

# The Katarajavamsavali: The Colonial Biography of Puri's Sanskrit Chronicle of the Year 1820\*

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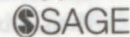
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## Abstract

The *Katarajavamsavali* (KRV) is a free Sanskrit rendering of the *Madala Panji*, Puri's famous Oriya chronicle. Dated in 1820 and written by an unknown author, it reveals a fascinating 'biography', directly linked with the colonial quest for acquiring traditional Indian knowledge. In 1825 it was transferred to the India Office Library at London and remained unnoticed until its rediscovery in 1974 and publication in 1987. In 1820 two British 'administrators cum historians', Andrew Stirling, Secretary to the Commissioner at Cuttack, and Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor General of India, met in Orissa and seem to have entrusted 'a learned Brahmin of Puri' to write a new and systematic chronicle of Orissa in Sanskrit. A detailed analysis makes it very likely that the author was Jagannath Rajguru who had already been the main informant of Groeme for the compilation of his famous Report on the Jagannath temple in 1805 and who was twice appointed Head Pariksha of the temple. The KRV became the major historical source of A. Stirling's 'An Account, Geographical, Statistical, and Historical of Orissa Proper or Cuttack', published by the Asiatic Society at Calcutta in 1822 as the first 'modern' publication on Orissa.

## Keywords

Orissa, Puri, Jagannath cult, traditional historiography, 'historians cum administrators' A. Stirling and C. Mackenzie.

The Sanskrit chronicle *Katarajavamsavali* (KRV) of the year 1820<sup>1</sup> is the climax and swan song of Puri's traditional historical writing which, however, seem to have done

<sup>1</sup> Tripathi and Kulke, *Katarajavamsavali*.

\*The article is dedicated to Late Professor Karuna Sagar Behera who presided over the workshop 'Madala Panji and Beyond: Reflections on Traditional Historical Writing in Orissa', organised by the second Orissa Research Project of the German Research Council at Bhubaneswar in November 2006. A first draft of it was delivered at this workshop and published in *Utkal Historical Research Journal* of the Department of History of Utkal University, Vol. 22, 2009, pp. 21–28.

more harm than good to the debate about Puri's famous chronicles. As has been shown elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> it was primarily the KRV which wrongly created the impression that the *Madala Panji*, Puri's Oriya chronicle, was rewritten several times in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. K.C. Panigrahi, to whom we owe several important contributions to *Madala Panji* studies, summarised this assumption in his latest work:

The Kesari dynasty [or Somavamsa], the biggest of all ruling dynasties described by the Panji, provides the best example to show how later additions have swollen the size of this chronicle and have at the same time vitiated its originality. The copy or copies of the *Madala Panji* used by Stirling in 1822<sup>3</sup> the total number of Kesari kings was 36. In 1872, when Hunter used the *same chronicle* [emphasis H. Kulke] for his *History of Orissa*,<sup>4</sup> their total number has increased to forty-four. In 1940 A.B. Mohanty published the *Madala Panji* and in this published book the total number of the Kesari kings is found to be sixty-five.<sup>5</sup>

The basic mistake of this statement is the wrong assumption that all these authors used *one* and the *same* chronicle. But A. Stirling's 'An Account of Orissa' was based primarily on the KRV, in which the odd number of forty-four Kesari kings of the earlier Oriya chronicles have been reduced to the more auspicious number of thirty-six. In 1872 W.W. Hunter referred in his *History of Orissa* to the Bengali rendering of an Oriya chronicle which still stuck to the older genealogy of forty-four Kesari kings.<sup>6</sup> In 1940 A.B. Mohanty published two Oriya versions of the chronicle and one royal genealogy.<sup>7</sup> All these three Oriya texts belong to the same tradition which counts forty-four generations of Kesari kings. However, several names of Kesari kings of these forty-four generations disaccord in these three manuscripts. In many cases, within one and the same generation, two different names of Kesari kings occur in these manuscripts.<sup>8</sup> Thus, altogether sixty-five different names of forty-four Kesari kings occur in the three texts. For the sake of the readers A.B. Mohanty compiled a list of all these Kesari names in the introduction of his publication. But he made the inexcusable mistake of listing the names of these kings from 1 to 65 as if they ruled one after the other, thus 'creating' sixty-five Kesaris instead of the forty-four existing in the Oriya chronicles. As the KRV with its thirty-six Kesari kings was still unknown, A.B. Mohanty's misleading list caused the misunderstanding that Puri's chronicles were rewritten several times in the

<sup>2</sup> Kulke, 'The Chronicles and the Temple Records of the Mādālā Pāñji of Puri'; Kulke, 'Reflections on the Sources of the Temple Chronicles of the Mādālā Pāñji of Puri'.

<sup>3</sup> Stirling, 'An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack' (henceforth *An Account of Orissa*).

<sup>4</sup> Hunter, *Orissa: Or the Vicissitudes of an Indian Province under Native and British Rule* (forms pt. 2 and 3 of his *The Annals of Rural Bengal*).

<sup>5</sup> Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, p. 128. For a detailed study of the 'Madala Panji and the Kesari Kings', see also Rath, *Cultural History of Orissa*, pp. 137–52; Acharya, 'The Kesari Dynasty of the Madalapanji'.

<sup>6</sup> Bandopadhyaya, *Purushottama Chandrika*.

<sup>7</sup> Mohanty, *Mādālā Pāñji*.

<sup>8</sup> For example, 6th generation: 1st Panji Nara Kesari—2nd Panji *e raja* (thus the same name)—3rd Panji Kanaka Kesari; 7th generation: Ganga Kesari—Padma Kesari—Padma Kesari.

nineteenth and early twentieth century, a mistake which, for decades, encumbered the discussions about the *Madala Panji* and Puri's chronicles.

But it would be unfair to burden solely A.B. Mohanty and K.C. Panigrahi with the responsibility of this misunderstanding. A major reason is the 'biography' of the KRV itself. Written on palm leaves by an unknown Brahmin at Puri in Kaliyuga 4921 or AD 1820/21, it became part of the Mackenzie Collection. After Colin Mackenzie's death in 1821, his private collection of manuscripts and drawings was purchased from his widow by the East India Company in 1823;<sup>9</sup> it was transferred to London in 1825 together with many other texts of his collection and was integrated into the India Office Library under the accession number 7334.<sup>10</sup> There it remained unnoticed or even unknown to historians of Orissa until 1974 when Prof. G.C. Tripathi discovered and copied it at the India Office Library. In 1983 he began its edition and translation which was finally published in 1987. In 1983, too, K.C. Mishra published the Sanskrit text of a copy of the KRV, the *Odradeśavamsāvalī*, under the title *Odradeśa Rājavamsāvalī*.<sup>11</sup> It contains a large number of copying mistakes and omissions and remained back in India in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library at Madras.<sup>12</sup> This text, too, was unknown to scholars in Orissa until K.C. Mishra procured a copy of it from Madras in the mid-1960s for his Ph.D. thesis at Calcutta University on the cult of Jagannath.<sup>13</sup>

Thus, both these Sanskrit version of the Puri's chronicles remained unnoticed by scholars in India for nearly one and a half centuries. But even after their publication in the 1980s, after all, the most important contribution to the study of Puri's *Madala Panji* after A.B. Mohanty's edition in 1940, it took a considerably long time to initiate a new debate on Puri's chronicles. Obviously the impact of J.F. Fleet's verdict against Puri's chronicles in 1895 'that everything which has been written on the unsupported authority of these annals, has to be expunged bodily from the pages of history'<sup>14</sup> and K.C. Panigrahi's statement that they had partly been rewritten in the nineteenth and even early twentieth centuries were still too strong. Recently, however, the study of Puri's chronicles attracted again the interest of scholarship in Orissa.<sup>15</sup> Most important in this

<sup>9</sup> Howes, *Illustrating India*, p. 227.

<sup>10</sup> 'One can find a short description of the work under this number in the Manuscript Catalogue of the India Office Library, London prepared by Prof. A.B. Keith, the famous Indologist. This is a small palm leaf manuscript containing near about 60 folia having a size of approximately 5 cm × 20 cm. The writing is neatly inscribed by stylus on the leaves in Devanagari characters which is rather rare because due to the continuous straight line required to be drawn on the head of the letters the palm leaves tend to break at several points. Even the Sanskrit manuscripts in Orissa are therefore usually written in round Oriya characters. The writing or engraving on the leaves has not been smeared with lampblack etc. which makes it difficult to read.' (Tripathi and Kulke, *Katakarājavamsāvalī*, p. IV f).

<sup>11</sup> Mishra, *Odradeśa Rājavamsāvalī*.

<sup>12</sup> Local Records, Vol. 60, pp. 303–57.

<sup>13</sup> Mishra, *The Cult of Jagannatha*.

<sup>14</sup> Fleet, 'Records of the Somavamœi Kings of Katak', p. 338.

<sup>15</sup> K.C. Dash, 'Madala Panji Reconsidered', unpublished paper, International Conference of Historians of Asia, New Delhi, 2008 and 'Kataka Rajavamsavali and its Historical Authenticity', unpublished paper; for the workshop *Madala Panji and Beyond: Reflections on Traditional Historical Writing of Orissa* in 2006 see the preceding footnote.

context is the editing of the co-called *Rajabhoga*, a hitherto unknown compendium of late medieval texts of Puri<sup>16</sup> and of the *Jagannathasthalavrttantam*, a Telugu rendering of similar texts, belonging to the Mackenzie Collection of the Government Oriental Manuscript Library at Madras.<sup>17</sup>

Before trying to come to some conclusions about its authorship and its colonial context a short note on the text of the KRV is necessary. Neither the London nor the Madras manuscript is the original one. As has been shown very convincingly by G.C. Tripathi, the London palm leaf was 'not an outcome of the task of copying from an older original but of dictation by an Oriya/Bengali knowing Pandit to the scribe'.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, he also pointed out that the original palm-leaf manuscript had been written in Oriya script, whereas its London text was copied in Devanagari—perhaps due to the fact that its Bengali copyist was not too well versed in the Oriya script. The Madras manuscript, on the other hand, is characterised by many 'Tamilisms' which, according to Tripathi, leaves no doubt that it 'was prepared by a Tamil not so well-versed in Sanskrit'<sup>19</sup> and moreover not familiar with local Oriya toponyms which are often misspelt in the Madras text. Obviously it was dictated to one of Mackenzie's Tamil pandits for the Madras collection.

As for the contents of the KRV and its deviations from Puri's earlier Oriya chronicles, particularly remarkable is its reduction of the number of 44 Kesari kings to the holy number of 36 and the addition of new stories. Moreover, the KRV inserted the Saka era for the first time in a chronicle of Puri.<sup>20</sup> It begins with the death of Vikramarka (= Vikramaditya) in AD 78 who 'had come to the Purusottama Ksetra and had darsana of the Lord'.<sup>21</sup> The counting of Saka years continues until the death of the Raja Ramachandra III in Saka 1741 or AD 1819.

Another innovation is the story that after the early, purely legendary, invasion of Puri by the Mughal (sic) General Raktabahu in Saka 245 or AD 323, Jagannath was buried not at Sonepur itself, as reported by the first *Panji* edited by A.B. Mohanty, but in Gopali, a village on the other side of the Mahanadi near Sonepur, where the tradition was still alive in 1971 when I visited the place. Moreover, the KRV describes in much greater detail the rediscovery of Jagannath's meanwhile dilapidated *murti* and its reconsecration by legendary Yayati Kesari. In contrast to the Oriya chronicles, its renewal and consecration is designated as *Vanayaga* like the present-day grand Nabakalebara rituals of the periodic renewal of Jagannath's wooden image.<sup>22</sup> A very

<sup>16</sup> Dash, *Jagannatha and Gajapati Kings of Orissa*.

<sup>17</sup> *Śrījagannāthasthalavrttantam*, translated by S.N. Rajaguru, edited by B.K. Swain, Sri Jagannatha Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Puri, 2005.

<sup>18</sup> KRV, p. VII.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. VIII.

<sup>20</sup> Only the genealogy, the third text published by A.B. Mohanty, lists the Saka years of each king whereas the other two chronicles count only the *anka* years of their reign. But it is possible or even likely that the Saka years of this genealogy were derived from the KRV.

<sup>21</sup> *Madala Panji*, p. 57.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8; see also Tripathi, 'Navakalevara: The Unique Ceremony of the "Birth" and the "Death" of the "Lord of the World"'.  
 www.jagannath.org

similar story is repeated about the renewal of the cult by Ramachandra of Khurda after its destruction by Kalapahar in AD 1568. Like the older Oriya chronicles the KRV, too, reports that the remains of Jagannath's burnt *murti* was recovered by Bisar Mohanty and hidden at the fort of Kujanga. But the KRV contains additional details about the consecration Jagannath's newly prepared *daru murti* by Ramachandra, details of which were supposed to be very secret.<sup>23</sup>

In the ninth anka [Ramachandra] went to the state of Kujanga and brought back the portion of the log which had not been consumed by the fire. He got new images fashioned following the rites of Vanayaga and added to it the remaining portion of the older log.<sup>24</sup>

Although the historicity of the Bisar Mohanty legend is doubtful, the KRV might be right inasmuch that Jagannath's 'Brahma', inserted into his new *murti* during Nabakalebara, is a secret and sacred piece of wood, rescued from the old image, burnt by Kalapahar.<sup>25</sup> The detailed description of the renewal of Jagannath's *daru devata* by Ramachandra himself in the KRV in 1820 was obviously meant to validate and strengthen the position of the rajas of Khurda in their struggle for their survival as *adya sevaka* under British dominion.<sup>26</sup>

In our attempt to contextualise the KRV and to know more about its anonymous author and his incentive to create a new Sanskrit rendering of the Oriya chronicles in the year 1820/21, we come across two British 'administrators cum historians', Colin Mackenzie and Andrew Stirling. They happened to meet in Orissa in 1820 and might have been very directly involved in the genesis of the KRV. Colin Mackenzie (1754–1821) joined the East India Company at the age of 28 and spent the majority of his career in south India with a sheer megalomaniac drive to collect or copy systematically thousands of inscriptions and manuscripts, most of which comprise the Mackenzie Collection, established after his death at the Government Oriental Manuscript Library at Chennai.<sup>27</sup> After he had been appointed Surveyor General of Madras Presidency

<sup>23</sup> I remember very well that during the great Nabakalebara in June 1969, when Prof. Tripathi and I conducted a 'pilot project' of the first Orissa Research Project, the essence and particularly the contents of the 'Brahma', which is transferred by a blind-folded Brahmin from Jagannath's old to his new *daru murti*, was regarded as top secret. This was obviously not the case when the KRV was written in 1820.

<sup>24</sup> KRV, pp. 65, 98.

<sup>25</sup> Only few years after the renewal of the Jagannath cult by Ramachandra, Abul Fazl reported in his *Ain-i-Akbari*: 'Kala Pahar ... on his conquest of the country, flung the image into the fire and burnt it and afterwards cast it into the sea. But now it is restored' (Jarret, *The Ain-i-Akbari by Abu-l-Fazl*, p. 140); see also Kulke, 'Yayati Kesari Revisited: Ramachandra of Khurda and the Yayati Kesari Legend of Puri'.

<sup>26</sup> Dube, *Divine Affairs*; Mubayi, *Altar of Power*; H. Kulke, "'Juggernaut' under British Supremacy and the Resurgence of the Khurda Rajas as Rajas of Puri".

<sup>27</sup> Wilson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts and Other Articles*. As mentioned earlier, Mackenzie's private collection was purchased by the East India Company from Mackenzie's widow in 1823 and sent to London. For a history of the Mackenzie Collection, see Dirks, 'Colonial Histories and Native Informants'; 'The Textualization of Tradition: Biography of an Archive', in his monograph *Castes of Mind. Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*, Princeton, 2001, pp. 80–106; see now particularly the most recent publication on Mackenzie by Howes, *Illustrating India*.

in 1810 he became increasingly interested in Orissa and his pandits collected, copied and partly translated into Telugu between c. 1810 and 1815 a considerable number of local *Bamsabali* and *Kaiphiyat* chronicles primarily from south Orissa and Puri.<sup>28</sup> Particularly important was the *Jagannathasthalavrttantam*, a Telugu rendering of a comprehensive manual of Puri, consisting of several smaller ritual and legendary texts and genealogies<sup>29</sup> and a group of his Indian and European drawers produced a number of excellent drawings of Orissa.<sup>30</sup> Mackenzie was, thus, already well familiar with Orissa and Puri in particular when he became Surveyor General of India at Calcutta in 1815 and when a year before his death he tried to recover from his serious illness and spent more than four months at Puri (22 May–18 October 1820). But 'he was by no means idle, and kept in touch with surveyors in all parts of India', got texts translated, travelled to Bhubaneswar and Konarak and was in continuous contact with Benjamin Buxton, Surveyor at Cuttack and himself a gifted draftsman.<sup>31</sup> The date of about 10 drawings of Puri, Konarak and Bhubaneswar which now belong to the Mackenzie Collection of the British Library coincides exactly with Mackenzie's stay at Puri and few of them are signed by Mackenzie himself.<sup>32</sup>

Andrew Stirling (1793–1830) came to India at the age of 20 and joined the East India Company as Persian Secretary to the Government of India. Since his appointment as Secretary to the Commissioner at Cuttack in 1817 he became deeply interested in the history and culture of Orissa. In 1822 he published 'An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper' as the first comprehensive 'modern' survey of Orissa.<sup>33</sup> Its introduction contains a summary of his sources which is not only most relevant for our considerations about the KRV, but also provides perhaps the first comprehensive guide to traditional sources of historical writing in pre-colonial Orissa:

The sources from which my information has been chiefly derived are, 1st A work in Sanscrit called Vansavali, belonging to a learned Brahmin of Puri, said to have been originally composed by some of his ancestors three or four centuries back, and continued down in the family

<sup>28</sup> More than a dozen belong to the Local Records of the Mackenzie Collection in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library at Chennai. For a detailed analysis of one of these chronicles, see Berkemer, 'The Chronicle of a Little Kingdom'.

<sup>29</sup> *Śrī Jagannāthasthalavṛttāntam*, translated into English by S.N. Rajaguru, edited by B.K. Swain, Puri, Sri Jagannath Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, 2005. A similar Oriya manual, the important so-called 'Rajbhog', procured from the Deula Karana of Puri in 1971 by the former Orissa Research Project, has recently been edited by G.N. Dash, *Jagannath and the Gajapati Kings of Orissa*; see also H. Kulke, 'Reflections on the Sources of the Temple Chronicles of the Mādālā Pāñji of Puri'.

<sup>30</sup> Howes, *Illustrating India*.

<sup>31</sup> Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, pp. 474–83.

<sup>32</sup> Archer, *British Drawings in the India Office Library*, pp. 489ff (WD 679, 680, 749, 777, 779, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873). A selection of these drawings will be published by Kulke, 'Early Colonial Drawings'; see also J. Howes, *Illustrating India*, pp. 221–31.

<sup>33</sup> Stirling, 'An Account of Orissa'.

to the present date. 2nd The chapter of the Mandala Panji<sup>34</sup> or Records preserved in the temple of Jagannath, called the Raj Charitra or 'Annals of the Kings' in Uria language, which records are stated to have been commenced upon more than six centuries back, and to have been since regularly kept up. 3rd Another Vansavali or Genealogy, written in Sanscrit on leaves of the Palmyra tree, procured from a Brahmin living in the family of the Raja of Puttia Serengerh, one of the branches of the royal house of Orissa. Less certain and trust worthy guides than the above are to be met with the numerous Genealogies, or Bansabali Pothis, as they are vulgarly termed, possesses by nearly every Panjia or Almanac maker in the Province. They in general abound with errors and inconsistencies, but occasionally a few fact or illustrations may be gleaned from them.<sup>35</sup>

A comparison of the contents of Stirling's 'An Account of Orissa' with the KRV leaves no doubt that the latter was Stirling's major source and thus is identical with the *Sanscrit Vansavali* mentioned by Stirling as his first source. It is the only 'Sanskrit Vamsavali' existing in Puri and, most importantly, the only chronicle which counts, like Stirling, 36 instead of 44 Kesari kings as all the other Oriya chronicles are doing.

We may now ask who was the unknown author of the KRV, the 'Third Man'? As stated by Stirling, he was a learned Brahmin of Puri. He must have had not only his own family manuscripts but certainly also access to Puri's chronicles which, according to A.B. Mohanty and R.P. Chanda, were in the possession of the Deula Karana, Tadhau Karana and the Raja of Puri.<sup>36</sup> But we may go a step further as we have good reasons to assume that 'the learned Brahmin of Puri', might have been Jagannath Rajguru, one of Puri's best known Brahmins in the early 19th century. After the conquest of Orissa by the East India Company in 1803, he was appointed second Pariksha or Temple Administrator of the Jagannatha Temple and even Head Pariksha of the temple in 1811. In 1805 Groeme had been full of praise of him in his famous Groeme Report on the administration of the Jagannath temple: 'Indeed to Jagunnath Rajgooroo the Second Purcha of the Temple, I am indebted for almost everything I have learnt.'<sup>37</sup> For unknown reasons, he was removed from this post in 1816. But in 1825, T. Pakenham, Collector of Cuttack, recommended Jagannath Rajguru again for this post in a letter to the Acting Secretary of the Commissioner of Cuttack, emphasizing Rajguru's excellent relation with Stirling:

The recommendation in favour of Jagannath Raj Gooroo was submitted as much under the conviction that he was better qualified by talents and education for the situation than any other person within my knowledge as from being aware of the favourable opinion that was

<sup>34</sup> This manuscript might have come to the Mackenzie Collection at Madras as Wilson's catalogue (see note 27) lists (Vol. II, p. 105, no. XIII) among the 'Uriya or Orissa Books' a palm leaf called *Mandala Panji*. The wrong spelling of the Madala Panji as Mandala Panji in both cases is remarkable.

<sup>35</sup> Stirling, 'An Account of Orissa', p. 163.

<sup>36</sup> R.B. Chand, 'Notes from the Madala Panji (Mohammedan Conquest of Orissa)', *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. 7, 1927, pp. 10-27.

<sup>37</sup> Quoted in P. Mukherjee, *Pilgrim Tax and Temple Scandals. A Critical Study of the Important Jagannath Temple Records during British Rule*, ed. by Nancy Gardner Cassels. Bangkok: Orchid Press 2000, p. 35f.

entertained of him by Mr Stirling whose researches into the literature and customs of this Province, afforded him opportunities of judging of the information and acquirement of different individuals which I do not possess.<sup>38</sup>

Pakenham's letter shows that British administrators who were in contact with Puri during these years regarded Jagannath Rajguru as the most competent and learned Brahmin of Puri. And what matters in our context particularly is the fact that Stirling obviously held him in high regards.

How to correlate the writing of the KRV in the year 1820/21 with these three persons who might have been involved in it: Colin Mackenzie, Andrew Stirling and Jagannath Rajguru? The following conclusion is purely conjectural. But in a way the idea suggests itself that Mackenzie and Stirling, two 'administrator-cum-historians' and genuine orientalists, decided during one of their meetings in summer 1820<sup>39</sup> to entrust a learned pandit to write a new and systematic chronicle of Puri in Sanskrit. In view of his passion and great experience in these matters it might have been Mackenzie's idea, particularly as he might have met Jagannath Rajguru personally during his stay at Puri. And from the evidence quoted earlier we may draw the conclusion that Stirling recommended Jagannath Rajguru to perform this great duty.

The colonial context of the KRV is evident from its inclusion into the Mackenzie Collection and the date 1820, when Colin Mackenzie, the Surveyor General, stayed at Puri and met Andrew Stirling, the first British historian of Orissa and Secretary to the Commissioner at Cuttack.

This context of the KRV is further corroborated by the seemingly irrelevant fact, that Stirling's 'Account' and the KRV bear in their titles the name Cuttack/Katak. It is quite understandable that Stirling speaks of 'Orissa Proper *or* Cuttack', as Cuttack was not only the capital of the newly conquered province of Orissa, as it was also under the Mughals and the Marathas, but initially also the name of the province. But for an orthodox Brahmin it would be rather incomprehensible to entitle his work about Jagannath and the history of Orissa as *Katakarajavamsavali*—particularly as there existed no rajas of Katak/Cuttack. For a 'contract work' in the early colonial context, however, it is in a way self-explanatory to entitle the new chronicle by the (colonial) name of the province.

A hitherto unsolved problem is the question whether the KRV was a completely new Sanskrit work written in 1820/21 or whether earlier versions of it existed already in his family or anywhere else in Puri or Orissa. K.C. Mishra surmises that 'due to its historical importance it [the *Odradesa Rajavamsavamsavali*] must have been handed down

<sup>38</sup> T. Pakenham, Collector of Zillah Cuttack, to W. Dent, Acting Secretary to the Commissioner of Cuttack, 28 January 1825, Orissa State Archives, Jagannath Temple Correspondence, Vol. II, pp. 351–53, quoted in Mukherjee op. cit., 2000, p. 81.

<sup>39</sup> In his 'An Account of Orissa', Stirling mentions that he visited together with Mackenzie the Ranigumpha at Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar with its famous inscription of Kharavela. Most likely this was not the only occasion that they met.



from fathers to son through generations'.<sup>40</sup> But without further investigation, Mishra seems to have adopted Stirling's already quoted statement that the Sanskrit chronicle of Puri was much older than early nineteenth century. However, in view of the fact that so far no Sanskrit Vamsavali or chronicle of Orissa has come to light or is referred to in other manuscripts<sup>41</sup> and that the KRV is the only chronicle which counts Saka years and 36 Kesari kings, I am convinced that the KRV was not a merely updated chronicle of Kaliyuga 4921 or AD 1820/21. Instead it is a genuinely new manuscript, written most likely by Jagannath Rajguru at the request of Mackenzie, and perhaps recommended by Stirling. The Rajguru must have commenced it already during Mackenzie's stay at Puri in summer 1820 as it was ready by the latest in early 1821, the end of Kaliyuga year 4921. However, it is unclear whether Stirling got immediate access to this text which became the major historical source of his 'Account of Orissa' which was published in volume XV of the journal of the Asiatic Society, dated 1822, but most likely printed only in 1825. In his comprehensive *Minute* on the revenue administration of Orissa, dated 15 October 1821, Mackenzie refers only once to the 'records of the Temple of Juggunnath, called Raj Charitra or Annals of the Kings of Orissa',<sup>42</sup> the Oriya chronicle which he mentions as the second source of his *History of Orissa* (see above). The KRV, however, which became the major source of his 'Account of Orissa' was not yet available to him as it is not mentioned. A possible explanation could be that after its completion, the manuscript was sent directly to Mackenzie in Calcutta in late 1820 or early 1821. It must have reached him before his death on 8 May 1821 as it became part of his private collection which was purchased by the East India Company in 1823. After having completed his comprehensive *Minute* in October 1821, Stirling must have remembered the KRV and procured, most likely, its original manuscript for his new work, after at least two copies had been compiled, one of which was sent to London and one to Madras.

Let me conclude with a short comment on Nicholas Dirks' important article on the biography of the Mackenzie Collection.<sup>43</sup> Dirks rightly asserts that Mackenzie 'opened his archives to voices that were rarely heard'. But he also states that 'the[se] voices became anonymous footnotes for a new kind of colonial knowledge'. And moreover he concludes that because of his death, Mackenzie was 'unable to produce [out of his collection] a master historical narrative of its own' and thus his 'silence dissolved into the silencing of India, the suppression both of the history and the historicity of India'.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Mishra, *Odradeśa Rājavamsāvalī*, p. 3.

<sup>41</sup> The other Sanskrit Vamsavali, which Stirling mentions as his third source, seems to have been a royal chronicle of Patia-Sarangarh, not far away from Cuttack.

<sup>42</sup> A. Stirling, *Minute by the Secretary to the Commissioner*, dated 15 October 1821, p. XLVIII. The *Minute* is reprinted in two appendices of the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. IX, 3/4 (1960) Appendix, pp. I-III and Vol. X, 1/2 (1961) Appendix, pp. IV-LXXXIX. The OHRJ gives the date wrongly as 10 October 1821 and entitles the appendix in Vol. X by a mistake as a 'continuation of reprint from G. Toynbee's *Sketch of the History of Orissa*' which was reprinted in Vol. IX.

<sup>43</sup> Dirks, 'Colonial Histories and Native Informants'; I owe with thanks to Dirks and his 'Biography of an Archive' the idea to speak of a 'biography' of the KRV.

<sup>44</sup> Dirks, 'Colonial Histories and Native Informants', p. 311.

The KRV, however, neither ended up as 'anonymous footnotes for a new kind of colonial knowledge' nor did it lead to the 'suppression of the history and the historicity' of Orissa. On the contrary, the KRV of the Mackenzie's collection became the major source for Stirlings' first History of Orissa. And although it was indeed produced for 'a new kind of colonial knowledge', it had also a strong impact on historiography in postcolonial Orissa.

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