CHAPTER II

HISTORY

PREHISTORY

The evidence of early culture in Orissa has been reported by V. Ball since 1876. Further studies have brought to light large amount of artifactual evidence of the different phases of prehistoric cultural developments in Orissa. In spite of the above fact it should be mentioned that the southern part of Orissa has remained completely unexplored. Dr. K. C. Tripathy, launched a project to study the prehistory of south Orissa in 1967 and has collected a few prehistoric evidence which provide some information.

Geology plays an important role to understand the early period. Analysing the human activites during the prehistoric geological formations, the following features are significantly important, such as the alluvium and wind-blown as recent and the raised beaches; older alluvium and partly laterite as pleistocene. The depositional layers have been found in different drainage systems of Orissa and reveal the following features. such as, fine graval, weathered reddish silt, pebbly grave, clavey layer and primary laterite. The primary laterite and clayey layer are not associated with any artifactual evidence of prehistoric period. artifactual evidence has been reported from pebbly grave, secondary laterite reddish silt and finer gravel. These depositional layers usually yield lower palaeolithic, middle palaeolithic, mesolithic and neplithic tools. While analysing the depositional layers of the drainage system in the district of Ganjam, it is observed that most of the rivers exhibit the deposits of reddish silt, fine silt of brown in colour and in some exceptional cases there are rare deposits of secondary laterite and angular pebbly gravel. The occurrence of pebbly gravel is found in some localities particularly in the river systems of Rushikulya and the Vamsadhara.

Palaeolithic

Since the inception of prehistoric research in the state, no significant recovery of materials could be located in the district. However, some indication of evidence of lower palaeolithic culture have been reported from Chalkhamba near Gunupur (in the border area of Ganjam district and Køraput district) on the bank of Vamsadhara. But due to inadequate evidence of lower palaeolithic culture no generalisation or the evolution of culture on the chrono-stratigraphic basis could be further studied. There are some important localities close to Chalkhamba which have yielded significant evidences on middle palaeolithic culture complex.

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Large quantities of bovine fossil relics indicate some positive relationship with the culture and way of life of palaeolithic men in the border area of the districts of Ganjam and Koraput. The palaeolithic artifactual complex comprise hand cleavers, scrapers, points, etc. They are analogous to Abbevillo-Achenian tools of Europe and essentially belong to core-industry or hand axe-cleaver tradition of the Peninsular India. The distant locations of the exclusive site and promising localities away from the coastal plain suggest that palaeolithic population concentrated in certain suitable localities around the highland which provided quarrying facility and favourable ecology.

Mesolithic

No systematic survey has been made in the district. Analysing the pattern of depositions in the river valleys it is quite likely that there may be the occurrence and distribution of microliths of the mesolithic culture. The culture is broadly characterised by microlithic industries and geologically post-pleistocene in time. The industry is based upon the production of small parallel sided blades from carefully prepared cores. The blades are small and the bulb of Crypto-crystallin rocks percussion or bulbar scars are very shallow. were usually preferred for the manufacture of such tools. In many parts of Ganiam such materials are found and they might have been exploited by the microlithic folk. Around the river Ghodahada some members of the department of Anthropology, Khallikote College, Brahmapur, have reported the evidence of some animal fossil relics. The animal relics are. The animal relics have not vet been studied. however, antiquous and their entiquity may be traced to the remote past. Preliminary studies initiated by some workers The areas around the yielded substantial evidence of microliths. Ghodahada and drainage of the river Rushikulva. Badanadi, have some Vamsadhara and the upland regions of the district indications of the probable palaeo-habitational locations. Some small localities around Bhanjanagar, Purusottampur, Ganjam town and Digapahandi have yielded the occurrence of crypto-crystalline stone materials of chert and milky-quartz with a small number of finished microlithic tools. The tools are usually recovered from the upper depositional layers of the red silt and a few centimetres below the surface. The type of tools which have been reported are mainly of irregular cores, flakes, blades and a small number scrapers like tools. However, the specific location of sites pattern of distribution could not be studied owing to number of reported sites. All these sites are open-air. They are located either on the bank of the main river or in the small rock outertops found in the small hillocks away from the river banks. The sites on the basis of their heavy amount of rejected materials can be essentially designated as workshop sites where tools were

manufactured and eventually to a living site for use. But no site with a sizable number of finished tools have yet been reported which may indicate the existence of a living site of the mesolithic culture. Besides, the concentration of artifacts are usually found concentrated on small areas of 5 X 10 square metres. Such types of distribution probably suggest that different bands of migrating folks used the same spot repeatedly for manufacturing their tools. These localities are further important because the required type of raw-materials are plentily available around the locality.

Neolithic

The evidence of neolithic culture has been reported from the site of Jaugada which is located 6 kilometres west of Purusottampur on the Humma-Asika road. In general it is observed that the microlithic non-ceramic levels were followed by the neolithic The identity of the neolithic culture in Orissa is only limited to the ground stone artifacts alone and the culture is not yet identified with domestication of plants and animals. The neolithic culture in Orissa is usually identified as an axe dominating one. The description of neolithic axes recovered from Jaugada have been given in the excavation report on Jaugada which indicates that the axes may have developed from oval to oblong types and in most of the cases the specific rock types like diorite or baselt were artifacts are further associated with cord-impressed pottery. However, no ceramic evidence could be found at Jaugada. The dating of these cultures is very unsecure and some of the so-called neolithic artifacts turn up from historical levels. There is circumstantia l evidence that they used Jhooming cultivation. In Orissa, a large variant of this culture is observed which grew in the north-eastern region and gradually progressed towards the south-west. The neolithic recovered at Jaugada suggests a transitional phase between the northern and the western neolithic cultures.

ANCIENT PERIOD

The district of Ganjam which originally covered an area of 12,237.277 sq. km. ¹ formed a conspicuous part of the ancient Kalinga. In *Drona-Parva* of the *Mahabharata*, there is mention of a Kalinga king named Sritayu, who took an active part in the *Mahabharata* war along with his sons and a large army consisting of sixty thousand chariots and ten thousand elephants. In the *Vana Parva*, there is a description of Kalinga where ascetics used to practise penance and where flows the sacred river Vaitarani. In the *Sabha Parva* also we find how Sahadeva had defeated a king of Kalinga and compelled his submission.

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But. after the district of Ganjam was separated, its area was 963'4428 sq. km.
 vide Encyclopedia Britanica, Vol. XI (11th. ed) p. 452.

In the Jataka stories of the Buddhist literature, there is mention of Kalinga under a line of kings whose capital was located at Dantapura¹. Some scholars identified it with Dantavaktra-kore² (near Srikakulam) which formed the southern boundary of the old Ganjam district.

The Mahaparinirvana Sutta states that a sacred tooth of Buddha was worshipped by Brahmadatta, a king of Kalinga, who installed the tooth relic in a Buddhist Stupa. Subsequently, the tooth relic was removed to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) by Guhasiva, a king of Dantapura, through his daughter Hemamala and son-in-law Dantakumara, while Sirimeghavanna (A. D. 304—352), the king of Ceylon, received the sacred tooth to install it in a Buddhist monastery at Kandi.

According to the Jain Harivamsa, Bhagavan Mahavira, the 24th Tirthankara (6th century B. C.), visited Kalinga to propagate the cult of ahimsa, the main principle of Jainism. From recent findings it is known that he travelled from the Phaniniya-bhumi (Nagpur and Bastar) to Kurmagrama and Siddharthagrama where he saw a yogi named Vesayana who was practising austerity by looking at the Sun in the sky. The two villages, mentioned above (Kurmagrama and Siddharthagrama) are ider tica l modern villages of Srikurma and Siddhanta in Srikakulam district. They are also known from epigraphical sources under the na mes Kurmapataka and Siddharthagrama respectively. villages are in the vicinity of the old Kalinganagar near Mukhalingam that once formed part of the ex-Paralakhemundi zamindari.

The Mahendra mountain which stood in the heart of Kalinga, was one of the seven Kula Parvatas, and treated as the homeland of the Guhas³. The Vayu Purana narrates that in the Krita-Yuga the first race who appeared in the country of Kalinga were the "Guhas".⁴ According to the Vishnu Purana,⁵ a king called Guha protected the Kalingas, the Mahisyas and the Mahendra-Bhaumas.⁶ Thus, the Guhas were closely associated with the people of Kalinga. That mountain was the homeland of a few aboriginal tribes called Savaras, Pulindas ard Bhaumas or

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Dantapura is mentioned in Purle plates of Indravarman of Ganga era 149. Epigraphia Indica, XIT, pp. 360—363 Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. II, pp. 53—57.

According to an inscription, Dantapura was situated near the old port of Barus in the district of Srikakulam.

^{3.} The Mahabharat, 114-17, sacred place for Staddha (Vayu. p. 77, 17-18).

^{4.} The Vayu-Purana, 58-110; 93-386.

^{5.} The Vishnu-Purana, III. 7:36; IV. 24:65.

Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p.64, The Vayu Purana 99—386, Vishnu Purana IV-24—75.

Bhumiles. It is believed that the Bhaumakara kings of Orissa were an off-shoot of the Mahendra-Bhaumas. The capital of the Bhauma kings was called Guhesvarapataka, which perhaps commemorates the Guhas of the Mahendra mountain. 1 Be that as it may, some epigraphical records of the Sailodbhava kings of Kongoda narrate a popular tradition, current in the 7th century A. D., regarding the origin of their dynasty which is as follows:

Long ago there lived an aboriginal leader Pulindasena by name who was possessed of great strength and ruled over the people of Kalinga. After he became old, once he offered reverence to the great god (Svayambhu) to bequeath the leadership in favour of a qualified successor who might be selected by him. The great god instructed him in a dream saying that a stalwart youth who would rise from a granitic column of the Mahendra mountain would be his successor. Next day, Phulindasena found that a huge rock on the summit was split into two parts from which sprang a young hero. He was thus named Sailodbhava eno the royal dynasty was called in accordance with his name.

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A popular tradition current among the Saveras shows that two early progenitors of their race called Rama and Bima, lived on the Mahendra mountain where they used to worship gods or kitungs in the form of wooden posts. Ramachandra Dikshitar says that the aboriginals call their deities Puradeva and Murugaon. 2 Basing on this information, Dr. K. C. Mishra suggests that the name Puredeva was etymologically converted to Purusadeva (Purushottamadeva) in course of time3. He assigns the Savaras of the Mahendra region as the earliest worshippers of Purushottama Jagannath and subsequently the tribal deity was called 'Narayana' by Mathara kings and 'Gokarnesvara' (Siva) by early Ganjam kings of Kalinga

The Mahendra mountain is situated in latitude 18°58' north and longitude 84°24' east and its highest peak, Singaraju, is 1500-5304 metres above the sea-level. The nearest sea-coast from the foot of the mountain is about 25.7488 km., to the east where there is a small port called Baruna (now known as Barua). On the top of the mountain there is an old temple, called Kunti Daula which is only 7.62 metres in height. It is

^{1.} R. C. Maxumdar, History and Culture of Indian People.

^{2.} Indian Culture, Vol. XV,p. 97, South Indian and Ceylon.

^{3.} Dr. K. C. Mishra, The Cult of Jagannath, p. 5 ff.

In the Afehabherer it is stated that in an abode at the forest of the Mahandra, Valvasavata Menu had practised austerity. (Mahabharat, 11, 42). It was a Tirtha of the Hindus. (Aid. 2.44).

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constructed with seven huge granite stones. Two more temples are found at a lesser height than the Kunti Deula. The local helief is that these were built by the Pandavas of the Mahabharata age. According to the Puranas, Parsuram Jamadagnya had his Ashram on this mountain.1 At present, there is a small pond which is called the 'Parsurama Kunda'. The picturesque panorama offered by the nature in favour of the Mahendra attracted the ancient Kalingan kings to make it a religious centre. In the copper plate inscriptions of the Early Ganga and Sailodbhava kings, the glory of that mountain and the God Gokarnasvamin is inscribed at the beginning of these documents2. The Asvamedha-Yaina was performed on that mountain as stated in the Brahmanda Purana. (III, 47.39, 45.56, 23; 57.1, 58.3. etc.).

The sacred rivers which flow from that mountain, as stated in some *Puranas*, are Rushikulya, Iksuda, Vanjula and Muli. Some names of those rivers were changed in course of time and the river like Rushikulya is not actually coming from the Mahendra, although her upper course penetrates the Mahendra range, and the river Mahendratanaya which flows from two opposite sides of the mountain, are also considered as sacred rivers.

Early Historical Age

When we step into the early historical age, the first record about Kalinga is noticed in the accounts of the Greek writer, Megasthenes, which was reproduced by Pliny in his Natural History. He states that Kalinga was divided into three conspicuous parts namely (1) Kalinga, (2) Macco-Kalinga and (3) Gagaridai-Kalinga which perhaps subsequently formed the

'ପ୍ରାତ୍ୟାୟୋ ନିଧ୍ରୁଦସାନ୍ ରଚ୍ଛଃ ପୃଷ ବୃମାଳୀ ବୃତ ସବ ନିଝଁର ଷରିବାରିତ ବରିପାତ ଷଳ• ନିସ୍ନଃ ସ୍ୱାନ୍ତ୍ରୟ ଷଡ଼ଛି ବଲ୍ଗୁ ବିରୁତେଶ ପୂରିତାତ ଗୃହଃ ଶ୍ୟମାନ ମେରୁରି କୋଦ ଗତଃ କ୍ଳ ଶୁରିଃ ଖ୍ୟାତୋ **ମହେଦ୍ର ଶିତୋ**

(Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. II, pp. 17-19ff.)

^{1.} ଉପସ୍ଥଶ୍ୟ ମହେ୦ଦ୍ରାଦୋ ରାମ•ଦୃଷାଭିତାଦ୍ୟତ

^{(*}Bhagabata Purana 12) According to the Bhagabata Purana, Balarama once started on pligrimage when he visited Gaya and Ganga-sagara from which place he arrived at the Mehendra mountain. There he paid respect to Rama-Jamadagnya. (Bhagavata-Purana X, 79, 12). In the same Purana we find that Parsuram lived permanently in that mountain by observing ahimsa (non-violence) which was sung by the Siddhaa, Gandharvas and Chharanas (Bha. P. IX. 16—26).

Inscription of Orissa, Vol. II in a copper plate inscription of Madhavavarmen Sailodbhava,, the following description of the Mehendra is given in a Sanskrit verse:

Trikalings country. According to Pliny, Kalings was at the foot of Mandeh (Mahendra), Mallu and Mallas (Maliyas). Pliny further states that Oretus (Odras) were people of India in whose country was the Mount Maleus and where the Monedes (Mundas) and Suaris (Savaras) lived. Cunningham identifies these two races as Murda and Saura (Savara) who lived with the Oretus or Ordras. According to the Mahabharata (Bhishma, IX.365), the Odras were enlisted with the Utkalas (Bhishma) and Kalingas.

Asoka's Conquest of Kalinga

In the 3rd century B. C., the Mauryan Emperor Asoka fought with the people of Kalinga where a large number of inhabitants were killed and many were injured mercilessly. It is the great Kalinga war which converted a cruel emperor like Chandasoka into saint like Dharmasoka. He left two edicts of his in two conspicuous parts of the land which he subjugated in Kalinga. They are still found at Dhauli in Puri district and Jaugada this district. The later edict is on the bank of the river Rushikulya near Purusotampur." From this inscription we learn that it was specially incised by the Mauryan king with reference to some aboriginal tribes (antikas) of that region. The officers or appointed at the city of Samapa, were Dharma Mahamatras instructed to show special mercy to the backward people who lived in the forest and hill tracts. Not far from Jaugada there bells epattivesi Sama. A large number of old bricks, pottery, beads and terracotta objects including punch-marked coins of the Mauryan era are still found from the suburban lands at the time of ploughing and digging the earth. Similar remnants were also discovered from Jaugada where a trial excavation was conducted by the Department of Archaeology, Government of India.

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The equare-sized fort of Jaugada consisted of wings measuring from 261.5184 metres to 248.1072 metres each in length. It was made of clay and rock being about 5.4864 metres to 14,6304 metres in height. Most of the walls are damaged and from a close survey, it is found that some portions were rebuilt at a later age. People find old bricks, broken terracotta objects, beads, metal pieces, sealings and ancient coins in the fort area when they are exposed during the rainy season or at the time of cultivation. Local people believe that Jaugada was

The text of the inscription is given in Appendix I concerning the Kalinga Edicts (Indent, 1890, pp. 82—102 ff).

Manu, in his religious code, has classified the Odras as outside the Brahmanical group but mixed them with the Yavanas, Sakhas, Paradas, Pallavas, Chinas, Daradas, Khasas, Kambajes, Paundras, Kiretas and Dravidas.

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built by Duryodhana in the Epic Age. At present, some stone images are found in a temple called Gupteswar supposed to have been installed by the Pandavas. The fort, as per tradition, was built in lac, for which reason it could not be destroyed with weapons. But, it was a fabulous story since no trace of lac or similar object has been discovered in the debris of this ancient fort.

Spread of Jainism in Kalinga

After the great Kalinga war by Asoka, Buddhism played an important role in this country for a long period. Prior to that, people of Kalinga had embraced the principles of *Ahimsa* influenced by the Jain *Tirthankaras* like Parsvanath and Mahavira, who, in their life time had visited this country. From the Jain accounts, we learn that Parsvanath married a princess in Kusthalapura which was called Kustalapura in the time of Samudragupta as recorded in the Allahabad Inscription of the 4th century A.D.* The Jain accounts further inform that there was a demon king in Kalinga who tried to capture the princess of Kusthalapura before she got married to Parsvanath.

After Parsvanath, Mahavira, the last *Tirthankara*, had visited Kalinga. He met a *yogi* named Vesayana at Siddharthagrama, identified with Siddantam near Srikakulam. It is interesting to note here that the *Ajivaka* section of the Jain community was created in that locality. It is an event of the 6th century B. C., which proves that Kalinga was a prosperous country during that remote age. From the Jain literature we gather that a religious centre named Kotititha was in Kalinga. The kings of that country were the followers of Jainism up to the time of Kharavela who ruled the country in the 1st century B. C.

Kharavela, the Emperor of Kalinga

Kharavela's achievements during the first thirteen years of his reign are well described in his Hatigumpha Inscription. Several scholars have tried to decipher that inscription, written in Pali-Prakrit language, under varied interpretations. In 1877, Cunningham edited the epigraph in the Corpus inscriptionum Indicarum. vol. 1, which was reproduced in 1880 by Rajendralala Mittra in his Antiquities of Orissa, vol. 11. The same was noticed for the first time by Lt. Markham Kittoe, who took a careful copy of them. They were first deciphered by James Prinsep in 1838. After this, many eminent

[•] Fleet's Gupta inscriptions (C. I. I. Vol. III, p. 7):

^{&#}x27;କୋସଳ ପ୍ରକ ଧନଞ୍ଜୟ'

Samudragupta has defeated Dhananjaya of Kusthalapura.

Scholars, namely Luder, V. A. Smith, Dr. Fleet, K. P. Jayaswal Bhagabanial Indraji, B. M. Barua, K. C. Sankar, Adyar, etc., have endeavoured to read and interpret the text correctly although the damaged letters are far from intelligible. However, the glory and heroism of that great monarch of Kalinga is clearly recorded in that inscription. It speaks that he captured the kings, namely Vrihaspatimitra of Magadha on one side and the Andhra king Satakarni on the other. Eventually his expedition was extended from the foot of the Himalayas as far as the west coast.

In the 13th line of the said inscription, mention is made of the defeat of a Pandya king by him. So, his expedition reached the extreme south of the Peninsula. The city of Kalinganagar in which his headquarters was located is still a subject of controversy, although from the Jaugada Inscriptior of Asoka a town called Samapa was the capital of that country, where the Mahamatras were posted to run the administration of Kalinga. If the headquarters of Kalinga was not removed from Samapa to another city, then the old capital (Samapa) on the bank of the river Rushikulya, should be considered as the same city of Kalinga at the time of Kharavela.

The Kushan Kings and their Coins

After Kharavela, a dark period ensued in the history of Orissa. starting from the 1st century B. C. upto the 4th century A. D. During this dark period we get no trace of any historical material except some Kushan coins which have been discovered from Orissa in between the banks of the Rushikulya* in the south and the Subarnarekha in the north. Owing to some peculiar characteristics of these numismatic objects, they are called as 'Puri-Kushan coins'. In 1858 a hoard of this type of coins were excavated near the village Pandia, about 6.5 km. to the west of Purusottampur. They were edited by Walter Elliot in Madras Journal of literature and Science in 1858. He writes, "In the neighbourhood of this place a number of copper coins were found, a type different from any other hitherto met with in Southern India, but presenting a striking resemblance to those of the Indo-Seythian group more especially to the coins of Kanerki. Allare much worn but the following wood-cut represents one of the most perfect.

The figure on the obverse and reverse is the same, but in the cut, the position of the arms has been reversed, the right hand being represented down, and the left up, whereas it is the right which should be raised and the left down.

The Kushen copper coins discovered from Jaugada in Ganjam are described in the Archeeological Survey of India, Vol. XIII, p. 116 ff.

No trace of any Seythian suzerainty has hitherto been met with so far to the south, but it is hardly possible to look at the danger in the above figure and not to identify it with those impressed on the mercy of the race".

In the time of the Kushan rule, the Kalinga kingdom lost its importance and solidarity. It was split into several small states each ruled by a king of quite meagre strength. This situation in the political sphere of Kalinga or Southern Orissa continued up to the 4th century A. D. The Kushans or the "Devaputras" were expelled from Orissa by a Nagavamsi king Manabhanja by name and his son Satrubhanja who ruled the northern parts of Orissa called Vindhyavati. A stone inscription discovered from Kendujhar district tells us how 'Satrubhanja' defeated the 'Devaputras' in hundreds of battles.¹

Early Medieval Period

The Kushan rule ended towards the beginning of the 4th century A. D. when the Mahendra region was invaded by emperor Samudra-gupta in the course of his southern expedition. The small states which covered this territory were called Kurala, Devarastra, Pistapura, Erandapalli, Kottura, Kustalapura, etc. They were subjugated by him, as is described in his Allahabad Pillar Inscription.²

The Matharas of Kalinga

After this, the kings of Mathara dynasty* succeeded in bringing uniformity of the great Kalinga territory and to revive her ancient glory. The first king of this line was Umavarman who used the title 'Kalingadhipati' (Lord of Kalinga). Before him in this dynasty there lived a king called Visakhavarman who used only a common title 'Maharaja'3. It proves that these kings formerly possessed a small estate but after Samudragupta's expedition they acquired the title of Kalingadhipati. They had their headquarters at Simhapura which was in the hill tracts of Kalinga (Giri-Kalinga), as mentioned in the copper plate inscription of Satrudamana Deva. According to this inscription, there was a Siva Linga called Damanesvara in Simhapura, which was worshipped by the ancient kings of that city.

^{1.} Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. XIII, No. 2 pp. 1-8 ff.

^{2.} Fleet, The Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 7 f.

^{*}The copper plate inscriptions of different dynasties are given in Appendix-II.

Korashanda Plates of Visakhavarman (Journal of Bihar and Orista Research Society, Vol. XIV, p. 282).

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXXI, pp. 89—93 ff; Inscriptions of Orises, Vol. N., pp. 237—239.

Umavarman used for the first time the glorious title of Kalinga-dhipati. In his 30th regnal year he lived at Simhapura. But, in his previous charters 2 he did not use this glorious title, which shows that towards the end of his reign he became the Lord of Kalinga after having resurrected its past glory.

The Matharas or the Pitribhaktas ruled over Kalinga from the 4th century A. D. after dividing the territory into several districts or visayas, Panchalis, Bhogas, and Vartinis, such as Mahendra-bhogavisaya, Koro-shodaka-panchali, Dantayavagu-bhoga, Varahavarttini, Kalinga-visaya, Pattana Bhoga, Tellavali-visaya, Pagana-visaya, Rudravati-visaya, Bhillinga-bhoga-visaya, etc. Although all these place names are not identified, there is little doubt about their geographical situation surrounding the Mahendra range of mountains in the Ganjam district.

From epigraphical source it is known that the Matharas ruled for about two hundred years, from the 4th to the 6th century A.D., when the early Gangas captured their territory. We have got the names of the following kings of the Matharas arranged in chronological order:—

Name of Kings			Probable period of their reign
1.	Visakhayarman		A.D. 314—330
2.	Umavarman	• •	A.D. 330—362
3.	Ananta-Saktivarman		A.D. 362—392
4.	Saktivarman		A.D. 392—426
5.	Chandavarman		A. D. 426—441
6.	Gunavarman		A.D. 441—456
7.	Prabhanjanavarman - i		A.D. 456—471
8.	Anantavarman	•.•	A. D. 471—486
9.	Nandapra bhanja navar man	•.•	A. D. 486—501
10.	Sankarvarman		A. D. 501—516
11.	Saktivarman		A.D. 516—521
12.	Prabhanjanavarman II	••	A.D. 521-536

^{1.} Varibatpresith Grant of Umavarmans Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XII, pp. 4—6, Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. I, pt. II pp. 10—12 ff.

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 298—302; *Ibid*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 132—353, Inscription of Orissa, Vol. I. pt. II, pp. 75—77 ff.

^{3.} Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XX, p. 22 ff.

In the time of the Matharas, Saivism, Vaisnavism, Buddhism were well supported in the country. According to a Nagariunakonda inscription, the Theri-school of developed at several places along with Kalinga; because the Iksvaku kings of the south had established matrimonial relationship with the Matharas of Kalinga. So, they were known as 'Mathariputra'. The Buddhist Theris had their Palura or the modern Palur on the bank of the Chilika lake in Ganjam district. Prof. Sylvain Levi suggests that Dantapura may be indentified with Palur (the City of Tooth); because in the Dravidian language 'pallu' means 'danta' in Sanskrit. The Salihundam-Buddhist-monastery in the old Ganiam district was situated the bank of the Vamsadhara which drains into the at monastery contains remnants of Kalingapattana. This Buddhist images of iconographic importance.

The voyage of the people of Kalinga to foreign countries like Ceylon, Malyesia, East Indies, Cambodia, Japan and Siam are known from different sources. The Khymor dynasty of Cambodia is said to have migrated from kalinga. The kings of this dynasty introduced the Hindu religion and culture in that part of the continent. M. Jourvean Dubreil has remarked "the Indo-Chinese civilisation did not come from every place of India, but from a part of the Deccan where the travellers embarked for Indo-China". Unfortunately, the identification of the places, mentioned in the geographical account of Ptolemy (A. D. 150) has not yet been correctly made.

Some scholars have identified the port town Koddura, mentioned by Ptolemy with Guduru or Peddagudur of the East Godavari district². But, actually there is a village called Koduru in Paralakhemundi Zamindari near the river Mahendratanaya. Or it may be that the port town referred to by Ptolemy as Kodura is the same as Kottura near Mahendra mountain, not far from Barua, which was an important port of Kalinga.

The script used in the inscriptions of the Matharas, corresponds to the type of the alphabets found in the epigraphs in East Borneo Island of the time of Purnavarman. In the inscriptions of the mediaeval period as found in Java, the Hindu gods like Brahma, Vishnu and Siva were invoked ³. Thus, the cultural contact between Kalinga and the Indian archipelago was established at least from the time of the Matharas and the Early Gangas whose kingdom extended on both sides (north and south) of the Mahendra range of the East coast.

^{1.} Ancient History of the Deccan. p.86.

^{2.} Andhra Historical Research Journal, Vol. VI, pt. p, 39 ff.

B. R. Chattarjee, India and Java, pp. 65-66.

After the Matharas, some kings of Pisthapura tried to invade this land through Ganjam. They used the title of Srirama-Kasyapa or Durjaya 1. One Pruthivi Maharaja, grandson of Ranadurjaya and son of Vikramendra of that dynasty proceeded to the north from Pisthapur as far as Viraja-khetra (Jajpur in Cuttack district 2). It was the time when there was a big struggle between three groups of kings of India headed by Harshavardhana, Sasanka and Pulakesin II of the north, east and west Indian territories respectively, which ultimately caused disappearance of many royal dynasties being replaced by new dynasties. That political struggle evolved supremacy of the eastern Gangas in Kalinga together with the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, no sooner than the invasion of Pulakesin II in Kalinga and Dukshina Kosala was accomplished 3.

Early Gangas of Kalinga

The Ganga kings at first ruled from Dantapura 4 and then transferred their capital to the city of Srinivasa or Kalinganagara, situated on the bank of the Vamsadhara near Mukhalingam in the Paralakhemundi Zamindari of the old Ganiam district. Their family god, Gokarnasvamin, was Saivism. embra ced installed on the top of the Mahendra mountain. Buddhism and Jamesm also flourished in their territory. According to an inscription of Nagariunakonda, there were places like Kantaka Saila, Hirumu, Pushpagiri, where a Maha-chaitya, a Stupa and a Saila-mandapa respectively were constructed. These places of Kalinga may be identified with Kantaka-Vartini, Hiramondala 5 and Pushpagiri Kantaka-Vartini is mentioned in Korni Panchali. plates Anantavarman Chodaganga ⁶ and Pushpagiri Panchali is mentioned in Dharmalingesvara plates of Devendravarman of Ganga era 184.7

In the Buddhist records we find that Odiyana was one of the centres of Buddhism and Tantricism. The present Udyana or the coastal strip of land running from Gopalpur to the south of Ganjam, may be identified with Odiyana of the time of Taranatha. The Savaras and Patara (Parna) Savaras, mentioned in the Tantric literature used to live there along with the fishermen class.

^{1.} Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 330 ff.

^{2.} Ibid. Vol. pt. ii. pp. 54-56.

^{3.} Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, p. 4 ff.

Jirjingi plates of Indravarman. Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. III. pt. 1. pp—49—63 ff.

^{5.} Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol., 1, pp. 44 and 113 ff.

^{6.} Ibid, Vol. II, pp 275-26 ff.

^{7.} Ibid, Vol. I, pt. I,

The Gangas of Kalinga played an important role in its political and cultural history for about four hundred years, viz. from the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. They introduced a new era of their own called 'Gangavamsa—Pravardhamana—Samyatsara'. The controversy that prevailed among scholars regarding the starting point of that era is still persisting, though majority of scholars, believe that the era commenced from A.D. 498 1.

In the time of these Ganga kings Hiuen Tsang, a Chinese traveller, visited Kalinga after completing his voyage at Kongoda. In this connection we may cite the following passage from Thomas Watters work on Yuan Chwang's Travels (Vol. II, p. 198 of 1905 ed).

Ka-LING-Ka (Kalinga)

"Returning to the native in the records we read that from Kong-yu-to the pilgrim travelled through jungle and dense forest with huge trees, south-west for 1400 or 1500 // in circuit, its capital being above twenty //. There were regular seed-time and harvest, fruit and flowers grew profusely, and there were continuous woods for some hundreds of //. The country produces dark wild elephants prized by the neighbouring countries. The climate was hot.

The people was rude and headstrong in disposition, observant of good faith and fairness, fast and clear in speech, in their talk and manner they differed somewhat from "Mid-India". There were few Buddhists, the majority of people being of other religions. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries, and 500 brethern " students of the Mahayanist Sthavira school system". were more than 100 Deva-temples, and the professed adherents of the various sects were very numerous, the majority being Nirgranthas. This country, the pilgrim relates, had once been very densely inhabited, a holy rishi possessing supernatural powers had his hermitage in it; he was once offended by a native and cursed the country, As a consequence of his curse the land became, and remained, utterly depopulated. In the lapse of many years since that event it had gradually become inhabited again; but it still had only a scanty population. Near the south wall of the city (i.e., the capital apparently) was an Asoka tope beside which for the were sitting place and exercise-ground On a ridge of a mountain in the north of the country was a stone tope, above 100 ft. high, where a Pratyeka-Buddha had passed away at the beginning of the present Kalpa when the men's lives extended over countless years".

^{1,} Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XIV, p. 361.

The Genga Administration

The Gangas started their administration by dividing the kingdom into several districts and Taluks called Vartini, Vishaya, Penchall, Bhoga, Mandala, etc. In each district or group of villages they posted a chief officer called visovi or vishayadhipati and Mandalika or Mahamandalika. Their main function was not limited to collection of revenue only, they were also involved Sometimes they were designated in strategical affairs. Ranaka, Pancha-vishayadhipati or Maharaja. From the Ganga records we come across the following designations of the officers who ran the administration in the country: -(i) Maha-sandhivirahin or Sandhivigrahika, (ii) Rahasika, (iii) Akshasalin, (iv) Amatya, (v) Lekhaka, (vi) Mahattara, (vii) Mahamahattara, (viii) Sarvadhikita (ix) Adhikrita. (x) Sthanadhikrita, (xi) Hastyadhyaksha, (xii) Purohita, (xiii) Samanta, (xiv) Srisamanta, (xv) Maha Samanta, (xvi) Mantri, (xvii) Dandanayaka, (xviii) Chata, (xix) Bhata and (xx) Akshapatala, etc.

Among the subordinate kings or Ranka and Mahamanda-Ilkas, the Kadamba kings were associated with the Gangas very closely. They were called Fancha-vishayadhipati and Ranaka and ruled over the lands lying near the Mahendra region. They also established matrimonial relationship with the Gangas. One Dharmakhedi of the Kadamba dynasty is described as a maternal uncle of Devendravarman, the Ganga king in the Ganga era 254.

From the copper plate inscriptions of the early Ganga kings of Kalinga it is known that the family was subsequently divided into five different branches and they ruled the kingdom independently. Among them there were two main lines who ruled the coastal tracts on either sides of the Mahendra mountain. Those who ruled from Kalinganagar lived in the southern side and those who ruled from Svetake lived in the northern side of that mountain upon which their family god Gokarnasvamin was established.

^{1.} Indian Antiquerian, Vol. XVIII, pp. 143—146. Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. II, pp. 45—100 ff

The Svetaka Gangas who lived in the northern side of the Mahendra mountain became subordinates under the Bhaumakara kings who subdued the northern portion of Ganjam that formed a part of the old Kongada kingdom, ruled by the Sailodbhavas before the first half of the 8th century A.D.

Sailodbhavas of Kongada

The origin of the Sailod bhava dynasty is narrated in some of their copper plate grants as stated below:—

In the region of the Mahendra, there lived an aboriginal leader of Kalinga people who in the old age worshipped the great God Swayambhu to give him a suitable leader to succeed him. The great God told him in a dream that a stalwart youth would come out of a big rock when that would split into two parts. Next day it happended so. The youth who came out of the great saila (rock) was named Sailodbhava and he became the first king of a royal dynasty called after his name. They ruled over the kingdom of Kongada which extended from the foot of the Mahendra in the south as far as the Mahanadi in the north, covering the modern districts of Ganjam and Puri.

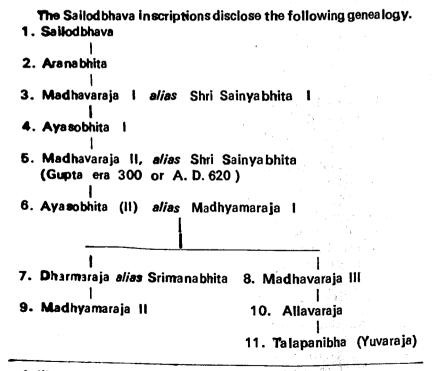
From Khandipada Nuapalli plates of Charamparaja ¹, it is known that Kongada was ruled by a line of kings in the early parts of the 7th century A. D. or the latter part of the 6th century A. D. Prior to Charamparaja, the kingdom was under a Governor named Shri Prithivi Vigraha whose name is revealed from Sumandala copper plate grant of Dharmaraja of Abhaya dynasty. This grant is dated in the Gupta year 250, corresponding to A. D. 570 ². Similarly, the Ganjam plates of Madhavaraja of the Sailodbhava dynasty of Kongada was issued in the Gupta year 300 or A. D. 620. Thus it is quite evident that the kingdom of Kongada was formed near the Chilika lake under the Sailodbhavas who at first lived as subordinates under the Vigrahas or the Gupta Governors and afterwards became independent.

The plates were discovered from Khallikot Taluk of Ganjam district and edited by Dr. S. N. Raiguru in Inscriptions of Orissa Vol. II, pp. 323—329 ff.

² Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. I, pp. 65—69, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79—85, Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 113—115 ff. Sumandala is a village of Khallikot Taluk, situated in the extreme north of the Ganjam district.

In the time of these kings, Huien Tsang, a Buddhist pilgrim of China, visited Kongada (Kon-ju-to). He writes in his traveleuge that, "the country contained some tens of towns which stretched from the slopes of the hills to the edge of the sea. As the towns were naturally strong there was a gallant army which tept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so there was no powerful enemy ... The country produced large dark-coloured elephants, which were capable of long journey 1."

This description shows that although Kongada was a small kingdom in comparison with her neighbouring states like Kalinga, Dakshina Kosala and Toshali, it was well fortified and maintained a very strong ground of strategy.



^{1.} Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travel in India, Vol. 11 pp. 196-197 ff.

The only date which we get from Ganiam plates Madhavaraia II is given in the Gupta year 300, corresponding to A. D. 620. It is clear that the dynasty of Sailodbhava existed in Kongada for a short time. But, the kings played a very important role for advancement of culture and Saivism. interfered in several political affairs with the neighbouring states. One important event is a great battle of Phasika which took place between two brothers, Dharmaraja and Madhavaraja III of the Sailodbhava family. In that battle a king named Tivaradeva took active part in support of the younger brother, Madhavaraja, but was defeated and retreated to his kingdom. In Dakshina Kosala there lived a powerful king called Mahasiva Tivaradeva in Pandu dynasty whose kingdom extended as far as the Vindhya mountain. So, it is presumed that Madhavaraia. being defeated after at the battle Phasika οf shelter in a place at Vindhyapada where he ended his life.

Although Dharmaraja Srimanabhita succeeded in over-powering his enemies and ruled over the kingdom efficiently, the successors could not resist the powerful attacks of the Bhaumakara kings from the north-eastern quarters. Towards the first half of the 8th century A. D. the Sailodbhava dynasty of Kongada became extinct when their kingdom merged into Dakshina Toshali.

The first Bhauma king whose name is known from epigraphical source, is Unmattakesari. His headquarters were at Biraja or the present Biraja-kshetra (Jajpur) in Cuttack district. Several royal dynasties lived under him as subordinates. In Ganiam district so far as we gather from the inscriptions of the Gangas of Svetaka, the Nalas of Khindirasinga-Mandala and the Bhanjas of Ubhaya Khinjili Mandala, used the era of the Bhaumas indicating their suzerainty. Some of the kings of the above named families have used the title of Ranaka and Maharaja expressing their subordinate positions. In this connection we may cite the Badakhemundi plates of Jayavarmadev 2 of Svetaka Gangas. Not ony that he used the 'Samvat' (Bhauma era) in his record, but also granted a village in Kongada in favour of a Brahmin named Nannata after obtaining permission from Unmattakesari at Viraja. It proves that he was a subordinate king under the Bhaumakaras. But, the Gangas of Kalinganagar who ruled Kalinga starting from the southern side of the Mahendra enjoyed independent status by using titles of suzerainty.

I. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, pp. 143-146 ff.

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIII, pp. 361-363 ff. Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. II, pp. 249-252 ff.

The Bhaumakaras

After the Sailodbhavas, the country lying between Mahendra mountain and the Rupanarayan river went to the possession of the Bhaumakaras who patronised Buddhism in this country. A Buddhist work called man jusri-mulakalpa states that Sasanka of Karnasuvarna destroyed many Buddhist monasteries and replaced them by construction of Siva temples in the 7th century A.D. he was defeated by Harshavardhan of Thaneswar when attempt was made to revive Buddhism in Kongada. The Bhaumakaras captured Toshali soon after Sasanka was defeated by Harsha. They rebuilt the monasteries and introduced Buddhism in their kingdom. At that time the Mahayana and Vairayana sects worked well in Orissa. Consequently we get a large number of Buddhist images in all parts In Ganjam many Buddhist stupas are being traced. One of the centres of Buddhism is Buddhakhol near Buguda and another at Malatigiri and Kesarapalli near Asika.

Three copper-plate grants, belonging to the Bhaumakaras, have been discovered from Ganjam district. The first grant was issued in the 3rd regnal year of Subhakaradeva. It was discovered from the village Balichai in Dharakot Tahasil.

The other two grants were issued by Dandimahadevi which were preserved in the office of the District Collector, Ganjam, at Chhatrapur till 1900 and then removed to the Madras Museum-They were duly edited by Dr. F. Kuilhorn. One of the plates gives a date as Samvat 180, Margasira vadi. 1 or 2.

Dandimahadevi's last grant issued in Sambat 187 was found from Kumurang Sasan of Banapur. This copper plate was secured by the late Utkalamani Gopabandhu Das whose note relating to this inscription was published in the Journal of Biharand Orissa Research Society, vol. V, pp. 564—581 ff. along with H. Pandey's reading.

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The 'Samvat' (Bhauma Samvat) was used not only in the Bhauma charters but also in many copper plate grants of some subordinate kings as stated before. ¹ Among them, a Bhanja king named Satrubhanja issued two grants in 198 Samvat on two different occasions, namely:—

Epigraphia Indica, vol. VI, pp. 140—142 and pp. 133—140 ff, Appendix—III, Nos. 2-3.

- (i) Vishuva-Sankranti-Panchami-Ravidina (Sunday) Mrigasira Nakshatra 1.
- (ii) Devotsava-dvadasi-Saumyadina (Wednesday) Revati Nakshatra ².

These two inscriptions offer a clue to determine the date when the Bhauma Samvat actually started. After identifying Devottava-dvadasi' with Devottana-dvadasi, it has been known that the reckoning of the era was started from A. D. 736.

The Bhaumakara dynasty ruled for about two centuries. Towards the middle of the 10th century, i.e., a few years after Dandimahadevi, the dynasty became extinct. That was the time when the Somavamsi king Yayati II of Dakshina Kosala annexed the coastal tract of Utkal (Toshali) with his kingdom.

The Somavamsi Kings

The Ganga kings of Kalinganagar also attempted to capture Utkal. Consequently there existed serious rivalry between the Somavamsis and the Gangas for a long period in which the Somavamsis ultimately succeeded. The Somavamsi kings who were designated as *Trikalingadhipati* seem to have established matrimonial relationship with the Bhanjas of Vanjulvaka and the Gangas of Svetaka. A King named Jayavarmadev of the latter dynasty and a Bhanja king named Vidyadharabhanja married in the royal family of the Somavamsi kings. So, their queens were called Trikalinga-Mahadevi ³.

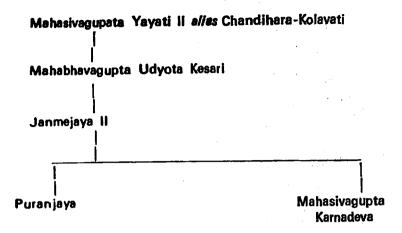
After Yayati II ruled in Dakshina Kosala and Utkal, he shifted his headquaters from Suvarnapur to Yayatinagar, a town on the bank of the Mahanadi ⁴. Following is the genealogical table of the Somavamsi kings:—

^{1.} Orissa Historical Research Journal, vol. I, No. 3, pp. 208 ff.

^{2.} Ibid, vol. IV, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 67-76 ff.

^{3.} Inscriptions of Orissa, vol. IV, p. 371 ff.

^{4.} Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. IV, p. 373.



Yayati II was a very powerful king of this dynasty. His queen, Kolavati, mother of Udyota Kesari, built the temple of Brahmeswar at Bhubaneshwar ¹. Yayati's expeditions over countries like Kalinga, Kongada, Utkal, Kosala, etc., is described in the Brahmeswar temple inscription.

Yayati II was invited by the people of Kalinga, Kongada and Utkal to hold the reins of administration when those countries suffered from anarchy after extinction of the Bhaumakara dynasty. The southern limit of his kingdom was fixed at Mahendragiri which divided Kalinga into two parts. The southern side of Mahendragiri remained as before under the early Gangas of Kalinganagar while the northern side was newly passed to the hands of the Somavamsi kings. Naturally the boundary dispute between the Gangas and the Somavamsis grew rapidly. Each party tried to overpower the other by creating an ally with its neighbour. Thus, the Gangas of Kalinganagar made friendship with the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi while the Somavamsis got support from the Palas of Bengal.

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About fifty years the Somavamsi kings ruled the country of Utkal along with Dakshina Kosala and Kongada. In 1076 A. D., according to Dirghasi Bhagavati Temple inscription, a commander-in-chief of the Ganga king, Rajaraja I, invaded Kosala and the hill tracts of Odra which were under the possession of Somavamsi kings. A copperplate discovered in 1979 from the district proves

^{1.} Journal of Research Asiatic Society, Bengal, Letters, Vol XIII(1947), pp. 63-74 ff.

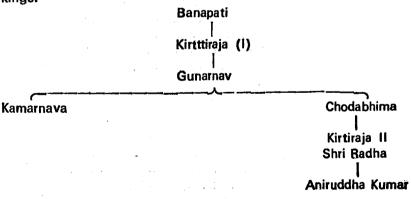
that Maharaja Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman of Kalinganagar, was the overlord of a Samanta king of Mohuri Mandal which extended as far as the river Rushikulya in the north.¹

Imperial Gangas: their branch line

Karnadeva, the last known king of the Somavamsi line sought help from Ramapala of Bengal. In the Ramapale Charita by Sandhyakarnandi it is stated that Ramapala favoured the vanquished king of Utkal and marched against Kalinga. ² This is definitely an attempt of retaliation against the Gangas of Kalinganagar whose commander boasts of his achievements in the forest areas of Odra and Kosala.

A few years after, Rajaraja's son Maharaja Chodagangadeva, attacked Utkaland annexed to his kingdom the entire area of Utkal, Kongada and Kosala in order to make it a united kingdom called 'Trikalinga'. Actually, the boundaries of his kingdom touched the rivers Ganga and the Godavari. After establishing the Ganga rule firmly towards the beginning of the 12th century A. D., Chodaganga shifted his headquaters from Kalinganagar near Vamsadhara to Chaudwar Kataka on the bank of river Mahanadi. At the same time he built the famous temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri.

After shifting the Ganga headquarters from Mukhalingam, situated on the southern border a collateral branch of the Gangas stayed in the Rushikulya valley. The copper plate inscriptions were discovered from Polosara in Athagad Tahasil of the district which give the following genealogy of the kings.³



This inscription was discovered in 1979 by Shri Asoka Kumar Rath, Reader, Khollikot College, Brahmapur. The record shows that a Samanta king of Mohuri Mandala granted a village called Suvamapur on the sea shore when Devendravarman (Rajaraja) was ruling the country.

Ramapala Charita, published by Varendra Historical Research Society, 1939, pp. 110 ff,

^{3.} Inscription of Orissa, vol. III, pt. ii, pp. 350—357 ff.; Epigraphia Indica. vol. XXVIII, pp. 63—67 ff.; vol. III, pt. i, pp. 30—38 ff.

According to the first inscription, Arkesvara, son of Pramadideva and grandson of Gunarnava, granted a village called Vali Grama situated in Varttini Vishaya of Jhadakhanda province, to a Brahmin who migrated from Hingul Kataka of Madhyadesa, on the occasion of a moon eclipse on the full-moon day of Magha, at the bank of the Rush kulya river. This inscription gives the date as Yugabda 4248 corresponding to 1147 A. D. It is interesting to note that Pramadideva, father of Arkesvara is mentioned in the Kedareswar temple inscription of Saka 1064 (A. D. 1142) at Bhubaneshwar. He is described as a brother (Srimad Anantavarman Chodagangadhipasyanujo) of Anantavarman Chodagangadeva (A. D.1077-1147). If Arkesvaradeva was the son of Pramadideva of the Kedareswar temple inscription which is quite probable in consideration of its date, then we have to believe that a branch of the Ganga dynasty was posted in the Rushikulya valley (i. e., northern part of the Gangam district) after the Somavamsi kings were expelled from Utkal by Chodagangadeva.

The second inscription belongs to Kirttirajadeva II whose genealogy is shown before. It gives no data, but from its contents we know that the donee was a Brahmin named Bapanna Bhatta who migrated from Gangabadi. The same man was granted another village by Nettabhanja of Ghumusar. Kirttiraja II granted to the said Brahmin a village called Khinvada in Varttani Vishaya. Khinvada is identified with Kharida village of Athagad Tahasil and the name of Varttani is still in vogue in that Tahasil.

The capital of these kings was called Kalyanapur situated near Rushikulya.

Another branch of the Gangas lived in the southern part of the district which was named Ambabadi Mandal. Two copper plate grants of these kings have been discovered from Gunupur Tahasil of Koraput district.² These inscriptions are assigned to the 11th century A. D. on palaeographical grounds and the genealogy is as follows:—

Narendravarman Rajendravarman-Kalyanadevi Danarnavadeva

From the grants of Vajrahasta III, it is known that formerly Kalinga was divided into five divisions each being ruled by a branch of the Ganga dynasty. But, in the 11th century A.D., Maharaja Vajrahasta unified all the divisions to establish suzerainty over Kalinga. That position continued for many centuries to come, the empire being expanded by Chodagangadeva from the rivers Ganga to Godavari.

Epigraphia Indica and Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. XXX, p.94 f.

Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. II, pp. 232—236 ff, and Orissa Historical Research Journal, vols, VI, No. 4 to vol. XXII, No. 1 pp. 30—35 ff,

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The Imperial Gangas continued to rule uninterruptedly for about three hundred years after Chodagangadeva.

The Imperial Gangas

The Ganga kings protected Orissa from the Muslim aggressions that appeared in Bihar and Bengal. They constructed lofty temples like the Jagannath temple at Puri, the Sun temple at Konarka, the temple of Ananta Basudeva at Bhubaneshwar, etc. Their religious teacher Narahari Tirtha lived at Srikurma Kshetra in the old Ganjam district where the Vaishnav philosophy of Ramanuja school thrived. Great Vaishnav poet Jayadeva in his old-age lived in this religious centre during the reign of Raghavadeva ¹.

In the time of Bhanudeva IV, some petty kings of the south revolted against the Ganga supremacy. Among them one Vemendra alias Allaya Vemareddi captured Kaluvapelli, Oddedi and Potunuru² in 1434 A.D. But, four years before this the Ganga power had extended at least upto Simhachalam in the south where Nisanka Bhanu's queen Chodadevi worshipped the god Narasimhanath ³. In 1435 Pratapagangaraja of Nandapur advanced as far as Srikurma Kshetra and captured the southern border.

The Suryavamsi Gajapatis

After the Gangas, the Suryavamsi Kapileswaradeva ruled Orissa from A.D. 1435 to 1466⁴. In his time the Orissan empire extended as far as Trichinapalli in the south. He was not only a great warrior but also a religious minded king. A new era called 'Kapileswarabda' was introduced by him which was used in Ganjam. We find the use of the same era in stone inscription of Trivideswar temple near Asika.

Kapileswaradeva constructed a strong hill-fort on the Mahendra mountain where the hill tribes were employed to look after the strategical position of the country.

According to a family account of the Ganga rajas of Khemundi, Kapileswara had 18 sons through his married wife and one son, Purushottama through his concubine. When the dispute arose for succession, the concubine's son was nominated by the king. So, the other sons left Orissa in search of shelter in south Orissa. But, this appears to be unrealistic for the reason that Kapileswara belonged to the Solar dynasty while the Gangas of Khemundi belonged to the Lunar dynasty and Atreya gotra.

However, Purushottamadeva is said to have established some zamindaris in Ganjam. Most probably the Ganjam out-post from the Rushikulya valley was re-built when Purushottamadeva appointed one Rama Bhuyan as zamindar of Khallikot.

^{1.} Inscriptions of Orissa, vol. III, pt. i. p. 294 f.

Inscriptions of Orissa, vol. V, pt. iii, p. 1031 ff.

^{3.} *Ibid*, p. 1029
4. Vide *The prachu*, vol. III, pt. ii, p. 32 f.

After Purushottamadeva, his son Prataparudradeva ascended the throne in 1497 A. D. In his time Krishanadevaraya, the king of Vizianagaram (Karnata) marched against Orissa. He captured a large portion of the south in 1516 A.D. ¹, having advanced as far as Varanasi (presently) Kasinagar in Paralakhemundi subdivision. Prataparudradeva was defeated although his feudatory kings vigorously fought with the enemies and checked their further advance beyond Varanasi (Kasinagar) on the Vamsadhara river.

Chalukya Dynasty and the Period of anarchy

After Prataparudradeva, the administration of Orissa lapsed to a stage of conflict and confusion. A military commander named Govinda Vidyadhara usurped the throne in 1533 A.D. after killing the two sons of Prataparudra. Taking advantage of the chaotic condition of the country, the Chalukyas of the south availed the opportunity of invading this land. In 1559 A. D. Mukundadeva of Chalukva dynasty who possessed the title of Harichandan usurped the throne of Orissa. He came from the Telugu-speaking region and was so called Telanga Mukundadeva². His victorious expedition to Gauda in the 10th regnal year is known from a copper-plate inscription, preserved at Madras Museum.3 He lost his life in 1568 in a battle that took place at Gohira tikiri in Baleshwar district while fighting against his own feudatory chief Ramchandra Bhanja of Saranggarh, Ramachandra Bhanja was there after killed by the Afghan army of Bengal. That atrocious march of the Muslim warriors through all parts of Orissa weakened the political resistance which ultimately gave way to foreign invasion from all directions. 1571 A.D. the conquest of Golconda from time of Ibrahim Lodi, finally subjugated the entire the district of Ganjam including Talengana and a Utkala Chilika lake 4. It is well described UD to the in an inscription found at Athagad on a huge rock⁵. According to this record one Sukaralli Mohan was governing 84 forts, situated in between Andhra and Trilinga (Trikalinga) as a Governor under Mohammed Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda. It further states that in the Saka year 1512 (A.D.1590) a king named Narasinha alias Singa Bhupala) repaired a tank in the fort of Langalaveni in Athagad and that he subdued Biruli and the fort of Mangalakota. Afterwards, he excavated a tank called 'Saha-Sara' in Langalaveni.

^{1.} South Indian Inscriptions, vol. VI., No. 694,

For genealogical table of the Chalukyas, see Orissa Historical Research Journal, vol. VI, pt. i, p. 15 ff.

^{3.} Orissa Historical Research Journal, pp. 11-13 ff.

^{4.} Ibid, pp. 23-28 ff.

^{5.} Jadunath Sarcar, History of Aurangzib, vol. I, p. 191 f.

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Two years later in 1592, the Mughal emperor Akbar despatched Man Singh to take possession of Utkal. At that time Ramachandradeva of Bhoi dynasty was nominated by Man Singh as the Raja of Utkal. Immediately after this, Raja Todarmal was sent from the Mughal Durbar to effect settlement of the Zamindaris in Orissa.

After Narasinha Gajapati of the Chalukva (Bahubalendra) family, his son Mukunda Bahubalendra who used to govern the Dandapata came to the throne of Rajamahendry. According to the Madras Museum Plates 1, he donated a village called Batteru in Saka year 1517 (1595 A.D.) on the bank of the Vamsadhara in Kalinga Dandapata on the auspicious occasion of Ardhodaya before God Srikurma. This inscription proves that the entire district of Ganjam was nominally under the Muslim kings of Golconda, but actually ruled by the Bahubalendra family who subsequently shifted their capital from Rajamahendry to Kasimkota near Anakapalli in the present Visakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh. Thus, the districts of Visakhapatnam and Ganjam were in one unit under them, although the Oriya Zamindars used anka years of the Rajas of Khordha.

Mukunda Bahubalendra rebelled against the Muslim rule of Golconda. So, Mohammed Quili Qutb Shah despatched a large army under Asvarayan, a Hindu General, who defeated Mukunda Bahubalendra in 1604 A.D. The latter took shelter at Knordha under Gajapati Ramachandradeva ².

MUSLIM PERIOD

The Qutb Shahi Rule

In the beginning of the 17th century A. D., the whole of Kalinga Dandapata was annexed to the territory of Golconda. But, the Qutb Shahi power in the south was terminated when Baquri Khan marched against their territory in 1630, through Orissa. He attacked Chhatradwar, a narrow strip of land between the Mughal Orissa and Chicacole Circar. Then, he proceeded to the south after being assisted by the Zamindars of Khallikot, Athagad, Kodala and Aul.* On the 3rd December of that year, he arrived at Mansurgada, not far from Chhatrapur. A battle was fought between his troops and the troops of Golconda near that fort. The latter were defeated and their commander was imprisoned. After this, Baquri left a garrison at Kheraparah near Mansurgada and returned. The Qutb Shahis attempted to regain their position

^{1,} Jadunath Sarcar, History of Aurangzib, vol. 1, pp. 38-48 ff.

^{2,} History of the rise of the Mahommendan Power in India Feirshta, Brigg's translation, vol. III, pp. 463—466 and 469—474 ff. The account is given in Appendix II.

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but in vain. The news of this victory reached Shah Jahan on the 23rd April, 1631. After this, the revenue collected from the territory of Golconda was received by a Subedar at Cuttack appointed by the Mughal Emperor. According to Murquat-i-Hassan, the said tribute "appertaining to the Province of Orissa" which was sent from Srikakulam to the Subedar of Orissa amounted to Rs. 20,000.00.1

In 1641, a Faujdar named Shir Muhammed Khan was appointed in Srikakulam for the first time by Abdulla Qutab Shah, the ruler of Golconda. He constructed some fine mosques at Srikakulam and Ichhapur. The old Kalinga Dandapata was then divided into two divisions, namely Chicacole (Srikakulam) and Ichhapur, the Mahandra mountain being at the centre.

In 1687, Aurangzeb expanded his empire in the south when the Qutab Shahi power declined soon after the death of Abdul Hussain. But, Aurangzeb's death in 1707 weakened the Mughal power in the centre. So, the rising Marathas advanced through Central India towards Orissa Via Ganjam without any effective opposition.²

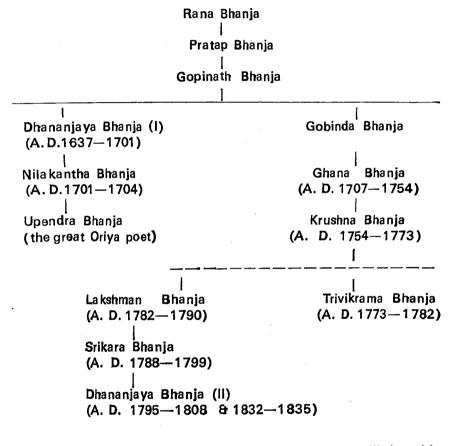
The French Power

In 1753, the Northern Circar was granted to the French. the same year Monsieur De Bussy, the French commander, appointed Vijayarama Raz at Srikakulam as Renter (Naib) for a time. Then, he was expelled in 1756 by Ibrahim who charged him with ill-management and negligence in remittance of Circar's rents. Thereupon, Bussy marched with a garrison to collect the arrear revenue from Vijayaram Raz. But, he found that Ibrahim was also unable to pay the arrear rents. Being desirous of his removal, he remained there for a year or so, within which period the French power in India began to decline. At that critical time, Gajapati Raz, a nephew of Vijayaram Raz, (the founder Naib) took opportunity to expel some turbulent foes of his from that locality. It is said that Bussy attempted to settle the country by interfering in family feuds and internal usurpations of some indepondent chiefs of the Circar. That activity of his, however, made the condition even worse. Unfortunately, he associated in a quarrel between Vijayaram Raz and the Raja of Bobbili, which caused not only molestation of the fort of Bobbili but also extinction of the

^{1.} Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. 11, p. 156.

^{2.} In 1751, according to a treaty between Alivardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, and the Marathas, Orissa was left to the latter,

entire family of that prosperous zamindar. That frightful and inhuman undertaking terrified most of the zamindars of Ganjam except a few, namely the rajas of Khemundi and Ghumusar, who did not care to submit to the foreign invaders. At that time, Krushna Bhanja (1754—1773 A. D.) was the raja of Ghumusar. A genealogical table of the family is given below —



Krushna Bhanja's father Ghana Bhanja, who allied with Virakishoradeva, the Raja of Khordha, rendering military help to him at the time of need, received a glorious title from the Gajapati king (Virakishoredeva) as 'Kshatriyavara'. Ghana Bhanja was a good poet. He wrote a Kavya called 'Trailo, yamohini' in Oriya. His cousin, Upendra Bhanja, the renowned poet of Orissa, wrote many Kavyas which raised Oriya literature to a great height. At that time Ghumusar became the cradle of literature. Upendra's grandfather, Dhananjaya Bhanja, was also a poet who wrote Kavyas in Oriya.

^{1.} In commemoration of receipt of that title Ghana Bhanja established a Brahmin Sasan in Ghumusar, naming it " Kshatrivarapura Sasana.

Affairs of Khordha and Puri

While Dhananiaya and his descendants devoted their times to literary activities, in the southern border of the Ganjam district Raja Jagannath Narayanadev planned to get rid of the weak adminiatration of the temple of Sri Jagannath at Puri by Virakishordeva of Khordha who was a subordinate under the Marathas. It is necessary to state here that during the rule of Ramachandradeva II, (1732-1742 A.D.) the Muslims under Taqi Khan invaded the temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri being attracted by its wealth. At that moment the three deities of the Jagannath temple were removed from Puri and hidden in an island in the chilika lake and at different places of the Ganiam district. At one time they were taken as far as Athagad and Tekkali. It is said that Ramachandradeva II restored the images at Puri on the 2nd July, 1733, in which year the Car Festival was performed. After a few months the Muslims raided for the second time threatening the Hindu priests, who again removed the images to Marada in Athagad. The carpenters of Mathura village of Athagad built there a new temple for Lord Jagannath. At the same time the Muslims raided this land from the south and east simultaneously at the commands of the Nawab of Hyderabad and Tagi Khan, respectively. The Nizam's territory then extended to the north as far as the Chilika lake.1

Ramachandradeva II died sometime in 1742-43 and was succeeded by his grandson Virakishoredeva. When he was taking shelter at Chakapad of Ghumusar zamindari under the protection of Ghana Bhanja of Jagannatha Narayanadeva, the Raja Paralakhemundi attempted to capture Khordha in 1760. His object was to make Orissa free from external aggression. At first, he expelled Virakishoradeva from Khordha who sought help of the Marathason condition that the war expenses would be compensated by him. The Raja of Paralakhemundi was defeated. He returned to his zamindari to find that Siterama Raz of Vizianagaram was dominating in the locality immediately after Bussy's departure from Ganjam. period of anarchy ensued for twelve years. Taking advantage of Jagannatha Narayanadeva's absence from Khemundi, the Raja of Vizianagaram seized by force some portions of Paralakhemundi zamindari in 1761. But as soon as Narayanadev returned from Khordha, he gave a fight to Sitaram Raz at Jelmur and recovered some portions of his estate².

According to Ketaka-Raja-Vamsavali, Jaffar-Ali-Khan (A. D. 1740-45) had atrested four zamindars of Ganjam, viz., Athagad, Mohuri, Chikiti and Sanakhimundi, who were subsequently liberated by the Raja of Paralakhemundi.

History of the Gangas, part II, pp. 126-127 ff. According to some manuscripts, the dates of Jelmur fights took place in 1753 and 1756.

BRITISH PERIOD

English and the East India Company

In 1765, the Northern Circars were granted to the English by an imperial firman. Soon after this, Cotsford was sent to Ganjam by the Board of Revenue at Madras. At first, he arrived at Vizagapa tam (Visakhapatnam) in 1767 where he noticed that the northern parts of the district were in a disturbed condition, and that Jagannatha Narayanadeva, possessed great influence over the local Zamindars. He was, therefore, to be brought to submission. He further realised that Narayanadeva had already intercepted all important communications between Bengal and Madras. So he resolved to subdue the raja before taking any major action in the district of Ganjam.

On 12th December, 1768, Colonel Peach arrived at Vizagapatam when some disturbances commenced in Paralakhemundi. At that time he was told that the raja of that estate ordered his Dewan, Ramajogi Patra, to retire to Jelmur and himself intrigued with the Marathas at Cuttack to expel the English from Ganjam and Vizagapatam. Rajas of Vizianagaram and Badakhemundi joined hands with him. But at this moment some dissensions took place in the Maratha On the 24th January, 1769, the Resident of Ganjam received news from Alleyn, the English Agent at Cuttack, that Ganni Sambhuji was unable to make any raid on Ganjam, because Janoji, the Bhonsla, had issued strict orders to his Generals and Sardars under Faujdar that they should make no aggression against the English and they were to obey no orders emanating from Ganni Sambhuji³. In the same year (1768), Colonel Peach was sent fight a battle with Narayanadeva at the fort of Jelmur. It is stated in the English records that the battle was duly fought in which Narayanadeva was defeated. But, from the Oriya records found at Paralakhemundi, it is known that he was off on pilgrimage to Brundaban and Mathura where he stayed for a long time being engaged in religious affairs. After returning from Brundaban, he devoted his time to writing a Kavya in Oriya language, entitled 'Sri-Brundaban-Bihara' which he completed on the 27th October, Therefore, he had no scope, as is found in the local reports, to participate in any serious engagement with the English.

Under a treaty with Nizam Ali on the 12th November, 1766, the English get the Northern Circars.

According to the local records, Sitaram Raz, the renter, oppressed the zamindars of Ganjam for payment of dues, which was opposed by the Raja of Paralakhemundi who successfully fought with Sitaram Raz at Jelmur, near Srikakulam.

^{3.} Ganjam Manual, p. 95.

^{4.} History of the Gangas, part II, pp. 137.

Jagannatha Narayanadeva died in 1770 and his son Gajapatideva came to the gadi in 1771 at the age of fourteen.1 Immediately after this, the English Chief of Vizagapatam attempted subdue the rebelious conduct of the Raja of Paralakhemundi. took shelter under his uncle. February, 1772, Gajapatideva Anangabhima alias Bhimadeo, the Raia Purushottama Badakhemundi. At first Gajapati fled to Ramagiri Maliah. In spite of repeated persuasion by the English Resident, he did not accept his suggestion, although he appeared quite reluctantly at a secret place with his uncle Bhimadeo, being escorted by 3,000 paiks. The report says that the purpose of the Resident was not fulfilled. So, he appointed Gajapati's cousin, Jagannathdeo, as the Raja of Paralakhemundi.

The relation between the Company's Government and Bhima Deo was not good ever since the latter occupied the Kurla fort in 1768 and was suspected of intrigue with the Marathas. So, as usual, the English officers created friction between Bhimadeo and his son, Manideo. Then, the English troops arrived at the fort of Badakhemundi on a plea to help Manideo for his succession and the fort was captured after a prolonged struggle on the 17th April, 1772. Thus, the replacement of the zamindars of Paralakhemundi and Badakhemundi took place in the same year before suppressing the other zamindars of Ganjam district.

After this, they applied the same tactics against the Raja of Ghumusar, the next powerful zamindar of the district. In 1773, Krushna Bhanja of Ghumusar died. He had two sons, Lakshman and Trivikram alias Vikram, who quarreled with each other for succession to the Gadi. The English troops frequently used to march against Ghumusar and in the absence of Vikram in 1779 the estate was conformed in the name of Lakshman Bhanja who was the father-in-law of Jagannathdeo, the newly nominated Raja of Paralakhemundi.

The Bisovis and Doras, appointed by ancient rajas at different sectors to control the tribal races of hill areas, had practically formed a vital wing of the indegenous militia. They all could

^{1.} History of the Gangas, part II, p. 153.

It is said that the old Raja Bhimadeo divided his estate in two equal shares between his two sons (Vide History of the Ganga, part II, p. 158).

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understand that a foreign power was slowly and steadily interfering in their social order and integrity to capture their freedom. So, they formed a strong union being associated with the local paiks who were loyal to their rajas. Consequently, a mutinous situation was created at Ghumusar and Paralakhemundi, the two big estates of the district. Gajapati Deo of Paralakhemundi was under imprisonment in Vizagapatanam jail since 1774. It caused a terrible repercussion among the Bisovis and Doras of Paralakhemundi estate.

Suddenly, a serious mutiny appeared on the 3rd October 1780 at the same place where Gajapati was kept under surveillance. On that day, English troop consisting of four companies of sepoys with their commanders halted in that port. They were to embark for Madras to meet the invasion of Karnatak by Haider Alli of Mysore. Suddenly, they got out of control and for that conduct of the sepoys, the internee raja, Gajapatideo, was suspected. Hickey, the Reporter, had described the event as follows—

"We are informed that the sepays troops lately draughted at Vizagapatam, having all their arms, accoutrements, baggages, etc., ready to embark on board. The Sartinda and some other vessels were then in that harbour inorder to carry them to Madras. day of their intended departure, the Governor of Vizag invited the military officers to dine with him and the council. The troops were to embark that afternoon. The gentlemen made a cheerful repast, drank success to the British arms, and sat in company with all the tranquility of mind imaginable, but were soon alarmed by an uncommon noise. They sent some of their servants out to learn the cause, and were soon informed that the troops draughted for Madras had mutined, and were endeavouring to force those sepays who were to remain behind in the barracks to join them, which they refused. This account soon brought their officers out who instantly resumed their commands, ordered them immediately to march down to the beach and go on board. This they refused, one and all. The grenadier levelled their pieces, took aim, discharged a volley, and killed every officer on the spot. They plundered the Governor's house and factory, and looted from the treasury, plate and every other valuable that night, took the civilians out the next morning, tied them, and marched them off with them, with an intent to carry their prisoners to Haider Alli whom they themselves intended to

join. After they had marched several miles from Vizag, they untied the Governor, Mr. cosamajor, and the rest of the gentlemen, and told them they might return to Vizag if they pleased". This report further states that "the Zamindar of Paralakhemundi, then under surveillance at Vizagapatam, was strongly suspected of having engineered this outbreak; but he boldly claimed to have saved the lives of the other Europeans in the station and was eventually given back his estate as a reward for his doubtless service".

After this, Gajapatideo came to the *gadi* and his half-brother, Jagannathadeo, was compelled to handover the estate to him; but was allowed to enjoy a monthly pension of Rs. 600, from the estate. Gajapatideo was confirmed in this zamindari on the 23rd January 1781. In 1799, when Gajapati was again kept under confinement and Vizagapatam, one of his relatives named Durgaraj was appointed by the Collector to look after the management of the estate. Durgaraj was zamindar of Tekkali; and not only that he gained popularity for his noble qualities but also proved a good administrator. Even after Gajapatideo was released he continued as the manager of the estate. But, Durgaraja's own zamindari was in danger owing to some external disturbances. In this connection the official records speak as follows.

During the years 1799 and 1800, disturbances in Kemedi took place concurrently with those in Ghumusar, in consequence of which both Chicacole (Srikakulam) and Tekkali *Havelis* suffered material injury. The zamindar, Gajapatideo, and his son had been sent to Masulipatam, but this step did not have the effect of quietening the insurgent, who, besides laying waste the country, attacked the detachments posted at Varanasi (modern Kasinagar) and Kimedi.

After some delay, the rebels were finally subdued by Col. Vigors with the assistance and advice of Durgara). During the course of these operations, Lt. Youngson, a British officer, was taken prisoner and carried off into the Malihas. His release was finally effected.³

J. J. Cotton's Description on Madras Tombs Willson's History of Madras Army, II, 18—19; Mill's History, IV, p. 200.

^{2.} S. N. Rajguru, History of Gangas, part II, PP. 165-166 ff.

^{3.} Ganjam District Manual, p. 131; History of the Gangas, pt. II, pp. 173—174 ff.

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A severe famine occurred in 1799 which lasted for three years. It wiped out a good number of people from the district. About seven years before this there occurred a similar havoc called *Panchamariya-kantara* when the price of paddy was fixed at five *manas* (equal to about 14 kg.) per rupee. Thus, from 1792 onwards, the common people of the district suffered hardship both from political and natural causes. Many poor families abandoned their hearth and home in search of livelihood. Many entered into the forest lands of Jaypur (Koraput district) and Kalahandi, the two neighbouring estates, where they settled on permanent basis.

Jagannathadeo, the half-brother of Gajapati, after being ousted from the estates, was not satisfied with his pension. As he was closely related to the Rajas of Ghumusar and Jalantar, he found an opportunity to join with them at the moment when a sign of mutiny appeared in Ghumusar by Srikara Bhanja. The Kandhas of this region as well as the Savaras of Paralakhemundi Malihas simultaneously started disturbance throughout the district. The rajas of Badakhemundi, Dharakot, Seragad, etc. joined with Srikara Bhanja. A group of soldiers under Lt. Col. Smith was sent to check the insurgents at Seragada. But afterwards when Col. Smith attempted to capture the raja of Ghumusar, he found that his attempt was fruitless.

Unfortunately, there was neither co-ordination among the rajas nor any organised plan to fight with the English for freedom, although it was a favourable moment to achieve their objective owing to acute diverseness of the English army due to the affairs of Karnatak, when Tippu Sultan of Mysore caused a terror to their very existence in the south, just before the Third Mysore War. Moreover, weakness in the administration encouraged internal feud among the zamindars of Badakhemundi, Jalantar, Budarasing, Mandasa, Tarla and Surangi.

Padmanabh Deo alias Mani Deo fought with his brother Jagannath Deo at Badakhemundi. In 1790, a brother of the raja of Jalantar, named Sana Padsha, took part in that fight assisting Mani Deo. He set fire to twelve villages of Pratapagiri belonging to Jagannath Deo. Although in 1792, Captain Title was sent with troops to check Mani Deo's activities by arbitration, no good result was produced. The two brothers fought each other continuosly for a pretty long time.

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Meanwhile the raja of Jalantara died, leaving a minor child and a widow, whom Sana Padsha captured with the help of the Tarla zamindar and confined them in a dense forest of Badagad for about five years. Then, he declared himself as the raja of Jalantar

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In Mandasa, a similar strife had occurred when the zamindar of Budarsing attacked Mandasa and set fire to sixteen villages in May, 1790. As a retaliatory measure, the raja of Mandasa attacked Budarsing in August of the same year. Then, a pitched battle took place between the two hostile zamindars. At last the zamindar of Budarsing received a serious injury on his body and fled to the Maliahs where he lived for three years. Thereafter, the agricultural operation in most of the regions was completely paralysed. In 1797, Sana Padsha of Jalantar was captured and imprisoned in the fort of Ganjam.

From the official accounts it is well proved that there existed no peace or tranquility in the entire district. Consequently, most of the cultivators and merchants neglected their professions. led to a horrible situation in 1789 which appeared in the form of a frightful famine that continued for three years, up to 1792. Henry Crawford, the Resident, expressed his inability to suppress the refractory zamindars without additional military help. The Government too was unable to mitigate the seriousness of the famine except by prohibiting exportation of paddy outside the district and importing only 10,519 bags of rice for local consumption. tunately, the famine did not extend to the district of Puri. So, paddy could be imported from the northern districts. In spite of these measures, many people died out of starvation and several families left their abodes in search of livelihood. Warricker, the Assistant Collector of Chicacole (Srikakulam), wrote in January, 1792, to Keoting, the Collector, "I was an eye-witness of the melancholy effects of famine. About six persons were gathered round a fire and were feeding upon the carcass of a dog, killed on suspicion of its being mad". He further stated that a big village like Koduru of 3,000 population was reduced to only 20 souls. The tanks and wells were completely dried up and no water was available even to drink. A large number of cattle died for want pasturage and water.1

Under such a critical situation in the district the renters of Khallikot and other zamindars reported that they paid the revenue to one Gopala Krishnamma, a Telugu officer, who was appointed by Thomas Snodgrass, the Resident. The former cheated the zamindars by issuing no receipt to them for remittance of their due amounts

^{1.} Ganjam District Manual, p. 123.

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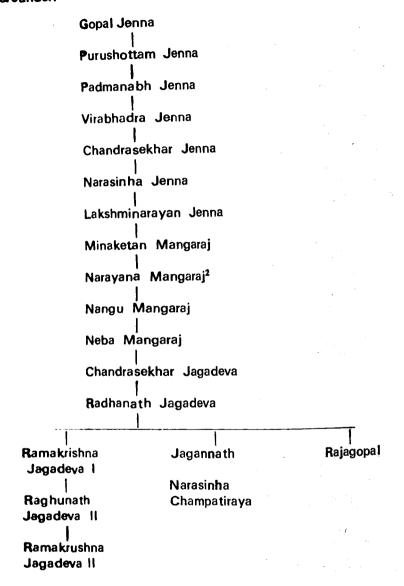
of money. After enquiry it was found that the concerned officer was guilty. So, the money which he embezzled was recovered from him. Further enquiry proved that Snodgrass himself was also not free from the crime. He built a beautiful and costly building on the bank of the Chilika lake at Rambha in 1792 on the plea that some people could get wages during the days of famine. Any way, there was no official information regarding accounts and expenditure in this construction affair. Although the Government had no faith in his dealings in money and other matters, he was appointed as Collector in 1797 only to make his "administration notorious by the wholesale corruption which he allowed to prevail in every department of the Government". He delegated some of his power to one Jagannatha Rao, a notorious Telugu Officer of his office, and himself resided in the newly constructed building at Rambha, more than 16 km. away from his office. Taking advantage of Snodgrass' confidence and support on one side and the distress and misery of the people owing to the famine on the other, Jagannatha Rao took to corruption and embazzlement of public money. According to one of the reports by William Brown, the successor of Snodgrass, the defalcations of revenue together with fraud and wholesale oppression characterised his predecessor's administration. The Zamindars and their officers were ill treated. William Brown reports that "He had in his train sepoys, peons, and a multiplicity of attendants and as an indispensible addition to the charactor, he supported the captivating allurement of a despotic dancing woman to encourage and intrigue, dissipation and extravagance. "Briefly," the public departments of the district from top to bottom speedily became all equally corrupt, and every species of extortion and oppression was practised for the purpose of extorting money".1

This type of nefarious rule continued from March, 1797 to August, 1802 or up to William Brown's appointment as Collector who again handed over charge to Peter Cherry to run the administration as Collector from 1802 to 1806.

In 1802 Chicacole (Srikakulam) which was a part of the third division of Vizagapatam (Visakhapatna) district, was incorporated in the district. Ever since the Mughal rule, the southern border of Orissa was touching the Vamsadhara river and Tekkali which was an important out-post of Kalinga Dandapata. The Gajapati Rajas of Orissa left that region under the Kshetriya Samantas of Kadamba dynasty. The last survivor of that family was Ramakrishna Jagadeva who expired in 1797 leaving no issue. So, the Zamindary of Tekkali was taken over by the Company's Government converting it into Haveli land.

^{1.} Ganjam District Manual, p. 124.

A genealogical table of the Kadamba dynasty of Tekkali¹ is given hereunder:—



In 1803, the estates of Paralakhemundi and Tekkali were separated from the Vizagapatam district and placed in Ganjam³. The southern boundary of Ganjam district was fixed as the river Nagavali alias Languliya, which flows south of the town of Srikakulam.

^{1.} Vide *The Kalinga-Desa-Charitra (Telugu), ed. 1930, pp. 379 382 ff.

^{2.} He is the author of the Abaduta, a Sanskrit Kavya.

^{3.} Vizagapatam District Gazetteer, p. 171

Peter Cherry was the first Collector of the united Ganjam who took charge in 1802. The demarcation of the boundary of the Ganjam district was made by him in 1803. The northern boundary of the district was fixed at the Chilika Lake in Khallikot zamindari. Cherry also introduced the Permanent Settlement and judicature. He might have succeeded in restoring peace in the district if the disbanded Maratha armed men had not entered into Ganjam after they suffered a heavy defeat in 1804 in the hands of the English at Baramulaghat of Khordha. As a matter of fact, immediately after the three-year famine from 1779 to 1781, the Maratha hooligan ism and their robbery disturbed the growth of tranquillity in this area.

After the death of Gajapati Deo of Khemudi, his son Purushottam Deo succeeded him. But the latter died in 1805, when his son, Jagannath Deo* was only a baby of twelve months old. So, the estate of Paralakhemundi was brought under the Court of Wards which continued for a good number of years. Meanwhile Durgaraja, the then zamindar of Tekkali Raghunathpur, was appointed as manager of the estate. He continued for seven years in that office when peace was restored owing to his good administration and admired qualities.¹

In Tekkali the last survivor of the ancient Kadamba dynasty. named Ramakrushna Jagadeva, died in 1797. His predeccessor, Raghunath Jagadeva, had two daughters named Suvarna Hiramani. They were given in marriage to Syamasunder Deva, the second son of Birakishor Deva, the raja of Khordha. After him the gadi of Khordha was claimed by Divyasinha Deva who lived up to 1798. After his death, the two sons of Birakishor Deva, Mukunda and Syamasundara, quarreled for succession. Mukunda being the elder brother, got the gadi and Syamasundar Deva fled to Tekkali, the zamindari of his deceased father-in-law. Then, he sought help of the English officers stationed at Srikakulam. As that was the precise time when the English planned to extend their occupation to Orissa they readily accepted his request. But, the strong protest made by the Maratha Subedar, Sadasiva Rao of Cuttack temporarily caused withdrawal of the said attempt.² From this time onwards the English captain Campbell Kunly watched the affairs of Orissa from his headquarters at Ganjam. He kept himself ready to attack Khordha and Cuttack from the south at any moment that he might get instructions from Bengal.

Prataprudra Gajapati Narayan Dev II (1880—1885) Gour Chandra Gajapati Narayan Dev (1885—1905)

Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Dev (1913 to the vesting of the estate on 1st June, 1953),

^{*}Subsequent genealogy of the ruling family of Paralakhemundi estate:

Russel's Report, para 12-13 and 18. See the Oriya Kavya Anuraga-Kalpalata, an Oriya M.S. preserved in the Jayadev Orissa State Museum Manuscript Library.

^{2.} Vide Ressell's, Report. para 12-13 and 18.

But, meanwhile he fell ill and left the burden to his successor, Lt. Col. Harcort, who after making some secret agreement with the young rais of Khordha and his officers, attacked Orissa on the 18th September, 1803. The Marathas were driven back in no time and their supremacy in Orissa ended.

After Durgaraja, his son Padmanabh Deb was appointed as manager of Paralakhemundi, where a serious mutiny started once again. This time, the Bisoyis and Doras complained against Padmanabh Deb alleging that he was bad and wicked in every respect. Their anger began to explode into action in 1814 when they burnt and plundered the villages of Tekkali which belonged to Padamanabh Deb.

In August 1815, a severe type of cholera (Ganjamarudi) broke out in the district. According to an official report, "the severity of the fever which caused Ganjam to be given up as districts quarters may be judged from the fact that the population of the town. estimated 30,000 in 1815, diminished to 6,000 in 1818. Many of the inhabitants abandoned the place and the civil and military authorities removed to Berhampur¹," In the same year (1815), Srikara Bhania of Ghumusar was captured and confined at Brahmapur.

In Paralakhemundi the widow (Pata-mahadevi) of Gajapati Deo. played an important role in a prolonged rebellion at the southern quarters of Ganjam. From the records of the Ganjam Collectorate it is known that the conduct of Padmanabh Deo universal disgust, and he had to seek refuge at Chicacole. Then he endeavoured to create disturbance in the district which was fruitful owing to "the irruption of the Pindaris". So, the "Martial Law was enforced and two field forces were stationed in the district to restore Dea Ce"2 .

In pursuance of the requisition, a field detachment, consisting of five companies of the 10th Regiment of Vizianagaram and three companies from the corps at Brahmapur were directed to proceed into Khemundi by forced march.3 To check the rebellion in the Maliahs at Paralakhemundi, Mr. Spottiswood, the Collector, opined, "nothing was now left but to show them by a regular force that they were not to rule the country or to give laws to the Company". He further reported that the merchants who came to Naupada in the Tekkali country to purchase salt had, through fear, returned empty handed; that the manufacturers had deserted and that the whole country seemed alarmed4.

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^{1.} Ganjam District Manual, pp. 32-33 f.

^{2.} Letters, dated 28th January 1817, 31st January 1817 and 17th February 1817.

^{3.} Russell's Report, Para, 21,

^{4.} Russell's Report, Paras, 23 and 24.

At last, however, the English officers decided to meet the Bisoyis to know their genuine complaints against the management. But all of their inducement failed. However, the manager, Padmanabh Deo, was removed from the office in 1817, because the English Officers were anxious to restore tranquility in the southern border as they were anticipating a fresh disturbance on the northern side being a link of the Paik Mutiny of Khordha headed by Jagabandhu Bidyadhar. The mutiny, although started in the district of Puri, rapidly expanded its reaction to Ganjam for two reasons, namely, (1) hostile feelings of the zamindars against the British policy and (2) Jagabandhu Bidyadhar's matrimonial relationship with the Zamindar of Seragad, who was an associate of Srikara Bhanja, the rebel raja of Ghumusar.

In 1818, a fresh disturbance took place in Mohuri. Although the British troops were stationed at Brahmapur and Ichhapur to protect people from the Maratha plunderers as they noticed that a Maratha leader was the main instigator of the Mohuri disturbance, they failed to stop the escape of Srikara Bhanja from his prison chamber. Srikara Bhanja returned to Ghumusar to start again a disturbance of serious nature being associated with *Doras* and *Bisoyis* of that region. One Bahubalendra is said to have joined with them.

The affairs which induced the English Government in seizing the Mohuri zamindari is a good example of how the local rajas were skirmished in the hands of the English. After the Raja Narayan Deo was murdered by his own brother, the said zamindari was transferred to a private person named Bandam Chalamaya in 1810; and then to Spottiswood, the District Collector. Meanwhile a brave patriotic hero of Mohuri, named Sarsungi (Serasimha) Martha, started rebellion against the Government. In 1817, he raided the Brahmapur town with the support of some neighbouring rajas after which he continued violence. His main shelter was the hill range of Kerandimala. He demanded nothing but reinstatement of the Raja Krushnachandra Deo on the Gadi.

The Government announced a reward of Rs. 10,000 for seizing Martha, but gained no response from any quarters of the locality. In 1818, a desperate attempt was made by the English when a troop consisting of 300 soldiers together with seven English officers under Captain Jobson and Mason (Assistant Collector), proceeded against martha into the target hill range. But, they were all miserably put to death. Not even a single soul could return to the camp. However, Martha was caught through some means of trickery and was imprisoned. A shortwhile after this, his nephew, Lakshmana Bisoyi, proceeded with 400 followers from Ghumusar to release Martha from confinement. This time, the English officers saved the situation by

relinquishing the estate of Mohuri in favour of its raja Krushnachandra Deo. An adequate amount of pension was also granted to his relatives.

In 1814, Dhananjaya Bhanja, the raja of Ghumusar, made a spurious complaint against his father, Srikara Bhanja, stating that he had murdered his own wife (Dhananjaya's mother). On his report, Woodcock, the Magistrate, was deputed to investigate the matter. But, Dhananjaya Bhanja, neither cared to respond the court procedures nor appeared before the Magistrate.

In 1815, the forfeiture of his estate was proclaimed; but the Raja did not show submission to the English. Consequently, a troop under Colonel Fletcher marched to Kulada, the capital town of Ghumusar estate and reached on the 20th May 1815. The troops not only captured the raja's palace but also looted the valuables found there. This action was taken without Collector's knowledge and hence Fletcher was tried by Court Martial and found guilty.

After Dhananjaya Bhanja surrendered, he was sent to Chingleput as a State prisoner. It was reported to the Government that the raja was involved in several serious crimes, ever since he was reinstated in the estate of Ghumusar in 1801 owing to his father, Srikara Bhanja, being involved in a rebellion organised by Mani Deo of Mohuri and Padmanabh Deo of Badakhemundi who were deposed by a proclamation.

In the beginning of the 19th century, the affairs of Vi**iay**anagar Pratapagiri and (modern Badakhemundi and Sanakhemundi respectively) perilous. zamindars became According the local records.2 the Raja Purushottam Anangabhima, had three sons, namely, Padmanabh Deo alias Mani Deo, Chaitanya Deo and Jagannath Purushottama Deo was kept under confinement at Vizagapatam by Vijyaram Raz who claimed full payment of his arrear dues. The raja requested to allow him to go to his own estate to collect the required amount of money. Vijayaram Raz consented to give him liberty on condition that his successor (son) should be kept under his custody as security till the full payment of the arrears was Accordingly, a messenger was sent to Badakhemundi with a letter from Purushottama Deo, addressed to his sons. The first son, Padmanabh Deo, refused to go; the second son, Chaitanya Deo who was ill could not go; but the third son, Jagannath, a boy of ten years, went with the messenger to relieve his father. Vijayaram Raz who was well impressed with the good conduct of the boy, made necessary arrangements for his succession to the Gadi of Badakhemundi.

^{1.} Ganjam District Manual, p. 139.

^{2.} Local Records, B. Vol. 37 Kataka-raja-Vamsavali (Madras Record).

In 1773. Purusottam Anangabhima Deo died. **Immediately** after that Padmanabh Deo occupied the estate ignoring any claim Thereupon, Jagannath Deo went to the of his vounger brother. English fort at Ganiam where he sought help from the English officers. After considering his claims, the Government allowed him to enjoy the estate of Pratapagiri (Sanakhemundi). Then being dissatisfied with the decision of the English, Padmanabh Deo took part in the Mohuri disturbance and was caught in a battle. He was imprisoned in the Ganiam fort but escaped with the assistance of his supporters. Then, he fled to the forest of Ghumusar where he took refuge being supported by Srikara Bhania. After this, the Raia of Seragad also joined them to organise a great disturbance against the English Government. Their first explosion started at Asika and other surrounding areas. The Government realised that Padmanabh Deo was at the back of all these disturbances. So, a troop was despatched without delay to Digapahandi and Vijayanagar (Badakhemundi) Brown for confiscation of the said zamindari. In the course of their action, several innocent people were killed and many families were wiped out.

Padmanabh Deo died in 1804. Then, his brother, Chaitanya Deo, being submissive to the English and agreeable to pay the stipulated peshcush to the Government, got the estate back to his possession.¹

The genealogical table of Badakhemundi raj family is given below. ²

Narasinha Deva (A.D. 1623—1632)

Ananta Anangabhima Deva (A.D. 1632—1679)

Padmanabh Anangabhima Deva (A. D. 1679—1712)

Ramachandra Deva (A. D. 1726) Vasu Deva Thataraja

Purusottam Anangabhima Deva (A. D. 1726—1773)

Padmanabh Deva Chaitanaya Jagannath Harikrushna (A.D. 1773—1804) Deva (A.D. Deva (Raja of Deva (Raja of Vijayanagar 1804—1814) Pratapagiri) or Badakhemundi)

^{1.} Madras Local Record, B. Vol. No. 37.

The Telugu Kaifayat submitted by Chaitanya Deva in 1814 to the Madras Government (Vide Madras Local Record, B. Vol. 37).

The disturbance on all quarters of the district, however, compelled the English to accept the freedom of Srikara Bhanja having recognised him as the Raja of Ghumusar in May, 1819.

Three years before this, the Pindaris, an offshoot of the Maratha army, began to plunder the villages in the district at the instruction of their group leaders who could not pay their wages. According to an official report, the plunderers made an incursion into the Ganiam district in December, 1816, when their strength was about four to five thousands. They were well-mounted, but ill-armed. It is said that they got support from Padmanabh Deo, the ex-manager of Paralakhemundi estate; and they entered into the district through Jaypur country. They proceeded northwards after burning and looting towns and villages indiscriminately. At this juncture, Thackery's attention was focussed on Mohuri and Ghumusar on one side and Paralakhemundi on the other. After carefully appraising the situation, he appointed Bayard to remain in special charge of the hill zamindars, as he was acquainted with Oriva dialect. Immediately after this, he reduced the number and powers of indigenous Paiks, who, till then, used to enjoy the lands granted to them by the But according to a new arrangement, such lands were resumed and substituted by monthly pay. That created hardship to the ill-paid Paiks who afterwards engaged in looting and harassing the villagers. One Gudiapadi Lakshman in the hill tracts of Tekkali and Paralakhemundi was found to be a dangerous robber who created troubles for many years.1

Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, visited the district in 1822, probably to know the cause of the situation and to find out its remedy. Although different measures were undertaken by the Government, the hatred and discontenment of people against the administration was not removed.

In 1836, a terrible situation of drought and failure of crops appeared throughout the district and turned to be a frightful famine. It prolonged for four years. The condition in the northern part of the district was very severe. To add to the misery of the people a terrible epidemic of cholera caused a large number of deaths. The famine and the epidemic considerably reduced the population. Many families abondoned their abodes and settled in the neighbouring districts. In the coastal area, a large number of cocoanut plantations were destroyed owing to drought.

^{1.} Vide Russell's Report, Para. 21.

In the middle of the 19th century, the raja of Athagad was unable to remit his peshcush in the scheduled time. So his estate was put to auction, although he had remained ever loyal to the English. Similarly, in 1844 the estate of Mohuri was auctioned when the raja failed to pay his arrear dues to the Government. As none wanted to participate in the auction sale of the estate, the Collector purchased it on behalf of the Government for a nominal sum of one hundred rupees.

Another instance of similar nature was the case of Sorada zamindari. Soon after the death of Raja Kunjabehari Sinha his widow and nephew Lakshminarayan Sinha both claimed their rights over the estate. When the court decided the issue in favour of Lakshminarayan, the widow created disturbance on account of which the estate was sold to Dhananjaya Bhanja, the raja of Ghumusar, for Rs.8,000.1

In the case of Athagad estate, when Prendergate, the Collector sold the zamindari to the raja of Khallikot in 1854, the raiyats of the estate strongly protested against it and did not pay rent to the purchaser, the raja of Khallikot. The centre of their agitation was located at Boirani (Kabisuryanagar) where Devidson, the Assistant Collector, met with 700 or 800 raiyats inducing them to pay the rent to the purchaser. But, they argued that they preferred even to pay the tax to the Government direct rather than to the raja of Khallikot. After a hard coercion they submitted very reluctantly to the advice of Davidson.

In the Agency tracts of Ganjam, the Kandhas were practising the human sacrifice (meriah) since time immemorial. The Government desired to prohibit the system as they did in the case of "Satidaha". So they suppressed meriah under the Act XXI, of 1845. Many English officers had devoted their energy to suppressing the meriah sacrifice in the Ganjam agency. Among them Captain Macpherson, Dr. Codenhead, Dr. Pinkney, Captain Frey, Colonel Campbell, Captain Mac Viccar, Captain Mc. Neill and Lieutenant Crawford² are notewothy.

^{1,} Ganjam District Manual, p. 152.

Maltby says; "the records of the Mariah-Agency appear to have been destroyed as I have been unable to discover their existence either at the India Office in London or in India". (Ganjam Manual, p. 154, f. n, 1).

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In 1855 and 1856, a tribal leader of Ghumusar, named Chakra Bisoyi, created disturbance in the Kandha agency. At the same time in the Savara agency of Paralakhemundi one Radhakrishna Dandasena popularly known as 'Gaibapilla' started a furious disturbance. Chakra Bisoyi could easily stimulate the Kandhas whose meriah rite was newly suspended by the Government after Captain Macpherson's report was issued.

In the Agency tracts of the southern quarters of the district. the Savaras were organised against the British Government by Radhakrushna Dandasena who was their accredited leader. The Government came to know that he was an instrument in the hands of Gajapati Patamaha Devi, the widow queen of Gajapati Deo, who in 1853 had started rebellion against the English. The situation would have been bad had there been a link between Chakra Bisoyi of Ghumusar and Radhakrushna Dandasena of Paralakhemundi and if the Government had not deputed a very able and efficient officer like Russell to take immediate steps to suppress the rebellions simultaneously at the Agency tracts of Ghumusar and Paralakhemundi. The mutiny could be controlled after Dandasena was caught by one of his friends who bribed through the English agency. It is said that one day a friend of Dandasena invited him to dine with him at his house, which was previously surrounded by English soldiers. While dining in the friend's house, he was caught and afterwards hanged. Similary, Chakra Bisoyi was captured by some jugglary means and was hanged. A few years afterwards, the English officers seem to have created a communal feud between the Oriyas, Panas and the tribal people in the agency area, near the Suvarnagiri where a large number of Oriyas, Sundhis and Panaswere murdered for no fault of theirs. A frightful famine occurred in 1865 and 1866, making the whole district completely destitute. About ten to fifteen thousand people had perished out of hunger. Although according to the official report, the total number of deaths was 10,898, Maltby mentioned "there is no doubt that the total loss of life by starvation was greately in excess of this return as many hundreds must have perished of whom no account was kept."

During this situation the land owners of south Ganjam experienced a fresh hardship when W. Hudleston, Secretary to the Court of Wards of Paralakhemundi, introduced classification of lands by settlement operation. G. S. Forbes, the Collector of Ganjam, was duly informed about the 'Block Survey' which was completed in 1867. The wrong classification of soil and fixation of tenure and tax were protested by people. They blotted out the 'Block Survey' so violently that in 1880 when Col.C.J.

Stewart started for revision of the survey, he found that the boundary stones were distorted and they were not traceable. In some cases the stones were misplaced. With such experience, the 'Block Survey' in other estates of Ganjam were not put into operation.

Role of the District for the creation of Orissa Province

The year 1903 gave birth to the 'Utkal Union Conference' at the Rambha palace which belonged to the raid of Khallikot. It was promoted by some prominent leaders of Orissa, such as Madhusudan Das, Narasinha Das. Harihara Panda, Syamasundara Rajaguru, Baikunthanath De, Fakiramohan Senapati, Gopabandhu Das and others. In no time the Oriva movement spread to all parts of the Oriya-speaking areas and brought a wonderful unity among them. Their demand for unification of the Oriya-speaking tracts, lying in the provinces of Madras, Central Provinces and Bengal, under one administration was supported even by some British officers. So far as the demand of the Oriyas of Madras presidency was concerned, the boundary more less corresponded to that of the Oriya-speaking regions, mentioned in Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India as quoted below:

"It then turns south along the boundary between the States of Jashpur and Udayapur (in the Central Provinces), across the State of Raigarh and Sarangarh and the districts of Sambalpur and Raipur and along the boundary between the Jaypur Agency of Vizagapatam and the State of Bastar to near Dindiki where it turns east across Vizagapatam and Ganjam and joins the sea-coast near Baruva, a small port in the latter district."

On the 11th and 12th April, 1903, a meeting of Utkal Union Conference was held at Brahmapur under the chairmanship of Syamasundar Rajaguru. It was attended by many leading Oriyas, such as Madhusudan Das, Biswanath Kar, Nandakishore Bala, Fakiramohan Senapati, Ramachandra Das, Lokanath Vidyadhara, Gopabandhu Das and Raghunath Rao. 2 The Oriyas of Ganjam who had started agitation more than three decades prior to that conference, demanding introduction of Oriya as a subject in the Madras University and also recognition of the Oriya language in the courts and government offices of Ganjam, found a good opportunity to express their grievances in that session. In response to the public agitation the Government of Madras did more efforts to remove the above mentioned difficulties; but the anti-Oriya movement in the northern parts of the Madras presidency had been taking a vigorous course since 1903. Cooke, the submitted a report to the Government commissioner of Orissa

^{1.} Grierson, the Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V, Part II.

^{2.} The Utkal Dipika, 1903. p. 460.

of India in 1894 suggesting that from the administrative and ethnic point of view the out-lying Oriya tracts, namely, Sambalpur of the Chhatisgarh Division of Central Provinces and "the whole or part of Ganjam District with the States of Kimidi and Ghumsur" he included in the Orissa Division. While stressing upon this suggestion he further stated "I am in possession of a map of India, dated 1841, in which either on ethnological or political grounds, the province of Orissa includes the two portions of territory that I have proposed to absorb in this (Orissa) Division".

In 1902, the Oriyas of Ganjam presented a memorial to Lord Curzon, the Governor-General of India, praying for unification of the out-lying Oriya tracts in the Orissa Division. They compared the artificial vivisection of the Oriya tracts with that of "a limb separated from the body".

Immediately aftar this, H.H. Risley, the Home Secretary to the Government of India, stated in his letter No.3678, dated the 3rd December 1903 that the Oriva-speaking areas, lying in the Central Provinces and in Madras Presidency might be transferred to Orissa Division under the administration of Bengal in order to compensate the loss of Dacca, Raisahi. Chittagang and Assam from Bengal, as per Lord Curzon's, scheme of the partition of Bengal. The above recommendation of Risley, however, brought a new hope in the minds of the Oriyas. Meanwhile, the first session of the 'Utkal Union Conference' organised by Madhusudan Das at Cuttack in December, 1903 was held under the presidentship of the Maharaja of Mayurbhani. But, to their misfortune, the nineteenth session of the Indian National Congress was held at Madras on the very same day when the Utkal Conference was held at Cuttack. So, not a single Oriya delegate was present at the Congress meeting of Madras under the presidentship of Lalmohan Ghosh. The main resolution which the Congress had adopted runs as follows:

"The Congress views with deep concern the present policy of the Government of India in breaking up territorial divisions which have been of long standing and are closely united by ethnological, linguistic, social and administrative relations and the Congress deprecates the separation from Bengal of Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagang Division". In this resolution another clause was added after being moved by one Raghava Rao, an Andhra delegate from Brahmapur, which runs as follows: "and also separation of the district of Ganjam and the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Vizagpatam from Madras presidency."

A Tamilian delegate, V.Krishnaswami Aiyar, brought an amendment suggesting deletion of the last portion which was proposed by Raghava Rao. He questioned the propriety of that additional clause in a resolution which refers only to the partition of Bengal. But, his amendment was lost for want of majority support. We have already stated that no Oriya delegate was present there as they were busy in their affairs at the 'Utkal Union Conference' in Cuttack on the same day.

The anti-Oriya attitude of the Congress in the Madras session roused a feeling of alienation in the minds of the Oriva against the National Congress. At the same time the Chamber of Commerce and the National Muhammaden Association of Calcutta passed resolutions in 1904, supporting amalgamation of the Oriva-speaking tracts under one administration. But the Telugus of Brahmapur submitted a memorial to Lord Ampthil, the Governor of Madras, strongly protesting against inclusion of any portion of Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts in the Orissa division of Bengal. Lord Ampthil sent his view to he Central Government in support of the public demand of the Telugu community. As his status and position in Indian affairs was highly regarded by the British authorities at London, the Chief Secretary, Sir M. Hammik, in his letter, dated the 28th June, 1904, gave an assisting note on the opinion of Lord Ampthil. Accordingly, Sir Andrew Fraser, the Governor of Bengal, in his letter of the 12th September 1904, revised his former view and stated that Ganjam and Vizagapatam agency need not be transferred from Madras to form a united Oriva-speaking division.

In the month of December, 1904, the second session of the 'Utkal Union Conference' was held at Cuttack under the president-ship of Raja Madanamohan Singh of Dharakot. In that meeting a large number of delegates from Ganjam were present and they expressed unequivocally how the Government policy in Madras was going to cripple the Oriya cause in that area.

Lord Ampthil paid a visit to Brahmapur where he accepted the representations of the Telugus and gave no opportunity to the Oriyas to speak out their grievances. It proved that he was lenient to the Telugu cause. Consequently, the misfortune of the Oriyas was aggravated when Lord Ampthil officiated as the Viceroy of India during the absence of Lord Curzon. At such a crucial moment the Government of India passed a resolution on 19th July 1905 for transfer of Sambalpur to Orissa, ignoring the claim of the Oriyas of Madras province. It was a great shock to the Oriya people as a whole but they did not give up the hope of amalgamation of the outlying Oriya tracts. In 1906, the Oriyas sent a deputation to Sir Arthur Lawly,

the Governor of Madras, demanding amalgamation of the Oriyaspeaking areas of Ganjam and Vizagapatam agency with Orissa. But all their demands were in vain.

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In 1911, when Lord Hardinge was the Viceroy, a new province for the Hindi-speaking Biharis was formed in accordance with the Despatch of the Government of India, dated the 25th August 1911.

In the same year, the census work was accomplished in India. The population figure of the Oriyas in Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts was surprisingly reduced in comparison with the population growth of the other races. The Oriya people of the district approached the Central Government on this issue for justice, but in vain.

In 1912, however, the question was dicussed in the House of Lords in London, when Lord Curzon remarked that the Oriyas were "a non-agitating people, and so their demand was not coming to the forefront. In the House of Commons, Mac. Callum Scott raised a point regarding the advisability of unification of the Oriya-speaking areas of Madras presidency with Orissa. He also advised the Secretary of State to recommend to the Government of India for removal of the specific difficulties of the Oriyas in Madras. Montague, the Secretary of State, assured the House that the question would be dealt with when accumulated evidence could be advanced in favour of such a change. But nothing was done to help the Oriya cause while the Viceroy turned down the memorial of the Oriyas in Ganjam as "unnecessary and undesirable!".

On the 7th April, 1912, the 8th session of the 'Utkal Union Conference' was held at Brahmapur, and was well attended by representatives from all quarters of the Oriya-speaking regions. Special stress was laid upon the views of Lord Curzon in the House of Lords and Mac. Callum Scott in the House of Commons for implementing the unification of Oriyas of Madras presidency with Orissa.

The 10th session of the 'Utkal Union Conference' was held at Paralakhemundi under the presidentship of Raja Vikramadeva Varma. The Maharaja K. C. Gajapati of Paralakhemundi played an important role in that session. He suggested to start an agitation for creation of a separate province for the Oriyas on linguistic principle.

The Montague Chelmsford report on Constitutional Reforms of India was published in July, 1918. According to the suggestions made in that report, provinces were to be formed on

^{1.} The Oriya Movement, pp. 42-43.

report recommended for linguistic basis. The authors of that constituting sub-provinces for Orissa and Barar 1. to a decision adopted in the 12th session of the 'Utkal Sammilani' at memorandum present a Baleshwar, a committee was formed to a separate Orissa province to Montague, the Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford at Calcutta, just before the announcement of the constitutional changes of India in 1917. Sharma, a Telugu member of the Imperial Council, proposed for redistribution of provincial boundaries on linguistic basis and he cited in his speech how the Oriyas suffered being placed under four provinces. In the Report of Constitutional Reforms, different Montague and Lord Chelmsford recommended for creation of linguistic sub-provinces which was gladly accepted in a Utkal session of the 'Utkal Sammilani' in 1918. Madhusudan Das raised the question in the Legislative Assembly of and Orissa Province proposing to form a sub-province But, the reply from the together with all the Oriya-speaking areas. Government to his suggestion was not favourable. in 1919, the Raja of Kanika raised similar question in the Central Council, after which the Government of India issued a circular to the Provincial Governments of Madras and, Bihar and Orissa, inviting their opinion on the problem of the Constitutional Reforms. The replies given by them were not favourable to the Oriya cause.

Samaj of Paralakhemundi submitted The 'Utkal Hitaishini seats for representation to the Government for reservation of six the Oriyas in the India Legislative Assembly and one elected and one nominated seat for the land-holders being nominated by Oriya members of the respective councils. But, the report of the Franchise Committee did not accept it although two non-Muslim rural seats were allotted for Ganjam on the basis of population. The grievance of the Oriyas of Ganjam was aggravated as no reservation of seats for them was made even though they formed a substantial minority in the province of Madras. In the Madras Legislative Council, out Naturally, they of 42 seats only one seat was allotted to them. felt that the injustice was quite deliberate and not inadvertent. In 1920, however, the Government of India realised the injustice done to them for which they formed an enquiry committee to know the views of the Oriyas in Madras while Sachidanada Sinha moved Legislative Assembly on resolution on this issue in the Central 20th February, 1920². Immediately after this, the Chakradharapur Session of the 'Utkal Sammilani' took place where Utkalmani Pandit Gopabandhu Das used his influence to make it a national demand through the Indian National Congress.

^{1.} Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, para. 246.

^{2.} The Utkal Dipika, 1920, p. 367.

The Oriya agitation in Ganjam gained more popularity when Sashibhushan Rath moved a resolution in the Madras Legislative Council for constituting a committee to advise the Government of India about the areas which might be amalgamated with Orissa from Madras presidency. But, the resolution was subsequently withdrawn for want of adequate support. A similar resolution was moved in the Bihar and Orissa Council for appealing to the Central Government on this issue. On the 28th March, 1922, B. Das and B.N. Misra raised interpellations in the Indian Legislative Assembly regarding unification of the outlying Oriya-speaking tracts with Orissa. But, the Government answered that they were awaiting reply from the concerned provincial governments on this problem.

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In April, 1923, a meeting of the 'Utkal Union Conference' was held at Brahmapur under the chairmanship of Kalpataru Das. Many Congress workers took part in it. They supported the main idea of amalgamation of the Oriya areas under one administration, but differed on the course of action to be taken to fulfil the objective.

Soon after this, a non-Congress group at Cuttack, headed by Brajasundar Das, formed a separate committee called 'Utkal Union Committee' to carry on the Oriya movement in full swing.

In July, 1924, when Pandit Gopabandhu Das was released from jail, a meeting of the 'Utkal Provincial Conference' was held at Cuttack under the presidentship of P.C. Ray, in which it was resolved that the question of unification of the Oriya-speaking tracts under one province was to be placed before Mahatma Gandhi.

Meanwhile, the Government of India appointed C.L. Philip and A.C. Duff, two I.C.S. officers, to enquire about the attitude of the Oriyas of Ganjam and Vizagapatam, whether they were willing to remain in a separate Orissa province. The committee ascertained the views of the Oriya zamindars and common people of these two districts found that they unanimously supported the idea of amalgamation with Orissa. Accordingly they submitted their report to the Government of India in favour of the Oriyas. But the Madras Government pleaded to maintain the status quo, 1.

In 1928, the Simon Commission was appointed to ascertain different views from people regarding constitutional issues together with formation of new provinces on linguistic ground. Some Oriya leaders appeared before the commission to express their long standing grievances, although the Indian National Congress had

In 1930 when Philip was acting as the Commissioner of Orissa Division, he expressed in a meeting; "Our recommendation in the Committee Report of 1924 was mostly guided by the views and wishes of the Maharaja of Parlakhersundi" (Vide History of the Gangas, Part-II, p. 269).

adopted a tough policy of non-co-operating with the Commission. Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati of Paralakhemundi and Bhubaneswar Rath of Brahmapur appeared before the commission at Madras and presented two separate memorandum on behalf of the Oriyas of Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts claiming amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas with Orissa. Some leaders of Cuttack, headed by Brajasundar Das, also met the commission at Patna making similar demands. Upon this, Simon mentioned in his report "that the existing provincial boundaries in more than one case embraced areas and people of no natural affinity, and sometimes separate, those who might under different schemes be more naturally united" 1.

According to Simon's recommendation, a sub-committee, under the chairmanship of Major Attlee, was appointed in 1930 to make a detailed enquiry into these problems. The sub-committee's report favoured forming of a separate Orissa province.

In 1931, the census operation in Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts activated the Oriyas to safeguard their interest at the time of enumeration. But, some European officers of Madras hampered their attempt and in some areas, the non-Oriya enumerators had deliberately tried to reduce the number of Oriyaspeaking population in the census records.

On the 6th January 1931, the Maharaja of Paralakhemundi, representing the Orivas at the First Round Table Conference at London explained in his speech how ten million Oriyas were vivisected in four different provinces and they suffered by losing their linguistic and cultural identity. He also questioned how the proposed provincial autonomy would be implemented when a separate province for speech 2 His million of Oriva people was not formed. present appealed to all sections of the representatives The Government of India, in their Resolution the conference. No.f.12-VI-31, dated the 8th September 1931, appointed a Boundary Committee' under the chairmanship of S.P. O' Donnell. The other two Indian members of the committee were H.M.Mehta, of the Council of State and J. R. Phookan, a member of Legislative Assembly of Assam. To assist the Boundary Committee, the Mahaon behalf of the Oriyas, Sachidananda Sinha on behalf of the Biharis and C.V.S. Narasimha Raju on bahalf of the Telugus represented as associated members.

^{1.} Simon Record vol. I, para. 38, page 24.

^{2.} The Maharaja's speech is quoted in Appendix III of this chapter.

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The 'Boundary Committee' started its work at Gopalpur of Ganjam district where they received several memoranda for and against inclusion of Oriya-speaking areas in the proposed Orissa province. Yeats, the then Census Superintendent of Madras, gave evidence arguing that the mother tongue factor guided him for non-inclusion of the Oriya estates, south of Brahmapur with Orissa. Yeat's evidence, impressed the chairman of the committee (Sir O' Donell) and made him to record his view against inclusion of Paralakhemundi and Jaypur estates in Orissa, although the other two Indian Members of the Committee differed from him and gave separate notes in favour of inclusion of Paralakhemundi in the new Orissa province.

The report of the Boundary Committee was published in 1932 when the chairman's view was condemned in the news columns and platforms in Orissa.

On the 21st August, 1932, a special session of the 'Utkal Union Conference' was held at Brahmapur under the presidentship of Raibahadur Lakhmidhara Mohanty. The Maharaja of Paralakhemundi and the Rajasaheb of Khallikot took active part in the deliberations. According to a decision of the conference, a deputation led by the Maharaja of Paralakhemundi waited upon Lord Wellington, the Viceroy of India on the 17th September, 1932 at Simla. It produced a favourable result. The Viceroy of India sent a report to the Secretary of State for early creation of a separate Orissa province, including the Oriya-speaking tracts as recommended by the Boundary Committee.

On the 12th February, 1933, an urgent meeting of the 'Utkal Union Conference' was held at Cuttack under the president-ship of Bhubanananda Das. The meeting passed a resolution by expressing great concern at the proposed exclusion of Paralakhemundi, Jaypur and other Oriya-speaking areas from Orissa. It was, however, a great shock to the Oriyas when the White Paper was published on the 17th March, 1933, declaring creation of the Orissa province with boundaries as recommended by Sir O' Donnell in his report. Some leaders remarked that "Orissa without Paralakhemundi was like a body without head".

The question of southern boundary of Orissa was discussed in the Joint Select Committee of the British Parliament. Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State, intimated the Select Committee for fixing up the boundaries of Orissa by including therein the Oriya-speaking portions from the zamindaris of Paralakhemundi and Jaypur.

In May, 1933, the Maharaja of Paralakhemundi started for London to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee.¹

Before arriving at London, he wrote a letter from the ship (S. S. Mooltan) to Utkal Gourab Madhusudan Das on the 2nd May, 1933 stating that "I had a talk with your friend, Sir Courtney Terrel, the Chief Justice of Bihar and Orissa. He has nothing but praise to you and all of us. I am lucky in having on board of this steamer, my sincere old friends and colleagues that had worked with me in the first Round Table Conference; Sir Henry Gidney, M. L. A., and N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., and the Dewan of Sangli, and glad to say that they are very very sympathetic indeed. As I have a printed Memorandum on Paralakhemundi, dealing with all aspects, I have circulated a copy to each one of them. I have given one to the Chief Justice also whom I find very sympathetic and a great friend of the Oriyas".

He prepared a strong case for the Oriyas before submitting his memorandum to the Joint Select Committee. After a strenuous effort he gained his objective by including in the new province of Orissa the Oriya-majority portions of Paralakhemundi along with its town and the estate of Jaypur.

In October, 1933, a meeting of the Orissa Administration Committee was held at Cuttack under the chairmanship of Sir John Hubback, who later became the first Governor of Orissa. The new province began to function from the 1st April, 1936, as per the Government of India Act, 1936.

Extracts from the first schedule (parts I and II) of the Government of India (Constitution of Orissa) Order, 1936 showing the southern boundary of Orissa (Ganjam district portion) are given in Appendix Iv of this chapter.

The district of Ganjam was thus divided into two parts. The portion which was added to Orissa retained its old name, while the excluded portion was subsequently formed into a new district under the name 'Srikakulam' which is now in Andhra Pradesh.

In the year of creation of the province of Orissa the Khondmals subdivison which formed a part of old Anugul district and was governed by the Khondmals Laws Regulations was added to the district of Ganjam. The Collector of Ganjam became the exofficio Deputy Commissioner of Khondmals. Consequent upon the

^{1.} Vide Report of the Joint Select Committee, Vol. I part I, paras 57, 62, 118, Vol. II, p. 369.

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merger of the ex-states with Orissa in 1948, the Khondmals subdivision was detached from the district of Ganjam to form a new district of Boudh-Khondmals (now Phulabani). Subsequently, for reasons of administrative necessity G. Udayagiri and Baligurha Taluks of Ganjam were also transferred to the Boudh-Khondmals district to constitute the Baligurha subdivision.

The Maharaja K. C. Gajapati ruler of Paralakhemundi was nominated as the first Prime Minister (now termed Chief Minister) of Orissa. But, his ministry was dissolved within a short time when the Congress members of Orissa contested the first election and formed a majority in the Assembly. On the 19th July 1937, Biswanath Das formed the first Congress Ministry in Orissa. In the same year, with his support a 'Raiyats' Association' was organised in the district.

2:

FREEDOM MOVEMENT

110

An exhaustive account of how the people of the region now forming the district of Ganjam kept on fighting for their freedom even long after the land was occupied by the British has been given earlier in this chapter.

Towards the end of the second decade of the present century. the Congress organisation under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi started agitation for the freedom of the country. Pandit Gopabandhu Das, a prominent leader of Orissa attended the Nagpur Session of the Indian National Congress in December 1920. He was advised by Mahatma Gandhi to carry the messages of the Congress organisation to the people of the Oriya-speaking tracts. The Utkal Congress was formed and Congress workers were enrolled to take up non-co-operation movement throughout the length and breadth of the Oriya-speaking region.

The Congress in this district was organised by Niranjan Patnaik. A District Committee was formed under the presidentship of Srivatsa Panda. The members of the committee were Biswanath Das, Sarat Chandra Patnaik, Dibakar Patnaik, Mahendra Kumar Patnaik, Banchhanidhi Patnaik and Jayamangal Rath.

In March 1921, Mahatma Gandhi visited Brahmapur where he delivered a speech stirring up the national spirit in the minds of the people of Ganjam. Late V.V. Giri (ex-President of India) who hailed from the district and his family actively worked for the Congress organisation. His sister Lakshmi Bai became a member of the All India Congress Committee from 1930 to 1940.

Among the first batch of students who left their studies at the call of the nation were two worthy students, viz., Nanda Kishore Mishra and Arjun Panigrahi. Both of them were studying at the Panchaiyappa college, Madras.

In December 1927, Mahatma Gandhi revisited Brahmapur. He also went to Paralakhemundi, Asika, Bhanjanagar (then Russelkonda), etc., where he addressed several public meetings calling on the people to associate themselves with the freedom struggle. He expressed satisfication in the Congress activities undertaken in the district. On the eve of his visit, Niranjan Patnaik published a bulletin entitled "The Gandhi Samachar".

The Congress workers of Ganjam played an important role in 1930 when the Salt Satyagraha Movement was started by Mahatma Gandhi. Biswanath Das, Dibakar Patnaik and others joined the Satyagraha and tried to manufacture salt in some villages of the district but no arrest was then made. So they issued a notice to raid upon the salt factory at Huma, when many workers were put in jail.

During 1932, owing to the individual Satyagraha campaign or the non-violence movement of the Indian National Congress, several party workers of Ganjam headed by Biswanath Das, Dibakar Patnaik, A. Lakshmi Bai, Banamali Moharana, Govind Pradhan and others were taken into custody. Many were beaten up by police while marching and raising slogans in a procession at the central market of Brahmapur town.

After the formation of the first Congress Ministry in Orissa on 19th July, 1937 under the leadership of Biswanath Das, Congress workers of north Ganjam started 'no-tax' campaign in the estates of Khallikot, Athagad and Biridi. Banamali Moharana and others took active part in that movement and were arrested. the Congress party moved a resolution in the Provincial Assembly for an amendment of the Madras Estates Land Act to give occupancy rights to tenants of Inamdars. This was not approved by the Viceroy on the ground that it was exproprietory in nature. So in 1940, a Kissan rally was organised in Ganjam. In 1942, like other parts of the country, the Civil Disobedience Movement was started throughout the district. It was a part of the Satyagraha Movement under the direction of Mahatma Gandhi. On the 15th August, 1942, almost all the leaders of the Congress organisation were taken into custody and their activities were suspended for a long period, viz., till the independence of India on the 15th August 1947.

It is needless to mention that hundreds of persons of the district participated in the struggle for independence of the country. Names of some of the prominent freedom fighters are given below:

V. V. Giri, Biswanath Das, Dibaker Patnaik, Dinabandhu Behera, Ghanasyam Patnaik, Govinda Pradhan, Niranjan Patnaik, Banamali Moharana, Harihar Das, Jayamangal Rath, Mohan Nayak, Narayan Patra, Srinivas Kaviratna, A Lakshmi Bai, Ballav Naik, Banchhanidhi Patnaik, Brundaban Rath, Ballav Narayan Rath, Biswambar Behera, Hadibandhu Khadanga, Jaya Das, Shyam Sundar Padhi, Kamana Panda Sarma, Kotakota Balakrushna Patra, Khitish Chandra Mahapatra, Korada Vira Lakshmi, Dandasi Jena, Sashibhusan Rath, Madhusudan Das, Pokala Satya Narayan and Brundaban Nayak.

APPENDIX I

The Separate Rock Edict I of King Asoka, Devanampriya Priyadarsin at Jaugada

English Translation

1

- A. Devanampriya speaks thus:
- B. The *Mahamatras at Samapa*, (who are) the judicial officers of the City, have to be told this.
- C. Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.
- D. And this is considered by me the principal means, viz., (to give) instruction to you.
- E. For you are occupied with many thousands of men, with the object of gaining the affection of men.
- F. All men are my children.
- G. As on behalf of my own children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.
- H. But you do not learn this, (viz.) how far this (my) object reaches.
- I. Some single person (only) learns (this), (and) even he (only) a portion, (but) not the whole.
- J. Now you must also pay attention (to this), although you are in prosperous circumstances.
- K. It happens frequently that a single person undergoes imprisonment and suffers harsh treatment.
- L. In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, which many other people (continue to) suffer.
- M. In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.
- N. One fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions; envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness, (and) fatigue.
- O. (you) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise in you.

- P. But the root of all is this; the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.
- Q. Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will (not) move and rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice).
- R. He who will pay attention to this, must export (you) to discharge (your) debt (to the king), (by telling you); Such and such is the instruction of Devanampriya.
- S. If one observes this, great gain results, (but its) nonobservance becomes a great evil.
- T. If one fails to observe (this), (there will be) neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.
- U. How (could) my mind be pleased if one fulfils this duty badly (?)
- V. If (you) deserve this, you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me, and you will attain heaven.
- W. And this rescript must be listened to (by all) on every (day of) Tishya.
- X, It may be listened to even by a single (person) also on (other) occasions between (the days of *Tishya*).
- Y.A.you will be able to
- Z. And for the following purpose has this rescript been written, (viz.) inorder that the Mahamatras (who are) city judges may strive at all times for this that to men (undeserved imprisonment or harsh treatment).
- BB.also the prince (governor) will send out
- CC.from (Takshasi) la

Separate Rock Edict II

- A. Devanampriya speaks thus.
- B. The *Mahamatras* at Samapa have to be told (this) at the word of the king.
- C. Whatever I recognize (to the right), that I strive to carry out by deeds and to accomplish by (various) means.
- D. And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.
- E. All men are my children,
- F. As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on bahalf of all men.
- G. It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask) What does the king desire with reference to us?
- H. This alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, (that) they may learn (that) the king desires this, (that) they may not be afraid of me, but may have confidence in me; (that) they may attain only happiness from me, not misery (that) they may learn this, (that) the king will forgive them what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practice morality; (and that) they may attain (happiness) both (in) this world and (in) the other world.
- I. And for the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz., that) I may discharge the debt (which) I owe to them by this, that I instruct you and inform (you) of (My) will, i.e., (of) my unshakable resolution and vow.
- J. Therefore, acting this, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire them with confidence in order that (they may learn that the king is to them like a father), (that) he loves them as he loves himself, (and that) they are to the king like (his own) children.
- K. Having instructed you and having informed (you) of (my) will, i. e., (of) my unshakable resolution and now, I shall have (i.e. maintain) officers in all provinces for this object.

- L. For you are able to inspire those (borders) with confidence and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.
- M. And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.
- N. And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the Mahamatras may strive at all times to inspire (my) borderers with confidence and (to induce them) to practise morality.
- O. And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months on (the day of) Tishya.
- P. And it may be listened to also between (the days of Tishya.
- Q. It may be listened to even by a single (person) when an occasion offers.
- R. And if (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

The Jaugada Inscription of Asoka.

English Translation

- A. This rescript on morality has been caused to be written on the Khepingala Mountain by King Devanampriya Priyadarsin.
- B. Here no livig being must be killed and sacrificed.
- C. And also no festival meeting must be held,
- D. For King Devanampriya Priyadarsin sees much evil in festival meetings.

- E. But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by King Devanampriya Priyadarsin.
- F. Formerly in the kitchen of King Devanampriya Priyadarsin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.
- G. But now; when this rescript on mortality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.,) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.
- H. But even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

Ħ

- A. Everywhere in the dominions of king Devanampriya Priyadarsin, and also (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the Chodas, the Pandyas, the Satiyaputa.....the yona king named Antiyoka, and also the kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoka —everywhere (two (kings of) medical treatment were established) by king Devanampriya Priyadarsin, (viz.,) medical treatment (for men) and medical treatment for cattle.
- B. Wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle every where they were caused to be imported and to be planted.
- C. Wherever there were no roots and (fruits) everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.
- D. On the roads, wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of (cattle and men)

Ш

- A. King Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.
- B. (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.
- C. (Everywhere) in my dominion the Yuktas, the Lajuka and the Pradesika shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years just as for other business, even so far the following instruction is morality.
- D. Meritorious is obedience to mother and father, to friends and acquaintances, and to relatives. Liberality to Brahmanas and Sramanas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.
- E. And the Council (of *Mahamatras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

IV

- A. In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Sramanas and Brahmanas.
- B. But now in consequence of the practise of morality on the part of king Devanampriya Priyadarsin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire and other divine figures.
- C. Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus they are now promoted, through the instruction of the morality on the part of king Devanampriya Priyadarsin, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Sramanas and Brahmanas, obedience to mother and father, (and) obedience to the aged.
- D. In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.
- E. And king Devanampriya Priyadarsin will ever promote this practice of morality.
- F. But also the sons, grandsons, and great-grandson of king Devanampriya Priyadarsin will ever promote this practice of morality until the ocon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.
- G. For this is the good work, viz., instruction in morality.
- H. But the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.
- Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.
- J. For the following purpose has this been written, (viz., in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve the neglect (of it).
- K. This has been written here by king Devanampriya Priyadarsin (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

- A. King Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.
- B. It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
- C. He (who starts performing) victorious deeds accomplishes some thing difficult.
- D. Now, by me many victorious deeds have been performed.
- E. Therefore (among) my sons, and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come), after them until the acon (of the destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
- F. He who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
- G. For sin indeed steps fast.
- H. Now in times past, (officers) called *Mahamatras* of morality did not exist before.
- I. But (the officers) called *Mahamatras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.
- J. These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality in promoting morality and for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the yonas, kambochas and Gandhalas, among the Lathikas and Pitenikas, and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are.),.
- K. They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brahmanas and Ikhayas, with the destitute, and with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).
- L. They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken of and in setting (them) free, if (one has) children., or is bewitched, or aged respectively.
- M. They are occupied everywhere, both here and in all the out-lying towns, in all the harems of myself, of my brothers, and of (my) sister and with (my) other relatives.

- N. These Mahamatras of morality are occupied on the whole earth with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.
- O. For the following purpose has this rescription morality been written, (viz., that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

VI

- A. King Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.
- B. In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at all times did exist before.
 - C. But I have made (the following arrangement).
 - D. Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am (eating), within the harem, in the inner appartment at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the park.
 - E. And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.
 - F. And also, if in the council (of *Mahamatras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connection with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally or (in connection with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahamatras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere (and) at any time
 - G. Thus I have ordered.
 - H. For I am never satisfied in exerting myself and in despatching business.
- I, For I consider my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.
 - J. But the root of that (is) this, viz., exertion and the despatch of business.
 - K. For no duty is more important than (promotion) of the welfare of all men.
 - L. And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

- M. For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz., that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) great-grand sons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.
- N. But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

VII

- A. King Devanampriya Priyadarsin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.
- B. For all those desire self-control and purity of mind
- C. And men possess various desires (and) various passions
- D. They will fulfill either the whole or (only) a portion (of their duties).
- E. And even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control and purity of mind is very mean.

VIII

- A. In times past, kings used to set out on so-called pleasuretours.
- B. On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).
- C. But when king Devanampriya Priyadarsin had been anointed ten years, he went out to Sambodhi.
- D. Therefore, tours of morality (were undertaken) here.
- E. On these (tours) the following takes place, viz., visiting Sramanas and Brahmanas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).
- F. This second period (of the reign) of king Devanampriya Priyadarsin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

(X

- A. King Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.
- B. Men are practising various ceremonies during illness....
 at the marriage of a daughter, at the birth of a child, (and)
 when setting out on a journey; on these and other
 such(occasions) men (are practising) many ceremonies.

- C. But.....women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.
- D. Now ceremonies should certainly be practised.
- E. But such ceremonies as these bear little fruit indeed.
- F. But the following beers much fruit indeed, viz., the practise of morality.
- G. Here the following (are comprised), (viz.p) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverance to elders gentleness to animals (and) liberality to Sramanas and Brahmanas, these and other (such) virtues are called the practise of morality.
- H. Therefore, a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:— 'This is meritorious. This (practice) should be observed until the (desired) object is attained'.
- I. And it has been said thus:—Gifts are meritorious.
- J. But there is no (such) gift or benefit as the gift of morality and the benefit of morality.
- L. For that is more desirable than this, viz the attainment of heaven,

X

A. The king Devanampriya Priyadarsin does not think that either glory or fame (conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desire (on account of his aim that) at the present time, and in the future men may (be induced) by him to practice obedience to morality.

6 ...

- B. On this (account) (he is desiring) glory and fame.
- C. (Whatever) effort Devanampriya is making, (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) inorder that all (men) may run little danger.
- D. The donor.....

- E.....difficult to accomplish either for a lowly (person) or for a high one (without) great (zeal) and (without) laying aside every (other aim).
- F. But it is more difficult to accomplish for a high (person).

XIV

- A. These rescripts on morality (have been caused) to be written by King Devanampriya Priyadarsin...or of middle (size), or at full length.
- B. For the whole was not suitable every where.
- C. For (my) deminions are wide, and much has been written, (and I) shall cause (still) (more) to be written.
- D. has been stated because of the charm of (certain topics), and in order that men should act accordingly.
- E. But whatever of this is written incompletely.

APPENDIX II

Copper plate inscriptions of different dynasties

1. The Mathara Dynasty of Kalinga

(1) Koroshonda Plates of Visakhavarman

A set, consisting of three copper plates hinged in a copperring, was discovered from the village of Koroshonda in Paralakhemundi Subdivision near Upalada P. S. by a cultivator. The inscription was edited by Satyanarayan Rajaguru in J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XIV, p. 282 and re-edited by G. Ramadas in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 23.25 ff.

It is a record of land grant made by Maharaja Visakhavarman in Samvat 7 and in the 7th day of Hemanta (winter). The grant was announced from Vijaya Sripura and a village called Tapoyaka-grama in the district of Korasodaka Panchali was donated for religious merit to Savarbhendaka Vishnusarman, Sreshtisarman, Agnisarman, Nagasarman, and Sivasarman, all belonged to Atreya gotra, free of taxes.

The place or district Korashodaka-Panchali of the inscription may be identified with the modern village Koroshonda, situated about nine miles to the north-east of Paralakhemundi town.

(2) In 1958, Dr. Sarat Chandra Behera of Chikiti secured two sets of Copper plate inscriptions which sets are said to have been discovered from a paddy-field in the village of Baranga in Chikiti Taluk of Ganjam district. The inscriptions are published in *inscription of Orissa*. Vol. I, pt. i, pp. 75—80 ff. and edited by Dr. S. C. Behera in Orissa Historical Research Journal.

The first set of inscription consists of three plates hinged in a copper-ring with a circular seal which is not legible. The first set is a religious land grant, made by *Maharaja* Umavarman from Sunagara in the 6th regnal year and in the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaisakha. A village called Hemandaka, situated in the district of Bhillinga-bhoga-Vishaya, was donated to a Brahman

named Vishnusarman of Kasyapa (?) gotra who is supposed to enjoy the lands free of tax, as long as the sun, the moon and the stars would endure. The modern village of Bhillinigi of Chikiti Taluk is identical with Bhilliga-Bhoga of the inscription.

(3) The second set, discovered from the same place along with the above set, also consists of three copper plates hinged in a copperring with a circular seal, not legible.

It is a religious grant made by Sakala-Kalingadhipati (Lord of the entire Kalinga Country) Nanda Prabhanjanavarman who is designated as 'Paramadaivata' and 'Bappabhattarakapada bhakta' announced from varddhamanapura (the Capital), in favour of some Brahmans belonged to different gotras and Charanas in the 15th regnal year and in the 13th tithi of the first fortnight of grishma (summer). The villagers of Simghals are intimated that this religious grant of the Agrahara named Varanga is donated free of tax as long as the ocean, the sun and the stars would exist. The document is written by Krishnachandra being ordered by the King himself.

The present village of Baranga in Chikiti Taluk of Ganjam is identical with the village granted in this inscription.

Three ancient Copper plate inscriptions found in Ganjam district:—

(1) Paralakhemundi plates of Prithivi Maharaja

A set of Copper plates was secured by Shri Susil Chandra De from Paralakhemundi in 1955. The text is published in *Inscriptions of Orissa.*, Vol.I pt. ii, pp.54—56 ff. and edited by Shri S. C. De in *Epigraphia Indica*. The third plate is damaged.

According to this inscription, one Prithivi Maharaja, son of Vikramendra and grandson of Ranadurjaya, who was a *Maharaja* and *Parama-brahamanya*, granted a village called Gollavalli in Rudravati Vishaya (district) in the 49th regnal year and in the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of Jyeshtha to a *Brahmachari* named Padmasarman, son of Damodarasarman and grandson of Matrisarman, belonged to Brigu *gotra* and Tailliriya *Sakha*. The grant was announced from a military camp (*Skandhavara*) at Virajanagara which is identified with Viraja or Jajapur In Cuttack district.

It is supposed that the grant was made by Prithivi Maharaja of the South when he was staying near Viranjanagara (Jajapur) at the time of his expedition in Toshali Country. The probable date of the inscription is 7th century on Pallaeographical grounds.

(2) Sumandala Plates of Dharmaraja of the time of Prithivi Vigraha.

A set, consisting of three copper plates was secured by Pandit Ananta Tripathysharma from Sumandala, a village in Khallikote Taluk of Ganjam. It was edited by S.N. Rajaguru in Orissa Historical Research Journal. Vol.1 No.1, pp.66—69 ff. and re-edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79—85 ff.

The plates are hinged in a Copper-ring which contained a royal seal with a figure of 'Sahasra-rasmi' (Sun) who is worshipped by the donor Dharmaraja, of the unknown dynasty.

This record speaks that when the Kalinga Rashtra (Country) was governed by Shri Prithivi Vigraha Bhattaraka, (his subordinate) Maharaja Dharmaraja of Abhaya dynasty announced from Padmakholi that in the Gupta-era 250, and in the 11th tithi of the dark half of Magha granted Mandukagrama together with Chandanavataka making both into an Agrahara, in the district (Vishaya) of Parakkala-marga, in favour of some Virttadhyana Brahmanas who belonged to different gotras and Charanas,

The writer of the document is Adhikaranika Dasuka and the engraver is Lakshmanasvamin.

The historical importance of this inscription is traceable from the date Gupta year 250, corresponding A. D. 570, when the Kalinga Country was under the Guptas and governed by one Prithivi Vigraha. It is, therefore, doubtful if the Early Ganga Kings of Kalinganagar had any sovereign rite over Kalinga in A.D. 570. So, it offers a clue to reconsider if the "Ganga-era" of Kalinga was started from A. D. 498 and continued uninterruptedly for a few centuries as concluded by some eminent scholars.

The second importance of the inscription is that Sri Prithivi Vigraha, the over lord of Dharmaraja of Padmakholi, is not given any royal title although he is regarded as the ruler of Kalingarashtra. It again shows that he was only a governor but not the

Lord of Kalinga. Since the Gupta-era was used in the record, evidently entire Kalinga Country was under the possession of the latter Guptas and Prithivi Vigraha was appointed to run the administration of that country. It was only about fifty years before Sasankaraja of Karnasuvarna acquired supremacy over that region.

(3) Khandipada-Nuapalli copper plates inscription of Shrl Chharamparaja.

A set of three Copper plates, hinged on a Copper-ring contained a royal seal, oval in shape, with emblem of a couchant bull, was discovered from under the earth in Khandipada-Nuapalli village of Khallikote Tahsil of Ganjam district. The inscription is edited by Dr. S. N. Rajaguru in 1960.¹

This inscription at first invokes god Trilochana (Siva) and goddess Bhagavati Girija (Parvati). Then, it records a religious grant of a village called Ekakatika situated in Khindingahara Vishaya (district) in favour of Brahmanas named Shri Swamichandra Dikshita, Durgaswami, Bhattiswami, the second Bhattiswamy, the third Bhattiswamy, Namachandra Swamy (and) Swamychandra Swamy who belonged to Gautama Gotra and student of Vahrichas Sakha.

The grant was announced from Vijaya Kongada by the king (Raja) Shri Chharamparaja in the presence of Shri Samanta, Mahasamanta, Maharaja, Dandanayaka, Kumara, Amatya, Uparika, Ayuktaka (and) Vyavaharins, etc.

The document was written by Viradatta and engraved by Chhannabhogi and enshrined by Suvarnna when the *Dataka* (Messenger) Shri Swamychandra issued the royal order.

The inscription mentions no date; but palaeographically attributed to the 6th century A. D. i.e., not too distant from Sumandala Plates of Dharmmaraja of Gupta year 250 (A. D. 570). We get no information whatsoever regarding the family of Shrichharamparaja which he belonged to although he was a king of Kongada that formed a separate kingdom in between Kalinga and Toshali during the 7th Century A. D. under the Sailodbhava dynasty.

^{1.} S. N. Rajaguru, Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. II, pp. 323-329 ff.

II. The Sailodbhava Dynasty of Kongada

(1) Ganjam Plates of Madhavara,

In 1900, Mr. H. D. Taylor, the then Collector of Ganjam acquired a set of copper plate inscription which he sent to the Madras Museum for preservation. It is edited by Dr. E. Hultzch in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, pp. 143—146 ff.

The set consists of three copper plates, hinged in a copper -ring having a royal seal on which is a couchant bull and a legend 'Sri Sainyabhitasa (sya)'. The third plate is not too clear.

This inscription informs that Maharaja Mahasamanta Sri Madhavaraja of Sailodbhava dynasty announced from the bank of the river (?) Salima of Kongada in the Gupta-era 300 (A. D. 620), that the village of chhavala, situated in the krisnagiri Vishaya (district), was granted free of taxes to Chharampaswamy., a Brahman who belonged to Bharadwaja gotra and Angirasa and Varhaspatya Pravara, at the auspicious occasion of solar-eclipse. Madhavaraja further says in the same record that he was a feudatory (mahasamanta) in the kingdom ofMaharajadhiraja Sasanka, who is known to be the king of Karnasuvarna and who was afterwards killed by Maharaja Harshavardhana.

The places including a river and a mountain, mentioned in this epigraph are identified as stated below:

(Present name)

- (i) Salima Saliya (near Banpur in Puri district)
- (ii) Chhavala Subuia (a village near Khallikot Railway Station in Ganjam District) and
- (iii) Krishnagiri— Krishnagiri (a mountain near Khallikot of Ganjam District)

(2) Buguda plates of Madhavavarman

A set of three Copper plates, hinged in a Copper-ring bearing an illegible royal seal, was discovered in a pot buried in a field in the village of Buguda of Ganjam district. Mr. E. C. Johnson, the then Collector of Ganjam, secured the plates which he presented to Dr. E. Hultzsch in 1890. The latter edited the inscription in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, pp. 41—50 ff. and re-edited by Dr. F. Kulhorn in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VII, pp. 100—122 ff.

The inscription begins with an invocation of god Siva and then a legendary account how on the top of the Mahendra mountain one Pulindasena, a tribal king of the Kalingas, worshipped the god Swayambhu, to bestow a successor of his who might rule over Kalinga. The best Lord (Swayambhu) responded his

request. Then a stalwart youth appeared in that place from within a huge rock which split into two pieces. The youth was, therefore, called by name Sailodbhava where after his descendants used it as the name of their dynasty. There is a long prasasti composed in Sanskrit verses, which gives a genealogy as shown below:—

Sallodbhava

Arnabhita

Madhavavarman
Shri Sainyabhita

Ayasobhita

Madhavavarman
Shri Sainyabhita

The king Madhavavarman alias Sri Sainyabhita II who performed sacrifices such as Asvamedha, etc., and satisfied the gods, has donated a village called Puipino at Khadirapataka of Guddavishya (district) to Bhatta Vamana II, son of Adityadeva and grandson of Vamana I who belonged to Harita gotra and three Rishis I. a., Angirasa, Varhaspatya and Yubanasva (Pravara). The grant was made on the occasion of a solar-eclipse and the document was written by Upendrasimha, enshrined by Jayasimha and inscribed by Daddibhoga when Gangabhadra, the duta (messenger) passed the royal order to them.

(3) Purusottampur Plates of Madhavavarman,

There is a set of three Copper plates, hinged in a Copper ring having a royal seal with a legend "Shri Sainyabhitasya". It was discovered from under the ground while digging a well in the village of Purusottampur in Athagada Taluk (Purvakhanda) of Ganjam district. The plates were secured and presented to the Orissa State Museum by Shri Harihara Das, son of Viswanath Das. The inscription is edited by Dr. Satyanarayan Rajaguru in Kalinga Historical Research Journal Vol. II., Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 20—24 ff.

There is no variation in *Prasasthi* portion of this inscription and that of Buguda plates of the same king (Madhavavarman). The names of the writers, engravers and dutas are also same.

The present record states that a village called Amba-grama in Devagramavishaya of Kongada-Mandala was granted to Bhatta Narayana of Maudgalya getra and (Sankara) bhadra Anupravara and a student of Chhandogya Charana (or Sakha) in Samvat (regnal year) 13.

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The villages called Ambagrama and Devagrama may be identified respectively with the modern Ambapua and Devagam of the same locality in which Taluk the plates were discovered.

(4) Nivina Plates of Dharmaraja

A set of three Copper plates hinged in a Copper-ring with a legend "Srima (nabhitya) sya" was found in 1938 from a field near Nivina village in Kodala Taluk of Ganjam district. The then Collector of Ganjam, who acquired the plates, sent them to the Government Museum, Madras and they are edited by Dr. N.P. Chakravarty in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol.XXI, pp. 34—41 ff.

Although the language of the inscription is Sanskrit, insertion of several Prakrit words is noticed in it which describe the boundaries of the village.

As many as fourteen panegyric verses are found in this record along with the genealogy of the Sailodbhava king up to Dharmaraja-Srimanabhita, son of Madhyamaraja alias Ayasobhita and grandson of Madhavavarman alias Sri Sainyabhita II, the donor of the Purusottampur plates.

The present record states that there was a fight at Phasika between Dharmaraja and his younger brother Madhava who illegitimately occupied the throne being assisted by a king named Tivara, but was defeated and went to Vindhyapada where he lived until death. After this, Dharmaraja ascended the throne of his father. In the present charter he donated a village called Nivina-grama, situated in Khidingahara-Vishaya of Kongoda-Mandala, in Samvat (regnal year) 9 and in the second day of the bright half Pratham-Paksha of Vaisakha, to Savarideva Dikshita Bhatta who belonged to Vatsa gotra and pancha-rishi Pravara and a student of Chhandogya Charana and Kauthuma Sakha. The grant was issued when the king was staying at Alatalangapur which may be identified with the village of Longara, situated near Nimina Village in Athagada Taluk of Ganjam district.

(5) Kondedde Plates of Dharmaraja

A set, consisting of three Copper plates, hinged in a ring with the usual seal of the Sailodbhava kings was discovered from an unknown village of Ganjam and secured by Tarini Charana Rath in 1921. The inscription is edited by Y.R. Gupta in Epigraphia Indica, Vol.XIX, pp. 265—270 ff.

The present portion of the record is almost a prototype of that found in Nivina plates of Dharmaraja. The present document states that while the donor Dharmarajadeva announced from

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Saumyapura in Samvat (regnal) year 30 and in the 8th tithi (?) of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaisakha, that he donated a village called Kondeddegrama, situated in Khilingahara-Vishaya (district) of Kongoda Mandala (province), to an Agnihotra Brahmin named Bhatta Gondadeva Samin belonged to Kausika gotra and Audala-Devarata-Visvamitra pravara who was a student of Vajasaneya ceharana. The record was written by Da (moda) ra and engraved by petapala Sthavira-Vriddha when Dutaka (messenger) conveyed the order of the king.

Saumyapura of the inscription may be identified with Sama near Sikula village of Khallikot Taluk.

(6) Two incomplete plates of palimpsests from Dharakot are noticed by Dr. S. N. Rajaguru in Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. I, pt. II,pp.248—253.

The inscription contains some incomplete records of an unknown king of the Sailodlhava dynasty in one of each plate and that of a Bhanja king named Raja Kalyanakalasa on the other. The Bhanja king issued a charter from Vijaya Vanjulvaka which place is mentioned in many other Copper plate Charters*, so also the name of Kalyanakalasa, the king is not unknown in some epigraphical records.

ili. The Bhaumakara Dynasty

Three Copper plate inscriptions of the Bhaumakara Kings are found in Ganjam.

(1) DharaRot Copper Plate of Subhakare deva edited by S, N, Rajaguru in Journal of Andhra historical Research Society. Vol. V. pts. 3 and pp. 1891—95 ff.

In 1928, Pandit Ananta Tripathy secured the plate which was found while digging a field in the village Balichai near Dharakot of Ganjam district.

The inscription records that Subhakaradeva II, son of Santikara and grandson of Subhakaradeva I, who was a descendant of Laksminkara of the Bhaumakara dynasty, granted a village called Gujjata-grama in Jayakataka Vishaya, situated in Kongada Mandala of Dakshina Tosali, in Samvat (regnal year) 3, and in the bright fortnight of Chaitra in favour of two Brahmans namely Bhatta Narayana of Maudgalys gotra, Angirasa Pravara and Dattalveya Anupravara and (2)Kuntabhatta, son of Bhatta Lumbadeva of Kausika gotra, Visvamitra Pravara and Devarata Anupravara who was a student of the Vajasaneya Sakha.

^{*}Epigraphia Indica. VolXXVIII, p. 272 ff

The grant was announced by Parama Bhattaraka-Maharajadhiraja-Parameswara-Subhakaradeva while he was staying in a victorious military camp (Jayaskandhavara) at Guheswara pataka.

(2) Ganjam Plate of Dandimahadevi (A)

In 1900, two Copper plate inscriptions were deposited in the Madras Museum being presented by the then Collector of Ganjam district. There is no information regarding their discovery. Dr. F. Kulhorn edited both the inscriptions in *Epigraphia indica*, Vol. VI, pp. 133—142 numbering them as 'A' and 'B' as they are the land grants made by the same queen Dandimahadevi who belonged to the Bhaumakara dynasty.

According to the number ('A' plate), Parama bhattaraka-Maharajadhiraja-Paramesvari-Dandima hadevi of the Bhaumakara dynasty announced in the victorious military camp at Guhesvara-pataka, before the residents of Baradakhanda Visaya in Purvakhanda of Kongada Mandala that Villa-grama was granted on the occasion of Sankrantiday to Pratihar Dhavala, son of Vasu.... and grandson of Apratidaghosa who belonged to Visvamitra gotra. Devarata Pravara and Audal Anupravara student of Kanva Sakha and who migrated from Vinginataka, in Samvat 180 and in the (2nd) day of the dark fortnight of Margasirasa. The royal Prasasti was composed by poet Jambhala, son of Jaya.

Among the officers present in the royal court are Ranaka Danarnava-Mahaksapatala Shri Nr (simha), Mahasandihivigrahi. Shri Ugraditya and mahapratihara Pa (Pra) hasa. It is interesting to note that Ranaka Danarnavas name is found among the Svetaka Gangas of Ganjam District and also in some Collateral lines of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga.

While mentioning the boundaries of the village Villa-grama, we find the names of two more villages, viz., (1) Hondala-grama and (2) Khairapata-grama.

In the Ganjam district the following villages and Taluks may be well identified:

'(Present name)

Purvakhanda

Villa-grama

Hondala-grama

Khairapata-grama

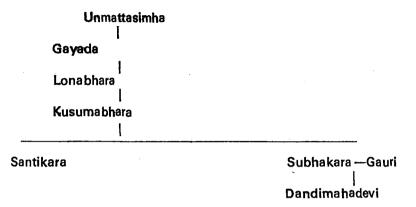
Purvakhanda

Vela-gam

Hondata

Khairap uta

The genealogical table of the Bhaumakaras, given in this inscription is shown below: —



(3) The plate No. B belongs to the same queen Dandimahadevi who possessed the same titles as in the plate No. A mentioned above.

According to this inscription, a village called Rasambha-grama in Kongada-Mandala of Daksina Tosala was granted to two Brahmins namely (1) Bhatta Purusottama of Kasapa gotra, Kasyapa-Vatsa-Naidhruba *Pravara* and student of Vajasaneya sakha and (2) Bhattap utra Ravika (ra) of Kausika gotra and Autathya-Visvamitra-Devarata *Pravara*.

It is interesting to state that the modern Rambha on the bank of the Chilika lake was probably identical with Rasambha of the inscription.

IV The Ganga Dynasty

The Gangas of Kalinga are mainly divided into two sections, popularly known as (1) the Kalinganagar section and (2) the Svetaka section. Centring the Mahendra mountain on which their family god Gokarneswar (Siva) was installed, the ancient kingdom of Kalinga was divided into two parts, one extending to the south and the other to the north under the Gangas of Kalinganagar and Svetaka respectively. The part which extended to the south of the Mahendra, covered some area of the southern portion of Ganjam while the other part, namely Svetaka was within the said district except a coastal strip of land of Ichhapur Taluk lying in Srikakulam district of Andhrapradesh.

The inscriptions of both ten branches found in Ganjam district are noticed below:—

THE GANGAS OF KALINGANAGAR

(1) Paralakhemundi Copper Plate inscription of Indravarman—

A set of three Copperplates, hinged on a Copper ring with some illegible royal seal, was obtained by Mr. W. Taylor in 1884, who presented it to Madras Museum. The inscription was edited by Dr. J. F. Fleet in 1887.

The record states that from the victorious camp of Kalinganagar, the devout worshipper of Gokarneswar (Siva), installed on the top of the Mahendra Mountain, Maharaja Indravarman, the king of Kalinga, issued a command to all the inhabitants of Kettata village in Devanna Panchali to the effect that on the admonition of a person named Kondavallaka, the said village of Kettata is constituted an agrahara, and is given by him to Dhruvaswamyn of Gargeya gotra, belonging to the Community of Kalinganagar, and a student of Chhandogya Charana (school).

The grant is made in the ninety-first year of the augmenting victorious reign and the thirteenth solar day of Magha.

The document was written by Vinayachandra, son of Bhanuchandra at the personal command of Rajasimha.

(2) Dharmalingeswar Copper plate Inscription of Anatavarman:—

Two sets of Copper plates, each consisting of three plates, being hinged on a Copper-ring with usual circular seal, were discovered in 1917 from an old well in the premises of the temple of Dharmalingeswar at Adava village of Paralakhemundi Taluk of Ganjam district. In 1926 the inscriptions were secured by S. N. Rajaguru who also edited them.*

The first set records that Maharaja Devendravarman, son of Gunarnava of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinganagar declared before the inhabitants of the Village Hadwaka, situated in Pushyagiri Panali Vishaya, that he granted the said village in favour of his teacher Bhagavat Patanga Siveacharya just before taking *Diksha* (religious consecration) from him. One half of the grant should go to got Yogeswar Bhattaraka and the other half should be utilised for subsistence of the senior and junior pupils (Sishyas and *Prasishyas*) of the said teacher.

6 3

The grant was issued in the auspicious Ganga era 184. The inscription was engraved by Khandi chandra Bhogika, son of Sarvachandra.

^{*}JAHRS, Vol. II, pp. 271—276 ff. Re-adited by R. K. Ghosal in Ep, Ind Vol, XXVI, pp. 62—68 ff.

(3) Dharmalingeswar Copper Plate Inscription of Anantavarman—

This is the second set of inscriptions, discovered from Dharmalingeswar temple of Adava village in Paralakhemundi Taluk of Ganjam district.

This record states that *Maharaja* Anantavarman, son of Devendravarman, announced on behalf of his brother Jayavarman that the villagers of Talatthera were intimated that on the occasion of 'Kanyadana' (marriage), the said village was granted to Vishnusomacharya, who was a resident of Srungatikagrahara of Kamarupa-Vishaya (district) and well-versed in the *Vedas* and *Vedangas*. This document mentions the names of some mountains and villages while describing the boundary line of the village Talatthera, starting from North-East (Isana-disa): Deva Parvata (mountain), Himastrunga, Tathppara (village), Vasantapur (village), Konga Parvata (mountain), Pumpulli (?) Somavataka (village), Dharavataka (village), Sumangura (village), Pishta-Parvata (mountain), Korkanta (mountain), etc.

The grant was issued on the 13th tithi of the bright fortnight of Margasira in the Ganga-era 204. It is written by Akshasalin and engraved by Natimanchi.

(4) Badakhemundi Plates or The Indian Museum Copper Plate Inscription of Devendravarman:—

A set consisting of three Copper plates hinged on a Copperring with royal seal containing a lying bull, was discovered from a pit in the village of Palajhadi in Badakhemundi Taluk of Ganjam district. The inscription was edited by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.*

This inscription records the gift of a village called Purujvana situated in Vukudravaka or Vukudravakona of Lohadhanagara, made by *Maharaja*-Devendravarman, son of Rajendravaraman of Ganga dynasty in favour of Govindavarman, son of Bhatta Narayana who migrated from Uttara Radha and belonged to Vatsa *gotra* and student of the Yajur-Veda, of Katha *Charana* (Sakha).

The document was issued in the Ganga-era 308; it was written by Sarvachandra Rahasva and engraved by Akshasalin Khandimalla, the Shri Samanta.

(5) Mandasa Copper Plate inscription of Rajendravarman —

A set of Copper Plate Inscription consisting of three plates hinged on a copper-ring was discovered from Mandasa near the Mahendra Mountain. It is not yet edited; but the following information is given in *Madras Epigraphic Report* for the year 1918, pp. 97-98.

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^{*}Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIII pp. 73-78 ff

The plates record the grant of a village by Rajendravarman, son of Maharaja Anantavarman. The donee's name is not quite clear but the name of one Sarva-Aya-Kamadi is mentioned. The inscription is dated in the Ganga-Era 342. It was written by the Sandhivigrahin Ranameya, son of Samiraja and engraved by Kanakadhiraja Gundi Pilaka, son of Manuchandra.

(6) Simhipur Plates of Dharmakhedi in the time of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman: —

A set of copper plates inscription, consisting of three plates, hinged on a copper-ring with royal seal was discovered by S. N. Rajaguru who edited the inscription.*

village called Dharmapura in records a grant of a Mahendrabhoga-Vishva, was made in favour of three hundred Brahmins who migrated from Salivana Dadapura headed by two brothers (half-brothers), namely Nayaka Dudura-valaka, son of Dada Nayaka and Nayaka Chamandaka, son of Sabu Nayaka who belonged to Vatsa Gotra, by Ranaka Shri-Dharmakhedi, son of Ranaka Bhimakhedi and grandson of Niyaruava, who belonged to the Kadamba dynasty and Lord of Five Vishayas (districts) forming a Mandala (Province).1 Dharmakhedi was entitled as Mahamandaladhipati and Mahendradhipati or the Lord of the Mahendra region. He was also a subordinate under the Ganga King Maharaja Devendravarman, son of Maharaja Anantavarman of Kalinganagar line. Dharmakhedi's residence was at Jayantipur. The document was issued in 520 'Ganga-Kadamba-Era'.

(7) Mandasa Plates of Anantavarman, son of Devendravarman:

A set of three copper plates inscription hinged on a copperring with royal emblems of a crescent, a fish and an elephantgoad, was discovered, near the Mahendra mountain and edited by G. Ramadas. *

There are some Oriya prakrit words used in this record although it is written in Sanskrit.

6.3

The inscription says that when Shri Anantavarman of the Ganga dynasty was ruling the country from Kalinganagar, in his Kingdom, in the Saka Era 91712 Ranaka Dharmakhedi, son of Bhimkhedi of Kadamba family granted a village called Majhi-Patharakhanda, situated in Mahendrabhoga (district) to Dhamaka, son of Kesara and grandson of Kali of Erakala clan. The record was written by Mahasamanta.

^{*} Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. III, Pts. 2, 3 and 4, pp 171-180 ff.

In the inscription there is mention of Pancha visa-Mandaleswa which should be read as Pancha-Vishya-Mandaleswara.

^{*} J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XVII, pp. 175-188 ff

^{2.} In the inscription it is written as 'Navasatak Saptara (da) sa.'

(8) Paralakhemundi Plates of Vejrasta

A set consisting of three copper plates hinged on a copperring was discovered in some unknown village of Paralakhemundi Taluk and possessed by Padmanabh Deva, brother of Gaurachandra Gajapati, Raja of Paralakhemundi, the inscription was presented to the Madras Museum and Dr. E. Huktzsch edited the inscription¹.

The record states that in the Kingdom of Maharaja Vajrahasta of the glorious Ganga dynasty, there lived a *Panchavishayadhipati* (Lord of five *Vishayas*) named Shri Daraparaja, son of Chonda Kamadiraja of the Ganga family, who granted a village called Hossandi, after intimating the same to the inhabitants of Lankakona. The grant was made on the occasion of *Kanyadana* (marriage) in favour of a Prince (*Rajaputra*) named Shri Kamadi. The ruler (*Palaka*) of this village is Shri Ugrakhediraja of Kadamba dynasty.

The document was issued by *Mantri* (Minister) Vachhapa of Kayastha Caste at the command of Daraparaja; and it was written by *Mahasandhivigrahi* Dronacharya.

This record is very important to study the Oriya Prakrit language, used in this part of Orissa.*

(9) Chipurupali Plates of Anantavarman Vajrahasta:-

A set consisting of three copper plates hinged on a copper-ring with usual royal seal of the Ganga Kings was discovered at Chipurupalli Village of the old Paralakhemundi Zamindary (now in Patapatam Taluk of Andhra Pradesh). The inscription was edited by S. N. Rajaguru², and re-edited by P. Banerjee of New Delhi.³

The record says that from Kalinganagar Maharajadhiraja Anantavarman Vajrahasta, son of Bhupendravarman granted lands in three villages called Bhonkhara, Jalyala and Srutyaraja-Sasana in the auspicious Ganga Era 383 and in the 5th day of Phalguna, in favour of Narayana, son of Rayana of Ashtavakra Gotra. The assessment fixed at one and a half (dedha) Silver (ropya) coin payable per year. The document was written by Sarvadeva.

(10) Nirakarpur Plates of Udayakhedi of the time of Devendravarman:—

A set of three copper plates, hinged on a copper-ring with a royal seal on which there are emblems of a crescent, a full

^{.1} Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, pp. 220-224 ff.

^{*} For details regarding the Oriya Prakrit used in this inscription, please see inscription, Orissa, Vol. II, pp. 167—173 ff.

^{2.} J.B.R.S., Vol. XXXV, pp. 10-20 ff.

^{3.} Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXXI, pp. 317 ff.

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blown lotus and a couchant bull, was secured from a private person of Nirakarpur of Puri district who must have discovered the inscription from Ganjam district somewhere near the Mahendra mountain where the Kadambas ruled under the Gangas of Kalinga nagar. The inscription was secured by Pandit Sadasiva Rathasarma of Puri and edited by S. N. Rajaguru.*

states that from Kalinganagar This ins**c**ription Maharaja Devendravarman, son of Bhupendravarman of the Ganga dynasty was ruling over the country, his Samanta Shri Udayakhedi, son of Ugrakhedi, grandson of Dharmakhedi and great grandson of Maharajadeva of Kadamba dynasty who migrated from Raya Banaravi, granted a village called Pagadakhedo, situated in Narendrabe(bho)ga-Vishaya distributing the lands to the namely, Vishnubhatta three shares (Vrittis) Brahmins. in Somabhatta in one share, Kelubhatta, Jethabhatta, Rechamabhatta and Nandi-Kumarabhatta each in one and half (dedha) shares, Madhubhatta in one share, Pingalabhatta in five padas (?) Gogaya Ayana in one and half shares, Damayabhatta in five shares and Somaya Dikshita in (one ?) share. The grant was made on the Vishuva Sankranti. dav of The writer engraver of the document are sons of Hastaraja and Aditvadanta respectively.

This inscription is an important document to determine the synchronous position of the Ganga Kings of Kalinganagar and their subordinate Kadambas of the Mahendra region which offers clue to consider about the probally starting period of the Ganga-Era,

THE GANGAS OF SVETAKA

(1) Badakhimedi Plates of Jayavarmadeva:---

A set of copper plates consisting of three which hinged on a copper ring with a royal seal, was discovered from a village in Badakhemundi of Ganjam district. The inscription was edited by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 267—269 ff.

This record states that Ranaka Jayavarmadeva of Svetaka branch of the glorious Ganga dynasty issued a religious grant of lands in a village called Padalasringa situated in Khalugakhanda Vishaya, on the auspicious occasion of Vishuva Sankranti, to Bhattaputra Padma Maha(Pa)tra who belonged to Vatsa Gotra and Pancha-rishi Pravara and a student of Kanva Sakha, The

^{*}J.B.R.C., Vol XXXV, Pts. I & II, pp. 1-10 ff.

^{*}Pancha-pada probably means 1 1/4,

document was written by Samanta, engraved by Vimal Chandra and enshrined by Trikalinga Mahadevi in Samvat 100. While describing the boundary line of the village of Padalasringa, the following village names are also mentioned in it:—

- (1) Lata-grama
- (2) Tetura and
- (3) Gadaridhriva.

It is curious to find that the queen of Svetaka who enshrined the grant is called 'Trikalinga Mahadeva'. Most probably she was the daughter of a king of Trikalinga viz, a Somavamsi King of Dakshina Kosala, who used the title of 'Trikalingadhipati'.

(2) Badakhimedi plates of Jayavarmadeva :--

This set of Copper plate inscriptions is discovered from the village of Palajhadi of Badakhemedi of Ganjam district and secured by S. N. Rajaguru along with five more sets including No.1 of the present list. A cultivator of palajhadi, while excavating a ground near his house, found in a big clay pot six sets of copper plate inscriptions. A Congress worker of Badakhemundi informed S.N. Rajaguru who immediately proceeded to that village in 1933 and secured, the plates, which are now preserved in the Calcutta Museum except No.4 of the list, now in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneshwar. It is edited by S.N. Chakravarti in *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol.XXIII, pp. 361—363 ff'.

The present set consists of three Copper plates, hinged on a Copper-ring with usual royal seal of a lying bull.

The content of the inscription is that Maharaja Jayavarmadeva who was a devote worshipper of Mahesvara (Siva) and belonged to the glorious Ganga dynasty, announced from Svetaka that a a village called Bhushunda in Andadasringa-Vishaya was granted to Ravisarman of Kasyapa gotra, who was student of the Kanwa Sakha of the Vajasaneya-Charana. The royal order was carried by Dutaka Mahasamanta Purnadeva. The document was written by Samanta-Mahasandhivigrahin. son of Khanda and engraved by Vichitrahasta in the presence of Deva Pratihara who was the Vyavaharin.

The Village of Bhushunda is still goes by the same name, situated near Digapahandi of Ganjam district.

(3) Kama-Nalinakshapur Plates of Jayavarman :-

A set of three Copper plates, hinged on a copper ring with royal seal, was discovered from Kama-Nalinakshapur of Ganjam

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district. The plates are now preserved in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneshwar and edited by S. N. Rajaguru in O. H. R. J., Vol. VII No. 2 pp. 83-86 ff.

The content of the record is that Maharaja Jayavarmadeva of the glorious Ganga dynasty announced from Svetaka that he donated a piece of land called Svalpakalanjara-Khandakshetra before the inhabitants of Bhasanta-grama, situated in Samantabhukti Vishaya (district). The grant was made in favour of Vishnusarman, belonged to Gautama gotra and Vajasaneya Charana. The document was written by Subhavandian and engraved by Chharampadeva.

The Village Bhusunda in Samantabhukti Vishaya may be identified with Bhusunda of Badakhemundi Taluk (vide Survey of India Map, Sheet No. 74 A 11).

(4) Badakhemundi Plates of Jayavarman:

A set of three copper plates, hinged on a copper-ring, was discovered from the same place where the Nos. 1 and 2 were discovered. The inscription was edited by Pandit Binayak Misra in *Ind. His. Qr.*, Vol. XII, pp. 489—493 ff.

This inscription records that Maharaja Jayavarmadeva who belonged to the glorious Ganga dynasty and ruled from Svetake, obtained due permission from Unmattakesari, resided at Viraja, to donate a village called Valamasringa, situated in Varthini Vishaya of Kongada-Mandala (Province) which belonged to Unmattakesari of the Bhaumakara dynasty. Unmattakesari issued permission smilingly and allowed Jayavarmadeva to use his (Jayavarma's) Prasasti in the document. The said village was thus granted to Bhatta Nannata Mahattara who belonged to Vatsa gotra, Vajasaneya Charana and Kan a Sakha and Vatsa-Darda-Bhrigu etc. Pancharishi Pravara. The grant was issued in Samvat (Bhauma-era) 50.

This inscription is a very useful record as it supplies some important facts of synchronism in relation to Jayavarman and Unmattakesari, the earliest Bhaumakara kings of Toshali, who captured Kongada-Mandala and amalgamated it in his kingdom after decline of the Sailodbhavas from that region. The donee of the grant, Nannata Bhatta, is also identified with the donee of Svalpavilur grant of Anantavarman of Samvat (Bhauma-era) 79* and also in the Kandagiri Ganes Gumpha Stone Inscription of the time of Santikara in whose kingdom Nannatas sen, Bhimata Bhishak or Vaidya (Physician) of Viraja (modern Viraja-Kshetra

^{*}See No. 6 of the list.

of Jajpur) lived.¹ In the Dhauli Cave Inscription also the names of Nannata, his son Bhimata and grandson Bhata cyomaka are recorded.² The date as Samvat 73 is given in it. It is quite clear that Nannta Bhatta of Viraja was a Vaidya of reputation who lived in the time of Unmattakesari of Viraja and Jayavarman and Anantavarman of Svetaka Country.

(5) Badakhemundi Plates of the time of Bhupendravarman: --

A set of three copper plates, hinged on a copper-ring with royal seal of a lying bull, was discovered from the same place along with Nos. 1,2,4, etc. sets. The inscription is edited in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, pp. 265-267 ff. by S.N. Chakravarti.

This inscription records that when the country of Kalinga was ruled from Svetaka by Maharaja Bhupendravarman of the glorious Ganga dynasty, a Ranaka named Gangakavilasa had donated a piece of land (Khanda-Kshetra) in the village of Badode, situated in Khatuda Khanda-Vishaya, to Bhattaputra-Maha (pa)tra Manikadeva who belonged to Vatsa gotra and pancha Rishi Pravara.

The inscription was written by Mahasandhivigrahin Asokadatta and engraved by a brazier called Bimalachandra. The record was enshrined by Sri Mahadevi.

(6) Swalpa-velur Grant of Anantavarman :-

A set of three copper plates, hinged on a copper-ring, contained the usual Ganga seal, was discovered from the same village of palalhadi in 1933 together with Nos. 1,2,4,5 etc.. sets. It is edited by Dr. B. C. Chhabla in Ep. Ind., Vol XXIV, pp. 129—137 ff.

The content of the inscription is that when Maharajadhiraja Anantavarman, the king of Kalinga, belonged to the glorious Ganga dynasty was ruling over the country of Svetake, he granted a village called Svalpavelure in Khalgakhanda-Vishaya to Bhatta Nannata who belonged to Vatsa gotra and Bhrigu-Darda-Chyavana-Jamadagni Pravara. The record was written by Mahasandhivigrahin Govindadeva when the messenger (dutaka) Mahasamanta Ashokadeva conveyed the order. It was enshrined by Mahadevi Srivasa Bhattarika and inscribed by Sri Mahindrabhima.

The grant was issued in the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of phalguns in Samuat (regnal year) 19.

^{1.} Epigraphia Indica, Vor. Xill, p. 167 f.

^{2.} Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XIX, pp. 263-64 ff.

^{*}About six days after Maha Siveratri, the main festival of the Seivas.

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(7) Ganjam Plates of Pruthivivarmadeva

In 1896, a set of copper plate inscriptions was procured by Mr. C. J. Weir, the then District Collector of Ganjam, who sent the same to Dr. Hultzsch for examination. Dr. Kulhorn edited the inscription in *Epigraphia indica*. Vol. IV, pp. 198—201 ff.

The inscription states that Maharajadhiraja Sri-Pruthivivarmadeva who belonged to the glorious Ganga dynasty and resided in Kotaulapura-pattana, son of Sri Mahindradeva had granted a village called Dolati to Bhattaputra Subhankara belonged to Vats gotra, and Pancharsheya Pravara* and a student of Vajasaneya Charana of Kanva Sakha.

The record was written by Sandhivigrahin Srisamanta and engraved by the (Kansara) brazier Srisamanta Swayambhu and also enshrined by Sri Mahadevi.

As prescribed in the deed the donee was entitled to receive four *Palas* of silver per year from the tenants of the village.

(8) Indian Museum (Sana Khimedi) Plates of Indravarman

A set of three Copper plates, hinged on a Copper-ring with usual royal seal, was discovered from Sana Khemundi. It was edited by Sri C. C. Das Gupta in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 165—171 ff.

The content of this inscription is that the King of Kalinga Maharajadhiraja Sri Raja Indravarman, son of Sri Pruthivivarman who belonged to the glorious Ganga dynasty and resided at Sri Nandagirinatha-Kolaulap-Purapattana announced from Svetaka that one-third of the village of Bhethisinga together with Apadunigrama Padanikhanda-Vishaya was granted in favour of the god Sri Lokamadhava, the second part to the god Svayambha-kesvara and the third part to the Brahminas. The eldest son of Sri Goswamini named Sri Gangasvayambhus queen Sri Ela was the actual donor of the grant. The document was written in the fourteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Phalguna.²

The document was written by *Mahasandhi-vigrahin* Srisamanta and engraved by the brazier Svayambhu, son of Napa and enshrined by Sri Goswamini.

The Brahmins who were granted the third part of the village are named in the end of the record. Most probably the following names were inserted after the inscription was engraved.

^{1.} The correct pronunciation of the word is 'Kolahajapura Pattana'.

^{*.} The five sages are named as Bhargava, Chyavana, Apnovan, Aurva and Jamadagni-

It seems that the grant was issued to a few days after Mahasivaratri and Phagu-Dasami, the two important festivals concerning Siva and Vishnu respectively.

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Bhatputra Kesava, Apara Daupa, Somaya, Vithu, Madhusodana, Dhanasarma, Bhataputra Vastave Ganapati, Bhagu Vosu, Devasarma, Savarapa and Durgakhandi.

(9) Bishamagiri Plates of Indravarman

A set of three copper plates, hinged on a Copper-ring with royal seal, was discovered from Bishamagiri in Sanakhemundi Tahasil of Ganjam district. The inscription was edited by Tarinicharana Rath in *Epigraphia indica*, Vol.XIX, pp. 134-137 ff.

The content of the inscription is that the glorious Indravarmadeva of the Ganga dynasty donated lands in Amera-Sringagrama, situated in Jalambora-Vishaya, from the city of Svetaka, to Yajngyasvamisarman who belonged to Jatukarna gotra. Jatukarna-Vasistha *Pravara* and Jatukarna-Urjjivaha-Vasishtha. *Anupravara* and student of the Vajasaneya and Kanva Sakha.

The royal order for the grant was issued by *Dutaka Mahasamanta* Sri Nagakhedi when *Mahapratihara* Adityavarman wrote the document which was enshrined by *Mahasandhivigrahin* Chanda Paka. The inscription was engraved by the brazier Deva Pilu.

(10) Gautami Plates of Indravarman

A set of three Copper plates, hinged on a Copper-ring with royal seal, was discovered in 1937 in the village of Gautami of Badakhemundi Tahasil of Ganjam district. The inscription was edited by Kunja Govinda Goswami in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 180-183 ff.

The contant of the inscription is that Maharaja Indravarman of the glorious Ganga dynasty announced from Svetaka that a village called Salavanika-grama, situated in Hembakamatamva-Vishaya, was granted in favour of two Brahmins namely, Vinayakasarman and Naga (.....) Sarman who belonged to Parasara gotra and Parasara-Sakti-Vasishtha pravara and student of the Vajasaneya Charana and Kanva Sakha. The extent of land was four *Muraja*. The inscription was engraved by Shri Padmachandra on the 3rd day of the bright fortnight of Phalguna in the 4th regnal year.

(11) Sanakhimedi Plates of Indravarman

A set, consisting of three plates, hinged on a copper-ring with the usual royal seal of the Gangas of Svetaka, was discovered in Palajhadi village of Badakhemundi Tahasil alongwith Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5, The inscription was edited by P. N. Bhattacharya in *Epigraphia indica*. Vol. XXIII, pp. 78-80 ff.

The content of the inscription is that Mahara jadhira ja Indravarman, son of Pruthivivarman, who belonged to the glorious Ganga dynasty and came to Kolahalapura Pattana, announced from Svetaka that the village of Tanarda, * situated in Hallambara-Vishaya, was granted by him to Bhattaputra Durgakhandi who belonged to Vatsa gotra, and five (rishi) Pravara (namely) Aurva, Bhigu, Chyavana, Jamadagni (and Vastasa) and who was a student of Chhandogya Charana and Ranayaniya Sakha,

The document was written by Sandhivigrahin Srisamanta and engraved by the brazier belonged to Kansara-caste who was Sreshthi-Srisamanta Svayambhu, son of Nanpa. The record was enshrined by Parama-Vaishnavi-Srigoswamini Srimahadevi.

This grant was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse from the royal residence at Svetaka in the 10th regnal year.

(12) Badakhemundi Plates of Danarnavadeva

A set consisting of three copper-plates, hinged on a copper-ring with the usual royal seal of a lying bull, was discovered from the village of Paljhajadi in Badakhemundi Tahsil along with Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 and 11 above. The inscription was edited by S.N. Chakravarti in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIII pp. 263—265 ff.

The content of the inscription is that Ranaka Shri Danarnavadeva, son of Pruthivivarman of the glorious Ganga dynasty, announced from Svetaka that a village called Kasiddagrama, situated in Jayada-Vishaya, was granted on the auspicious occasion of solar eclipse to Bhatta Vodhanas' son Bhatta Durggakhandi who belonged to Vatsa gotra and Pancha-Rishi Pravara and Panchanupravara and who was a student of Chhandogya Charana.**

The record was written by Sandhivigrahin Shri Dhanadata in the presence of all the Karanas (office bearers) namely Mahadevi, Yuvaja, Mahasamanta, Dharmadhikarana, Mahamahattara and Pratihara. The inscription was engraved by Damodara.

(13) Dhanantara plates of Samantavarman: -

A set, consisting of three copper plates with the usual royal seal of the Gangas of Kalinga on the copper ring with which the plates are hinged, was discovered from the village Dhanantara

This village may be identified with the present Tanarada village in the same locality.

^{**}The donee is the same person who is recorded as donee in the grant by Indravarman (No.11) on the same occasion of solar eclipse fall on the 10th regual year of Maharajadhiraja Indravarman, the elder brother of Ranaka Sri Danamava.

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of Seragad P.S. in Ganjam district in 1917. It was secured by Tarinicharana Rath who edited the inscription in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV, pp. 175—178 ff.

The content of the inscription is that Shri Samantavarman, lord of the kingdom of Svetaka, granted a village called Vatagrama, situated in Hamanibhoga-Vishaya, to Brahmin Govindasarman who belonged to Bharadvaja gotra and a student of Vajasaneya Charana.

The inscription was inscribed by Padmachandra.

(14) Pherava grant of Samantavarman: -

A set consisting of three copper plates, hinged on a copperring with the usual royal seal of the Gangas of Kalinga was discovered from the village of Chidivalasa, Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. It was edited by Dr. R.C. Majumdar in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVII, pp. 108—115 ff.

The content of the inscription is that Maharaja Samantavarman who ruled in Kalinga and belonged to the glorious Ganga dynasty announced from Svetaka that a village called Pherava-grama, situated in Lohasrungara-Vishaya on the bank of the river Meghavati and near the village of Asvatthacched in favour of the Brahmin named Kirthisasarman and his sons Devasarman, Ravisarman and Divakarasarman. The grant was issued on the 30th day of Kartika in Samvat (Bhauma-era) 185.

(15) Kama-Nalinakshapur Plates of Samantavarman: —

A set consisting of three copper plates, hinged on a copperring with the usual royal seal of the Gangas of Svetaka, was discovered at the foot of the Patharapari hill near Kama-Nalinakshapur village not far from the ancient fort of Jaugada of Ganjam district. The inscription was edited by S. N. Rajaguru in O. H. R. J., Vol. VII, No.2, pp. 86—90 ff.

The content of the inscription is that Shri Samantavarman who belonged to the glorious Ganga dynasty and ruler of the kingdom of Svetaka, announced from Vijaya Svetaka that the village of Vadaribhashti-grama, situated in Samantabhukti-Vishaya was granted in favour of Narayanasarman of Kasyapa gotra and a student of Vajasaneya Charana. That village boundary was touching the public road of Kalinga named "Dharmaraja-Kalinga-Marga."

The document was written by *Bhogika* Umbaradeva and engraved by *Bhogika* Padmachandra in the 20th day of Vibhava * (?) of *Samvat* (Bhauma-era) 173.

THE NALA KINGS OF KHINDIRASRUNGA-MANDALA

(1) Pandiapathara Copper plate inscription of Maharajadhiraja Bhimasena:—

A set consisting of three copper plates, hinged on a copperring with royal seal of crescent moon, etc., was discovered by Dr. Ananta Tripathy Sharma in 1955 from Pandiapathara village about 9.6 km. from Askia in Ganjam district.

The content of the inscription is that Maharajadhiraja Bhimasena, who belonged to the glorious Nala dynasty and who was a devout worshipper of Sri Yamalingisvara (Siva) and who ruled in the Khindirasrunga Mandala, announced from Bhimapura that Kurmatala village was granted to Bhatta Praktana, son of Adityadeva, grandson of Agisvami, who belonged to Vatsa gotra and Naidhruba-Vatsa-Pravara and of the same Annupravara,

The grant was issued in the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Magha in Sambat (Bhauma era) 189. The document was written by *Sandhivigrahi* Sri Arkadeva and engraved by *Vaguli* Vanasingha.

THE BHANJAS OF VANJULVAKA

(1) A set of three copper plates, hinged on a copper-ring was discovered from Banatumva, a village near Bhanjanagar of Ganjam district. The inscription was edited by S. N. Rajaguru in O.H. R. J. Vol. I No.4, pp. 265—270 ff.

The content of the inscription is that Maharaja Nettabhanja-deva who belonged to Drumarajakula** (?) who was a devout worshipper of Maheswara and who issued several grants to Brahmins, announced that a village named Vandutunga situated in Kamberala-Vishaya was granted to Vasudevaswami of Kausika gotra and Vajasaneya Charana and Golaswami, Adityade ¹ Yagnaswami, Charampaswami, Sivaswami, Apara Charampaswami, Gopendraswami, Kumaraswami, Charampaswami, Narayanaswami, Dhoyiswami, Jayaswami, Apara Jayaswami, Ravinganaswami of different gotras in virtue of the queens Kshatridevi, Kaivarttadevi and Rajaputri Meghavalidevi.

The inscription was written by Vandyadeva engraved by Dharabhogika in the twenty-six regnal year.

^{*}It is not known whether the word 'Vibhava' refers to a year of the 60th cyclic year of the Varhapaty mana or the engraver made on error for some lunar or solar month of the year.

^{**} It is not known whether Drumaraja-Kula is same as Bhanja dynasty

From palaeographical consideration, this inscription was attributed to the 7th or 8th century A. D.

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APPENDIX III

The Speech of Maharaja K. C. Gajapati of Paralakhemundi,

The speech of Maharaja K. C. Gajapati of Paralakhemundi which he delivered in the first Round Table Conference at London in 1931, advocating the urgent necessity of formation of a separate province for the Oriya people:

"Sir. on behalf of ten millions of Oriyas, the subjects of his Majesty, I rise to represent their long standing grievances on this occasion. The memorandum I have placed in your hand a few days since has been able, I hope, to give a clear in-sight into all the present difficulties of Oriyas who are placed under four different provinces, I will not tire you with the details of the history for unification of the Oriyas agitating as they have been for the last quarter of a century and more. As one well-informed of the facts, I should lay before you all today that the formation of a separate province for the Oriyas is a life and death problem to them. They feel tortured with all the disabilities and disadvantages of on being a distant adjunct lying at the tail-end of every province wherever they are far away from the seat of Government of the respective province and always in a unique minority, completely lost sight, being merged in the teaming millions of population of these provinces.

I appeal to youall, gentlemen, to appreciate the peculiar position of the Oriyas and their demand, as recommended by several official bodies time after time. We want a province of our own on the basis of language and race, to be ourselves a homogeneous unit with feelings of contentment and peace, to realise and be benefited by the projected reforms of India by both Indian and British Politicians, who look forward to the day when the united states of India will consist of small federated states, based on common language and race. Without a separate province for the ten millions of Oriyas let me tell you, Sir, that all your labours at this conference to develop parliamentary institutions in provinces with autonomous powers will prove on the contrary seriously injurious to the Oriyas.

The patience with which we have wanted and loyalty to the British crown with which we have looked up to always for justice, sympathy and fair treatment have proved as Lord Curzon put in once, where the Orissans agitating people which they are not, they would soon make their protest heard. As it is, they have been sacrificed without compunction.

I am right, I think, Sir, in any presumption, that you all consider the Oriya problem as the least controversial of all the problems that this conference has had to deal with. You are aware that the Simon Commission, the Government of India despatch and all the provincial Governments concerned have recognised the urgent necessity for the immediate solution of the question. The question of finance, however, is evidently the only obstacle in the way of their recommending the formation of a separate province for the Oriyas. My answer to that is that finance is not, after all, a fence of such insurmountable dimensions when we have to save a great historic race with an ancient civilisation and culture, from being obliterated. The old saving 'cut your coat according to the cloth' if strictly applied, comes to the rescue to a great extent in forming the long sought after Orissa province and again, I am fully confident that the Central Government with the same feelings of benefication will come to the rescue of the new province as it did in the case of Assam, Bihar and Orissa, when first they were created. One redeeming feature, however, which I should point out to you is that we will be starting with hardly any debts, but on the other hand, with appreciable more income than Assam had to start with. At page 404 of the Memorandum submitted by the Government of Bihar and Orissa to Indian Statutory Commission, we gather that the annual revenue of Orissa Division of Bihar and Orissa would be about 10 millions of rupees, and I am sure that with the addition of districts as recorded by different official bodies with their gathered evidences of the people of those parts, and the people of other adjoining Oriya speaking areas, that may be recorded by the Boundary Commission, will bring in about 20.2 millions of rupees to solve the financial difficulty. I may illustrate that the Agency Tracts with their scope for excise revenue, large areas of waste lands that are being developed and valuable forest produce, will contribute largely to the provincial funds. In addition to this there is an extensive coastal land, containing large sheets of salt-pans and scope of shipping between different parts of the Empire, further to increase the provincial revenue. I can also assure, you Sir, that if circumstances so necessitate, we the Oriyas are prepered to bear the burden of special taxation to meet any financial deficit of the future province.

Without further encroaching upon your valuable time, enough I have been able to impress you, gentlemen, with the urgency of the problem. It is for you to make or mar the destiny of an ancient race, vast in numbers, cultured and advanced, but placed under painful circumstances now, though their past was bright and full of unique interest and of historical importance as those of any of the present advanced communities of India.

APPENDIX IV

Extracts of the Government of India order, 1936.

The following is the extracts from the First Schedule (Part I & II) of the Government of India (Constitution of Orissa) order 1936 showing the Southern boundary of Orissa (Ganjam district portion).

FIRST SCHEDULE

PART I

1. Areas comprised in the Province of Orissa.

- 2. Areas transferred from the Presidency of Madras:-
 - (i) The Ganjam Agency Tracts;
 - (ii) the following areas in the non-Agency portion of the Ganjam district, viz., the taluks of Ghumusar, Asika, Sorada, Kodala, Chhatrapur and so much of the taluks of Ichhapur and Brahmapur as lies to the north and west of the line described in part II of this schedule;
 - (iii) so much of the Paralakhemundi Estate as lies to the north and east of the said line;

PART II

THE LAND BOUNDARY OF ORISSA

The main portion of Orissa

The boundary follows a line which starts in latitude 19°5°, (approximate), at the point on the coast of the Bay of Bengal where the boundary of Patisonnapuram village, after following the coast from north to south, turns inland. From that point it runs along the existing village boundary (so as to include the village in Orissa) until it meets the boundary of the Brahmapur taluk at a sharp reentrant angle in that boundary: thence along the northern arm of that taluk boundary until it meets the south-estern boundary of Chikiti Estate; thence along that Estate boundary westwards and southwards until it again meets the boundary of the Brahmapur taluk; thence along that taluk boundary south-westwards until it meets the boundary of Jalantra estate; thence Brahmapur along that estate boundary westwards until it meets the boundary of the Ganjam Agency; thence south-westwards along the boundary of that Agency meets the boundary of the Paralakhemundi Estate; thence eastwards and southwards along that boundary to the point where the southern boundary of Poddahamsa village leaves the

estate boundary, thence through the estate to the south-west corner of the village of Pedda Murangi along existing village boundaries so as to include in Orissa the villages of Peddahamsa. Baduobada, Mamidipalle and Pedda Labonyogodo. (including Lavanya Kotta Reserved Forest); from the south-west corner of Pedda Murangi along the west boundary of the village of Mara, the north-western forest boundary of Banapuram Reserved Forest, the northern boundary of the village Bagadalla and the northern boundary of the village of Surjam to the most northerly point (approximately) of the last mentioned boundary; thence in a northerly direction for a distance of about half of mile across the saddle in the hills to the south-eastern corner of the village of Kosali; thence to the point where the south-west corner of the village of Omora meets the Mahendratanava river along existing village boundaries so as to include in Orissa the villages of Kasali, Jangalapadu, Saradopuram, Agarakhandi, Bhinnola, Dhamidigam and Omora, from the last mentioned point in a westerly direction along the middle of that the south-west corner of the village of Kaviti Khaspa; thence to the point where the western boundary of the village of Singupuram Agaraharam meets the southern forest boundary of the Kurianda Reserved Forest along existing village boundaries so as to include in Orissa the villages of Kaviti Khaspa, Charuvudiguva, Venkatapuram: Peddakhinga(I), Mukkidipadu(1), Siddamanugu (I) and Singupuram Agraharam; thence along the southern forest boundary of Kurlanda Reserved Forest until it meets the boundary of the village of Manigam; thence to the point where the eastern boundary of the village of Kinigam meets the Vamsadhara river along existing village boundaries so as to include in Orissa Reserved Forest. the villages of Minigam, Sitapuram, Kharada, Vistala, Hadobhangi Jayapuram, Nilapuram and Kinigam; thence in a north-westerly direction along the middle line of the river until it meets the boundary of the Ganjam district; thence along that district boundary, which is there the boundary also of the Jeypore (Impartible) Estate; westwards and southwards until that estate boundary diverges from the district boundary.