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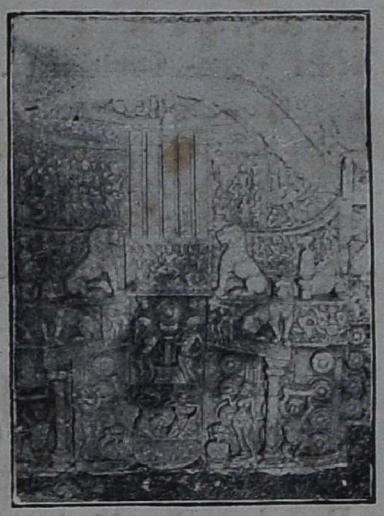

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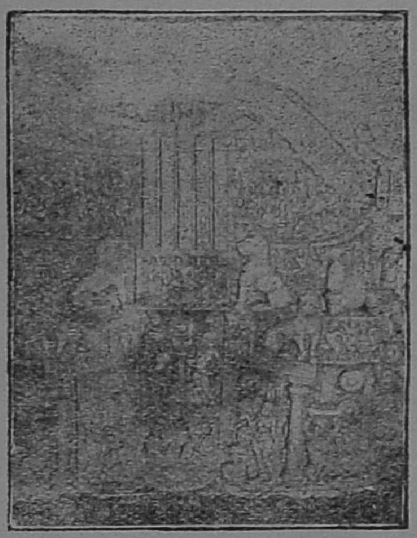

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KALINGADESA[1]

(Salient features of its History)

By Dr. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., HONY. PH. D.

The modern expression, Orissa is a corruption of Oḍradêśa and takes into it the territories known by the names Kalinga, Utkala, Oḍra or Oḍḍa and even a part of Daśârṇa. It took in the whole territory which at one time in history was included in the name Kôsala, obviously South Kôsala, as distinct from the north. The exact territorial limits of this Kôsala in the eleventh century seem to have corresponded more or less to the present day territorial limits of the tributary states of Orissa[2].

Of these, the territory included in the name Kalinga seems to be the oldest, and by that name the whole may be referred to for any purposes of historical discussion.

I have not so far come upon any reference to Kalinga as such in Vedic literature. But among the kingdoms of the South the rulers of which are described in the Aitarêya Brâhmaṇa generally as assuming the title Bhôja, Kalinga seems capable of inclusion, though there is no explicit statement to the effect. There are specific references, however, in a number of places in the Mahâbhârata to the kingdom of Kalinga. Apart from stray references to Kalinga rulers as such, and

1. Presented for the Kalinga Day to A. H. R. S.
2. See Inscriptions of Râjêndra Chola I.

the part that the indivudual Kalinga rulers played in the Great War, Kalinga is described as a forest country beginning as soon as the river Vaitaraṇi is reached. The ruling dynasty is referred to as the descendants begotten on the Queen Sushêṇa of Kalinga, wife of Bali by Rishi Dîrghatama,[1] and the five sons born to her are said to have founded the five kingdoms; Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Puṇḍra and Suhma. Of these five, the kingdom of Anga comprised the territory round Bhagalpur (ancient Champa) on the Ganges. Vanga was the region probably on both sides of the Ganges, though the great bulk of its territory seems to have lain to the east of the river, extending from the frontiers of Vanga to the sea. To the west of this seems to have lain Kalinga. Puṇḍra has been known to correspond to North Bengal, that is, the territory on the northern side of the Ganges and perhaps to the east of the kingdom of Kôsala. The location of Suhma is not quite so definite, but it seems to have comprised the territory on the southern side of th Ganges extending from the river southwards to the frontiers of Kalinga east of the territory of Magadha. This description would make Kalinga extend from the Ganges Westwards, at any rate from Rûpnarain arm of the Ganges, at the mouth of which was situated the ancient port of Tâmralipti (the modern Damlok.) Throughout the greater part of history Kalinga seems to have corresponded to the region extending from this river to the river Godavari, and stretching from the sea into the interior marked by a vague line drawn along the course of the river Indravati to its junction with the Godavari and along its course northwards to meet the Ganges near the town of Burdwan.

In the Mahâbhârata itself Kalinga is spoken of as one kingdom and its capital is named Râjapuri. In this particular connection the ruler of Kalinga is given the name Chitrângada, whose daughter the Kaurava Prince Duryôdhana is said to have married. So far, then, as the Mahâbhârata is concerned, Kalinga was a forest kingdom and its ruler is described as one in the Mahâbhârata war. There is mention of Kalinga in the Sûtras of Pâṇini. There are a number of references in the Arthaśâstra to Kalinga, particularly in reference to cotton fabric of a a special kind. This feature of Kalinga is borne out by the Tamil word "Kalingam" for cotton cloth which probably had the original significance of cotton cloth of a particular kind, extended later on as a general name for all cotton stuff. So far, therefore, as Sanskrit literature is concerned, Kalinga was a well-known kingdom occupying the geographical position that it did within later historical times, and, according to one reference in the Great epic, it was the land of virtue where Dharma himself, the God of

1. The Mahâbhârata, Bk XII. Ch 4. (Kum Edn.)

righteousness, performed a *yajña* in a particular spot which has since borne the name *Yajñapura*, the later, Jajpur.

Passing from the Sanskrit to Buddhist evidence, we find Kalinga mentioned as a kingdom with Dantapura as its capital. The earliest reference we get is in the Kumbhakâra Jâtaka where there is a reference to a Kalinga king by name Karaṇḍu who is spoken of as a contemporary of Nagnajit of Gândhâra and Bhîma of Vidarbha. This is confirmed by the Uttarâdhyayana Sûtra. In the Mahâgovinda Suttanta[1] there is a reference to another king of Kalinga by name Sattabhû as a contemporary of Dattaraṭṭa (Dhritarâshṭra) of Kâśi, who is mentioned in the Satapatha Brâhmaṇa. This Suttanta gives the information that the capital of Kalinga was Dantapura. There is another reference, again from Buddhist sources, which seems to give us an insight into the division of Kalinga into two kingdoms at any rate, while in regard to its general features it seems to support the general description of it found in the Mahâbhârata. The Ceylon Chronicle Mahâvaṁśa giving the history of the migration of Vijaya into Ceylon, describes the adventures of his mother the Bengal princes of Kalinga. When she was sent into exile for her lascivious waywardness by the father, the king, she departed the kingdom in the company of a caravan of merchants going to Magadha. While they were on the way through the territory of Lâḍha the whole party was set upon by a lion. The party scattered, and she fled, as did also the rest of them, to save her life, but accidentally took the path by which the lion came. When the lion returned he found the princess and was so charmed with her beauty that he begot upon her a son and a daughter. The son was called Simhabâhu or Sihabâhu because of the peculiar feature that he had the hands of a lion. When ultimately he returned to the grandfather's kingdom by the achievement of killing the lion, his father, which had grown so troublesome to the frontiers of the kingdom of Bengal, he was given permission by the grandfather, or rather his uncle who married his mother and became subsequently ruler of Bengal, to clear the forest and set up a kingdom of his own. Thus was said to have been founded the kingdom of north Kalinga, at least one part of it with a capital Sîhapura or Simhapura; and this was probably the forest region of Kalinga immediately adjoining the territory of Bengal in the lower reaches of the Ganges. It is very likely that the older kingdom lying farther south did continue, as we find the kingdom of Kalinga described in early Tamil classical literature, as composed of two parts with their respective capitals Kapilapura and Simhapura which may have reference to the centuries immediately preceding the Cristian era.

1. Dialogues of the Buddha, II; 270.

Scholars that first studied the Mahâvaṁśa interpreted this story as involving the banishment of the Bengal princess from Bengal to Lâṭa or Gujaret as they misequated Lâḍha with Lâṭa. It is now beyond doubt that the Lâḍha, under reference, is eastern Prâkrit form of Râḍha, a division of Vajjabhûmi on the banks of the Sone, or much rather, between the Sone and the Ganges, what might be called in modern language West Bengal.

Kalinga is known to the Purâṇas and one of the Nandas Nandivarman is said to have conquered it. This statement seems to receive some confirmation from the reference in the Hathigumpha inscription to the aqueduct constructed by Nandarâja at a period previous to the accession of Chandragupta to the Magadha throne. It is well known that the only conquest effected by the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka after his accession to the throne of his father was the kingdom of Kalinga. In his inscription the kingdom is spoken of as a single kingdom. The Hathigumpha inscription, already referred to, of Kharavêla speaks of it as a single kingdom as well, but with a capital which is read as Pritûdakadarbha. The Asoka Edicts do not mention the capital of Kalinga as such, but the fact that Asoka's Edicts are found in Dauli (Tosali) and Jaugada seems to lend colour to the inference that the first was the capital of the kingdom in the days of Asoka. Asoka's war was so destructive in character that it brought about a permanent revulsion of feeling in the humane emperor against war. Tamil literature describes a war which is similarly of a gruesome character. This was a fratricidal war between the cousin rulers of the two kingdoms of Kalinga with their respective capitals Kapilapura and Simhapura[1]. As a consequence of this war a famine is said to have supervened. That is as far as we are enabled to go with the means at our disposal till about the early centuries of the Christian era.

In the following centuries Kalinga must have been more or less of a flourishing kingdom, as we find frequent reference to it as supplying brides, heirs, and sometimes even usurpers to Ceylon, the ruling dynasty of which regarded itself as related by blood with the Kalinga rulers. According to traditional history in the early centuries of the Christian Era there was Yavana rule. Great efforts have been made to connect this Yavana rule with the Greeks who are readily taken to have established a kingdom there as a result of the raids carried into the heart of India under the Greek rulers Demetrius and Menandar in which both Madhyamika (Nagar near Chittore) in Rajaputana and Saketa (Oudh) suffered; but there is so far no evidence whatsoever of an irrefutable character of the Greek occupation of

1. Both Silappadhikâram and Manimêkhalai.

Kalinga and of the perpetuation of a dynasty in that region. The recent reading of the Hathigumpha inscription seems to make this definitely impossible, as Kharavêla the Kalinga ruler claims to have driven the Yavanas (Greeks) then in occupation of Muttra. This indicates that if ever the Greeks reached as far east as Kalinga their invasion was not of a character to warrant the assumption of a permanent occupation. We have no evidence of other Greek invasions so far and the term Yavana does not always mean Greek in Sanskrit literature.

In the century immediately preceding the Christian era, or a little before that, Kalinga was a well formed kingdom set over against the rising kindom of the Sâtavâhanas of the Deccan. The prosperous rule indicated by the Hathigumpha inscription under Kharavêla does not appear to have been of such a character for any length of time. It is just possible that the fratricidal war between the two kingdoms referred to in the Tamil epics Silappadhikâram and Manimêkhalai may have been a historical war that followed soon after the rule of Kharavêla of Kalinga. In the wars in the centuries immediately following the Christian era, Kalinga does not figure as an independent kingdom. The same Tamil epics that refer to the march of Karikâla to the north do not make any mention of the Kalinga kingdom although they do refer to Vajranâḍu, a kingdom on the banks of the Sone, Magadha and Avanti. Among the conquests of Gautamiputra Śâtakarni figure the hills of Mahêndra and Malaya. Mahêndra is the well-known Mahêndragiri, Malaya is the Maleus of Pliny and seems to stand for Mâlyavân, one of the far-eastern peaks of the Vindhya mountains, quite on the borderland of Kalinga. That probably means that Kalinga was among his conquests. When the Āndhra power declined, Kalinga seems to have fallen to the share of the usurper from Ayodhya Śrî Vîra Purusha Datta of the Ikshvâku race. Under the Guptas, Kalinga seems to have formed an integral part of the empire, although it is just possible that their Vâkâṭaka contemporaries might have possessed a part of it. During all this period Kalinga was in pretty much the same religious condition as most other Indian states but in Jain religious history Kalinga figures as one the influential Jain centres, and the Kharavêla inscription lends colour to this claim. Similar claims were made by the Buddhists, and if the Ceylon Buddhist history is to be believed, there were Buddhist settlements of importance as well in Kalinga. When the Buddhists speak of Kalinga, Dantapura figures always as the capital. There is occasional mention of Simhapura, apparently the capital of northern Kalinga, the foundation of Simhabâhu with which Ceylon kept itself in communication.

The Kalinga invasion of Samudragupta, of the region comprised within the limits of Kalinga, seems to have left the territory

somewhat disorganised as there is record of a Yavana rule again and some of the ruling family emigrating to Ceylon. The possibility of a Yavana rule here could only be that of the Kshatrapas of the west. This possibility, however, proves very unlikely having regard to the existence of the Vâkâṭaka power in the middle. The Yavana invasion of Kalinga therefore of this period probably has some vague reference to the invasion of Samudragupta himself as this must have proved rather thoroughgoing in character and destructive. Therefore, the possibility of a Kalinga princess Hêmamâlâ fleeing for safety from Dantapura with the 'tooth-relic' of the Buddha ultimately to Ceylon may be possible. But Raktabâhu the Yavana who was really the author of the invasion would be rather difficult to identify with the facts at our disposal. Later in the age of the Guptas the region round the Mêkhala, that is, the territory round the Maikal range, which is just the modern modification of Mêkhala passed into the possession of the Vâkâṭakas and had to be brought under the control of the Guptas under Skandagupta and his successors. When the Gupta Empire went into dismemberment at the end of the fifth century Kalinga must have regained somewhat of its powers, but in the period of struggle that immediately followed under the Guptas of Malva and Maukharis of Kanauj and the rulers of Thaneswar, Kalinga seems to have enjoyed a respite, so far at any rate as the northern powers were concerned. It was about that time that the Western Châlukyas were rising into importance and possibly Kîrtivarman, the first great ruler, made an effort to include it in his territory. But the troubles in the succession to the family that followed immediately gave some little respite till under Pulikêsin II, the Chalukyas made a systematic conquest of the northern half of the coast region in the East. The formation of the viceroyalty of the Eastern Châlukyas must have brought them into direct contact with Kalinga which in this age formed an integral part of Bengal and passed ultimately under the rule of Harsha whose conquest of the region as far south as Ganjam is on record in Hiuen T'sang's itinerary. When Harsha died and his empire broke up into the constituent kingdoms, Assam seems to have taken a turn for expansion and Kalinga again formed part of Bengal which again formed part and parcel of the extended kingdom of Assam under Bhâskaravarman and his successors. When a revolution upset this dynasty in Assam, Kalinga fell to its own devices and that period seems to synchronise with the coming into importance of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga called Eastern Gangas. Kalinga history thereafter takes its own course till about the middle of the sixteenth century up to which period it has a distinct history of its own.

With the fall of the Gupta empire the kingdom of Kalinga seems to have emerged into some importance. The foundation of

the Kêsari dynasty ascribed to the fifth century seems to have had its capital first of all in the interior in a place called Yayâtinagar, from the first important ruler of this dynasty. This came to be known later as Ādinagar and as Śâdinagar, in both of which forms it figures in the inscriptions of Rajêndra Chola as we shall see later on. This place has been identified recently with a place called Sonepur on the river Mahânadi. There are several references to the conquest of Kalinga by the southern kings, the earliest of which was the invasion of Kîrtivarman, the Western Châḷukhya; Kalinga is referred to in his inscription of the year A. D. 567, but figures in this record in a more or less conventional list. There is a similar reference under Pulikêśin but in a much less conventional fashion, as his Aihole inscription states more clearly that both Kôsala and Kalinga submitted to him. The next in order would be its conquest by Dantidurga, the first Râshṭrakuṭa. In this case again Kalinga figures among a conventional list of his conquests. In a record of A. D. 877 Krishna II, Râshṭrakûṭa is said to have subdued Kalinga among other kingdoms. These various references lead us to the inference that Kalinga retained its historical existence as an independent kingdom, and came into touch with the neighbouring powers occasionally. It must be remembered that, from the character of the information accessible to us now, it is only when it comes into hostile contact with its neighbours, that it is likely to be mentioned at all. In the course of these centuries Kalinga seems to have passed under the rule of a new dynasty, that of the Eastern Gangas, the traditional date of foundation of which is in the earlier half of the eighth century A. D. With the advent of this dynasty Kalinga comes more prominently into view, as was stated already.

With the rise of the Western Châḷukyas the territory extending from the Godavari southwards along the East Coast passed into their hands, probably from those of the Pallavas of Kânchî, Early in the seventh century this new acquisition was constituted into a separate viceroyalty with its head quarters first at Vêngi, which was probably later on transferred to Rajahmandri early in the eleventh century. This Viceroyalty became almost independent as the kingdom of the Eastern Châḷukyas in the seventh century A. D. and as such, it was in constant contact with the kingdom of Kalinga on its northern frontier. The wars under the Râṣṭrakûṭas, already noted against Kalinga must have been the side-issues in th ir constant wars with the Eastern Châḷukyas The definite political subordination of the Eastern Châḷukyas to the Cholas throws Kalinga into relief and brings it into contact with the Cholas themselves almost with the beginning of the eleventh century. During all this period anterior to the advent of the Cholas, Kalinga occupied a place of some importance

in history, but the features of that history are not quite clear. It is from this region that one set of colonists went over to Sumatra and Java, according to Javanese tradition. The region from which their traditional founder Āji Śaka came in the first century A. D. seems indicated in the direction of Kalinga. Ptolemy mentions Pâlûr (On the Ganjan or Rishi Kulya river) as the starting point for overseas communication of Kalinga. Whether the Kalinga objective in overseas navigation was the country set over against it on the other side of the Bay of Bengal, or whether it went so far down as the islands, is open to doubt; but the constant references to Kalinga and arrivals therefrom in the history of Ceylon seem to lend historical colour to this far-off emigration to the eastern islands. Kâlidâsa's Raghuvaṁśa, referring to the kingdom of Kalinga, speaks of its capital being on the sea-shore, but does not give the name. It describes a king under the name Hêmângada and makes him the lord of Mahendragiri and Mahôdadhi, the great sea. He does not give any further information in regard to Kalinga. According to certain inscriptions, the Kêsari dynasty began in the eighth century A. D., and counts four or five kings among them. According to one calculation, Yayâtikêsari gets referred to the beginning of the ninth century A. D. The eastern Gangas who were one of the most influential dynasty of rulers of Orissa came into great importance in the eleventh century, and they carry their genealogy back to a little more than 300 years from the accession of their greatest ruler, Anantavarman Choḍa Ganga, whose accession took place in A. D. 1078. So, apparently, this dynasty would carry back its origin to almost the commencement of the ninth century. With this dynasty the country of Kalinga comes into full historical view.

Just about the period A. D. 1000 the rising power of the Cholas under Râja Râja, the Great, made itself felt in the north. He made an effective intervention in the somewhat disturbed affairs of the Eastern Châḷukyas, and achieved by a stroke of policy the permanent alliance of the eastern Châlukyas with the Cholas, confirmed by a marriage alliance which was further cemented by a further marriage alliance under his son and successor Râjêndra I, Gangaikonḍa Chola. Râja Râja claims conquest of Kalinga which probably meant no more than the attempt to bring the state of Kalinga under the suzerainty of the Cholas as was done in the case of the Eastern Châlukyas. Perhaps the war did not go much further; but the understanding seems to have been established more permanently when the Kalinga, Râja Râja, married a daughter of Râjêndra, as did the eastern Châlukya Râja Râja. The son of the latter became the great Chola emperor under the name Kulottunga about the time when the other grandson of Râjêndra, Anantavarman Choḍa Ganga, ascended the throne of Kalinga. It was

Râjêndra I that carried on a regular war of conquest against the country of Kalinga. The Cholas and the Châḷukyas were for almost a century face to face on the frontier separating them, and this frontier extended from near the Western Ghats almost at the source of the Krishna along the river till its junction with the Tungabhadra, and then in an irregular line northwards to the Vindhya mountains. Râjêndra's effort was to reduce the whole of Kalinga to submission to him in order to carry on his overseas enterprise of bringing the Tamil colonies of Sumatra and the neighbourhood under his control as against the rising kingdom of Śrî Bhôja in Sumatra. It is in the course of all this war that the various divisions of Kalinga came prominently into view. Having set the north-west frontier at peace his army seems to have marched into the heart of the Kôsala country which then happened to be the asylum for Brahmans fleeing for shelter from the territory subject to the onsluaghts of Mahmud of Ghazni. Having taken Chakrakôṭa and Ādinagar or Sâdinagar or (Yayâtinagar) there, the army marched northwards subduing various other parts of Kalinga till it reached the Ganges on the southern frontiers of Mahîpâla, king of northern Bengal. Therefrom it turned back, defeated the king of Bengal proper and finally overthrew the ruler of Kalinga at the junction of the Ganges with the ocean. In the meanwhile he brought up reinforcements from Kânchî, and was encamped in Râjamandri when his victorious general brought him 'the tribute of waters' from the Ganges. The joint invasion marched further north till it overthrew the king of Kalinga in his central headquarters. It was probably as a result of this invasion that the dafinitive treaty was concluded with Kalinga, and it was probably as one of the items of the treaty that the marriage was brought about, the outcome of which was peace for more than half of a century till Kulottunga found it necessary to go to war probably with Ananta-varman Choḍa Ganga early in the twelfth century. It is in this war of Kulottunga that Kalinga gets described sometimes as comprised in three divisions, occasionally as five, and oftentimes as seven. As early as the days perhaps of Megasthenes Kalinga had been divided into three. The Gangetic Kalingam was the first division, the country probably answering to the part of Kalinga last conquerred by Râjêndra's general. Then follows Modokalinga of Pliny which may stand as the Bengali form of Madhya-Kalinga. Then follows the third division Macco-Kalinga, which may be rendered perhaps as Mukhya-Kalinga, and what is known as Mukhalingam may be the Mukhya-Kalinga-nagar, the capital of Mukhya-Kalinga which by mere phonetic decay gets worn into Mukhalingam. That kind of division seems to have continued more or less, and as was pointed out already there were other divisions such as Kosala answering to the tributary states and hill tracts, Utkala. the present

day Orissa and the narrower designation at one time of the territory of North Kalinga, the country of Tamralipti and so on. When these had been brought under one ruler, these divisions must have retained something of their individuality and must have lent colour to the variety of division implied by the kingdom being described as comprised of three, ffve or seven divisions. According to Râjaśêkhara who lived in the late ninth and the early tenth century Kalinga belonged to the eastern part, the country east of Benares, of which these separate divisions which are referable to Kalinga get mention, namely, Kalinga, Kosala, Tosala, Utkala, Tâmraliptaka, Mallavartaka, Malada. Probably all these were included in the larger geographical entity Kalinga as none of the divisions referable to Kalinga are included in his southern division which is located south of Mâhishmatî. What obtained in the age of Râjaśêkhara might well have continued in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and this division perhaps accounts for the variety of division indicated in the term Kalinga qualified by such numbers as three, five or seven.

The term Kalinga-nagara may not be a proper name and might simply stand for the capital city of Kalinga and may be identifiable with Mukhalinga which might have remained the capital till it was transferred later on to Cuttack, there being other capitals as well such as Dauli or Tosali, Yaugada, whatever that stood for, and even the old Simhapura and Kapilapura. In all probability Dantapura described by Hieun Tsang was identical with Kalinga-nagara now identifiable with Mukhalingam according to certain inscriptions. This identification may seem to militate against Kâlidâsa's description of the capital of Kalinga being quite on the seashore. This need not however prove a serious difficulty. Anantavarman as the builder of Pûri as his predecessors of the Kêsari dynasty built and endowed Bhuvanêśvar, and as his own son Ananga Bhîma I built the temple at Kôṇarka. The last of the dynasty Nrisimha suffered perhaps a Muhammdan invasion, and was finally overthrown by the usurper Kapilêndra the first Gajapati ruler who set himself up with the countenance of the Muhammdans of Bengal. This dynasty consisted only of three generations and corresponded more or less in duration to the period of the first, second and a part of the third dynasty of Vijayanagar. During this period the capital seems to have been at Cuttack. Kapilêndra exerted himself a great deal to extend the limits of the kingdom southwards, and carried it effectively to the Godavari with Rajahmandri as the outermost viceroyalty. This he was able to achieve through alliances with the Sultans of the Bâhmani kingdom. The break up of that kingdom into five, and the internal dissensions that it fell a prey to, made any further advance of the kingdom impossible in his time. His successor

Purushôttama was able to carry Kalinga raids as far south as the southern Pennâr, and seems to have had a Governorship permanently as far south as Nellore and Udayagiri. When the great Vijayanagar king Krishnadêva Râja came to the throne he found the Gajapatis in occupation of all the coast territory almost down to the frontier of Madras itself. The farseeing policy of this ruler saw at a glance the dangerous character of this situation for the empire, having regard to the fact that the Gajapatis were inclined to enter readily into alliance with the Muhammadans against Vijayanagar, and to the fact that the Muhammadan states of the north were in habitual hostility to the empire. Krishna adopted the wisest course of letting the Muhammadans alone for the time being, and till he compelled the Gajapati to withdraw from the new conquests by carrying a successful war right up to the frontiers of modern Ganjam, and making the position of the capital Cuttack itself dangerous for the ruler of Orissa. He succeeded in the effort. Then the Krishna was agreed upon as the definitive boundary between the empire of Vijayanagar and the territory of the rulers of Kalinga, but it was still understood that the coast districts extending northwards from the Krishna to almost Ganjam was the coast region of Telingana and not geographically an integral part of Kalinga. When this dynasty was overthrown by Mahammadan conquest from the side of Bengal the Muhammadan territory did not extend much father South than the Mahanadi, and then the Telingana portion was easily absorbed into the Bâhmani states chiefly that of Golconda. When the Moghuls took possession of Golconda territory it naturally passed into their hands, and when the Nizam founded an independent state in the Dakhan it remained an integral part of his territory till it was made over to the French as the result of a subsidiary alliance. When the French in their turn were overthrown in South India it passed into the hands of England. During this last period Kalinga had no history of her own, having been absorbed into the territory of Bengal since the Muhammadan conquests under Akbar. When the decline of the Moghul empire began, the Bengal province found it difficult to maintain its hold on it, and the Maharattas under the Bhonslas of Nagpur were able to take easy possession of it. It was then recovered from the Mahrattas after the overthrow of the state of Nagpur, and since then underwent the vicissitudes that Bengal itself did, till in the last few years it became an integral part of the province of Bihar and Orissa.

[A SHORT REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF KALINGA

By PANDIT NILAKANTHA DAS M.A., M.L.A.

I must first of all offer my sincere thanks to the Secretary, Andhra Historical Research Society, and the organisers of this unique function for giving me the honour and privilege of attending it and reading this paper in this august assembly of learned men. The name of the historic place Mukhalingam and its neighbour Kalingapatanam is reminiscent of a great but long forgotten empire, whose culture and tradition we all inherit as the best legacy of our illustrious forefathers and the principal incentive to our future progress in our distinct cultural entity in the commonwealth of Indian races. With the relics of the later Kalinganagari round about us the pale and pensive memory hovers over vanishing centuries of Imperial Kalinga with its vast trade and territories both inland and across the ocean and its colonies on the coasts of Burma, Indo-China, and the East Indian Islands, only to brighten up in prospects of a future equally great and noble if we care to command the manhood we have been heir to. To deserve the duties of dealing with such a past, suggestive of such a future is no small thing; and I may be excused to confess here that when some 15 days ago I received the invitation from the Secretary of the Andhra Historical Research Society to attend the function and read a paper, I felt half timid as to how far I deserve the honour so gracefully offered to me. Our past is still mostly in the dark, and to put life into the little fragmentary relics is not perhaps in my slender powers to achieve. Moreover seldom have I had any serious occasion to follow up the progress of the historical research in India for the last 6 or 7 years of political crisis in the country in which the prince and the peasant, the scholar and the school-boy have alike been required for the political emancipation of our fatherland. I therefore fear that I may not be quite up-to-date in some of my observations, and shall try to be more suggestive than exhaustive only with a view to give hints for future labours of historians in fields and direct probably yet uncared-for, for reasons which to discuss here, may not be quite relevant to the occasion.

In practice the history of India so long meant only the history of the Imperial Magadha and other empires of Northern India, and the history of the different kingdoms, esp., those of the South is being of late gradually developed out of small and scattered fragments. No systematic or critical history of Kalinga has ever been attempted. The book "Orissa in the Making" by Prof. Bijay Chandra Mazumdar

of Calcutta published in Oct. 1925 by the Calcutta University, incidentally, however, makes an attempt to give a connected history of Kalinga so far as it is available. But the whole narrative is so full of preposterous hypotheses based on sad misconceptions and preconceived notions that it is almost impossible to rely on its conclusions in any historical discourse on the subject. It does moreover reveal that historians like Mr. Mazumdar can easily make out grounds for their own misconceptions to hand them down as historical facts and truths. But before attempting to clear such mis-conceptions in dealing with important facts, events, and features of the history of Kalinga, which will sometimes require critical notice of tedious details, it is necessary that a running bird's-eye view of the whole course of the history of Kalinga as far as practicable should be presented as a background.

The kingdom of Kalinga extended ordinarily from Tamluk to mid-Ganjam on the sea coast. The Ganges was its northern boundary, forests beyond mid-Ganjam extended to the South, the Indian ocean was on the East. The Western boundary was however uncertain. It extended sometimes up to the Amarakantaka range in up-C.P. and included the ancient South Kosala or Mahakosala kingdom within its territories, and at times did not extend even beyond the plains of the present Mogulbund. There are periods in the history of the Kalinga kingdom when its boundaries were flung far wider in South West and North, but such periods as is yet known were few and far between.

Kalinga was a kingdom of the Aryavarta towards the South, Aryanised from upper India through Anga and Vanga. It is not however necessary to recount here the mention of Kalinga in Vedic, Sutra, Smrti and Puranic literature, as it has been well discussed in many books and articles. Suffice it to say for the purposes of this flying narrative that such mention refers to a date not later than 7th century B. C. when Kalinga was known as a kingdom of the Aryavarta, though for a time in the beginning it was considered unsacred by the Aryans of upper India. Later on, it was thought as good as any kingdom of Northern India. It was the sacred land of Vaitarani in the Mahabharata. Bauddha Nikayas and Jatakas also mention Kalinga. Certain history of the kingdom is collected and developed from accounts left by Greek writers and Chinese travellers and various epigraphic records. It is clear from all this that the culture of Kalinga was Aryan as well as its language, unlike Dravid lands, where in spite of Aryan influence and even colonisation in later times the Dravid-language, culture and institutions still persist; and evidently the ancient culture of Kalinga has continuously developed into the present culture of the Oriya-speaking lands.

Kalinga was also famous from the earliest times for its colonial expansion and oversea trade. From before the 7th century B. C. Kalinga people colonised the coasts of Burma, Indo-China, and the East Indian Archipelego; and they had sea-borne trade both East and West at least up to China and Persia. A princess of Kalinga married Vijayasimha, who sailed with his wife to Ceylon and conquered and colonised it early in the 5th century B. C.

Between third and fourth century B. C. Kalinga was thrice conquered by the emperors of Magadha, the last of which was by Asoka so famous in the history of India as well as of Buddhism. The 1st and 2nd conquests were respectively by Mahapadma Nanda, and Chandragupta Maurya. But these two conquests did not probably end in permanent annexation of the kingdom to Magadha, though the kings of Kalinga were each time driven away into the Jungles now represented by Orissa Garjats. Last time, after Asoka's annexation the king had to fly to Kosala where he and his family reigned as independent monarchs. Three corresponding dynasties—perhaps belonging to one continuous family—calling themselves Ailas or Airas have accordingly been heard of, the last of which was the dynasty of Cetarâja Aila, who came out from Kosala to declare independence in Kalinga after the decline of the Mauryas of Magadha. The famous Kalinga emperor Khâravela of Hathigumpha inscription of Udayagiri near Bhubanasvar in the Puri District is the 3rd king of the Ceta dynasty.

Khâravela made Kalinga an imperial power and commanded extensive dominions both in Northern and Southern India, and had sea borne trade even with Persia. Probably he had also colonies in Burma and Further India and established trade relations beyond the Eastern seas. It is not clearly known whether he was a Hindu or Jaina, but he had equal respect and treatment for both. He performed a Râjasuya Sacrifice, and that year made a full remission of revenue. During his time art and learning flourished in Kalinga, and he made many rock-cut caves and dwellings for holy men, and gifts of villages to Brahmanas. Before he thought of coming out in yearly expeditions of his vast conquests extending from the Punjab to Pandya and Nasik to Magadha, he had rebuilt the palace probably in an imperial fashion, and for supplying water to it made a canal from the Bhârgavi to Chilka lake. Last of all in right orthodox fashion, he spent his last years as a Sannyasi in the hills of Udayagiri where the two-storied rock-cut palace still stands to bear testimony to it. These are some of the statements and indications of the Hathigumpha Inscription. Let imagination now make her own inferences as to what the empire was then like, how from the beginnings of those rock-cut caves and palaces evolved in course of centuries the distinct

Orissan art of later times in stages of assimilation and development, and how again the spirit of cosmopolitan faith and religious toleration in its full flourish made the Oriya of much later centuries colonise Ossa or Pegu in Burma and give the stamp of art and culture to other States in that land of legends across the ocean.

The capital of Kalinga was all along situated in the Puri District. Tosali the present Dhauli, at the place where the river Daya branches out from the Bhârgavi was headquarters of the Maurya Viceroy of Kalinga, and some distance towards the West was the Kalinganagari of Khâravela on the Daya river Tamralipti and Chilka were the principal ports of Kalinga which ended in the South in mid- or south-Ganjam beyond which between Kalinga and Āndhra lay on the coast a stretch of ordinarily impassable hills and forests inhabited perhaps by wild tribes, and in this tract later on developed independent kingdoms for some centuries.

For a period of four or five centuries after Khâravela nothing definite about Kalinga has yet come to light. During the days of the imperial Guptas of Magadha, Kalinga decidedly lay from Midnapur to Mid-Ganjam, and kingdoms named Kottura and Erandapalla had evolved in the forest lands on the sea-board between Kalinga and Andhra. But apart from these political considerations the history of Kalinga during this period presents a very momentous aspect of Indian life and culture. This is the period during which the famous Nâgârjuna of Kânchi converted Kalinga into the Mahayana school of Buddhism, and this is the period which witnessed the advent of King Indradyumna of Mâlava (Malwa) to Puri, the place of Buddha's tooth relic, and the standing compromise between the Mahayana Buddhism and the older Vaisnavism into the Neo-Vaisnavic Hinduism of Jagannath which has since remained so comprehensively potent in influencing the all-Indian life and culture. Puri or Dantapuri of the Bauddhas which had been a famous place of Buddhistic culture and pilgrimage and was well known even in Greece and China was thus made the centre of Neo-Hindu faith, with a Kalingan grain in it, and remained a standing monument of Indian relegious life of cosmopolitan tolerance. It has still remained the most important place of pilgrimage of Asiatics both Hindu and Bauddha, and here it is that the Hindu so heinously ridden by the despicable institution of caste finds himself in a holy atmosphere where caste and untouchability are discarded in practice, thus setting an example to the whole humanity how the culture of soul and nothing else is the basis of the true and natural religion of man.

The political history however, towards the end of this period ran in a different channel. This may be due to the fact that the Kalingas were so religiously minded as to neglect politics, or to the

revival of Brahmanism giving rise to a new life and virility under which many an old kingdom fell or broke to pieces to create a change in the political map of India. The kingdom of Kalinga got disrupted. Tamralipti became an independent kingdom. and the Utkalas from Karnasuvarna conquered the land up to North Ganjam and overran the whole territory by the end of the 6th century A. D. Sometime before this the Odas (Skt. Udras) had emerged from the forests between Kalinga and Kosala, and established a kingdom in Puri and North Ganjam named Kongoda or Kalingoda. The name of Jagannath had long turned into Odisa (the lord of the Odas) which in later times during the Mahamedan days gave its name to the whole of the Kalinga kingdom. The expelled and homeless king of Kalinga had accordingly retired Southwards and set himself up with all his once glorious paraphernalia of name and tradition in the southern extremity of the Ganjam District, i. e. this Mukhalingam which remained the capital of that contracted and somewhat dislocated Kalinga till the Eastern Gangas extended their conquest into the very heart of the mainland, and established their capital in the 12th century at a place really reminiscent of the palmy days of the Kalinga of ancient times.

In the meantime the Guptas of South Kosala inspired by the Saiva faith of the then Magadhan school of Brahmanism had come, conquered and established themselves as Tri-Kalingadhipatis or the lords of the three Kalingas, i. e. Utkala, Kangoda and Kôsala, or as some say, the Kalinga of Southern Ganjam, which is doubtful. This family promulgated Saiva cult and culture with the vim and vehemence of zealots, and the temples and institutions of Bhuvanesvar have preeminently remained as the standing monuments of the dynasty, bearing mute but significant testimony to the new aspects and elements which were then introduced into the Kalingan art and life.

The name Kalinga, however, which was thus for a time revived in the main land of its birth and breeding finally vanished under the pressure of a concourse of other names ready for use and actually long in use. And as I have already hinted during the Mahamedan period when the vassal feudatory Raja had to remain at Khurda in the Puri District, which had long been known by the name of Odisa on account of Jagannath, the name Orissa was naturally fixed for the ancient land inheriting the culture, Tradition, history, language, religion, and institutions of the vast and glorious Kalinga, which was at a time 'the gem of the Indian Coast' as well as the 'mistress of the Indian Ocean'.

I have narrated the whole story as a flying account, but to those that find interest in historical research some of my statements might appear to be mere assumptions, and therefore call for explanation and critical investigation in detail. I am not quite sure if such a

treatment will be quite fitting to the occasion But as in narrating the history of Kalinga we have often to tread on quick-sand, the subject being mostly based, on the revelations of facts and events from chambers still almost in the dark, lost in the dim haze of remote antiquity. I think it cannot be considered out of place, if I venture a critical examination of some of the points I myself have raised, by way of referring to some very sticky misconceptions almost common among the historians of Kalinga.

Boundaries of Kalinga.

Scholars with the exception of a very few like Prof. K. P. Jayswal generally take it for granted that from the very earliest times the kingdom of Kalinga extended upto the Godavari river if not further south, and that the land from south Ganjam to the Godavari was in Kalinga. But this is an uncritical assumption. On the contrary, till after the time of Hieun Tsang's visit the coast land between Kalinga and Āndhra was not easily passable and in still earlier times, this portion of the coast was full of forests and hills standing on the very beach, inhabited by wild beasts, and perhaps no man's land.

This Mukhalingam again and the port of Kalingapatanam in its neighbourhood are somewhat responsible for this misconception. Scholars are ordinarily apt to connect these names with the ancient kingdom of Kalinga. True it is that during the days of the Eastern Gangas the capital of Kalinga is found in these parts of the country, but was so only to be abandoned, as I have said, after the Gangas could find a place in the midland of Orissa, the real seat of the ancient Kalinga kingdom. For, from the days of Anantavarman Chodaganga i.e. late in the 12th century the seat of the kingdom has been cosistently in Mid-Orissa, though the kingdom nevertheless extended upto the Godavari in the south and sometimes even beyond that river. The fact is, as I have already hinted, that for some centuries after the king of Kalinga was driven from his homeland, the family settled in a small principality round about this Mukhalingam as its capital. As is natural, the king thus driven away by bad fortune called his own new capital Mukhya (Mukha) Kalinga Nagara and had also set up his fort of Dantapura, remnants of which still remain in these parts as Mukhalingam and Dantavarakota. They also called their port Kalingapatna. But even that grafted principality, so to say, did not ordinarily extend very much into the present Vizagpatam District, for the southern gates of it were not only perpetually threatened by the Andhra and Tamil kings, but the Principality was in course of time actually occupied by the Tamil Gangas, whose

passion for conquering Kalinga was fully gratified in later times by the conquest of the mainland up to the Ganges.

Let us now therefore examine the point in detail.

Asoka's time (3rd century B. C.)

Asoka's inscriptions of Kalinga never indicate any extent of the kingdom much beyond Samâpâ (present Jaugada in north Ganjam) a little beyond which were evidently the unreclaimed forest tribes. Prof. B. C. Mazumdar of Calcutta ventures the theory based on no reasonable grounds ever given by him that the capital of Kalinga in those days was near Samâpâ in the Ganjam District, i. e. even to the south of Samâpâ, and not at Tosali, the very seat of the Asokan Viceroyalty. In spite of off-hand statements like this based perhaps on sheer predisposition, it is clear that Kalinga in those days did not extend much beyond the present Rśikulya river, if it extended beyond that river at all.

Khâravela's time (2nd century B. C.)

The Hathigumpha inscription indicates that Khâravela did not approach the Āndhra king Sâtakarni, in other words the Āndhra kingdom through the coastal lands. To reach the Āndhras he had to take the land route westward. The headquarters of the Sâtavahanas or Sâtakarnis was near the Western Ghats, and not on the east coast, their original home and the principal part of their kingdom, where perhaps they had little to fear from their powerful Kalinga neighbours. But nevertheless it would not have been easy for Khâravela to reach the Āndhra Emperor across the whole of the Indian Peninsula. Had there been an easily passable route on the seaboard, Khâravela must have attacked the Āndhra kingdom that way. At least that would have been more strategic. Āndhra kings again, as I have suggested, would not have thus left their Eastern territories at the mercy of the powerful Kalingas had there been means of easy communication through the coastal strip of land. If Srikalulam on the east coast be the original capital of Āndhra, as stated by pliny after Megasthenes then its removal to Paithan also indicates safety of the borders on Kalingadesa.

Samudragupta's time (4th century A. D.)

About 500 years later there is another landmark in Indian history, i e. Samudragupta's conquests. In his study of the Allahabad Inscription Prof. R. D. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University agrees with M. Jouveau-Dubreuil in locating both Kottura and Erandapalla in southern Ganjam near the coast. Mr. G. Ramdas slightly differs

from him, but nevertheless locates Kottura in the same region. His supposition about Kottura being the headquarters of the Āndhra conqueror of Kalinga, the Mahendra of Pisthapura, rests on a superannuated grammatical quibble on the word Giri in the inscription and is therefore unnecessary to discuss here. But even taking that supposition to be correct, it proves all the more the originally wild character of the land between Ganjam and Vizagpatam. But Mr. Ramdas falls into misapprehension as he does not see that Kalinga in the Gupta days was never included in 'Daksinâpatha' as distinct from 'Āryâvarta'. It must be borne in mind that the Allahabad Inscription does not propose to give the exact route of conquest of Samudragupta. It groups together the kings and kingdoms of Daksinâpatha and the kings only of Āryâvarta separately. Samudragupta's expedition lay through parts of Mahâkântara, i. e. the extensive forest lands lying south of the Vindhyas. Probably this was the remnant of the ancient Dandaka forest. This vast forest land crossed by the great hero, lay at a time from the Santal pergunnas and Bundelkhand to the Western Garjats of Orissa upto Bastar, and the great conqueror either did not enter Kalinga, or more probably came to Mahakântâra and Kôsala from Kalinga; but Kalinga not being included in the Dakshinâpatha in Gupta days has not been mentioned in the group of kingdoms thereof. The name of the Kalinga king might have been included in the group of the kings of the Āryâvarta mentioned later in the inscription, Mr. Ramdas again puts Kurala of Dakshinâpatha in the same inscription in the Puri District, and cites for his reason an Oriya word 'Kurali' which he says is still used in the Puri District in the sense of 'many people making sounds together.' I have myself never come across such a word in Oriya vocabulary of Puri, nor is his location of Kurala convincing in any other way. Dr. Bhandarkar's location of Kurala near Jayantinagara is however more probable. The old fort of Kulada and the village Kurala about 25 miles from it, and both in Ganjam mals might be investigated in this connection. Kurala is perhaps a variation of Kuloda, meaning respectable Oda. Mals of Ganjam and Vizag might have been included in the Sonepur tract near Jayantigurh where Dr. Bhandarkar locates Kurâla. But here the contention may arise as to whether kingdoms of the Dakshinâpatha itself were not given in order of sequence. In that case Kurala may be put beyond Pisthapura or north west, west of Kottura beginning from Vizag mals upwards. It is significant to note here in this connection that Kottura too has been mentioned after the Āndhra and Pisthapura. The probability is that Samudragupta did not pass on to the Āndhra country by the coast, and this indicates want of proper coastal communication from Kalinga to Andhra Des. Local geographical conditions may be

studied closely also to show that near Mandasa the highest peak of the Mahendra chain is so close to the sea and the coastal land is so new that one is inclined to conclude that those parts were probably impassable in early times and were reclaimed more by Kôsalas who in later times extended their territories from Sonepur in the heart of the Oda land as capital to Ganjam and Vizag mals and even to Bastar, than by Āndhras and Kalingas, whose means of communication was inland through parts of Kosala.

Kâlidas (probably 5th century A. D.)

Kâlidas who is perhaps rightly supposed to have poetically worked out his Raghu's conquests on suggestions taken from Harisêna's composition recorded in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta with probably some admixure of his own knowledge of Puranic and actual geography, lays his Raghu's route through Utkala and Kalinga. Either it was the same route as Samudragupta actually took, or Kâlidas intentionally comes a little out of the forest for fear of lacking direct knowledge of places and circumstances for an engaging and lifelike description. His Utkala seems to have extended to the east of Mahâkântara or perhaps includes a portion of it, as well as some tracts now covered by Birbhum, Bankura, West Burdwan, Manbhum, Singhbhum, and Midnapore, i. e. the kingdom of which Karnasuvarna has been known to be capital more than a century later. Kalinga begins beyond the Kapisa (the modern Kasai river of Midnapore) crossed by Raghu by means of elephants, probably supplied by Utkalas, who had forests full of elephants within their territories. But nowhere is it indicated that Kalinga extends beyond Ganjam. Kâlidasa's Mahendra seems to be Mahendra of Kôsala. This also proves that Kalinga extended not beyond Mid-Ganjam. In the 6th Canto of Raghuvamsa Kâlidas describes the king of Kalinga as 'lord of Mahendra as well as the deep'. Mahendra is the name generally applied to the northern portion of the Eastern Ghats, and the mountains of Orissa are still known by the name of Mahendra-mala. The capital of Kalinga was in the Puri District near Chilka, and this fits in well with the description of Kalinga given by Kâlidas. The capital of Kalinga was on the sea beach; this should not at once carry us, as it has carried Mr. Mazumdar and many others to a place far south right into the Āndhra land, in spite of so many other circumstances clearly pointing to the contrary.

Foriegn writers.

Ptolemy in his Geography gives clear indication of Kalinga extending from North Ganjam towards the Ganges. He says that there was a tract of land between Koddura and Khryse, i. e. some

portion of the South Ganjam Coast, which was being passed over by all ships from the south, there being no convenient coasting station. Koddura may well be identified with Kottura of Samudragupta's conquest, and Ptolemy's Paloura near Khryse with the present Palur in the North Ganjam coast. Thus the indication is evident that the whole of South- and Mid-Ganjam coast was very uninviting for traders. The land as I have said, was peopled by forest tribes between Kalinga and Āndhra and was in all probability nominally a part of the South Kôsala Kingdom, the capital of which was inland among the mountains of the Mahendra Chain.

Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese Traveller.

By Hieun Tsang's time under unavoidable circumstances Kalinga had removed to South Ganjam; but even then the way from Kangoda to the New Kalinga does not seem well passable. The traveller had to go to Kalinga from Kangoda through Kôsala, i. e. by a route much inland.

It may now be safely concluded that in ancient times Kalinga did not extend beyond Mid-Ganjam; and the way from Kalinga to Āndhra land was through Kôsala, whose king, and not that of Kalinga or Āndhra, could have been the nominal lord of the coastal wilds of South Ganjam, where at times temporary forest kingdoms rose and fell. The present Estate of Manjuśa (Mandasa) which means a box protected from all sides, and the ancient kingdom of Kotturu which means a new village, and Erandapalla, which means two villages are all situate in these tracts. And the meaning of their names may be noted in this connection.

Location of Kalinganagari and the capital of Kalinga.

Mukhalingam is identified with Kalinganagari, the capital of Kalinga and creates a general predisposition, so to say, among historians who are thus somewhat saved from the rigour of their almost groping investigation by locating the capital of Kalinga at Mukhalingam from the very earliest times of the kingdom to its extinction. Pliny mentions Dandagula as the capital of Kalinga. Megasthenes once names it Parthalis. This Dandagula is Dantapura mentioned in the Buddhist Jatakas and the Digha Nikâya. Ceylonese Pali works explain the name as the city of the Tooth-Relic. Hiuen Tsang says that this place had a Stupa with a gem on its crown visible like a star at night from Câritra (Ce-li-ta-lu) the port of the kingdom he calls Uca. Câritra has been proved by the late Pandit Krupasindhu Misra in his memorable work on Konarka to have been a port on the site of the present ruins of Konarka, 22 miles from Puri. In a clear evening I have myself seen from Konarka the present Temple of

Jagannath at Puri clean painted on the horizon in the bright Western sky. Dantapura is again undoubtedly the present Puri of Jagannath in which name the Buddha is worshipped as an incarnation of Vishnu. As is well known, there is something hidden in the image of Jagannath which nobody is ever allowed to see or touch. With sevenfold silk cloth in hand a man blindfolded is made to take it out from the old and put it in the new image every 12 years when the image is changed. This secret something is nothing but the tooth-relic of the Buddha mentioned above. This tooth-relic must have been brought or sent to the capital of the kingdom long before the time of Asoka. Even Simhapura, the place of Kalinga King Simhabahu in the days of Vijayasimha, points to present Puri. The part of the names Pura is significant here. Perhaps 'Simhapura', the city of Simha (lion), was changed into 'Dantapura', the city of the Tooth.

Parthalis is the Greek variation of Patthara (Skt. prastara), and Pandit Krupasindhu Misra suggests that Eka-prastara (Pali—Ekapatthara) which was the name of Tosali or present Dhauli in the Puranas has been mentioned as Parthalis by Megasthenes. For, during Asoka's days and sometime before it the capital of Kalinga was Tosali, near the present Bhuvanesvar, about which there is little difference of opinion among historians.

Then the Cêta Dynasty which became independent in Kalinga after the Mauryas had their capital in Kalinganagari which was situate on the Port of Chilka. Mr. Mazumdar, like many of his predecessors, locates it in Mukhalingam, but it is evident from the Hathigumpha inscription itself that the capital was in the present Puri District not much distant from the place where the inscription is found, and besides as I have said no trace of Kalinga is found near Mukhalingam in those days. Khâravela has been said in the inscription to have dug a canal from the garden of Tosali to his own Palace-lands—Tanasuliyabâtâ panâdim nagaram pavêsa(ya)ti, is the reading of Prof. K. P. Jayswal. But the correct reading in the line is not 'Tanasuliya' but 'Tausuliya'. The half horizontal stroke of the letter in the corroded inscription makes it difficult for Mr. Jayswal to distinguish between 'na' and 'u'. In Kalingan variety of Magadhi 'Tosali' should be 'Tausali or Tausuli'as is well proved by the present phonetic variation of the Oriya language; and the word 'Naara' for 'Nagara' is still used in Orissa in the sense of King's palace alone and in no other sense. The river Daya according to the local tradition was originally an artificial canal dug out by Rsi Dadhîci to supply water to a place in bad want of it. Tosali which had been the capital of Kalinga in pre-Asokan days, and was the seat of the Maurya Viceroy as well, might naturally have been shunned by the Cêta

family probably as inauspicious, as it was full of sad memory for the Ailas of Kalinga. The seat of the capital was therfore removed to some place towards the Chilka Lake into which the canal from the river Bhargavi, which was flowing by the garden of Tosali, had to be made for the convenience of the people of the new Palace. Probably the canal, needed only for the new palace, was given an outlet in the Chilka Lake, which was in those days not very far from the new capital. Rivers Daya and Bhârgavi gradually silt up the bed of Chilka, and within memory of man the waters of the Lake have receded more than a mile forming arable land on the coast. This silting up of Chilka has now been a problem before the Government in remedying the present devastating floods of the Puri District.

Now in connection with the capital of ancient Kalinga, we find four names, viz., Dantapur, Parthalis, Tosali, and Kalinganagari. Let us see if there are any traces of them in Puri District. Dantapur is undoubtedly the present Puri of Jagannath; and Tosali, Dhauli near Bhuvanesvar, as conclusively proved by M.R.Ry. Haraprasad Sastri and other scholars. There are again two villages some eight or ten miles from Puri, and about as much from Chilka named Koranga and Pateli with Kalingesvari as the village Goddess. For about 3 centuries and a half these names have been officially discarded by a Raja of Puri named Ramacandra Dev, for Vijaya Ramacandrapur and Pratap Ramacandrapur, two Brahman Sasanas on the Localities set up by the Raja. But in common parlance the old names still persist. It is interesting to note in this connection that Kodanga, the Oriya Phonetic variation of Kalinga, as I shall presently explain, is found in the word Koranga; and kinship of Parthalis may well be traced in Pateli. The name of the Goddess, Kalingesvari (Goddess of Kalinga) is also particularly suggestive.

Tri-Kalinga and Tailanga,

Another misconception is due to the information recorded by ancient European writers, e. g., Pliny after Megasthenes, who in his description of India mentions 3 Kalingas, i. e., Gangaridae Galingae, Modo Galingae, and Macco Galingae. Much speculation is ventured by scholars on these three terms, and three distinct Kalinga Kingdoms with their respective location from the Ganges to the Godavari have been made out of them. Macco Galingae or Magolinga has been identified with Mukhalingam as its later phonetic derivative; and three Kalingas taken together are formed into Tri-Kalinga from which the derivation of Tailanga, the Sanskritised name of the Telugu Country has also been presumed. But I am simply surprised that the word Mukhalingam has not yet been made to represent mun- (Tamil—three) Kalinga, which would give rise to still further fancies

in starting hypotheses. For certain it is that no orthodox Āndhra philologist will ever think of deriving the native word Telugu (Tenugu) from Sanskrit 'Tri-Kalinga', or even Tailanga, which latter word is a mere impostor, so to say, used pedantically for the word Telugu probably by some Sanskrit loving Pandits to whom all over India all indigenous words are slang.

Prof. B. C. Mazumdar again goes further in his tangential boldness in this connection. He explains Modo-Kalingae as the Greek variation of Mudu-Kalinga (Telugu, mudu being three), and attempts to find the term applied as such to the Kalinga-Ratta (Kalinga Colony) of Burma Coast centuries before the Christian Era. This 'mudu' he fancies was somehow translated into 'tri' in course of centuries, and from this Tri-Kalinga came the word Tailanga. This in his opinion speaks two ways. First it proves three Kalingas from long before the Christian Era, and secondly, it signifies that the language and culture of Kalinga were throughout Āndhra or Telugu. But the monstrosity of this very ingenious supposition is obvious, Place-names, set for centuries among a people, esp., a vast people like the Kalingas and those of many other kingdoms of India for the matter of that, are impossible of being thus translated and newly forced into use, nor is it ever proved that the Telugu 'mudu' took its present form centuries before Christian Era, when old Tamil was the common tongue of all the peoples of the Dravid and Andhra land.

Megasthenes recorded the names not of kingdoms but of peoples as he heard them said. His record is nothing like critical geography. But it may however be supposed that more than one Kalingas were known. Probably these three names represented peoples that migrated into Kalinga for settlement in different waves, or included peoples of colonies of Kalinga on the Burma coast or other distant lands, which bore the name of Kalinga.

Kalingas had also trade relations with Ballabhi, Pâtâla, and the Persian coast. The intercourse was common and frequent. Prof. K. P. Jayswal's reading of the Hathigumpha Inscription makes it clear that not only the Kalingas had trade in Persian coast, but Khâravela married a princess of Vazira West of the land of the Madrâs beyond the present Afghan border. People of Madra and Persia, called the latter Magois by the Greeks, might well have migrated to Kalinga for settlement. Kapila Samhita, as well as Bhâgavata and Padmapuran make mention of Sakadvipi (Persian) Brahmans coming on invitation and settling in Candrabhaga in Puri District for worshipping the sun. Pandit Krupasindhu Misra has conclusively proved it on Puranic and other authorities. The name Magois and the ancient name of the Muggs of Arakan and other parts

of Burma should therefore be investigated in connection with the word Macco-Kalingae. And a Madra settlement in Kalinga, or even possibly a Kalinga Settlement in Madra might have been responsible for the term Modo-Kalinga as well. It is, however, very cogent here to note that in the 9th Canto of Bhiśma Parva of Mahabharata both Kalinga and Madra Kalinga find mention among the kingdoms of the Aryâvarta, and another Kalinga has been counted in the group in which Cinas and Kambojas find their place. They are classed among peoples—probably non-Indian in origin, Mlecchas—of lands to the East. This well indicates Kalingas in the Burma Coast, which might also have been Megasthenes' Macco-Kalinga. Again the name Modo-Kalinga is significant, and Greek Modo for Indian Madra is quite intelligible.

What I mean to suggest on the whole is that the explanation of Modo- and Macco-Kalingas of Megasthenes should be based on a thorough understanding of the entire situation, and not got up to fit in with a preconceived notion clinging round the idea of Tri-Kalinga fancifully molten or cast into Tailinga or Telugu country, which was never within the natural boundaries of Kalinga, but was Āndhra land with Āndhra culture, tradition and language.

The word Tri-Kalinga round which so much is built finds no distinct mention in epigraphic or other records before the time of the Kôsala Guptas' conquest of Orissa. These Kôsala Guptas, it may be presumed, considered it glorious to call themselves Tri-Kalingadhipati as Kalinga by that time had been broken up into three different kingdoms, viz., Utkala, Kangoda, and Kôsala itself or the Principality of Kalinga in South Ganjam. For there is every probability that Kôsalas considered themselves a part of Kalinga when annexed, and a Kalinga when independent. The kingdom was surely a part of Kalinga very often. The Airas of Tosali driven by Asoka went there to reign as independent sovereigns. It was included in the territories of the Cêta Dynasty who came from Kosala to Kalinga to declare independence against the Mauryas Kôsala is therefore not counted in the conquests of Khâravela, though Mosala or Musika Nagara beyond Kôsala has been distinctly mentioned. Kûrma Purana states that Amarakantaka hills in which the Narmada rises, were included in Kalinga. All this may well indicate that Kôsala Guptas had not conquered the then forest Principality of Kalinga before they called themselves Tri-Kalingadhipati. This term Tri-Kalinga, moreover, is never proved to have come into common use, and bold hypothetical speculations over the word therefore are unwarranted.

Disruption of Kalinga.

Here it may not be irrelevant to give a detailed description of the disruption of Kalinga. During the early centuries of the Christain

Era the Āndhras became the Imperial power in India, and with the Sungas in Magadha a tendency for Hindu revival arose. Kalinga was the seat of Buddhist relic before the Mauryas. There has yet been found no epigraphic records to show that Buddhism came to Kalinga before the Maurya conquest. But certain it is from Hathigumpha inscription that the Nandas had taken away Jain images from Kalinga which Khâravela had to recover. The Bauddha of those days cannot be supposed to have lagged behind the Jain. Tooth Relic at Puri therefore may safely be presumed to have long preceded Asoka. The Tooth Relic had by this time a long and sacred tradition behind it, and it was undoubtedly in the charge and keeping of the king. And partly on account of the rise of the Āndhras, and partly on account of the revival of Hinduism the eyes of all India were turned towards the Kalinga kingdom. In about the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. Nâgârajuna of Kânchi came to Puri to convert into the newly started Mahayân school of Buddhism, both the king and the people of Kalinga, who had probably showed a tendency in favour of the new Hinduism, or were still staunch about the orthodox Magadhan school of Buddhism called Hinayâna, In the Tibetan records is stated that Nâgârjuna converted the king of otisa. In all probability Kôsalas who had by that time removed from Sripur in C. P. to Sambalpur tracts, which had long been inhabited by a tribe called Odas (Skt. Udras), took advantage of the shaky position of the Kalinga Throne, came out with their Oda legions, and took possession of the much coveted Tooth Relic, the very key of the then religious life of India. The legend of Indradyumna, which I shall narrate presently in another connection, might well have some relation with this incident. Since then Jagannath was known as Odisa or the Lord of the Odas, round about whom in after times developed the kingdom of Kalingoda or Kangoda.

The other important factor in this scramble over the supremacy of Kalinga was Utkal, which originally lay between the kingdoms of Gaya and Kalinga and contiguous to both. Bauddha literature clearly mentions the fact that Utkalas were coming to Gaya with merchandise loaded in carts for purposes of trade. These Utkalas first emerge into clear historical view during the days when their capital was Karnasuvarna, and their king Sasânka of Sailodbhava family overran the whole of Kalinga and probably annexed for a time the entire territory including North Ganjam. Kangoda which had been a separate kingdom was also conquered.

Hiuen Tsang finds three different kingdoms in old Kalinga i. e., Tamralipti in the North, Uca or Utkal in the middle, and kangoda or Kongada in the South. The name Kalinga which had by that time removed to the forest lands of Chicacole has been named separately. In his Uca the traveller mentions no king or capital but

only speaks of the flourishing port of Celitalu (caritra). The newly acquired territory of Kalinga by the Utkalas of Karnasuvarna was not yet perhaps treated by the Utkalas as a natural part of their own kingdom, and formed into a viceroyalty, or a separate vassal kingdom with some name which the traveller pronounces Uca. To identify the word Uca either with Utkala or Oda is rather hasty for a historian, for it was still considered a part of Kalinga like Kangoda and Kôsala long after the time of Hiuen Tsang.

Towards the end of the 8th century came the Guptas of Kôsala with Saiva faith and semi-fanatic spirit of Brahmanism. The second king, Yayati Mahabhavagupta made Jajpur his head quarters in the new territory and wanted to perform a sacrifice (Yajna) there in right orthodox Brahmanic fashion. The old Kalinga Brahmanas now called in Orissa Mastans (Mahastana meaning a place of Viśnu or Mahayâna worship) and the Oda or other Brahmanas of Kôsala, who now abound under various names in Ganjam, Sambalpur and Garjats (Native States) of Orissa, were considered unfit for sacrificial purposes, and Yayati had to bring down 10 thousand Brahmans from Kanyakubja, whose descendants now go by the name of Utkala Brahmans. The indigenous Brahmanas of the land were so contemptuously treated by the new fanatics that even now the word 'Kodanga' (Kalinga) is used by the Brahmans of Puri to their own men in the sense of wanting in manners or ceremony; and though Kalinga or Mastan Brahmanas still hold almost complete possession of the temple of Jagannath, they have been nowhere else in Orissa in any way connected with a temple. And the Pandas of Jagannath temple are treated by the Utkala Brahmans practically as Non-Brahmans, and a significant custom has arisen to class all Brahmans worshipping in public temples as of a very low class.

About Colonisation.

Another misconception though not quite of a like nature centres round the legend regarding the colonisation of Ceylon, where as I have referred to the first historical or semi-historical mention of Kalinga is to be found. There is more than one version of the story, but the one I mainly adopt here is from the Cambridge History of India, recently published, which is presumed to have given a version critically authentic.

Vijaya Simha was a prince of the Lata country, and he married the princess of Kalinga, the daughter of Simhabahu. Prince Vijaya was somehow banished from his fatherland, and with his wife sailed to Ceylon in 5th century B. C. and became king there. This is the first Aryan settlement of Ceylon. Lata in this story is a name which is responsible for various geographical speculations. Bengali historians

generally identify it with Rârha or West Bengal. Others locate it in Gujrat, and others again combine the two, and find in the legend an indication of two streams of Aryan colonisation of Ceylon—one from Kalinga and another from the Gujrat side. But the Rârha of West Bengal first finds mention in the Bhavisya Purana written not earlier than 6th century A. D. Eleven hundred years before that it was in all probability an unreclaimed forest land included in the ancient Dandaka. Ladha mentioned in Jain Ayaranga Sutta which is often cited in this connection has neither been critically dated nor properly located.. Nor were the people of this Radha sea-faring, considering that the sea-board from the Ganges to Ganjam was Kalinga. That Radha is West Bengal is therefore out of the question. That Lata or Lala is Gujrat too a rather for-fetched, nor is its antiquity conclusively proved.

Lata, Lala or Radha are but variations of Prakrta Ratta (Skt. Rastra) representing a land newly colonised, reclaimed, and organised into a kingdom. There was Kalinga Ratta in Burma Coast. This is one of the earliest Rattas ever mentioned, Colonel Gerini finds in his studies in Ptolemy's Geography that Aryans of Northern India established their colonies in coasts of Burma and Farther India as early as 7th century B. C. by driving away the Dravidians who had been earlier settlers in those lands. And the colony of the Kalingas in Burma was called Kalinga Ratta as has been stated by Prof. Mazumdar himself. This Ratta had probably a royal family transplanted from Kalinga, and in matrimonial relations with the royal family of the parent Kalinga of the mainland.

The legendary lore of Puri abounds in events like this matrimony beyond the ocean of merchants and men of royal family. For instance, one legend gives that a prince was enamoured of a princess beyond the seas of whom he happened to hear from his merchants. The prince sailed in search of her, was ship-wrecked on the way and was stranded in an island full of earth which was really gold. The prince then made bricks of that gold-earth, and when he was rescued put those bricks in the ship. The crew and the captain got scent of the character of those bricks, and cunningly left the prince in a desert island. After many ups and downs the prince was saved, found the land of the princess, secured and married her, and returned home, where afterwards he found out the faithless merchant and executed him after getting back the gold bricks. This and like legends well speak of matrimonial relations of Orissan royal family of ancient times with families in lands beyond the ocean and the golden brick may also indicate Burma Coast, which is called Suvarnabhumi (land of gold) in our ancient literature.

Some forms of Vijaya Simha legend speak of Magadha and other kingdoms which Vijaya travelled. In Burma the Kalingas named their contiguous kingdom Utkala (Utkala) as observed by Mr. Mazumdar. Many other kingdoms, towns, cities in Burma bear names of Indian kingdoms, towns, and cities—a practice common among many colonising people, and is perhaps natural. This well explains Vijaya's travel in kingdoms bearing Indian names. Or it may be that such additions to the legend are later and therefore discarded in critical history.

Character of Kalinga Culture.

Historians often labour to find that Kalingas throughout their history were a Dravidian people, of Dravidian culture and Language, and were in all respects akin to the Andhras, of whom they may be considered a branch, so to say. Mr. Mazumdar clearly puts it that when the Aryanised Utkalas and Udras poured into the coastal strip of present Orissa, the Kalingas bodily removed themselves to the southern portion of their kingdom with their king, culture, tradition, language and everything to fuse smoothly with their Āndhra kinsmen in the south. They settled in Tailang, which had been the main Tri-Kalinga territory. But as I have already said, and as Mr. Venkatrangaya has recently proved it in the Indian Historical Quart rly Vol. III, No. 1, that Tailanga or Telugu (Tenugu) is the native name of which the Sanskrit synonym is Āndhra and the vernacular word came to be applied to the land, language etc., after the 11th century A. D. with the use of vernacular literature, and the word has nothing to do with Kalinga or any of its variants.

From about the 7th century B. C. or even earlier, i.e., from the days of the Vedic Sutras downwards, Kalinga has been a kingdom of the Āryâvarta of which it is the last settlement through Anga and Vanga. True it is that in early Āryan literature Anga, Vanga and Kalinga, and esp., the latter two have been despised to prove that they were in the process of reclamation and settlement. Here it must be borne in mind that there is no ethnological division like Arya or Dravid land in India. Āryâvarta is as full of Dravid blood as the Dravid land itself. It is culture, language, and other allied institutions that make for the distinction. Āndhras and Kalingas are in this sense distinct from each other. Āryan naturalisation succeeded completely to the southern limit of Kalinga, beyond which it practically failed, for the concentrated Dravid culture in the south beyond Kalinga was in its robustnes and vitality too much for the Aryans to replace. Hence even now the natural limit of Kalinga and Āndhra is to be traced in border land where Aryan and Dravid languages meet, for language is the main vehicle of human culture.

So far as is known the Āndhras have had a culture more robust and a history more glorious than the Kalingas. They were for centuries the Imperial power in India. Orthodox Puranas have counted their Emperors among Dynastic Kśatriya kings of Bharata-varśa. Mahabharata at least once mentions one Āndhra among the kingdoms of Aryavarta. But nothing can lead to the conclusion that culture and language of Āndhra have not remained Dravid in the main. To mix them with those of Kalinga with convenient hypotheses to facilitate preconceived conclusions is not what should be expected of any historian.

Mr. Mazumdar particularly more than any one else has a peculiar Dravid bias and he tries to make out that Khâravela was a Dravidian in culture. The very name Khâravela he twists in Tamil to mean 'man with a spear'. He discards the explanation of the name to indicate 'king with salt in abundance in his coast'. By 'khâra' he understands saltpetre which according to him is inauspicious. But one would expect him to have been acquainted with the common vocabulary of Puri, the home of Khâravela. Khâra in Puri still stands for salt used on ceremonial occasions, and means salt in some very homely idoms. Salt was besides in olden days a rare thing in inland country. Even so late as 17th century A. D. a Brahman was granted a village by a Raja of Sambalpur tracts for making a present of pure salt. People inland were otherwise using impure salt-earth. Thus Khâravela is an Aryan name; and like Suddhodana which means 'good rice', it stood for 'coast full of salt'. Even so early as in the days of Vijaya the name of the king of Kalinga was Simhabahu, evidently an Aryan name.

Clear it is from the Hathigumpha Inscription that Khâravela learnt to read and write in his youth. Reading and writing in Dravid language were unknown in those days. Besides from at least the days of Asoka Kalinga became a seat of learning so far as distinct history is concerned. Puri had been long before Asoka an important place for Bauddha and Jaina culture as has already been paid. The words 'Tausuliya', 'Naara (Nagara)', and even 'Khâra' refered to above and words like 'Vevahâra' in the Hathigumphâ Inscription with their peculiar philological significance clearly point to the beginnings of evolution of Aryan language and culture in the land of Kalinga by the time of Khâravela.

The name 'Aila' or 'Aira' has been made much of in this connection. Some Kings of Dravid lands in old times have also used it. But nevertheless it is undoubtedly a mark of distinction indicating 'Arya. at a time when Kalinga was still to some extent being looked down upon by the Aryans of the North, and the estimation of the

kingdom of the South must have been much worse. The scrupulous attempt to stick to the title 'Aira', therefore, speaks for itself.

Puranas give us the story of 'Ela' whose sons were Gaya and Utkala, meaning thereby allegorically that all those kingdoms as well as their kings were Ailar or Aryanised. It is not again far to infer that Khâravela had himself some relation in descent with Utkala or Gaya kings who were preeminently Ailas.

The institution of Jagannatha.

The greatest institution which has still remained a legacy of Kalinga is the Jagannath of Puri to which I have already referred. But unfortunately its history has been sadly neglected, and historians like Mr. Mazumdar would actually like us to belive that the whole thing was as it were a mushroom-growth under the Ganga kings of Orissa, though it is undoubtedly something which had acquired an India-wide character, importance, and significance long before Anantavarman Chodaganga Deva came on the throne of the country of Jagannatha. It was the last great stronghold of the Buddhist faith cleverly compromised into the Neo-Vedic School of Vaiśnavism during the days of Brahmanic revival after the Mauryas. As is evident from Purans and tradition Chodaganga rebuilt and repaired the temple which another king of Orissa had built upon the place where centuries, before the time of the latter the Savara God Jagannatha had been brought into prominence by a very ancient king of Malava (central India) named Indradyumna. It is the institution of Jagannath, which has influenced the life of the Kalinga people from the earliest times to the present day, and has given the type culture peculiar to the race. It has moreover been very greatly instrumental in moulding the life of the whole of India for centuries, and has added more to the common culture of the entire nation than any other institution. kingdom, or province has ever been able to do. As the formal Hinduisation of the Buddhist worship of the Tooth, it is the very history incarnate of the entire evolution of Indian life and relegion, in which both the humanly pious Savara and the sacerdotally sanctimonious Brahman have merged their identity in the holy and comprehensive synthesis of Jagannath, the lord of the universe; and it is with this Hinduisation of the Tooth of Buddha again that the bar on Kalinga was completely raised, its Aryan character was permanently recognised, and "the whole of Orissa" became, in the words of the Encyclopedia Britannica, "holy ground".

Jagannath is called Bauddhavatara by the Hindus. The Buddha is being worshipped here as an incarnation of Visnu. There is counting of incarnations in many Purans. But Jagannath as Bauddhavatara is found in none of them except Padma Purana, where

the whole legend of Jagannath is given. I may give a gist of the legend here in very brief outlines.

Viśnu was being worshipped as Buddha by a Savara on the sea shore in an inaccessible place full of jungles. The Savara was guarding the god carefully against its being captured by others. Indradyumna, king of Malava was a devoted worshipper of Viśnu, whom he wanted to worship in earthly form or living incarnation. He dreamt of this Buddha-Visnu, and was told in the dream cleverly to take it from the hands of the Savara, which was not easy. He sent his young Brahman minister Vidyapati on this mission. Vidyapati came through fields and forests and after many days and with much difficulty reached the place of the Savara, but could not see the god which was hidden in the wilderness; nor would the Savara for anything in the world show him the way to the god. The Brahman lived in the Savara's house and in course of months managed to fall in love with the Savara's daughter, who by a clever manoevre made Vidyapati see the way to the god. Then on the Brahman's promise to marry the girl the Savara agreed to make over the god to the Raja of Vidyapati. Indradyumna then came and worshipped the god there, but to set him up in Vaisnavic pomp, he went to Svarga and other places to invite Brahma, and other Gods and Rsis. By the time he came back with Brahma and others, the god had been claimed by Galamadhava, the king of the place. Then through the mediation of the invited gods the claims of Indradyumna were established as the first discoverer, but Galamadhava was also allowed to worship the god, and remained in charge of it after Indradyumna left for Malava.

The descendants of Savara are still there in Puri considered as kinsmen of Jagannath, and are known by the name of Daitas. Vidyapati's descendants too are there known as Pati Brahmans.

During the post-Maurya revival of semi-fanatic Brahmanism, Dantapuri was probably neglected, and the famous Relic was guarded secretly by Buddhists, called Savaras and afterwards Daitas (Skt. Daitya). Calling non-Hindus by the names of Mleccha, Yavana, Daitya is not un-common in post-Mauryan Hindu literature. Puri Temple Records generally do so. The Odas of the forests of the West Kalinga must have been better and more orthodox adherents of the old religion than the more cosmopolitan and therefore more changeable people of the plains. Sovereignty of these Odas must have been alternately divided between the Kosalas and the Kalingas, and in course of time some of the Odas might have settled in Puri, the sacred place of the Tooth. These Odas as a matter of duty guarded the neglected Tooth. Or, may be, Indradyumna came with the Oda king, perhaps the then Kosalas of Sambalpur tract, or was the Oda king himself with a nominal sway over the Kalinga-side of the

Oda land. Hence the term Odisa was applied to Jagannath, and even now locally applied to the place near the Temple.

Now in conclusion I shall simply hint an explanation of this Odisa or Jagannath as a symbol of compromise between Buddhism and Hinduism, so important perhaps in the world's history of relegious evolution. The Asokan school of Buddhism was Hinayâna or the more orthodox branch. During the time of Kaniska rose in Western Upper India the Mahayâna school which had traces of Hindu influence, and was somewhat tolerant of Hindu form of worship, and in the course of a century or two developed distinct tendency of melting into Vaishnavism. Thus in the early centuries of the Christian Era Western and Upper India was found influenced by the Mahâyana-Vaishnava faith and form of worship, and it remained for the Hinayâna school to change into the more austere Saiva cult in later times. Nagarjuna's conversion of the king of Odisa into Mahayâna Buddhism took place some time during this period, and thus prepared the way for the Tooth Relic of Buddha being turned into an institution of Vaishnava worship. The Tooth Relic was famous all over India, and not only sages like Nâgârjuna in the South, but also new Vaishnavas like Indradyumna in central India were having a keen and wistful eye on it. It was therefore for Indradyumna to take the untold troubles and humiliation in coming through hills and jungles dales, ditches and rivers, marrying his faithful minister to a Savara girl, and leaving him permanently on the inaccessible shores of Puri, and begging an almost cringing compromise of the de facto impostor Galamadhava to persuade the holy Tooth into a homely and personal God with intimations more human than divine. But probably somewhat unfortunately for the pious zealot the half fossilised tooth of Buddha grown almost adamant in ages did not completely give way, and he had to effect a grand compromise in the Orissan school of new religion for which he had to invite gods and sages from all parts of the world known to him. Thus it is that on the historic shores of ancient Kalinga both Buddha and Vishnu meet in eternal comradeship; and Buddha becomes an Avatar of Vishnu. The Buddhist accepts the Hindu form of worship; and the orthodox, fanatic Brahman observes neither caste nor untouchability.

KOTA CHIEFS OF AMARAVATI.

By BHAVARAJU V. KRISHNARAO, B. A., B. L.

The history of Andhradesa during the eleventh and twelfth centuries is the history of petty but powerful feudatory families that ruled independently over small territories. These rulers called themselves *Mandalêsvaras* and *Mahâmandalêsvaras*, and often carried on internecine warfare for the purpose of extending their kingdoms into the territories of their neighbours. Of these, Telugu Chôḍas of Vikramasimhapura (Modern Nellore), Velanâṭi Chôḍas of Tsandavôlu or Dhanadupura, Kôṭas of Dharaṇikôṭa, Parichchêdis of Kollipâkapura, Haihayas of Palnâd, Châgi chieftains of Gudimetta or Nathavâdi, and lastly Châlukyas of Kolanupura are the most important that deserve a careful study. From amidst the struggle and turmoil of the last days of eleventh century rose a gradually a new family which became in less than quarter of a century the most powerful dynasty that could claim suzerainty over all Andhra and bring all the Telugu speaking people under its protection and rule. I refer to the Kâkatiyas of Warangal. It is my desire to trace the history of these local chiefs and their families one after another and construct a coherent and connected history of Andhra during the two centuries that followed the removal of the central government of the Eastern Chalukyas from Râjahmahêndravaram to Kânchipuram in the South, till the establishment of the Kâkatiya supramacy over all Andhra. I shall first take up the Kôṭas of Amarâvati.

The accession of Kulôttunga Chola I to the throne of the Chôḷas marks a definite period in the history of Andhradesa. The country thenceforward came to be governed by viceroys, who were selected in the early days from the members of the royal family but later on from the *Mahâmandalêsvaras* and the feudatory chiefs of the country. The appointment of royal viceroys to Vengirajya, (that was the name by which Andhradesa in those days was called) ne essitated the raising the rank and power of many a captain of war distinguished for heroic services to the dignity of a *Mahâmandalêsvara* by Kulottunga Chola I, in order to keep down the turbulent pride of his imperial children. In a way this policy proved to be successful, but in the end its results were unexpected. These herditary chiefs in the early days could stem the growing power and influence of the royal viceroys but in the end were themselves kept down by their masters. They remained weak in spite of their ambition, and filled their lives with internal warfare in later days when the hand of the Chola Emperors

could not reach the land of Vengi, to put down the quarrelling elements. In the end all those powerful families that rose into power during the eleventh and twelfth centuries naturally decayed and paved the way for the rise of the Kakatiya power in the west at Warangal (Orugallu or Ekaśilânagari). It was early in those eventful times that the Kôṭa chiefs first came into prominence, and carved out a small but powerful kingdom in the western region of the present Guntur District.

The Kôṭas appear to be immigrants from the west i.e. the Kanarese country that settled down finally in the region round Amaravati or Dharanikota on the southern bank of the Krishna river. That region is known is history and local tradition as "Shatsahasra Vishaya" or the Telugu "Āru Vêlanâḍu" which means the "Sixth Thousand Country." It is suggested that the name of the tract like the other *nâdus* of Andhradesa denotes the number of villages (or grâmas) comprising the district; but it does not seem to be correct. It might mean the extent or the area of the district expressed in terms of *grâma*, a kind of unit of land measurement, that obtained in those days.[1] Whatever that might be, the Kôṭas regarded themselves as the traditional rulers of this Āru Vêlanâḍu like their predecessers the Parichchêdis and Kondapaḍumaṭis, and lords of Sri Dhânyavâtîpura, which is the ancient name for Amarâvati. It may be assumed safely that these chiefs came to the known as the Kotâs, on account of their claiming overlordship over Kôta i. e. Dharnikota which is another name for Dhânyavâtîpura.

The *birudugadya*[2] of the Kota Chieftains suggests that their *vamsakarta* or the first great person in the family, whoever he might be, obtained the kingdom of 'Shatsahasra Vishaya' on the southern bank of the Krishna river through the favour of a mythical king, Trinayana Pallava. It is not possible to identify and fix the age of this prince; but he might be taken to be one of the last kings of the Pallava dynasty of Kanchi. Therefore the Kota chiefs, like those

1. See Mr. Somasekhara Sarma's paper on the Form of Government in Ancient Andhra; in *Jayanti* Vol. 1. pages 75 ff.

2. The Birudu-gadya is as follows:—

Svasti chatussamudra mudritâ = nikhila vasumdharâ-paripâlaka Sri-maTtri-nayana Pallava prasâdâsâdita-Krshnavenna-nadî-rakshana-Shatsahasrâ = vanî - vallabha bhayalôpadurlabha Chôda - Châlukya - sâmanta madânêkapa mrgêndra-vibhavâmarêndra Srimad Amarêsvara dêva divya sri-pâdâpadmârâdhakâ = para chala sâdhaka Srî Dhânyakataka-puravarâdhîsvara Pratâpa lankêsvara Kavigalamonada kai Kaduvari-Jivakai Gandaraganda Gandabhêrunda Jagamechuganda Agnimârtânda nâmâdi samasta prasasti sahitam Srîmân mahâmanda-lêsvara etc.

who also state that they obtained their kingdoms through the favour of this half-historical and half-mythical king, Trinayana Pallava, might be captains of war that distinguished themselves in the wars of Trinayana Pallava, with the Chalukyas of the west, and obtained the small tract of country from him as a taken of distinction and gratitude in the seventh century. The phrase "*Chôla-Châlukya sâmanta-madânêkapa mrgêndra-vibhavâmarêndra*" in the *birudu gadya* of this family also denotes that they were originally enemies of the Chodas and Chalukyas, which also, confirms the fact that Kôṭas were friends and followers of the Pallavas. In the later days of Pallava rule, Chodas and Chalukyas, tried to uproot the Pallava Family and establish their own supramacy over the territory ruled by the latter. Some of the Kanarese titles in the same birudugadya strongly indicate also the Kanarese origin of the family.

The Kôṭas called themselves the worshippers of the lotus feet of lord *Amarêsvarasvâmin* of Amarâvati, which clearly establishes their *Saiva* creed. They called themselves lords of Sri Dhânyakaṭa-kapura, even after some of the later kings shifted their capital to other cities. Their family crest is said to be *Gandabhêrunda* or the two headed male Eagle, which is also the crest for the Kadambas of Banavasi. The *Gadabhêrunda* crest can be seen on the seal of the Yedavalli Copper plate grant of Kêta Raja III, which is now in the Madras Museum.

The Shatsahasra Vishaya appears to have been held in the early part of the twelfth century A. D. by a line of chiefs of the Durjaya Family who called themselves "Lords of Kondapadumati", and then by another collteral line of chiefs who called themselves the lords of Kollipâkapura. The next rulers of this country after these were the Kôṭa chiefs of Amarâvati. The first appearance of the Kôtas as prominent rulers and *mahâmandalêswaras* is in the reign of the Chalukya-Choda emperor Tribhuvana Chakravartin, Rajaraja II, who ruled from A. D. 1146 to 1178. The earliest record of the family that has so far come to light is from Pedamakkena[3] in the Sattenapalli Taluka of the Guntur District, not far from Amarâvati. The insciption is dated in Śaka year 1082 (A. D. 1160), and records the grant of a piece of land to the local temple by Bhûtamahâdêvi, queen of Kôṭa Gandaparâja. This lady gives the geneology of her husband's family in that inscription which is in Telugu verse. According to it, in the valourous and illustrious fourth caste *(Chaturthakula)* there arose a prince by name Dhananjaya, who became so famous that his descendants regarded him as their progenitor and called themselves born in *Dananjaya Gôtra*. In that *gôtrâ*, after several

3. List of Antiquities, Vol. 1. p. 65 and Loc. Rec. Vol. 42 p. 433 ff.

kings, was born a prince called Bêtâ, whose son was Gaṇḍabhûpati. Gaṇḍabhupati had a son Bhima alias Mummadi Bhima, whose queen was Sûrasâni. Bhima's son was Gaṇḍa bhûpati (II), the husband of Bhuta mahâdêvi, the donor of the present grant.

Roughly for twenty years afterwards nothing is heard of the Kôṭa chiefs until we come to *Mahâmandalesvara* Kôṭa Bhîmarâja (II) and his son Kêtarâja II. Bhima's father's name is mentioned as Kêta(I) by a later day grant of queen Gaṇapâmba, wife of Kôṭa Bêtaraja,[4] but it is not clear how this Bhima II or his father Kêta I were related to Bhûtamahâdevi of the Pedamakkena record. It might be that Kêta I was a brother's son of Gaṇḍaparâja, and the latter having no issue, Kêta I suceeded to the throne. But nothing more than their mere names is known to us about these two princes, Gandaparâja and Kêta I.

Bhima II, father of the Kêtaraja (II) the great, appears to be the first powerful member of the family that held a position of any consequence in those days. He appears to have carved out a small but independent kingdom for himself on the southern bank of the Krishna river which extended into the west as far as the borders of the present Nellore District. His kingdom could successfully stem the tide of the power of the Telugu Chôḍas who were advancing into the north and threatening the very existence of the Velanâṭi chiefs of Tsandavôlu, the Viceroys of Andhradesa under the Chalukya-Chôḷas of the South. Bhimâ's friendship and even alliance were sought by the Velanâṭi chiefs to cement their relations. Velanti King Gonkaraja III (1127–1158 A.D.) gave his sister Sabbambika in marriage to Bhima.

It was during the reign of Bhima II, that the great war of the Palnad heroes, sung by the great Telugu poet Srînâtha, in his *Palnâti Vîracharitam* was fought. The war itself took place roughly between A.D. 1175 and 1182. It was a seven years' war between the two rival claimants who were children of different mothers, for the throne of Palnad. Srinâtha tells us that Kêta II, who was at that time the crown prince of his father, fought on the side of Prince Nala-Gâma, the Haihaya king of Palnâd. Bhima and his eldest son Chôḍarâja seem to have fallen on the field of Kârempûdi, the closing battle of the protracted civil war; for it was immediately after the close of this event Prince Kêta crowned himself as the king of Kôṭadêśa in his capital "Sri Dhanyavatipura. On the occasion of his accession Kêta II refers to his deceased elder brother Chôḍaraja, and makes grants for his merit to the shrine of Amarêśvarasvâmin at Amaravati.

4. Ep. Ind. Vol. III p. 94 ff.

Kêta II crowned himself king in Saka year 1104 (A. D. 1182) which is given in his numerous inscriptions[5]. Though the name of the Saka year and the actual week-day of coronation as Thursday, (Magha Śukla daśami), the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Mâgha, are given, it has not been possible to calculate the corresponding English date. The king made innumerable grants of land in several villages to temples and Brahmanas all over his kingdom. These lavish gifts might have been made in all probability to atone for his sins of having killed many persons on the battle-field of Kârempûdi. Whatever might be the reason Kêta began his rule by a number of generous and noble acts, which endeared him to the hearts of his people and secured peace and prosperity for his country.

Kêta appears to be a more powerful and enlightened prince than his father. His kingdom extended towards the south and included the territory now covered by the eastern half of the Guntur district. Poet Srinâtha tells that Kêta, while he was yet a Yuvaraja, displayed great talents as an ambassador during the great seven years war in Palnâd. It is said that on the eve of the battle of Kârempûdi, Bâla Nâgamma the minister of King Nala-Gâmarâja, better known in popular tradition and local history as Nâyakurâlu, a lady of remarkable capacity and statesmanship, chose Kêtaraja as the chief of the embassy to negotiate and secure peace with Prince Malidêva and his powerful minister Brahmanâyadu, who was the cause of that war. Kêtaraja who is said to be an eloquent speaker carried out his task with great ability and tact, though in vain. It was already too late to think of peace as both armies had marched out determined on war, and encamped on the plain near the village of Karempudi.

Kêtaraja's inscriptions, recording his innumerable grants and benevolent acts lie scattetered all over the kingdom he ruled, and range between S. 1104 and 1135 (A. D. 1182–1223). He had as many as eight queens till now known and quite a large number too of concubines according to the custom of the day. Notable among the former were Bayyala Mahâdêvi daughter of Rudraraja, ruler of Nâthavâdi and Mêlambika, sister of Kakatiya king Ganapatideva Maharaja, and Gundamahadevi of the Velanâti Chôla family. By Bayyalamahâdêvi or Bayyâmbika, Kêta had a son Bhima III and perhaps also Ganapatidêva, and by Gumḍamahâdevi, a third son, Rudrarâja.

Kêtaraja seems to be the only prince of his family who kept several concubines. Rather there were many women according to the

5. Ep. No. 264 of 1897, and 269 of 1897, which are published in Ep. Ind. Vol. VI p. 148 ff.

inscriptions of his time who called themselves *Bhôgastris* of Ketaraja. The reason for this might be that in those days dancing girls enjoyed rank and favour in society much unlike in these days and that it was therefore a matter of pride, rank and distinction for those women to call themselves *Bhôgastris* of the king even if they had received casual attention from him. Some of those *Bhôgastris* appear to be ladies of great influence with the King, and therefore followed him wherever he went like his queens. There were amongst his queens and other members of his harem followers of the several prevailing religious faiths, particularly Buddhism and Vaishnavism, even though Kêtarâja II was a devout saivite. His queen Bayyâmbika, and two of such bhôgastris, Gasavi Sûramadêvi and Prôlamadêvi deserve particular mention in this connection. These ladies followed the Buddhist faith which appears to be still flourishing and receiving royal patronage, and endowed the Shrine of Buddhadeva at Amaravati with lands, perpetual lamps and similar gifts which were recorded in inscriptions now in the temple of Amarêśvarasvâmin. On one occasion when his *Bhôgastris* made some grants to the shrine of Lord Buddha, Kêtarâja also, who was present along with them granted the village of Kantêru and some sheep for a perpetual lamp to the deity. And he afterwards gave away large number of villages to several Brahmanas, and richly endowed the temple of Amaresvara. Dr. Hultzsch who edited these last mentioned inscriptions[6], writes of Kêta II as follows. "It appears that the majority of the villages were granted to the brahmanas but that in spite of that and that though Kêta II and his predecessors were worshippers of Amarêśvarasvamin (verse 3, line 13 ff) he granted three villages and two lamps to Buddha, and two fruther lamps were granted to Buddha by two of the inmates of his harem. This proves what is already suggested by the second verse of the inscription that at the time of Kêta II the Buddhist religion continued to have votaries in the Telugu country and was tolerated and supported by the Hindu rulers of Amaravati. I hope I am not unjust to Keta II, if I suggest that his gifts to Buddha were a case *'Cherchez la femme'*. That two *dêvis* of his who granted lamps to Buddha may have been Buddhist *upâsikas* and may have induced him to join them in making donations to their own god though he professed the *saiva* creed. It may have been to atone for his apostacey that he subsequently granted a large number of villages to brahmanas as recorded in the inscription. In the present inscription the high *chaitya* of Lord Buddha is referred to, and that is a clear proof that that *chaitya* was still in existence and in good condition even as late as the 12th century A. D."

The above remarks of late Dr. Hultzsch though seemingly justifiable, are slightly exaggrated. When offering the above remarks the

6. Ep. Ind. Vol. VI p. 148 ff.

Doctor was evidently unaware of the fact that Bayyâmbika, too, like the mistresses was a Buddhist *upâsika*[7]. Though the king professed *saiva* creed, and though it was the age of revival of Saivism and Brahmanism in its modern form, Buddhism and Jainism still flourished and had several followers and patrons even among the rulers of the day. We learn from Panḍitârâdhyâ's *Sivatatvasâram* that the Velanati King. Kulottunga Rajendra Chôḍa I and his son Gonka II, who were centemporiaries of Keta I and his successors were followers of Buddhist religion, and even openly showed utter disregard and hatred towards Saivism which was then reviving under the leadership of Basava and Panditârâdhya. There is yet one more instance of Kêta's spirit of tolerance of other faiths forthcoming from an inscription dated in Saka 1135 discovered at Erṛabalem.[8] Amaramma and Kêtamma, two *bhogastris* of the king together with their father Yerṛama Nâyaka made a gift of a piece of land and perpetual lamps to god Anantaśayana at Uṇḍavilli, and on that occasion Kêta who was also present as on the other occasion made some gifts to the temple and to the Brahmanas as well. Compared with his contemporaries, Kêta II certainly deserves praise for his great tolerance, nay even patronage of other religious faiths of the day. And this accounts also for his great popularity among his people more than anything else. Besides he must have been a just and benevolent ruler.

Gaṇapâmba says of him in her grant some forty years later that he founded many temples, constructed tanks and gardens, and built almhouses (Satralaya) endowed them with rich gifts and gave away as many as seventy agraharas to Brahmanas on the southern bank of Krishnaveni (Krishna river). It is also said that he reconstructed the shrine of *Amarêsvarasvâmin* at Amaravati, and built several temples for Siva in Vêlpûru and other places. He is also said to have rebuilt the temple of Bhimesvarasvamin, after his father's name in Peda-Cherukûru and granted a piece of land to the deity in Saka 1131 (A. D. 1219).

It is not exactly known when Kêtarâja II died, but his last inscription which is referred to above is dated in Saka year 1135 (A. D. 1213). Another inscription which has been recently discovered in the shrine of *Srî Râmêsvara Mahâdeva* of Vêlpûru[9] which is dated in Saka year 1138 records the partition of the Kôṭadêśa between Kôṭa Bhima Raja and Rudra Raja the two sons of Kêta II. It may be assumed therefore that Kêta's death took place some time before Saka 1138, but after Saka 1135. The above inscription indicates that

7. See Ep. No. 270 of 1897, at Amaravati.
8. See Ep. No. 79 of 1917.
9. Ep. No. 585 of 1925 see Rep. South Ind. Ep. for 1925-26, p. 96.

all was not well immediately after the death of Kêta, and that there was also fighting for the throne. There was in the end partition of the Kôṭadêśa, the causes for which are unfortunately not now clearly known. It might be that the two princes who were descendants on their mothers' side of two powerful families, the Châgis of Nathavâdi and the Chôdas of Velanâdu, could not agree in the enjoyment of the kingdom of their ancestors either by the one or the other, and that they were backed up by their powerful relations. The partition might have been the result of a compromise owing to the interference of the Kakatiya king Ganapatideva Maharaja, whose daughter Gaṇapâmba was married to Prince Bêta, son of Rudra Raja. This arrangement was good for the country as well as for the princes, as the country enjoyed undisturbed peace for a very long time afterwards. About this time, the Kotas appear to have lost their independence and submitted to the suzerainty of the Kakatiyas of Warangal, who had already brought the entire Telugu speaking area under their rule.

As a result of this partition, Bhîmaraja obtained for his share the eastern half of the "Shaṭsahasra Vishaya" with its capital at Amarâvati (Sri Dhânyakataka) and Rudraraja got the south-western half with its capital at Yenamadala which is also known as 'Mahishâsuramardaninagari'. From this date the history of the Kôṭa family becomes somewhat confused. Besides these two princes, apparently another member of the Kota family, *Mahâmandalêsvara* Mummadideva Maharaja, appears to be ruling from Peda-Cherukuru, in Bapatla taluka in Saka year 1133 (A.D. 1211), as a subordinate of the Kakatiya king Ganapatideva Maharaja. This prince is the son of Gaṇḍabhupati who at present can not be identified. He can be assumed either to belong to a collateral branch of the Kôṭas or to be a brother of Bhimaraja II, father of Kêta II. This branch of the Kôtas continued their influence, and existed separately till S. 1192 (A.D. 1270). The last known prince of this family is Kôṭa Dêvaraja, who was probably a grandson of Mummadi Deva Raja. He was ruling in Peda-Cherukuru in Saka year 1192 (A.D. 1270).

Kêta II, as we have seen above had an elder brother Choda Raja[10] whose death paved the way for Kêta's accession to the throne. The expression *'Samprâpta râjyônnatih'* in Kêtaraja's inscriptions recording the year of his coronation, seems to suggest that his elder brother Choda Raja survived his father Bhima II but died rather suddenly before he was crowned, and that event enabled Ketaraja to crown himself king. Chôdaraja married Vinjamadevi and had two sons Mummaḍi Pôtaraja and Râjayya, by her. Pôtaraja was an officer under Kakatiya king Ganapatideva Maharaja, and accompanied him in all his campaigns. He was also present at

10. See Ep. No. 257 of 1897.

Tripurantakam along with his master, perhaps superintending the construction of the great temple of Tripurantakesvara, which is the only Kakatiya structure in British Andhra, under orders of the king. The temple was under construction about the year 1244–45 A. D.[11], when Mummadi Potaraja made grants to the God for the merit of his father Chôdaraja, his mother Vinjamadêvi and his younger brother Râjayya.[12] From this record it appears that he bore almost all the tittles of the Kota chiefs of Sri Dhânyânkapura though he never ruled over the country of his ancestors.

Next comes Bhimaraja III, the eldest son of Kêta II, who like the namesake of his grandfather married Sabbâmbika, a princess of the Velanâti Choda family. The offspring of this union was Kêta III, who is also known as Manma-Geta in order to distinguish him from his grandfather Dodda Kêta or Kêta II. It cannot be now known when Bhimaraja III died and his son Manma-Gêta succeeded him. The earliest known record[13] of Keta III is a copper plate grant found at Edavalli, in Narasaraopeta Taluka dated in the Saka year 1162 (A.D. 1241), which records the grant of the village as an *agrahâra* to as many as 404 brahmins on the occasion of *Mahâ-ardhôdaya*.[14] Kêta III appears to have a paternal uncle Kota Ganapatideva, whose inscriptions occur simultaneously with that of himself, in the same territory. This leads us to think that both the princes were joint rulers of their country. The earliest record of Ganapatideva is dated in Saka year 1156, which might be supposed to be the last year of Bhima III. Besides, Ganapatideva also bears all the titles of the Kôṭa family.

There has been considerable difficulty in identifying Manma-Geta or Keta III. He has been identified with his grandfather Kêta II by late Dr. Hultzsch, on account of the identity of names of the parents of both the kings. But the identification seems to be improbable and even wrong. Manma-Geta as his name itself indicates is grandson Keta for "*Manma*" in Telugu means grandson, and therefore he must be different from Dodda Kêta or Keta II (the great). Keta II, is known from his inscriptions to have ruled from Saka year 1104 to 1136 circa (A. D. 1182–1214) and certainly not beyond S. 1138, (A. D. 1216) as stated above. Therefore Manma-Gêta ruling in S. 1162 (A. D. 1241) roughly 24 or 25 years later could not be Dodda Kêta or Keta II but the grandson Keta III.

11. See Ep. Rep. for 1909 p. 119.

12. Ep. No. 243 of 1905,

13. C. P. No. 5 of 1915–16 see Ep. Rep. for the year 1916 page 138.

14. *Maha-ardhodaya*, occurs when there is a combination of a Sunday with the *Nakshatra* '*Sravana*' by day time and *Yoga Vyatipata* on *Amavasya day* at the end of *Pausha* month. Vide Ind. Chronology, p. 53.

But there seems to be some difficulty in identifying Ganapatideva whom I have called the son of Keta II. In an inscription which is dated in Saka year 1156 (A. D. 1234), from Prattipadu[15] in the Guntur Taluk, Ganapatideva is said to be the son of Manma-Geta and Bayyambika. So far as I am aware this is the only record wherein this prince mentions his father's name as Manma-Geta, while in all others he gives his father's name as Dodda Keta. He calls himself of the dear and good son of Bayyambika whom we know of the daughter of Rudradeva of Nathavâdi. I have not seen the inked impression or the original inscription in question, but nevertheless will hazard a guess that the reading of the word "Manma" might be incorrect. An unpublished record of this prince in Rameśvarasvamin's temple at Vêlpuru[16] dated in Saka year 1162, which is also the very year of Manma-Geta's above mentioned Edavalli copper plate grant, (C.P. No. 5 of 1916-17) clearly mentions him as the son of Dodda Keta, who as I have already shown above is Kêta II. The close similarity of the names of the members of this family, leads one, however, to a certain amount of confusion. In spite of this, it may be assumed for the present that Ganapatideva was a son of Keta II and therefore the paternal uncle of Keta III, and ruled jointly with him. There are no records of Bhima III, now available and it is not therefore possible to fix the extent of his rule. Since the earliest date of Ganapatideva, his brother, is known to be ruling in Saka year 1156 (A. D. 1234), Bhima III might be taken to have died in or previous to that year.

Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, however, explains away the difficulty in this identification by supposing that Gaṇapatidêva was a son of Kêtarâja III and that he was the crown prince of his father in S. 1156 (A. D. 1234,). This supposition, he believes, is further corroborated by a record of Ganapatideva himself from Bejatapuram, (Ep. No. 65 of 1917), which is dated in S. 1160[17]. I think, therefore, it is not possible for the present to determine clearly the relationship between Kêtaraja III and Gaṇapatidêva.

Ganapati deva who appears to be a more powerful prince than his father Bhima III or his nephew Kêta III, survived the latter as his records would show. The earliest and the last known year of Manma-Gêta is Saka year 1162 of the Edavalli grant, and as such we may assume that he did not survive long after that. On the other hand the last known date of Ganapatideva is Saka 1187 (A. D. 1265) which is also the first year of his son and successor Bhima IV the husband of Sômaldevi. One interesting fact about Gaṇapatidêva is

15. Ep. No. 141 of 1917.

16. No. 878, Guntur district, V. Rangachari's Inscription of the Madras Presidency.

17. See Rep. South Ind. Ep. for 1917 P. 128, p. 41.

that while his mother Bayyambika was a Buddhist upasika, he remained a staunch worshipper of Siva, and patronised the pontiffs of Gôlakimaṭha of Tripurantakam, to whom he made large grants of land. In one of his grants to the *Matha* in Saka year 1184 (A. D. 1262) Ganapati deva refers to the celebrated Viśvêśvara Dêśika, the high Pontiff of the Gôḷakimaṭha at Tripurantakam, as the "Illustrious Râjagurudêva".[18] This august personage was the royal preceptor to the Kakatiya Queen Rudramadevi also. In the year under mention Ganapatideva went on a pilgrimage to Tripurantakam and made gifts to the God and the Matha for the merit of his parents. At that time the Nathavâdi chiefs, who were related to the Queen mother Bayyambika were also present to make grants to the God Tripurântakêśvara.

Like Ganapatideva, his *Mahâpradhâni* Prôli nâyaka,[19] also appears to be a follower of Saiva creed. He founded several temples of Ramêśvara, Ganeśa and Kumârasvâmin, for the merit of his parents Uddanḍa Nayaka and Gaṇḍasâni, and an elder brother Daṇḍanayaka Kêti Nayaka. His younger brother who also appears to be an officer of the king founded and built shrines of Kêśavadeva and Kuppu Vinâyaka in Bejatapuram in Guntur Taluk.

Ganapatideva, bears in addition to his family titles, *Jagamechu ganda* and Maharaja, which seem to have been conferred by the Kakatiya king Ganapati deva Maharaja whose vassal he was. In one of his inscriptions, his queen's name is given as Komarambika. Her brother is one Machinayadu; but it is not known to which family he belonged. Almost all the records of the king are either in Sanskrit or Telugu poetry, and this might be due to his great patronage of poets at his court. One Nṛsimha, who is said to be an '*Ubhayakavi*' is mentioned as the composer of his numerous records. Unfortunately we have nothing extant except those stray compositions of this Ubhaya Kavi Nṛsimha.

From Tadikonda in Guntur taluq of the Guntur district come two records which mention two chiefs Prolraju and Bayyarâju, grandsons of Kôṭa Vennamahâdêvi, and certain gifts made by them to the shrines of Mûlasthânêśvara and Mailâradêva. These chiefs called themselves, "The Lords of Dhânyakaṭakapura and the worshippers of the lotus feet of god Amaresvara",—the two well known epithets of the Kôṭa chiefs. One of these records (Ep. No. 173 of 1917) dated in S. 1183, falls in the reign of Ganapatideva. Kôṭa Vennamahâdevi may therefore be identified with Vinjamadêvi queen of prince Chôḍâraja; and her two grandsons might be the sons of her son

18. Ep. No. 103 of 1917.
19. Ep. No. 65 of 1917.

Manma Pôtarâja. This is further corroborated by another record of this lady chief in the same place, (Ep. No. 172 of 1917). It is not however, known what the position of these chiefs was in the country, in relation to the royal family at that time.

The last known prince of this branch is Bhîmarâja IV, the son and successor of Ganapatideva. An inscription which is referred to below, mentions him ruling the country in S. 1187 (A. D. 1265).[20] It also appears from the same that he and his queen Sômâmba or Sômaladêvi were jointly ruling. After their death which might have taken place before S. 1190, the eastern half of Kôṭidêsa also passed into the hands of Ganapâmba, queen of Bêtarâja. Bhîmarâja and his queen Sômaladêvi are mentioned in a record of their *pradhâni* (minister), Vallabhapreggada, at Rompicherla. The minister gives therein the geneology of his own family and mentions that his ancestors were ministers to the Kôṭa kings of Dhânyavatipura. Vallabha's grand father was Mahadeva, who had two sons Anantâmâtya father of Vallabhapreggaḍa, and another Vallabha mantri. Vallabhapreggada built at Rompicherla (Pankataṭâkapura) the temple of Ananta Gopinathadeva in the name and for the merit of his deceased father. The record further states that the gifts of certain tolls and taxes of the village were made to the temple for the victorious rule of Mallapanâyaka and Jâyapanâidu who were apparently the local rulers appointed by the king and the queen.

Now we go back to trace the history of the other branch, the descendants of Keta II by his wife Gundamadevi. Their son is Rudradeva who married Pandambika. Rudradeva's records are not now forth coming and therefore it is not possible to determine the extent of his rule. There is however an inscription dated in Saka year 1163 (A. D. 1241) recording the *Pratistha* of god Rudresvara at Yenamadala and a gift of land to the deity for the merit of the King Bêta by some private persons in which mention is also made of Ganapama devi, queen of Bêtaraja. The construction of the temple in the capital for the merit of the reigning king would only suggest that the last king died recently and that the new King had just succeeded him. An interesting local incident that took place in the reign of Betaraja has been recorded in Vunguturu.[21] It is said that one Bandâruvu Kûna boyi and a *bantu* (servant) of the king went with Parvadirêva into the open ground of Gârlapâdu, threatened Bommareddi, killed Bhimaraja and died fighting with great prowess. The date of this record is not given, as also the details that led to the fight.

Beta is said to be ruling in Yenamadala in Saka 1172 (A. D. 1250) but it is not known in what year he died. A grant dated

20. Ep. No. 299 of 1915; also see Rep. South. Ind. Ep. for 1916, page 137–138.
21. Ep. No. 181 of 1917.

in Saka year 1179 (A. D. 1257) *Nala*, in favour of Allâḍanâtha temple at Ipûru, Tenali Taluk, Guntur district mentions it having been made for the merit of Mahamanḍalesvara Kôta Gaṇapatidêviyammangaru. This lady chief, as we have mentioned already was a daughter of Kakatiya Ganapatideva Maharaja, and a sister of Rudramba, and the wife of Kôta Betaraja. The title 'Mahamanḍalêsvara' prefixed to Gaṇapâmba in this inscription suggests that she must have been independently ruling her husband's dominions after the latter's death. In Saka 1173 (A. D. 1251) her husband was living since in that year he is stated to have founded the temple of Gôpinâtha-Vâsudêva at Yenamaḍala[22] In the Yenamadala inscription of Ganapamba which Dr. Hultzsch has published in Epigraphia Indica Vol. III pp. 94 ff. it is stated that Ganapamba after her husband's death, devoted herself to pious works and assumed the government of the small territory inherited from her deceased husband Bêtaraja and his ancestors along with the title of 'Mahâmanḍalêsvara' or 'lord' in the masculine gender. This record confirms therefore what is stated above *viz*, that Ganapâmba, after the death of her lord did actually rule and assume male titles even like her valorous sister Queen Rudramadevi. Again in the cyclic year *Saumya* (corresponding to S. 1172 (A. D. 1250) which is now lost in the original of the Yenamadala inscription but which Prof. Hultzsch takes from an abridged translation of it found in the Krishna District Manual of Col. Mackenzie, is presumed to be the possibly correct date of the record. If this be true the death of Betaraja will have to be fixed to be before Saka 1172 but the Yenamadala record (Ep. No. 142 of 1913) referred to above clearly shows that Betaraja was alive in Saka 1173. From this and from the Allâḍanâtha temple inscription at Ipuru[23] referred to above also of Saka year 1179, it can be concluded that Betaraja must have died sometime between Saka 1173 and 1179. Therefore the date of Yenamadala record of Ganapamba giving the year *Saumya* might be taken also as the year of Betaraja's death, corresponding to Saka 1173 and not Saka 1172, as the Saka year might have expired. And the death of Beta might have occurred before the Saka year in the *Saumya samvatsara* itself.[24]

Betaraja, unlike his father and grandfather appears to be a *vaishnava*, and as we have seen above he constructed a temple for Gopinatha in his capital which must have taken place probably in Saka 1172 (A. D. 1250). On that occasion queen Ganapamadevi also gave to it land in the village of Garagapadu, an oil-mill and a flower

22. Ep. No. 142 of 1913. Ep. Rep. 1914, p. 104.
23. Ep. No. 535 of 1913.
24. Ep. Rep. for 1914 p. 104.

garden. The *Mahâjanas* of the village also transferred the marriage fees granted by Ganapamadevi to them, to the temple of Gopinatha.

It appears that from the earliest times the Mahâjanas etc., of a village were entitled to collect taxes on artisan classes, marriages, barbers, and octroi duties, a schedule of which was hung up at the main entrances of the village or town. And these collections were spent for the improvement of the village sanitation, construction of Satralayas (alms houses) and other work of public utility, and that there was a committee of five to manage these funds as trustees. This form of local government appears to have continued till the disruption of the Vijyanagara Empire and the establishment of the Mohamedan power finally all over the country.

Ganapamadêvi and her sister Queen Rudramba of Warangal are remarkable figures in the history of Andhradêsa and the latter is remembered even to this day. The country enjoyed under their rule greater peace and prosperity than under any other ruler, ancient or medieval. Ganapamba is noted for the pious works to which she devoted herself after the death of her husband. She is said to have spent the remaining years of her life in the contemplation of God, in doing acts of charity and in governing her kingdom justly and wisely. Of her pious works the following deserve a particular mention. "She placed golden pinnacles on the shrine of Amaresvara at Sri Dhânyânkapura (Amaravati) on the Krishna river, and built in Yenamadala a temple of Siva which was called *Bêtêsvara* after her deceased husband's name, and to which she allotted the revenue of Benadevi, a village of Sathenapalli Taluk. At Sri Dhânyânkapura, she built another temple of Siva, which she called *Gañapêsvara* after her father Ganapatideva Maharaja, and granted to this temple the village of Chintapâḍu. Of these three temples which are mentioned in connection with Gaṇapâmba the first, Amarêśvara still exists at Amaravati. The second Bêtêśvara cannot now be traced at Yenamadala. It is not known if there exists still the shrine of Gaṇapêśvara at Amaravati."[25]

Ganapâmba must have spent the rest of her life after she became widow devoting to pious works and just government of her country. The last known date of her grant is S. 1179, and it is not known when she died. It is probable that she lived long and saw the dawn of the fourteenth century like her sister. She seems to be ruling still in 1290–91, when the Italian traveller Marco Polo visited Motupalli in order to learn more things about the "Country of Mutfili; the land of diamonds." It has been assumed by learned scholars that the queen referred to by Marco Polo, was Rudramadevi, the Kakitya

25. Ep. Ind. Vol. III, p. 94 ff.

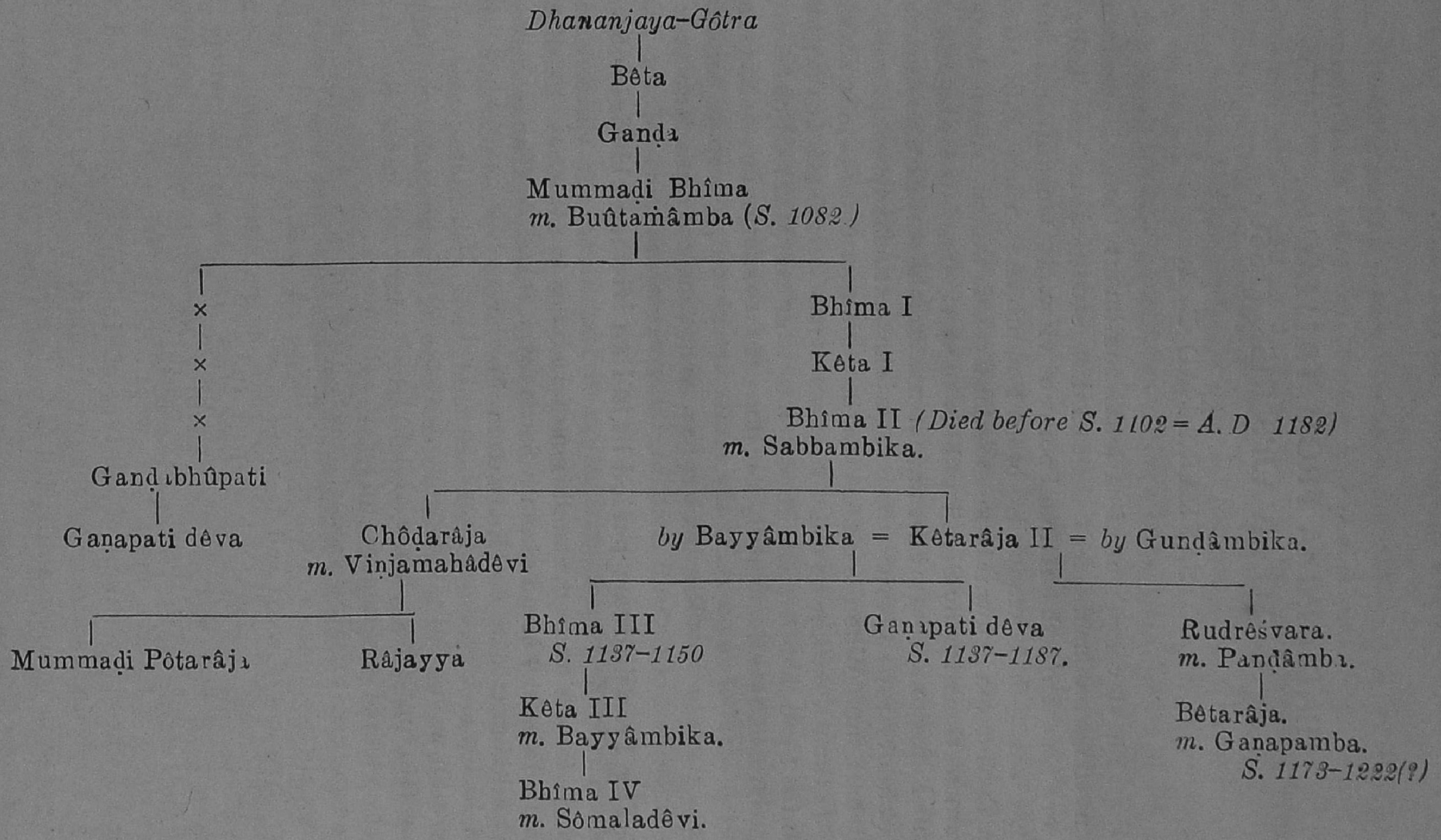
Queen, that ruled from Ekaśilânagarî (Warangal) from 1260–1296 A. D. But I think the identication is not correct for more than one reason. Concerning the kingdom of Mutfili, Marco Polo says[26] "This was formerly under the rule of a king, and since his death, some forty years past, it has been under his queen, a lady of much discretion who for the great love she bore for him would never marry another husband. And I can assure you that during all that space of forty years she had administered her realm as well as her husband did, or better, and as she was a lover of justice, of equity and of peace she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was Lady or Lord of theirs before", Marco Polo mentions in unequivocal terms that the kingdom belonged to her husband, that since this latter's death which took place forty years ago his widow ruled instead. Rudramadêvi's husband is not known to be a King and she did not rule the kingdom of her husband. It was that of her father Ganapati dêva. Again Rudramadevi was on the throne for thirty years only at the time of Marco Polo's visit, while as we know Ganapamba, taking her husband's death to have taken place about S. 1173 (1251 A.D.), was ruling for forty years in 1291–1292 the year of Marco Polo's visit. The Italian traveller did not go into the country, but sailed back along the coast of Ma-âbar to the south, after staying perhaps for a few weeks or days in Mutfili, (which has been identified with Motupalli in Bapa tla Taluka of Guntur district, the greatest sea port of the East under the Kakitiyas), after visting the diamond mines in the neighbourhood of Paritala and Mallavaram, along the eastern edge of the Tumrukôṭâ range, on the southern bank of the river Krishna.[27] Marco Polo, who was present in the country ruled by Ganapamadevi, must have learnt many things about her from her own people, and therefore could not have committed mistake in mentioning the great queen. Rudrâmba might be a greater queen as her territory was larger but it is improbable that Marco could have heard her name and mis-stated important details about her.

After the death of Ganapamba, it appears that one Devaraja ruled the kingdom, but considering the date given to him by tradition which is not confirmed by any inscription of his time it not possible to rely on it. It may be believed that after her death the whole of Kotadesa, or the Shatsahasra country passed into the hands of Kakatiyas, whose vassal she and her ancestors were.

26. Travels of Marco Polo, Yule Vol. II, Bk. III, Chap. XIX pp. 359-361.

27. Memoirs of Geological Survey of India Vol. VIII p. 110. There were the mines that supplied priceless diamonds to the world and brought immortal fame to Golconda.

Geneology of the Kota Chiefs of Amaravati.



HINDU INDIA FROM TALLIKOTA (1565) TO SIVAJI'S RISE (1660).

A. SANKARA RAO B. A. L. T.

The development of national sentiment throughout India in recent times has necessarily led to a deep study of Indian history on modern lines from the national point of view. One of the fruits of such a study has gradually been the proper understanding of the contribution made towards the possibility of the development of an Indian Nationality by Sivaji and his successors. But still there are a number of often-repeated set arguments which western historians of the ordinary type advance to belittle the national character of this contribution. When eminent Indian historians of the position of Mr. Jadunath Sarkar advance the same set of arguments, it is time to examine them both in the interests of the right spirit of historical research and also the healthy development of Indian nationalism.

II.

The Transitionary period in Indian History (1193–1565).

Referring to the condition of India at the time of the rise of Sivaji (1627–1660) Mr. Jadunath Sarkar writes[1] "After the fatal day of Thallikota (1565), no Hindu even in the more sheltered Southern land, had raised his head above the flood of Muslim conquest as a sovereign with a fully independent state under him. Therefore the ablest Hindu, with all his wealth and power, had only been a feudal baron, a mercenary general under an alien master". The implication is, according to Mr. Sarkar, that between the downfall of the Vijayanagar Empire and the rise of Sivaji, the Hindus were content to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in an alien's household and had not the national self-respect and strength to assert themselves. Mr. Sarkar also writes "Ever since the battle of Tarauri (1193) when Pridviraj went down, through five centuries, without a break, wave after wave of foreign onset, had swept over the Hindu world". This is one of the superstitions of old type of Indian historians and is a very surprising statement, coming from Mr. Jadunath Sarkar. It does not stand close examination of facts and figures.

1. Sivaji, His genius, Environment and Achievement by Mr. Jadunath Sarkar in Modern Review (Calcutta) for May 1927.

To begin with, it is not right to consider that there was in any true sense any large conquest of Hindu India by the Mahamma dans till the r ign of Akbar the Great. After the end of the Hindu-period proper, and to the advent of Akbar the Great, that is from 1193–1556 the state of India resembled the state of England from 800–1042 when the Danes were constantly invading England. The invasions of Mahmad Ghazni and Ghori resembled only the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali later on. They were only symptoms of the troubled state of the country and they left Hindu India virtually independent. Mahmad Ghori had been defeated by Prithvi Raj before he could defeat him Later on, the rule of the Slave dynasty, the Khiliji dynasty and the Lodi dynasty was really a rule which was confined only to a limited portion of the vast Hindu continent and which received constant rebuffs at the hands of Hindu princes and people. The first two Mughals, Babar and Humayun, could not subdue any great portion of the country because they did not themselves feel strong on the throne and also because the Afghan rulers whom they had displaced had not yet been subdued thoroughly and constantly proved to be a serious danger. So from the battle of Tarauri to the accession of Akbar, there was constant fighting between the Hindu Princes and the foreign invaders and the state of the country was like the state of England during the Danish invasions as above stated. Vincent Smith, dealing with this period, writes" "The Muhammadan conquest of India did not begin until the last quarter of the twelfth century if the frontier provinces of Kabul, the Punjab and Sind be excluded from consideration. It may be reckoned to have continued until 1340—— After 1340, the frontiers of the Sultanate of Delhi rapidly contracted, many new kingdoms, both Mussulman and Hindu, being formed. The quick growth of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar checked the Southern progress of Islam and recovered some territory which had passed under muslim rule. Elsewhere too, Hindu chiefs asserted themselves and it may be affirmed with truth that for more than two centuries, from 1340 to the accession of Akbar in 1556, *Islam lost ground on the whole*". Mr. Sarkar's statement that "ever since the battle of Tarauri through five centuries (till the rise of Sivaji) without a break, wave after wave of foreign onset had swept over the Hindu World" is directly contradicted by Vincent Smith's Statement.

III

In Northern India—Hindu Predominance from Akbar to Shahjehan.

It was Akbar that deliberately set himself to give up the drifting and hostile policy of his predecessors towards the inhabitants

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of this country. His early life, full of troubles, taught him the wisdom of following a conciliatory policy towards the people of this country and thus strengthen his own position on the throne so that he might not again be driven into exile like his father Humayun by his Afghan foes. He also saw the Mughal nobles round him constantly proving more a hindrance than a help to him by each caring for his own individual aggrandisement, than for the strength of his throne. So while retaining the services of the Mughal nobles who had followed his grandfather and father into India and who were constantly being reinforced by fresh recruits, Akbar tried to make the Hindu princes dignified partners in the administration of the country by forming dynastic alliances with them and by respecting their religion, customs and usages. His successors, Jahangir and Shahjahan wisely adhered to this policy and the strength and splendour of the Mughal rule from Akbar to Shahjehan was due mostly to this farsighted policy. The Orthodox section of Mahammadan nobles were dissatisfied with this policy and they gradually became so vociferous that Aurangazeb, counting on their support and feeling no more the necessity of strengthening his throne by following such a policy after a century of Mughal rule, posed himself as the champion of Orthodox Mahammadan section against his own brother, Dara, whose leanings towards Akbar's popular policy had made him many enemies among the orthodox Mahammadan section. In executing Dara, Aurangazeb pitched upon this plea of Dara's Hindu sympathies as the ostensible cause and in Dara, he killed the true descendant of Akbar's policy. Aurangazeb's long reign put his orthodox policy to test and brought out by contrast the wisdom of the policy of his predecessors. His policy also brought out the capacity of the Hindus to resist encroachments on their liberties.

In following a conciliatory policy, which may be safely called an "Indian National Policy" Akbar, Jehangir and Shahajahan only followed the policy which, in similar circumstances, the early Norman rulers in England from William I had followed. William and his successors, feeling their position insecure against the ambition of the strong Norman barons who had followed them into England with a view to enrich themselves at the expense of the English people on the one hand and William's dynasty on the other hand, posed themselves as the champions of the English people against their own barons So they made their position strong by keeping the people and also the barons in proper check by playing the one against the other. The same policy gave immense strength to the Mughal throne after Akbar as the Mughals came to identify themselves with the people of the country and thought themselves to be "Indian rulers", and not mere "Moslem rulers". This policy brought out a splendid response from

the people and the major section of the Hindus for a time remembered that they were not only Hindus but Indians and citizens of a vast empire and served the Mughals as they would have served their own Hindu rulers. Akbar's policy was not merely Pro-Hindu, as is ordinarily supposed. He had leanings towards Christianity also and these were inherited by Jehangir also later on. Tavernier who had widely travelled in India in Shahjehan's reign says that "Shahjehan reigned not so much as a King over his subjects but as a father over his family and children".

To mention only a few of the many innovations introduced by Akbar the following extract from Vincent Smith is enough "Akbar's new policy in relation to his Hindu Subjects was not determined mainly by his personal fancies or belief in matters of religion. At an early age, he percieved the political necessity that the Padshah should be impartial Sovereign of all his subjects, irrespective of creed. That sound political instinct determined his action as quite a young man in abolishing the Jizya and pilgrim dues and in marrying Hindu princesses. Akbar contracted his marriages (with Hindu princesses) in a different spirit (from the Deccan Sultans) and *accepted his Hindu male connections as members of the royal family*. No pressure was put on the princess of Amber, Marwar or Bikaner to adopt Islam and they were freely entrusted with the highest military commands and the most responsible administrative offices.....Akbar induced the Hindu artists to learn Persian techinque and imitate Persian style.....The architecture of Akbar's reign is characterised by a happy blending of Hindu and Mahammadan styles" Mount Stuart Elphimstone writes "It was however, by the aid and under the direction of the Emperor (Akbar) that he (Feizi) conducted a systematic inquiry into every branch of the knowledge of the Brahmins. Besides Sanscrit works in poetry and Philosophy, he made a version of "Bija Ganita" and "Lilavathi" of Bhaskara Acharya, the best Hindu books on algebra and arithmetic. He likewise superintended translations made from the Sanscrit by other learned men, including one at least of the vedas, the two great historical and heroic poems, the "Mahabharata" and "Ramayana" and the "History of Chashmir", the only specimen of that sort of composition in Sanscrit prose.....He however forbade trials by ordeal, and marriages before the age of puberty and the slaughter of animals for sacrifice. He also permitted widows to marry a second time contrary to the Hindu law; above all he positively prohibited the burning of Hindu widows against their will". No doubt Vincent Smith sums up his reign thus "Towards the close of his life, Akbar became practically a Hindu in most respects adopting many Hindu usages such as shaving his beard and whiskers, abstaining from beef and to a large

extent, from meat of any kind". Thus the Mughal despotism from Akbar to Shahjahan was in spite of its defects, a national despotism like the Tudor despotism in England at about the same time. The people of the country, vexed with the constant wars preceding the period, willingly gave it their hearty support and it brought order and peace throughout the Subahs. In view of this nationalisation of the central government at Delhi from the accession of Akbar (1556) to the rise of Sivaji (1650) i. e. the reign of Aurangazeb, we can see why there is no force in Mr. Sarkar's contention at least as far as Northern India is concerned that, "after the fatal day of Thallikkota (1565), no Hindu even in the more sheltered Southern land, had raised his head above the flood of Muslim conquest as a Sovereign with a fully independent state under him". It was because during this period practically a Hindu dynasty ruled from Delhi from Akbar to Shahjahan.

IV

In Southern India–Hindu Predominance (1565–1650).

Nor was the case different in Southern India. Southern India never witnessed really any strong Moslem oppression. After a temporary alliance to exterminate their common foe at Thallikota, the Mahammadan Kingdoms soon qnarrelled among themselves and the Hindus became very dominant in the administration. In addition to this, there was the constant fear of Mughal conquest and these states and their rulers were as much anxious to prove themselves Hindu rulers as they were Mahammadan rulers and they pursued a "National policy". Mahadeo Govind Ranade, in his admirable and monumental work, "The Rise of the Maharatha power" says:—

"It would be interesting in this place to note the successive steps by which the Muhammadan power in the Deccan was gradually subverted by and subordinated to Hindu usages.

(1) In the first place, the Deccan Mahammadans, being separated from their base beyond the frontier, were not recruited by fresh invaders (as in the case of Delhi by Turks, Persians etc)

(2) The founder of the Bahmini Kingdom was a slave of a brahman named Gangu at Delhi who foretold the good fortune that was in store for him. Hassan, the slave, gratefully acknowledged his obligation when he rose to power and he called his empire the "Bahmini".[2] This, in itself, was a homage paid to Hindu influences which dis-tinguished the Deccan Mahamadans from those of the

2. This theory is being doubted now by learned scholars.

South and which practically bore fruit when Gangu was brought over from Delhi and placed in charge of the finance department.

(3) In consequence of this arrangement, the revenue management and the charge of the treasure remained all along in Hindu hands.

(4) Not only was the revenue management in native hands, but later on, when the Bahmini kingdom made a way for the five separated kingdoms of Bijapur, Berars Ahmednagar, Bedar and Golconda, the revenue accounts of villages and mahals were kept in the vernacular in place of the foreign Persian or Urdu Language.

(5) The revolt in 1347 against the Delhi Emperor, Mahammad Tughlak, through a conspiracy of Mahammadan nobles, became successful chiefly by reason of the alliance of the Hindu kings of Telangan and Vijayanagar with the rebels.

(6) In consequence of this balance of power between Hindus and Musalamans the latter seldom indulged in those excesses which distinguished their rule in Northern India and the former never suffered the *depressions they felt elsewhere as an incidence of foreign* conquest.

(7) The Muhammadan rulers in the Deccan took Hindu wives in their harems. The seventh Bahmini king allied himself with the Vijayanagar family and the ninth Bahmini king married the daughter of the Raja of Sonhed. The first Bijapur king, Yusuf adil Shah took for his wife the sister of one Mukundararao, a brahman, and this lady became his chief queen being known by the name of Babuji Khanum and her son ascended the throne after Yusuf's death. The 1st ruler of the Barid Dynasty at Bedar got his son married to the daughter of one Sabaji Maratha who was a nobleman of some service of the Bahadamani kings.

(8) In the same category must be placed the influence of Hindu converts. The first Ahmednagar king was the son of a converted brahman Kulkarni of Patri in Berar whose family had entered the service of the Vijayanagar kings. The brahmin surname "Bhairay", the distinguished title of these kings and they so faithfully remembered their origin that they conquered Patri and gave it in inam to the brahmin Kulkarnis after a long struggle with the Berar rulers. The first founder of the Imadshahi dynasty in Berar was also the son of a brahmin in the service of Vijayanagar who was taken captive and became a convert.

(9) On the whole, great toleration was shown towards their Hindu subject by these Mahammadan kings and gradually both civil and military power came into Hindu hands. As a consequence, the Mahammadan kings gave inam lands to Hindu temple endowments

and Hindu physicians were employed in hospitals and in some cases even grants were given and continued to brahmin communities.

(10) In the military department, this predominance of the Hindus more and more manifested itself as years rolled on.

In consequence of the influences and changes noted above [3] about the commencement of the seventeenth century, the nominal Mahammadan rules of Golconda, Nagar, Bedar were virtually controlled both in the civil and military departments by Maratha Statesmen and Maratha warriors and tne hill forts near the Ghatas and the country thereabout were in the hands of Maratha jagirdars who were only nominally dependant upon their Mahammadan sovereigns".

The above facts must prove a sufficient answer to Mr. Sarkar's contention that there was no Hindu fight for independence after the battle of Thallikota in Southern India. It was, as in the case at Delhi, due to an "Indian" and a "national policy" being pursued by the Deccan Sultans during this period.

Aurangazeb, who came to the throne with his anti-Hindu and anti-Shia policy, totally misunderstood the forces of his time and his reign witnessed a grand Hindu revival, assisted by the Shia Mahammadans throughout his wide Empire. It was during his reign that the Rajputs, the main prop of the Mughal throne from Akbar to Shajahan, revolted unitedly against the Mughal ruler. The Maharattas and Sikas also during his reign organised themselves into formidable camps against him. Aurangazeb's reign, coming after the national Mughal despotism from 1556–1658, resembles the reign of the later Stuarts, especially James II, who, after more than a century of reformation movement in England, wanted to undo its work and swim against the current by nullifying the Test Act, by crude contrivances like his claim of suspending and dispensing with laws and his declaration of indulgence. Aurangazeb left an unenviable legacy to his successors and the later Mughals, like true descendants of Alamgir, followed faithfully his anti-Hindu and anti-Shiah policy and learnt nothing from Aurangazeb's mistakes or the decaying symptoms visible throughout the Empire. The later Mughals were the Bourbons of India who forgot nothing and learnt nothing. No wonder that, in fifty years only after Aurangazeb's death a foreign power laid the foundations of its vast Empire in India at Plassey in Bengal profiting by the disrupted state of the country and the constant wrangling of Indian rulers with one another. The Maharattas, after Aurangazeb's death and before 1802 had not sufficient time to consolidate their power

3. It may also be added that the Mahamadan Kings of those Deccan Kingdoms encouraged the South Indian Vernaculars in various ways, especially by patronizing the poets.

in an India torn asunder by factions dating from Aurangazeb's time and this was one of the main reasons why they were driven to the wall by the English Subsidiary policy which found fertile soil in the country in those days.

Sivaji and successors were the true successors of the Vijayanagar rulers and the Hindu revival after Thallikota combined with the reactionary policy of Aurangazeb gave a tremendous impetus to the rise of the Maratha power during the eighteenth century. Sivaji is not a mere accident during the latter part of the seventeenth century but his rise was in the inevitable logic of events. To understand the rise of Sivaji, it is quite essential that we must understand the state of Hindu India after Thallikota. Instead of having been cowed down with fear, as Mr. Sarkar implies, a correct analysis must show an impartial observer that the Hindu Princes and people from 1565–1658 throughout the country were more than holding their own and kept up their noble traditions which later on made the rise of a Sivaji possible when circumstances made it the only possible alternative for a self-respecting nation to assert itself.

THE DATE OF KRISHNA DEVA RAYA'S DEATH.

By K. RAGHAVACHARYULU M. A. B. L.

It has been assumed by Historians including Sewell, the author of 'the Forgotten Empire' that Krishnadêva Râya ruled in Vijianagar from 1509–1530 A. D. Sewell in his book says that the latest grant available during the reign of Krishnadeva Raya is one dated 1529 A. D. (Ep. Indica Vol. I., P. 398) while the earliest of Achyutadêva Râya's grants is of the year 1530 A. D. (Ep. Indica Vol. IV; Page 3 Note 4). This view requires reconsideration in the light of Epigraphical and Archaelogical information available to us since the publication of Sewell's Book.

To begin with, there is a telugu verse current in Āndhra desa (చాటువు) which expressly refers to the death of Krishnadêva Râya in S. S. 1446–47 (1525–1526 A. D.), the material portion of which is given below.

.....శాలివాహన శకాబ్దము లబ్రియుగాబ్ధి సోమలం
దారణవత్సరంబున నిదాఘదినంబున జ్యేష్ఠశుద్ధ ష
ష్ఠీరవివాసరంబున నృసింహుని కృష్ణుడు చేరెస్వర్గమున్.

This verse expressly refers to Tarana (S. S. 1446–47) as the year of Krishna Râya's death and impels a student of History to a study of the Inscriptions available between 1525–30 A. D.

1. A canarese Inscription of Tirumala dêva Râya son of Krishnadêva Râya (S. S. 1446) is found on a stone behind the Anjaneya Temple and is referred to as the Marenapalli Inscription, Mayadi Taluq (No. 82 Ep. Carnatica Vol. IX). It recites స్వస్తి శ్రీ విజయాభ్యుదయ శాలివాహన శకవర్ష 1446 నేయతారణ సంవత్సరద మార్గశిర శు ఏ శని స్వస్తి శ్రీమాన్ మహారాజాధిరాజ రాజపరమేశ్వర శ్రీ వీరభుజ బలప్రతాప గజపతి ఆశ్వపతి భాడ శ్రీకృష్ణ దేవ మహారాయ ఉదయాబ్ధి చంద్ర శ్రీ తిరుమలదేవ మహారాయన కాలదలు..... శ్రీ కృష్ణదేవ మహారాయరిగె గంగోదక నేవితిరప్ప.....కోననాయకరు.....

This grant refers to a gift by Tirumala Râya, son of Krishna Râya to one Kôna Nayakar for having given Gangodaka to Krishnadêva Râya before his death.

2. There are a number of Inscriptions before 1530 A. D. referring to Achyutadêva Râya, the duration of whose reign has been hitherto popularly accepted as 1530–1542 A. D.

(*a*) Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency (Edited by V. Rangachariar M.A.) Vol. I, P. 310. A Rampuram Pagoda Inscription in Bellary district refers to a grant of 12 Kolagas of Paddy field by Achyutadêva Râya in S. S. 1448 (Vijaya).

(*b*) An inscription on Kailâsanâtha Temple Manimangalam, Saidapet Taluq of the year 1449 S. S. (Vijaya). This refers to a Mahâmandaleswara Sindaiya Deva in the reign of Achyuta Râya (P. 414 Mad. Insns. Vol. I.)

(*c*) A Vijianagar Inscription of the year 1448 S. S. (1526 A.D.) referring to a grant by Achutadêva Râya (Sewell's Antiquities Vol. I P. 107).

(*d*) An inscription in the Kêsava Temple of Ayyaluru, Nandyal Taluq bearing the date S. S. 1450 (1528 A.D.) Sewell doubts the date of this inscription (Sew. Ant. Vol. I P. 93.)

(*e*) An inscription dated 1529 A D. (S. S. 1451) at the Temple of Arulala Perumal Conjeevaram (Sew. Ant. Vol. I P. 182.)

(*f*) A copper plate grant of Achyuta Râya, brother of Krishnadêva Râya of 3 villages. (Sew. Ant. Vol. II P. 16) S.S. 1451 = 1529 A.D.

(*g*) Komarapudi Inscription on Narasimhakonda Temple, Nellore District (No. 509 P. 1118 Vol. II Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency.) dated 1448 S. S. Pârthiva.

(*h*) An Inscription dated 1448 S. S. Nellore Inscriptions Vol. II Page 803.

It may be noted that there are a number of Inscriptions of the year 1530 A.D. referring to Achyutadêva Râya—the year which has been by historians assumed to be the year of his accession.

3. Many Inscriptions referring to Krishnadêva Râya are available to us in the collections noted above and referring to some Saka year between 1525–1530 A.D. Some of them recite private grants during the reign of Krishnadêva Râya. But the Timmappaswami Temple Inscription in Chippagiri, Alur Taluq, Bellary District. (Sew. Ant. Vol. I P. 322–1450 S. S. = 1528 A.D.) and the Velamakuru Inscription (S. S. 1451 = 1529 A.D. Sew. Ant. Vol. I Page 323) in the Anantapur District refer expressly to the building of a Temple and the Endowment of a Temple by Krishna Râya himself.

4. A lease attributed to Rama Raya, son-in-law of Krishnadêva Râya and reciting that he was ruling in Vijianagar in 1448 S. S. is mentioned in the Local Records (Vol. 18 P. 407).

5. A grant by Tirumala Râya, son of Krishnadêva Râya in S. S. 1446 is given in the Epigraphical Collections 139 of 1896.

From the conflicting material above referred to, the date of Krishnadêva Râya's death and Achyuta Râya's accession have to be deduced. Popular Tradition points out that Tirumala Râya, a son of Krishnadêva Râya predeceased his father at an early age below ten and that Krishnadêva Râya suspecting foul play at the hands of Timmarasu and his sons, imprisoned them and blinded Timmarasu, his favourite minister. No doubt this cannot be accepted as History but it seems to be beyond doubt that Achyuta Raya succeeded Krishnadêva Râya and that Krishnadêva Râya's sons must have predeceased him.

Late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Row deduces from the Marenahalli Inscription of Tirumala Râya and from the Inscriptions of Achyuta Râya, Râma Râya and Krishnadêva Râya, that the period between 1525–1530 A. D. must have been a period of Interregnum when the son-in-law Rama Raya and brother Achyuta Raya were fighting for the throne, each asserting his own sovereignty and that the nobles were during that period ruling in the name of Krishnadêva Râya. Such an interpretation seems to be farfetched. A satisfactory solution other than this must be looked for in the annals of the History of Vijianagar. The Marenahalli Inscription of Tirumala Râya and the Inscriptions of Krishnadêva Râya till 1530 A. D might point to a serious illness of Krishnadêva Râya during the years 1525–1530 A. D. If so, the inscriptions of Achyuta Râya can be taken to refer to his rule whether as an agent of his brother or in his own independent capacities of a Sovereign in a portion of the Vijianagar Empire.

The copper plate inscription of Konagatla in Nâgari characters refers expressly to the death of Krishnadêva Râya (1530 A. D.)

'కృతవతి సురలోకే కృష్ణరాయేనిజఘ్నం
తదను తదను జన్మ పుణ్య కర్మాచ్యుతేంద్రః'

It might reasonably be supposed that Krishnadêva Râya survived till 1530 A. D. but it is difficult to understand why none of the Inscriptions of Achyuta Râya during that period refer to Krishnadêva Râya. Expressing my indebtedness to late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao's brilliant essay on the subject, I hope that a further study of the problem will be taken up by Historians and Research sholars and a satisfactory solution be arrived at an early date.

HALA AND ṠĀLIVAHANA ERA.

By R. SUBBA RAO, M. A. L. T.

The Purâṇas give a list of kings whom they call by both the names 'Āndhras' and 'Āndhra Bhrityas' and who are really "Ṡâtavâhanas". Thus the first name given in the Purâṇas viz., Simuka or Sisuka is named in an early inscription as Simuka Ṡatavâhaṇa.

The testimony of the Purâṇas that the Āndhra rule lasted for nearly 4½ centuries is substantially accurate. The number of Kings is also correctly reported to be 30, though one text of Vâyu Purâṇa gives an extra king. The order of succession of kings is also right. Dr. V. A. Smith following Pargiter's list and dates, probably based on Bramânda and Vâyu Purâṇas, gives to the 17th Andhra King, Hâla a duration of 5 years and shows him as ruling from 49 A. D. to 54 A. D. But the Matsya Purâṇa list of Āndhra kings as rightly shown by Mr. Srikanta Sastri in the Journal of Mythic Society, Vol. 17, p. 335 gives to the same king the same duration of 5 years but the date o accession is given as 78 A. D. and not 49 A. D. as stated by Dr. V. A. Smith, in his Early history of India. (IVth Ed.)

This difference is due to the latter's giving to both the 19th and 22nd Āndhra kings together, 30 years more than what is given in Matsya Purâṇa. This Purâṇa as rightly suggested by Mr. G.J Dubreuil in his Ancient History of Dekkan is really more trustworthy and hence considering the Āndhra rule to have begun about 220 B. C. as stated by most scholars and following the order and duration of kings as given in that Purâṇa, we get 78 A. D. as the date of accession of King Hâla. Now, since the Ṡâlivâhana Ṡaka era is admitted by all scholars to have begun from 78 A. D. it is only natural to state that the reigning king at that time, Hâla founded it. This theory which is upheld by popular tradition is also confirmed by other evidences. Before we consider them, it is better to examine the theories that attribute the era to some one king or other of the several Non-Āndhra dynasties that ruled over various parts of India

Firstly, there are those who state that Nahapana founded the Ṡaka era in 78 A. D. and who urge on behalf of this theory his claims to greatness which are based on numismatic and inscriptional evidences. But we now know from the evidence supplied by the coins and inscriptions of both the Ṡaka princes and Āndhra Kings that *at the same period*, the Western Ṡâtraps were strong in W. India, the Kushânas in N. W. India and the Āndhras all over the Dekkan.

Hence, Nahapana, the Kshaharâta chief could not have founded the Śâka era. Mr. G. J. Dubreuil conclusively proves (see His Ancient Dekkan, pages 20 and 21 and 22) that Nahapana's years of rule are counted from 58 B.C. and his inscriptions are dated from Vikrama era of that date and not from Śâka era (78 A. D.). Mr. R. D. Banerji has also stated already in the Journal of R A. S. for 1917 that Nahapana could not be the founder of the Śâka era.

Secondly, while Mr. G. J. Dubreuil mentions in his book that Chastana ascended the throne between A. D. 75—85 and probably founded the Śâka era in 78 A. D., and was acting as a Śatrap under Gautamîputra, Dr. V. A. Smith in his Early History of India, IV Ed. states thus, "The events of Chastana's reign are not on record but his approximate date is easily ascertained from the facts that his grandson is known to have been reigning in A. D. 130 and 150. Chastana, therefore, may be placed in the period from about 80 A. D. to 110. These dates imply that Chastana held his office as Great Śatrap under the Kushân Dynasty, i. e., under Kadphises II according to my chronology." Thus, the two scholars differ with regard to the dates of accession and the immediate overlords of, Chastana. Dr. Sten Konow has put forward the theory that the Śaka era was founded by Kadphises II and Dr. V. A. Smith who held in his third edition of Early History that Kanishka founded the Śaka era has now given it up in his Fourth Ed. and stated as follows in a footnote on p. 271:—"In all probability, the Śâka era was founded by Kadphises II and possibly a new era running from the accession or from the enthronement of Kanishka came into use in N. India including Kabul and continued in use in the reigns of his successors." Further on, on page 272, he stated that Kanishka came to the throne early in the 2nd C. A. D. and probably in 120 A. D. In a footnote on the same page, he has stated thus:—"The substantial controversy is between the scholars who place the accession of Kanishka in A. D. 78 and those who date it later, in about 120 A. D. It is possible that the Kushân kings may have used a special era distinct from the Śaka but it is unlikely. If such an era was used, it began after, not before, 78 A. D. Sir J. H. Marshall, D. G. of Arch. Survey has been convinced by the direct evidence of the stratification of the remains of Taxila that Kanishka reigned in the IInd rather than the 1st century of Christian era."

Thirdly, there is the view expressed by Mr. K. P. Jayasval in the Journal of B. O. R. S. Vol. VI Pt. I page 22 thus, "Kushân era being identical with the era of W. Śatraps which is accepted to be Śaka era, their dress being Scythic and they being called Śakas, Kanishka becomes the founder of the Śaka era." The learned scholar thinks that from the evidence of the statues of Kanishka and Chastana being

found together, they would be contemporaries and even relatives. A the same time, he has stated that the era of the king Kushân Kadphises must be another and earlier Śaka era which began in 120 B.C. Mr. E. J. Rapson in his Ancient India supported this view and Dr. V. A. Smith, while supporting it in an earlier edition, has now abandoned it.

Dr. Marshall who carried on excavations at Taxilla thinks that Kanishka should have lived early in 2nd cent. A. D. According to him, distinct stratifications are found at Taxilla, viz., 1. Strata of Gondophornes 2. Strata of Kujula Khadphises 3. Strata of Wima Khadphises 4. Strata of Kanishka. Since the formation of soil involves a lapse of time and since the coins of Wima and his predecessors alone are found at Sirkop but not those of Kanishka, he thinks that Kanishka would not have ruled there *before* Wima-Khadphises. Since the Kushâns obtained possession of Taxilla about 60 A. D. and since some time should elapse between one rule and another, Kanishka cannot be held to have ruled in 78 A. D. He ruled in the 1st half of the second century A. D., and so he never founded the Śâka era.

Fourthly, there is the theory of Mr. G. J. Dubreiul expressed thus on pages 34—36 of his Ancient History of Deccan:—"Since the Śaka era was not founded either by Nahapana or by Kanishka and as Gautamîputra also was not the founder of it (No one has made this supposition) there remain but two hypotheses:—that the Saka era was founded either by Chastana or by Kadphises II. The latter opinion is held by Dr. Sten Konow who has written recently "I am still of opinion that the Śaka era was established by Wima-Kadphises" Ep. Indica Vol. 14 p. 141.

"But even granting that Kadphises II reigned in 78—79 A. D. it has to be proved that he founded an era. We have not even a single document that can make us believe that Kadphises II has founded an era. On the contrary, if the Chir stupa inscription is dated 78—79 A. D., it will be proved that the Kushân kings used after 78 A. D., the era 58—57 B. C. and finally, granting that Kadphises II founded an era, it must be proved that this era was adopted by Chastana or his descendants. After all, the theory of Wima Kadphises having founded the Śaka era is not based either upon any proof or even indication.

"There remains then but one hypothesis "The Saka era was founded by chastana". This theory was expounded 30 years ago by Cunningham, discussed notably by Dr. Bhandarker in B. B. R. A. Vol. 20, p. 210, and it was afterwards completely abandoned.

"I now wish to assert boldly that this abandonment is quite unjustified. This theory has been slighted, because, for 30 years the

historians of India have had 2 preconceived notions: 1. that the inscriptions of Nahapana are dated in Śaka era 2. that the Śaka era was founded by Kanishka. I think I have proved that these 2 suppositions are now untenable. I affirm that the only natural theory concerning the Śaka era is that it was founded by Chastana.

"It is admitted on all hands that the dynasty of Chastana has used the Śaka era; and it is but natural to suppose that the founder of the dynasty was also the founder of the era used by it. Outside the kingdom of Chastana and his descendants, not a single inscription has been found which is dated in the above era. In fact, the inscriptions of the Kushân kings are not dated from Śaka era and the inscriptions dated from the same era which are found in South India are all posterior to the fall of the dynasty of Chastana.

"Thus, then, all the Śaka inscriptions that are anterior to 400 A.D. are every one of them inscriptions of the dynasty of Chastana. The era is therefore special to that dynasty.....

.....

"Therefore, the most simple, the most natural and the most logical theory consists in saying "The Śâka era of 78 was founded by Chastana."

Some months back, while I was reading in the pages of Āndhra Sâhitya Parishad Journal Vol. 13, p. 207 the article of Mr. M. V. Ramanacharlu on "Jain works in Prakrit", I came across certain portions of Hâla's Gâdhâ Sapta Śati. It is a fine collection of 700 verses taken from the Prâkrit works of older poets which bear on Neeti and Sringâram (morality and erotics). The author Śatavâhana who is described as the son of Deepakarṇi (Vikrishna?) ruled over Pratishtânapura (Modern Paithan). Guṇâdhya, author of Brihathkatha, Śarvavarma, author of Kalâpavyâkaraṇa and other prakrit poets lived at his court. From Kathâsaritsâgara, we learn that Śarvavarma was made the ruler of Bârukacha-vishaya situated on R. Narbada by king Śalavâhana and also rewarded with several princely gifts. In an amorous mood, he threw the scissors at his wife Malayavati and it killed her. We get the above account from the verses at the end of the work. Also we get the following" Kavivatsala Hâla Śalavâhanâdyupanâmaka Srî Sâlavâhana-nirmitâ Vividhânyôktimaya Prâkruta Gîrgumbhitâ śuchirasa pradhânâ Kâvyôttamâ Saptaśatyavasâna magâth." Bâṇa in his Harsha Charitra, Raja Sekhara and other early poets have stated that Śâlavâhana, Sâlavâhana, Śâlivâhana or Hâla or Śalôhâla composed this Gâdhâsaptaśati which they praise for its fine composition. From verses like "Sapta Śataka Samâptah Śalavâhana Virachitah Kośah Hâlaśya Sâlavahanah" and other literary evidences, we learn that king Hâla, the 17 Andhra King as given in the Matsya

Purâna list had the titles named above. Further, from Amarakôsa, we learn that Śûdraka, Hâla and other Kings also had the title of Vikramâdîtya. Hâla himself refers in his Saptaśati to a certain Vikramâditya whose real name is said to be Śûdraka. This prince may be said to have founded the Vikrama era in 58 B.C. by defeating the Śakas of Malwa. Hâla's reference to him therefore is a proof of his having lived after him. Tradition is strong in asserting that Vikramâditya (Śâlivâhana) defeated the alien Śakas near Karur and established his era, "Śâlivâhana Śakâbda" which has been popular all over South India from the beginning of the 4th century A.D. and which has been used by all South Indian dynasties commencing from Pallavas. The substitution of the Vikrama era in its 135th year, i.e., 78 A.D. by Śâlivâhana era seems to be an event of South India and this must be due to the valour and greatness of an Āndhra King. Moreover, the use of Vikrama era in North India and the absence of Śâlivâhana era in the records of North Indian dynasties clearly strengthens this argument. The very fact that from the 4th century A.D. onwards, the Śâlivâhana era came to be used by the Pallavas who were Āndhra Brutyas and who succeeded to their political power and also by other South Indian dynasties shows that it was founded by one of the kings of the Imperial Āndhra dynasty that ruled for 4½ centuries over the whole of Dekkan and some parts of Transvindh-yan India. No doubt, some scholars attribute it to Gautamî putra, the 23rd Āndhra king owing to the statements in the Nasik Cave Inscriptions but chronological difficulties stand in the way. In the light of the statements quoted above from Hâla's Saptaśati that Hâla and Śâlivâhana were one and the same and in view of the Matsya-Purânic evidence that Hâla, the 17th Āndhra king ruled from 78 to 83 A.D. [owing to Śâta Karṇiś (the 3rd Āndhra king's) reign synchronising with Kharavêla's reign and Pulômayî's (24th Āndhra King's) reign synchronising with the lives of Ptolemy on the one hand and Rudradâman on the other, we get by calculation the same years for Hâla's reign] and taking into consideration the fact that popular tradition has always attributed the era to Śâlivâhana—clearly an Āndhra dynastic name and not foreign—and considering also that Chastana—a Śaka Satrap who was clearly a subordinate to Āndhra Kings and who adopted the same symbols on coins as those of Āndhras and who ruled as viceroy over western parts of Āndhra Empire which remained in it till the middle of the 2nd century A.D.—could not be *supposed* to have founded an era as there is no record left, I take it that Hâla alone, by virtue of his political greatness as well as literary merits founded the Śâlivâhana era after him, an era which was soon used by his political successors, the Bâṇas and the Pallavas. The Śaka years 261 and 380 which are found in the Bâṇa and Pallava inscriptions, (Please vide p. 336 Mythic Society Journal vol. 17) seem

to be the earliest so far known and further researches may reveal some more records in which they may be mentioned.

Recently, Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi has obtained a Prakrit work called *Leelâvati* a brief account of which has already appeard in *Bharati* and from this work, I learn the following historically interesting facts which go to prove how Hâla won great victories far and wide, during the short time he ruled.

The name of the author is not given in the work. It contains nearly 1350 verses. There are several anecdotes but the most important historical theme is that supplied by Hâla's commander Vijayâ-nanda to him. His conquests in Ceylon on behalf of his master Hâla are described. The Ceylonese King, Silâmêgha had a daughter Leelâvati by his Gandharva wife, Śarasrî. She came and lived near 'Sapta Gôdâvari Bhîmam'. Vijayânanda, after his military exploits in Ceylon camped on the way with his troops at the same place and learnt the story of the Gandharva child Leelâvati who remained in the vicinity of the Bhavâni temple near 'Śapta Gôdâvari Bhimam'. After his return to the capital, he narrates the whole story to his Suzerein Hâla, who then goes to the place 'Śapta Gôdâvari Bhimam' which is probably the Drâkshârâma Bhîmêswaram in Godavari Dt., kills the demon Phîshanânana and marries Leelâvati, after visiting the residence of her father, the Simhalese King and then returns to his capital which is called, "Svabhukti Vishayê Pratishtânam". In this work, the name Hâla is referred to in verse 867 and Sâlâhaṇa in 837, and Hâla is called Śalavâhaṇa Narindo in 939 verse. Hâla is thus not only a great patron of letters but also a great warrior who defeated the Simhalese in the south and the Śakas and other foreign tribes in western India. No wonder, therefore, he is considered by popular tradition as the Founder of the Śâlivâhana Śaka era.

Mr. G. J. Dubreuil's theory that Chastana founded the Śâlivâhana Śaka era is based, according to his own admission, on a *hypothesis* which he tries to turn into a fact. His statement, that the era was *special* to Śaka dynasty and that it was not used by other dynastics *before 400 A.D.* does not hold good in the light of the references to the same being found now. Further, it is hard to believe that Chastana founded the Śaka era in 78 A.D. when we do not get any recorded evidence to the effect and when we also consider that the Śakas, *at that time*, were only the political subordinates of the Āndhras, whole rule over the western provinces lasted till the middle of the 2nd century A.D. and who ruled as the Imperial Sovereigns of the whole of the Dekkan at that time. Besides, Literary and Purâṇic evidences as pointed out above, are so strong that we have to consider 'Hâla Śâlivâhanô' as having ascended the throne in 78 A.D. and founded the Śâlivâhana Śaka.

REPORT OF MUKHALINGAM CONFERENCE.

"Kalinga Day" Celebration.

Under the auspices of the Society, *the Kalinga Day* was celebrated at Mukhalingam in Parlakimidi Taluq on the 16th, 17th and 18th June 1927. Several scholars from all parts of the country attended and made the function a complete success. Among those present were:—

Messrs. 1. Sir A. P. Patro, Kt., B.A.B.L., M.L.C. 2. Raja Vikrama Dev Varma. 3. Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu B.A. 4. Sri Nilakanta Dass Mahasayo M.A., M.L.A. 5. Sri S. B. Ratho Mahasayo Ex. M.L.C. 6. Sri Harischandra Padhi Mahasayo B.C.E. 7. Tripurana Surya Prasad Rao Bahadur. 8. M. Trilochana Patro. 9. Duwada Nandesam Choudari. 10. Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao M.A. 11. H. Tatanna Naidu. 12. B. Jaganadham Naidu. 13. K. Ranganayakulu Naidu. 14. B. Chinnababu Naidu. 15. P. Swamy Babu. 16. C. Narayana Rao M.A.L.T. 17. P. Linganna. 18. G. Dharma Rao M.A. 19. R. Subba Rao M.A.L.T. 20. B. V. Krishna Rao B.A.B.L. 21. M. Somasekhara Sarma. 22. V. Satyanarayana B.A. 23. G. V. Raghava Rao B.A. 24. Lingam Tammayya Dora. 25. G. Narasinga Rao B.A.L.T. 26. G. V. Seetapathy B.A.L.T. 27. B. Mallaya Sastry. 28. V. Narayana Sastry. 29. G. Ramdas B.A. 30. V. Sriram B.A. 31. C. Veerabhadra Rao. 32. K. Sambamurty Sastry. Owing to severe rains, many more scholars who were expected to attend could not come.

The Raja Saheb of Parlakimidi who was graciously pleased to make all arrangements for the reception, boarding and lodging of the delegates and visitors was unavoidably absent and the same was keenly felt by one and all of us.

The President of the conference, Sir A. P. Patro and the Chairman of the Reception Committe, Sri Raja Vikrama Dev Varma Garu as well as several members of the Reception Committe and delegates arrived at Mukhalingam on the 15th June '27.

On the morning of 16th June, the proceedings began with a procession round the village. The Gathering which numbered over a hundred enjoyed much, the songs sung by the Kâlingâs in praise of God Mukhalingeswara. After visiting the temple, the gathering returned to the spacious hall of the Rajah's Bungalow. In the unavoidable absence of Sri Raja of Parlakimidi, for which the Society keenly regrets, Sri Raja Vikrama Dev Varma Garu opened the Conference as well as the Historical Exhibition. The following were the chief objects exhibited:—

(1) Copper-plate Inscriptions:—Boddapadu plates of Vajrahasta, Kambakaya plates of Devendravarma, Narasannapeta plates of Vajrahasta and Cheedivalasa plates Devendravarma.

(2) Impressions of Korni-plates of Anantavarma Chodaganga—Two sets.

(3) Bricks and other ancient relics from Kalingapattnam and Salihundam.

(4) Gangavamsanu Charitra (manuscript) and documents containing old treaties of Vizianagar.

(5) A stone image of Buddha showing "Bhumi Sparsa Mudra"

(6) *Two stone Pillars* containing several panels showing human sacrifices among Savaras, Parvati and Parameswara, Buddist monks preaching to the people and other scenes.....

While opening the Historical exhibition, Sri Raja Vikrama Dev Varma Garu dwelt at length on the excellent need and value of such exhibitions and pointed out the historical importance of the several exhibits. While opening the Conference, he regretted much for the absence of the Raja Saheb of Parlakimidi and then read in Telugu his address as Chairman of the Reception Committee. In welcoming the delegates and visitors, he expressed thanks to the A. H. R. Society and to the Raja of Parlakimidi for arranging the conference of scholars who would read papers or discuss matters relating to Kalinga history. In his usual scholarly and learned manner, he dealt with the origin of the words 'Gângas' "Kâlingas" and "Tri-Kalingas" and stated that the limits of the Kalinga Empire changed very often. He then gave an account of the heroic part played by Kâlingas in the Mahabharata war and later on. He gave many thought provoking suggestions which need further research. After the address was over, Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A.L.T., Jt. Secretary of the society proposed the election of Sir A.P. Patro, Kt., to the Chairmanship of the conference, and it was seconded by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A.B.L. and approved unanimously. Mr. R. Subba Rao, then, read messages, expressing inability to attend but wishing the conference complete success from, the Rajah Saheb of Kallikota and Attagada, the Raja Saheb of Chikati, Hon' Dr. P. Subbarayan, M.A.,P.H.D., Chief Minister, Hon' A. Ranganatha Mudaliar M.L.C. Second Minister, Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar M.A. P.H.D., Sri L. N. Deb M.R.A.S Yuvaraj of Tekkali, Rao Bahadur R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle, Ghulam Yazdani Esq., M.A., Archoelogical Superintendent, Nizam's Government, Sri Gopabandhu Das Mahasayo, Sri Godavaris Misro Mahasayo, and *Messrs* J. Ramayya Pantulu, President of the Society, K. Raghavachari M.A.B.L., Secretary of Telugu Academy, P. Mahanty M.A., P. V. Jagadis Iyer and others.

The President of the Conference who rose amidst cheers then read his address in Telugu, He first of all expressed his thanks

to the society for honouring him thus and to the Raja of Parlakimidi for helping in the arrangement of the Conference. He then referred to the history of *his* and other Kâlinga families still living in *Uddanam* and other places and gave a vivid and detailed account of the Kâlingas from the Epic times to the Gajapati rule. He considered that Mukhalingam was the Capital of the Kalinga Empire under the Gangas and in conclussion gave a very interesting account of the social and economic conditions prevailing among the Kâlingas at present. His address which was very instructive was listened to with rapt attention. With this, the morning session came to a close.

In the evening, the Conference met again at 2 P.M. M. R. Ry. Tripurana Surya Prasad Rao Bahadur Garu, read very interesting verses on the Kalinga Day Celebration.

The papers of *Messrs* 1. C. Narayan Rao M.A.L.T. on 'Kalinga in Epic Age'. 2. R. Subba Rao, M.A.L.T. on 'Ancient and Medieval History of Kalinga Desa'. 3. Pandit Nilkanta Das Mahasayo, M.A. M. L. A., on "Ancient Kalinga". 4. P. Swamibabu on "Kalinga Vaisyas". 5. Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar M. A. on 'Orissa'. 6. K. Iswar Dutt, B.A on 'Vizianagar Kings and Kalinga wars'. 7. S. G. Krishnamurty on "The Life and Times of Anantavarma Choda Ganga" were then read and discussed. All these papers which contained highly instructive and interesting matter were well appreciated by the scholars present. The evening session then came to a close.

In the night, Pandit Kavyatirtha B. Mallayya Sastry Garu of Parlakimidi College gave readings from Mahabharata in a novel Harikatha style, which combined easy delivery, clear exposition and fine music.

On the morning of 17th June, the Conference again assembled under the presidentship of Sir A. P. Patro. The proceedings began with a prayer conducted by Brahmasri V. Suryanarayana Sastry Garu of Parlakimidi. Mr. V. Satyanarayana B A., read verses on Kalinga Day. Then, the reading of papers was resumed. Mr. C. Veerabhadra Rao, the Veteran Historian of the Andhras, suggested new interpretations for 'Vêla' and other terms found in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela aud pointed out the neccessity for still further research.

Then the papers of *Messrs* L. Tammayya Dora on 'Caves in Kalinga Desa', Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao, M.A.,P.H.D. on "Ganga Vamsanu Charitra", G. Ramdas, B.A.M.R.A.S. on "the Chronology of the Early Gangas", Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu Garu, B. A. on 'Savaras', G. V. Raghava Rao B.A. on "Ellamancha-Kalinga" and G. V. Seetapathy on "Language of Kalingadesa" were read.

In the evening, the delegates and members went about the village to study the remains and antiquities of the place. The party led by Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu Garu visited the three ancient temples of the place, Viz., Someswara, Aniyanka Bhimeswara and Madhukeswara or Mukhalingeswara and studied in detail the inscriptions and sculptures.

In the night, Mr. C. Łuchana Pantulu of Parlakimidi, entertained the members to Veena Play and Vocal Music, which were highly appreciated.

On the 18th Morning, Photographs of the members of the Reception Committe and of Delegates as well as the Historical Exhibition and of the several Temples and Sculptures therein were taken. A Photograph of a few typical Kâlingas was also taken.

In the evening, the Study of the Arts and Sculptures as well as Inscriptions found in the Mukhalingam temple was resumed and Mr. G. Ramdos of Jeypore explained several important Sculptures and in particular, the Stone Image found on the wall of the temple treasury room has been stated to be a figure of Vajrahasta V.

From a close study of the Art and Sculpture *in Situ*, the party came to a conclussion that the *Kalinga Art* was wrongly called by Fergusson and others as *Orissan in Style*, because it was the same Anantavarma Chodaganga that built the temples in both Mukhalingam and Bhuvaneswar.

In the night, *Messrs* B. Mallaya Sastry, V. Satyanarayana and T. Surya Prasad Rao Bahadur entertained the members with Vocal Music and recitations from literary and historical compositions.

Several gentlemen present announced very generously Donations, a list of which is appended. The grateful thanks of the society are particularly due to Sir A. P. Patro and Sri Raja Vikrama Dev Varma Garu who not only gave liberal donations but helped the society in every way.

The following resolution which was moved by Mr. B. V, Krishnarao B.A.B.L. and seconded by Mr. W. V. B. Ramalingam B.A.L.T., was carried unanimously amidst applanse by the whole Conference:—

"Resolved, that this Conference, held under the auspices of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, while keenly regretting the unavoidable absense of the Raja of Parlakimidi, do place on record its grateful thanks to him for having graciously helped in the celebration of the Kalinga Memorial Day at Mukhalingam in a fitting manner and for showing generous hospitality to all delegates and visitors."

Sir A. P. Patro, in bringing the proceedings to a close remarked that it was highly creditable for the Society to have brought

about a Conference of Research Scholars from various parts of the Country and to have produced such excellent results which would soon fructify in the production of an authoritative History of Kalinga Desa in a short time under the able editorship of Mr. R. Subba Rao M.A.L.T. He also expressed heartfelt thanks to the Raja of Parlakimidi and to the Joint Secretaries of the Society for arranging this Conference. He would look forward for the History of the Country to be brought out, bit by bit, by the research scholars of the Society. Lastly, he expressed his satisfaction at the realisation of his dream and that of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and thanked all the scholars who read original papers and thus contributed to the History of Kalinga.

Mr. R. Subba Rao M.A.L.T., Joint Secretary of the Society and Editor 'Kalinga Sanchika' proposed a hearty vote of thanks to. the Raja of Parlakimidi for helping the society in holding the Conference so successfully, to the Rajas of Kallikot and Attagada Estates and Chikati for graciously consenting to be patrons, to Sir A. P. Patro for having presided and successfully conducted the proceedings and for helping the society with munificent donations, to Sri Raja Vikrama Dev Varma Garu, who in spite of his old age, cheerfully consented to be Chairman of the Reception Committe and helped the Society in several ways, to the Donors and members of the Reception Committe who helped the society so liberally, to the Delegates and Visitors who read papers, to *Messrs* Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu and his son, G. V. Seetapathy for looking after all arrangements for the guests and for making the Conference, in spite of bad weather, such a real success and last but not least, to Mr. I. Kanakachellam Pantulu M.A.L.T., of Parlakimidi.

On behalf of the Society, he also expressed keen regret for his absence owing to ill-health. As a member of the Kalinga committe and as one responsible for the successful celebration of the Kalinga Day, he took not a little trouble in making all arrangements for the function. With a prayer to Almighty, the Conference came to a successful close.

APPENDIX A.

Sri Raja Ramachendra Marda Raja Dev Bahadur Varu,

Raja of Kallikota and Attagada Estates very generously sent a donation of Rs. 300 to the Treasurer in May '27.

LIST OF DONATIONS PROMISED AND PAID ON THE OCCASION OF KALINGA DAY AT MUKHALINGAM, 17TH JUNE '27.

Messrs.		*Promised.*	*Paid.*
1.	Kembavi Srinivasa Rao Parlakimidi.	Rs. 10—0—0	
2.	Andhavarapu Lakshmanamurthi, Hiramandalam.	10—0—0	10—0—0
3.	Potnuri Swamibabu, Narasannapeta.	10—0—0	10—0—0
4.	Boddapalli Ramamurthi Naidu, Kannyala Velasa P. O., Anudalavalasa.	10—0—0	5—0—0
5.	Moonangi Rajita Narayanamurthi.	10—0—0	10—0—0
6.	Boddapalli Chinna Babu Naidu.	60—0—0	5—0—0
7.	Boddapalli Jaganatham Naidu.	60—0—0	5—0—0
8.	Kona Raghunayakulu Naidu.	10—5—0	5—0—0
9.	Duvvada Nandesam Choudari.	150—0—0	70—0—0
10.	Tripurana Surya Prasada Rao.	50—0—0	
11.	Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurthi Pantulu.	10—0—0	
12.	G. V. Sitapati.	10—0—0	
13.	Gade Narasinga Rao.	10—0—0	
14.	I. Kanakachalam.	10—0—0	
15.	Sir A. P. Patro.	500—0—0	
16.	Raja Sri Vikrama Dev Varma.	50—0—0	50—0—0
17.	Trilochana Patro, Berhampore.	10—0—0	
18.	H. Tatanna Naidu.	10—0—0	10—0—0
		Rs. 990—0—0	180—0—0

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF AUTHORS AND ESSAYS FOR KALINGA SANCHIKA.

Messrs.

1. N. Subramanyam M. A., L. T , ... Map of Kalinga Empire.
2. N. Sundaram Pantulu ... Kalinga Rajya Kshetra Prasamsa.
3. P. Swamibabu ... ... Kalinga Vaisyas.
4. N. Venkataramana, B. A., ... Kalinga Sataka Literature.
5. Sri Jagabandu Singh ... ... Kalingas.
6. A. Ramarao B. A., ... Forgotten Kalinga Andhra Poets.
7. G. Ramdoss B. A., ... Mukhalinga Kshetra Mahatyam Verses.
8. Sri Vikrama Dev Varma ... ... Kalinga Desa.
9. Do. ... ... 'Kalinga Day' address.
10. Sir. A. P. Patro, B. A , B. L., ... Kalinga Rajyam.
11. Sri Satyanarayana Raju ... ... Prachina Odra Jati.
12. Sri L. N. Deb ... ... Kalinga.
13. J. Venkata Krishna Rao B. A., ... Kalinga Samrajyam.
14. C. Narayana Row M. A., L. T. ... Kalinga Edicts of Asoka.
15. B. V. Krishna Rao B. A., B. L. ... ... Mukhalinga Nagaram.
16. G. V. Seetapati B. A., L. T. ... ... Korni plates.
17. V. Satyanarayana ... ... Verses on Mukhalingam.
18. K. Ragavacharlu M. A., B. L. Prachina Kalinga Desa Charitra.
19. K. Iswar Dutt B. A., Vijayanagaram Emperors and Kalinga wars.
20. M. V. Ramanacharlu Mukhalinga kshetra Mahatyam-Prose.
21. A. Jaghanada Rao B. A., B. L. ... ... Khonds.
22. V. Satyanarayana ... ... Kalingas of Dantapura.
23. Sri Tripurana Surya Prasad Rao ... Verses on Kalinga Day.
24. V. Suryanarayanasastry ... ... ,, Verses.
25. G. Ramdoss, B. A., ... Kalinga.
26. B. H. Narayanamurty ... ... Kalinga in 1800.
27. L. Tammaya Dora ... ... Kalinga Cave Temples.
28. G. V. Ragava Rao B. A., ... Kalinga-Elamanchali.
29. S. G. Krishnamurty ... Life and times of Anantavarman.
30. R. Subba Rao M.A., L.T. Ancient and Medieval History of Kalinga.
31. Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao M. A., PH. D. Gangavamsanu Charitra.
32. G. Ramdoss B. A., ... Kalinga Art.
33. G. Narasinga Rao B. A., L. T. ... Capital of Kalinga.
34. G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu B. A., ... Savaras.
35. G. V. Seetapathy B A., L. T. ... Language in Kalinga Desa.
36. K. Sambamurty Sastry Cheedivalasa plates of Devendravarma.
37. Hirananda Sastry M. A., ... Kalingas in Far East.
38. K. R. Subrahmanyam M. A., ... Religious history of Kalinga.
39. Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar M. A., ... Orissa.
40. Pandit Nilkanta Das M. A., M. L. A, ... Ancient Kalinga.
41. M. Somasekhara Sarma ... E. Chalukyas and E. Gangas.
42. C. Veerabhadra Rao ... ... Kalingas.
43. V. Apparao B. A., B. L. Hathigumpa Inscription of Kharavela.

REVIEWS.

I

Selections from Sanskrit inscriptions Part I—Text by **Mr. D. B. Diskalkar** M.A., *Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot. Rs 1.*

Mr. Diskalkar has rendered the student of Indian History a real service by the publication. Here, we have got the texts of about fifteen inscriptions ranging from the 2nd Century to the 8th Century A. D., printed in Devanagari characters. The inscriptions are selected with a view to illustrate passages possessing literary merit and to popularise Indian Epigraphy. The student of Sanskrit literature is treated to a refreshing repast of poetry moulded in the Kavya style. We know now from published inscriptions that it is one of the duties of a court poet variously styled as 'Vidyâdhikari', Sandhi-Vigrahi or 'Śâsanâdhikâri' to compose the text of an inscription, whenever a gift is made; or when a victory was obtained against a neighbouring King; and that is the occasion for the poet to describe his 'Liege Lord' and his ancestors in eulogistic terms.

Lovers of the poetry of Nature may find it relieving to go through the description of the storm in the beginning of the Girnar inscription of Rudradâman in the present volume. Very little resort is made to the Alankara Sastra; the language is simple and most effective. We have not yet come across such a soul-capturing description of a storm elsewhere in all Sanskrit literature.

Though the present compilation is not made with a view to place before the Historian, passages of historical interest yet, we have here inscriptions of great historical value such as Rudradâman's Girnar inscription, Samudra-Gupta's Allahabad pillar inscription, and the Aihole inscription of Pul akesin II. The book is enriched by a thoughtful introduction from the pen of Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, B. A., retired Govt. Epigraphist for India. Many of the inscriptions are taken from Fleet's 'Gupta inscriptions,' a volume which is not easily available at present. This book may well find a place on the shelf of every lover of Epigraphy and Literature.

V. A. R.

II

Annual report of Watson Museum for the year 1925–26.

This is the only institution of the kind throughout the province of Guzerat doing useful Historical Research work. The Hony Secretary stat s in his report that the financial position of the Museum is not satisfactory. We hope that the committee governing the institution will take some efficient steps, for realising funds and putting the institution on a sound financial basis. Mr. Diskalkar, the Curator of the Museum has done useful Research work by publishing articles in various Oriental Journals in addition to his routine duties. His work deserves praise.

V. A. R.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 30-4-1927.

Present:

M. R. Ry. C. Atmaram Garu (in the chair).
B. V. Krishna Rao Garu.
R. Subbarao Garu.
N. Kameswararao Garu.

Resolutions.

1, Resolved that the following gentlemen, having signified their consent, be admitted as the members of the Society.

Messrs.
1. V. Purnayya, District Munsif, Bezwada.
2. Ch. Suryanarayana, High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.
3. N, V. Yogananda Rao, ,, ,, Rajahmundry.
4. N. Venkataramiah, ,, ,, Rajahmundry.
5. M. Sambasiva Rao, pleader, Rajahmundry.
6. Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao, Professor, Vizianagaram.
7. L. V. Bhadrayya, B. A., Pleader, Ellore.
8. P. Seshagiri Rao, B. A., Dy. Inspector of Schools, Adoni.
9. P. Venkatachalam, Inamdar, Behampore.
10. G. Narasinga Rao, B. A., L, T., Lecturer, Parlakimidi.

2. Resolved that the following member be considered to have resigned :—

K. Seetharamasarma.

3. Resolved that the following exchanges be accepted:—

1. Puranagranthamalika, Pittapuram.
2. Modern Review, Calcutta.
3. Publications of the Musie Guimet, Paris.
4. Publications of the Watson Museum, Rajkot.

4. Resolved that the accounts of the Society for the month of April 1927 be passed.

5. Resolved that the Editorial board for the year 1927–28 be composed of the following gentlemen:—

M. R. Ry.
1. C. Atmaram Garu (Editor).
2. B. V. Krishnarao Garu.
3. V. Apparao Garu.
4. J. Ramayya Pantulu Garu.
5. R. Subbarao Garu.

6. Resolved that M. R. Ry. J. Ganganna Garu, B. A., L. T., be a member of the Council in the place of M. R. Ry. M. Ramakrishna Kavi Garu, resigned.

7. Resolved that the Joint-Secretaries be requested to interview the Rajah of Parlakimidi and arrange for the speedy celebration of the Kalinga day and that their expenses be met.

(Sd.) C. Atmaram.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 20-5-1927.

M. R. Ry. C. Veerabhadra Rao Pantulu Garu (in the chair).
B. V. Krishna Rao Garu.
R. Subbarao Garu.
N. Kameswara Rao Garu.
V. Apparao Garu.

1. Resolved that the following gentlemen, having signified their assent, be admitted as members of the Society.

Messrs. B. China Yaganarayana Sarma, Madugula Vizag Dt.
M. V. Sundara Rao, Inamdar, Anakapalle.
S. Venkata Sambasivarao, B.A.,L.T., Head-Master, Mandasa
T. Pattabhiramayya, B. A., B. L., Vakil, Berhampore.
Garimella Seetharamayya, B. A., B. L., Vakil, Berhampore.
K. Apparao Nayudu, B. A., B. L., Vakil, Berhampore.
B. Nageswararao, B. A., L. T., Teacher, Ichapuram.
P, Jagannadhaswami, M. A., L. T., Lecturer, Parlakimidi.
Y. Ramamurthi, M. A., L. T., Lecturer, College, Berhampore.
V. V. Jogiah Garu, B. A., Pleader, Berhampore.
K. Suryanarayana, B.A., L.T., Teacher, College, Berhampore.
R. V. Ramanamurthi, M. A., B. L. Vakil, Berhampore.
W. Ramalingam, B. A., L. T., Chairman,
Municipal Council, Berhampore.
S. V. Sivaramasarma, Rajupalem, Ramnad Dt.

2. Resolved that the resignation of Mr. V. V. Sarma of his membership be accepted.

3. Resolved that the following Exchanges be accepted:—
1. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Patrika, Calcutta.
2. Karnataka Sahitya Parishad Patrica, Mysore.
3. Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.
4. Man In India, Bombay.
5. Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

4. Resolved that the advertisements of Book-sellers, Publishers, and of such other traders be accepted and the following rates be fixed :—

		per quarter.		*per year.*
Title page, inner-side,				
	full ...	Rs. 25	...	Rs. 100
	half ...	Rs. 15	...	Rs. 50
	quarter ...	Rs. 8	...	Rs. 30
Title page, outer-side,				
	full ...	Rs. 30	...	Rs. 120
	half ...	Rs. 18	...	Rs. 60
	quarter ...	Rs. 10	...	Rs. 40

5. Resolved that the accounts from 1-5-1927 to 20-5-1927 be passed.
6. Resolved that M. R. Ry. I. Kanakachalam Pantulu Garu be requested to visit Cuttack and such other places to do work in connection with the Kalinga Day celebration and that he be paid expenses by the Society.

(Sd.) Chilukuri Virabhadra Row,
20-5-1927.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 2-6-1927.

(Resolutions passed by circulation.)

1. Resolved to place on record the Society's grateful thanks to Sri Sri Sri Rajakrishna Chandra Gajapati Narayana Devu Bahadur Varu, Rajah of Paralakimidi for having graciously consented, to open the Kalinga Day proceedings and to render all help in connection with the Kalinga Day celebrations.
2. Resolved to place on record the Society's grateful thanks to Sri Sri Sri Rajah Ramachandra Marda Raja Devu Bahadur Varu, Raja of Kallikota and Attagada for his having graciously consented to become a Patron of the Society and for having sent a handsome donation of Rs. 300/- to the Society.
3. Resolved to request Mr. M. S. Sarma of Madras to bring materials for the Historical Exhibition at Mukhalingam as a loan and to incur all the incidental charges thereto.
4. Resolved to sanction travelling allowance to the Joint Secretaries, to and from, Mukhalingam and to empower them to incur all the incidental charges thereto, in connection with the celebration of the Kalinga Day and the publication of Kalinga Sanchika and that an initial sum of Rs. 100 be advanced for the purpose.

(Sd.) R. Subbarao,
B. V. Krishna Rao.
N. Kameswara Rao.
V. Apparao.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 7-7-1927.

Present :

M. R. Ry. N. Kameswara Rao Garu (in the chair).
R. Subbarao Garu.
B. V. Krishna Rao Garu.
C. Atmaram Garu.
V. Apparao Garu.

1. Resolved that the following gentlemen, having signified their assent, be admitted as members of the Society :—

Messrs.
1. M. Trilochana Patro, Berhampore.
2. Pataneni Veeranna B. A.,
3. P. Mallikharjuna Rao, Inamdar, Rajahmundry.
4. Sriman Harischandra Padhi Mahasayo B. C. E. Engineer, Berhampore.
5. Burra Hume Sastri B. A., B. L., Vakil, Vizag.
6. R. Seshagirirao, Agent, Macmillan & Co., Madras.
7. C. Sambasivarao B. A., Bar-at-law, Madras.
8. P. Swami Babu, Inamdar, Narasannapeta.
9. T. S. Prasada Rao Bahadur, Inamdar, Siddhantam.

2. Resolved that the following gentlemen be considered to have resigned :—

Messrs. N. J. Prasadarayudu Garu.
J. Somasekhara Rao.
K. Narasimha Rao.

3. Resolved that the following Exchanges be accepted :—
   1. Jayanti, Masulipatam.
   2. Smithsonian Annual Report, Washington.

4. Resolved that the accounts submitted by the Joint Secretaries regarding Kalinga Day celebrations be approved.

5. Resolved that the expenditure incurred by the treasurer in going to Waltair to interview the Maharaja of Jeypore viz., Rs. 9–9–0 be approved.

6. Resolved that the accounts from 21–5–1927 to 7–7–1927 be passed.

7. Resolved that the following agenda be placed at the next general body meeting :—
   1. Election of Patrons.
   2. Election of Hon. Presidents.
   3. Election of Hon. Correspondents.
   4. Any other matter of which previous notice is given to the Secretaries.

8. Resolved that a reading room and library be started.

(Sd). N. Kameswara Rao,
7–7–27.

List of members who paid their subscriptions during the quarter ending with 31-3-27.

Messrs.	Rs.	Messrs.	Rs.
1. G. Ramdas	4– 0–0	11. V. Subrahmanyam	3– 2–0
2 K. Ramamurti	3– 0–0	12. V. Jagapati Varma	4– 0–0
3. C. Bhimasena Rao	3– 2–0	13. C. V. Hanumantha Rao	2– 0–0
4. V. Sriram	3– 0–0	14. A.RangaswamiSaraswati	3– 2–0
5. V. Subbarao	4– 0–0	15. G. Dharmarao	3– 2–0
6. S. Kameswara Rao, B.L.	4– 0–0	16 D. R Bhandharkar	3– 2–0
7. Ch. Venkata Rao	2– 0–0	17. D. L Narasimham	4– 2–0
8. R. Krishna Row Bonsle	3– 2–0	18. S. Venkatramiah	2– 0–0
9. V. Pichayya	3– 2–0	19. G. J. Dubriel (26–28)	6– 0–0
10. Vikrama Deo Varma	3– 2–0		
		Rs.	63– 2–0

List of subscribers to journal who paid their subscriptions during the quarter ending 31-3-27.

Literary Association, Cocanada (half year).	3– 2–0
Principal, A. E. L. M. College, Guntur.	6– 4–0
Librarian Imperial Library, Calcutta.	6– 4–0
Rs.	15–10–0

List of Donations received during the quarter ending 31–3–27

Maharaja Sri R. V. K. M. Surya Rao Bahadur Varu Maharaja of Pithapuram.		300– 0–0
Sri Vadrevu Viswasundara Rao Bahadur.	Rs.	25– 0–0
	Rs.	325– 0–0
Grand total for the Quarter	Rs.	403–12–0

List of members who paid their subscriptions during the quarter ending with 30-6-27

Messrs.	Rs.	Messrs	Rs.
1. L. V. Bhadrayya (26-27)	6- 0-0	12. V. V Sarma	4- 0-0
2. C. Somayajulu	3- 2-0	13. P. Venkatachalam	3- 0-0
3. R. Subbarao B.L.	4- 0-0	14. V. Lakshmana Rao	3- 2-0
4. S. S. Setlur (27 to 29)	6- 0-0	15. Unnava Ramalingam	3- 0-0
5. Vadrevu Bapiraju	3- 0-0	16. S. V. Sambasiva Rao	3- 0-0
6. P. Bhadrayya	2- 0-0	17. G. Sitaramiah	3- 2-0
7. A. Perraju Sarma	3- 0-0	18. S. V. Sivarama Sarma	3- 2-0
8. Vaddadi Apparao	4- 0-0	19. V. V. Jogiah	3- 2-0
9. Vepa Purnayya	3- 0-0	20. B. Ch. Yegnarayanna	3- 2-0
10. M. Sambasiva Rao	4- 0-0	21. Harischandra Padhi	3- 0-0
11. T. Purushottam	1- 0-0	22 Trilochana Patro.	3- 0-0
		Rs.	73-12-0

List of subscribers to journal who paid their subscriptions during the quarter ending 30-6-27

Royal Asiatic Society, London.	6-10-0
Librarian, Dacca University.	6- 0-0
Rs.	12-10-0

List of Donations received during the quarter ending 30-6-27

Sri Raja Rama Chendra Marda Raja Dev Bahadur Varu, Raja of Kallikota and Attagada	Rs. 300-0-0
Mr. Chilukuri Narayana Rao	5-0-0
	305-0-0
Grand total for the Quarter Rs.	391-6-0

N. Kameswara Rao,
Treasurer.

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LIST OF EXCHANGES.

1. The Educational Review, Madras.
2. The Vedic Magazine, Lahore.
3. Zeitschrift Fur Indologie Halle (Saale) Germany.
4. The Jaina Gazette, Madras.
5. Viswa-Bharathi Quarterly, Calcutta.
6. Andhra Sahitya Parishat-Patrika, Cocanada.
7. Maharajah's College Magazine, Vizianagaram.
8. The Philosophical Quarterly, Amalner (East Khandesh).
9. Journal of Indian History, Madras.
10. The Mysore Economic Journal, Mysore.
11. The "Bharathi," Madras.
12. Nagari Pracharini Patrica, Benares.
13. The Maha-Bodhi, Calcutta.
14. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Banglore.
15. Journal of the K. R. Kama Institute, Bombay.
16 Journal of the B. B. of the Royal Asiatic Society.
17. Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
18. Asia Major, Liepsig.
19. Journal of the Madras Geographical Society, Madras.
20. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
21. Indian Journal of Economics, Allahabad.
22. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Leiden.
23. Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
24. Epigraphia Indica.
25. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, Hyderabad.
26. Purâtatwa, Ahmedabad.
27. Sujâta, Hyderabad.
28. The Eastern Buddhist, Tokyo.
29. The Shrine of Wisdom, London.
30. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
31. Purâṇa Grandhamala, Pittapuram.
32. Modern Review, Calcutta.
33. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Patrika, Calcutta.
34. Karnataka ,, ,, ,, Bangalore.
35. Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.
36. "Man in India", Bombay.
37. Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
38. Jayanti, Masulipatam.
39. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Society, Washington.
40. Bulletins of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Publications from:—

41. The Indo-French Historical Society, Pondichery.
42. Academic des Beaux-Arts, Institute de France, Paris.
43. The Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.
44. The Superintendent, Govt. Museum, Madras.
45. The Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, H. E. H. The Nizam's Government, Hyderbad (Deccan).
46. Assistant Archaeological Superintendant for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras.
47. Librarian, Madras University Library, Madras.
48. Gesellschaft Der Wissenschatten Zu Gottingen.
49. Superintendent, Musie Giemet, Paris.
50. Superintendent, Watson Museum, Rajkot.

NOTICE.

The Joint Secretaries request all members who can spare Vol. I, Part I to post it to the Treasurer at an early date. If so required, a sum of As. 8 *will be paid* for each copy.

OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY.

THE OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY SHALL BE:—

(*a*) To promote historical research in Andhradesa, and record the results of such research.

(*b*) To organise meetings for imparting historical knowledge to the people.

(*c*) To celebrate historical occasions and hold exhibitions.

(*d*) To publish a Journal of historical research, and special books if any.

(*e*) To organise a Research Library at Rajahmundry.

(*f*) To co-operate with other learned Societies engaged in similar works as well as with individual scholars.

For the purpose of achieving the objects, the work of the Society shall be divided into five sections respectively dealing with:—

1. History.
2. Archæology. Epigraphy and Numismatics.
3. Anthropology, Ethnology and Folklore.
4. Philology and Literature.
5. Ancient and Mediaeval Geography.

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and (2) To make use of the Library.

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