

SO,  
THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN GAᅅGA DYNASTY

CIRCA 1038 - 1238 A.D.

by

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ABSTRACT

In the first chapter the works of modern scholars who have attempted to write the history of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty has been discussed. The sources which have been drawn upon to write this thesis have also been dealt with. Additionally the use of aṅka regnal years in the inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty have been discussed.

The second chapter deals with some basic but controversial problems, such as different theories regarding the origin of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty, the beginning of their authority in Kalinga, the relationship between the early and the later Eastern Gaṅgas as well as their relationship with the Western Gaṅgas of Mysore.

In the third chapter some of the epithets of Vajrahasta III and Rājarāja I as well as their relationship with the Cōḷas are examined.

The fourth chapter deals with the following: Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga's relationship with Permāḍidēva; the two wars between the Cōḷas and the Eastern Gaṅga armed forces; the annexation of all territory north of the river Godavari from the Veṅgī kingdom; Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga's victory over the King of Mandāra; the victory of the Cēdi King Ratnadēva II of Ratnapura over Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga and the precise location of Trikaliṅga. Finally the erection of the Jagannātha

temple at Puri by Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga has also been discussed in this chapter.

In the fifth chapter the lengths of the regnal periods of Kāmārṇava VII, Rāghava, Rājarāja II, Anaṅgabhīma II and Rājarāja III together with the main events of their reign are discussed.

The sixth chapter covers the main events of the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III and the controversial views of T. V. Mahalingam regarding a possible invasion and occupation of the Cōḷa kingdom by the Eastern Gaṅga army.

The seventh chapter examines various subdivisions of the Eastern Gaṅga Kingdom and the order of precedence amongst its officials. It also deals with various types of land grants made by the King, his relatives and officials.

In the final chapter the legendary origins of two of the gods worshipped by the Eastern Gaṅgas, i. e., Madhukēśvara of Mukhalingam and Jagannātha of Puri are examined, in addition to the religious practices of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings and their subjects.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have included a map of Orissa in this thesis, which has been taken from H. C. Ray's book, The Dynastic History of Northern India.

In the preparation of this work I received adequate reading facilities and feel satisfaction in giving thanks to the librarians, superintendents and other members of the libraries of the School of Oriental and African Studies, the London University, the British Museum and the India Office, without whose assistance the work would not have been possible. I specially owe much to Mr. N. M. Lowick, assistant Keeper of Coins and Medals in the Coins and Medals Department of the British Museum who greatly helped me in checking the coins of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<u>A. R. S. I. E.</u>	Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy.
<u>As. Researches</u>	Asiatic Researches.
<u>C. I. I.</u>	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
<u>D. H. N. I.</u>	<u>Dynastic History of Northern India.</u>
<u>Ep. Carn.</u>	Epigraphic Carnatica.
<u>Ep. Ind.</u>	Epigraphic Indica.
<u>Ind. Ant.</u>	Indian Antiquary.
<u>Ind. Cul.</u>	Indian Culture.
<u>I. H. Q.</u>	Indian Historical Quarterly.
<u>J. A. H. R. S.</u>	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society.
<u>J. A. S. B.</u>	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.
<u>J. B. O. R. S.</u>	Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
<u>J. B. B. R. A. S.</u>	Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.
<u>J. M. S.</u>	Journal of Mythic Society.
<u>J. N. S. I.</u>	Journal of Numismatic Society of India.
<u>S. I. I.</u>	South Indian Inscriptions.
<u>T. A. S.</u>	Travancore Archaeological Series.
<u>T. N.</u>	Tabaquāt-i-Nāṣirī.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES

The subject of this thesis is the history of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga between circa 1038 and 1238 A. D. The history of this dynasty is of great interest because of several reasons. It was one of the longest reigning dynasties of India. The Eastern Gaṅga kings reigned from the close of the fifth century A. D. to the middle of the fourteenth century A. D. During the period under study they came in conflict with many dynasties, viz, the Cōlas, the Eastern Cālukyas, the Cēdis of Ratnapur, the Sēnas, the Velanādu Chiefs of Vēṅgi, the Kākatiyas as well as the Muslim rulers of Bengal. They had matrimonial links with the Vaidumbas, the Cōlas and the Haihayas. The Eastern Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III was the ruler of an area which extended from the river Nagavali to the Mount Mahendra. He had, however, also annexed Trikaliṅga to his kingdom. Trikaliṅga has been identified as the area from the upper course of Mahanadi to near the source of Langulia river, i. e. modern Sambalpur district, Kalahandi and Gumsoor Maliah. Dravidian influence was very strong on this dynasty, while the two above mentioned kings were ruling Rājarāja I married Rājasundarī, a Cōla princess. We learn from an inscription of Anantavarman Cōdagaṅga that there was a temple of Rājarājeśvara. This seems to be an imitation of the Cōla custom to build temples named after a deceased king, implying perhaps some form of apotheosis. (op. cit. Chapter VIII).

This dynasty is also responsible for the construction of two of the most famous temples of Eastern India, i. e. Jagannātha temple of Puri and the temple of the Sun God at Konarak.

A fusion between the Indo-Aryan culture of the North and the Dravidian culture of the South occurred in the Eastern Gaṅga empire. This will be discussed when we examine the legendary origin of two gods worshipped by the people of the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom, viz. Madhukeśvara of Mukhaliṅgam and Jagannātha of Puri. Another interesting point to note is that Anaṅgabhīma III handed his entire empire to Lord Jagannātha and declared himself to be a ruler of the rāuta class or a servant of the God.

The first attempt to write the history of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty was made by Ratha Sōmayaji at the beginning of the eighteenth century. He was the court poet of Śrī Purushottama Dēva of Gudari Kāṭaka line. According to his book, "Gaṅga Vamśānucharitam", six Dēvas reigned, followed by six Narasimhas, who were finally followed by six Bhānus. This book is unacceptable as a true record of historical events because the facts mentioned in this book do not agree with the epigraphic evidence, but are based on the Mādālā Pañji.

Stirling<sup>1</sup> also attempted to write the history of this dynasty after

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<sup>1</sup> Asiatic Researches, XV (1825), pp. 163-338.

Anantavarman Cōdagaṅga's Conquest of Orissa. In his work he has suggested that as statues of various gods and goddesses are found in the precincts of the Jagannātha temple, it indicates that the Hindus by worshipping Jagannātha pay homage to all Hindu gods and goddesses. He has also thrown light on various religious festivals that are celebrated in that temple. His work also throws light on the architecture of Jagannātha temple at Puri.

W. W. Hunter<sup>1</sup> has also attempted to do the same in his book. His work is based on the Mādala Pāñjī and on Stirling's articles on Orissa. His book contains much interesting information regarding revenue details during the rule of the Eastern Gaṅgas. It also contains important information regarding the intermixture of the Aryan and Dravidian cultures in Orissa.

M. Chakravarti<sup>2</sup> wrote an article of this dynasty, using chronicles as well as Sanskrit, Oriya and Telugu inscriptions. His article contains the history of this dynasty from the time of the reign of Anantavarman Cōdagaṅga till its end. He discovered the peculiarities of aṅka regnal years and a method of converting them into regnal years. He has also suggested that Rājasundarī, the wife of the Eastern Gaṅga King Rājarāja I was the daughter of the Cōla King

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<sup>1</sup>History of Orissa, 2 Volumes, London, (1872).

<sup>2</sup>J. A. S. B. LXXII (1903), pp. 97-147.

Vīra Rājendra I. He has also pointed out that traces of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga's name may still be found in Churāṅga-Sāhi, a quarter in Puri town; in Churāṅga Pōkhari, a tank about six miles south west of Cuttack town; in Sārāṅga-garh, a fort, the remains of which are still visible on the Madras Trunk Road close to Barang Railway Station and in the temple of Gangeśvara, town Jājapura, district Cuttack.

R. D. Banerji's work on the history of Orissa<sup>1</sup> also contains a short history of this dynasty. As he had not utilised many Telugu inscriptions, one does not get a true picture of the history of this dynasty from his work. He has suggested that the early and the later Eastern Gāṅgas belonged to different branches of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. He has also erroneously suggested that the Gaṅga era started in the eighth century. He has also in my opinion erroneously suggested that Rājasundarī, the wife of Rājarāja I was daughter of Kulottuṅga Cōḷa I. He has also suggested that although Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga conquered Orissa, he allowed some other king to rule there. He suggested this because he did not find any inscription of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga in Puri, Cuttack and Balasore districts of Orissa. I do not accept his view because since he wrote his book many inscriptions of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga have been found in Puri district.

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<sup>1</sup>History of Orissa from the earliest time to the British period. 2 Volumes (1930).



H. C. Ray<sup>1</sup> in his book has also dealt with the history of this dynasty. He has suggested that forefathers of earlier and later groups of Eastern Gaṅga kings, if not identical, had at least migrated to Kaliṅga about the same time. In his opinion the early and the later Eastern Gaṅgas belonged definitely to the same family. He has further suggested that the power of the early Eastern Gaṅga kings may have been eclipsed by encroachments of the Karas of Tosali. The kingdom probably became dismembered into a number of smaller Eastern Gaṅga principalities. Guṇamahārṇava or Guṇārṇava II, the chief of one of the principalities began to grow powerful towards the end of the ninth century. He has suggested that the renewal of the Eastern Gaṅga power in early eleventh century may have been a result of their becoming feudatory of the Cōlas. He has further suggested that the period of comparative weakness in the Cōla kingdom which followed the death of Rājēndra in circa 1044 A. D. possibly helped Vajrahasta III in asserting his independence.

R. Subba Rao<sup>2</sup> has written the history of this dynasty from the close of the fifth century A. D. to the middle of the fourteenth century A. D. He has clearly proved that both the early Eastern Gaṅga kings and the later Eastern Gaṅga kings belonged to the same dynasty. He has suggested the possibility of some kind of relationship between the Eastern and the Western Gaṅgas as well as between the Eastern and Western Kadambas. He has further suggested that Gaṅgavāḍi, from which the Eastern Gaṅga monarchs came is situated in Ganjam

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<sup>1</sup>Dynastic History of Northern India, 2 volumes. Calcutta University Press (1931-36).

<sup>2</sup>J. A. H. R. S. V to VIII.

district in Orissa and not in Mysore as suggested by Fleet. He was the first scholar to suggest that the Eastern Gaṅga era started in the last decade of the 5th century.

H.K. Mahtab<sup>1</sup> in his work on the history of Orissa has also briefly dealt with the history of this dynasty. He has further suggested that the cult of Jagannātha is a result of fusion of aboriginal, Buddhist and Hindu religions. The three statues of Jagannātha, Balbhadrā and Subhadrā according to him also represent Triratna or the three gems of Buddhism, i. e., Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

The aim of the present work is a discussion of the political history of this dynasty between circa 1038 to 1238 A.D. including also the religious practices of the people as well as the administration of the Eastern Gaṅga Kingdom during the period under study. I have taken into consideration the works of the above mentioned scholars.

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<sup>1</sup>History of Orissa, Lucknow University Press (1947).

SOURCES

I have used the undermentioned sources for writing the history of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty from circa 1038-1238 A.D. These are as follows:  
Epigraphic, Numismatic, Literary, Archaeological and Muslim.

Epigraphic sources:Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions

Nine Copper Plate inscriptions of the reign of Vajrahasta III were found in the Ganjam district of Orissa as well as in the Srikakulam and Vizagapatam districts of Andhra. Five stone inscriptions were found in various Mukhalingam temples.

Two Copper Plate inscriptions belonging to the reign of Rājarāja I were found; one in the Ganjam district of Orissa and the second in the Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. A stone inscription of his reign was found in Dirghasi, four miles north of Kalingapatam in the Ganjam district. Another was found in the Nīlakanteśvara temple at Nārāyaṇapuram in the Ganjam district.

Three Copper Plate inscriptions of the reign of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga were found in the Vizagapatam district of Andhra Pradesh and four were found in the Ganjam district of Orissa. The place where the discovery of the Murapaka Copper Plate of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga took place is not known.

There are over 150 stone inscriptions of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. These have been found in the temples at Sreekurmam, Bhuwaneshwar, Narayanpuram, Draksharama and Puri. These grants were made on the occasion of eclipses, solstices or other holy occasions.

There are no known Copper Plate inscriptions of the reigns of Kāmārṇava VII, Rāghava, Rājarāja II and Anaṅgabhīma II. Three stone inscriptions of the reign of Kāmārṇava VII have been found in Mukhalingam, two in Sreekurmam and one each in Simhachellam and Khilor (in the Puri district of Orissa) which contains a Śiva temple.

Five stone inscriptions of the reign of Rāghava were found in the Sreekurmam temple. Two more were found in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuwaneshwar.

Five stone inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja II were found in various Mukhalingam temples, two in the Sreekurmam temple and one in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuwaneshwar. A stone inscription of the reign of Anaṅgabhīma II was found in the temple of Anantavāsudēva at Bhuwaneshwar.

The Dasgoba Copper Plate of Rājarāja III was found in the Puri district. Two inscriptions of his reign were also found in the Sreekurmam temple.

The Nagari Copper Plate of Anaṅgabhīma III was found in the village of Nagari about eleven miles from the town of Cuttack. Two stone inscriptions of his reign were found in the Draksharama temple, two in the Simhachellam temple,

five in the Sreekurmam temple, two in the Arulāṭa Perumāl temple in Kanchipuram and one in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvaneshwar.

Three types of inscriptions of the later Eastern Gaṅga Kings have been discovered to date. These are, firstly Copper Plate inscriptions which record the grant of a land charter to the donee by the king. Secondly, there are stone inscriptions also recording grants of land charter to the donees. These are inscribed on the walls of various temples and record donations made by the Eastern Gaṅga kings, queens and officials. Thirdly there are votive inscriptions also inscribed on the walls of various temples, which record ordinary private donations, either of a perpetual lamp or of a few cows or māḍas for feeding the perpetual lamp. The votive inscriptions provide less reliable evidence because they have not been inscribed with great care.

#### Copper Plate inscriptions

While making a grant by issuing a Copper Plate inscription, it was the usual practice of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings to assemble all their subjects, who lived in that locality along with ministers and important officials of their kingdom. The kings then acquainted them with the content and the nature of the grant together with area of the land donated and its boundary. The names of the village and viṣaya where the land was located was always mentioned.

If the donation was given for the purpose of creation of an agrahāra it was mentioned in the charter. Whether the donation was free from all taxes and

obstacles and whether it included water rights or not was also mentioned.

The language used in the Copper Plate inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅga kings is Sanskrit. The character belong to the north Indian script. The dates in these charters are indicated by chronograms or words.

In my opinion all the Copper Plate inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅga kings are genuine. This is because all the Copper Plate inscriptions of Vajrahasta III contain the same vaṁśāvali. This vaṁśāvali is copied in the Copper Plates of Rājarāja I and the earlier Copper Plates of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. The same vaṁśāvali is found in the Vizagapatam Copper Plate of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga dated 1135-36 A. D. The later Copper Plates of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga present us with a different vaṁśāvali. This genealogy with minor modifications is also found in the Copper Plates of Rājarāja III and Anaṅgabhīma III.

It is interesting to note that the names of the writer and scribe are present in only three out of nine Copper Plate inscriptions of Vajrahasta III. The three in which the names are included are the Narsapatam, the Chicacole and the Boddapadu Copper Plates of Vajrahasta III. The writer of the Chicacole Copper Plate inscription of Vajrahasta III was Dāmodara, son of Mahākāyastha Sandhivigrahin Māvura. The scribe of the same Copper Plate inscription was Vallēmoja. The same persons were responsible for the writing and inscribing of the Boddapadu Copper Plate of Vajrahasta III and the Kornī Cooper Plate of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga dated 1081 A. D.

The names are also not given in the two Copper Plate inscriptions of Rājārāja I. In most of the Copper Plate inscriptions of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, the names of the writer and the scribe are similarly absent.

Names of the writer and the scribe are also absent in the Dasgoba Copper Plate of Rājārāja III and the Nagari Copper Plate of Anaṅgabhīma III. This seems to indicate that it was not considered the normal practice to include their names in a Copper Plate inscription.

In spite of the absence of these names from most of the Copper Plates of the later Eastern Gaṅga Kings I regard these Copper Plate inscriptions as genuine. This is because north Indian script has been used in all the Copper Plates. Also all the Copper Plate inscriptions of the later Eastern Gaṅga kings closely resemble each other in palaeography, orthography and style.

#### Stone inscriptions

Some of the Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions are in Sanskrit language. In other inscriptions the Telugu language has been used. Some of the inscriptions are partly in Telugu and partly in Sanskrit. Most of the stone inscriptions have been written in the Telugu script, though in some north Indian script has been used.

Even after the conquest of Utkalā, the Eastern Gaṅgas continued to publish their grants in the temples of Kaliṅga in the Telugu language and script.

In Utkala, however, they used Sanskrit language and the north Indian script in their inscriptions. The stone inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅga kings in Utkala exhibit considerable influence of the Oriya language.

The stone inscriptions of the later Eastern Gaṅga kings are dated in different ways. Some are dated in the Śaka year only. Other inscriptions of these Kings contain dates only in the aṅka regnal year. Most of the stone inscriptions of these kings are dated in the Śaka as well as the aṅka regnal year.

It was M. Chakravarti<sup>1</sup> who first discovered the peculiarities of the aṅka regnal years. According to him the chief special characteristic of the aṅka regnal reckoning are as follows:

- (1) One and all figures ending in zero and six (except ten) should be omitted.
- (2) The last aṅka regnal year of one King and the first aṅka year of the succeeding King, i. e. two fall in the same year.
- (3) The aṅka year begins on the day of Suniyā Simha (Bhādrapada) śukla dvādasi.

Again in some other inscriptions the King's regnal year as well as the śaka year is given. A large number of these also contain astronomical information, e. g. name of the weekday, eclipses, paksha, lagna etc. These can be verified with Swamikamu Pillai's Indian Ephemerics. There are some other inscriptions where the date can not be verified for want of such astronomical data. These inscriptions are in Sanskrit, Telugu or Oriya. In these stone inscriptions, after 1038 onward whenever an era year has been used it has always been the Śaka Era and not the Gaṅga Era.

<sup>1</sup>J. A. S. B. LXXII (1903) pp. 97-147.



Inscriptions of the Eastern Kadamba Kings:-

There are four Copper Plate<sup>1</sup> inscriptions of the Eastern Kadamba Kings. We learn from them that the Eastern Kadambas were feudatories of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings. The Mandasa inscription of Anantavarman and Dharmakheḍi is dated in śaka 917 which corresponds to 995 A.D. The Simhipura C.P. inscription of Dēvēndravarma and Dharmakheḍi is dated in Gn. E. 520, which corresponds to 1018 A.D. Thus it seems that where as Dharmakheḍi son of Bhīmakheḍi issued the Mandasa C.P. during the reign of his suzerain Anantavarman, he issued the Simhipura C.P. during the reign of his suzerain Dēvēndravarma. Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarma of the above mentioned charters have been identified with Vajrahasta II (c. 979-1014 A.D.) and Madhakāmārnava (c. 1019-37 A.D.) op. cit. chapter II.

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<sup>1</sup>The Mandasa C.P. inscription of Anantavarmadēva dated 995 A.D. edited by G. Ramdas. J. B. O. R. S. XVII (1931) pts. II and III pp. 175-188.  
 A Note on the Mandasa C.P. of Anantavarmadēva by M. Somasekhara Sarma. J. A. H. R. S. XII (1939-40) pt. I pp. 21-28.  
 The Mandasa C.P. of Anantavarman and Dharmakheḍi by J. C. Ghosh. J. A. H. R. S. VIII (1933-35) pt. 4, pp. 233-237.  
 A reply to the Mandasa C.P. of Dharmakheḍi by G. Ramdas J. A. H. R. S. IX (1933-35) pt. III, pp. 13-22.  
 The Simhipura C.P. of Kadamba King Dharmakheḍi dated 1018 A.D. edited by Satyanarayana Rajaguru, J. A. H. R. S. III pt. II, III and IV pp. 171-181.  
 The Mādagrama grant of Devendravarma of 1065 A.D. Ep. Ind. XXXI (1959-60) edited by R. C. Majumdar No. 7, pp. 45-52.  
 Note on Mādagrama grant of Dēvēndravarma by D. C. Sircar. Ep. Ind. XXI (1959-60) No. 8  
 The Kambakaya grant of Dēvēndravarma dated 1081 A.D. edited by /pp. 53-56.  
 T. N. Ramchandran. J. Bomb. H. R. S. IV (1931) pp. 27-39.  
 The date of the Kambakaya grant of Dēvēndravarma by G. Ramdas. J. A. H. R. S. X (1937-38) pt. I. pp. 116-119.  
 B. V. Krishna Rao, A Note on the date of the Kambakaya grant of Devendravarma. J. A. H. R. S. X (1937-38) pt. I p. 120.

The Mādagrāma grant of Dēvēndravarman is dated in (śaka 988) 1065 A.D. Where as the two above mentioned charters have been issued by Dharmakheḍi this Charter has been issued by Bhīmakhedī son of Dharmakheḍi. The name of the suzerain in this Charter is Dēvēndravarman, who is described as King of all Kalinga.

The Kambakaya grant of (śaka 1003) 1081 A.D. describes the name of the suzerain as Dēvēndravarman and name of the feudatory as Śri Udyāditya son of Dharmakheḍi. The Suzerain Dēvēndravarman, in both Mādagrāma and Kambakaya grant is described as having his capital at Kaliṅganagara.

As no Dēvēndravarman was ruling at Kaliṅganagara either during 1065 or 1081 A.D. it appears that the Eastern Kadambas became feudatories of a collateral Eastern Gaṅga dynasty which was not ruling from Kaliṅganagara. We learn from an inscription of Kulottuṅga Cōḷa I of 1103 A.D.<sup>1</sup> that he destroyed Dēvēndravarman of Kalinga. As Anantavarman Cōḷagaṅga was reigning over Kalinga at this time, this Dēvēndravarman may have been a collateral branch of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. Probably this Dēvēndravarman was an Eastern Gaṅga King reigning from Śvetaka. I agree with D. C. Sircar that the Eastern Kadamba scribes copied the praśasti of their former overlords, the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga even though they became feudatories of another branch of the same dynasty.

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<sup>1</sup>S.I.I. IV, No. 1239, p.428.

Inscriptions of Śvetaka branch of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings:-

Two C. P. inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of Śvetaka branch of the Eastern GāṅgaΔ have so far been found. From them we learn that their capital was at Śvetaka and their hereditary deity was Gokarnasvāmī. Both these Charters are undated. On paleographic basis the scholars have assigned them to the 12th or 13th Century. These Charters contain official designations of a large number of officials who served the donors of the two Charters. We learn the order of precedence among the officials of this dynasty by examining these two Charters.

Other inscriptions:-

Inscriptions of the Cōḷas, the Sēnas, the Cedis of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala, the Eastern Caḷukyas, the Kākatīyas, the Hoysaḷas and the Velanaḍu chiefs of Veṅgī have been consulted, where they throw light on the history of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty.

Numismatic sources:-

I have also examined several coins of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty in the British Museum. I have also consulted articles by several scholars who have examined the coins of this as well as the Eastern Kadamba dynasty.

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<sup>1</sup>The Madras Museum C. P. of Indravarmadēva, edited by R. Subba Rao, J.A.H.R.S. III (1927-29) pp. 183-188.  
The Ganjam C. P. of Prīthvivarmadēva, edited by F. Kielhorn, Ep. Ind. IV (1896-97) No. 26, pp. 198-201.

Archaeological sources:-

Archaeological sources are unimportant for the study of the history of this dynasty during the period under study.

Literary sources:-

I have consulted Mādala Pāñjī, Kalingāttuparaṇi and Ballāla Carita. Mādala Pāñjī is the log book of Jagannātha temple and it contains the traditional history of the Kings who reigned over Utkala.

According to this Chronicle Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga conquered Utkala from the Keśari dynasty and established the records of the Jagannātha temple. He was succeeded by his son Gaṅgeśvaradeva in 1151 A.D. This conflicts with the epigraphic evidence according to which Kāmārṇava VII succeeded Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga in 1147 A.D. (op. cit. chapter V).

In my opinion the evidence of Mādala pāñjī can not be regarded as reliable. The Chronicle further states that Kāmārṇava VII committed incest with his daughter. This in my opinion can not be regarded as true because there is no other evidence which corroborates this.

According to this Chronicle Rājā Anaṅgabhimadeo, who appears to be the same as Anaṅgabhīma III ascended the throne in 1174 A.D. after two short and unimportant reigns. This can not be accepted because we know from the

inscriptions that Anaṅgabhīma III was the fifth Eastern Gaṅga King after Kamārṇava VII. Also we know from the inscriptions of Anaṅgabhīma III that his consecration took place sometime after circa 1211/12 A.D. The Chronicle further tells us that having committed the sin of killing a brāhmaṇa, he expiated by constructing numerous temples. He is also described as having constructed numerous works of public utility such as tanks, bridges, wells, ghaṭs etc. He is also said to have built 60 temples, and granted 450 villages to brāhmaṇas as agrahāra.

The Chronicle further states that great temple of Jagannātha was erected by his orders under the superintendence of Paramahans Bajpai. This does not seem to be correct as the inscriptions indicate that it was Anantavarman Cōdagaṅga who constructed this temple. The date of its completion according to Mādala Pāñjī was 1196 A.D. Possibly Anantavarman Cōdagaṅga started this temple's construction and it was finished during the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III (op. cit. chapter IV).

According to Mādala Pāñjī the total area of the land of Anaṅgabhīma's III kingdom was 62,28000 vāṭis. We also learn from this Chronicle that the treasury of Anaṅgabhīma III contained 40 lakhs marha of gold as well as jewels to the value of seven lakhs eightyeight thousand marha of gold. This Marha appears to be the same as Māḍas of inscriptions. According to Stirling a marha of gold is equivalent

to five mashas in weight<sup>1</sup>. The annual revenue of Anaṅgabhīma III according to this Chronicle was 15 lakhs marha of gold. It is difficult to understand why the annual revenue should be stated in gold as the cowries were used as the principal currency at that time.

The Chronicle further states that Anaṅgabhīma III could muster 300,000 paiks or footmen. His army however ordinarily consisted of 50,000 paiks, 10,000 horsemen and 2,500 elephants. Probably the 300,000 paiks whom Anaṅgabhīma III could muster were cāṭa or irregular soldiers.

Kaliṅgattuparaṇi by Jayaṅgaṇḍar describes the conquest of Kaliṅga by Cōḷa forces. According to this text once Kulottuṅga Cōḷa I arranged a durbar and ordered all his feudatory kings to assemble and pay him in person the annual tribute. All the feudatory kings came except the King of Kalinga. Kulottuṅga I greatly enraged ordered that an expedition should be sent against Kaliṅga. Karuṇākara Tondaiman was appointed Commander of the expeditionary forces. The invading army reached Kaliṅga after crossing Polar, Ponmukhari, Mamaru, Krishna, Godavari, Pampa and Gotami rivers. The army of Anantavarman Cōḷagaṅga was defeated and he had to seek safety in flight. The Cōḷa forces after an unsuccessful search for Anantavarman Cōḷagaṅga returned home with much booty.

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<sup>1</sup> Asiatic Researches XV (1825) p.272.

In the Ballāla Carita Vijaya Sēna is described as a friend of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga by Ānanda Bhaṭṭa.

Muslim sources:-

Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri by Maulāna Minhāj-ud-dīn tells us that the first Muslim attempt to invade Orissa was made during the reign of Rājarāja III. According to this Chronicle Muḥammad-i-Bakhtyār Khaljī was appointed by Kutbuddin Aibak to conquer Bihar and Bengal from the Sēna Kings. He succeeded in doing so. Before Muhammad-i-Bakhtyār Khaljī went to invade Assam and Tibet, he sent two Khaljī Amīr brothers Muḥammad-i-Sherān and Ahmad-i-Sherān to invade Lakhnor and Jajnagar. The two brothers abandoned their invasion and returned to Devkot, when they heard the news of the assassination of Muḥammad-i-Bakhtyār Khaljī. The attempted invasion of Orissa or Jajnagar took place in about A.H. 601 or 1205 A.D.

Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri further tells us that a battle took place between the Eastern Gaṅga forces and the forces of Ghiyathuddin 'Iwaz Khaljī. According to this Chronicle the forces of Jajnagar were defeated. The Chronicle further states "the neighbouring rulers of Jajnagar, Bang, Kāmruḍ and Tirhut sent to him (Ghiyathuddin 'Iwaz Khaljī) tributes and (when) the territory of Lakhnor came into his possession, elephants and much treasure fell into his hands and he posted his own Amīrs in that place". This clearly indicates that as a result of their victory

the Muslims conquered the territory of Lakhnor. The Chateśvara inscription of Viṣṇu<sup>1</sup>, speak of heroic deeds by him against the Muslim army. An inscription of Narasiṃha II<sup>2</sup> describes the destruction of a Yavana Chief by Anaṅgabhīma III.

On the basis of above mentioned evidence it appears that in spite of the bravery shown by the Eastern Gaṅga army which was led by Anaṅgabhīma III and his minister Viṣṇu the Muslims succeeded in conquering the territory of Lakhnor.

However, I agree with A.H. Dani that the Eastern Gaṅga Kingdom was not a feudatory kingdom under Ghiyathuddin 'Iwaz Khalji. The above mentioned contention should be regarded as mere traditional praise and not as trustworthy evidence.

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<sup>1</sup>Ep. Ind. XXIX (1953-57) No. 16. pp. 121-133.

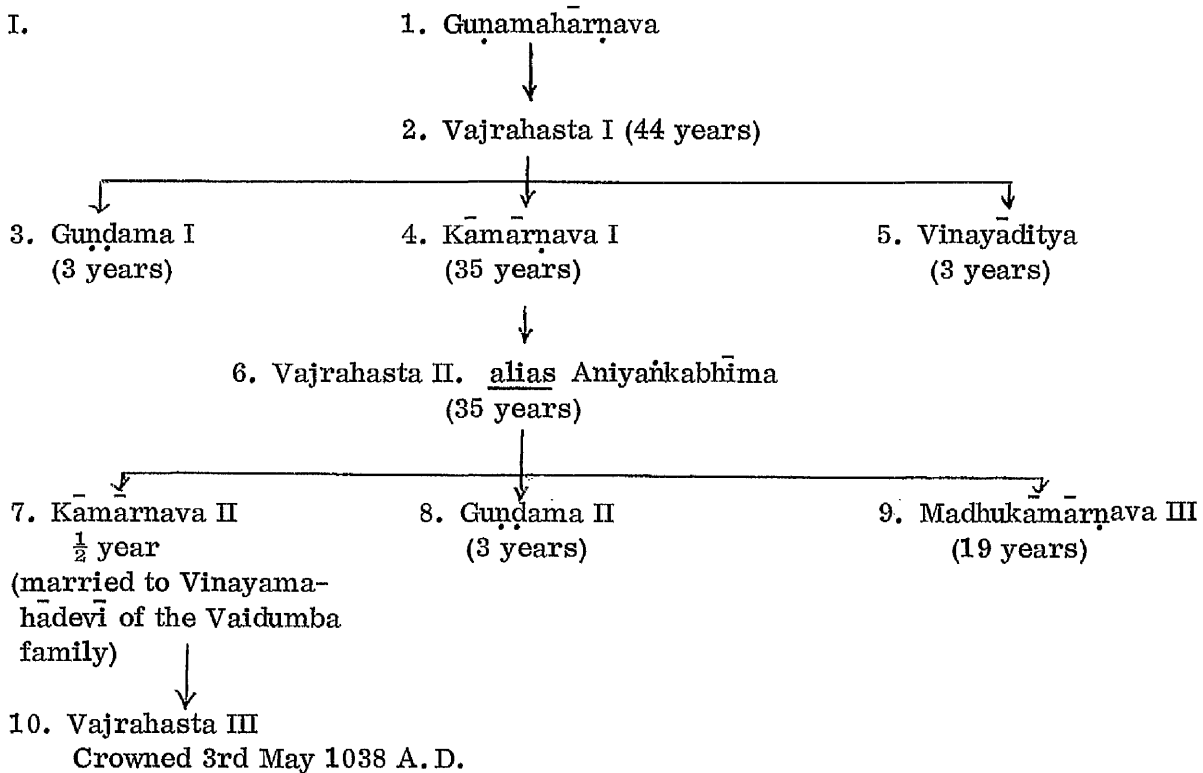
<sup>2</sup>The Bhuvaneshwar inscription of Narasiṃhadēva II, edited by L. D. Barnett.  
Ep. Ind. XIII (1915-16) No. 11. pp.150-155.



CHAPTER II

ORIGIN AND GENERAL FEATURES

The earlier Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions supply us with no pedigrees, but some of the later grants, following the current custom, provide long lists recording ancestors of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings. The following genealogy is given in all the copper-plate inscriptions of Vajrahasta III, Rājarāja I and in some of the copper-plate inscriptions of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga,<sup>1</sup> henceforward to be called the first genealogy:-



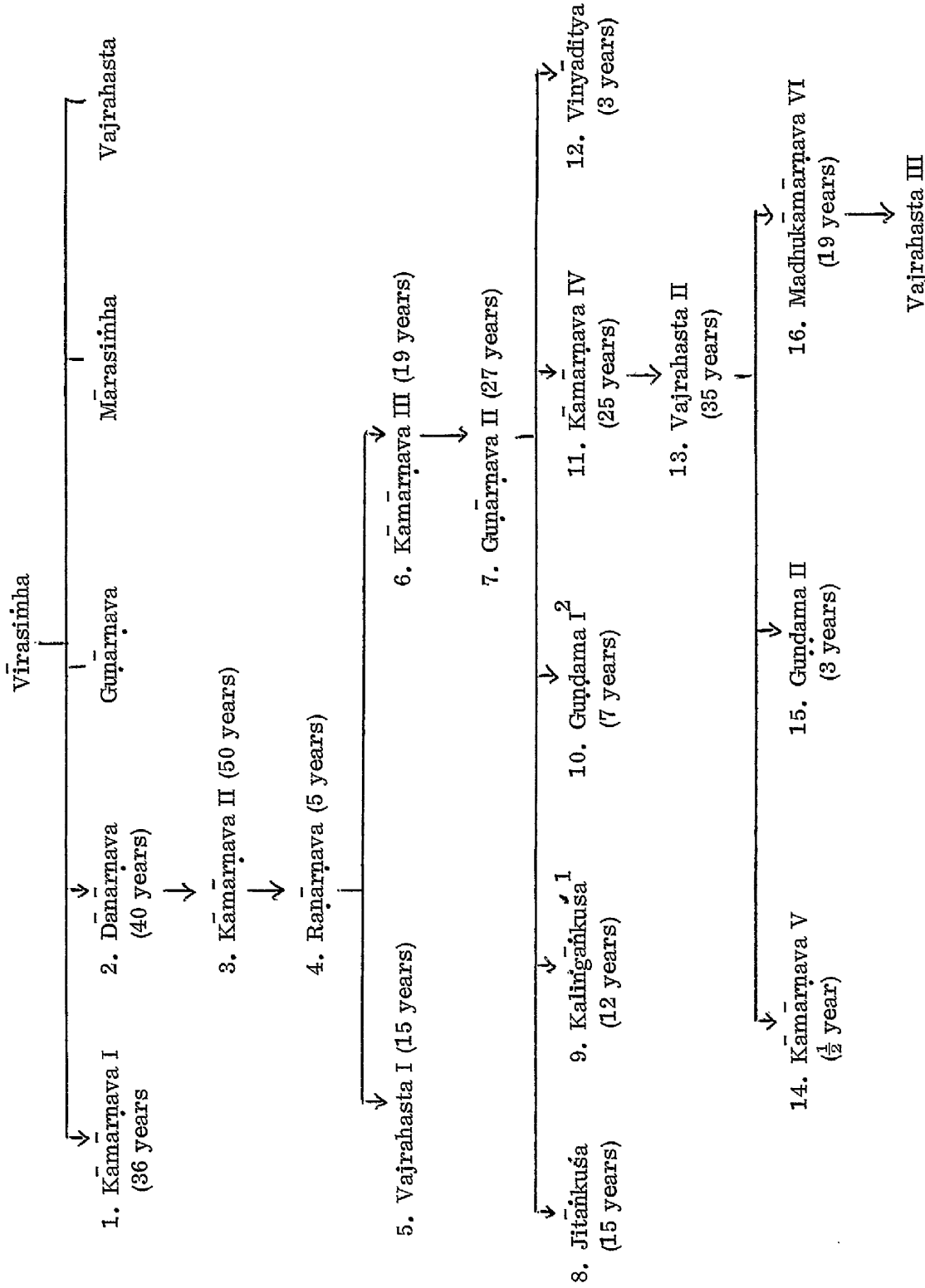
<sup>1</sup>The Vizagapatam C. P. of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga of 1081 A. D., edited by Fleet, Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89), No. 178, pp. 161-165;  
The Korni C. P. of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga of 1081 A. D., edited by G. V. Sitapati, J. A. H. R. S. I, (1926-27) pp. 40-48;  
The Chicacole C. P. of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga of 1084 A. D., edited by C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao, J. A. H. R. S. VIII (1933-35), pts. II and III, pp. 163-194.

A quite different account of the predecessors of Vajrahasta III is given in some other copper-plate inscriptions of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga<sup>1</sup>. This genealogy is also found in the copper-plate inscriptions of subsequent Eastern Gaṅga kings<sup>2</sup>. This genealogy begins with a mythical part mentioning some of the gods and epic heroes as ancestors of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings. It is Virasimha's eldest son Kāmārṇava I, who seems to have founded this dynasty according to this second type of genealogy:-

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<sup>1</sup>The Korni C.P. of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga dated 1113 A.D. edited by G.V. Sitapati. J.A.H.R.S. I. (1926-27), pp. 106-120.  
The Vizagapatam C.P. of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga dated 1118/19 A.D. Edited by Fleet. Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89) No.179, pp. 165-172.

<sup>2</sup>The Dasgoba C.P. of Rājarāja III of 1198/99 A.D. Edited by D.C. Sircar. Ep. Ind. XXXI (1956-60) No. 34, pp. 249-262.  
The Nagari C.P. of Anaṅgabhima III, edited by D.C. Sircar. Ep. Ind. XXVIII (1952-58) No. 40, pp. 235-258.



<sup>1</sup> Kalingāṅkuṣa was brother's son of Jitāṅkuṣa.

<sup>2</sup> Guṇḍama I was the father's brother of Kalingāṅkuṣa, King number 9 of the second type of genealogy.

A comparison between the two types of genealogies clearly shows that, whereas the writer of the second type of genealogy has tried to trace the origin of the dynasty back to Viṣṇu himself, the writers of the first type of genealogy has mentioned Guṇamahārṇava as the real founder of this dynasty. It seems that Guṇamahārṇava of the first list can be identified with Guṇārṇava II, the seventh king of the first list. There is some similarity in the names of the kings in both the lists following this king. However, there are several differences; these are as follows:- First of all the second genealogy traces the origin further back. In the second genealogy sixteen predecessors of Vajrahasta III are mentioned. The first genealogy however mentions only nine of his predecessors.

List I shows that Guṇamahārṇava, Guṇārṇava II of list II, had a son named Vajrahasta, who reigned for 44 years. But list II omits his name. List II gives the name of two kings Jitāṅkusa and Kaliṅgāṅkusa (his brother's son) who are said to have reigned for fifteen and twenty years respectively but these names are omitted in list I. Another noteworthy point is that the length of the reign of Guṇḍama I and that of his brother Kāmārṇava IV are stated in list II as seven and twenty-five years respectively, while list I has the figures of three and thirty-five instead. Finally the second list makes Vajrahasta III the son of Madhukāmārṇava VI, but the first list contains the information that Vajrahasta III was born from Kāmārṇava II, the eldest son of Vajrahasta II. Charters of Rājarāja I and those charters of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, which have the first type of Vamsāvali give Vajrahastā III a regnal period of 33 years. The second list however gives Vajrahasta III a regnal period of 30 years only. In my opinion we can not accept the evidence of second list as reliable. Because it is unlikely that the charters of Rājarāja I, son and successor of Vajrahasta III should be mistaken in calculating the number of years for which Vajrahasta III reigned.

As to the differences between the two lists, greater credence should be given to the first list, which appears to be more factual in its approach. Furthermore Vajrahasta III was nearer to his ancestors than his grandson. Therefore, in principle, inscriptions of Vajrahasta III may be regarded as more reliable in this respect than those of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. In addition, as the earliest Vizagapatam Copper Plate of 1081 A.D.<sup>1</sup>, the Korni Copper Plate of the same year<sup>2</sup> and the Vizagapatam Copper Plate of 1135/36 A.D.<sup>3</sup> provide the same information as copper plates of Vajrahasta III it seems reasonable to consider that list I is more reliable.

Cōḍagaṅga authorised a new type of praśasti in honour of himself. The court poets complied and included a new genealogy, which was different in several respects from the first type of genealogy.

In spite of these discrepancies there is some agreement between the two lists as regards the successors of Guṇamahārṇava/Guṇārṇava II. There is especially a considerable measure of agreement in respect of the total number of regnal years. According to the first list the total is  $142\frac{1}{2}$  years ( $44 + 3 + 35 + 3 + 35 + \frac{1}{2} + 3 + 19$ ). The second list yields  $146\frac{1}{2}$  years ( $27 + 15 + 12 + 7 + 25 + 3 + 35 + \frac{1}{2} + 3 + 19$ ). In the first list however, the sequence  $3 + 35 + 3 + 35$  seems suspect.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89) No. 178 pp. 161-65. Edited by Fleet.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. H. R. S. I (1926-27) pp. 40-48. Edited by G. V. Sitapati.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888/89) No. 180, pp. 172-76. Edited by Fleet.

In my opinion the genealogical part of the Vizagapatam Copper Plate of 1135/36 A.D. was copied from his earlier charters. Probably the scribe who copied it was unaware of the new type of praśasti authorised by Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga.

There are various views concerning the original place, from where the kings of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty came. According to G. Ramdas the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty originated from Trikaṅga. He bases his contention on the fact that in all the charters of Vajrahasta III, Rājarāja I and in some of the charters of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga<sup>1</sup>, the family is traced back to Guṇamahārṇava, who is said to have come from the family of the Gaṅgas ruling over Trikaṅga:-  
anēka - samara - saṅghaṭṭa - samupalabdha vijaya lakṣmī samāliṅgit - ottuṅga -  
bhujadaṇḍa - maṇḍitanāṁ Trikaṅga - mahībhujāṁ Gaṅganāṁ anvayaṁ. "Who wished to adorn the family of the Gaṅga kings of Trikaṅga, the scions of which had their high shoulders embraced by the goddess of victory acquired in numerous pitched battles."

This Guṇamahārṇava corresponds to Guṇārṇava II of the genealogy given in the second list. In the latter records the pedigree is traced back to Kāmārṇava I, a son of Vīrasimha, king of Kolāhalapura, the chief town of Gaṅgavāḍi. The enlargement of the pedigree probably required a change of the name of the country from which the founder had come. In the Kornī C. P. inscription of 1113 A. D.<sup>2</sup> and in the Vizagapatam C. P. inscription of 1118/19 A. D.<sup>3</sup>, both of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, the country from which Kāmārṇava I came is called Gaṅgavāḍi. This genealogy was retained till the end of this dynasty.

<sup>1</sup>The Vizagapatam C. P. of 1081 A. D., edited by Fleet. Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89), No. 178, pp. 161-165, 1. 9-11.

The Kornī C. P. of 1081 A. D., edited by G. V. Sitapati, J. A. H. R. S. I (1926-27) pp. 40-48, 1. 9-11;

The Chicacole C. P. of 1084 A. D., edited by C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao, J. A. H. R. S. VIII (1933-35) pts. II and III, pp. 163-194, 1. 9-11.

<sup>2</sup>J. A. H. R. S. I (1926-27), pp. 106-120, edited by G. V. Sitapati.

<sup>3</sup>Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89) No. 179, pp. 165-172, edited by Fleet.

Also in the charters of Narasimha II<sup>1</sup> and Narasimha IV<sup>2</sup> it is stated that Kāmārṇava I came from Gaṅgavāḍi.

The Korni Copper Plate inscription of Anantavarman Cōḍaganga (1113 A. D.) mentions Mount Mahendra to the east of Gaṅgavāḍi as the place from where Kāmārṇava I came. This indicates that Gaṅgavāḍi must itself be to the west of the Mahendra mountain<sup>3</sup>.

One part of this inscription relates how the founder of the family, had left his paternal throne to his uncle and, accompanied by his four brothers, proceeded eastwards in search of a new kingdom. This part of the inscription remind us of the legend of the five Pāṇḍavas. When the five brothers had gone some distance, they came to mount Mahendra, 'its summit reaching to the sky and its stream flooded by the rut of the elephants'. They ascended the top and having worshipped god Gōkarṇa they descended (to the Eastern side). Having defeated Śabarāditya, Kāmārṇava I subdued Kaliṅga.

The above account suggests that the original home of Kāmārṇava I was to the west of the Mahendra mountains. This was the Gaṅgavāḍi area and

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<sup>1</sup>The Kendupatna C. P. of Narasimhadēva II, edited by N. N. Vasu, J. A. S. B. LXV (1896) pt. I, No. 3, pp. 229-271.

<sup>2</sup>The Puri C. P. of Narasimhadēva IV, edited by M. M. Chakravarty J. A. S. B. LXIV (1895) pt. I, No. 2, pp. 133-144.

<sup>3</sup>J. A. H. R. S. I (1926-27) pp. 106-120. Edited by S. V. Sitapati.

Kolāhalapuram was its capital as this information is conveyed to us from another inscription of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga<sup>1</sup> (nirmāyōrjjita-Gaṅgavāḍi-ṣayē Kolāhalākhyam puram). i. e., created the lofty city of Kolāhalapura in the Gangavāḍi ṣaya.<sup>2</sup>

As Guṇamahārṇava appears to be a descendent of Kāmārṇava I, his origin, too, must be the same place. The discrepancy regarding the story of the origin apparently reflects different legends prevalent in different times. Fleet has identified Gaṅgavāḍi and Kolāhalapuram with the kingdom of the same name founded in the third century in Mysore and ruled by the Western Gaṅgas. This Kolāhalapuram has been identified with Kuvalāpuram, which is modern Kolar<sup>3</sup>. R. Subba Rao and G. Ramdas have refused to accept this identification. According to them Gaṅgavāḍi or the land of the Gaṅgas, from which the Eastern Gaṅga monarch came, is situated in the Ganjam district of Orissa. G. Ramdas has identified Gaṅgavāḍi with modern Gaṅgāda, about three miles west of Galāvelli, a village in Bobbili taluk in the district of Ganjam. This place contains some ruined temples. As Gaṅgāda is corruption of Gaṅgavāḍi it seems that Gaṅgavāḍi ṣaya existed around this village during the time the early Eastern Gaṅga Kings were ruling. In support of his argument R. Subba Rao mentions Śvetaka Gaṅga King Prthivīvarmadeva's

<sup>1</sup>The Vizagapatam C. P. of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga of 1118/19 A. D., edited by Fleet. Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89) No. 179, pp. 165-72, line 37.

<sup>2</sup>The quotation also suggests that the original homeland of Kāmārṇava I was on a plateau. As Mysore is located on a plateau this is another indication of the origin of the Eastern Gaṅgas from that place.

<sup>3</sup>Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89), pp. 165-172.



Ganjam plates<sup>1</sup> of the 12th century in which the latter is mentioned as the lord of the excellent city of Kolāhalapura. However as Gaṅgavāḍi is nowhere mentioned in this charter I do not consider that R. Subba Rao has made a convincing case in support of his view. Probably the founder of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty conquered Trikaḷiṅga after arriving there from Gaṅgavāḍi in Mysore. One of the cities of the newly conquered kingdom may have been named Kolāhalapura after the capital city of the ancestral kingdom. Similarly the viṣaya containing Kolāhalapura may have been named Gaṅgavāḍi. The Eastern Gāṅgas of Śvetaka, a collateral branch of the main Eastern Gaṅga dynasty, were ruling over this city at the time when Pṛthivīvarman issued the Ganjam copper plates, i. e., in the twelfth century.

Probably in course of time the Eastern Gaṅga kings started regarding themselves as of Trikaḷiṅga. It was Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga who revived the old tradition when a new praśasti of the Eastern Gaṅga kings was composed during his reign, according to which the original homeland of the Eastern Gaṅga kings was Gaṅgavāḍi with the capital Kolāhalapura. It could be argued that very few of the Indian dynasties were established by princes, who had travelled over long distances in order to found a new kingdom. One of these is that of the Senas, who originally came from Karṇāṭaka. Again the distance between Gaṅgavāḍi in Mysore and Kaliṅga is approximately six hundred miles only. Kāmāṛṇava I, the founder of the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom according to list II is described as going to the east, showing thereby that his ancestral kingdom lay to the west. Mysore is south-

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<sup>1</sup>Ep. Ind. IV (1896-97) No. 26, pp. 198-201, edited by F. Kielhorn.

west of the Eastern Gaṅga Kingdom. Therefore in my opinion the original home of the Eastern Gaṅga kings may have been in Gaṅgavāḍi in Mysore.

According to the second list Kāmārṇava I established his kingdom in Kaliṅga 311½ years before the consecration of Vajrahasta III. We arrive at this figure by adding up the regnal periods of all the Eastern Gaṅga kings on this list. Thus Kāmārṇava I came to rule over Kaliṅga in 726 A. D. This year can not be accepted as the starting point of Eastern Gaṅga rule over Kaliṅga because there are several inscriptions of Eastern Gaṅga kings, which belong to an earlier date.

The Jirgingi C. P. of Indravarman of 39 Gn. E.<sup>1</sup> suggests that the Eastern Gaṅgas originally reigned over (the area known as) Trikaliṅga. We also learn from this charter that Dantapura was their capital. There is no mention of the god Gokarṇasvāmin on mount Mahendra as the hereditary deity of the Eastern Gaṅgas. The king speaks of himself as a devotee of god Parameśvara. According to the charter, the king is a Gaṅgāmālakula-tilaka. In the opinion of G. Ram Das<sup>2</sup> this king did not belong to the main Eastern Gaṅga family of Kaliṅga, from which he was separated by the barrier of the Mount Mahendra. This prevented this line

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<sup>1</sup>J. A. H. R. S. III (1927-29) pt. I, pp. 49-53, edited by R. Subba Rao.

<sup>2</sup>J. B. O. R. S. XV (1929) pts. III and IV, p. 640.

G. Ram Das argues on palaeographic grounds that Indravarman, the donor of the Jirgingi C. P. did not belong to the main branch of the Eastern Gaṅga family.

of kings from worshipping Gokarṇasvāmin on mount Mahendra. According to him, another branch of the Eastern Gaṅga family was established in Trikaliṅga in the 39th year of the prosperous and victorious kingdom of the (main) Eastern Gaṅga family. He further states that the date of the Jirgingi grant is given in the regnal year of the king and not in the Gaṅga era, because it is very common to indicate the regnal year with the phrase "Pravardhamāna saṁvat". On palaeographic considerations he ascribed this grant to the early part of the 7th century.

I do not agree with G. Ram Das. In my opinion Indravarman I was the son of Mitavarman, who was an Eastern Gaṅga king. The Godavari Copper Plate of Prthvīmūla<sup>1</sup>, describes Adhirāja Indra as son of Mitavarman. In my opinion Adhirāja Indra of Godavari Copper Plate is the same as Indravarman of 39 Gn. E. Thus Mitavarman should be regarded as father of Indravarman.

In my opinion, it would be wrong to say that the Eastern Gaṅga kings from Kaliṅga conquered Trikaliṅga and established a principality there. The Eastern Gaṅgas, who were rulers of Trikaliṅga, the capital of which was Dantapura, conquered Kaliṅganagara in Gn. E. 51. Thus, according to the Satyavarmadeva C. P. grant of Gn. E. 51<sup>2</sup> the king was devoted to Gokarṇasvāmin on Mount Mahendra and acquired supremacy over whole of Kaliṅga. The capital of the king is described as

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<sup>1</sup>J. B. B. R. A. S. XVI (1883-85) pp. 114-120, edited by J. F. Fleet.

<sup>2</sup>Ind. Ant. X (1880-81), No. 5, p. 243.  
Ind. Ant. XIII (1884-85) pp. 273-76.

Kaliṅganagara. The date of this grant is expressed as follows:-

Gāṅgeyavaṁśa-saṁvatsara-śatanām ekapaṁcāśat. Fleet has interpreted the date to be 351 Gn. E. R. Subba Rao<sup>1</sup> has read the date as 51 Gn. E. because of the particular type of script and the presence of Prakrit words of archaic or early type. I accept R. Subba Rao's interpretation. There is however, no satisfactory explanation for the use of the word śatanām in this inscription. The Utlam grant of the Gn. E. 80 of Hastivarman<sup>2</sup> indicates that the capital was at Kaliṅganagara. The king worshipped Gokarṇasvāmin, established on Mount Mahendra. Two charters of Indravarman II of Gaṅga era 87<sup>3</sup> and one of Ganga era 91<sup>4</sup> indicate that they were written by the same scribe Vinayacandra, son of Bhanucandra, the scribe of the Tirlingi C. P. of 28 Gn. E.<sup>5</sup> These charters indicate that Indravarman II worshipped Gokarṇasvāmin and ruled over Sakala-Kaliṅga i. e. the whole of Kaliṅga. These charters were issued from Kaliṅganagara. However, it is significant to note that Gokarṇasvāmin is not associated with Mount Mahendra. This may indicate that the Eastern Gaṅga kings temporarily lost control over Mount Mahendra during these years. More likely scribal error may have led to the omission of Mount Mahendra from the two charters. Another point, which indicates that Eastern Gaṅga kings, like Indravarman II, were successors of Indravarman I, son of

<sup>1</sup> J. A. H. R. S. VI (1931-33) pt. II, p. 74

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind. XVII (1923-24) pp. 330-334, edited by

<sup>3</sup> The Achyutapuram C. P. of 87 Gn. E. edited by E. Hultzch

(a) Ep. Ind. III (1894-95) No. 20, pp. 127-130.

(b) Santa Bommali C. P. of 87th Gn. E. edited by Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagdev Rājah Bahadur.

J. A. H. R. S. IV (1929-31) pt. I, pp. 21-24.

The Parlakmudi C. P. of 91 Gn. E.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant. XVI (1927) pp. 131-34.

<sup>5</sup> J. A. H. R. S. III (1927-29) pp. 54-57, edited by Satyanarayana Rajaguru.

Mitavarman, was that the scribe, who wrote the inscriptions of Indravarman II, was Vinayacandra, whose father was Bhānucandra, the engraver of the Tirlingi C.P. of 28 Gn. E. If the argument of G. Ramdas is accepted that the Jirgingi C.P. belong to the early 7th century A.D., then Vinayacandra could not have engraved the charter of Mitavarman, who is described as father of Adhirāja Indra in the Godavari C.P. of Pṛthvīmūla.<sup>1</sup>

In my opinion Mitavarman, the probable donor of the Tirlingi C.P. of 28 Gn. E., founded the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty after the decline of the Guptas. He succeeded in establishing his kingdom at the expense of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings, who were then ruling over Kaliṅga. His successor Indravarman I had his capital at Dantapura, which probably he acquired as a result of his victory over the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king. The battle, which took place, is described in the Pṛthvīmūla's Godavari Copper Plate. Satyavarman of 51 Gn. E. is not described in his charters as Trikaliṅgādhipati. He is described as Sakalakaliṅgādhipati or Lord of all Kaliṅgas. The capital of this king was at Kaliṅganagara. The king is described as being devoted to God Gokarṇasvāmin on Mahendra mountain. The king is also described as having acquired supremacy over all of Kaliṅga by the edge of his sword. Thus it seems that by 51 Gn. E. the Eastern Gaṅgas had succeeded in establishing control over the whole of Kaliṅga.

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<sup>1</sup> J. Bomb B.R.A.S. XVI (1883-85) pp. 114-120, edited by J.F. Fleet.

Some scholars are of the opinion that the early and the later Eastern Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga belong to different dynasties<sup>1</sup>. One of the main arguments of these scholars is the fact that the early kings of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty used the Gaṅga era whereas the later Eastern Gaṅgas used the Śaka era; they must therefore be considered to have constituted different dynasties. This contention is unacceptable because the use of Śaka era became prevalent around 1000 A.D. among the South Indian kings. It however became prevalent among the Cāḷukyas from the sixth century onward. Madhukāmarṇava, the immediate predecessor of Vajrahasta III on the throne of Kaliṅga, is acknowledged by the later Eastern Gaṅga kings, e.g. Vajrahasta III, Rājarāja I, and Anantavarman Cōdagaṅga as belonging to their line. This becomes clear if we look at the charters of the later Eastern Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga, including those of the three above-mentioned kings. However, a copper plate dated Gaṅga Era 528 and belonging to Madhukāmarṇava has been found<sup>2</sup>. The existence of this copper plate clearly shows that the Gaṅga era was used till 1026 A.D., which is the equivalent of 528 Gn. E. The Gaṅga era must have been given up some time after that year, because no inscriptions dated in the Gaṅga Era have been discovered after that date. Abandonment of dynastic era suggests some discontinuity. At this stage of our knowledge it is not possible to suggest what that discontinuity was.

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<sup>1</sup> Burnell, 'South India Palaeography' No. 4, p.53.  
Sewell, 'Antiquaries of India' pp. 155-159.

<sup>2</sup> J.A.H.R.S. VIII (1933-35) pts. II and III pp. 180-82, edited by C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao.

These scholars point out some other differences between the early and the later Eastern Gaṅga kings of Kalinga, such as the fact that whereas the early Eastern Gaṅgas gave only short genealogies in their copper-plate grants, the later Eastern Gaṅgas gave longer genealogies. This difference can be explained because at the time when the early Gaṅga kings of Kalinga ruled, it was the custom to trace the genealogy of the donor king to one or two generations only. This was the case with the early Pallavas, Śālaṅkāyanas, Viṣṇukunḍins and Eastern Cāḷukyas. It was only during the eleventh century A.D. that several dynasties started giving long genealogies. The practice of concocting lengthy genealogies and connecting the king with the heroes mentioned in the epics and with the solar or lunar dynasties spread to South India during the eleventh century A.D. It has further been argued that, whereas the early Gaṅga kings mention no gotra as their own, the later Gaṅga kings of Kalinga are described as belonging to the Ātreya gotra.

According to R. Subba Rao it was also customary for the kings who had no gotras of their own to belong to Ātreya gotra in their copper plate grants. It is probably by this method that the later Eastern Gaṅga kings acquired Ātreya gotra.

The seals of the copper plate grants of Eastern Gaṅga kings show the figures of a bull, a conch, a trident, a battle axe, staff, drum, crescent and other

symbols. The fact that the Eastern Gaṅga kings of Kalinga regarded themselves as belonging to the lunar dynasty is proved by the fact that in the Korni Copper Plate grant dated 1113 A.D.<sup>1</sup> and in the Vizagapatam Copper Plate dated 1118/19 A.D.<sup>2</sup> the Moon (Śaśāṅka) is mentioned as one of the ancestors of Anantavarman Cōḍaganga. The Kendupatna Copper Plate of Narasiṃha II<sup>3</sup> and the two Puri Copper Plate grants of Narasiṃha IV<sup>4</sup> describe the Eastern Gaṅga kings as belonging to the lunar dynasty. Thus we read in the Puri inscription of Narasiṃha IV dated 1318 A.D. :-

Pratyekaṃ Śaśi-vaṁśa-bhūpati-bhuja-vyapāra-saṅkīrtanaṃ kartuṃ kaḥ kṣamate,

"who can sing the exploits of these kings descended from the moon.

As the moon also appears on the seals of Vajrahasta III as well as those of his successors, it may be concluded that the kings of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty belonged to the lunar dynasty. Atri is mentioned as one of the ancestors of Anantavarman Cōḍaganga in his copper plates of Chicacole, dated 1084 A.D.<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> J.A.H.R.S. I (1926-27) pp. 106-120, edited by G.V. Sitapati.

<sup>2</sup> Ind.Ant. XVIII (1888-89) No. 179, pp. 165-172, edited by Fleet.

<sup>3</sup> J.A.S.B. LXV (1896) pt.1, No. 3, pp. 229-271.

The Kendupatna C.P. of Narasiṃhadeva II, edited by N.N. Vasu.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid LXIV (1895) pt. I, No. 2, pp. 133-144, lines 14-15, edited by M.M. Chakravarty.

<sup>5</sup> J.A.H.R.S. VIII (1933-35) pts. II and III pp. 163-194, edited by C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao.



Korni, dated 1113 A.D.<sup>1</sup>, and Vizagapatam, dated 1118/19 A.D.<sup>2</sup>. According to the charters of Vajrahasta III and Rājarāja I, the kings of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty obtained, through the grace of Lord Gokarṇasvāmin (Śiva), the unique conch, the drum, the white umbrella, the golden fly-whisk and the bull crest. From the inscriptions of Vajrahasta III and Rājarāja I we learn that these kings worshipped Śiva. The presence of such tokens as the crescent, drum, bull and trident may suggest that the Eastern Gaṅga kings before Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga worshipped Śiva.

The śaṅkha also appears on the seal of charters of Vajrahasta III and Rājarāja I. However, this can not be regarded as an indication that the two above mentioned kings were Vaiṣṇavas as is explained in the inscriptions that the conch was a gift from Lord Gokarṇasvāmin to the founder of the dynasty. It is interesting to note that in spite of the fact that after the reign of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga the Eastern Gaṅga kings became Vaiṣṇavas, their seals continued to have a bull, trident, crescent and drum.<sup>3</sup>

There are several arguments, which strongly suggest that the early and the later Eastern Gaṅga kings belonged to the same dynasty. They are as

<sup>1</sup> J. A. H. R. S. I (1926-27) pp. 106-120, edited by C. V. Sitapati.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89) No. 179 pp. 165-72, edited by Fleet.

<sup>3</sup> The Kendupatna C. P. of Nrsimhadēva edited by N. N. Vasu, J. A. S. B. LXV (1896) pt. I, No. 3, pp. 29-31.

follows:-

1. Seals.

The seals of the grants adopted by the kings of both lines are very similar. They contain the same emblems, viz. lotus, crescent, bull and elephant goad.

2. Feudatories.

The kings of both lines had close relations with the Eastern Kadambas, who functioned under them as provincial governors.

3. Hereditary deities.

Most of the early Eastern Gaṅga kings of Kalinga as well as the later Eastern Gaṅga kings of Kalinga worshipped the holy feet of Gokarṇeśvara of Mahendragiri. They worshipped Śiva until the time of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, who started worshipping Viṣṇu. There is no evidence of continuation of the worship of Gokarṇeśvara after Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. His successors however, continued to patronise Śaiva shrines. (op. cit. chapter 8)

4. Types of names.

The names of the early Gaṅgas are of the same type as those of the later Gaṅgas, ending in varman, ārṇava and hasta.

5. Throne Names.

The early as well as the later Eastern Gaṅga kings probably adopted a throne name after their consecration. These names are different from their real names, which ended in ārṇava and hasta. The two names which have come to light so far are Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman. The custom of assuming the

throne names of Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman by father and son alternately was prevalent among the early as well as the later Eastern Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga. It is interesting to note that while the Nadgam Copper Plate<sup>1</sup>, Narsapatam Copper Plate<sup>2</sup>, Peddabammidi Copper Plate<sup>3</sup>, Chicacole Copper Plate<sup>4</sup> and the Arsavalli Copper Plate<sup>5</sup> introduce Vajrahasta III as Śrīmad Vajrahastadēvaḥ, the Madras Museum Plate<sup>6</sup>, Ganjam<sup>7</sup>, Chikkavalasa<sup>8</sup> and the Boddapadu Plates<sup>9</sup> refer to him as Śrīmad Anantavarman Vajrahastadēvaḥ. It seems that Anantavarman was one of his consecration names. The absence of Anantavarman in five of the copper-plate grants of Vajrahasta III may have been a mere lapse on the part of the scribe, although this explanation is not completely satisfactory as the omission occurs in no less than five charters. There is little doubt that Anantavarman was one of his consecration names. It was used by some of the predecessors of Vajrahasta III, too. The Kadamba chief, raṅaka Dharmakheḍi, was a feudatory of two Eastern Gaṅga kings, Anantavarman and his son Dēvēndravarman. The Mandasa Plates<sup>10</sup> of Dharmakheḍi were issued during the reign of his suzerain Anantavarman and

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind. IV (1896-97) No. 24, pp. 183-93, edited by C. V. Ramamurti.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind. XI (1911-12) No. 14, pp. 147-153, edited by Sten Konow.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Ind. XXXI (1956-60) No. 40, pp. 305-308, edited by R. C. Majumdar.

<sup>4</sup> J. A. H. R. S. VIII, (1933-35) pts. II and III, pp. 163-194, edited by C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. Ind. XXXII (1959-62) No. 37, pp. 310-316, edited by G. S. Gai.

<sup>6</sup> Ep. Ind. IX, (1907-08) No. 11, pp. 94-98, edited by Sten Konow.

<sup>7</sup> Ep. Ind. XXIII (1935-36) edited by R. C. Majumdar, No. 11, pp. 67-73.

<sup>8</sup> Ep. Ind. XXXIII (1960-63) No. 26, pp. 141-146, edited by D. C. Sircar.

<sup>9</sup> Ep. Ind. XXIV (1961-62) No. 8, pp. 42-44, edited by G. S. Gai.

<sup>10</sup> J. B. O. R. S. XVII (1931) pts. II and III, pp. 175-89.

J. A. H. R. S. XII (1939-40) pt. I, pp. 21-28.

J. A. H. R. S. IX (1933-35) pt. III, pp. 13-22.

are dated in 995 A.D. The Simhipura copper plate grant<sup>1</sup> of the same king was issued in the Gaᅅga-Kadamba era 520, i. e. 1018 A.D. Dharmakhēᅇi is described in this charter as Mahāmaᅇᅇalika of Dēvēndravarmaᅇ, son of Anantabrahmaᅇ (varman) of the Eastern Gaᅅga family. The difference between the dates of the Mandasa and the Simhipura inscriptions is only twenty-three years, which indicates that the Mandasa inscription was issued by Dharmakhēᅇi during the reign of his Eastern Gaᅅga suzerain Anantavarman and the Simhipura inscription during that of his son Dēvēndravarmaᅇ. It seems perfectly clear from the latter inscription that Anantavarman's son Dēvēndravarmaᅇ was reigning in 1018 A.D. However, the Chicacole Plate of Madhukāmaᅇᅇava (dated Gaᅅga year 528) proves that Mahāraᅇāᅇᅇhiraᅇa Madhukāmaᅇᅇava, the son of Anantavarman, was reigning in 1026 A.D.<sup>2</sup> The proximity of these two dates suggests that Dēvēndravarmaᅇ and Madhukāmaᅇᅇava denote the same king. G. Ramdas and R. Subba Rao have identified Anantavarman of the Mandasa Plate with Vajrahasta II, the sixth king of the first type of genealogy, who had a son named Madhukāmaᅇᅇava. They have drawn this conclusion on the assumption that all the kings of the Eastern Gaᅅga dynasty were alternately called Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarmaᅇ. R. C. Majumdar has, however, objected to this assumption. "The assumption" he writes, "rests on the fact that for some generations the Eastern Gaᅅga kings were named in succession Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarmaᅇ. But it would be unreasonable to

<sup>1</sup> J. A. H. R. S. III (1927-29) pp. 171-180, edited by Satyanarayana Rāᅇagaru.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. H. R. S. VIII (1933-35) pts. II and III, pp. 163-194, edited by C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao.

conclude from this that their predecessors were also so named, so long as we do not get any satisfactory evidence for the same."<sup>1</sup> The necessary evidence is now supplied by the sixth king of the first type of genealogy. The grant is dated 998 A.D. (Gn. E. 500) and was issued by Vajrahasta II son of Kāmārṇava<sup>2</sup>. As this grant was made twenty years earlier than Dharmakheḍi's Simhipura grant of 1018 A.D., which belongs to the reign of Anantavarman's son Dēvēndravarman, it seems likely that this Anantavarman was the same as Vajrahasta II. From these grants we get the following genealogy:-

1. Kāmārṇava
2. Vajrahasta alias Anantavarman
3. Madhukāmārṇava alias Dēvēndravarman

This genalogy makes good sense if we identify these kings with Kāmārṇava I, Vajrahasta II and Madhukāmārṇava as mentioned in the second type of genealogy. It is possible, however, to object against the identification of Dēvēndravarman, who was on the throne in 1018 A.D. according to the Simhipura grant, with Madhukāmārṇava, who was the king in 1026 A.D. The objection against this identification can be raised because according to all the charters of Vajrahasta III, Madhukāmārṇava ascended the throne nineteen years before his nephew Vajrahasta III. The inauguration of Vajrahasta III is known to have taken place in 1038 A.D.

<sup>1</sup>Ind. Cul. IV (1937-38 ) p.175.

<sup>2</sup>The Ponduru C. P. of Vajrahasta II edited by Manda Narasimham.  
J.A.H.R.S. IX (1933-35) pt. III, pp. 23-28.  
 Ibid XI pts. I and II, pp. 6-12 edited by G. Ramdas.

After deducting nineteen years from this, we get 1019 as the date of the inauguration of Madhukāmārṇava. This conflicts with the information in Simhipura plates, according to which Dēvēndravarman (with whom I have identified Madhukāmārṇava) was reigning in 1018 A.D.

In this connexion it is important to remember that the numbers of years attributed to several Eastern Gaṅga kings, as mentioned in the charters of Vajrahasta III, are not exact, but only approximate, for they do not mention any months and days in addition to the years of their reigns. If Madhukāmārṇava reigned for nineteen years and a few months, he might still have been the king in 1018 A.D. In view of these considerations there seems little doubt that Vajrahasta II, alias Aniyāṅkabhīma, the sixth king of the first type of genealogy, was called Anantavarman and his son Madhukāmārṇava, the ninth king of the first type of genealogy, was called Dēvēndravarman. But Vajrahasta II alias Aniyāṅkabhīma, the sixth king according to the first type of genealogy, was succeeded by his son Kāmārṇava II, who reigned for only six months. Kāmārṇava II, the seventh king according to the first type of genealogy, was succeeded by his younger brother Guṇḍama II, who reigned for three years. Guṇḍama II, who was the eighth king according to the first type of genealogy, was succeeded by Madhukāmārṇava III. There is no evidence in any charter which indicates that Kāmārṇava II or Guṇḍama II were known as either Anantavarman or Dēvēndravarman. But as the ninth king Madhukāmārṇava was a Dēvēndravarman, the alternate use

of Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman is established; in that case it may be agreed that Kāmārṇava II was known as Dēvēndravarman and his younger brother Guṇḍama II, who succeeded him, as Anantavarman. Thus in my opinion the Eastern Gaṅga kings alternately used the epithet of Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman till the reign of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. As demonstrated earlier, Vajrahasta II alias Aniyaṅkabhīma, used the epithet of Anantavarman. His son Madhukāmārṇava used the epithet of Dēvēndravarman. His son and successor Vajrahasta III used the epithet of Anantavarman. The latter's son and successor Rājarāja I used the epithet of Dēvēndravarman. Rājarāja I's son and successor Cōḍagaṅga used the epithet of Anantavarman. Thus from the evidence presented above it is clear that from the reign of Vajrahasta II, when a son succeeded the father, they used the epithets of Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman alternately. Probably this also happened when a brother succeeded his elder brother. The use of alternate consecration names by father and son by some of the Eastern Gaṅga kings is in line with the practice of the Cōḷas and the kings of Ceylon. However, this system was discontinued after the reign of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. Almost all the successors of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga are known to have used the consecration name of Anantavarman.

#### 6. Capital.

The capital of most of the early Eastern Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga was Kaliṅganagara. The capital of later Gaṅga kings was also Kaliṅganagara.

Both the early and the later Eastern Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga mention in their charters another chief town, Dantapura. The kings of the early Eastern Gaṅga dynasty used a pedigree, which remained the same for about five hundred years. It was Vajrahasta III, who was followed by his descendent Rājarāja I. Rājarāja I's successor Anantavarman Cōḍaganga used this pedigree for some time, but later adopted a new pedigree of his own.

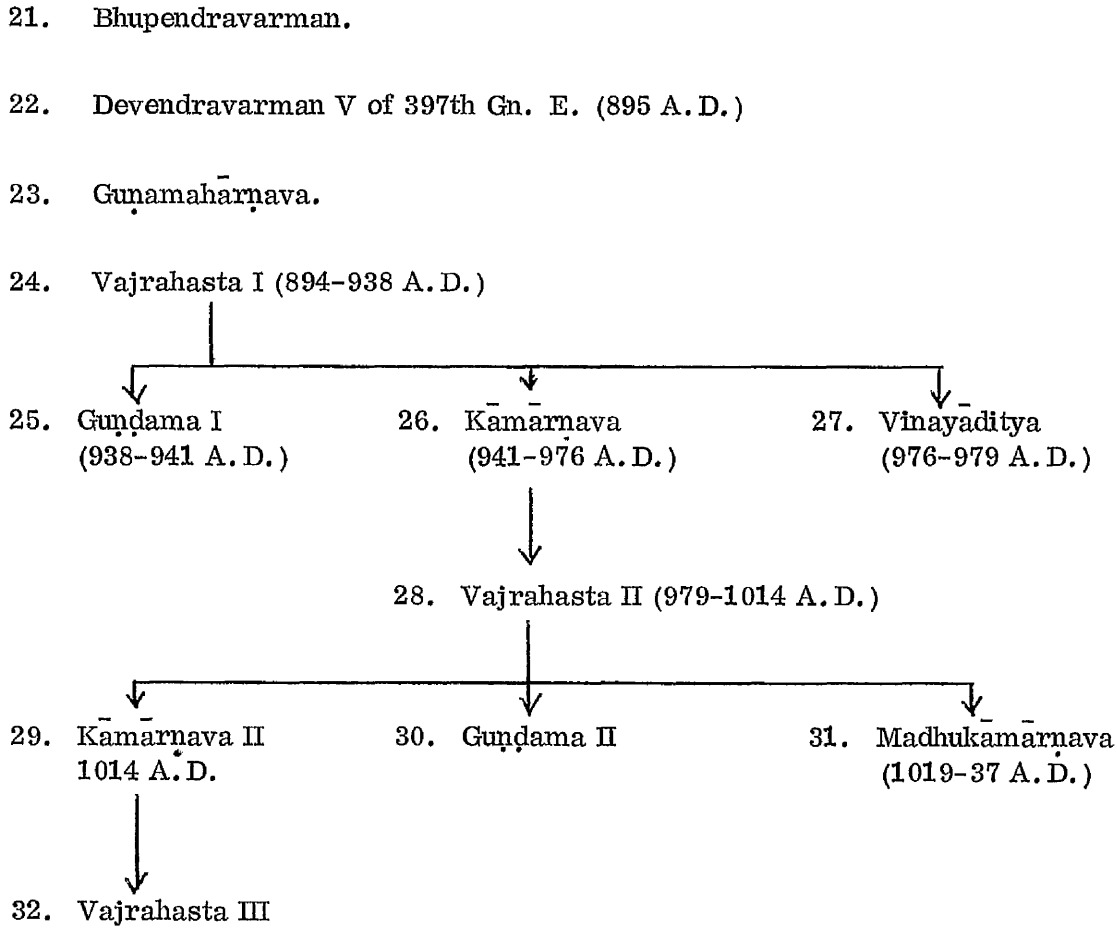
In view of the arguments given above it can be safely concluded that the early and the later Eastern Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga belonged to the same dynasty and used the same era till the end of the tenth century A. D.

After taking into account the first type of genealogy, R. Subba Rao has arrived at the following list of the Eastern Gaṅga kings.

1. Donor of Tirlingi Plates of 28 Gn. E. (526 A. D.)  
Earliest known ruler Mitavarma.
2. Trikaliṅgādhipati Indravarman I of 39th Gn. E. (537 A. D.)
3. Anantavarmadēva.
4. Devendravarmanadēva of 51st Gn. E. (549 A. D.)
5. Satyavarmadēva of 51st Gn. E. (549 A. D.)



6. Rājasiṃha Hastivarman of 80th Gn. E. (578 A.D.)
7. Rājasiṃha Indravarman of 87th and 91st Gn. E. (585 and 89 A.D.)
8. Dānārṇava.
9. Indravarma II of 128, 137, 138 and 154 Gn. E. (626, 635, 636 and 652 A.D.)
10. Guṇārṇava.
11. Devendravarman II of 183, 184, and 195 Gn. E. (681, 682 and 693 A.D.)
  - (11.a) Jayavarma.
12. Anantavarma II of 204 Gn. E. (702 A.D.).
13. Nandavarman of Gn. E. 221 (719 A.D.)
14. Devendravarman III of Gn. E. 254 (752 A.D.)
15. Rājendravarman I.
16. Anantavarman III of 284 and 304 Gn. E. (782 and 802 A.D.)
17. Devendravarman IV of 310 Gn. E. (808 A.D.)
18. Rājendravarman II 313 and 342 Gn. E. (811 and 840 A.D.)
19. Vajri.
20. Mārasīṃha.



I accept this list of kings with one exception. I could not find any inscription of a king called Jayavarma (op. cit. 11. a) who would have reigned in this dynasty or was connected with this dynasty. Perhaps his name was included by mistake.

According to R. Subba Rao, the explanation of similarity of names between the kingdoms and the capitals of the Eastern and the Western Gaṅgas

seems to be that when one line of Gāṅgas migrated to the South from their place of origin, they called their new kingdom after their old kingdom in the North. I do not agree with him in this respect because we hear of the Western Gāṅgas at least a century earlier than those of Orissa.

Although Western Gaṅga inscriptions of the third century have been found, we find a detailed account of the origin of the dynasty in the stone inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> This is in keeping with the trend prevalent in the eleventh century among the kings of the several dynasties of South India, who vied with one another in tracing lengthy genealogies and connecting themselves with the epic and puranic dynasties. According to the above records, the Western Gāṅgas were of the Ikṣvāku and therefore Solar race. They were descended from Dhanañjaya, whose son was Hariścandra. Daḍiga and Mādhava, according to the first two inscriptions, were sons of Hariścandra. The other two inscriptions make them the sons of Padmanābha, who descended from Hariścandra. Hariścandra's son, according to these two inscriptions, was Bharata, whose wife was Vijaya Mahādēvī. At the time of conception Vijaya Mahādēvī bathed in the river Ganges to remove her langour. As a result of this act a son named Gaṅgādatta was born to her, whose descendents were henceforth called the Gāṅgas. After some time

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<sup>1</sup>B. L. Rice 'Mysore and Coorg' pp. 29-32.

there was Viṣṇugupta, who pleased God Indra and as a result of which he received from him an elephant. Viṣṇugupta had two sons, Bhagadatta and Śrīdatta, among whom Viṣṇugupta divided his kingdom. Bhagadatta received Kaliṅga and ruled henceforth as Kaliṅga Gaṅga. Śrīdatta received his paternal kingdom together with the elephant, which thus became the crest of the Western Gāṅgas. Later on there was Priyabandhu, to whom the God Indra gave five tokens, with a warning that they would disappear if the king adopted any other faith. At length arose Padmanābha, who by his penance obtained two sons. When later on Mahipāla, the king of Ujjayinī, suddenly attacked Padmanābha, demanding the five tokens given by Indra Padmanābha, refusing to surrender prepared for war.

Padmanābha sent away the five tokens along with his two sons and a daughter. At the time of separation he gave his sons the names Daḍiga and Mādhava. When Daḍiga and Mādhava arrived at Perūr, which is still distinguished from other Perūrs as Gaṅga Perur (in Kadapa district), they met Simhanandi. This Simhanandi has been identified by B. L. Rice with a Jain ācārya of that name. Other scholars, however, have not agreed in this respect with B. L. Rice. This Simhanandi, who was interested in the story of these Gaṅga princes, gave them instructions and training and eventually procured a kingdom for them. This kingdom was obtained as a boon from the goddess Padmāvati, who confirmed it with a gift of a sword. Mādhava, who is said to have been a boy at the time, seizing the sword with a shout struck with it a stone pillar, which broke in two.

What the pillar was is difficult to say, (because it seems to be used here as an analogy) but one account describes it as an obstacle in the way of his gaining the throne. The kingdom thus founded was named Gaṅgavāḍi. This Gaṅgavāḍi consisted of ninety-six thousand villages. Its boundary in the North was Marandale, which has not been identified so far. In the Eastern direction the boundary was Toṇḍai-nāḍu, the area of the Pallavas (the Madras province East of Mysore). In the Western direction there was the ocean in the direction of the Cēras (Kerala). In the Southern direction was Kongu (Coimbatore and Salem districts of Madras). Its capital was Kuvalālapuram (modern Kolar) and its stronghold Nandagiri (Nandidroog).

There are some indications which point to a relationship between the Eastern and the Western Gāṅgas, but also other arguments which point the other way. The indications, which show some kind of link between the two dynasties, are as follows:-

- 1) While the Gāṅgas and the Kadambas of Mysore were related with each other, the Gāṅgas and the Kadambas of Kaliṅga were also related with each other.
- 2) The family God of the Kadambas of Vaijayantī, Palāsige and Hāṅgal is described as Madhukēśvara, mentioned in their inscriptions as Jayanti Madhukēśvara<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Ind. Ant. X, (1880-81) p. 252 lines 24 and 25.

The Kornī Copper Plate of 1113<sup>1</sup> and Vizagapatam Copper Plate of 1118/19<sup>2</sup> of Anantavarman Cōḍaganga state that Kāmārṇava II built a temple for Madhukēśvara in Nagara. The tradition recorded in the inscription is that the God manifested himself from the Madhuka tree and became known as Madhukēśvara. M. Somasekhara Sarma has suggested that when the Kadambas migrated into Kaliṅga, they brought their family God Madhukēśvara in their new home. It appears that Kāmārṇava II built the temple of Madhukēśvara at the instance of one of his feudatories, the Eastern Kadambas. According to M. Somasekhara Sarma the Kaliṅga Kadambas probably came from the districts of Dharwar, Belgaum and Ratnagiri<sup>3</sup>. This view is substantiated by the existence of a village called Palāsa (Palāsika), which is also an important railway station in the Ganjam district of Orissa. This name Palāsa is a crude distortion of the Kanarese Palāsige of the Belgaum district in Mysore.

The arguments against any direct link between the Eastern and the Western Gaṅgas, are as follows:-

- 1) While the seals of the grants of the Western Gaṅgas and Kadambas contain the emblems of an elephant and a lion respectively, those of the Kaliṅga Gaṅgas and the Eastern Kadambas contain a bull and a fish respectively.

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<sup>1</sup> J. A. H. R. S. I (1926-27) pp. 106-120, edited by G. V. Sitapati.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89) No. 179, pp. 165-72, edited by Fleet.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. H. R. S. IV, (1929-31) pt. I and II, pp. 113-118.

- 2) While the early as well as the later Eastern Gāṅgas of Kalinga were ardent worshippers of Śiva (till Anantavarman Cōḍaganga became Vaiṣṇava), some of the early Western Gāṅgas were Jains (but most were Śaivas, too).
- 3) The Western Gāṅgas belonged to the Kaṇvāyana gotra and the Solar line and claimed to belong to the Īkṣvāku dynasty. The later Eastern Gāṅgas belonged to the lunar line and professed the Ātrēya gotra.
- 4) There is no resemblance between the names of Eastern and Western Gaṅga kings.

These arguments may prevent us from formulating any direct relationship between the two Gaṅga dynasties but the similarities mentioned earlier indicate the strong possibility of the founder of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty arriving in Trikaṅga from Gaṅgavādi.

CHAPTER III

VAJRAHASTA III AND RĀJARĀJA I

Vajrahasta III (c. 1038-1070 A.D.)  
Rajarāja I (c. 1070-1078 A.D.)

According to all inscriptions belonging to Vajrahasta III the consecration of this king took place when the sun was in Vṛṣabha, the moon in the Rohiṇī Nakṣatra, in the Dhanur lagna on Sunday, the third tithi of the bright fortnight, corresponding to the 9th April 1038 A.D. According to Kielhorn<sup>1</sup>, this indicates that the consecration took place at 21.00 hrs. or at 9 p.m. The hour of his consecration at 9 p.m. seems strange. Perhaps the consecration took place at that time because it was the most auspicious time. As indicated earlier there are two types of genealogies found in the charters of the Eastern Gaṅga kings. The first type of genealogy is found in the charters of Vajrahasta III, Rajarāja I and in some of the charters of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. The second type of genealogy is found in some of the charters of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga as well as in the charters of his successors. (op. cit. chapter II.) According to the genealogy of the second type, Vajrahasta III was the son of Madhukāmārṇava. According to the genealogy of the first type, Vajrahasta III was the son of Kāmārṇava II. As the first type of genealogy is found in all the charters of

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<sup>1</sup>The Nadgam C. P. of Vajrahasta III, Edited by G. V. Ramamurti, Ep. Ind. IV (1896-97) No. 24 pp. 183-193.



Vajrahasta III, we must accept the evidence of the first type of genealogy. It is unlikely the charters of Vajrahasta III himself should be mistaken in the name of his father. The genealogy of the second type is found in inscriptions written several years after the reign of Vajrahasta III and contains myths as well as facts. Therefore, in my opinion Vajrahasta III was the son of Kāmārṇava II and not of Madhukāmārṇava III.

It is mentioned in all the charters of Vajrahasta III that the sovereignty of all the Eastern Gaṅga kings was resplendent by the pañca-mahāśabda. It has been suggested that the epithet of bearing the pañca-mahāśabda in the issues of the reign of Vajrahasta III indicates that this ruler was a feudatory of some other king.

B. P. Mazumdar<sup>1</sup> has pointed out that the pañca-mahāśabda were conferred by one king on another to emphasize that the power conferring the pañca-mahāśabda was the suzerain, while acceptance entailed feudatory status. He also argued that this system of accepting overlordship was not prevalent before the eighth century A. D. But this is not quite correct. In an inscription of 675 A. D. it is applied to Dadda III<sup>2</sup>.

Grammatically the term pañcamahāśabda can be interpreted in two manners. It could mean either "the five great sounds", i. e. musical instruments,

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<sup>1</sup>The Socio-Economic History of Northern India, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup>C. I. I., IV, pp. 617-22.

or "the five words, commencing with maha". The different theories on its meaning are based on either of the two possibilities. It is apparent from the study of the relevant data that the exact connotation of the term varied in different times and in different parts of India. It appears from the Rājatarāṅgiṇī<sup>1</sup> that the five titles, covered by the term, were Mahāpratihārapīḍa (High Chamberlain), Mahasandhivigrahaka (Minister for Peace and War), Mahāśvaśāla (Chief Master of Horses), Mahābhāṇḍāgāra (High Keeper of the Treasury) and Mahāsādhanabhāga (Chief Executive Officer). The recipients of these titles are said to have held these five offices singly. According to Bühler, the titles of Mahāsāmanta, Mahāpratihāra, Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, Mahākārtākṛtika and Mahārāja were attributed to Dhruvasena I (c. 525-545 A. D.) of the Maitraka dynasty.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that these very titles were used by a feudatory chief, named Viṣṇusēna<sup>3</sup>, who ruled in western India in the sixth century. In early medieval India there was a distinct tendency on the part of the big feudatories to use five high titles. As the titles used in these cases are different from those given in Rājatarāṅgiṇī, it may be concluded that there was no uniformity in this respect. However, the more common connotation of the term pañcamahāśabda was the privilege of using five musical instruments, described in Prabandhacintāmaṇi<sup>4</sup>. It is indicated that pañcamahāśabda meant five musical instruments, which were sounded when the king mounted his horse to meet invaders. In a story we read that a certain Kaku bribed the men,

<sup>1</sup> IV, pp. 140-143, 680.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant. IV (1874-75) p. 106, note

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Ind. XXX (1955-58) No. 30, pp. 163-181, edited by D. C. Sircar.

<sup>4</sup> p. 109-11, 10-11.

who then sounded these five musical instruments so loudly that the king's horse ran away. The five instruments, which were associated with pañcamahāśabda, were according to the Jaina writer Rēvākotyācārya and the Liṅgāyata Vivēkacintāmaṇi: śṛṅga (horn), tammata (haliage), śankha (conch), bhērī (kettledrum) and jayaghaṅṭa (bell and cymbal or gong)<sup>1</sup>. Whatever may have been the exact connotation of the title, it is certain that pañcamahāśabda was conferred only on powerful and influential feudatory chiefs. It has to be noted that the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty is said to have received instruments such as the śankha (conch) and bhērī (drum) by the blessing of Gōkarṇasvāmin. The conch and the drum appear on the seals of the charters of Vajrahasta III and Rājarāja I, which presumably indicates their feudatory status. However, as only two of the five instruments are present on their seals, this does not seem to supply a completely satisfactory explanation. As stated earlier, the Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions ascribe the śankha as a gift from Lord Gokarṇasvāmin to the founder of the dynasty. The explanation in terms of titles referring to offices does not suit the case of Eastern Gaṅga kings. Also, the inscriptions of Vajrahasta III and Rājarāja I do not reveal the name of any overlord, who could have conferred on them the privilege of using pañcamahāśabda.

According to their own inscriptions the early Eastern Gaṅga kings were established at Trikaṅga at the end of the fifth century A.D. During the next century

<sup>1</sup>Ind. Ant. XII (1882-83) pp. 95-96.

the Eastern Gaṅgas established their control over Kaliṅganagara at the expense of Viṣṇukunḍin dynasty. But in the seventh century their position was threatened by the expansion of the power of their Eastern neighbours, the Śailōdbhavas of Koṅgoda (near the border between the Ganjam and the Puri districts of Orissa), and by the establishment of the Eastern Caḷukyas at Piṣṭapura in the South. The authority of the Eastern Gaṅgas was also weakened by the rise of collateral branches, such as that of the Gaṅgas of Śvētaka. This process of disintegration continued until in course of time the kingdom broke up into five parts. According to H. C. Ray the growth of the power of the Eastern Gaṅgas was connected with the expansion of Coḷa influence in the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom<sup>1</sup>. I agree with him in this respect. According to all the charters of Vajrahasta III and Rājarāja I it was Vajrahasta II, who reunited the kingdom in about the first half of the tenth century. His success may have been due to the help he may have received from the Coḷas. Vajrahasta II, whose reign can be calculated on the basis of inscriptions of Vajrahasta III and Rājarāja I from circa 981-1016 A.D., seems to have considerably strengthened the dynasty. He was a contemporary of the great Coḷa monarch Rājarāja I (985-1016 A.D.), who claims to have conquered Veṅgi, the kingdom of the Eastern Caḷukyas, and Kaliṅga<sup>2</sup>. His son Rājendra I (1016-1043) also claims victory over the Eastern Caḷukya king and is supposed to have set up pillars on the mount Mahendra in Kaliṅga.<sup>3</sup> Whether, however, this achievement of Rājendra I should

<sup>1</sup> D. H. N. I. I, p. 450.

<sup>2</sup> S. I. I. I Nos. 40 and 66.

<sup>3</sup> A. R. S. I. E. (1896) Nos. 396 and 397.

be attributed to his own reign or to that of his father, when Rājendra I may have led the expedition against Vēṅgī and Kaliṅga as the commander of his father's forces is difficult to decide in the present state of our knowledge. It is, however, interesting to note that in the description of the expeditions led by the commanders of Rājendra I about 1025 A. D. in countries as far east as South-East Bengal, mention is made of his victories over Odra (the Puri-Cuttack region) and Kośala (the Sambalpur area along with certain western tracts), both then under the Somavaṁśi kings of Yayātinagara<sup>1</sup>. There is no mention of any conflict with a king of Kaliṅga. This fact, coupled with the earlier claims by Rājendra I to have set up pillars of victory on the Mahendra mountain in Kaliṅga, seems to indicate that at the beginning of the eleventh century the kings of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty were regarded by the Cōlas as their subordinate allies. The real founder of the greatness of the Eastern Gaṅgas was Anantavarman Vajrahasta III, grandson of Vajrahasta II and grand-father of Anantavarman Cōdagaṅga, under whom the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom became very powerful. The Chicacole Copper Plate of Vajrahasta III<sup>2</sup> records a grant, made by Vajrahasta III to Gaṇapati Nāyaka, the village of Valutavur in the Kāñcī area. Thus we learn from the above-mentioned inscription that the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga had close relations with the Cōla country. The very fact that son and successor of Vajrahasta III was called

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<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind. IX (1907-08) p. 230.

S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Ancient India, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. H. R. S. VIII (1933-35) II and III pp. 163-194.

Rājarāja and his grandson Cōḍagaṅga, suggests Cōḷa influence on the kings of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty during the eleventh century. This would be true if we regard Cōḍa as the equivalent of Cōḷa. In this connection it is important to note that the new praśasti composed by the court poet of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, which was copied in charters of his successors, reference to the Eastern Gaṅga kings' sovereignty being 'resplendent with the pañcamahāśabda' has been omitted. Perhaps at the time the court poet of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga composed the new praśasti, the latter had succeeded in asserting his independence against the Cōḷas.

According to G. Ramdas, the kingdom of Vajrahasta III extended from the river Nagavali to Mount Mahendra<sup>1</sup>. In addition to this area, Vajrahasta III would have acquired the area known as Trikaḷiṅga. This follows from the use of the epithet of Trikaḷiṅgādhipati by Vajrahasta III and Rājarāja I in all their charters.

The Cēdi king Karnadēva, according to his Benares Plates dated 1042<sup>2</sup>, also had the epithet of Trikaḷiṅgādhipati. Gaṅgēyadēva, the father of Karṇa, is said to have held in check the Pāṇḍyas, Muralas, Kaliṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kiras and Hūṅas. This seems to be an empty claim as the presence of Hūṅas in this area is very unlikely and the Pāṇḍyas are very far away. It seems, however, quite likely that some of the above-mentioned kingdoms may have tried to encroach upon the Cēdi

<sup>1</sup>J. M. S. XIV (1924) No. 4, pp. 261-274.

<sup>2</sup>The Benares C. P. inscription of Karnadeva edited by F. Kielhorn, Ep. Ind. II, (1894) No. 23, pp. 297-310.

kingdom during the reign of Karṇa's father Gāṅgēyadēva. According to G. Ramdas, Karṇa's ambitions were foiled by Kīrtivarman Candella from one side and by Sōmēśvara Caḷukya on the other side. Vajrahasta III, taking advantage of Karṇa, must have defeated him and regained Trikaliṅga. This must be the reason for the appearance of the title of Trikaliṅgādhipati in charters of Vajrahasta III and Rājarāja I and its absence in the inscriptions of their immediate predecessors.

Vajrahasta III is described as having extended the kingdom of Kaliṅga in all directions, which seems to be an exaggerated way of saying that he acquired territory on either one or more than one side. If one considers the situation and condition of his kingdom, it was possible for Vajrahasta III to extend his kingdom only towards the north-west, for the Śvetaka country had already been subdued by the Eastern Gāṅgas of Kaliṅganagara. To the north of this Śvetaka lay Utkala, where the Eastern Gāṅgas had no power till the time of Anantavarman Cōḍaganga, who is described in the charters of his successors as having replaced the fallen lord of Utkala.

The precise location of Trikaliṅga has given rise to different views. To the north-west of Śvetaka lies a hilly region, comprising Kalahandi, the Sambalpur district of Orissa and the Gumsoor Maliahs of the Ganjam district. This is the area which, according to G. Ramdas, separated the dominions of Cēḍjs from those of the Eastern Gāṅgas and for the possession of which

Vajrahasta III and Karna went to war. G. Ramdas<sup>1</sup>, therefore identifies Trikalinga with modern Kalahandi, the Sambalpur district of Orissa and Gumsoor Maliah of the Ganjam district, more precisely the area from the upper course of Mahanadi to near the source of the Languliya river. According to R. C. Majumdar<sup>2</sup> the boundaries of the area as suggested by G. Ramdas should be extended further south. R. Subba Rao's contention<sup>3</sup> that Trikalinga extended from the Ganges in the North to the Godavari in the South is unacceptable because the first Eastern Gaṅga monarch, whose dominions extended over an area situated between Ganges in the North and Godavari in the South was Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. Vajrahasta III can not be described as having reigned over a kingdom between Ganges and Godavari, because the Keśari dynasty was ruling over Utkala during the reign of Vajrahasta III. As stated earlier, it was Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, "who replaced the fallen lord of Utkala". The identification of Trikalinga by G. Ramdas seems to be correct.

According to all the charters of Vajrahasta III his mother's name was Vinayamahādēvī of the Vaidumba family. In the inscriptions of Vajrahasta's son Rājarāja I<sup>4</sup>, however, the name of the latter's mother is given as Anaṅgamahādēvī. A number of queens of Vajrahasta III are known from inscriptions. A stone

<sup>1</sup>J. A. H. R. S. I (1926-27) pp. 16-23.

<sup>2</sup>Ep. Ind. XXIII (1935-36) No. 11 pp. 67-73, edited by R. C. Majumdar.

<sup>3</sup>J. A. H. R. S. VI (1931-33) p. 203.

<sup>4</sup>The Galavalli C. P. of Rājarāja I, edited by D. C. Sircar  
Ep. Ind. XXI (1956-60) No. 24 pp. 187-196.



inscription in the Madhukēśvara temple dated 1068 A.D.<sup>1</sup> reveals that Vijayamahādevī, who was a daughter of Haihaya king, was married to Vajrahasta III. Another inscription in the same temple records the gift of a perpetual lamp by Pr̥thvīmahādevī, the chief queen of Vajrahasta III<sup>2</sup>. Probably the chief queen Pr̥thvīmahādevī had no son; therefore the son of Anaṅgamahādevī, Rājarāja I, succeeded Vajrahasta III as king of Kalinga. No inscription mentions a brother of Rājarāja I. Therefore, it can be presumed that Rājarāja I was the only son of Vajrahasta III by one of the chief queens. The Nadgam Copper Plate of Vajrahasta III of 1057<sup>3</sup> reveals that he had a son-in-law, named Paṅgu Somayya, who was also a commander in his army. We also learn from the above-mentioned charter that Śrikanṭha Nāyaka was the father of Paṅgu Somayya. As the title of nāyaka was held only by military officers at this time, it seems quite likely that Śrikanṭha nāyaka was also serving Vajrahasta III as an officer in the latter's army. The Chicacole Copper Plate of Vajrahasta III<sup>4</sup> records a grant made by Vajrahasta III to Ādityacōḍa, the grandson of Choṭṭachodapa and his Vaidumba queen. The donee could have been a close relative of Vajrahasta III as the mother of Vajrahasta III was a Vaidumba princess. Another inscription of the reign of Vajrahasta III, dated 1058<sup>5</sup>, refers to a donation by Rekama, who is described

<sup>1</sup> S.I.I. V No. 1120 p. 412, A.R. No. 248 of 1896.

<sup>2</sup> S.I.I. V. No. 1122 p. 412.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Ind. IV (1896-97) No. 24 pp. 183-93. Edited by G.V. Ramamurti.

<sup>4</sup> J.A.H.R.S. VIII (1933-35) II and III, pp. 163-194. Edited by C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao.

<sup>5</sup> S.I.I. V, No. 1123 p. 412.

as the wife of Kapayanāyaka. Presumably Kapayanāyaka also was a commander in the army of Vajrahasta III. Another inscription of the time of this king records the gift of a perpetual lamp by Gundama Nāyaki<sup>1</sup>, the wife of Madhuriya, who is also described as a commander in the king's army. This inscription is dated in the thirty-ninth aṅka or thirty-third actual regnal year, which corresponds to 1070 A. D. Another inscription of Vajrahasta III, dated in his thirty-fifth aṅka or thirtieth regnal year<sup>2</sup>, i. e. 1068 A. D., records a gift to Madhukēśvara by an inhabitant living on the banks of the river Godavari. We learn from the charters of Rājarāja I that Vajrahasta III reigned for 33 years. Therefore, as his consecration took place on 9th April 1038 A. D., his reign must have come to an end in 1070. This is confirmed by the fact that no inscriptions belonging to his reign are found after 1070. Also, according to the charters of Rājarāja I, his consecration as king took place in Śaka 992, Jyēṣṭha Sudi 8, Thursday Uttaraphālgunī nakṣatra, Simha lagna. The details correspond to Thursday, May 20, 1070 A. D. It is stated in the charters of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga and his successors that this king would have defeated the Cōḷas and married Rājasundarī, a daughter of the defeated Cōḷa king<sup>3</sup>. According to the charters of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, the name of the defeated Cōḷa king was Rājendracōḷa<sup>4</sup>. According to M. Chakravarti<sup>5</sup>, Rājarāja I married Vīra Rājendra's daughter.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid, No. 1121 p. 412.

<sup>2</sup>S.I.I. V, No. , 1133 p. 415.

<sup>3</sup>The Vizagapatam C. P. of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, edited by Fleet. Ind. Ant. (1888-89) No. 179 pp. 165-72.

<sup>4</sup>J.A.H.R.S. VIII (1933-35) p. 166.

<sup>5</sup>J.A.S.B. LXXII (1903) p. 108.

R. D. Banerji<sup>1</sup>, however, followed Kielhorn in identifying the Cōḷa king, whose daughter was Rājasundarī, with Rājendra Cōḷa II, alias Kulottuṅga Cōḷa I. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya have taken the same view<sup>2</sup>. According to charters of Anantavarman Cōḷagaṅga 'Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman I first became the husband of the goddess of victory in a battle with the Dramilas and then wedded Rājasundarī, the daughter of the Cōḷa king, and when Vijayāditya, beginning to grow old, left (the country of) Vēṅgī as if he were a sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Cōḷas, he, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the Western horizon'<sup>3</sup>. In my opinion the word Cōḷas has been used for the Cōḷas in this inscription.

In order to cement the alliance between Vikramāditya, the younger brother of Someśvara II, and himself, Vīra Rājendra married one of his daughters to him. Rājarāja I of Kaliṅga, who was another ally of Vikramāditya, received another daughter of Vīra Rājendra in marriage, whose name was Rājasundarī. K. R. Subramanyam has taken the view<sup>4</sup> that Vīra Rājendra married his daughter Rājasundarī to the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja I after his expedition to Vēṅgī, which he undertook before his fourth regnal year. An inscription of Vīra Rājendra of 1063 A. D.<sup>5</sup> at Tiruvenkaḍu mentions the Cōḷa victory in Vēṅgī. Another

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<sup>1</sup> History of Orissa, I, p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> G. Yazdani (ed.), Early History of the Deccan. II. (1960) p. 496.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89) No. 179 pp. 165-172, lines 86-89.

<sup>4</sup> J. A. H. R. S. I (1926-27) pp. 197-202.

<sup>5</sup> A. R. S. I. E. (1896), No. 193.

inscription of Vīra Rājendra's 1065 A. D. at Karuvūr<sup>1</sup> mentions his victory over the army sent to Vēṅgī by Vikramāditya. It has been suggested by K. R. Subramanyam that the reason why the Cōḷa army had been defeated by the Western Cāḷukyas, when Vēṅgī was attacked for the first time, was probably the existence of an alliance between the Western Cāḷukyas, the Eastern Gaṅgas and Vijayāditya VII of Vēṅgī. As a diplomatic move, Vīra Rājendra, according to K. R. Subramanyam, married Rājasundarī to Rājarāja I, after conquering Kaliṅga in his second expedition, before his fourth regnal year. His motive was to isolate the Eastern Gaṅga kings from the Western Cāḷukyas and Vijayāditya VII. As stated earlier, Rājarāja I's inauguration took place in May 1070. So if we accept the suggestion put forward by K. R. Subramanyam that the Cōḷa king Vīra Rājendra (1063-1069 A. D.) in his second expedition to Vēṅgī and before his fourth regnal year married Rājasundarī to Rājarāja I of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty, then we must also accept the fact that Rājarāja I married Rājasundarī before he was inaugurated as the Eastern Gaṅga king. The reason for Rājarāja I going to war against the Cōḷas seems to be two-sided: the ostensible reason may have been that Rājarāja I (of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty) wanted to help Vijayāditya VII of the Eastern Cāḷukya dynasty to retain his throne. But the real reason probably was that Rājarāja I wanted to assert his independence from the Cōḷas. Rājarāja I is described in the charters<sup>2</sup> of his successors as having offered help to Vijayāditya VII at the end of his life. The charters state that "when Vijayāditya, beginning to grow old,

<sup>1</sup> A. R. S. I. E. (1890) No. 58.

<sup>2</sup> The Vizagapatam C. P. of Anantavarman Cōḷaganga edited by Fleet. Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89) No. 179 pp. 165-72, lines 86-89.

left the country of Vēṅgī, as if he were the sun leaving the sky and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Coḍas Rājarāja of Kaliṅganagara caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the Western Region", that is Vēṅgī, which was situated to the south-west of Kaliṅga. This event must have taken place before 1075/76 A. D. because the Dirghasi inscription of Vanapati<sup>1</sup>, which is dated 1075/76 A. D., mentions the fact that Banapati or Vanapati, who appears to have been the commander in chief of Rājarāja's forces, defeated the Coḍas. It appears that another war between the Eastern Gaṅga forces and the Coḷas took place. The reason for this war may have been the wish of the Coḷa emperor Kulottuṅga I to remove his uncle Vijayāditya from the throne of Vēṅgī and to become king of Vēṅgī as well as of the Coḷa kingdom. It appears that because of mediation by Rājarāja I between Kulottuṅga I and Vijayāditya VII the latter was allowed to continue as king of Vēṅgī. As the only son of Vijayāditya VII was already dead, Kulottuṅga I was in a position to be generous to his paternal uncle.

However, Vanapati claims in the same inscription that he defeated the king of Vēṅgī several times. He also claims to have acquired all the wealth of the king of Vēṅgī. In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to understand why Rājarāja I allowed Vanapati to invade Vēṅgī several times. This appears strange as it was Rājarāja I, who was responsible for the continuance of Vijayāditya VII as the king of Vēṅgī.

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<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind. IV (1896-97) No. 45 pp. 314-18. Edited by G.V. Ramamurti.

It has been suggested by Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya<sup>1</sup> that Rājarāja I was married to the daughter of Kulottuṅga Cōla I. According to this theory, after Vīra Rajendra had bestowed Vēṅgī on Vijayāditya, his nephew Rājendra attempted to conquer the throne of the country for himself. This led to Vijayāditya's flight from Vēṅgī to the court of the Eastern Gaṅgas. As soon as Rājendra had left Vēṅgī in order to claim the Cōla throne, Rājarāja I invaded Vēṅgī to restore Vijayāditya VII on the Vēṅgī throne and make an end to Cōla supremacy. As Kulottuṅga I was then busy in counteracting the designs of the Western Cālukyas, he could not send any reinforcements. The Cōla army suffered a defeat, though not a serious one.

According to Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkatarmayya, Kulottuṅga I subsequently married his daughter Rājasundarī to the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja I. The motive behind this action of Kulottuṅga I was to convert the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja I into a valuable ally of the Cōlas. In my view the identification of the father of Rājasundarī with Kulottuṅga Cōla I is not correct. There are several inscriptions of Kulottuṅga I<sup>2</sup>, which describe two invasions of Kaliṅga with the purpose of subduing a revolt. The date of the first invasion is not known, but according to Nilakanta Sastri<sup>3</sup>, the second invasion by Kulottuṅga I

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<sup>1</sup>G. Yazdani (ed.), Early History of the Deccan, II, 1960, p. 495.

<sup>2</sup>A.R.S.I.E. (1892) No. 44.

<sup>3</sup>The Cōlas, II, pt. I, p. 35.

took place in 1110 A.D. It appears unlikely that if Anantavarman Cōḍaganga was the grandson of Kulottuṅga I, the latter should have gone twice to war with him. On the other hand, if we accept the argument that Anantavarman Cōḍaganga was a grandson of Vīra Rājendra I, the relationship between Anantavarman Cōḍaganga and Kulottuṅga I becomes a more distant one, so that the possibility of war between the Cōḷas and the Eastern Gāṅgas would by no means be excluded. It seems therefore more likely that Rājasundarī was a daughter of Vīra Rājendra. It is distinctly mentioned in the records of Anantavarman Cōḍaganga<sup>1</sup> that Rājarāja I married Rājasundarī, who was a daughter of Rājendracōḷa. Rājendra was the Eastern Cāḷukya name of Kulottuṅga I. But the inscriptions distinctly refer to Rājendracōḷasya tanayā Rājasundarī. There is no mention of any Eastern Cāḷukya epithets, which would be necessary to prove the identification of Rājendra Cōḷa with Kulottuṅga I of the Eastern Cāḷukya and Cōḷa dynasty. Therefore we must accept the identification of Rājasundarī's father with Vīra Rājendra.

In the Dirghasi inscription<sup>2</sup>, Vanapati, the brahmana general of Rājarāja I, declares that he defeated in war the kings of the Vēṅgī country, Kimidi, Kośala, the Gidrisingi and the Oḍḍa country. Vanapati's exploits with the affairs of the Vēṅgī country have already been dealt with. Kośala corresponds to the upper valley of the river Mahanadi and its tributaries. Oḍḍa signifies

<sup>1</sup>The Korni C. P. of Anantavarman Cōḍaganga dated 1081 A.D. Edited by G.V. Sitapati. J.A.H.R.S. I (1926-27) pp. 106-120.

<sup>2</sup>Ep. Ind. IV (1896-97) No. 45, pp. 314-318, Edited by G.V. Ramamurti.

Utkāḷa or modern Orissa. Kimiḍi is located in the Ganjam district. Giḍrisingi cannot, however, be identified. It seems that as a result of the victory achieved by Vanapati over the above mentioned kings no territory was ceded to the Eastern Gāṅgas. Therefore, we must conclude that these invasions were of the nature of the mere raids.

According to the charters of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, Rājarāja I reigned for eight years. As the inauguration of Rājarāja I took place in May 1070 A. D. , he must have reigned till 1078 A. D.



CHAPTER IV

ANANTAVARMAN CĪDAGAᅅGA (c. 1078-1147 A.D.)

According to the Vizagapatam Copper Plate of Anantavarman CĪdagaᅅga dated 1081 A.D.<sup>1</sup> the consecration of Anantavarman CĪdagaᅅga took place in Śaka 999, while the Sun was standing in the Kumbha i. e. in the solar month Phālguna, in the bright fortnight on Saturday joined with the third tithi under the Revatī Nakᅅatra and during the rise of the sign of Mithuna. This according to Fleet regularly corresponds to the 17th February 1078 A.D.

However, it seems certain that his consecration took place at an earlier date. There are a large number of his inscriptions according to which his first regnal year would fall in 1075 A.D. There is another group of inscriptions belonging to Anantavarman CĪdagaᅅga, according to which his first regnal year would fall in 1076 A.D. Besides these two groups of inscriptions there is one inscription of Anantavarman CĪdagaᅅga, according to which his first regnal year would fall in 1074 A.D. As 1074 A.D. appears in only one of his inscriptions as his first regnal year, it can be considered a mistake by the scribe. Again, as

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<sup>1</sup>The Vizagapatam C. P. of Anantavarman CĪdagaᅅga of 1081 A.D.  
Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89) No. 178, pp. 161-165.

1077 A.D. is suggested by only three inscriptions out of more than two hundred discovered so far, we can not accept the former as genuine evidence. Probably the scribes of these three inscriptions made a mistake while inscribing the regnal year. The actual accession of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga must have taken place either in 1075 or in 1076 A.D. The difference of one year may be due to the fact that in some of the inscriptions the current Śaka era was used, while expired years were used in others. According to an inscription<sup>1</sup> Rājarāja I was alive in 1075 A.D. M. Chakravarty<sup>2</sup> has taken the view that, as the inauguration as king of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga took place in 1078 A.D., he is more likely to have started his reign in 1077 A.D. than in 1076 A.D., as a king would prefer the earliest possible occasion for his coronation.

However, there are some examples of delay in the coronation of a king after his accession to power, e.g. Aśoka, Harṣa etc. M. Chakravarty has dismissed 1075 A.D. as the first regnal year of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga on the ground of the existence of an inscription of Rājarāja I, dated in the same year. It seems that the Eastern Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga followed the practice of the Cōḷas in having a co-ruler during the last years of the reign of a king. After

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<sup>1</sup>The Dirghasi inscription of Vanapati, edited by G.V. Ramamurti, Ep. Ind. IV (1896-97), No. 45, pp. 314-318, v. 7.

<sup>2</sup>J.A.S.B. LXII (1903), p. 108.

the death of the king, the co-ruler became the sole king. Thus it seems that Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga was a co-ruler with his father Rājarāja I between 1075 or 1076 and 1078 A. D., when he became the sole king.

According to the charters of Anaṅgabhīma III<sup>1</sup> and his successors, the consecration of Kāmārṇava VII, the son and successor of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, took place in 1147 A. D. Inscriptions of Kāmārṇava VII,<sup>2</sup> describing 1148 A. D. (Śaka 1070) as the king's third regnal year, have been found. In my opinion the regnal years are an̄ka years in these inscriptions. The inscriptions of Kāmārṇava VII indicate that 1147 A. D. was his first regnal year. A Mukhalingam inscription<sup>3</sup> equates Śaka 1069 (1147 A. D.) with Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga's seventy-second regnal year. The evidence of the charters of his successors, which assign him seventy years of reign, cannot therefore be accepted. The discrepancy between the inscriptions of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga and his successors is probably due to the fact that the inscriptions of Coḍagaṅga count from his accession to the throne till his death and the inscriptions of his successors count from his consecration to the time when he died.

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<sup>1</sup>The Nagari C. P. of Anaṅgabhīma III edited by D. C. Sircar, Ep. Ind. XXVIII (1952-58) No. 40, pp. 235-258.

<sup>2</sup>A. R. S. I. E. (1896) No. 178.

<sup>3</sup>A. R. S. I. E. (1896) No. 388.

The names of the following queens of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga are known:-

Rājuladevī<sup>1</sup>, Padmaladevī<sup>2</sup>, Paṭṭamahādevī Jayamogṇḍa Cōḍiam<sup>3</sup> (who is also described as Kaliṅgamahādevī), Śriyādevī<sup>4</sup>, Lilāvatidevī<sup>5</sup>, Pṛthvimahādevī<sup>6</sup>, Dennavamahādevī, mother of Aṭṭhāsadeva<sup>7</sup>, Kalyāṇadevī<sup>8</sup>, Cōḍamahādevī<sup>9</sup>, Kastūrikāmodinī<sup>10</sup>, Indirā<sup>11</sup>, and Chandralēkhā<sup>12</sup>.

Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga had several sons, four of whom succeeded him on the throne, one after the other. Their names are:- Kāmārṇava VII, Rāghava, Rājarāja II and Anāṅgabhīma II. Two of his sons, who did not become king, were Umāvallabha and Aṭṭhāsadeva.

Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga used several other names, viz. Caḷukya Gaṅga, Vikrama Gaṅgeśvara, Vīra Rājendra Cōḍagaṅga and Gaṅgeśvaradevabhūpa. From his stone inscriptions we learn that he had a brother named Ulayigaṇḍa Permādidēva<sup>13</sup>, married with a certain Pallavamahādevī. Their son was Peddajiyyani Cōḍagaṅga. Ulayigaṇḍa Permādidēva and his son Cōḍagaṅga

<sup>1</sup> A.R.S.I.E. (1893) No. 316.

<sup>2</sup> A.R.S.I.E. (1893) No. 317.

<sup>3</sup> S.I.I. IV, No. 1194 p. 411.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, No. 1195 p. 412.

<sup>5</sup> A.R.S.I.E. (1893) No. 314.

<sup>6</sup> A.R.S.I.E. (1896) No. 211.

<sup>7</sup> S.I.I. IV, No. 1199.

<sup>8</sup> S.I.I. IV, No. 1198.

<sup>9</sup> S.I.I. IV, No. 1152.

<sup>10</sup> Ep. Ind. XXVIII (1952-58) No. 40, pp. 235-58, v. 33.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, V. 44-45.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, V. 53.

<sup>13</sup> A.R.S.I.E. (1926-27) No. 649.

held the rank of mahamāṇḍalika. Another inscription dated 1134 A. D. , corresponding to the 60th regnal year of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga<sup>1</sup> reveals that Maṅkāma Mahādēvī was the wife of Ulagiyagaṅḍa Permāḍideva, the younger brother of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. One of the inscriptions, found in the Nīlakaṅṭeśvara temple at Nārāyaṇapuram in the Vizagapatam district, dated in his 37th regnal year, records a gift made by Permāḍi<sup>2</sup>. Two other inscriptions<sup>3</sup>, found in the same temple, dated 1131 and 1132 A. D. , record similar gifts of perpetual lamps in favour of God Nīleśvara, i. e. modern Nīlakaṅṭeśvara or Śiva temple, by Cōḍagaṅgādeva's younger brother, named Ulayiḅḅḅ Permāḍi.

The Vizagapatam Copper Plate of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, dated 1135/36 A. D. , indicates that Cōḍagaṅga, who was a son of Permāḍirāja and his wife Maṅkāma Dēvī, received as a gift the localities called Sumuḍa and Tittlingi in the Sammaga Viṣaya<sup>4</sup>. An inscription of Pramāḍi, dated 1142 A. D. <sup>5</sup>, records the gift of a perpetual lamp by Rājan Pramāḍi, who is described as the younger brother (anuja) of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. D. C. Sircar rightly identified Pramāḍi of this inscription with Permāḍirāja of the Vizagapatam Copper Plate, dated 1135 A. D.

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I. V, No. 1019, p. 388.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., X, No. 656, p. 353.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., X, No. 674, p. 359 and 679, p. 360.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89), No. 180, pp. 172-176. Edited by Fleet.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. Ind. XXX (1955-58) No. 18 pp. 90-94. Edited by D. C. Sircar.

Two of the Nārāyaṇapuram inscriptions in the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple dated 1129<sup>1</sup> and 1139 A.D.<sup>2</sup> record gifts of perpetual lamps by Rājendracōḍadeva, the son of Pedda Permādirāja. If this Permādirāja is identical with Pramādi of Bhuvaneshwar inscription dated 1142 A.D., then Rājendracōḍa of the two above mentioned inscriptions may be regarded as a brother or half-brother of Cōḍagaṅga. R. Subba Rao<sup>3</sup> has taken the view that Rājendracōḍa and Cōḍagaṅga were identical persons. I do not agree with his view.

A Nārāyaṇapuram inscription of 1117 A.D. described Vīra Permādi, however, as a son of Aytāya<sup>4</sup>. Another inscription of the same place, dated 1118 A.D., records a gift by Suramā, who is described as the wife of Permādirāja<sup>5</sup>. It is difficult to decide whether Permādi of the above mentioned records is the same person as that who claimed to have been the younger brother of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. This is because the Palaṅgara<sup>6</sup> C.P. of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, dated 1118 A.D., described Permādi as the son of Vajjedeva and his wife Ālapiṇḍar, the grandson of Cōliyar and his wife Śriyādēvī, who were residents of Uratturu in Raṭṭamaṇḍala. Another important detail mentioned in this inscription is the use by Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga of the term priya-bādhava, with reference to the donee Permādi. This indicates that Permādi may not be a

<sup>1</sup>S.I.I. X, No. 672 p. 358.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, No. 692 p. 365.

<sup>3</sup>J.A.H.R.S. VII (1931-33) p. 126.

<sup>4</sup>S.I.I. X No. 658 p. 354.

<sup>5</sup>S.I.I. X No. 659, p. 354.

<sup>6</sup>A.R.S.I.E. (1936) pp. 61-63.

co-uterine younger brother of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, as it has been suggested by R. Subba Rao. The word anuja does not necessarily mean a co-uterine younger brother. C.R. Krishnamacharlu's suggestion that Permādi was a younger cousin of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga has been accepted by D. C. Sircar. According to this suggestion, Permādi or Pramādi was a younger cousin of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga on his mother's side. As his mother was Rājasundarī, a Cōḷa princess, this suggestion seems reasonable. The reason for linking Permādi with the Cōḷas, as suggested by Krishnamacharlu, may be because the name of the donee in Palaṅgara grant is given as Ulagiya-goṅḍa-Perumāḷ. Permādi and Pramādi are contractions of the Tamil compound expression Perumāṅḍi, the first compound is Perumāṅ. Perumāṅ may be another form of the word Perumāḷ. Ulagiyagōṅḍa and its other variations are similarly derived from Tamil Ulagukkōṅḍa.

There was strong Tamil cultural influence in the Eastern Gaṅga Kingdom during the reign of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. The main reason for this influence may have been the marriage of Rājasundarī, the Cōḷa princess, with Rājarāja I, the father of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. Many Tamil names and epithets among the officers of the Eastern Gaṅga Kingdom have been found in the temples at Mukhaliṅgam. Tamil names are also common among the donors of perpetual lamps at the same place. The surname of one donor, for example, is Rāyarāya Viḷupparāya<sup>1</sup>. Some other Tamil names are Gaṅga-Viḷupparāya<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup>S.I.I. V, No. 1023, p. 389.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, No. 1029, p. 390.

Cōḷāṇḍī's daughter Pemmāṇḍī<sup>1</sup>, Gaṅgamārttaṇḍa-Brahmamārāya<sup>2</sup>, Chuttāḍī<sup>3</sup>, Prataḷagaṅga Velāṇḍī (Tamil Velāṇ)<sup>4</sup> Oḍayāṇḍī-Nāyaka Kōmārāṇḍī Nāyaka<sup>5</sup>. The official title Purvaṇḍī, met in Tamil inscriptions frequently appears in the Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions of this period<sup>6</sup>. However close the cultural links between the Eastern Gaṅgas and the Cōḷas may have been under the reign of Anantavarman Cōḷagaṅga, their political relations were marred by several wars. These were mainly due to two causes: Firstly Anantavarman Cōḷagaṅga wanted to annex Southern Kaliṅga territory, which comprised the area between the river Godavari and Mahendra mountain, i. e. the modern Vizagapatam district and part of Ganjam district. The inscriptions of Kulottuṅga I mention two Cōḷa invasions of Kaliṅga. Jayangōṇḍān, the poet of the Kaliṅgattuparaṇi, a war poem, has described in detail the conquest of the Kaliṅga country by Karuṇākara-Toṇḍaiman, who was the commander of the invading Cōḷa forces. Nilakanta Sastri has suggested that this poem described the second Cōḷa invasion of Kaliṅga, which took place in about 1110 A. D.

The date of the first Cōḷa invasion of Kaliṅga is given in Kulottuṅga's inscription as his 26th regnal year<sup>7</sup> i. e., 1096 A. D. In an inscription of

<sup>1</sup>S. I. I. V, No. 1039, p. 393.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, No. 1040, p. 393.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, No. 1053, p. 396.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, No. 1054, p. 396.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid, No. 1074, p. 401.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid, Nos. 1034, 1040, 1058, 1068, 1081.

<sup>7</sup>A. R. S. I. E. 304 of 1908 also 463 of 1912.



Vikramacōḷa, issued after his accession to the throne, there occurs a brief description of his vice-royalty in Vēṅgī. This inscription makes it clear that Vikramacōḷa took part in the first invasion of Kaliṅga. According to an inscription<sup>1</sup>, "while yet a child, (he) bore the cruel weapons (of war), so that at Kulam the Teliṅga Vimāna ascended the mountains as refuge, and so that he thus stayed joyfully in the Vēṅgai-Maṅḍalam and was pleased to subdue the northern region".

The reference to the conquest of northern region is important. The region north of Vēṅgī indicates South Kaliṅga, comprising modern Vizagapatam district and parts of Ganjam district. According to Nilakanta Sastri, this invasion may have been undertaken with the purpose of subduing the subordinate kings, who were reigning in Southern Kaliṅga as Cōḷa feudatories, and, therefore, may have no connection with the Kingdom of Kaliṅga.

However, according to Venkayya, the way Vikrama Cōḷa's invasion is described may mean that he succeeded in repelling an Eastern Gaṅga invasion of Vēṅgī. On the basis of an inscription of Parāntaka Paṅḍya<sup>2</sup>, who was a vassal of the Cōḷas and helped Vikrama Cōḷa in this war, Venkayya has claimed that the Eastern Gaṅga army reached as far as modern Ellore, where it was defeated.

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<sup>1</sup>S.I.I. III, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup>T.A.S.I. , p. 22, 1. 8.

The above mentioned inscription of Parāntaka Pāṇḍya as well as the inscriptions of Vikrama Cōḷa state that the Chief of Kōlanu (modern Ellore) was defeated and captured. These inscriptions clearly indicate that the chief of Kōlanu was in league with the Eastern Gaṅga emperor Anantavarman Cōḷagaṅga. It is difficult to say whether the fighting in this Kaliṅga war took place on only one or on two fronts. According to Nilakanta Sastri, the Cōḷa forces had to fight on two fronts simultaneously, i. e. in Southern Kaliṅga as well as in Kōlanu.

According to Venkayya<sup>1</sup>, the fighting took place on only one front. viz. near modern Ellore. A Tamil inscription of Kulottuṅga I dated 1098/99 A.D. makes it clear that the Cōḷas suppressed the revolt.

The second invasion of Kaliṅga, according to Nilakanta Sastri, took place in 1110 A.D. According to him, this is the invasion described in the Kaliṅgattuparaṇi. Inscriptions of Kulottuṅga I<sup>2</sup> say that the Cōḷa Army, after devastating vast areas, succeeded in subduing the seven Kaliṅgas. The Kaliṅgattuparaṇi describes the conquest of Kaliṅga in a slightly different manner. According to this text, once Kulottuṅga arranged a darbar and ordered all his feudatory kings to assemble and to pay him the annual tribute personally. All the subjects king came, except the king of Kaliṅga. The Cōḷa emperor,

<sup>1</sup>A.R.S.I.E. (1905) II, p. 52-53.

<sup>2</sup>S.I.I. IV, No. 445, pp. 135-137.  
A.R.S.I.E. No. 44 of 1891.

enraged by the absence of this king, ordered that an expedition should be sent against Kalinga; the king should be brought to the Cōla capital as a prisoner. He appointed Karuṇākara Tonḍaimān commander of the expeditionary forces. The invading army reached Kalinga after crossing the Palar, Ponmukhari, Mannaru, Krishna, Godavari, Pampa and Gotami rivers. The forces succeeded in defeating the Kalinga army completely and Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga had to seek safety in flight to avoid being captured by the Cōla army. The Cōla forces, after an unsuccessful search for Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, returned with much booty. Thus, if we can believe the Kalingattuparṇi, the cause of the second Kalinga war was the rebellion of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, whom the Cōla emperor Kulottuṅga I regarded as a feudatory. Nilakanta Sastri, however, does not consider the reasons, advanced in Kalingattuparṇi, completely satisfactory. In his opinion it is not possible that throughout the long and prosperous reign of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga Kalinga was a vassal state of the Cōlas. It may therefore be suggested that the real cause of the war may have been the desire by Kulottuṅga I to assert his control over Kalinga, which, under Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, was trying to become independent. An inscription<sup>1</sup> in the reign of (Kulottuṅga I) Viṣṇuwardhana, which was discovered in the Drakṣarāma temple and is dated 1081 A. D. by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri records a gift by the wife of a Pradhāni of Trikalingādhipati Rājarājadēva. As Trikalingādhipati Rājarājadēva could only be Rājarāja I of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty, who was the father and predecessor of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga on the

<sup>1</sup>A. R. S. I. E. (1894) No. 181.

It gives 1080 as the date of inscription.

Eastern Gaṅga throne, it follows that Kaliṅga was a feudatory state of the Coḷa empire at least for some time during the life of Rājarāja I. Probably both the first and the second Kaliṅga war have been caused by a desire of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga to assert his independence against the Coḷas. An undated inscription<sup>1</sup> found in the Drākṣārāma temple tells us that Kōṅapōta, a feudatory of Rājendracōḍa beat the lord of Trikaliṅga and was given one thousand villages as a reward. Kōṅapōta may have received his reward for taking part either in the first or in the second Kaliṅga war.

Neither the first nor the second Kaliṅga invasion of the Coḷas had any permanent effect on Kaliṅga. These two invasions must be regarded as more raids. Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga kept his independence and did not give up the hope of annexing Southern Kaliṅga, comprising modern Vizagapatam district and parts of Ganjam district. His Korni Copper Plate dated 1113 A. D.<sup>2</sup> and Vizagapatam Copper Plate dated 1118/19 A. D.<sup>3</sup> state that he replaced the fallen lord of Utkala in the Eastern region and then the waning lord of Vēṅgī in the Western region, restoring their fortunes. It is difficult to understand the implications of the statement that Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga had replaced the fallen lord of Vēṅgī in the Western region and then restored his fortune. According to R. Subba Rao, this statement indicates that Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga had forced the lord of Vēṅgī to form a subordinate alliance with him. Here I do not agree with

<sup>1</sup>S. I. I. IV, No. 1153, p. 393, A. R. S. I. E. (1894) No. 286.

<sup>2</sup>J. A. H. R. S. I (1926-27) pp. 40-48, editor G. V. Sitapati.

<sup>3</sup>Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89) No. 179 pp. 165-172. Edited by Fleet.

R. Subba Rao because in the time, to which these two charters belong, Vikramacōla was acting as viceroy of the Cōla king on the Vēngī throne. It is difficult to believe that Vikramacōla, who was the son and heir-apparent of the Cōla emperor, should have accepted the overlordship of Anantavarman Cōdagaṅga. It seems more likely that the above mentioned quotation with regard to Vēngī from these two inscriptions is mere boast on the part of Anantavarman Cōdagaṅga. However, he got the opportunity of annexing a considerable part of Vēngī after the death of Kulottuṅga I in 1117 A.D. At that time, the vice-royalty of Vēngī was entrusted to the Velanāṭi Cōla chief Kulottuṅga Rājēndracōda. The departure of Vikramacōla from Vēngī resulted in a situation where it was devoid of a ruler as the Pithapuram<sup>1</sup> inscription of Mallapadeva tells us. Subsequently Vikramāditya VI of the Western Cālukya dynasty, taking advantage of the situation, invaded Vēngī and occupied it. The Western Cālukyas remained in occupation of Vēngī till about 1132-1133 A.D. After the death of Vikramāditya VI, the Cōlas managed to re-establish their suzerainty over the Velanāṭi Chiefs. Probably taking advantage of the war between the Cōlas and the Western Cālukas, Anantavarman Cōdagaṅga occupied the part of Vēngī lying north of Godavari, i. e. South Kaliṅga. In 1135 A.D., as his Sreekurmam inscription<sup>2</sup> dated in the same year, indicates, he annexed the whole region to his empire. However, the Velanāṭi Cōlas, who were ruling in Vēngī, did not become reconciled to the idea of the annexation of South Kaliṅga to the Eastern Gaṅga empire.

<sup>1</sup>Ep. Ind. IV (1896-97), No. 33, pp. 226-242, edited by Hultzsh.

<sup>2</sup>S.I.I. V, No. 1335, p. 469.

This becomes clear from a Velanāti Cōḍa inscription<sup>1</sup> which suggests that the Velanāti Cōḍas defeated the Eastern Gaṅga army. This probably refers to a mere raid as there is no indication of occupation of South Kaliṅga by the Velanāti Cōḍas. This raid by the Velanāti Cōḍa chief must have been made as an act of reprisal. The Korni Copper Plate dated 1113 A.D. and the Vizagapatam Copper Plate of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga dated 1118 A.D. state that he "first replaced the fallen lord of Utkāḷa in the Eastern region and then the Waning lord of Vēṅgī in the Western region, restoring their fortunes". In such passages East means North-East and West means South-West. The above quoted passage probably indicates that Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga forced the king of Utkāḷa to accept his suzerainty. Probably after defeating the king of Utkāḷa, Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga replaced him on the throne of Utkāḷa as his feudatory. However, the charters of successors of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga<sup>2</sup> clearly state that as a result of his conquest Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga obtained dharanī, i. e. new territory. Thus it seems that for some time after conquering Utkāḷa, Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga allowed the king of Utkāḷa to continue as his feudatory, but finally he annexed the whole kingdom of Utkāḷa to his empire. According to the Mādala-pāñji, Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga defeated the last king of the Somavaṁśī dynasty, named SuvarṇaKeśari, in 1131 A.D. This chronicle says that Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga was

<sup>1</sup>S.I.I. IV No. 662 p.

<sup>2</sup>The Nagari C.P. of Anaṅgabhimā III edited by D.C. Sircar, Ep. Ind. XXVIII (1952-58) No. 40 pp. 235-58, v. 26.

instigated by Bāsudave or Vāṣudēva Bahampati, who was a Brahmin minister at court of Suvarṇa Keśari. It seems that the reason, why this minister sought the intervention of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga in Utkala affairs was because he had been dismissed with indignity from the royal presence of Suvarṇa Keśari. Thus, after the annexation of the kingdom of Utkala to the Eastern Gaṅga empire, Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga became the master of the region, which now comprised the Puri and Cuttack areas of present Orissa.

Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga is described in the charters of his successors<sup>1</sup> as having built the great Vaiṣṇava temple at Puri, though the Oriya chronicle Mādalāpan̄jī states that it was Anaṅgabhīma III, the great-grandson of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga who built it. The Nagari Copper Plate of Anaṅgabhīma III clearly says that Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga built a temple for Puruṣōttama. The next verse suggests that the temple was built on the sea-shore. This seems to be conclusive evidence of the fact that the Puruṣōttama Jagannātha temple at Puri was built by Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. The reason for the statement in the Mādalāpan̄jī ascribing the foundation of the Puri temple to Anaṅgabhīma III, may be that the latter completed the temple, which was started by his great-grandfather, or he may have added new buildings to the big temple.

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<sup>1</sup>The Nagari C. P. of Anaṅgabhīma III edited by D. C. Sircar, Ep. Ind. XXVIII (1952-58) No. 40 pp. 235-58, v. 27.

We learn from an inscription<sup>1</sup> of the Cēdi year 933 (1181/1182 A.D.) that Ratnadeva II of Ratnapura defeated the Kaliṅga king Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. The reason for the war between Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga and Ratnadeva II of Ratnapur, who flourished between 1114 and 1115 A.D., seems to be that the latter was ordered by his suzerain, the Cēdi king, to attack Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. The Cēdi kings were known as Trikaliṅgādhipatis before this epithet started to be used by the Eastern Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III, the grandfather of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. Cunningham has taken the view that Tri-Kaliṅga indicates the combination of Dhānyakāṭaka or Amarāvati, Andhra or Warangal and Kaliṅga or Rajamundry, three kingdoms existing along the East coast of India in ancient times. Fleet, unable to justify the epithet of Trikaliṅgādhipati for the Somavamśi kings of Cuttack, came to the conclusion that it was a meaningless epithet<sup>2</sup> as he realized the unlikelihood of a kingdom stretching from the Ganges in the north to the Krishna in the south. This would conflict with the presence of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, who were supreme in the region of Mount Mahendra.

R. Subba Rao expressed the view<sup>3</sup> that Trikaliṅgādhipati means master of the region between the Ganges in the North and the Godavari in the South. As during the time of the reign of Vajrahasta III Somavamśi kings were

<sup>1</sup>The Kharod inscription of Ratnadeva III, edited by N.P. Chakravarti, Ep. Ind. XXI (1933-38) No. 26, pp. 159-165.

<sup>2</sup>Ep. Ind. III (1894-95) No. 47, p. 327.

<sup>3</sup>J.A.H.R.S. VI (1931-33) p. 203.



reigning in the Puri region and the Eastern Cālukyas in South Kaliṅga, comprising the modern district of Vizagapatam and parts of Ganjam, which is situated north of the river Godavari, we can not accept this definition of Trikaliṅgādhipati.

G. Ramdas has suggested that Trikaliṅga is the name of an area to be distinguished from Kaliṅga proper. According to him, Trikaliṅga signifies modern Kalahandi, Sambalpur district and Gumsoor Maliahs.

I accept this identification. As stated earlier, Vajrahasta III had conquered Trikaliṅga from the Cēdi king Karṇadeva. The charters of Rājarāja I, son and successor of Vajrahasta III, also use the epithet of Trikaliṅgādhipati for him. The Vizagapatam Copper Plate dated 1081 A.D.<sup>1</sup>, the Kornī Copper Plate dated 1081 A.D.<sup>2</sup>, the Murupaka Copper Plate dated 1083 A.D.<sup>3</sup>, the Chicacole Copper Plate dated 1084 A.D.<sup>4</sup> and the Vizagapatam Copper Plate dated 1135/36 A.D.<sup>5</sup> all describe Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga as Trikaliṅgādhipati. However, it is significant to note that he is not called Trikaliṅgādhipati in his Kornī Copper Plate dated 1113 A.D.<sup>6</sup> nor in his Vizagapatam Copper Plate dated 1118/19 A.D.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89) No. 178, pp. 161-165. Edited by Fleet.

<sup>2</sup>J.A.H.R.S. I, (1926-27) pp. 40-48. Edited by G.V. Sitapati.

<sup>3</sup>J.A.H.R.S. XII (1939-40) pt. I, pp. 8-16, edited by R. Subba Rao.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., VII, (1933-35) pp. 163-194, edited by C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao.

<sup>5</sup>Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89) No. 179, pp. 173-176, edited by Fleet.

<sup>6</sup>J.A.H.R.S. I (1926-27) pp. 106-120. Edited by G.V. Sitapati.

<sup>7</sup>Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89) No. 179, pp. 165-72.

Furthermore, Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga's inscriptions discovered at Mukhaliṅgam and other places, ranging from 1118 onwards, do not ascribe to him the epithet of Trikaliṅgādhipati. This has led G. Ramdas to assume that Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga lost the control over the area known as Tri-Kaliṅga, thereby losing the epithet of Trikaliṅgādhipati.

I agree with his conclusion. It seems that Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga was defeated, in or about 1113 A.D., by Ratnadeva II of Ratnapura, who was a vassal of the Cēdi kings. The title Trikaliṅgādhipati disappears also from the inscriptions of the immediate successors of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. The use of Trikaliṅgādhipati in Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga's Vizagapatam Copper Plate dated 1135/36 A.D. is probably due to a scribal error, as the introductory portion is apparently copied from a charter, issued prior to 1118 A.D. It is significant to note that the epithet of Trikaliṅgādhipati starts appearing in the Cēdi inscriptions of a few years later. We may therefore conclude that Trikaliṅga during the reign of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga was the area comprising "the expanse of hill and plateau that overlooks the plains of Ganjam and Vizagapatam"<sup>1</sup>.

All copper-plate inscriptions of successors of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga mention a battle between the king of Mandāra and Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. According to the account given in these plates, Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga destroyed the walls and the gates of the city of Āramya, which was the capital city of the kingdom of Mandāra. As a result of his defeat, the king

<sup>1</sup>G. Yazdani, (ed.), Early History of the Deccan. II, 1960. p. 32.

of Mandāra fled from Āramya, which was subsequently destroyed by the Eastern Gaṅga forces. In another battle taking place on the bank of the Ganges, the king of Mandāra was again defeated. He is described as having been wounded<sup>1</sup> several times during this battle. M. Chakravarty<sup>2</sup> was the first to suggest that the Mandāra, mentioned in these inscriptions, may be identified with Sarkār Mandāran of the 'Āin-i-Akbarī', whose headquarters Mandaran (now known as Bhitargarh) are about fifty miles from the river Ganges. Āramya is located eight miles from Garh Mandaran,<sup>and has been</sup> identified with modern Aram-bagh. Garh Mandaran was a well-known frontier town between the fourteenth and the sixteenth century.

H. P. Sastri has, however, identified this with Aparā-Mandāra, a principality situated in West Bengal during the 11th and 12th century. It was ruled by the Suras, who were related to Vijaya Sena<sup>3</sup>. R. C. Majumdar on the other hand has identified Aparā Mandāra with Garh Mandāran. I accept the identification of H. P. Sastri. The conquest of Mandāra brought Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga into close contact with Vijaya Sena. There is no mention of any conflict between the two rulers. In the Ballāla-Carita Vijayasena is described as a friend of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga<sup>4</sup>. But we cannot rely on this statement in the

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<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind. XXVIII (1952-58) No. 40, pp. 235-58, v. 30.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. S. B. LXXII (1903) p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> D. H. N. I. p. 360.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter XII, p. 55; Translation p. 48.

Ballāla-Carita as its author lived four centuries after Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga.

It seems that Vijayasena did not pursue a war-like policy against Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga because he dreaded the strength of his army. However, Vijayasena, according to his inscriptions, succeeded in defeating Rāghava, who was the Eastern Gaṅga king from 1156-1170 A.D. The cause of the conflict may be connected with Mandāra. According to the charters of successors of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, the latter levied tribute from the land between the Ganges in the North and the Godavari in the South.

According to R. Subba Rao Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga transferred his capital to Kaṭakam from Kaliṅganagara. There is no epigraphic evidence to suggest this. The Mādala Pāñji also does not mention any change of capital by Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga.

D. C. Sircar has suggested<sup>1</sup> that the Eastern Gaṅga capital was probably transferred to Kaṭakam during the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III or prior to it. According to the Mādala Pāñji there were five famous cities in the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom during the reign of Kāmārṇava VII. Abhinava Vārāṇasī which has been identified with Cuttack was one of them. This may be correct because the Nagari Copper Plate of Anaṅgabhīma III mentions that he made several donations from

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<sup>1</sup>Ep. Ind. XXVIII (1952-58) No. 40 p. 247.

Abhinava Vārānāsī. We know from another inscription that his wife Sōmaladevī made a donation to Arulāla Perumāl temple while she was staying at Abhinava Vārānāsī. This seems to indicate that Abhinava Vārānāsī or Cuttack was one of the Eastern Gaᅅga cities during the reign of Anangabhima III.

Katakam means royal camp. It is possible to suggest that as Katakam is mentioned for the first time in the Mādala Pāñji during the reign of Kāmārᅇnava VII it was he who transferred his capital to that city. In my opinion however, this would not be correct. Royal camp does not necessarily mean capital. At this stage of our knowledge it is not possible to name the Eastern Gaᅅga king who transferred his capital to Cuttack.

During his long reign of seventy-two years Anantavarman Cōᅇagaᅅga succeeded in transforming his kingdom from a feudatory state of the Cōlas to a strong power on the east coast of the sub continent. In addition he was most charitable and religious. More than two hundred votive inscription of Anantavarman Cōᅇagaᅅga, discovered all over his empire testify to this fact. His coins have been found as far away as Ceylon. This again indicates the possibility of existence of commercial links between the Eastern Gaᅅga Kingdom and Ceylon.

According to M. Chakravarti<sup>1</sup> traces of Anantavarman Cōᅇagaᅅga's name are still to be found in Jagannātha Puri. These are Churanga-Sāhi, a

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<sup>1</sup>J.A.S.B. LXXII (1903) p. 113.

quarter in Puri town; Churanga Pōkhri, a tank about six miles South West of  
Cuttack town; Sāranga-garh, a fort, the remains of which are still visible on the  
Madras Trunk Road close to Bārang Railway station; and in the Gaṅgeśvara temple,  
Jāgapura town, in the district of Cuttack.

## CHAPTER V

KĀMĀRṆAVA VII TO RĀJARĀJA III

Kāmārṇava VII (c. 1147-1156 A. D.)

According to the Dasgoba Copper Plate of Rājarāja III dated 1198 A. D.<sup>1</sup>, the Nagari Copper Plate of Anaṅgabhīma III<sup>2</sup>, which records several grants made during 1230-31 A. D., and several other charters of the successors of Anaṅgabhīma III, the consecration of Kāmārṇava VII took place in 1147. It seems that Kāmārṇava VII had become a yuvarāja (crown-prince) before his consecration as a king, for there are two inscriptions by two military officers<sup>3</sup> (sāhīnis) of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga recording gifts for the merit of Kāmārṇava, the crown prince. Thus it seems that Kāmārṇava VII took part in affairs of state even before his consecration. After the death of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, Kāmārṇava VII acceded to the throne in 1147, as no inscription of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga dated after that date has been found. It seems that Kāmārṇava VII was the eldest son of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. According to

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind. XXXI (1956-60) No. 34 pp. 249-262.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind. XXVIII (1952-58) No. 40 pp. 235-58.

<sup>3</sup> S. I. I., V, No. 1063, p. 399.  
No. 1067, p. 399.

charters of the later Eastern Gaṅga kings, Kāmārṇava VII was a son of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga by Kastūrikāmodinī, who was not his Paṭṭamahādēvī (chief queen). The name of the chief queen of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga was (Paṭṭamahādēvī) Jayamgōḍa Cōḍiyam, as is clearly mentioned in one of his inscriptions<sup>1</sup>. According to R. Subba Rao<sup>2</sup>, however, Jayamgōḍa Cōḍiyam and Kastūrikāmodanī were his two chief queens. This interpretation of Subba Rao is unacceptable as in no inscription of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga or of his successors Kastūrikāmodanī is described as his chief queen. The explanation that Kāmārṇava VII would have become king by virtue of being the eldest son of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga seems to be more satisfactory. As Kāmārṇava VII was succeeded by three of his younger brothers, it seems likely that Kāmārṇava VII was the eldest surviving son of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. Kāmārṇava VII had several names, like Madhukāmārṇavadēva<sup>3</sup>, Jaṭeśvaradēva<sup>4</sup>, Rājarāja Dēvara and Gangeśvaradēva<sup>5</sup>. The Ratanpur stone inscription of the Kalacuri (of Tūmmaṇa) King Prthivīdēva II dated 1163/64 A.D. describes a victory, which Brahmaḍēva, a feudatory of Prthivīdēva II, won over Jaṭeśvara<sup>6</sup>. Mirashi has correctly identified Jaṭeśvara of this inscription with Kāmārṇava VII. The Kharod

<sup>1</sup> S.I.I., IV, No. 1194, p. 411.

<sup>2</sup> J.A.H.R.S., VI, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> S.I.I., V, No. 1323 p. 464.

<sup>4</sup> S.I.I., V, No. 1044 p. 345.

<sup>5</sup> Asiatic Researches, XV, (1825) p. 268.

<sup>6</sup> Ep. Ind. XXVI, p. 261, Verse 16.



inscription of Ratnadēva III<sup>1</sup> dated 1181/82 A.D. states, however, that Pr̥thvidēva II himself defeated Jaṭeśvara. Both the inscriptions are clear on the point that a war took place between Jaṭeśvaradēva and Pr̥thvidēva II. The discrepancy lies in the fact that whereas the Ratanpur stone inscription of Pr̥thvidēva II dated 1163/64 mentions that Brahmaḍeva, a feudatory of Pr̥thvidēva II, was the victor of Jaṭeśvaradēva, the Kharod inscription of Ratnadēva III states that it was Pr̥thvidēva II himself who defeated Jaṭeśvaradēva. The evidence of Pr̥thvidēva II's Ratanpur stone inscription is more reliable in this case because this is a record of the events taking place while Pr̥thvidēva II was still alive. The Kharod inscription of Ratnadēva III was engraved 17 years later. The reason for the inaccuracy in this inscription may be the desire of the poet of the Kharod inscription of 1181/82 to praise the deeds of ancestors of Ratnadeva III. Thus, in glorifying the deeds of Pr̥thvidēva II, the poet may have attributed the conquests of Brahmaḍeva to Pr̥thvidēva II. The cause of this war may have been the desire of Kāmāṇava VII to avenge the earlier defeat of his father. Kāmāṇava VII may have attempted to reoccupy the territory of Trikaḷiṅga. As Kāmāṇava VII was defeated, the territory of Trikaḷiṅga stayed under the control of the Kalacuris of Tummaṇa.

According to the Madalapañji, there were five great cities in the kingdom of Kāmāṇava VII, viz. Jājpur, Choudwar, Amarāvati, Chatta or Chatna and Biranassi<sup>2</sup>. The city of Amarāvati is located on the river Krishna. The

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind. XXI, p. 163, Verse 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> Asiatic Researches, XV, (1825) p. 268.

records of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga as well as those of his successors state that the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom under Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga extended as far South as the river Godavari. It is nowhere mentioned that Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga conquered any territories as far South as the river Krishna. It is difficult to imagine that in his short reign of 10 years Kāmārṇava VII succeeded in extending the Eastern Gaṅga empire as far South as the river Krishna. Either the inclusion of Amarāvati in the kingdom of Kāmārṇava VII is a mistake or Amarāvati may be the name of another city, for which we have no other information. Varāṇasī or Abhinavā Vārāṇassī refers to modern Cuttack. Choudwar is modern Chaudwar in Orissa. I cannot identify Chatta or Chatna. There is a controversy regarding the identification of Jājpur. H. P. Sastri had identified Jājpur with ancient Yayātinagara.

According to the Dasgoba Copper Plate of Rājarāja III, the Nagari Copper Plate of Anaṅgabhīma III and various other inscriptions of their successors, Kāmārṇava VII reigned for 10 years. These are actual and not aṅka years. Almost all the inscriptions of Kāmārṇava VII are dated in aṅka years. The Dasgoba Copper Plate of Rājarāja III, Nagari Copper Plate of Anaṅgabhīma III and other charters of their successors provide us with the information that Kāmārṇava VII performed a Hiranyagarbha-Mahādāna. The Mādalāpanjī also

states that Kāmārṇava VII had a splendid tank dug to expiate the sin of having committed incest with his own daughter. As there is no corroboration of this story, it cannot be relied upon. According to the Kendupatna Copper Plate of Narasimha II dated 1295 A. D.<sup>1</sup>, during the reign of Kāmārṇava VII, the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom attracted many people on account of several learned pandits, who lived there. This charter also informs us that Kāmārṇava VII several times donated his own weight in gold<sup>2</sup>. The coronation of Kāmārṇava VII took place in 1147 A. D., and as this king is described as having reigned for 10 years (actual and not aṅka years), his reign probably lasted till 1156 or 1157 A. D. As Rāghava approximately started his reign in 1156 the former is more likely. As no other king has claimed a victory over Kāmārṇava VII, it seems that the latter succeeded in keeping all the territories left to him by his father. As he did not have a son, Kāmārṇava VII was succeeded by his younger half-brother Rāghava.

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<sup>1</sup>J. A. S. B., LXV (1896) No. 43, pp. 229-71, edited by N. N. Vasu.

<sup>2</sup>J. A. S. B., LXV (1896) No. 43, pp. 229-71, v. 42. Edited by N. N. Vasu.

Rāghava (c. 1156-1170 A.D.)

Rāghava was a son of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga by his wife Indira<sup>1</sup>.

His inscriptions range from 1162 to 1170. The date of his inauguration can be derived in two ways: The Dasgoba Copper Plate of Rājaraḅa III, the Nagari Copper Plate of Anaṅgabhima III and other charters of their successors attribute to Kāmaraṅava VII a total reign of ten years. As the consecration of Kāmaraṅava VII took place in 1147, his reign lasted till 1156 A.D. This can be confirmed by examining some of the inscriptions of Rāghava. Thus one of his inscriptions, dated 1170 A.D., is also stated to have been issued in the 18th regnal year of Rāghava<sup>2</sup>. The years used here are aṅka years, because in charters of his successors he is described as having reigned for fifteen years only, so that this figure corresponds to his 15th regnal year, which would bring the beginning of his reign to 1156 A.D.

We learn the same information regarding his accession from his other inscriptions.

We learn from the Deopāra inscription<sup>3</sup> of Vijayasena that this

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<sup>1</sup>J.A.S.B. LXV (1896) pt. I, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup>S.I.I., V, No. 1331, p. 484.

<sup>3</sup>Ep. Ind. I (1892) pp. 305-15, edited by Kielhorn.

king defeated Rāghava. In one of the verses, Vijayasena's victory over the king of Kaliṅga is described<sup>1</sup>, while, in the subsequent verse Vijayasena's victory over Rāghava is mentioned<sup>2</sup>. Though Rāghava and the king of Kaliṅga are mentioned in two different verses, they indicate, in the opinion of R. C. Majumdar, one and the same person<sup>3</sup>. Although the inscriptions of Rāghava as well as those of his successors are silent regarding any conflict between Vijayasena and Rāghava, I fully agree with R. C. Majumdar's identification. As Rāghava reigned from 1156 to 1170 A. D. and Vijayasena until 1159 A. D., the invasion must be dated between 1156 and 1159. The cause of the war between Vijayasena and Rāghava may have been the earlier conquest of Mandāra by Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. According to charters of the successors of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, the king was defeated by Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. As, however, no inscriptions of the latter have been found in this area, it seems that the king of Mandāra retained his throne but had to accept the suzerainty of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. H. C. Ray has suggested that, as Vijayasena was married with a princess of the Sura royal family, which was in control of Mandāra, he may have decided to wage a war against Rāghava with the purpose of restoring complete independence to his father-in-law's kingdom. I agree with H. C. Ray. It seems that as long as Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga was alive, Vijayasena did not dare to invade Kaliṅga in order to free the Suras of Mandāra from being the feudatories of the Eastern Gāṅgas.

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<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind. I (1892) pp. 305-15, v. 20, edited by Kielhorn.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., v. 21.

<sup>3</sup> "History of Bengal" p. 211.

Probably the death of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga in 1147 A. D. , followed by that of Kāmāṇava VII in 1156 A. D. , made the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom appear weaker than before. The Deopāra Copper Plate of Vijayasena clearly states that Vijayasena defeated Rāghava. As the inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅga kings are completely silent in this respect, we must assume that Rāghava lost control over Mandāra. This assumption is further confirmed by the fact that we do not find any successor of Rāghava claiming suzerainty over Mandāra in any later inscription. Thus, it seems certain that as a result of their defeat by Vijayasena the Eastern Gaṅgas lost control over Mandāra. The Madhainagara grant of Lakṣmaṇasena informs us that in his youth this king enjoyed himself with the women of Kaliṅga<sup>1</sup>. H. C. Ray argues that the youth of Lakṣmaṇasena is mentioned in connection with his visit to Kaliṅga, so that the event may have taken place during the reign of Vijayasena or during that of his brother Ballālasena. Probably Lakṣmaṇasena accompanied his grandfather Vijayasena, when the latter invaded Kaliṅga. I accept this view of H. C. Ray. The Edilpur<sup>2</sup> and Madanpara Copper Plate<sup>3</sup> of his sons Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena also testify to Lakṣmaṇasena as having been involved in a war in Kaliṅga. According to these inscriptions, Lakṣmaṇasena erected pillars of victory "on the Southern seas", where exists (the image of) Musaladhara (Balarāma) and Gadāpāni (Jagannātha)<sup>4</sup>. Thus it seems certain that Vijayasena was assisted

<sup>1</sup> J. A. S. B. , V, N. S. pp. 467-76, verse 11. Edited by R. D. Banerji.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. S. B. , X, (1914) N. S. pp. 97-104. Edited by R. D. Banerji.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. S. B. , LXV, (1896), pp. 6-15. Edited by N. N. Vasu.

<sup>4</sup> The identification of Jagannātha with Gadāpāni is strange because gadā is not generally associated with Viṣṇu. It is a weapon of Hanumān or Śiva as well as of Rākṣasas. Gadā however, is one of the four objects which is carried by Viṣṇu the other three are śankha, chakra and padma.

by his grandson in his expedition against Kalinga. As Rāghava is described in the charters of his successors as having reigned for 15 years, the last year of his reign would be 1170 A.D. As no inscription of his reign is found, which bears a date after 1170, this view seems justified. Rāghava reigned for a total period of about 14 to 15 years.

Rājarāja II (c. 1170-1192 A.D.)

According to the charters of successors of Rāghava, this king was succeeded by his half-brother Rājarāja II, the son of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga by his wife Chandralekhā. It follows from his inscriptions that his consecration took place in 1170 A.D. Thus one of his inscriptions dated 1171 A.D. (Śaka 1093) is stated to correspond to his 3rd aṅka or 2nd actual regnal year<sup>1</sup>. Another of his inscriptions dated 1175 A.D. (Śaka 1097) is stated to correspond to his 8th aṅka year, i. e. his 6th regnal year<sup>2</sup>. Another of his inscriptions dated 1192 A.D. (Śaka 1114)<sup>3</sup> is stated to correspond to his 27th aṅka year which is equivalent to his 22nd regnal year. An examination of these inscriptions establishes that his consecration took place in circa 1170 A.D. However, it follows from the Dasgoba Copper Plate of Rājarāja III and other charters of the successors of Rājarāja II that Kāmārṇava VII reigned for 10 and Rāghava for 15 years. As the consecration of Kāmārṇava VII took place in 1147 A.D., the total number of years for which both the kings reigned is 23 or 24 as the last regnal year of

<sup>1</sup>S.I.I., V, No. 1143 p. 417.

<sup>2</sup>S.I.I., V, No. 1113 p. 410.

<sup>3</sup>S.I.I., V, No. 1142 p. 417.



Rāghava was 1170. The discrepancy of one or two years is probably due to the fact that the composer of the charters counted parts of a year as a full year. Thus nine years and a few months may have been counted as 10 years. Similarly 14 years and a few months may have been counted as full 15 years. According to charters of his successors, Rājarāja II reigned for a total period of 25 years. M. Chakravarty<sup>1</sup> took the view that Rājarāja II reigned for 21 years only. He interpreted 25 regnal years as añka instead of actual regnal years. R. Subba Rao<sup>2</sup> has refuted this suggestion because in his opinion Rājarāja II reigned for 25 years. We know from one of the inscriptions of Rājarāja II that he was reigning in 1192 A.D. This inscription may have been composed during the last few months of his reign. Perhaps Rājarāja II reigned for 21 years and a few months, which the composer of the above mentioned inscription described as 27 añka years or 22 regnal years. Probably the composers of the Copper Plate inscriptions of his successors ignored the last few months of his reign and assigned him a regnal period of 25 añka or 21 regnal years. On the other hand R. Subba Rao may be right in suggesting that the 25 years regnal period assigned to Rājarāja II in the charters of his successors refer to regnal years and not añka years. The Mēghēśvara inscription of Svapneśvaradēva<sup>3</sup> reveals that his sister Suramā was a queen of Rājarāja II. The inscription gives us the following genealogy:

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<sup>1</sup>J.A.S.B., LXXII, (1903), pp. 114 and 141.

<sup>2</sup>J.A.H.R.S., VII, pt. 3, p. 186.

<sup>3</sup>Ep. Ind., VI, (1900-01) No. 17, pp. 198-203. Edited by F. Kielhorn.

In the Gautama gotra

Rājaputra Dvārādēva  
 |  
 Mūladēva  
 |  
 Ahirama

In the Lunar race

Cōḍagaṅga



Svapneśvarādēva      Suramā Dēvī      =      Rājarāja II      Aniyaṅkabhīma II

This inscription describes Svapneśvaredēva as a divine weapon in the hands of the Eastern Gaṅga kings<sup>1</sup>. It also suggests that Rājarāja II installed his younger brother Aniyaṅkabhīma or Anaṅgabhīma as a joint king on the throne when he had become very old. This explains, why some of the inscriptions of Anaṅgabhīma II are dated during the reign of Rājarāja II. The inscriptions of Rājarāja II discovered so far bear dates from 1172 A. D. (Śaka 1093) to 1192 A. D. (Śaka 1114).

<sup>1</sup>Ep. Ind., VI (1900-01) No. 17 pp. 198-203, v. 18-21, edited by F. Kielhorn.

Aniyañkabhīma II (c. 1190-1198 A.D.)

According to the Copper Plate inscriptions of Rājarāja III and Aniyañkabhīma III, the inauguration of Aniyañkabhīma II as a joint ruler took place in 1190 A.D.<sup>2</sup> It seems that the Megheśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara was constructed by Svapneśvaradēva during the reign of Aniyañkabhīma II, though this is not specifically mentioned in the Mēgheśvara inscription. But as the inscription mentions that Rājarāja II installed Aniyañkabhīma II as a co-ruler, it seems that the temple was either built or completed in the reign of Aniyañkabhīma II.

The name of Aniyañkabhīma II is found in inscriptions in various forms such as Anañka, Aniyañka and Anañga. D. C. Sircar has suggested that Aniyañka is derived from a combination of the Telugu word ani, meaning battle, and the Sanskrit word añka meaning mark. This, according to him, became sanskritised into anañga in the course of time, through the intermediate form anañka<sup>2</sup>. P. B. Desai<sup>3</sup>, however, has suggested that añka is the abbreviation of añkakāra, which occurs frequently in medieval Kannaḍa literature and inscriptions and means a sworn champion, veteran leader etc. He has traced its adaptation in Telugu añkakaḍu. Thus according to

<sup>1</sup> J. A. S. B. LXXII (1903) p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind., XXX, (1955-58) p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Ind., XXX, (1955-58) p. 198, note 3.

to him Aniyaṅkabhīma would mean "veritable Bhīma, the indomitable hero in battle". In this connection it is interesting to note that Aniyaṅga was the name of the leader of the Tamil army, who seized the throne of Ceylon in 1209 according to the Mahāvamsā. I agree with the view of D. C. Sircar regarding the meaning of the name of Aniyaṅkabhīma

We learn from the Chatēśvara inscription that this king had a chief minister, named Govinda<sup>1</sup>. In charters of some of the successors of Aniyaṅkabhīma II this king is praised as being of good conduct, virtuous and good in the administration of justice. His chief queen was Bhāgalla Dēvi<sup>2</sup>. The next king, Rājarāja III, was inaugurated in 1198 A. D. as follows from his inscriptions. As no inscriptions of Aniyaṅkabhīma II is found after 1198, it is very likely that he died in the same year. According to the charters of successors of Aniyaṅkabhīma II, he reigned for a total period of ten years. But it seems that he reigned for eight years only, as from 1190 to 1198 are only eight years. Aniyaṅkabhīma II was succeeded by his son Rājarāja III, who was a son of Aniyaṅkabhīma II by his chief queen Bhāgalla Dēvi. Thus for the first time after 51 years a son succeeded his father on the Eastern Gaṅga throne. The ten years described as the regnal period of Aniyaṅkabhīma II in the charters of his successors are aṅka years. Ten aṅka regnal years are equal to eight regnal years.

<sup>1</sup>Ep. Ind. XXIX (1953-57) No. 16, pp. 121-33, v. 8, edited by B. Ch. Chhabra.

<sup>2</sup>The Kendupatna C. P. inscription of Narasimha II, edited by N. N. Vasu, J. A. S. B. (1896) No. 43, LXV, pp. 229-271, v. 63.

Rājarāja III (c. 1198-1211 A.D.)

Rājarāja III, who had the epithet of Rājendra, succeeded his father in 1198 A.D. This conclusion has been reached on the basis of two inscriptions dated in 1205 and 1206 A.D. According to one of his inscriptions dated 1205<sup>1</sup>, that year has been described as equal to his 10th aṅka regnal year, i. e. 8th actual regnal year. As 1205 A.D. would be equal to his 8th regnal year, the year of his consecration would fall in 1198 A.D. According to another of his inscriptions, 1206 A.D. is equal to his 11th aṅka regnal year<sup>2</sup>. If we remove the first and the sixth aṅka regnal year, we arrive at the conclusion that 1206 A.D. would be equal to his 9th actual regnal year. As 1206 corresponds to the 9th actual regnal year of Rājarāja III, his year of inauguration as king would be 1198 A.D. According to the Nagari Copper Plate of Anaṅgabhīma III the name of his wife was Malhaṇadevī<sup>3</sup>, who descended from the Cālukya dynasty. However, while editing the Puri C.P. of Narasimha IV M. M. Chakravarty has read the name of the wife of Rājarāja III as Sadguṇadevī. N.N. Vasu has read it as Maṅkuṇadevī while editing the Kendupatna C.P. of Narasimha II. The reading of both, M. M. Chakravarty and N. N. Vasu, are erroneous according to D. C. Sircar<sup>4</sup>. As the Nagari C.P. was issued by Anaṅgabhīma III, who was the son of Rājarāja III by his queen Malhaṇadevī, it is

<sup>1</sup> S.I.I. V, No. 1273, p. 467.

<sup>2</sup> S.I.I. V, No. 1317, p. 481.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Ind. XXVIII (1952-58) p. 235, V. 71.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. Ind. XXVIII (1952-58) No. 40, p. 243.

more likely to be correct than the charters of distant successors of Rājarāja III and his wife Malhaṇadēvī. From the Ṭabaquāt-i-Nāṣirī we learn that the first Muslim attempt to invade Orissa was made during the reign of this king.

Muḥammad-i-Bakhtyār Khaljī who had been appointed by Kutbud-din Aibak to conquer Bihar and Bengal from the Sena kings, succeeded in doing so. Before Muḥammad-i-Bakhtyār Khaljī went to invade Assam and Tibet, he sent two Khaljī Amīr brothers, who were in his service, viz. Muḥammad-i-Sherān and Ahmad-i-Sherān, to invade Lakhnor and Jājnagar. Muḥammad-i-Bakhtyār Khaljī also gave them part of his own forces. When the two brothers learnt about the death of Muḥammad-i-Bakhtyār, they abandoned their plans and returned to Devkot. The expedition against Orissa took place only shortly before the death of Muḥammad-i-Bakhtyār Khaljī in 1206 A.D. According to H. G. Raverty the attempted invasion of Orissa took place in or about A. H. 601, which is equal to 1205 A. D.<sup>2</sup> It seems certain that no battle took place between the Eastern Gaṅga forces and the invading Muslim forces. There is no mention of any battle with Muslims in any of the inscriptions of Rājarāja III or his successors. It is therefore likely that this attempted invasion of Orissa by Muslims had no success.

The barrier, which separated the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom from that of the Kakatīyas, was the area under control of Velanāḍu chiefs of Vēṅgī, who in the second half of the twelfth century were nominally representatives of the

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<sup>1</sup>T.N. p. 573.

<sup>2</sup>T.N. p. 560, Note 4.

Coḷa-Cālukya emperor, but behaved as though they were independent. Gaṇapati, the Kākatiya king, invaded the Ayya chiefs' kingdom Dīvi. The Ayya chiefs, who were feudatories of Velanāḍu chiefs, were defeated and forced to become feudatories of Gaṇapati<sup>1</sup>. Gaṇapati's victory over Dīvi gave him control over almost the whole of the kingdom of the Velanāḍu chiefs as follows from an inscription dated 1211 A. D. Pṛithvīśvara, the Velanāḍu chief, was killed by allies of Gaṇapati, probably when he was trying to regain his kingdom<sup>2</sup>. According to the Śivayogasāra, a fifteenth-century treatise on Vīraśaivism<sup>3</sup>, the Kākatiya army under the command of Indulūri Sōma Pradhāni, succeeded in a single campaign in subduing the principality of Kolānu as well as Kaliṅga. The evidence of this treatise, however, is not supported by epigraphic evidence, which suggests that Kolānu was conquered by Gaṇapati in 1231 A. D. and not earlier<sup>4</sup>. Thus it seems that Kaliṅga was invaded at an earlier date than Kolānu.

According to inscriptions, several engagements took place between the Kākatiya and the Eastern Gaṅga armies. One inscription indicates that a battle was fought at Bokkera, identified with the modern Aska Taluk of the Ganjam district, in which an Eastern Gaṅga famous warrior, Godhumaṛṭi, was killed together with all his followers<sup>5</sup>. In another battle, which took place near Udayagiri

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind. III, (1894-95) p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> S.I.I. VI, No. 166, A. R. (1897) No. 206.

<sup>3</sup> The Kalinga Saṁchika p. 382.

G. Yazdani, 'Early History of the Deccan', (1960) II, p. 605, reference to Kaliṅga-Saṁchika, Note 3.

<sup>4</sup> G. Yazdani, 'Early History of the Deccan', (1960) p. 608, Note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. Ind. III, (1894-95), No. 15, v. 41.

in the modern Pedakimiḍi agency, Pāḍirāya, the chief of that place, was forced to flee. The Kākatiya army captured his fort<sup>1</sup>. Though Gōdhumarāti and Pāḍiraya have not been identified so far, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya and M. Somasekhara Sharma have suggested that they may have been subordinate chiefs of Rājarāja III.<sup>2</sup> The expedition returned in triumph to Draksharama in 1212 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

The various battles between Eastern Gāṅgas and Kākatiya kings did not yield any permanent result. The Kākatiya invasion of Kalinga must, therefore, be regarded as a mere raid.

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<sup>1</sup> H.A.S. No. 3, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> G. Yazdani: 'Early History of the Deccan', (1960) p. 606.

<sup>3</sup> S.I.I. IV, No. 1117, A.R. on S.I.E. 261 of 1893.



## CHAPTER VI

ANAṄGABHĪMA III (c. 1211-12 - 1238 A. D.)

Anaᅅgabhīma III was a son of Rājarāja III by his queen Malhaᅅadevī, a descendant from the Caᅅukya dynasty. There is some uncertainty about the date of the consecration of Anaᅅgabhīma III, which, according to most of his own inscriptions, took place in 1211/1212 A. D.<sup>1</sup> M. Chakravarti<sup>2</sup> and R. Subba Rao<sup>3</sup> have accepted the year 1211/12 A. D. as the year of the consecration of Anaᅅgabhīma III. However, there are some of his inscriptions, which indicate that the year of the inauguration of Anaᅅgabhīma III was Śaka 1134, month of Phāᅅguna, i. e. the beginning of 1213 A. D. For example, an inscription of Anaᅅgabhīma III equates his 22nd aᅅka or eighteenth regnal year with 1230 A. D. (Śaka 1152).<sup>4</sup> This would make 1212 A. D. the first year of his reign if the year was current and 1213 if the Śaka year was elapsed. On the other hand, there are some inscriptions, which suggest 1211 A. D. as the date of his consecration.<sup>5</sup> There are two possible explanations for this discrepancy: it may either be due to the carelessness of the scribes, who drafted these inscriptions; or else,

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I. V No. 1282, p. 469,  
Ibid No. 1318, p. 472.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. S. B. LXXII (1903) p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. H. R. S. VII (1931-33) p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> S. I. I. V No. 1290, p. 450.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid No. 1282, p. 469.  
Ibid No. 1318, p. 481.

the earlier date may refer to the consecration of Anaᅅgabhiᅅa III as a joint ruler together with his father Rājarāja III. Again, the later date probably refers to Anaᅅgabhiᅅa III's inauguration as the sole king.

We learn from the inscriptions of Anaᅅgabhiᅅa III as well as those of his successors<sup>1</sup> that a battle took place between the Muslim ruler of Bengal, Ghiyathuddīn 'Iwaz Khaljī, and Anaᅅgabhiᅅa III. The ᅅabaqāt-i-Nāᅅirī, a contemporary Muslim chronicle, throws considerable light on this battle. The cause of the battle seems to have been the desire of both the rulers to annex Lakhnor (Nagar in the Birbhum district of Bengal) to their respective territories. Lakhnor at the time of battle was a kingless territory, a sort of no-man's land. This was because of the fact that when Muᅅammad Bakhtayār Khaljī conquered Nādia, some time before 1205 A.D., Lakᅅmaᅅa Sēna still retained control over Lakhnor and certain parts of East Bengal. We learn from the ᅅabaqāt-i-Nāᅅirī that in 1205 A.D. Muᅅammad Bakhtayār Khaljī dispatched two brothers, named Muᅅammad-i-Sherān and Ahmad-i-Sherān, with a part of his army towards Lakhnor and Jājnagar<sup>2</sup>. This took place before he himself set out in the same year with a large army towards the mountains of Kāmruᅅ and Tibbet. The result of the expedition of the two brothers (towards the kingdom of Jājnagar and Lakhnor) is nowhere mentioned. This is because they returned to Devkot as soon as they had heard the news of the assassination of Muᅅammad Bakhtayār Khaljī.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind. XXIX (1953-57) No. 16 pp. 121-133.

<sup>2</sup> T.N. Raverty Translation, p.560.

Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī mentions their departure and return but does not inform us of any conquest made by them.

The inscriptions of Rājārāja III, the then ruling Eastern Gaṅga king, are also completely silent regarding this Muslim invasion. A.H. Dani<sup>1</sup> has suggested that, as Lakhnor and Jājnagar are mentioned together in the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, it would be reasonable to assume that Muḥammad Sherān and Aḥmad Sherān along with their invading army reached as far as the border of the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom, which is mentioned in the Muslim Chronicles as Jājnagar. In order to reach the kingdom of Jājnagar it seems that the invading army overran Lakhnor, thereby completely destroying whatever was left of Sena influence in Lakhnor. But as the two brothers had to return to Devkot, no measures were taken to ensure permanent administration of the territory. Thus this invasion had no lasting result. I agree with A.H. Dani that it was a mere raid. One point suggested by Dani in favour of his argument is the fact that Muḥammad Sherān retired to Moseda and Santosh in the present Rajshahi district of Bengal after he was ousted from Devkot. The fact that Muḥammad Sherān never went to Lakhnor, where he would have gone if he had completely conquered the territory earlier, is another indication that he never completely conquered Lakhnor.

When, however, Ghiyathuddīn 'Twaz Khaljī became the ruler of Bengal, he decided to annex Lakhnor to his kingdom, which was then kingless.

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<sup>1</sup>I. H. Q. XXX (1954) pp. 11-18.

Anaṅgabhīma III had the same intentions regarding Lakhnor. It is impossible to decide, which army first attacked Lakhnor. The inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅga kings and the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī give different versions of the battle. However, it is possible to arrive at the truth by comparing the two sources. The Chatēśvara inscription<sup>1</sup> of Viṣṇu who was a minister of Anaṅgabhīma III, praises the former in the following way.

What more shall I speak of his (Viṣṇu's) heroism.

He alone fought against the Muslim king, and applying arrows to his bow killed many skilful warriors. Even the Gods would assemble in the sky to obtain the pleasure of seeing him with their sleepless and fixed eyes.

Another inscription of Narasiṁha II dated 1278 A. D.<sup>2</sup> describes:-

In his lineage was like a flag of Vaijayanti the heroic Anaṅgabhīma, whose profound strength was celebrated by the damsels of a multitude hostile kings destroyed by (his) might (and) who was exceedingly proud of (his) similar horses, the speed of which surpassed (that of) the Snake's foe (Garuḍa) with good fortune he destroyed in battle the Yavana, although the latter possessed an impetuosity that effectively advanced to attack.

<sup>1</sup>Ep. Ind. XXIX (1953-57) No. 16, pp. 121-133, V.15.

<sup>2</sup>The Bhuvaneshwar inscription of Naraśimhadēva II, edited by L. D. Barnett. Ep. Ind. XIII (1915-16) No. 11, pp. 150-155, V.3.

In the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, however, the author says that "the neighbouring rulers of Jājnagar, Bang, Kamrud and Tirhut sent to him (Ghiyathuddin 'Twaz) tributes and (when) the territory of Lakhnor came into his possession, elephants and much treasure fell into his hands and he posted his own Amīrs in that place".<sup>1</sup>

The Chatēśvara inscription speaks of bravery shown by Viṣṇu, the minister of Anaṅabhīma III, against the Muslims. Mention is made in the above mentioned inscription of Viṣṇu's killing many skilful warriors, but no mention is made of the result of the war. The second inscription attributes heroic deeds to Anaṅabhīma III, who is described as having destroyed the Yavana in battle, although the Yavana possessed an 'impetuosity that advanced to attack'. We know that Ghiyathuddin 'Twaz Khaljī was not killed in this battle. So probably this refers to the killing of some other commander of the Muslim army.

The Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī definitely tells us that Ghiyathuddin 'Twaz Khaljī conquered and occupied Lakhnor and posted his own Amīrs to administer the conquered territory, which clearly indicates that the conquest was not a mere raid but a permanent annexation of Lakhnor to the Muslim kingdom of Bengal. Collating the material from the Muslim as well as the Eastern Gaṅga sources we come to the conclusion that in spite of the bravery shown by the Eastern Gaṅga army under the leadership of Anaṅabhīma III and his minister Viṣṇu the Muslims succeeded in winning the battle, as a result of which Ghiyathuddin 'Twaz Khaljī conquered and occupied Lakhnor and posted his officers to administer it.

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<sup>1</sup>Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, Persian text, p.163.

Some scholars, such as R. D. Banerji<sup>1</sup>, however, have taken the view that the battle ended in both sides claiming victory. This cannot be accepted because this assumption is based on a wrong translation by Raverty of the Ṭabaqat-i-Nāṣiri. Raverty has translated the result of this war as follows<sup>2</sup>:-

The parts round about the state of Lakṣnavati, such as Jājnagar, the countries of Bang, Kāmruḍ and Tirhut, all sent tribute to him; and the whole of that territory named Gaur passed under his control.

'Territory of Lakṣnor', which is found in the Persian text, has been substituted by 'territory named Gaur' by Raverty, thereby altering the whole meaning.

According to A. H. Dani<sup>3</sup>, the earlier part, in which Jājnagar is described as one of the feudatory states of Ghiyathuddīn 'Iwaz Khaljī, is mere traditional praise and therefore should not be regarded as trustworthy evidence. H. K. Mahtab<sup>4</sup> has identified the kingdom of Jājnagar mentioned above with another kingdom and not with the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom. According to R. D. Banerji and R. Subba Rao, Anaṅgabhīma III was in no way a feudatory of Ghiyathuddīn 'Iwaz Khaljī.

According to M. Chakravarti<sup>5</sup>, the attempt to conquer Lakṣnor was

<sup>1</sup>History of Orissa, I, p. 260

<sup>2</sup>Translation pp. 587-589.

<sup>3</sup>I. H. Q. XXX (1954) pp. 16-17.

<sup>4</sup>History of Orissa, p. 75.

<sup>5</sup>J. A. S. B. LXXII (1903) p. 119.

made by Ghiyathuddin 'Iwaz Khalji after he was raised to the throne in 1211 A.D. and before Bengal was invaded by I-yal-timish in 1224 A.D. The sending of tribute by Jajnagar and all other kingdoms along with the conquest and permanent acquisition of Lakhnor is mentioned before the invasion of Bengal<sup>1</sup>. M. Chakravarti has further suggested that the invasion by Ghiyathuddin 'Iwaz Khalji took place around 1211-12 A.D., just after the consecration of Anaᅅgabhīma III. The reason for this dating is his assumption that the Muslims often invaded a kingdom when either there was civil war or the king's inauguration had just taken place. R. Subba Rao<sup>2</sup> has suggested that the earlier date given by M. Chakravarti is more likely.

The Chatēśvara inscription of Anaᅅgabhīma III describes Viᅣᅇᅇ the minister of Anaᅅgabhīma III as the opponent of the Tummāᅇa-prᅇthvī-pati. N.N. Vasu suggested that this refers to Tughril Tughan Khān<sup>3</sup>. M. Chakravarty has objected to this identification and has suggested that Tummāᅇa-prᅇthvī-pati refers to the Kalacuri king in Dakᅣinakoᅣala. As has already been stated earlier, Anantavarman Cōᅇagaᅅga and his son and successor Kāmāᅇᅇava VII fought with Ratnadēva II for supremacy over Trikaliᅅga. The epithet of Trikaliᅅgādhipati, which was used by the Eastern Gaᅅga kings from the time of the reign of Vajrahasta III to about 1118 A.D. ceased to be used by Anantavarman Cōᅇagaᅅga, probably as a result of the defeat by the Cēdi king Ratnadeva. It is interesting to note that an inscription of Anaᅅgabhīma III, dated circa 1219/20 A.D. (in his eighth regnal year)<sup>4</sup> clearly

<sup>1</sup> I. H. Q. XXX (1954) pp. 11-18.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. H. R. S. VII (1931-33) p. 235.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. S. B. LXV, (1896) No. 3, pp. 229-271.

<sup>4</sup> S. I. I. IV, No. 1329 p. 467.

A. R. S. I. E. (1893) No. 407.

gives this king the epithet of Trikaliṅgādhipati. In this inscription Anaṅgabhīma III claims to have already effected the deliverance of the Trayi Vasundharā, that is the Trikaliṅga area. An indication of the fact that as a result of his victory over the Kalacuri king Anaṅgabhīma III assumed the epithet of Trikaliṅgādhipati is that we find an inscription of a Śrikarṇa Mahānātha dated 1235 A.D.<sup>1</sup>, who, among other claims, regards himself as supreme magistrate of Trikaliṅgamaṇḍalam. The mention of the existence of Trikaliṅgamaṇḍalam inside the Eastern Gaṅga empire clearly indicates that by 1235 A.D. Trikaliṅga was a province of the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom.

Anaṅgabhīma III, taking the opportunity of the death of Kolanu chief Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kolani Kēśavadēva in 1228, tried to annex Vēṅgī to his kingdom. In order to do this he supported the cause of the Velanāṭi Chiefs Kulottuṅga Rājendra Coḍa and Goṅka, who were descendents of Velanāṭi Pṛthviśvara, killed in battle. We learn from an inscription that Jesrājaka, the son of Khadgasimha, who was son of commander-in-chief of the forces of Anaṅgabhīma III, arrived in 1230 at Draksharama at the head of an army<sup>2</sup>. This inscription probably indicates that Vēṅgī was occupied by the Eastern Gaṅga armed forces in 1230. Gaṇapati, the Kakatiya king, extricated himself from the South and dispatched a large army under the command of Indulūrī Śōma Pradhāni and Ēruva Bhīma<sup>3</sup>. An

<sup>1</sup>S.I.I. V, No. 1284, pp. 470-471.

<sup>2</sup>A.R.S.I.E. 430 of 1893.

S.I.I. IV, No. 1252, pp. 434-435.

<sup>3</sup>G. Yazdani (ed), 'Early History of the Deccan' (1960) pp. 606-608.



inscription of Gaṇapati dated 1231 A.D. shows that Gaṇapati conquered Kolanu in that year<sup>1</sup>. Velanāṭi Goṅka was defeated by Malyāla Hemādri Reḍḍi, a commander of Gaṇapati's armed forces, and was forced to retreat<sup>2</sup>. Kulottuṅga Rajendra Cōḍa, another descendent of Velanāṭi Pr̥thviśvara, surrendered to Kālapa Nāyaka<sup>3</sup>, who was another commander of Kākatiya army. Kālapa Nāyaka was rewarded by being appointed governor of Veṅgī by the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati. Thus attempts by Anaṅgabhīma III to annex Veṅgī to his kingdom or to force its ruler to accept his suzerainty did not succeed.

T.V. Mahalingam has suggested that Anaṅgabhīma III, taking advantage of the weakness of the Cōḷa king Rājaraḷa III and the chaotic condition prevalent in his kingdom, invaded the Cōḷa kingdom. According to him, the Eastern Gaṅga army occupied parts of the Cōḷa kingdom. His arguments are based on three inscriptions, dating from 1225 to 1231, which have been discovered in the Cōḷa kingdom.

The first inscription<sup>4</sup> dated in 1225 A.D., belongs to Māravarman Sundara Paṇḍya. According to this inscription, the temple managers of the Śrīraṅgam temple joined with the Oṭṭar, as a result of which the income of the temple considerably suffered. Mahalingam has suggested that the word Oṭṭar

<sup>1</sup> G. Yazdani (ed), 'Early History of the Deccan' (1960) Note 2, p. 608.

<sup>2</sup> A.R.S.I.E. 283 of 1905.  
S.I.I. IV, No. 1333 p.468.

<sup>3</sup> S.I.I. VI, No. 602 p.217.  
A.R.S.I.E. 160 of 1899.

<sup>4</sup> S.I.I. IV, No. 500 p.140.  
A.R.S.I.E., (1892) No. 53.

in the inscription indicates Oḍḍas or the Oriyas. He has further suggested that the presence of the inscription in the Śrīrangam temple points to the conquest of Tanjore-Tiruchirapallī region by the Oriyas. The inscription also suggests that because of the conspiracy between the ten persons responsible for the administration of the temple and the Oṭṭar, worship in the temple suffered for about 300 days two years before the date of this inscription. The inscription also suggests that the ten persons, who were responsible for the running of the temple, collaborated with the Oṭṭar in collecting paddy from the temple lands and also in various other ways destroyed the wealth of the temple.

Two other inscriptions dated 1230 and 1235 A. D. , mentioning Anaṅgabhīma III, have been found in the Arulāla Perumāl temple at Kāñ c ĩpuram. The first inscription is dated in the nineteenth regnal year of Anaṅgabhīma III<sup>1</sup>, which, as T. V. Mahalingam has suggested, corresponds to 1230 A. D. The object of this inscription is to record the gift of the village of Uḍaiyakāmam in Antarudra-Viṣaya. The latter has been identified with modern Antarodha pargana in the Sadar subdivision of the Puri district of Orissa. As the inscription is dated in regnal years of Anaṅgabhīma III, Dr. Mahalingam has suggested that Anaṅgabhīma III was holding on Kāñ c ĩpuram in spite of the loss of the Tanjore-Tiruchirapallī region in 1225. The donor of the above mentioned inscription was Sōmaladēvi Mahādēvi. The donation was made while she was staying at Abhinava-Varānasī.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind. XXXI (1956-60) No. 16, pp. 94-102.

The second inscription is dated<sup>1</sup> in the twentieth regnal year of the Cōla king Rājarāja III, which corresponds to 1235 A.D. The donor is Anaṅgabhīma III himself. Dr. Mahalingam has suggested that Anaṅgabhīma III lost control over Kāñcīpuram soon after the date of the first inscription, i. e. 1235 A.D. He further suggested that Anaṅgabhīma III was not present in person in 1235 when the grant was made.

T.V. Mahalingam has suggested that most probably Anaṅgabhīma III invaded Kāñcīpuram at the suggestion of the rebel feudatory Kāḍavarāya Chieftain Kopperuñjiṅga<sup>2</sup>, who had already imprisoned Rājarāja III. He has tried to substantiate this suggestion by quoting from Hoysala inscriptions. These two inscriptions suggest the presence of a Hoysala army in the Cōla country and the occupation by them of Kāñcīpuram.

One of these inscriptions<sup>3</sup> describes the achievement of Hoysala Narasiṃha II as follows:-

"His forcible capture of Adiyama, Chēra, Pāṇḍya, Makara  
and the powerful Kāḍavas, why should I describe?  
Describe how he lifted up the Cōla brought under his  
order the land as far as the Sētu and pursuing after

<sup>1</sup>Ep. Ind. XXXI (1956-60) No. 16, pp. 94-102.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup>Ep. Carn. V (1902) Cn. 203.

the Trikalinga<sup>1</sup> forces, penetrated their train of elephants displaying unequal valour."

Another inscription<sup>2</sup> provides the following details:-

"The king Vira Narasimha determined to make an expedition of victory in all directions, first went to the east, and being surrounded uprooted the Magara king, set up the Coḷa king, who sought refuge with him and, having seen (the God) Allalanātha stationed there a body of Bherundas (probably Bherunda is the name of a regiment) to uproot the evil, returned and entering the Ratnakuta capital was at peace. Then the body of the Bherundas, according to his order, remained for sometime at Kāncīpuram, the remover of the fears of the world, the worshipful Allalanātha, and marking both their arms with signs, the servants went forth and having conquered unequalled hostile forces and the Vindhya mountains, acquired the renown of a present day Agastya for the body of Vira-bherundas."

Neither of these last mentioned inscriptions is dated. T.V.

Mahalingam has, however, on the basis of the contents of these two inscriptions,

<sup>1</sup>The pursuit of Trikalinga forces by Narasimha II indicates the possibility of a battle between the Hoysala and the Eastern Gaṅga armies in which the Hoysala army was victorious.

<sup>2</sup>Ep. Carn. V (1902) Cn. 211.

suggested that they can be dated to about 1230. In the first inscription mention is made of the pursuit of Hoysala Narasimha II of the Trikalinga forces. T.V. Mahalingam has suggested that the Trikalinga forces mentioned in the inscription are the Eastern Gaṅga army. He has suggested that when the Eastern Gaṅga forces invaded the Cōla kingdom it was driven away from there by Hoysala Narasimha II.

The second Hoysala inscription may imply the occupation of Kāñcīpuram by the Eastern Gaṅga army. Mahalingam has suggested that when the Eastern Gaṅga army invaded the Cōla kingdom it was driven away from there by Hoysala Narasimha II. The second Hoysala inscription may imply the occupation of Kāñcīpuram by the Eastern Gaṅga army, as it mentions the restoration of the Cōla king on the throne and the help received by Rājarāja III from Hoysala Narasimha II in getting back his throne. It also mentions the stationing of Hoysala troops at Kāñcīpuram for uprooting of the evil doers. Dr. Mahalingam has suggested that the presence of a duṣṭa element at Kāñcīpuram, as indicated in the second Hoysala inscription refers to the Trikalinga army. The reason why Dr. Mahalingam proposed this interpretation is to suggest that the Bheruṇḍa troops, after staying at Kāñcīpuram for some time, would have gone north, conquered the Vindhya mountains and beat the hostile forces.

According to Dr. Mahalingam, the foreign army indicated in the above mentioned inscription could have been that of Anaṅgabhimā III, which was

the duṣṭa element at Kāñcīpuram. Dr. Mahalingam has further suggested that on the basis of the first Hoysaḷa inscription it is not necessary to assume that Hoysaḷa Vīra Narasiṃha invaded Kalinga itself. What the first Hoysaḷa inscription suggests is that when the Eastern Gaṅga army invaded the Cōḷa kingdom it was defeated by the Hoysaḷa king Narasiṃha and was expelled from the Cōḷa country.

Another important indication in favour of the occupation of Kāñcīpuram by the Eastern Gaṅgas is the fact that the first of the two inscriptions of Anaṅgabhīma III found at the Arulāla Perūmāl temple at Kāñcīpuram is dated in the nineteenth regnal year of this king. It can, however, be argued that the document would have been prepared at Abhinava Vārāṇasī, the residence of the donor Sōmaladēvi. If the document had been prepared at the Eastern Gaṅga court, it would naturally have been dated in regnal years of Anaṅgabhīma III. In this connection it is important to note that the village of Uḍayikāmam in the Antarudra viṣaya which was donated by Sōmaladēvi was located in the Puri district of Orissa. If Anaṅgabhīma III had conquered part of the Cōḷa kingdom, then the donated village would probably have been in the conquered region. Therefore in my opinion Anaṅgabhīma III did not occupy Kāñcīpuram. Another reason why this inscription was dated in the regnal reckoning of Anaṅgabhīma III could be according to Dr. Mahalingam that when Anaṅgabhīma III conquered Kāñcīpuram, it had no king. This could have happened at a time, when the Cōḷa king Rājarāja III was a prisoner of his rebel feudatory Kāḍavarāya Chieftain Kopperuñjiṅga. This is dismissed by D. C. Sircar as too much of a coincidence.

To sum up, according to T.V. Mahalingam, the occupation of Kāñcīpuram was of a short duration. Though Anaṅgabhīma III lost control over Kāñcīpuram in 1230, as is clearly evident from the two above mentioned Hoysala inscriptions of Narasiṃha II, his reverence to the deity of Arulāla Perumāl temple continued, as is evident from the second Arulāla Perumāl temple inscription, at Kāñcīpuram. The second inscription is dated in the regnal years of Rājarāja III, the Cōla king. This, according to Dr. Mahalingam, suggests that by 1235 Anaṅgabhīma III became reconciled with Cōla Rājarāja III and accepted him as undisputed king of the Cōla kingdom.

D. C. Sircar has, however, suggested that Anaṅgabhīma III did not conquer any part of the Cōla kingdom at any time. According to him the inscription of Māṅavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya dated 1225 A. D. does not refer to the Oḍḍas or the Oriyas. D. C. Sircar has accepted the interpretation of Venkatasubba Ayyar regarding the word Oṭṭar, which occurs in the above mentioned Srirangam inscription. According to them, Oṭṭar does not refer to the Oriyas, but means 'those who have undertaken to do a thing or given an agreement to the temple'. Thus, according to D. C. Sircar, the above mentioned inscription does not in any way refer to an Oriya invasion of the Cōla kingdom. D. C. Sircar has further pointed out that Hoysala Narasiṃha II was at Kāñcīpuram on the 10th March 1229 A. D.<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Ep. Carn. XII (1904) Tp. 42.

A number of inscriptions of Hoysala generals dated between 1230 and 1240 A.D. have been found at Kāñcīpuram. An inscription dated 25th February 1230<sup>1</sup> refers to the presence of Ammaṇṇa at Kāñcīpuram. Another inscription<sup>2</sup> belonging to the same year refers to the presence at Kāñcīpuram of another Hoysala general, named Gopayya. According to D.C. Sircar, the presence of these Hoysala generals at Kāñcīpuram from 1229 to 1231 A.D. clearly indicates that the Hoysalas were dominant during this period at Kāñcīpuram. Therefore, according to D.C. Sircar, it is very difficult to believe that Anaṅgabhīma III should have occupied Kāñcīpuram while the Hoysala army was stationed there. D.C. Sircar has opined that the identification of the duṣṭa element at Kāñcīpuram with the army of Anaṅgabhīma III, which was uprooted by the Hoysala army, is unjustified.

D.C. Sircar has further suggested that at places of pilgrimage relatives and officials of a king sometimes made grants in the regnal reckoning of their own kings. For example, a Draksharama inscription dated 1128 A.D. records a donation by one of the queens of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga<sup>3</sup>. If on the basis of this inscription one would conclude that the Draksharama area formed a part of the empire of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, then it would be wrong. This is because of the existence of several other inscriptions bearing exactly the same

<sup>1</sup> A.R. on S.I.E. (1919) No. 408.

<sup>2</sup> A.R. on S.I.E. (1919) No. 404.

<sup>3</sup> S.I.I. IV, No. 1194, p.411.



date, but referring to the second or third regnal year of Viṣṇuvardhana. It was not necessary for a person to visit a distant holy place in order to make a grant in favour of the deity worshipped there.

D. C. Sircar has pointed out that as V. Venkatasubba Ayyar has proved Hoysala Narasiṃha II assumed the titles "Establisher of the Cōḷa kingdom and destroyer of the demon Kāḍavarāya" after an engagement with Kāḍava Kopperuñjīga I in 1224 A. D. Similarly, according to V. Venkatasubba Ayyar, most of the other achievements of Narasiṃha II, like that of planting a pillar of victory at Rameśvaram and defeating of Magara and the Pāṇḍya king in 1223-1224 A. D. or before it, D. C. Sircar has therefore suggested that most of the achievements of Narasiṃha II referred to by Dr. Mahalingam should be assigned to a date more than five years before 1230 A. D. He has not, however, been able to throw any light on the significance of the defeat of the Trikaliṅga forces by Hoysala Narasiṃha II. Probably this is an empty boast on the part of the court poet of Narasiṃha II, who composed this inscription. The date of capture of the Cōḷa king Rājarāja III by his rebel feudatory chief Kāḍavarāya Kopperuñjīga I has been considered by Sewell to have taken place in 1231 A. D. or a little earlier.

T. V. Mahalingam has however suggested that the date of capture of Rājarāja III is 1230 A. D. He has also suggested that most probably Anaṅgabhīma III invaded Kāñcīpuram at that very time. D. C. Sircar has however brought forward

that as the date of inauguration as king of Anaṅgabhīma III is not certain (it could have been any time between 1211-1213 A. D.), the identification of 1230 with the 19th regnal year of Anaṅgabhīma III is questionable. Furthermore, in all the ordinary inscriptions of Anaṅgabhīma III aṅka years and Śaka years have been used. However, in the two inscriptions of Kāñcīpuram there is no mention of aṅka years. If, considering the style of dating favoured by all the Eastern Gaṅga kings of this period, the date of the first of the two Kāñcīpuram inscriptions, viz. the year nineteen is referred to in the aṅka reckoning, then it would correspond to the 16th regnal year of Anaṅgabhīma III and to 1227 A. D. Thus, according to D. C. Sircar, T. V. Mahalingam is on shaky ground in trying to establish an Oriya invasion of Kāñcīpuram. Dr. Mahalingam's suggestion that Anaṅgabhīma III entered in Kāñcīpuram at exactly the same time when Cōḷa Rājarāja III was in prison demands too many assumptions and therefore does not seem credible.

In order to invade the Cōḷa kingdom it would have been necessary for Anaṅgabhīma III to have passed through the Kākatiya territory. The Kākatiyas under Gaṇapati were expanding their power towards the South. There is no proof at all that Anaṅgabhīma III ever defeated Gaṇapati. Thus it seems most unlikely that Anaṅgabhīma III invaded the Cōḷa country as is suggested by T. V. Mahalingam. It has been suggested by D. C. Sircar that Sōmaladevī Mahādevī, wife of Anaṅgabhīma III, was a sister or daughter of the Cōḷa king, Rājarāja III. However, her name points to a Kamada origin. As it is already known, the

name of a queen of Hoysala Narasiṃha II was Sōmaladevī<sup>1</sup>.

Hoysala Narasiṃha II married one of his daughters to the Cōla king Rājarāja III<sup>2</sup>. It was a well-established custom then throughout South India to name grandchildren after their grandparents. Therefore, according to D.C. Sircar, Sōmaladevī, wife of Anaṅgabhīma III, may have been a daughter of Cōla Rājarāja III, by the daughter of Hoysala Narasiṃha II, through his queen Sōmaladevī<sup>3</sup>.

If Anaṅgabhīma III was a son-in-law of Cōla Rājarāja III, it is very unlikely that he should have invaded the Cōla kingdom. As to the second inscription of Anaṅgabhīma III dated 1235 A.D., even if we believe that the king was present at Kaṅcīpuram when making this grant, it should be explained in a different way. Anaṅgabhīma III most probably visited the temple as a pilgrim in course of his visit to his relative Hoysala Narasiṃha II.

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Similarly, a Gāhaḍavāla inscription dated 1110/11 A.D. is found in the temple at Gangaikondacholapuram<sup>4</sup>, but it is impossible to believe that the Gāhaḍavālas should ever have invaded the Cōla kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> N. Sastri: The Cōlas, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Sewell, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Ind. XXXI, (1958-60) p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> A.R.S.I.E., (1908) p. 65.

Again, if Anaṅgabhīma III conquered the Tanjore-Tiruchirapallī region of the Cōḷa kingdom as early as 1225 A.D. and was in possession of Kañcīpuram as late as 1230 A.D., then it is astonishing that the court poets of Anaṅgabhīma III are completely silent about it. The Nagari Copper Plate of Anaṅgabhīma III dated 1230-31 A.D. does not mention the conquest of the Cōḷa kingdom by Anaṅgabhīma III at all. Furthermore, the evidence of the Nagari C.P. clearly proves that Anaṅgabhīma III was staying in the vicinity of his capital in 1230 A.D. Therefore, it becomes very difficult to believe that Anaṅgabhīma III could have led an expedition into the Cōḷa kingdom, a distance of about 1000 miles away, in or around that year.

The inscriptions of his successors are also silent regarding a possible invasion of the Cōḷa kingdom by him.

Anaṅgabhīma III is described as having observed Tulāpuruṣadāna, i. e. he got his person weighed against gold or silver, which he then presented to the Brāhmaṇas. According to the Mādalā Pañjī<sup>1</sup> and inscriptions (issued by Anaṅgabhīma III as well as his successors) Anaṅgabhīma III dedicated his whole kingdom to the god Puruṣōttama-Jagannātha and started regarding himself as a feudatary of the God and a ruler of the rauta class. As a result of this decision

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<sup>1</sup> Stirling's Translation, Asiatic Researches, XV, pp. 254-276.

his successors did not enjoy any formal coronation. It is in this way that the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom came to be known as Puruṣottama-Saṃrājya<sup>1</sup>. It is interesting to note that an inscription of this king dated circa 1219/20 A.D. gives this king the epithets of paramavaṣṭava, paramamāheśvara, paramabhṭṭaraka, Durgāputra, śri Puruṣottama putra and Rudra putra. This clearly indicates that the king worshipped all the above mentioned deities and was regarded as a very holy monarch by his subjects. One of the reasons of Anaṅgabhīma III worshipping so many deities may have been his desire to please all religious sects of his kingdom. (op. cit. chapter 8)

According to an inscription of Narasiṃha II<sup>2</sup>, we learn that Anaṅgabhīma III had a daughter called Candrikādēvī, who was married to Paramādhīdeva of the Haihaya dynasty. Anaṅgabhīma III's relationship with the Haihayas seem to have been very good.

Anangabhīma III was succeeded by his son Narasiṃha I as king of the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom.

<sup>1</sup>Ep. Ind. XXX, (1955-58), p.202.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., XIII, p.150.

CHAPTER VII

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN THE EASTERN  
GAṄGA KINGDOM BETWEEN CIRCA 1038-1238 A. D.

We learn from the inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅga kings that there existed an elaborate administrative machinery. The emperor enjoyed absolute powers, but ruled with the advice of his ministers, village chiefs and other civilian and military officers.

There were many officials ruling over different subdivisions of the Eastern Gaṅga empire.

The highest division was known as mahāmāṇḍala (great province or region). It was ruled by mahārāṇaka or mahāmāṇḍalika, who was responsible for the administration of several provinces. It seems that the Eastern Kadambas were hereditary mahāmāṇḍalikas under the Eastern Gaṅgas. The charters of the Eastern Kadamba kings indicate that they were hereditary mahāmāṇḍalikas under the early kings of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty and held the territory of Pañcaviṣaya. According to M. Somasekhara Sarma<sup>1</sup> the term Pañca represents a proper name

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<sup>1</sup>The Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, VII Session (1944) pp. 222-228.

as well as the numeral five. Thus the territory of Pañcaviṣaya had five districts. These were (i) Korasodaka Pañcalī (ii) Puṣyagiri Pañcalī, (iii) Devana Pañcalī (iv) Cikhali Pañcalī (v) Dāgha Pañcalī. These five Pañcalīs are mentioned in the grants of the early Eastern Gaṅga kings. The term Pañcapātras denoting five ministers finds mention in the mandasa<sup>1</sup> and the Simhipura Copper Plates<sup>2</sup> of the Eastern Kadamba kings. According to M. Somasekhara Sarma each viṣaya of the Pañcaviṣaya was administered by a pātra or minister. The pātras received their orders from the Eastern Kadamba kings and were loyal to them. The emblem of the Eastern Kadambas was the matsya or fish, which is found on all their inscriptions. In some of their own inscriptions<sup>3</sup> the Eastern Kadamba kings described the Gaṅga era as the Gaṅga-Kadamba era. Presumably this reflected:-

(1) The existence of close links between the Eastern Kadambas and their Eastern Gaṅga overlords and

(2) The desire of the Khedi kings (i. e. the kings, whose names ended in -khedi) to let it be known that they were linked with another family of kings, who were also known as Kadambas.

<sup>1</sup> J. B. O. R. S. XVII (1931) pts. II and III pp. 175-89.

J. A. H. R. S. XII (1939-40) pt. I pp. 21-28.

J. A. H. R. S. IX (1933-35) pt. III pp. 13-22.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. H. R. S. III (1927-29) pp. 171-180, edited by Satyanarayana Rajaguru.

<sup>3</sup> The Mandasa C. P. of Anantavarmadēva, edited by G. Ramdas,

J. B. O. R. S. XVII (1931), pts. II and III, pp. 175-188.

The Simhipura C. P. of Dharmakhedi edited by Satyanarayana Rajaguru,

J. A. H. R. S. III (1927-29), pp. 171-180.

The Vizagapatam Copper Plate of Dēvēndravarman dated Gn. E. 254<sup>1</sup> states that this king made grants of several villages to God Dharmēśvara (Śiva) at the instance of his maternal uncle Dharmakheḍi. Dharmakheḍi in this inscription is not mentioned as an Eastern Kadamba chief. However, as the Eastern Kadambas used the appellation Khedi, it is possible to conclude that Dharmakheḍi of the above mentioned inscription was an Eastern Kadamba chief. Thus it seems that the Eastern Kadambas were matrimonially linked with the Eastern Gaṅgas. This may be the reason of the closeness of the link between the two dynasties, which extended over several hundred years. As stated elsewhere, the Eastern Kadambas were probably also responsible for starting the worship of Madhukeśvara at Kaliṅganagara. (op. cit. chapter VIII) The mahāmāṇḍalikas were responsible to the king and took their orders from him. They were allowed to circulate their own coins in the territory they held. Several coins of the Eastern Kadamba kings have been found which bear the fish emblem. The seal of the Eastern Kadamba kings contains a fish and an elephant goad. The elephant goad appears on the seal of most of the Eastern Gaṅga kings. However, whereas a fish appears on the coins and seals of the Eastern Kadambas, a bull appears on the coins and seals of the Eastern Gaṅgas. D. C. Sircar has suggested that the Eastern Kadambas became feudatories of the Śvetaka branch of the Eastern Gaṅga family by 1066 A. D. He based his conclusion on the study of the Māḍagrāma grant<sup>2</sup> of Dēvēndravarman and Bhimakheḍi.

<sup>1</sup>Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89) pp. 143-146, edited by Fleet.

<sup>2</sup>Ep. Ind. XXXI (1956-60) No. 7, pp. 45-52 edited by R. C. Majumdar.



Each mahamaṇḍala was divided into a number of maṇḍalas or provinces. A māṇḍalika ruled over a maṇḍala. The Dirghasi inscription of Vanapati<sup>1</sup> describes the latter as a māṇḍalika of Rājarāja I. It is interesting to note that Vanapati claims to have defeated the Cōḍa, the Utkala and the Oḍḍa kings. Vanapati may have been a general in the army of Rājarāja I and may have raided the Cōḍa, the Utkala and the Oḍḍa kingdoms. Probably because of his services as a general he was appointed a māṇḍalika.

A maṇḍala was divided into a number of nāḍus or viṣayas. Each nāḍu or viṣaya was divided into several hundred of grāmas or villages. Nāḍu is found only in the Telugu inscriptions. A grāma was under a grāmika.

The empire contained nagaras, e.g. Kaliṅganagara. nagara meant a great town. Under the reign of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga the Eastern Gaṅga capital was transferred from Kaliṅganagara to another nagara, Nagarakatakam. Other towns were indicated by pura, e.g. Dantapura.

The mahamaṇḍalikas got their orders direct from the king. They supervised the work of maṇḍala officers.

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<sup>1</sup>Ep. Ind. IV (1896-97) No. 45, pp. 314-18, edited by G.V. Ramamurti.

The māṇḍalika supervised the work of the officers who were in charge of the administration of the viṣaya. The viṣayādhipati and other officers of the viṣaya were entrusted with the task of supervising the work of administrators at village level. The villages were the lowest units of the administration. Each village had a number of officers, like grāmika, karāṇa, daṇḍapāśin etc.

Inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅga kings do not contain a lengthy list of officials who served them. Therefore it is not possible to establish the order of precedence among them. We learn, however, the order of precedence among the officials of the Śvetaka Gaṅga branch of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty from an examination of two undated Copper Plate inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of this dynasty. According to the editors of these two copper-plate inscriptions both of these belong to the twelfth or the thirteenth century A. D. In my opinion in these two inscriptions the officials are mentioned in order of their rank. The highest ranking official is mentioned first, the second highest ranking official is mentioned after him, the third highest ranking official is mentioned after the second highest ranking official and so on. The two inscriptions mention these officials in the following order:-

"mahasāmanta, sāmanta, rājanaka, rājaputra, kumārāmātya, uparika,  
daṇḍanāyaka, viṣayapati, grāmapati, cāṭa and bhaṭa."

<sup>1</sup>The Ganjam C. P. of Prthvivarmadeva, edited by Kielhorn.  
Ep. Ind. IV (1896-97) No. 26, pp. 198-201.

The Madras Museum Plates of Indravarmadeva, edited by R. Subba Rao.  
J. A. H. R. S. III (1927-29) pp. 183-188.

mahāsāmanta means a great chieftain or a feudatory of higher rank than sāmanta.

sāmanta means a subordinate chief or a feudatory lesser in rank than rajan. It may also mean a minister or the word may be used as a title of a feudatory ruler of lesser rank than mahāsāmanta.

rajanaka means a feudatory lesser in rank than rajan. As sāmanta is mentioned before rajanaka, it indicates that holders of the title of sāmanta were regarded as a higher class of feudatories than the holders of the title of rajanaka.

rajanputra - It originally meant "a prince". It was also used as a title of princes and subordinate rulers. Later on however, the word rajanputra became a title of nobility, specially in modified forms raṅvata, rauta etc. Sometimes the word rajanputra was also used in the sense of "a rajanput" often explained as a horse-man. In my opinion rajanputra has been mentioned in the two above-mentioned inscriptions to denote subordinate rulers who were ranked after mahāsāmanta, sāmanta and rajanaka.

kumārāmātya has been translated in two ways by D. C. Sircar. It could mean an amātya (minister) who enjoyed the status of a kumāra or prince. It could also be translated as Tamil pillaigal-tasam, which was an officers cadre mainly composed of the junior members of the royal family. In my opinion, in the above mentioned inscriptions the term kumārāmātya denotes an officer of the Eastern Gaṅga Kingdom who was a relative of the royal family.

uparika means a viceroy or a governor of a province. The word according to D. C. Sircar literally means "one placed at the top." An uparika according to D. C. Sircar was appointed by the emperor and he himself appointed the governor of a district. The holders of the title of uparika under the śvetaka branch of the Eastern Gaṅga<sup>1</sup> appear to be feudatories, who ranked after mahāsāmanta, sāmanta, rājanaka, rājaputra and kumāramātya in the above-mentioned order. As they appear so much at the bottom in order of precedence, it seems that the holders of the above-mentioned title were the lowest category of feudatories.

daṇḍanāyaka - It may mean a general or a commander of police or armed forces.

In the two above-mentioned inscriptions the holders of the offices of daṇḍanāyaka seem to be important army officers as they are mentioned before viṣayapati.

viṣayapati - It indicates that the holder of the office was chief of a viṣaya or district.

grāmapati - It was a term used for the village headman.

caṭa denoted irregular soldiers.

bhaṭa - It denoted a soldier or more probably a constable.

The Madras Museum Copper Plate of Indravarmadēva<sup>1</sup> adds another

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<sup>1</sup> J. A. H. R. S. III (1927-29) pp. 183-188.

officer after bhaṭa. This is daṇḍapāsika (an official who was in charge of or the leader of a group of daṇḍikas.) It may also probably mean a policeman.

The inscriptions show that the emperors frequently toured their empires. They paid great attention to spreading Vedic learning in their empire. They encouraged construction and repair of temples and donated land to people of various castes for their maintenance. The Boddapadu Copper Plate<sup>1</sup> of Vajrahasta III records the gift of Avaremga village in the Koluvarṭani Viṣaya to the God Jaleśvara of the same village. The gift was made as a bhōga to the God. In 1081 A.D. Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga donated the village of Chakivada<sup>2</sup> in the Samva district to the God Rājarājeśvara for the continuation of the rites of bali, pūjā, naivedya etc. Another charter of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, dated 1084 A.D.<sup>3</sup>, records the donation of the village Sellada in Rupavartani district or viṣaya. The above-mentioned village was constituted as a devāgrahāra for offerings and lamps to the goddess Bhagavatī. The donee Komaracandra was to ensure that the income from the village was used for the above purpose. According to the charter, the donee was allowed maintenance for his troubles. Sometimes the king granted land to ensure the continuance of worship in a particular temple. According to the Madras Museum Copper Plate of Vajrahasta III<sup>4</sup> this king made a grant of a village to five hundred

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind. XXIV (1961-62) No. 8, pp. 42-44, edited by G.S. Gai.

<sup>2</sup> The Vizagapatam C.P. grant.  
Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89) No. 178, pp. 161-165, edited by Fleet.

<sup>3</sup> The Chicacole C.P. of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga  
J. A. H. R. S. VIII (1933-35) edited by C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao pp. 163-94.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. Ind. IX (1907-08) No. 11, edited by Sten Konow, pp. 94-98.

brahmanas and constituted it as devagrahara. The donees were to ensure the continuance of the rites of bali, caru, naivedya, dipapuja etc. in the temple of the God Kojisvara. The donees were also required to make the necessary repairs in the temple without any delay and were to receive two hundred murakas of grain for carrying out the above-mentioned duties. According to another charter of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, dated 1113 A.D.<sup>1</sup>, the king donated the village of Khonna to three hundred brahmanas, who were devoted to the religious rites of conducting sacrifices, studying and teaching of the Vedas and giving and accepting donations.

It appears that the Eastern Gaṅga kings exempted some of their donees from payment of taxes, while others, had to pay reduced taxes on land received from the king. For example, in 1077 A.D. Rājarāja I donated the village of Kodila<sup>2</sup> in Varahavartani viṣaya to three hundred brahmanas, who belonged to the Ātreya-gotra. The record does not mention the creation of a tax-free holding. The donees, therefore, appear to have been liable to paying tax for their holdings.

Another record of Rājarāja I<sup>3</sup> dated 1077 A.D. records the gift of the village of Bṛhatkodila in the district of Varāhavartani. The gift is stated to have been made grāma-grāsa. Neither of these two records refer to the creation

<sup>1</sup>The Kornī C. P. of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga of 1113 A. D. J. A. H. R. S. I (1926-27) edited by G. V. Sitapati, pp. 106-120.

<sup>2</sup>The Galavalli C. P. of Rājarāja I, edited by D. C. Sircar. Ep. Ind. XXXI (1956-60) No. 24, pp. 187-196.

<sup>3</sup>The Chicacole C. P. of Rājarāja I, edited by C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao. J. A. H. R. S. VIII (1933-35) pp. 163-94).

of a freehold out of the land. This is probably why the expression grāma-grāsa instead of the well-known agrahāra has been used to indicate the nature of the holding under Vāsudēvaśarman and Nārayaṇaśarman, the two donees who received the charter from Rājarāja I. The absence of imprecatory and benedictory verses in both the charters seems to be an indication that neither of the two records implied the grant of a freehold.

Anaṅgabhīma III made several grants to brāhmaṇas<sup>1</sup>. Thus on 23rd February 1230 A. D. he granted twenty Vaṭīs of land at Puraṇagrāma in the Sāilō district to a brāhmaṇa named Śaṅkarshaṇanandaśarman, a student of the Kāṇva branch of Yajurveda. The grant was a permanent one including freedom from taxes. It was made by the king on the occasion of a dāna Sāgara performed by him according to the recommendations of the Mahābhārata. In connection with a number of other grants made according to the recommendations of the Vāmana Purāṇa, Anaṅgabhīma III granted a large village, covering thirty Vaṭīs of land, to the same donee. It is interesting to note that the king granted to the donee twenty Vaṭīs of cornland in the Puraṇagrāma and ten Vaṭīs of homestead land in another village called Jayanagaragrāma.

Both of these villages were situated in Sāilō viṣaya. The second grant also was a permanent revenue free gift.

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<sup>1</sup>The Nagari C. P. of 1230-31 A. D. edited by D. C. Sircar  
Ep. Ind. XXVIII (1952-58) No. 40, pp. 235-58.

On 21st November 1230 A.D. Anaṅgabhīma III granted eighteen vāṭīs of land to another brāhmaṇa named Dīkṣita Rudrapāṇiśarman. On 26th December 1230 A.C. Anaṅgabhīma III granted five vāṭīs of land in Puraṇagrāma to the Āhitāgni brāhmaṇa Śoma-pālaśarman of the Rāthītara gotra. Soon afterwards king Anaṅgabhīma III, on the occasion of the installation of the God Puruṣottama-dēva granted two vāṭīs of land in the Puraṇagrāma village to the brāhmaṇa Ācārya Chandrakaraśarman of the Kāśyapa gotra. These grants were permanent revenue-free grants and all the recipients were students of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurveda. Anaṅgabhīma III made another grant of five vāṭīs of land in Puraṇagrama in the same year on another occasion to brāhmaṇa Ācārya Kāyadīśarman, who also was a student of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurveda. Some other brāhmaṇas, who were ṛtviks and students of the Rigveda and other Vedas, shared the grant with the donees. The above mentioned grant was made as a part of the Hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna ceremony. It is stated in the record that out of the five vāṭīs of land the Ācārya was to receive three vāṭīs and the remaining two vāṭīs were to be given to the ṛtviks. The above mentioned grant also was a permanent revenue-free grant.

On the 5th of January 1231 Anaṅgabhīma III granted four vāṭīs and eight māṇas of land, covered with barley, wheat and sugarcane, to the brāhmaṇa Devadharāśarman, who was a student of Kāṇva branch of the Yajurveda and the Kauthuma branch of the Sāmaveda. The land which the donee received was situated in the village of Vilāsapuragrāma in the Kuddiṇḍa district. The grant was a



permanently revenue-free grant.

We learn from the above-mentioned records that the Eastern Gaṅga kings made grants for the upkeep of temples. We also learn that they made grants to some brāhmaṇas who were students of the Vedas. Probably their purpose in making these grants to students of Vedas was to encourage the learning of Vedas among the brāhmaṇas.

The kings granted land to people of all castes. The Peddabamidi Copper Plate dated 1060 A. D.<sup>1</sup> and the Ganjam Copper Plate dated 1068 A. D.<sup>2</sup> of Vajrahasta III record grants made to persons who are described as veśya-vaṁśodbhava, which seems to be a mistake for Vaiśya-vaṁśodbhava. The two charters indicate that Vaiśyas were important during the reign of Vajrahasta III. The donees in both the charters received their grant for valour. In the Arsavalli Copper Plate<sup>3</sup> of Vajrahasta III dated 1068 A. D. the donees are Kāyasthas and Śūdras. Sometimes the Eastern Gaṅga kings donated villages, hamlets or land to their relatives. According to the Vizagapatam Copper Plate of Anantavarman Cōḍaganga dated 1135/36 A. D.<sup>4</sup> he granted the village of Śumuḍa along with the hamlet named Tittilingi in the Sammaga Viṣaya to Cōḍagaṅga, who was the son of Permāḍiraḅa and Māṅkama Dēvī. We know from several other records<sup>5</sup> that the donee of this

<sup>1</sup>Ep. Ind. XXXI (1956-60) No. 40, pp. 305-308, edited by R.C. Majumdar.

<sup>2</sup>Ep. Ind. XXIII (1935-36) edited by R.C. Majumdar, No. 11, pp. 94-98.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, XXXII (1959-62) No. 37, pp. 310-316, edited by C.S. Gai.

<sup>4</sup>Ind. Ant. XVIII (1888-89) No. 180, pp. 172-180, edited by Fleet.

<sup>5</sup>Ep. Ind. XXX (1955-58) No. 18, pp. 90-94.

S.I.I. V, No. 1015, p. 387

Ibid , No. 1019, p. 388

charter was a relative of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. Sometimes rich subjects or officers of the king purchased a village and made a gift of it. According to the Chikkalavalasa C. P. of Vajrahasta III dated 1059 A. D. , Mallaya Śrēṣṭhin received the village of Kuddam from Vajrahasta III. The charter does not describe the village as a rent-free gift. The expression sarvva-pīḍa-vivarjitam in the charter<sup>1</sup> indicates that the donee enjoyed certain privileges, i. e. freedom from all kinds of burdens, which, however, did not include freedom from the payment of rent. The donee obtained the village from the king for the purpose of donating the major part of it as an agrahāra to three hundred brāhmanas. Mallaya Śrēṣṭhin reserved for himself only a small part of the village and agreed to pay annual rent in both cash and grains. The rent, payable to the king, had to be paid at the rate of one hundred murās of paddy and eight māḍas, which seems to be a concessional rate of payment of rent. Probably the determination of the concessional rate depended on such factors as the size of the revenue from a village, the degree of the kings willingness to suffer loss of revenue income in lieu of religious merit, the amount of the purchase money received by the king for the creation of an agrahāra from the donors or a third party eager to perform a meritorious deed.

According to the Alagum inscription of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga<sup>2</sup> dated 1141 A. D. , Kāmāṅḍi purchased with his own money a hala of land in the village of Alagumma in the Rāmaṅga district. The donee then made it an endowment

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind. XXXIII (1960-63) p. 141 line 43.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind. XXIX (1953-57) No. 6, pp. 44-48.  
edited by D. C. Sircar and S. Ratha Sarma.

in favour of the maṭha of the god Garatteśvaradēva. The grant was in the first place intended to provide food for an ascetic probably living in the maṭha and, in the second place, three pravartas of paddy were allotted for providing naivedya or the daily ceremonial offering to the god Garatteśvaradēva. In addition to the land granted, the donor deposited a sum of money with local authorities (probably superintendents of the temple) for providing an akhaṇḍa lamp in honour of Garatteśvaradēva in the temple of that same god.

In the Bhubaneswar inscription of Pramāḍi dated 1142 A. D.<sup>1</sup> it is stated that inhabitants of the village of Nāgarbhā in the Paimda district, headed by the pradhāni, received five māḍas of gold for a perpetual lamp from Pramāḍi. The inscription then says that the villagers receiving the money had to pay interest at the rate of one quarter per month. One quarter per month, according to D. C. Sircar, seems to indicate a quarter of the standard measure of oil or purified butter required for feeding the perpetual lamp for the provision of which the endowment was made.

We know from one of the Puri inscriptions of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga<sup>2</sup> that it was possible for a person's descendent to free himself from the obligation of feeding a perpetual lamp. According to this record some gold

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<sup>1</sup>Ep. Ind. XXX (1955-58) No. 18, pp. 90-94, edited by D. C. Sircar.

<sup>2</sup>Ep. Ind. XXXIII (1960-63) No. 35, pp. 180-185, edited by D. C. Sircar.

coins were deposited by three people for a chhāyā-dīpa with Sādhu Bhīmadēva (a person, who seems to be of mercantile community), Rudra and Hari. The responsibility of Bhīmadēva and his two colleagues was to supply oil for the perpetual lamp in lieu of the interest of the gold deposited with them. The inscription then goes on to say that Bhīmadēva's son Nāna arranged for the discharge of his obligation. This seems to indicate that, probably after the death of Bhīmadēva, his son Nāna refunded the deposit and thereby freed himself from the obligation of supplying oil for the perpetual lamp. The inscription goes on to indicate that on the termination of the old endowment another endowment was created by depositing the same gold with another person named Jīvanta Śreṣṭhīn who was required to provide two hundred measures of oil every month to god Mārkaṇḍēśvara.

It was customary for military officers or important subjects of the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom to make grants of land to temples for various purposes. In an inscription dated 26th June 1225 A.D.<sup>1</sup> it is stated that Suru Senāpati made a grant of three vātīs of land in favour of Puruṣottama Jagannātha for making provision for the offering of naivedya of milk, clarified butter, rice and curds. It is stated that the grant was made with an offering of bhoga, which consisted of clarified butter, curry (vyāñjana), curds and betel leaf. Another charter dated 5th January 1237 A.D.<sup>2</sup> records a grant in favour of Puruṣottama Jagannātha for

<sup>1</sup>The Puri inscriptions of Anangabhima III, edited by D.C. Sircar. Ep. Ind. XXX (1955-58) No. 34, pp. 197-203. 1st inscription.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid - Inscription number 2 of the Puri inscriptions of Anangabhima III.

making provision for offerings to the deity. This grant also was made with clarified butter, curry, curds and betel leaf. Another charter dated 3rd February 1237 A. D.<sup>1</sup> states that grants of two vāṭis of land were made in favour of god Puruṣottama Jagamātha for making provision for offerings to the deity. Thus it seems that it was the custom to offer land to the god for making provision for naivedya formally with an offering of bhōga consisting of clarified butter, curry, curds and betel leaf.

Another inscription of Suru Senāpati dated 12th January 1237<sup>2</sup> records a gift of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  vāṭi of land. Suru Senāpati donated one vāṭi of land for the provision of supply of one Maṇa (probably the same as maṇa, which is equal to 40 seers or 82 pounds) of rice (possibly per day) to the deity. This grant, too, was made with clarified butter, curds, curry and betel leaf. The second piece of land was dedicated to the same god and was granted for making provision for the supply of ten bundles (hala) of fragrant flowers, probably per day.

High officers of the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom also donated land for the purpose of maintenance and upkeep of temples. According to an inscription, Govinda Senāpati<sup>3</sup> is stated to have carried out jirṇodhāra, i. e. restoration, of

<sup>1</sup>The Puri inscriptions of Anaṅgabhīma III, edited by D. C. Sircar, Ep. Ind. XXX (1955-58) No. 34, pp. 197-203. 3rd inscription.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Inscription number 4 of the Puri inscriptions of Anaṅgabhīma III.

<sup>3</sup>Ep. Ind. XXX (1955-58) No. 5, pp. 17-23, edited by D. C. Sircar. Bhubaneswar inscription of Anaṅgabhīma III.

the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvaneśvara. He is stated to have donated five vāṭis of land for making provision for sweeping the maṇḍapa three times a day, white-washing its walls once a year and repairing the roof of the temple once in every twelve years. Of the five vāṭis of land two were allotted to the kumbhakāra (potter) for repairing the roof, two to the churṇakāra (lime-washer) for white-washing and one to the sweeper.

It was normal practice that the king, while making gifts of land, always assembled all the ministers, chiefs of villages and important subjects and made them aware of the nature of his grants and ordered them to observe his orders. He also informed the assembly that the donees should be allowed to enjoy his rights without any obstacles. He also appointed executors or ājñāpatis to see that his instructions were carried out.

The boundaries of the village or hamlet or land, which was donated, were clearly defined in most of the charters in order to prevent occurrence of disputes. We learn from an inscription of Anaṅgabhīma III dated 1230 A.D.<sup>1</sup> that there was a dispute between two villages concerning the ownership of a flower garden. We also learn about the way the dispute was settled by Anaṅgabhīma III and his officers.

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<sup>1</sup> S.I.I. V, No. 1290, pp. 472-73.

We learn from the inscription that Anaṅgabhīma III, Narasiṁha Rāmēśvara Andāri, the priest of the temple of Madhukēśvara of Kaliṅganagara, Vaiṣṇavas of Tirupati, government officers and Nāyaks of Kaliṅga settled a boundary dispute between the two villages of Ponnāḍiya and Bomtalakoṭa after visiting the disputed site and examining the concerned inscriptions of both villages. They found that the disputed flower garden belonged to the village of Ponnāḍiya. They fixed the boundaries by setting up stones and resolved that in case the villagers of Bomtalakoṭa disputed the boundary limits or harmed the interests of villagers of Ponnāḍiya or removed the gardens, all their properties would be confiscated and they would be exiled and deprived of their livelihood. They were also threatened with social excommunication. The villagers of Bomtalakoṭa swore to observe the above-mentioned order by the king and God Jagannātha. We learn from this inscription that the king personally visited the site which was under dispute. The king on such occasions was accompanied by important religious leaders as well as military and government officers. The king could require the guilty party to keep the peace on pain of social excommunication, confiscation of wealth and deprivation of livelihood. The guilty party was required to swear by the king and god to keep the peace. A Siṁhāchalam temple inscription dated 1221 A.D.<sup>1</sup> records the gift of a perpetual lamp to god Narasiṁha by Cōḍagaṅga II, son of Anantavarman Aṭṭhāsādēva. This inscription indicates that a collateral branch of the royal family descended from Cōḍagaṅga's was ruling as feudatories in Kaliṅga subject to the control of the imperial dynasty.

<sup>1</sup>S.I.I. V, No. 1194, p. 436.

According to Wilson<sup>1</sup> one vāṭī of land was equal to 20 māṇas. A māṇa is described to be the same as bighā and is stated to be equal to 25 gunṭhas at Cuttack. In some places a gunṭha is equal to the fortieth part of an acre or 121 square yards. A gunṭha is stated to be equal to sixteen biswas. A biswa is said to be varying areas of vāṭī prevalent in different parts of the country. There may have been a difference between the area of a vāṭī at the present day and that recognized by the Eastern Gaṅga kings in the thirteenth century. According to an Oriya dictionary<sup>2</sup> a māṇa is equivalent to one acre of land and a vāṭī as equal to twenty acres of land. We learn from Alapur C. P. of Narasiṃha II<sup>3</sup> that during his reign one vāṭī of land was equal to twenty māṇas and one māṇa of land was equal to twenty-five gunṭhas. This may have been the case throughout the period under study.

On 21st November 1230 A. D. Anāṅabhīma III granted eighteen vāṭīs of land, which is referred to as go-carman. Probably go-carman originally indicated an area of land, which was covered by the hides of cows slaughtered in a sacrifice and was granted to the priests as sacrificial fee. According to Nilakantha's commentary on Mahābhārata<sup>4</sup> a go-carman indicated a piece of land large enough to be encompassed by straps of leather from a single cow's hide.

<sup>1</sup> Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms.

<sup>2</sup> Pramoda Abhidhāna (published in 1942).

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Ind. XXVIII (1952-58) No. 40, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Vaṅgavāsī edition, I, 30, 23.



The Parāśara-Saṃhita<sup>1</sup> and Bṛhaspati-Saṃhita<sup>2</sup> suggest that gocarman is that area of land, where a thousand cows could freely graze in company of a hundred bulls. According to the Viṣṇu Saṃhita<sup>3</sup>, gocarman was that area of land which, with its produce, was sufficient to maintain a person for a whole year. Śatātapa<sup>4</sup> and Bṛhaspati<sup>5</sup> Saṃhitās indicate that gocarman was ten times nivartana, which was the area of 300 x 300 square cubits (about  $4\frac{3}{4}$  acres).

However, the area of nivartana is also not the same with different writers. A variant reading of Bṛhaspati text refers to nivartana as one tenth of the gocarman<sup>6</sup>. The area of a gocarman, according to this reading, would be 210 x 210 square cubits (about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  acres). According to Bhāskarācārya's<sup>7</sup> Līlavatī a nivartana is 200 x 200 square cubits (about 2 acres). Nivartana is 240 x 240 square cubits (about 3 acres), according to Kautilya<sup>8</sup>. However, according to its commentator<sup>9</sup> it is only 120 square cubits (about  $\frac{3}{4}$  acre).

<sup>1</sup> Calcutta edition, XII, 43.

<sup>2</sup> Vaṅgavāsī edition, verse 9.

<sup>3</sup> Vaṅgavāsī edition, V, 179.

<sup>4</sup> Vaṅgavāsī edition.

<sup>5</sup> Loc. cit, verse 8.

<sup>6</sup> Vijñanesvara's commentary on the Yajñavalkya - Smṛiti, I, 210.

<sup>7</sup> Calcutta edition, I, 6.

<sup>8</sup> Successors of the Śātavāhanas p. 330 note

<sup>9</sup> Bharata-Kaumudī, pt. II, pp. 943-948.

These differences mainly arose because of varying length of the cubit and the measuring rod in different parts of the country. As eighteen vāṭis of land is a large area, the gocarman mentioned in the above record seems to be that which has been suggested by Parāsara. Hala (plough) was also used for measuring land. Its exact measurement is not known.

Karaṅka<sup>1</sup> was used for measuring liquid. It was a small pot made of coconut-shell. How much liquid it could contain is not known to us.

Muraka<sup>2</sup> was used for measuring of grain. Its exact measurement is not known.

Pravartas<sup>3</sup> was used for measuring grain. Its exact measurement is also not known to us. It has been suggested by D. C. Sircar that it was equivalent to the present Oriya pauti, which is equal to ten maunds.

We learn from the Madalā pañji<sup>4</sup> that Anaṅabhīma III ordered the measurement of the whole of the land within his kingdom. We learn that Damodar

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind. XXX (1955-58) p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> The Madras Museum Plates of Vajrahasta III  
Ep. Ind. IX (1907-08) No. 11, pp. 94-98, edited by Sten Konow.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Ind. XXIX (1953-57) No. 60, pp. 44-48.  
The Alagum inscription of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga edited by D. C. Sircar.

<sup>4</sup> Asiatic Researches XV (1825) pp. 254-275.

Bar Panda and Isan Patnaik, two of the principal ministers, were entrusted with this task. They came to the conclusion that the whole kingdom measured 62,28,000 batti or vāṭī. The measurement was carried out with the rods called Nal and Padekh. After deducting 14,80,000 vāṭīs, which were occupied by sites of hills, beds of ditches, towns and land irreclaimably wasted, 47,48,000 vāṭīs of cultivable land was left. Out of this quantity 24,30,000 vāṭīs were reserved as the emperor's royal domain. The chronicle further states that the remainder of the land was assigned by the king for support of his chiefs, armies, officers of state, brāhmanas, elephants etc. This can not be accepted as true because, the peasants have not been assigned any land.

According to Hunter, after 1132 A.D. the empire of the Eastern Gāṅgas had three distinct tracts. The first tract was the central region, which was two hundred miles long by one hundred and twenty miles wide or twenty-four thousand square miles. This region roughly corresponded to the British province of Orissa. The exact area of the central tract, according to Hunter, was 23,907 square miles. The second tract was the narrow strip between the sea on one side and the mountains on the other, i. e. the area South of Chilka lake up to the river Godavari. This area was three hundred miles long with an average of forty miles in width and an area of twelve thousand square miles. The third region consisted of the modern district of Midnapore and had the area of thirty-five hundred square miles. According to Hunter, from 1132 A.D. the Eastern Gaṅga empire had an area of 39,407 square miles. According to H.K. Mahtab<sup>1</sup>, land revenue was

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<sup>1</sup>History of Orissa, p. 82.

collected at one sixth part of the gross produce. Besides this, according to R. Subba Rao<sup>1</sup>, the king also obtained revenue from court fees and fines, customs dues and tolls, taxes on mines and forests, gifts and presents, tributes from feudatories and monopolies of salt, betel and alcoholic drinks. There does not seem to be any evidence that there was any government monopoly of salt, betel and alcoholic drinks. An inscription<sup>2</sup> of the time of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga records a gift made by<sup>a</sup> lavapakarādhikāri. In my opinion this officer was in charge of collection of tax on the sale of salt and was not entrusted with the task of running the monopolist government salt department.

According to the Mādala Pāñji, Anaṅgabhīma III had an annual revenue of 3,50000 marhās of gold. The marhā is an Oriya weight equal to one fourth of a karisha. Four marha = one karisha and one karisha = one tola. Thus annual revenue during the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III was 875,000 tolas of gold. Besides that Anaṅgabhīma is also said to have claimed that as a result of his conquests his treasury contained 1,00000 tolas of gold and jewels worth 197,000 tolas of gold. Thus it seems that the Eastern Gaṅga kings collected vast sums in revenue and in booty. According to Hunter, the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty collected £435000 per year in revenue from the 24000 square miles of Orissa proper.

<sup>1</sup> Seventh Oriental Conference pp. 521-527.

<sup>2</sup> S.I.I. V, No. 1035, p. 392.

According to R. Subba Rao, the king spent his money on four kind of expenses. Firstly he spent money on administration, i. e. on army, police, civil service etc. Secondly he spent money on religion and learning, i. e. donations to temples and scholars. Thirdly he spent money on public works, i. e. construction of palaces, roads, tanks, irrigation works etc. Fourthly he spent money on his own household, i. e. the Royal Household expenditure.

According to the Mādālā Pāñji, Anaṅgabhīma III had 3,00,000 paiks or footmen. Probably these were bhaṭas or irregular soldiers. However, his army according to the Mādālā Pāñji ordinarily consisted of 50,000 regular soldiers, 10,000 horsemen and 2,500 elephants.

There are a few Eastern Gāṅga records, which speak of land grants being made to nayakas, who were military chiefs. According to Dr. K.K. Gopal<sup>1</sup> the nayakas probably received these grants as remuneration for their military duties or as assignments with military obligations. Vajrahasta III<sup>2</sup> in one of his charters is stated to have granted a village to Ganapati nayaka, who in absence of any reference to his gotra and pravara appears to have been a non-brāhmin. Perhaps Ganapati nayaka was one of Vajrahasta III's military officers.

<sup>1</sup> Feudalism in Northern India (c. 700-1200 A.D.). Unpublished thesis London University (1962). pp.80-81.

<sup>2</sup> A.R.S.I.E. (1926-27) No. 648, pp. 19-22.

From an inscription of Anaṅgabhīma III we learn about the occupations of the artisans who lived in a small town of thirty vātīs in Sāilō Viṣaya. There was a perfumer, a dealer or worker in conch shells, a splitter of wood (patakāra), a goldsmith and a brazier or worker in bellmetal. Besides these, the township also contained betel sellers (tambūlika), a florist, the maker of or dealer in sugar, the oilmen, the potters, the fishermen, a barber, some craftsmen and a washerman.

In the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom cowries were used for the purchase of goods and services. cūrṇī and purāṇa were measurements used for measuring cowries<sup>1</sup>. The word cūrṇī usually connotes a hundred cowries. The purāṇa was the old silver kārṣāpāṇa, usually regarded as equal to 1280 cowries. However, according to Oriya dictionaries both the words cūrṇī and purāṇa are regarded as kāhāṇa (or sanskrit kārṣapāṇa), which was equal to 1280 cowrie-shells.

There is no doubt that the words a hundred cūrṇīs added by five purāṇas have been used in the above mentioned sense in the above mentioned record. This is clearly suggested as the amount given in words as "a hundred cūrṇīs and five purāṇas" is separately mentioned in figures as pu 105, i. e. 105 purāṇas. Thus the amount granted was 105 cūrṇīs, purāṇas or kāhāṇas, which were equivalent to 134,400 cowrie-shells. According to R. Subba Rao, various kinds of coins are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅga kings. These are maḍas,

<sup>1</sup>The Alagiri inscriptions of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga edited by D. C. Sircar. Ep. Ind. XXIX (1953-57) No. 6, pp. 44-48.

Gaṇḍa māḍas, Malla māḍas, Matsya māḍas, Gaṅga māḍas, Chirguana māḍas, Padmavidhigaṇḍa māḍas, Kulottunga māḍas, Chinams, Fanams, gold ṭanakas, silver ṭanakas, Sasukani ṭanakas. Jewels and precious stones were granted by pious people to gods and learned brāhmaṇas. In the Mādalā Pāñjī king Anaṅgabhīma III declared his annual revenue as 3,500000 marhās of gold. The Marhā of Mādalā Pāñjī seems to be the same as māḍas of Eastern Gaṅga and Kadamba inscriptions. In the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom gold coins of Eastern Gāṅgas, Eastern Kadambas as well as 8d coins of neighbouring kingdoms like the Cōḷa and the Eastern Cālūkyas were used. According to R. Subba Rao the gold coins of the Eastern Gāṅgas and the Eastern Kadambas looked like brinjal seeds and are therefore nowadays known as Vanga Parakalu. Most of these gold coins have been discovered in places like Kaliṅgapattṇam, Mukhaliṅgam, Dantapuram and Santa Bommali. These coins are also called Gaṅga fanams or Matsya fanams or Siṃha fanams according to the emblems they possess. A number of inscriptions belonging to the reign of Anantavarman Cōḍaganga<sup>1</sup> refer to a certain Sūraparāju, who gave thirty-five cows for a perpetual lamp in the name of his elder brother and for the merit of his parents. We learn from another inscription of the time of Anantavarman Cōḍaganga<sup>2</sup> that a lady called Vinjanā, who was the guḍisāni, made a gift of five māḍas to the temple of Nīlakaṇṭheśvara for burning a perpetual lamp. The exact value of a māḍa is not known. However, since thirty-five cows were given for burning one lamp it is probable that one gold māḍa represented the

<sup>1</sup> A.R.S.I.E. (1926-27) Nos. 664, 666 and 676, pp. 19-22.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid No. 673.

same order of value as seven cows. Also these coins, according to R. Subba Rao<sup>1</sup>, are known as pūjā chihnam̄s. This indicates that they were used for offerings to gods and brāhm̄anas. According to R. Subba Rao, the Eastern Gaṅgas used four different types of gold coins, viz. fanams, half-fanams, quarter fanams and one eighth of a fanam. Probably the fanam was the same as māḍas of inscriptions and marhā of Mādala Pāñjī.

It is interesting to note that the weight of coins of the same denomination varied. Thus in the British Museum there are Eastern Gaṅga golden māḍas of .50, .48 and .43 grams. The average weight of their heaviest coin, which is fanam or māḍa, is .48 grams and several coins of this weight are preserved in the British Museum. It is difficult to say what the weight of half a fanam was as I have not seen any half fanams so far. Perhaps a golden half fanam weighed between .23 to .25 grams. Two quarter golden fanams are also preserved in the British Museum. They both weigh .10 of a gram. There are also half a dozen of coins, which weigh between .04 and .06 grams. In fact their average weight is .05 grams. In my opinion their value is one eighth of a fanam. Similarly the Eastern Kadamba coins, i. e. the coins, which carry Eastern Kadamba symbols, are also of the same denomination as the Eastern Gaṅga coins. The weight of the Eastern Kadamba coins of the same denomination also varies. One of the reasons why the coins of Eastern Gaṅga and Eastern Kadamba kings differed in weight may be because they were issued by different kings.

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<sup>1</sup>J. A. H. R. S. V (1929-31) p. 248.





1 Māda

Weight - 50 grams.

Diameter - 11 millimetres



1 Māda

Weight - 43 grams.

Diameter - 7.5. millimetres



1/4 Māda

Weight - 10 grams

Diameter - 4.5 millimetres



1/8 Māda

Weight - .06 grams.

Diameter - 4 millimetres

The Eastern Gaṅga coins have a Śivaliṅgam, a recumbent bull, a conch and a crescent struck on them. These coins remind us of the Eastern Gaṅga kings' adherence to the Śaivite faith before Anantavarman Cōḍaganga became a Vaiṣṇava. The conch is a reminder of the gift of Gokarṇasvāmi to the founder of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty.

According to R. Subba Rao the gold used in these coins was probably imported from Rome. He has based his identification because of presence on these coins of scales, which he identifies as Roman scales, in addition nothing is known of trade with Rome in this period. I disagree with him completely. The scale on these coins could be any type of scale and not the Roman scale. The gold, of which these coins were minted, could have been mined in India and various symbols may have been engraved on it in the mint of the Eastern Gaṅga kings. It is also unlikely that there should have been relations with Rome in this period.

According to C.R. Choudhry<sup>1</sup> more than a dozen Eastern Gaṅga coins were discovered, which had small gold loops attached to them. The aim probably was to thread the coins together to form a necklace. It is interesting to note that an Eastern Ganga coin has been found at the ancient site of Tāmralipti, modern Tamluk, in the Midnapore district of West Bengal<sup>2</sup>. The coin is interesting because

<sup>1</sup>J. N. S. I. XXXI, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup>J. N. S. I. XXXI, p. 76.

of its presence in the Midnapore district of West Bengal. The coin may be regarded as another evidence of the campaigns carried out by Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga in this area during the Pāla Sena period. We already know from the inscription of successors of Anantavarman Cōḍaganga that he conquered Mandāra. We also know that Vijayasena claimed in his inscriptions to have defeated Rāghava, the Eastern Gaṅga king. The presence of this coin clearly confirms the epigraphic evidence that for some time the Eastern Gaṅgas ruled over Mandāra till the territory was conquered by Vijayasena. Some of the Eastern Gaṅga coins also contain the regnal years of the issuing king.

CHAPTER VIII

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RELIGION IN THE EASTERN GANGA KINGDOM BETWEEN 1038-1238 A. D.

The seals of the Copper Plate grants of Vajrahasta III and Rājarāja I show the figures of bull, conch, elephant goad, trident, crescent, battle axe, staff and drum. Most of these symbols indicate that these kings were worshippers of Śiva. As stated elsewhere the presence of the conch on the seals is a reminder of the gift made by Gokarṇasvāmi to the founder of the dynasty. The existence of Gokarṇasvāmi on Mahēndragiri, Madhukēśvara, Bhīmeśvara and Somēśvara at Mukhalingam and other gods in liṅga form and with suitable temples all over the Eastern Gaṅga empire would suggest that phallic worship standing for creative energy or śakti was highly popular among early Eastern Gaṅga kings till Cōḍagaṅga's conversion to Vaiṣṇavism. The Vizagapatam Copper Plate of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga dated 1081 A. D. refers to a Śaivite temple, named after the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja I and called Rājarājeśvara. The temple was situated in Rengujed, a village in the Ganjam district. Probably Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga constructed the temple in imitation of the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjore, built by the Cōḷa emperor Rājarāja. This seems to be an imitation of the Cōḷa custom to build temples named after a deceased king, implying perhaps some form of apotheosis.

From the above mentioned facts we learn that temples built for Śiva and large endowments were made by the king, his officers and his wealthy subjects. This led to spread of Brahmanical Hinduism and traces of Jainism and Buddhism, which flourished at an earlier period, disappeared.

Before his conversion to Vaiṣṇavaism Cōḍagaṅga and his wives made grants to Śaivite temples inside as well as outside his kingdom. Thus Cōḍamahādevī<sup>1</sup>, who was one of the wives of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, granted some Kulottuṅga māḍas for a perpetual lamp in the temple of God Bhīmeśa of Draksharama.

After Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga's conversion to Vaiṣṇavism his inscriptions are found in Vaiṣṇavite temples as well. Several of his inscriptions have been found in the Sreekurmam and Puri temples. Most of the inscriptions of the reign of Kāmarnava VII are in the Viṣṇu temples at Sreekurmam<sup>2</sup>. However, according to an inscription<sup>3</sup> a wife of Kāmarnava VII made a gift of land for the burning of perpetual lamps to God Madhukeśvara. This shows that, though after Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga's conversion to Vaiṣṇavism his successors worshipped Viṣṇu, worship of Śiva was not entirely neglected. Another inscription records the gift of five māḍas to God Aniyāṅkabhimeśvara in 1147 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>S.I.I. IV, No. 1052, p. 348.

<sup>2</sup>S.I.I. V, No. 1323, p. 482.  
A.R.S.I.E. (1896) No. 384.

<sup>3</sup>S.I.I. V, No. 1047, pp. 394-395.

<sup>4</sup>S.I.I. V, No. 1147, p. 418.

Several inscriptions of Rāghava's reign have been found in Sreekurmam temple<sup>1</sup>. Two of his inscriptions<sup>2</sup> have also been found in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvaneshwar. This shows that in the reign of Rāghava as in that of Kāmārnava VII Viṣṇu and Śiva worship continued to flourish.

Four inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja II are found in various Śaivite temples at Mukhaliṅgam<sup>3</sup> and two are found in the Śreekurmam temple<sup>4</sup>. This again shows that though the royal dynasty professed Vaiṣṇavite creed, they and their subjects did not ignore the worship of Śiva. Thus Svapneśvaradēva, the brother-in-law of Rājarāja II, built the temple of Meghēśvara<sup>5</sup> or Śiva during the reign of Anaṅgabhīma II. Two inscriptions of the reign of Anaṅgabhīma II have been found in the Krttivāsa<sup>6</sup> temple at Bhuvaneshwar, which shows that worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu was equally popular.

Two stone inscriptions of the time of Rājarāja III have been found

<sup>1</sup>S.I.I. V, No. 1330, p. 484.

Ibid, No. 1331, p. 484.

Ibid, No. 1340, p. 487.

Ibid, No. 1341, p. 487.

Ibid, No. 1336, p. 486.

<sup>2</sup>The Bhuvaneshwar inscriptions of Rāghava, edited by D. C. Sircar, Ep. Ind. XXX (1955-58) No. 28, pp. 158-161.

<sup>3</sup>S.I.I. V, No. 1113, p. 410.

Ibid, No. 1135, p. 415.

Ibid, No. 1046, p. 394.

Ibid, No. 1142, p. 417.

<sup>4</sup>S.I.I. V, No. 1270, p. 466.

Ibid, No. 1329, p. 484.

<sup>5</sup>Ep. Ind. VI (1900-1901) pp. 198-203. Edited by F. Kielhorn.

<sup>6</sup>J. A. S. B., LXXII pt. I, p. 115.

at Sreekurmam<sup>1</sup>, which testify to the popularity of Viṣṇu worship during his reign. Several inscriptions of the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III have been found in the Draksharama temple<sup>2</sup>. Some other inscriptions of his reign have been found in the Simhachelam temple<sup>3</sup> and in the Sreekurmam temple<sup>4</sup>. Thus from and after the reign of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, the Eastern Gaṅga kings began to bestow more attention upon and endow more liberally the Vaiṣṇavite temples, such as Sreekurmam, Simhachelam and Jagannātha. The Mukhalingam temples show very little sign of royal patronage. However, the Eastern Gaṅga kings neither persecuted the Śaivites nor did they completely neglect the Śaivite temples.

The Nagari Copper Plate inscription of Anaṅgabhīma III<sup>5</sup> refers to him as the illustrious Anaṅgabhīma Rāutadēva. Rāuta, according to D. C. Sircar, signifies a prince or a nobleman and is derived from Rājaputra. However, according to him the Eastern Gaṅga kings from Anangabhīma III onward used the

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I. V, No. 1273, p. 467.  
No. 1317, p. 481.

<sup>2</sup> S. I. I. IV, No. 1329, p. 467.  
No. 1360, p. 478.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, VI, No. 1180, p. 477.  
No. 1194, p. 483.

<sup>4</sup> S. I. I. V, No. 1276, p. 468.  
Ibid, No. 1282, p. 469.  
Ibid, No. 1284, p. 470.  
Ibid, No. 1290, pp. 472-473.  
Ibid, No. 1337, p. 486.

<sup>5</sup> The Nagari C. P. of 1230-31 A. D. edited by D. C. Sircar.  
Ep. Ind. XVIII (1952-58) No. 40, pp. 235-58.

epithet rāuta to signify that they were feudatories of Puruṣottama Jagannātha. As several successors of Anaṅgabhīma III used the epithet and as Anaṅgabhīma III was the first king to use it, it seems quite likely that the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom was formally dedicated to Puruṣottama Jagannātha.

### Saivism

At Mukhalingam three temples dedicated to Śiva under the names of Madhukeśvara, Someśvara and Aniyāṅka-bhīmeśvara have been excavated. No epigraphic records are available in the Someśvara temple. However, the iconographers assign it to the latter half of the ninth century. The temple of Aniyāṅkabhīmeśvara may have been founded by Vajrahasta II, alias Aniyāṅkabhīma.

According to the Korni Copper Plate dated 1113 A. D.<sup>1</sup>, and the Vizagapatam Copper Plate dated 1118/19 A. D., the Madhukeśvara temple was founded by Kāmārṇava II, who was the son of Dānārṇava. Kāmārṇava II is described as having nagara for his capital, where he built a lofty temple for an emblem of the God Īśa or Śiva in the liṅga form, to which he gave the name of Madhukeśa because it came out of a Madhuka tree. On iconographical grounds it appears that the temple was built in the latter half of the eighth century A. D.

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<sup>1</sup>J. A. H. R. S., I (1926), part I, No. 4, pp. 40-46.



As 188½ years elapsed between the end of the reign of Kamārṇava II and the beginning of the reign of Vajrahasta III, it appears quite likely that the temple was constructed between the beginning and the middle of the ninth century A.D. The Madhukeśvara temple is the oldest among the existing temples of Mukhalingam and there are over a hundred inscriptions in the temple.

There is a legend prevalent in the area around the temple, which throws light on the origin of God Madhukeśvara<sup>1</sup>. According to this legend accursed Gandharvas of Himalyas were born as Śabara tribal people in Kaliṅga with their king Citragrīva. King Citragrīva or Citragrīvaka had two wives, Citti and Citkala, who was Śaivite. The king allotted two branches of a Madhuka tree to them and entrusted them with the task of gathering flowers. Queen Citkala always gathered golden flowers from the branch that was allotted to her. This caused perpetual quarrels between the two queens. The king became vexed with the Madhuka tree because he regarded it as the root cause of the quarrels. The king decided to fell the tree. While the king was attempting to fell the tree, God Śāṅkara in terrific form appeared from the tree making the tribal king fall unconscious. Citti thought that her husband was dead and that Citkala was responsible for his death. She called for help and gathered a lot of Śabara people, who came to kill Citkala. God Śāṅkara reappeared to save Citkala. When this

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<sup>1</sup>G.R. Varma 'City of temples - Mukhalingam'.  
J.A.H.R.S. XXVIII (1962-63) pts. I and II pp. 33-38.  
 'Madhukeśvara of Mukhalingam' pp. 62-68.

happened, the Śābaras regained their gandharva forms and left for their abode. However, God Śaṅkara remained there as the tribal god of the Śābaras and is known as Madhukeśvara since then. As he had appeared from a Madhuka (Bassia latifolia or Mohua) tree, it became a sacred tree to the Śābaras. Even today Bassia Latifolia is regarded as a sacred tree by them and is used for food and alcoholic drinks.

Varāhamihira in his Bṛhatsaṁhitā prescribed certain types of wood for making objects of worship, if the installation is performed by a Brahmana. Madhuka wood is one of the prescribed sacred woods. As the early Eastern Gaṅga kings appear to have been Brahmanas, it seems quite likely that they installed a liṅga of Madhuka wood. The Korni C. P. dated 1113 A. D. and the Vizagapatam Copper Plate dated 1118/19 A. D. refer to God Madhukeśvara as liṅga of Madhuka. The shape of Madhukeśvara is neither a liṅga nor a true image but actually a stump, a trunk of a tree, clearly shown with a cavity, but of a petrous consistence probably of the dāruḷiṅga type (as in Puri). Worship in many ancient civilizations was aniconic and the symbol of the deity was neither male nor female but stood for both the sexes. This symbolic form can also be seen in the representation of this god, the stump standing for the male principle and cavity for the female principle. The cavity inside a tree trunk was regarded as the abode of gods in different parts of India. The tribal people of Bastar still regard the cavity of tree as abode of gods. Thus it seems that the Eastern Gaṅgas started worshipping Madhukeśvara

after they saw him being worshipped by the Śābaras. Thus the worship of Madhukēśvara was adopted by the Eastern Gaṅga kings from an aboriginal tribe in the area. Once the Eastern Gaṅga kings built temples for the worship of these deities, the non-tribal people of their kingdom also started worshipping them.

According to G.R. Varma, the early Gaṅgas regarded Gokarṇēśvara as their tutelary deity but the later Gaṅgas adopted the worship of Madhukēśvara instead. He suggests that, as Gokarṇēśvara means 'god of forest', the Eastern Gaṅgas were probably tribal kings and Madhukēśvara was a later name for Gokarṇasvāmin or Gokarṇēśvara. Gokarṇa, however, does not mean forest but 'cow's ear'. Presumably it was the name of a hill or mountain reminding one of the form of an ear of the cow. G.R. Varma further suggests that Kāmārṇava II renovated the existing temple of Gokarṇēśvara and renamed it Madhukēśvara. R. Subba Rao<sup>1</sup> has also suggested that God Madhukēśvara of Kalinganagara was also termed Jayantēśvara or Gokarṇēśvara in some of the inscriptions found in that temple. According to him the term Gokarṇe-Madhukēśvarāya found in some of the inscriptions of Madhukēśvara temple indicates the fusion of the tutelary deities of the two dynasties. I do not agree with him because Gokarṇe-Madhukēśvarāya means "to Madhukēśvara at Gokarṇa.

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<sup>1</sup>J.A.H.R.S. VI (1931-33) pt. II, pp. 74 footnote 12.

In my opinion the Eastern Gaṅgas learnt about the worship of Madhukēśvara from their feudatories and relatives, the Eastern Kadambas. The family God of the Kadambas of Vaijayantī, Palāsige and Hāṅgal<sup>1</sup> is said to be Madhukēśvara, mentioned in their inscriptions as Jayanti Madhukēśvara. The Eastern Kadambas were in my opinion a branch of the Western Kadamba dynasty.

According to M. Somasekhara Sarma<sup>2</sup> the Kadambas were responsible for bringing the worship of Madhukēśvara to Kaliṅga. Probably when one of their branches migrated into Kaliṅga they brought with them their family god Madhukēśvara into Kaliṅga, which was their new home. Probably the Eastern Gaṅga king Kāmārṇava II built a temple for Madhukēśvara in Kaliṅganagara for his own merit at the instance of the Kadambas, who were his feudatories and relatives.

Charters of Vajrahasta III and Rājarāja I indicate that these two kings also worshipped Gokarṇasvāmin, established on Mahēndra mountain (in the Ganjam district). Like his ancestors, Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga is also called a paramamāheśvara in his earliest records, viz. the Korni and Vizagapatam C. P. of 1081/82 A. D. But the Korni plates of 1112/13 A. D. describe him both as a paramamāheśvara and as a paramavaiṣṇava (devout worshipper of Viṣṇu).

<sup>1</sup>Ind. Ant. X, p. 252, text lines 24 and 25.

<sup>2</sup>J. A. H. R. S. IV, (1929) pts I and II, pp. 113-118.

Worship of Bhagavati

Worship of female deities seems to have been common during the reign of Rājarāja I and the earlier period of the reign of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. An inscription<sup>1</sup> dated 1075/76 A.D. records that a māṇḍalika in the service of king Rājarāja I of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty, named Vanapati or Banapati, built a maṇḍapa or a hall for dancing in front of the temple of Durgā in the town of Dīrghasī. Both Banapati and his wife Padmavati made endowments for a perpetual lamp.

Another charter of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga dated 1078 A.D.<sup>2</sup> refers to the worship of goddess Bhagavati. According to this charter the capital of Kalinga contained a temple for the worship of goddess Bhagavati. The charter describes this form of Bhagavati, named Jastisri, as the guardian deity of the kings of Eastern Gaṅga line. The charter records a mysterious incident that occurred one day in the above mentioned temple. According to the charter, one day Lord Śiva kissed the huge breasts of Pārvati and his passions were roused. The hair over his whole body stood erect. Lord Śiva, in that posture, appeared as if he was pierced by the arrows of Anāṅga, the God of love. Hari, the father

<sup>1</sup>The Dirghasi inscription of Vanapati, edited by G.V. Ramamurti, Ep. Ind. IV, (1896-97), No. 45, pp. 314-318.

<sup>2</sup>The Mukhalingam C.P. of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, J. A. H. R. S. edited by Manda Narasimham, XXVII, (1962-63) pts. I and II, No. 11, pp. 69-72.

of Anaṅga, chanced to watch Śiva being pierced by a number of arrows. Hari became afraid that Lord Śiva would take vengeance of Anaṅga a second time. The previous time when Anaṅga shot a few arrows at Śiva he was burnt by him into ashes. Hari, fearing a more severe punishment for a second offence, worshipped Śiva with leaves and offered abhiṣeka (holy bath). He told Śiva that if Anaṅga did not perform his duties of provoking love between man and woman, the whole world would come to a stop and human creation would come to an end. Śiva was convinced of the truth and became calm. Hari was satisfied. The world went on as before. To commemorate this incident Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga bestowed the village of Honamu on the temple of the Goddess Bhagavatī.

The Chicacole Copper Plate of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga dated 1084 A.D.<sup>1</sup> records the grant of the village of Sellada in Rupavartani Viṣaya. The village was constituted as a devāgrahāra for worship offerings and lamps to the goddess Bhagavatī of the same village.

Confirmation of the fact that the Eastern Gaṅgas worshipped Bhagavatī before they became Vaiṣṇava may also be found by examining the ruins of the Madhukeśvara temple of Mukhaliṅgam<sup>2</sup>. There is a small shrine attached to the

<sup>1</sup> J. A. H. R. S. editors C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao VIII, (Oct. 1933-Jan. 1934) parts 2 and 3, No. 10, pp. 162-191.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. H. R. S. XXVIII, (1962-63) pts. 1 and 2, pp. 62-68.

compound wall to the North of this temple. The small shrine contains a female statue, which according to G.R. Varma could be Bhagavatī or Durgā̄. This shrine seems to have been a later addition to the main temple<sup>1</sup>. However, the hair-style of the erotic carving is akin to those of Gupta style and different from all the other icons. Perhaps somebody found it in the village and fixed it in the precincts of the Madhukeśvara temple, where the icon was worshipped. In this shrine on the right wall is the figure of Bagala with a garland of skulls in a terrible form. The Eastern door of the temple is flanked with the images of river goddesses and Mahiṣamardanī. Mahiṣamardanī is shown killing a demon who has the head of a buffalo and a human body. Thus it appears that Eastern Gāṅga rulers before Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga worshipped Mahiṣamardanī, as well as Durgā̄ or Bhagavatī.

#### Vaiṣṇavaism.

The Vizagapatam C.P. of 1118/19 A.D. omits the title paramamāheśvara altogether and represent Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga as a paramavaiṣṇava alone. In my opinion Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga's conversion to vaiṣṇavism was directly connected with the vaiṣṇava revival in the 11th century associated with Rāmanūja. Thus the main cause of his conversion came from southern India. Conquest of Utkala by Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga may also have been a minor cause of his

<sup>1</sup> J. A. H. R. S. XXVII, (1962-63), pts. 1 and 2, pp. 33-38.

conversion. The charters of the successors of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga attribute to this king the construction of the great temple of Puruṣottama Jagannātha. The genealogy tracing Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga's descent from Viṣṇu seems to have been concocted after his conquest of Utkala and his initiation into the Vaiṣṇava faith.

From the Nagari Copper Plate of Anaṅgabhīma III we learn that Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga built a temple for Puruṣottama, as the earlier kings had been afraid to take up this great task. Verse 17 of the charter suggests that the temple was built on the sea shore. According to scholars these two verses refer to<sup>2</sup> the erection of the great temple of Puruṣottama - Jagannātha at Puri by king Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. The language of verse 27 of the same charter seems to suggest that God Puruṣottama Jagannātha had been worshipped at Puri for many years before the conquest of Utkala by Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga. The Śaivite Somavaṁśīs, who were supplanted from Utkala by the Eastern Gāṅgas had neglected the erection of a temple for the Vaiṣṇavite deity. According to D. C. Sircar, Puruṣottama Jagannātha of Puri was originally worshipped by the local aboriginal people but was later accommodated in the orthodox brāhmaṇical pantheon. According to him, the identification of Puruṣottama Jagannātha with Viṣṇu occurred before the beginning of the 12th century when Cōḍagaṅga conquered the Utkala country.

<sup>1</sup>The Nagari C. P. of Anangabhima III.  
Ep. Ind. Vol. 28, p. 235, Verse 16 and 17.

<sup>2</sup>J. A. S. B. LXVII (1898), pp. 228-31.



According to a legend<sup>1</sup> men had been seeking for God Viṣṇu throughout the earth. King Indradyumna of Malwa sent out brāhmaṇas in all directions in search of God Viṣṇu. The brāhmaṇas, who had gone to west, north and south, returned empty handed. The brāhmaṇa, who had gone to the east journeyed through the great forests till he came to the Śābara country. There he met a person called Vāsu, who was a fowler by occupation. The brāhmaṇa started living in the house of Vāsu. The fowler, realizing the man's caste, forced him by threats to marry his daughter and thus to bring honour to his tribe. The brāhmaṇa made his abode in the Śābara country.

The fowler Vāsu was a servant of Jagannātha and every day he went secretly to the forest with fruit and flowers. One morning, moved by the prayers of his daughter, the fowler allowed the brāhmaṇa to accompany him to the place where Lord Jagannātha was residing. However, the fowler blindfolded the brāhmaṇa so that he might not be able to find back the path to the place where Lord Jagannātha was residing. The brāhmaṇa, however, had received from his wife a bag of mustard seed. He kept on dropping it throughout his journey in the forest till he reached the shrine. There he beheld Lord Jagannātha in the form of a blue stone image. After the old fowler Vāsu went away to gather flowers for the daily offering to Lord Jagannātha, the brāhmaṇa prayed to Lord Jagannātha. While the brāhmaṇa was praying, a crow fell down from the tree and died.

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<sup>1</sup>As. Researches. XV, p. 317.

Brijkishore Ghose. 'History of Poree', p. 10.

Ward 'History, Literature and Religion of the Hindus', II (Serampore) 1815. p. 163.

The crow then took a glorious form and soared into the heaven of Viṣṇu. The brāhmana, realizing how easy it was to go to heaven, tried to imitate the crow and climbed to the top of the tree. While he was there, he heard a voice from heaven, which said: "Hold brāhmana! First carry to the king the good news that thou hast found the Lord of the world."

When the fowler came back with his newly gathered fruits and flowers, he spread them out in front of the image. The God, however, did not partake of the offering. The fowler heard a voice, which said: "Oh, faithful servant, I am fed up of thy jungle flowers and fruits and crave for cooked rice and sweetmeats. No longer shall thou see me in the form of the blue god. Hereafter I shall be known as Jagannātha, the Lord of the world." The fowler then, accompanied by the brāhmana, sorrowfully returned to his house. From that day onward the blue god did not appear to the śabara Vāsu.

The brāhmana was for a long time kept as a captive by Vāsu. However, his daughter persuaded him to free him, so that he could go back to king Indradyumna and inform him that the lord of the world has been found. When the king heard the good news, he set out with his army of 1,300,000 footmen and a large number of woodcutters to construct a road through the great jungle. But the king started feeling very proud and cried loudly: "Who is like unto me, whom the lord of the world has chosen to build his temple, and to teach men in this age

of darkness to call on his name." Lord Jagannātha became angry at the king's pride and a voice was heard from heaven, saying: "Oh king! Though shalt indeed build my temple, but me though shalt not behold. When it is finished, then though shalt seek anew for thy God." At the same moment the blue image disappeared from the earth.

So the king built the temple, but he did not see the God. When the temple was completed, the king could not find any man on earth who was holy enough to consecrate it. So king Indradyumna went to heaven to request Brahmā to come down to earth to consecrate the temple. Brahmā, however, could not be disturbed because he had just begun his devotions. The devotions of Brahmā last for nine ages of mortal men and while Indradyumna was waiting in heaven many other kings had reigned on the earth. The city built around the temple had decayed and was buried under the sand. One day as the then king of the place was riding along the beach, his horse stumbled against the pinnacle of the buried shrine. The king ordered that the sand should be dug away. When the sand covering the temple was removed, the temple of Jagannātha reappeared as fair and fresh as it was at the time of building.

When Brahmā's devotions ended, he came down with Indradyumna to consecrate the temple. However, the then ruling king claimed it as his own

work. Brahmā, before giving his judgement, decided to hear witnesses in order to ascertain the truth. First he called upon the crow. The crow was busy with its devotions. It cried: "Who art thou that callest me?" "It is me, Brahmā, the master of the Vedas; and dost thou, poor carrion-bird, dare to despise my summons?" Then the crow answered:<sup>1</sup> "Which Brahmā art thou? I have seen a thousand Brahmās live and die. There was he with a thousand faces, whose existence was a period of five days to me. Thou wast born yesterday from the body of Viṣṇu and commandest thou me." The Brahmā then requested the crow and he declared that it was Indradyumna that had built the temple.

However, King Indradyumna still did not find the God. By his austerities and penance he pleased Lord Jagannātha and one day Lord Jagannātha appeared in a vision and showed him his image as a block of wood half thrown up from the ocean upon the sand. The king, with the aid of 5,000 male elephants, tried to drag the block of wood to the temple. He failed in his endeavours. Lord Jagannātha appeared in a vision to the king and asked him to summon Vāsu, the fowler, to his aid. The king then gathered all the carpenters in his kingdom and entrusted them with the task of fashioning the block into an image of Lord Jagannātha. When the carpenters put their chisel on the wood, the iron lost its edge and when they used their mallets on the wood it missed and crushed their hands. Lord Viṣṇu then appeared in the form of an aged carpenter and by signs declared his power to the king. The king shut up the aged carpenter alone in the temple with the block

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<sup>1</sup>The legend speaks of Brahma with the last syllable short, as the one supreme God; the crow, by lengthening the final syllable, replies to him as Brahma, one of the members of the Hindu triad.

of wood and swore that no man should enter the temple for a period of 21 days. Then he sealed the doors of the temple with his own seal. The queen, however, longed to see the face of the deity, so that she might redeem her barrenness. She succeeded in persuading her husband and the king opened the door before the promised time. When she entered she found the three images of the God Jagannātha and his brother and sister from waist upwards. Jagannātha and his brother had only a stump for arms, while his sister had none at all, and they remain so even today. The king then prayed to the God and was asked by the God to choose a blessing. The king begged the God that offerings should never cease before the images and the temple should remain open for ever from day-break until midnight for the salvation of mankind. The vision granted the king's request and asked him to ask something for himself. The king Indradyumna then asked the God "that I may be the last of my race, that none, who come after me, may say, I built this temple; I taught men to call upon the name of Jagannātha." Thus king Indradyumna was the last of his line.

This legend attributes the beginning of Viṣṇu worship to an ancient Hindu king in Northern India and tries to account for the absorption of aboriginal rites in the cult of Jagannātha. The legend also tries to date back the beginnings of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa to epic times. In my opinion however, it is directly connected with the Vaiṣṇava revival in the 11th century associated specially with Rāmānuja and therefore comes probably from Southern India.

It is interesting to note that although a brāhmaṇa figures in this legend, he is not the principal person. In fact according to this legend it was king Indradyumna who played the leading part in introducing Jagannātha worship. According to Hunter, who examined several legends of origin of gods of the lower Gangetic valley, the gods of the lower gangetic valley begin with a migration from the North<sup>1</sup>. The salient points in such legends are a Brāhmaṇa or Rājput from northern India and a race of herdsmen or hunters in the great jungle of lower Bengal. The ancient pedigree of kings and gods in the lower Bengal reveal that the Aryan march through eastern India was not entirely one of conquest. The aboriginal race turns up again and again in all the legends. The aboriginal race do not always appear as serfs or as people doing the menial jobs. Sometimes they appear as war-like allies. At other times they appear, as in the vase of Vasu the fowler, in mysterious connection with the introduction of the present Hindu faith.

In the above-mentioned legend we find the aboriginal people worshipping a blue stone in the middle of the jungle. The Lord of the world, however, was not satisfied with the jungle offerings of the Śabara people and longed for the cooked food of the more civilised Hindus. When the Hindu element, represented by the Brāhmaṇa and king Indradyumna, appears on the scene, the crude blue stone

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<sup>1</sup>History of Orissa, I, p. 94.

disappears and gives place to a carved image. According to Hunter, this dual form of worship still survives in Orissa. The common people on one hand worship shapeless stones or a shapeless log, which they adore with simple rites in the open air. On the other hand they worship Hindu gods with carved images and elaborate rites in the temples. This clearly reveals the continuation of aboriginal as well as Hindu form of worship in Orissa.

In the crow's reply to Brahmā it is revealed that the Hindu system of worship was preceded by religious cycles that have disappeared. The Hindu king with his mighty army from the north had to accept as his deity the primitive god of the country. Even after the temple was completed everything stood at a standstill till the Fowler Vāsu reappeared.

A slightly different version of the origin of Jagannātha worship appears in the Utkala Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa.<sup>1</sup> According to this text, Brahmā sought the aid of Nārāyaṇa to provide means for the salvation of all beings. Upon this Nārāyaṇa said: "On the northern shore of the sea, to the South of the Mahanadi river, there is my favourite abode. It alone can confer all the blessings which are derivable from the other sacred places on the earth put together. On the Blue Hill near the sea shore, to the west of the Kalpa fig

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<sup>1</sup>Chapter VII-VIII.

tree, there is a fountain known under the name of Rohiṇa; dwelling near it men may behold me with their carnal eyes, and, washing off their sins with its water, attain equality with me." Brahmā repaired to the sacred spot, where he saw a crow changed into a counterpart of Viṣṇu, by drinking the water of the fountain.

"In the earliest stage of its existence, Puri, says the Puruṣottama Mahatmya, was a forest having the Blue Hill in the centre, with an all-bestowing Kalpa tree on its brow, the sacred fountain of Rohiṇa to the west of it, and on its side an inimitable image of Viṣṇu in sapphire. A pilgrim of great sanctity, who had seen it in this state in the Satya Yuga, reported its existence to Indradyumna, a prince who reigned in Avanti, in Malwa. The Rājā conceiving a desire to worship this famous image, journeyed to Orissa with all his court.

"When Indradyumna reached Puri, he was greatly distressed to learn that the blue image had sunk under the golden sand of the sea, and departed to the region of Pātāla. He was comforted with the assurance that if he performed a thousand horse sacrifices, he would establish images which would ensure the same blessings. When the sacrifices were completed, the Rājā was informed that a large log, of nim wood, impressed with the conch shell, discus, mace and lotus (i. e. the marks of Viṣṇu) had come floating on the sea and reached the shore. Transported with joy, the Rājā ran to the sea shore, embraced the sacred log, and had it speedily deposited within a sacred enclosure. He then summoned the



most skilful carpenters to fashion it into a noble image; but though they applied their sharpest instruments, no impression could be made upon the wood. The Rājā began to despair; but at this juncture a very aged man, much afflicted with elephantiasis, came and requested permission, to try his skill.

The court first ridiculed the idea, but eventually the Rājā gave permission, and with his suite accompanied the old man to the enclosure. With the first blow of his axe, the chips of wood began to fall; and the Rājā, convinced of his ability, gladly committed the sacred work to his charge. The old carpenter agreed to complete it on one condition, that the house, wherein he laboured, should be sealed up, and no one should enter it for 21 days, to which the Rājā agreed. The Rājā's patience lasted for some time, but overcome by the contemptuous reproaches of his queen, on the 15th day he broke the seals and entered the place where the old man had been working. He found no one; the carpenter had vanished, and the Rājā, convinced that Viśvakarmā himself had come to help him, bewailed his own folly. On examination, it was found that the divine architect had formed three images, Jagamātha, Balabhadra, his brother, and Subhadra, his sister; but from being disturbed in his labours he had left the images without legs and with only stumps for arms. In this imperfect shape the gods chose to remain.

"The Rājā's next care was to erect a splendid temple and establish the worship of the three wonderful images in a suitable manner. Proceeding to

heaven, he asked Brahmā himself to consecrate his temple, but he had to wait three era (three yugas of years) till Brahmā had finished his meditations. Meanwhile the temple had become covered with sand. When Raja Golomādhaba discovered it, he claimed it as his own. Indradyumna returned and disputed with Golomādhaba the proprietorship of the temple. The sacred turtles in one of the great tanks gave their evidence, declaring that Indradyumna had compelled them to carry its stones; by which they had become so hot as not to grow cool, during the three eras (three yugas of years) which had since passed. The fame of the temple was established and pilgrims flocked to it from all parts of India.

The offerings to the god are simple enough. These consist mostly of fruits and flowers, rice, pulse, clarified butter, milk, salt, vegetables, ginger, cocoa-nuts etc. These are offered to the images and eaten by the priests. In this connection it is important to note that the offerings are bloodless. No animal sacrifice is allowed in the service of Jagannātha. A set of servants is maintained by the temple to clear up immediately any bloody sacrifice, which pollutes the temple. However, within the precincts of the enclosure there is a shrine to Bimala, who is every year adored with midnight rites and bloody sacrifices. This clearly shows that in the great enclosures all types of Hindu gods and goddesses are accommodated.

According to Stirling<sup>1</sup> the Hindus regard the divine spirit to have

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<sup>1</sup>'Religion antiquities and civil architecture' Asiatic Researches XV (1825) p. 276.

appeared in its true and most sacred form at khetra of Puruṣottama. He further observes that the Brahmanas dress up Jagannātha in a costume which is appropriate to the occasion that is being celebrated. At Rām navami the Jagannātha image assumes the dress and character of Rām, at janmāshṭami that of Kṛṣṇa, at the Kāli Puja that of Kāli. Similarly, when the Narasimha incarnation is being celebrated, the image is dressed as Narasimha, and the image is dressed as the mighty dwarf when the Vāmana incarnation is being celebrated. This seems to indicate that in worshipping Jagannātha his votaries adore all the Hindu gods.

According to Hunter<sup>1</sup> twenty-four religious festivals are celebrated at Jagannātha Puri every year. Though most of the celebrations are Vaiṣṇava celebrations, celebrations of other sects are also celebrated.

Holi or the red powder festival is celebrated by people indulging in bhang and other intoxicating drugs. Rukmini-haraṇ-ekādaśi is also yearly celebrated. Rama's birthday on Rām navami is also celebrated. At the bathing festival the images are brought with great pomp to one of the artificial lakes, where artificial elephant trunks are fixed to the images to give them the appearance of Ganeśa. Kāli Damaṇa is also celebrated. The birth festival is also celebrated, in which a priest takes the part of the father and a dancing girl that of the mother of Jagannātha and the ceremony of his birth is performed to the life. The car festival, however, is the greatest festival.

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<sup>1</sup>History of Orissa, I, p. 130.

It is interesting to note that the temple of Jagannātha, where almost every Hindu creed is represented, closed its gate to low-caste people till Indian independence.

According to Hunter, no hard or fast line existed during the 1870's between the castes that were admitted and those that were excluded. According to him, only those castes are shut out who retain the flesh eating and animal life destroying occupations of the aboriginal tribes. According to Hunter, certain of the low castes, such as the washermen and potters, may enter half way and try to catch a glimpse of the god within. But the neighbouring hill tribes and low castes people were not allowed. These were wine-sellers, sweepers, skimmers, corpse bearers, hunters, fishers and bird killers.

#### Worship of the Sun

An undated inscription records the setting up of the image of Āditya (Sun God) in a temple in the reign of Rājarāja I<sup>1</sup>. This indicates that Sun was worshipped in the Eastern Gaṅga Kingdom during the reign of Rājarāja I. As this is the only inscription where sun worship is mentioned, it seems that sun worship was not widely prevalent during the period under study. There is no<sup>other</sup> record of the Eastern Gaṅga kings worshipping the Sun-God till 1238 A. D.

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<sup>1</sup>A. R. S. I. E. (1926-27); No. 640, pp. 19-22.

Narasiṃha I, son and successor of Anaṅgabhīma III, built the famous temple of Sun God at Konārak. But before him there is no record of any Eastern Gaṅga king worshipping the sun.

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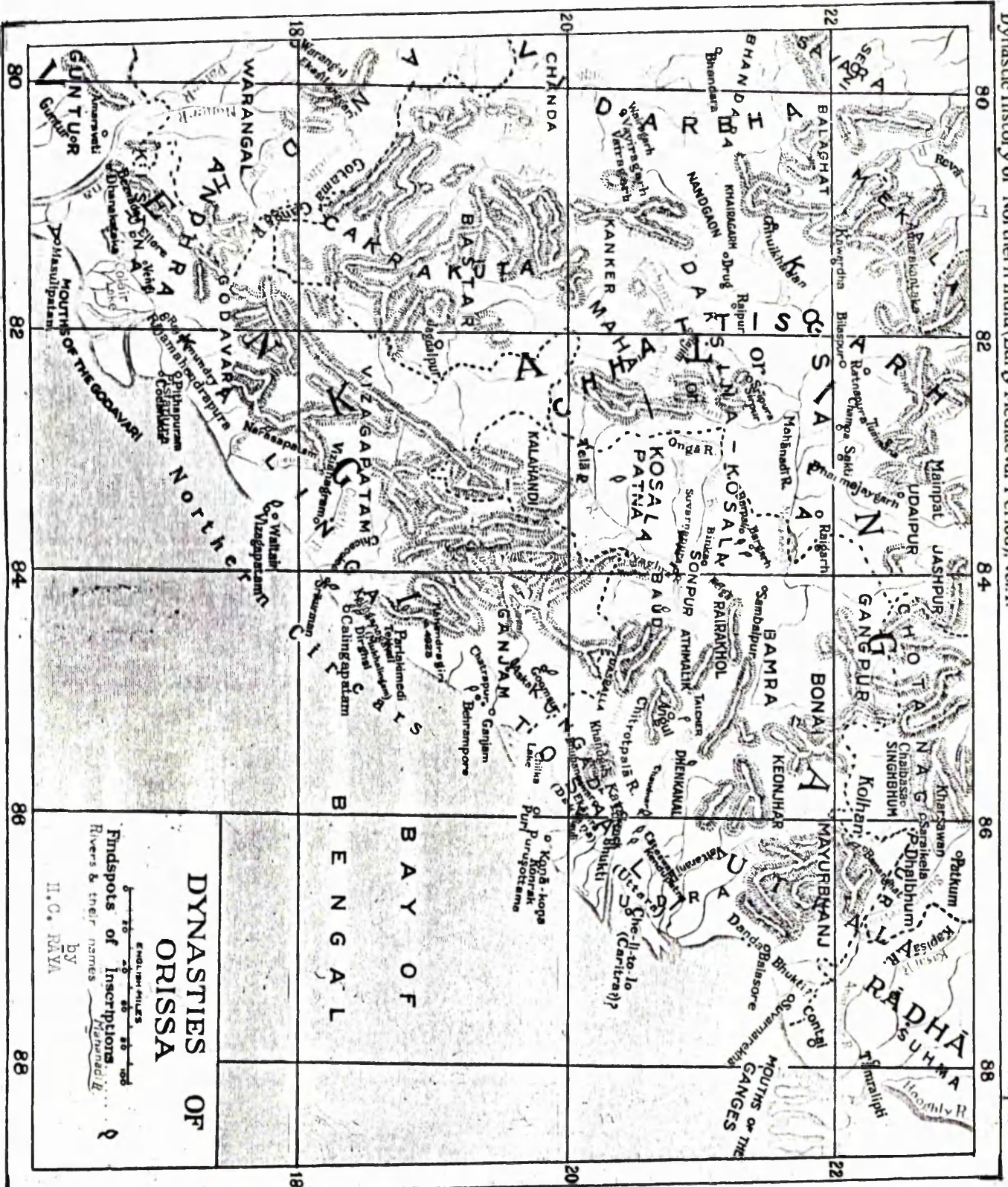
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Map 7.



DYNASTIES OF ORISSA

Findspots of Inscriptions  
Rivers & their names

by H. C. RAJVA

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