika (surrounded by forests) of the Samanta chakra clearly indicates the modern western Bengal and Southern Bihar area and therefore it will be safe to identify Devagrama in the Manbhum District.

2. Baghbhum or Vyaghrabhumi:

The Baghbhum pergannah is situated in the south of the Midnapore district. It is not certain whether a remote ancestor of this Vyaghr family had any connection with Vyaghraraja mentioned in the inscription of Samudragupta, but Mr. J. C. Bose suggests this identification. 8

3. Barabhum or Varahabhumi:

It is now a pergannah in the Manbhum District. The traditional origin of the Barabhum family connects them closely with the Aditya family of the adjoining Patkum estate and its mythical founder Vikramaditya. Colonel Dalton had recorded the following legendary account of the family in his Ethnology of Bengal.

"Nath Varaha and Kesh Varaha, two brothers quarreled with their father, the Raja of Virat and settled in the court of Vikramaditya, Kesh the younger was sawn in to two pieces and with his blood, Vikrama gave a tika to the elder and a pair of umbrellas and told him that all the country he would ride round in a day and night should be his. Nath mounted his steed and accomplished a circuit of eight yojanas within the time specified and a precious stiff line of country he took in riding round what is now Barabhum, but it must be all true as the print of horses hoofs are still visible

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on the southern slope of the hills. 9 The copper plate 10 of Udaya-
Varāha furnishes us with an epigraphic evidence of the Varāha family.

Varababhumi finds mention in the Bhavisyat Purāṇa. The
village Barrabazar (or Varahabazar, Varha being the pakriti form of
Varaha) contains the residence and family temples of the Zamindar
of the Pergannah Barabhum.

4. Bhanjabhum or Bhanjabhumi :

It is identified with Mayurbhanj State in Orissa and with
the Pergannah of the same name in Midnapore. The antiquity of
the name of Bhanjabhumi or Mayurbhanj is shrouded in obscurity.
In Rasikamangala, a book written in the middle of the 17th century,
Mayurbhanj has been described as Bhanjabhumi, but in the Man-
singha’s settlement paper of 1592 A. D translated by Stirling in 1922,
we find the mention of Morbhanj or Mayurbhanja, one killa or fort
of which was ‘Bhanjibhumi’ under the direct control of the Raja.
Among the dependent chiefs ‘Singhbhum’ and ‘Barrabhum’ find
mention. Singbhum is perhaps the same as Singbhum. Bhanjabhumi
is still used in poetical language in Oriya. In Madalapanji late Rai
Bahadur M M. Chakravarti found ‘Bhan jabhumi Baripada Danda
pata’.11 These names are not however found in the copper plate
inscriptions granted by the Bhanja kings from their capital at
Khijinga Kotta (modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj). The copper
plates of the Bhanja families of Banda and Gumsar in southern Orissa
mention that there are several Bhanja kings. ‘Bhan janaradhpatayo
tahwo Vabhuvu’. At present all the Bhanja families of Orissa aver
that they migrated from Mayurbhanj and so Mayurbhanj is to be
taken as the original land of the Bhanjas, that is, Bhanjabhumi of
the ancient days. The epigraphic evidence about the history of the
Bhanja family goes back to the 4th or 5th century A. D. The
rock inscription of Keonjhar published in Modern Review in 1937
mentions the name of one Ragaraja Sri Disha Bhanja Deva. A stone
seal from Khiching belonging to this period bears the inscription
Ragaraja and so it can be safely said that the Bhanja dynasty was

established at Khiching in the early centuries of the Christian era. The seal of the epigraphic records of the Bhanjas represents a bull and that of the Varaha of the Mayura family, a peacock. Tradition of Mayurbhanj narrates that Mayuradvaja-rajä or the king whose flag bears the insignia of the peacock was conquered by the Bhanjas but according to the prayer of the dying king, the Bhanjas adopted the seal of the pea-cock as their own. It seems that the name of Mayurbhanj is due to the amalgamation of the kingdoms of the Mayuras with that of the Bhanjas which perhaps took place some time before the supremacy of the Gangas in Orissa. There is a small Sanskrit lexicon called *Mugdhabodha Abhidhana*, the author of which was a ruler of Mayurbhanj. As the name of the author is not given it is not possible to know definitely about the date, but it is certian that he wrote the book before the development of the Oriya language which may safely be fixed in the 13th or 14th century A.D.

5. Bhawalbhum:

It finds mention in the Ain-i-Akbari under Särkar Mandaran. No report in detail is available about this country. This is perhaps the same as Balbhum of Stirling’s Orissa mentioned under Bishnupur. It may be Varabhumi of the Bbavisyat Purana.

6. Birbhum:

It is the district of the same name in western Bengal. "Birbhmm means simply the territory of the Bir Rajas. Bir, being the title borne by its early Hindu rulers, just as Män Singh, and Dhal were the titles of the chiefs of Manbhum, Singhbhum and Dhalbhum." 12 "An interesting account of this part of the district is given in the Brahmanda section of the Bbavisyat Purana, a work probably composed in the 15th or 16th century" 13 which has been quoted above. "From this account the country is known as Viradesa or Virabhumi, the modern Birbhum." 14 No Epigraphic record of the rulers of this Vira family has yet been found. But in Bengal there are few Kshatriya families with the surname of Vira or Bir. Blochmann took the word Bir to be of Mundari origin and

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13. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
14. Ibid., p. 11.
wrote "the word Bir in Mundari signifies a jungle, whence Birbhum" (West Bengal) vide Ain-i-Akbari Vol. I. (2nd edition) p. 554.

7. Brahmanbhum or Brahmanbhum:

It is a pargannah in the north of Midnapore District and it is so called as it "was held by an old family of Brahmins". This is recorded in the District Gazetteer of Bankura at page 164 that the Rajas of Chantna "were originally Brahmins and lived at Vahulyanagar" one of whom was killed by Samantas." It is not exactly known whether the surname of Brahmana ruler of Brahmanabhum is the family title or caste name; whatever may be the case, it seems to be an exception in the sense in which other bhum ending countries are so called after the family surname.

8. Dhalbhum:

The territory known as Dhalbhum of old days is now comprised in the Singbhum district of Bihar and Midnapore and Bankura Districts in Bengal. The Rajas of Dhalbhum possess the title of Dhala and such title is also found in the family of Zamindars of Dampara in the Cuttack District. R.D. Banerji mentions in his History of Bengal p. 346 that there was one Pratap Dhawala who was powerful near Rotas fort. Traditions as recorded in the history of Midnapore by Mr. J. C. Bose is not corroborated by any epigraphic evidence, The Rajas of Dhalbhum used to enjoy names of Jagannatha Ramechandra and Baikutuntha successively like many ruling families of Orissa (See History of Midnapore P. 572) Dhavalabhum finds mention in Bhavisyat Purana.

9. Gopibhum or Gopabhum:

It finds mention in the Blochman's Geography and History of Bengal p. 242 and in History of Midnapore by Mr. J. C. Bose p. 112. According to Dharmamangala Karnasena, a contemporary of Dharmapala of the Pala dynasty was the ruler of Senbhum and Gopabhum which were situated on the left and right banks of the Ajaya river respectively.

15. The District Gazetteer of Midnapore, p. 119.
10. Mallabhum or Mallabhumī:

"The country over which the Rajas of Bishnupur ruled is called Mallabhum, a term now used for the tract of country comprised in the Thanas of Bankura (excluding the Chatna outpost) Onda, Bishenpur, Kotalpur and Indas originally, however, the term was applied to a extensive tract of country. To the north it is believed to have stretched as far as the modern Danim-i-Koh in the Santal Parganas; to the south it comprised part of Midnapore, and to the east part of Burdwan, and inscriptions found at Panchet in the Manibhum district show that on the west it included part of Chota Nagpur. The Malla kings of Mallabhumī established an era of their own which dates from 695 A.D. 16 This era begins from the Sunian day which is the official new year in Orissa. It is a lunar year and begins on the Bhadrapada Sukla Dwadasi when the festival of hoisting the umbrella of Indra is observed. According to Varaha Mihira the festival was performed by the Chediraj for the good of his kingdom. All the ruling dynasties of the 'bhumī' ending countries now even perform this festival annually. The epigraphic records of the Malla dynasty do not go beyond the 16th century A.D. According to Man Simha's arrangement quoted by Stirling "Under the Zamindar of Beshanpur, are twelve Zamindaries and twenty-nine Killahs. Among 'dependent chiefs' the Zamindars of 'Manbhum' 'Singhbhum' 'Bamanbhum' 'Nalbhum or Balbhum' and 'Bagbhum or Nagbhum' find mention. 17 Balbhum of this perhaps is the same as Bhawalbhum of the Ain. If 'Singhbhum under Mayurbhanj is the same as Singbhum, then the Singhbhum under Bishnupur is to be taken as a mistake either for Sikharbhum or Shurbhun. The Raja of Shurbhun was a Samanta raja of Bishnupur. 18 There is a Mallabhum in Jhargram Sub-division of Midnapore.

11. Manbhum or Manabhumi:

Manbhum is a district in the Chota Nagpur Division of Bihar and seems to have derived its name from the Mana family which ruled over it. I need mention here that Bhanja, the surname of the rulers of a particular family is the appellation of that family. Similarly Mana, the surname of the rulers of another family might have been

17. Stirling's Orissa, Bengal Secretariat reprint, p. 47.
the appellation of another family. Only two inscriptions, belonging to rulers whose names end in the Mana suffix, have so far been discovered in the Hazaribag district which is not far from Manbhum'. The Pattiakill copper plate grant of Sivaraja belonging to the Gupta era 283 (602 A.D.) mentions the rule of the Mana family (Manavamśarajya kāle). A copper plate of the Sailodbhava family dated according to the Gupta era 300 discloses the overlordship of Maharajadhiraja Sri Sasanka. The proximity of date of two different inscriptions from Orissa in the first quarter of the 7th century, establishes the probability of connection of Sasanka with the family; but the omission of the surname of Mana in the name of Sasanka goes against the suggestion of its identity.

Like Barrabazar in the Barabhum there is a village called Manbazar which "is the seat of the Zamindars locally known as Raja of Manbhum." 20

12. Nagbhum or Nagabhumi:

It may be identified with Nagpur or Chotanagpur the Maharaja of which belongs to the Naga family. The tutelary deity of this family is called 'Chintamani' which is sacred to the Jainas. The Raj family of the Kalahandi State and a few other Raj families in the Chhattisgarh States Agency belong to the Naga family. There are a number of mediaeval inscriptions of this dynasty in Central Provinces, but recently the history of the early Naga families is attracting the attention of the scholars and further investigation will throw new light on the antiquity of the Naga family.

The following notes given by Dr. Benimadhab Barua in his Old Brahmi Inscriptions page 22 goes to show that the Nagas of Chotanagpur were mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela 'The Vasukis animals'.

13. Samantabhum or Samantabhumi:

The District Gazetteer of Bankura mentions that the portion of the Chatna outpost is still called as Samantabhum which finds

19. Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa, p. 11
20. The District Gazetteer of Manbhum, p. 275,
mention in the Brahmanda section of the Bhavisyata Purana. Chhatna
may be identified with Chatranagara of the said Purana. There is
a Samantabhumi, pergannah in the Jhargram sub-division of Midnapore.

14. Senbhum or Senabhumi :

According to Blochmann ‘Sainbhum’ is situated along the
left bank of the Ajaya river in the District of Birbhum. The name
of the country is perhaps due to the famous Sena family of Laksman-
vati of Bengal whose history is well known.

15. Surbhum or Surabhumi :

The Raja of Surabhumi was a Samanta or feudatory of the
Malla Rajas of Mallabhum. 21 In the Ain-i-Akbari, ‘Dawar Shorbhum
finds mention under the Sarkar of Jalewar. This ‘Shorbhum’ I think,
is the same as Surbhum under Bishnupur or Mallabhum and its
proper identification was not done before. We find in Sandhyaakara
Nandi’s Ramacharita that Laksmi Sura 22 was the ruler of Apara
Mandara who was the lord of all the forest feudatories (Apara-
mandara Madhusudana Samastatavikasamanta-Chakra-chudamani).
The name of Rana Sura of Daksina Raigha is found in the Tirumalni
Inscription of Rajendra Choladeva. So Apara Mandara of Rama-
charita may be taken as the capital of Daksina Raigha in the 11th
century A.D. It seems that Laksmisura was a successor of Rana
Sura. Apara Mandara was identified with Sarkar Mandaran of the
Ain-i-Akbari by Mr N.N Vasu. 23 It was identified with Bhitagarh
in Jahanabad in the north-western corner of the Hookey District by
Blochmann. 24

On the Sura dynasty H. P. Sastri and R. D. Banerji wrote
as follows:

Rana Sura of southern Raigha seems to belong to the
Sura dynasty of Bengal who are said to have brought the five

22. Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. III, No. 1,
pp. 14 & 36.
Brahmans from Kanauj. They were dispossessed of the great part of their dominions by the Palas is also asserted by the Bengal genealogists. 25

"In Bengal there is a tradition that a dynasty of kings with the affix Sura ruled in Bengal before the Palas. We have no reliable evidence for this. But the kings of this family at least with the word Sura affixed at their names, have been mentioned in epigraphs. They are:— Rama Sura of the Tirumalai inscription: Lakṣmīsura, a king of a division of Bengal named Apara-Mandara, a contemporary of Rama-pala, who was the head of the Saṃanta chakra of forest lands (Saṃastātavika-Saṃanta-Chakra-Chudāmani). A man named Dānasura, is mentioned in a newly discovered inscription of the time of Gopāla III, found at Monda in the Rajsaha district in Bengal. 26

It is needless to add that in the several traditions of the genealogical accounts of Bengal (Kulapanijkas of the match makers) several names of kings of the Sura Dynasty are found.

M. M. Chakravarti wrote the following on the identification of "Dawar Shorbhum Urf Barah or Parah" of the Ain-i-Akbari.

"Parah, the tract of saliferous land otherwise known as Sharpara, on the sea coasts from the Subarmarekha to the Rasulpur river (Beams), not identified by Blochmann. Beams' identification is not satisfactory, because the saliferous tract was included in Mahāl Maliyathā (No 25). The name Barah is evidently the same as Baraha (—bhum), and Shorbhum is another form of Savara-bhum the land of Sābara tribe. Barabhum now lies in Manbhum district, drained by the upper reaches of the Kasai river. From the rather considerable revenue assessed, Rs, 33,559 this mahāl seems to have been included the whole of the hilly jungle tract on the west of Midnapur district from the Subarmarekha northwards to the Kasai." 27

J. C. Basu suggests further on the above of Mr. Chakravarti that this mahāl lies in the countries bounded by the Subarna-

27. Ibid. Vol. XII, p. 51.
rekha and Kasai with the Police Stations of Gopiballabhapur, Jhargram and Bupur in the western part of the Midnapore District. 28

Chakravarti missed the point by identifying ‘Shorbhum’ with the Savarbhum of which there is no existence. ‘Barah’ of the Ain is the same as Bara on the right bank of the Damodar river on the north of the Bankura district. Jhargram is still known as Mallabhum and Fasikmangala testifies that this area was known as Mallabhum in the 17th century A. D.

So Surbhum or Surabhumi was situated to the north of Mallabhum or Bishnupur in the modern District of Bankura.

Garh Mandaran is quite close to this area. The copper plate of Nasimha Deva II (J.A.S.R. 1896) pt. I., p. 241 furnishes evidence that Asantavarman Choda Gaâga defeated the king of Mandara. So it seems that Apara Mandara of Ramacharita is the same as Mandara of the above copper plate.

16. Sikharbhumi or Shikharbhumi:

"A portion of the Gaâgalahati Thana (in Bankura) forms part of Sikharbhumi or it is known as Sikharbhumi." 29 Bhavishyat Purâna mentions the Sekhara mountain, in other words, it refers to this Sikharbhumi. The founder of the Panchet or Panchkota was "the king of Chaurasi or Sekharbhum or Sikharbhumi." 30 "The dominant race in the State of (Gangpur) is the Bhuya; the Bhuyas of Gangpur retain no tradition of having ever been governed by the Raja of their own tribe. They allege that for some time a chief of the Keshari or lion dynasty of Orissa bore rule in Gangpur; but this line died out, and the people stole a child of the Sekhar family from Sikharbhumi or Panchet and elected him as their chief." 31 In Ramacharita, Rudra Sekhara of Tailakampa is mentioned among the allies of Ramapala. 32

29. The District Gazetteer of Bankura, p. 23.
31. Orissa Feudatory States Gazetteer, p. 177.
Tailakampa is the modern Telkupi in Manbhum district which was one of the capitals of the Sikharu kings. Sikharabhum finds mention in Sirat-i-Firozsahi.

17. Singbhum or Simhabhumi:

It is a district in Chota Nagpur division of Bihar. The history of the ruling family of Singbhum is shrouded in legendary account of modern fancy. The seal of this family represents a pair of swan which is found to be similar to that of the Rathora family. It may be that the ancient name Mathraa has been substituted as Rathora in modern times.

18. Tungbhum or Tungabhum:

Tungbhum is situated in the Bankura District of Bengal and the tradition relates that it was so called after Nakar Tunga, a descendant of Tunga Dynasty who came from the bank of the river Gandaki on pilgrimage to Jagannatha where, by favour of the God Jagannatha, he was made king of Puri His grandson Gangadharma Tunga was informed by Jagannatha that after him there would be no king of his line in Puri and that, therefore his son should change his name and go to some other country, where he should be king. Accordingly Ganganath Tunga, son of Nakur Tunga, taking his wife, his treasure and some soldiers left Puri in 1270 Saka (1345 A.D.) and after ten years of wandering settled in 1358 at Tekrapara village near Shamsundarpur. To this day pargannas Shamsundarpur and Thalkusma are generally called Tungbhum or Tungabhumi, i.e., the land of Tungas. Members of the Zamindar's family are styled Tunga or Tungabananathath, and are also called Bara Tunga and Chhota Tunga respectively. They are Kshatriyas by caste and are connected with the families of Bishnupur, Raipur, Supur 35 etc.

Another account of the Tunga family similar to that of Tungbhum is found in the historical account of the ruling family of Tigiria State which is quoted below:

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35. The District Gazetteer of Bankura, p. 179-80.
"According to tradition the founder of this State, Nityananda Tunga, and his younger brother are said to have come originally on a pilgrimage to Puri, where they remained in the hope of receiving some favour from the God. The elder brother was one day advised in a dream to hold the kingdom of Trigruhya to the west on the bank of the river Chitrotpala in Puri by expelling its chief who was an infidel, Nityananda Tunga accordingly went there, and founded the State in the year 1246 A.D." 36

Tungabhumi finds mention in the Bhavisyata Purana quoted above.

Up till now only three copper plates of the Tunga family have been found in Orissa and these show that they were rulers of Yama-gartta Mandala, One Jayasimha of the unknown family and another ruler of the Sulki dynasty are found to be rulers of the same Yama-gartta mandala. The modern locality of this Mandala has not been definitely identified although it has been suggested by Pandit B. Misra that it extended on the bank of the river Brahmani in its course in hilly parts of Orissa. The tradition of the Tunga family according to the copper plates states that the family came from the north to Orissa from a place called Rotasgarh and the mention of the Gandaki river in the tradition of the Tunga family of Tungabhumi corroborate the account of the copper plates to some extent.

Stirling in his "An account of Orissa Proper or Cuttack" writes the following:

"There are eight classes or families who claim to represent the military and regal tribe, known by the affixes Mal, Bhanj, Rai, Dhal, Towang (Tung) and Khandayat. 38 "This account written in 1822 finds corroboration from the following Sanskrit verse which I came to know from the Zamindar of Haldia in the Khurda Subdivision of the Puri District in 1927.

"Bhanjabhumi--Dhalbhumi--Vartina--Stungasikhara--Mahini-vasina -- Dhira -- Vira -- vara -- Malla-namagah Astabhumi harasehaiva

Parthivah." Among the eight land owners the eight kings of Bhavanabhum, Dhalabhumi, Mangabhumi, Sikkabhum, and Mallabhumi are well known. Though the mention of Birbhum is not certain, yet the present Zamindar family of Madhupur in Cuttack possesses the title of Dhira. The Varabhum of the Var family is mentioned in the Bhavishyat Purana and it is the same as Balhumi mentioned by Stirling under Bishnupur and Bhawalbhum of the Ain.

All the place names ending in Bhum suffix are found in a contiguous geographical area on the frontiers of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and most of which originated from the surnames of the families which established supremacy in that area. Some of these families possess also the epigraphical records which have been referred to above.

These peculiar ending of Bhum in place names are no doubt very interesting and the investigation of the history of these places will throw light on the dark history of a vast area where once stood the famous sea port Tamralipti and the inland city of Karnasuvarna indicating the culture and civilisation of the people. This area is found now to be mainly inhabited by aborigines of Kolarian family but the archaeological evidences established the influence of the more civilised section of the people. The local traditions everywhere narrate that prior to the advent of aborigines the country was populated by the Sarkas who are credited with building temples at Para, Chara, Boram and many other places in early days and it is far more interesting that the aborigines maintained the tradition. "The word Sarak is doubtless derived from Sravaka the Sanskrit word for a hearer. Amongst the Jains the term is used to indicate laymen or persons who are engaged in the secular pursuits, as distinguished from Yatis, the monks or ascetics and it still is used as a name of a group which is rapidly becoming a regular caste of the usual type (Saraegi). The Buddhists use the same word to designate the second class of monks, who mainly occupied the monasteries." 39 Like the history of the ruins of ancient monuments scattered here and there in this part of the country, the history of these ancient Kshatriya families who were rulers there, is yet in darkness. The labours of some European officers who were guided more or less according to their

39. The District Gazetteer of Manbhum, p. 84.
pet theory, have put a screen over it instead of illuminating the
same. Col. Dalton relying on the predominance of modern aboriginal
population of the locality, has advanced a theory that the ancient
Kshatriya families of this part of eastern India are of aboriginal
descent, but the archaeologica and as well as epigraphical evidences which
are full all over the country, shed a new light on the decoration of
the structure covered with thick plaster of foreign matters. The
discovery of large number of stone and copper age relics in this area
furnish evidence that a phase of the Indian pre-historic culture dawned
here. The geological investigation has revealed the rich deposit of
mineral wealth in this area and it is expected that proper archaeological
investigation will bear open a rich field of cultural wealth of Eastern
India.
SECTION - F

PAPERS ON JAJNAGAR.

51

JAJNAGAR AND ITS IDENTIFICATION
FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES.

As the Hindu kingdom of Jajnagar resisted the Muslim onslaught century after century before its final subjugation by Raja Man Singh, the Governor of Akbar towards the close of the 16th century A.D., the history of Jajnagar was a favourite subject of all the mediaeval Muslim historians for a period of four hundred years from the beginning of the 13th century A.D. and the identification of Jajnagar has also been a fit subject of the learned controversy for a period of about two centuries since 1770 (when Alexander Dow published his The History of Hindoostan in which many eminent modern historians have joined. As the majority of modern historians are in favour of maintaining the existence of two Jajnagar's identified with Orissa and Tripura in Bengal from one and only one Jajnagar of the Muslim historians on the testimony of one historical event out of two in Barni's work, let us first see as to how the original sources help us in the identification.

The following historians have dealt with Muslim expeditions to Jajnagar:—

1. Minhajuddin's Tabaqat-i-Nasiri 1 is the first work which deals with the history of Jajnagar for a period of nearly 40 years from 1205 A.D. The work narrates the history of the Sultans of Delhi upto 1259 A.D.


* Vide Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Anamalai University, 1945.

2. Zia-i-Barni’s Tarikh-i-Firozshahi narrates the history of Sultan Firozshah Tughlaq for six years only but contains the history of the Sultans of Delhi “beginning from Sultan Giyasuddin Balban, who appears in the Tatuqat-i-Nasir under the name of Ulugh Khan.” Barni is the only source for the history of 90 years from 1260 to 1350 A.D. But during the period of 85 years, it is regretted that no effort has made to publish an authentic text of Barni’s Tarikh-i-Firozshahi with the English translation of the work.

3. Ain-ul-Malik Maru’s letters describing Firozshah’s expedition to Jajnagar.

4. An unknown author’s Sirat-i-Firozshahi describing in detail the expedition of Firoz Shah to Jajnagar.

5. Shams-i-Siraj Afif’s Tarikh-i-Firozshahi dealing with the history of the Sultan Firozshah up to 1338 A.D. In this work Udisa is recorded as a second name of Jajnagar.

6. Sirajuddin Umar mentions Jajnagar as one of the 22 provinces of the empire of the Tughlaq dynasty.

7. Yahiya’s Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi narrates the history up to the year 1434 A.D.

The following historians collected materials relating to the history of Jajnagar for their works from the above authorities for the period from the beginning of the 13th century to the middle of the 15th century A.D.

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3. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 94.
8. Nizamuddin Ahmed's *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* dealing with the history of India up to the 1593 A.D. in three volumes.

9. Badhurin's *Man'ahib-at-Tawrakh* dealing with the history of India up to 1595 A.D.

10. *Tahk-i-Perishlah* dealing with the history of India up to 1610 A.D.

11. Ghulam Hussan Salim's *Riyazus-Salatin* is the last Persian work dealing with the history of Bengal and was written in 1785 A.D.

The works no. 1 to 7 contain history of Jajnagar for a period of one hundred and fifty years from 1211 to 1361 A.D. Mubraz, the first historian, was in Lakhnauti of Bengal for over two years after 1242 A.D., and so his account of Jajnagar for the period from 1205 to 1242 was compiled either from records or from other persons. But his account for the period from 1243 to 1246 is based on his personal knowledge and hence it is very authentic. "Barni takes up the history of India just where the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri leaves it; nearly a century having elapsed without any historian having recorded the event of that interval." 13 Barni writes in the preface: "Whatever I have written is right and true and worthy of all confidence." 14 "What he has written upon the life and action of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban he himself heard from his father and grand father and from men who hold important offices under that sovereign. 15 Zia Barni's statement on the sources of the history of Sultan Balban and his march against Mughisuddin Tughlak of Lakhnauti is applicable to the history of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlak's march to Lakhnauti and his son Ulugh Khan's march to Warnagul.

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11. Translation by Mr. Briggs.
Barni narrates Sultan Firozshah's conquest of Lakhnauti in 1353 but he does not say a word on Haji Illiyas' expedition to Jajnagar in 1351 A.D. The different accounts of Firozshah's expedition to Jajnagar bear personal testimony of the authors.

Yahiya seems to have derived materials from his predecessors excepting perhaps Minhaj and he has written in the Introductions that 'The facts have been gathered from various histories and recorded upto the coronation of the powerful × × Firozshah, the deceased emperor, and after that event whatever was witnessed (by the author) has been written. 16

As the controversy over the identification of Jajnagar is based on the text of Zia Barni's references to Jajnagar in his Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, let us see how Barni's text helps us in ascertaining the geographical position of Jajnagar.

Zia Barni is the earliest authority on the following historical points:

1. Sultan Balban's march to Lakhnauti and then to Sunargion lying on the way to Jajnagar against Mughisuddin Tughril of Lakhnauti in 1230-31 A.D. 17

2. In 1321 Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlak sent his eldest son Ulugh Khan with an army against Warangal and Tilang. 18 "The name Arangal was changed to Sultanpur and all the country of Tilang was conquered." 19 "The Prince then marched towards Jajnagar and there took 40 elephants." 20

3. "At this time × × the Sultan resolved to march against Lakhnauti, and he sent courtiers to summon Ulugh Khan from Bengal. He made him his vice-regent, and placed all the affairs of the kingdom under his management during his own absence. He then marched to Lakhnauti × × Then the Sultan reached Tirhut, the ruler of Lakhnauti, Sultan Nasiruddin came forth with

16. Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi.
18. Ibid. p. 231.
20. Ibid. p. 234.
great respect to pay homage to the Sultan. — — — Bahadur Shah, the ruler of Sunargaon made resistance but a cord was thrown upon his neck. 21

Ulugh Khan’s return to Delhi from Warangal has not been described by Barni, but he was present at Delhi before the return of Sultan Ghiyasuddin from Lakhnauti and both father and son met at Tughlakabad where the Sultan died.

The position of Warangal in Telengana and Lakhnauti and Sunargaon in Bengal gives the limit of the extension of Jajnagar according to Barni’s account. Barni’s information on Jajnagar is certainly based on Minhaj’s Tabaqat-i-Nasiri which describes that Jajnagar was on the south-western frontier of Lakhnauti; his information on Jajnagar in connection with Tughril’s expedition to Jajnagar in 1279 A.D. and his capture on the border of Jajnagar in 1789-81 and Ulugh Khan’s expedition to Jajnagar from Warangal in 1323 A.D. is based on traditions or records current in Delhi and so Barni was fully aware of the exact geographical position of Jajnagar which was bounded by the Bhagirathi branch of the Ganges on the north and the Godavari on the south. But the printed text of Barni’s book shows that Sunargaon lay on the way to Jajnagar and this leads us to conclude that the limit of Jajnagar was extended from the Bhagirathi to the border of Assam. But such a conclusion becomes impossible due to the existence of Sundarbans at the head of the Bay of Bengal. Thus Zia Barni can not be made responsible for narrating such an absurd situation of Jajnagar beyond the east of the Bhagirathi and in the area of Tripura where even tradition is silent about its ancient name of Jajnagar. But J. Wise 22 recorded that according to tradition the old name of Tipperah was Jahajnagar or the city of ships. We are therefore forced to conclude either there is some defect in Barni’s text which is available to us or his text has been wrongly deciphered and written by the copyists. It appears that both are possible.

The details of Barni’s account of Sultan Balban’s invasion of Lakhnauti and the pursuit of the rebellious Tughril on the frontier of Jajnagar and the offer of alliance by Danuj Bai of Sunargaon soon after

Sultan’s arrival there are corroborated by the account of Nizamuddin and Ferishtah. But Badaoni narrates the story as follows:—

“Sultan Chiyasuddin brought up an army against Tughrul but he went towards Jajnagar and Tarkila (Narkila) and Malik Ikhtiaruddin Beg Birlas was ordered to pursue him, the Rai of Sunargaon named Dhanuj offering his services to the Sultan engaged to bring Tughrul and Malik Ikhtiaruddin proceeding by forced marches found Tughrul, who had fled into a jungle, walking about off his guard, and having put him to death he sent his head to the court.” 24

Yahiya’s account of this event is quoted below in which it will be found that there is no mention of Sunargaon or Jajnagar.

Learning that the king was personally taking the field, Tughrul retired to Narkila on a boat. The Sultan sent out Malik Ikhtiaruddin Nek Tara with a strong force to seize Tughrul,” 25

Then follows the description of the interview of Sultan Balban with Dhanuj Rai who promised by every possible means to bring Tughrul before the Sultan.

“The Sultan, then set out with successive marches, and on his reaching Lakhnauti, Tughrul out of dread, retired to the forest and was followed by the imperialists. Malik Nek Tara fell upon Tughrul and imprisoned him alive. Later he played Tughrul and sent his body to the Sultan.” 26

In the extracts quoted below it is found that Tughrul made preparation for retreat to a safe place at the time of attack and selected Narkila where he went in a boat. Tughrul’s preparation at Narkila was a cause of apprehension for Rai Danuj of Sunargaon and so he lost no time in seeking protection from Sultan Balban and wrote a letter informing the Sultan of his intending visit for the purpose of paying him respect, and requesting him that he would stand up on his arrival. The fact was that Muslim king ought not to show proper

respect to an infidel made Sultan pensive. The details of interview as narrated by Yahiya was arranged in such a way that the honour and prestige of both were fully maintained. The slackening of the rule of reception by the Sultan in the case of Danuj Rai indicates the anxiety of the Sultan for Tughril whom he wanted to crush by all possible means as the Sultan was defeated twice by his own slave. Balban would not have agreed to the proposal of Rai of Sunargaon if the interview would have been granted at Sunargaon which would have been very easily occupied by him. The narrative of the details of the interview of the Rai of Sunargaon with Sultan Balban is not found in the works of Barni, Nizamuddin, Badaoni and Firishta. It is not understood why in Yahiya’s work Sunargaon and the name of place where the interview took place are omitted, but as he puts the narrative of Balban’s march to Lakhnauti after the interview, it seems that interview took place at Delhi.

The expression on the boat used by Yahiya suggests that Tughril went to Narkila by the river route and so the situation of Narkila was either on the banks of the Bhagirathi or the Padma of the Ganges. Yahiya only mentions Narkila, but Badaoni mentions Jajnagar, Narkila and Sunargaon. Jajnagar, is not found in any old map, but Sunargaon and Narkila are found in the Blaeu’s map (1660 A.D.) Van den Brouke’s map (1660 A.D.) and Rennef’s map (1779 A.D.) in east Bengal near Dacca but no such places are found in the west Bengal. Blochmann writes that “along the lower Ganges the old maps have — — Noorkuly or Noricceel, as Van den Brouke gives it, (Norikol due south of Dhaka, and a little south of the right bank of the Kirtinase)” 28

As Narkila of Yahiya and Badaoni can be visited by boat from Lakhnauti, its identification with Norikol situated not far from Dacca and Sunargaon is quite possible. The Eastern Bengal was not occupied by Muslims before 12.0 A.D. and so a place called Hajinagar (e.g. a nagar built by a Haji or one who has made a pilgrimage to Mecca) is altogether impossible. Hajinagar or Jajnagar may be a mistake for Jahajnagar, the old name of Tripura.

27. Ibid. pp. 39-40.
How a copyist's mistake baffles the identification of place names has been best illustrated by the following note of W. Haig.

The difference between Nagaour and Pagor in Persian script is but slight, consisting in the change of position of one dot, and nothing would be more natural than for a copyist, ignorant, like most of his class of geography, encountering the comparatively unfamiliar name of Bagor to jump to the conclusion that there must have been some mistake, and to substitute the name of the well-known town Nagaour, it is incumbent on all editing works in Persian script to follow geographical details on a map, if absurdities are to be avoided. 29

Haig's remark is fully applicable for the Persian script of Jajnagar, Hajingar and Jahajnagar and as the scribe was not familiar with Jahajnagar he substituted either Hajingar or Jajnagar in its place in the text of Barni's Tarikh-i-Firozshahi. By the acceptance of text as Jahajnagar the question of the identification of Jahajnagar on the frontier of Sunargaon with Tippera does not arise at all.

In the account of Balban's march against Tughril, Hajinagar has been printed at pages 82, 83, 86, 87 and Jajnagar only once at page 89 in the printed text of Barni's Tarikh-i-Firozshahi. Dowson notes that "the printed text has Hajinagar, an obvious blunder. The manuscripts correctly give Jajnagar," 30 The text Hajinagar should be read 'Jajnagar' as suggested by Dowson because Tughril actually invaded Orissa in 1270 A.D. According to previous information and arrangements with the Rai of Sunargaon Balban perhaps marched straight from Lakhnauti to Sunargaon in the eastern Bengal. If so Barni's text of Hajinagar at pages 85, 87, 88 and 89 should be Jahajnagar which was the ancient name of Tripura (Tippera) and so the identification of Jahajnagar with Tippera will be quite reasonable with the change of text noted above. But if Balban had to return from Sunargaon to Lakhnauti for the failure of Tughril's pursuit in the Eastern Bengal, Barni's text at pages 86 and 88 should be read as Jajnagar and that at page 87 as Jahajnagar. If Sunargaon is accepted as a copyist's mistake for Saptagram or Satgaon as

suggested by Blochmann, Barni’s text at all places stands for Jajnagar. As no authentic information has yet been discovered regarding Danuj Rai and his kingdom, Blochmann’s suggestion seems to be very valuable.

The material differences in the text of Barni and Yahiya suggest that a portion of Barni’s text is missing otherwise the details of interview of the Rai of Sunargaon as narrated by Yahiya are irrelevant and meaningless. As Balban was a veteran soldier he fully realised the importance of friendship with the Rai of Sunargaon, a neighbouring kingdom of Lakhnauti the ruler of which was the most hated enemy of the Sultan. The promise of the Rai of Sunargaon to bring Tughril before the Sultan by every possible means frustrated the plan of Tughril’s choice of Narigul as a place of concealment and so in stead of going to that place he fled into the forest on the frontier of Jajnagar before Sultan Balban’s arrival at Lakhnauti. Zia Barni’s text at page 86 supports Yahiya’s narrative relating to Tughril’s departure by the road towards Jajnagar and not by the river on the boat. Barni’s text runs as follows:—

"Rahe Jajnagar girit Ek Manzil az Lakhnauti der rahe Khuski peshtar rafta firod amad." 32

He took the road to Jajnagar and after going forward one manzil (or one day’s journey) from Lakhnauti on the dry road halted there."

But Dowson puts the translation of the printed text as follows from which the routes of departure of Tughril are not clear which may be the land route or the river route.

"He took the way to Jajnagar and halted at a dry place one day’s journey from Lakhnauti." 33

The road to Jajnagar from Lakhnauti means the road on the right bank of the Bhagirathi. According to De Barros’ map (1550) and Bleave’s map (1650) the country of the Gajapati (written in

31. J. A. S B. 1873, p. 239.
32. Barni’s Tarikh-i-Firozehahi, p. 86.
33. Elliot’s History of India, Vol. III, p. 118
the map as Coapatir) with the town of Mandaran lay south of Lakhauti. Mandaran was included in the kingdom of the Gajapati king of Orissa which was known to Muslim historians as Jajnagar. Tughril was captured on the frontier of Jajnagar and from this it can be inferred that he was captured in the district of Hoogly of Bengal as Mandaran lies to south western border of the district.

The geographical position of Jajnagar of the Muslim historians will be quite clear from the different directions it was invaded by the Muslim kings century after century and for this purpose the expeditions to Jajnagar are noted below in the chronological order.

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No.  Direction Year Persons leading expeditions to Jajnagar References

II) The Rai of Jajnagar and Badshah of Lakhnauti sent to him the presents and tribute which they had every year sent to Sultan Firozshah.


India and Central 2) Ferishtah, Vol. IV, pp. 178.
Provinces

From the above it is clear that Jajnagar was approached by the Muslim invaders from Bengal, Bihar, Central Provinces and Madras, and looking at the map of Eastern India one can safely say that the position of Jajnagar in the map is the same as that of Orissa bordering the districts of Bengal, Bihar, Central Provinces and Madras. Shams-i-Siraj Afif writes a verse at page 169 saying that "when the army occupied Jajnagar, it occupied the whole of Orissa (Odisha)" in his Tarikh-i-Firozshahi. So in the 14th century A.D. the popularity of Orissa, the second name of Jajnagar, was well-established and this contemporary evidence supports geographical position of Jajnagar noted above. There are some epigraphic and literary evidences which mention Jajnagar (corruption of Yayatinagar) and corroborate the narratives of the medieval historians and I like to discuss them in a separate paper.
NOTE ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF JAIGNAGAR

The identification of Jaignagar of the Muslim historians has been a popular subject of the modern historians of India since the days of Alexandar Dow whose History of Hindustan was first published as early as 1770 A. D. Credit should be given to him for identifying 'Jagenagur' with a town in Orissa near Cuttack. Dow was followed by Jonathan Scott whose History of the Deccan was published in 1794 A. D. but I alth not been able to consult it.

Much ink has been spilt over the identification of Jaignagar by the historians of the 19th and 20th centuries, but the question still remains open as there is wide divergence of opinion on the subject. With the exception of Blochmann, Raverty, Banerji, M. M. Chakravarti, and Dr. Qureshi, all others have displayed much ingenuity depending entirely upon a solitary evidence out of two references from the text of Zia Barani's Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi. In a previous paper I have suggested that if Barani's text of Hajinagar is read as Jaignagar, there does not arise the assumption of two Jaignagars; but no one so far has tried to study this point from Barani's references of Jaignagar on two different occasions and thus the result has been a voluminous literature.

The views of the historians on the identification of Jaignagar are discussed below chronologically:

(1) Stewart wrote his History of Bengal (1813) mainly depending on the materials collected by him from (a) Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, (b) Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (c) Tarikh-i-Ferishtah, and (d) Riyazus-Salatin. Tabaqat-i-Akbari and Riyazus-Salatin mention Sunargaon and Bhuj Rai, the Governor or Zamindar of Sunargaon. It seems that Stewart did not consult the sections of the history of Deccan and Malwa of Tabaqat-i-Akbari and Tarikh-i-Ferishtah. Otherwise Jaignagar mentioned in Ulugh Khan's expedition in 1323 A. D. and Hussang Shah's expedition 1421 A. D. to Jaignagar would have given him materials throwing doubt on the accuracy of his conclusion. Stewart suggested

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the identification of Jajnagar mentioned in Tabaqat-i-Nasiri with 'Jugepur (Orissa)' and that of Jajnagar mentione din Tabaqat-i-Akbari and Riyazus-Salatin in connection with the history of Tughril and Balban with 'Jajnagar (Tippera)' Stewart has not written what led him to change Jajnagar for 'Jugepur' or Juipur of Orissa, but it was he who conceived the existence of two Jajnagars which was blindly followed by many historians of the 19th and 20th centuries.

(2) Hamilton in his *East India Gazetteer* (1814) and in his *Hindostan* (1820) following Stewart has written that Tippera is called Jajnagar.

(3) Stirling relying on the Mādālāpānji or the Chronicles of the Jagannath Temple, which do not mention the history of Tughril and Balban, did not accept Stewart's identification of Jajnagar with Jaipur and wrote as follows:

Major Stewart, in his history of Bengal, places an invasion of Orissa by the Mussalmans of Bengal during this reign that is, A.D. 1243. The chronicles of the country contain no mention of such an event. I have not Major Stewart's authorities at hand to refer to but I strongly suspect that he has been led into an error by mistaking some word resembling Jaipur, for Jaipur in Orissa. He expresses himself thus, 'In the year 641 (A.D. 1243) the Raja of Jugepur (Orissa) having given some cause of offence, Teghan Khan marched to Ketasun on the frontier of Jagspur where he found the army of the Raja has thrown up entrenchments to oppose him.' In a battle which ensued, the invaders were defeated and the Hindus elated with their victory pursued them and ventured even to lay siege to Gour, but assistance arriving they retired. Now, in the first place, Jaipur was never a separate principality as here described, and there is no such place in Orissa as Ketasun. Ferishteh is altogether silent on the subject in his history of Bengal. But in his general history he ascribes the siege of Gour, in the very year in question, to a party of Mogul Tartars who had invaded Bengal by way of Chitta, Thibet, etc., Dow's mistake of a similar nature is scarcely worth noticing. He makes Sultan Balin pursue the rebel Toghral into Jajnagar (A. D. 1279), which he calls Orissa, whereas it is evident from the mention of Sunargaon, as lying on the road, that Jajnagar is some place beyond the Ganges.”

1. Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, 1825, p. 274,
(4) Briggs in 1829 A.D. without any reference to Stewart and Stirling writes notes on ‘Jainagar’ that “this place is on the banks of Mahanudda, and was the capital of Orissa or Orixa,” and “a city situated on the Mahanudda river, which empties itself into the sea in the province of Orissa, the forests of which have always been famous for wild elephants.”

(5) Elphinstone in 1839 wrote that Jainagar lay “beyond the river Meghna” and adds the following note:

“Jainagar has been taken for Jaipur in Cuttack which never was the head place of a district.” In the map annexed to his volume Jainagar has been shown in the area of Tippera in Bengal.

The text of Zia Barani’s Tarikh-i-Firozshahi was published in 1860-62 but no note on the identification of Jainagar was given in it. In this work Hajinagar was printed in pages 82-88 and Jainagar in page 89 and page .456.

(6) In 1871 Elliot and Dowson’s History of India, Vol. III was published in which a greater part of Barani’s work was printed in English. Dowson added a note at pages 112-13 on Jainagar as follows:

“The printed text has Hajinagar, an obvious blunder. The manuscripts correctly give Jainagar. Briggs following Dow says: ‘Jainagar is on the banks of the Mahanadi and was the capital of Oriasa, and there is still a town called Jaipur in Cuttack.’ But the Jainagar printed here was evidently east of the Brahmaputra and corresponds to Tippera. The Sunargaon presently mentioned as on the road to Jainagar is described by Rennell.”

Dowson would have settled the question of identification if he would have considered the geographical possibility, but he followed Stewart without any consideration of Jainagar mentioned in Uulugh Khan’s expedition.

(7) In 1871 Edward Thomas wrote as follows on Jainagar:

“Stewart, in his History of Bengal had already pointed out that Ferishtah was wrong, but he himself was mistaken in placing Jainagar

3. Elphinstone’s History of India, 1874, p. 381.
in Orissa, instead of Tipperah. The Persian text (of Minhaj) printed in Calcutta (p. 199) frankly admits the variant of Jajnagar in a footnote without venturing to correct the obvious inaccuracy in the body of the text which the tenor of the current events related at p. 245 would fully have justified. 4

I have not verified this from Persian text of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri.

In 1872 Thomas again wrote as follows:

"It seems to have escaped Mr. Stirling's notice that Stewart had already corrected his own error in speaking of Jajnagar as 'Orissa' (pp. 61 and 65) by placing that town in its proper position in Tippera in a latter passage (p. 70) and he further improved upon his advanced knowledge by saying in a note at page 72. Jagenagur is said to have been a town in Orissa near Cuttaack but this passage proves it to have been situated on the eastern side of the Burhampooter. The Jagenagur mentioned by Ferishtah should have been written Jagepore. 5

Thomas seems to have totally misunderstood Stewart's viewpoint who worked under the impression of the existence of two Jajnagars, one in Orissa called 'Jagepur' and another in Bengal called 'Jajnagar', and he objected to Dow's calling Jajnagar as Orissa in his translation of Ferishtah. So Thomas's note on Stewart's passage without the portion of the text of "In Dow's History, Vol. I., p. 292" is misleading.

(8) In 1872 W. W. Hunter dealt very shortly with the history of Orissa from 1200 to 1500 A.D. which only covers two printed pages of his book. He has nowhere used Jajnagar although he has referred to the authorities of Stewart and Elliot and referring to the defeat of the 'invincible armies of the Islam by the peasant militia of Orissa, he remarks that 'the vanity of Musalman historians has covered the national disgrace by converting this Hindu raid into Tartar invasion under the generals of Chingis Khan.' 6 He further writes that 'Three centuries of raids, and hollow treaties, and mutual wrongs, elapsed (1200-1500 A.D.) before anything like a subjugation of Orissa by the Musalmans took place.' 7

4. The Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi 1871, p. 121.
5. J. R. A. S. Vol. VI, 1872, p. 354,
6. Hunter's Orissa, Vol. II. 4
9. Blochmann’s notes on Jajnagar are very valuable as he studied the history of Jajnagar from all sources available in 1873 and arrived at the conclusion that Jajnagar described by the Muslim historians is the same as Orissa. He writes:

“Before going further, I have a few words to say on the country of Jajnagar, which Stewart, Stirling. Dowson and Thomas agree in identifying with Tiparah. Stewart and Dowson however also apply the name to a portion of Orisa, and compare the word with the name of the town of Jajpur, north-east of Katak on the Baitarani. Jajnagar is mentioned as a country full of wild elephants in the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, and the two Tarih-i-Firuzshahis, i.e, upto about A.D. 1440 after which the name disappears.”

After referring to Tughan Khan’s attack of Jajnagar and the counter-attack of Lakhnauti by the Bai of Jajnagar he writes “that in the opinion of the author of Tabaqat, Jajnagar lay somewhere west or south-west of Bardwan and Hugli Districts, i.e, Jharkhand, or Chutia Nagpur.”

Then referring to Emperor Balban’s march to Sunargaon in connection with pursuit of Sultan Mughis, about A.D. 1280 he writes:

“From Sunargaon Balban arrives, after a march of 60 or 70 kos, at the confines of Jajnagar, where Mughis is surprised and killed.”

“From this remark by Barani, Stewart, Stirling, Thomas and Dowson concluded that Jajnagar corresponds to Tipperah and the eastern part of Hill Tipperah certainly lie about 70 kos from Sunargaon. The Rajmala, however, does not state that Tipperah had the name of Jajnagar.

“Jajnagar is again mentioned during the reign of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, when Ulugh Khan in 1323 A.D. invades Talinga, Jajnagar and Bedar; and lastly when Firuz Shah after his second successful invasion of Bengal to conquer Sikandar, returns in 1360 * * from Jaunpur * * He then marches over Bihar to Jajnagar.

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9. Ibid. p. 238.
10. Ibid.
"Lastly, in the Ain (my edition, p. 4772, I. 6) Hoshang of Malawa goes in disguise to Jajnagar, in order to obtain elephants.

"In these passages it is clear that Jajnagar represents a country between Talanga and Bihar, or, as expressed in the Tabaqat, west of Rasha, i.e., wild districts of western Orissa, Chutia Nagpur, and the eastern portion of the Central Provinces, of which Ratnapur, Bastar and Siriguja are also mentioned in the Ain as hunting places for wild elephants. But it is remarkable that Barani, in relating Balban's expedition, places Jajnagar 70 kos beyond Sunnargaon whilst in his account of Tughluq Shah's reign he gives the same name to a district near Talanga; and we are forced to believe that there were two Jajnagars, one famous for elephants near south-western Bengal (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Barani Firuzshahi, Ain) and another in Tipperah or south-eastern Bengal (on the testimony of a single passage in Barani); or to assume that there was in reality only one Jajnagar, bordering on south-western Bengal, and that Barani in the above single passage wrote Sunnargaon by mistake for Satgaon, which would remove all difficulties.

(Barani's statement of the distance of 70 kos would admirably suit Satgaon; it would bring us to Mayurbhanj and western 'Chutia Nagpur')"

(10) Major H. G. Raverty supporting Blochmann writes thus in a footnote on Jajnagar:

"Dr. Blochmann's surmises are quite correct with respect to Jajnagar. It appears to have been named after a town or city of that name subsequently changed in more recent times to Jajpur, the meaning of Nagar and Pur being the same; and in the days when our author wrote, and many years subsequently, it continued to be a kingdom of considerable power."

"Before attempting to describe the boundaries of Jajnagar and generally to elucidate the subject, it will be well to describe the territory of Kadha-Katanka, or Gardha Katanka for it is written both ways—which lay between it and the Muhammadan provinces to the north." 12

Then Raverty writes as follows:

"Jajnagar appears, therefore, to have been bounded on the east by the range of hills forming the present western boundary of Udiasah-Jagnath, Katasin, on the Mahanadi, being the nearest frontier town or post towards the Lakhanor portion of the Le'khnawati territory. Further it was bounded towards the east by the river called the Braminy by some English writers, and Soank (Rennel) running to the west of Gangpur. Its northern boundary is not very clearly indicated but it evidently included Katanpur and Sambulpur. On the west it does not seem to have extended beyond the Wana Ganga, and its feeder the Kahan; but its southern boundary was the Gudawuri, and south-west lay Talinganah.

"It seems most strange that those who have run away with the idea that Jajnagar lay east of the Ganges and the Meghna, in south-eastern Bengal in Tipperah of all places, never considered how it was possible for Ulugh Khan, son of Sultan Ghiya-sud-din Tughlaq, not that monarch himself—to invade Taling (Talinganah) and Tipperah, if the latter were Jajnagar in one and the same short campaign, or that Hospang. Sultan of Malwa, during a short expedition or raid rather, could have reached south-eastern Bengal in search of elephant. To have a done so he would have had to pass right through and return again through the extensive territory of an independent sovereign equally powerful with himself (he had only 1000 horses with him on the occasion in question) and to have crossed and recrossed two or three rivers besides many others of considerable size, or he forded the Bay of Bengal perhaps to reach the supposed Jajnagar.

"Elphinstone, too, says that 'Tipperah' by Mahammedan historians is called 'Jajnagar' has fallen into the same error, and, not content with this even the map accompanying his history has 'Jajnagar' in large letters in a part of India where no such territory ever existed."

"The way in which Jajnagar is mentioned in different places, by different writers, and under different reigns clearly indicates its situation." 13

Then he narrated the sources of Jajnagar in pages 589-592 and came to the conclusion as follows:

'Now, if any one will look at the map and take what has been mentioned into consideration, where else can Jajnagar possibly lie than in the tract I have indicated? Certainly not on the east side of the Bay of Bengal.'

Blochmann wrote further as follows on Raverty's note:

"Regarding Jajnagar and its identification with the eastern parts of the Central Provinces, Chutiya Nagpur and the Tributary Mahals in western Orissa, Major Raverty has come to the same conclusion as I had. His identification for the frontier district Katasin * or Katasin with a place of the name Katasingh on the northern bank of the Mahanadi in the Tributary Mahal of Angul is not yet quite clear to me, I cannot find the place on the map, and the narrative of the Tabaqat implies a place nearer to western Bengal. The capital of Jajnagar, which in the manuscript is called U'mardan † remains to be identified. Major Raverty hints at the possibility of U'mardan being Amarakantak, the highest point and watershed of the eastern parts of the Central Provinces. That rocky, wild, and inaccessible region is scarcely a fit place for the capital of what must have been a large state."

(11) In 1874 J. Wise's paper entitled 'Notes on Sunargaon, eastern Bengal' was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the following extracts are quoted from it:

"If we follow Muhammedan historians, we find that in A.D. 1279, Tughril was the Governor of Eastern Bengal and his seat of Government was Sunargaon. At that date he invaded Jajnagar or Tipperah and having carried off much treasure, he refused to remit any of it to Delhi."

"The Emperor (Ghiyasuddin Balban) then marched in person against the rebel, and occupied Sunargaon having been joined in his advance by Dhinwaj Rai, Zamindar of the city, with all his troops. Tughril fled but was overtaken and slain (A.D. 1282). Having heard of the death of his enemy Balban returned to Sunargaon, and put every one of Tughril's family and his principal adherants to death."

* See Appendix I.
† See Appendix II.
The inaccuracy in the historical fact in the above needs no comment but J. Wise's footnote on Jajnagar quoted below supported by an argument that the text of Jajnagar or Hajinagar as printed in connection with Bulban's pursuit of Tughril is not Jajnagar.

"The modern tradition in Tipperah is that the old name of the district was Jahaznagar or the city of ships. This is evidently founded on the circumstances that at a much later period, the revenue for the support of the Nawara, or imperial fleet, was derived from lands in this district." 16

Shams-i-Soraj Asif's description of 'Jajnagar-Udissa' and its capital city Bamaras on the right bank of the Mahanadi supported by the account of Sirat-i-Firuzshahi and Ain-Ul-Malk's letters leave no doubt about the proper identification of Jajnagar with Orissa, the limits of which extended from the Ganges to the Godavari or the frontier of Lakhnauti on the north to that of Telengana on the south; and its western boundary though ill-defined comprised the great part of the eastern C. P. including the upper valley of the Mahanadi; and its eastern boundary was the ever-lasting sea, the Bay of Bengal. From this area of Jajnagar it appears clearly that the wars of the Muslim Governors with the Rai of Jajnagar described by Minhaj took place in the north-eastern Jajnagar in the neighbourhood of Lakhnauti and so the geographical limit of the situation of Katasin and Umardan falls within a narrow strip of land in north of Orissa bounded by sea on the east and hills on the west. So if the identification of Katasin and Umardan will not be considered final due to the inaccuracy of deciphering the Persian text, the places are to be searched in the area covered by northern Balasore, Midnapore, Bankura, and Hugli districts.

(12) Jarret has identified Jajnagar mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari in connection with Hoshang Shah's expedition with "Jaipur on the Baitarani river in Orissa, capital of the Province under the Lion Dynasty, the Gajapati or the Lords of Elephants." Vide Ain-i-Akbari Vol. II, 1891, p. 219.

(13) Stanley Lane Poole following perhaps Blochmann and Raverty has located Jajnagar in the Chhota Nagpur area in the map attached to his volume called The British Museum Catalogue of Coins of India, Moghul Empire 1892. But in his Mediaeval India under

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16. Ibid. p. 1874-83.
Mahammedan Rule (1903) he writes: 'Wilds of Jajnagar at page 85 in connection with Bulban's pursuit of Tughril and at page 141 in connection with Feruzshah's expedition in 1360. Lane Poole's map was reproduced by H. N. Wright in 1907 in his book entitled Catalogue of Coins of India.

The views of Blochmann and Raverty on the identification of Jajnagar with Orissa were totally ignored by almost all the historians of the 20th century with the exception of M. M. Chakravarti and R. D. Banerji as will be evident from the following:

(14) Abdas Salam adds the following note on Jajnagar in connection with Bulban's march against Tughril:

"From the manner of the description given here the Jajnagar here referred to would not seem to be in Orissa but some place in East Bengal (probably Tipperah). For an exhaustive and interesting discussion on Jajnagar see Blochmann's contribution to History and Geography of Bengal." 17

"This Jajnagar, therefore, in Bengal is different from Jajnagar in Orissa." 18

Elsewhere he writes as follows in connection with Feruzshah's second march in 1358 A. D. to Bengal:

"From Bengal Firuzshah invaded Jajnagar (Orissa). * * * In this connection an interesting description of Jajnagar is given by Sham-i-Siraja Aff. Bearing in the mind what Zia Barani States regarding Jajnagar in connection with Emperor Bulban's expedition to Sunargaon. I am inclined to agree with Prof. Blochmann that there were two Jajnagars, one in Orissa and another towards Tipperah." 19

From Blochmann's discussion quoted above the reader will judge how Abdas Salam has twisted Blochmann's argument in support of his views.

(14) The Imperial Gazetteer of India published in 1908 contains a chapter called Muhammedan India (637 - 803) which

17. Riyazus Salatin, 1904, p. 81 n.
18 Ibid, p. 82 n.
was contributed by William Irvine. He writes that Firuz-shah moved off through Behar to Jajnagar in Orissa by "and Balban took the field in person, and in a vigorous campaign pushed his way as far as Jajnagar, in Eastern Bengal and Sunargaon. Tughril was pursued relentlessly until finally he was shot down and his head cut off." In 1421 Hushong Shah of Malwa "carried out a most romantic expedition to Jajnagar in Orissa" 22

(15) In 1909 Rajanikanta Chakravarti in his Gauder Itikas in Bengali has written the following:

"Bakhtiyar sent Siran brothers towards Jajnagar of Orissa.

"Tughril was afraid of fighting with the army of the Emperor Balban and with elephants and wealth went towards Tripura (Jajnagar)." 23

In the preceding paragraph he writes as follows:

"Ratna Fa, the youngest son of Dan-kur Fa, occupied the throne of Tripura, after the death of his father, but his other brothers drove him out of Tripura. He fled to Gaur and stayed there with Tughril for four years and presented him one hundred elephants and jewels. One of the jewels was a very big Maniya and on getting the gem Tughril awarded Ratna Fa the title of Maniya. In 1279 Tughril conquered south-eastern Bengal." 24

The relation of Tughril with the ruler of Tripura perhaps led him to connect Jajnagar with Tripura, but the editor of the Rajmala rejects the date assigned to Ratna Fa as he flourished at a later date and had no connection with Tughril.

(16) M. M. Chakravarti's note on Jajnagar is quoted below.

"In the Tabaquati, Jajnagar always means Orissa, probably north Orissa. The name is derived from Jaipur town on the bank of the Baitarani river, an old head quarter of north Orissa. Curiously

21. Ibid., p. 372
22. Ibid., p. 379.
24. Ibid., p. 27.
enough in a late Oriya poem *Premalata* of the fourth quarter of the 18th century, Jajpur is distinctly named as Jajnagar. The Jajnagar of Barani lying towards Sunargaon may be another place, evidently a corruption of Jahanagar or city of boats and ships. We have still Jahaj Ghata in Howrah. A tradition still called Tipperah as Jahanagar (J A S B., 1874; p. 83)."  

In the footnote on Jajnagar Chakravarti gives reference to J. A. S. B., 1889, page 374, where is found the Oriya text of *Premalata* and the English translation which differs from his conclusion that Jajpur is distinctly named as "Jajnagar". He translates the Oriya passage as follows:

"Charming is the town Jajnagar on the sea-coast of that country (Utkala)". I will further discuss on this point in a separate paper.

(17) The first fascicule of B. De's English translation of the Tabaqat-i-Akbari was published in 1911 and his note 2 on the 'Moghul Armies' refers to Raverty's note on the mistake handed down from author to author in the place of the infidels of Jajnagar and he concludes as follows:

"The invaders were not the Moghals, but Hindus from Jajnagar (or Tippera) which must not be confounded with Jajnagar in Orissa."  

(18) R. D Banerji writes that "as Barani has not clearly stated the place from where the army of the Emperor Bulban arrived at the frontier of Jajnagar after travelling 70 kus, there is no necessity of entertaining an inference that his army went to Jajnagar in an eastward direction from Sunargaon."

"As the situation of the kingdom of Jajnagar was near Behar or Magadha and on the frontier of Garhakantak, it is not possible to identify Jajnagar with Tripura."

(19) S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar writes that "Ulugh Khan... marched forward towards Jajnagar, the capital of

Orissa. He captured 40 elephants there and returned to headquarters by way of Telengana.” 29

(20) Wolseley Haig has adopted Stewart’s Jajpur for Jajnagar and writes:

“Jajnagar in eastern Bengal is not to be confounded with Jajpur in Orissa, also called Jajnagar by the Muslims.” 30

From the similarity of expression it seems that Wolseley Haig accepted the opinion of B. De.

(21) In his History of Orissa R. D. Banerji writes that “Jajnagar is Jajallanagar in Chhatisgadh. The majority of Musalmán writers of the 13th and 14th centuries mention Jajnagar when they indeed refer to Orissa.” 31

Elsewhere he again writes:

“The Emperor Feroz Tughlaq invaded Orissa at the time of his second expedition to Bengal. Major Raverty has translated this portion of the Tarikh-i-Furuzabahi by Shams-i-Siraj Afif. In this account the position of Jajnagar is given correctly. Feroz Tughlaq advanced from Bihar towards Gadhabantaka, Jajnagar lay at the extremity of this province which is the same as the British District of Jubbulpore. Having crossed the Mahanadi he reached the town of Baranasi. The Haihaya king of Jajnagar fled into Telengana. After passing through Jajnagar territories Feroz Tughlaq entered the kingdom of Rhanudeva III while hunting.” 32

R. D. Banerji was wrong in locating Jajnagar in C. P. but he did not accept the suggestion of the identification of Jajnagar with Tripura in Bengal which view he expressed also in his earlier work in Bengali.

(22) Dr. H. C. Ray accepts the boundary of Jajnagar as suggested by Raverty and writes:

“Orissa was known to Muslim historians under the name of Jajnagar. For the boundaries of Jajnagar see Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Vol. I, page 587.” 33

29. South India and her Mohammedan invaders, 1921, p. 134.
32. Ibid., p. 282.
(23) Mr. R. Subha Rao refers to Jajnagar of the Muslim historians and his notes are quoted below which will show that he had no definite opinion of his own as he has contradicted himself in his notes.

"Jajnagar here mentioned (Tughril's attack of Jajnagar) is said to lie to the east of the Brahmaputra and to correspond to Tippera (vide Elliot and Dowson's history of India, Vol. III, pp. 112-113). But this cannot be accepted." 34

In connection with the history of Narasingha Deva II after writing that Tughril Khan "increased his power by attacking Jajnagar or Tipperah lying to the east of Brahmaputra he adds the following note:

"Briggs, following Dow, identified it as the capital of Orissa and R D. Banerji followed it. But Elliot and Dowson identified it rightly with Tipperah. Evidently, there are two Jajnagarams. The late R. D. Banerji quite wrongly stated on page 273 of his History of Orissa, Vol. I that Tughril Khan invaded Orissa first in 1275 and secondly in 1282. But both these invasions were against Jajnagar or Tipperah as stated correctly by Elliot and Dowson." 35

(24) B. De's English translation of Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol. III was published in 1939, seven years after his death in 1932, and we are indebted to Dr. Baini Prasad for its publication. In this volume two notes on Jajnagar are given which are quoted below:

"Col. Briggs (p. 22) says that Jajnagar is a city situated on the Mahanudha river which empties itself into the sea in the province of Orissa, the forest of which has always been famous for wild elephants. There is no city of the name of Jajnagar at present in Orissa; there is a town called Jajpur but it is not on the Mahanadi. Probably the name of Jajnagar was given to the provinces of Orissa. According to Riyazus Salatin, p. 15 northern Orissa was known as Jajnagar." 36

"Neither the Riyazus-Salatin nor the Tabaqat nor Firishtah attempts to identify this place. Bhattachali (pp. 24-25) says Sultan Shamsuddin 'seems to have levied tribute from the kingdoms of Orissa

35. Ibid.
and Tirhut', from which it appears that he identifies Jajnagar with Orissa. The *Cambridge History of India*, page 263, says: 'Iliyas is said to have invaded Jajnagar, as the Muslim historians styled the kingdom of Jaipur in Orissa'. There is no connected account of this kingdom anywhere in the *Cambridge History of India*, and it is only mentioned incidentally in this place, and in connection with Sultan Husbang’s journey to acquire elephants on page 350 and the following pages and in connection with Sultan Mahammad of the Deccan’s invasion of Orissa in 1478 on page 417. In all these places the Mussalman historians call the place Jajnagar; and the *Cambridge History of India* persists so far as I can see without any authority whatever in calling it Jaipur. Apart, however, from this question, I think that the Jajnagar mentioned here does not mean Orissa at all, but Tipperah. Stewart, on page 83, has Tippera in brackets after Jagenagar (Jajnagar). He gives no authority but Shums Addeen, with his capital at Pandush and Sonargaon, is more likely to have invaded Tipperah less than one hundred miles from Sonargaon than Orissa which was quite five hundred or six hundred miles off. It will be seen moreover the Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban pursued the rebel Tughril in the direction of Jajnagar through Lakhnaudi and Sonargaon (see pages 109 and 110 of the first volumes of the translation). The Jajnagar mentioned there cannot be identified with Orissa, but must be some place east of Sonargaon, and probably Tipperah. In this connection see also note 1 page 194 of the English translation of the Riazus-Salatin, where the translator says, that he was inclined to agree with Professor Blochmann, that there were two Jajnagars, one in Orissa and other towards Tipperah.”

B. De fully relied on Bhattasali’s statement without any doubt but no Muslim historians have written that Iliyas Shah ‘levied tribute from the kingdoms of Orissa and Terhut.’ It seems that Dr. Bhattacharli has confused Minhaj’s statement regarding the tribute sent by Jajnagar, Bang, Kamrud, and Tirhut to Ghiyassudin Jwango.

(25) In 1942 Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen has written as follows on Jajnagar: "Guada thus became the name of the Bengal empire, the beginnings of which are to be traced to the time of Sasanka. The parts round about the state of Lakhnaudi according to the chronicle were Jajnagar, the countries of Bang, Kamrud and Tirhut.

and ‘the whole of that territory’ seems to have been named Gaur. It appears therefore that Gauda in his (Minhaj’s) time included Ter hut, Bengal, Assam and Utkal or Orissa. Jajnagar is identified by Blochmann with Jaipur near Cuttack.”

It is too far to connect Gaur of the Muslim history with the traditional Pancha Gauda as suggested by Dr. Sen.

(26) Dr. I. H. Qureshi writes: “Orissa (Jajnagar) of the Muslim historians.” In the Map I, (The Sultanate of Delhi in 1325) he has shown Jajnagar between the Damodar and the Mahanadi and in the Map 2 (The Sultanate of Delhi and the Neighbouring States in 1400) he has shown that Jajnagar was bounded by the Baitarani on the north and the northern portion of the Vizagapatam district on the south. Although the area of Jajnagar shown in both the maps is not accurate, yet in his identification he is not very far from the truth.

(27) Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah’s The foundation of Muslim Rule in India is the latest work which deals with “the history of the establishment and power of the Turkish Sultanate of Delhi 1200-1300 A.D.” On Jajnagar his note runs as follows:

“Minhaj, the author, refers, to the Rai of Jajnagar which scholars generally agree, must mean Orissa. The Muslims called the country by the name of the capital, probably identical with Jaipur, on the Vaitaran which till the 18th century, was called Jajnagar, J. A. S. B., 1875, p. 285. Banerji thought Jajnagar referred to modern Jajallanagar in the Chhatassgarh division of the Central Provinces (History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 249). On the Mahanadi, however, was a town called Jajatinagar which might have been Persianised into Jajnagar (see E. I. III, p. 365) It is also mentioned in the Pavandawam of Dhoyi as the last stage before the wind messenger reaches the Subarn country (south-central Bengal). J. A. S. B., 1905, p. 44”.

“Raverty’s identification of Kotasin with Katasingh, on the Mahanadi, would place the eastern frontier of Orissa about 200 miles south-west of Bengal’s present frontiers, whereas Orissa is known to

38. Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 126.
39. The Administration of the Sultans of Delhi, p. 257.
have held considerable tracts of south west Bengal (Banerji, History of Orissa I, p 264). N. Vasu's identification with the present Raibania-garh in the Midnapur district seems more plausible. 40

He writes a note on page 164 as follows in which he has made a new suggestion that Jainagar or Hajinagar was situated in an area on the Meghna-Padma confluence and not in Orissa.

"Among the States raided by him (Tughril), Barani mentions one Jainagar or Jainagar (the printed text has Hajinagar); The O.I Ms. 177, ft. 53b-57b, consistently spells it Jainagar, The Tarikh-i-Mubaraksh, p.41, has Narkilah (?) while Ferishta has Jainagar; I, pp 72-80 Elliot, III, pp. 112 and 120 rightly held that it could not be Orissa; Stewart op. cit. p. 70, calls it Jainagar-Tipperah. Raverty's identification with Orissa, supported by Banerji, Banglar Itihas, II, pp. 70-71, is obviously untenable. For, Balban's arrival at Sunargaon, in his pursuit of Tughril, known to be flying towards Jainagar, and the conclusion of an agreement with the local Raja for preventing the rebel's flight along the rivers, would point to a country in the southeast of Bengal. Stewart's identification with Tipperah also does not seem satisfactory. The Tipperah chronicles, it is true, refers to a Turushka king of Gour who helped with troops one of the rival claimants to the Tipperah throne sometimes towards the end of the 13th century and who conferred the title of Manikya on the ruler named Ratsapha, a title borne by the Tipperah house ever since; Rajamala, ed. K. O. Singha, pp. 29-31, also Long's analysis and abridged translation, in J.A.S.B., 1850, p 533 sq. One can understand the flight of Tughril, if he is really identified with this Turushka king, to the country where he could expect to be received by the grateful raja; this treatment he could hardly expect from the king of Orissa whose territory he allegedly raided in the recent past. But the Rajamala is a later compilation and the Turushka king's identification is not beyond doubt. Besides, the existence of Tipperah as an important State in those days is not borne out by epigraphy or archaeology. Such evidences, on the contrary, have recently been unearthed to reveal the existence, in the Tipperah, Noakhali and the Meghna region, of a flourishing kingdom with its capital at Pattikera, now located near what is called

40. The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India, 1945, pp. 134-35.

* Rajamala was edited by Kaliprasanna Sen.
the Mainamati hills near Comilla. Its ancient dynasty is proved by archaeological evidence to have been replaced about the middle of the 13th century, by a line of kings whose names end in Deva. Two kings of this line have so far been known, who not only extended the Pattikera kingdom but also seem to have supplanted the later Senas in Vikrampur and Dacca: for the second king, Danujamardana Deva, according to modern epigraphists, is identical with Danuj Rai of Barani (Raja Nauja of Abul Fazal); for this kingdom of Pattikera and the Deva dynasty, see DHB. I, pp. 254-259. Whether Tughril's flight was directed towards this Pattikera is a point worth considering. In that case Danuja Rai's readiness to help in seizing the rebel should be regarded as prompted more by his hostility to him for the recent aggression than a desire to please Balban. Hajinagar is probably the correct version, for it can be equated to Jahinagar, a popular name of the Tipperah-Nuakhali tract on the Meghna-Padma confluence.

Blochmann's notes have been quoted above and nowhere in it he has written on the existence of two Jajnagars, but it is strange that Abdas Salam, B. De, and Dr. Sen have referred to Blochmann's authority while they advanced the theory of two Jajnagars. Against the identification of Jajnagar with Tipperah Blochmann writes that "Rajamala, however, does not state that Tipperah had the name of Jajnagar." B De asserts that "the invaders of Lakhnauti were Hindus of Jajnagar or Tipperah which must not be confounded with Jaipur in Orissa." Tripura is an ancient principality in the Eastern Bengal and it has a long traditional history of the Raj family called Rajamala. The text with copious notes of the Rajamala has been edited by Kaliprasanna Sen Vidyalankar and published by the Tripura Darbar long before the death of B. De in 1932. The Editor of the Rajamala after referring to the various views on Muslim expedition to Jajnagar writes that "We have got sufficient evidence to show that the kingdom of Tripura is not Jajnagar which was invaded by Tughan." This piece of evidence is very important as it shows the hollowness of the argument of the historians who have suggested the identification of Jajnagar with Tripura in the East Bengal far from northern Madras, Central Provinces and Bihar from which it was approached without passing either through Orissa and western Bengal or northern Bengal.

41. Ibid. p. 164.
42. Rajamala, Vol. I, p. 177
In the conclusion I fully agree with Blochmann and Raverty and I am of opinion that the position of Jajnagar in the historical map of the Eastern India will include the whole of the modern province of Orissa and Orissa States together with the "southern districts of western Bengal such as Midnapore, Howrah and Hoogly." and Bankura of Bengal, Singhbhum district of Bihar, Bilaspur and eastern part of Raipur districts of Central Provinces and Godabar and Vizagapatam districts of Madras.

APPENDIX I

Katasi

Katasi seems to be a corruption of some Sanskrit or Prakrit word. There is an Oriya word Kutásuni, the apabhramsa of Kutavásini (the presiding deity of the Kuta or fort) from which Kütásini of the Persian seems to have been derived, Madalāpānji mentions a fort called Kotasañama on the frontier of Bengal." (Vide J. B. & O R. S. Vol. XIII. p. 21). O'Malley has identified Katasañama with Kutasimul on the west bank of the Damodar in the Hoogly district. Raverty's suggestion for its identification with Kotasimha in the heart of Orissa on the Mahanadi cannot be accepted as objected to by Blochmann. N N Vasu suggested its identification with Raibaniagarh on the border of the Balasore district but R. D. Banerji (History of Orissa, Vol. II, pp. 55-56) rejected it. Mr. J. C. Bose (Medinipur Itihās, p. 222) has accepted N. N. Vasu's suggestion. As Katasi was on the frontier outpost of the Muslim Lokhnauti, its identification with Kotasrama or Kutasimul in Hoogly district is quite possible.

APPENDIX II

Umardan

Raverty's suggestion for its identification of Umardan or Amardan with Amarkantaka was rejected by Blochmann whose doubtful suggestion for Gundamardan in Borasambar of the Sambalpur district does not serve any useful purpose. M. M. Chakravarti has identified it with Mandalān, now situated at Bhitaraghār, north-west corner of the Hoogly district. Chakravarti writes:

"From the connection with the wars of Jajnagar, Umardan appears to have been a part of it. The town and the territory I am inclined to identify with Mandaran (U-Mandaran). * * * * During Ganga rule it evidently formed the frontier Province of North Orissa." (J & P. A. S. B., 1909, p. 217)

According to Risalat Ush-Suhada Ismail Ghazi "utterly defeated Gajapati, king of Mandaran or Orissa." In De Barros' map (1550) and Bleave's map (1660) this part of the country is written Cospelir and its capital was Mandaran on the south bank of a river. Cospelir is the same as the kingdom of Gajapati as recorded in Risalat-ush-Suhada situated on the north of Orissa and south of Badha or Bengal.

Blochmann's note on the Mandaran was published before the publication of Risalat-ush-Shuhada: "South of Ferrandus' the old maps give 'Mandaram' and 'Cospelir' which latter name is wrongly placed on Bleave's map North of Mandaram whilst De Barros has it correctly west of it. In Mandaram we recognise Mandaran, the chief town of Sirkar Mandaran, a name which even now-a-days is pronounced by the peasants of Mandaran. Cospelir, or De Barros' Reino Cospelir' a name that puzzled me long, is clearly the kingdom of Gajapati, or the lord of elephants, the title of the kings of Orissa. Sirkar Mandaran was indeed the frontier of Orissa but if the legends of the Hugli district speaks of the Gajapatis having once extended their kingdom to the Ganges (Hugli river), it must have been prior to the time when Satgaon became the seat of Muhammadan Governors" (J. A.S.B., 1873 pp. 223-24)

R. D. Banerji writes as follows on Umardan: "It appears to be the same place as shut in memory of the conquest of which a silver coin was struck by Yuzback from the mint of Lakhnauti in 653-1255 A.D. The legend on the margin of the reverse was read as 'Struck at Lakhnauti as tribute of Arzba dan and Nudiya in the month of Ramzan of the year six hundred and fifty three.' In a previous paper the present writer had proposed to identify the Arzbadan with Garh-badan or Bardhan-kot in northern Bengal, but it seems more probable that this Arzbadan is the same as the Umardan or Amardan of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. There is no doubt about the fact that no such place was the capital of Orissa in the 13th Century." This is not possible as the memory after a decade of the war which took place in 1246-47 A.D.
Banerji further writes: "The date of the coin makes it possible to state that Yuzback's last campaign in Orissa took place either in 1255 or shortly before that date. With his death in Assam in 1257 Musalman aggression in Orissa ceased."

O'Malley in his District Gazetteer of Cuttaack 1906, page 25, referring to Tabaqat-i-Nasiri records that "between 1247 and 1258 there were three battles between the Oriyas under the same leader and the Mahammedan forces under Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Yuzback-i-Tughril Khan of Bengal. In the last of three battles the latter was defeated, but next year he again led his army to the south and captured and sacked the capital Umardan."

O'Malley's mistake is perhaps due to Stewart's date assigned to Yuzback from 1246 to 1253 A.D. (p 41) But Nelson Write assigns the period of rule of Yuzback from 1246 to 1258 A. D. (p. 130). Although Banerji accepted Yuzback's period of rule from 1246 to 1258 he was perhaps guided by O'Malley's statement to which he tried to adduce proof by the numismatic evidence. It seems that there is a mistake in the reading of the coin. Umardan was correctly identified by M. M. Chakravarti with Mandaran.

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JAJNAGAR FROM EPIGRAPHIC AND LITERARY SOURCES FROM ORISSA AND BENGAL

Credit goes to N. N. Vasu for discovering interesting historical references found in the Ganga inscriptions 1 from Orissa which were elaborately discussed subsequently by M. M. Chakravarti 2. As Chakravarti had not the opportunity to know the contents of the Anantavasudeva temple inscription of Bhubaneswar, he could not correctly identify the person described by Minhaj as "the son-in-law of the Rai" of Jajnagar. Corroborative reference to the writing of Minhaj is found from this inscription of Bhubaneswar and I have discussed in a

separate paper called “three Bhubaneswar Inscriptions” sent to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The editor of the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III seems not to have utilised Chakravarti’s paper which is very authentic even now. R. D. Banerji utilised the materials of the Muslim History, the findings of Chakravarti and the text of the Royal Asiatic Society inscription of Bhubaneswar in his History of Orissa, Vol. I, but he did not make any new contribution. His thorough study in the inscriptions of Orissa enabled him to criticise freely some statements of Minhaj.  

Dr. H. C. Ray also referred to Muslim sources in his book entitled “Dynastic history of Northern India” like M M. Chakravarti.

Mr. R. Subba Rao in his paper on the *History of Eastern Ganges of Kalinga* has discussed the Muslim references in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*.

Chakravarti, Banerji Dr Ray and Mr Subba Rao have cited references to the Muslim history of Jajnagar only from inscriptions of the Ganga kings of Orissa and not from *Rajamala*, the traditional history of Tripura which does not mention any war in the 13th century with Muslims of Lakhnauti.

During the period from 1211 to 1281 A.D., we find the following Sultans of Delhi and their Governors of Lakhnauti.

(A) Sultans of Delhi.

(i) Sultans of Delhi:

1. Shamsuddin Iltutmish ... 1210 A.D.
2. Ruknuddin Firoz I ... 1235 A.D.
3. Raziya ... 1236 A.D.
4. Muizzuddin Bahram ... 1239 A.D.
5. Alluddin Masaud ... 1241 A.D.
6. Nasiruddin Mahmud I ... 1246 A.D.
7. Ghyasuddin Balban ... 1265-87

(ii) Governors of Bengal

1. Giyasuddin Iwaz  ...  1211-1226 A.D.
2. Izzuddin Tughril Tughan Khan  ...  1233-1244 A.D.
3. Qamruddin Taimur Khan  ...  1244-1246 A.D.
4. Ikhtiyaruddin Yuzbeg  ...  1246-1258 A.D.

(B) Ganga Kings of Orissa.

1. Anangabhimadeva III  ...  1211-1245 A.D.
   or 1211-1238 A.D.
2. Narasimhadeva I  ...  1245-1264 A.D.
   or 1238-1264 A.D.
3. Bhasudeva III  ...  1264-1279 A.D.

If the period of rule of Anangabhima and Narasimha from 1211 to 1238, and 1238 to 1264 are accepted, Minhaj's description of the leader of Jajnagar forces as the son-in-law of the Rai is untenable and in that case the wars with the Rai of Jajnagar are not to be accepted during the life time of Anangabhimadeva. But if B. C. Mazumdar's date is accepted no such difficulty arises.

Minhaj writes that 'Jajnagar sent tribute to Ghiyasuddin Iwaz. From this we can assume that Anangabhimadeva III sent tribute to him. This is the one sided version of the Muslim chronicler. Let us see what the contemporary inscriptions of Orissa record on Anangabhima's relation with Muslims of Lakhnauti. The Chatesvara inscription was written in circa 1220 A.D. according to Chakravarti's calculation. In this inscription the conquest of the Tuhmana country (modern Bilaspur District in M. P.) and victory over the Yavana king by Vishnu, the minister of Anangabhima, have been described in verses 14 and 15. The victory over the Yavana king certainly refers to the Muslim Governor of Lakhnauti and no one else. On this point R. D. Banerji states that "there is no truth in

6. Ibid., p. 130.
the statement of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* that Iwaz had made the Ganga king tributary to him, because both sides claim the victory." Mr. Suba Rao also supports Banerji's Hunter is of opinion that "this raid, for it cannot be called a conquest, yielded no permanent result."  

*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* records that "in the year 641 A. H. (1243 A. D.) the Rai of Jajnagar commended molesting the Lakhnauti territory, and in the month of Shawwal 641 A. H. (Nov 1243), Tughril-i-Tughan Khan marched towards Jajnagar country. The Muhammedans sustained an overthow and a great number of these holy warriors attained martyrdom and Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan retired from that place without having effected his object and returned to Lakhnauti."  

"In the same year likewise (642 A. H.) the Rai of Jajnagar having turned his face towards Lakhnauti territory, on Tuesday the 13th of the month of Shawal, 642 A. H. the army of Jajnagar, consisting of elephants and Paiks (footmen) in great numbers arrived opposite Lakhnauti, Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan came out of the city to confront them. The infidel host, on coming beyond the frontier of the Jajnagar territory, first took Lakhnor and after that appeared before the gate of Lakhnauti."  

The leader of Jajnagar army is thus described:—

"The leader of the forces of Jajnagar was a person by name Sabantar, the son-in-law of the Rai, who during the time of Malik Izzuddin Tughril-i-Tughan Khan, had advanced to the bank of the river Lakhnauti, and having shown the greatest audacity had driven the Musalman forces as far as the gate (of the city) of Lakhnauti. In Malik Tughril-Khan-i-Yuzbak’s time judging from the past he (the Jajnagar leader) manifested great boldness, and fought and was defeated."  

From the above it is clear that the invasion of Lakhnauti by the Rai of Jajnagar was continuously carried on from 1243 to 1247 A. D. and the army of the Rai of Jajnagar was always victorious until the death of their leader, the son-in-law of the Rai. This period falls within the reigns of Anangabhima III and Narasimha I as ascertained by Mr. Subbah Rao and B. C. Mazumdar. Let us see as to how the inscription of the Anantavasudeva temple of Bhubaneswar helps us in corroborating the statement of Minhaj who was the eye-witness of these events.

In Chodaganga’s lineage was like a flag the heroic Anangabhima, whose profound strength was celebrated by the damseis of a multitude hostile kings destroyed by his power, and who was exceedingly proud of his horses the speed of which surpassed that of the Snake’s foe Garuda. He made an end of that war by defeating the Yavanas with impetuousity after entering into their territory beyond the frontier” 15. The last sentence of this verse reminds us of Minhaj’s statement “The infidel host on coming beyond the frontier of Jajnagar territory first took Lakhna-uti.” This event took place in November, 1244 A.D. when Anangabhima was ruling Orissa, and his son-in-law was the leader of the forces of Jajnagar. The temple of Anantavasudeva was built by Chandradevi, the daughter of Anangabhima-deva who was given in marriage to Paramard Deva of the Haiyaya lineage (v. 7). In the verse 20 of the inscription the poet Umapati writes:—“The valiant Paramard Deva having found the enemies of the battle-loving king Vira Narasimha Deva to be dwelling in the world of Gods, went himself thither in fury 16 to conquer them, with full display of glory.” This passage reminds us of the line written by Minhaj that “he (Jajnagar leader) manifested great boldness, and fought and was defeated”, This fight took place when Malik Yuzbak (1248-1258 A. D.) was the Governor of Lekhnauti and Narasimha Deva was on the throne of Orissa.

The Anantavasudeva temple inscription of Bhubaneswar was written in 1278 A. D. when Chandradevi, the wife of Paramard Deva was living and so the poet described the valour of Paramard Deva in the war with the Muslim Governors of Lakhnauti in its true colour, Minhaj described him as a Sabanter which perhaps is a corruption of

16. Ibid., p. 155.
Samantaraya. N. N. Vasu has written that Minhaj by mistake has described the son to be the son-in-law of the Rai of Jajnagar. M. M. Chakravarti 18 rejected this suggestion on the ground that Subantar was a different person from Narasimhadeva; but R. D. Banerji 19 has written that "The Commander of the Army of Orissa was the son-in-law of Narasingha Deva I" Chandradevi was the daughter of Anangabhimadeva and sister of Narasinghadeva I and so Minhaj correctly described him as the son-in-law of Anangabhimadeva which relation is corroborated by the Anantavasudeva temple inscription of Bhubaneswar.

In the verse 84 of the copperplate of Narasimhadeva I of the year 1295 A.D. mention is made of the conquest of Radha and Varendra belonging to Yavanas by Narasimhadeva I. The English translation of the verse is quoted below:

"The (white) river Ganga blackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by the tears from the eyes of the weeping Yavanis of Radha and Varendra, and rendered waveless, as if by his astonishing achievement was now transformed by the monarch into black watered Yamuna. 20"

Apart from these epigraphic corroborations of the relations of the Ganga kings of Orissa with the Muslim Governors of Lakhnauti and Sultans of Delhi as written in Persian by Minhaj, the contemporary Sanskrit literature gives a number of references of conflict with Muslims of northern India.

The period of rule of Anangabhimadeva and Narasimhadeva I is the most glorious period in the history of Orissa according to the Madalapanji and copper plate grants, when art, architecture and literature too were well developed. Two Sanskrit works on Alankara namely Ekavali and Sahityadarpuna were composed by Vidyadhara and Viswanatha respectively and have survived. These works mention many other Sanskrit works which have not yet been discovered. The date of Ekavali was assigned to the period of rule of Narasimhadeva I by M. M. Chakravarti. As no reference to Ekavali is found in

17. J. A. S. B. 1896, p. 20
Sahityadarpana, Chakravarti was of opinion that Ekavali was a later work." In Ekavali Narasimhadeva has been described to have fought with the Mahammedans in Bengal on the banks of the Ganges. The battles with the Mahammedans are indicated in the examples e. g. 'Yavanahavanindu Samare' (p. 202) Sakadhishvara (326) and 'Hamira.' Then again, the fight with the Bengalis 'Banga-Saanga-Simani' (p. 203) and the reference to the waves of the Ganges, 'Ganga-taraanga-Dhavalani' (p. 136) apparently speak of Narasimha's fight with Bengal viceroys of the Delhi Sultans."

According to Chakravarti the date of Sahityadarpana was earlier than that of Ekavali, but P. V. Kane 21 in his introduction to Sahityadarpana has written that "Sahityadarpana was composed at some time between 1300 A. D. to 1384 A. D." Visvanatha's grandfather and grand uncle were reputed scholars and his father Chandrasekhara was a minister as well as Sanskrit scholar. So it seems that he quoted verses as examples from the works which were written by them in praise of king Narasimhadeva I to illustrate the rules of Sahityadarpana, the two following of which, it seems, have direct reference to the Muslims of Bengal. Minhaj writes that the leader of Jaunagar forces advanced to the bank of the river of Lakhnauti and certainly this river is the Ganges. The verse of Chapter X quoted below seems to have a reference to the hasty retreat of the Muslim army which had to cross the Ganges with great difficulty.

"\n\n\nय गङ्गामिति सुरन्द्रा तस्मो निपाणं-निध्रणं
स्तातिबैतिकप्रधुक्तागमप्यपतनतपत्ताकः
\n"Oh Sultan, the sound of the drums beaten at the time of your marching were guilty of causing abortion of the wives of thy foes, bathe as it were in the Ganges." Kane remarks that "sinners bathe in the waters of the Ganges. Here the coming in contact with the waters of the Ganges on the part of the sound is represented as bathing which is an action."

The other verse runs as follows:—

"सर्वेऽसंस्केतहरुं विवेद ग्राम निमाहः
हा अपविद्यतापत्ती नसन्धि नं च विवेदः \n"

21. Sahityadarpana, 1923, p. CXXIII.
With Allapadina peace means usurpation of all the wealth and property and war means sure death and so no peace or war is possible with him.

The author Visvanatha notes that out of four methods when two namely peace and war are not possible with him there remain the other two namely Sāma (alliance) or Dāna (tribute) which were adopted by many for their safety.

The Sanskrit eulogists were fond of describing the high qualities of the opponent of their hero for the purpose of a contrast with the higher qualities of their hero and as the above verses seem to be selected from the Praasasti (eulogy) of Narasimhadeva I, the real meaning of the verses is to be taken in the opposite sense according to the rules of Alankara Sastra. The first verse in the plain English gives the meaning that the Muslim army which attacked Jajnagar fully perished and the Sultan only heard the news of their defeat which reached Lakhnauti after crossing the Ganges. The meaning of the second verse is this that all other kings either offered tribute or made alliance with Allavadina (Allaudin) but on the contrary Allavadina hnd to do the same thing with the tsai of Jajnagar. These hyperboles from the pen of the panegyrist are corroborated by Minhaj’s bold and true statement of the defeat of the Muslim army in Jajnagar from 1243 to 1245 A.D. when Alladdin was the Sultan of Delhi.

Visvanath has coined the Sanskrit words ‘Suratrama’ and ‘Allapadinanarpati’. Suratrama means the protector of gods but of Allapadina Dīna is a Sanskrit word but Allapa is not a Sanskrit one. The Palam Baoli inscription22 of 1276 mentions good many Sanskritised Persian words such as Alavadin and Gayasudina and the epithets used in connection with these names are all Sanskrit like Allapadinanarpati here. The Ganga copper-plates mention Gayasudina. So it appears that the Sanskritised form of Persian names was different in Orissa from northern India. The coins of Shamsuddin Altamash Suritana Sri Samasuddina and that of Allaudin Masaud Shah give Suritana Sri Alavadina. 23

The copper-plates of Narasingha Deva II, Bhanu Deva II and Narasingha Deva IV do not mention the expedition of Tughril in 1279 to Jajnagar as recorded by Barani and so it seems that it was only a mere raid which was not given any importance by the Oriya historians or poets, but Barani's account of Ulugh Khan's expedition to Jajnagar in 1323 A. D. from Warrangal is corroborated by the inscriptions.

Barani writes:—

"The Prince then marched towards Jajnagar and there took forty elephants with which he returned to Tilong. These he sent to his father". 27

The copper-plates relate the following verse describing the reign of Bhanu Deva II (1306-1327 A. D.).

"राज्योरस्त्य गयासुदीन सपरे प्रारंभ शोध्य चतुः
श्रीदृशीक नरेन्द्रकन्दरगलतकलालपूर्णानात्" 29

This Gayasudina is no other than Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq I (1320-1324) whose son Ulugh Khan conquered Telengana.

Thus we see that important events of the Muslim history are corroborated from the inscriptions of Orissa and these corroborations clearly prove that Jajnagar mentioned by Minhaj and Barni, was another name of Orissa and Ifis's mention of Jajnagar-Udisa removes all doubt regarding the identity of Jajnagar with Orissa.

Now the question arises as to how Minhaj the first Muslim historian came to know the name of Jajnagar in 1243-44 during his stay at Lakhnauti. There is no doubt that he came to know it from some definite sources which he has not noted in the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. Jajnagar as the another name of Utkala, Odra or Kalinga is not found from any inscription of Bengal during the 12th century or earlier.

27. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 234.
The only source of Minhaj’s information in Bengal is Dhoyi’s *Pavanadutam* in which we find the description of a city called Yayatinagar “khyātam Jagatī nagarimākhya ātim Yayateh” which is situated to the north of Kalinganagar and south of Vijayapura in Radha or Suhma in south-western or western Bengal. In the city of Yayatinagara, the poet of *Pavanadutam* describes that the courtyards (Prangana) were adorned with betelnut trees twined with the creeper of the betel leaves. This description locates the city of Yayatinagar of *Pavanadutam* in the seaboard district of Orissa and not in the hilly tract in upper valley of the Mahanadi.

Mr. H. P. Sastri noticed the discovery of the manuscript of *Pavanadutam* in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for July 1898 pp. 190–92 and after identifying Yayatinagar with Jajapur he writes that “From the capital of Utkala, the invisible messenger blows to the country of Suhma, or what is known as the western Bengal “Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti published the text of *Pavanadutam* in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. I, new series, (1905) p. 44. He identified Yayatinagara of *Pavanadutam* with Yayatinagara mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions of Mahasivagupta Yayati and Mahabhavagupta Bhimaratha. These inscriptions record that Yayatinagara was situated on the bank of the Mahanadi and Hiralal has suggested that Binka in Sonepur State was called Yayatinagara. In the Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Chola Yayatinagara, wrongly written as Adinagara, was the capital of the Somakuli kings. The Somakuli dynasty of the inscriptions popularly called the Kesari dynasty in the *Madalapanji*, was ousted by Chodaganga of the Ganga dynasty in 1118 A. D. No inscription of Chodaganga or his successors mentions Yayatinagara, but in the *Madalapanji* there has been described a place called Abhinava (new Yayatinagara) during the reign of Anangabhimevadha with whom Muslims of Bengal had several fights. In the absence of any epigraphical evidence on Yayatinagara we can safely rely on the *Madalapanji* supporting the popularity of Yayatinagar during the reign of the Ganga king Anangabhimevadha and Minhaj’s Jajinagar is the corrupt from Yayatinagara which can be identified according to *Pavanadutam* with Jajpur.

29. Bhandarkar’s List of Inscriptions of Northern India Nos. 1568–70.
Almost all the village astrologers of Orissa possess the copy of the Madalapanji which they read before the public on Dola-purnima day. I got a copy of such a Madalapanji from an astrologer of the village Kesapur near Chaudwar and in this copy of the Madalapanji it has been recorded that Chodaganga Deva, the first king of the Ganga dynasty of Orissa, established his capital "Jajnagara Kataka". According to this tradition it seems that there existed a city called Jajnagara the corrupt form of new Yajatinarag which was the capital of the Somakuli Kesari kings in eastern Orissa. The poet Dhoyi, the author of Pavanadutam lived before 1200 A.D. and described Yajatinarag which was transformed into Jajnagar in 1260 A.D. when Minhaj wrote his Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. Stirling’s version of the Madalapanji printed in 1825 A.D. narrates that Yayati Kesari’s "Court was held at Jajpura where he built a palace and castle called Chaudwar".

Rajendralal Mitra’s note on Jajpur runs as follows:—

"Again it was said that as Yayati Kesari first established his metropolis at Yajapura, he must have built the city and named it after himself Yajatipura which now survives in the abbreviated form of Yajapura. The derivation, however, is questionable. Under the phonetic rules of the Prakrita language Yayati would not change into Yaya, whereas Yaj, the radical of Yajña, even in Sanskrit yields the noun Yaja or Yaga, sacrifice and thence Yajapura is and obvious and legitimate derivation".31

Nandalal Dey’s notes on Jajpur run as follows:—

"Jajpur is a contraction of Yayatipur. The temple of Viraja at Jajpur is one of the fiftytwo pīthas where a part of Śatī’s body is said to have fallen. Brahma is said to have celebrated the horse sacrifice ten times at Daśāvamedha ghāt on the bank of the Vaitarani river, and hence the place obtained the name Jajnapura". According to Dr. Fleet, Yajatinaraga is the ancient name of Kataka (in Orissa). As Yayati established a city called Yayatinagara after his own name in the upper valley of the Mahanadi, it is plausible that after occupying Utkala he changed the name of Jajapura into Abhinava Yayatinagara. The mention of the river

Vaitarani in Mahabharata clearly proves the antiquity of Jajapur, the corrupt form of Jajnapura through Jagapur. So the name Jajnagar seems to have been abbreviated from two names of the city, Jajapura and Yayatipura”.

The name Yayatipura suggested by R. L. Mitra and N. Dey does not find corroboration from the epigraphic or traditional account of Orissa, but the popularity of Jajnagara as the another name of Jajapura continued up to the middle of the 18th century in Orissa which is proved by literary evidence. On the other hand the popularity of the more ancient name Jajpura in Bengal in 16th century A. D. is known from Chaitanyacharitamrita and Chaitanya Bhagavata.

According to Saraladasa’s Oriya Mahabharata (Svarga rohanaparva) Judhistira with his brothers first arrived at Jajnagari on the Vaitarani from the north of Orissa. From Jajnagara he came to Amaravati Kataka (now Chhatia in the Cuttack District) and then crossing the river Chitrotpala (the Mahanadi) came to Ekamratirtha or Bhubeswar, and on his return journey he came to the Vaitarani after crossing the Chitrotpala. So it seems that during the time of Saraladasa Jajanagara was more popular than Jajapura (15th century A. D.).

The pilgrimage of Chaitanyadeva in Orissa is described in the Chaitanya Charitamrita and Chaitanya Bhagavata. In these works Jajapura on the Vaitarani finds mention but in Jagannatha Charitamrita, an Oriya work describing the pilgrimage of Chaitanya, Jajnagara on the Vaitarani finds mention; and the mention of Varahanath at Jajanagar was the another name of Jajapura. The date of Jagannatha Charitamrita belongs to the same period as that of the Chaitanya Charitamrita or Chaitanya Bhagavata i.e. 16th century. A. D. Sikha’s Dasa’s Nilasundara Gita is another work in Oriya which contains the traditional past history of Orissa in the form of prophecy and from the mention of Kapilendra Deva as one of the kings of Orissa, it seems that he lived in the later part of the 16th century or the earlier part of the 16th century A. D. The following lines from Nilasundara Gita quoted below:—remind us of the verse beginning with ‘Gangambhasi’ of Sahityadarpana.
The King (Narendra) would fight by giving up the principles of Sama and Dāna, and a large number of forces of elephants and horses will be fallen in the battle, but not a single virtuous man. The enemy would retreat without knowing the direction and the Gajapati will come back victorious to Jajanagara after washing the sword in the Ganges.

Sikhara Dasa mentions that the deity named Viraja resides at Jajnagar and this fact is another evidence in support of the identification of Jajanagara with Jajpur.

The latest mention of Jajnagar is made by the poet Abhimanyu Samanta Simhara of the 15th century A.D. in his poetical work called Premakala. The couplet containing Jajanagara runs as follows.

"समुद्र भारत वर्ष सार महार
महाविव बाजनागर मधव रम्य ताहि।"

As Mahasivagupta Yayati ruled towards the close of the 10th century A.D., the date of Yayatiiragara cannot go beyond the last quarter of the 10th century A.D. but in the early 13th century A.D. it was contracted into Jajnagar which has been recorded by Minhaj; and Afif’s text of Jajnagara Udiss in Tariikh-i-Ferozshahi clearly proves that during the 3rd quarter of the 14th century A.D. Udiss was gaining popularity. Let us see how the name Odissa has been derived.

Leaving aside the Pauranic references discussed by Pargiter the epigraphic records of Asoka and Khāravela before the Christian era mention capitals at Tosali and Kalinganagar which were situated in those days in modern Orissa. Kalidasa mentions Utka a which was situated on the south of Vanga (Bengal) and north of Kalinga. During the 7th century A.D. Yuanchuang mentions Odra lying south-west of Karnasuvarna and north of Kongada and Kalinga. The copper plates

of Soro3 mention Odavisiya and Uttara Tosala and that of Midnapur34 mentions Utkala; Odra also finds mention in the epithet Gaudodradi Kalinga kosolapati 35, of Harsadeva of Kamarupa. In this area the Bhauma inscriptions mention Uttara Tosala and Utkala and Daksina Tosala 36 and Kongadamandala was included under Daksina Tosala. Rajasekhara 37 mentions ‘Kalinga-Kosala-Tosala-Utkala’. The copper plates of Gayada Tunga 38 mention Odavisa ya. Rajendra Chola’s inscriptions 39 mention in 1025 A. D. Kosal , Yayatinagar and Oddavisaya. The Drighasi Stone inscription 40 mentions Utkala in Sanskrit and Oddavisaya in the Telugu text. The Ganga inscriptions from the time of Choda Ganga to Narasimha Deva IV 41 a. g. from 12th century A. D. to first quarter of the 15th century A. D. mention Utkala. The Muslim historians of the 13th and 14th centuries A. D. always have described this part of the country as Jajnagar. Towards the end of the 14th century Shamsi–Siraj Aff has described at one place Jajna ar - Udisa. 42 Kapilendra Deva’s Jagannatha temple inscription 43 dated 1443 A. D. mentions his Odisarajya. Saraladasa in his Oriya Mahabharata ( Adiparva ) writes that Odisa is the another name of Odarastra. In Ferishtah’s account on the other hand relating to Nizam Shah and Mahammed Shah III ( 1461–1482 ) of Bahmanis of Kulbarga, “Jajnagar and Odisah are mentioned as totally separate territories”, but in Nizamuddin’s Tarikh–i-Akbari 44 only Odisa finds mention. So Ferishtah’s account of two separate kingdoms does not find corroboration even from the contemporary history.

33. E. I. Vol. XXIII, p. 201. 02.
36. Orissa under the Bhauma Kings by Pandit B. Misra, p. 86.
37. Kavyamimamsa, p. 93.
39. E. I. Vol. IX.
41. J. A. S. B. 1895 and 1896.
42. Tabaqat–i-Nasiri, p. 592 n.
The above references go to prove that Odra-visaya of the 7th century A.D., was popular as Oddavisaya in the 11th century A.D. Oddavisaya was changed into Odavisa which form has not been found from any inscription but Tarenath the Tibetan historian mentions Odavisa which he wrote perhaps from some earlier account. We do not know when Odavisa form was current but this form was certainly earlier to 1300 A.D. when udisa was written by Aff. So it appears that Odisa was derived from Odravisaya through the following phonetic changes Odravisaya-Oddavisaya-Odivisa-Odisa.

The Pauranic form Utkala is still popular. Those who mention that Utkala is derived from Uttara-Kalinga have not produced any evidence on the use of Uttara-Kalinga from any inscription or literature. The mediaval names such as Kalinga, Kongada, Tosala, Kosala and Yayatinagar (or Jajnagar) are no longer in use. The Trikandasesa mentions that Odra is the same as Utkala. Stirling derives the word Oriisa from Ordesa or Oresa. Odra rastra the land of the Odra. Under the word Oriya it is written there that "the proper name of the country is Odredesa or Ordesa whence Oriya or Uriya." None of these Sanskrit words Odra-rastra or Ordesa will give us Odisa through phonetic changes according to Prakrit grammar.

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THE RELATION OF ILYAS SHAH AND FORGE SHAH WITH THE GANGA KINGS NARASINHA-DEVA III AND BHANU DEVA III.

A. The Relation of Ilyas Shah with the Ganga King Narasinha Deva III.

The compilation of the scientific history of India is now entirely based on the historical materials which stand the test of scrutiny and on this principle the history of India together with those of its component States is being written by eminent scholars. The latest volumes on the History of India are Bharatiya Vidyabhavan's series entitled "The history and culture of the Indian people". 
The volume VI of this series entitled "The Delhi Sultanate" was published in 1960 in which Dr. R. C. Majumdar has written a chapter on Firon Shah of Delhi and late Prof. N. B. Roy, a chapter on Ilyas Shah of Lakhnauti. The other important publication of this period is the History of Bengal Vol. II published by the Dacca University which was edited by late Sir J. N. Sarkar. Prior to these works two Persian works entitled Tarikh-i-Firozshahi by Ziauddin Barani and Tarikh-i-firozshahi by Afif were known to non-Persian scholars through the translation by Elliot and Dowson since 1871. Another Persian work entitled Inshah-i-mahru was partly translated into English and published in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1923 Vol. XIX pp. 253-290 by Abdul Wali. The last in the series of Persian works dealing with the history of Firozshah is the Sirat-i-firozshahi, an extract of which with English translation was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters Vol. VIII pp. 57-58 by Prof. N. B. Roy.

In the History of Bengal Vol. II an important aspect of the history of Bengal has escaped the notice of Prof. N. B. Roy in connection with the rise of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty of Bengal which remained independent of the Delhi Sultanate from the beginning to the end. Like Elliot and Dowson Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Prof. N. B. Roy entirely depended on the Persian sources in print or manuscript. A reference to Ilyas Shah and Feroz Shah was published in a paper in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XIX in 1927-28 in which Dr. Nobel the editor of the inscription dealt with the history of Ilyas Sah's relation with the Ganga king Bhanu Deva III (1353-1378 A.D.) of Orissa. This reference has escaped the notice of Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Prof. N. B. Roy in their works. For this reason I like to discuss the authenticity of the story of Ilyas Shah's expedition to Jajnagar in 1351 A.D. and also of Firozshahi's expedition to Jajnagar in 1361 A.D.

After describing Ilyas Shah's successful expedition to Tirhat, Champaran, Nepal etc., Prof. N. B. Roy writes as follows:

"The dazzling success emboldened Ilyas Shah to make another spectacular display of his arms. To the South-West of Bengal there extends along the sea board from the Subarnarekha to the Godavari, a long stretch of flat alluvial plain, with a hinterland of undulating tract. This country had grown into a highly prosperous kingdom during the 13th and 14th Centuries. Its wealth and myriads of the temple XXX XXX XXX had long excited the cupidity of the Muslim
Sultans of Bengal. But the arms of its rulers \*\* \* \* \* gave it security against the invasion for a century and quarter.

"About the middle of the 14th century however, the gate way into this kingdom of fabled prosperity which had not been previously pierced by the Turkish war-lord of Bengal was burst open by Ilyas Shah. He swept away all opposition, marched accross the country to Lake Chilka, where terror of his arms had driven the aristocracy of Orissa and came back with immense booty including 44 elephants." 2

Elsewhere Prof. Roy has written as follows:—"The Sultan next turned his attention to Orissa. The Ganga kings had invaded Bengal during the preceding century and were still in possession of a part of Western Bengal. But the ruling king of Orissa Bhanudeva III 3 was weak as Ilyas advanced through Jaipur and Katak 4 as far as the Chilka lake. He dispoiled the temples of Orissa and returned with a rich booty including 44 elephants. Finally he ed campaign against Eastern Bengal. He defeated Ikhtiyar-uddin Gazishah, the ruler of Sunargaon and annexed his dominions in 753 A. D. (1352 53 A. D.)."

Let us examine the source of facts of Prof. N. B. Roy which led him to the conclusion quoted above. Sirat-i-Firoz Sahi of an unknown author translated into English by Prof. Roy in 1942, is the only Persian history which mentions Ilyas Saha's invasion of Orissa in a passing reference. But there is no reference to it in any other work of the contemporary Muslim Historians. Ziauddin Barani is the earliest author to mention Firozshah's invasion of Lakhnauti in 1354 A. D. against Ilyas Shah and he has not written anything about Ilyas Shah's

1. The kingdom of Orissa in the 14th Century A. D. extended from the Ganges to the Godavari. It is not understood how Prof. N. B. Roy has shifted the boundary line from the Ganges to the Subarnarekha which was the boundary of Orissa in the 18th century A. D. under the Maratha and the early British rule.


3. In 1351 the ruler of Orissa was Narasinha Deva III.

4. In no account the mention of Jaipur or Katak is made.

5. In no account destruction of temple by him is recorded.
expedition to Jajnagar in his *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*. So also Mahrul in his letters and Sham-i-Siraj Aaf in his *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* are silent about Ilyas Shah's expedition to Jajnagar in 1351 A.D. But the unknown author of *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi* who is supposed to be Firoz Shah himself by some scholars has written the following in connection of Feroz Shah’s expedition to Jajnagar in course of a reference.

"Some of the commanders of the army who had been deputed for pillage and plunder sent news that there was an island near the sea coast having a broad and long pool of water in which nearly one hundred thousand men of Jajnagar had taken refuge with their women, children, kinsmen and relatives. Each figure was (radiant) like the moon and sun, but notwithstanding this appearance, they were crouching in water like the fish. It was stated that Shamsuddin the ruler of Laṅkauti had besieged them on this sea coast but with all his forces, he could not gain the upper hand over them and had returned empty handed. On receipt of this news the auspicious stirups were turned in that directions & etc."

In the foot note referring to the pool of water Prof. N. B. Roy writes. "This is undoubtedly the Chilka Lake where the aristocracy of Orissa is said to have often sought refuge during the time of Muslim invasion". Thus Sirat-i-Firoz-Shahi ascribes a miraculous invasion of Orissa to Ilyas Shah when the fact is considered with absence of reference to Ilyas Shah's invasion of Orissa in history of the other Muslim Historians noted above, we can hardly believe that Ilyas Shah's ever invaded Orissa. Besides, in other Muslim histories written subsequent to the rule of Firoz Shah, like Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, Muntakabhus Tawarikh, Feristah, there is no mention of Ilyas Shah's invasion of Orissa. But Nizamuddin in his *Tarikh-i-Akbari* mentions invasion of Orissa by Ilyah Shah who obtained many large elephants. There is also similar reference to Ilyas Shah's invasion of Orissa in *Riazus Salatin*, a very late work. It is stated there that Ilyas Shah obtained many valuables and elephants from Orissa.

7. *Ibid*, p. 75. There is no such island in the Chilka lake which could accommodate hundred thousand people.
In consideration of the facts discussed above Ilyas Shah's invasion of Orissa appears very doubtful. Facts contained in the Dharmalingesvara temple inscription edited by Dr. J. Nobel (E. I. Vol XIX) discussed herein after not only disproves the fact of any invasion of Ori-sa by Ilyas Shah but also throws a new light on the relation existing between Ilyas Shah and the Ganga contemporary Narasimha Deva III. It appears that this significant inscription has escaped the notice of the scholars who have dealt with invasion of Orissa by Ilyas Shah and Firoz Shah. Had they noticed it they would certainly taken a different view.

The text of the aforesaid inscription is as follows:—

"एक सिस्टन्हु पारदेव्युस दक्षिणेऽसि
परित्रातारे प्रतिगाढः बुढु विमृद्धिःसिंहुत्व दिक्षोपजितय"

"द्वारिकास्तुऽदनविवि रमनवाणि सहस्रविकाणि
लक्षणेनिसायस हृपति सुरवरस्तिभवधुस्कनायि"

Dr. J. Nobel's translation of the above is given below:—

"But this was an inique (and) wonderful (deed) having set out to protect the harrassed army of the Sultan of Pandava and having by the stretch of (his) arm completely vanquished the ruler of Dilli, that king gave the goddess of victory together with twenty two great elephants to the king of Utkala and Turks to the excellent damaseels of gods".

In view of the facts stated in this inscription it appears most likely that Ilyas Shah sought the help of the Ganga king of Orissa, Bhanudeva against the invasion of Bengal by Firoz Shah in 135-354 A. D. Firoz Shah's hasty return to Delhi after he gained decisive victory over Ilyas Shah (History of Bengal II) pp. 108-109 is rather mysterious. He did not press his victory to either dislodging Ilyas or destroying Ekdala.

The Muslim historians have tried to explain the situation by concocting stories, like Sultan being moved at the piteous cries of women. The real fact, it appears was the reinforcement received by Ilyas Shah from Orissa which helped to stem the tide and send the Emperor flying back to Delhi.

In the face of the fact stated in the inscription we can not conceive of an invasion of Orissa by Ilyas Shah in 1351 A. D. when he
received substantial help from the king of Orissa at a great risk incurring the wrath of the Sultan of Delhi and that not only saved Ilyas Shah from the great danger he was put in but enabled him to drive away the Emperor from the country. This attitude of the king of Orissa presupposes very cordial relations existing between Orissa and Bengal. Such cordial relation between them could not be possible if there was an invasion of Orissa in 1351 as alleged in the Sirat-i-Firoz Sahi.

The Hindu-Muslim alliance and friendship between the Ganga king of Orissa and the Sultan of Lakhnauti of Bengal produced practically a peaceful co-existence in the Eastern India and Muslim officers were chosen to be appointed in the service under the Hindu king of Orissa. This fact has been recorded by the author of Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi in connection with Feroz Shah's expedition to Jajnagar in a twisted manner as follows:

"While this elephant hunt was in progress Khan-i-Ayam, Khan-i-Mauzam Ahmad Khan who had been expelled from Bengal by Sultan Shamsuddin and had allied with the Rai of Jajnagar Alas! what amount of atrocities must have been committed by him that these drove the believers (Muslims) to fly from him and seek refuge with the infidels.

"During his reign oppression was so violent that death came for succour and began annihilation". 9

"This oppressed person left the infidels on the approach of the auspicious standards of the Muslim army and joined the world protecting court with his troops and followers".

The hatred and indignation of Firoz Saha as depicted by the author of Sirat-i-Ferozsachi towards Ilyas Shah are well established and support that Ilyas Shah made an alliance with the Rai of Orissa in order to make his position in Bengal safe and secure and Ilyas Shah's expedition to Jajnagar is therefore a myth and a fabrication of fact by the Muslim historians.

B. Feroz Shah's Second Expedition to Bengal and First Expedition to Jajnagar - Orissa.

Feroz Shah's hasty retreat from Bengal without any success has certainly made an impression in his mind which no court historian could give him relief by any explanation. Thus as a wise man he waited for an opportunity which he got after the death of Ilyas Shah's in 1357 A.D. Ilyas Shah was succeeded by Sikandar Shah who was as wise and clever as his father when Feroz Shah appeared for the second time in Bengal. He avoided pitched battle and confined himself in the front of Ekdala. Failing to conquer by fight Feroz Shah adopted methods of negotiation and finally a treaty of friendship was ratified with an exchange of presents. After securing Sikandar Shah's support Feroz Shah returned towards Delhi in 1360 and passed the rainy season at Jaunpur. It is said by historians that while Feroz Shah was staying at Jaunpur he suddenly conceived the plan of making a raid upon Jajnagar. It is natural that after securing friendship with the Sultan of Bengal, Feroz Shah might have continued to stay in Bengal for the rainy season and then he could have proceeded towards Jajnagar on the coastal route from Bengal to Orissa. Instead of doing so he proceeded back to Jaunpur for passing the rainy season there. We can not presume that the Sultan bore no grudge against the Rai of Orissa after his discomfiture in the encounter with the Orissa force as recorded in the inscription discussed above. So his return to Jaunpur was a deliberate move to mislead the Orissan King to be off his guard. The move achieved its end. The King of Orissa was quite taken by surprise when Feroz Shah suddenly appeared before the gates of fort of Sarangarh (modern Chandwar) on the river Virupa. So Feroz Shah's return to Jaunpur was deliberate and was partly actuated by apprehension that Sikandar might take advantage of any fight between him and the king of Orissa.

The contemporary Muslim histories have given some hints about the reason of Feroz shah's invasion of Orissa but they do not appear to be real, Firoz Shah really wanted to take revenge on the King of Orissa for his defeat in the hands of his general Chade II. But the Muslim Historian could not state that since the very fact of his decent had been suppressed. So that they gave out second reasons as real purpose of the invasion,
I Ayunul Mulk Mahru gives the intension saying that “To break the idols to shed the blood of the enemies of Islam and to hunt elephants.” Against this statement Abdul Wali has come to a strange conclusion which is quoted below:

“Feroz Shah’s main purpose of the Journey was elephant hunting though hedged round by other reasons by the writer of the account of history and by Ayunul Mulk Vini Vidi Vici (I came, I saw, I conquered) is what this good sport loving Emperor might have said on the result of his expeditions of Jajnagar. He broke no idol, pillaged no shrine. While he pursued the Rai, he turned back to hunt. He went to see the celebrated temple of Jagannath at Puri. What Affi says that he carried an idol named Jagannath, found at Rai’s fort, is not borne out by Mahru. Perhaps he wanted it for his Museum. He went to Puri to view and admire the famous Jagannath.”

Abdul Wali did not see the text of Sirati Feroz Shahi otherwise after reading at the Chilka lake the massacre especially of the women and children, as described in it he would not have written as well of Feroz Shah’s intension Abdul Wali has added the word Puri within brackets after Jagannath at P. 286 but Affi’s idol of Jagannath at the fort of Rai refers to the temple of Jagannath at the Varanasi Kataka, the capital of Orissa and not Puri about which a discussion is made below. Affi’s description is found to be true while others views appear to be incorrect.

II. Shas-i-Siraj Affi wrote his account of Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi in 1388 A. D long after the actual incidence in 1361, after hearing from various persons including his father who accompanied the Sultan. He writes as follows regarding the intentions of Feroz Shah’s expedition to Jajnagar.

“His intention had been friendly. He had received certain information that elephants were as numerous as sheep in the jungle round Rai’s dwelling and he had proceeded therfor the purpose of hunting.”

He further writes after the hunt was over the Sultan directed his attention to the Rai of Jajnagar and entering the place where he dwelt he found that inside the Rai’s fort there was a stone idol which

the infidels called Jagannath, and to which they paid their devotions, Sultan Feroz in emulation of maulsed Subktgin having rooted up the idol, carried it away to Delhi, where he subsequently had it placed in ignominious position.”  12

III. Sirati Feroz shahi does not give the name of its author nor the date when it was compiled. This book is a collection of different subjects. The object of Feroz Shah’s expedition is given as follows:—

Our object in the chase of elephants, the demolition of idols and the extirpation of the Rai.”  13

It has been discussed above that the account of Ilyas Shsh’s expeditions to Jajnagar up to the Chilka Lake is not historically true and the subsequent historian namely the author of Tabaquat-i-Akbari has not mentioned inhuman activities of the army of Feroz Shah in the locality of the Chilka lake So it seems that the atrocities described in Sirati-Feroz Shahi in the locality of the Chilka Lake was not accepted by the Muslim historians of the subsequent period.

Among the Sultans of Delhi Feroz Shah was the most enlightened and cultured ruler, but if the following description of ill treatment and massacre of women and children ascribed to him in the Sirati-Feroz Shahi can hardly be accepted as true,  

This description of Feroz Shah’s atrocities is given in the Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi in the following words,

“Captive women of all descriptions, young middle aged, and old, maidens and married women bearing only male children those bearing only female ones, women with a few and many children widows, bashful women, chaste ladies, women endowed with natural beauty were pressed, as slaves, slave maidens, maid-servants, female singers, nurses and midwives into service in the house of every soldier. The rest of their women were taken captive along with elephants; women with babies and pregnant ladies were haltered manecled,

12. Ibid., p. 51
fettered and enchained and no vestige of the infidels was left except this blood.” 14

Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi is silent about demolition of Jagannath temple by Feroz Shah as described in the Sirati Feroz Shahi, Madala Panji or the Chronicle of the Jagannath temple, makes no mention of it. Afif of course mentions stone idol of Jagannatha in the fort of the Rai of Jajnagar in Kataka. Afif evidently refers to the idol of Jagannath installed in Kataka which is mentioned in the Nagri Copper plate grants of Anangabhima III of the Saka year 1151-2 (E.I. XXVII. pp. 535-58). The idol of Purusottama installed at Veranashi Kataka is mentioned in the Nagari copper plate grant in the following verse.

"Tatha Abhinava Varanasyam bhagvatah Sri Purusottama devasya sannidhau."

It purports to say that the grant was made before the image of Purusottama at Abhinava Varanasi Kataka or modern Cuttack.

Dr. D.C. Sircar who edited this copper plate, writes that “very interesting is the reference to the king making a grant while standing before the god Purusottama at Varanasi Kataka or modern Cuttack on the 5th January 1231 A. C. and to the installation of the said Purusottama apparently during the Saka year 1152 (1230-31 A.C.) by king Annangabhima III.” 15

Dr. Sircar further writes as follows :-

“An interesting reference to the God Jagannatha (i.e. Purusottama Jagannatha) worshipped by the king of Jajnagar (i.e. the Imperial Ganga rulers of Orissa) in their fort at Banarasi (i.e. Varanasi Kataka or the present Cuttack) is found in the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, by Shama-i.Siraj. According to this work Sultan Firoz Shah of Delhi had an expedition against the kingdom of Jajnagar about 1360 A. C. when it was under the rule of Ganga king Bhanu III since (1352-78 A.C.) The Sultan is said to have occupied Banarasi (Vanarasi Kataka) when the Ganga King fled from his city In connection with this expedition, the Tarikh-i-Firoz shahi says:- it was reported that inside the

15. E. I. Vol. XXVII p. 247
Rai's fort (i.e. the Ganga King's fort at Banarasi or Varanasi-Katka) there was a stone idol which the infidels called Jagannath and to which they paid devotion. Sultan Firoz in emulation of Mahamadi Subkhgin, having rooted up the idol, carried it away to Delhi, where he subsequently placed in an ignominious position. From this account we come to know that the fate of the God Purusottama Jagannath installed by Anangabhima II at Cuttack and worshipped there for about 130 years from 1230 to 1360 A.C. 16

The subsequent Muslim historian of Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi confused this image of Jagannath at Cuttack with that of Puri but Aff's account clearly proves that the Jagannath temple at Puri was not demolished at all nor the images of that temple were destroyed. Aff writes that the idol at Cuttack was built with stone whereas the idols at Puri are built with wood.

Some years ago a stone image of Narayana with broken head belonging to the art of the 13th century A.D. was found from a tank in the heart of the Cuttack town. The image was subsequently removed to the Orissa Museum. It seems that this stone image was of Purusottama which was broken by Feroz Shah and its head was taken to Delhi.

The above goes to prove without doubt that Aff's account which is corroborated by epigraphical evidence is more trustworthy than those of Mahru's letter and the unknown author of Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi in which there was subsequent interpolation.

Although Feroz Shah oceedupa the capital of Jajnagar it is not known why he did not annex Orissa, a Hindu kingdom to his Sultanate. After the departure of Feroz Shah in 1361 A.D., the king Bhanudeva III ruled up to 1378 A.D. in Orissa as before like his forefathers. It seems that Feroz Shah's expedition to Jajnagar was only aimed at the collection of elephants which actually he got for his own satisfaction but the expedition did not leave a permanent mark in the mind of the people of Orissa.

16. Ibid., pp. 247-48,
APPENDIX - I

Identification of Padmatala, the centre of Feroz Shah's Kheda of Elephants,

Badoani's text of the place of Kheda of elephants by Feroz Shah was read and translated as Padmavati and Padmatala. In Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi the text was read Padmavati and Barantalaoli which according to Prof. N.B. Roy "by as light variation of diacritical marks would become Padmavati and Padmatala". In Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi the place of kheda of elephant is Padmavati which was the haunt of wild elephants and skirting along the bank of the Mahanadi where elephants countless like stars prowled about". 2 This description localises the geographical position of both Padmavati and Padmatala very accurately. Padmavati lies in the old Khandapara State in modern Nayagarh Sub-division of the Puri District on the right bank of the river Mahanadi. This place according to the report of the Orissa Feudatory States Gazetteer was used for elephant kheda for ages. Padmatala is situated on the eastern boundary of the old Baud State in the modern Baud Phulbani District. It is a hilly area situated in the right bank of the Satkosia (14 mile long) gorge of the Mahanadi river. At the top of the hill there is a big natural pool of water which is resorted by many wild animals ven now-a-days. It was a famous place for elephant Kheda in bygone ages. It is situated at about 90 miles west of Cuttack. It seems that Feroz Shah went as far as Padmavati and Padmatala in search of elephants in their own environments where he captured good many elephants to his satisfaction,

APPENDIX - II

The route of Feroz Shah's return journey.

From Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi it is known that Feroz Shah went to Padmatala for the Kheda of elephants. Padmatala is situated about 90 miles west of Cuttack and it seems that Feroz Shah returned to Delhi from Padmatala after following the western pilgrim and trade route from Orissa to Madhyapradesh which was bifurcated in the hilly

2. Ibid., pp. 77.
area of Orissa though the river valley of the Anga and the Mahanadi. It seems that Feroz Shah followed the route of the Mahanadi via Sambalpur. At Sambalpur there are a good many Muslim tombs and the local tradition refers to Kalapahar. But Kalapahar never went to Sambalpur area. It is fact that Hosnag Shah of Malwa came to Cuttack in 1431 A.D. after following this western pilgrim route to Orissa. There is no report that Hossing Shah's party suffered from difficulty on their way. At Sambalpur the tombs therefore should be allotted the army of Feroz Shah.

Afif's Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi states that "after Sultan had started on the return journey to Delhi, the guides lost their way and proceeded over mountains and plains and along the banks of a river like Jihim". Had the Sultan returned from Cuttack in the Bihar route though which he came to Orissa no help of the guide would have been necessary. It seems that from Sambalpur Feroz Shah followed the hilly route via old Gangpur, Jashipur and Siriguja or Falamru and reached Mirzapur in U.P. or Shahbad in Bihar on which route he had to cross the hilly son river for Mizapore or Shahabad the Emperor had no difficulty to come to Delhi.

About the difficult nature of the route Elliot and Dowson have written as follows:

"The author's father, who accompanied the march stated that the army ascended and descended mountain after mountain and passed through jungles and hills until they were quite in despair and utterly worn out with the fatigues of the arduous march. No read was to be found nor any grain, provisions became very scarce and army was reduced to the verge of destruction. For six months no news of the Sultan reached Delhi". The description is fully found to be true in the area of the upper Mahanadi valley and also in the Madhyapadesa. When Afif's father did not mention the names of places it seems that Muslim's were quite ignorant of the area in the Gondawana. After long marches when the army reached the Jamuna valley, they arrived at a safe place.

Afif describes as follows:

3. Tarikh-i- Feroz Shahi Sushil Gupta, p. 54.
4. Ibid., p. 54.
"The Sultan's army having at length travessed the mountains and jungles and having crossed the river, after enduring great privations and practicing many expedients came out into the open country. 5

About the tombs at Sambalpur the Sambalpur Gazetteer mentions as follows:—

"The tombs of the Muhammedans who accompanied Kalapahar are pointed out at Sankerbandh, where his army encamped". 6

These tombs must be therefore attributed to the dead soldiers of the army that followed Feroz Shah in this return journey.

5. Ibid., P. 55.
SECTION - G

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

55

ANCIENT COINS FROM MAYURBHANJ *

The first report on the Roman gold coins was written as follows by Mr. Beglar:—

"Some years ago a great find of gold coins containing, among others, several of the Roman emperors, Constantine, Gordian, etc., in most beautiful preservation, was found near Bamanghati. Mrs. Hayes, the Deputy Commissioner's wife at Singbhum, possesses several very fine ones indeed, made into a bracelet, but in such manner as to leave the coins absolutely uninjured. I tried in vain to procure some, but failed, except the choice ones (choice as to excellence of preservation) picked out and secured by the Deputy Commissioner; the rest got dispersed, and it is now hopeless to try and find out where they are, if they indeed exist at all and have not been melted. The finding of these coins at Bamanghati shows that it lay on some great line of road from the seaport Tamluk to the interior, for it is more probable that they came in via Tamluk than overland from the Roman empire." 2

As we are not in a position to examine these coins now, we must feel particularly indebted to Mr. Beglar for his interesting note, quoted above, about these Roman coins.

It is quite possible that subsequent to the above discovery of Roman coins, other coin hoards may have been discovered in

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1. Bamanghati is a Sub-division in Mayurbhanj. In the old maps of the Survey of India, Bamanghati finds a mention; it is seen to be very near modern Rairangapura, which is the sub-divisional headquarters.

Mayurbhanj State, but we have no records about them. To one such hoard undoubtedly belong the genuine copper coins of the Kushana emperors in the Baripada treasury; I have, however, failed to get any clue to its time and place of discovery.

Since the establishment of the Archaeological Department in the Mayurbhanj State, hoards of old coins have been discovered and reported with a pleasing frequency, thanks to the policy of awarding rewards to the discoverers. In 1923 a hoard of copper Kushana coins of Kaniska and Huviska and the so-called Puri-Kushana coins was found out at Bhanjaka, not far from Khiching, and its report was published by Rai Bahadur B. Chanda. Some of these coins have been distributed to almost all the important museums in India and to the British Museum, and Allan’s latest book on the coins of India contains a reference to them. Since 1924, Kushana and so-called Puri-Kushana coins have been found at various places in Mayurbhanj and the important hoards are mentioned below. During the excavation of Viratgarh at Khiching a few Kushana coins and a large number of Puri-Kushana coins were found. Among the Puri-Kushana coins there were many twin coins which, when broken, would turn into two single coins. Such double coins have not been found in the hoards of Ganjam, Puri, Balasore, Mayurbhanj, Singhbhum and Manbhum, which have been all referred to in the article on the so-called Puri-Kushana coins by Dr. S. K. Bose. In this article, Dr. Bose has, however, not referred to the hoard found at Barabhum in Manbhum, and to an earlier hoard described by Mr. Beglar as follows:—"It is said that a large quantity of coins were found buried at its foot some years ago, when a European official from Ganjam dug it up—some of gold and silver, but many of copper. I could get none of the gold and silver coins, but I got a few copper ones much defaced. They were evidently Indo-Scythian, and thus confirm the great antiquity of the place, and incidentally prove the great influence of the Indo-Scythians in India when even their copper currency is found so remote from their capital."  

In May, 1939, 105 Puri-Kushâna coins were found in a brass pot at Nuagaon 3 miles west of Jaisipur and nearly 3 miles east of Bhanjakia in Mayurbhanj. In this connection I may mention here that I have collected a few copper Kushâna and Puri-Kushâna coins from the Keonjhar State, which were found at Sitalbinjhi where there are ruins as well as a rock painting with a fragmentary inscription belonging to 4th or 5th century A.D., and which has been read as Sri Dîśa Bhanjâ by Pandit B Misra. (Modern Review, 1938, pp 301-5.)

The hoard of Khiching coins can be classified as full, half and quarter coins. Among the coins of Bhanjakia, Khiching and Nuagaon hoards of Mayurbhanj State, many coins possess frills of the molten metal from the edges of the mould, and there are a few coins in pair which are indicative of non-circulation of the coins; it may be therefore conjectured that there was a mint at Khiching Dr S. K. Bose also expected a mint somewhere in the neighbourhood of Manbhum and wrote as follows:—"With the exception of six coins the rest are not well trimmed and invariably show protruding edges. What was long ago suspected by Walsh seems now to be confirmed. The regions from which my coins come, which incidentally, I might say is not very far from the provenance of Mr. Walsh's coins) most likely was a mint area where the coins were actually manufactured." 7 The late Mr. R. D. Benerjee in his History of Orissa, pp. 108-119, has dealt with the Kushâna and so called Puri-Kushâna coins and has written as follows:—

"The occurrence of this type of the coinage from Singhbhum to Ganjam very probably indicates influences of the Kushânas. We know that Magadha was included in the empire of the great Kushânas and, therefore, it could not be unscientific to assume that the so-called Mughal invasion of Orissa was really the conquest of the country by the Kushân foreigners." 8 No gold coins of the Kushâna kings have been found anywhere in Orissa, but such coins are known from Chota


8. [ Mr. Banerji is here referring to Mughal invasion of Orissa which, according to the Mâlalâ Panji, is said to have taken place before the Saka year 396. — Editor, A. S. A ]

Nagpur and Bengal, and from this it is expected that Kushāna gold coins were circulating as currency in Orissa also.

The most important find of coins in the Mayurbhanj State is undoubtedly that of 3 gold coins (archer type) of Chandra Gupta II, which were discovered in August 1939 at a village called Bhnanpur on the left bank of the Son river in Mayurbhanj. This discovery could not have come to our knowledge, if there had been no altercation among the villagers leading to the intervention of the State Police. The Police could however recover only three gold coins. The discovery of gold Gupta coins is unknown in Orissa, and this is the first report of its kind. There is no report on the discovery of Gupta coins from Chota-Nagpur. Only one Gupta coin was found at Tamluk. It may be that all these Gupta coins were brought by the merchants.

All authorities agree that the copper coins of the so-called Puri-Kushāna type are, like the Gupta coins, copied from the Kushāna coins. The inscribed Tanka coins are no doubt of later date, probably of the 7th century A.D. but the un-inscribed Puri-Kushāna coins should be much earlier, as early as the 3rd or 4th century A.D. Gupta Kings are not known to have conquered or annexed Orissa to their empire, and so it may be inferred that the kings of Orissa during the Gupta period of the Indian History had their own coins and were quite independent of the Gupta emperors. Their coinage is represented by the so-called Puri-Kushāna coins. Professor A.S. Altekar also seems to accept this view, for he says:— "If the Kushāna coins were introduced in Orissa by pilgrims and merchants, it is clear that they soon became as a model for their coinage which was continued up to the 7th century A.D." 13 Dr. S.K. Bose writes on this subject that "these so-called Puri-Kushāna coins, appear to possess purely a local and dynastic value." 14

Rai Bahadur R. Chanda suggested in his Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1924-25 that the designation of the

"Puri-Kushāna" coins should be changed to "Oriya Kusahā" coins but Dr. S. K. Bose did not prefer "any suggestion of attributing a geographical name of the coins." 15 When he is of opinion that these coins only "possess purely a local and dynastic value" in Orissa, it is not clear why he demurs to the suggestion. I am suggesting that we are now in a position to designate these so-called Puri-Kushāna coins as "early Orissan Coins" which are practically found in Orissa, including States of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar and in the districts of Singhbhum and Manbhum, which are contiguous to Mayurbhanj and contain enough relics of the Orissan Culture.

56

NOTE ON THE DHARUAS OR THE GONDS OF MAYURBHANJ STATE *

Messrs Russell and Hiralal in their Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, have given an account of the Gonds. In the following note I propose to deal with a few points in which my account will differ a little from that account.

The Gonds or Dharuas of Mayurbhanj are distributed in the Mayurbhanj State as follows, according to the Census of 1931:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-division</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sadar Sub Division</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaptipada</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāmanghāti</td>
<td>2,458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchpīr</td>
<td>10,854</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above it will be seen that the sub-division of Panchpīr contains the largest number. According to tradition, the Bāmanghāti subdivision was the home of the Gonds, from where they migrated to other places when the Zamindar of Bāmanghāti was deposed in 1835 by the then Mahārājā Jadunath Bhańja of Mayurbhanj. The history of the Zamindar family narrates that their ancestor came to Mayurbhanj

15. Ibid.

* Reprinted from Man in India, Vol. XVIII, 1938, Nos. 2 & 3.
from Garh Mandala in the Central Provinces, and his family was known as the Dharma Zamindar of Bāmanghaśi.

The significance of the Oṛiya term Dharuṇa can be understood from the following quotation from the Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Vol. III:—

1. “The ordinary Gonds in most Districts form one endogamous group, and are known as the Dhur or ‘dust’ Gonds, that is, the common people.” (P. 63)

2. “The Dharwe or Naik Gonds of Chanda were formerly employed as soldiers, and hence obtained the name of Naik or leader.” (P. 64)

3. “Here certain large septs, especially the Mika and Dhurwa, are divided into a number of sub-septs within each of which marriage is prohibited.” (P. 67)

4. “The meaning of the important sept names Marābi, Dhurwa and Nika has not been ascertained and the members of the sept do not know it.” (P. 67)

It is not known whether the Dharuṇa of Mayurbhaṇḍj were so called from those three significances of the term or any of them, namely, (i) the ordinary Gond, (ii) Military service and (iii) Sept name.

The Gonds are found in Oṛissa in the States of Keonjhar, Bonai, Bāmga and Gāngpur. In Bonai “the two leading members of this tribe, called respectively Daṇḍapāṇa and Mahāpatra held siefs on terms of military service under the chief.” (Orissa Feudatory States Gazetteer, p. 145). So it is possible that the name Dharuṇa is due to the military service which they accepted under the rulers of Mayurbhaṇḍj and Banai.

The Gonds of Mayurbhaṇḍj are divided into 1. Soma (the moon), 2. Surya (the sun), 3. Jadu, 4. Kaḍamba, 5. Gangā and 6. Garga vamṣa which are well known Kshatriya stocks of India and it seems that this classification of the tribe has been based on the tradition of the Hindu Purāṇas. Messrs Russel and Hiralal are silent on this point.

1. In Keonjhar the Gond is an immigrant from the Central Provinces wearing Brahmanical thread but is considered a low caste; his touch defiles. A Gond caste-chief is called Mahāpatra and bears the surname of Singh. (Orissa Feudatory States Gazetteer, p. 224).
In the Pañchpir sub-division of Mayurbhañj, all these six stocks are found as noted below:

1. The Mahāpātra family of Sunamuhin, who trace descent from the Zamindar family of Bāmanghaḷi claim to belong to the Soma stock (vamśa).

2. The Gonds of village Jamuti belong to the Surya stock (vamśa).

3. The family of Rama Naik of Sunamuhin belongs to Jādu stock (vamśa).

4. The family of Tulsi Naik of Sunamuhin belongs to the Kadamba stock (vamśa).

5. The Mundhani family of Khuṭapara belongs to the Ganga stock (vamśa).

6. The family of Sadhu Naik of Parbatipur belongs to the Garga stock (vamśa).

There is a head of each of these six families who is known as Mundhani.

Each of these six families is said to have a Rishi or priest representing the Gotra (clan) name of the family and again each priest is represented with a popular animal which is the object of veneration of the family.

All these six families are also classified according to the number of deos or gods also, and this deo classification is due to the number of sons born to each of the seven sons of Parameśvara at the time of creation. One who had only one son is the progenitor of Eka-deo (one-god) family which has been extinct from the world. Similarly others who had two, three, four, five, six and seven sons were known respectively as Dua-deo (two-god), Tiri-deo (three-god), Chāri-deo (four-god), Paṅcha-deo (five-god) Chṛha-deo (six-god), and Sata-deo (seven-god) families.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of family</th>
<th>Names of deos</th>
<th>Rishi or priest</th>
<th>Name of animals, the objects of worship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ganga</td>
<td>Dui-deo</td>
<td>Makara</td>
<td>Crocodile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Surya</td>
<td>Tiri-deo</td>
<td>Vyāsitṛha</td>
<td>Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kadamba</td>
<td>Chāri-deo</td>
<td>Subesa</td>
<td>Falcon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Jadu  Pañcha-Deo  Kāyapa  Tortoise
5. Garga  Chh-Deo  Gāṛga  Elephant
6. Soma  Sāta-Deo  Nāgasa  Cobra

According to Messrs. Russell and Hirá’al “in Chanda a classification according to the number of gods worshipped is found. There are four main groups worshipped seven, six, five and four gods respectively. Formerly there were three-two and one-god worshippers, but in each of these classes it is said that there were only one or two septs, and they found that they were much inconvenienced by the paucity of their numbers, perhaps for purposes of communal worship and feasting, and hence they got themselves enrolled in the larger groups. In reality it would appear that the classification according to the number of gods worshipped is being forgotten, and the three lowest groups have disappeared. This conjecture is borne out by the fact that in Chhindwārā and other localities only two large classes remain who worship six and seven gods respectively and inter-marry with each other, the union of a man with a woman worshipping the same number of gods as himself being prohibited. Here, again, the small septs included in the groups appear to serve no purpose for regulating marriages. In Mandla the division according to number of gods worshipped existed as in Chanda; but many Gonds have forgotten all particulars as to the gods and say only that those septs which worship the same number of gods are bhaihand or related to each other, and therefore cannot inter marry. In Betul the division by number of gods appears to be wholly in abeyance.” (Tribes and Costes of O.P., Vol III, pp. 66-67.) Thus it appears that the Gonds of Mayurbhaṇj are more orthodox than their brethren in the Central Provinces which was their original home.

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THE PURANAS—AN EGG-BORN TRIBE
OF ORISSA.

The Puranas are a semi-Hinduised tribe of Orissa who are mostly found in the district of Mayurbhanj and its neighbouring areas. In manners and customs they represent the Bhuinya of north Orissa
and Singbhum district of Bihar. In the 1931 Census of Ex-Mayurbhanj State Puranas (both Bhanj and Tamadia) were recorded in the report.

As regards the origin of the tribe Dullari it is recorded as follows in his Ethnology of Bengal.

There is a tradition that the Kharias with another tribe called Purans were the aborigins of Mohurbhanj, one of the Katak Tributary Mahalas. They aver that they and the family of the chief (Bhanj), were all produced from a pea-fowl's egg, the Bhanj from the yolk, the Purans from the white, the Kharias from the shell."

I had the occasion to work with the Puranas of Mayurbhanj in 1927 when I collected good many information of which some relevant facts are noted below. My informant was one Jatia Naik of the village Kudui, Pirkahi, Pargana Baghra.

"The semen of Bhagaban was discharged and it took the form of an egg of a pea-hen, but it was not really a pea-hen's egg. He ordered it to be kept by Vasistha Rashi. After a while from the yolk the Bhanj from the white the Purans, from the membraneous coating called 'Jala' the Jara Savara whose descendants are known now a days as the Daitapatis at Puri and from the cell the Brahmin Khadias whose descendants put the Neta (the silken fabric) on the top of the Jagannath, came out."

Jatia Naik further told me as follows:—

"The ancestors of the Puranas of Mayurbhanj came from Ayodhya with the Raja and resided at Adipur a village on the left bank of the Vaitarani river in Mayurbhanj. They begged a kingdom from the Goddess Kinechakeswari who being very pleased advised them to carve out a kingdom by dint of conquest. Then the Raja sought her help and she sent her two sons Pandia and Chandia and also 'Viravādyā' (military band) the sound of which would weaken the strength of the Zamindars. They eventually conquered the twenty-two Zamindars. The Raja had no royal umbrella till then. He only held a branch of the Sal tree as such which he posted near Kaliaghar in Midnapore as the boundary pillar. They excavated the big tank at Amerda and then

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they established themselves at Adipur garh as the capital and then on being informed that a bird called Samala (Hawil) was defeated by a Baja (Crtane) they shifted there and called it Bajasamal garh at Baripada.

Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy has recorded the following tradition in his work Kharia which he collected from one Gatiya Nayak of village Kadapani in the Sadar subdivision of Mayurbhanj.

"The semen of Bhagwan (God) fell on earth and it took the form of a pea-fowl's egg. By Bhagwan's command the egg was taken care of by the ancient Hindu Rishi (holy sage) Vasistha. In due time the ancestor of the Bhanja kings issued from the yolk, the ancestor of the Puran tribe from its white, the ancestor of the Jara Savara from the jal or membraneous coating of the egg, and from the shell sprang the ancestor of the Brahmana Kharias. The present descendants of Jara Savara are the Brahmana Kahirias, whose descendants have the privilege of placing the silken cloth or net over the sacred car (Ratha) of Jagannatha at the Rathya–Yatra festival at the capital of Mayurbhanj, and so too are the ‘Daita’ or ‘Daita–patia’ of Furi who take a principal part in the Ratha Yatra festival there".

From this traditional account it appears that the Purans were in the military services of the Bhanja Rajas of Mayurbhanj who used to regard the Purans as their elder brother. It is simply impossible now to find out the real significance of this tradition but it shows this much that this semi Hindueised tribe of Mayurbhanj had some military activity in bygone ages.

I collected the following information from Jatia Naik about their social conditions. The Purans are divided into thirteen sections with district surnames namely:

1. Bhanja
2. Sia
3. Dhala
4. Thayala
5. Dhungia
6. Bhoi
7. Patabandha
8. Mayura
9. Sala
10. Bhoi
11. Tipiria
12. Dhungia
13. Bahupuja

The Gotras of each of these families are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sur-name</th>
<th>Name of Gotra</th>
<th>Animal or plant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bhanja</td>
<td>Mayura</td>
<td>A bird, peacock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sia</td>
<td>Sala</td>
<td>The Sala, fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Dhala</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Thayala</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Dhungia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Bhoi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Patabandha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These Gotras or septs indicate that the Purans are of totemic origin. This totemic influence is found among the Brahmins of Orissa the families of Bharadwaja gotra do not kill the bird called 'Bhadabhadalıa pakshi'. The families of Parasara gotra do not kill the pigeon bird and in the like manner.

The Purana tribe is mainly divided into two divisions, Namely
1. Bhanja Puranas and Tamodia Puranas. The Bhanja Puranas are held superior in rank to the Tomadia Puranas and inter marriage is not allowed. Among the Tamodia Puranas there are 11 sections without Bhanja and Deo ones.

Among the Puranas the common title is Nayaka, but Bhanja, Tunga, Tipiria, Dhira, Patavandha and Bahupuja sections use the title of their surname as the title for distinction.

The social organisation of the Puranas consists of Pancha Nayakas of five office bearers namely:

1. Babu
2. Desapadhan
3. Mahanayaka
4. Panipatara
5. Dungua.

The Babu is the only one family and it is the head of all the tribe. The Desapadhana, Mahanayaka, Panipatar and Dangua are allotted to separate areas. The function of the Desapadhana is to supervise the good and bad deeds of the tribe and he inflicts due punishment to those who act contrary to the usual customs. The functions of the Mahanayak are quite similar to those of the Desapadhana. The function of the Panipatar is quite religious and it is he who takes meal at the outset in any expiatory ceremony. The function of the Dhungia is to prepare every thing for cooking in all ceremonial feasts.
As regards the origin of the Tamadia Purans, Jatia Naik told me the following story:

“When the Purana soldiers went out to conquer the 22 Zamindars they were engaged for 12 long years and thus they were absent from their home. At the time of their return after conquest of countries to Adipur, the Raja entertained them sumptuously and then disbanded all. On being informed this the Rani requested the Raja to bring back the soldiers to Adipur. On their return the Rani spoke to them from behind the curtain and requested them to take a vow not to drive their wives who might have begotten children by adulterous intercourses during the absence of their husbands. They took the vow and came back to the Raja and urged to take an oath not to resume the property of those who would die without issue and the Raja promised to observe the vow.” It is a fact that the property of an issue-less Purana was to be given to another Purana or to the Babu according to this vow by the rulers of Mayurbhanj.

After this when the Purana soldiers returned to their homes they found many such natural children. Some of them did no violent action according to their oath, but a few were very disgusted and left their home and went to the Tamad country. They kept women of the tribes such as Kamar, Bhumij etc. The sons of these unions were known later on as Tamadia Puranas.

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ANTIQUITY OF ORISSA’S HANDLOOM

The antiquity of Orissa’s handloom is as old as the necessity of clothing for covering the body felt by men with the sense of growth of the civilisation. The cotton textile discovered at Mohenjo-daro in Pre-historic period well establishes the antiquity of handloom in India, and although we have no such conclusive evidence in Orissa, it can be said that in that remote period the people of Kalinga who were a civilised nation had the knowledge of handloom with which they produced their garments made of fibres prepared from cocoon, cotton and hair. The discovery of spinning wheel with
which people, used to prepare yarns for weaving clothes is equally important for the use of hand-loom. So hand-loom is always associated with spinning wheel and their introduction in Orissa goes back to a very remote period about which there is no record.

In the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. we have got a large number of sculptures carved in the caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar. In these caves we find various kinds of clothing and garments in the bodies of the sculptures. These were no doubt copied by the sculptors from the actual use by men in those days. All these garments were certainly hand-spun and hand-woven. After a lapse of about 1000 years from the time of king Kharavela, the builder of the caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri, we got a large number of temples at Bhubaneswar and other parts of Orissa. The dates of these temples can be assigned to the 8th to 13th centuries A.D., and the sculptures of these temples give us sufficient data about the condition of garments in those days.

The garments of Parvati, one of the niche images of the Lingaraja temple (C. 1050 A.D.) are very minutely carved on stone by the sculptors. The Sari of Parvati seems to be a printed cloth for which Orissa was very famous. The clothing of the image of Vishnu preserved in the Orissa State Museum is another instance of fine embroidery in Orissa in the 13th century if not earlier.

The cotton textiles of Orissa in the 17th century were so well reputed that the European traders were attracted very much for their export from Orissa to Europe. The Portuguese had first opened their factory at Pipili on the Subarnarekha before 1633 A.D. when the English merchants of the East India Company came to Cuttack from Masulipatam as they could not get sufficient quantity of cloth there. They landed at Harishpore ghat and by the river and land routes arrived at Cuttack on the 1st. of May, the May-day 1 of 1633. They were kindly treated by the then Moghal-Governor who permitted them to trade in Orissa and soon after they started factories at Hariharpur (modern Jagatsingpur in Cuttack) and at Balasore.

In "The Diaries of Streynsham Master 1675-1680". Vol. II, the following account is recorded in connection with the activities of the English Company at Balasore.

At a consultation on the 14th December, 1676, it is recorded that "whereas there is great quantities of Callicos in the towne, especially of Sonnoes, which has been offered to the Councell, they considering the Honourable Companies orders that it is limited to 10000 pieces of that sort of goods for this yeares investment etc". 2

This gives an idea about the quantity of Calico cloths that were exported from Balasore port in the second half of the 17th century A. D.

Again at the consultation held on the 16th December, 1676 when Streynsham Master, Walter Clavell, John Marshall and Edmond Bugden were present, Clavell drew up "two papers, one on account and relation of the trade and affairs of Hugly, the other an account of the commerce of Ballasore, they were both read and delivered to Mr. Masters". 3 The account of Trade at Ballasore is printed at pages 84-87.

Clavell writes as follows on the advantageous position of Balasore where the English and the Danes established their factories in 1633.

"Because the Cloth of Harrapore (Haribarapur), where our first Factory was settled was without much difficulty to be brought hither by land, and the River where our vessells usually had laine at, being stop't up, it was noe easy matter to bring the Cloth by Sea, nor soe safe to have vessells ride before that place as here in the roadway of Ballasore. And the Raja of Tillibichrumbung 5 his countrye lyeing neare the place where the greatest quantity of Teser (tassar) or herba is procurable, a Settlement was thought the more Convenient, because Ginghams, Herba Taffatyes, Herba Lungees (lunggi, loin-cloth) and other sorts of Herba goods might be made neare and brought hither,

3. Ibid., p. 77.
4. Bruton writes in 1633 that "this town Haribarrapore is very full of people x x, there are many merchants in it and great plenty of things, here is also cloth of all sorts, great store, for their do belong to this town at least three thousand weavers that are house-keepers besides all other that do work being bound or hired". (E. A. E. B. page 15.)
5. Raja Trivikram Bhanj of Mayurbhanj who ruled from 1660-1688;
and noe where so good Herba goods procurable. The waters of Casharry giving the most lasting dye to them, and within two dayes journey of this place.” (p. 84-85)

“Could the difficulty of putting off our Europe Commodityes be once removed, and the feare of the want of a Phyrmaund (farman), it were much for the Companyes advantage to send servants to Mucktapore, Harrapore, and Mohumpore to provide with ready money the goods that come from those places, and to Danton or Jellasore, for Oremara and Cashary goods.” (p. 86)

From the above account it is clear that in the 17th century AD the English East India Company used to export various kinds of cloth from Balasore port after collecting those from different manufacturing centres in Orissa.

An agreement was made between the Agent and Councell for affairs of the Hon’ble English East India Company and the said Companies Merchants Chimchamsaw and Chinttamund saw at Balasore on the 3rd September 1674 for supply of goods in 1679. In the list the following items of cloth find mention: vide pp. 217-18.

“10000 pes. Sannoys whited & Cured, 30 coveds long, 2 coveds broad.

“Suro Sannoys, Head No. A at 74 1/6
Belly No. B at 69 1/16 — Rs. per Corge.
Foot* No. C at 64 1/16

“Herapore Sannoys, Head No. A at 67 1/2
Belly No. B at 62 1/2 — Rs. per Corge.
Foot No. C at 37 1/2

7. Not identified.
8. Same as four.
9. Not identified.
10. Dantan in Midnapore.
12. Olmara—formerly in Mayurbhanj and now in Balasore.
Mohunpore Sannoes,  Head No. A at 59 1/2 32
Belly No. B at 54 1/2 32 — Rs. per Corge.
Foot No. C at 49 1/2 32

10,000 pes. Gingham, Coloured, 20 coveds long & 2 coveds broad
Head No. A at 56
Belly No. B at 54 1/2 — Rs. per Corge
Foot No. C at 45

10,000 pes. Nillaes, 20 coveds long & 2 coveds broad
Fine  Head No. A at 80
Belly No. B at 75 — Rs. per Corge.

Ordinary  Head No. A at 70
Belly No. B at 64 — Rs. per Corge.
Foot No. C at 57

"The prizes of the same sorts of goods sent home upon the
Eagle and Johanna anno 1676 are as follows:—

Suro Sannoes,  Head No. A at 90
Belly No. B at 87 — Rs. per Corge.
Foot No. C at 80

Serapole Sannoes,  Head No. A at 82
Belly No. B at 79 — Rs. per Corge.
Foot No. C at 76

Mohunpore Sannoes,  Head No. A at 72
Belly No. B at 68 — Rs. per Corge.
Foot No. C at 65

Gingham, Coloured,  Head No. A at 63
Belly No. B at 58 — Rs. per Corge
Foot No. C at 54

Nillaes, Fine,  Head No. A at 95 — Rs. per Corge.
Belly No. B at 90

Ordinary,  Head No. A at 80
Belly No. B at 75 — Rs. per Corge
Foot No. C at 70
Thus we see that the hand-loom products of Orissa in the 17th century were highly appreciated in foreign countries like England and other countries of Europe.

T. Motte while he was proceeding to Sambalpore in 1766 wrote daily diary and on the 3rd May 1766 he entered Baruan. He has written the following about the weavers of Baruan:

"The country between the Gaintea and this river (Brahmani) is by much the finest part of Orissa. It is inhabited by a great number of weavers, who weave muslins in pieces chiefly for turban."

From the above it is known that even muslins were manufactured in Orissa in the 18th century A.D.

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SHORT SKETCH OF LIFE AND WORKS OF MANOMOHAN CHAKRAVARTI *

Manomohan Chakravarti will be ever remembered in Orissa as the first scientific historian, the first historical geographer and the first author of history of the Sanskrit and Oriya literature. He made special study of history, geography and literature from epigraphical sources for 25 years of his life from 1891 to 1917 during which period authentic materials relating to these subjects were collected by him and by other scholars too.

Among the early historians of the British period Andrew Stirling’s name tops the list for his first endeavour in placing together the chronological history of Orissa from the traditional Madalapanji or the chronicle of the Jagannath temple at Puri and the Persian and Maratha records found in the Collectorate Record Room at Cuttack since the conquest of Orissa by the British in 1803 up to 1820. It is not known exactly when the present text of Madalapanji was compiled, but in the Gangavamsānu-

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charitam; a Sanskrit work compiled between 1760-65 A.D., the chronology of the Ganga kings of Orissa was just the same as recorded in the Madalapanji used by Stirling. The constant use of Persian words and the term ‘Moghal’, indicates that the present form of the Madalapanji was compiled soon after the Moghal conquest of Orissa during the last decade of the 16th century A.D. Andrew Stirling* was appointed as the Secretary to the Commissioner of Cuttack or Orissa on the 10th October, 1817 and continued to stay at Cuttack up to 1822 when his work was first published, and it is simply surprising that within so short a period of 5 years he was able to write his work along with other multifarious official works. His work on Orissa was reprinted in the Asiatic Researches' Vol, XV in 1825. It was Stirling who first discovered and published the facsimile print of the Hatgumpha inscription when no one in India could read the Brahmi script used in it; it was he who first brought into prominence the cave temples and sculptures of Khandagiri and Udayagiri and the temples of Jaipur, Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarak. It is sure that Stirling studied the historical works such as Farshta, Ain-i-Akbari written in Persian and Teffentaller's works in French and Stewart's history of Bengal in English from Persian sources published first in 1813. It is a fact that he did not derive any historical information from the stone and copperplate inscriptions. Thus Stirling deserves the credit of being the first historian, antiquarian and archivist of Orissa who did not spare to take pains for thorough study of materials then available at his disposal in spite of his whole time occupation for the administrative duties of a newly established Government in Orissa.

After Stirling's researches, we get the names of Major Markhan Kittoe who devoted enough time to decipher inscriptions such as Dhauli Edicts of Asoka, Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela, stone inscrip-

* Andrew Stirling (1793-1830) I.C.S. born about 1793; son of Admiral Stirling, educated at Haileybury 1811-12; to India in 1813; Persian Secretary to Government and Deputy Secretary in the Political Department; Private Secretary to W. D. Bayle while acting as Governor General 1828; He was the author of a valuable work on Orissa distinguished by great talents throughout his career; died at Calcutta May 23, 1830. Vide Buckland's Indian Biography.

1. Toynbee's Orissa,
tions found at Bhubaneswar and a Bhanja copperplate from Ganjam in 1837 to 1839 in collaboration of James Prinsep. This aspect of study of history from contemporary inscriptions was neglected for at least 50 years until the time of M. M. Chakravarti.

In 1872 W W Hunter published his work on Orissa which was as traditional as that of Stirling so far the history of Hindu kings of Orissa was concerned. So practically it did not supersede the history of Stirling in any way. John Beams supplied Hunter materials in 1869-70 as the Collector of Balasore and Cuttack and as Commissioner of Orissa. For the statistical report of Balasore John Beams wrote a small chapter on the history of Orissa which was published in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1883. Beams first wrote essays on Oriya literature and history in Indian Antiquary in 1872. The history of Orissa, written first in Oriya by Piarimohan Acharya of Cuttack was published in 1879.

At the same time Rajendralal Mitra published two big volumes on the caves and temples of Orissa entitled The Antiquities of Orissa before 1880. Although he included the inscriptions of temples of Bhubaneswar and Puri, yet he was not able to come out of the influence of the traditions. Rangalal Banerjee, a Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Cuttack took interest in the study of the History of Orissa and edited a number of copper plate inscriptions in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Indian Antiquary after 1880. It seems that young Manomohan Chakravarti who was a student of the Ravenshaw Collegiate School and the Ravenshaw College of Cuttack was attracted to the study of history from the influence of all learned men who served or came to Cuttack from 1870 to the end of his college career. Dwarikanath Chakravarti, the father of Manomohan Chakravarti was not only the Superintendent of the Normal School at Cuttack, but was a very learned man and also a man of high character in those days at Cuttack.

Dwarakanath Chakravarti, a Bengali Brahman by caste, was a resident of the village Kathore in the Barasat Subdivision of the District of 24 Pergannahs of Bengal. After passing the Senior Examination in the Hindu College of Calcutta, Dwarakanath preferred to serve in the Education Department and after serving in the districts of Hugli and Bankura, he was posted as the Assistant Head Master at Puri in 1861. Subsequently he was appointed as the Deputy Inspector of Schools of Puri and other neighbouring area. In 1869 Dwarakanath
Chakravarti was appointed as the Superintendent of the Training School Cuttack which post he held until his retirement. Manomohan Chakravarti, the eldest son of Dwarakanath Chakravarti was born in October 1863 at Kathor their ancestral home situated about 10-12 miles from Calcutta in the district of 24 Pergannahs of Bengal according to the History of Services of Gazetted Officers of Bengal. It seems that boy Manomohan was admitted to the Zilla School at Cuttack. He was a brilliant student and always stood first in his class. He passed the Entrance examination in the year 1873 and was awarded the “Beams Medal” for his brilliant success in the Ravenshaw Collegiate School at Cuttack. Then he joined the Ravenshaw College and passed the F. A. and B. A. examinations. In the year 1884 he passed M. A. examination in Botany from the Free Church Institution, Calcutta and stood first in the Calcutta University. In 1886 he passed the B. L. examination from the Metropolitan Institution. In the same year he passed the Deputy Magistrate examination and joined the Provincial Service (Executive) as the Deputy Magistrate at Cuttack where his father was then in service.

Monomohan Chakravarti joined in his post of the Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector at Cuttack on the 24th March 1886 and retired from the Government service on the 16th October 1918 in the capacity of the Additional District Magistrate of Tippera in Bengal. During his service period he was posted at Cuttack from March 1886 to March 1887, at Puri from March 1887 to December 1891 and at Jajpur from December 1891 to June 1897. During this period of full 11 years he was busy in collecting materials for writing papers on the history of Orissa mainly. Then he was posted at Gaya, Midnapur, Serampur, Hooghly, Howrah, Calcutta (as the Assistant Superintendent of the Gazetteer revision from 1907), Howrah, 24 Pergannahs and Tipperah. From February, 1903 to July 1916, it is found that he was posted very near to Calcutta.

This is the short account of service career for which Monomohan Chakravarti is not remembered now a days. We are indebted to him for his contributions in the field of historical research which he scrupulously maintained even at the sacrifice of his health. He was first elected as the Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1890, and he was elected as the Fellow of that learned Society in 1912 which was due to the best recognition of his multifarious historical research for a period of 20 years.
In the Appendix-I is given a list of 34 papers published by him in English from 1892 to 1917. Out of these, 27 papers were published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and only two papers, that too also last ones, were published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society in 1916 and 1917. This excludes his official paper on the Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills of the Puri District, and contributions in the Bengal Gazetteers and the book entitled the Changes in the Jurisdiction of the Districts and Divisions of Bengal which are no doubt a part of his historical research.

Monomohan Chakravarti was posted at Cuttack, Puri and Jajpur from March 1886 to June 1897 for over a period of 10 years of the early career of his life. During his stay in Orissa he contributed first five papers which goes to establish that he kept himself busy for undertaking historical research, otherwise it is not possible for a young Deputy Magistrate to read papers in the meetings of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in 1891 just after 5 years of his entry into the Government service. From March 1897 to December 1891 Monomohan Chakravarti was stationed at Puri. While at Puri he collected 4 copperplates—two belonging to Kula Sthambha of the Sthambha dynasty and two belonging to the Gaṅga king Narasimha Deva IV from the Maṭhas of Puri. These copperplate grants were published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the year 1895. Although these papers were published in 1895, yet these were read first in a meeting of the Society as early as 1891. In this paper he gave his views as follows:

"The mediaeval history of Orissa is dark. The Maḍala Paṇji or the Chronicle of the Jagannatha temple is almost the only source, but unless corroborated, its statements cannot be fully relied upon." (vide, J. A. S. B 1895, p. 128.)

The discovery and study of the copperplates of Narasimha Deva IV by Chakravarti gave him an opportunity of doubting the authenticity of the traditional account of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa found from the Maḍala Paṇji.

In a meeting of the Asiatic Society held on the 6th July 1892, M. M. Chakravarti read a paper entitled "Some new inscriptions of Bhubaneswar, District Puri" and an abstract of this paper was published in the Proceedings p. 140-41. The following quoted below
gives the views of the Chakravarti about the historical value of the Mādalapāṇi.

"In spite of researches of Stirling, Prinsep, Hunter and Rajendralal Mitra, the history of Orissa was very obscure. The Mādalapāṇi was still its main basis and the Mādalapāṇi was a very unsafe and confusing guide, being itself based on unsatisfactory, imperfectly recorded, and often contradictory traditions. The work should be deposed from the high pedestal which it now occupied, and placed in its proper rank, as a corroborative document only".

The paper on the inscription of Bhubaneswar was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1893, but his previous papers on the copper plate grants of Narasimha Deva IV read in the Society in 1891 were published in the Journal for 1895. In the mean while M. M. Chakravarti was busy perhaps in compiling his paper entitled "Notes on the language and literature of O'issa", parts I & II which were published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1897 and parts III and IV of which in the Journal for 1898. In the conclusion of his paper he added a note on the Mādalapāṇi at pp. 376-79 and The later kings of Khorda in the Appendix - IV (pp. 380-384).

At the time when M. M. Chakravarti was engaged in the studies of the Mādalapāṇi, it seems that Fleet was also busy in doing so in connection with the writing of the paper entitled The Records of the Somavamsi Kings of Kataka for Epigraphia Indica Vol. III. Fleet has not mentioned if he had the occasion of reading the remarks of M. M. Chakravarti on the Mādalapāṇi, but it seems that two eminent historians simultaneously suspected its authenticity. Those who are interested to know the arguments of Fleet are requested to go through the pages 334-340 of the Epigraphia Indica Vol. III. The following quotations will show how independently and correctly was revieiwed the text of Mādalapāṇi by Chakravarti and how he differed from Fleet.

"The historical value of the Mādalapāṇi has been very much overrated. The original informations were often nor correctly entered. Then again the chronicle being on palm-leaves, it had to be recopied three or four times in a century, and in recopying many mistakes crept in particularly in figures. Lastly the Seba (worship) was closed several times on account of the Mahomedan raids, and many volumes must have been lost at the time. Hence the text is found full of mistakes and cannot be relied upon, unless corroborated by other evidence."
The later writers have also fallen into mistakes by following it exclusively only one version of the royal genealogy, while there are five or six versions in the Mādalāpāṇi. The truth often lies in one or other version. Appendix – IV (dealing with the later kings of Khurdha) will give some idea of the difficulties in constructing a royal genealogy from these different versions.”

Since writing this article, a kind letter of Dr. Fleet has drawn my attention to his remarks on the Mādalāpāṇi in the Epi raphia Indica. Dr. Fleet has analysed the earlier list of kings carefully and comes to the conclusion that the annal is ‘absolutely worthless for any purposes of ancient history’ (p. 335). I came nearly to the same conclusion when I was studying the original manuscript of the Mādalāpāṇi. In an article read before the Society, an abstract of which was published in the Proceedings for July, 1892, I noticed the general unreliability of the historical portion of the Mādalāpāṇi, and remarked that at best it can be used only as a corroborative document. Dr. Fleet’s analysis confirms me in that view.

“On some of the points discussed in the very interesting article of Dr. Fleet, I venture to differ. Firstly, he thinks that in respect of most of the Kesari kings it can only be said that ‘not one of them has any ring of antiquity in the sound of it; they may possibly be real names of later rulers, misplaced in order to make out a consecutive chronological series,’ (p. 336). I know at least of one Orissan inscription not later than tenth century, which mentions Kesari kings. It is Brahmesvar inscription of Bhubaneswar. This inscription mentions Udyotaka Kesari, and of his ancestors Janamejaya, Vicitavira Chandihara and Kolavati. The names of both Janamejaya, and Kolavati are to be found in the Mādalāpāṇi. The Kesari kings need not therefore be considered as myths or later rulers, as suggested.

“Secondly, Dr. Fleet has ‘no substantial doubt that the Yavana invasions which were repulsed, as the annals say, by Vajradēva and his successors and the successful invasion by Yavanas in the time of Sobhanadeva, are (mixed up with the early Gupta rule) simply the raids into Orissa by the Mussulmans in the thirteenth and following centuries, and the ultimate conquest of the country by them in the sixteenth century A. D. (p. 339). After having so satisfactorily established the utter worthlessness of the earlier part of the annals,
it is a pity that Dr. Fleet should make such an elaborate inference on one of the least authentic events of that earlier part. I am inclined to disbelieve the whole story of Raktavahu the Yavana, as a legend (without any Historical value) If any identification be at all required, I would rather identify him with some Buddhist or Jaina chief of the South."

In April 1899, M. M. Chakravarti read in the Asiatic Society of Bengal a paper entitled *An inscription of the time of Kapilendra Deva of Orissa, from Copina'hapura, District Cuttack*. In the appendix of this paper he dealt with the history of "The last Hindu Kings of Orissa" and wrote as follows:—

"Very little authentic is known about these kings of Orissa. The time has now come to throw light into this dark chapter and to give some account of them based on inscriptions supplemented at places by the Mādālāpāṇji and other records". In this paper he dealt with (A) the Kings of the Surya Vamsa dynasty, (B) the Bhoi Dynasty and (C) the Tilinga dynasty from 1434-35 A. D. to 1568 A.D. In this paper he deduced the period of rule from the data available from the inscriptions mainly after rejecting the dates given in the Mādālāpāṇji.

In August 1903 M. M. Chakravarti read the paper entitled "Chronology of the Eastern Gangs king of Orissa". In writing this an article it seems that he worked hard since 1891 when his paper on the copperplate grants of Narasimhadeva IV was read. The copperplates gave only the years of rule of each king from Choḍagaṅgadeva. In the year 1894 the *Annual Report of the South Indian Inscriptions* was published in which inscriptions of kings of Orissa engraved on the walls of the temples of Mukhalinga, Shrikurma and Simhachalam were published. The report along with some copperplates published in the *Journals* up to the year 1903 gave M. M. Chakravarti an unique opportunity to verify the years of reign of the Gaṅga kings from Choḍagaṅga onwards up to Narasimhadeva IV. By this verification the whole chronology of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa was based on the solid rock of inscriptive evidence, and at the same time it proved the un-authenticity of the chronology of the Gaṅga kings as recorded in the Mādālāpāṇji. In this paper Chakravarti gave the period of rule of

Choigadga from 1676 A.D. to 1147 A.D. which has been found to be untenable now due to discovery of new facts.

In the three papers namely (1) *Chronology of the Eastern Gagña kings of Orissa* (2) *The last Hindu Kings of Orissa* and (3) *The later kings of Khordha* mentioned above, M.M. Chakravarti dealt with scientifically the chronology of the history of Orissa from 1111 A.D. to 1817 A.D. leaving the dark periods as noted below:—

1. 1402 A.D. to 1434 A.D.
2. 1520 A.D. to 1559 A.D.
3. 1568 A.D. to 1692 A.D.

Within the 60 years that elapsed since 1898, the period from 1402 to 1434 A.D. has been allotted to Narasimhadeva IV (1378-1414 A.D.) and Bhanudeva IV (1414 to 1434 A.D.).

The period from 1520 to 1559 has been allotted to Prataparudra II and his son Pratapaditya of the Solar dynasty (1510-1533 A.D.) Govindadeva (1533-1548 A D.) and Pratapadeva (1545-1548). Hence the chronology from 1502-1559 A.D. of the history of Orissa is still in darkness although we find in the records the names of Narasimha Rāya Jenā and Raghurāma Jenā during the later period in the Madalapānji.

The period from 1568 to 1692 A.D. was occupied by six rulers namely 1. Ramachandradeva I, 2. Purushottamadeva, 3. Narasimhadeva II, 4. Gaṅgādhadeva, 5. Balabhadradeva, 6. Mukundadeva of the Bhoi dynasty of Khurda, the details of whose period of rule have not yet been established.

I have collected some contemporary evidence to establish the chronology of these six rulers of the Bhoi dynasty of Khurda which I hope will be dealt with in a separate paper by my friend and colleague Sri K.N. Mahapatra, the Curator of the Orissa State Museum. I am sure that the paper will throw new light on the period of rule of the rulers from 1568 to 1692 A.D. showing the unreliability of dates given in the Madalapānji and accepted by Stirling, Hunter or subsequent historians of Orissa.

M. M. Chakravarti’s work did not end here so far as the history of Orissa was concerned. Since 1903 he practically gave up the

studies in epigraphy and took up the studies in Sanskrit literature of Bengal and Mithilā in which his contributions are a fresh source for the study of history of Bengal. He also contributed a paper on the Muslim history of Bengal. His paper on the Bengal school of temples is an instance of his crude study on the subject.

The speciality of study of the history of Bengal and Orissa by M. M. Chakravarti is based on the famous maxim that "chronology and geography are the two eyes of history" and these two aspects of study in geography apart from chronology is borne out by his two papers entitled "Notes on the old Geography of Bengal" published in J.A.S.B. in 1908 and "Notes on the Geography of Orissa in the sixteenth century" published in J. A. S. B. in 1916. Chakravarti's paper on the Geography of Orissa is very valuable for the reason that he got the "Deśakhanja or lands allotted to the gods Jagannātha and Kṛībāsa throughout Orissa" and he had the advantage of comparing the contents of Deśakhanja with that of the Ain-i-Akbari which though very authentic, has very badly translated into English from Persian, The wrong translation has been corrected by Chakravarti. He writes that "the Ain list has made the basis of this paper" and I tried to examine the Deśā-khanja portion of the Mādalāpanji as early as 1927 when my Gurudeb Ramaprasad Chanda worked on the Mādalāpanji, but I failed to get it. Besides the Deśā-khanja list Chakravarti found a list which "gives a table of gods with their places throughout Orissa who were endowed with money grants from the Government." This list, if found, will be of great importance for the study of temples of Orissa. After this Chakravarti edited two Oriya inscriptions in the Journal of the B & O. Research Society. One of them belongs to the Jeypur Estate and another belongs to a ruler in the Konarak temple of Orissa.

During the period of his service as the Deputy Magistrate in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa up to 1912 and in Bengal up to his retirement he was on medical leave and furlough for a long period at intervals due to the bad health as he suffered from diabetis for a period of long 16 years and met the untimely death at the age of 56 years on the 15th September, 1916. He was honoured by the title of Bai Bahadur in 1914.

7. Ibid.
He left behind him a big family namely his widow ( who died on the 9th June 1939 ) nine sons ( one of whom was Under Secretary in 1957 to the Ministry of Home Affairs, Delhi ), four daughters, two son-in-laws, five brothers and two sisters to mourn his death. I am indebted to his two sons named Sri Harimohan Chakravarti and Sri Ram Mohan Chakravarti who supplied me valuable informations about their illustrious father late lamented Mano Mohan Chakravarti, one of the great historians and scholars of our country to whom, I offer my sincerest tribute.

### APPENDIX - I

**List of papers published by M. M. Chakravarti:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of paper</th>
<th>Where published</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Troy weights and general currency of ancient Orissa.</td>
<td>J. A. S. B.</td>
<td>1892</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Substance of paper entitled “Oriya inscription etc”</td>
<td></td>
<td>1892</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Oriya inscriptions of 15th &amp; 16th century</td>
<td></td>
<td>1893</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Two inscriptions of Kulasthambhadeva</td>
<td></td>
<td>1895</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Two copper-plate inscriptions of King Narasimhadeva of Orissa</td>
<td></td>
<td>1895</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Notes on the language &amp; literature of Orissa Parts I &amp; II</td>
<td>Parts III &amp; IV</td>
<td>1897</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>-do- -do-</td>
<td></td>
<td>1898</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>An inscription of the time of Kapilendradeva from Gopinathapura in Cuttack District.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1900</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>An inscription of the time of Nayapala Deva from Kesavadeva, Dwarika temple</td>
<td></td>
<td>1900</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri in Puri District.</td>
<td>Published by Bengal Govt.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Kalidasa and Guptas</td>
<td></td>
<td>1904</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>Pavanaduta or Wind messenger by Dhoiyika, a court poet of Lakshmana Sena, king of Bengal with an Appendix of Sena Kings.</td>
<td>J. &amp; F. A. S. B.</td>
<td>1905</td>
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15. Sanskrit literature in Bengal during the Sena rule. 1906
16. Chapters on the History of Orissa in the Gazetteers of Cuttack and Balasore. Govt. of Bengal 1906-07
17. Supplementary notes on the Bengal poet Dhojika and on the Sena Kings. J. & P. A. S. B. 1908
18. Certain disputed or doubtful events in the history of Bengal, Part I. 1908
19. Certain unpublished drawings of antiquities in Orissa & Northern circars. 1908
20. Notes on the geography of old Bengal. 1908
21. Bengali temples and their general characteristics. 1909
22. Certain disputed and doubtful events in the history of Bengal, early Muslim period, Part - II. 1909
23. Notes on Gaur and other old places of Bengal. 1909
24. Sikkim copper coins. 1909
25. Pre-Mughal Mosques of Bengal. 1909
26. Bhatta Bhavadeva of Bengal. 1910
27. History of Nyāyai in Bengal & Mithilā. 1912
28. Contribution to history of Smṛti in Bengal and Mithilā. 1912
29. History of Mithilā during the Mughal period. 1915
30. Changes of boundaries of Districts of Bengal. Govt. of Bengal 1916
32. On the genuineness of the eighth canto of the poem Kumārasambhava. 1916
34. An Oriya inscription from Konaraka. 1917