

A SHORT REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF KALINGA

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

In practice the history of India so long meant only the history of the Imperial Magadha and other empires of Northern India, and the history of the different kingdoms, esp., those of the South is being of late gradually developed out of small and scattered fragments. No systematic or critical history of Kalinga has ever been attempted. The book "Orissa in the Making" by Prof. Bijay Chandra Mazumdar of Calcutta published in October 1925 by the Calcutta University, incidentally, however, makes an attempt to give connected history of Kalinga so far as it is available. But the whole narrative is so full of preposterous hypotheses based on sad misconceptions and preconceived notions that it is almost impossible to rely on its conclusions in any historical discourse on the subject. It does moreover reveal that historians like Mr. Mazumdar can easily make out grounds for their own misconceptions to hand them down as historical facts and truths. But before attempting to clear such misconceptions in dealing with important facts, events, and features of the history of Kalinga, which will sometimes require critical notice of tedious details, it is necessary that a running bird's eye view of the whole course of the history of Kalinga as far as practicable should be, presented as a background.

The kingdom of Kalinga extended ordinarily from Tamruk to Mid-Ganjam on the sea coast. The Ganges was its northern boundary, forests beyond mid-Ganjam extended to the South, the Indian ocean was on the East. The Western boundary was however uncertain. It extended sometimes up to the Amarakantaka range in up-C. P. and included the ancient South Kosala or Mahakosala kingdom within its territories, and at times did

not extend even beyond the plains of the present Mogulbund. There are periods in the history of the Kalinga kingdom when its boundaries were flung far wider in South West and North, but such periods as is yet known were few and far between.

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

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

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

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

inferences as to what the empire was then like, how from the beginnings of those rock-cut caves and palaces evolved in course of centuries the distinct Orissan art of later times in stages of assimilation and development, and how again the spirit of cosmopolitan faith and religious toleration in its full flourish made the Oriya of much later centuries colonise Ossa or Pegu in Burma, and give the stamp of art and culture to other States in that land of legends across the ocean.

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

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

The political history however, towards the end of this period ran in a different channel. This may be due to the fact that the Kalingas were so religiously minded as to neglect politics, or to the revival of Brahmanism giving rise to a new life and virility under which many an old kingdom fell or broke to pieces to create a change in the political map of India. The kingdom of Kalinga got disrupted. Tamralipti became an independent kingdom, and the Utkalas from Kamasuvarna conquered the land up to North Ganjam and overran the whole territory by the end of the 6th century A. D. Sometime before this the Odas (Skt. Udras) had emerged from the forests between Kalinga and Kosala, and established a kingdom in Puri and North Ganjam named Kongoda or Kalingoda. The name of Jagannath had long turned into Odisa (the lord of the Odas) which in later times during the Mahamedan days gave its name to the whole of the Kalinga kingdom. The expelled and homeless king of Kalinga had accordingly retired Southwards and set himself up with all his once glorious paraphernalia of name and tradition in the southern extremity of the Ganjam District, i.e., this Mukhalingam which remained the capital of that contracted and somewhat dislocated Kalinga till the Eastern Gangas extended their conquest into the

very heart of the mainland, and established their capital in the 12th century at a place really reminiscent of the palmy days of the Kalinga of ancient times.

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

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

I have narrated the whole story as a flying account, but to those that find interest in historical research some of my statements might appear to be mere assumptions, and therefore call for explanation and critical investigation in detail. I am not quite sure if such a treatment will be quite fitting to the occasion. But as in narrating the history of Kalinga we have often to tread on quick-sand, the subject being mostly based, on the revelations of facts and events from chambers still almost in the dark. lost in the dim haze of remote antiquity. I think it cannot be considered out of place, if I venture a critical examination of some of the points I myself have raised, by way of referring to some very sticky misconceptions almost common among the historians of Kalinga.

Boundaries of Kalinga

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

This Mukhalingam again and the port of Kalingapatanam in its neighborhood are somewhat responsible for this misconception. Scholars are ordinarily apt to connect these names with the ancient kingdom of Kalinga. True it is that during the days of the Eastern Gangas the capital of Kalinga is found in these parts of the country, but was so only to be abandoned, as I have said, after the Gangas could find a place in the midland of Orissa, the real seat of the ancient Kalinga kingdom. For, from the days of Anantavarman Chodaganga i.e. late in the 12th century, the seat of the kingdom has been consistently in Mid-Orissa, though the kingdom nevertheless extended up to the Godavari in the south, and sometimes even beyond that river. The fact is, as I have already

hinted, that for some centuries after the king of Kalinga was driven from his homeland, the family settled in a small principality round about this Mukhalingam as its capital. As is natural, the king thus driven away by bad fortune called his own new capital Mukhya (Mukha) Kalinga Nagara and had also set up his fort of Dantapura, remnants of which still remain in these parts as Mukhalingam and Dantavarakota. They also called their port Kalingapatna. But even that grafted principality, so to say, did not ordinarily extend very much into the present Vizagapatam District, for the southern gates of it were not only perpetually threatened by the Andhra and Tamil kings, but the principality was in course of time actually occupied by the Tamil Gangas, whose passion for conquering Kalinga was fully gratified in later times by the conquest of the mainland up to the Ganges.

Let us now therefore examine the point in detail.

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

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

Kharavela's time (2nd century B. C.)

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

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

About 500 years later there is another landmark in Indian history, i. e. Samudragupta's conquests. In his study of the Allahabad Inscription Prof. R. D. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University agrees with M. Jouveau-Dubreuil in locating both Kottura and Erandapalla in southern Ganjam near the coast, Mr. G. Ramdas slightly differs from him, but nevertheless locates Kottura in the same region. His supposition about Kottura being the headquarters of the Andhra conqueror of Kalinga, the Mahendra of Pisthapura, rests on a superannuated grammatical quibble on the word Giri in the inscription and is therefore unnecessary to discuss here. But even taking that supposition to be correct, it proves all the more the originally wild character of the land between

Ganjam and Vizagpatam. But Mr. Ramdas falls into misapprehension as he does not see that Kalinga in the Gupta days was never included in 'Daksinapatha' as distinct from 'Aryavarta'. It must be borne in mind that the Allahabad Inscription does not propose to give the exact route of conquest of Samudragupta. It groups together the kings and kingdoms of Daksinapatha, and the kings only of Aryavarta separately. Samudragupt's expedition lay through parts of Mahakantara, i. e. the extensive forest lands lying south of the Vindhyas. Probably this was the remnant of the ancient Dandaka Forest. This vast forest land crossed by the great hero, lay at a time from the Santal pergunnas and Bundelkhand to the Western Garjats of Orissa up to Bastar, and the great conqueror either did not enter Kalinga, or more probably came to Mahakantara and Kosala from Kalinga; but Kalinga not being included in the Dakshinapatha in Gupta days has not been mentioned in the group of kingdoms thereof. The name of the Kalinga king might have been included in the group of the kings of the Aryavarta mentioned later in the inscription. Mr. Ramdas again puts Kurala of Daksinapatha in the same inscription in the Puri District, and cites for his reason in Oriya word 'Kurali' which he says is still used in the Puri District in the sense of 'many people making sounds together'. I have myself never come across such a word in Oriya vocabulary of Puri, nor is his location of Kurala convincing in any other way. Dr. Bhandarkar's location of Kurala near Jayantinagara is however more probable. The old fort of Kulada and the village Kurala about 25 miles from it, and both in Ganjam mals might be investigated in this connection. Kurala is perhaps a variation of Kuloda, meaning respectable Oda. Mals of Ganjam and Vizag might have been included in the Sonapur tract near Jayantigurh where Dr. Bhandarkar locates Kurala. But here the contention may arise as to whether kingdoms of the Dakshinapatha itself were not given in order of sequence. In that case Kurala may be put beyond Pisthapura or northwest, west of Kottura beginning from Vizag mals upwards. It is significant to note here in this connection that Kottura too has been mentioned after the Andhra and Pisthapura. The probability is that Samudragupta did not pass on to the Andhra country by the coast, and this indicates want of proper coastal communication from Kalinga to Andhra Des. Local geographical conditions may be studied closely also to show that near Mandasa the highest peak of the Mahendra chain is so close to the sea and the coastal land is so new that one is inclined to conclude that those parts were probably impassable in early times and were reclaimed more by Kosalas who in later times extended their territories from Sonapur in the heart of the Oda land as capital to Ganjam and Vizag mals and even to Bastar, than by Andhras and Kalingas, whose means of communication was inland through parts of Kosala.

Kalidas (probably 5th Century A. D.)

Kalidas who is perhaps rightly supposed to have poetically worked out his Raghu's conquests on suggestions taken from Harisena's composition recorded in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta with probably some admixture of his own knowledge of Puranic and actual geography, lays his Raghu's route through Utkala and Kalinga. Either it was the same route as Samudragupta actually took, or Kalidas intentionally comes a little out of the forest for fear of lacking direct knowledge of places and circumstances for an engaging and lifelike description. His Utkala seems to have extended to the east of Mahakantara or perhaps includes a portion of it, as well as some tracts now covered by Birbhum, Bankura, West Bardwan, Manbhum, Singhbhum and Midnapore, i. e. the kingdom of which Karnasuvarna has been known to be capital more than a century later. Kalinga begins beyond the Kapisa (the modern Kasai River of Midnapore) crossed by Raghu by means of elephants, probably supplied by Utkalas, who had forests full of elephants within their territories. But nowhere it is indicated that Kalinga extends beyond Ganjam. Kalidas's Mahendra seems to be Mahendra of Kosala. This also proves that Kalinga extended not beyond Mid-Ganjam. In the 6th Canto of Raghuvamsa Kalidas describes

the king of Kalinga as 'lord of Mahendra as well as the deep'. Mahendra is the name generally applied to the northern portion of the Eastern Ghats, and the mountains of Orissa are still known by the name of Mahendramala. The capital of Kalinga was in the Puri District near Chilika, and this fits in well with the description of Kalinga given by Kalidas. The capital of Kalinga was on the sea beach, this should not at once carry us, as it has carried Mr. Mazumdar and many others to a place far south right into the Andhra land, in spite of so many other circumstances clearly pointing to the contrary.

Foreign Writers

Ptolemy, in his geography, gives clear indication of Kalinga extending from North Ganjam towards the Ganges. He says that there was a tract of land between Koddura and Khryse, i.e., some portion of the South Ganjam Coast, which was being passed over by all ships from the South, there being no convenient coasting station. Koddura may be identified with Kottura of Samudragupta's conquest, and Ptolemy's Paloura near Khryse with the present Palur in the North Ganjam coast. Thus, the indication is evident that the whole of South and Mid-Ganjam coast was very uninviting for traders. The land as I have said, was peopled by forest tribes between Kalinga and Andhra and was in all probability nominally a part of the South Kosala Kingdom, the capital of which was inland among the mountains of the Mahendra chain.

Hieun Tsang, the Chinese Traveller

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

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

Location of Kalinganagari and the capital of Kalinga

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

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

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

Then the Ceta Dynasty which became independent in Kalinga after the Mauryas had their capital in Kalinganagari which was situate on the Port of Chilika. Mr. Mazumdar, like many of his predecessors, locates it in Mukhalingam, but it is evident from the Hathigumpha inscription itself that the capital was in the present Puri District not much distant from the place where the inscription is found, and besides as I have said no trace of Kalinga is found near Mukhalingam in those days. Kharavela has been said in the inscription to have dug a canal from the garden of Tosali to his own Palace- lands -- *Tanasuliyabata panadim nagaram pavesa (ya)ti*, is the reading of Prof. K. P. Jayswal. But the correct reading in the line is not 'Tanasuliya' but 'Tausuliya'. The half horizontal stroke of the letter in the corroded inscription makes it difficult for Mr. Jayswal to distinguish between 'na' and 'u'. In Kalingan variety of Magadhi, 'Tosali' should be 'Tausali or Tausuli' as is well proved by the present phonetic variation of the Oriya language; and the word 'Naara' for 'Nagara' is still used in Orissa in the sense of King's palace alone and in no other sense. The river Daya according to the local tradition was originally an artificial canal dug out by Risi Dadhici to supply water to a place in bad want of it. Tosali which had been the capital of Kalinga in pre-Asokan days, and was the seat of the Maurya Viceroy as well might naturally have been shunned by the Cetta family probably as inauspicious, as it was full of sad memory for the Ailas of Kalinga. The seat of the capital was therefore removed to some place towards the Chilika Lake into which the canal from the river Bhargavi, which was flowing by the garden of Tosali, had to be made for the convenience of the people of the new palace. Probably the canal, needed only for the new palace, was given an outlet in the Chilika Lake, which was in those days not very far from the new capital. Rivers Daya and Bhargavi gradually silt up the bed of Chilikat and within memory of man the waters of the Lake have receded more than a mile forming arable land on the coast. This silting up of Chilika has now been a problem before the Government in remedying the present devastating floods of the Puri District.

Now in connection with the capital of ancient Kalinga, we find four names, viz., Dantapur, Parthalis, Tosali, and Kalinganagari. Let us see if there are any traces of them in Puri District. Dantapur is undoubtedly the present Puri of Jagannath; and Tosali, Dhauli near Bhuvaneswar, as conclusively proved by M. R. Ry. Haraprasad Sastri and other scholars. There are again two villages some eight or ten miles from Puri, and about as much from Chilika named Korenga and Pateli with Kalingesvari as the village Goddess. For about 3 centuries and a half these names have been officially discarded by a Raja of Puri named Ramachandra Dev, for Vijaya Ramachandrapur and Pratap Ramachandrapur, two Brahman' Sasanas on the localities set up by the Raja. But in common parlance the old names still persist. It is interesting to note in this connection that Kodanga, the

Oriya Phonetic variation of Kalinga, as I shall presently explain, is found in the word Koranga; and kinship of Parthalis may well be traced in Pateli. The name of the Goddess, Kalingesvari (Goddess of Kalinga) is also particularly suggestive.

Tri-Kalinga and Tailanga

Another misconception is due to the information recorded by ancient European writers, e.g., Pliny after Megasthenes, who in his description of India mentions 3 Kalingas, i.e., Gangaridae Galingae, Modo Galingae, and Macco Galingae. Much speculation is ventured by scholars on these three terms, and three distinct Kalinga Kingdoms with their respective location from the Ganges to the Godavari have been made out of them. Macco Galingae or Magolinga has been identified with Mukhalingam as its later phonetic derivative; and three Kalingas taken together are formed into Tri-Kalinga from which the derivation of Tailanga, the Sanskritised name of the Telugu Country has also been presumed. But I am simply surprised that the word Mukhalingam has not yet been made to represent mun-(Tamil-three) Kalinga, which would give rise to still further fancies in starting hypotheses. For certain it is that no orthodox Andhra philologist will ever think of deriving the native word Telugu (Tenugu) from Sanskrit 'Tri-Kalinga', or even Tailanga, which latter word is a mere impostor, so to say, used pedantically for the word Telugu probably by some Sanskrit loving Pandits to whom all over India all indigenous words are slang.

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

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

Kalingas had also trade relations with Ballabhi, Patala, and the Persian coast. The intercourse was common and frequent. Prof. K. P. Jayswal's reading of the Hathigumpha Inscription makes it clear that not only the Kalingas had trade in Persian coast, but Kharavela married a princess of Vazira, West of the land of the Madras beyond the present Afghan border. People of Madra and Persia, called the latter Magois by the Greeks, might well have migrated to Kalinga for settlement. Kapila Samhita, as well as Bhagavata and Padmapuran make mention of Sakadvipi (Persian) Brahmans coming on invitation and settling in Chandrabhaga in Puri district for

worshipping the sun. Pandit Krupasindhu Mishra has conclusively proved it on Puranic and other authorities. The name Magois and the ancient name of the Muggs of Arakan and other parts of Burma should therefore be investigated in connection with the word Macco-Kalingae. And a Madra settlement in Kalinga or even possibly a Kalinga Settlement in Madra might have been responsible for the term Modo- Kalinga as well. It is however very cogent here to note that in the 9th Canto of Bhishma Parva of Mahabharata both Kalinga and Madra Kalinga find mention among the kingdoms the Aryavarta, and another Kalinga has been counted in the group in which Cinas and Kambojas find their place. They are classed among peoples -- probably non-Indian in origin, Mlecchas-of lands to the East. This well indicates Kalingas in the Burma Coast, which might also have been Megasthenes Macco-Kalinga. Again, the name Modo- Kalinga is significant, and Greek Modo for Indian Madra is quite intelligible.

What I mean to suggest in the whole is that the explanation of Modo and Macco Kalingas of Megasthenes should be based on a thorough understanding of the entire situation, and not got up to fit in with a preconceived notion clinging round the idea of Tri- Kalinga fancifully molten or cast into Tailinga or Telugu country, which was never within the natural boundaries of Kalinga, but was Andhra land with Andhra culture, tradition and language. The word Tri-Kalinga round which so much is built finds no distinct mention in epigraphic or other records before the time of the Kosala Guptas' conquest of Orissa. These Kosala Guptas, it may be presumed, considered it glorious to call themselves Tri-Kalingadhipati as Kalinga by that time had been broken up into three different kingdoms; viz., Utkala, Kangoda and Kosala itself or the Principality of Kalinga in South Ganjam. For there is every probability that Kosalas considered themselves a part of Kalinga when annexed, and a Kalinga when independent. The kingdom was surely a part of Kalinga very often. The Airas of Tosali driven by Asoka went there to reign as independent sovereigns. It was included in the territories of the Cata Dynasty who came from Kosala to Kalinga to declare independence against the Maryas. Kosala is therefore not counted in the conquests of Kharavela, though Mosala or Musika Nagara beyond Kosala has been distinctly mentioned. Kurma Purana states that Amarakantaka hills in which the Narmada rises were included in Kalinga. All this may well indicate that Kosala Guptas had not conquered the then forest Principality of Kalinga before they called themselves Tri-Kalingadhipati. Th is term Tri- Kalinga, moreover, is never proved to have come into common use, and bold hypothetical speculations over the word therefore are unwarranted.

Disruption of Kalinga

Here it may not be irrelevant to give a detailed description of the disruption of Kalinga. During the early centuries of the Christian Era the Andhras became the imperial power in India, and with the Sungas in Magadha a tendency for Hindu revival arose. Kalinga was the seat of Buddhist relic before the Mauryas. There has yet been found no epigraphic records to show that Buddhism came to Kalinga before the Maurya conquest. But certain it is from Hathigumpha inscription that the Nandas had taken away Jain images from Kalinga which Kharavela had to recover. The Bauddhas of those days cannot be supposed to have lagged behind the Jaini, Tooth Relic at Puri therefore may safely be presumed to have long preceded Asoka. The Tooth Relic had by this time a long and sacred tradition behind it, and it was undoubtedly in the charge and keeping of the king. And partly on account of the rise of the Andhras, and partly on account of the revival of Hindusim the eyes of all Indi a were turned towards the Kalinga kingdom. In about the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. Nagarajuna of Kanchi came to Puri to convert in to the newly started Mahayan school of Buddhism, both the king and the people of Kalinga, who had probably showed a tendency in favour of the new Hinduism or were still staunch about the orthodox

Magadhan school of Buddhism called Hinayana. In the Tibetan records is stated that Nagarjuna converted the king of Odra, in all probability Kosala's who had by that time removed from Sripur in C. P. to Sambalpur tracts, which had long been inhabited by a tribe called Odas (Skt. Udras), who took advantage of the shaky position of the Kalinga Throne, came out with their Oda legions, and took possession of the much coveted Tooth Relic, the very key of the then religious life of India. The legend of Indradyumna, which I shall narrate presently in another connection, might well have some relation with this incident. Since then Jagannath was known as Qdisa or the Lord of the Odas, round about whom in after times developed the kingdom of Kalingoda or Kangoda.

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

Hsien Tsang finds three different kingdoms in old Kalinga, i.e., Tamralipi in the North, Uca or Utkal in the middle, and Kangoda or Kongada in the south. The name Kalinga which had by that time removed to the forest lands of Chikacole has been named separately. In this Uca the traveller mentions no king or capital, but only speaks of the flourishing port of Chelitalu (charitra). The newly acquired territory of Kalinga by the Utkalas of Karnasuvarna was not yet perhaps treated by the Utkalas as a natural part of their own kingdom and formed into a viceroyalty, or a separate vassal of the kingdom with some name which the traveller pronounces Uca. To identify the word Uca either with Utkala or Oda is rather hasty for a historian, for it was still considered a part of Kalinga like Kangoda and Kosala long after the time of Hsien Tsang.

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

About Colonisation

Another misconception though not quite of a like nature centres round the legend regarding the colonisation of Ceylon where as I have referred to the first historical or semi- historical mention of Kalinga is to

be found. There is more than one version of the story, but the one I mainly adopt here is from the Cambridge History of India, recently published, which is presumed to have given a version critically authentic.

Vijay Simha was a prince of the Lata country and he married the princess of Kalinga, the daughter of Simhabahu. Prince Vijaya was somehow banished from his fatherland and with his wife sailed to Ceylon in 5th century B. C. and became king there. This is the first Aryan settlement of Ceylon. Lata in this story is a name which is responsible for various geographical speculations. Bangali historians generally identify it with Radha of West Bengal. Others locate it in Gujrat, and others again combine the two, and find in the legend an indication of two streams of Aryan colonisation of Ceylon - one from Kalinga and another from the Gujrat side. But the Radha of West Bengal first finds mention in the Bhavisyas Purana written not earlier than 6th century A. D. Eleven hundred years before that it was in all probability an unreclaimed forest land included in the ancient Dandaka. Lata mentioned in Jain Ayaranga Sutra which is often cited in this connection has neither been critically dated nor properly located. Nor were the people of this Radha sea-faring, considering that the sea-board from the Ganges to Ganjam was Kalinga. That Radha in West Bengal is therefore out of the question. That Lata or Lala in Gujrat too a rather far-fetched, nor is its antiquity conclusively proved.

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

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

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

Character of Kalinga Culture

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

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

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

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

Clear it is from the Hathigumpha Inscription that Kharavela learnt to read and write in his youth. Reading and writing in Dravid language were unknown in those days. Besides from at least the days of Ashok Kalinga

became a seat of learning so far as distinct history is concerned. Puri had been long before Ashoka an important place for Bauddha and Jaina culture as has already been said. The words "Tausuliya', 'Naara (Nagara) ', and even 'Khara' referred to above and words like 'Vevahara' in the Hathigumpha Inscription with their peculiar philological significance clearly point to the beginnings of evolution of Aryan language and culture in the land of Kalinga by the time of Kharavela.

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

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

The institution of Jagannatha

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

Jagannath is called Bauddhavatara by the Hindus. The Buddha is being worshipped here as an incarnation of Visnu. There is counting of incarnations in many Purans. But Jagannath as Bauddhavatara is found in none of them except Padma Purana, where the whole legend of Jagannath is given. I may give a gist of the legend here in very brief outlines.

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

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

During the post Maurya revival of semi-fanatic Brahmanism, Dantapuri was probably neglected, and the famous Relic was guarded secretly by Buddhists, called Savaras and afterwards Daitas (Skt. Daitya). Calling non-Hindus by the names of Mleccha, Yavana, Daitya is not uncommon in post-Mauryan Hindu literature. Puri Temple Records generally do so. The Odas of the forests of the West Kalinga must have been better and more orthodox adherents of the old religion than the more cosmopolitan and therefore more changeable people of the plains. Sovereignty of these Odas must have been alternately divided between the Kosales and the Kalingas, and in course of time some of the Odas might have settled in Puri, the sacred place of the Tooth.

Those Odas as a matter of duty guarded the neglected Tooth. Or, may be, Indradyumna came with the Oda King, perhaps the then-Kosalas of Sambalpur tract or was the Oda king himself with a nominal sway over the Kalinga-side of the Oda land. Hence up the term Odisa was applied to Jagannath and even now locally applied to the place near the Temple.

Now in conclusion I shall simply hint an explanation of this Odisa or Jagannath as a symbol of compromise between Buddhism and Hinduism, so important perhaps in the world's history of religious evolution. The Asokan school of Buddhism was Hinayana or the more orthodox branch. During the time of Kaniska rose in Western Upper India the Mahayana school which had traces of Hindu influence, and was somewhat tolerant of Hindu form of worship, and in the course of a century, of two developed distinct tendency of melting into Vaishnavism. Thus in the early centuries of the Christian Era Western and Upper India was found influenced by the Mahayana Vaishnava faith and form of worship, and it remained for the Hinayana school to change into the more austere Saiva cult in latter times. Nagarjuna's conversion of the king of Odisa into Mahayana Buddhism took place sometime during this period, and thus prepared the way for the Tooth Relic of Buddha being turned into an institution of Vaishnava worship. The Tooth Relic was famous all over India, and not only sages like Nagarjuna in the South, but also new Vaishnavas like Indradyumna in central India were having keen and wistful eye on it.

It was therefore for Indradyumna to take the untold troubles and humiliation in coming through hills and jungles, dales, ditches and rivers, marrying his faithful minister to a Savara girl, and leaving him permanently on the inaccessible shores of Puri, and begging an almost cringing compromise of the de facto imposter Galamadhava to persuade the holy Tooth into a homely and personal God with intimations more human than divine. But probably somewhat unfortunately for the pious zealot the half fossilised tooth of Buddha grown almost adamant in ages did not completely give way, and he had to effect a grand compromise in the Orissan school of new religion for which he had to invite gods and sages from all parts of the world known to him. Thus it is that on the historic shores of ancient Kalinga both Buddha and Vishnu meet in eternal comradeship; and Buddha becomes an Avatar of Vishnu. The Buddhist accepts the Hindu form of worship; and the orthodox, fanatic Brahman observes neither caste nor untouchability.

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