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ORISSA AND HER REMAINS—  
• • •  
• • • ANCIENT AND MEDIAEVAL.  
(DISTRICT PURI.)

(WITH AN INTRODUCTION  
BY  
THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE J. G. WOODROFFE.)

BY  
MANO MOHAN GANGULY, VIDYARATNA, B.E., M.R.A.S., ETC.  
DISTRICT ENGINEER, HOWRAH. MEMBER OF THE  
ASIATIC SOCIETY, BENGAL. AUTHOR OF  
'THE SWAMY VIVEKANANDA—A STUDY'.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

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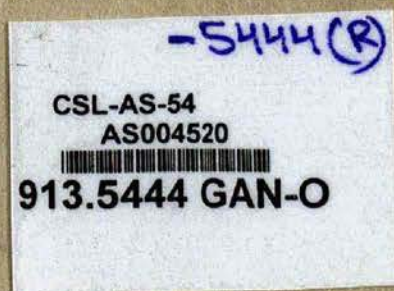
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*TO*

**G. F. PAYNE, Esqr., I. C. S.**

**MAGISTRATE AND COLLECTOR, HOWRAH.**

**TO WHOSE ENCOURAGEMENT THE COMPLETION OF THE WORK IS DUE**

**THIS VOLUME IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED**

**AS A TOKEN OF SINCERE ESTEEM AND GRATITUDE**

**BY THE AUTHOR.**





## PREFACE.

WHEN some six years ago sitting by the side of Taj one moon-lit night I decided on writing a systematic history of Indian Architecture, I little knew that the first scene of my labour would be enacted in Orissa. I did not know then that the Indo-Aryan style in its purest form was prevalent there only in the whole of India. I was led there by a mysterious dispensation of providence and had accordingly to choose my line of action.

MR. Stirling, the Commissioner of Orissa was the first to write a connected history of the place on which he contributed an article to the Asiatic Researches Vol. XV in 1824. Drs. Mitra and Hunter have in the seventies drawn to a considerable extent upon the materials furnished there. Prinsep and Major Kittoe had in the early thirties done some work in deciphering a few inscriptions. Mr. Bishan Swarup has recently written a book on Konarka which though published before the present one, is of a contemporaneous nature, for I read a paper in the Albert Hall in 1909 purporting to be a synopsis of the present volume then under preparation.

I have tried in this book to give a scientific exposition of the principles of architecture and sculpture obtaining there. I know full well that the room for difference of opinion on many points of a controversial nature raised in my book is so great that it is impossible to expect that my views will be shared in common by all. I have, however, spared no pains to illustrate my remarks by concrete examples. I have also aimed at arriving at generalizations without which a treatise of this nature has no abiding value. In the second chapter I have attempted at giving a brief outline of the political history of the province with which its architectural history is intimately connected. The fifth and the sixth chapters form the most important portion of the book as I have enunciated therein the principles of Indo-Aryan architecture and sculpture; the last three chapters are illustrative of these





two ; so the reader is requested to go through them very carefully before he reads the description of the temples.

I have to offer an apology to my readers for the use of Indian terms. The students of Indian history and literature are well aware of the difficulties the author has to labour under ; he cannot but stick to Indian terms which invariably connote more or less than what their English equivalents do ; there are many terms, again, which do not admit of being expressed by English terms at all. To obviate this difficulty I have appended a glossary of Indian terms (Vide Appendix II). There are some terms in the glossary which do not require any explanation, but as the book is intended for both Europeans and Indians, such terms could not be passed over.

The method of transliteration followed in the book for spelling the Indian terms is simple ; 'a' is meant to be pronounced like long 'a' as in far ; 's' and 'd' are for ष and ढ of the Indian alphabet ; u is meant to be pronounced like the u in "pulling". I owe an apology to my readers for the following omission which is due to a pure accident over which I had no control. The Plate V. B. referred to in several portions of the book could not be incorporated in this edition as it is reported to me too late that the block with the sketches, both fair and rough, have been missing from the artist's studio, without any chance of recovery ; and unless I go over again to Orissa the block cannot be reproduced. I shall, however, insert it in the second edition.

It is my pleasant duty to gratefully acknowledge the help rendered to me by many noble gentlemen, the foremost of whom is the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. G. Woodroffe who in the midst of his multifarious duties has been pleased to write the introduction for my book. I am also indebted to Prof. S. K. Dutt, M. A., for kindly testing the pieces of iron in the testing laboratory of the Sibpur C. E. College.

HOWRAH,  
15th June, 1912.





## INTRODUCTION.

The author has asked me to write these few words of Introduction to his work which I am very pleased to do both because of the evidence it affords of the increasing interest taken by Indians in the Art of their own country as also on account of the intrinsic merits of the book itself.

From 1834 when Ramraz wrote his remarkable Essay on Indian Architecture until the present time no Indian has I believe, with the exception of Dr. Rajendralala Mitra in the seventies, concerned himself with the investigation of those magnificent remains which testified to his country's former greatness. Our own day has witnessed the manifestation of a profound interest of the West in the East which has been in some measure reflected in this country. If the interest here aroused is yet slight it is something that it has arisen at all, oppressed as it is on the one hand by indifference and on the other by the "progressive" hostility of Indian imitators of English industrialism and by others of a similarly narrow outlook. Given this opposition such work either literary or by way of collection as has been recently done by Sj. Purna Chandra Mukherjee of the Archaeological Survey, Sj. Bishan Swarup, Sj. Nagendra Nath Vasu in his valuable "Archaeological Survey of Mourbhunj," Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy, the founder of the Barendra Anushandhana Samiti, Sj. Akshay Kumar Maitra, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat and by the present author has the greater merit.





But the value of the present book does not consist only in this. It is so far as I am aware the first work by an Indian author in which an attempt has been made to treat the subject from a scientific point of view. Chapters V, VI & VII contain much original matter now published for the first time. Chapter V deals with the main features and subsidiary parts of an Orissan temple, and the relative proportions of the different sections in the general ground plan are shown from measurements taken by the author *in situ* such as the *ratio* of the height of the *vimana* to the length of the base. The direction of the temples which is generally eastward is determined, and the author then deals in detail with plinth, pedestal, wall construction and bonds. The author puts forward formulas for the thickness of the walls relative to the height and proportion of the edifice to be raised and others. Chapter VI classifies Orissan decoration and contains very useful observations as to the Devatas represented in the temple of the Shaiva, Vaishnava and Saurya divisions of Hindu worshippers; the rhythm of spacing in ornament, and its character, and the relative proportions of the representation of the human body ascertained by actual measurement and compared with those given in the *Sukraniti* of Sukracharya which the author has ascertained to be more in accordance with Orissan sculpture than the *Manasara* to which Dr. Mitra refers.

In this connection we may again express the wish, which has recently been voiced by others, for a collection and translation of the extant Silpa Shastras and cognate Sanskrit texts such as the works last cited, the *Vrihat Sanghita* of Varahamihira and like treatises; the relevant portions of the *Agni*,





Matsya and other Puranas, and of the Tantras which though now fragmentary, had the Encyclopædic character of the Pauranic Shastra. It is encouraging therefore to note in a recent number of a magazine distinguished for its right understanding and support of Indian art (The Dawn, April, 1912) that the importance of this matter is being now appreciated. From it we learn that the Visvakarma prokasha has been printed and published, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat have issued a Vishnumurti parichaya and a work on iconography is in preparation by S. J. Akshay Kumar Maitra.

A tabular statement is given by the author showing with great care the relative proportions for *navatala* and *saptatala* images. He raises an interesting question in his reference to the presence of erotic figures which are so commonly found in Orissan temples and more sparingly, I believe, in those of the Dravidian type. The second, however, of the explanations offered is of that *adhyatmik* character which is so common now-a-days in other departments of enquiry, but is as little convincing as such explanations generally are. Modern sentiments, not to speak of sentimentalities, are of no use for the understanding of ancient realism. Probably it will be found that no one theory will adequately explain the presence of such figures which are found, as Dr. Maeterlinck has recently well shown, on old Gothic cathedrals as on Indian temples, though in the former case the images are not so numerous and are more grotesque.

Chapter VII deals with the building materials used, and the author has made an analysis of these and of the metal beams such as those which are found at Konarak. It has been discovered that whereas only 36 years ago the average tensile





strength of wrought iron was in England 23 tons per sq. inch the ancient Orissan metal work shows a strength of 20 tons per sq. inch. The remaining chapters give interesting details verified by the personal examination of the author of the celebrated temples at Bhubanesvara and Puri and the great Sun temple at Konarak in the Arkakshetra, a chief centre of the Saura Brahmanas which excited the wonder of the author of the Ain-i-Akbari. Appendix II contains a very useful glossary of Indian terms.

I desire to take this opportunity to confirm from personal observation the remarks of the author as to the necessity for protecting the Konarak sculptures. I found recently that in the period between my last two visits to the Sun temple some of the smaller figures in the lower friezes had been weathered almost beyond recognition.

The author has done well in commencing his researches with a study of the *punya bhumi* of Orissa, for there it is that we still find some of the finest examples of the subject of which his work so usefully treats.

Calcutta, June 14, 1912.

J. G. WOODROFFE.





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# ORISSA AND HER REMAINS—ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL.

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY.

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I need not make an apology to my readers for taking up Orissa in preference to the other provinces comprising India. It is a patent fact that it has peculiar interests of its own alike from an archæological and architectural point of view, not shared in common by the other Indian provinces. To a student of Architecture, it is important by reason of its being the seat of Indo-Aryan style in its purest form; here we do not notice the least vestige of foreign influence. It has maintained its native purity marvellously, being nurtured and reared on the very soil where it grew, without any extraneous aid. This is really a marvel in the History of Architecture, the like of which we very rarely come across. However advanced we may be in the scale of civilization, our dwelling places, or temples indicate a curious combination of various styles, or no style at all. Here, a bit of Doric entablature with an Ionic shaft, or column, and a Corinthian base, or pedestal of irregular intercolumniation, there arcuation replaced by trabeation or corbelling; here, the charac-





teristic Grecian triglyphs, metopes, and cornices, there, a few feet below, an Anglo-Saxon doorway, or a venetian. Here, a few square feet of flat terrace, there, a row of Jack arches with a Mogul dome. Such is our architecture, having no definite system or style to follow. The Orissan style of Architecture indicates a definite style not hampered by any extraneous influence. That the Orissan sub-group of Indo-Aryan style of Architecture presents a continuous series for a period of 5 to 6 centuries lends an additional weight to its study, and renders it very interesting.

The importance of Orissa is also due to its being a pre-eminently sacred country. Reference to its sanctity is noticed in the *Mahābhārata*, *Brahma Purāṇam*, *Skanda Purāṇam*, &c. However shrouded in comparative obscurity may be its early history, I have traced it clearly since the advent of Gautama Buddha, in the next chapter. In the *Mahābhārata*, it has been described as inhabited by the Rishis\*; in the *Brahma Purāṇam* it has been spoken of as the country of the "blessed adorned with all the virtues," and as the "bestower of Heaven, and Salvation."† Its sanctity preserved it from an attack by the Moguls, so late as the 16th cent. A. D., and we shall see later on that its sanctity, strangely, was an incentive to the Moslem onset led by *Kalapahar*.

\* *Vana Parva*, Sec. 114, slokas, 4-5.

† *Brahma Purāṇam*, 26th Chapter.





In India, Benares and Puri are the two most important places of pilgrimage famous alike for sanctity, and historic associations treasured up in the nation's undying remembrance. It is here that the whole nation's fervent devotion has manifested itself in many a form; it is here that the heart and intellect of the nation have proceeded on parallel lines. Benares, and Puri present paradoxes to the ordinary conception of Hinduism. Here, the lowest of the low will meet on the same platform with the proud *Brāhmin*; they worship the deity standing abreast.

Before the Christian era Buddhism, and Jainism gained ascendancy here, and exercised a great influence on Hinduism, or more properly, *Brāhminism*. The union of *Brāhminism* with Buddhism or Jainism is marked by a great upheaval in every department of thought and art; architecture with sculpture could not escape its influence. The cosmopolitan tendency of Buddhism is still traceable at Puri.

After the introduction of Buddhism or Jainism, *Tantrism* was the order of the day, and rendered the amalgam of Buddhism, and *Brāhminism* a more complex one; the different forms of worship, *Saiva*, *Vaishnava*, or *Saurya* were all *Tantric* in character. Several centuries afterwards, *Vedantism* raised its voice of protest against *Tantrism*, but could not gain any permanent footing. The religious climax was reached when





Sri Chaitanya, the Prophet of Nadia, came to Orissa with his band of disciples. This marks a new epoch in the History of India, nay in the history of the world. It is a well-known fact that the popularity of Puri is due to the advent of Sri Chaitanya. The Vaishnavas recall to mind with a sense of thrilling joy the victory of love over knowledge in the defeat by Sri Chaitanya, of Pandit Vasudeva Sarbabhauma, a scholar of the orthodox school, and of Rāmgiri, a Bauddha Sramana. They remember with humility the supremacy of spiritual power over the temporal one, in the conversion of Pratap Rudra Deva to Vaishnavism, and they chant with fervid devotion the couplets from the Sri Chaitanya Chandrodaya Mahakavyam by Kavi Karnapur, where the ecstatic dance of the Prophet with Pratap Rudra Deva in the car procession of Jagannath has been so beautifully described.\*

Taking everything into consideration, I am inclined to think that Orissa has far more glorious traditions of past history than Bengal may possibly claim, and that she occupied a more prominent place than Bengal in the hierarchy of the Indian nations.

\* Sri Chaitanya Chandrodaya Mahakavyam by Kavi Karnapur, 16th canto sloka 24.

गायत्रिर्गायने स्तुतः प्रथमवलियते सख्यं तद्विदुः श्रीकाशीमिश्रमुखैः परमसुखमिच्छन्तुपदामप्रपन्नैः ।  
इत्युक्तं प्रमोदात् सततवलियते तद्विदुः प्रतापराक्षीश्रीरुद्रदेवे निधिमिह इतोवेष्टितेभोतिनाम् ॥





## CHAPTER II.

### HISTORY.

My attention was struck by the remark of an English scholar that our sacred dialect *Sanskrit* had been forged by the wily *Brāhmins* after the fashion of Greek, and that the two great national epics, the *Rāmāyan*, and the *Mahābhārat* had been composed on the basis of Homer's *Illiad*, and *Odyssey*. I had really to pause awhile before I could proceed any further. In a most inauspicious hour did Sir William Jones make the startling discovery that *Sandracottos* was *Chandragupta*, and *Pālibothra* was *Pataliputra*, or the modern *Patna*; for, since then, the natural tendency of oriental scholars has been to trace the growth of everything that conduced to our culture and civilization to the Graeco-Roman influence.

Historically speaking, India may be styled the land of paradoxes. To settle the chronology of Indian History, one is lost in the intricate mazes of vain conjectures; and these conjectures have given rise to theories at variance with one another. Before the rise of Buddhism we have no authentic history worth the name; traditions handed down from generation to generation have taken their place, and the





conclusions derived from such traditions or hearsays when carefully analysed, and put to the crucial test of critical examination prove to be erroneous. It is passing strange that no rational vestige, or trace of historical basis was left before the Buddhist period. It is a curious fact that very few architectural remains of the pre-Buddhist period are extant. Some links of the chain of the great Indian synthesis are missing. It is inexplicable why everything has been carefully recorded since the advent of Gautama Buddha, the product of the great Indian synthesis, and that authentic records would be missing previous to this. The religion of Buddha brought about revolutions in Indian history; it permeated every stratum of Indian thought and life; since the advent of that great religious reformer historical data began to be collected to supply the materials for a connected history.

Among the provinces that present stupendous difficulties in deciphering their historic records Orissa stands foremost. It was always a *terra incognita*, by reason of its geographical position, and local circumstances. The whole country was a swamp intersected by a network of rivers with their feeders and tributaries carrying silt to the Bay of Bengal; impassable hilly jungles fringed its borders. The country was in a process of geological formation; there was a perpetual struggle





between the different rivers and the sea, for the formation of the deltaic regions. When Orissa first became fit for human habitation it was peopled by a non-Aryan primitive race, probably the Savaras, Mals, Khonds, Pans, &c, the traces of whom are still to be met with; they live up till now in the hilly fastnesses. In the Mahābhārata this part of India introduces itself to us under the name of Kalinga.

We read in the Mahābhārata that through the grace of Deerghatama (दीर्घतमा) Muni Sudeshna, wife of Bali, bore him five sons, Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra, and Sūmha respectively; and the provinces ruled over by them were called after them.\* It is for this reason that the names of Anga, Vanga, and Kalinga are frequently associated together, as sister kingdoms. We find this story narrated also in the Brahma Purānam.† The name of Deerghatama, the son of Utathya is mentioned in the Rig Veda‡; hence we may safely infer that Kalinga must have been well-known in the Vaidic period. Mention is made of Kalinga in the *sūtras* of Panini.

The fame of Kalinga extended far and wide in the time when the Mahābhārata was composed. Duryodhana married the daughter of Chitrāngada §, the King of Kalinga, whose

\* Adi Parva, Sec. CIV.

† Brahma Purānam, chap. 13th, Slokas 29, 30 and 31.

‡ Rig Veda, Mandal, I, 147.

§ Santi Parva, Sec. 4.





capital was Rājpur; some are inclined to identify Rājpur with the modern Rājmahendry. I do not know how far the conjecture based on the accidental coincidence of prefixes may be taken as sound; the geographical position of Rājpur can hardly be ascertained with anything approaching accuracy.

It is stated in the Mahābhārata, Van Parva, Sec. 114, that when Yudhisthira reached Kalinga after journeying along the sea-coast from the mouth of the Ganges, he was informed by Lomas Muni that the country through which the Vaitarini flowed was Kalinga, where Dharma, or the god of virtue performed Yajna with the aid of the gods. The modern Yajpura, or Yajnapura is evidently alluded to here.

From the text quoted below,\* it appears that Lomas Muni pointed out to Yudhisthira the boundaries of Kalinga from the northern banks of the Vaitarini; and that other provinces had to be traversed by the Pandavas from the mouth

\* “ततः समुद्रतीरेण जगाम वसुधाधिपः  
भ्रातृभिः सहितो वीरः कलिङ्गान् प्रतिभासत ।  
लोमश उवाच ।  
एते कलिङ्गाः कौन्तेय यत्र वैतविष्णौ नदी ।  
यत्राऽयजत धर्मोऽपि देवाच्छरणमेत्य वै ॥  
अद्भिभिः समुपायुक्तं यज्ञियं गिरिशोभितं  
उत्तरं तीरमेतच्च सततं विजसेवितं ॥”





of the Ganges before they reached Kalinga; and these were a portion of *Tamralipta*, and *Utkala*.

My reason for fixing the nomenclature of the intervening provinces is clearly explained by reference to the very epic quoted already.

According to the *Mahabharata*, I assign the following boundaries to Kalinga; on the north, the *Vaitarini*, on the south the *Godavari*, on the east, the Bay of Bengal, on the west the tributary states of Orissa. *Utkala* of the *Mahabharata* is not the self-same province which bears that name at present. It was bounded on the south by the *Vaitarini*, and on the north by *Tamralipta*, or the modern *Tamlük*. It will at once be apparent to a careless reader of the text of the *Mahabharata* quoted already that the editor of the *Dt. Gazetteer of Puri* is obviously wrong in supposing the province of Kalinga to extend from the confluence of the Ganges with the sea.

According to Dr. Fleet the country of Kalinga extended between the rivers *Godavari*, and the *Mahanadi*\*, and Dr. Bhandarkar, has in his *History of the Dekkan* made Kalinga correspond with the Northern Sircars†; both these views

\* Dr. Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 341.

† Dr. Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, p. 139, same.





have been proved to be erroneous. The Northern Sircars was a portion of Kalinga no doubt, but not conterminous with it.

In the age of the *Ramayana*, and the *Mahabharata*, Utkala and Kalinga were two distinct provinces independent of each other. After the time of the *Mahabharata*, and before that of the *Puranas*, Kalinga extended beyond the *Vaitarini* up to *Tamlük* on the north ; for, by referring to the *Datha Dhatu Vamsam* we see that in the time of *Gautama Buddha* its limit was as far north as *Tamralipta*.

It is stated in the *Datha Dhatu Vamsam* describing the legend of *Buddha's* tooth-relic, that the left canine tooth of *Buddha* was taken from the funeral pyre by a disciple of his, *Kshema* by name, who handed it over to *Brahmadatta*, the king of Kalinga by whom it was enshrined. This tooth-relic gave rise to dissensions between the kings of Kalinga, and *Pataliputra*, and eventually in the 3rd cent. A. D. was cleverly removed to Ceylon by *Dantakumār*, Prince of *Ojein*, and his consort ; they weighed anchor in the harbour of *Tamralipta*, or the modern *Tamlük*. It can easily be imagined that the prince would not have availed himself of the harbour of *Tamlük* were it not at a short distance from the seat of that Government by whom the tooth had been enshrined ; and it is absurd to imagine that the prince chose the farthest harbour from the





capital even though there were intermediate harbours from which it would have been easier to set out on his voyage.

Since the advent of Gautama Buddha, though Utkala used as before to maintain its distinctive character, still the opulence and glory of Kalinga outshone those of Utkala to such an extent that it dwindled into insignificance. Utkala came to be indiscriminately called Kalinga ; it lost its identity gradually, and its existence merged in that of Kalinga.

Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus Nicator came to India in 295 B. C. and lived at the court of Chandragupta for a long time ; he wrote a history of what he saw and heard in India ; but unfortunately that invaluable book is lost, and the fragments of his narratives have been preserved in the writings of others "diligently collected and critically arranged by Schwanbach."\*

Pliny has left a record based on the information gathered from the accounts of Megasthenes. This record, however meagre it may be in the description of contemporaneous events, is very important, in as much as it supplies some geographical data upon which the Ancient Geography of India may be roughly based. Pliny has given information regarding the position of Kalinga which unfortunately admits of various

\* Sir Walter Elliot, *Numismata Orientalia*, Vol. 11, Part II, 1886. Coins of Southern India





interpretations to suit the whim, and convenience of students of antiquity. As a typical example, the province of the Malli in Orissa is strangely identified by Parisot, with Multan.\*

Kalinga is the *Calingæ proximi mari* of Pliny. To sum up in a few words, that portion of India which, according to Pliny, represented Kalinga, extended from the mouth of the Ganges to the Godavari including the deltaic island formed in the mouth of the Ganges; on the west it was bounded by the hilly fastnesses of the tributary states of Orissa, and on the east by the Bay of Bengal, and the Indian Ocean. It is definitely stated that its northern boundary extended as far as the Ganges.†

Pliny speaks of the three following divisions of the *Callingæ*:—(a) The *Gangerides Callingæ*, or “the last nation situate on the banks of the Ganges is that of the *Gangerides Callingæ*,‡” (b) The *Modo-Callingæ* living in the portion called *Modo-Galingæ*, and (c) The *Macco-Callingæ*.

The country of the *Callingæ* as mentioned by Pliny was situated below the provinces of the *Mandei*, and the *Malli*; the province of the last-named people has been described as containing Mount *Maleus*. The *Mandei* are identical

\* Dr. Bostock and Riley, *Pliny's Natural History*, Vol. 11, p. 43, foot-note.

† *Pliny's Natural History*, Vol. 11, pp. 42-43.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 44.





with the Mundās, an aboriginal tribe inhabiting the southern portion of the Chota Nāgpur Division. This view regarding the identity of the Mandei can be borne out by reference to the following passage in Pliny's Natural History, Vol. II :—"Behind these people (the Palibothri) and lying still more in the interior, are Monedes and the Suari, among whom is a mountain known as Maleus".\*

Prof. Lassen is correct in assigning to the Sabarai, or the Suarai, the districts of Midnapur, Dhalbhum, Singbhum, Morbhunj and Keonjhar.†

The country of the Malli is identical with the portion of Bengal inhabited by the Mals, or Khonds living in the highlands of the Orissa Tributary States.‡ We encounter a great difficulty in ascertaining the geographical position of Mount Maleus. It is our classical *Malya-Vana*, or Malay Giri, in the state of Pāl Lahāra, Lat.  $21^{\circ} 22' 20''$ . N, and Long.  $25^{\circ} 18' 9''$ . E.§

Some are inclined to identify Maleus with Mahendra Giri. That it is not so is proved by reference to the 9th Chapter, *Visma Parva*, where the separate existence of Mahendra, and Malay

\* Pliny's Natural History, Vol. II, Book VI., Ch. XXII. p. 46.

† Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*.

‡ Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal Vol. XIX p. 209 (1877).

§ Ibid, p. 199.





has been established, in addition to the passage quoted from Pliny's Natural History. My view that Maleus is not situated in the Madras Presidency is shared by Hewitt who holds that "Mandar Mountain, mons malleus, and Parisnath are identical with one another".\*

According to Pliny, already quoted, the Savaras or the Suari inhabited Mount Maleus; it is too well-known to mention that the Savaras live up till now, in the hilly fastnesses of Orissa. Pliny has recorded a natural phenomenon which he may have gathered from dame tradition in respect of Maleus. It is here that "the shadow falls to the north in winter, and to the south in summer in 6 months alternately". This would happen if Maleus be situated due east and west; and this isolated fact gathered from hearsay may help us in fixing the position of the hill alleged to be on the outskirts of Kalinga.

The Modo Galingæ of Pliny seems to me to correspond with the Midnapur District. Modo seems to be a contraction of Madhya or middle. Pliny has described it to be an island in the Ganges†, and I have noticed the district of Midnapur to look exactly like an island near the confluence of the Rupnarayan with the Hughli. Hewitt has identified it with Barisal, and

\* J. F. Hewitt, History and Chronology of the Myth-making Age.

† Pliny's Natural History, Vol. II. p. 46, translated by Dr. Bostock and Riley.

‡ Pliny's Natural History, Vol. II, p. 45.





the portion of the Presidency Division consisting of the 24 Perganas, and Khulna\*

This view will be at once rejected as erroneous when we consider that according to Pliny, "the boundary of this region (Kalinga) is the river Ganges †". The Macco Galingæ is Orissa proper, and a portion of the Madras Presidency near the Godavari, in the Northern Sircars. Macco seems to me a contraction of Mūkhya or chief.

Prof. McCrindle has fixed the locale of the capital of the Callingæ, "a great and widely diffused tribe, ‡" in the modern Orissa on the Mahānadi, "higher up than the side of Katak," the name of their capital being "Partualis (called by Ptolemy Kalligra)".

It is certain beyond the least shadow of doubt that the whole of Orissa was a part and parcel of Kalinga as described by Pliny. My view is borne out by the following passage from the Cyclopædia of India.

"The Kalinga of Pliny certainly included Orissa, but latterly it seems to have been confined to the Telinga-speaking country, and in the time of Hiwen Thsang (A. D. 630) it was

† J. F. Hewitt, *History and Chronology of the Myth-making Age*.

‡ Pliny's *Natural History* Vol. II, pp. 42-43.

¶ J. W. McCrindle, "Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian" p. 63, foot-note.





distinguished on the south and west from Andhra, and on the north from Odra or Orissa."

I accept the above with certain reservations, for it will be apparent on going through the following pages that Orissa continued for a long time after the advent of the Chinese pilgrim to form a part of Kalinga as before. In the poetical works of the great Bengali poet Kavikankan Mukunda Ram who flourished in the 16th century A. D., I have come across several passages in which Kalinga has been made to correspond with Orissa, and that its capital has been described as situated on the Kāns or Kānsbāns in the district of Balasore. The passages referred to unmistakably represent the belief of the age ; so late as the end of the 16th century, Orissa used to be thought at least a part of, if not conterminous with Kalinga.

Even supposing the locale of the capital of Kalinga as fixed by the poet to be incorrect from the geographical point of view, what he has written receives ample support from the historian. It is stated in Ain-I-Akbari that Orissa formed a part of the Soobāh of Bengal and consisted of the six following Sircars, viz, "Jalasor, Buderuck, Cuttack, Kalinga-Dandapaut and Rājmahendri". From the above it is clearly proved that even in the 16th century. A. D. the southern limit of Orissa was the Sircars, *i. e.* Orissa coincided more or less with the Kalinga of ancient times.





According to Hiuen Tsang Kalinga belonged to Southern India which extended from the mouth of the Mahanadi. General Cunningham has, according to the Chinese traveller, located the site of the capital of the kingdom at Rajmahendri on the Godavari in the Madras Presidency. He has identified Dantapur, the capital of Kalinga with Rajmahendry. Rajmahendry might have been the capital of Kalinga in Hiuen Tsang's time for a short period, but this was not so before the advent of the Chinese pilgrim. This has been already proved by me by referring to the Datha Dhātu Vamsam.

We have reason to believe that Orissa was an important seat of Buddhist and Jain influence from the 3rd century B. C. to the 8th or 9th century A. D. Buddhism began to exercise its influence at the conquest of Kalinga by Asoka, the great Mauryan king in 262 B. C. ; this conquest entailing an inhuman slaughter of men has been immortalised in his Rock Edict XIII ; elements of new civilization began to be henceforth introduced, and Kalinga rose into eminence ; although some stray edicts of Asoka have been discovered farther to the south in the northern frontiers of Mysore, still Dr. Bhandarkar,\* Vincent Smith†, etc. consider Kalinga to be the southern limit of his empire.

\* Dr. Fleet, Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I., Part I., History of the Dekkan, by Dr. Bhandarkar, p. 146.      † V. Smith, Early History of India, p. 131.





The introduction of Buddhism, and the advantage of being situated on the sea-side, brought Kalinga into contact with many different countries ; it had been a great maritime power for a long time ; new energy and impetus were now imparted, and commerce, and industry began to thrive. In the year 75 B. C. an expedition from Kalinga formed a colony in Java.\*

When Hiuen Tsang visited U-cha or Orissa sometime between 629 and 645 A. D., he saw many towering *sanghārāmas*, *stūpas*, etc. indicative of Bauddha influence ; he does not mention the name of any Hindu temple. Outside the town of Che-li-ta-lo-ching, or Charitrapur, or the modern Puri, he saw "five contiguous *stūpas* with towers, and pavilions of great height."† These have been long ago razed to the ground ; but what little vestige of Bauddha influence is still visible in caves and elsewhere, still attests the glory of an almost defunct creed which contributed to a great extent to the civilization of the people. Buddhism has left an indelible impress on the conception of Jagannath so dear to the Hindus. This we shall deal with later on.

The *Hati Gūmphā* inscription as deciphered by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji is dated in the middle of the 2nd cent. B. C., and ascribed to Kharvela, the king of Kalinga and a

\* Cyclopædia of India, Vol II. (1885.)

† Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India.





patron of Jainism. We know nothing of Khārvela in particular, nor of the dynasty to which he belonged; we come across his wife's name in an inscription in the Swargapuri cave at Udaygiri. These fragmentary evidences tend to prove the existence of an influential Jain dynasty which ruled over Kalinga. The Khandagiri and Udaygiri caves bear visible traces of Jain and Bauddha influence.

Jainism was so deep-rooted in Kalinga that we find traces of it so late as the 16th cent. A. D. Pratāp Rudra Deva, the king of Orissa, of the Sūrya Vamsa dynasty had a great leaning towards Jainism. The Rev. Long has declared him a Jain\*; in an inscription in the Nava Mūni cave at Khandagiri we come across the name of a Jain Sramana Sūbha Chandra.

From these records scattered here and there we can safely conclude that Jainism gained ascendancy here for some time, and was the state religion.

We do not know for certain the definite royal dynasties that ruled over Kalinga in the beginning of the Christian era; but we do know that it was conquered several times by the kings of different provinces in India. The fame of its opulence reached far and wide, and it became an object of ambition to the neighbouring kings to subjugate it. That it was a very

\* J. A. S. B. vol. xxviii., Nos. i-v, (1859.)





flourishing kingdom may be easily inferred from the fact of its being one of the nine *khandas* or divisions of the known continent, or *Nava-Khanda-Prithivi* referred to by the Tamil lexicons. (Vide Sanderson's Kanarese Dictionary.)

The occasions on which it has been overrun by invading princes since the time of the earliest historic records,—not to speak of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*—are too numerous to mention. I have already referred to its conquest by *Asoka* in the 3rd cent. B. C. The invasion of *Satkarni*, probably a king of the Andhra dynasty, is recorded in the *Hati Gümpha* inscription; he sent “a numerous army of horses and elephants” which was repulsed by *Kharvela*\*.

In the 2nd cent. A.D. Kalinga came under the Andhras; we learn from the pillar inscription of King Mangalesa that Kirtivarman I, the king of the Western Chalükyas of Badami, who reigned from 567-68 A.D. to 597-98 A.D. subdued the king of Kalinga. Pulakesin II. of the same dynasty and son to Kiritvarman I. subjugated it in the 7th cent. A.D. when Harsa Vardhana was reigning in Kanauj.

Kalinga was conquered by Dantidürga, the king of the Rashtraküta in the middle of the 8th cent. A.D. It was again conquered by Akalvarsa, the great patron of Jainism in the 9th

\* V. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 185.

† Dr. Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 280.





cent. A.D. The Eastern Chālukyas always invaded and overran the country whenever opportunity presented itself. Rāj-Rāj Deva, the king of the Eastern Chālukyas invaded it in the beginning of the 11th cent. A.D.\*

The great Sanskrit poet Kālidās flourished in the 7th cent. A. D., and it is natural that he should have placed one of the scenes of Raghu's conquest in Kalinga†. Kalhan Pandit has given an animated description of Lalitāditya's conquest of Kalinga in his RājTarangini, written in the middle of the 12th cent. A.D.‡

To conquer Kalinga became rather fashionable, and the title of "Lord of Kalinga", became a title of distinction ; for, we find the honorific distinction, Trikalīṅgādhipati attached to the names of the kings of the Kosalas and Chālukyas.

The history of Orissa is wrapt up in obscurity till the beginning of the 9th cent. A.D. That there was a powerful dynasty there can not be gainsaid ; but it is difficult to ascertain with accuracy the names of separate kings who ascended the throne in succession, for there is no authentic record that we may fall back upon.

\* Dr. E. Hultzsch, South Indian Inscriptions, p. 63.

† स तौत्वा कपिशा मेनैर्वह्निर्विरदसेतुभिः ।  
उत्कलादर्शितपथः कलिङ्गाभिमुखं ययौ ॥

Raghu Vamsam, Canto IV., Sloka, 38.

‡ Rāj Tarangini, translated by Dr Stein, vol. I. Sec IV. 147th sloka, p. 134.





The *Madla Panji* or Temple Archives seem to me a tissue of myths, incorporated complacently by different men in different times ; and considering the fact that all the records, and treasures of the Puri temple were seized upon, and destroyed by *Kalapahar*, we may reject in all propriety the veracity of the *Madla Panji* chronicles bearing dates prior to the invasion of the Mahomedan iconoclast. That the *Madla Panji* is not a safe record to rely on can be conclusively proved by reference to the many copper-plate grants which are being unearthed and deciphered from day to day. Although these copper-plate grants have led to different interpretations by different scholars, still they throw a flood of light on Orissan history, which is unerring in the revelation of truth.

The unusually long line of the Kesaris consisting of forty-four kings presents us with a riddle which it is difficult to solve. The view of the old school of scholars headed by Dr. *Rajendra Lal*, and established by Mr. *Stirling* according to the *Madla Panji*, has already lost its hold on our minds ; and the arguments brought against it by Dr. *Fleet* in his "Records of the Somavamsi kings of Katak",\* seem to us to be very plausible with certain reservations. It is not our purpose to enter into these questions, but we shall give some broad features of the points at issue according to our own light.

\* *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. pp. 323-59.





We fail to establish with precision the exact date of Yayati Kesari, the so-called founder of the Kesari dynasty ; but the approximate date of his reign can be assigned with sufficient accuracy to the period from the middle of the 8th to the beginning of the 9th cent. A.D. That the popular date of his founding the dynasty in 476. A.D. is wrong can be proved by referring to the very source, e.g. the *Mādā Pānji*, whence it is derived. It is stated that six kings reigned in Orissa since Vikramāditya, and that their reigns terminated in an invasion of Orissa by the Yavanas. Now, it is well-known that Harsa Vikramāditya reigned about the middle of the 7th cent. A.D.; and this, when added to 180 years, the period covered by their reigns taking 30 years to be the average number of years for which each of the 6 kings reigned, comes up to the first quarter of the 9th cent. A.D.

The Yavanas are supposed to have reigned in Orissa for 146 years; hence the advent of Yayati should, according to the Temple Archives be dated in the last quarter of the 9th cent. A.D. We do not ask our readers to accept this date; this is simply stated to prove the defect in the views of the old school.

From palæographic considerations, Dr. Fleet agreeing with Prof. Kielhorn, has placed the earliest possible date of the Rājīm grant of Indrabala and the Sirpūr inscription of his grandson Tivara Deva, in the 8th cent A.D. Tivara Deva, a feudatory





prince of the Kosala country is otherwise called Chandra-güpta. Harsagüpta, Sivagüpta, Bhavagüpta, and Sivagüpta reigned in succession from Chandragüpta. The last Sivagüpta is identical with Mahasivagüpta, mentioned in the Katak copper-plate grant of the 9th year of Mahasivagüpta, who again was no other than Yayati Kesari. Hence if 720 A.D. be the probable date of Tivara Deva, that of Mahasivagüpta or Yayati Kesari comes up to  $720 + 30 \times 3 = 810$  A. D. or 800 A. D. Thus we are inclined to accept the beginning of the 9th cent. A. D. as the probable period when Yayati flourished.

Yayati or Mahasivagüpta's father was Janmejaya or Mahabhavagüpta I. Hence Janmejaya might have flourished sometime between the middle of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th cent. A. D.

There is one fact, however, which is rather strange and worth mentioning ; Madla Panji mentions the name of Janmejaya as one of the Kesari kings, and Messrs Stirling, and Hunter have, following the temple records, assigned the date of his reign to 754 A. D. The date of this Janmejaya strangely coincides with Janmejaya Mahabhavagüpta I referred to already. This Janmejaya was father to Yayati, whereas that of Madla Panji was a king of Orissa, 13th in succession from Yayati. This reversal of connection and chronology may be ascribed to carelessness of the keepers of





of the Archives. Here, however, we notice a reminiscence of authentic history rendered dim by the inadvertence of later chroniclers.

We do not, however, go so far as to make the bold statement like Dr. Bloch that "the long line of Kesari kings...may be regarded as a later fabrication, containing nothing historical, except a dim reminiscence of two actual kings of Orissa, Yayati and Janmejaya"\*

The history of Orissa is comparatively obscure till the latter part of the 11th cent. A. D. when Chodaganga ascended the royal throne, and inaugurated the Ganga dynasty belonging to the lunar race. Chodaganga was connected with the Chola royal family through his mother Rajsundari, daughter of Rajendra Chola. The installation ceremony of Chodaganga took place, according to Sewell, in 999 Saka-Samvat, or 1078 A. D.†; according to Dr. Hultzsch, his accession to the throne is dated in 1075-76 A. D.; we are inclined to accept the former date, for it is conclusively proved by referring to the "Vizagapatam copper-plate grant of Ananta-Varman issued from Sindurapurat. We need hardly point out that

\* J. A. S. B. Vol. LXVII., 1898, Part. I., p. 377.

† Sewell's Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. II., pp. 33-34.

‡ Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII., 1899, Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions by Dr. Flee





Chodaganga Deva is otherwise called Ananta-Varman, as having a pedigree which is traceable to Ananta or Vishnū.

The list of the kings of Orisas as supplied by the Madla Panji and accepted by Messrs Stirling and Hunter is decidedly incorrect ; for obviously the chronicler inserted the names of some minor chiefs in the list by mistake ; that the list is wrong can be proved by going through the copper-plate grants\* of Nrisimha Deva IV. deciphered by Babu Manomohan Chakravarty, and incorporated in the Appendix in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. V. by Prof. Kielhorn.

Chodaganga, Ananga Bhima I, and Nrisimha I. were three powerful kings of the Ganga dynasty whose glory and renown are still attested by the architectural monuments left by them. Choda Ganga built the great temple at Puri, Ananga Bhima I built its important appurtenances, and Nrisimha Deva I built the Black Pagoda at Konarka.

Anianka Bhima, otherwise called Ananga Bhima I, reigned from 1170 to 1202 A. D. We learn from the Chatesvar inscription of Ananga Bhima II\* that Anianka was the son of Chodaganga. He surveyed the whole of his territory with reeds, measuring 39407 sq. miles yielding an annual revenue of Rs 28,000,000. He extended his kingdom up to Tribeni on the north

\* J. A. S. B. 1895, Vol. LXIV, Par 1

\* J. A. S. B., Vol. LXVII., Part I. 18

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in the Hugly District. He spent a large portion of his revenue in aligning new roads, excavating tanks, sinking wells, and erecting bridges, temples, and *ghats* for landing, and bathing purposes. In his time Orissa rose to the pinnacle of prosperity. I have come across an inscription of Ananga Bhima Deva I., or Aniyanka Deva (not yet published) on the left wall of the staircase leading down to the sanctum of the *Patalesvar* temple within the precincts of the great temple of Jagannath at Puri.

The Ganga dynasty was subverted by Kapilendra Deva in 1435 A. D., who founded the SuryaVamsa dynasty which continued to reign for nearly one hundred years till 1542 A. D. The most powerful kings of this dynasty were Kapilendra Deva the founder, Pürüsottama Deva and Pratap Rüdra Deva. Orissa reached the zenith of fame and prowess in the time of Kapilendra ; he extended his territory as far as Nellore in the Madras Presidency ; and by many conciliatory measures endeared himself to his subjects. His son, Pürüsottama extended his kingdom still farther to the south. Pratap Rudra Deva was the son and successor of Pürüsottama Deva. The name of Pratap Rudra Deva is fondly cherished by the Gauaiya Vaishnavas for the sympathetic support he lent to the propagation of the creed propounded by the Prophet of Nadia. Pratap Rudra has been immortalised in the Vaishnava literature.





The Surya dynasty was replaced by the Bho-I dynasty which continued to reign till 1560 ; this was subverted by the Telinga dynasty, the founder of which was Mükünda Deva. Mükünda Deva was the last independent Hindu king of Orissa.

As a set off against chafing spirit of the Afghans of Bengal who were always looking out for an occasion to throw off the yoke of the emperor of Delhi, Akbar entered into a treaty with Mükünda Deva. When the emperor was busily engaged in warfare in the far west, Süleiman Karrani, the Nawab of Bengal, sent a large force under the command of his general, Kalapahar, a Mahomedan apostate, who forced Mükünda to retreat backwards ; at this critical juncture a rebellion broke out among his own feudatory allies, and Mükünda hastened to quell it ; he was slain by one of the feudatory chiefs ; thus Orissa passed easily into the hands of the Afghans. Kalapahar seized this opportunity, and advanced as far as Puri, the heart of Orissa ; when he approached Puri, the priests of the deity removed the image to Pärüküd on the banks of Chilka, and buried it in earth fearing lest it might be defiled by the Mahomedan iconoclast. Kalapahar getting scent of this proceeded there, dug out the idol, and brought it to the banks of the Ganges, and burnt it in a pile of wood set on fire. The charred remains of the idol were, however recovered by the priests.





The vandalism of *Kalapahar* has become a proverb; and the very mention of his name still strikes terror into the minds of the people. Popular ballads and legends still keep alive the memory of those inhuman and cruel barbarities perpetrated by the Mahomedan general with all the fury of a renegade. His vandalism has obliterated some of the brightest monuments of our architecture, and sculpture. Who can tell, how many temples he razed to the ground, or how many images he seized, and trod under feet!

The first Mahomedan invasion of Orissa by *Ismail Gazi* took place in 1510; but the Mahomedans could not establish their supremacy till *Süleiman Karrani*, Nawab of Bengal and Behar conquered portions of it in 1567-68.

*Daüd Khan* the Nawab of Bengal, Behar and Orissa having denied the suzerainty of the emperor of Delhi, *Munaim Khan* and *Todur Mull* were sent by Akbar to march into Orissa. The forces of *Daüd Khan* were routed in battle at *Mogul Mari* in 1574. This battle transferred Bengal and Behar from the Pathans to the Moguls, and *Daüd Khan* continued to rule over Orissa only as a vassal of the Mogul emperor. On the death of *Munaim Khan*, *Daüd Khan* again raised the standard of revolt. The Afghans were defeated by the Moguls. On the death of *Daüd* at *Rajmahal*, *Masüm Khan* was appointed governor of Orissa by Akbar; he eventually revolted against





the emperor of Delhi, and with the aid of the Pathans expelled the Moguls from Orissa; Katlu Khan now usurped the Orissan throne, and extended his kingdom as far as the Damodar.

Katlu Khan had been seeking for an opportunity to throw off the Mogul yoke. He fought with Man Singh, the governor of Bengal and Behar, in a pitched battle in 1590, in which the Rajput was defeated, and his son, Jagat Singh was taken a captive. On Katlu's death, his two sons Süleiman and Osman seized Puri; the Moguls under the leadership of Man Singh invaded Orissa again. The Afghan forces were completely repulsed, and Cuttack was captured. The Afghans made some futile attempts to drive the Moguls but eventually Orissa was formally annexed to the Mogul dominions in 1592; the Pathans, however, temporarily gained possession of Orissa under Osman; Man Singh was appointed by Akbar, the governor of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

Nothing of importance happened in the subsequent period till 1741-42 A.D, when the Mahrattas invaded Orissa. Alivardi Khan made many useless efforts to drive them out; he had practically to surrender the whole of Orissa to the Mahrattas, and to pay 12 lakhs of rupees as subsidy or *chouth*. The Mahratta rule occupied a brief period of 48 years from 1756 to 1803 when it was overthrown by the British.