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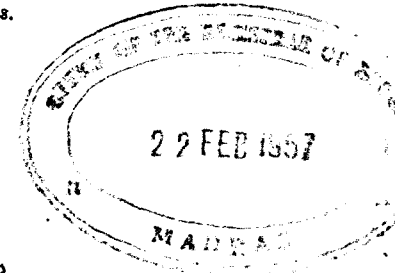
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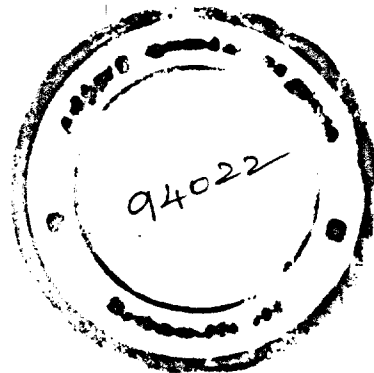
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The Legacy of the British Rule in India

BY

SRI RAM SHARMA

The British first acquired political power in India in 1765; India became an independent dominion in 1947. In their first half century in India, the British were only one of the several political powers but after the disappearance of the Peshwa's authority in 1818, England became an imperial power in India and exercised paramount authority in the country. Thus for about 130 years the country was governed by the British.

A century and a half is not a very long period in the history of any country much less so in India where history of civilized existence extends back for more than five thousand years at least. But the British influence is the most recent foreign influence to which we have been subjected. As such it is still very much with us in many ways. Now that we are independent, it is possible for us to assess our debt to the British more accurately.

The first and the foremost legacy of the British is India's unity. Slowly but steadily the British extended the same system of administration to the entire British India. The same set of higher administrators shuttled to and from, various parts of the country imposing the same methods of administration everywhere. The codes of criminal and civil procedure are monuments of patience, industry and learning which few other countries can match today. Their effect in unifying the country can hardly be exaggerated. The same codes of civil and criminal procedure decided how citizens in various parts of the country were to have their disputes decided in the same fashion throughout the country. The relations of the citizens with one another were mainly governed by the same civil law though different personal, religious, customary and tribal-laws were allowed to govern marriage and inheritance.

The development of the means of communication made travel easier and thus broke down the old barriers that had divided one

region from another. The emigrants to other parts of the world—to Kenya, Trinidad, South Africa, British Guinea and elsewhere—discovered that Bengalis and Punjabis, Madrasis and Gujaratis, Hindus or Muslims, they were all Indians, Hindus in fact—in the eyes of the foreigners. The Post, the telegraph and the telephone made it possible for people in one part of the country to correspond with another and thus to get to know them sometimes without meeting face to face for years. English education provided a common means for expression of ideas in Bengal and Punjab, Assam and Gujarat, Bombay and Travancore, in fact throughout the country. The newspapers made it possible for their readers to learn what was happening in various parts of the country so that a famine in Rajputana, an earthquake in Bihar or Baluchistan, the partition of Bengal or the martial law in the Punjab could be shared as harrowing experiences in all parts of the country almost equally. Gokhale, Lajpat Rai, Surendra Nath, Tilak, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Firoz Shah Mehta, Ajmal Khan, Gandhi, Motilal could almost equally affect public opinion and course of events in their own provinces as elsewhere.

In the twentieth century national consciousness was promoted and a sense of unity produced by a rather strange factor, growing resentment against India's domination by the British. It brought several otherwise somewhat incompatible elements together, British India politicians and the princes—as at the Round Table Conferences—, Hindus and Muslims, frontier tribesmen and Indian citizens proper, industrialists and consumers, agriculturists and manufacturers. English education created an ever expanding class of citizens brought up in the liberal British traditions who believed that good government was no substitute for self-government.

The unity thus created was not however complete. The division of India into British India and non-British India—India not only of princes but of chiefs and estate-holders—retarded political progress in princely India and perpetuated medieval conditions. The recruitment to the army was confined to what were described as 'Martial races' but what in effect came to be classes 'loyal' to the idea of continuation of British rule in India. In public services preference was shown to Muslims, Anglo-Indians and Europeans and some specified castes or sub-castes among the Hindus in certain departments. Representation in the legislature was

based on the principle of keeping Muslims, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and Europeans separate from the rest and giving these classes—presumably on account of their 'loyal services'—more seats than they were entitled to.

This unity led to the emergence of a sense of national consciousness in India. The idea of a 'Nation State' has not a very long history either in the east or in the west. It came to fruition on the continental Europe about 1870; the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 extended it to states created out of the ruins of the German Empire and the Dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary and Turkey. In India national consciousness arose as a direct result of the British connection. England is the cradle of the nation-state. Long before the rest of Europe was affected by it, she had adopted it as her own. Her literature and her political philosophy extolled it. When English education was introduced here, Indian students, brought up on her 'literature of revolt' could not but imbibe the principles which this literature advocated. The political unity which the British rule imposed on India naturally brought in its wake a sense of 'Indianness'. Following precedents set in England and the United States various types of societies were set up providing political education in the country and inculcating lessons in national consciousness. Some of the British rulers of India unconsciously—Lord Curzon for example—contributed to this awakening by their tall claim to the exclusive knowledge of what was good for India and imposing it on her.

When in 1917 the British abandoned their claim to govern India for all time as a part of divine dispensation, they declared the establishment of responsible government in India as the new goal of their policy in India. This brings us to the third important legacy of the British rule; democratic government. Though the adoption of this policy was announced in 1917, certain elements of British rule in India had been fostering the idea of democratic government for some time past. The setting up of municipalities and district boards under Ripon was officially advocated as a part of the political education of Indians in democratic government. The presence of representative Indians in the imperial and provincial legislatures after 1894 familiarized them with 'forms' of democratic government. The British traditions of the rule of law and

liberty of citizens further strengthened these democratic tendencies.

The British connection with India naturally decided that democratic government in India would take the form of Parliamentary government, i.e., the executive being formed by the Political party having a majority in the popular house of the legislature and continuing in power only so long as it retains that majority. The servants of the crown and the East India Company who in 1853 had been set up as an organ for making laws for British India started playing at 'a petty Parliament'. In 1861 this was made impossible but in 1892 began this practice of asking questions and discussion of the financial statement by members of the legislatures. In 1909 members were permitted to move resolutions and ask supplementary questions. This naturally decided that Indian members of the legislature should ask for some more of all this and thus favour parliamentary form of government. Politically conscious classes in India became familiar with the English system of government and demanded its establishment in India to the exclusion of other forms of government.

One feature of the working of the Indian legislature might have threatened the setting up of French parliamentary practices in India. In the twentieth century committees of the legislatures came to be associated with certain departments in an advisory capacity. But independent authority was never lodged in these committees and their discontinuance in 1953 ensured that Indian parliamentary government was to take after English rather than the French practices.

Parliamentary procedure in India again is an English legacy. Legislatures do not perform the same functions nor do they perform them in the same way in all democratic governments. Luckily in India we have had more knowledge of English practices than what prevail elsewhere. There have been occasional appeals in India for adopting other than British Parliamentary practices whenever they have appeared inconvenient to individuals, parties or interests. But the British legacy in parliamentary procedure is safely entrenched in India in its broader principles; three readings of bills, examination of and the report on the bills by select or standing committees of the legislature, the question hour, the

impartial position of the Speakers and the grants of supplies on the motion of the ministers alone are some of the parliamentary practices for which we are indebted to the British.

Another British legacy is the rule of law in Indian government. All citizens are equal at law and public servants as such do not enjoy any special privileges likely to threaten the rights of the citizens. No invasion of personal rights can be justified as an act of state alone. All laws extend equally to all; high and low, rich and poor, Hindus and Muslims. Whenever an emergency or near-emergency requires the curtailment of the rights of citizens, such curtailment can be ultimately authorized by the freely elected legislatures alone within the framework of the Constitution.

The British practices in India occasionally stopped short of British Political philosophy. Europeans were entitled to a special procedure even in criminal cases against them. Public servants could not be prosecuted without the permission of the government in certain cases, and the legislatures which authorized the invasion of personal rights were not entirely elected. But the British connection in India laid stress on British public philosophy. Indians treated shortcomings of British practices in India as aberrations which could be excused but were in no case to be treated as models to be followed. Thus British example rather British practice provided the model which India took for her own. That is why the judiciary in India to-day is as independent as in the United Kingdom. That also explains why some critics of the Indian government often strive to overlook the work of the judiciary in India when they attempt to prove that the government is in the hands of a single party.

The greatest spectacular proof of the prevalence of the rule of law was proved by the first general elections in India. Friends and foes of India were alike amazed at the success of this greatest democratic election in the history of the world. The returning officers scrutinized the nomination forms of all parties with equal care and the presiding officer showed similar zeal in securing that the elections were both free and fair. When election tribunals heard cases they did not look at the party labels which the contestants wore but investigated the complaints of irregularities, corruptions and illegal practices presented to them.

This naturally brings us to public administration. Here the British provided at the top general public administrators capable of performing all task of government equally well. Indians had been all but excluded in the nineteenth century. When in the twentieth century they began to enter the imperial services, they soon learnt the traditions which their British predecessors had built up and which their British colleagues were maintaining. If higher administrators had developed traditions of aloofness they were also impartial. If they did not know all that had to be known about the vast Indian subcontinent they were willing to learn—though not in any humility and were capable of discovering necessary sources of knowledge and if all else failed, of providing answers to questions which brooked no delay. The civil servants had been trained to shoulder responsibility, not to shirk it. The greatly reduced Indian public servants, civil and military, gladly shouldered the responsibility of carrying on the administration of the country after partition. Under the leaders possessing keen insight and moved by selfless devotion to the cause of their country they carried the country through the horrors of post-partition crisis. They carried through the greatest exodus of population in history from one country to another under conditions of almost open war-fare; they have provided the country with an agency capable of converting the bureaucratic administration of yesterday into a welfare state to-day. But much more than that they proved their mettle by their success first in taking over princely India and then assimilating the crude administration in major parts of princely India into modern forms of administration.

The British public servants combined the aloofness of the Olympians with the paternalism derived from Indian traditions. Paternalism started being challenged in 1921 and many of the British civil servants left. But a welfare state demands a new type of paternalism which derives its strength from the citizens' sharing governmental tasks with the administrators. The memories of their traditions of paternal administration may still prove a valuable British legacy in India.

Outside these fields the British have left many legacies in the industrial, commercial, educational, social and political fields. They set up through British agencies mainly—new industries in India, tea, petroleum, steel and iron among others. These industries were

organized as 'factories' on a very large scale; some older industries were also converted from cottage industries into huge enterprises, cotton textiles, jute, salt, indigo and several other ancient industries were so converted. A network of railways was set up to serve the military and mercantile needs of the rulers. This 'industrial revolution' started about a hundred years ago was carried through mainly by British capital and British enterprise. As the British example proved catching, great Indian industrial houses like that of the Tata's arose and took their share in the industrialization of the country. The national awakening and the spirit of Swadeshi born of the partition of Bengal provided further impetus for the Indians taking a greater share in the trade and industry of their country than had been the case so far. The Indian demand for self-government in this, as in other spheres soon led to Indians claiming their due share. Indians at first aimed at breaking British monopoly in these fields. This naturally resulted in building Indian industries after the British model; Indian joint stock companies with boards of directors and managing agencies claimed their proper place along with their British competitors. Plantation labour apart, British industrialists set up fair standards of employee welfare which Indian had perforce to follow.

Trade unionism, though a universal movement, is a British legacy in the form which it has taken in India. It is associated with democratic and socialistic countries. The Indian Labour Code has its roots in the British factory laws both in its success and in its short-comings.

Mainly owing to British policy in India, she has been now urbanized to a very large extent. Demands mainly by British capitalists in India resulted in the setting up of several industries in the same place. These factories, mills and workshops soon drew a large number of labourers from places far and near. Villages were some times denuded of all their able-bodied and adventurous young men and hence those left in them very often supplemented their income substantially from the money orders which they received from those employed abroad.

The educational system in India to-day is again a legacy of the British. Universities were set up in India in 1857 after the model of the University of London to provide examining and Degree

granting agencies. Once set up in that mould they grew but always within the same old mould. Schools became cradles for young men intending to proceed to the University or to enter professional institutions where such existed outside the University organization. They remained mostly non-governmental agencies. Unlike the United States they owed their origins to public laws of the country enacted to include all types of institutions and not set up to fulfil the intentions of their donors.

The British have left some impression on the social life of India as well. They set up clubs wherever they could foregather. In course of time, some of these became, by their exclusiveness, grim reminders of foreign rule in India. Shut out of them, Indians saw some virtue in these institutions and set up some similar institutions of their own. After partition even the more exclusive clubs have come to be composed of Indian members only. Racing, card playing and drinking acquired new values because the British rulers indulged in them. Betting on race results was new and seems to have set itself up as a popular pastime. To dress like Europeans became the height of fashion. As there was no one dress in use in the country, the European dress became a passport to 'good' society. The ceremonial and court dress were naturally British and hence it acquired a vogue which seems to be capable of living long after the departure of the British. Certain items of the dress seem to have got too popular to be easily thrown overboard.

Indian literature has been greatly influenced both by British rule and English literature. The British first used Urdu prose for literature as well as in daily tasks of administration. Hindi followed suit. Spread of education and a desire for spreading political awakening led to the emergence of newspapers, dramas, novels and verse in the Indian language. New forms of literature were adopted from their English habitat; short stories, essays, satire, criticism, one-act plays came to be written after the English fashion. Literary criticism, though it often started with appealing to ancient Sanskrit texts, began to lean more and more on English principles of literary criticism. Emancipation and progressiveness often took the shape of shaking oneself free of ancient practices and adopting English models.

A very interesting legacy is India's discovery of her self, her ancient past. The centuries of political turmoil and political strife had left Indians unaware both of their ancient heritage and of its glory. 'The amazing discovery' that European languages were in to Sanskrit led to an endless search for ancient texts which on extended beyond Indian frontiers to central Asia. Many long lost texts were brought to light. Then began an attempt first to survey and then to preserve them and lastly to unearth archaeological wealth of the country. Soon Indian scholars joined forces with the Europeans in this search so that Indians of the twentieth century know more of her ancient glories than their ancestors of three or four hundred years ago.

The British legacy in India to-day is very large. Independent India is a successor to British India. If India had wrested political power from the hands of the British by force there might have been a deep anti-British movement after 1947. But the way in which Indians pressed their claims for independence and the method which the British employed for transferring power to Indian hands removed much of the earlier resentment against things British. Swadeshism of to-day takes pride not in burning British articles and institutions but in adopting them for its own purpose.

New Light on the Revolt of 1857 at Azamgarh

BY

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Some recently discovered official papers in Uttar Pradesh show that during the Revolt of 1857 the town and even the countryside of Azamgarh became for several months fully independent of British rule. This independence of course was shortlived, but still it is memorable in the history of India's freedom movement. It is not possible to reconstruct the whole story about the nature and extent of this brief period of freedom. It is a pity that adequate information is not available, for most of the records have perished and, among those which have survived, nearly all the contemporary documents relate to the British point of view. The side of the rebels is practically unrepresented, and, therefore, it is extremely difficult to visualise the story from the Indian standpoint. What little can be known about this is available only indirectly from the British records.

The story of the exploits of the rebels at Azamgarh is eventful, for it unfolds an epic of heroism and sacrifice which are unparalleled, and which unfortunately have not received from the European historians the attention they richly deserve. The European writers have not only ignored the achievement of the rebels, but have also distorted their story and have pictured them as lawless bandits. There is no doubt that when fuller details will be available the Azamgarh chapter of the Revolt will be immortalised in the history of India's freedom movement. From what is already known from the British records, it is quite clear that the rebels gave evidence of a wonderful power of organisation, matchless courage, and burning zeal for and love of the motherland.

On the eve of the Revolt, there were about five-hundred British troops at Azamgarh, belonging to the 17th Indian Infantry. These troops were brigaded with the 19th and 34th Regiments

but they steadily pressed on the British force. There was hard-fighting after this. The British were indeed on the point of retreating to Ghazipur, for they had no provisions left and the entire countryside was up by now. Even the loyal sepoys who had shown no appetite for warfare openly said that they could not fight so long as they were starving for food. If the Palwars had been better organised and led, the British would have found it impossible to retreat. As it is, the Britishers could stay on in the countryside for some time, while a large part of the district was virtually independent of British rule.

The tide at last turned with the arrival of the Gurkha Regiments who eventually saved the situation for the British. For the time being, however, the rebels were elated with success, and even got possession of the whole town. Such was the panic among the city merchants that they also went out of the city with their valuable movable properties, while the Europeans evacuated Azamgarh. After this evacuation the British lines at Azamgarh were plundered and there was complete disorder in the whole town. The Indian Nazir and Sarishtadar who had been left behind were forced to leave for Ghazipur. The whole Police also quitted the city.

It is unfortunate that practically nothing is known about the manner in which the rebels ruled Azamgarh during the brief period of their power. It appears that, one, Brithipal Singh, leader of the Palwars, commanded the city and levied a contribution in the town so as to make both ends meet. It is also likely that there was some indiscriminate loot as a result of which many innocent people suffered losses. That only proves that the Indian rebels were lacking in administrative organisation and police efficiency. There were some difficulties also which the Palwars could not overcome. Firstly, most of their force was engaged in distant Parganas and so they could not collect an adequate force in the city itself. Secondly, Muzaffar Khan, a rebel leader, who had lately occupied Mahul could not send any timely reinforcements to the city. Thirdly, the chief Palwar leader, Beni Madho, who was engaged at Mundari, only nine miles from the city, had no reinforcements from any source and he had to take refuge at Atraula and had later to fly to Avadh when the Gurkhas appeared. Lastly, the time at the disposal of the rebels was wholly inadequate for the preparation of an effective defence of the city. The con-

sequence was that the success of the rebels could not endure, and as the Gurkhas appeared the British sovereignty was restored at Azamgarh, at least nominally. Beni Madho, Brithipal Singh and Muzaffar Khan had to seek safety in flight.

Even though the city was recaptured, the rebels were still unsubdued in the countryside. The Palwars were only half-defeated, and the fact that they were still strong in some parts of the district is proved by the British overtures to them to make peace. One British officer, Mr. Pollock, toured the countryside so as to induce the Palwars to settle down. Accompanied by a force, Mr. Pollock met the Palwar chiefs at Koelsa in a friendly conference. British diplomacy succeeded as it had always succeeded in the past. The Palwars were finally made to agree to British terms and they declared their friendship for the British Government. Such was the loyalty of these Palwars that they after this not only gave no trouble, but refused to help the great rebel leader, Kunwar Singh, when the latter came to Azamgarh in April, 1858. The ease with which the Palwar Rajputs were won over by the British diplomacy demonstrates the common weakness of the rebels in political acumen and diplomatic ability. Their disunion was naturally exploited by the foreigners.

The British success was initially short-lived, for the patriotic hero, Kunwar Singh, came and re-occupied Azamgarh for a short while. In 1858, the situation in Azamgarh proved favourable to the rebels. At this time the major portion of the British army was stationed at Lucknow, and so Azamgarh and the neighbouring area were devoid of adequate protection. This opportunity was brilliantly taken advantage of by Kunwar Singh, who was hovering in Western Bihar with a small force of his own. He made a heroic diversion in eastern Uttar Pradesh and joining with a large number of rebels still at large in the vicinity of Azamgarh, he made a sudden attack on the town. His ultimate plan was to move from Azamgarh either towards Allahabad or Varanasi. Kunwar Singh's position was further improved when another band of rebels joined him at Atraula.

Kunwar Singh's memorable coup was highly successful and Azamgarh again temporarily became free from British rule. But, as before, the rebels were running short of supplies and materials. The number of combatants on their side was also not adequate.

Leadership was woefully deficient. The consequence was that, despite his wonderful gallantry, Kunwar Singh could not hold on at Azamgarh for long. In the meanwhile, his position became untenable for two reasons. Firstly, there was famine all round Azamgarh and food was scarce and it was difficult to maintain law and order in the city and maintain a fighting army in a condition of efficiency. Secondly, Kunwar Singh who lacked adequate organisation of his own could not keep down the criminal element in the town, and there was disorder which could not be checked. The anarchical conditions led to loot, brigandage and incendiarism which weakened Kunwar Singh.

Kunwar Singh's occupation of Azamgarh is a grim chapter in the history of his chequered career. Here he displayed wonderful energy and enterprise and ability for organisation, but individual brilliance could not compensate the lack of concerted action. The British soon collected reinforcements at Varanasi, Ghazipur and Allahabad, and marched on Azamgarh towards the end of March. The initial attack of the British under the command of Colonel Milman and Colonel Dawes proved unsuccessful. When the news of the British defeat reached Lord Canning at Allahabad, there was great anxiety. With a leader of the ability of Kunwar Singh taking the offensive the position was bound to be extremely grave. It was at this time that Lord Canning took personal interest in the military operations and sent Col. Lord Mark Kerr against Azamgarh. Kunwar Singh and his men were now outnumbered and his left-wing had to retreat forthwith. The English received further reinforcements from Lucknow. Even though Kunwar Singh occupied the town he found that the position all round him was militarily untenable for want of resources. On the rapid approach of the British army, Kunwar Singh collected his forces along the banks of the River Tons, and decided to stop the British advance here, if possible. When he found that the British advance could not be stopped, he thought of marching in haste with all his forces to the Ganga, cross it, and attempt to retire to the wild country of Jagdishpur. The heroism which Kunwar Singh showed while fighting a rearguard action is indeed remarkable. He offered a stout and relentless resistance all along and fought with such a bravery that the British had to suffer heavy losses at the great battle which was fought at the bridge over the Tons. The British lost one of their principal leaders, Mr. Venables. But, Kunwar Singh knew that victory had cruelly eluded his grasp and retreat

was the only alternative that was open to him. Azamgarh was lost this time once for all and the British regained it triumphantly. The flight and accidental death of Kunwar Singh form a different story, the poignant tragedy of which is no part of the present chapter.

Even after the fall of Azamgarh the district remained in a troublesome condition for some time, and was threatened from time to time by the rebels of Avadh, but except for temporary dacoity and disorder caused by the rebels, Azamgarh remained free from any serious trouble. That, however, Azamgarh had freedom twice for brief periods in 1857-58 is a fact which needs to be recalled at the present day.

Gwalior Succession, 1826-1827

BY

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Towards the end of his career, during the period of the Governor-Generalship of Lord Amherst, Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia became weak, sickly and almost bed-ridden. For a long time he was in a fluctuating state of health. Several times he fell seriously ill and remained in the grips of a protracted disease. As he was old and had no male issues to succeed him, every time his precarious health caused alarm and anxiety and made the British Government in India uneasy and thoughtful. In a powerful state contiguous to British territories an undisturbed and peaceful succession to the throne was the constant anxiety of the British mind. Not quite free from Burma and Bharatpur, Lord Amherst did not want to hazard British position by entering into fresh complications and desired to avoid by diplomatic pressure the inevitable concentration of all power for a long time in the hands of Baiza Bai, the junior Rani, and her brother Hindu Rao, the two strong, talented, powerful and overbearing personalities in Gwalior, in the event of the death of the Maharaja without a son of his own blood or an heir by adoption. Nor could he consider expedient to uphold the better and most rightful claims of the senior Rani Rukma Bai to adopt a son and administer the country as Regent. It was the first occasion when British interposition to ensure tranquil succession in Gwalior, since the dissolution of the Maratha confederacy, was actively contemplated. Although the Governor-General disclaimed all pretensions to any right to control and regulate succession or any desire to bring the Maharaja's dominion under more immediate British protection and gave most friendly assurances that he had no intention to effect interference in the internal administration of the state, yet in the name of maintaining tranquillity and independence of the State of Gwalior and general peace of Central India, he showed active interest in selecting a successor to ensure undisputed succession. The long chain of correspondence

between the Resident in Gwalior and the Secretary to the Governor-General in Calcutta is a positive source of information on this subject.

In January 1826, when the Maharaja fell ill he was examined by Mr. Panton, the official surgeon of the Residency, who reported his condition to be exceedingly serious. Major Stewart, the Resident at Gwalior, was shocked to find the Maharaja in the grips of a precarious disease of a far more dangerous nature than he had in the least suspected. Considering his recovery even under the most favourable circumstances to be extremely difficult and fearing a fatal result, he advised the Maharaja to decide the question of succession before his death but the Maharaja 'made no illusion whatever to a successor'.¹ The silence of Sindhia on this issue and the uncertainty about it gave reasons for apprehension that the succession might be disputed after his death. Naturally, therefore, the succession question exercised the minds of the interested people and became an important issue. Despite the endeavours of the Resident to persuade him either to adopt a son himself or to give requisite authority in writing to one of his wives for making an adoption after his death and to issue a formal declaration of his wishes regarding the administrative arrangements to be made after his demise, the Maharaja neither took any measure for the adoption of an heir nor seemed disposed to declare his wishes regarding it. His sister Bala Bai also suggested the urgency and expediency of it but he remained seemingly unmoved.²

In these circumstances Stewart feared that if the issue remained undecided during the life time of the Maharaja it might kindle a flame of civil war which might disturb the future tranquillity of Central India.³ In fact there was no occasion for civil commotion in the state. Baiza Bai was all powerful and had ability, resources and firmness to nip in the bud any civil uprising or a commotion in the army.⁴ Moreover, the usage in the Hindu states of Central India recognised the legality of an adoption by the widow

1. P. C. 27th January, 1826, No. 42.

2. P. C. 27th January, 1826, No. 46.

3. S. C. Letter from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors, 18th May, 1827.

4. P. C. 27th January, 1826, No. 45.

even without permission of her husband. But here the difficulty was that Sindhia had two wives, Rukma Bai and Baiza Bai, and the East India Company did not want that the question should be left over to be decided by Baiza Bai in whom it had little or no confidence.

In his findings forwarded to the Governor-General, Stewart mentioned his views that under any circumstance Baiza Bai would succeed to the authority of the Maharaja after his death. The power which she enjoyed combined with the possession of the treasures of the state was destined to render her influence irresistible, independently of the right which she might acquire to assume charge of the Government.⁵ Rukma Bai, the senior and neglected wife of the Maharaja whose claims were more reasonable and rightful would act in subservience to the predominating influence of her junior compatriot in the palace.⁶ He entertained the apprehension that, even in the exercise of her legitimate right of adoption according to the Hindu usages, she would be entirely guided by Baiza Bai.⁷ On receipt of this report the Governor-General expressed his opinion that he would be prepared to accept any selection of a successor made by the general voice or by a majority of the chiefs and principal persons of the state according to the established usage, whether the letter of the written law was closely adhered to or not.⁸

By the end of February 1826 when the Maharaja's health considerably improved and there remained no apprehension of his death, he gave a long interview to Stewart on the 4th March. In course of his talk, in answer to queries made by the Resident, he frankly told him that his collaterals had become so remote and distant that he did not consider anybody fit to be his successor. In fact he did not want to transmit the splendid inheritance to a far distant cousin whom he had never seen or probably never heard of. However, he promised to give serious consideration to the question of selecting a suitable successor.⁹ The Resident believed

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. P. C. 27th January, 1826, No. 4.

9. P. C. 28th March, 1826, No. 33.

that the hopes of the Maharaja of having a son with Baiza Bai and his indifference towards those distantly related to him by blood rendered him extremely averse to admit the necessity of making an adoption.¹⁰ Nevertheless, it was hoped that he might give a written authority to somebody to adopt an heir after his death unless Baiza Bai wished to retain authority in her own hands.¹¹ On his obvious recovery from illness when Daulat Rao Sindhia finished the ceremony of ablution with great rejoicings and profuse distribution of eleemosynary presents, the Resident communicated to him through Atma Ram Pandit the ardent desire of the Governor-General that the Maharaja should take steps to ascertain the most suitable person for adoption as his heir and successor.¹²

Again in August 1826, the Maharaja's health considerably deteriorated and threatened his early dissolution.¹³ Major Fielding, the Acting Resident, immediately sent for Atma Ram Pandit, and as a result of information obtained from him he viewed that in the event of Sindhia's death without making any previous testamentary provision for a successor, the most regular right of adoption would fall to his first wife Rukma Bai who was kept in obscurity and insignificance by the commanding influence of Baiza Bai, although she was not altogether deficient either in spirit or ability. He opined that the Maharaja's indecision to adopt an heir arose largely from his unwillingness to deprive her of the privilege of being the adoptive mother which Baiza Bai desired for her self. However, like his predecessor, Major Fielding also communicated to the Maharaja the expediency of removing all chances of a disputed succession by adopting a successor and reported to the Governor-General that nothing was done by the Maharaja beyond sending a person to the Deccan to make necessary enquiries about the probable descendants of his family who could rightfully be adopted as his heir and to ascertain as to whose horoscope was most fortunate.¹⁴ This view of the Acting Resident, as elaborated by him later on, was based on the reported refusal of the Maharaja to

consider favourably the claims of any one of the two boys related to Baiza Bai, his apparent indifference to the future of his state and his disgustful utterances that after his death the English would be the masters of everything and might do as they pleased.¹⁵ Afterwards on the 25th August, in an interview with the sick Maharaja, he again raised the unpalatable topic of succession and made it very explicit, not without overstepping the bounds of delicacy, that there should be no chance of a dispute for succession in the event of his sudden demise.¹⁶ In another meeting he advised the Maharaja to deposit with the Resident a valid testamentary instrument to be acted upon in case of an accident, if there was any difficulty in making an early adoption or any hitch in declaring his intentions publicly.¹⁷ To the first advice the Maharaja replied that the desired arrangement would be made after necessary inquiries but to the second he gave no reply.

The Governor-General reprimanded the Acting Resident for his speculations and did not agree with him that the death of the Maharaja was near and that he had a soft corner for his senior wife whose right he would not abrogate and dare not confirm. Of these two views he treated the first one as against the authoritative professional opinion and the second one as against all trends of the time. He scarcely doubted that Sindhia desired and expected Baiza Bai to succeed him 'in the exercise of the sovereign power and the general management of affairs.'¹⁸ He felt that she was already 'the confidante of all his counsels' and a power behind the throne who wielded real authority. She exerted marked influence in the administration of public affairs and had control over the treasury. If the cause of such an influential lady was unpopular, there was no reason to believe that the cause of Rukma Bai, a secluded female, who was never allowed to participate in public affairs and had long lived in complete retirement, could lay claim to any positive degree of popular favour.¹⁹ With regard to the right of adoption, he held that no widow would possess a valid

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. P. C. 9th June, 1826, No. 35.

13. P. C. 15th September, 1826, No. 7.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*; P. C. 10th November, 1826, No. 47.

16. P. C. 15th September, 1826, No. 9.

17. P. C. 6th October, 1826, No. 41.

18. P. C. 6th October, 1826, No. 39.

19. *Ibid.*

and substantial title to adopt unless formally empowered by her husband. Therefore, if the Maharaja happened to die without adopting an heir, the lady who could 'best support her pretensions and enjoy the confidence and support of the majority of the leading men in the country might fairly be regarded as the legitimate ruler' to fill the period of transition until satisfactory arrangements could be made.²⁰

Apprehending struggle for succession as a probable consequence of the death of the Maharaja, the Governor-General issued instructions to the Acting Resident to observe an attitude of distinct non-interference, to abstain from committing the British Government to the recognition of a successor before receiving explicit orders and not to accept any document unless it was handed over voluntarily and without any obligation to guarantee and enforce its disposition.²¹ He was also asked to observe the trends and events in the state very carefully and report without delay on the following points.

- (1) The day to day happenings in the state; the general state of feeling with regard to succession; the relative strength of the various parties in the state and of the claimants to the throne and the means they possessed of enforcing their pretensions.
- (2) An account of the several members of the Sindhia family and all the relations then living, both male and female.
- (3) The degree of authority, avowed or indirect, exercised by Baiza Bai in the administration of the State.²²

Meanwhile, the Governor-General felt it necessary to obtain the views of the Resident on points on which the Acting Resident had given different opinion. But the Resident, in his letter of the 6th October 1826, reiterated his former opinion that Baiza Bai would succeed with little or no opposition to the chief authority in the state in the event of the death of Daulat Rao Sindhia, although from the point of view of strict justice Rukma Bai would have the

20. *Ibid.*

21. P. C. 20th October, 1826, No. 20

22. P. C. 6th October, 1826, No. 39.

best claim to adopt an heir and to work as Regent during his minority. He attributed the indifference of Sindhia to his confidence that the immediate power after his decease would fall into the hands of Baiza Bai and her brother. He doubted very much if the Maharaja, decapitated by debility and disease and accustomed to yield in all points to the will of Baiza Bai for eight years, would ever be able to resist her bewitching commands.²³

However, the Acting Resident continued to hold his previous views regarding the apathy of Daulat Rao Sindhia to the question of succession and considered the right of Rukma Bai as undisputed.²⁴ He attributed the failure of the Maharaja to appoint a responsible minister after the death of the late minister Serjee Rao to the commanding influence of Baiza Bai over him. Her reputation for ability arose more from the determination and energy of her character than from her possessing a more common share of good sense. He held her responsible for the protection given to the Pindaris by Sindhia in 1817 and the help rendered to the Peshwa in 1818, and appreciated the conduct of Bala Bai who had twice saved the state from ruin. 'No salutary measure ever originated with Baiza Bai'. She influenced nomination, confirmation and removal of public officers. Nazaranas to her were passports to higher jobs and promotions. Her good word was 'notorious in the market'. She held Ujjain, Shahjahanpur, Sonkutch and Burhanpur and other districts in jagir and her brother held Narwar and the neighbouring villages and occasionally received cash from the Maharaja. Baiza Bai wanted to appoint him as minister but the Maharaja always firmly resisted her importunities to appoint him to that high office and even refused to increase his military rank to more than a hundred horse. Nevertheless, his influence was great. It was exercised chiefly through his sister and, like hers, 'was always ready for the best bidder.'²⁵ In this way, the Acting Resident maligned Baiza Bai's character and influence and held her responsible for all factions, ills and disputes in the state and indecision and apathy of her husband. This seems to be a grossly exaggerated picture of the talented, powerful and influential lady. During this

23. P. C. 25th October, 1826, No. 9.

24. P. C. 10th November, 1826, No. 47.

25. *Ibid.*

period of the Maharaja's illness the Acting Resident frequently urged Atma Ram Pandit to prevail on him to make some arrangement for succession and point out the many inconveniences that would result from the neglect of this precaution.²⁶ But the Maharaja was so 'sedulously attended and watched by Hindu Rao' that with great difficulty Atma Ram could find some moments to have a private *tete-a-tete* conversation with him when he was alone. So many approaches had already been made to the Maharaja in direct and indirect manner and so sufficiently he had been pressed to finalise succession, when he was least anxious to be troubled by it, that in disgust and annoyance he said, 'why should the British Government take so much interest in this business.'²⁷ In reply to it Atma Ram brought forward the arguments with which the Acting Resident had furnished him and said that this attitude of the British Government was a proof of their frequent professions of friendship. To this the Maharaja reacted more indifferently and candidly than graciously that he did not care much for the friendship of which the benefits were to appear after his death; that he was not much worried about the future fate of his territories; that he cared nothing whatever for the person who would succeed him; and that even if he did, the dissensions on the issue might prevent him from taking any decision and if the Governor General actually felt the interest, he professed, in the continuance of his name and sovereignty, he would make necessary arrangements better than he himself could without harrassing him any more.²⁸ In reply to an observation of Atma Ram, that, if no arrangements for succession was made during his life time, there might be violent disputes in his family afterwards, the Maharaja made the following significant remarks:

"Very true, disputes in a family are much to be deprecated; I shall bring this to the particular notice of the Bai and desire her not to continue to urge any new arrangements, or to persecute me with remonstrances as to my diet; I know my present illness is mortal, and it is very hard I should be deprived of such little gratifications as I can enjoy during the short time I have to live."²⁹

26. P. C. 10th November, 1826, No. 49.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

Atma Ram Pandit had some conversation with Baiza Bai also. He conveyed his impressions to the Acting Resident that she did not want that the Maharaja should make any arrangement for succession and that her ultimate object was to contrive to place in Hindu Rao's hands not only the executive power of the state but also the sovereignty itself. To the Acting Resident this view of Atma Ram Pandit did not appear to be improbable. But the facts were otherwise. Like her husband and everybody else Baiza Bai was actually in the dark about Sindhia's male relatives. Therefore, she suggested that the person for adoption should be determined by selection rather than by mere propinquity of blood.³⁰

Curiously enough the Acting Resident heard from a tolerably reliable source that the Maharaja had an intention to deliver his seal and dagger to the Resident at the time of his death with a request to him to make all necessary arrangements for succession to his sovereignty.³¹ He, therefore, paid a personal visit to the Maharaja but, finding his condition much worse than before, did not open the delicate topic.³² However, he procured a genealogy of Daulat Rao for the Governor General and indicated that, among the nearest male relatives of the Maharaja, Peerajee, Patloba and Redarjee were the most prominent. Of these, the first had no son, the second had a son named Moogat Rao, aged nine years, and the third, who was nearer than the second, had officiated at all religious ceremonies whenever a near relation was required and had a fine son too of about ten years. But Baiza Bai had no liking for him. She had never permitted him to meet the Maharaja. Moreover, his son was not unmarried. In the past it used to be the policy of Daulat Rao Sindhia to employ the members of his family to high positions in the state, most particularly in the army, but when Baiza Bai gained ascendancy in his counsels she carefully excluded them and all others from high offices in the state lest their influence might interfere with her own.³³

After his return from the hills to Gwalior, the Resident paid a visit to the Maharaja on the 10th November 1826 and found him

30. P. C. 25th October, 1826, No. 11.

31. P. C. 10th November, 1826, No. 53.

32. *Ibid.*

33. P. C. 10th November, 1826, No. 55.

in a much better condition and less apprehensive of his death than before. In fact he had become so much accustomed to his disease that it had lost its terrors. The Maharaja himself opened the topic of succession and promised to speak on that subject in a private interview after a few days.³⁴ The private interview was held on the 27th November in which the Maharaja discussed the question of adoption and treated it as a very delicate issue. From the discussion the Resident gathered that the Maharaja's indecision was caused partly by the embarrassment that it might cause if a son was born to him afterwards, partly by the very remote degree of consanguinity in which persons were likely to be related to him and partly by the difficulty to decide whether it would be proper to resort to a very unusual practice of adopting a son from a different family and how it would be received by all concerned.³⁵ The Resident glossed over the last point and proceeded to ascertain his sentiments with regard to the person best entitled to succeed to his authority on his death. To this the Maharaja very explicitly replied that there was no one entitled to claim succession and no one so nearly related to him as to acquire a right to succeed; that the sons-in-law had no claims; that in such cases like the one in his state a man's wife would be the person best entitled to manage the affairs of the state after the death of her husband without a male issue or a son by adoption; and that of his two wives the senior one was entirely unsuited for the task as she had no knowledge of the world and no experience in the intricate business of administration. She was fit only to sit quietly at home, to eat her food and nothing more. The Resident communicated the purport of his interview to the Governor-General and expressed his view that Baiza Bai would succeed to the Maharaja's authority after his death and would also endeavour to retain authority in her own hands unless the British Government interfered and insisted on an adoption being made.³⁶ Most probably the remarkable indifference and studied silence of Daulat Rao Sindhia on the question of succession was born of his intense desire not to give any cause to conflicts, turmoils and formation of groupings in his state. He wanted to ensure quiet succession to Baiza Bai

34. P. C. 1st December, 1826, No. 29.

35. P. C. 22nd December, 1826, No. 25.

36. *Ibid.*

who had talents for administration and determination, power and resources to nip in the bud any sudden upsurge.

Three and a half months after this interview in March 1827, Daulat Rao Sindhi's illness took a fatal turn and he expired on the 21st morning.³⁷ Just before his death Hindu Rao called for Stewart and told him that the Maharaja would adopt one of the three youths then present in the palace whose relationship to the Maharaja was not much remote than that of the two boys whose pictures were received from the Deccan if the Resident agreed to this proposal.³⁸ Emphasising the need of an immediate adoption so that the adopted son could set fire to the funeral pyre of the Maharaja in the event of a need, he took Stewart to the Maharaja. But the Maharaja could not speak anything beyond saying that he had a great deal to say and that he wished the Resident to do whatever he thought proper. Then he became speechless and expired within an hour³⁹ without formal appointment of a successor either by adoption or by a written will or by a distinct declaration on his death bed. The scheme of adoption was thus defeated. Thereupon the Resident decided to await the arrival of the boys from the Deccan before taking final decision on the question of succession. He reported to the Calcutta Government, 'So nearly had a strifling, picked up I may say in the streets and with hardly decent clothes to cover him, become the sovereign of this state'.⁴⁰

Having received information about the death of Daulat Rao Sindhia, Lord Amherst immediately demanded from the Resident precise information on the following points:⁴¹

- (1) In what form and under what title Baiza Bai and Hindu Rao proposed to exercise sovereign authority in the State?
- (2) Whether they contemplated an adoption?
- (3) What was the public opinion in Gwalior?

37. P. C. 6th April, 1827, Nos. 2 & 4.

38. P. C. 6th April, 1827, No. 7.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. P. C. 20th April, 1827, No. 5.

- (4) What was the attitude of the principal chiefs, military commanders and ministers towards succession?

After the death of the Maharaja, his most favourite wife Baiza Bai assumed sovereignty of the State professedly in her capacity as regent but in fact she intended to retain power throughout her life.⁴² Stewart noticed a general wish, particularly predominant among the Marathas, to see a son of the Sindhia family adopted and the name of the Sindhia's sovereignty upheld. Jealous of the power of Baiza Bai and Hindu Rao they wanted to get this object fulfilled under the auspices of the British Government. They also wished that the adoption should be performed in a regular manner by the elder widow of the late Maharaja.⁴³ But Lord Amherst wanted to avoid as far as possible the appearance of being interested in regulating succession and also the obligations involved and the troubles and complications resulting therefrom.⁴⁴ Therefore, he looked with placid satisfaction when he found that there was no symptom of impending struggle or competition for succession to the gaddi or even an appearance of a regularly organised party possessing power or inclination to contest with Baiza Bai beyond an all round anxiety regarding the child to be adopted as the future prince. He felt that the devolution of sovereign authority on Baiza Bai was strictly in accordance with the wishes of her husband. This claim of Baiza Bai was prominently brought forward by the Maharaja during his complimentary interview with the Governor-General at Agra. Her name had also appeared in the treaty of 1805 and the subsequent supplementary engagement as the wife of Daulat Rao Sindhia and for her a provision of Rs. 2,00,000 per annum was made. Hence she was considered to have the best title to govern the state of Gwalior during the inter-regnum.⁴⁵

In the meantime, five boys of the Sindhia family reached the Residency on the 29th May. But Baiza Bai was not inclined to adopt any one of them. She renewed her old scheme of adopting a boy of her own family and of placing him on the gaddi after his

marriage with her youngest grand-daughter.⁴⁶ That boy was the grandson of late Viswas Rao by the female line, son of Jathji Rao Patankar and brother of the Rani of Kolhapur and her mother was the first cousin of Baiza Bai. But this scheme was not acceptable to the Resident as it was opposed to the sentiments of the Paramount Power. Pronouncing it to be against the public opinion in Gwalior, inconsistent with the Hindu usage and against the wishes of the late Maharaja, he determined to thwart it outright. He canvassed for the claims of the members of the Sindhia family and won over important personages of the state to his view. Moreover it was difficult for her to get that boy as the Raja of Kolhapur was not inclined to hand over his brother-in-law to Baiza Bai due to his hostility with her family and the British Government refused to exercise its influence on him for handing over that boy to her.⁴⁷ The persons opposed to the ascendancy of Baiza Bai advanced the claims of Rukma Bai to Regency to promote their own interests which could not have been served under the Regency of Baiza Bai. The Principal bankers, feeling the condition to be insecure on account of the conflicting views of Baiza Bai and the Paramount Power, discontinued their business. In opposition to this atmosphere and particularly to the wishes of the Resident it was not possible for Baiza Bai to materialise her plan.

In these adverse circumstances, Baiza Bai was persuaded with utmost difficulty by Atma Ram and Hindu Rao to give up her original plan and to decide to adopt Moogut Rao, one of the boys of the Sindhia family, as recommended by Stewart. She gave her reluctant assent on the conditions that Moogut Rao would be married to her youngest grand-daughter and she would be allowed to proceed on a pilgrimage to Banaras.⁴⁸ The first condition was intended to effect security to her position and to make her attachment with the new ruler more close and intimate. The second was only an expression of her mortification, frustration and dissatisfaction. In this state of affairs Stewart wanted the ceremony of adoption and installation to take place without delay so that

42. P. C. 26th April, 1827, No. 2.

43. P. C. 5th June, 1827, No. 4.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

46. P. C. 29th June, 1827, No. 2.

47. *Ibid.*

48. P. C. 6th July, 1827, No. 2.

no complications could arise in the future while Baiza Bai was interested in postponing the issue in which she was least interested. But her wishes could not prevail as the Resident did not admit of any procrastination.⁴⁹ Ultimately she succumbed to the inevitable. She was overwhelmed with grief at this sudden end of her favourite dream. Moogut Rao was married to her youngest granddaughter on the 17th June and was elevated to the gaddi on the next day under the name of Jankoji Rao Sindhia and Baiza Bai acted as Regent during his minority.⁵⁰ The Resident presented him with a rich *Khil'at* customary for the occasion. What was the wish of the late Maharaja and how far it was fulfilled it is difficult to know. However, it can be presumed that most probably he wished Baiza Bai to enjoy supreme authority and be the final arbiter of the destiny of his state. But the Paramount Power willed otherwise and refused to recognise her claims beyond those of a Regency. She was not given a freehand in effecting an adoption.

In this matter of succession a policy of legitimacy and convenience was adopted to proclaim the righteous stand of the East India Company while on the question of appointment of Regent a policy of expediency was pursued in complete defiance of right and justice and superior claims of Rukma Bai on the plea that it was the wish of the Maharaja. Thus the march of Paramountcy was never based on any well defined lines. The most essential consideration was to increase its pace. Nature of the case, expediency of the moment, security of British interests and tranquillity of the region determined the course to be adopted and means to be accepted. If moral sense of justice happened to coincide with these considerations it was destined to be upheld and proclaimed loudly. Thus the tender plant of paramountcy was very carefully nurtured by all possible means to make it fruitful and flourishing in subsequent years.

49. *Ibid.*

50. P. C. 6th July, 1827, No. 4.

Some Facts of Early Orissan History

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I. Ancient Orissa

Orissa is spelt *Oḍiśā* in the language of the Oriyas. This name seems to be derived from an earlier form like *Auḍriya-vishaya* through forms like *Oḍḍi-visaa* and *Oḍi-visā*. The Tibetan author *Tāranātha* mentions the name as *Oḍi-visā* (I.A., Vol. IV, pp. 365-66). The tribal name *Uḍra* or *Oḍra* lies at the root of all these forms. But *Uḍra*, *Oḍra* or *Auḍra* cannot be regarded as the earliest name of Orissa.

In ancient times a powerful people named the *Kaliṅgas* lived in the present Orissa region. In the third century B.C., the Maurya emperor *Aśoka* (circa 373-332 B.C.) conquered the *Kaliṅgas* and annexed the *Kaliṅga* country to his empire. The province of *Kaliṅga* in the Maurya empire was divided into two administrative units. The north-eastern part of the country had its headquarters at *Tosali* (although the land around the city was later often called *Tosala*) which is the modern *Dhau* near *Bhubaneswar* in the *Puri* District of Orissa. In a later age, kings of the *Ārya-Mahāmeghavāhana* family of the *Chedi* clan, which is represented by *Khāravela*, described as 'the supreme lord of *Kaliṅga*', appear to have had their capital in the same area. In Maurya times, south-western *Kaliṅga* had its headquarters at the city of *Samāpā* near modern *Jaugaḍa* in the *Ganjam* District. Indian literature intimately associates *Kaliṅga* with the *Mahendragiri* now standing on the borders of the *Ganjam* District of Orissa and the *Srikakulam* District of the *Andhra* State. But there is no doubt that the *Godāvari* or the *Kṛishṇā* was often regarded as the south-western boundary of the *Kaliṅga* country. This is indicated by the fact that, about the fifth century A.D., some rulers, enjoying the title *Kaliṅgādhipati*, not only had their capital at *Pisṭapura*, modern *Pithapuram* in the *East Godavari* District, but sometimes even claimed lordship over the whole coastland

between the Kṛṣṇā and the Mahānadi. Actually however the north-eastern boundary of the ancient Kalinga country lay even beyond the Mahānadi, although Kalinga did not include the whole of modern Orissa. The north-eastern part of coastal Orissa was included in early times in the land of the Utkalas while the Patna-Sonpur region in the upper valley of the Mahānadi formed the eastern part of the country named Dakṣiṇa-Kosala till the early medieval period. But the Utkalas and some of their neighbours may have been ethnically related to the Kalingas. Indeed an ancient tradition recorded in the *Mahābhārata* (I, 104, 53) and the *Purāṇas* (*Bhāgavata*, IX, 23, 5; *Vāyu*, 99) regards the progenitors of the Aṅgas of East Bihar, Vaṅgas of South Bengal, Kalingas, Puṇḍras of North Bengal and Suhmas of West Bengal as co-uterine brothers. Early European writers sometimes represent the people of South Bengal (Gangaridae) as a Branch of the Kaling people (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VI, 21 ff.).

We have seen how the river Kṛṣṇā was sometimes regarded as the south-western boundary of the ancient Kalinga country. But in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., the Śālaṅkāyanas were ruling over the coastland between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī with their capital at the city of Veṅgī (modern Peddavegi near Elūru in the West Godavari District) and they did not claim to be lords of Kalinga. In the sixth and seventh centuries the Viṣṇukunḍins were ruling over the same area. They also did not claim to be rulers of the Kalinga country. If the identification of the *Andhr-ādhipati*, mentioned in the Haraha inscription of the time of Maukhari Īśānavarman, dated V. S. 611 = 553-54 A.D., with a Viṣṇukunḍin monarch is accepted, the kingdom of the Viṣṇukunḍins was probably known as Andhra. During the second quarter of the seventh century, the Eastern Chalukyas established themselves at Piṣṭapūra (Piṭhapuram in the East Godavari District) and ruled over the entire coastcountry from the Viśakhapatnam District in the north-east to the Guntur District in the south-west for many centuries. But their kingdom became famous under the name of Veṅgī. During this period, the major part of the Viśakhapatnam District formed a part of Veṅgī, although the Yelaman-chili Taluk of that District was called Elamañchi-Kalingadeśa. The Early Eastern Gaṅgas were ruling over the area about the present Srikakulam District with their capital at Kalinganagara, which has been identified with modern Mukhalūgam near Srikakulam, from

the close of the fifth century A.D. They also enjoyed the title *Kalingādhipati* or lord of Kalinga. In the early medieval period, it is only the kingdom of these Early Eastern Gaṅgas that was exclusively known as Kalinga, because, as will be seen below, the kingdoms in the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack region assumed different names such as Koṅgoda, Tosali, Uḍra, etc., since the latter part of the sixth century A.D. With the rise of the Imperial Branch of the Eastern Gaṅgas, and especially with the conquest of the coastland between the Godāvarī and the Ganges (Bhāgīrathī) by the Imperial Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga about the beginning of the twelfth century, the major part of Ancient Kalinga came under the Kalinga king. But the old name did not get time enough to become popular again as the successors of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga soon transferred their capital to the Cuttack District far away from the Srikakulam region that had become famous under the name Kalinga during the many centuries' rule of the Early Eastern Gaṅgas. The Eastern Gaṅgas originally lived in the present Kannaḍa-speaking area of Mysore, whence they migrated to and settled in the present Telugu-speaking area of Śrīkakulam. The Kannaḍa origin of the Eastern Gaṅgas is not only supported by the copper-plate grants of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga and his successors (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 239 ff.) but also by the following statement in the description of Choḍagaṅga in the *Mādala Pāñji*: *Chudagaṅga Karṇāṭadesaru āsi*, etc. (ed. Mahanti, p. 23). The mother tongue of the Imperial Gaṅgas was originally Telugu. This is clearly indicated not only by the great part Telugu plays even in their later documents but also by the popularity of names like *Aniyāṅkabhīma* which was later Sanskritised as *Anaṅgabhīma* through the intermediate form *Anaṅkabhīma*. After the transference of their capital to the Cuttack District, the Imperial Gaṅgas began to be Oriyas; but most of their matrimonial alliances were still contracted with South Indian royal families and a large number of their officials and protégés were South Indians.

With reference to the geography of Kalinga, mention has to be made of the views of certain scholars based on the repeated reference to the country in the Ceylonese chronicles. Chapter 59 of the *Chūlavamsa* says how king Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110 A.D.) of Laṅkā married the Kalinga princess Trilokasundarī and offered befitting maintenances to her relations Madhukārnava (Madhukāmārnava?) Bhīmarāja and Dalātkāra of Siṃhapura (capital of

Kaliṅga) for settling them in his kingdom. The younger sister of the Kaliṅga princess, Sundarī by name, was given in marriage to Vijayabāhu's son Vikramabāhu. In this connection, Geiger (*Chūlavamsa trans.*, Part I, p. 211) observes, "Sihapura (Sinhapura) is the town which according to the legend (cf. *Mhvs.* 6.35) was founded in Lāla (Rāḍha) by Vijāya's father Sihabāhu. Lāla borders in the north of the Kaliṅga kingdom, the home of Triloka-sundarī, as must be inferred from *Mhvs.* 6.1-5. The south-eastern district of Chutea Nagpur to the west of Bengal is still called Singbhum." It has however to be noticed that, in the age of Vijayabāhu (actually from about the end of the sixth to at least about the end of the twelfth century), the name Kaliṅga was exclusively applied to the kingdom of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara near Srikakulam, who styled themselves as *Kaliṅgādhipatis*. Sinhapura (mod. Singupuram in the same neighbourhood) was, however, the capital of the *Kaliṅgādhipatis* in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. and was no longer the capital of Kaliṅga although it may have been the residence of some scions of the Gaṅga family. Rāḍha and Kaliṅga do not appear to have had contiguous boundaries in any period of history. Sinhapura in Rāḍha (probably modern Singur in the Hoogly District) cannot be regarded as the same as the Kaliṅga capital of that name, identified with modern Singapuram near Srikakulam. The representation of Sinhapura as the capital of Kaliṅga in the *Mahāvamsa* tradition seems to be due to the fact that the chronicle was composed about the fifth century while the *Chūlavamsa* appears merely to have continued the same tradition although the later capital of the country was at Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhaliṅgam near Srikakulam) and not at Sinhapura.

As regards the north-eastern limit of ancient Kaliṅga, a well-known passage in the Tirtha-yātrā section of the Vanaparvan (114, 3) of the *Mahābhārata* has *esha Kaliṅgaḥ Kaunteya yatra Vaitaraṇī nadī*. This shows that the river Vaitaraṇī forming the eastern border of the Cuttack District of Orissa was regarded in ancient times as the boundary of the Kaliṅga country. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (IV, 38) speaks of the Utkala country lying between the land of the Kaliṅgas and that of the Vaṅgas. The eastern boundary of Utkala can be determined only when we know the exact area inhabited by the Vaṅga people.

Early Graeco-Roman writers represent the emperors of the Nanda and Maurya dynasties of Magadha as the rulers of the Prasii

and the Gangaridae and speak of Palibothra (i.e., Pāṭaliputra, near modern Patna, Bihar) as the capital of the country of the Prasii. There is little doubt the Prasii represented the *Prāchyas* (i.e., the people of the Eastern Division of ancient Bhāratavarsha) of Indian literature. But there is some confusion about the Gangaridae, their name being often Indianised as *Gaṅgā-rāshṭra*, *Gaṅgā-rāḍha* and *Gaṅgāhṛdaya*. Greek Gangaridae is however the plural form of *Gaṅgarid* from a base like *Ganges* or *Gangares*; cf. *Sasan Sasanid Sasanidae*; *Akhamenes Akhamenid Akhamenidae*. The word *Gaṅgaridae* therefore means 'the Gangetic people'. The land inhabited by this people is clearly indicated by the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Circa 80 A.D.) and the Geography of Ptolemy (Circa 140 A.D.). Ptolemy (*Geog.*, VII, 1, 18 and 81) mentions the five estuaries of the river Ganges and says, "All the region about the mouths of the Ganges is occupied by the Gangaridae with the following city—Gange, the royal city (i.e., the capital of the country)." It is clear from this that the Gagaridae or Gangetic people received their name from this chief city called Gange, apparently named after the river Ganges. The *Periplus* (para. 63) however applies the name Ganges not only to the river and a city standing on the bank of its principal mouth but also to the country, of which the city was apparently the capital. This book says about the country called Ganges that 'there is a river near it called the Ganges' and that on its bank is a market-town which has the same name as the river Ganges'. The principal product of this country is stated to have been the Gangetic muslin which reminds us not only of the world-wide celebrity of the Dacca muslin in the medieval age but also of the *dukūla*, *kaśika*, *patroṇa* and *prāvara* mentioned in the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata* as presents made to Yudhisṭhira by the Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Tāmaliptas and Puṇḍras of Eastern India. See Motichandra, *Geog. Ec. Stud. Mahābh.*, pp. 112-13. But a people called Gāṅga or Gāṅgeya inhabiting lower Bengal and having their capital at a city called Gaṅgā (Greek Gange or Ganges) is not known from ancient Indian literature. This powerful people, known to foreign writers from the fourth century B.C. to the second century A.D., were apparently known to the Indians by a different name. Curiously enough Kālidāsa, who flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., locates the Vaṅga people, well-known in ancient Indian literature, exactly in the same region where the Gangaridae or Gangetic people are placed by the early European writers. Canto IV

(verses 36-37) of his *Raghuvamśa* describes how Raghu defeated the Vaṅgas in a naval battle and raised pillars of victory in what is called *Gaṅgā-sroto-ntara* no doubt in the land of the defeated people. The expression *Gaṅgā-sroto-ntareshu* has been explained by the celebrated commentator Mallinātha as *Gaṅgāvāḥ srotasām pravāhānām antareshu dvīpeshu*. Thus the country of the Vaṅgas is located by Kālidāsa in the deltaic region of Southern Bengal which is intersected by the mouths of the river Ganges. This further proves that the Vaṅga people were identical with the Gangaridae who, according to the Graeco-Roman writers, lived in the region about the mouths of the Ganges and had their chief city about the confluence of the Ganges and the Bay of Bengal. The modern representative of this ancient city seems to be the holy place at the junction of the Gaṅgā and the Sāgara, called Sāgara or Gaṅgā-sāgara. The name Gaṅgā, suggested by the early Graeco-Roman writers, may be regarded as an *eka-deśa* of the name *Gaṅgā-sāgara*. See Proc. IHC., Bombay, 1947, pp. 91 ff. How the name Vaṅga, originally applied to the wide areas of Southern Bengal came in the medieval age to be confined to the eastern parts of that region together with the adjoining areas is a different story, quite out of place in the present context.

The above discussion will show that in the early centuries of the Christian era, the Vaṅgas lived in the deltaic region of Southern Bengal watered by the mouths of the Ganges and had their capital at the city of Gaṅgā near the junction of the Bhāgī-rathī and the Bay of Bengal and that Gaṅgā-sāgar is the modern representative of the ancient capital of the Vaṅgas. After the name of the capital, the country was also often called Gaṅgā. Early European writers mention the Vaṅgas as the Gangaridae, i.e. the Gāṅga or Gāṅgeya people. The Greek name of the Vaṅga people seems to be the result of a confusion the foreigners made between the sounds of the two names *Vaṅgāḥ* and *Gaṅgā*. The identification of the Vaṅgas and the Gangaridae and the location of their habitat are clearly indicated by the evidence supplied by Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, the Geography of Ptolemy and the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. Ptolemy and Kālidāsa place the Cambyson or Kapiśā river, identified with the present Kansai running through the Midnapur District, about the western border of the country of the Gangaridae or Vaṅga people. This is supported by the Jain *Prajñāparā*, according to which Tāmralipti in the present Tamluk

region of Midnapur once formed a part of the Vaṅga country (*Raychaudhuri, Stud. Ind. Ant.*, p. 186). It appears therefore that the Cambyson or Kapiśā, i.e. the modern Kansai, roughly formed the boundary between the land of the Vaṅgas and that of the Utkalas. Thus it may be said that the Utkala country lay between the Kansai and the Vaitaraṇī rivers. Roughly speaking therefore Utkala comprised the present Balasore District of Orissa together with parts of the Cuttack District of that State and of the Midnapur District of West Bengal. The Puri, Ganjam and Cuttack Districts of Orissa then formed parts of the north-eastern area of the Kalinga country.

Sometime ago a copper-plate inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79-85) was discovered at Sumandala near Khallikot in the Ganjam District. It records the grant of a piece of land in the Khallikot area by a chief named Dharmarāja in 569 A.D. The said chief acknowledged the suzerainty of a monarch named Prithivivigraha who is stated to have been ruling the Kalinga *rāshṭra* as a nominal feudatory of the Gupta emperors. This inscription shows beyond doubt that the south-western part of coastal Orissa enjoyed the ancient name of Kalinga as late as the second half of the sixth century A.D. Soon however the name of the kingdom of the Vighraha dynasty, to which Prithivivigraha belonged, had to be changed.

Recently another copper-plate inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 328 ff.) the Vighraha dynasty has been discovered in a locality in the Puri District. The inscription records the gift of a village situated in Dakṣhiṇa-Tosalī in 599 A.D. by an independent monarch named Lokavighraha who was apparently one of the successors of Prithivivighraha of the Sumandala plate. By this time all vestiges of Gupta suzerainty in Orissa were a thing of the past. But what is more important is that Lokavighraha's kingdom has been mentioned in the epigraph as Tosalī and not as Kalinga while he is represented as granting a village in South Tosalī. This shows that Lokavighraha was not only holding sway over Dakṣhiṇa-Tosalī but that he also claimed the lordship of Uttara-Tosalī, i.e. North Tosalī. The inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas of a later age make it clear that the ancient Utkala country in the Balasore region was roughly known as Uttara-Tosalī while Dakṣhiṇa-Tosalī comprised the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack area. We have to determine the reason leading to the introduction of these names about the second half of the sixth

century. This however does not appear to be entirely unintelligible from what we know of the history of Orissa in the period in question.

Shortly before 500 A.D. the Gaṅgas founded a kingdom about the present Srikakulam District of the Andhra State. They assumed the title of *Kaliṅgādhipati*, lord of Kaliṅga, and had their capital at the city of Kaliṅganagara situated in the vicinity of modern Srikakulam. The Vīgrahas were holding sway over the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack area lying immediately to the north-east of the Gaṅga kingdom. Naturally they wanted a new name for their own kingdom to avoid confusion. The new name of their kingdom, viz., Tosali, seems to have been coined after the name of their capital city. That is to say, the Vīgrahas probably had their capital at the ancient city of Tosali which is the modern Dhauli in the Puri District. The name Tosali was also extended to the ancient Utkala country probably due to the expansion of Vīgraha power over that area. These facts appear to supply the reason underlying the re-naming of the south-western part of coastal Orissa as Dakṣhiṇa-Tosali and the application of the alternative name Uttara-Tosali to the country of the Utkalas. The names Uttara-Tosali and Dakṣhiṇa-Tosali were popular in the age of the Bhauma-Karas who flourished between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Later however the name Tosali lost its popularity and the names Utkala and Uḍra, Oḍra or Auḍra gradually came to be applied to the whole of coastal Orissa and ultimately to the entire Oriya-speaking area.

We have seen how the Utkalas live in the present Balasore District and its neighbourhood. But the original habitat of the Uḍras cannot be determined. They are not mentioned in very early works. Some manuscripts of the *Manusmṛiti* (about the third century A.D.), X, 44, no doubt mention the Uḍras; but many manuscripts of the work read in its place the name of the Aṅgas or Cholas (*Jha, Manusmṛiti-Notes*, Part I, p. 465), and any of these two may have been the original reading. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* ascribed to Bharatamuni mentions the people or land called Uḍra; but the work in its present form does not appear to be earlier than the sixth century A.D. Whatever the antiquity of the name Uḍra may be, it is sometimes used to indicate the whole of coastal Orissa from the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Probably the Uḍras originally lived in the land lying to the north of the ancient Utkala country. The conquest of Utkala by a king

of the Uḍra country may have led to the use of Uḍra as a synonym of Utkala and the extension of the power of a king of this Uḍra-Utkala region over the south-western part of coastal Orissa at a later date may have been at the root of the use of both the names to indicate the whole of coastal Orissa. The known facts of early Orissan history appear to support this conjecture. Some of the points raised here are discussed in the following section on the expansion of Gupta rule in Orissa with fuller details.

According to a copper-plate inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201 f.) discovered at Soro in the Balasore District, in 579 A.D. Uttara-Tosali, i.e. ancient Utkala, was under the rule of a *Mahārāja* named Śambhuyaśas, who belonged to the Mudgala or Maudgalya *gotra*. Another inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 287 f.) of the same monarch, viz. *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Śambhuyaśas, which was found at Patiakella in the Cuttack District, says that in 602 A.D. his feudatory *Mahārāja* Śivarāja was ruling in Dakṣhiṇa-Tosali. This record suggests further that king Śambhuyaśas, ruler of both Uttara- and Dakṣhiṇa-Tosali, i.e. the entire coastal region of Orissa, was born in the Māna family. The name of the present Mānbhūm or Mānabhūmi seems to have been derived from the rulers of this Māna family also known from a few other records. The Bhauma-Kara monarch Śāntikara II (middle of the tenth century) is known to have married Hīrāmahādēvī who was the daughter of king Siṃhamāna probably belonging to the same family as Śambhuyaśas. The Mānas appear to have been ruling over the present Manbhum-Singbhum region together with the adjacent areas of Orissa.

We have seen how in 569 A.D. Prithivivīgraha was ruling over Kaliṅga, i.e. the north-eastern areas of Kaliṅga roughly identical with the later Dakṣhiṇa-Tosali, and how in 599 A.D. Lōkavīgraha, another monarch of the same family, not only ruled over South Tosali but also claimed lordship over North Tosali. It has also been shown how *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Śambhuyaśas belonging to the Mudgala *gotra* and the Māna family ruled over Uttara-Tosali in 579 A.D. and over Dakṣhiṇa-Tosali in 602 A.D. It is clear from these facts that in the latter half of the sixth century there was a struggle between the Vīgrahas and the Mānas for the sovereignty of coastal Orissa and that the Vīgrahas, who were at first ruling over the whole of Tosali, both Uttara and Dakṣhiṇa, were gradually ousted by the Mānas, first from Uttara-Tosali and then from

Dakṣiṇa-Tosali. In this way the whole of coastal Orissa came under the suzerainty of the Mānas about the beginning of the seventh century. If these Mānas may be regarded as belonging to the Uḍra clan, we can explain the popularity of the name Uḍra in the sense of the whole of coastal Orissa from the sixth or seventh century. The fact that they conquered Utkala or Uttara-Tosali considerably before the expansion of their power over Dakṣiṇa-Tosali may be the reason underlying the use of Uḍra as a synonym of Utkala first in the sense of the Balasore region and then in the sense of the Cuttack-Puri-Ganjam area. If the Māna family belonged to the Uḍra clan, it may be supposed that the Uḍras originally lived in the Mānbhūm-Singhbhūm region and the adjoining parts of Orissa.

In the first quarter of the seventh century, the greatest monarch in Eastern India was Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, who had his capital at Karnasuvarṇa, near modern Murshidabad in West Bengal. He ousted Māna rule from Orissa and extended his suzerainty as far as Koṅgoda about the borders between the Districts of Puri and Ganjam. In the second quarter of the seventh century, the king of Gauḍa, probably a successor of Śaśāṅka, was disastrously defeated by Harshavardhana of Kanauj and his ally, Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. As a result of this humiliation of the Gauḍa king, his Śailodbhava feudatories in Koṅgoda declared their independence while his Datta feudatories in the Balasore-Cuttack region began to rule semi-independently. Some inscriptions of Somadatta and Bhānudatta of this Datta dynasty have been discovered. It seems that the dominions of these Dattas have been described as Uḍra by the Chinese pilgrim Huen-tsang who visited Orissa about 638 A.D. His accounts appear to suggest that the pilgrim applied the name Uḍra to the Balasore-Cuttack-Puri region. King Harshavardhana, who now probably regarded the Gauḍa king as his subordinate ally, invaded Koṅgoda in 643 A.D. to punish the Śailodbhavas on behalf of the Gauḍa monarch.

During the eighth century A.D., the Śailodbhavas continued their independent rule in Koṅgoda in the Puri-Ganjam region. But the political condition of the Balasore-Cuttack area in this age is not quite clear. According to Chinese evidence, a Buddhist king having a name like Śubhaṅkarasimha ruled over the Uḍra country in 795 A.D. He seems to have been a contemporary of the later Śailodbhavas of the Ganjam-Puri area and ruled over the Cuttack-

Balasore region. In 831 A.D. the Bhauma-Karas established their capital at the ancient city of Virajā which is the modern Jāipur (Yāyapura or Yājapura). They founded a new city called Guhēśvarapāṭaka or Guhadevapāṭaka in the suburbs of Jāipur and this remained the Bhauma-Kara capital till the end of Bhauma-Kara rule in the eleventh century. It was apparently the Bhauma-Karas who overthrew Śailodbhava rule from Koṅgoda which now formed a part of Dakṣiṇa-Tosali.

The Somavaṁśis established their power in the Patna-Sonpur region in the upper Mahānadī valley in the tenth century. The Somavaṁśi king Mahābhavagupta I janamejaya (circa 935-70 A.D.) issued most of his charters from Suvarṇapura (Sonpur). His son and successor, Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (circa 970-1000 A.D.) transferred his capital to the new city of Yayātinagara (modern Binka) built by and named after himself. In the second quarter of the eleventh century, the Somavaṁśi king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti III Chandihara (circa 1025-60 A.D.) extended his power over the coastal regions of Orissa. The story of the transference of the lordship of that region from the Bhauma-Karas to the Somavaṁśis is not clearly known. But there is little doubt that Yayāti III built a city, named Yayātinagara after himself, in the erstwhile Bhauma-Kara kingdom. This city is mentioned in the *Mādālā Pāñjī* as Abhinava-Yayātinagara (i.e. the new Yayātinagara) in its description of the Gaṅga kings who conquered coastal Orissa from the Somavaṁśis but had little to do with the upper valley of the Mahānadī. The Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III seems to be described in this work (ed. Mahanti, p. 28) as *Abhinava-Yayātinagara-Vishṇu*. The Muslim authors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries mentioned the Gaṅga kingdom of Jāinagar (no doubt a corruption of the name Yayātinagara) apparently after the Abhinava-Yayātinagara of the *Mādālā Pāñjī*, which seems to have continued to remain the capital of coastal Orissa under the Gaṅgas for some time.

About the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) of Kaliṅga-nagara conquered the Puri-Cuttack-Balasore region from the Somavaṁśis. There is evidence to show that his descendants later transferred the Gaṅga capital to Cuttack. According to the Nagari plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.) of Anaṅgabhīma III (circa 1211-38 A.D.), great-grandson of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga,

that king had his headquarters at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka i.e. the present Barabati area of Cuttack. The *Mādalā Pāñjī* seems to suggest that Anaṅgabhīma III at first had been residing at Chaudvāra-Kaṭaka and later transferred his capital to Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka built by himself on the site of the village of Barabati on the opposite bank of the Mahānadī. As the *Mādalā Pāñjī* uses the name Abhinava-Yayātinagara in the description of this king, it may be supposed that it was the earlier name of Cuttack, which was therefore the source of the name Jājnagar used by the Muslim writers of the early medieval period to indicate the Gaṅga kingdom covering coastal Orissa. But it seems to us that Abhinava-Yayātinagara or Jājnagar should better be identified with modern Jājpur. This is because Jājpur seems to be a corruption of the name Yayātipura which is again practically the same as Yayāti-nagara, both meaning "the city of Yayāti". That Jājpur was once the headquarters of the Imperial Gaṅgas seems to be supported by the following tradition in the description of Anaṅgabhīma in some manuscripts of the *Mādalā Pāñjī*: *e rājā Yājapuranagara chaudvare Kaṭake vije kari thānti* (Mahanti, op. cit., p. 34). In the description of the occupation of the Kesarī (i.e. Somavarṇśī) kingdom by Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga also we have the passage: *Yājapura Kaṭake praveśa hoilā* (ibid., p. 22).

We have seen that the Bhauma-Kara emperors had their capital at Virajā, i.e. the modern Jājpur, in the suburbs of which they built their new capital named Guhēśvarapāṭaka or Guhadevapāṭaka. In the rule of coastal Orissa, these Bhauma-Karas were succeeded by the Somavarṇśī king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti III Chandihara. It is possible to think that Yayāti III retained the headquarters of this newly acquired territory at its old capital and that it was he who renamed Guhēśvarapāṭaka or Guhadevapāṭaka after himself as Yayātinagara or Yayātipura. The very name of modern Jājpur (*Yayāipura > Yayāipura > Yāyāipura > Yāyīpura > Jājpur*) appears to support this conjecture. It seems that the capital of the coastal Orissa was retained at the same city for sometime even after the overthrow of Somavarṇśī rule from that area by the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara. If the Gaṅga conquerors of coastal Orissa ruled the country from Yayātinagara or Yayātipura, i.e. modern Jājpur, before the transference of its headquarters to the Cuttack region, we can easily explain why the Muslim writers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries men-

tioned the kingdom of the Gaṅgas in Orissa as Jājnagar (Yayāti-nagara).

About 1360 A.D., during the reign of the Gaṅga king Bhānu III (circa 1352-78 A.D.), Sulṭān Firūz Shāh of the Tughluk dynasty of Delhi led an expedition against the Gaṅga capital. An account of this expedition is found in the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* by Shams-i-Sirāj 'Affī. In this work the kingdom of the Gaṅga monarch has been called Jājnagar but his capital has been mentioned as Vārāṇasī, i.e. Vārāṇasikattaka which is the present Barabati area of Cuttack. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 247-48. It seems that, if the earlier name of Cuttack was Yayātinagara and if that was the reason for the early Muslim writers applying the name Jājnagar to the Gaṅga kingdom, Shams-i-Sirāj would not have used two different names to indicate the capital and kingdom of the Gaṅga king without any comment. Indeed it becomes rather difficult in that case to understand why he uses the new name for the city but its old name to indicate the kingdom of which it was the capital. The description of the Gaṅga capital and kingdom in the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* seems to suggest that Jājnagar as the name of the Gaṅga kingdom had nothing to do with Vārāṇasī or Cuttack which was then its capital.

Muslim rule was established in the western and northern parts of Bengal about the beginning of the thirteenth century. From that time, the Muslim rulers of Bengal often led expeditions against the Gaṅga kingdom. This may have been the cause underlying the transference of the Gaṅga capital from Jājnagar or Jājpur, which was nearer the borders of the Muslim territories of Bengal, to Cuttack which lay further away. But the Muslim writers appear to have continued the use of the name Jājnagar to indicate the Gaṅga kingdom for sometime even after the transference of the Gaṅga headquarters from the city of that name. The name Kaṭaka or Cuttack suggests that it was originally a camping ground of the Gaṅga king's forces. It is not impossible that the story of the Gaṅga king's attempt to check Muslim aggression from the east is hidden under this name of the new capital of his kingdom.*

* For references, see especially *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff., 179 ff., 235 ff., 328 ff.; or *Hist. Res. Journ.*, Vol. I, pp. 22 ff., 289 ff.; *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1947, pp. 91 ff.

Raghuvamśa (IV, 38 ff.) associates the Kalinga country with the Mahendra mountain in the Ganjam District and appears to locate the people called Utkala between the land of the Kalingas and the river Kapiśā which is the modern Kānsāi running through the Midnapur District of West Bengal. The Utkalas thus lived about the present Balasore region together with parts of the Midnapur District. How, at a later period, the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack-Balasore area came to be known after the ancient city of Tosali has already been explained in the previous section. It has also been pointed out that the present Patna-Sambalpur region formed a part of the ancient South Kosala country till the medieval period while the people called Udra, Odra or Auḍra who later gave their name to the whole of the Oriya-speaking land, were probably at first the northern neighbours of the Utkalas and inhabited the Manbhum region of Bihar and the adjoining areas of Orissa. The Kosalas were a people quite distinct from the Kalingas; but the Utkalas and Udras may have been originally branches of the Kalinga people, although we cannot be definite on this point until further evidence is forthcoming.

The Allahabad pillar inscription (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 354 ff.) of Samudragupta mentions certain kings of South India who were defeated by the Gupta emperor but were reinstated in their respective kingdoms. The first amongst these was king Mahendra of Kosala, i.e. South Kosala, roughly comprising the present Raipur-Bilaspur area of Madhya Pradesh and the Patna-Sambalpur region of Orissa. The evidence of Gupta influence in this area, referred to by Banerji, is noticed in the Arang copper-plate inscription of Mahārāja *Bhīmasena* II, son of Dayitavarman, grandson of Bhīmasena I and great-grandson of Vibhishana who was the son of Dayita I and grandson of the royal sage Śūra. The date of this inscription is given as the 18th day of the month of Bhādra in the year 282 of the Guptas (*Guptānām samvatsara-śate* 282). In this connection, we may now mention two other facts which were unknown to Banerji. In the first place, the influence of Gupta coin-types has been traced on the coinage of the kings of Śarabhapura in South Kosala. These kings had their capital originally at Śarabhapura and later at Śripura which is the modern Sirpur in the Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh. Śarabhapura has not yet been identified satisfactorily. Different scholars have located it at Sambalpur, Sarangarh, Sarpagarh and other places (*IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 144, note). But since the charters issued from

Śarabhapura have been discovered mostly about the Raipur District, the city appears to have been situated near about modern Sirpur, the later Capital of the family, lying in the same District. Whatever that may be, we have some coins, issued by king Prasannamātra of Śarabhapura, which bear the Vaishnavite symbols of Garuḍa, discus and conch-shell and it is well-known that Garuḍa was not only the crest of the Gupta emperors of Magadha but is one of the most remarkable symbols on their coinage. Another interesting fact is that some coins of a second ruler, probably of the same royal family of South Kosala, have been recently discovered along with those of Prasannamātra (*JNSI*, Vol. X, pp. 137 ff.; Vol. XVI, p. 216). His name is Mahendrāditya. Since, in ancient India, feudatories are known to have often named their children after their overlords (*Suc. Sat.*, p. 176; cf. p. 223), it seems very likely that Mahendrāditya of the said coins was named after the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya (314-55 A.D.). This may indicate that Gupta suzerainty was acknowledged by the said ruling family of South Kosala which comprised parts of modern Orissa.

As we have already indicated above, modern Pithapuram (ancient Pishṭapura) was the headquarters of certain *Kalingādhipatis* who flourished in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. In the list of South Indian kings first defeated but later reinstated by Samudragupta, mention is made of king Mahendragiri of Pishṭapura and a number of his neighbours including the Śāṅkāyana king Hastivarman of Veṅgī, modern Pedda-Vegi near Ellore in the Godavari District. But these rulers flourishing in the south-western part of the ancient Kalinga country had nothing to do with the Oriya-speaking area of today. Three other kings of the list are: (1) Damana of Eraṇḍapalla, (2) Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra and (3) Kubera of Devarāshṭra (*PHAI*, 1950, pp. 539-40). Eraṇḍapalla has been identified variously with modern Erandapali near Sri-kakulam, Yeṇḍipalli near Visakhapatnam and Eṇḍapilli near Ellore, although the first of these three names exhibits the closest resemblance with the form found in the Allahabad pillar inscription. Koṭṭūra is either the place of that name at the foot of the hills in the Visakhapatnam District or the same as modern Kothoor, 12 miles to the south-east of Mahendragiri in the Ganjam District. Devarāshṭra is known to have been the ancient name of the modern Yellamanchili Taluk of the Visakhapatnam District. Thus Samudra-

gupta seems to have passed from the Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur area to the Ganjam-Srikakulam region of the coast country and thence proceeded towards the south-west along the coast. The Allahabad pillar inscription does not give us any information regarding the Gupta monarch's conflict or contact with any ruler of the Puri-Cuttack-Balasore region.

That the heart of Orissa came under the political influence of the Guptas was suggested by Banerji on the strength of the use of the Gupta era in the Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśāṅka and the Patiakella plate of the time of Śabhuyāśas, although some scholars were doubtful in regard to the evidence of these records. The Ganjam inscription no doubt gives the date in the year 300 of the *Gauṇt-ābda*, i.e. the era of the Guptas. But, as Banerji himself has pointed out, 'after the discovery of that inscription scholars considered that the Gupta era was used [in it] because Śaśāṅka himself came from a province where the Gupta era was used' (*op. cit.*, p. 117). Much of the force of this argument has, however, been taken away now by the discovery of the Midnapur plates (cf. *JRASB*, Vol. XI, pp. 1 ff.) of the time of king Śaśāṅka as these documents are dated not in the Gupta era but in Śaśāṅka's regnal reckoning. This shows that the use of the Gupta era was more popular in Orissa than in the Midnapur region of West Bengal.

The evidence of the Patiakella inscription, the second record on which Banerji's conjecture about Gupta political influence in the heart of Orissa was based, was regarded by scholars as even more dubious. The date is given here in the words: *pravarttamāne Māṇa(na)-vaṁśa-rājya-kāle tryadhik-āśīty-uttara-varsha-śata-dvaye*, i.e. in the year 283 during the sovereignty of the Māṇa royal family, without any reference to the Guptas. Some scholars therefore were inclined to refer the year 283 in the date of the Patiakella plate to an era that was supposed to have been founded by the rulers of the Māṇa dynasty to which king Śāmbhuyāśas belonged, while others referred it to the Traikūṭaka-Kalachuri-Chedi era starting from 248 A.D. Of course Banerji was right and his critics were certainly wrong. To suggest the existence of a new era on the basis of a single inscription when it is possible to refer the date of that record to a known era prevalent about the same age in the neighbouring areas is absolutely unwarranted and uncalled for. Since numerous inscriptions of the fifth and

sixth centuries, discovered in the northern and eastern parts of Bengal, were found to bear dates in the Gupta era and at least one document coming from Ganjam in Orissa was known to be dated in the year 300 of the *Gauṇt-ābda*, Banerji's suggestion regarding the use of the same era in the Patiakella inscription coming from the Cuttack District was the most natural and probable. The supporters of the theory referring the date of the Patiakella plate to the Traikūṭaka-Kalachuri-Chedi era again had little idea about the spread of the Indian eras. The said era is known to have originated in the Konkan-Maharashtra region in Western India and to have been carried by the Kalachuris of those parts ultimately to the Jabulpur area of Central India at a later date. There is absolutely no evidence to prove that the era migrated to any other part of India in any period of history. We have now a second inscription of Śāmbhuyāśas from Soro in the Balasore District (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201-02). It is dated in the year 260 (579 A.D.), although here also there is no mention of the Guptas. But we have now more substantial evidence not only in favour of Gupta influence in Orissa but even of the spread of Gupta rule in the land. In this connection, I would like to draw your attention to two recently discovered inscriptions. They are the Sumandala plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.) of the time of Prithivivigraha and the Pedda-Dugam plates (*JAHRS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 159 ff.) of Śatrudamana.

The first of the two records was discovered at the village of Samundala in the former Khallikot State now merged in the Ganjam District. The date of the inscription is indicated in the words: *varttamāna-Gupta-rājye varshaśata-dvaye pañchāśad-uttare*, i.e. in the year 250 during the sovereignty of the Guptas. The grant was made on the occasion of the Uttarāyana falling on the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the year 250 undoubtedly of the Gupta era. The date corresponds to the 20th December, 569 A.D. The inscription records the grant of a village called Ardhākamaṇḍuka together with another locality called Chandanavāṭaka both situated in the district called Parakkhalamārga. It was issued by Māhārāja Dharmarāja who was ruling at Padmakholi in the Khallikot region as a subordinate of Prithivivigraha-bhaṭṭāraka when the latter was governing Kalinga-rāshtra obviously forming a part of the Gupta empire. The important new informations supplied by the Samandala inscription are that, in the

Gupta year 250 (569 A.D.), the *rājya*, i.e. the empire or sovereignty, of the Guptas was *varttamāna*, i.e. still existing, and that the *rāshṭra* (territory or province) of Kālīṅga, no doubt indicating only a part of the ancient land of that name, formed a part of the Gupta empire. We have also to adjust Prithivivigraha's rule over Kālīṅga-rāshṭra, apparently as a viceroy of the Imperial Guptas, in the second half of the 6th century A.D. with the known facts of Orissan history. But before taking up these points for discussion, let us refer to the other inscription which appears to throw some additional light on the subject.

The copper-plate inscription of Mahārāja Śātrudamana was discovered in the village of Pedda-Dugam in the Narasannapet Taluk of the Srikakulam District, Andhra. It is dated in the 9th year of the reign probably of Śātrudamana himself. Śātrudamana had his headquarters at Simhapura which has been identified with modern Singupuram near Srikakulam. The inscription may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to a date about the beginning of the fifth century A.D. We know that the history of Kālīṅga in the fifth and sixth centuries was marked by the rivalry for supremacy between the kings of Pishtapura and those of Central Kālīṅga, especially the rulers of Simhapura (*Age of Imp. Un.*, pp. 211 ff.). Kings Umavarman and Chaṇḍavarman of Pitribhaktas dynasty had one of their capitals at Simhapura, who originally ruled from Pishtapura, appear to have ousted the Pitribhaktas from Central Kālīṅga. The Māthara king Śaktivarman of the Ragolu plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.), issued from Pishtapura, is known to have granted land near modern Srikakulam while his son Prabhañjanavarman and grandson Anantaśaktivarman issued their Ningondi and Sakunaka grants from Simhapura, the former capital of the Pitribhaktas. Another ruling family of Central Kālīṅga was that of the Vāsishṭhas of Devarāshṭra, i.e., the Yellamancili area of the Visakhapatnam District. These Vāsishṭhas appear to have extended their power over the Pishtapura region and extirpated the Mātharas sometime about the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. King Śātrudamana of the Pedda-Dugam inscription seems to be earlier than all the kings mentioned above as having made Simhapura their headquarters. I do not think that Śātrudamana can be identified with king Damana mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription as having been defeated by Samudragupta. The names Damana and Śātrudamana are not the same. Moreover, while Śātrudamana had his capital

at Simhapura, Damana, contemporary of Samudragupta, is stated to have had his headquarters at a place called Eraṇḍapalla.

The most interesting thing to be noticed in this connection is that, while most of the kings of Pishtapura and Simhapura so far known claimed to have been *Kālīṅg-ādhipatis* and all of them were apparently independent monarchs, king Śātrudamana of the Pedda-Dugam plates owed allegiance to a paramount suzerain. He no doubt enjoyed the title *Mahārāja* like his independent successors at Simhapura; but he is described in his record as *Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-parigṛhīta*, i.e., favoured by his overlord. The name of the Bhaṭṭāraka or paramount ruler, whose suzerainty was acknowledged by Śātrudamana, is, however, not mentioned in the epigraph; but the style *Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-parigṛhīta* applied to a *Mahārāja* reminds us of similar epithets used in relation to certain feudatories of the Gupta emperors (cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64 f.). We know that, in the fourth and fifth centuries, independent monarchs of South India, including certain performers of the Āśvamedha sacrifice, enjoyed the title *Mahārāja* and that it was the Gupta emperors who popularised among independent rulers all over North India and partly over South India the imperial titles *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. The feudatories (including those who were semi-independent) and subordinate allies of the early monarchs of the Gupta family enjoyed the title *Mahārāja* and were often called *Paramabhāṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta*, i.e., meditating on or favoured by the overlord. Instead of the expression *pād-ānudhyāta*, *pāda-parigṛhīta* also often occurs in the inscriptions of the Gupta age in connection with the subordinates of the Gupta emperors (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 283, 285, 310, 324, 328, 338). It is therefore very probable that the overlord of *Mahārāja* Śātrudamana was a Gupta monarch. It has also to be noticed that we do not know of any other imperial power to which the *Mahārāja* of Simhapura could have possibly owed allegiance, while Gupta suzerainty is known to have been acknowledged in the same region by Prithivivigraha-bhaṭṭāraka at a slightly later date. The non-mention of the name of Śātrudamana's overlord in the Pedda-Dugam plates and the dating of the charter in Śātrudamana's own regnal reckoning would suggest that at the time of issuing the grant the king was enjoying a semi-independent status.

The combined testimony of the Sumandala and Pedda-Dugam inscriptions thus shows that the Ganjam-Srikakulam region

formed a part of the Gupta empire. But the rule of the Vighrahas was not confined to the Ganjam area. In the Kanas plate (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 328 ff.), Lokavighraha-bhaṭṭāraka, who was apparently a successor of Pṛthivivighraha, claims to have ruled over the Tosali country comprising the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack-Balasore region, although the land granted by him was situated in Dakṣiṇa-Tosali, i.e., the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack area. It is thus possible to think that Pṛthivivighraha ruled over the Tosali country as a feudatory of the Guptas. The use of the Gupta era in the records of Śambhuyaśas, of which one records a grant in Uttara-Tosali and the other in Dakṣiṇa-Tosali, also suggests that the whole of Tosali formed a part of the empire of the Guptas. In this connection it may also be mentioned that Gupta coins as well as sculptures influenced by Gupta art tradition have been discovered in Orissa in fairly large numbers. It is however difficult to say when exactly Orissa was annexed to the Gupta empire.

While Pṛthivivighraha was governing Kalinga-rāshṭra as a viceroy of the Imperial Guptas in the Gupta year 250 (569 A.D.), Lokavighraha is known from his copper-plate inscription found at Kanas in the Puri District to have been ruling over Tosali as an independent monarch in the Gupta year 280 (599 A.D.). Gupta rule in Orissa therefore ended before the close of the 6th century A.D. We also see that the history of Orissa about this time was characterised by the rivalry for supremacy between the Vighrahas and Mānas. There is epigraphic evidence to show that the Māna king, Śambhuyaśas of the Maudgalya-gotra was ruling over Uttara-Tosali in the Gupta year 260 (579 A.D.) and over Dakṣiṇa-Tosali in the Gupta year 283 (602 A.D.). It is clear therefore that the Mānas ousted the Vighrahas first from Uttara-Tosali by 579 A.D. and then from Dakṣiṇa-Tosali by 602 A.D. This also points to the fact that Gupta rule ended in the Balasore region before 579 A.D. The expansion of the rule of Śambhuyaśas over Dakṣiṇa-Tosali by 602 A.D. suggests the discomfiture of the Vighrahas at the hands of the Mānas. It also appears that Lokavighraha could have hardly had any effective hold on Uttara-Tosali in 599 A.D. His claim to have held sway over the entire Tosali country therefore has to be regarded as an echo of an earlier period when the Vighrahas were actually ruling over the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack-Balasore region. The struggle between the Vighrahas and Mānas seems to have facilitated the conquest of Orissa, probably from the Mānas, by king Śaśāṅka

of Gauḍa sometime before 619 A.D. During this period of Gauḍa supremacy in Orissa, the Midnapur-Balasore-Cuttack-Puri region seems to have been governed by the viceroys of a family of Dattas. We have already inscriptions of the viceregal rulers Somadatta and Bhānudatta belonging to this family. The four copper plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201-03) from Soro in the Balasore District, called Uttara-Tosali or Oḍra-vishaya in the inscriptions, show that the said area was first under Śambhuyaśas in 579 A.D., then under a feudatory ruler named Somadatta in his 15th regnal year and lastly under Bhānudatta in his 5th regnal year. A village of that locality, which had been granted by Somadatta in favour of two Brāhmaṇas in the 15th year of his rule, was re-granted by Bhānudatta to the same donees as well as to two other members of the same family, apparently on the latter's representation and not long after the date of Somadatta's grant. The two Midnapur plates (cf. *JRASBL*, Vol. XI, pp. 7-9) show that Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala in the western part of the Midnapur District was being ruled in the 8th regnal year of Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, by *Mahāpratīhāra* Śubhākīrti, but that the same *maṇḍala* or district, together with the territory of Utkala, was under the rule of *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* Somadatta in the 19th regnal year of the same monarch. Thus Somadatta was a subordinate of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa who is known to have been ruling in the first quarter of the 7th century at least from 605 to 619 A.D. In 619 A.D., Śaśāṅka's suzerainty was acknowledged by the Śailodbhava ruler of Kongoda on the borders of the Puri and Ganjam Districts. These facts point to the expansion of Gauḍa rule over both Uttara-Tosali and Dakṣiṇa-Tosali. The rule of Somadatta in Utkala or Uttara-Tosali as a vassal of Śaśāṅka points to the extirpation of the supremacy of the Mānas at least from that region before the 19th regnal year of the Gauḍa monarch. But the two Soro inscriptions of Somadatta, unlike the Midnapur plate of his time, are dated in the 15th year of his own reign and not in the regnal reckoning of his overlord. The same is the case with the charters of Bhānudatta who was probably Somadatta's successor in Utkala, Oḍra-vishaya or Uttara-Tosali. The dating of these charters in the regnal reckoning of the feudatories with a rather vague mention of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* or overlord seems to suggest that they were issued after the defeat of Śaśāṅka or his successor at the hands of Harshavardhana of Kanauj and Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa sometime before 643 A.D., when the hold of the Gauḍa emperor on the feudatories

must have begun to decline. The Śailōdbhava chief Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa of Koṅgoda, who acknowledged Śaśāṅka's suzerainty in 619 A.D., soon assumed independence and celebrated the Aśvamedha sacrifice in token thereof. The Dattas of the Balasore-Cuttack-Puri area appear also to have been raising their head and it is possible to think that Harshavardhana, who is known to have led an expedition as far as Koṅgoda about 643 A.D., tried to subdue the erstwhile feudatories of the Gauḍa king on behalf of the latter whom he now considered to be one of his subordinate allies. But he died in 647 A.D. and the Gauḍas do not appear to have succeeded in regaining their lost hold on Orissa. In 637 A.D. the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang visited the Uḍra country comprising the Balasore-Cuttack-Puri region, which then seems to have been under the rule of the Dattas, and also the kingdom of Koṅgoda where the Śailōdbhavas were then ruling as independent monarchs.

The mighty fabric of the great empire of the Guptas, covering wide areas of Northern India, began to disintegrate about the close of the fifth century A.D. The Eran inscription (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 335-36) of the Gupta year 165 (484 A.D.) points to the hold of the Gupta emperor Budhagupta (477-95 A.D.), over East Malwa. But the Eran inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 396 f.), of the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa (circa 500-15 A.D.), dated in his first regnal year, and the Gwalior inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 400 ff.), of his son Mihirakula (circa 515-35 A.D.), dated in his fifteenth regnal year, show that Malwa, both east and west, no longer formed parts of the Gupta empire. The Eran inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 335-36) of Bhānugupta, dated in the Gupta year 191 (510 A.D.), suggests that the Imperial Guptas succeeded in reconquering at least parts of East Malwa while the Mandasor inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 393 ff.) of Yaśodharman (circa 525-35 A.D.), who claims to have defeated Mihirakula and established his suzerainty over areas which even the Guptas and Hūṇas had failed to subdue, suggests that West Malwa was lost to the imperial Guptas permanently. About this time the house of the so-called Later Guptas, who were apparently feudatories of the Imperial Guptas originally, began to grow powerful in East Malwa. The Maitrakas of Valabhī in Kathiawar appear to have acknowledged Gupta supremacy as late as the Gupta year 183 corresponding to 502 A.D. (*ibid.*, pp. 403 ff.); but gradually they began to issue charters without reference to their overlords. This is in short the

story of the secession of the westernmost provinces of the Gupta empire.

Of the former feudatories of the Gupta emperors, whose rise was hastening the downfall of the empire, the most prominent were, besides the Later Guptas of East Malwa, the Maukharis settled in U.P., and Bihar and the Gauḍas originally of South-west Bengal. Of these, the Maukharis were associated with the heart of the Gupta empire and were apparently either responsible for or intimately connected with the overthrow of the Guptas from Bihar and U.P. The first Maukhari ruler to have assumed imperial title was Īśānavarman (cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1602, etc.), who is mentioned as an independent monarch in the inscription of his son Sūryavarman, found at Haraha in the Bara-Banki District, U.P., dated in Vikrama Samvat 611 corresponding to 553-54 A.D., (*ibid.*, No. 10). The fragmentary Jaunpur (U.P.) inscription seems also to belong to the same king (cf. *JRASBL*, Vol. XI, pp. 69 ff.). These records prove that Gupta supremacy ceased to be acknowledged in U.P. by 554 A.D. But whether Bihar, in which lay the ancient city of Pāṭaliputra, capital of the Imperial Guptas, also formed a part of Īśānavarman's dominions by that time cannot be determined with precision. The Haraha inscription speaks of Īśānavarman's victorious campaign with the Gauḍas while the Deo-Baranark inscription and the Rohtasgarh seal-matrix point respectively to the occupation of the Shahabad District of Bihar about the last quarter of the sixth century first by the Maukhari kings Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, son and grandson of Īśānavarman, and then by *Mahāsāmanta* Śaśāṅka who later ascended the Gauḍa throne but had been previously ruling over the Shahabad region apparently as a viceroy of the contemporary Gauḍa monarch. This may suggest that the Maukharis had ousted Gupta rule from Bihar which was conquered by the Gauḍas from them about the close of the sixth century. The evidence of the Deo-Baranark inscription in regard to the Maukhari occupation of Bihar seems to be supported by the discovery of some earlier records (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1603 ff.), of a branch of the Maukhari family in the Gaya District as well as by the Sirpur Lakshmaṇa temple inscription (*M. K. Hist. Soc. Papers*, Vol. II, p. 19, v. 16) of Śivagupta (*Mahāsivagupta*) Bālārjuna of the Pāṇḍuvarṇśa of South Kosala, who flourished about the last quarter of the 6th and the first quarter of the 7th century. The Sirpur inscription refers to a ruler named Sūr-

yavarman, rightly identified with Maukhari Īśānavarman's son of the same name, as born in the Varman family that held sway over Magadha (JRASBL, op. cit., p. 72; IHQ, Vol. XIX, p. 277). The absence of any reference to the overlord of the chief Nandana in his Amauna (Gaya District, Bihar) plate of the Gupta year 232 corresponding to 552 A.D. (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1310) may suggest a confusion in the political condition of Bihar resulting from the overthrow of the Imperial Guptas.

Professor H. C. Raychaudhuri (PHAI, 1950, pp. 626 ff.), draws our attention to the following Jain tradition recorded in Jinasena's *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* (Chapter LX), composed in Śaka 705 or 783 A.D. (Winternitz, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, Vol. II, p. 495):

Guptānām cha śata-dvayam

ekatrimśach = cha varshāṇi

kālaviddhīr = udāhṛitam, etc., saying that chronologists assigned a period of 231 years to the Guptas. It has been pointed out that, if this tradition is to be believed, the Gupta empire collapsed 231 years after the start of the Gupta era in 319-20 A.D., that is to say, about 550-51 A.D. Professor Raychaudhuri further says, "The supremacy over Āryāvarta then passed to the houses of Mukhara (circa 554 A.D.) and Pushyabhūti (family of Harsha, 606-47 A.D.) under whom the centre of political gravity shifted from Magadha to Kanauj and that neighbourhood."

In this connection it has to be remembered that there is epigraphic proof in favour of the continuation of Imperial Gupta hold on North Bengal as late as the Gupta year 224 corresponding to 543 A.D. (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 337 ff.), while there is no evidence in favour of Maukhari occupation of that region. On the other hand, the *Ārya-māñjuśrī-mūlakaḷpa* seems to suggest the inclusion of Puṇḍravardhana, headquarters of the Gupta province comprising North Bengal, in the dominions of king Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa in the first quarter of the 7th century. It was therefore very probably the Gauḍas who overthrew Gupta rule from different parts of Bengal. Inscriptions of the independent rulers Dharmāditya, Gopachandra, Samāchāradeva and Jayanāga show that they were ruling over the southern half of Bengal in the sixth century (*ibid.*, pp. 351 ff.; Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1725, 1729). Of these the *āditya*—ending

name of Dharmāditya may suggest that he was a scion of the Imperial Gupta family. Of the other three, at least Jayanāga is known to have had his capital at Karnaśuvārṇa which is known to have been the capital of the Gauḍa kingdom at the beginning of the seventh century. It is thus very probable that the three rulers, viz., Gopachandra, Samāchāradeva and Jayanāga, belonged to the Gauḍa clan and that it was the Gauḍas who ousted Imperial Gupta rule from North Bengal some time after 543 A.D. There is, however, no reason to believe that the Guptas were overthrown from Bihar by the Maukharis and from Bengal by the Gauḍas exactly at the same time, that is, about 550-51 A.D., the date suggested by Jinasena's *Harivaṃśa*. We have some evidence now to show that the final overthrow of the Imperial Guptas from Bengal and Orissa may have taken place at a later date.

As we have seen, according to the Sumandala inscription, Gupta suzerainty was acknowledged in the Ganjam region of Orissa as late as the Gupta year 250 corresponding to 569 A.D. It is therefore not impossible that the Imperial Guptas succeeded in maintaining their hold on both Bengal and Orissa, however precariously, till 569 A.D. After the loss of Bihar, they may have succeeded in retaining their control over Orissa from some base in Bengal. In this connection, another Jain tradition regarding the duration of Gupta rule appears to throw some welcome light.

The Jain work *Tiloya-paṇṇatti* (*Triloka-prajñapti*) by Jādī-Vasaha (Yati-Vṛishabha) was published sometime ago (*cf. Journ. Or. Inst.*, Vol. III, pp. 296-97). Stanza 1608 of this work has the following tradition regarding the duration of Gupta rule: *tato Guttā tāṇam rajje doṇi sayāni igitisā*, i.e., the Guptas ruled for 231 years. This tradition is the same as that recorded by Jinasena and shows that Gupta rule lasted for 231 years. But there is a different tradition on the same subject recorded elsewhere in the work. In Stanzas 1503-04 we have the following in regard to the rule of the Śakas and the Guptas:

*Jādo ya saga-narimdo rajjam vamsassa du-saya-bādala
doṇi sadā paṇavaṇṇā Guttāṇam.....*

According to this tradition, the Śakas ruled for 242 years and the Guptas for 255 years. There is little doubt that the statement about the Śaka rule lasting for 242 years is based on the fact that

the year 242 of the Śaka era corresponded to year 1 of the era of the Imperial Guptas. But more interesting is the other statement about the rule of the Guptas lasting for 255 years. As the two traditions, viz., the one giving the duration of Gupta rule as 231 years and the other speaking of 255 years in the place of 231, are found in the same work and are not separated by a wide gap, it is permissible to think that the author had in view two altogether different traditions on the same subject. It appears that the first of the two traditions relates to the extirpation of Gupta rule from their home province in Bihar and U.P. and the second refers to the final overthrow of the Guptas from Bengal and Orissa. If such was the case, the first event took place about 551 A.D., and the second about 575 A.D.

We have seen how the evidence of the Maukhari inscriptions may point to the overthrow of the Guptas from Bihar before 554 A.D. That the suzerainty of the Imperial Guptas was ousted from Orissa about 575 A.D., seems also to be supported by epigraphic evidence. The Soro plate of Śambhuyāśas, dated in the Gupta year 260 corresponding to 579 A.D., is the earliest record pointing to the independence of Orissa from the yoke of the Guptas. It is of course not definitely known whether the independent rule of the Gaṇḍas in Bengal also started from 575 A.D. But if it did, as it is not impossible to think in the light of the evidence at our disposal, we have to assign the rule of Gopachandra, Samāchāradeva and Jayanāga about the last quarter of the sixth century.

As already shown above, with the decline of Gupta power in Orissa, the Mānas and Vighrahas were fighting for the supremacy over that country and this struggle of the Orissan powers among themselves gave an opportunity to the Gaṇḍas of Bengal to extend their suzerainty over Orissa during the reign of Śaśāṅka or his immediate predecessor. The conquest of Orissa by the Gaṇḍas may have been inspired by their feeling that they were the political successors of the Imperial Guptas in Eastern India.

III. The Bhauma-Karas

About the beginning of the 20th century more than 50 years ago, two copper-plate charters of the Bhauma-Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī found in the Ganjam area were published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, 1900-01. But the inscriptions were assigned

on palaeographical grounds to the 13th century A.D. and little notice was taken of them. It is only after the publication of the Neulpur plate of king Śubhākara I about two decades later in Vol. XV (1919-20) of the same journal that attention of scholars was drawn to this imperial ruling family of ancient Orissa. R. D. Banerji, who published the record, assigned it on palaeographical grounds to the 8th century A.D. and Sylvian Lèvi suggested the identification of the issuer of the charter with an ancient king of Orissa known from Chinese sources. In 795 A.D. the Chinese emperor Te-tsung is known to have received an autographed manuscript of the Buddhist work entitled *Gaṇḍavyūha* from a king of Wu-cha, i.e., Odra of Orissa, in South India, who was a follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism and whose name, translated into Chinese, was 'the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion.' The original form of the name of this 8th century ruler of Orissa was supposed to be *Śrī-Śubhakaradeva-Keśarī* (or *Simha*) who was believed to have been none other than the issuer of the Neulpur plate, although the name as found in the inscription is Śubhākara (literally, 'producer, of what is good or pure') and not Śubhakara (literally, 'doer of what is good or pure'). When Banerji wrote his *History of Orissa* about 10 years later, several more inscriptions of the family had been discovered and published, although most of them were unsatisfactorily deciphered and interpreted. Banerji's treatment of the history of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty is therefore not only scrappy but full of errors. He regarded the name of the Bhauma-Kara capital to be Śubheśvarapāṭaka, although it was in reality Guheśvarapāṭaka or Guhadēvapāṭaka, probably standing on the site or in the vicinity of modern Jajpur. Banerji also failed to connect the earlier Bhauma-Karas represented by Śubhākara of the Neulpur plate and the later Bhauma-Karas represented by Daṇḍimahādevī of the Ganjam plates and other inscriptions. As regards the chronology of the family, Banerji relied on Lèvi's suggestion and assigned Śubhākara of the Neulpur plate to the close of the 8th century. The Bhauma-Kara records are dated according to the years of an era. Although in many cases the dates were wrongly read, there was no dispute in the reading of the date of one of the two Ganjam plates of Daṇḍimahādevī as the year 180 and of that of the Dhauli inscription of a Bhauma-Kara king named Śāntikara as the year 93. Banerji was inclined to refer these dates to the Gaṅga era which started from

778 A.D. according to some earlier writers followed by him. Thus in his opinion Daṇḍimahādevī ruled in 958 A.D. and Śāntikara in 871 A.D. With the progress of our knowledge in early Orissan history and epigraphy, it is not definitely known that the Bhauma-Karas could not have used the Gaṅga era and that the Gaṅga era started not from 778 A.D. but from a date at least more than two centuries earlier. But Banerji certainly deserves our praise for assigning queen Daṇḍimahādevī to the second half of the 10th century as this dating is much nearer the truth than the suggestion of certain earlier writers ascribing her rule to the 13th century. There is hardly any doubt that the Imperial Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa flourished earlier than the Somavaṃśī king Udyotakesarin, who may now be assigned with some amount of confidence to the second half of the 11th century, and the Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chodagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) who conquered the Puri-Cuttack region from the Somavaṃśīs. This is not only suggested by the facts of Orissan history now known or realised but also by the palaeographical indication that, while the Somavaṃśī and Imperial Gaṅga records use numbers according to the decimal system, they are written in the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions by symbols according to an older Indian system.

When Pandit B. Misra published his *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings* (1934) a few years later, some more inscriptions of the family were available to him. The book contains a study of most of the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions known till the time of its publication together with some scrappy notes on certain aspects of the history of the royal family. We have to admit that, even though Misra's treatment of the epigraphic records is not free from errors of reading and interpretation, his work is an improvement upon previous writings on the subject inasmuch as it corrects some of the errors of the earlier writers. But his claim to our praise rests mainly on the fact that he, for the first time, succeeded in placing the genealogy of the family on a sound footing by connecting its earlier and later members. The chronology of the Bhauma-Kara kings suggested by Misra is unfortunately as unconvincing as that previously offered by Banerji. Following D. R. Bhandarkar, Misra referred the dates of the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions to the Harsha era starting from 606 A.D. The Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādevī, dated in the year 180, was thus assigned to 786 A.D. There is, however, no doubt that the palaeography of the inscription suggests

a much later date than the later half of the 8th century. Bhandarkar was conscious of the difficulty and that is why the symbol for 100 in the Bhauma-Kara records was read by him in all cases as 200. Misra reads the symbol correctly as 100 and thereby makes the identification of the era used by the Bhauma-Karas with the Harsha era more improbable.

It will be seen that the chronology of the Imperial Bhauma-Kara ruling family of ancient Orissa is still doubtful although a fairly satisfactory genealogical scheme of the rulers has been offered by Misra. But a number of inscriptions of the family, since discovered, have now necessitated certain modifications of and additions to Misra's scheme. We shall first discuss the genealogy of the family as proposed by Misra and then see what new light has been thrown on the subject by recent discoveries.

The Neulpur plate represents the issuer of the charter, Śubhākara I, as the son of Śivakara I and grandson of Kshemaṅkara. Misra makes Lakshmīkara, mentioned as the progenitor of the family in later records, the father of Kshemaṅkara. This is, however, unsupported by any evidence. Śubhākara I had two sons named (1) Śivakara II and (2) Śāntikara I alias Gayāḍa I or Lalitahāra (°bhāra) I. According to Misra, this Śāntikara I was followed on the throne successively by his (1) son Śubhākara II alias Simhaketu (°dhvaja) or Kusumahāra (°bhāra) I, (2) queen Tribhuvanamahādevī alias Sindagaurī, and (3) grandson Śāntikara II alias Gayāḍa II or Loṇabhāra- (Lavaṇabhāra). Śāntikara II had two sons, viz. (1) Śubhākara III alias Kusumahāra II and (2) Śivakara III alias Lalitahāra (°bhāra) II. Śāntikara III, son of king Śivakara III, was followed successively on the throne by his (1) queen Dharmamahādevī and (2) younger brother Śubhākara IV who was himself succeeded first by (1) his queen, probably named Gaurī, and then by (2) his daughter Daṇḍimahādevī.

We have already said that some recently discovered inscriptions have thrown additional light on the subject. The most important among these are: (1) the Tenundia plate of Śubhākara (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 211 ff.), (2) the two Baud plates of Prthvīmahādevī (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 210 ff.) and (3) the Taltali plate of Dharmamahādevī (*IHQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 213 ff.). We have to analyse the evidence of these records one by one.

The Terundia plate was issued in the year 100 by king Śubhākara, son of king Śivakara II from the latter's queen Mohinīdevī of the Bhavāna dynasty. According to Misra's genealogy of the family cited above, Śivakara II was succeeded by his younger brother Śāntikara I (for whom we have the Dhauli inscription of the year 93) and the latter by his own son Śubhākara II who was born of the queen Tribhuvanamahādevī, daughter of the Nāga-varṇī king Rājamalla of the south, and issued his Hindol and Dharakota plates in the year 103. The Terundia plate now informs us that Śāntikara I was not directly succeeded on the throne by his own son named Śubhākara but that his immediate successor was his elder brother's son also named Śubhākara. Thus Śubhākara of the Terundia plate has now to be styled Śubhākara II and the king of the same name, who issued the Hindol and Dharakota plates and whom Misra called Śubhākara II, has now to be designated Śubhākara III. Consequently, the later Śubhākara of the royal line, viz., Misra's Śubhākara III and Śubhākara IV, have to be called now Śubhākara IV and Śubhākara V respectively.

Both the Baud plates record the grant of some land in Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala in the year 158 by Prithvīmahādevī alias Tribhuvanamahādevī or Sindagaurī who was the queen of Śubhākara IV (Misra's Śubhākara III) alias Kusumahāra (°bhāra) II whose Talcher plate appears to be dated in the year 145. The queen represents herself as the daughter of king Svabhāvatunga of the lunar dynasty of Kosala, i.e., South Kosala. According to Misra's genealogy, Śubhākara III (actually Śubhākara IV) was succeeded by his younger brother Śivakara III who was followed on the throne successively by his two sons, viz. (1) Śāntikara III and (2) Śubhākara IV (actually Śubhākara V). The Baud plates of the queen of Śubhākara IV (Misra's Śubhākara III), however, now inform us that both her husband and the latter's younger brother and successor died without leaving any male issue and that she ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne as a result of this. It is clear therefore that Prithvīmahādevī did not recognise Śāntikara III and his younger brother, both of whom later ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne, as the sons of her husband's younger brother. This may point to a struggle for the throne between Prithvīmahādevī and her husband's cousins. Probably the queen succeeded in occupying the throne with the help received from her own people but was overthrown after a short rule by the partisans of Śāntikara III.

Among other important informations supplied by the Baud plates for the first time are the facts that the Bhauma-Karas had matrimonial relations with the Somavamśī kings of South Kosala and that their dominions included the Daṇḍabhukti *maṇḍala* in the western part of the Midnapur District of West Bengal.

The Taltali plate of Dharmamahādevī informs us that she ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne after Vakulamahādevī who had succeeded Daṇḍimahādevī. This Vakulamahādevī was born in the Bhañja family and was another queen of Śubhākara V (Misra's Śubhākara IV). Thus this inscription not only introduces a new ruler on the Bhauma-Kara throne in the person of queen Vakulamahādevī but also shows that queen Dharmamahādevī did not rule before Daṇḍimahādevī as Misra seems to have believed.

It may be mentioned in this connection that the history of the Bhauma-Karas of ancient Orissa offers the largest number of ruling queens in a single royal family in the whole range of Indian history. No less than six queens are known to have adorned the Bhauma-Kara throne. They are Tribhuvanamahādevī, Prithvīmahādevī, Gaurīmahādevī, Daṇḍimahādevī, Vakulamahādevī and Dharmamahādevī. Of these Daṇḍimahādevī alone was the daughter of a ruling king, all the others being wives of particular monarchs. When an ancient Indian king died without leaving any male child, usually his widowed queen accepted a boy as an adopted son and this boy was raised to his adopted father's throne. This practice was also sometimes followed by the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa. But the practice of raising a queen to the vacant throne of her dead husband seems to have been more popular with the people they ruled. We do not know the real cause underlying this peculiar phenomenon. But it can be said that the Oriyas of those days had no reason to dislike the rule of women.

Before leaving the question of Bhauma-Kara genealogy we may refer to a controversy that has recently cropped up in regard to the position of queen Tribhuvanamahādevī who issued the Dhenkanal plate. The Hindol and Dharakota plates of Śubhākara III (Misra's Śubhākara II) issued in the year 103 say that the king's mother was Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Nāga family. All the three Talcher plates (dated in the years 145 and 149) of the queen's great-grandsons, viz. (1) Śubhākara IV (Misra's Śubhākara III) and (2) Śivakara III, say that she ascended the throne after the

death of her son Kusumahāra (°bhāra) or Simhaketu (°dhvaja), i.e., Śubhākara III (Misra's Śubhākara II). One of these records says that the queen abdicated the throne in favour of her *naptā* (Grandson), Loṇabhāra alias Śāntikara II, when the latter had become sufficiently aged; but the other two grants do not specify the relation between Tribhuvanamahādevī and her successor, Gayāḍa II, i.e. Śāntikara II. The date of the Dhenkanal plate issued, as a ruling queen, by Tribhuvanamahādevī, called Sindagaurī and represented as the daughter of Rājamalla of the southern country and the wife of Lalitahāra (°bhāra), is doubtful. It may be read as 160, although 120 will also not be an improbable reading. The inscription says that the queen ascended the throne at the representation of the feudatories who had requested her to assume the reigns of government as a queen named Gosvāminī was known to them to have done in ancient times. Misra identifies Tribhuvanamahādevī, who issued the Dhenkanal plate, with the queen of that name who was the mother and successor of Śubhākara III (Misra's Śubhākara II) and is known from the records of the years 103, 145 and 149. S. C. De, however, thinks that Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate was different from the mother and successor of Śubhākara III (Misra's Śubhākara II) and that she ruled in the year 160 immediately after Prithvīmahādevī of the Baud plates of the year 158. But the following considerations appear to support Misra's identification.

In the first place, the fact that the feudatories cited the instance of an ancient ruling queen named Gosvāminī to induce Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate to ascend the throne suggests that she was the first ruling queen of the family as the citing of the old instance would be absolutely meaningless if she was immediately preceded by another ruling queen. Secondly, if Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate was ruling in 160, she is expected to have participated in the civil war between Prithvīmahādevī and Śāntikara III on the side of either of the two parties. But both the possibilities are rendered improbable by the facts that Prithvīmahādevī is not mentioned in the Dhenkanal plate and that the name of Tribhuvanamahādevī as the immediate predecessor of Śāntikara III is equally conspicuous by its absence in the records of the later members of the family, who were related to that king. Thirdly, the two known facts (1) that Tribhuvanamahādevī, mother of Śubhākara III (Misra's Śubhākara II), was born in the Nāga family, and (2) that Tribhuvanamahādevī alias Sindagaurī

of the Dhenkanal plate was the daughter of Rājamalla of the southern country (South India) appear to suggest that the two were identical, because the name Sindagaurī shows that the queen was born in the Sindha family belonging to Karṇāṭa in South India and claiming Nāga descent. Prithvīmahādevī's assumption of the same name must have been in imitation of this queen as she herself was born in the Somavarīśa of Kośala and not in the family of the Sindha-Nāgas. I do not understand how this curious fact can be otherwise explained. Fourthly, it has been supposed that the original names of the mother of Śubhākara III (Misra's Śubhākara II) and the wife of Śubhākara IV (Misra's Śubhākara III) were respectively Gosvāminī and Prithvīmahādevī and that they both assumed the name Tribhuvanamahādevī on the assumption of royal power. But, if the mother of Śubhākara III (Misra's Śubhākara II) assumed the name Tribhuvanamahādevī on her accession to the throne after her son's death, she could not have been mentioned by that name in her son's records as she really is. Again, if Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate was the third Bhauma-Kara ruling queen of that name, she should have felt the necessity of distinguishing herself to avoid a confusion between herself and any of her two past namesakes especially in view of the fact that one of the two other Tribhuvanamahādevīs (i.e. Prithvīmahādevī alias Tribhuvanamahādevī) is supposed to have ruled immediately before her.

We know now of at least 18 ruling kings and queens of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. They are:

1. *Paramopāsaka Mahārāja* Kshemaṅkara, possibly also called Lakshmīkara, although the latter may have been an earlier king of the family as well. No inscription of Kshemaṅkara or Lakshmīkara has so far been discovered.

2. *Paramatāthāgata Mahārāja* Śivakara I alias Unmatṭasimha or Bharasaha, son of No. 1. He married Jayāvalī, daughter of a king of Rāḍha in south-west Bengal. A copper-plate inscription (IHQ, Vol. XII, pp. 492-93) from Ganjam suggests that he had his headquarters at Virajas (Jajpur) and conquered parts of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala with the help of his feudatory, Rāṇaka Vishavārṇava, who confirmed an earlier charter of Gaṅga Jayavarman of Śvetaka originally issued possibly in the Gaṅga year 120 falling in the period 616-18 A.D.

3. *Paramasaugata Mahārāja* (or *Mahārājādhirāja Paramaśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka*=P.M.P.) Śubhākara I, son of No. 2. He married Mādhavadevī who is known to have built a temple of Śiva in the Sivadāsapur area of Jajpur (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 179 ff.). The date of his Neulpur plate appears to be doubtful.

4. *Paramasaugata* P.M.P. Śivakara II, son of No. 3. He married Mohinīdevī of the Bhavāna lineage. The reading of the date of his Chaurasi plate (*JBORS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 292 ff.) seems to be doubtful.

5. Śāntikara I alias Gayāḍa I or Lalitahāra (°bhāra) I, younger brother of No. 4. He married Tribhuvanamahādevī (No. 8) of the Nāga lineage. His Dhauli inscription (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIX, p. 263) is dated in the year 93.

6. *Paramasaugata* P.M.P. Śubhākara II, son of No. 4. His Terundia plate, issued in the year 100, mentions his queen Nṛpīnādevī.

7. *Paramasaugata* P.M.P. Śubhākara III alias Simhaketu (°dhvaja) or Kusumahāra (°bhāra) I, son of Nos. 5 and 7. Both his Hindol and Dharakota plates (*Misra, op. cit.*, pp. 12-22) were issued in the year 103.

8. *Paramavaishṇavī* P.M.P. Tribhuvanamahādevī I alias Sindagaurī, mother of No. 7 and daughter of Rājamalla of the southern country. In her Dhenkanal plate, the date of which is possibly to be read as the year 120, she says that, on the death of her son, the feudatories requested her to ascend the throne by citing the instance of an ancient queen named Gosvāminī. Her name Sindagaurī (i.e. Gaurī of the Sindas) suggests that she was born in the family of the Sindas who originally belonged to the Kaṛṇāṭa country and claimed Nāga origin. Unlike her predecessors on the Bhauma-Kara throne who were Buddhists, she was a devotee of the god Viṣṇu.

9. Śāntikara II alias Gayaḍa II or Loṇabhara (Lavaṇa) I, apparently an adopted son of No. 7. He married Hīrāmahādevī daughter of king Simhamāna possibly of the Mānbhūm region. None of his inscriptions has so far been discovered.

10. *Paramamāheśvara* P.M.P. Śubhākara IV alias Kusumahāra (°bhāra) II, son of No. 9. He married Prithvīmahādevī

(No. 12) of the Somavaṁśa of South Kosala. The date of his Talcher plate (*Misra, op. cit.* pp. 32 ff.) appears to be the year 145. Unlike the earlier members of the family, he was a Śaiva.

11. *Paramamāheśvara* P.M.P. Śivakara III alias Lalitahāra (°bhāra) II, younger brother of No. 10. His Talcher plates (*ibid.*, pp. 40 ff.) were issued in the year 149. One of his subordinates was Vinītatuṅga of the Tuṅga dynasty of Yamagarttā-maṇḍala, a feudatory family that is known from several inscriptions (*cf. Bhandarkar's List*, Nos. 1745-47). He was a Śaiva.

12. *Paramavaishṇavī* P.M.P. Prithvīmahādevī alias Tribhuvanamahādevī II or Sindagaurī II, wife of No. 10 and daughter of king Svabhāvatuṅga of the lunar dynasty of Kosala (South Kosala). She assumed the name *Tribhuvanamahādevī* and *Sindagaurī* (although she was not born in the Sinda family) and called herself 'a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu' in imitation of No. 8. Her Baud plates, recording grants of land in Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala, were issued in the year 158. She says that her accession to the throne was due to the death of her husband and the latter's younger brother (i.e. Nos. 10-11) without leaving any male issue apparently indicating that she did not recognise Nos. 13-14 as the sons of No. 11.

13. Śāntikara III alias Lavaṇabhāra II, son of No. 11. He married Dharmamahādevī (No. 18). None of his records has yet come to light.

14. Śubhākara V, younger brother of No. 13. He married Gaurīmahādevī and Vakulamahādevī (Nos. 15 and 17). None of his inscriptions has so far been discovered.

15. Gaurīmahādevī, wife of No. 14. No inscription of her time is known.

16. *Paramamāheśvarī* P.M.P. Daṇḍimahādevī, daughter of Nos. 14-15. Several of her copper-plate grants have been discovered. Some of these are dated in the years 180 and 187. The date of her Santirigrama grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 79 ff.) is given as the year 280 which is undoubtedly a mistake for 180. The fact is that *lu* and *lū* were respectively the symbols for 100 and 200 and, in the palaeography of Orissan records, the medial forms of *u* and *ū* were often confused with each other. Queen Daṇḍimahādevī was a Śaiva.

17. Vakulamahādevī, wife of No. 14 and daughter of a Bhañja king. None of her inscriptions has as yet come to light.

18. Paramamāheśvarī P.M.P. Dharmamahādevī, wife of No. 13. There is no date in either of her two copper-plate grants so far discovered. She was a Śaiva.

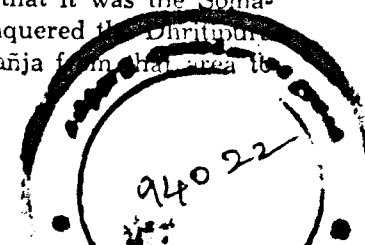
The above analysis will show that the eighteen rulers of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty ruled for about two centuries. It appears that the beginning of the era used in the records of the family coincided with the first regnal year of its first king and that the latest known ruler ended her reign not long after the year 200 of the era in question. The feudatory families that used the same era must have originally owed complete allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas, but gradually became semi-independent with the growth of their power. In this connection we may refer especially to the following inscriptions: (1) the Dhenkanal plate of Jayasimha, the date of which may be the year 128 although it was wrongly read (cf. Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 1756); (2) Jamdapir plate (ibid., No. 1487) of Raṇabhañja of Khijjiṅga-kotṭa; the date of this record is given as the year 288 which seems to be a mistake for 188 as in the Santirigrama grant of Daṇḍimahādevī; (3) the Adipur plate (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 157) of Narendrabhañja and Raṇabhañja of Khijjiṅga-kotṭa, dated in the year 293 which seems similarly to be a mistake for 193; (4) the Talmul plate of Dhruvānanda (Bhandarkar's List, No. 2043) dated in the year 293 which is undoubtedly a mistake for 193 as is now clearly demonstrated by the Daspala plate of his immediate predecessor Devānanda II, dated in the year 184 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 183 ff.), etc. Unfortunately there was so long no clue to determine with precision the date of either any of the Bhauma-Kara rulers themselves or of their feudatories.

As already indicated above, the Imperial Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga conquered the Puri-Cuttack region about the beginning of the 12th century and it is impossible to place the Imperial Bhauma-Karas in the same area after that date, as the successors of Choḍagaṅga are known to have been holding sway over that tract for several centuries. It is again certain now that Choḍagaṅga conquered the Puri-Cuttack area not from the Bhauma-Karas but from the Somavamśis and this fact proves that the Bhauma-Karas must have flourished before the occupation of

lower Orissa by the Somavamśis of South Kosala about the second quarter of the 11th century. Beyond this there was so far no evidence to determine the chronology of the Bhauma-Karas. Fortunately some inscriptions, recently discovered or re-studied, have thrown welcome light on the problem.

Sometime ago we had occasion to discuss the genealogy and chronology of the Bhañjas who originally ruled from Dhṛitipura in Upper Orissa and later on from Vañjūlvaka in the Ganjam region (*IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 225 ff.). Although these Bhañjas generally used their regnal reckoning in dating their charters, the use of the Bhauma-Kara era is also noticed in one of their recently discovered records. This fact seems to suggest that they were originally feudatories of the Bhauma-Kara monarchs. The date of king Raṇabhañja of Dhṛitipura has been determined with some amount of precision. His father-in-law was the Kadamba chief Niyārṇava or Niyarṇama who was the grand-father of Dharmakheḍi, known from his two records, viz. the Mandasa and Santa-Bommali plates dated respectively in the Śaka year 917 (995 A.D.) and the Gaṅga year 520 (1016-18 A.D.). Raṇabhañja and his father-in-law thus appear to have flourished about the middle or third quarter of the 10th century A.D. It should also be noticed that Gandhaṭapāṭi (modern Gadharādhī in the former Baudh State), apparently founded by and named after Raṇabhañja's father Śatrubhañja I Gandhaṭa, was the headquarters of Gandhaṭapāṭi-maṇḍala, in which a village granted by the Somavamśi king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (circa 970-1000 A.D.) was situated (cf. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, p. 96). Another inscription (ibid., Vol. III, p. 353) of the same Somavamśi monarch records the grant in favour of an inhabitant of Śilābhañjapāṭi probably named after Raṇabhañja's grandfather Śilābhañja I Aṅgaddi. It has also to be noticed that, while these Bhañjas had their capital at Dhṛitipura down to the time of Raṇabhañja, the charters of Raṇabhañja's son Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa I and his successors were issued from Vañjūlvaka.

The above facts appear to show that the father and grandfather of Raṇabhañja flourished earlier than Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, that Raṇabhañja ruled earlier than or was an older contemporary of the Somavamśi monarch and that it was the Somavamśi king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I who conquered the Dhṛitipura region and drove the successors of Raṇabhañja from that area to



Vaṅjulvaka. These are very valuable facts for the determination of the chronology of both the Bhañjas of Dhṛitipura and Vaṅjulvaka and the Somavaṁśis of Kosala.

In this connection it has also been shown that the successors of Raṇabhañja, viz. his sons Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa I and Digbhañja, and Digbhañja's son Śilābhañja II and grandson Vidyādharaḥbhañja, had all very short reigns. This is indicated by the fact that a Brāhmaṇa named *Bhaṭṭa* Stambhadeva served all the four kings while a goldsmith named Durgadeva served not only all of them but also Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa II, son of Vidyādharaḥbhañja. Considering the fact that the active period of the lives of Stambhadeva and Durgadeva covered about half a century, Neṭṭabhañja II may be assigned to sometime about the first quarter of the 11th century.

The recently discovered Daspalla plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 189 ff.) of Śatrubhañja, who was the great-grandson or grandson of Vidyādharaḥbhañja, is dated in the year 193 apparently of the Bhauma-Kara era. This record has to be assigned to a date earlier than the middle of the 11th century. The date shows that the charter was issued about the latest years of Bhauma-Kara rule while we have evidence to show that the Bhauma-Kara dominions passed to the Somavaṁśis of Kosala during the time of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti III Chaṇḍihara (circa 1025-60 A.D.), father of Uddyotakesarin (circa 1060-80 A.D.), about the second quarter of the same century (*IHQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 300 ff.). Thus the year 198 of the Bhauma-Kara era, when Śatrubhañja's Daspalla plates were issued, has to be referred roughly to the second quarter of the 11th century. It has also to be remembered that, although the number 193 is indicated in Śatrubhañja's inscription in figures of the decimal notation, certain dates in the ninth and tenth decades of the 2nd century of the Bhauma-Kara era are written according to the older system by symbols. This old system is not used in the records of the Somavaṁśis and did not survive long after the end of the tenth century A.D. It was used in some of the records of the Gaṅgas considerably before the time of Vajra-hasta III who was crowned in 1038 A.D.

The above conclusion regarding the commencement of the Bhauma-Kara era, which may now be the basis of the chronology of the said ruling family of ancient Orissa, is supported by another

piece of evidence that has recently come to light. We have referred above to the Baud plates of Prithvimahādevī alias Tribhuvanamahādevī II, dated in the year 158. As already indicated, these records represent the said queen as the daughter of king Svabhāvatuṅga of the lunar dynasty of Kosala (South Kosala). The identity of this Svabhāvatuṅga is suggested by the Bolangir Museum plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (c. 970-1000 A.D.). The inscription was indifferently edited 50 years ago in *JPASB*, 1905, pp. 14-16, but has been recently re-edited in *JASL*, Vol. XIX, pp. 117 ff.

The most interesting part of the charter is a section containing four stanzas engraved at the end of the document proper. This is exactly of the nature of the concluding portion of the Mahada plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 283 ff.) of king Someśvaradeva-varman III of South Kosala and offers certain additional details regarding the donor and his family. The second of the four verses says that there was a king of the lunar dynasty (Soma-kula) named Svabhāvatuṅga, who ruled Kosalā (capital of the Kosala or South Kosala country) and subdued the Chaidyas or Chedis, i.e. the Kalachuris. The text of the third stanza is extremely corrupt; but it seems to say that the Chedi king's lieutenants, headed by *Bhaṭṭa* Peḍi, led an expedition against the Somavaṁśi kingdom and carried away a number of women, but that king Svabhāvatuṅga, aided by a general named Lakshmaṇa, pursued the invaders into the Chedi territory, killed *Bhaṭṭa* Peḍi and rescued the women. The fourth verse says that the son of the above Svabhāvatuṅga resembled Vishṇu and that this prince, caring little for the Chaidya, i.e., the Chedi or Kalachuri king, named Durgarāja, burnt Dahālā (i.e. the Chedi country in the Jubhulpur region). The fact that the only Somavaṁśi king mentioned in this supplementary section of the inscription is Svabhāvatuṅga seems to suggest that he is no other than Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, issuer of the charter. His father Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya alias Dharmakandarpa is known to have enjoyed no less than three names, the son; Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I alias Svabhāvatuṅga, also appears to have enjoyed the same number of names. Thus Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I Svabhāvatuṅga seems to have been the father of the Bhauma-Kara queen Prithvimahādevī who issued her charters in the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era. As the reign-period of the daughter could not have been far removed from that of the father, the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era can be assigned roughly to the last quarter

of the 10th century. The era therefore started in the first half of the ninth century. But there is another point to be considered and that would suggest a narrower limit.

We have seen that Prithvīmahādevī disregarded the claim of the rightful heirs of her husband's younger brother to the Bhauma-Kara throne and may have succeeded in occupying it temporarily with the help she possibly received from her own people. It is only natural to expect that, in the struggle with the partisans of Śāntikara III, Prithvīmahādevī received considerable help from her father Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I Svabhāvatunga. The fact that Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I seems to have occupied the Dhritipura region and pushed the Bhañjas, who were feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas, from that area to Vañjulvaka lends some colour to the suggestion. Another fact to be considered in this connection is that, while the early Somavamśis were rulers of Kosala, Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I is the only early Somavamśi monarch to have granted a village in the Tosali country which was comprised in the dominions of the Bhauma-Karas. One of his inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 351 ff.) is known to record the grant of a village called Chandagrāma in the *vishaya* or district called Maraḍa in Dakṣiṇa-Tosali (i.e. the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack region) made in the 9th year of his reign. The village has been identified with modern Chandgan about 32 miles from Cuttack and the headquarters of Maraḍavishaya have been located at Marada-Hariharpur in the Cuttack District (Misra, *Dyn. Med. Or.*, pp. 66 ff.). We are inclined to believe that the grant of a village in the Tosali country within the dominions of the Bhauma-Karas by the king of Kosala was not unconnected with his daughter's accession to the Bhauma-Kara throne. It seems that the grant was made about the time when the Kosalan forces defeated the Bhauma-Kara antagonists of Prithvīmahādevī and raised her to the throne of Tosali. If such was the case, the 9th regnal year of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I may not have been far removed from the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era, when his daughter issued her Baud plates, especially in view of the fact that the queen is likely to have been ousted from the throne by Śāntikara III after a short rule. As the 9th year of the reign of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I may be regarded as roughly corresponding to a date in the fourth quarter of the tenth century, the Bhauma-Kara era appears to have started about the middle of the first half of the ninth century.

We have seen how the Daspalla plates of Śatrubhañja bears a date in the year 198 of the era used by the Bhauma-Karas and how the rule of that king has to be assigned approximately to the second quarter of the 11th century. It has also been pointed out that, if the year 198 of the Bhauma-Kara era fell somewhere about the second quarter of the 11th century, the era must have started in the first half of the 9th century. Now the Daspalla plates offer certain verifiable astronomical details of the date on which the charter was issued. These are: Year 198, Vishuvasaṅkrānti, Sunday, Pañchamī and Mrigaśiro-nakshetra. Since this combination is rather rare and suits very few dates in a century, the said inscription may be regarded as having offered the most valuable clue in determining the initial year of the Bhauma-Kara era as we now know the approximate period when its epoch fell. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol. III, p. 60), the details of the date of Śatrubhañja's Daspalla plates suit only the 23rd March 1029 A.D. among all the days in the first half of the 11th century. The era in question therefore seems to have started from 831 A.D.

We shall conclude with a reference to the Mahāyāna Buddhist Subhakaradevakesarī or °sīmha who is believed on the authority of Chinese evidence to have been ruling over Orissa in 795 A.D. It is interesting to remember in this connection another early Oriya ruler named Subhakarasiṃha who was the son of a king of Orissa and had himself reigned for several years before he abdicated the throne in favour of his younger brother (cf. A. Getty, *Ganeśa*, pp. 73-74). He lived in the period 637-735 A.D. and arrived in China in 716 A.D. with a large number of Tantric texts of the Yogācāra school, many of which (including the *Mahāvairochanaśūtra*) he translated into Chinese in spite of his advanced age of eighty. If the date 795 A.D. assigned by Lévi to Śubhakarakesari or Śubhakarasiṃha of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* fame be correct, he cannot of course be identified with his namesake who visited China in 716 A.D. But in any case the two kings of identical name seem to have belonged to the same royal family of ancient Orissa, which was certainly different from the Bhauma-Kara dynasty that began to rule about 831 A.D.

(To be continued in the next issue)

Prerogative to Chitradurga Territory during 1779-1800

BY

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In February 1779, Hyder Ali seized the fort of Chitradurga and placed it under the control of Sheikh Ayaz (Hayat Saheb) as the conquered Bedara ruler Medekere Barmanna Nayaka and his brother Parashuramappa, both wounded during the siege, died in captivity at Seringapatam. Hyder then kept the rest of this Bedara family in confinement for "another year".¹ But the right to the Chitradurga principality was soon revived by a collateral kinsman named Dodda Medekere Nayaka. In the Indian National Archives, New Delhi, are a few unpublished documents which show how his claims were eventually settled.

Career under the Mysore Sultanate

Among the Chitradurga prisoners at Seringapatam was Dodda Medekere Nayaka, a member of the "lateral Branch of the house".² He was the nephew of Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka.³ It was his cousin Barmanna whom Hyder had subverted in 1779.⁴ Dodda Medekere Nayaka had also been wounded on this occasion. But the existing family dissensions soon prompted Hyder to win him over. Submitting "to the terms of the Conqueror",⁵ this Dodda Medekere Nayaka "reconciled himself to Hyder's Government"⁶ and thus obtained his freedom.

1. Political Consultation, 26 June, 1800 (138)—J. Spencer to J. Webbe: 12 February 1800—"The Deposition of Medakery Nayakan of Chitrakala Door-gan or Chittledroog."

2. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (140)—R. Close to Lord Clive: 21 Mar. 1800.

3. *Progs. of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, XVIII, p. 310.

4. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (138). The exact relation is stated to be his "father's elder brother's son."

5. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (139)—J. Webbe to J. Spencer: 11 March, 1800.

6. Pol. Cons. 26 June 1800 (140).

In April 1779 when Hyder and Tipu arrived near Cuddapah and dispatched troops to reduce Sidhout, Hyder wrote to the "Zamindar" of Chitradurga ordering him to join with his troops or else suffer the confiscation of territory.⁷ Left without any alternative, the "Raja" of Chitradurga started for Sidhout on 13th April, 1779.⁸ As at this time, the Chitradurga ruling family was dispossessed and confined at Seringapatam, and there was none powerful enough to defy Hyder, it is possible that this "Zamindar" or "Raja" of Chitradurga is identical with Dodda Medekere Nayaka, whom Hyder had just released.

In the beginning Dodda Medekere Nayaka was commissioned in Hyder's army on a monthly pay of Rs. 100/-. But this was soon raised to Rs. 300 when he was appointed *Bakshi* in Charge of 5 to 6,000 men during the Arcot campaign. He fought against Colonel Baillie, and also at Trichinopoly, Cuddapah and Vellore. Pleased with this Hyder bestowed gifts on him and his troops, enhancing his pay to Rs. 500/-.

During the disturbances in Malabar, when the general, Sardar Khan died at Tellichery, Hyder rushed to Calicut, 4,000 cavalry commanded by Muqudin Saheb, 12,000 infantry under *Bakshi* Ghulam Ali and 14,000 troops under the joint command of Dodda Medekere Nayaka and *Bakshi* Hyder. From Calicut this army marched to Tiruvananthapuram, where the British opposed its progress. Muqudin fell in the fight, but *Bakshi* Hyder and the Medekere Nayaka, though wounded, retreated to Venkalikota and then to Palghat, from where they applied for succour. Tipu, hurried to their aid with 30,000 Carnatics, 20,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry. At this the British left Tartalla and entrenched at Ponnani. Tipu followed up. But meeting with British gunfire, his troops dispersed. Dodda Medekere Nayaka stayed back with 500 men and covered Tipu's retreat. Two British advance units attacked him. But routing them, he decapitated 16 men and captured 6, offering them to Tipu. Applauding, Tipu embraced the Medekere Nayaka, "promised to reinstate him", paid Rs. 20/-

7. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* V 1484 (3)—Raja of Kalahasti to Vakil Kishan Rao: 14 April, 1779; *ibid.*, V, 1484 (4)—Raja Kumara Venkata Nayar to the Nawab of Arcot; 17 Apr. 1779.

8. *Ibid.*, V, 1484 (5)—Raja of Chitradurga to the Raja of Kalahasti: 19 Apr. 1779.

for the trophies and Rs. 25/- per head he brought. This expedition was called off when Hyder died and Tipu hastened to Seringapatam, despatching Aishad Beg Khan and the Medekere Nayaka to Calicut.

In the second expedition to Calicut, during 1788, Tipu made many converts. From Calicut, he sent *Bakshi* Muhammad to relieve the Medekere Nayaka, whom he forthwith recalled. Tipu's messenger confided to him at Kamalapur that the real object of his recall was to be converted to Islam. Tipu had long cherished to seduce him through some followers. The Medekere Nayaka therefore avoided Tipu's camp and instead announced his intention of proceeding with his seraglio to Cochin. Tipu thereupon confiscated his possessions.

Patronage of the Travancore Court

Dodda Medekere Nayaka however arrived at the Gate of Bagamatikota and appealed for help to the Dewan of Travancore. At this the latter promptly dispatched Lakshmanan Salayan, with 4 *Harkaras*, to welcome him. He was then taken to the ruler Kiritapati Ramaraja, who took him under his protection, appointed him to a command of 200 (later reduced to 175) men, and offered, among other things, a monthly pay of Rs. 300/- and a subsistence daily allowance of 24½ measures of rice. His residence in the Travancore Court extended from 1791 to 1799.⁹ Adverting to this later, in February 1800 the Raja wrote to Lord Clive the following: "In consideration of the rank of his family, I have, for these ten years treated him with every respect and kindness and supplied all his wants."¹⁰

A mission to Madras

Dodda Medekere Nayaka attended in October 1799 a reception at Palingote, given by Kiritapati Rama Raja in honour of Brigade Major Bannerman. When introduced by the Raja, the Major observed that, since Seringapatam had fallen, the East India Company might reinstate the dispossessed rulers. To this the Medekere Nayaka stated that he would not depart from

9. *Pol. Cons.* 26 June, 1800 (138).

10. *Pol. Cons.* 26 June, 1800 (135)—Raja of Travancore to Lord Clive: received 24 Feb. 1800.

Travancore for this purpose without the Raja's consent. Major Bannerman then spoke about him to the Raja, who approved the proposal and requested Bannerman to extend his help. Medekere Nayaka subsequently left Travancore on Bannerman's advice and the Raja presented him with a T.A. of Rs. 1000/- a horse, a tent, a pair of shawls and separate recommendatory letters to Lord Clive, Bannerman and *Vakil* Vishvanath Ram.¹¹ The Raja agreed to disburse his salary to his family at Travancore.

Avoiding the insecure southern route, Dodda Medekere Nayaka reached Calicut by sea on 11th February, 1800 and requested Colonel Papier, then stationed there with the Travancore Raja's Corps, to furnish him with a small escort to Tellichery for his arms. Col. Papier applied for this to the Officer Commanding and on the next day, 12th February, waited on Mr. J. Spencer, President of the Malabar Commission, to acquaint him with the Nayaka's arrival.¹² Medekere Nayaka had also announced that his sole object in visiting Madras was to "reinstat himself in the Authority of his forefathers" with British aid.¹³ In his despatch of 21st March, 1800 Colonel R. Close, the Resident at Mysore, agreed that the "Narrative delivered in by Mudghery Naique, appears in greater part to be founded."¹⁴ But since he arrived by sea and possessed no passport to travel through Malabar, he was debarred from entering the Chitradurga territory without the special permission of the Resident at Mysore.¹⁵ Mr. Spencer thereupon detained him forwarding his letters, with all particulars, to the Government of Fort St. George for necessary orders.¹⁶ The Raja of Travancore was also apprized of the Nayaka's detention. The petitioner was then asked to await the replies from Mysore and Madras.¹⁷ The above proceedings were reported by the Governor-in-Council to the Supreme Government at Fort William.¹⁸

11. Pol. Cons. 26 June 1800 (138); *ibid.*, 26 June 1800 (135-137). The letter to the *Vakil* was from Subbayya.

12. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (138).

13. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (135 and 138).

14. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (140).

15. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (138).

16. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (133)—J. Spencer to Lord Clive: 12 February 1800.

17. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (138).

18. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (132)—J. Webbe to G. H. Barlowe; 29 Mar. 1800.

Meanwhile the Governor-in-Council already decided to reject wholly the claims of Medekere Nayaka to the principality of Chitradurga. It was contended first, that he had no legal right to the territory, as his cousin was subverted by Hyder long before the British conquest of Mysore. Secondly, though he had submitted to the terms of Hyder and entered his service, yet later he fled to the Travancore Court and thereby "incurred by immigrating from Mysore without the consent of his sovereign (Tippoo) the penalties of forfeiture and outlawry. It is evident therefore that at the time of the conquest, Mudghery Naik possessed no territorial rights under the late Tippoo Sultan; and consequently the allies succeeding to the rights of that Prince, were free from the encumbrances of the Polygar's pretensions."¹⁹ Thirdly, in establishing the existing Government at Mysore, the rights of His Highness Raja Krishna Wodeyar had not been recognised. But the measure of establishing a separate Government in Mysore having been deemed necessary and expedient by the contracting parties, His Highness was selected and placed at the head of Government by the allies. Judged by this principle, the Governor-in-Council, appeared reluctant to encourage the "impolicy of reviving any obsolete pretensions to independent jurisdiction."²⁰ And lastly, Medekere Nayaka's influence in mustering the war-like Bedars of Chitradurga and Harpanhalli would have created "extreme embarrassment" to the Mysore Government. The Governor-in-Council therefore decided that the Resident in Mysore should prevent the Medekere Nayaka from entering the Mysore Country and instructed Mr. Spencer to detain him within the British territory.²¹ The *Kaifyat* of his son Jhampanna Nayaka however says that Dodda Medekere Nayaka went and interviewed 'Lal Sahab' at Madras for his reinstatement. The latter directed him to Dewan Purnayya at Mysore, who gave him a hereditary pension.²²

19. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800, (139-140).

20. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (139).

21. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (140).

22. Progs. of the I.H.R.C. XVIII, p. 311. It is mentioned in the Nayaka's own *Kaifyat* that when Hyder released him from captivity at Seringanatham and offered an appointment *Bakshi* Krishna Rao and Purnayya induced him to accept it in view of the prospect of "gaining a speedy death in the front of the battle." Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (138).

Sea-dangers in Early Indian Seafaring

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A preliminary attempt is made in this paper to study the problem of sea-dangers with particular reference to the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal and how the early Indian seafarers solved them.

Ancient Indian literature is replete with descriptions and references to sea-dangers which beset early seafarers.² Sea-dangers might be taken as a serious cause which would have discouraged ancient seafaring. Such possibility cannot be ruled out. But cannot the interference be the other way round as well? Quite reasonably the innumerable references to sea-perils and their realistic descriptions are to be considered as sure indices confirming the awful experiences of the seafarers on the high seas in consequence of their deep-sea voyaging. The large number of references to sea-dangers suggests only very likely the frequency of their voyages on the high seas.

Common and Possible dangers:

The potential sea-dangers which usually beset seafarers can be grouped into two classes. The first kind of perils are caused

1. The writer is thankful to his teacher Dr. L. B. Keny for the guidance and encouragement received for the present study.

2. Cf. e.g., *Rig-Veda*, I, 116.3.

Relevant seafaring allusions in the *Mahābhārata*: Droṇa Parva and Karna Parva.

Varāha and Markandeya Purāṇas.

Jātakas: Valahassa, Supparaka, Mahājanaka, Saṅkha, Sussondi.

The Jātaka, I-VI, Cambridge, 1895-1907.

Somadeva's *Kathāsarit Sāgara*: Stories of Saktideva, Samudrasura etc.

by the physical forces of nature. They are (i) storms, (ii) wave force, (iii) ocean currents, (iv) calms, (v) fogs, (vi) ice, and (vii) darkness. The second kind of perils include the dangers presented by (i) sea-creatures, (ii) pirates, and (iii) reefs and rocks.

So far as the first kind of dangers is concerned, all of them cannot be present in the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. Both the seas being tropical in climate, the danger resulting from ice or icebergs is ruled out. Even though the influence of ocean currents is more climatic than navigational, there are no well-defined 'streams' in the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. No doubt storms are potential dangers causing shipwrecks and are present in both the seas of which the Bay of Bengal is noted for its dreadful revolving cyclones, the implacable foe of every sailing ship. The presence of such fierce cyclones in the Bay of Bengal might be looked upon as one of the causes for the late colonisation of *Suvannadvipas* by ancient Indians in contrast to the very early contacts established with the countries of the Western Asia: the earliest of the archaeological remains pertaining to the Indian contacts in Indonesia have been only dated to belong to the closing decades prior to the beginning of the Christian era, when alone probably ships of advanced types could have been built by ancient Indians strong enough to face the severest of the cyclones of the Bay of Bengal. These cyclones, the force of which directly affects the Coromandel coast of India, might have been one of the destructive agents of the early trading posts like Podouké or Arikamedu.

Storms and Shipwrecks:

For seafarers the result of storms is often shipwreck which is vividly described in ancient Indian literature particularly in the *Jātakas*.³ It is curious to note how the early seafarers faced the situation. When disaster was imminent they ate sugar and ghee as much as they could digest and covered their bodies and garments with oil⁴—both precautions were sound psychologically and indicative of a long period of trial and error.⁵ While obviously the sugar and ghee would have been to keep off hunger (which pro-

3. Cf. The *Saṅkha-Jātaka*; the *Mahājanaka-Jātaka*, *op. cit.*

4. *Ibid.* Sugar could mean only anything very sweet.

5. A. L. Basham, *Notes on Seafaring in Ancient India, Art and Letters*, London, XXIII, 1949, p. 61.

perty of sweetmeats combined with ghee is too practical to be explained), the oil might have been profusely used to smoothen the surface of the water they touched on thus presenting less resistance to the wind and preventing breaking of the waves—the real dangers in wave motion.⁶ Very likely only some kind of vegetable or animal oil could have been used by them and such oils being very heavy and thick, would have been found to be most effective for the purpose. The effect of oil on free waves, i.e., waves in deep water is greatest.⁷ The above reference implies that the seafarers would have generally equipped themselves with enough oil and sugar as part of their safety aids. As they seemed to have known the effect of oil to smoothen the sea-surface, probably they would have also hung oil bags on the sides of the ship according to the moving direction of the ship and winds and in case of necessity the bags could have been pricked letting oil to sprinkle on the waves along the way thus rendering the sea alongside comparatively smooth.⁸

6. The use of oil for modifying the effect of breaking waves is an accepted and common practice even among the modern navigators. For detailed account of the use and effect of oil on waves cf. *The West Coast of India Pilot* (7th Edn.) 1926, published for the Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, by His Majesty's Stationary Office, London, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

7. *Ibid.*, p. xxvi. Incidentally it may also be mentioned that the mudbanks found off the Malabar coast in front of Calicut, Cochin and Alleppey, are supposed to contain a sort of oil the smoothening effect of which on the waters ensures quite safe anchorage in the open roadsteads of the above ports in the severest of monsoons. Cf. *Kaybee's Indian Shipping Annual*, Port Number, 1951, (edited by K. B. Vaidya), p. 87.

8. It will be of interest to notice in this connection the advice issued for modern seafarers regarding the use of oil bags:

"...simple and easy way to distribute oil is by means of canvas bags about one foot long, filled with oakum and oil, pierced with holes by means of a coarse sail-needle, and held by a lanyard. Running before a gale, use oil from bags at the cat-heads or from forward waste-pipes; if yawing badly and threatening to broach to, use oil forward and abaft the beam, on both sides. Lying to, distribute oil from the weather-bow. With a high beam sea, use oil through forward closet-pipes. There are many other cases where oil may be used to advantage, such as lowering and hoisting boats, riding to a sea-anchor, crossing rollers and surf on a bar and from life-boats and stranded vessels."—Lieut. H. S. Brown in his *Handbook to Ports between Calcutta and Bombay*, quoted in *Kaybee's Indian Shipping Annual*, *op. cit.*

Instead of canvas bags, the early seafarers would have used probably bags made of animal skin or leather.

Apart from the above, oil is a well-known protective agent against water because of its non-miscibility and it is common knowledge that an immersed person having been fully smeared with oil is less open to cold or water-sickness than a person unprotected by it.

Other Perils :

Ships for crossing the seas would have been well-built and strong the timbers being sewn or lashed together. It is reasonable to assume the prevalence of sewn-ships earlier than the nailed-ships and in practice even later on the sewn-ships were found safer for use because of their quality of resilience when scraped on a reef or rock than the nailed-ships which would break under such conditions.⁹

Besides very likely knowing by experience the seasonal and periodical nature of the storms, the voyages would have been timed so as to cross the sea only with fair weather and favourable winds.¹⁰

Tossing and rolling of ship due to heavy winds would have been balanced and stability secured by putting on the ship across huge wooden beams and tying them to the mast or booming out big wooden floats on either side of the ship or joining with the ship another loaded ship or boats by means of planks laid athwart securely tied. These methods so simple to be primitive, are practised even today by the indigenous seafaring people on the coasts

9. Even in medieval times the use of sewn-ships because of this quality is referred to by Ibn Battuta (Tr. H. A. R. Gibb, Broadway Travellers Series, London, 1923, p. 243) and Sulaiman (Silsilat ul Tawarikh Tr. Ferrand: *Voyage du Marchand Arabe Sulayman* Paris, 1922, p. 93).

10. According to modern meteorological observation, the storm period in the Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea is from April to December, the most dangerous storms occurring during the transition periods at the beginning and end of the monsoon. Cf. *The West Coast of India Pilot*, op. cit., pp. xxvii-xxviii. Due to lack of authentic and adequate sources it is difficult to say when the early seafarers would have timed their voyages, but can suggest very likely the middle of the monsoon months as the period of their voyages. E.g., Sailings would have been safer and favourable from India to the West if commenced during end December/early January along with north-east winds and from the West to India during July/September along with south-west winds. Cf. E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 35-83.

of India.¹¹ The heavy winds would have been harnessed by opening additional masts and sails. There is reference to ships of three masts in the *Jātakas*.¹² However ships could not have been unwieldy for the crew leaving therefore great scope for the control of the ships, directing them to safer areas in times of dangers.

Calms are frequent in the Arabian Sea and their locations vary from place to place with change of seasons depending upon the atmospheric pressure and the movement of winds. Calms were hindrance to sailing as in the absence of blowing winds, there would not be a natural force to push the sails. At such times, paddles and oars of ships would have been worked to cause movements and to come out of that danger.

Fogs are also known in the Arabian Sea. They are usually found only near the shores. Besides they are of temporary nature clearing away after some time. Fogs could gather and prevail only at the time of steady winds. With the rise of the sun and the blow of winds fogs would melt away. Hence delayed sailings in foggy weather would have considerably minimised the dangers arising from them.

Shore-finding Birds.

It was an ingenious practice among the early Indian and very likely also among other ancient seafarers to carry with them trained birds of strong wings in their voyages to guide them to shores in case of difficulty to determine landward directions. The birds would be let to fly. If there were land within a few miles the birds would fly towards that direction and would not return; otherwise the birds would return to the ship after flying in all directions to get to land. This instinct of birds particularly of crows which are a conspicuous species of birds of India, is a common knowledge.¹³ There are references to shore-finding birds, crows,

11. Cf. J. Hornell, *The Origin and Ethnological Significance of Indian Boat Designs*, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VII, 1918-1923.

12. *Jātaka* No. 190. *The Jātaka*, op. cit.

13. Cf. J. Hornell, *The Role of Birds in Early Navigation*, *Antiquity*, XX, 1946, pp. 142-148.

in the *Digha Nikaya*¹⁴ and the *Bāveru Jātaka*¹⁵ as having been carried by seafarers in their trading expeditions.¹⁶ The existence of this practice among the seamen of Ceylon was found by Pliny¹⁷ in the first century A.D. and Cosmas Indicopleustes in the sixth century A.D. The use of shore-finding birds would have been necessitated only when the seafarers sailed far away from the land, very likely on the high seas, as there could be only little scope for their use while hugging through coasts, the shores being very near.¹⁸

Sea-Creatures and Pirates:

The sea-creatures which presented danger to seafarers included *makaras* and leviathans able to swallow whole ships.¹⁹ Evil spirits also were thought to have dwelt in mysterious islands and whipped up storms. In case of threats, the sea-creatures had to be fought with.

14. Text I, 222, Tr. T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, 3 vols. London, 1899-1921.

15. Jātaka No. 339, *The Jātaka*, op. cit.

16. The use of shore-finding birds is mentioned in the famous flood legends of Western Asia, e.g., The Biblical Story of Noah and the Babylonian story of the Deluge. Cf. Genesis VI-VIII.

H. Heras, "The Crow of Noe" *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, X, No. 2.

M. E. Malim, Noah's Flood, *Antiquity*, V, 1931, pp. 213-220.

Wallis Budge, *The Babylonian Story of the Deluge*, pp. 41-54. *Babylonian Life and History*, pp. 92-97.

A. S. Vaidyanatha Iyer, The Flood Legends of the East, *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, II, 1929.

17. *Natural History*, VI, 22.

18. W. W. Tarn writes: "... but the use of a 'shore-sighting bird' does not prove ocean voyages. I am speaking only of Greeks and Indians at one particular period. Polynesians and Malays have crossed great expanses of ocean in their canoes both before and since." *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1938, p. 368, footnote.

It is pertinent to ask in this connection that if Polynesians and Malays could cross 'great expanses of ocean' in their 'canoes', why Indians could not cross at least the 'seas' in well-built ships with navigational aids like shore-sighting birds and with the full knowledge of the methods to counteract sea-dangers? Surely the mere mention of shore-sighting bird does not prove sea-voyages, but the reference should be studied along with the other data proving their maritime traditions.

19. Sussondi-Jātaka, *The Jātaka*, op. cit.

Piracy was a potential danger throughout the coasts of the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal.²⁰ In early times there could not have been national kinship among the people of different tribes inhabiting the land, more so among the pirates, in the absence of a centralised common political rule. The want of this sense of

20. The coastline of Western Asia was known for piracy even from very early times. Sennacherib, the famous Assyrian king, with the aid of a great fleet attempted to exterminate piracy in 694 B.C. (Cf. Rawlinson, *Intercourse Between India and the Western World*, Cambridge, 1916, p. 6).

Pliny mentions of a tribe of Arabians called Ascitae who 'placing the inflated skins of oxen beneath a raft of wood,...ply their piratical vocation with the aid of poisoned arrows.' (*Natural History*, VI, 35). The Hinavi Arabs, well-known pirates, were said to have established themselves near muscat in the fourth century B.C. (Danvers' *Persian Records*, p. 5).

According to Strabo (XVI, i, 10) and Arrian, the Persians blocked the mouths of the Tigris to prevent the incursions of pirates from the coastal side and it was not until the time of Alexander that the obstructions were removed. (Vincent, *Ancient Commerce*, I, 505).

Along the south Kathiawar, Cambay and Gujerat coasts the pirates were chiefly Kolis and to a less extent Kharvas. About the Gulf of Cutch, near Beyt, Dwaraka and Porbandar, which was their chief haven, they were Jats, Vaghers, Sanghars, Meds or Mers and Mianas. Of these, the Sanghars and Vaghers were probably the most ancient. The Vaghers or Kabas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, the Sanghars (of Sind and West of Indus) are possibly alluded to by Nearchus. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, IX, 526).

According to Pliny (*Natural History*, VI, 23) the Greek or Egyptian vessels which traded with India, were large, well-found and well-manned and carried companies of archers as the seas they traversed were greatly infested with pirates. The nearest port of call of such vessels was Muziris (Cranganore) which too was considered not a very suitable port 'on account of the pirates which frequent its vicinity, where they occupy a place called Nitrias identified by some scholars with Nitran or Netrani (or Pigeon Island) fifteen miles north-west of Bhatkal.

Ptolemy (second century A.D.) refers to a portion of the Western Coast of India as the Pirate Coast which extended from Chaul to Mangalore or roughly from Bombay to Goa. (McCrindle, *India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 45). Ptolemy says (VII, i, 84) that pirates occupied five ports, viz., Mandagara, Byzantion, Khersonesus, Armagara and Nitria and even two inland towns, viz. Olokhaira ad Mousoḡpalla. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, I, 1, 541; X, 192 n.).

Kshemendra's work *Bodhisattvavadana Kalpalata* records a tradition that Asoka had to issue a sort of marine edict on a copper plate against the seafaring piracy of Nagas. (R. Mookerji, *A History of Indian Shipping*, 1912, p. 114).

For accounts of piracy Cf. S. C. Hill, Notes on Piracy in Eastern Waters, *The Indian Antiquary*, January 1923-October 1928.

affinity resulted in the attack and plunder of all the ships that came on their way indiscriminately as to whether the ships belonged to an alien land or to a kingdom of their own neighbouring territory.

Besides the vessels hugging through coasts could not have overcome the dangers that were usually beset by caravans and the traffic of the overland route. The free use of the sea no doubt made the sea-transport cheaper than the land-transport, but the free use of the sea could not have proved the free use of the coasts as well. The whole coastline would have been controlled strip by strip by different tribes, hospitable and inhospitable, according to the extent of their respective territories and hugging through these coast-strips for direct traffic between far distant communities could have been highly insecure and rendered very difficult if not impossible due to tribal and political disturbances on the route.

There could not have been also a common understanding and union among all the tribal countries lying on the coasts to take co-ordinated action to put an end to the piratical menace in general, as many of the rulers themselves seemed to have indulged in or encouraged piracy among their subjects either as one of their martial moves or for the covetable wealth of the merchant vessels.

However, the natural tendency of pirates to confine their activities coast-bound with a view to leave scope for their easy escape would have minimised the danger of piracy on the high seas. Nevertheless, during the early period under study, piracy was a deterrent factor for sea-trade in general and coastal trade in particular.

Some Important Literary Colophons and their Bearings on the History and Chronology of Mithila (c. 1097-1324 A.D.)

BY

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In the absence of any epigraphic or numismatic evidence we have to depend solely on the literary sources. In this paper an attempt has been made to reconstruct the chronological history of Mithilā on the basis of the colophons of various manuscripts scattered all over the world. These colophons are important because they give us the name of the king, the date of the compilation and in certain cases the era mentioned is that of Lakṣmana Samvata, which is still a controversial point in history. In some cases the incidental notice is given in the body of the manuscript. One will certainly agree with the late Mm. H. P. Sastri that there are few regions of India, possessing an ancient civilisation, about which we have less definite historical information than the region north of the Ganges.¹

Nānyadeva:

The Karmāt king, Nānyadeva, ascended the throne of Mithilā in 1097 A.D. The colophon of a commentary on Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra,² written by Nānyadeva, is of great historical importance. The colophon refers to the author as Śrī Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharmāvalok Śrīmān Nānyapati. From this Colophon it is evident that Nānyadeva was a Feudatory chief before he assumed the

1. Catalogue of Palm-leaf Manuscripts, p. 18.

2. Ramakrishna Kavi—"Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society"—October 1926, pp. 55-63.

royal power. In the body of the commentary, Nānya refers to himself as Mithileśvara, Karṇāt Kūlbhuṣaṇ, Dharmādhārbbhūpati, Rājñāraṇ. Nṛpmalla etc. From the historical stand-point this commentary is invaluable as it throws a flood of light on his life and political relations.

Gāngeyadeva:

Another important Colophon is that of Rāmāyaṇ Manuscript, found in Nepal. It was discovered by Bendall. The colophon reads as follows: "Samvat 1076 Aṣādh Vadi 4 Mahārājādhirāj Punyāvalok Som Vamsodhava Gauḍ-dhvaja Śrī-mad Gāngeyadeva bhujyamān Tirbhuktau Kalyān Vijayrājye Nepāl desiya Śrī bhakṣu śālika Śrī Anandasya Pātakāvasthit (Kāyṣtha) Paṇḍit Śrī Śrī Srikurasyātmaj Śrī Gopatinā Lekhidan." Another copy of the same Colophon was brought to the notice of Scholars by Dr. Raghubir, whose copy was exhibited in the fourth session of the Indian History Congress (Lahore), wherein some difference is visible. In place of 'Gauḍ-dhvaja', there occurs 'Garuḍa-dhvaja' and 'Kṛte' after 'Śrī Anandāsyā'. This particular Colophon has been subjected to various interpretations. The Colophon gives in the following particulars:

- (i) Gāngeyadeva of Tirabhukti was ruling in the year 1076 of an unspecified era —
- (ii) bore the title of Mahārājādhirāj and the Viruda Punyāvaloka —
- (iii) belonged to the Lunar race —
- (iv) had some political authority in Gauda (according to Bendall's copy) —
- (v) Eagle as the standard (according to Dr. Raghubira's copy).

This has given rise to a good deal of confusion among the scholars like Levi, Bendall, Chandā, Mazumdar, Mirashi and others. On account of the archaic nature, Bendall referred to the Vikrama Era and took it to be equivalent to 1019 A.D. Bendall identified Gāngeyadeva with the Kālāchuri king of that name.³

3. Catalogue of Palm-leaf Mss. (Introduction), p. 18-19.

This has been questioned by Levi and others.⁴ Mr. Mirashi does not agree with the above scholars and suggests the possibility of Rāṣtrakūṭa domination in Tirhut.⁵ Dr. R. C. Mazumdar identified this king with the Karṇāt king of that name of Mithilā and his conclusion seems to be plausible in the light of all possible evidences.⁶ The year in the Colophon does not specify the era to which it belongs and does not mention any week day, etc., and hence it does not admit of verification.⁷ This Colophon, supplemented by other sources and local traditions, confirms our belief that this Gāngeyadeva belonged to the Karṇāt dynasty of Mithilā.

Rāmsinghdeva.

Rām Singhdeva succeeded Gāngeyadeva. The Colophon of the Manuscript "Suddhikalpataru" reads—"Samvat 1446—Samay Pauṣa Sudi 14 Śanou Śrīmannārayānpur Nṛpnārayāṇetyādi - - - daratnātrāji vibhṛājmān mahānṛpati Śrīmadrāmsinghdeva bhujyamānā", etc. It shows that the book was written on the 14th of the bright half of the month of Pauṣa in Samvata 1446 on Saturday which is equivalent to 1st January 1390 A.D.⁸ Another manuscript of the Nepāl Darbār catalogue refers to Rāma Singhadeva.⁹ Suddhikalpataru manuscript is important because it gives us a date of king Rām Singhadeva of Mithilā. The chronology of Mithilā is still in a state of hopeless confusion. On the basis of the Nepālese and Mithilā tradition Rāma Singhadeva can be placed between C. 1229 and 1291 A.D. According to the Colophon, in question, Rāmasinghadeva flourished in 1390 A.D. and on the basis of this source Mr. Chakravarti has placed Rāma Singhdeva two steps below Harasinghdeva.¹⁰ As this particular Colophon involves a very important question of the chronology of the Karṇāts of Mithilā, we have to depend upon other sources in this connection. A tradition about Nānyadeva and his dynasty has been

4. Lévi—Nepāl, Vol. 2, p. 202, F. N. 1; Chandā—"Gauḍ Rājmalā, p. 42 F. N.

5. Silver Jubilee Volume of the ABORI, Poona, pp. 300-01.

6. I.H.Q., Vol. VII, pp. 679-689; cf. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 170.

7. Vide my paper on "Gāngayadeva of Tirabhukti" in the Lucknow session of A.I.O.C. (1951).

8. India Office Mss. 4741—of the 'Sudhikalpatara', Foli 62b.

9. Nepal Darbar Catalogue, p. 23.

10. JASB, (N. S.) Vol. XI—pp. 414 and 432 (Appendix).

recorded in two inscriptions of Pratāpmalla of Nepal, dated Nepāl Samvat 769 (= 1648 A.D.) and 778 (= 1658 A.D.) The first inscription gives us the following list—

Nānyadeva	Nepālese — Vamśāvali
(son) Gangadeva	
(son) Nṛsinghdeva.	(1) Nānyadeva—50 yrs.
(son) Rāmsinghdeva	(2) Gangadeva—41 yrs.
Saktisinghdeva (son)	(3) Nṛsingdeva—39 yrs.
(son) Bhupālsinghdeva.	(4) Rāmsinghdeva—58 yrs.
(son) Harasingadeva.	(5) Harasingh—28 yrs.

According to Nepāl Vamśāvali and Mithilā tradition Rāmsinghadeva undoubtedly preceded Harasinghdeva. Mr. Chakravarti has further confounded the issue by making one Nṛsingha as the immediate successor of Narasinghadeva and the immediate predecessor of Rām Singhadeva.¹¹ This he has done on the basis of the tale of the 'Truthful Hero' in Vidyāpati's *Purush-Parikshā*.¹² According to this tale Narasingadeva of Karmāt dynasty is said to have helped one Yavaṇa king, Muhammad, of Hastināpur. Messrs. Chakravarti and Grierson have identified this king with Muhammad-bin-Tuglak.¹³ On whatever sources we rely, we have to accept that the Karmāt king, Narasingadeva, ruled between C. 1177 and 1229 A.D. and as such he cannot be a contemporary of Muhammad-bin-Tuglak who flourished in the first half of the 14th century. It seems plausible to identify this Yavaṇa king with Muhammad Ghori. This identification finds support in Mithilā tradition which asserts that Narasingh used to go to Kanauj with his uncle Malladeva and after the defeat of king Jayachandra of Kanauj, Narasinghadeva went to Muhammad Ghori's Court.¹⁴

The question arises, who this Ramsinghdeva was during whose reign "Suddhi Kalpataru" was completed? It is a well-known

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Purush-Parikshā*,—edited by Grierson, pp. 19-21.

13. *JASB*, opt. cit., p. 412, Grierson, opt. cit., p. 19. Cf. S. N. Singh—"History of Tirhut", p. 68.

14. Mm. P. Jha—"Mithilā-Tattva-Vimarsha", p. 115. Also "Varman-Ratnākar", edited by Dr. Chatterjee and Babu Misra—English Introduction, p. XVIII.

fact that Rām Singhdeva of the Karmāt dynasty was a liberal patron of learning. Various commentaries and other learned treatises were compiled under his regime. Śrīkar wrote a commentary on Amarakośa, Ratneśvara Misra on Rhetoric, and Pṛthvidhara on *Mṛcchakatika*. Some confusion has been created by the mention of a king in Gadadhar's "Tantra-pradip".¹⁵ Karmāditya was Rāmsingha's minister and his inscription of Lakṣmaṇa Samvata 212 is still unnoticed.¹⁶ All historical evidences prove that Harasinghadeva was the last king of the Karmāta dynasty and after him a new dynasty was set up by the Delhi Emperor.

One Nṛsingh is mentioned as Rāmdatta's "Dāna-Paddhati". Rāmdatta was the son of Ganeśwara, minister of Narasinghdeva. This Narasinghadeva (II) of Rāmadatta's "Dānapaddhati" must be distinguished from Narasingh (I) of Karmāt dynasty. We know that after the flight of Harasinghdeva to Nepal, his successors continued struggling in Tirhut. This Narasinghadeva II must have been a local successor of Harasinghadeva under the Delhi Emperor. It is probable that Ghiyasuddin Tuglak installed somebody in power. In "Dāna-Paddhati" Narasingha II is called "Śrīman" and the use of this particular epithet shows that he did not wield any extensive and overall power like an independent king, because in that case his own minister should not have used only "Śrīman". Similarly the king mentioned in "Suddhikalpataru" is called "Mahānṛpati". It seems, therefore, that this Rāmsinghadeva of "Suddhikalpataru" (1390 A.D.) was a local ruling chieftain. He cannot be identified with any Karmāt king as the Mithilā tradition or other historical evidences do not give us any such clue. It seems that the authority of both Narasingha II and Rāmsingha II was limited to the neighbourhood of Simarāṇ.

15. Bendall—*JASB*, 1903, p. 19, *JASB*, 1915, p. 413.

16. अच्चे नेत्र शशांक पक्ष (गणिते २१२) श्री लक्ष्मण क्षमापतेर्मसि श्रावणसंज्ञके मुनितियौ स्वात्मां गुरौ शोभने। हावीपट्टनसंज्ञके सुविदिते हैदरदेवीशिवा कर्मादित्य-मुमन्त्रिणेह सौभाग्यदेवाज्ञया॥ (Haihhat Devi image Inscription—) still unnoticed.

Also another Inscription on the temple of Tilakeshwara bears the name of Karmāditya. This has been noticed by Sri Nagendranath—in his *Vidyāpati's Padāvali*.

Harasiṅghdeva, his Ministers:

From Vidyāpati's *Purush-Parikṣā* we learn that Ganeśvara was a very able Minister of Harsīṅghadeva.¹⁷ He was in charge of Home-affairs. He wrote "*Sugati-Sopāna*" for the benefit of the people.¹⁸ The introduction to "*Sugati-Sopāna*" throws a very interesting light on the constitutional history of Mithilā. It seems that he presided over the feudatory rulers of Mithilā. It is evident from the Colophon of a Nepāl Manuscript of 1343 that the chief of the council of feudatory nobles had high sounding title of Mahārājādhirāj.¹⁹ In his introduction to "*Chāndogyamaṇtroddhāra*", he uses the following epithet for Ganeśvara

- (a) Mahārājādhirāj
- (b) Mahāsāmant
- (c) Mahāmattaka.

These evidences, taken together, lead us to infer that the chief protector of the feudal nobles bore the title of Mahārājādhirāja. The Colophon to "*Gangā-Pattakka*" by Ganeśvara refers to the author as Mahāsāmantādhipatti. This Colophon points to the existence of powerful feudal lords headed by Ganeśvara. These lords wielded sufficient political power.

The introductory verse to "*Sugati-Sopāna*" gives us a picture of the then political condition. It refers to Gauda²⁰ and to a council of Seven Elders. Some sort of contact with the Muslim Sultān is indicated in the verse. A verse in the *Dānratnākara* says that Mithilā was sinking in the ocean of the Mlechas.²¹ It appears that some sort of contest between the king of Mithilā and the Muslim must have begun by that time. Through the riverine tracts of Bhāgalpur and Monghyr lying north of the Ganges lay the highway of communication between Oudh and Bengāl. There is no recorded Muslim invasion (from Delhi) of Mithilā prior to 1324. Delhi army generally used to pass through Tirhut. That

17. Grierson—*op. cit.*, p. 47.

18. *दृष्टुं लोकहितैषिणा ।*

19. H. P. Sastri—*Nepal Catalogue*—I, 136.

20. Introductory verse—4.

21. R. Mitra—*Notices* VI, 135, No. 2069.

Harasiṅghdeva defeated some Muslim king is corroborated by Chandreśvara and Jyotiśvara Thākura.²² Dr. S. K. Chatterjee observes—"For evidently Harasiṅghadeva was able to recover his kingdom after the tide was stemmed, since it was after the expulsion of the Muhammadans, or after their voluntary retirement, that *Dhūrtasamāgam* and *Dānratnākara* were composed."²³ Whether it was an invasion from Bengāl or Delhi, it is difficult to say. Mithilā was sandwiched between the two Muslim provinces of Oudh and Lakhanasti. The rulers of neighbouring Muslim province might have raided the land and Chandreśvara must have taken an active part in expelling them out of Tirhut. The expulsion was definitely transitory because we find that in 1324 A.D. Harasiṅghadeva lost to the Muslim the last semblance of independence in North eastern India.

22. *Dhūrtasamāgam Nātak*—*Nepal Darbar Notices*, p. 66.

23. Introduction to V. R., p. XVII.

Reviews

THE APPROACH TO SELF-GOVERNMENT—by Sir W. Ivor Jennings (Published by the Cambridge University Press).

Sir Ivor Jennings needs no introduction to students of constitutions. His monographs on 'the British Constitution', 'Parliament' and 'Cabinet Government' are standard works in the field, while his observations on the Indian and Ceylon Constitutions in the form of lectures and articles are at once critical and constructive. Having served as the constitutional adviser to the Governments of Ceylon and Pakistan and latterly as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon, he has had opportunities of studying first hand some of the Asian constitutions.

His latest book, 'The Approach to Self-Government' which embodies his talk to the B.B.C., is an important contribution intended to guide the Asian countries which have recently become independent in grappling with their new political problems. But he does not assume the attitude of a mentor, obsessed by superiority complex offering advice from a high pedestal. If he does refer frequently to the robust common sense, the practical outlook, the national patriotism, the admirable homogeneity and the age-long traditions of the British, he is sincerely convinced that these favourable features have made democracy a success in Britain. These references are particularly relevant because in all the Asian countries which have won independence, in essence, the British pattern of political organisation has been introduced. But Sir Ivor Jennings rightly emphasises that every constitution is a product of the history of its people. Therefore, the local variations have to be systematically studied before constitutional prescriptions are offered to the respective countries. He repeats frequently that Bentham's optimism in the feasibility of prescribing constitutions based on fundamental principles of human character is totally misplaced.

The problems which India faces are her social cleavages, linguistic differences, wide economic disparities, low level of education, the prevalent apathy of electors and the want of a strong opposition party. These, however, are more or less common to

Ceylon and Pakistan. These defects have been stressed for quite a long time now. Sir George Chesney, Sir Fitz James Stephen, Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir Henry Maine, Viscount Morley and others had emphasised these shortcomings and seriously doubted the practicability of successfully implanting parliamentary institutions in India. But while the opinions of earlier writers were then viewed with suspicion by political groups in India, now there is no reason why the plain speaking of Sir Ivor Jennings should not be appreciated. His theme is eminently fitted for the hour; his method of approach is, on the whole, practical and sympathetic.

But the picture of the situation which arose on the wake of the great and rather unexpected partition of India is slightly overdrawn (p. 6). Considering the magnitude of the problems involved, the transitory difficulties have not proved insurmountable. Nor does the learned author seem to err on the side of discretion when he suggests that of the four countries, Ceylon alone is likely to continue in the Commonwealth. It may be a shrewd forecast; but, coming as it does, from a British writer of high standing, it may have unexpected psychological reactions.

It is underlining the obvious to say that the constitutions of these four Asian countries bear the imprint of the British constitution. History explains it. While over-stressing the excessively large size of the Indian constitutional document, it is gratifying to find the learned author recalling the fact that the text of the Government of India Act, 1935, contains 56 printed pages more than the Constitution of India. It is but natural that people who start afresh err on the side of excessive caution and yield to the temptation of putting too much into the Constitution. Nor do the 'Directive Principles of State Policy', deserve all the adverse comments he has bestowed on them. Though they do not create justiciable rights, they are not merely pious aspirations, much less 'pieces of political propaganda which may safely be ignored' (p. 20). On the other hand, they influence the outlook and practical policy of the legislatures, the public and the press. Let us not forget that the problems of India are much more complex than those of Eire or of Republican Spain which have adopted the 'Directive Principles of State Policy'. Even at the worst, political propaganda on behalf of righteous causes through the sanctified agency of the nation's constitution does not seem objectionable.

More useful are the practical suggestions made for working the representative institutions to the best advantage. It is indisputable that the 'real problem in any country is not to draft a constitution or to make the laws, but to find men and women capable of running the machinery of government'. One important prescription is the active promotion of a sense of national patriotism overriding all the differences of religion, caste, language, and economic positions. It must be conceded that some of these differences have been given political recognition. A partition of the country on the basis of religion was perhaps a mistake; a redistribution on the basis of language was much more so. But it is easy to be wise after the event. The practical need is to face the accomplished facts.

Electors have to be educated; and instead of becoming desperate over the difficulties involved, there ought to be a long-range view of the problem and a gradual improvement of the situation might be aimed at. The gross abuses connected with elections are well known. Communalism is a deep-rooted evil; perhaps the rise of new parties which transcend the communal divisions will help the solution of the problem. The question is whether the politicians of the day have learnt the lesson from the events which led to the emergence of Pakistan. Be it remembered that the majority party has to make tactful gestures and broad concessions in order to win the real confidence of the people concerned. Politicians have done much mischief, none will dispute. There is some truth in the author's statement: 'One realises how easy political problems would become if there were no politicians'. But at the same time it behoves us also to remember the good that occasionally the politicians have done. If partitions and linguistic reorganisations are products of their skilful trade on emotional frailties, the securing of independence itself owes not a little to their sustained efforts.

Proper legislators have to be chosen. A strong opposition party in all these countries of Asia is a desideratum. The system of one-party rule not only encourages intrigue within the Cabinet, as the author says, but tends to develop a complacency and contentment which are ruinous to progress. A highly skilled public service is essential. Interference of politicians with the permanent civil service is to be totally prohibited. Though the difficulties are formidable there is no cause for despair. It is heartening to be

told by the learned writer: 'There is no problem of government that cannot be solved by goodwill, and if goodwill is lacking one must take steps to create it. My experience in Asia has made me an optimist'.

Surprisingly the Index is not satisfactory. The book is an important contribution of practical value. Politicians, administrators, statesmen, lawyers and other citizens will find it useful.

K. K. PILLAY

HISTORY OF GOLCONDA: by Abdul Majeed Siddiqui (The Literary Publications, Himayatnagar).

The history of the Muslim states of North India has received a comparatively greater attention at the hands of historians than that relating to those of South India. The more spectacular achievements of the Muslim powers of the north and the more abundant sources of information available in respect of their history partly explain the difference. But it is undeniable that the Muslim kingdoms of South India played an important role in the political, social and cultural history of the land from about the 14th to the 18th centuries. The kingdom of Golconda, for instance, had had an interesting history for about two hundred years. The Qutub Shahi kings have influenced the culture of the Deccan in no small measure.

Mr. Abdul Majeed Siddiqui has provided a lucid account of the history of Golconda from the time of its rise as an independent kingdom down to its incorporation with the Mughal empire. This book is a rendering of his Urdu version of the subject written 17 years ago. The author claims to have utilised "all the sources available in Persian, Urdu, English, as also chronicles, inscriptions and traditions." A discussion on the relative values of the various sources could have been added with advantage. He has not clearly stated the reasons why in respect of certain details he discards Ferishta's version while concerning others he adopts his account as true. For example, he accepts fully the statement that Sultan Quli assumed sovereignty ever since he was placed in charge of the Telugu province (p. 20). But regarding the advent

of Sultan Quli to the Deccan he rejects Ferishta's testimony and accepts the version of the local histories like the Qutub Shahi, and Tazkeratul Muluk Khafi (p. 10), adding that these are more reliable than Ferishta. For obvious reasons he repudiates Khafi Khan's account of Abul Hasan (p. 303-8). In any case, it is essential that in books of this kind, which are not intended to be 'text-books', the causes of the discrimination and a critical assessment of the original authorities should be provided.

The political history of Golconda from its foundation by the Sultan Quli, its consolidation under Ibrahim Shah, its participation in the epoch-making battle of Talikota, its cultural advance under the enlightened Muhammed Quli Qutub Shah, a patron of art and literature, and finally its relations with the Mughals until it was annexed by Aurangzeb, are all narrated with commendable vividness. The author attempts a vindication of the much-maligned Abul Hasan. He shows also how the liquidation of the Golconda state in the face of the increasing power of the Marathas was a political blunder on the part of Aurangzeb.

It is interesting to observe that 'all the Qutub Shahi kings were tolerant, humane and just'. He claims that all the Qutub Shahi Sultans 'treated their Hindu subjects as liberally as they did the Muslim community'. It is indisputable that certain Sultans were notably beneficent in their relations with their non-Muslim subjects. Abul Hasan's munificent awards of jagirs to the Bhadrachalam and Bhramara Malleswaraswami temples are remarkable. But, adequate original evidence should have been furnished in favour of the specific details that 'in appointments to public service they (the Qutub Shahs) showed no discrimination', and that there was 'identification of the rulers with the ruled'. A quotation from even a 'modern historian' can by no means take the place of a reference to the original sources in respect of such deductions of policy.

The latter part of the book contains an account of the social and economic conditions of the people during the Qutub Shahi rule. One cannot but wish that this section had received a much fuller treatment than what has been given by the author. Golconda was rich in natural resources, agriculture, forest and mineral wealth, especially diamonds. An exhaustive study of the economic conditions would have enhanced the value of the book. A vivid picture of the social life of the Muslim nobility and the

poorer Muslims on the one hand and of the Hindus on the other, is necessary to make the social history complete. This is all the more necessary because he claims that 'Golconda evolved a new pattern of life and culture the ingredients of which are still visible to the social life of the Deccan' (Preface, p. IV). It is unfortunate that the book is totally devoid of illustrations of all kinds. None of the artistic pieces of art has been reproduced. Nor is any map provided. There is no Index, nor an Errata, in spite of the several misprints which have crept in. The Bibliography of works in Persian, Urdu, Telugu and British is, however, quite useful.

K. K. PILLAY

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH INDIA, Vol. I, 1955.

This is the first time that the Archaeological Society of South India, during twenty-one years of existence, has come forward to publish in book form the papers read before the Society during the course of the year. This volume contains eight papers read and discussed at the meetings of the Society, besides a brief account of the history of the Archaeological Society of South India since its establishment in 1935.

The first paper is that of Sri T. G. Aravamuthan, the well-known Archaeological enthusiast, on 'Temple and Pyramid and Obelisk', in which he examines the marvellous feat undertaken in raising huge stones to the top in connection with construction of the Brihadiiswara temple of Tanjavur and the Egyptian Pyramids and the erection of Obelisks or columns. He tries to show that the scaffolding adopted for taking up the 80 ton Vimana-stone of Tanjavur or the equally heavy capstones of certain pyramids or the roof-slabs over the King's Chamber in the Great Pyramid at Giza must have been of the Mound-cum-Ramp type. Though a little too long and occasionally verbose, the article maintains to the last the interest of the reader. Dr. B. CH. Chhabra's short paper on 'Epigraphy in Indian Archaeology', coming as it does from a seasoned expert in the field, attempts a balanced assessment of the value of Indian epigraphy as well as a lucid exposition of the inter-connection between Epigraphy and Archaeology on the one

hand and between Archaeology and History on the other. It is followed by a note from Sri Rao Bahadur S. T. Srinivasa Gopalachari on certain coins of the Pallavas, Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas, suitably illustrated. The coins selected are interesting and are of historical value. Since a comprehensive catalogue of the coins of South India has not yet appeared, the attempt at assessing the importance of the coins of the early dynasties is indeed useful, though the author's references to the history of the Pallavas and Cheras are not based upon current theories. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam writes on the history of the Village communities of South India from the Sangam Age down to modern times. The distinctive characteristics of the famous rural self-government prevalent in the medieval days, the admirable working of the Sabha and its committees in Uttaramerur and Manur as well as the causes which led to the decline of the time-honoured institutions are described. Dr. Klaus Fischer outlines in an unconventional manner the importance of certain discoveries in Indian art. The items described by him are those seen in a random tour; consequently, the account lacks unity. Some of the objects which have received attention at his hands are no doubt interesting, as for example, the Mithuna in the temples of Orissa, the Gopura of South Indian temples and the Jain Tirthanakara Rock carvings. The Plates illustrating some of the themes are good. Dr. V. Raghavan's paper deals with the sculptures and paintings in European Museums and some of the items are illustrated. An article which treats of the 'Antiquities of Tulu Nad', contributed by Sri P. R. Srinivasan is of remarkable interest to the student of early Indian history. A brief survey of the history of Tulu Nad is followed by an objective study of the vestiges of the different religious practices of the place. The Bhuta worship of antiquity, the Buddhist caves called the 'Panchapandava caves' and the Jain Bastis of a later period are described. He attempts at correlating certain early practices in the Tulu Nad with those of Egypt and Babylonia on the one hand and with those of the Rig Vedic India on the other. But if the Tulu practice of having effigies of priests is akin to that of mummifying the kings of Egypt, the existence of two tigers of wood representing 'Pulidevar' is not so easily explained. Obviously it has little to do with the Rig Vedic system of worship, for there is no evidence of a knowledge of the tiger on the part of the Rig-Vedic Aryan.

There is at present a vigorous attempt at tracing elements of our early culture to various sources and correlating them. It is

an interesting piece of study, but it demands careful handling on the basis of objective study, without being influenced by pre-conceived ideas. Sri P. R. Srinivasan has attempted an objective approach and he is commendably cautious in the statement of his conclusions. In the last article Sri T. G. Aravamudan follows up the theme from where Sri P. R. Srinivasan has left it. He has skilfully argued the case in support of his view. Sri T. G. Aravamudan's thesis, that the wooden figures of Barkur are symbols pertaining to the earliest form of Vedic Culture and are connected with the Harappa culture, await further elucidation and corroboration from other pieces of evidence. In fact, certain well known arguments suggesting totally different associations have to be explained, before the author's theory can be accepted.

Journals dealing with Archaeology are particularly found to be attractive. The get-up of this volume leaves much to be desired. There are misprints. The diacritical marks seem to upset the position of letters. It is to be hoped that the future volumes will in every respect prove more attractive than the product of this maiden attempt.

K. K. PILLAY

THE INDIAN CHRISTIANS OF ST. THOMAS: An account of the Ancient Syrian Church of Malabar by L. W. Brown, Bishop of Uganda, University Press, Cambridge, 1956, Pages xii and 315, Price 40s. net.

The purpose of the book as stated by the author is to make a fresh investigation of the history of the Malabar Church from an impartial and sympathetic standpoint. The significance of this book lies more in the manner of treatment of the subject matter than in the incorporation of new materials. Although the book is mainly devoted to the history of the "orthodox section" of the Syrian Christians, it also contains a brief account of the other sections like those who owe allegiance to Rome, and to the church of South India (the former Anglicans). Bishop Brown makes no secret of the fact that the Jacobites sharply divided on questions of supremacy and in consequence indulging in personal and private recriminations, have practically given up all hopes of reconciliation.

The author discounts the traditional belief in the founding of the Malabar Church by the apostle, St. Thomas, and suggests that the Malabar church might have been founded by the "East Syrian traders" of the Persian Gulf area. The fact that regular trade between East Mediterranean and South India thrived in the first century A.D., gives some credibility to Bishop Brown's views. But it is doubtful if this suggestion would totally disprove the St. Thomas tradition.

Bishop Brown devotes considerable attention to one important feature, viz, the influence of the successive contacts of foreign Christians—the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Italian, the Dutch, the French and the English—on the social, economic, religious and political condition of the Malabar Christians. In this connection the author throws some light not only on the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the various sections among the Malabar Christians but also on the rulers of some princely states of Kerala. In the course of outlining the history of the church from 1500 the author has also dealt with the various subsections of Malabar Christians, who parted company from the manifold. It is also pointed out how the Eastern or Syrian form of worship continued to flourish in Kerala, in spite of the advent of Western Christianity, unlike in England where the Celtic form of worship had been largely replaced by the Roman type.

In section 1 of Part II of the book Bishop Brown describes the social conditions of St. Thomas Christians and indicates their recognised place in the rural and social economy in relation to the Hindu and "outcaste" communities. Section 2 contains an account of the social organisation and institutions of the Christian community; the various social divisions, the Northists and the Southists, racial and religious sects, the dowry system, inheritance, and the role of men, women and the clergy. Section 3 deals with the community life and social practices of the Syrian Christians such as birth and death ceremonies, betrothal and marriage rites, education, food, dress, attitude towards omens and witchcraft, buildings, furniture etc. The bulk of this information is taken from Mr. Krishna Aiyar's book "Anthropology of Syrian Christians" and as such has little significance to-day. The author himself admits in the introduction that "a Syrian Christian bishop who kindly read through and criticised the second part of this book in manuscript, remarked that most of the ceremonies described

were now unknown to young men and women, except in a few country districts."

Part III of the book contains a detailed account of all the religious rites of the Malabar Christians, such as Sunday services daily prayers and occasional offices like baptismal service, wedding service, thanksgiving after child birth, anointing service, burial service, ordination service and other features of religious life. The account of the Sunday service in the church appears to be a factual statement of what goes on in the church without reference to the devotional significance implied in the rites.

The book also contains elaborate appendices explaining the system of transliteration of words, spelling and pronunciation of place names. Over and above these, there are illustrations, a glossary, bibliography, index, and a map, all of which are extremely useful to the general reader.

There is no doubt that Bishop Brown's book will serve as an eye-opener to the Indian Christians of St. Thomas and enable them to know what others think of them. The author observes that "if they could drive out the devil of litigiousness, and come together once more as a united body" they might "become a most powerful instrument for the evangelization of India." This work is an interesting contribution to the subject, describing in detail the history, social conditions, the creed and the main sections of the Indian Christians of St. Thomas. It is full of useful information and can be consulted with profit by scholars and students alike as a valuable book of reference.

Before concluding this review, one or two factual mistakes that have crept in may be noted.

In fixing the date of the Copper plate of Sthanu Ravi (on page 74) the author states that, "This is reckoned by T. K. Joseph as A.D., 880" In fact, it was Gopinatha Rao who first fixed this date as 880, and it was later accepted by others. But Sri Elankulam Kunjan Pillai has definitely proved with the help of Sankara Narayanecyam written in 869 A.D. (by the Superintendent of Mahodayapuram Observatory) that because Sthanu Ravi ascended the throne in 844 A.D., (M.E. 19), the Copper plate in question granted in the fifth year of his reign must have been dated 849 A.D. and not 860 A.D.

There is another factual error on pages 72 and 73 where the author states that the two places Nilamperur, near Changanacherry and Tiruvanchikulam are only a furlong apart. On page 159, line 3 it may be more appropriate to substitute 'litigation' for 'legislation.'

K. MAMMEN

INDIA IN THE VEDIC AGE, A HISTORY OF ARYAN EXPANSION IN INDIA—by Purushotham Lal Bhargava, M.A., Ph.D., Shastri, Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Maharaja's College, Jaipur. The Upper India Publishing House, Ltd., Lucknow, 1956, pages 202. Price Rs. 22-8-0.

The author describes in this book the history of the Rigvedic People, the Aryas. The book contains an elaborate account of their early home, their migration and settlements, their religious beliefs and social customs as well as their political condition. The Puranas are usually regarded as unhistorical, and "ir-reconcilable with the vedic literature, which is primarily religious rather than political. In view of the want of critical spirit of the early Indian Historical Literature Anglo-Indian writers pronounced the hasty judgment that 'Indians lacked historical sense'. But Dr. Bhargava, who is well-versed in Sanskrit literature, after patient and careful study of the Puranas, concludes that they contain "genuine matter pertaining to vedic times, though it is thickly coated with mythology". In this book the author tries to avoid the mistakes of the late Mr. P. E. Pargiter who did not give a proper place to the Vedic literature in his monumental book, 'Ancient Historical Tradition'.

After giving, in the introduction, a list of the famous scholars—both Indian and European who published their studies on Vedic subjects, Dr. Bhargava undertakes an elaborate study of the sources of information in three main divisions, viz., Religious or semi-Religious, Historical, and Epic-literature. A detailed description of the Samhitas, (the Rigveda and the three later Vedas), the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas, the Upanishads and the Six Vedangas is also attempted. It is pointed out that, "the present 18 Puranas grew out of the Vedic Purana, with alterations here and there by uneducated temple priests" or inferior class of priest-hood, and "not by Kshatriya hands as some European scholars maintain". The author then describes the value of the Epics—the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, and the Harivamsa.

Chapter III contains a general survey of the Aryan migration from their original home to the Sapta Sindhu in India. The author differs from the early historians and locates the original home of the Aryans "near some mountain range to the north of Saptasindhu, from where they descended into the plains of Saptasindhu, being compelled by a flood". This mountain range was either the Hindukush or the north-western part of the Himalayas (page 26). Also Dr. Bhargava puts forward a new conception of the Aryan expansion. It is said that a branch of the Aryans left India and settled in Persia and another branch went to Asia Minor and settled there in the 14th century B.C. Thus the Aryans instead of coming to India by these routes are said to have gone out of India to those places. The author traces their migration only upto Asia Minor and there is no reference to the Aryan expansion to the various European countries. He has, however, described the Aryan expansion to the land of the Dasas or Dravidians to the east and south.

The author asserts that "the Aryan civilisation of India is the oldest" for the "Indian Vedas are older than the European Homer or the Persian Zend Avesta" (p. 25). Dr. Bhargava makes such an assumption about the antiquity of the Vedas on the basis of a remarkable verse in the puranic literature that a period of 1050 years elapsed between the birth of King Parikshit I and the coronation of the Mahapadme Nanda. After elaborate calculations the author fixes the establishment of the first Aryan Kingdom in India in 3000 B.C. (p. 131). If this date 3000 B.C., is accepted, it will necessarily follow that the Aryans had contact with the people of the Indus Valley civilization, and also with the Hitites and other semitic people of Asia Minor.

Chapters IV and VIII dealing with "The Puranic Genealogies" and "The Families of Vedic Rishis" contain a detailed account of of the Ruling families and Rishis of Saptasindhu with their genealogical tables. In the last chapter the author describes in a summary manner the history, society, and religion of the Aryas of the Vedic Age. Although the title of the book is "India in the Age of the Rigveda", it is really the history and the expansion of the Rigvedic Aryans. The book undoubtedly provides interesting and useful matter to specialists and students of Indian history.

K. MAMMEN

SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION IN CHINA, Vol. II; by Joseph Needham, published by Cambridge University Press, Price 80s. net.

This is the second volume of Dr. Needham's monumental and scholarly study of the Science and Civilization in China. The first volume in the series was reviewed in this Journal in April 1955. It contained seven sections appropriately grouped together as Introductory Orientations. It was designed to furnish the general reader with a knowledge of the historical and geographical background as well as the characteristics of the language.

The present volume is devoted to the history of scientific thought in China. It covers "a great range of territory" because "Chinese cultural history is as complex as that of Europe." The range of interest and reference shown in it is extensive, and a reviewer can do no more than scratch the surface of a work so completely erudite and comprehensive in scope.

In eleven sections comprising the second volume, the history of scientific advance in China is traced from ancient times. In a short introduction (section 8) the author has attempted a brief survey of the various schools of philosophical thought in China.

Section nine deals with Confucianism, its general characteristics and its ambivalent attitude towards science. The major portion of this section has nothing to do with the history of science. With regard to the contribution of Confucianism to the development of scientific thought in China the author says that it "helped the germs of science on the one hand and injured them on the other side. On one side Confucianism was basically rationalistic, and opposed to any superstitions or even supernatural forms of religion. But on the other its intense concentration of interest upon human social life to the exclusion of non-human social phenomena negatived all investigation of "Things as opposed to Affairs." Therefore, paradoxically enough, "rationalism proved itself less favourable than mysticism to the progress of science." Confucianism "simply turned away its face in accordance with the attitude of its founding fathers, from Nature and the investigation of Nature to concentrate a millennial interest on human society and human society alone."

In section ten there is an elaborate analysis of the philosophy of Taoism. "The Taoist system of thought is vitally important for the understanding of all Chinese science and technology. It was a unique and extremely interesting combination of philosophy and religion incorporating also proto-science and magic. It was the only system of mysticism in the world that was not profoundly anti-scientific." Dr. Needham has examined critically the views of many European writers regarding Taoist thought and put forward his own. "We owe to them the beginnings of chemistry, mineralogy, botany, Zoology, and Pharmaceutics in East Asia." But the economic system of feudal bureaucratism in China "sterilised the sprouts of natural science and no opening was left for the growth and flowering of the scientific elements in Taoism."

Section eleven deals with the scientific philosophy of the Mohists and Logicians. They did not make any significant contribution to the growth of scientific thought. They were however, interested in the basic methods of science and even experimentation arising out of war techniques. They were also interested in studies in mechanics and optics. They sketched out a complete theory of scientific method, but the greatest tragedy in the history of Chinese science was that the Taoist naturalist insight could not be combined with Mohist logic. The Logicians were like the Sophists with their definitions and paradoxes; they were essentially abstract logicians.,

In section twelve the author deals with the legalists, who "resembled the Confucians in being interested only in the governance of human society and not in the process of Nature. Their aversion to codification and positive law was one of the factors which rendered the intellectual climate of China uncongenial to the growth of systematic scientific thought."

The next is by far the longest and the most significant section in the entire book. It contains an exhaustive treatment of the fundamental ideas of Chinese science as worked out from early times by indigenous naturalists. The author discusses here three principal subjects, the theory of the Five Elements; that of the two Fundamental Forces in the Universe; and the scientific or rather proto-scientific use of that elaborate scientific symbolic structure, the Book of Changes. The explanation of the origin and meaning of the fundamental theories of the Two Forces in

the universe and the Five Elements is preceded by an enquiry into the etymological origins of some of the most important Chinese scientific words. In table 11 are found a number of characters selected for their scientific interest. Among these, there are twenty eight technological characters which like others were developed from the daily round of primitive life. These gave the Chinese the technical terminology for proto-scientific and scientific thinking and experimentation.

The author there traces the development of the theory of the five elements in China with reference to the literature on the subject and compares it with the thinking of the ancient Greeks about the elements. The five elements were associated with Water, Fire, Wood, Metal and Earth, and all these came from the Two Forces, but they gradually came to be associated with every conceivable category of things in the universe which it was possible to classify in fives as set forth in Table 12.

After dealing with the five elements of which all process and substance were composed, and their symbolic correlations, the author explains how the scientific or proto-scientific ideas of the Chinese involved two fundamental principles or forces in the universe the *Yin* and the *Yang*.

While the theories of the Five Elements and the Two Forces were a great help rather than a hindrance to the development of scientific ideas until the 17th century, the third component of Chinese scientific philosophy, the elaborate symbolic system of the Book of Changes was from the start a handicap. In table 13, the author shows the significance of the trigrams in the Book of Changes. The Book of Changes with its sixty four symbols came to be regarded as a repository of concepts to which almost any natural phenomenon could be referred.

Section fourteen is devoted to the treatment of Pseudo sciences like astrology, cheiromancy and geomancy and the sceptical tradition. "Superstitions flourished in China just as strongly as in all other ancient cultures. However some of these theories and practices have led to important discoveries in the practical investigation of natural phenomena." Side by side, the sceptical rational tradition was evolved. It was indeed one of the great achievements of Chinese culture.

In section fifteen, the author examines the effects of Buddhism on the development of scientific thought in China. Some basic doctrines of Buddhism were antagonistic to the indigenous philosophies. The metaphysical idealism of the Buddhists was incompatible with the scientific Neo-Confucian view of the world. On the whole the influence which Buddhism exerted on Science and Scientific thought in China was "powerfully inhibitory." The Buddhist doctrine of inevitable ethical causation might be extended to cover the entire field of natural causation, but this never happened. The doctrine of *Maya* stood in the way. However, after the emergence of the Mahayana doctrine, an impetus was given to the study of the sciences allied to medicine. The author holds the view that the elements in developed Chinese Science which can be traced to Indian sources are surprisingly few but it is possible that some science was carried by the monks from India to China. The Chinese also benefited from contact with the Indian schools of formal and dialectical logic. There is evidence to show that the Chinese were influenced by Tantrism from India. According to the author, Tantrism represents one of the fields of research in which interesting discoveries concerning the early history of science in Asia are most likely to be made. The antagonistic effects of Buddhism on East Asian science are partly accounted for by the formal and psychological incompatibility of the other worldly rejection of this world with the development of science.

The progress of Taoist thought in the Thang and Sung periods is traced in section sixteen "During the Thang dynasty there was a second flowering of the Taoist Philosophy." The views and theories of the leading writers among the Chin and Thang Taoists and the Neo-Confucians are explained with reference to their works in considerable detail. Although many aspects of Chinese science such as alchemy, pharmaceutical botany, zoology and the physics of magnetism are patently Taoist in inspiration, it was the period of the Sung dynasty that witnessed the greatest flowering of indigenous Chinese science. The Neo-Confucian philosophy essentially scientific in quality was accompanied by a hitherto unparalleled flowering of all kinds of activities in the pure and applied sciences.

China in this period was fortunate in producing eminent men in all fields of scientific knowledge. Among the great scientists

of this period was Shen Kua in whose book occur the first definitely dated mention of the magnetic compass, and the first account of the construction of relief maps, with many other valuable scientific contributions. There were also eminent mathematicians who worked out the Sung Algebra and constituted the most advanced mathematical school in the world.

Chia Tan and Chu Ssu Pen were the greatest geographers of any country and any age. In chemistry, botany and zoology, the output was extraordinary. The art of printing was improved and the period was fruitful in medicine as many famous names like Sung Tzhu, the founder of forensic medicine bear witness. In two other fields, architecture and military technology, some basic books were composed during this period. All these remarkable achievements however did not bring Chinese science to the level of Galileo, Harvy and Newton. Nevertheless, it may be argued that "the theoretical foundations of the most modern European natural science owe more to men such as Chuang Chou, Chou Tun-i and Chu Hsi than the world has yet realised. The flow of techniques and inventions in the first millennium was mainly from East to West."

The author mentions in section seventeen the skill shown by the Chinese in the production of remarkable machines and instruments like automata, break or pedal carts or bicycles, automatic fan, water piping, barometers, thermometers, mirrors, siphons microscopes and magnifying glasses.

In the concluding section the author surveys extensively the main features of the history of law in Chinese civilisation. In this connection he makes frequent and elaborate references to Chinese juristic writings, and developments in the sphere of law within Western Civilisation. In certain respects, he says, the Chinese legal mentality was sometimes ahead of the European. "The utmost possible care was taken to prevent the fixation of guilt on the innocent." In comparison with the primitive ideas and practices persisting in Europe upto the 18th century, Chinese practice was more civilised. With regard to the concept of the Laws of Nature Dr. Needham has not found anything more than traces of it in the greatest of Chinese philosophical schools the Neo-Confucians of the Sung dynasty. "None of the words in ancient and medieval Chinese texts which have tempted translations as laws of Nature give us any right so to translate them." He has

explained at the close of this section why the conception of Law of Nature was not developed from Chinese juristic theory and practice.

On the whole, Dr. Needham's second volume has more than fulfilled, the expectations raised by the first. The book is a boon in its sweeping, yet significantly detailed treatment of the development of scientific thought in China. Dr. Needham has traced the history of scientific advance in China with sound scholarship combined with deep and sympathetic understanding. He has utilised to the full all the materials available on the subject and drawn in most cases appropriate conclusions from them. The volume is somewhat hard reading, but the effort is most rewarding. When the other volumes in the series are completed, Dr. Needham's great work on China will certainly be acclaimed as the supreme achievement of European scholarship in the field of sinology.

K. P. PILLAY

THE KONGU COUNTRY—being the history of the modern districts of Coimbatore and Salem from the earliest times to the coming of the British by M. Arokiaswami, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras, 1956, Pages xvi and 420. Price Rs. 15/-, Madras University Historical Series, No. 22.

Prof. K. K. Pillay, the General Editor of the Series in which the volume appears, says in his Foreword: 'The history of Kongu Nāḍu has not yet received the systematic treatment it deserves. Dr. M. Arokiaswami has rendered a piece of valuable service by producing a systematic historical account of the region on the basis of original sources'. With this judgement the reader of the book will be inclined generally to agree. Political history is fully treated and equally good attention is given to administrative, social, religious, literary and economic developments. There are six illustrations of monuments and three maps.

For pre-history or pre-Sangam times as the author calls it, he depends mostly on rather old and nearly obsolete authors and has not fully availed himself of more recent work. In early history

too much rather uncritical reliance on the *Kongudēśarājakkal* seems to detract from the value of the narrative, though it must be pointed out that the author does make out at many points a *prima facie* case for the course he has adopted, particularly in relation to Ganga history. His identification of Perur of the Jaina legends on Ganga origins with Perur in Coimbatore in preference to Gangaperur in Cuddapah has much in its favour. The identification of Satyaputa with Kosar (p. 45), the placing of *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimekalai* in the second century A.D. (p. 46) without any discussion, the statement that Nandivarman Pallavamalla ended his reign in A.D. 775 are instances of the author's omission to take account of recent researches. Few will agree that Brahmin migration to the South became tangible only after the fourth century A.D. (p. 99), or that Ophir can be plausibly identified with Kongu (p. 76). The reference to Bühler's *Coorg Inscriptions* on p. 79 is intriguing, and the Bibliography contains no entry explaining it. There are many misspellings and the transliteration is often very faulty.

The volume is on the whole a welcome addition to the slowly growing literature of local history. The book is well produced.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

Select Contents of Periodicals

- I. *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute—Annals of the—*
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 2. *Chandra Gupta Maurya in the Shah-Nama of Firdausi*, by Buddha Prakash.
- II. *Bharatiya Vidya*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, 1956, Bombay.
 1. *The Rajataranginis as Sources of the History of Kashmir during the Sultanate*, by Dr. Asoka Kumar Majumdar.
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- III. *Bihar Research Society—Journal of the*, Vol. XLI, Part IV. December 1955, Patna.
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 3. *Ajayagarh Rock Inscription of Chandella Kirttivarman*, by S. L. Katare.
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 5. *Seven Vatteluttu Inscriptions from the Kongu Country*, by K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.
- V. *Indian Review*, Vol. 57, October 1956, No. 10, Madras.
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- IX. *Oriental Institute, Journal of the M. S. University*, Vol. V, June 1956, No. 4, Baroda.
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- X. *Orient Review*, Vol. II, No. 5, Calcutta.
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- XI. *Pakistan Historical Society—Journal of the*, Vol. IV, October, 1956, Part IV, Karachi.
1. Regulations of Tipu Sultan's Navy, by Dr. Mahmud Hus-sain.
 2. Some Theoretical and Practical Aspects of the Islamic State of Pakistan (II), by Ervin Birnbaum.
 3. Islam Shah Sur, by Dr. A. Rahim.

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1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Aryan Path*, Bombay.
3. *Asia Major*.
4. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona Quarterly.
5. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*.
8. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras.
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10. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
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12. *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi.
13. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, Mysore.
14. *Hindustan Review*, Patna.
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22. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.
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25. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
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27. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
28. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
29. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
30. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
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32. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
33. *University of Ceylon Review*.
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