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Sidelights on
HISTORY AND CULTURE OF ORISSA
Sidelights on

HISTORY
AND CULTURE
OF ORISSA

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BHUANESWAR, ORISSA

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INTRODUCTION

All through ages Orissa has retained a cultural identity much more prominent than her political establishments, though of course, political stability by periodic order and economic vitality through a larger part of history were responsible for the growth of that culture. While developing itself within the characteristic syndromes of Indian civilisation, the Orissan culture nevertheless acquired some distinctive traits of its own to enrich that multifaced Indic panorama. Several factors were in operation in developing and sustaining both the indigenous and the Indian aspects of the Orissan culture in its historical setting. An indication of some such factors is given below.

The geographical situation of a land is obviously of a compelling character in shaping the forces and circumstances which rear up culture. Orissa is like a bridge between the northern and southern halves of India, where the Vindhya type mountain range did not raise head to hinder the prehistoric and proto-historic migratory movements, but instead, the plains of the coastal belt as well as the river belts of diagonal directions made the human contact easier. In an assimilation of the Dravidian and the Aryan ways of life Orissa provided the best situational opportunities. Similarly, the geographical location made the Orissan coast the Indian gateway for overseas expansion. The impact of the Indian religion, philosophy, art and architecture in various countries of the South and South-East Asia from very early times to the late medieval period is abundantly evident. That influence flowed out of India in successive waves from a number of ports of ancient Kalinga, a fact that was duly observed by the ancient Greeks, Romans, Arabs and the Chinese. And, the countries of the South and the South-East Asia bear the evidences of those lasting influences in their traditions, place names, literature and architecture. Every region of India had had to play its expected role in a broader perspective of history under conditions of geographical situation, and Orissa, in that regard, served both the internal and external purposes of considerable values. As late as the seventeenth century, the European merchants, while attracted by the prospects of the eastern trade, were drawn towards the Orissan ports for their commercial adventure; and so late as the early nineteenth
century, when the British decided to conquer Orissa, their absolute need for that conquest was to link Bengal with Madras through the coastal belt of Orissa.

Physical features, too, like the geographical existence, contributed much to Orissa’s historical growth. The hill-tracts of Orissa were the abode of India’s original tribal populations, who in their silvan isolation continued to maintain primordial cultural traits of much human significance. The river-valleys, on the other hand, proved conducive to the growth of wider and pervasive cultures in consonance with general Indian trends of different epochs. Mountains, hills, forests, valleys and plains, more or less in a balanced natural distribution, lent Orissa a physical harmony. In ancient times, the river system of Orissa was somewhat different from what it is today. A famous river named Prachi, on the banks of which there flourished a prosperous civilisation in bygone days, does not exist today. Rivers of Puranic fame like Daya, Bhargavi and Chandrabhaga are no longer in their former shape. Even the river Bolang which attracted the early Danes, Dutch, English and French for its navigable course and its advantageous mouth which contained a prosperous port for ages, was a dying river when the Europeans wanted to take an advantage of it. In any case, for the ancient and medieval prosperity of Orissa, her natural conditions provided ample opportunities.

A third factor which obviously helped the growth of the Orissan culture was her periodical political strength. The name Orissa has got superimposed on a grandiose and dignified name that is Kalinga which was pre-eminent as a political power right from the dawn of history. Asoka’s epoch-making war is famous as the Kalinga War. Kharavela’s vast empire is known as the Kalinga Empire. And, even the oversea colonies of the ancient Orissans passed under the name Kalinga. Her more powerful monarchs used to style themselves as the Kalingadhipati, and some of them named their capitals as Kalinganagari or Kalinga Nagar. Ancient and medieval Kalinga saw the rise and fall of some of the most powerful empires and kingdoms from pre-Christian centuries till the time of her decline in the sixteenth century. The notable dynasties which ruled over the territory were the Chedi or the Aira Mahameghavahana, the Mathara, the Bhauma-Kara, the Soma-Vamsi, the Ganga and the Surya. Some of these dynasties ruled for long periods and presented great conquerors or administrators, who, by their internal and external achievements, kept their domain well-integrated politically and prosperous economically. The
proof of their success lies in their religious and architectural activities which long survived their mundane powers. Every powerful dynasty, and several of their great kings have left their permanent impress on the cultural life of Orissa. Without political stability over a larger part of history, and regular patronage from powerful rulers, there could not have been that exuberant artistic and architectural creation over the length and breadth of Orissa through ages for which this land has earned a special recognition. Orissa was the last great Hindu Kingdom in India to succumb to foreign invasions. But when that misfortune came, her cultural attainment had already reached its permanent shape.

It is not the political power alone which builds up a cultural edifice, but the supreme faith of the people in something higher and nobler which the political power considers necessary to encourage and support. The volksgeist of this part of India has been to uphold and nourish the spiritual faiths of the sub-continent as they appeared from time to time. Orissa not only was a stronghold of India's several great religions, namely, Jainism, Buddhism, Saivism and Vaishnavism, but she retained each of the great faiths for a longer period of time than many other regions of India. Long after Jainism and Buddhism lost their hold on their original places of prominence, they were seen thriving in Orissa with much of their pristine glory; and when Saivism rose with its sweeping power over popular imagination, it saw its high watermark on the soil of Orissa; and Vaishnavism, through centuries of sway, is still centred in Orissa with the cult of Jagannath as its mainstay. The religious centres in ancient and medieval Orissa were numerous. Many of them like Ratnagiri or Lalitagiri have disappeared; many have declined like Jajpur and Konarak; but yet, the Hindu India till today is attracted to some places of Orissa with fervent devotion. Puri has attracted, during the last nine hundred years, more of pilgrims than any of the other holy centres of India like Dwarka, Badrika, Kamaksha, Brindavan, Varanasi and Kumari. The prophets and saints from Mahavira Jina to Guru Nanak and Chaitanya felt attracted towards Orissa to carry their mission or to pay their holy visit in consideration of Orissa's sanctity in religious matters, and they left their footprints on the soil of this land. Though, thus, a classic land of ancient and medieval religious faiths, Orissa also could drift in new directions whenever the time so demanded, and as such, when the religious reform movements affected modern India, one of the earliest of such awakenings was seen to have made its indigenous beginning among her people in the shape of the Mahima Dharma. It aimed
to eradicate medieval superstitions and revive rational spiritual quest of a reformative character. In essence, Orissa’s religious convictions have made its cultural heritage rich in many respects.

The next factor to have made that culture prominent was the inner creativity of the Oriya people. If religious and spiritual faiths were deep, those faiths of different times inspired the people to work out that creativity on the surface of stone, manifesting thereby a superb type of artistic and architectural originality. From the time of Asoka’s Dhauli and Kharavela’s Kumari complex to the time of Konarak, the Orissan sculptors and architects showed their calibre as a race of artists, through generations and centuries. That mountains could be moved by faith was proved in Orissa when some of the stupendous monuments were raised in the need of religions. It was not the enormity of the work alone which contained constructive capacity of the ancients, but the luxuriant elaboration of thought, cult, imagination, and fantasy on the hard surface of stone which showed the artistic quality of the race. Evidences are seen sprinkled all over Orissa for proving as if the sculptural art was almost a widely prevalent hereditary profession of the people. And, to what excellence! It was not an amateurish or imperfect creativity in which the Oriya artist indulged himself but in a refined and chaste attempt to lead artistic purpose to its perfection that he gave the best in him. To a keen observer of the Mukteswara, the Rajrani or the Konarak, the Orissan artist would appear to be playing with his needle as easily as the Ajanta painter played with his brush, for an exactitude which would need no erasion. And, the themes were so varied for him, and his imagination so deep, he was as if writing an epic on the surface of stone. Whether it was the genius of the artists which gave the faiths their plentiful colour, or the faiths themselves which called for from the artists a limitless performance, or both the processes were co-extensive are subjects for thought. But the result was vivid. Religious convictions and artistic capabilities proved themselves a simultaneous outcome of national mind and individual hand. The pleasing smile of the Sun while rising in the morning, His grave and serene appearance at the midday, and His paleness and pathos while going to set—as seen in the faces of the Sun Gods on the body of Konarak—were no easy task for the man who aimed to cut human moods on ultrabasic rough chlorite but he did it excellently well. It is not merely that he was doing a duty to a king, or showing devotion to a God, but was depicting a culture at its finest. Old faiths have vanished or paled, but art has survived. Orissa remains till today the veritable museum of
India’s sculptural heritage; and what is more surprising, the distant descendants of the thirteenth century artist are still living in the present-day Orissa, busy cutting miniatures and replicas of the original art on soap-stones and wood.

Economic prosperity was a vital factor behind the creative habit of the people of ancient and medieval Orissa. Several factors were responsible for that prosperity. The river valleys of Orissa, fertile and productive, kept the people self-sufficient in day-to-day livelihood. The forest resources and unlimited pasture-land complemented agricultural employment. From the beginning of the Buddhist era, the people of the region were also seen as active traders having communication with other parts of India. The Buddhist literature gives evidence of those activities. The foreign sources abound with information about ancient Kalinga’s maritime trade. In the beginning years of the Christian era the author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea observed how ships regularly sailed towards Malaysia. In the middle of the second century A.D., Ptolemy, the famous Greek geographer, gave a description of several ports of Kalinga, such as, Palur, Naingaina, Ktkardam, Kannagar and Madaina. There were also other famous ports like Dantapura and KalingaNagar. Huen Tsiang, the Chinese pilgrim, described of a great Kalinga port named Charitra. Till the time of the European advent, the ports of Orissa remained engaged in south-east Asian oversea trade, as are ascertained from the Indonesian, Chinese, Arab and European sources. The architectural and the artistic activities of the people, performed and perpetuated in a lavish scale all over the territory, were the indirect results of Orissa’s economic wealth and potentiality. Without the prosperity of the people in a general sense, the rulers of several dynasties could not have conducted their building activities at considerable public expenditure.

Finally, there was a social cause for the continuity and stability of the Orissan culture. From a historical point of view, there have been the rise and decline of various cultures according to the tides or ebbs of social vitality of any concerned people, or peoples. Societies which are susceptible to quick changes because of internal strains and turmoils or for foreign conquests and external impacts, lose the continuity of traditional cultural traits more easily than the societies which, in spite of internal and external vicissitudes continue to remain rigid in matters of social habits. Cultures, however great, do not survive if social attitudes remain flexible towards their sustenance. Social customs, festivals,
ceremonies, rites and rituals, art, music, drama and crafts, all in their traditional forms, need some amount of social patronage. Even if changing times do not need their continuance for any valid material benefit, yet they are permitted to outlive their utility for the sake of a mental pleasure as memories of bygone days. In the social life of Orissa is manifested this latter attitude in many respects. Hundreds of years might have passed by or political scenario might have changed in rapid succession, but the great ceremonies like the Car Festival or the Boita Bandana did not change their festive character. Similarly, economic maladies or social misfortunes of many generations did not obliterate the folk arts or village crafts, or the artistic heritage of the people at large. Basic values of socio-religious outlook, as well as, varied cultural characteristics pertaining to manners, customs and pleasurable pursuits persist in the life and habits of the Orissan people in their manifestative form. No society is supposed to remain static. In Orissa, too, modernism was bound to make itself felt in due course of time. Yet, many things in her social texture bore the semblances of earlier institutions signifying thereby people’s liking for cultural inheritance. These are some of the factors which helped Orissa’s distinctive cultural existence. In every age of Indian history, she was influenced by the zeitgeist in spheres of religion and art. And, when era after era such upheavals came and passed, Orissa was seen retaining the attributes of those values as long as she could. At this distance of time, the spiritual echoes of the past can be heard in Orissa more vividly than elsewhere. Khandagiri stands till today as one of the holiest places of Jainism. Buddhism is no more on the soil of India, but Jagannath stands identified with Buddha in the memory of men. The high tide of Saivism receded ages ago, but the Temple of Lingaraj stands today as its foremost stronghold. Similarly, though Vaishnavism is no longer in its former glory, yet Puri continues to attract millions of men and women as its greatest abode. The innumerable edifices, temples and monuments in all corners of Orissa stand as the dumb and mute witnesses of a long past to indicate the history of many glorious epochs. They come down as some of the specimens of an old culture, and by their hold on popular imagination, they give that culture an endurable colour.

A Cultural History of Orissa is yet a desideratum. I am thankful to the learned contributors to this volume for the pain they took to sketch an outline of their respective subjects for giving an idea of that culture. Since political developments and economic
conditions had had their effect on culture, brief topics referring to the former have also been incorporated in the volume. The volume, however, is not a comprehensive one to justify the title it bears. It is only a preliminary attempt in those directions.

I hasten to confess that most of the articles were hastily collected, roughly edited and rushed through the printing machine for publication in two weeks' time in order to serve the purpose of a commemorative volume for the Bhubaneswar Session of the Indian History Congress in December 1977. I crave for the indulgence of the readers for all types of omission and commission, which resulted from such decision. I am, nevertheless, thankful to Prof. Rangadhar Sarangi for helping me in editing this volume. While many valuable topics could not be included, several of them as contained in the volume are to be regarded as totally inadequate in their contents and purport.

Let an apology, therefore, be the conclusion of this introduction.

Vani Vihar
5-12-77

M. N. Das
PART I

Land, People and History
LAND AND PEOPLE OF ORISSA

Oriissa extends from 17° 49' N to 22° 34' N latitude and from 81° 29' E to 87° 29' E longitude on the eastern coast of India. It is bounded by the states of West Bengal on the north-east, Bihar on the north, Madhya Pradesh on the west, Andhra Pradesh on the south and the Bay of Bengal on the east. Oriissa was separated from Bihar and came into existence on April 1, 1936. The capital was established at the historic city of Cuttack, located at the apex of the Mahanadi delta.

The history of Oriissa dates back to antiquity, its most famous old names being Kalinga, Utkal and Odra, when its boundary extended far beyond the present one. By the time of the Mahabharata, Kalinga, Utkal and Odra had entered into Aryan polity as powerful kingdoms. Frequent references are made to Kalinga in the Mahabharata and infrequent references to Odra and Utkal. By the time of Mahavira and Buddha the Kalinga-Utkal region on the entire east of India had acquired recognition and fame.

MORPHOLOGY

Morphologically Oriissa can be divided into five parts: the coastal plains, the middle mountainous country, the rolling uplands, the river valleys, and the subdued plateau.

The Coastal Plains

The coastal plains of Oriissa stretch from Subarnarekha in the north to the Rushikulya in the south. They are narrow in the north, widest in the middle, narrowest in the Lake Chilka coast, and broad in the south. The coastal plains are the gift of six major rivers which by bringing silt from their catchments, have reclaimed this area from the depths of the Bay of Bengal. The rivers from north to south
are the Subarnarekha, the Budhabalanga, the Baitarani, the Brahmani, the Mahanadi and the Rushikulya. The coastal plains can be termed as a land of “six deltas”. Excepting a few the rivers have failed to develop true deltaic characteristics because of the strong offshore currents. According to their location the coastal plains can be termed as the north coastal plains, (the deltas of the Subarnarekha and the Budhabalanga) the middle coastal plains (the combined deltas of the Baitarani, the Brahmani and the Mahanadi) and the south coastal plains (the Rushikulya plains).

The Middle Mountainous Country

The mountainous region of Orissa covers about three-fourths of the area of the state. This region is a part of the Indian peninsula. Here deep and broad valleys are cut by the Baitarani, the Brahmani, the Mahanadi, the Rushikulya, the Vamsadhara and the Nagavali rivers. They are fertile, well-drained and thickly populated. Morphologically this region can be divided into the following units.

(a) the Simulia and the Meghasanalai mountains.
(b) the Baitarani and the Brahmani interfluves.
(c) the watershed between the Brahmani and the Mahanadi and
(d) the watershed of the Rushikulya and the Vamsadhara. The elevation ranges from 610 to 1,068 metres.

The Rolling Uplands

The rolling uplands are lower in elevation than the plateaus. They vary from 153 m. to 305 m. They are the products of continued river action, are rich in soil nutrients and are situated in the Koel-Sankh basin of the Upper Brahmani, in the Ib, the Suktel and the Tel of the Middle Mahanadi, and, the Sabari basins. The rolling uplands may be grouped as follows: The Rajgangpur uplands, the Jharsuguda uplands, the Bhawanipatna uplands, the Bolangir Titlagarh-Patnagarh uplands, the Bhawanipatna uplands, the Malkangiri uplands and the Rairangpur uplands.

The River Valleys

River valleys are the net product of the action of rivers. They are fertile and at times present an undulating topography. The major river valleys of Orissa are associated with the Brahmani, the Mahanadi and the Vamsadhara rivers.
The Subdued Plateaus

The subdued plateaus (305—610 m.) reveal all the peculiarities of peninsular tablelands. They are almost flat and monotony of orography is interrupted by the river valleys. These features are commonly met within the Upper Baitarani and the Sabari basins of the Keonjhar and Koraput districts, respectively.

Geologically Orissa is a part of the Gandwana land mass, one of the oldest and most stable land masses of the world. The rocks in Orissa range from the Archean to the recent periods. The most frequently occurring rocks may be categorised as follows:

(a) Pleistocene and recent
(b) Oligocene and lower Miocene
(c) Jurassic (Upper Gandwana)
(d) Permo-Carboniferous (Lower Gandwana)
(e) Cuddapah (Pre-Cambrian)
(f) Dharwarian
(g) Khondalites
(h) Charnockites
(i) Granites and Gneisses.

SOIL

Broadly the soil of Orissa may be classified as transported and residual soil on the basis of its mode of formation. The transported soil is an admixture of eroded materials and is heterogeneous in character. The residual soils are mainly worn out by different agents of erosion. They preserve the character of the bed-rocks.

The catchment basins of the drainage system in Orissa are dominated by the granite and gneissic rocks which have resulted in a sandy soil. Clay predominates the middle and lower reaches of the drainage channels. The residual soils are met with in the interfluves, mountains and plateaus. The soils which are the product of the parent rocks are known as endodynamorphous but when influenced by environmental factors they are called ectodynamorphous. Both these types occur in Orissa. Regional climatic variations and seasonal changes have resulted in the predominance of chemical weathering over physical erosion. Intense insolation during summer destroys organic matter and the rains help in transporting them. Thus climate has played a vital role in determining the character of the soils in Orissa. As per the rain factor, the northern plateau, the central table-land, the Eastern Ghats and the coastal regions may be included in the 'semi-humid' type. In these regions the red earth, yellow earth,
black earth, lateritic and alluvial soils occur. But Baliguda, with the ‘rain factor’ above 50 cms. comes under ‘humid’ climate which has given rise to forest soil.

The alluvial or fluvioenic soil may be classified as flood plain, wet meadow and littoral saline soil. The soils of the middle mountains and rolling uplands of Orissa are classified into laterite soil and regur soil or black-earth. The laterite soil is further sub-divided into Ranga Mati and Raguda, while the regur soil is classified as Chandi Khalia, Gutkhalia, Gengutikhalia and Khalia.

CLIMATE

Orissa enjoys a typical climate. The SW monsoons and the retreating NE monsoons effectively control its climate. As the state is located on the eastern coast of India, it does not come under the direct path of the SW monsoons with the result that monsoon rain is much lower here than in West Bengal. On account of the NE-SW alignment, the Eastern Ghats fail to act like a barrier to the moisture-laden monsoon winds from the Bay of Bengal. During the late monsoons, however, cyclones from the Bay of Bengal move NW along the Brahmani-Budhabalanga interfluve. They bring in heavy rain to the upper reaches of the drainage channels in the districts of Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh and Sambalpur.

During the period when monsoons are retreating, Orissa again lies parallel to the NE to SW winds. As a result, it does not get rain during winter except very little in the NE. This phenomenon is due to the depressions which move from NE to SE along the Ganga plains. During March-May, some rainfall is received in NE Orissa due to the local depressions formed over the lower Ganga delta. They are known as the Norwesterns (Kalbaisakhi). This type of rain is surely convectional.

Although rainfall is widespread during the monsoons, some local variations are experienced due to orography. Rainfall in Orissa varies from a maximum of 181.2 cms. at Bhadrak to only 107.5 cms. at Krishnaprasad. In general the Eastern Ghats, due to high relief receive more rainfall than the coastal plains. The late monsoons are primarily cyclonic and bring in enough rain to northern Orissa during the months of September and October.

Temperature

The mean annual temperature of Orissa is influenced by its latitude, elevation and proximity to the sea. The temperature rises
from 20.5°C. in the coastal plains to 21.4°C. in the inland areas of the State. Almost the whole of Orissa with the only exception of the coastal and the middle mountainous regions of the Koraput district has got a mean annual temperature of 21.4°C. to 26.6°C. The inland locations of Koraput are compensated for their high elevation. As a result they enjoy a slightly lower mean annual temperature than is normally expected for that latitude.

The moderating influence of the Bay of Bengal on the coastal plains and the influence of high configuration in the inland areas are striking. High summer and low winter temperatures in the inland areas result in a higher annual range of temperature than that of the coastal plains. In the coastal plains of Ganjam and Puri districts it is only 6.7°C. whereas it increases to 18.3°C. further inland.

FORESTS

Forest resources of Orissa exceed the optimum requirement of the State, but their maldistribution poses a serious problem. The fertile coastal plains with a dense population are lacking in forest cover. Then again, remoteness of the forests from the consumption centers and the bulky character of their products need cheap haulage. Orissa is very much lacking in this respect. Its rivers with their beds dry in summer are unsuitable as a cheap means of communication. A well-co-ordinated road and rail net is also lacking. The presence of a large tribal population practising shifting cultivation on an extensive scale engenders direct loss of valuable forest cover.

Forest Classification

On the basis of legal right of the people the forests in Orissa have been classified into the following eight well-defined categories, such as Reserved forests (33.8%), Reserved lands (9.4%), Demarcated and protected forests (0.8%), Protected forests (25.0%), Unclassified forests, Lakharaj forests (0.2%), Debottar forests (0.1%), Ex-Zamindari forests (30.7%).

The first four types with valuable timber and bamboo account for 44% of the total forested area. They are under the strict control of the forest department and are carefully guarded from fire and grazing.

The other four types of forests are more or less privately owned and managed by private agencies. Even though the undemarcated and unclassed forests are owned by the Government, the public are freely allowed to exploit them for their domestic uses on payment of a nominal amount for their maintenance. The Debottar forests
are owned by religious institutions. Lastly the private forests were owned and exploited privately and Government had absolutely no authority on them. But since Zamindari Abolition Act came into force in 1955, a large portion of them has been transferred to the Government. This portion is at present kept under the supervision of the Board of Revenue with the intention of their being handed over to the forest department in due course. Thus the public sector owned 72.3% and the private sector owned 27.7% of the forests in Orissa.

Most of the reserve forests are concentrated in the north and north-east of the Mahanadi, while forests owned by private agencies are situated in the south and south-west of it.

Demography of Orissa

Orissa's 21.93 million men live in 51,417 villages and 81 towns, spread over 156,000 square km. according to the 1971 Census. The total area of the State comprises 4.7% of the Indian Union and it accommodates 4.01% of her people and hence it has less population, compared to the area. When the average Indian density of population is 182.00 per sq. km. the density in Orissa is 141.00. The population problem of Orissa is not so much due to the high overall pressure but its uneven distribution. The fertile coastal area is thickly populated which accommodates 35.3% of its total population although it accounts for only 15.5% of the area of the State. Five sub-divisions, namely, Bhubaneswar, Cuttack, Jajpur, Kendrapara and Balasore comprising only 10% of the area of the State accommodate nearly one-fourth of the total population of Orissa and their average density is more than 226 persons per sq. km. In certain Police-stations like Govindapur in Cuttack district and Purushottampur in Ganjam district, the density exceeds even 500 persons per sq. km., while in the Eastern Ghat regions the density is below 15. There are areas in the Koraput district where the population density is very low, because of the inhospitable terrain, lack of cultivated land and underdeveloped communication.

In the mountainous and plateau areas, high concentration of population is found in the fertile river valleys where there is every scope for agriculture. Due to availability of water and fertile soil, Orissa is primarily an agricultural State.

The pressure and density of population have varied over the decades. In 1901, the density was only 66.0 per sq. km. and in 1971 it increased to 141 per sq. km.
Population Growth

In between 1901 and 1951 the population growth has been comparatively slow. During this period the population has increased from 10.3 million to 17.5 million. The average per decade growth of 11.6% is lower than India’s average of 14.4% for the same period. But during 1961-71 the growth rate has been accelerated and it is higher than that of Indian Union.

The growth is also uneven in the different parts of Orissa. The coastal areas of the State are in a saturation point while the areas like the middle mountainous terrain and the rolling uplands of the West and North-West provide empty land and better economic opportunities for the new settlers. New irrigation schemes, exploitation of minerals and forest resources and establishment of new small scale industries with the discovery of raw materials and the availability of hydroelectric power, have attracted the people of the coastal area. If the present trend continues for a few decades, more even distribution of population is expected.

Occupational Structure and Labour Force

Occupational structure is not a static factor. Occupation and availability of labour force are inter-related. According to the 1961 Census of Orissa 43.7% of the population work, while the remaining 56.3% are to depend on the working people. But in Indian Union there are 43.1% workers and the rest 56.9% dependants. Again there are more male workers than the females. It is because the women of Orissa are not educated and the prevailing social custom does not allow them to work side by side with male workers. Gradually the number of workers is increasing and the number of dependants is declining.

Economic prosperity not only depends on the size of the labour force but also on the efficiency of the labourer. In 1961, 73.8% of the workers were engaged in agriculture as against 61% in the whole country. Thus Orissa is more agricultural than India as a whole. More men were depending on agriculture in 1961 than in 1951. Besides, the labourers are engaged in different spheres like trade, commerce, etc. This high dependency on agriculture is at the root of the State’s present poverty and backwardness. Diversification of occupation must be achieved.

Settlement Pattern

Orissa’s settlement is rural in character, because more than
67% of the total population live in the villages. Orissa's 20.12 million rural people live in 51,417 villages. Again the population of the villages varies considerably from region to region. Moreover the villages have been categorised as small, medium and big depending on the population.

The number of the villages in Orissa has fluctuated very widely from a minimum of 45,387 in 1941 to a maximum of 48,398 in 1951. In 1961 the number of villages was 46,466 excluding 5,659 uninhabited ones.

A few villages in Kalahandi and Koraput districts have been deserted and the villagers have moved to the Dandakaranya Project for economic prosperity. A number of villages were uprooted for Rourkela Steel Plant. In course of time it is found that the number of small villages is declining, while the big ones are increasing. In 1951 the small villages with the population of less than 500 persons each formed 84% of the total and in the year 1961 its percentage declined to 77.08%. Again less people are living in small villages in 1961 compared to 1951.

In the coastal plains of Cuttack, Ganjam, Puri, the maximum number of big villages is found.

**Housing**

The entire population of Orissa comprising 17.5 million in 1961 was huddled in some 3.3 million residential rooms. The average room density works out to 5.29 persons. The rooms are also very much congested. In the district of Puri, the average room density is the maximum in the State, and it is as high as 6.07 persons. The housing problem in the inland areas like the district of Dhenkanal is acute and the room density is 5.76, the second highest in the State. In the coastal districts the high average room density is due to the pressure of population while in the inland areas it is mostly due to lack of construction activities because of the low economic growth.

**Language and Religion**

In Orissa, Oriya is spoken by 76.0% of the total population. The remaining 24.0% of the entire population speak various tribal languages. There are nearly 36 tribes found in Orissa and they are known as Kondh, Gond, Santal, Savar, Paraja, Oraon, etc.

In the coastal plains like the districts of Cuttack, Puri and Dhenkanal more than 94.2% Oriya-speaking men are found. In the border district the percentage of non-Oriya-speaking people is slightly high. In the north-east 12.2% of the total population speak Santal and
Bengali. In the Ganjam district in the south-east, Telugu, Savara, and Kandha are important.

Hindus are in vast majority in Orissa. Besides, there are Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists. Over and above all these we come across many backward classes named as Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and others. There are 42 scheduled tribes recognised in Orissa which constitute about more than a fifth of the total population of the State. They are found in a large number in the Sundargarh district and they constitute 56% of the total population. Sundargarh is followed by Mayurbhanj, Phulbani, Koraput, Keonjhar, Kalahandi, Sambalpur and Bolangir.

There are also 92 scheduled castes and their strength is about 3 million. Besides, there are 111 backward classes and their number is more than four million. All the backward castes including the scheduled castes, the scheduled tribes etc., constitute 66.7% of the total population of the State.

Towns

Orissa, a land of temples and old towns, is rich in its historical and cultural heritage. Puri and Jajpur are the temple towns of Orissa and have remained as the centre of Oriya culture and tradition long since. At present 6.33% of the people of Orissa are town dwellers. In 1961 town population constituted only 6.3% of the total population.

Most of the towns have developed at the water points either as trade, cultural centres, or as seats of administration. The Mahanadi the largest, the broadest and the deepest of the rivers of the State accounts for 30.6% of towns and 34.2% of its urban population.

Along the coastal plains due to better water facilities, easy means of communication, a high pressure of population and development of agriculture, a mushroom growth of towns is seen. The coastal plains account for 30.5% of the total township and 45.9% of the urban population. Cuttack, Berhampur, Puri, Balasore, and Bhubaneswar are the important towns found in Coastal Orissa.

Cuttack, the old capital of Orissa, has been the leading town from the very beginning. It has retained through the centuries its commercial supremacy which may now be surpassed by Rourkela in the next few decades.

Amongst the industrial towns, Rourkela, Brajarajnagar, Rayagada, Rajgangpur and Choudwar are important. Biramitrapur, Barbil and Rampur are the important centres of mining. Jatni, Khurda, Kantabanji and Rairangpur are important for nodal centres.
Gopalpur, Chandabali and Paradeep are the port towns of Orissa. Soro, Jaleswar and Banki are known for over-grown villages and Machhkund and Burla for the generation of hydel power. The best planned administrative town in the country next to Chandigarh is Bhubaneswar, which is the new capital of Orissa.

**Occupational Structure**

Seventy-nine per cent of the towns of Orissa are administrative centres. But the agricultural towns are only 9.7% and manufacturing towns are 6.7% to the total number of the towns. Brajarajnagar, Raigangpur, Rourkela and Choudwar, etc., are the manufacturing towns in Orissa and the development of all these are due to industries. Hirakud is a construction town which has mainly developed due to Hirakud Dam.

**AGRICULTURE**

In Orissa the net sown area accounts for 36.4% of the total area while only 2.9% of the State is double cropped. About 18.6% of the total land is under forests and one third (32.8%) is not available for cultivation. Since only a little over one-third of the State is under the plough, agriculturally Orissa is backward. Efforts have to be made to bring the fallow land under cultivation and to increase the area under double cropping to at least 5% of the area of the State. Thus the present sown area can be increased to 40% and the total cropped area to 45%. This is bound to result in higher production.

The crops grown in Orissa can be broadly classified into cereals, pulses, oil-seeds and money crops. Orissa grows in varying intensities seven types of cereals, two major pulses, five types of oil-seeds and nine types of money crops.

**Cereals**

Orissa, with 4.47 m. hectares of cereal land, produced 4.40 m. tonnes of cereals. Amongst the cereals, rice dominates. It occupies 4.41 m. hectares or 96.4% of the total area under cereals. Rice production amounts to 4.31 m. tonnes or 98.0% of the total cereals production of the State.

Thus Orissa is predominantly a rice growing land and the entire agricultural economy depends on rice production. Although Orissa's total surface area is only 4.7% of the country, it produces
12.1% of the entire rice production. It ranks fourth in rice cultivation and third in production, being next to West Bengal and Bihar. Traditionally Orissa is regarded as a rice-surplus state, not because of the high yield per hectare but largely on account of a low pressure of population. The yield per hectare is much lower than that in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal.

The districts of Cuttack, Sambalpur, Balasore and Puri are important for rice cultivation in this order. Rice cultivation is mostly confined to the alluvial coastal plains and river valleys below the 305 metre contour line because of the ideal topographical conditions. In these regions a large variety of paddy is grown under the varying geographical conditions.

Apart from rice other cereals like ragi, small millets, maize, wheat, jowar and bajra are also cultivated in Orissa.

Pulses

Grain, Tur and Arhar are the major pulses grown in Orissa. Apart from them there are a host of other minor pulses, which are also cultivated. The pulses can be broadly divided into Kharif and Rabi crops as per their season of growth. Mostly pulses are raised as a second crop after the cereals are harvested if climate and soil conditions are favourable. Irrigated tracts like the Mahanadi delta, the Rushikulya plains and the Hirakud region are the prominent pulse-growing areas of Orissa.

Oil-seeds

Groundnut, castor, sesame, rape, mustard and linseed are the principal oil-seeds grown in Orissa. Like pulses, oil-seeds are also categorised as Kharif and Rabi crops as per their season of growth. Primarily in the rabi season oil-seeds dominate. They are grown as a second crop after the cereals are harvested. Their conditions of growth are almost similar to those of the pulses. The district of Kalahandi leads in oil-seed cultivation.

Coconut is mostly confined to the coastal plains because of the high salinity of the soil. Unlike Kerala, in Orissa coconut is primarily grown as a fruit crop. Except coconut, all other oil-seeds are seasonal in character.

Money Crops

Money crops or cash crops are grown by the farmers in Orissa to market their products either wholly or partially. Such crops are
cultivated on 0.103 m. hectares. Amongst money crops, fibre crops are specially important. Jute accounts for the maximum area and out-turn among all the cash crops. Next to West Bengal, Bihar and Assam Orissa is the fourth largest producer of Jute in the country. Jute gained importance in the deltaic plains only after Independence, when India lost a substantial part of her Jute land to the then East Pakistan. Rice and Jute compete with each other as they require almost similar soil and climatic conditions. Cultivation of Jute is primarily confined to the coastal plains of Cuttack and Balesore districts. Sugarcane is the second most important money crop in Orissa in area as well as production. The other money crops of the State are Mesta, and a limited amount of Cotton.

Agricultural Problems

Apart from irrigation, floods and droughts, low yield per hectare and subdivision and fragmentation of the holdings are the most important agricultural problems of the State. Amongst other agricultural problems the existing land tenure system, extensive rural indebtedness, lack of adequate fertilisers, and improved seeds are worth mentioning. Considerable improvement has been achieved in these fields by the bold efforts of the Government during the last three Plan periods but much yet remains to be done.

Irrigation

In a state like Orissa where 73.7% of the population is intimately connected with agriculture and where agriculture is a gamble in the hands of monsoons, irrigation is necessary. The uncertainty of Monsoons, their maldistribution, and often great variation in the total amount of annual precipitation have forced the people and the Government to make provision for artificial irrigation to prevent frequent crop failures. With an increase in population and a decrease in land productivity, the need for developing and stabilising irrigational facilities has become even greater than before. It can be said that irrigation holds the key to agricultural prosperity in Orissa.

Irrigation is of two types in Orissa: flow irrigation and lift irrigation. Flow irrigation includes canals, whereas lift irrigation comprises tank, well and tube-well irrigation. The greater part of the area is irrigated by flow or gravity irrigation. In Orissa minor irrigation has mostly dominated the field. The canals, though spectacular indeed, irrigate only 37.84%, while the tanks account for 40% of the total irrigated land of the State. Wells are not important in Orissa, but various other means of minor irrigation account for 19.77%
of the total irrigation. Since 1961-62 although the area under irrigation has increased, the percentile contribution of different types of irrigation has practically remained unchanged.

Efficiency of Canal System

The efficiency of the canal system is directly controlled by environmental factors. Amongst them morphology tops the list. As far as the question of irrigation is concerned, the proposed delta division stands first and is succeeded by the Hirakud system. The existing canal complex under the Mahanadi division stands third in irrigating land per kilometre of the canal system. But the order is reversed when the question of population benefit becomes the criterion. The Mahanadi division leads others with a big margin. It is followed by the Baitarani and the Rushikulya systems. This is obviously so because in the Mahanadi delta the pressure of population per sq. km. is the highest. Thus it can safely be concluded that the Hirakud division and the proposed delta division are less efficient at present only because less number of people are benefited by them. But there is enough room for their optimum utilisation. They have got a vast potential for having a higher pressure of population per unit of land than is the case now.

Minor Irrigation

In the rolling upland country of the north and the north-west Orissa, the orography is inhospitable. This has stood in the way of major canal irrigation schemes. Minor irrigation has thus had to play its unquestioned role in determining the State’s agricultural output. From time immemorial in the Gandwana undulating topography of Orissa a large number of water bodies like tanks and “bunds” have provided insurance to the farmers against crop failures in case of drought or late rains. Minor irrigation has got a special importance in a state like Orissa as 60% of its surface are deprived of benefit of perennial canals. Low expenses for the execution and maintenance of minor irrigation schemes and the little demand for technical knowledge in their execution are points in favour of the minor irrigation schemes in Orissa.

Flood and Drainage

Orissa is located in east peninsular India with all the major rivers draining into the Bay of Bengal after flowing for long distances in the State. Many of them have their sources beyond Orissa, such
as Chotanagpur plateau and the Amarkantak plateau of Madhya Pradesh. They are Subarnarekha, Brahmani and Mahanadi.

There are some rivers which originate from the eastern slopes of the Eastern Ghats. They are Budhabalanga, Salandi and Rushikulya.

The third set of rivers has only head waters in Orissa. Such rivers are confined to southern and south-western Orissa. They are the Nagavali, the Vamsadhara, the Sileru and the Sabari. All are of minor importance to Orissa as they drain only small tracts of the State.

The rivers which cause floods in Orissa are the Mahanadi, the Brahmani, the Baitarani, the Salandi, the Kopali and the Subarnarekha.

Why Floods Occur

When the stream flow exceeds its normal capacity, a river attains the flood stage. The floods vary according to capacity of the channels and the amount and periodicity of rainfall in the catchment basins. They also vary because of a host of other factors such as topography, the size and shape of the basin, the distribution of tributaries, the season of the year, condition of the ground surface, temperature etc. The ground conditions control the surface runoff. Of all these factors, precipitation frequency is of utmost importance in determining the magnitude and intensity of flood damage. A small cumulative total of rainfall packed into a fewer number of hours or days causes high floods with a sharp decline, whereas a larger number of hours or days may not cause the flood peak to rise high. It may in fact linger over a greater number of days, thus causing considerable damage to standing crops.

Flood Havoc

Floods cause damage to standing crops and to human habitations and take heavy tolls in terms of human and cattle population. The floods of 1866 were more disastrous than those of 1855. In 1872 some 2,951 sq. km. in the Cuttack and 2,782 sq. km. in the Puri districts were inundated. Out of this 1,560 sq.km. were under water for 14 to 17 days, and the rest for 7 to 10 days. The extent of havoc can be easily imagined from this. The havoc done by the 1955 far exceeded all the previous records. Far more terrible than the floods themselves are however the post-flood effects. Millions face shortage of food. Famine and diseases sweep over the area. The countryside is dislocated and cultivable lands fall barren. It is a
difficult task to estimate the actual extent of damage done by the floods, but the types of damages may be categorised as follows:

(a) To crops, houses, live-stock, personal property and land,
(b) To flood embankments and protection works.
(c) To roads and bridges.
(d) To railways.

**Flood Control**

In view of the havoc caused by floods, the urgency of effective measures to control the fury of the floods is essential. There are three major schools advocating divergent views. Some want to confine the extra water within the limits of the river channel and not to allow any surplus water to spill over the delta. Another proposition is the abolition of all flood protection embankments. If this is done, free and natural spilling all over the delta can be achieved. The policy decision of 1867 to construct canals for irrigation in some areas of the delta and to protect them from floods has in the long run resulted in floods of greater intensity hitting the non-irrigated and non-protected areas of the delta. The 1955 floods proved it. The policy of constructing detention reservoirs in the upstream was wisely taken up by the Government at Hirakud. After the construction of a barrage in the Mahanadi at Naraj, the present flooded areas of the delta will be protected and irrigated.

**INDUSTRY**

Despite considerable industrial development since Independence, Orissa lags behind compared to many other states of the country. This becomes quite glaring as Orissa has smallest number of the registered factories (1.03%) of India compared to 23.61% of Maharashtra and Gujurat, 13.67% of Bihar and 8.77% of West Bengal. Orissa employs only 0.21% of the industrial labour daily which is the lowest in the country although it accounts for 4.78% of the total area. The growth of industrial units in Orissa has been very slow. All this has resulted in a lower per capita income. Thus Orissa has continued to be poor although more than three Plans have already been implemented. The need of the hour is to stimulate industrial growth by higher investments which will raise the standard of living.

**Industrial Labour Force**

To judge the industrial growth in a particular State the extent of industrial employment in it is one of the barometers. In Orissa
there has been a steady increase in industrial employment since the First Plan was launched, but the growth rate has been extremely slow despite her vast natural resources. It is more so because industries are increasingly employing labour saving machinery. But when viewed against the national scene, Orissa appears to be backward in the field of Industry.

Power

Availibility of cheap and adequate power is one of the prime factors in industrial development. Orissa's growth of power is phenomenal. Power is being generated from both thermal and hydel sources. Talcher and Rampur coal-fields provide adequate coal for the thermal plants and blast furnaces. Orissa with natural falls at Machhkund and perennial rivers like the Mahanadi and the Sabari, provides enough facilities for growth of hydel power too.

OTHER FACTORS

The infra-structure for the development of Industry in Orissa is available. A combination of coal, iron ore, limestone, bauxite and a host of other minerals on the one hand and the port facilities at Paradip on the other are the unique features in Orissa. In addition, the bountiful forest resources and agricultural products have provided ample scope for the development of forest-based and agro-based industries in the State. The entire industrial structure can be divided into the following categories:

(a) Large scale heavy industries
(b) Large scale industries
(c) Medium industries and
(d) Cottage industries.

Large Scale Heavy Industries

In this category iron and steel industry, cement, ferro-manganese, ferro-chrome, galvanised pipe, steel rolling mills and fertilizer plants etc. are included.

Iron and Steel

Rourkela is located at the point of “minimum transfer costs” in relation to the sources of raw materials, power and market. It is an ore-based plant and has the advantage of a shuttle service between the coal and ore heads. The iron and steel mills are located at the
coal head. The rakes carrying ore from the Bihar-Orissa iron belt used to return empty. It was a huge national loss. Now they are bringing cooking coal from Jharia on their return journey.

Other Industries

Other important heavy industries include the cement factories at Rajagangpur and Bargarh, Aluminium factory at Hirakud, Ferromanganese plants at Joda and Rayagada and the MIG Engine factory at Sunabeda which is a landmark in the industrial development of Orissa. Besides these, a ferro-silicon plant at Tiruvali, and a pig iron plant at Barbil are also operating.

Large Scale, Medium and Cottage Industries

The cotton textile, spinning mill, ceramic, glass and refractory, sugar factory, caustic soda plant, salt and chemicals, paper and rice mills come in this category. They include the textile mill at Choudwar, weaving and spinning mills at Kapilas Road, Sambalpur and Baripada, ceramic, glass and refractory units at Barang, Khansbahal, Rajagangpur and Latikata, paper mills at Brajarajnagar, Choudwar and Rayagada, sugar industry at Aska and Bargarh, caustic soda plant at Ganjam and Sumandi and rice mills located mostly in the coastal plains of Orissa. The production of gudakhu and bidi in the districts of Sambalpur, Sundargarh, Bolangir, Keonjhar, Cuttack and Balasore are important as they provide employment to a large number of semi-skilled persons.

Tourist Industry

Any discussion of Industry will be incomplete without a reference to the tourist industry which indeed thrives in Orissa. The places of tourist importance can be broadly classified into three groups: international, national and provincial. Apart from places many festivals also attract people from distant areas.

Amongst the places of tourists’ importance, the Sun Temple at Konarak is of utmost importance. The Sun Temple better known as the Black Pagoda is of international fame. Its architectural beauty ranks with the best in the country.

Puri, famous for the temple of Lord Jagannath, is one of the four “Dhams” of the Hindu World along with Varanasi, Dwaraka and Ramesvaram. The temple of Lord Jagannath is a colossal one. The Puri coast, being of a prograded type is shallow and offers excellent bathing facilities. If the number of visitors be any
Rampur coal after being washed is mixed with Jharia coal to the extent of 30%. Talcher coal is issued to produce thermal power to the extent of 500 M.W. There are plans to increase the capacity of the thermal plant.

Besides iron ore, manganese and coal, Orissa, also has good deposit of limestone and dolomite, localised in the Biramitrapur-Rajgangpur-Bisra region of Sundargarh and Dungri area to the west of Hirakud reservoir. In the Dandakaranya area of Koraput, it is mostly confined to the Sabari Valley in the Cuddapahs. Some other important minerals like chromite, fire clay, China clay, graphite, asbestos, quartz and quartzite etc. are also found in Orissa.

TRANSPORT & COMMUNICATION ROAD PATTERN

During the first half of the nineteenth century there were only a few roads worth the name in Orissa. Mostly they were confined to the coastal plains, while they were practically non-existent in the interior regions. The most important ancient roads linked Cuttack with Sambalpur. They followed the Mahanadi valley on the either side of the river.

On the eve of the First Plan, Orissa had only 3,200 kms. of roads of major and minor categories, although the optimum requirement as per the Nagpur Plan was 23,763 kms. During the subsequent Plan periods, the road building activities were stepped up and the State had 31.3 thousand kms. of roads in 1961. Only 26.1% of the total roads were metalled while the remaining 73.9% were closed to sheeted traffic during the monsoons. This presents a very sad state of affairs so far as the roads are concerned.

Orissa is served by four National Highways (N.H.) of a length of 1,371 kms. They are N.H.5 linking Calcutta with Madras, N.H.6 linking the major towns of northern Orissa, N.H. 42 connecting Cuttack with Sambalpur and N.H. 43 which joins Koraput and Jeypore of South Orissa with Vizianagaram of the Andhra Pradesh on one hand and Raipur of Madhya Pradesh on the other. The recently constructed Express Highway links the Daitari iron-ore mines to the Paradeep Port which is exclusively designed to meet the transportation requirement of the iron-ore traffic. The iron ore is exported to Japan. This road is a landmark in the history of road building activities in the State. Besides there a number of State Highways (S.H.) and Major District Roads (M.D.R.) which serve primarily as feeders and connect the small towns and villages of Orissa.
Road Transport

Road transport in Orissa is mostly managed by the nationalised State Transport and the Orissa Road Transport Co. Ltd. where the majority of the shares are owned by the State Government. The S.T. and the O.R.T. together handle the bulk of passenger traffic over most of the trunk and feeder routes of the State. A few private companies also operate their outdated vehicles on some minor routes and play a very insignificant role in transporting the passenger traffic. Goods traffic is entirely handled by private operators.

The S.T. and O.R.T. operate not only within the State, but they also ply some inter-state routes. Such traffic destination points lie in Bihar in the North, Madhya Pradesh in the West and Andhra Pradesh in the S.W. Amongst them, Ranchi, Chainbas, Tata, Raipur, Calcutta and Vizianagaram are most important destination points. They are linked by services from Keonjhar, Jajpur Road, Bhadrak, Baripada, Sambalpur, Puri, Nawarangpur, Bolangir and Khariar. All these places lie on the border regions except Puri, Jajpur Road and Bhadrak.

Rail Transport

Rail transport is a recent introduction in Orissa compared to roads and waterways. The S.E. railway serves the State with a total of 1,837 kms. of railroads. There being vast tracts still under-developed or undeveloped, the railways are awfully inadequate. Owing to the generally sedentary character of the vast agricultural population, travel by train in Orissa is mostly short distance. Long distance travels are confined to seasonal migration of labourers of the coastal plains to Calcutta, where they go in search of employment in jute mills during the agriculturally slack seasons. The goods traffic consists mostly of rice, iron ore, manganese ore etc. which move to Calcutta and Vishakhapatnam. The bulk of imports is handled by the railroads from the docks of Calcutta. They comprise mainly manufactured goods.

The railroad griddle of the State of Orissa is in the shape of a pear by running along its periphery. The arterial lines run from Kharagpur to Jharsuguda, Jharsuguda to Titlagarh, Titlagarh to Vizianagaram and Vizianagaram to Kharagpur. The absence of a diameter in this near circular alignment of the railroads is a glaring fault in railroad planning. Geographically railroads can be grouped as coastal, northern, western and southern railroads.

There has been a substantial change in the distribution of railroads in Orissa since independence. This change has been effected
by the construction of new railroads in the west, linking Sambalpur with Titlagarh, link railroads between the newly developed mining and industrial areas with the truck time from Kharagpur to Bombay, the Dandakaranya railway in the south and the Cuttack-Paradeep railway link which is aimed to relieve the transport bottle-neck between a rich hinterland and the Paradeep port.

As a result, the earlier dominance of the coastal railway both in the route kms. and freight handling capacity has been lost. The present spatial distribution of railways in Orissa is more or less uniform, but the central region is still devoid of railways.

Water Transport

Water transport in Orissa comprises inland waterways and coastal shipping. The small stretch of perennial streams and the navigable canals serve as inland waterways. The river-borne trade is riddled with various problems. In the first place it is mostly seasonal, being only confined to monsoon months when adequate draft is available for the country craft.

The goods handled by water transport are bulky, non-perishable and of low value. They are mostly building materials, cereals, and forest products. The sluggish speed of the country boats or crafts and the seasonal character and availability of draft have failed them in the face of severe competition from the quick transit system of the railway and the road transport. All these drawbacks have a lasting effect on the inland riverine traffic in Orissa.

A few canals which are designed for navigation only serve the middle and north of Orissa’s coastal plains. In recent years, transport in the Taldanda Canal has been activised to transport iron ore from the Daitari mines to the Paradeep port.

Air Transport

Air Transport is extremely limited in Orissa because of lack of airport facilities. Bhubaneswar and Rourkela have a regular air service from Calcutta, but no other city or town is linked by air with the rest of the country. Recently landing facilities have, however, been provided at a number of places for emergency purposes.

LIVE-STOCK

Unlike western countries, the cattle in Orissa are used for plough and cart rather than dairy purposes. Orissa being primarily and predominantly an agricultural state with 73.8% of her population
depending on agriculture cannot escape the implication of her 23·8 million live-stock population. In all the coastal districts and Sambalpur a high concentration of the bovine population is met with. This is so because primarily the cattle are used as draught-animals. But the other members of the live-stock group are more frequent in the inland regions. The density of cattle per sq.km. of area is the maximum in Cuttack, followed by Balesore, Bolangir and Puri districts.

**Present Economy:** An analysis of live-stock efficiency presents a better picture than its absolute distribution. By the application of Kendall’s ranking coefficient method it is revealed that Sundargarh stands first among all the districts by providing best conditions for the cattle. The Koraput and Phulbani districts closely follow it in this respect. The coastal districts are less efficient as a thick distribution of live-stock has reduced the per capita grazing land to the minimum. The inland areas of Sambalpur and Bolangir are also comparatively inefficient in carrying cattle population per unit of land. This is so because the number of cattle is of less value than their quality.

A cow in Orissa yields only 158 kg. and a buffalo 338 kg. of milk per annum. When taken together, the average comes to only 248 kg. per head of bovine population. Orissa’s milk yield per bovine population is lower than the Indian figure. As it is, the quality of Indian cattle is about the poorest, as compared with the advanced countries. Orissa comes last even in India in having bovine population of a good quality.

As it seems, a low productivity per head of cattle is followed by a low per capita consumption of milk. The per capita production and consumption of milk in India is the lowest in the world. Orissa ranks last in the consumption of milk amongst all the major states of the Union, this being only 2·5 ounces per head per day.

It is a pity that the bovine population in Orissa should have to starve more or less from birth to death. Every step must be taken to avoid this. “Feeding rather than breeding” should be the aim of the planners. Other steps such as better breeding and control of diseases should be taken up by increasing the number of veterinary surgeons and veterinary hospitals.

**THE DANDAKARANYA PROJECT**

No discussion on Orissa will be complete without a reference to the Dandakaranya Project. The Government of India set up the Dandakaranya Development authority in 1958 to expedite the work
of rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan. Out of four zones of Dandakaranya two, namely, Malkangiri and Umakote are in Koraput district. Orissa has released 0.06 m. hectares of land for the settlement of displaced persons and landless tribal families. Villages in this region are carefully planned, each for 40-60 families. Each village is provided with facilities such as a tank, deep masonry wells, two or more tube-wells, internal approach roads and a primary school. Every village is within the easy reach of a medical unit. Villages have also facilities of mobile library-cum-publicity units. Sports and games are given due encouragement by a free supply of sports goods.

Since the majority of the settlers are agriculturists, the primary occupation in the project area is agriculture. At the initial stages refugees from the then East Pakistan had to face the problems of adopting themselves to the new environments of the plateau terrain and its low precipitation as compared with the Ganga delta. The project authorities had therefore to chalk out liberal agricultural policies which have now yielded excellent results. Crop insurance and crop diversification policies of the project have earned much appreciation.
THE PEOPLE OF ORISSA
An anthropological view

Orissa occupies an important place, not only in the history and geography of India, but also in the cultural and racial make-up of the nation. Since prehistoric times the cultures of South-East Asia and other parts of India, possibly from beyond India in the West, have contributed to the development of the civilization in Orissa. Though we do not find any skeletal evidence of prehistoric men in Orissa, the cultural goods must have had some human carriers from the regions outside Orissa. In historical times, Orissa has proved to be a region where cultural winds from the North, South, West and East have been creatively synthesized to produce many uniquely Orissan art forms and life styles. Even the regional language and regional script, Oriya, have not escaped this creative urge in synthesis. It will be, therefore, not surprising to find the population of Orissa having diverse racial elements, which have commingled in a fashion as not to allow us to identify pure racial types in any sizeable population within Orissa.

In a way, it is much easier to say what the people of Orissa are racially not, than what they are. Dr. B. S. Guha, the late Director of Anthropological Survey of India, had interpreted the presence of some Negroid traits in some groups in South India as the remnant of a Negroid component of the present day Indian population. This had raised a lot of controversy, without prejudice to the fact of the presence of the Negroid population in the outlying Andamanese Islands. But we do not find any trace of the Negroid elements in the population of Orissa. Dr. Guha also had indicated the presence of Nordic racial elements in North Eastern India, and possibly among some Brahmin groups of Central India. The whiteskinned, largely blue-eyed, tall and long-headed Nordic elements are absent in the composition of Orissa’s population. But it may be very difficult to say that the Mongoloid racial elements, identified among
the Kirāta of ancient India by the Late Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, are entirely absent from Orissa. It will be, however, wrong to agree with Sir Herbert Risley that the population of Orissa was largely composed of the Mongolo-Dravidian type, the result of an intermixture of the Mongolians with the Dravidians.

Two major racial elements can, nevertheless, be identified in Orissa following the classification of Dr. Guha. The Proto-Australoid type with long head and rather broad nose not only constitutes perhaps the oldest racial group, but also comprises perhaps the majority of the population in Orissa. Unfortunately no definite study has been made in this regard, though the sample studies point towards this. This type is mostly represented among the Scheduled Tribes and among lower castes in Orissa. This type is also found scattered among higher castes. It is mostly found in the hilly tracts of Western, Southern and Northern zones of Orissa. The second major type is what is known from Dr. Guha the Western Brachycephals, with broad head and narrower nose. These are found more widely among the higher castes both in Eastern and Western Orissa. A third racial stain, the Mediterranean with long head, narrow to broad nose, medium to tall in stature with dark to olive brown complexion is found in good major in the population of Orissa who may very easily coalesce with the Proto-Australoid long head group.

This picture of racial distribution and racial components in the population is not surprising. In ancient days Orissa was known to be an unclean, uncivilized region where the non-Aryan Savara tribesmen predominated. Though the generic term 'Savara' was applied to all the tribal folk of Orissa in ancient India, it may safely be surmised that some other tribes besides the Saora tribe of Orissa were also present in the remote past. This is proved by the presence of several important tribes speaking Dravidian languages, like the Gond, Kond, Oraon, Kisan, Koya and some others of Koraput district. Similarly the Saora who speak a munda language belonging to the Austro family of languages found prominently in South-East Asia, are to be counted along with many other tribes speaking the munda group of languages.

Apart from the Austro languages which link up Orissa's cultural and according to some authorities, also racial links with South-East Asia, there are some folk customs of South-East Asian type found even in the Southernmost part of Orissa. The peculiar monuments to the dead, by erecting stone menhirs and the peculiar funeral customs etc. of the Austro-speaking tribes of Orissa, along with the distribution of the pre-historic shouldered celts in the same region and up to
the same Southern limit in Orissa are significant pointers to South-
East Asian connections, most probably both cultural and racial.
With this background of the formation of civilization in Orissa and of
its racial composition it is very difficult to accept the popular thesis
that the Aryan people came in large number and subjugated the local
tribes and imposed the Aryan culture and language on the people.
It has been known again and again in history and particularly in the
history of the Aryan people, that the bearer of the same culture or
speakers of the same language may be racially diverse. Further,
racial influx may not accompany or coincide with a linguistic or cul-
tural influx. Oriya, an Aryan language may have functioned very much
like Assamese as a lingua franca in the region known to be Orissa
today, with diverse races, cultures and languages in the unrecorded
past.
CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

The Land of Oriya-speaking People

The origin of the name ‘Odisa’ or Orissa has to be properly determined. The early Greek writers refer to a people called ‘Oretes’, the Sanskrit equivalent of which may be ‘Odras’. Pliny, for example, in his ‘Natural History’ (1st century A.D.) presents a list of Indian races, in which mention has been made of the Oretes as the inhabitants of the territory where stood the mount Maleus. He further associates the same mount Maleus with the people whom he calls ‘Manedes’ and ‘Suaris’, identified with the Mundas and the Savaras respectively. The mount Maleus is considered to be no other than the Malyavana or Malaya hill near modern Pallahara in Dhenkanal district, where the primitive tribes—Mundas and Savaras, inhabit in considerable number since remote time. The list of Indian races referred to above, was borrowed by Pliny from Megasthenes, who wrote his accounts in the 4th Century B.C. It is, therefore, to be seen whether the Greek ‘Oretes’ is a variant form of Sanskrit ‘Odras’ or the latter is a derivative form of the former. The earliest mention of the Sanskrit ‘Odra’ probably may not go beyond Manu (cir. 2nd Century B.C.) although the epics and the Puranas make us believe that the Odra land existed as early as the time of the Mahabharata war. The Greek ‘Oretes’ and the Sanskrit ‘Odras’, both seem to have been suggested by the term ‘Or’ or ‘Orua’ meaning rice. In fact, the word ‘Orua’ prevalent in Orissa since early time seems to be the same as the Greek ‘Oruza’ meaning rice, and the Oxford Dictionary states that ‘Oruza’ is a loan word in Greek from some oriental source. The ‘Oretes’ or the ‘Or’ (Odra) people may, therefore, mean either the ‘Rice eating’ or the ‘Rice growing’ people.

In Persian and Arabic works Orissa is represented as ‘Urshin’ or ‘Ursfin’ as found in the writings of the Geographer Ibn Khurdadbhi and also in those of Hadud-al-Alam belonging respectively to the 9th and the 10th centuries. A.D. Alberuni in his famous work on ‘India’
written in the first quarter of the 11th century refers to Orissa as ‘Urdavisau’ which, without doubt, is a derivative form of the Sanskrit ‘Odra vishaya’, the Tibetan form of which is Odivisa. It was Shams-i-Siraj Afif, the Muslim chronicler in the later part of the 14th Century A.D., who stated in clear terms the name of this territory as ‘Jajnagar-Udisa’.

But even prior to him we find mention of the name ‘Odyadesa’ in a votive inscription at Simachalam dated 1352 A.D. Early in the 15th Century names like ‘Odisa’, ‘Odisa rashtra’ and ‘Odisa rajya’ came to be in popular use both in official and private records. The Gajapati king Kapileswaradeva declared in his proclamations of 1436 A.D. inscribed on the walls of the Jagannath temple, Puri and Lingaraj temple, Bhubaneswar that the territory over which he was ruling was named ‘Odisa rajya’.

The famous poet Saraladasa who wrote the Mahabharata in Oriya during the reign of Kapileswaradeva also called this kingdom as ‘Oda rashtra’ or ‘Odisa rashtra’.

The extent of the Odra land, however, remains indeterminate till we come to the 7th Century A.D. Early in that century Sasanka the king of Karnasuvarna occupied Dandabhukti, Utakala and Kongoda and became master of an extensive territory on the eastern seaboard. He was, however, soon overpowered by Harshavardhana, king of Thaneswar, who, although checked for a time by the Chalukya monarch Pulakesin II, could acquire land in the eastern coast up to modern Ganjam after the defeat and death of Pulakesin at the hands of Pallava Narasimhavarman in 642 A.D. One of the copper plate charters of Somadatta, a feudatory of Harshavardhana, found from Soro in Balasore district, indicates that the Orissa portion of Harsha’s empire was known as ‘Odravishaya’.

It was, without doubt, this very land which passed by the name Wuch’a or Wuta in the contemporary Chinese accounts left by Yuan Chwang. This territory was very likely one of the ‘Five Indese’ mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim and one of the ‘Pancha Gauda’s’ of medieval Sanskrit literature.

The Chinese pilgrim states that the Wuch’a country was more than 7000 li or 1400 miles in Circuit and on the basis of his description General Cunningham presents its boundaries as follows: “The ancient province of Odradesa or Ordesa was limited to the valley of the Mahanadi and to the lower course of the Suvarnariksha river. It comprised the whole of the present districts of Katak and Sambalpur and a portion of Midnapore. It was bounded on the west by Gondwana, on the north by the wild hill states of Jashpur and Singhbhum, on the east by the sea, and on the south by Ganjam. These also must have been the limits in the time of Hwen Thasang, as the measured circuit agrees in with his estimate.”
The extent of the Wuch'a country (Odravishaya or Odradesa) underwent changes in subsequent periods of history owing to political circumstances. But the territory mentioned above continued to be the traditional land of Odra and this is more or less the land of the Oria-speaking people. G. A. Grierson has demarcated the Oria-speaking area from the districts of Midnapore and Singhbhum in the north to portions of Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts in the south and from portions of Sambalpur and Raipur districts in the west up to the sea in the east. "It is thus spoken" he states, "in three Governments of British India, viz., in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, in the Central Provinces and in the Madras Presidency."

Kalinga

Major portion of this extensive territory was known in ancient time as the land of the Kalingas, a people who are referred to in the early Brahmanical literature, as well as, in the old Pali canons. The Mahabharata in Vana Parva clearly indicates that the Ganges' mouth marked the northern extent of the land of the Kalinga people. About the southern extent of this land the epic does not present such a definite boundary but states that the capital city was Dantakura or Dantapura identified with Dandagula of Pliny who locates it about 570 miles to the south of the Ganges' mouth. Pliny stretches the southern limits of Kalinga to cape Calingae which has been identified with Point Godavari at the mouth of the same river. As regards the northern extent, the descriptions of the epic are corroborated by the accounts of the early Greek writers, particularly Megasthenes, who makes mention of the territory-Gangaridum Calingarum Regia with the river Ganges forming its eastern (north-eastern) boundary. The division of the Land of the Kalinga people into three parts as Gangarides Calingae, Macco-Calingae and Calingae has been referred to by Pliny on the basis of Megasthenes' writings. The description clearly indicates the extent of the territory of the Kalinga Tribes from the Ganges' mouth in the north to the mouth of the Godavari in the south during the period of which the Greek writers speak. That was very likely the original homeland of the Kalinga tribes frequently referred to by the Puranas and the Mahabharata. The Puranas describe the Amarakantak hill as situated in the west of Kalinga. In fact, the hilly region on the west formed an important hinterland for the economic and military resources of Kalinga since the days of the Mahabharata. This region has been referred to in the Edicts of Asoka as the territory of the Atavikas and in the Hathi-gumpha inscription of Kharavela as the abode of the Vidyadharas.
The Khoh copper plates of Samkshyobha\textsuperscript{20} (528 A.D.) and the Kanasa copper plate of Lokavigraha\textsuperscript{21} (600 A.D.) refer to the 'Ashtadasataviraja' which according to D.R. Bhandarkar extended from Baghdkhand up to the seacoast of Orissa.\textsuperscript{22}

In the 4th Century B.C. Mahapadmananda is known to have occupied the whole of the coastal Tract of Kalinga and the aqueduct excavated by him flowed in the very heart of that territory. That was renovated and extended up to Nagari (Kalinga-Nagari) the then capital of Kalinga by Kharavela three centuries after Mahapadmananda.\textsuperscript{23} The Nanda king conquered not only the whole of Kalinga but also the kingdom of Asmaka which was located to the south-west of Kalinga beyond the river Godavari.\textsuperscript{24} The Hathigumpha inscription speaks of an old and deserted capital of Kalinga called Pithuda identified with Pitundra metropolis mentioned by Ptolemy and with the port of Pihunda described by the Jaina Uttaradhyayana Sutra.\textsuperscript{25} The city of Pithuda-Pihunda has been described as a famous seat of Jainism and very likely this ancient capital was destroyed by Mahapadmananda who carried away the image of Kalinga Jina installed there. Ptolemy locates Pitundra on the seacoast in between the mouths of the Moisolos and the Manadas and as equidistant from both.\textsuperscript{26} Since the Moisolos signified the whole extent of the mouths of the Godavari and the Krishna, the city was located on the sea in between the Godavari and the Mahanadi rivers.

By the time Chandragupta Maurya overthrew the Nanda rule, Kalinga threw off the overlordship of Magadha and remained independent for a short period. She was, however, subsequently conquered by Asoka and was constituted a Province in the Maurya empire (361 B.C.). Under Asoka the headquarters of Kalinga was located at Toshali identified with the modern village Dhauli in Puri district, while a secondary headquarters named Somapa developed close to modern Jaugada in Ganjam district. The Maurya capital Toshali is very likely the same as Tosali mentioned by the Greek Geographer Ptolemy.

Sometimes after the fall of the Mauryas Kalinga became independent under the Chedi Chief Mahameghavahana in the 1st Century B.C. She was reckoned as a strong power under Kharavela, the third ruler in the line of Mahameghavahana, when her sphere of political influence extended far beyond the usual limits. The capital of Kharavela was called Kalinganagari, also mentioned as Nagari in the Hathigumpha inscription and the city has been identified with modern Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar. After Kharavela Kalinga rapidly shrank in territorial extent and remained an obscure land till the rise of the Matharars in the middle of the 4th Century A.D. Kalinga under
the Mathara rule regained her past glory but not her territorial extent. The northern territory from the Ganges to the Mahanadi was permanently lost to her and she became confined to the region from the Mahanadi to the Godavari excepting for a brief period when the Matharas attempted to push as far as the river Krishna in the south. Simhapura, identified with modern Singupuram in Srikakulam district was the capital of the Matharas and when the territory extended up to the Krishna, Pishtapura, modern Pithapuram in Godavari district, was made the headquarters for a temporary period. Simhapura, which is regarded as a traditional capital of Kalinga was also the headquarters for some time during the Post-Kharavela period. Kalinga described by the poet Kalidasa in his Raghuvaras appears to be the same as the Mathara kingdom of which the very strategic fort was located on the Mahendra hill. The poet calls the king of Kalinga as the lord of Mahendra and according to him the occupation of the Mahendra hill by Raghu signified his victory over Kalinga. The palace of Hemangada, the king of Kalinga, as described by the poet in the same work, was located on the seashore not far off the Mahendra hill and the place was no other than Simhapura, the famous capital.

The Matharas were succeeded by the Eastern Gangas about 500 A.D. under whom the territorial boundaries of Kalinga diminished still further. A narrow coastal tract extending from the Rishikulya in the north to the Nagavali in the south (from the southern part of modern Ganjam district up to the northern part of Visakhapatnam district) formed the kingdom of Kalinga under the Eastern Gangas. The headquarters of this kingdom was located at Kalinganagara, modern Mukhalingam on the Vamsadhara river, about twenty miles from modern Paralakhemundi. The Gangas became a formidable power under Chodagangadeva (1077–1147 A.D.) who extended his dominion from the Ganges in the north to the Godavari in the south covering the entire land of the ancient Kalinga people. But the name ‘Kalinga’ denoted by that time to a small kingdom as mentioned above, and as such, the extensive territory from the Gangas to the Godavari was not called ‘Kalinga’. Chodagangadeva declared his empire as ‘Sakalotkala’.

Kalinga continued as a territorial unit under the rule of the Suryavamsi Gajapati kings when its position reduced to that of a Dandapata—a fiscal division. Kalinga Dandapata formed a fiscal division even during the rule of the Moghuls. It may be pointed out that under the Moghuls the term Dandapata gave place to ‘Sirca’, but in case of Kalinga the word Dandapata was retained as a suffix and the fiscal division was called ‘Sirca Calinga Dundpat’. In 1750 the Nizam of Hyderabad ceded the coastal territory called
Northern Circars situated in between Orissa and Madras to the French who on their turn made over the Northern Circars to the English in 1759. In the European records the name Sircar Calinga Dundpat changed to Chicole Sircar.

Trikalinga

Besides Kalinga, we find in epigraphical records a distinct and separate territory called Trikalinga. MC. Crindle suggests that Macco-Calingae or Modogalinga mentioned by Pliny may be taken to be the hellenic form of Trikalinga and he is further of opinion that this territory is probably the same as Triglypton or Trilingon mentioned by the Greek Geographer Ptolemy. But apart from the Greek sources we do not come across any epigraphic or literary reference about Trikalinga prior to cir. 500 A.D. The Jirjini copper plate grant of the Eastern Ganga king Indravarman I is the earliest epigraphic record to make mention of the Trikalinga territory. The Grant is dated in Ganga year 39 (537 A.D.) and Indravarman declares himself in the grant as the Lord of Trikalinga with his capital at Dantapura. The next Ganga king Samantavarman assumes the same epithet in his Ponnuturn Grant dated in year 64 (562 A.D.). But the Eastern Ganga rulers after Samantavarman discontinued the title ‘Lord of Trikalinga’ (Trikalingadhipati) till the time of Vajrahasta V who came to the throne in 1038 A.D. The Ganga kings like Vajrahasta V and Rajaraja I declare that their ancestor Gunamaharnava (or Gunarnava) came from the Ganga family of Trikalinga, while Chodagangadeva states that Kamarnavadeva the progenitor of the Gangas of Kalinga was the founder of the Trikalinga country. The copper plate grants of the Eastern Chalukyas like those of the Eastern Gangas, distinguish the Trikalinga territory from Kalinga and mention both Kalinga and Trikalinga in the same records.

The territorial extent of Trikalinga is found from some epigraphic and literary sources. The Shrirangam plates of Mummandi Nayaka (Saka year 1280) states that to the west and east of Trikalinga are two famous countries named Maharashtra and Kalinga and to the south and north are situated the land of the Pandyas and Kanyakubja. The northern extent of Trikalinga up to Kanyakubja cannot be accepted unless it is assumed that the record means by that some other place named after the famous Kanyakubja of northern India. The southern limit may, however, be modified by the description found in the Masulipatam grant of Amma I (916—925 A.D.) which states that Vengimandala adjoins the Trikalingatavi. A palm leaf manuscript of the Brahmanda Purana, an early work, preserved in the State
Museum, Bhubaneswar describes the extent of Kalinga from the Rishikulya up to the Jhanjavati, a tributary of the river Nagavali and that of Trikalinga from the Jhanjavati up to the Vedavati, modern Indravati river. The extent of the Trikalinga territory described in this work is, without doubt, earlier than that found in the Srirangam and the Musulipatam grants referred to above. The territorial extent of Kalinga and Trikalinga described in this manuscript very probably refers to the period of rule of the early Eastern Gangas from about 500 A.D. to about 1000 A.D.

Utkala

There has been confusion among scholars regarding the geographical location and territorial extent of Utkala, and this is mostly due to the fact that both Odra and Utkala are taken to be the one and the same territory. The Odra country is, without doubt, distinct from the territory of Utkala as known from the epigraphical records of the Somavamsis and the Bhauma Karas. The records of the Somavamsis locate odradesa as extending in between Kosala and Utkala (Toshali) and it may be pointed out that the Bhauma Karas who call their dominion as Toshali or Utkala never mention it by the name Odra or Odradesa. The Dirghasi inscription⁴⁰ (1075 A.D.) mentions both Utkala and Odra side by side as two different territories, while the Tirumalai inscription⁴¹ (1025 A.D.) refers to Odravishaya along with the neighbouring territories of Sakkarakota (Chakrakota) and Kosala.

The idea of making Utkala synonymous with Odradesa, started with the growth of territory of the Imperial Gangas and in fact we find it explicitly revealed in the Trikanda Sesha of Purushottama. It may, however, be said that the whole of Orissa was never at any time known as Utkala. During medieval period the coastal region from modern Midnapore district to Puri district comprised the territory of Utkala while in ancient time Utkala was located at the neighbourhood of the Vindhya mountain far off the seacoast. Early Puranas like Matsya and Vayu describe the Utkala people as inhabitants of the Vindhya regions along with the Karushas, Mekalas, Uttamarnas and Dasarnas.⁴² The same territorial location is found in the Ramayana⁴³ and the early Buddhist literature like the Vinaya Pitaka⁴⁴ and the Jatakas⁴⁵ indicate that the Ukkala Janapada was outside the limits of the Majhima desa. It may be pointed out that although the Mahabharata sometime associates the Utkalas with the Odras, Kalingas and Andhras, it does not ignore the association of the Utkala territory with that of the Mekalas.⁴⁶ The ancient Utkala was very
likely located at the neighbourhood of the Maikal hills which link the Satpura with the Vindhayas. Pargiter, 47 however, suggests that Utkala comprised the southern portion of modern Chhotanagpur and he may be correct since the Chhoto Nagpur hills are considered to be an extension of the Vindhya ranges.

Unlike Kalinga, Utkala is not known to have existed at the time of the Mahabharata war. But its existence during the time of Buddha in the sixth century B. C. is ascertained from the early Buddhist works. The Mahavagga of Vinayapitaka and the Jatakas refer to Tapasu and Bhallika the two merchant brothers of Utkala Janapada, 48 while the Majjhima Nikaya makes mention of the Vassa and the Bhanna people of Ukkala. 49 During the Nanda and the Maurya rule Ukkala or Utkala had no political role and even under Kharavela this territory is found in complete obscurity. During the post-Kharavela period the geographical location of Utkala appears to have shifted from the Vindhya region to the eastern seacoast, but this new territory of the Utkalas was designated during the first four centuries of the Christian era as Toshala or Toshali rather than as Utkala. Works like the Atharva Parisistha, 50 the Natyasastra of Bharata, 51 the Gandavyuha 52 and some other works written during this period refer to Toshala or Toshali and no mention is made of Utkala in literary or epigraphical records of the period. In the Asampat inscription 53 of Maharaja Satrubhanja ascribed to the 4th Century A.D. we find reference to Udbhaya Toshalas. That the territory of Toshali was divided into two distinct parts as early as the 4th Century A.D. is revealed from this epigraphic record. The name Utkala revived about 400 A.D., and its existence as a territory adjacent to the land of the Kalingas is found mention in the Raghuvasa of Kalidasa. 54 As known from this work, Utkala extended from the river Kapisa, the modern Kasai in Midnapore district up to the northern border of Kalinga. The Matharas who were then ruling over Kalinga had suzerainty over the land extending from the Mahanadi to the Godavari, so it can be said beyond doubt that Utkala, referred to by Kalidasa, comprised the coastal region in between the river Kasai in the north and the Mahanadi in the south. This Utkala country, with more or less the same territorial extent, is found to be designated as Uttara Toshali in 580 A.D. when the Soro copper plate grant 55 was issued by Somadatta, the feudatory of king Sambhuyasa. It is interesting to note that a decade before the Soro grant, king Prithivivigraha who ruled over the territory to the south of the Mahanadi, declared his kingdom as ‘Kalingarashtra’ 56 although the name ‘Kalinga’ then denoted to the land of the Eastern Gangas comprising the territory from the Rishikulya to the Nagavali river. The
simultaneous existence of two distinct kingdoms, one called ‘Kalingarashtra’ and the other called ‘Kalinga’ under two different dynasties was not in keeping with the political tradition and so, king Lokavigraha, the successor of Prithivivigraha, had to change the name of his kingdom from Kalingarashtra to Dakshina Toshali. Thus, in 600 A.D. we find both the Toshalitis—Northern Toshali extending from the river Kapisa to the Mahanadi and Southern Toshali extending from the Mahanadi to the Rishikulya river. Both the Toshalitis were then under the rule of the rival monarchs, Sambhuyasa and Lokavigraha respectively. In 602-03 A.D. Sambhuyasa succeeded in unifying both the Toshalitis under his sceptre. But the political picture had a sudden change and sometime before 620 A.D. we find Uttara Toshali redesignated as Utkala under Somadatta and Dakshina Toshali named as Kongoda under Madhavaraja. Both Somadatta and Madhavaraja were the feudatories of Sasanka, the king of Karnasuvarna. After the death of Sasanka which took place before 625 A.D. the political condition changed again. Harshavardhan occupied Dandabhukti, Utkala and other neighbouring principalities which were all incorporated into his growing empire. The newly conquered territory in Orissan region was called odra vishaya of which ‘Uttara Toshali’ (Utkala) formed a part. As mentioned earlier, Odra Vishya in Harsha’s empire was referred to as Wuch’a or Wuta by Yuan Chwang.

During post-Harshavardhan period Uttara Toshali or Utkala continued to be ruled by the Dattas, while Dhakshina Toshali christened as Kongoda was under the rule of the Sailodbhavas. About 700 A.D. Tivaradeva, the king of South Kosala, occupied Utkala for a short time, but after his defeat at the hands of the Sailodbhava king Dharmaraya II he had to relinquish his claims over that quarter. A new political situation developed with the rise of the Bhauma-Karas in 736 A.D. The Sailodbhavas of Kongoda were crushed and the Bhauma empire extended from the Ganges in the north to the Mahendra mountain in the south. The Bhauma-Karas called their empire as Toshali which was divided into Uttara Toshali and Dakshina Toshali, the river Mahanadi being probably the dividing line. The territory of Kongoda formed an administrative division in Dakshina Toshali under the Bhauma-Karas.

The Bhaumas ruled over both the Toshalitis for about two centuries and their capital was located at Guheswarapataka probably at the neighbourhood of Viraja, modern Jaipur in Cuttack district. The danger over the Bhauma empire came from South Kosala where the Somavamsis consolidated their power after incorporating Khinjali mandala of the Bhanjas to their dominion. The Bhauma Karas had
organised a circle of Mandala states with semi-independent status to check the aggressive policy of the Somavamsis. The principal mandalas were Khinjali on the west comprising roughly modern Phulbani district and Sonepur sub-division of Bolangir district, Khijjinga on the north comprising modern Mayurbhanj district and eastern part of Keonjhar district and Kodalaka in the centre comprising modern Dhenkanal district and parts of Cuttack and Puri districts. Two different branches of the Bhanjas were ruling over Khinjali and Khijjinga mandalas from their respective headquarters at Dhritipura modern Baud and Khijjingakotta modern Khiching, while the Sulkis were the ruling house in Kodalaka mandala with their headquarters at Kodalaka, modern Koalo. When the Sulkis proved refractory, the Bhauma-Karas ousted them from power and divided Kodalakamandalas two parts, Yamagarttamandala in the north and Airavattamandala in the south under the rule of the Tungas and the Nandodhavas respectively. Yamagarttamandala comprised the western part of modern Keonjhar district and northern Dhenkanal district with the headquarters Yamagarta on the Mandakini river (modern Jamra on the Mankara), while Airavattamandala extended over southern part of Dhenkanal district, western part of Cuttack district and almost the whole of Nayagarh subdivision of Puri district, the headquarters Aravatta being probably the same as modern Ratagarh near Banki in Cuttack district.

The occupation of Khinjali mandala by the Somavamsis and the creation of Yamagarta and Airavatemandalas out of the territory of Kodalaka were almost simultaneous and correlative events. The timely steps taken by the Bhauma-Karas checked the aggressive force of the Somavamsis for some time. After the death of Dhrarmamahadevi, the last monarch of the Bhauma-Kara house in about 950 A.D., the South Toshali portion of the Bhauma empire was occupied by the Somavamsi king Dharmaratha and was renamed Kongoda. The North Toshali then named as Utkala was finally incorporated into the Somavamsi kingdom by Yayati II Mahasivagupta about the middle of the 11th Century A.D.

The Somavamsis succeeded in bringing both Kosala and Toshali, as well as, Kalinga under their rule and in the united kingdom the entire Toshali (both northern and southern) came to be known as Utkala. The capital of the united kingdom was located at Yayatinagara on the Mahanadi, identified with modern Jagati or Jagatinagar near Baud in Phulbani district. When Yayati II later on divided the extensive Somavamsi kingdom into Kosala and Utkala, Suvarnapura was made the headquarters of Kosala and Yayatinagara continued to be the capital of Utkala. Yayatinagara founded by
Yayati I Mahasivagupta about 900 A.D. was a flourishing city till 1200 A.D. It was stormed by Rajendrachola in 1023 A.D. and was occupied by Cholaganga in 1110 A.D. when the Somavamsi rule was put to an end. During the early Ganga rule Yayatinagara continued to be the capital of Utkala till the new capital Abhinava Baranasi Kataka was founded by Anangabhimadeva III in 1212 A.D.

When Cholagangadeva occupied the Utkala portion of the Somavamsi kingdom (1110 A.D.) Kosala was occupied by Jajjaladeva, the Kalachuri monarch (in 1114 A.D.). Cholaganga extended his empire from the Ganges in the north up to the Godavari in the south and declared it as the Sakalotkala Samrajya. He shifted his capital from Kalinganagara, modern Mukhalingam on the Vamshadhara river to Yayatinagara, modern Jagati on the Mahanadi. The Kosala portion could not be occupied by the Gangas till the time of Anangabhimadeva III who, once again like Yayati II Mahasivagupta succeeded in unifying Kosala and Utkala under a single sceptre in 1212 A.D.

After the fall of the Gangas in 1435 A.D. the name Utkala lost its political importance and the kingdom of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis came to be known as Odisa Rajya.

Kosala

Early Buddhist literature refers to the kingdom of Kosala in Northern India and some works like the Avadanasataka, mention North and South Kosala as two distinct territories existing at the time of Buddha. The Ramayana states that after Rama the kingdom of Kosala was divided between his two sons, Lava and Kusa, the former having obtained North Kosala ruled from Sravasti and the latter got South Kosala and founded the city of Kusavati near the Vindhyas. In fact, the Puranas declare the people of Kosala as the inhabitants of the Vindhyas regions along with the Mekalas and the Utkalas. The Vana Parva of the Mahabharata mentions Rishabhatirtha, Kalatirtha and Badarikatirtha as sacred places in Kosala and the Gunji Rock inscription corroborates the existence of Rishabhatirtha (Usabhatirtha) in that region. The same Vanaparva distinguishes Kosala from Vidarbha and indicates that Kosala was located to the north of Dakshinapatha. But the Allahabad Pillar inscription (cir. 350 A.D.) describes Kosala along with the territories of Dakshinapatha. During the 5th-6th century A.D. Kosala along with Mekala and Malava formed the empire of the Vakatakas and after their decline the Sarabhapuriyas of Amaraya Kula became the suzerain power in Kosala. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang who
visited Kosala in 639 A.D. described the kingdom as 6000 li in Circuit and its capital according to the Pilgrim was 1800 li away from the capital of Kalinga. It may be said that the modern districts of Bilaspur and Raipur in Madhya Pradesh together with the districts of Sundargarh, Sambalpur and Bolangir in Orissa comprised the territory of Kosala at the time of Yuan Chwang’s visit. The capital city was Sripura, modern Sirpur on the Mahanadi in Raipur district.

The territorial extent continued more or less the same in the 8th-9th century A.D. when the Somavamsis rose to power. About the middle of the 9th century the Kalachuris of Dahala became a rival power of the Somavamsis and the latter had to shift their political activities to the eastern quarters. After Sripura a number of places like Murasimakataka (modern Mursing in Bolangir district) Arama (modern Rampur in the same district) and Vinitapura (modern Binaka in the same district) became the headquarters of the Somavamsis in rapid succession indicating the unsettled condition of their rule. Subsequently, after annexation of the Khinjali territory Yayatinagara on the Mahanadi identified with modern Jagati (or Jagatinagara) near Baud was made the capital of Kosala. As pointed out above, the Somavamsi king Yayati II succeeded in unifying Kosala and Utkala under his rule about the Middle of the 11th century A.D. But soon after he had to separate Kosala from Utkala for political reasons as a result of which Yayatinagara became the capital of Utkala and Suvarnapura at the confluence of the Mahanadi and the Tel was made the capital of Kosala. Towards the close of the 11th century the Somavamsi rule was supplanted by that of the Telugu Chodas and the latter were ousted from power in 1114 A.D. by the Kalachuris. The whole of Kosala was unified and consolidated by the Kalachuri power. But in 1112 A.D. the Gangas of Utkala defeated the Kalachuris and occupied the territory comprising modern Sambalpur and Bolangir districts. That region remained under the Gangas till the middle of the 14th century when the Chauhans rose as a new political power from Patna modern Patnagarh in Bolangir district. The glory of Kosala revived under the Chauhan rule and in the 16th century the centre of political gravity shifted from Patnagarh to Sambalpur. The Chauhan rulers claimed suzerainty over eighteen states (Athara garhs) comprising the area of almost the whole of Kosala country as described by Yuan Chwang. In 1821 Maharaja Sai, the last ruler in the main Chauhan line lost his claim over Athara garhs as separate Sanads were granted to individual states by the British. The Lord of eighteen states remained satisfied with one state only, i.e., Sambalpur which lapsed to the British empire in 1849 when the Raja Naraya Singh died issueless.
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The study of Prehistory started since 1857 with the discovery of flint implements by Boucher de Perthes in association with long extinct fauna in the old terrace deposits of the Somme in France. In 1859 Darwin’s *Origin of Species* was published bringing about revolutionary change in human knowledge and thought about the advent of the Early man, and that very year the claim of Boucher de Perthes that the flint implements found by him were fabricated by human hands, got confirmed by the British geologists like Prestwich, Evans and Falconer. In 1863 the German scholar Lubbock divided the Prehistoric period into two well-marked cultural stages: Palaeolithic and Neolithic. Since then, a gap between these two Ages was postulated by scholars till about the beginning of the present century when a new Culture was traced in between, and was christened as Mesolithic.

In 1863 Robert Bruce Foote of the Indian Geological Survey picked up, for the first time in India, a real palaeolith from the debris of a pit at Pallavaram near Madras. Soon after, with his colleague William king he collected a number of such artifacts in the gravel beds of the Kortalayar and Narnavaram rivers near Madras.¹ Hardly a decade after the finds of Foote, palaeolithic tools were brought to light in Orissa by V. Ball at Kudabaga, Kaliakata, Harichandanpur and Dhenkanal—the first one in modern Sambalpur district and the other three in modern Dhenkanal district.²

In India, so far no organic remains of the Early Prehistoric man have been discovered. But his stone implements are found abundantly in almost all parts of this country. In north-western region, particularly in the Potwar region and the Soan valley a typical pebble tool and flake Culture was brought to light by De Terra³ in 1832 and later on by the Yale-Cambridge Expedition⁴ in 1935. This culture corresponds to a great extent to cultural pattern represented by Anyathian in Burma, Tampanian in Java and Oldwan in East Africa.
In South India the collections of Bruce Foote, followed by M. Burkitt and L. A. Cammiade, include hand axe-cleaver type of tool complex. They predominantly resemble those of the Chelles-Acheul industries of Europe and Africa. The typo-technological difference between the Stone Age industries of Northern and Southern India was very probably due to different stocks of Early man who inhabited these regions. Explorations in the Sabarmati valley of Gujrat have, however, brought to light abundant remains of both hand axes and pebble choppers. In the opinion of scholars this area was a meeting ground of the Northern and Southern cultures. Large number of pebble tools resembling the Soanian pebble choppers and chopping tools along with well-developed hand axes and cleavers of the Peninsular type are found in various parts of Orissa, including the Sambalpur University Campus. These Soan type pebble tools of Orissa, however, have not yet been found in well-marked stratigraphic horizon, and their chronology gives rise to difficulties. But the very fact that the typical Soanian Chopper makes its appearance along with the hand-axe-cleaver industry is a significant indication of the fusion of Northern and Southern cultures. So Orissa, like Central India is to be regarded as the meeting place of the tool traditions of the North with that of the South.

The origin of the Early man in India is yet to be satisfactorily explained. It is, however, presumed that the climatic and environmental conditions in the Sivaliks were very favourable for the origin of man during the Pleistocene period. The vertebrate remains found in the Sivaliks indicate the fauna of a typically warm climate and archaeologists have traced their fossil ancestors of the elephant, horse, cattle, reptiles and even some primates. The boulder conglomerate in the Potwar region has yielded big flakes of Pre-Soan type which have been ascribed to the Middle Pleistocene period, while Soanian pebble tools have been found in the old terraces of the Soan, the Beas and the Sirsa, not far off the fossil areas of the Sivaliks. But no skeletal remains of man have yet been traced in the implementiferous horizon even of the boulder conglomerate. Animal fossils of the same species as of the upper Sivaliks have also been reported in association with the Palaeoliths in Central India particularly at Houseyngabad and Narasingpur on the Narmada and Klegaoan on the Godavari. But in spite of close resemblance of the vertebrate remains, the Stone Age industries of the North and of the South are found typologically different.\(^5\)

Orissa, excepting the alluvial coastal strip\(^6\) is geologically and geographically similar to the neighbouring hill tracts of Chhotnagpur and Madhya Pradesh. The Peninsular hand-axe-cleaver complex
resembling the Chelles-Acheul industries of Europe and Africa have been found in plenty in these regions. There is no evidence of any overall topographical change in the Orissan upland and the neighbouring hill tracts during the Pleistocene time. So it is presumed that the prehistoric people lived in these areas under more or less the same environmental conditions and manufactured and used at different times the typical stone tools which are at present found in different sites from identical earth formations. The fertile river valleys having enough of food and water supply as well as plenty of raw materials for stone implements, were ideal resort for the prehistoric people. These river valleys further seem to have provided for the Stone Age man some sort of thoroughfare for free movement thus facilitating contact and exchange of ideas among various groups. The rivers like Mahanadi and Brahmani which flow through Orissa have tributaries in Madhya Pradesh and Chhotnagpur. The upper and the middle reaches of these rivers are marked by almost similar type of Stone Age industrial sites.

It is, however, very difficult to place the Prehistoric Cultures of Orissa in proper time scale as no large scale excavation has yet been made in any of its prehistoric sites. It may, however, be pointed out that the Early Stone Age implements of Orissa have striking typological similarity with those of the Narmada and the Nevasa valleys and the fossiliferous sites of the Peninsula. In all these places we find Early Stone Age implements in the coarse cemented gravels at the bottom of the cliff sections and in secondary laterite pits. The date of this industry has been ascribed to the Middle Pleistocene on the basis of Pleistocene climatic formations and palaeontological evidence. There are clear indications of climatic changes from severe humid to arid conditions during the Pleistocene period, although the correlation between Glacial periods of Europe with the Pluviations of this tropical region is yet to be established beyond dispute.

In any case, the climatic fluctuations have to be taken as the chronometer as the relics of the Early man are associated with the deposits which are actually the results of such fluctuations. Animal fossils ascribable to Middle Pleistocene have come to light at Nandur-Madhmeswar, Paithan, as well as, in the tool bearing gravels at Nevasa and Kaledgaon. But in case of Orissa no fossil evidence has yet been traced in connection with her Stone Age industry. It is, however, possible that the palaeontological dating can be extended to non-fossiliferous tool bearing gravel beds of this region. The sections of the river Brahmani at Bhalitundi, of the Vaitarani at Ramla and of the Burhabalanga at Kamarpal have been carefully observed and noted and it may be said that with minor variations
these sections have revealed almost uniform characteristics. The description of the sections is presented below.

Above the Pre-Pleistocene bed have been found in order of succession (a) mottled clay, sometimes greyish in look (b) compact pebble gravel beds yielding Early Stone Age tools, (c) non-implementiferous red silt, (d) fine gravels bearing Middle Stone Age tools, and (e) red silt. These sections reveal climatic oscillations between wet and dry conditions. In the light of the theory advanced by Cammiade and Burkitt, it may be said that the wet phase commenced with the Lower Pleistocene period when the primary laterite was very likely formed, it was followed by a dry phase that has been observed in the mottled clay section, and after that came the second wet phase represented by the tool bearing pebble gravel beds marking the activities of the Early man. The first red silt section reveals arid conditions which may be called the second dry phase, and it being non-implementiferous, indicates absence of human activities. It is not unlikely that the Early Stone Age people of the second wet phase moved away under the arid conditions. The next phase having fine gravels was without doubt wet and it witnessed return of human activities which we call Middle Stone Age Culture. This is followed by the third dry phase of the red silt deposits. But this phase is not completely arid, nor the deposit of it unimplementiferous. The Late Stone Age tools consisting of the microliths, and the polished celts, commonly called the neoliths, are found in this phase and this very probably continued in the next geological period known as Holocene and in more or less modified form up to the historical time.

In this connection mention may be made of a significant discovery of a bovis tooth in the layer of clay underlying the implementiferous gravel of the river Burhabalang in Mayurbhanj. The appearance of bovis signifies the beginning of the Pleistocene. Thus the layer in which the tooth was traced may be ascribed to the Early Pleistocene and the implementiferous gravel above it indicating the activities of man, belonged very likely to the Middle Pleistocene time. Thus, like other parts in India, the cultural remains of Early man can be traced to the Middle Pleistocene in Orissa as well.

The above discussion regarding the time scale of the Stone Age Cultures in Orissa reveals that the Early and the Middle Stone Ages covered the Middle and the Upper Pleistocene periods, while during the Holocene, the Late Stone Age having the Microlithic and the Neolithic Cultures developed.
Early Stone Age Culture

As pointed out above, the stone implements representing this culture are found in the secondary laterite pits and compact pebbly gravels in the river sections of the upland regions of Orissa to the west of the alluvial coastal plains. The distribution of this culture has so far been traced in the present districts of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, Sambalpur, Koraput and Sundargarh, although stray finds are reported from Puri districts. Recently, tools of Early Stone Age Culture have been found in large number at Jyoti Vihar (Sambalpur University Campus). The raw materials for the tools are mostly quartzite, while other materials like the flint and quartz are also found to have been used. The very popular tool types are hand-axe, cleaver, scraper, point, flaked pebbles etc. Most of the pebble tools show irregular flaking, and flakes show wide angle platforms. The pebble tools to a great extent resemble the Soanian pebble chopper and chopping tools. They occur along with the hand-axe-cleaver tool types. Therefore in spite of their Soanian resemblance they may typologically be included in the more developed hand-axe-cleaver complex. It may, however, be presumed that a separate stratigraphic horizon for the Soanian Pebble tools of Orissa would come to light if systematic digging be undertaken at suitable sites, including Jyoti Vihar. But until and unless such separate stratigraphy is found, it is not possible to consider these pebble tools to have antedated the tradition of the hand-axes and cleavers. Notwithstanding this limitation it may tentatively be said that the pebble chopper of Early Soan type representing the typical northern tool tradition, met the hand-axe-cleaver culture of the Peninsula in the uplands of Orissa.

As pointed out above, the Western as well as the Central India has shown abundant traces of such cultural fusion. We have found in those regions stone tools like cleavers, scrapers, hand-axes and flakes. Such synthetic culture has been described by scholars as Soan-Madras in the Indian Context or Clacto-Abbevillio-Acheulian in the Euro-African context. If Western and Central India present clear traces of fusion of these two different cultures, the meeting ground of them may well be extended towards the east and Orissa presenting admixture of flaked pebbles and hand-axe-cleavers may also be regarded as a land of synthesis of the Early Stone Age Cultures. In this context Orissa, more than any other parts of India, needs exploratory researches to unravel her buried phases of the Early Stone Age Culture.

The hand-axes of Orissa cannot, however, be called advanced when compared with the peninsular hand-axes. They display a
mediocre technique, but are found in various sizes and shapes as oval, triangular, biconical, pick like, cordate etc. Cleavers of both ‘U’ and ‘V’ shapes, scrapers which are mostly concave, unifacial and bifacial points, and developed discoids are reported. The implements reveal a type of culture based on hunting and food gathering. The hand-axes were probably intended for stabbing animals, and for digging roots of vegetables. The cleavers were good for scraping animal skins, as well as cutting wood, while the points were probably used as arrow-heads to kill birds and fleet-footed animals. This may indicate that the Early Stone Age tools served some general purposes, and human need by that time being confined to only the basic necessities of existence, there was no scope for developing highly specialized types. So the Age is sometimes called the period of non-specialisation. However, towards the last phase of the Palaeolithic Age man began to acquire mastery over stone flaking and the implements assumed finer and more beautiful shape and proportion. It was during this phase that man could exhibit his artistic faculties. The paintings at the facades of the natural rock shelters of the Gudahandi hill in modern Kalahandi district may be attributed to this period. The paintings are more or less of geometrical designs, but a hunting scene is also found depicting a primitive man throwing stone missile aiming at a running bison. The right hand of the man indicates effect of the throw and his face reveals aggressive joy. The wounded bison turning his face towards the attacker casts a pitiable glance.

**Middle Stone Age Culture**

Tools representing this culture are available in the layers of fine gravels of the river terraces and sometimes in the murrum pits above the secondary laterite. It has been pointed out above that in the river cliff sections this culture is found separated from that of the Early Stone Age by a red silt deposit indicating a gulf of time between them. There was climatic difference between the two periods and each of these cultures had the industry distinct from the other not only in typology and technique of manufacture but also in raw materials. The Middle Stone Age Culture is mostly represented by tools of smaller dimensions made out of flakes. Tools of this culture have been discovered in considerable quantity in the districts of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Koraput and Sundargarh. Tools of this culture are reported from sides at Harichandanpur in Dehenkanal district, Jyoti Vihar in Sambalpur district, Chalakamba in the Vamsadhara Valley of Koraput district, and Bhubaneswar in Puri district.
It may be admitted that the nomenclature of this culture has been suggested by us. Sankalia called this culture sometimes as Series II and sometimes as Middle Palaeolithic. He also called it Nevasian after the site of Nevasa on the river Pravara. These terms do not, however, seem appropriate for the Orissa industry of this culture. As the chronology of the Stone Age industry of Orissa has yet to be scientifically studied, it is not possible at present to use the terms like Upper Palaeolithic, Middle Palaeolithic and Lower Palaeolithic in order to demarcate the periods of tool types of this region. We have, therefore, preferred to use broad terms like the Early Stone Age, Middle Stone Age and Late Stone Age as no other suitable terms could be accepted because of the lack of a clear cut chronology.

The Middle Stone Age Culture considerably differed from that of the Early Stone Age because of difference in environmental and climatic conditions. The Early Stone Age had probably a smaller population but more plentiful supply of food. That was, therefore, the Age of simple and unspecialised tools crudely prepared to meet only the basic need of existence. But the Middle Stone Age presented a different world where game was not so plentiful and food was probably scarce. It gave rise to a struggle for existence and a sense of competition for better life. As a result of that tools became more and more specialised and we find various types of them which may be called borers, burins, blades, points etc. Man of this culture not only developed skill in tool making, but also acquired knowledge of a variety of raw materials. The coarse-grained quartzite which was the main element for the industry of the Early Stone Age Culture was progressively replaced by better rock types like jasper, opal, chert and fine quartz. The implements of this culture were mostly meant for chasing and hunting and probably for fighting. Besides, tools for digging and chopping and other domestic purposes were manufactured in good number.

It is presumed that along with stone, man of this culture used wood, bone, horn and ivory for fabrication of implements, but such tools have not survived owing to their perishable nature. Some of the implements were very probably made in composite manner. Points and blades were being mounted on shafts of wood or bone and implements like scrapers and borers had wood or bone handles. The noticeable fact is that in spite of advancement in the specialised tool type, the standard of flaking and workmanship were not of high order, the reason for which was probably the increasing emphasis placed on other raw materials besides stone. It may, however, be said that the tool making technique of this period shows considerable improvement over that of the Early Stone Age. But these tools
were not finely finished and their crude appearance indicates that they were made more with the sense of utility than with an eye for beauty. The specialised and composite types of tools must have enabled man of this culture to acquire some amount of control over his environmental conditions.

**Late Stone Age Culture**

The last phase of the Stone Age Culture has been termed as the Late Stone Age and appeared roughly towards the end of the Pleistocene. The early stage of this culture in North-western India is marked by implements made on flakes by a Levalloisian technique. Movius termed this industry as Evolved Soan. In Central India is found a blade and burin industry roughly corresponding to the Late Magdalenian Culture of Europe. In South India the early stage of the Late Stone Age has no doubt yielded Levalloisian type of flakes of trap and sandstone. Technologically those are akin to the microliths. According to Seshadri the post palaeolithic flake industry would be no more than a macro-facies, of the microlithic blades.\(^{11}\)

In Orissa we do not come across a flake industry of Levalloisian or Evolved Soan element and the Late Stone Age Culture of this region is known to have two well-marked phases generally termed as Microlithic and Neolithic. Stratigraphically the Late Stone Age Culture of Orissa may be regarded as the same as that of Western and Southern India. Excavations in the Narmada, Pravara and Bhima basins have brought to light microlithic industries directly succeeding the Middle Stone Age Culture, while further south at Sangankullu and Brahmagiri Neoliths have been found immediately following the Microlithic industry.

In Orissa Late Stone Age Culture has been traced in the upper level of the Second Red Silt deposit. Microlithic sites are found in the districts of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, Bolangir, Sambalpur, Koraput and Sundargarh, while some tools of this industry are reported from the Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar and Jaugada in Ganjam district. The Ang and the Tel river basins are found to be very rich in Microlithic tools and important sites in those two river valleys are Manumunda, Haldipali, Khari and Ghatakaintara in Bolangir district, Chilpa in Kalahandi district and Khemannal, Mahulpali and Sarsara in Sambalpur district. The distribution of Neolithic sites are, however, wider in range. Neoliths are found in all hill districts of Orissa and among coastal districts only Balasore has not yielded any Neolithic tools. The alluvial coastal region never yielded only Stone Age tools.
It was during this phase of culture that man started giving expression to his ideas through picture writings. A series of engravings in several long lines are found at Vikramkhol and Ulaphgarh in Sambalpur district, Manikmada in Sundargarh district and at Yogimuth hill near Khariar in Kalahandi district. All these illustrate the earliest mode of writings of man in the proto-historic period, but await proper decryption. The paintings at other neighbouring places like Singhanpur and Morhana pahar in Sirguja district may also be attributed to this period.

Microlithic Culture

The term Microlith suggests small stone implements and in fact, tools of this culture are quite diminutive in size. A single Microlithic tool is too tiny to be of any practical use, but those can render good services when hafted together on wood or bone. The raw materials are jasper, chert, opal and vein quartz. The Microlithic tools found in Orissa are mostly of non-geometric form. In Central and Western India, however, we have found geometrical forms of tools made out of chalcedony and other fine grain rocks. In those regions pottery has been reported in association with the microliths in a late phase of this culture. This phase is conspicuous by its absence in Orissa where Neolithic industries represented by the polished stone celts abruptly appeared after the Microlithic period giving no allowance for development of any intervening culture.

Life in this period seems to be materially not much different from that of the Middle Stone Age. Pottery making was probably unknown in Orissa during this time and agriculture was beyond the reach of human knowledge. But the improved technique in tool making and the art of hafting tools in composite manner indicate a more advanced culture than that of the Middle Stone Age and man during this time was without doubt more than a mere food gatherer and hunter. Since the knowledge of pottery making dawned in Western and Central India, its spread towards the east was but a matter of time. In fact, pottery making started in Orissa in early Neolithic phase of her culture. The advanced tool type of the Microlithic complex was undoubtedly the forerunner of the technique which led to the manufacture of agricultural implements during the Neolithic period. Thus the Microlithic Culture marks a transition from the hunting and food gathering life of the Middle Stone Age to a culture based on agriculture and village community life of the Neolithic time.
Neolithic Culture

This culture is characterised by a great technical advancement leading to specialisation and display of skill in Tool-making. Man during this period was able to introduce new innovations for better living. Although some of the implements of the period were meant for hunting they betray lack of efficacy indicating that man during this time was placing more importance on some avocation other than hunting. This new pursuit is reported to be agriculture and greater technological skill is noticed in the tools. Axe blades, hoe blades, ring stones, chisels and stone-picks are some of the typical implements marking this culture. They are found in large number along with the Pottery at Baidipur in Mayurbhanj. Neolithic pottery is also found in the Zonk river valley near Khariar. The most important innovations of the period are grinding and polishing of the tools, pottery making, agriculture and domestication of animals. Thus the Polished Stone Celt Culture heralded a new age of human civilisation. Man in this period learnt to play the role of a food producer and began to balance his diet with vegetables and cereals. This was also the period when he could know the art of making his clothing from vegetable fibres, rather than from animal hides. The knowledge of agriculture put an end to his nomadic state of existence and contributed towards settled living and development of village community.

The Polished Stone Age Culture at a later stage was marked by the use of the shouldered stone celts with more developed mechanism for hafting. These new tools having parallel sides and clear cut angles suggest that their authors had acquired knowledge of the use of metal, and those are believed to have been prepared in proportionate sizes by the help of some metal implements. The shouldered stone celts are found in Uttar Pradesh, North-eastern part of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa along with metal celts. Assam has yielded a large number of shouldered stone celts, but no metal celts, while in Andhra Pradesh shouldered stone celts are a rare occurrence. It is generally supposed that the shouldered stone celts came to India from the South-eastern Asiatic countries through Assam. In Burma, Indo-China and Malaya metal celts are reported in association with stone celts. The absence of metal celts in Assam, however, indicates that only the shouldered stone celts penetrated into India from these territories. The knowledge of metal possibly came into India from Central Asia and the impact of this knowledge on the stone celt industry of North-eastern India, particularly of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bengal and Orissa seem to have influenced the typology of metal celts in that region.
The shouldered axe culture, whether of metal or of stone, is a link between the prehistoric and historic periods.

Metal Celts

In the districts of Mayurbhanj and Dhenkanal we find copper celts unassociated with any type of stone implements. These celts have come to light from Khiching, Kshetra, Baghada and Bhagrapir in Mayurbhanj district and Dunria in Dhenkanal district. From Khiching have been found two shouldered celts and from Kshetra one bar celt, while the one from Baghada is a massive double-edged battle-axe measuring 1 1/4 ft. in length. The Bhagrapir has yielded about a dozen copper celts which are all double-edged battle-axes. The largest of these measures 18 1/2 ins. in length and 15 1/2 ins. in breadth, while the smallest one is 10 1/2 ins. by 7 ins. The copper celt from Dunria is of shouldered variety. It is 7 3/4 ins. long, 6 1/2 wide and 3/4 ins. thick at the butt-end.

Copper implements have come to light in large number from various sites in Northern and Eastern India, but very little is known about the authorship and chronological horizon of these finds. Scholars like R. Heine-Geldern and Stuart Piggott have declared that these copper celts have their parallels beyond the frontiers of India and Pakistan at Hissar and Anau in Persia and Cucasia in South Russia. Stuart Piggott, who at first associated these copper implements with the Aryan immigration into India later on changed his views and came to the conclusion that the copper hoards are to be associated with the Harappan refugees rather than with the Aryan invaders. But it is difficult to speculate too far on this matter and it must be admitted that our knowledge about the Copper Age Culture is very inadequate as none of the copper implements have been associated with any regular excavation and none of them is associated with any type of pottery or other objects of culture.

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6. The Coastal Plain of Orissa was probably formed during the Upper Jurassic time and its present shape was very likely given by constant advancement of river deltas during the period from Miocene to Pleistocene. But this region was not
suitable for human habitation till the end of the Pleistocene. It is suggested that men started living here only during Holocene. (M. S. Krishnan, Geology of India and Burma, 1956, p. 72).

7. Ancient India No. 12, pp. 35–52.


10. F. E. Zeuner, Stone Age and Pleistocene Chronology in Gujrat, Deccan College Monograph Series, No. 6 (1950).


It was in 1936 when Orissa known in different historic periods as Kalinga, appeared in the political horizon of India as a separate state, after having remained attached with neighbouring provinces for a considerable period since British conquest in 1803. It was subsequently enlarged due to the amalgamation of the ex-state areas into it. The State of Orissa is now comprised of 60,250 square miles divided into thirteen districts. The State is equally divided into two parts by the river Mahanadi, the south and the north.

Orissa possesses a marked physical and cultural individuality. It has revealed evidences of cultural continuity from the hoary antiquity to the historic events. The major portion of Orissa is covered by meta-sediments and granites of Archaean age followed by cuddapah series the latter being followed by the gondwanas. The coastal part is covered by tertiary and recent alluvium. Being geologically favourable Orissa is the richest in palaeoanthropological data in eastern India.

Foundation of Archaeological Studies

The occurrence of prehistoric lithic industries in Orissa was first reported by V. Ball in 1875 and in subsequent years (1876; 1880). He reported palaeoliths from Ungul (Angul), Talcher, Dhenkanal and Sambalpur (Kudabuga).

Mayurbhanj Archaeology

Following the stimulating finds of Ball, Acharya (1923-24), and Banerjee (1930) reported palaeoliths from Baidipur in Mayurbhanj district. In 1939 Professor Bose and his colleagues reported more find only when P. Acharya and E. C. Worman of Harvard University had discovered a number of palaeolithic sites around Baripada.
Since then the northern parts of Orissa have been scientifically studied by Bose, Sen and Mohapatra in the districts of Mayurbhanj, Dhenkanal and Sundargarh. Studies made by Bose and Sen (1948, Bose et al., 1951; 1958) is really a work of pioneering in nature. Not only was it the first attempt on the part of the University of Calcutta to undertake an excavation of a prehistoric site at Kuliana in Mayurbhanj but also it broke fresh grounds among the Indian prehistorians by studying a palaeolithic assemblage as an integral part of its geo-stratigraphic background. Since 1939 a large number of palaeolithic sites have been reported in Mayurbhanj. Alphabetically arranged the important sites are: Amsikra, Baripada, Brahmanagaon, Bhausuni, Buramara, Kalaberia, Kamta, Nuaber, Kundudiha, Koilisuta, Kuliana, Mundabani, Pariakoli, Patinja, Pratappur and Sandim etc. Situated within a radius of 10 miles from Kuliana and spread along both banks of the Burhabalanga these sites belong to a single physiographical and cultural unit.

The palaeolithic tools collected from the boulder conglomerate section near Kamarpal by Bose and others show that most of the specimens are rolled and weathered and have a yellowish brown strain. The workmanship is crude and primary. The series include both core and pebble tools and flake tools. The flake tools, however, are very few. The former comprise hand-axes of Early Ahevilian type and show crude form of workmanship. Most of them are of irregular outline and flake scars being large and ill-defined, often the butt is pebbly and much of the cortical surface remains unworked. Among those a few crude pearform, oval and ovaloid hand-axes can be rightly distinguished.

In the flake tools from north Orissa the platform is plain and unfaceted. Little secondary retouch is present. The working edges are rather irregular. Some crude scrapers and knives of irregular outline can be distinguished. The flakes recall Cromerian and Pre-Soan types.

The detailed study of Kuliana lithic industry by Bose and Sen is mainly a core industry with an important addition of pebbles and a small admixture of flakes with high flaking angle and unprepared and unfaceted striking platform. Hand-axes and choppers predominate and in the former class ovate and oblong class type of implements are more numerous than almond form showing better flaking technique. Rostroid hand-axes while obviously cruder and small, represented white crude knife with roughly straight and parallel sides and with an anterior end not designed for use, for an important part of the whole. Flakes tools are few. Tools resembling Clactonian forms are represented but none is prepared in the Levalloisian way. A very small
number of flakes, however, show a Levalloisian influence of working, but the tools turned out are crude or perhaps are merely waste flakes knocked off during manufacture. Although the excavation at Kuliana provided us with a somewhat clear outline of the Lower Palaeolithic cultures of Mayurbhanj, we had no knowledge about the rest of Orissa and also the evolution of different cultural phases of different areas of the state.

North Orissa

Keeping these problems in view Mohapatra took up a systematic survey of an area of about 16,000 square miles to the north of the Mahanadi comprising the districts of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, Sundargarh and Sambalpur in 1956. During his field survey from 1956-59, he had located nearly thirty-five sites of Early Stone Age culture discovered from the valley of the Baitarani, the Bramhani, the Mahanadi, the Burhabalanga and the Khadkei. The early stone age culture, once confined to Mayurbhanj and few other stray sites was thus found to be more widespread. The authors of this culture lived in almost all the river valleys of Orissa at places which were a little far away from the coastal plains as well as from the unhealthy dense forests of the upland hilly region. From many of these sites a fairly large number of Early Stone Age facies made out of Quartz and quartzite along with flake tools made out of various fine-grained raw materials were found. Subsequently, by minute observation of the river valley sections, the author has determined the distinct stratigraphic horizons of their own.

Due to the clear difference in the stratigraphy technique, typology and raw material, the Middle Stone Age industry indicates an altogether different trait in tool-making. These tools have been accumulated from twenty-five sites but not associated with any fossils or other associated evidences. However the tools exhibit a distinct deviation from bigger tools of the hand-axe-cleaver tradition and the microliths of the Early and Late Stone Ages respectively. This terminology has been adopted by Mohapatra exclusively for this industry in Orissa, notwithstanding any comparison or correlation whatsoever.

Microliths also have been reported from North Orissa by Mohapatra. He has reported eight sites yielding 42 specimens. The typology constitutes core, blade, point, scraper, burin and simple flakes. The raw materials used for the microliths of the Late Stone Age and the tools of the Middle Stone Age are the same. The average physical condition of the tools is not fresh. The majority of them
show a considerable amount of rolling. Very few microlithic industries of India show such rolled physical conditions as it is in case of those from North Orissa.

**South-Western Orissa**

Prehistoric archaeological research in south-western Orissa especially in the districts of Sambalpur, Bolangir, Kalahandi and Phulbani, has been quite sporadic in the past. In 1875 Ball picked up four stone implements from four different places in Orissa and one of them was from Sambalpur (Bursapali) at Kudabaga. A small description of the tool and the site was published by him in the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1876 and also in his book 'Jungle Life in India' in 1880. The following is the description of the first stone tool discovered from Sambalpur.

Bursapali (Sambalpur)—The tool was found near Bursapali to the north of Kudderbuga (Kudabuga). It has a pointed wedge shape. The material is a vitreous quartzite.

In a paper read before the Irish Academy, Ball has pointed out the striking similarity which exists between the Bengal and Orissa forms and those from the Madras presidency and his conclusion that the connection existed between the peoples who manufactured these implements, seems a legitimate one to draw.

Except the first report on the prehistoric antiquities of south-western Orissa by V. Ball, there has been no other work in the area. Nearly after ninety-two years after Ball, the author has attempted to survey the Tel valley and its important drainages of the human activities during 1967—69, in order to find out the evidences of the human activities in the area for the evolution of the lithic cultural phases.

**The Author's Extent of Survey**

The author took up the survey and exploration of prehistoric archaeological sites in the south-western Orissa in the year 1967. Altogether two years were spent in selecting, surveying and examining the possible location of prehistoric sites in the uncharted area of the State. The whole of the Tel valley with its tributary drainages such as the Suktel, the Sengodi, the Raul, the Lant and the Utai have been explored and examined for the possible evidence of Early man. The Ang and the Jira also have been examined for their Pleistocene deposits and stratified lithic implements. The sites are generally located on the bank of the Tel and its tributaries. All the different rivers of the Tel cover a wider area of 10,469 square
miles in south-western Orissa. The author was stimulated to study this area which has many valuable historical monuments of magnitude and the discovery of palaeanthropological relics with their cultural fossils which indicates that the area was a centre of human activity from the remote past.

In a brief summary, it may be stated that the aim of the author's exploration is to locate the probable occurrence of the lithic industries in south-western Orissa which was a long terra incognita. The Stone Age industries are much widespread and their gradual technological developments are clearly observable. The industrial sequence in south-western Orissa is represented by the pebble tool industry. The flake and flake-blade industries succeed the pebble industry. The discovery of stone age sequences in south-western Orissa helps to a broad correlation of the lithic cultural pattern with minor diffusions in India with reference to their distribution and ecological variation in the subcontinent.

**Pebble Industry**

The earliest stage of lithic industries of south-western Orissa in the Tel basin is represented by a Pebble industry. Evidences for it came from the Tel and one of its important tributaries, the Sengodi. Tools belonging to the industrial sequence have been reported from the sites at Manamunda, Haldipali and Nagaon. Out of the total of 34 specimens, choppers and scrapers are 22 in number thus forming 64.7% of the total collection. The choppers on pebbles constitute 26.4% and the scrapers are of 38.3%. There are two types of choppers such as unifacial and bifacial. Scrapers are made mostly on pebbles and also on flakes. Worked flakes form 17.6% of the total collection. In strength the flakes are next to pebble choppers and scrapers. Points constitute 8.8% of the collection. These are primarily made on small flakes. The bifacial hand-axes are only two in number. The tools are of miniature in type.

The choppers exhibit crude manufacture whereas the scrapers, points, and miniature hand-axes show moderate skill of stone tool manufacture. The change from crude to fair method of flaking may have been due to improved stone techniques. The preparation of small flake tools such as scrapers and points probably continued in the flake and flake-blade industries. The presence of small scrapers and points suggests the appearance of new types. However, the pebble tools and flakes appear to be the integral part of the Industry. This type of stone age tradition is absolutely new and never reported earlier from north Orissa.
Flake Industry

Sixteen sites of flake industry have been located by the author in the valley of the Tel and its tributaries. The distribution is restricted though there has been profuse occurrence of these artifacts at certain localities. The main reason for this restricted distribution may be due to the non-availability of raw material resources. In many localities the requisite rock types of crypto-crystalline silica of various kinds which have smoother or more regular conchooidal fracture are present than the somewhat granular quartzite favoured to have been utilized in the Pebble Industry. Most frequently the raw material was obtained in the form of river pebbles. The pebbles of flake industry are usually small. Out of 622 specimens, 48.39% consist of unretouched or slightly worked flakes. A small number of in situ tools have been collected from their stratigraphic positions in lower silty clay and upper loose gravel of some cliff sections.

The industry is characterised by the predominance of plain flake. The prepared platform flakes (Levalloisian) are also present. The typology constitutes nodule, flake, scraper and points. The main tool types of the Industry are the scraper and points. The tool types are usually made out of a side or an end flake. Tools in general are smaller in their metric forms and dimensions. The industry as a whole presents the gradual development from crude to finer types. The high frequency of flake occurrence of both utilized and un-utilized, the industry is described as Flake industry and the culture as Flake-tool culture. It bears a close affinity with the Flake industry of north Orissa. The continuity and wide distribution of this culture in Orissa clearly superimpose the distinct pattern, regular growth and evolutionary development in a chrono-cultural sequence.

Flake-blade Industry

The distribution of microliths in Orissa is widespread. In the districts of Sundargarh, Dhenkanal, Puri, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar several micro-lithic sites have been identified. Sometimes they occur in the same site along with the Middle Stone Age tools or in the neighbouring regions as has been reported by Mohapatra (1959). This interrelation between the tools of the two different industries is probably due to the use of the same type of raw materials. The Orissa microlithic industry is mainly of non-geometric nature. Large number of microliths have been reported from Udayagiri hills by Mitra and from the north Orissa by Mohapatra.
An interesting microlithic industry of Bhubaneswar has been recently reported by the author (1970). It is described as non-geometric core and blade predominating industry. The industry shows gradual evolution of tools from the simpler to the complex types. The geometric forms like crescents, trapezes and the triangles are rare and absent. The tools closely resemble the implements already reported from the state. The blades and core scrapers are generally similar to those found in north Orissa, and south and central Indian states. In view of a large number of points from the site it may be compared with Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Mysore microlithic sites but the absence of the worked points with secondary retouch does not give a clear typological similarity. The microliths of Bhubaneswar show greater affinity with those of Singbhum and Singauli microlithic sites (Krishnaswami and Soundarajan 1951; Ray 1954; Sen and Chaturvedi 1957). But the microliths are not associated with any pottery although the discovery of polished stone celts indicates positive antiquity.

The south-western Flake-blade industry shows a high percentage of blades primarily utilized for the production of tools. The tools belonging to this industry, however, were collected from the surface. Parallel sided (ribbon shaped) blades, fluted cores, scrapers and various forms and types of flakes, backed and obliquely retouched blades and lunates are the main constituents of this industry. The industry in general presents a technically crude appearance. Some of the specimens are weathered, rolled and changed in their original colours due to contaminations. The industry purely presents the tool types of non-geometric varieties. No associated materials such as ceramic contents are found with them. The raw materials are quite similar with that of flake industry. Cherts are dominant in their percentage. Cherty quartzite, chalcedony, jasper, opal and quartzite are the main rock types used in this industry. The flake-blade industry of south-western Orissa presents close similarity with the similar lithic industries of surrounding regions. The extensive distribution of flake-blade industry in the tribal belts of Orissa suggests that there may be a cultural continuity from the prehistoric cultural phase to the present day tribal culture.

Neolithic Orissa

Orissa abounds in neolithic types of stone tools. In 1923-24 attention was first paid to the occurrence of celts in Mayurbhanj by P. Acharya from his native village Baidipur. When he showed his collections to Ramprasad Chanda of the Archaeological Survey of
India, the importance of the finding was properly realised. Later R. D. Banerjee has located other two sites at Khiching and at Manda-Jashipur road. It is important to note that besides celts of various sites the Baidipur industry contains a shouldered adze and some coarse ceramic relics.

After Acharya, Bose (1940) and Sharma (1952) have collected the polished stone celt from Kuliana in Mayurbhanj and Thakurani in Keonjhar district. Sharma also has reported celt from Sitabanji in the district of Keonjhar. Datta-Majumdar (1951-52) reported the occurrence of celt from Ib and Brahmani river basins in the district of Sundergarh. B. B. Lal has reported polished celt from Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar.

Similarly Tripathy (1969-70), Prusty (1970) and Das (1971) have reported the occurrence of celt from Bolangir, Bhubaneswar, Dhenkanal, Koraput and Ranpur areas of the state. P. K. Ray, Superintendent, Archaeology Department, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar has recently made an excavation of a neolithic burial site at Sankerjang near Angul in the district of Dhenkanal.

Research Under Progress

Though Orissa is very rich in archaeological antiquities, there has been inadequate research in this line. Recently some scholars has generated interest and some regions of the state have been taken up for survey. Shri R. P. Prusty of the Orissa State Museum has undertaken a project to study the pre and post relics of the Vamsadhara, an important but antique river of south Orissa. Shri S. C. Nanda an ex-student of this department and presently doing his doctoral work under the able guidance of Dr. V. N. Misra, Department of Archaeology, Poona University, has concentrated his survey and investigation on the Indravati river of the Koraput district. Shri P. K. Singh, Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, Talcher College, Talcher, Dhenkanal has been trying to recover the new sites and artifactual informations on the palaeoanthropology of central Orissa. Shri R. N. Das, Curator, Orissa State Museum has taken a subject to study the neolithic complex of Orissa. Smt. Pratima Nanda a junior UGC research fellow has been working to analyse the bio-cultural aspects of the Kharia tribe, a topic related with ethnarchaeology. Besides, owing to the opening of the special group Prehistoric Archaeology in the Department of Anthropology, Utkal University, Shri S. K. Misra, a final year student has completed his dissertation work on surface survey of the Jira valley. The author has taken a small project under the financial assistance from the UGC
to study the palaeanthropological relic of Bhubaneswar and he has been planning to make surveys in the areas which have no record on archaeological data. However, it is hoped that in near future we would be able to make more significant discoveries of Early Human folk of this region.

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CHAPTER 6

LOST AND FORGOTTEN PLACES OF ORISSA

Ancient Orissa, as a maritime province was prosperous on account of its overseas trade. This had given rise to the development of a good number of cities and towns on its coastal region. These towns had flourished as seats of government, centres of culture or emporiums of overseas trade. Many of them, having enjoyed a period of prosperity and fame are by now almost lost and forgotten. Being effaced from the surface of the earth, very little or no trace of them is left behind to represent those once famous cities that flourished in the remote past. Names of such places have, however, survived on stone inscriptions or copper plate grants subsequently brought to print through the efforts of research scholars. But they have presented problems of identification leading to hair-splitting controversy among historians. In the event of adequate relics of those places coming up in future, the problem of identification will be settled, and more facts be known about them.

Some other places, if they have not disappeared from the surface of the earth, are deserted and turned desolate leaving behind melancholy ruins. Both the above categories of places are virtually lost and forgotten so far as the present generation is concerned excepting the interested historians or research scholars. Reviving them for the mind’s eye is a topic of great interest to the general reader with a love for the things of the past. Places meriting description in this respect are taken from the early years of the prechristian period to the time of British rule in Orissa. They are (1) Tosali, (2) Samapa, (3) Kalinganagar, (4) Puspagiri, (5) Ratnagiri, (6) Chelitalo, (7) Palur, (8) Pipli and (9) Ganjam.

Tosali

“An Indian city, it has been well said, is a perishable thing.” Such a statement can be justified on surveying the present region of
Dhauli, near Bhubaneswar, about seven miles to its south. Looking at the Dhauli Rock containing the famous Kalinga Edict of emperor Asoka along with the royal insignia of the elephant head, no visitor is likely to think that the said Edict would have sculptured in a wilderness to evade public gaze. On the other hand the Rock Edict will project before the mind’s eye a wide vista about a bygone age of great deeds represented by a city at the site of the Rock. The circular depression around the Dhauli site gives an impression of a moat around a once famous city. The city on this site was Tosali. In course of the passage of centuries, the ancient name “TOSALI” has been phonetically transformed to modern “DHAULI”. In other words, Tosali and Dhauli are two different names of one and the same place.

In the early centuries of the prechristian era, the city of Tosali was a thriving metropolis in the kingdom of Kalinga. It was for some time a centre of Jain preachers and laity as mentioned in Jain literature. The city housed a marvellous image of God Jina as its presiding deity under the patronage of king Tosalika. In the wake of Asoka’s conquest and annexation of Kalinga to the Mauryan empire in 261 B.C., Tosali acquired greater political prominence as the metropolis of Kalinga under Asoka. Following the ascendency of Tosali, two former cities of Kalinga, Dantapura and Pithunda, which had enjoyed political prominence in the pre-Mauryan period declined to disappear in course of time. At this stage, Tosali had become a city of celebrity as a centre of Buddhism. On the Surava Hills, to the north of the city, Asoka engraved his Kalinga Edicts on a rock which stands to this day as the famous Dhauli Rock. The summit of the Surava hills like the metropolis of the ancient Greek cities, contained a lovely monastic establishment. Beautified with lawns, towers of trees, groves and gardens, this hill had become a centre for the study of Buddhist Yoga. Traces of the foundations of the rock monasteries found at present on the Dhauli group of hills confirm the recorded description about the city of Tosali.

The administration of the city of Tosali was on the time of the imperial metropolis, Pataliputra. City magistrates called Nagara Vyavaharikas or Nagara Mahamatras were appointed to look after the administration of the city. Tosali, as it appears, must have been connected with highways with the other provincial capitals and the imperial metropolis, Pataliputra. Besides, there is greater probability of its being connected to Puri and Tamralipti on the coast. This is quite likely, because Puri in those days had attained reputation as a great maritime centre. These historical probabilities might emerge
as facts of history if sands along the coast are removed through excavation. The discovery of buried temples and towns along the route will bring to light a whole millennium in history while high-lighting the glory that was Tosali.

**Samapa**

Along with Tosali, Samapa had also developed as a second seat of administration in Kalinga. While the former was the seat of a viceroyalty, the latter was a provincial capital presided by a provincial governor under Maurya imperial administration. As in case of Tosali, there was also another set of Kalinga Edicts at Samapa on the Khapimgula hill nearby. This township has been identified with modern Jaugada on the river Rushikulya in the district of Ganjam.

"Where the quiet coloured end of evening smiles,—miles and miles.  

  X
  X

On the solitary pastures where our sheep half-asleep.

  X

Was the site once of a city

Great and gay.

  X

Now the country does not—even boast of a tree

As you see."

Robert Browning : "*Love Among the Ruins*"

**Kalinganagara**

Like the rise and fall of waves in the ocean, cities and towns have risen and disappeared in the limitless expanse of time, the old gracefully yielding place to the new. As in case of Dantapur and Pithunda fading into oblivion with the rise of Tosali, the latter also lapsed into insignificance with the advent of Kalinganagara of Kharavela in the 1st century B. C. the metropolis of Kharavela’s empire.

The location of Kalinganagara continued to be a matter of controversy among historians until the excavations of Sisupalgarh in 1948, near Bhubaneswar, unearthed vast ruins of a city effaced from the surface. The immense archaeological remains corroborating the descriptions about the city of Kalinganagara in the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela has convincingly resolved the controversy regarding identification of this lost ancient city. From Kalinganagara at this place, the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela engraved in a rock cave of Khandagiri about 8 miles from the city, appears to have been directed at the Dhauli Rock Edict of Asoka in the former Tosali. The record in the Hathigumpha inscription was
meant to counter-effect the proclamation in the Kalinga Edict of Asoka at Dhauli. The Hathigumpha inscription issued from Kharavela's Kalinganagara symbolises the spirit of resurgence and independence against external conquest of Kalinga as represented by the separate Rock Edict of Asoka commissioned from Tosali. As regards the city of Kalinganagara, a vivid account furnishing a truthful representation of the city has been given in the Hathigumpha inscription. It was a heavily fortified city, square in plan, whose rampart walls measured about three quarters of a mile each side. It had eight gateways with two on each side and four towers standing on the four corners of the fort. From each of the gates, link roads proceeded north-south and east-west connecting the metropolis with other towns of the empire. The fort was circumscribed by a moat with perennial water supply from the Gangha river flowing nearby. It was a planned city containing beautiful orchards, gardens, tanks of cool water with flights of steps, gopuras and temples for different deities. The last of the features represents the spirit of religious toleration on the part of Kharavela, the Jaina King of Orissa.

The relief sculptures on the inner walls of the caves, such as the one, depicting the scene of a royal reception accorded to a victorious king triumphantly returning to his capital tells about the existence of an affluent society in the city of Kalinganagara. This is indicated from the dress and ornaments of the human figures and the two-storeyed residential buildings with balconies engraved on the relief sculpture. As recorded, the city of Kalinganagara was reconstructed by Kharavela in his first regnal year with respect to its ramparts, gates, towers and the township within the fort that were ravaged by a storm. In this respect, 35,00,000 coins were spent from the royal treasury. The city was adorned with a great Victory Palace raised at a cost of 38,00,000 coins in the ninth regnal year of Kharavela to representing his wide conquests on the Indian sub-continent. Under an alternate programme of war and peace, pursued by Kharavela, an irrigation canal was extended from Tanusulia Road (might be Tosali Road) up to the city of Kalinganagara in the 5th regnal year of the emperor. Kalinganagara as the metropolis of Kharavela's dominion was connected by highways with other parts of India like Asika of Mysore in South India; Mathura, Pataliputra and Rajagriha in North India and Nasik of Maharashtra in Western India. These highways served as arteries of commerce and communication in the succeeding centuries. On the basis of archaeological evidence furnished by the Sisupalgarh excavation, Kalinganagara is believed to have been founded in the 3rd century B.C. during the Chedi rule in Kalinga. But it had come into prominence by 1st century B.C.
with the rise of Kharavela of the said dynasty. The importance of this city continued as late as the 4th century A.D.

"Of our Country's very capital
Its prince ages since,
Held his court in gathered counsels
Wielding far, peace or wars".

"In one year they sent a
—million fighters forth
South and North.
And they built their gods
—a brazen pillar
High as the sky."

( Robert Browing—Ibid. )

Ganga-Kalinganagara

Coming under the inexorable law of nature regarding the rise and disappearance of cities, Kalinganagara went into oblivion leaving its name for the metropolis of a new dynasty. They were the Eastern Gangas who came into prominence by 500 A.D. in the southern part of Kalinga.

While Kharavela's Kalinganagara has been located at Susupalgarh, the metropolis of the Gangas bearing the same old name has not yet been convincingly identified. There are varying opinions as to its location. General Cunningham has sought to locate Ganga-Kalinganagara at Rajamahendry. Mr. Fleet suggests Kalingapatam on the mouth of the river Vamsadhara as the probable site for the city. Prof. G. V. Rama Murthy considers Makalingam on the left bank of the river Vamsadhara to be the site of Ganga-Kalinganagara. Of all the probable sites mentioned above, whichever might be the actual site of Ganga-Kalinganagara, this metropolis had then developed as a beautiful city of shrines and palaces. The Ganga monarchs such as Hartivarman, Indravarman and Devavarman and others of the dynasty generally issued their donations or grants from Kalinganagara as the capital city.

Dr. S. N. Rajguru's opinion in this respect appears to be nearest to the truth, which has yet to be arrived at. According to Dr. Rajguru, Kalinganagara of the Gangas flourished in the region adjoining Mount Mahendragiri near Manjusha, a place in the Andhra-Orissa border. As described in the copper plate grants of the Gangas, the golden summit of Mahendragiri was honoured with the famous temple of the Gokadraswamin, who was the royal deity of the Gangas
and also the presiding deity of their city Kalinganagara. Ganga-Kalinganagara was adorned with rows of white palaces representing the valour and learning of the Gangas.

"Where the domed and daring palace shoots its spires
Up like fires,
Over the hundred-gated circuit of a wall
Bounding all,
Made of marble, men might march on."

(R. B. Ibid.)

It is generally believed that in the wake of political prominence coupled with economic prosperity, religion and spirituality are relegated to the background. But ancient Orissa furnishes an exception in this respect. Here, metropolis of civil administration and marts of overseas trade have simultaneously flourished with seats of learning and centres of religion. In the latter category of places, names of lost places such as Puspagiri, Ratnagiri and Chelitalo merit description.

Puspagiri

Following the decline of Dantapura, which was both a seat of administration and a centre of Buddhist religion, Puspagiri came into prominence as a centre of popular religion in Orissa. The identification of Puspagiri has so far remained a problem for historians in this field. Several places of this province, such as Khandagiri, Udayagiri hills near Bhubaneswar, Ratnagiri in the district of Cuttack, Sitabanji in Keonjhar district and even Phulbani of the self-same district are suggested as possible sites of this great centre of Buddhist religion. In any case, Puspagiri is recorded to have once possessed one of the most wonderful monasteries of the Buddhist world in the 7th century A.D. As recorded by Yuan Chwang, the chinese visitor to this place, the stone stupa belonging to Puspagiri (Pen-Su-po-ki-li) exhibited several spiritual wonders on fast days and emitted a bright light. On account of its spiritual fame devotees from far and near congregated to this place on ceremonial occasions for spiritual upliftment.

Chelitalo

Chelitalo, known from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, was another centre of Mahayana Buddhism in Orissa during the 7th century A.D. A vivid account of Chelitalo as seen by the
Chinese pilgrim tells us that this centre of Buddhism was also a sea-port of importance surrounded by lofty walls. Outside this walled city there were five great convents having many-storeyed towers. It was a treasure-house of Buddhist art preserving artistic figures of the Buddha and Bodhisattva images. The city, as seen by Yuan Chwang, was throbbing with life as a centre of culture and a famous emporium of overseas trade. It was a thoroughfare and resting place for sea-going traders and strangers from distant lands. As to the dispute about its identification, Dr. Waddel, restoring its name to Chitrotpala suggested that Chelitalo could be a place where the river Chitrotpala branches off from the great river Mahanadi near Nembra in the district of Cuttack. The traces of an old fort at that place are pointed out in support of this view. There is another opinion on this question based upon an account given in poet Sarala Das’s Mahabharata. According to it, Chelitalo is sought to be identified with Chandrabhaga near Konarak. Although Chandrabhaga is known to be the site of a silted river port, this view has also not been accepted with conviction. General Cunningham, a famous archaeologist, restoring Chelitalo to Charitrapur has identified it with modern Puri, the seat of Jagannath. Dr. Rhys Davis, while accepting the restoration of Chelitalo to Charitrapur, is not convinced about Puri being the same place as ancient Charitrapur. Dr. Davis’s suspicion in this respect is attributable to the silence of the Chinese pilgrim regarding the temple of Jagannath in his account about Charitrapur. In support of General Cunningham’s view, it can be said that the Chinese pilgrim visiting centres of Buddhism in India might have confined his travel accounts to centres of Buddhism, excluding thereby any mention of any place coming under a different religion. In pursuance of this assumption, it can be said that the thriving of a centre of Buddhism alongside the famous seat of Hinduism in Jagannath Puri, appears to be a plausible probability. This is quite likely because, Jagannath Puri as a confluence of different faiths has at all times welcomed to its fold all the different streams of religious movements in this country. Hence, Chelitalo (Charitrapur) and Jagannath Puri appear to have been one and the same place.

Ratnagiri

But Ratnagiri, the most prominent of all the centres of Buddhist learning, has been convincingly identified on the left bank of the river Birupa in the district of Cuttack.

Excavations have unearthed magnificent ruins of a great monastery. Its vast prayer hall with a clustering of square sized rooms meant for monk-scholars has established the claim of Buddhist
accounts about the existence of a university at this place during the 8th century A.D. This once famous centre of learning maintained monastic establishments for the study of Yoga and Buddhist philosophy under the patronage of the Bhaumakara kings of Orissa. As stated in the Chinese sources, a spiritual aspirant named Prajna (who at last made a name in China) had studied in the university of Ratnagiri after completing 18 years of study in North India which included some years of study in the famous university of Nalanda. To this famous Buddhist university students came from different parts of India for study and research. In fact, Ratnagiri was one of the greatest centres of learning in India around the 8th century A.D.

“And such plenty and perfection,
See, of grass Never was

Every vestige of the city,
guessed alone,

Stock or stone.”

R. B. (Ibid.)

The coastal province of Orissa, with the Eastern Ghat Hills standing as a great natural wall to its west, was to a great extent detached from the rest of the country on the other side of the Hills. As a result, the people of this province had to look to the East beyond the sea for their trade and commerce. Its overseas trade had given economic affluence to this land in the ancient past. The passage of centuries saw the decline of this trade leading to the abandonment of its seaports. In this context, the rise and decline of some of the Orissan seaports such as Palur, Pipli and Ganjam deserve description.

Palur

Paloura or Palur, as an ancient Orissan seaport has been identified with the modern village of Palur on the mouth of the river Rushikulya in the district of Ganjam. As per Prof. Sylvain Levy’s view Dantapura and Palur are two names of the same place, Palur being a latter nomenclature. The Greek geographer Ptolemy mentioned it as one of the bases for the preparation of his map. As a port, Palur was famous as the point of departure for ships proceeding to KarnaSUBarna, which happens to be modern Malasia. Palur had the reputation to be the only port on the Coromondol coast for launching direct voyages to the East. It had continued to be a prosperous port until the advent of the Portuguese in the Bay of Bengal. The piracy carried out by the Portuguese and their collaborators in the Bay of Bengal in the 15th century depressed maritime activities in the
port of Palur. Declining steadily on account of the Portuguese menace Palur went into oblivion. As a last vestige representing the past importance of Palur, the descendants of a royal house of Palur-garh live now in the town of Berhampur about 20 miles from Palur.

Pipli

Situated near the mouth of the river Subarnarekha in the district of Balasore, Pipli was once the most important port on the Orissa coast. Before the advent of the British in Orissa, the Portuguese had established themselves at Pipli as early as 1599 A.D. Then it was their chief port in the Eastern World. Bruton, an English traveller in India, writing about Pipli in 1663 calls it to be “a port-town of the Portuguese where the Portuguese are residents.” The Portuguese in collaboration with the Arakanese pirates had turned Pipli into a slave market. This was the cause of their downfall in eastern India at the hands of the Mughal Emperor Shahjahan, in 1632. By 1636, they were expelled from all their bases on this coast. Following the eclipse of the Portuguese power in this region, the Dutch established a factory at Pipli. From here, the Dutch used to export 2,000 tons of salt annually to different countries. The British followed the Dutch to this coast, establishing their own factory at Pipli. As a result, Pipli had grown to be a flourishing commercial station on the eastern coast. Nature, however, did not allow a longer period of prosperity to this commercial port-town. Rapid silting of the river Subarnarekha and formation of sand bars around this river port, seriously affected the usefulness of Pipli as a maritime centre. The final blow to this declining port-town came through the floods of river Subarnarekha which, in course of a few years, washed away whatever remnants were left of the Pipli port. Nature’s work was done. The prosperous commercial station of Pipli was reduced to an ignoble village where poverty stalked, as if to announce the triumph of nature over man.

Ganjam

Another port-town that suffered almost the similar disastrous fate, about 200 miles south on the same coast, was Ganjam. This was situated on the mouth of the river Rushikulya in the district of Ganjam. It was also once the headquarters of the self-same district. In its heyday, this town of Ganjam boasted of handsome buildings of the civil and military authorities of the district. There is now scarcely a vestige of its original splendour excepting the ruins of a picturesque fort and an adjoining cemetery containing interesting monuments.
The fort at Ganjam was first commenced in 1768 by Mr. Cotford, the first resident of the district. The dimensions of the fort as described by the resident in 1769 were as follows: Its exterior wall, nearly eight feet thick, was composed of strong clay filled within. The magazine in the fort was sufficiently large to contain about 40,000 lbs. of gunpowder. With its large stone walls this building was meant to be a bombproof structure. The artillery park of the fort was a thatched building which lodged the guns and carriage of the Company’s Government. The river Rushikulya, on the mouth of which the town and the port were situated, formerly emptied itself into the sea close to the fort. But the gradual shifting of the river led to a consequent change in the limits of the fort. Ships usually anchored on the road abreast of the fort in eight or nine fathoms of water. As to the exports overseas, the first shipment of “Palempore” (a kind of rayon fabric locally known as ‘Pat’) was sent to Europe in 1771 and then in 1779. The popularity of “Palempore” from Ganjam was so great in England, that the Court of Directors wrote to the Company’s Government for sending more of the stuff to England. They wrote:

“As these (palempores) from Ganjam are much approved, you must endeavour to send a large portion of that sort”. This port of Ganjam was gradually neglected in favour of Gopalpur on the shore, about 10 miles south, even though the latter was far less advantageous a port compared to Ganjam. Along with the port, the residency town of Ganjam was also destined to suffer evil days culminating with its utter desolation. Ganjam, known as one of the quite healthy towns of the erstwhile Madras Presidency as far as 1802, was suddenly struck by a terrible epidemic fever in 1815. The havoc and depopulation it brought to the town has left its legacy in the form of a proverbial curse locally known as “Ganja Marudi”; i.e., “Ganja epidemic”. Its population, which stood at 30,000 before the visit of the epidemic in 1815, was reduced to 6,000 by 1818. To investigate into the cause of the epidemic and the desirability of continuing the district headquarters there, two doctors were sent to the town soon after the tragedy. But on reaching the place one of them died instantly, while the other turned mad. This was enough to convince the government about the expediency of abandoning Ganjam as a district headquarters in favour of Chatrapur, about 8 miles south. At the same time, its civil population and the military establishments were also removed to the town of Berhampur about 20 miles south. Ganjam was thus deserted.

It stood forsaken and forlorn to present something akin to a terrifying melancholic appearance to a curious visitor. Dr. William
Hunter, while passing through this deserted town in 1870, saw it as described by him in the following lines:

"Of its former magnificence scarcely a sign remains, except a few half fallen mansions with hovels swarming around their tower storeys and seeming to grow out of their ruins. Lofty pillared gateways stand about the rice-fields leading nowhere, or, a more pregnant lesson to human history, are utilised as entrances to the peasant's thatched cottage."

The fate of the once flourishing town of Ganjam furnishes one more example of Nature's work that has been going on through the ages, in submerging cities great and grand, proclaiming thereby the futility of human pride in all ages and climes.

"Where a multitude of men breathed joy and woe,
Long ago,
Lust of glory pricked their hearts up,
Dread of shame struck them tame,

×      ×      ×

Oh heart! Oh blood
that freezes, blood that burns,
Earth's returns,
For whole centuries of folly,
noise and sin,
Shut them in.
With their triumphs and
their glories and the rest."

Robert Browning: "Love Among the Ruins."

An extensive and intensive resuscitation of the lost and forgotten places throughout the province will reveal to the present generation Orissa of the past that is lost and forgotten. The great difference between Orissa of the glorious past and the depressing present can be philosophized under the rules of destiny as known by the verse,

चक्रवर्त परिवर्त न हुँदुःखानि च सुखानि च।
सुखस्वागतरं हुः दुःखस्वागतारं सुखाम्॥

By the same rules of destiny let us wish that 'the glory that was Orissa' will return to add to the onward progress of the entire country as a whole. There is hope for such a transformation or regeneration in this land of Jagannath where the Lord Himself changes His body at intervals, the 'Brahma' remaining the same. In this year of the "Nabakalebar", the Lord assuming a new body, a resuscitation of the forsaken province of Orissa from a long spell of all pervasive deprivation is prayed for, at His Lotus Feet.
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CHAPTER 7

HISTORY VERSUS LEGENDS

The system of recording events in a regular way was not prevalent in Ancient and early Medieval India. In its place, creation of legends or myths out of historical events was the practice. In most cases divinities ranging from the Supreme God down to demigods were skilfully connected with earthly events in order to endow them with a halo of mystic supernaturalism. Stories of this type appealed to popular mind much more than bare statement of facts. Legends or myths in course of time were often modified. The historical facts enclosed in them were grossly distorted or transformed to suit to the schemes of the stories. So it is very difficult for historians to pick out the real facts from mass of imaginary materials. Thus, for the history of the ancient and early medieval periods in India it is a tussle between History and Legends. Historians have to study the legends very carefully and pick out the facts; even then they are often confronted with problems that defy solution.

The object of this paper is to deal with some popular myths and legends current in Orissa and to show how actual facts get distorted or transformed in them.

There is a legend about the construction of Jagannath temple and installation of the three deities therein. According to this legend, in the Satya Yuga there was a king, Indradyumna, in Malava. He was a great devotee of Vishnu. Once he had a vision of Nilamadhava Vishnu in dream. Next day he sent emissaries in four directions to find out where the image, he dreamt of, was being worshipped. Brahmin Vidyapati was sent to the east. He came to Utkala and entered a Savara village. He took shelter in the house of Savara King Visvavasu. His daughter, Lalita, fell in love with Vidyapati who had to marry her so that he might get the information about Nilamadhava Vishnu through his wife. Savara King Visvavasu used to go to forest every morning to worship Nilamadhava installed in Nilakandara (Blue cave). Vidyapati pressed his wife to request her father to
allow him to see Nilamādhava. Vasu Śavara agreed on the condition that Vidyāpati will be taken to the place and brought back therefrom blindfold. When Vidyāpati heard this proposal he requested his wife to arrange so that he may subsequently know the path. Lalitā gave him some sesame seeds to be scattered on the side of the road he followed so that he might know the path when the sesame plants grew up during rains.

Accordingly Vidyāpati was taken to Nilakandara where he had the luck of witnessing Nilamādhava. But when Vasu Śavara offered food to the deity, He did not take it as usual. At this Vasu Śavara was much dismayed. At this time he heard someone saying from the air, “we would no longer continue to be worshipped by you, Oh! Vasu! we will change the present Nilamādhava form and assume Dāru form. We shall be worshipped in temple by Rājā Indradyumna.” Hearing this voice of God, Vasu Śavara came back with Vidyāpati with a heavy heart.

Then Vidyāpati bade farewell to his wife and father-in-law and started to convey the news to Rājā Indradyumna. On hearing the news Rājā Indradyumna at once started with his retinue for Utkal to see Nilamādhava. On reaching Nilakandara he found it vacant. So Rājā was much dismayed. But a voice from the air told him to construct a temple on Nilasaila (Blue mountain). Accordingly the Rājā started construction of a big temple. When it was completed he went to Brahmaloka to invite Brahmā to consecrate the temple. He had to wait for nine yugas till Brahmā finished his meditation. The temple became buried in sand in his absence.

In the meantime a new dynasty ruled in Utkala. Gālamādhava, a king of that dynasty, detected the presence of the temple buried under sand. When he got the sand removed a beautiful temple was revealed. He was considering to install images in the temple when Indradyumna with Lord Brahmā appeared before him. There was a tussle between Gālamādhava and Indradyumna as to the ownership of the temple—Lord Brahmā, after referring to witnesses, decided in favour of Indradyumna. Then Lord Brahmā asked the Rājā to install the deities, after which he would consecrate the temple. The Rājā was at a loss where to find the deities. At night God told him in dream that He would be floating in the sea in form of log. Next morning Rājā went to the sea and brought the logs of wood. Then he employed thousands of carpenters to make the deities but they failed, as their instruments did not work against the wood. At last an old carpenter came and said that he would make the images in 21 days on the condition that he would remain completely shut up inside the temple for the period.
Rājā consented. But on expiry of 2 weeks the Queen became anxious since no sound came out of the temple. She thought that the old carpenter was dead. She pressed the king to open the door. The king yielded and opened the door. He found the three deities in unfinished state. The Rājā was sorry but God told him that he wanted to assume that Buddha form in Kali age.

This is, in short, the story of construction of the Jagannath temple and installation of the deities therein. This legend has some connection with another legend relating to Tooth Relic of Kalinga. The legend is contained in the Dāldā Vamsa written by Mahāthera Dhammaiktti. It was written in the Elu language of Ceylon on the occasion of arrival of the Tooth Relic in Ceylon in the 9th year of the reign of the King Kittisiri Megha, the son of King Mahāsena. The date of composition of the book is 310 A.D. It was translated into Pali under the name Dāṭhavamsa.1

According to the story, Khema Thera gave the Tooth Relic of Buddha to the Kalinga king, Brahmadatta, after Parinirvāṇa of Buddha. Brahmadatta installed the Relic in his capital, Dantapura, and worshipped it with great devotion. After him his descendants also worshipped the Relic. When Guhaśiva was ruling in Kalinga, his overlord Pāṇḍu of Pataliputra heard about the miracles performed by the Relic and requested Guhaśiva to bring it to Pataliputra. Guhaśiva complied with request. Pāṇḍu was much impressed with the supernatural power of the Relic and was converted to Buddhism. Pāṇḍu coming to know that Khiradhāra, the king of Mālava was coming to attack him for purpose of taking away the Tooth Relic, sent Guhaśiva back to Kalinga with the Relic and prepared to meet the attack. Pāṇḍu defeated Khiradhāra.

Guhaśiva arrived at his capital with the Relic in safety. Danta Kumāra, a prince of Ujjain came to Dantapura to worship the Relic. He fell in love with Hemamālā, the daughter of Guhaśiva. They were married.

Guhaśiva was always anxious for the safety of the Relic. He apprehended an attack from the king of Mālava who wanted to take away the Relic. So he decided to send the Relic to his friend Mahāsena, the King of Ceylon for safe-keeping. He sent his son-in-law, Danta Kumāra and daughter Hemamālā to Ceylon with the Relic to be made over to King Mahāsena. But the king Guhaśiva did not know that Mahāsena had expired and his son Kittisiri Megha was ruling. The Tooth Relic reached Ceylon in the 9th year of the reign of Kittisiri Megha who received the Tooth Relic and duly installed it in a temple. Guhaśiva, as apprehended, was attacked by the king of Mālava and died fighting in the battle.
There are some similarities between the two legends above: (i) In both, the king belongs to Mālava. In case of Indradyumna he came to Utkala to get Nilamādhava, while in the other case, the King Khiradhāra sent his sons to get the Tooth Relic. (ii) In case of the former legend Vidyāpati of Mālava married Śavara daughter, while in the second legend a prince of Ujjain married the daughter of Guhaśiva, (iii) In the former legend Indradyumna reaching Utkala found that Nilamādhava had vanished. Khiradhāra’s sons reaching Kaliṅga found that the Tooth Relic was gone.

In view of this, it is very likely that the story relating to the Tooth Relic was transformed into the former legend relating to Śri Jagannāth. Of course, it is possible that the story of Tooth Relic might have been derived from the legend relating to Śri Jagannāth. Of the two possibilities we accept the latter, because some of the facts in the legend are historical, while in the former legend the personalities are all mythical. In the story of Tooth Relic Guhaśiva is the King of Kalinga. We have not come across any such king among the dynasties of the kings of Orissa so far known. But in Purānas Guha is said to be reigning over Kalinga, Mahiṣīka and Mahendra kingdom (Kaliṅga Mahiṣīkā Mahendra Bhaurāma Guham bhokshanti, or Kaliṅga Mahisaschaīva Mahendra nilayāśchaye, Etān Janapadān sarvān pālayiśyatī vai Guhaḥ). According to Pargiter Guha belonged to one of the dynasties of the 4th century A.D. Guha is said to be overlord of Mahendra Bhumaś, that is, Bhumaś of Mahendra. In Orissa the Bhauma dynasty ruled for about 2 centuries with their capital at Guheśvarapāṭaka or Guhadevapāṭaka Thus, it appears that Guhaśiva was ruling in Orissa in the 4th century A.D. and the Bhumaś were under his suzerainty. The Bhauma Capital, Guheśvarapāṭaka was probably established by Guradeva who might be Guhaśiva or any of his forefathers.

Besides this, the other historical fact in the legend is sending of Tooth Relic to Ceylon which was received by Kittisirisimega, the king of Ceylon, son of the King Mahāśena who was a friend of Guhaśiva. Both the kings are historical figures, not mythical ones as Indradyumna of Jagannāth legend is. Thirdly it is also a fact that Tooth Relic was in Ceylon in the 5th century A.D. when Fa-Hien visited Ceylon. So the story of Tooth Relic is based on some historical facts, while Śri Jagannāth legend is purely mythical. Hence it is quite likely that the story of Tooth Relic has been transformed into a myth relating to installation of Lord Jagannāth in Daru form in the Puri temple.

The basic historical facts in Śri Jagannāth legend are: (i) The primitive Śavara people, the original inhabitants of Orissa, were
worshipping deities made of wood in their own way. (ii) Aryans immigrated to Orissa about the 8th century B.C. and settled down among the Šavaras and contracted matrimonial alliance with them. Hence they were termed as degraded Kshatriyas in Manu Smriti (Śanakaistu Kriyālopādimāḥ Kshatriya Jātayaḥ, viśalatvam gatā lokā brahmānādarsanena cha.)⁴

In view of this fact the marriage between Brahmin Vidyāpati and Lalitā, the daughter of Viśvāvasu is symbolic of the matrimonial alliances contracted between Aryan settlers and aboriginal Šavara inhabitants of Orissa in course of time. Viśvāvasu stands for Šavara class, while marriage of his daughter Lalitā with Brahmin Vidyāpati represents gradual intermixing between the Šavaras and the Aryaan settlers, and consequent production of a new culture due to this intermixture. It may be noted that the names Viśvāvasu and Lalitā, as well as Nilamādhava, their deity, are not aboriginal names.

(iii) It is stated in the myth that after Vidyāpati witnessed Nilamādhava, God refused to take the offerings of Viśvāvasu and informed him that He would no longer be Šavara deity but would be worshipped in temple by Rājā Indradyumna. This signifies the stage of Aryanisation of the worship of the Šavara deity by the Aryan settlers.

(iv) The next question is why Rājā Indradyumna of Mālava is selected as the hero of the myth. As quoted above Guhaśiva was the king of Mahiśa kingdom which was close to Mālava on the west. We have stated above that Śrī Jagannāth myth is based on the myth relating to the Tooth Relic of Buddha in which the king of Mālava came to Orissa to take away the Tooth Relic. Name of the king in the myth is Khiradhāra who is not identifiable. It is likely that Rudradamana the famous Saka Satrap of Mālava (130—150 A.D.) might have been selected to be the hero of the myth in place of any minor king. In order to give him a divine halo Rudradamana was transformed into Indradyumna.

(v) We may now consider the shape of the present deities which differs from that of other deities installed in the temples due to their uncouth form. It is accounted for in the myth since the doors of the temples were opened prior to expiry of the scheduled 21 days, the construction of the deities remained unfinished, hence the uncouth form. Lord Jagannāth himself desired, according to the myth, to remain in that Bauddha form in Kali age. But the real fact is that Śrī Jagannāth being originally the deity of the Šavaras, the shape of the deities has retained its original form with some modifications. Even today the aboriginal people worship wooden deities of the type of deities in the Jagannāth temples. Though the form of worship
has been Aryanised the shape of the deities continues in its original form.

(vi) Lastly as regards installation of the three wooden deities in the temple it is not unlikely that Guhaśiva who was a devoted Buddhist would have installed three wooden symbols representing the Buddhist Trinity in the shrine where the Tooth Relic was installed.

Thus the above two legends contain in them historical facts though in distorted form.

There is another legend relating to conquest of Kāñchi by Gajapati. Purusottam Deva (1467-1497) It is very popular since Lord Balabhadra and Lord Jagannāth are depicted as Heroes in the legend. Kāñchi Vijaya is a historical fact but the legend has transformed it into a romantic event.

According to the legend, Purusottam Deva heard of the beauty of Padmini, the daughter of the Rājā of Kāñchi and wished to marry her. He sent an emissary to the Rājā of Kāñchi for the purpose. The Rājā of Kāñchi agreed to the proposal. He came to Puri to witness car festival. There he saw Purusottamadeva sweeping the cars of the deities with gold broomstick. This created a bad impression in the mind of the Rājā of Kāñchi, because Gajapati Rājā was doing the work of a sweeper. So when he returned to his kingdom he sent word to Purusottama Deva that he would not give his daughter in marriage with him as he was doing the work of sweeper. Purusottama Deva naturally got enraged at this insult and decided to take revenge. He invoked Lord Jagannath to help his servant and was assured of this help. So the Gajapati king set out for Kāñchi with a large army. But he was preceded by Lord Balabhadra and Lord Jagannāth dressed as commanders mounted on white and black horses. Sālva Narasiṁha was under the protection of his deity Ganapati. He was also prepared to meet the invader. A long and bitter battle was fought by the two armies in which the presiding deities of the two kings took active part. Śrī Ganapati fought to the best of His power for His devotee but was overpowered by Lord Balabhadra and Lord Jagannāth. So the king of Kāñchi was defeated. Purusottam Deva brought his daughter Padmini and some images with him. He wanted Padmini to be married to a sweeper as a revenge of the insult given to him by her father. He entrusted her to the care of his Chief Minister. Padmini remained in the house of the Chief Minister. Purusottam Deva had forgotten about her. When the car festival came next, Purusottam swept the cars with gold broomstick. His Chief Minister presented Padmini to him for marriage as he was doing sweeper's work. The King was at last prevailed upon to marry her.
The tradition is, of course, based on historical fact. The king of Kāñchi was a Sālva Narasimha. Purusottam Deva twice defeated him. On the first occasion he sacked Kāñchi and on the second expedition he recovered Udayagiri from Narasimha. The first expedition of Purusottam Deva probably took place between 1467 and 1471 A.D. but no definite date is available.

In the tradition Kāñchi princess is named Padmini or Padminavati. But the mother of Pratāparudra was Rupamvika. She was probably the daughter of King Narasimha of Kāñchi, as his wife’s name was Tippanmvika and his mother’s name was Mallamvika. In Saraswati Vilāsam Rupamvika is mentioned as the mother of Prataparudra. So Rupamvika is, most probably, the daughter of King Narasimha.\(^5\)

The same tradition is current in Assam with the exception that Bikram Sena, the son of Purusottama sought the hands of Sudharmā, the daughter of Naranit of Malo for his son Indrabhānu. On being refused Bikram Sena promised to get Sudharmā by force.\(^6\) The above personalities are, however, not historical figures. Here is an instance of extreme distortion of facts.

Beams' comments in this connection are worth noticing. He says, “The similarity of legend to that of appearance of the great twin brothers Castor and Pollux, so vividly related by Maculay’s Lays of the Ancient Rome must strike every classical reader.” So there was also similar legend in Rome in the ancient times.

According to Katak Rāja Vamsāvali (India office Mss. Aufrecht) quoted by Shri G. Ram Das in Appendix to his article “Orissa in South India”, it is stated that Gajapati Purusottam Deva defeated the king of Kāñchi and brought his daughter with him. At first he did not want to marry her, but on being pressed by many, he married her. One night while king was going to queen’s apartment the door-keeper said, “you came just now, why do you come again?” The king was surprised to hear this and was in great doubt. That night he learnt (in dream) that Lord Dhavalesvara had been to the queen’s apartment and that she will give birth to a son who would be a Mahārāja. On hearing this the king was pleased and arranged for careful attendance of the queen. A son was born who was named Pratāparuda.\(^8\)

This is another version of the tradition in which Lord Dhavalesvara is said to be the father of Pratāparudra. Shri G. Ram Das has yet another theory.\(^9\) According to him the story of Kāñchi Vijaya was really the story of Pandya Vijaya by Purusottam Deva while he was a prince. The two horse riders in the Kāñchi-Kaveri tradition
are two Kākāti Chiefs Narasiṁha Naranāyaka and his brother Keśava Bhupati who took leading part in subjugation of the Pandya kingdom. Padmini in the tradition is supposed to be the sister of two Kākāti Chiefs, by Shri G. Ram Das. Padmini gave birth to a son who was named Kākāti Rudra Vankatarāya. When Sālva Nara-
siṁha attacked Udayagiri those two Kākāti Chiefs fought bravely and placed Sālva Narasiṁha as prisoner in the hands of Puru-
sottam Deva.

In this connection Shri Das writes,—“Traditions like dream have the peculiarity of presenting real facts with several emotions, imaginary mutilations or exaggeration, detachment of sequence of time and several other things which became mere stories to amuse children.”

Thus we have many versions of the famous Kāñchi-Kavery expedition of Gajapati Purusottam Deva based on the historical facts of Purusottam Deva’s conquest of Kāñchi and his marriage with the daughter of the king of Kāñchi whose name has been changed from Rupamvikā to Padmini or Padmāvatī, or according to the theory of Shri Das, she was really Padmini but not the daughter of the Kāñchi Rājā, but sister of Kākāti Chiefs mentioned above.

We shall end this paper with our discussion of another strong tradition current in Orissa. It is about Kalapahara, the General of Sulaiman Kararani, the Sultan of Bengal. The expedition against Gajapati Mukunda Deva of Orissa in 1568 A.D. was led by Kalapahara. After the conquest of Orissa he is said to have systematically mutilated the images in the temples of Orissa just to take revenge on the Brah-
mins of Puri who had insulted him. According to the tradition Kalāpāhāra was originally a Brahman of Bengal named Kalachand Ray in service of the Sultan of Bengal. The daughter of the Sultan fell in love with him and married him, though he had two Hindu wives. Kalachand wanted to remain a Hindu for the sake of his two Hindu wives. So he came to Puri to request the Brahmins to perform necessary religious ceremony for his being taken back into Hindu religion. The Brahmins of Puri bluntly refused his request and insulted him. So he promised to take revenge on them. It is for this reason that he broke temples and mutilated the images.

Traditions about Kalapahar’s Vandalism are current in different parts of Orissa. It is said that Ramachandi of Konarka cheated him. When he visited Sambalpur in the reign of Mudhukara Sai, the two presiding deities of Sambalpur appeared in his camps as milk-maids and sold poisoned curd to the soldiers. As a result, epidemic broke out in the camp of Kalapahar and many soldiers died. Kalapahar
came away from Sambalpur in fear and failed to do away Vandalism there.

Shri P. Mukherjee who carried researches on the historicity of this tradition is of the opinion that Kalapahar was a full-blooded Afghan, not a Hindusthani convert on the evidence of Tabaqt-i-Akbari and Mutakabhat Twarikh. ¹⁰

It is a fact that Kalapahara was notorious for his works of Vandalism in Orissa but he was not solely responsible. Other Muslim invaders before and after him had done such acts of Vandalism in Orissa, but the legend does not mention them. For example, Feroz-Shah who invaded Orissa in 1360 did a lot of damage to the temple of Jagannath. He came by Khiching in Mayurbhanj. The Vandalism in those temples may be ascribed to him.

Thus we see that history is distorted, and transformed into romantic tales of imaginary episodes and fabulous personalities in legends and myths. As we have stated in the beginning, gods and demigods are often introduced into the stories to heighten their effect in the popular minds. It is not an easy task for historians to rescue the historical facts lying grossly distorted or ingeniously transformed into some unearthly event in the legends.

REFERENCES

4. Manu Smriti, XV, p. 44.
ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL EMPIRES AND KINGDOMS

The subcontinent of India, with its mountains, rivers, plains and plateaus, provided more or less distinct geographical features to several of its territorial units and each of such regions, in turn, played its distinctive role from prehistoric and proto-historic times in shaping the general trends of Indian history. One such notable division was located on the eastern coasts, roughly between the river Ganges and the river Godavari, and passed under the names of Kalinga, Utkal, and Odra Desa since prehistoric times. The modern name Orissa is derived from Odra Desa, though her people remember the names Kalinga and Utkal with a sense of pride.

When the historical age dawned in 6th century B.C., Kalinga was already a renowned kingdom in the Indian political system. The Jaina and Buddhist literature made copious references to the kings and people of that land both in religious and political contexts. When the Buddha attained Parinirvana at Kusinara, the monk Ksema Thera brought from that place the Lord’s Tooth Relic to Kalinga and presented it to King Brahmadatta of Kalinga for preservation. By that very time, a scion of a daughter of the King of Kalinga, proceeded to Ceylon from the soil of India in the first wave of Aryan migration to that Island. He was Prince Vijaya. The Jaina sources, at the same time, described about the deep influence which both Parsvanatha and Mahavira exercised on the Kings of Kalinga. The Jaina and Buddhist texts point to at least one historical hypothesis that in 6th and 5th centuries B.C., Kalinga was an established and recognised political entity closely associated with the main streams of Indian religio-cultural life.

Kalinga entered into the period of recorded history during the age of the imperial Nandas of Magadha. Attempts were being made for the political unification of the Indo-Gangetic plains and their adjoining territories. Most probably it was Mahapadma Nanda, the first and the most powerful ruler of the Nanda Dynasty who tried to bring Kalinga within his political domain. The account of the
Nanda authority on Kalinga is gathered from the famous Hatigumpha Inscription of Kharavela wherein it is mentioned that the Nanda Raja dug a canal near Tanasuli in Kalinga which Kharavela later extended to flow by his capital city Kalinga Nagari, and that he had taken away the image of the Kalinga Jina which Kharavela brought back from Magadha during his reign.4

The hegemony of the Nanda Kings of Kalinga does not seem to have been deep-rooted. The sons of Mahapadma who succeeded their father one by one were no great rulers. When Chandragupta Maurya overthrew the Nanda Dynasty and brought the Nanda Empire under his control, Kalinga was not only an independent state, but also a rival power to the newly founded Maurya Empire.

The power and greatness of ancient Kalinga is evident from the political relation between Kalinga and Magadha during the Maurya era. When Chandragupta Maurya had almost completed the making of his great empire, the Greek ambassador at his Court, Megasthenes, observed in curiosity the existence of an independent territory on the border of the Maurya Empire which he described as the Gangaridum Calingarum Regia and marked its eastern limit on the back of the Ganges. It was Kalinga. The Greek sources contained references to the powerful army of Kalinga because of which that “country has never been conquered by any foreign King.” and further that the Kalinga land possessed an elephant force which caused fear in the mind of other nations.5

That Chandragupta who could defeat the Greek Seleukos and annex the territories of Kabul, Kandahar, Herat and Baluchistan in the north-west, and who could conquer lands very far into the south, did not attempt to annex Kalinga so near to his centre of activities, speaks of the political power of that adjacent state. His son and successor Bindusara was also a powerful monarch as his title Amitraghata or Slayer of the Foes suggests. But he, too, did not attempt to conquer Kalinga. It was left for the third Maurya Emperor, Asoka, to attempt at that great invasion. By Asoka’s time, Kalinga was the biggest maritime power in the eastern coast with colonies overseas and a thriving foreign trade.

Asoka came to the throne in 273 B.C. and celebrated his coronation four years later. In the eighth year of his coronation (261 B.C.) he launched his Kalinga war.

It is not known if Kalinga was a Kingdom or an oligarchical republic at the time of Asoka. In the days of Chandragupta, Megasthenes of course refereed to the King of Kalingas while describing his standing army, numbering 60,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and
700 war elephants. Asoka, however, does not refer to the King of Kalinga, but speaks of his battle with the Kalingas. In his inscriptions, the Emperor could even mention the names of his contemporary Kings far outside the borders of India, in Asia Minor, Egypt and Greece. What might have prevented him from mentioning the name of the contemporary Kalinga King with whom he fought such a relentless war is indeed a matter of surprise.

The Kalinga war had had its valid causes. The spirit of the time called for the unity of the whole country from the Himalayas to the seas under one political umbrella and the Maurya monarchs were working in those directions inspired as they were by the ideal of the Chakravartin. The unconquered Kalinga stood as a challenge to that concept. Secondly, the expanding Maurya Empire had no easy access to the southern peninsula since the Kalinga territory lay between the north and the south. Similarly, the maritime activity of the Magadhan empire was kept within narrow limits as the entire eastern seacoast from the Ganges downwards remained under the control of Kalinga. Finally, three generations of Magadhan militarism were destined to terminate at a culmination in one of the most violent wars of ancient history. Independent Kalinga provided that opportunity.

From the classical Greek accounts it is known that Chandra-gupta Maurya “overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000.” He possessed, besides this infantry, a large cavalry, thousands of war chariots and elephants. When Asoka invaded Kalinga, the Magadhan army was obviously of a much bigger size. On the side of Kalinga, the size of the army was no less formidable since the casualties alone ran into 3 to 4 lakhs. In Asoka’s own description: “One hundred and fifty thousand were therefrom captured, one hundred thousand were there slain, and many times as many died.” The war obviously was a terrible one, fought desperately by both sides; the invaders having an edge over the defenders because of the resources of an all-India empire at their back.

It is not the causes or the course of the war which mattered, but the consequences which became a turning point in human history. The conquered Kalinga conquered her conqueror. The horrors of the war caused such a remorse in Asoka’s mind that he renounced war once for all and adopted the gospel of the Buddha in the cause of peace and non-violence, for human brotherhood and welfare of men. “Thereafter”, runs Asoka’s Edict, “now, the Kalingas being annexed, became intense His Sacred Majesty’s observance of Dharma, love of Dharma, and his preaching of the Dharma.” There was the
remorse of His Sacred Majesty having conquered the Kalingas. For where an independent country is forcibly reduced, that there are slaughter, death, and deportation of people has been considered very painful and deplorable by His Sacred Majesty. ....Therefore, even a hundredth or the thousandth part of all those people who were wounded, slain, or carried of captives, in Kalinga, would now be considered grievous by His Sacred Majesty. ...Indeed, His Sacred Majesty desires towards all living beings freedom from harm, restraint of passions, impartiality and cheerfulness.”

It is needless to recount what that greatest of the monarchs did to propagate Dharma and morality to the people in India and outside after his great conversion. Buddhism went out of India not merely as a religion but as a force of civilisation. Without that event called Kalinga War, the history of civilisation would have remained poorer indeed.

In Kalinga, as elsewhere after the Kalinga War, Asoka established a benevolent paternal administration. “All men are my children,” he declared in his Kalinga Edict. “Just as for my children I desire that they be united with all welfare and happiness of this world and of the next, precisely do I desire it for all men.” The Maurya empire, however, declined after Asoka and soon after him, Kalinga regained her independence.

The dynasty which rose to power not long after the Maurya rule is famous as the Chedi or Cheti or the Aira Dynasty. The monarchs of that family assumed the pompous title of Mahameghavahana or the ‘Rider of the Mighty Clouds’. It is an expression as if to claim the powers of Indra, the God of the Heavens. One of the rulers of that dynasty has left an imperishable record of his rule on the rocks of Khandagiri-Udayagiri in the vicinity of Bhubaneswar and not far from the Asokan Inscription at Dhauli. The King was Kharavela and his inscription is famous as the Hatigumpha Inscription. A second inscription of the Mahameghavahana dynasty has been recently discovered in the far south at Guntupally which corroborates the conquests of the Mahameghavahana.

Kharavela was the greatest monarch of ancient Kalinga who built a far-flung empire with Kalinganagari as his capital. Though the date of this monarch caused some controversy, historical evidences, as available now, place him in the first century before Christ. He was the third king of his dynasty.

A remarkable feature of the Hatigumpha inscription is that it deals in detail about the personal attainments of the King from his childhood till his renunciation of worldly activities. He received education in Lekha, Rupa, Ganana, Vyavahara and Vidhi, which
according to ancient prescriptions were Art of Correspondence, Currency, Accountancy, Legal Systems, and Rules respectively. At the age 15, Kharavela assumed the responsibilities of administration as a Crown Prince, and at 24, was coronated as King. One of the earliest achievements of the King was the reconstruction of the capital city of Kalinganagari at the cost of 35 lakhs of coins. Gates, towers, forts and ramparts were repaired and strengthened; embankments were constructed and gardens laid; and the city on the whole was beautified. The purpose of all such endeavour was to please the people, so claimed the King. In subsequent years he continued to please his subjects by various entertainment programmes, by dance, music and songs, by ceremonies and banquets, etc. Further, in one of his welfare works, he renovated and extended the aqueduct which the Nanda King had constructed near Kalinganagari generations ago. Kharavela's benevolence further led him to exempt people from certain taxes at a loss to the royal treasury of huge amounts of money. He represented the true ideals of an ancient Hindu monarch by doing all the best he could for the satisfaction of his subjects.

It is as a conqueror that Kharavela showed his genius in that age of political disintegration. His empire was short-lived, but his attempts to unite a larger part of India represented the traditional concepts of ancient Indian monarchy of the Kautilyan thought. Kharavela organised a vast army with infantry, cavalry, elephant forces and chariots. He had a powerful neighbour and rival in King Satakarni of the Satavahana Dynasty in the south-west with whom he fought soon after his accession and won a victory. This success extended the sway of Kalinga King as far as the river Krishna. Thereafter Kharavela fought against the Rathika and the Bhojaka powers and gained impressive victory over them. His campaign through the Maharashtra land led to the establishment of Kharavela's hegemony over most parts of the Deccan.

After successful military achievements in the south, Kharavela turned his might upon the north. He invaded Rajagriha in the eighth year of his reign and in course of that campaign destroyed the fortress of Gorathagiri. His further northward march coincided with the invasion of the Indo-Greeks in the north under one of their rulers whom the Hatigumpha inscription describes as Yavanaraja Dimita. The Yavanas had penetrated as far as Mathura while the Kalinga army was advancing beyond Rajagriha. By way of a patriotic duty Kharavela hastened towards Mathura, liberated that famous city and drove out the invaders from north-western India. On return to Kalinganagari after that successful campaign, the Emperor erected a gigantic palace of victory at a fabulous expense.
In the tenth year of his reign, Kharavela once again invaded Northern India for establishing his political supremacy. But before his work was complete, a powerful political league had been formed against him in the south by the Tamil Kings. It was a confederacy of the Cholas, Pandyas, Satyaputras and Keralaputras, and the rulers of Tamraparni, a union which had existed in some form or other, for three hundred years. These southern monarchs who maintained their independence even in the days of the imperial Mauryas perhaps became apprehensive of Kharavela's ambitious designs and united in a common cause to thwart his aggression. The war that followed in the eleventh year of Kharavela's rule ended in the victory of the latter. While the victor acquired plenty of booties from the defeated league, the Pandya King himself came down to Kalinganagari to pay tribute to the conqueror.

Kharavela's conquering career culminated in the twelfth year of his reign when his invading army subdued several of the Kings in Uttarapatha. His main target, however, was Magadha. Brihaspatimitra, the ruling monarch of Magadha submitted to the invader. The supreme Trophy which Kharavela brought back from Magadha was the image of the Kalinga Jina which the Nanda Raja had carried away long ago.

In twelve years of his military adventure Kharavela had thus established sway over a vast area of India. From eastern coast to western coast, and from Mathura to the Pandya Kingdom in far south, his political authority was felt by various kings and peoples. His invasions most probably followed the ancient concepts of Digvijaya far across the frontiers of his own empire for the purpose of establishing a political paramountcy over neighbouring territories.

Kharavela's abrupt renunciation of mundane activities came within a year of his conquest of Magadha. Perhaps his political mission was considered no longer necessary. Or, the bringing back of the Kalinga Jina to Kalinganagari called for from the Emperor a new mission in life. A devout Jaina, he now devoted himself to the promotion of Jainism as its royal patron. And, Kharavela is remembered in history as perhaps the greatest of the Jaina monarchs of ancient times.

The Hatigumpha Inscription describes of his noteworthy acts in the cause of Jainism. On the top of the Kumari Hill where Mahavira Jina was supposed to have preached his gospels to the people of Kalinga, Kharavela began his constructive activities in erecting rock-cut caves and shelters for numberless monks who came from many corners of India. A hall of congregation was built with three million and five lakhs of fine stone slabs collected from distant
quarries. There gathered countless Sramanas, Yatis, Tapasas, Rishis, and Sanghayanas for sacred purposes of their own. The caves of Khandagiri-Udayagiri, in their melancholy ruins, bear till today the testimony to the building activities of Emperor Kharavela. The Emperor towards the end of his career perhaps lived like a monk himself, devoting his time and energy to the promotion of Dharma in company with the Arhatas who frequented the holy Kumari Hill.

Though brief, the reign of Kharavela marked a most glorious epoch in ancient annals of Kalinga. The Mahameghavahana Dynasty continued to thrive after him though evidences regarding the succeeding rulers have not yet come to light. It is gathered from the Manchapuri Cave Inscription that there ruled another king of the dynasty named Maharaja Kudepa Shri who also erected caves at that place. The cave ruins of Manchapuri also contains the name of Prince Vadukha who might have been yet another monarch of that great dynasty.

In the West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh, in a small village named Guntupally, a Brahmi Inscription of Kharavela was discovered in recent years wherein the Maharaja Kalingadhipati Mahameghavahana has been described also as the overlord of the Mahisakas. This inscription corroborates the power and extent of the Kalinga Empire of the Chedi Dynasty as contained in the Hati-gumpha Inscription. How and in what circumstances did that powerful empire finally disappear from history is not known. But in fields of art, architecture, religion and administration, the Mahameghavahana rulers gave to Kalinga a glorious epoch of her ancient history, the legacy of which survived for long.

During the age of the Kushan Kings in the early centuries of the Christian era, the political condition of Kalinga remained rather hazy and dim. The political influence of the Satavahana power from the south under its famous ruler Goutamiputra Satakarni and his son Vasisthiputra, and the influence of the Murundas from their northern strongholds, were felt in the Kalinga territories in 2nd century A.D., and the Kushan rule also had had its impact on the region. Large numbers of Kushan coins as discovered from the districts of Ganjam, Puri, Balasore, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Cuttack have led some scholars like E. J. Rapson to suggest that Orissa at that time might have come under the rule of the Kushanas or that its rulers were under the supremacy of those foreign potentates. The people of ancient Kalinga, having been a race of mercantile adventures, also could have busied themselves in internal and external trade for which there could have been brisk circulation of the Kushan coins in almost every notable part of Orissa, especially in the coastal belts.
On the eve of the Gupta era, Kalinga was seen to be a politically recognised territory with its usual religious fame. The Buddhist sources describe the name of the Kalinga King as Guhasiva who was a contemporary of the Ceylonese King Mahasena who was ruling that Island Kingdom in the last quarter of the 3rd century A.D. Till that time, the Sacred Tooth Relic of Buddha had been kept in Kalinga through religious and political changes of several centuries, and through many risks and dangers to that Great Object. In one of such dangers when the attackers wanted to capture the Relic, Guhasiva, before resisting the enemies in the field, sent that precious-most symbol of the Buddhist fraternity to the King of Ceylon, in hands of his daughter Hemamala and son-in-law Dantakumara. The King thereafter fought against the invaders and died, while the Tooth Relic reached Ceylon safely. King Mahasena of Ceylon was deed by then, but his son and successor King Shri Meghavarna received the Holy Relic with utmost veneration. The transfer of the Relic took place in the first decade of the 4th century A.D. and the Ceylonese description of Kalinga in that connection had had its historical value.

Perhaps for external invasions to which King Guhasiva of Kalinga was subjected, the political stability of the Kingdom declined speedily and Kalinga at the time of the invasion of the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta presented a picture of several small Kingdoms instead of one united territory. Only in the western and south-western portions of Orissa through which Samudragupta led his victorious expedition towards the South, he fought with several Orissan rulers such as Mahendra of Kosala, Vyaghraraja of Mahakantara, Mantaraja of Kurala, Mahendragiri of Pistapura, Swamidatta of Kottura, Damana of Endhapalla, and Kubera of Devarastra. It is evident that, for reasons unknown, the ancient Kalinga lay fragmented during the time of Samudragupta who also, in his endeavour to consolidate the Indo-Gangetic valley, did not consider it administratively desirable to conquer Kalinga and the south.

Towards the later half of the 4th century A.D. however, a powerful dynasty rose in Orissa to unite a greater portion of the land from the river Mahanadi to the river Godavari. It was the dynasty of the Matharas. While the Gupta monarchs were at the height of their power in the north, the Mathara Kings held their independent sway over a larger part of Orissa which included the territories through which Samudragupta conducted his victorious march. They style themselves as Maharaja, and even some of them called themselves as Kalingadhipati. A large number of Copper Plate Grants of the Mathara Kings have survived till now to speak about their various achievements. Umavarman, Sankaravarman, Saktivarman, Ananta
Saktivarman, Chandravarman and Prabhanjana Varman were the notable Kings of the Mathara Dynasty. Their rule covered a period of one hundred and fifty years, i.e., from the middle of the 4th century A.D. to the end of the 5th century A.D. Orissa was given a sound administrative system, more or less in the pattern of the Gupta imperial administration as it prevailed in the north; and Orissa under the Matharas also saw a Brahmanical revival in its religious and cultural aspects, as it was in the north. Sanskrit was patronised by the Matharas and used extensively. The Bhagavata cult, too, came into prominence in the faith of the people, while Buddhism still continued to dominate the religious life of a large section of people.

The time of the Mathara rule coincides with the most effective maritime activities of ancient Kalinga in overseas lands. In the southern coastal regions of Kalinga, during the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., a small dynasty named the Sailodbhavas ruled over a Kingdom which they called Kangoda or Kanyakha. The name Sailodbhava indicates that the rulers or their territory represented some hill areas to begin with, and scholars have identified, with valid reason, these areas with lands around lake Chilika and Ganjam. The rulers of this dynasty included Sailodbhava, Ranabhita, Sainyabhita, Ayasobhita, Sainyabhita II, Ayasobhita II, Madhava Raja, Dharma Raja Mana-bhita and their successors. From the great ports of Palur, Ganjam, Kalinga Nagar and Charitra, the people of Kalinga were carrying on their trade and commerce from very ancient times with Burma, Malaysia, Siam, Cambodia, Java, Bali, Borneo, Sumatra, and other places of the Suvarnadwipa. Taking advantage of that century-old relation between Kalinga and the overseas lands, the Sailodbhavas of Kangoda were supposed to have launched upon their colonial adventure in Suvarnadwipa and ultimately succeeded in establishing the great and far-flung Sailendra Empire in that part of further Asia. The Sailodbhava dynasty disappeared from Kangoda in 7th century A.D. and the Sailendra Empire of Suvarnadwipa rose into prominence in the 8th century A.D. In the heyday of that empire, the foreign merchants as well as their countrymen called that empire as 'Kalinga', signifying thereby the Kalinga origin of the Sailendra Empire. This empire endured for nearly two centuries.

After the Matharas and the Sailodbhavas, the next significant chapter of the political history of Orissa began during the rules of the Bhauma Kara and the Somavamsi dynasties. The later Bhauma Karas and the early Somavamsis were contemporaries, and at one stage, the former were ruling over the Utkal portion of Orissa, and the latter over the Kosala portion. In course of time the Bhauma Kara
rule yielded place to the rule of the Somavamsis and the whole landmass of Orissa came under the rule of one powerful dynasty. The time of these two dynasties, running over a period of nearly four centuries, namely, from 8th to 11th century, saw a formative period in the life and culture of the Orissan people. Geographical demarcations and territorial centres, religious traits and linguistic developments, all tended to bring about a clear and distinct picture of a compact socio-political unit. In the evolution of Orissa, the Bhauma Kara-Somavamsi period is indeed a remarkable epoch.

The most famous rulers of the Bhauma Kara Dynasty were Subhakara Deva, Santikara Deva, Subhakara Deva-II, Santikara Deva-II, and finally, Dandi Mahadevi, a powerful woman ruler. It was King Subhakara Deva I who wrote a religious text in his own hand and sent it with a letter to his contemporary Chinese Emperor Tet Song in the last decade of 8th century. The missionary who carried that letter was Prajna, a vastly learned man who had studied for years at Nalanda, and also in a university of the King of Orissa. Prajna stayed on in China where he devoted his time to translate a number of Indian scriptures to Chinese language.

Orissa possessed in that period a renowned university named Puspagiri which the Chinese Pilgrim Hieuen Tsing described in his travel accounts during the age of Harsha. The ruins of Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri and Udayagiri in the district of Cuttack, with traces of one of the greatest Buddhist centres of India, lead many scholars to believe that the University of Puspagiri lies buried in this Buddhist complex of unlimited deposits.

The Bhauma Kara rule gave to Orissa a sound and well-organised administration. Some of the terminology as seen in their Copper Plates indicate quite advanced type of governmental systems. Though Sanskrit was the dominating language of that age, future Oriya words were gradually emerging in the texts of the Plates. Towards the close of the Bhauma Kara Rule, Buddhism was seen heading towards its last declining phase and Saivism was beginning to rise as a popular force of Orissan religion. It is said that the individuality of the Oriya people as a distinct group in the Indian cosmos saw its foundation laid during the Bhauma Kara era.

The Somavamsi Dynasty became more effective in raising Orissa to its definite individuality. From the last years of the 9th century this dynasty came forward to play its spectacular political and cultural role and continued to represent its vitality till the later part of 11th century. Janmejaya Mahabhavagupta I, Yayati Mahasivagupta I, Bhimaratha Mahabhavagupta II, Dharmaratha Mahasivagupta II,
Nahusa Mahabhavagupta III, Yayati II, Uddyota Kesari Mahabhava-
gupta IV and Janmejaya II were some of the illustrious monarchs of
the Somavamsi Dynasty. The dynasty ruled for more than two
centuries. With the title ‘Keshari’ used by some kings of this dynasty,
the traditions of Orissa remain eloquent about the achievements of
these rulers by describing them as Kesharis. Yayati I, famous as
Yayati Keshari, is said to have performed an Aswamedha sacrifice
at Jajpur, and to have brought ten thousand Brahmins from Kanauj
settlement in that holy place. Historically, it is this monarch who
united the two identifiable parts of the then Orissa, namely, Utkal
and Kosala and consolidated the two areas in one homogeneous
territory, laying thereby the foundation of a solid powerful state.
He is remembered in traditions as a great builder of numerous temples
and other monuments. Some of his architectural activities came to
be conducted in Bhubaneswar which, situated as it was between
Asoka’s ancient Toshali and Kharavela’s Kalinganagari, rose into a
new prominence as a city of the temples.

King Yayati II of the Somavamsi Dynasty was yet another
powerful monarch who strengthened Orissa within its geographical
limits. He proclaimed himself as the Lord of Kalinga, Kangoda,
Utkal and Kosala, showing thereby his hold over all the four tradi-
tional divisions of Orissa when the whole of Orissa did not pass
under that more famous name Kalinga. Not satisfied with his rule
over Orissa proper, this King fought battles against the Kings of
Karnata, Lata, Gurjara, Kanchi, Gouda and Radha. When he
was succeeded by his son Uddyota Keshari, the Somavamsi Kingdom
of Orissa was in its finest form, but, within the next generation, the
decline of the dynasty speedily set in.

It is during this period that the temple building activities in
Orissa with Bhubaneswar as chief centre reached a high watermark.
The Great Temple of Lingaraj and many of the innumerable temples
around it, were brought into being in the high tide of Saivite faith
which flooded Orissa at that time. The enormous size of the monu-
ments as well as the superb artistic decoration on their surface are the
brightest testimony to the high degree of architectural as well as
sculptural attainment to which the Orissan builders and artists of that
period had reached.

During the days of the later Somavamsis, when that dynasty
began to decline, a new royal house began to rise into prominence in
the southern regions of Orissa. A powerful conqueror of this dynasty,
Anantavarman Chodaganga Deva at last came forward to establish
a dynasty in Orissa famous as the Ganga Dynasty and build an exten-
sive empire known as the Ganga Empire.
The Gangas were a very ancient people. The Greek Ambassador Megasthenes described them as Ganganjadae who inhabited the regions between the Gangas in the north, the river Damodar in the south, Magadha in the west, and sea in the east. When Pliny observed in 72 A.D., this Ganga race had migrated to the south and had settled itself in central Kalinga on the banks of the river Vansadhara. Towards the 5th century A.D. one branch of this race was seen dominating over southern Mysore, and passing under the name of Western Gangas. The branch which continued to live in Orissa while rising to its fame is described as the Eastern Gangas. Towards the closing years of the 5th century A.D., they were seen ruling over the Tri-Kalinga region of Kalinga. There they lived for six hundred years through many political storms till at length, in 11th century, their power began to be felt in other parts of Kalinga. When the Somavamsi Dynasty declined and their kingdom disintegrated, the Gangas came forward to avail of that opportunity and to create for themselves a big empire. It was Ananta Varman Chodaganga Deva of this dynasty who united the whole of Kalinga within its traditional boundary between the Ganges and Godavari, and built a powerful empire which lasted under his successors for more than three centuries as the strongest Hindu state of India against continuous Muslim onslaughts from different corners.

Ananta Varman was the son of Devendra Varman Rajaraja Deva and his queen Raja Sundari who was a princess of the powerful Chola dynasty of the South. As the son of a Ganga father and a Chola mother, he proudly called himself as Cholaganga or Chodaganga and remains famous in that name in the adoration of posterity. He ascended the Gangha throne at his ancestral capital of Kalinga Nagar, which is identified with modern Mukhalingam, in the year 1078 A.D. From there he began his conquering career, and when the whole of Orissa and also its adjoining territories had been overrun and united into a powerful state he transferred his capital to the city of Cuttack, very late in his reign, in the year 1135 A.D. During the next 12 years of his rule with Cuttack as the centre of his political activities, he gave the final touches to his empire building while strengthening and fortifying his capital city in an effective way. It was for long 72 years that this monarch was privileged to rule. It enabled him not merely to conquer new territories but also to consolidate the conquests by an efficient administration, and by other nobler activities in accordance with the spirit of his age, and the needs of the society. The most spectacular and memorable of such activities was his construction of the Great Temple of Lord Jagannath at the holy city of Puri. There was an earlier shrine for
Jagannath from very ancient times, but the Temple which Chodaganga began to erect was destined to make Jagannath Puri one of the most renowned centres of religion in all India. Saivism by that time was losing its hold on popular mind because of its extreme and rigid dogmatic practices. Buddhism and Jainism were beyond the range of recall. The Hindu world, as if, required a new vigorous cult to concentrate on. The masses of people, at the first phase of that medieval age, needed a simpler and more appealing faith, resting on an emotional devotion to God rather than on difficult and unintelligible doctrines. In the wake of this Zeitgeist, a religious wind was blowing in favour of Vaishnavism all over India. That was the time of the great saint Ramanuja who visited Kalinga when Chodaganga was ruling. The Kalinga Emperor, in the closing years of a great career, turned to religious activities, and vigorously championed the cause of Vaishnavism by taking up the construction of the Temple of Jagannath. Since that time, Jagannath has come to be worshipped as the Supreme Deity of Hindu India, and His shrine as the holiest abode of Hinduism. The Temple of Jagannath, as the supreme abode of Vaishnavism, has invited millions of Hindus from all parts of India for all these centuries. Chodaganga's immortal work was meant not for Orissa but for India, not for his time, but for all times. His worthy successors completed and developed the Temple complex and made Puri a city of religious splendour and of fabulous ceremonies.

From Ananta Varman Chodaganga Deva to Bhanu Deva IV with whom ended the Ganga Dynasty, there ruled about 15 Kings, including Ananga Bhima Deva II, Ananga Bhima III, and Narasimha Deva I who were exceptionally brilliant like the founder of the empire. The Hindu Kingdom of Orissa in those days had to come face to face with Muslim powers of the adjacent lands and a prolonged conflict between the rival forces became inevitable. The Ganga monarchs rose equal to the task and kept the territorial bounds of their domain vigorously defended and well-protected. Continuous Muslim pressure from the north and the east was successfully resisted, and the river Ganges was kept as Orissa's frontier against the Muslim Bengal. Narasimha Deva I who ruled the Ganga Empire from 1238 to 1264 decided upon an aggressive policy towards his contemporary Bengal Sultans, and Minhaj-us-Shiraj describes in Tabqat-i-Nasiri how that King defeated the Muslim army at Katsin in 1243, and invaded Lukhnor and Lukhnauti. Sultan Tughan Khan fled away in fear and appealed to Delhi for help. In 1244, Narasimha invaded Bengal a second time, plundered the capital Lukhnauti, defeated Tughan Khan, and captured the city of Lukhnor. The outcome
of this invasion was the annexation of several Muslim districts of Bengal to the territory of Kalinga.

During the time of the Ganyas, the Orissan architecture reached its zenith. Narasimha Deva has earned for himself not only the fame as a conqueror, but also an undying fame as the builder of the Sun Temple of Konark. This Temple was constructed on the bank of the river Chandrabhaga where that river met the sea. As a remarkable piece of architecture, the greatest Hindu edifice in India, Konark is emblematic of the resources which medieval Orissa commanded, the power which her rulers enjoyed, and the artistic, architectural, sculptural and engineering skill which the Orissan people possessed. It is believed that the Sun Temple took twelve years of time and forty crores of money for its construction. The main Temple was 230 feet high, the biggest in whole India. Even the crownless Mukhasala which stands till today in its ruins is as high as the Great Temple of Lingaraj at Bhubaneswar. In sculptural display and artistic exuberance it has no rival.

It was during the Ganga age that the Oriya literature took its concrete and enriched shape. Oriya script, grammar, idioms, phraseologies, poetic dictons and prose styles began to take their clear character as many inscriptions and manuscripts came to be composed. Within a well-defined territory, with a definite language and literature, with economic and political stability, and with indigenous distinctive traits in spheres of culture, art and religion, modern Orissa was steadily taking shape during the prosperous Ganga era of three centuries.

The rule of the imperial Ganyas came to an abrupt end when in a bloodless revolution, a new dynasty named Suryavamisi Dynasty came to the throne. According to the famous Temple Chronicles or the Madala Panji, the last Ganga King being childless, adopted a cowherd boy as his son who inherited the throne and became the first Surya King of Orissa. According to some other sources, the last Ganga King was unworthy and weak, and therefore, the wise ministers and nobles elevated to the throne a brave and extraordinary person who founded a new dynasty of his own.

The Surya Dynasty gave to Orissa three famous rulers, Kapiilendra Deva, Purusottam Deva and Pratapprudra Deva. Kapiilendra ascended the throne in 1436 A.D. From political point of view, by second quarter of fifteenth century the Orissan Kingdom was surrounded on all sides by formidable powers, such as, the Bengal Sultanat, Bahamani Kingdom, and Vijaya Nagara Empire. In order to safeguard his territory as well as to defend it more effectively,
Kapilendra took up an aggressive posture against all his neighbouring powers. This monarch is usually compared with the great Khara-vela of ancient times for the military expeditions he undertook and the martial vigour he showed. His army was a rare, and perhaps the last example of Orissa's military traditions. His gigantic elephant force was the most invincible in India, and it is by that force that he terrified his foes. The Bahmani Sultan Alauddin Ahmad Shah calculated the number of those war elephants as two hundred thousands. Though the number appears to be unbelievable, it indicates that the Orissan ruler had a unique type of military machine with the elephant phalanx as its main support to overawe the enemy forces of cavalry and infantry. Kapilendra's aggressive career and military achievements give ample proofs about the strength of his army. His military title of Gajapati or lord of the elephant force is an evidence of his reliance on that military machine. The Suryavamsi Kings were all known as the Gajapati Kings.

Kapilendra's conquests were indeed remarkable. He occupied a large portion of the Telingana coast, and brought the Godavari delta under his possession. In subsequent invasions he crossed the river Krishna and conquered Kondavidu. On the north-eastern frontier, he crossed into the territories of the Bengal Sultan and captured a portion of that land after a victory over Sultan Nasiruddin. His sway in that area extended to the western side of the river Hughli. Kapilendra's war against the Bahmani Sultan also ended in victory for him. It is gathered from the Muslim sources that the Orissan King "from the greed of gain and for the defence of paganism" invaded the Bahmani territory and taking the army of the Sultan by surprise routed the forces of Islam. This defeat was inflicted on Sultan Humayun Shah Bahmani. After his death, when his minor son Nizam Shah ascended the throne, Kapilendra once again invaded his country and reached very near to his capital. Finally, the Gajapati King won a major victory over the Vijaya Nagar Kings, and overran a large portion of the Tamil coastal belt. The province of Chandragiri was also invaded and Kanchi was conquered. Kapilendra's empire came to extend from the river Ganges in the north to the river Kaveri in the south.

His conquests and achievements led Kapilendra Deva to assume the pompous title of 'Gajapati, Gaudeswara Navakoti-Karnatakakalabargeswara.' This great monarch was not merely a conqueror but also a patron of culture. A scholar in Sanskrit, he wrote a Sanskrit drama named 'Parasurama Vijaya'. Sudramuni Sarala Das wrote his famous' Maha Bharata' during this time, a work which is a classic by itself. The King encouraged Vaishnavism and the
spread of Bhakti cult, and added many rites of a devotional nature to the worship of Jagannath.

Gajapati Kapilendra died on the bank of the river Krishna in 1466, while supervising the administration of his southern annexations. He was succeeded by his son Purushottam Deva. According to Orissan traditions, the late King had as many as 18 sons who contested for the throne with Purushottam. At last, when defeated in that fratricidal war, they submitted to the victorious brother, who in his magnanimity forgave them all and gave each one of them a piece of territory to rule independently. It is believed that these 18 brothers ultimately became the founders of the 18 small princely states of the future Orissa. If this account be correct, here was the beginning of the self-destructive process of Orissa’s medieval state power. The second Surya monarch was a fine specimen of the culture of that age. He wrote an impressive prose work in Sanskrit named Nama Malika, wherein the substance of sixty-seven Puranas and other works was produced. His Abhinava Gita-Govinda is a beautiful work in poetry. Among many of his other works, Mukti Chintamani, Durgotsava, and Vishnu-Bhakti Kalpadruma are noteworthy. He also compiled a Sanskrit dictionary entitled Trikanda Kosha. Few among his contemporary Indian Kings possessed this kind of learning and scholarship as this King.

But the time of this learned King was critical from political angles of view. The death of Kapilendra removed fear from the mind of the Bahmani and the Vijaya Nagar rulers, who attacked the Orissan Kingdom at the earliest opportunity. Yet, in any case, through earlier reverses but later successes, the King preserved his territory till his death in 1497, though the symptoms of military weakness were already seen during the course of his desperate struggle against his powerful enemies such as Saluva Narasimha and Bahmani Sultan Muhammad III, and the great Bahmani Statesman Mahmud Gawan.

Gajapati Purusottam Deva was succeeded by his son Prataparudra Deva. This third Surya monarch was the last in the long line of Orissa’s great rulers of ancient and medieval times from the days of Mahameghavahana Kharavela. He ruled from 1497 to 1540, for forty-four years. Cultured and learned, this monarch failed to realise the nature of the dangers which threatened his kingdom from all frontiers. The imperial traditions were already on a declining path, and the enemy powers were on their ascendancy. At that critical moment in the destiny of Orissa, Prataparudra neglected the defence of his vast domain, and turned his attention to less mundane affairs without realising the consequences to follow. The greatest emperor
of Vijaya Nagar, Krishna Deva Ray, after he came to the throne, launched determined efforts to reconquer the southern territories of the Surya Empire. He did succeed in a series of battles, and became the master of the extensive landmass lying between rivers Kaveri and Godavari which Kapilendra had conquered.

Repeated invasions also followed from the Muslim Sultans of Bengal. Unfortunately for the Gajapati, his contemporary in Bengal was the powerful and ambitious Alauddin Hussain Shah, who recovered a large portion of territories which Kapilendra had taken away from earlier Sultans. Similarly, Sultan Quali Qutb Shah of Golkonda occupied the Telingana region of Orissa which was still under the Gajapati after Krishna Deva Ray’s conquests in those quarters.

Thus Prataparudra lost most of his ancestral dominions in the Peninsular India and in Bengal during the first quarter century of his rule. The reduced Orissa had by then approximated its present day size. Kalinga was no more an empire. Even the name Kalinga which signified much of her ancient and medieval glory vanished.

For nearly twenty years more did Prataparudra rule thereafter. But he did not try to recover his lost territories. With the loss of the empire, Orissa had lost her sources of prosperity. Decline of Orissa was coming in rapidly with the loss of military prestige and economic vitality.

Much of Prataparudra’s political and military inactivity is ascribed to the influence of Shri Chaitanya, the greatest Vaishnavite saint that time, on him. For long 18 years of his saintly life, Chaitanya lived in Orissa, in the holy city of Lord Jagannath, Puri. His great devotional movement was seen flooding Orissa as a most popular cult. Prataparudra came under the spell of Chaitanya and was led to march with pacificism and non-violence of the neo-Vaishnavite faith. Evidences show how the saint profoundly influenced the personal and official conduct of the King, and became, unfortunately, one of the causes of the political and military decline of medieval Orissa. In the renunciation of the King lay the causes of a sudden decline of Orissa as a political power.

Prataparudra died in 1540. It seems as if the spirit of independence had already disappeared by that time. The few years that separated the death of the last Surya King and the Muslim conquest of Orissa were the years of internecine strife, bloodshed, intrigues, conspiracies, and civil war. The Gajapati King’s many sons were put to death by his treacherous minister Govinda Vidyadharaka who symbolised in him the vices of an age of decay and degeneration. When the Surya Dynasty was thus extinguished Govinda Vidyadharaka ascended the throne himself as the Gajapati King. During his brief rule, Orissa
disintegrated speedily with independent small principalities coming into existence in the inaccessible hill tracts of Orissa. His worthless successors were removed from the scene and a brave general named Mukunda Harichandam ascended the throne to try desperately to save a dying kingdom. For 9 years he ruled Orissa while external invasions and internal dissension became the sad tale of the time. At last, in the year 1568, Mukunda Deva was killed in an internal battle which atonce paved path for the Muslim conquest of Orissa.

The decline and fall of Orissa’s medieval kingdom had many causes no doubt. But researches are being conducted to ascertain if a military race from the days of Asoka’s Kalinga war till the time of Gajapati Kapilendra Deva could have declined so abruptly and lost its inner vitality only because of external factors, or, were there climatic and physical factors which brought about a disastrous change in the life and character of a vigorous people causing them their decline as in the case of many other races and peoples.

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2. Vide Mahavamsa.
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6. This army was not the whole army of Kalinra, but only that part of the army which ’protected’ the King.
7. Plutarch, Life of Alexander, Ch. lxii.
8. Rock Edict XIII.
10. Vide Kautilya’s Arthasastra, I, II, and III.
11. The word Dinu’ or Dinata has been now almost completely obliterated on the body of the Hatigumpha Inscription, though read by earlier scholars. K. P. Jayaswal and several others identified Dinita with the Indo-Greek ruler Demetrius.
13. Vide Manchhapuri Cave Inscription.
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21. Jivadeva’s Bhakti Bhagavad written during the time of the third Surya ruler, Prataparudra Deva.
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EARLY STATE FORMATION AND ROYAL LEGITIMATION IN LATE ANCIENT ORISSA**

In his excellent paper on “State Formation and Rajput Myth in Tribal Central India” Surajit Sinha describes

“how the equalitarian primitive clan-based organization has adjusted itself to the centralized, hierarchic, territorially oriented political developments, the nature of social class formation, interaction between the primitive ritual symbols of the tribe and the advanced symbols sponsored by the state”¹

—which in the context of Sinha’s research, means the Hindu state. The period of the formation of the tribal states which Surajit Sinha describes in Chota Nagpur and Orissa is considerably later than the Jaina, Buddhist and Hindu archaeological ruins which date back roughly to the period between the 8th and 12th centuries. According to Sinha “the existence of these ruins significantly sets the date of origin of these tribal kingdoms at a period later than the breakdown of the earlier extensions of the Jaina-Buddhist-Hindu civilizations in these hilly tracts around the end of the 12th century A.D.”²

According to Sinha there was thus a more or less complete breakdown of an older Jain-Buddhist-Hindu civilization, which was followed in larger parts of Chota Nagpur and Orissa by a period of more or less tribal states. This rather dualistic view of a clear distinction between the earlier Hindu and the later tribal kingdoms in Eastern India, of course, is not a creation of Sinha. It is based on

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the generally acknowledged interpretation about the so-to-speak "pure" Hindu character of the early Hindu states of that region. In my research on the structure of the medieval kingdoms and the problems of royal legitimation, which I conducted in 1970/71 and 1974 in connection with the Orissa Research Project, I came to a less dichotomic interpretation of the historical development of Orissa during the important period of the formation of the Oriya-culture.

The "tribal states" between the 14th and 19th centuries were strongly influenced by the cultural and socio-economic pattern of the preceding Hindu kingdoms. In a very similar way the early Hindu kingdoms—at least in Orissa—had been deeply influenced by the tribal culture, or in the case of several so-called "Hindu kingdoms", they even originated from tribes. I shall try to delineate my hypothesis in connection with problems of royal legitimation during the period of early state formation in Orissa roughly between 500 and 1000 A.D.

In its earliest history, Orissa had become a province and later even the centre of great empires under two of the most important rulers of early India, i.e., under Asoka (3rd cent. B.C.) and Khāravela (1st cent. B.C.). These empires, on the one side, were much more centralized than all the later kingdoms in Orissa. On the other side, they were—except for their centres—less rooted in, and linked with, the respective local power structures. In Orissa both empires, therefore, left little archaeological traces outside the central area around Bhubaneswar. Both empires, however, seem to have initiated in Orissa a political development on the local and sub-regional level.

This development gained new and even stronger impulses through the example of the "classical" North Indian Hindu Empire of the Guptas in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. and through the power struggle between the three great Kingdoms of North, East, and Central India in the early 7th century, who, one after the other, had temporarily conquered portions of Orissa.

Although influenced from outside, the development in Orissa during the early centuries A.D. is definitely characterized by a territorial segmentation and a political development "from below." To students of the history of Orissa this feature is well known through a number of rather confusing names of various small kingdoms and principalities scattered along the coast of the Bay of Bengal and in the hilly hinterland. Though the borders of these kingdoms and principalities often varied according to the power of the ruling dynasties, and even some names, in the course of the history, were exchanged
for new ones, the topography of their centres and their spatial
distribution remained almost unchanged from the 6th to the 11th
and 12th centuries. At that time, the Somavamśa dynasty, for a
few generations, united their homelands in Dakṣiṇa Kośala in
Western Orissa with the fertile delta area in Central Orissa. This
first medieval regional kingdom of Orissa was followed in the
early 12th century by the Gaṅgas who finally unified their southern
homeland Kaliṅga with Central and Northern Orissa and, in the
13th century, also with Western Orissa. The Gaṅgas superimposed
their imperial power on the various small kingdoms and local
principalities which had peopled the political map of Orissa. With
the establishment of these first regional Hindu kingdoms in Orissa,
the first period of local and sub-regional state formation came to an
end, which had been strongly influenced by the tribes of Orissa as
will be shown in a few moments.

Most important among these early historical areas were in Orissa
those territories which were either situated in the delta regions of the
various rivers flowing into the Bay of Bengal, or upstreams in the
valleys, especially of the Central Mahanadi river. During the second
half of the first millennium A.D. these were Uttara and Dakṣina Tosali
in the present districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri on both sides of
the Mahanadi delta. In later centuries Tosali became known as Utkal.
In the south Dakṣina Tosali was followed by Koṅgoda in the present
Ganjam district and by Kaliṅga in the present Andhra Pradesh.
Western Orissa soon came under the impact of Dakṣina Kosala
which extended its Northern and Central Indiān influences up to
Sonepur. Between these main historical areas of Central and Western
Orissa were several smaller territorial units like Kodālaka Maṇḍala
in the middle of the Brahmani valley and Khiṅjallī Maṇḍala in the
middle of the Mahanadi valley. Another famous isolated territory
was in Khiṅj shapes at the upper Baitarani river, known through
its ruined capital Khiching. These territorially segmented areas
were usually separated from each other by mountains (e.g., Kaliṅga
from Koṅgoda by the Mahedragiri) or by jungles, which were still
inhabited by various “unpacified” tribes.

In an article full of the deep insights on the “Integration of the
Agrarian System of South India” Burton Stein delineated his
conception of the “nuclear areas” as a major factor of integration
in early South Indian history. These territorial units, roughly between
the 7th and 12th centuries, were according to Stein politically funda-
mentally independent and self-governing, autonomous economic
units and in social and cultural terms centres of Hindu civilization.
The spatial distribution of these nuclear areas of well-organized and integrated areas of settled, agricultural villages coincided in South India, like many in Orissa, with the lower courses of three major rivers. Stein furthermore points out that the gradual extension of the nuclear areas caused a "sustained displacement of tribally organized, pastoral and hunting societies of forests and upland areas by caste-organized village-based societies."

In the present paper Stein's conception will be slightly modified in order to bear mainly upon the political development of early state formation in Orissa. In Orissa, during the early phase, these territorial units are, therefore, understood as nuclear areas of sub-regional political order. As already mentioned, some of these nuclear areas in Orissa were the homeland (janaka-bhū) of the royal dynasties of the later regional kingdoms after the 11th century. Stein's thought-provoking concept of nuclear areas furthermore will be conceived in a less dichotomic way. Due to the persistent existence of a strong tribal element in the historical development of Orissa, these nuclear areas have to be seen in a process of continuous political development. They were centres of integration of tribal elements rather than of their "sustained displacement".

As far as our historical knowledge goes, these nuclear areas in Orissa were usually under the direct rule of little Hindu rājas, who were either independent or only temporarily and nominally subjugated by more powerful "foreign" rulers. These little rājas organized their sub-regional power according to the Hindu law books (śāstras) which stressed the dominant role of the Hindu rāja and his court. The courtly centres of the nuclear area were encircled by a number of tax-free agrahāra or Brahmin villages which had been donated by the rājas to Brahmans who formed the elite of the administrative and ritual functionaries. These Brahmans of the court circle, together with those Brahmans who had been settled in the outer areas, had a tremendous influence upon the "inner colonization" of the nuclear areas and the maintenance of (Hindu) law and (royal) order. Furthermore, it was mainly due to their influence that these areas were gradually integrated into the all-Indian sphere of Sanskritic learning and hitherto unknown temple architecture, both indispensable paraphernalia of future Hindu kingship. The most significant economic feature of these fertile riverine nuclear areas was a peasant agriculture, based on irrigated rice cultivation.

The origin and date of the state formation on the sub-regional level, more specifically its early phase in Orissa, is too complex an issue to be considered more than briefly here, although in some
cases much older, the process of the territorially segmented development had usually entered its formative phase in the fifth century, when donations of whole villages to Brahmins became more and more frequent. And it was certainly fully developed in the late sixth century when the inscriptions bear evidence of a steadily increasing number of these principalities and small sub-regional kingdoms. Other unmistakable indicators for the blossoming of this process were land donations not only to individual Brahmins but also to temples and affiliated monastic institutions and the first construction of Hindu stone temples in Bhubaneswar in the late 6th century.

The consolidation of the small kingdoms and principalities in the nuclear area of Orissa was a long and gradual process. One of the main problems during this period was the relationship of the Hindu rājas—often themselves descendents from tribal chiefs—with the tribes which surrounded the isolated nuclear areas. On the one side, the rājas depended on their support for the security of the internal communications and borders. On the other side, the rājas needed their land for the gradual extension of their peasant agriculture, which alone was able to yield sufficient surplus crop for the maintenance of the increasing court, e.g., the members of the ruling family, Brahmins, officials and soldiers. Further tensions with the tribes were certainly also due to the efforts of the local dominant Hindu castes who tried to extend their own economic basis at the cost of their tribal neighbours.

Although the relationship between the Hindu society and the tribals was never without tensions, its generally peaceful character was certainly one of the great achievements of Indian history. Generally speaking, in Orissa it was more a continuous process of indoctrination and partial integration, than a process of “sustained displacement”. During this gradual development the Brahmins played an eminent role. They defined and codified the duties of the tribes, which, as the Mahābhārata puts it “reside in the dominion of the (Aryan) kings.” According to the Mahābhārata they should lead a “recluse living in the forest.....serve their king.....dig wells, give water to thirsty travellers, give away beds and make other reasonable presents upon Brahmanas”19. Of course, it was one of the main obligations of the Brahmins, who had been settled in the outer parts of the nuclear areas, to propagate this ideal for their own and their king’s sake.

Whereas usually this indoctrination only sustained an unstable pacification of the tribes in the outer areas, it caused their partial integration in those more central areas which were already penetrated
by pockets of Hindu peasants. This partial integration usually was accomplished by their gradual inclusion into the lower strata of the caste system, and through their inclusion into the militia of the Hindu rajas. This process has been called Kshatriyaization because “in its functional sense Kshatriyaization essentially was a social change “from above” which was initiated in tribal areas by the dominant Kshatriyas in order to strengthen their claim to legitimacy in their society and to broaden the basis of their economic and political power.”

The assignment of military duties to tribal or semi-tribal groups, usually led to royal patronage of the dominant autochthonous deities of the respective area. The main reason for this royal patronage was that even a fairly Hinduized court in tribal or partly Hinduized surroundings, was highly dependent on the support and loyalty of the tribes. Royal patronage of autochthonous deities seems to have been an essential supposition for the consolidation of political power and its legitimation in the Hindu-tribal zone of Orissa. Whether the Hinduized chiefs or Hindu rajas had ascended from the local tribes or whether they had entered the respective areas as roaming free booters, most of them accepted the dominant autochthonous deities of their territories as family and tutelary deities of their principalities.

A few examples from the legendary accounts of the origins of the princely dynasties of early Orissa may illustrate this relationship of the rulers with the various tribes.

When the Gaṇgas conquered the area South of the Mahendragiri mountain shortly before 500 A.D., they acknowledged a deity of the Saora tribe on the Mahendragiri mountain under the name of Śiva-Gokarnaśvāmin as the tutelary deity of the family (iṣṭa-devatā). The tradition concerning this early relation between the conquering Hindu kings and the local tribes had been preserved for centuries. In an inscription of the early 12th century it is mentioned that the founder of the dynasty, Kāmārna, after his arrival in Kaliṅga, climbed up the Mahendragiri mountain and worshipped Gokarnaśvāmin. “Out of grace (prasāḍāt) the god bestowed on Kāmārna all symbols of kingship (śāṃrājya-cīhna) who descended (ava-tīrya) from the mountain, killed the chief of the Śabara tribe (Sabara-dītya) and conquered Kaliṅga.” As an outsider the founder of the Gaṇga dynasty of Kaliṅga thus accepted the dominant deity of the Saoras whose chief he had killed before he began to rule the areas south of Mahendragiri. This former tribal deity remained the tutelary deity of the Gaṇgas till the 12th century when they moved their capital from Kaliṅganagara to Cuttack after they had conquered central Orissa.
The tradition of Gokarṇeśvara today is still alive in the ex-
Feudatory State Mandasa whose rājas still worship the tribal
deity, Khila Muṇḍā, which originates from the Mahendragiri
mountain.15

In the north of the Mahendragiri the Šailodbhava dynasty of
Konāgoda linked their origin even more directly with the tribes of
their mountainous hinterland. Their legendary origin, which seems
to go back to the late 4th century A.D., is known from several inscrip-
tions from the 7th and 8th centuries.16 They relate that Pulindasena,
a rāja of Kaliṅga, asked the god Śiva to hand over his rule to a younger
successor. Śiva granted this boon to Pulindasena, and Šailodbhava,
the founder of the dynasty, appeared out of the cleft pieces of a rock
(sīla-šakala-udbhedi). Both names, Pulindasena and Šailodbhava,
point to a tribal origin for this dynasty. Pulinda is the name of a
well-known ancient tribe of Central India.17 Pulindasena might
have been a military chief (seva) of this tribe. His successor, whose
name Šailodbhava means “born from the mountain”, seems to have
been able to leave the mountains and to conquer the nuclear area of
Konāgoda.

Another good example is the powerful goddess Maṇiṅāgeśvari
who is mentioned in two royal donative inscriptions of the 5th and
6th centuries A.D.18 Her temple still exists today on a steep hill near
the capital of the former feudatory state of Ranpur on the mountain-
ous border of Central Orissa. Even today she is worshipped as one
of the most powerful goddesses of Central Orissa to whom till the
19th century human sacrifices were made. Due to her Sanskrit
name (“Lady of the jewel serpent”) she is considered as a Hindu
serpent goddess, whose bronze image in the shape of Durgā is still
worshipped as the tutelary deity of the former feudatory rājas of Ran-
pur. Whoever spares no pain to climb up the hill, however, recognizes
an unhewn round stone as the original aniconic cult image of Maṇi-
ṅāgeśvari. Only later, two Hindu cult images of Cāmunḍā or Tārā
were added in the temple. It is, therefore, highly probable that the
land donations of the 5th and 6th centuries were dedicated by the
rājas of Dakṣina Tosali to the powerful, not yet fully Hinduized
goddess who resided on a hill in the border area between the
Hinduized delta of the Mahanadi river and its tribal hinterland.

The origin of the Bhauma dynasty of Jajpur (8th to 10th centu-
ries A.D.) is not known. Yet several facts, like their initial leaning
towards Tantric Buddhism and a series of ruling queens, make it likely
that they originated also from some tribe, perhaps from the Bhumij
tribe of Northern Orissa and Chota Nagpur.
Another outstanding example of the ritual relationship between Hinduized rājās and tribal deities is the royal patronage of the goddess Stambheśvari ("Lady of the post") who until today is worshipped in various parts of Orissa. Her first known royal patron (Stambheśvari-pādabhakta) was a Rāja Tuṣṭikara who ruled around 500 A.D. in a predominantly tribal area south of Sonepur. Between the 6th and 9th centuries Stambheśvari was the tutelary deity of the Śūlik dynasty which ruled in the riverine territory of the Dhenkanal-Talcher area of Kodālaka Manḍala. All rājās of this dynasty combined their names with that of their tutelary deity (e.g., Rana-stambha, Kula-stambha) and in many of their inscriptions they claimed to have received their kingship in their capital Kodālaka through the grace of the goddess Stambheśvari. It is most important for our problem that the Śūlikis were most probably members of the Śaulika tribe which, according to the early Markanḍeya Pūraṇa, lived between the Kaliṅgas and the Cedis (of Dakṣina Kośala). It is, therefore, quite apparent that the rājās of the Śūlik dynasty had acknowledged and royally patronized the dominant autochthonous deity of their own region as their tutelary deity.

After the consolidation of their power in the nuclear area around Kodālaka, where they had constructed several beautiful Hindu temples, the Śūlikis extended their territory along the Brahmani river, both upstream and downstream at the cost of the neighbouring tribes. In the late 8th century one Śūlik king killed a chief named Dhekata. It is very probable that Dhekata is identical with the Saora chief Dheṅka. According to legendary account the founder of the ex-Feudatory State of Dhenkanal killed this Saora chief Dheṅka and worshipped his head in an aniconic stone as Sabara Dheṅka Munda, the tutelary deity of his dynasty. The next but one king of the Śūlikis called himself in the early 9th century "First Lord of the whole (area of) Gondama". Gondama was probably the country of the Gonds which usually is identified with the area of Pallahara, upstreams of Kodālaka.

After the downfall of the Śūlikis "the Lady of the post" was worshipped as the tutelary deity by the Bhaṅga dynasty which ruled during the 9th and 10th centuries over Kheiṅjali Manḍala of the Sonepur-Baud area, another area where Stambheśvari is still worshipped today.

With the final conquest of coastal Orissa by the Somavamśi dynasty in the early 11th century, the period of the early sub-regional state formation of Orissa came to an end. Considering the beautiful orthodox Śaiva temples which the Somavamśi had constructed in Bhubaneswar, it seems that also the period of royal patronage of tribal
deities had come to an end. However, the conquerer of coastal Orissa, the Somavamsi Yayati Kesari, is known as the first royal patron of Jagannath in Puri. Although Jagannath, who is perhaps the most famous Hinduized tribal deity in a great Hindu temple, remained only a subsidiary state deity under the Somavamsis, this deity became the dominant rasayadavatā or state deity of the even greater regional empire of the Imperial Gangas in the 12th century.22

If we ask now about the function of this early royal patronage of tribal deities as tutelary deities, in the absence of any available contemporary medieval source material, I may be allowed to quote from the notes written down by the present Rājaguru of the Ex-Feudatory State of Keonjhar whom I asked in 1974 about the role of the Bhuiyans in the cult of the Balabhadra-Jagannatha temple in Keonjhar.

"With the construction of the temple, Brahminism seems to have been fully established in Keonjhar. But the Bhuiyans who claim to have created Keonjhar and made its king, could not remain aloof. With a view to bringing them close to the temple the Rāja allowed them to enter the temple. He also appointed some Bhuiyans on the post of menial jobs in the temple. The Rāja placed on the Bhuiyans the responsibility for making the ropes by which the chariot is dragged. He also engaged them in the dragging, and during Deva Snāna and Shri Gundichā they are to prepare the Chara (-steps) on the Simhāsana inside the temple and on the chariot for ascending and descending of the Thakurs. Before that time the Bhuiyans enjoyed rent-free land and there was no land settlement for them. So the Rāja directed them to pay oil-seeds. This has been imposed on them in the name of Pahikia. Even today, Gada Majhi (a Bhuiyan who engages them in different works) gives them notice to come before each car festival for the making of the rope. Even the Juangas were directed to make the ropes. They bring the ropes in procession, shouting the slogan "Hari Bola." They come carrying it on their shoulder just before the car festival and tie it to the chariot. They must also be present during the dragging of the chariot to connect the rope in case it becomes disconnected. For this they receive an honorarium and clothes from the temple. In this way the Rāja made Bhuiyans and Juangs engage in affairs of the temple.23

In view of the above mentioned epigraphical evidence it is difficult to accept the thesis of the "pure" Hindu (or Buddhist) character of the various kingdoms which originated in the Hindu-tribal
border area during the second half of the first millennium A.D. They all had been strongly influenced by the tribes which formed the larger part of their population. The absence of new "classical" architectural monuments after the thirteenth century—which, after all, occurred both in the coastal region and its hilly hinterland—does therefore not signify a "breakdown" of an earlier Hindu-Buddhist-Jain civilization in the Hindu-tribal border area of Orissa. There had been a continuous yet very slow process of Hinduization since the first millennium A.D. which radiated from the capitals of the Hinduized chiefs and rājas. This process, however, usually never transgressed the imaginary border line which safeguarded the Hindu-tribal synthesis as the very basis of these early kingdoms. This policy was changed only under Moghul supremacy and fully abandoned during the British rule. The consequence of the rapid change was the well-known tribal uprisings in various parts of Eastern India. The new type of colonial rājas never would have been able to cope with these uprisings without the military help of their British overlords. We may therefore conclude that the conception of a tribal-Hindu continuum which Surajit Sinha had described very convincingly in a more synchronous way for post-medieval Chota Nagpur should also be adopted in a rather dichronous way for the Ex-Feudatory States of Orissa during the whole period till the 19th century.

REFERENCES

2. ibid., p. 41.
4. The author wishes to thank the German Research Council for its generous support of the Orissa Research Project and he expresses his gratitude to his friends and colleagues in Orissa for their great help.
5. Except the ruined walls of Jaugada, Asoka's second provincial capital of Kalinga.
6. Harsa of Kanauj, Sasanka of Bengal and Pulakesin II of Badami conquered successively parts of Orissa during the second quarter of the 7th century A.D.

9. See also the article of L.K. Mahapatra, Gods, Kings and the Caste System in India. 9th International Congress in Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Chicago 1973.

10. See H. Kulke, in: A. Eschmann etc., Chapter 7 (see footnote 1 on page 3).


13. H. Kulke, Kshatriyaization, p. 401 (see footnote 2 on page 2).


15. The wooden raja-kula-istadevata of the Mandasa (Manjusa) dynasty is called Khilamunda Bhagvati or Vamsadanadevi (see J. Kavyabisarada, Manjusa Rajavamsanucaritam, Puri 1915, p. 22).

16. E.g. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. 2XXIX, p. 32. In one of their inscriptions the Mahendragiri mountain is even called the "family" mountain" (Kula-giri).


22. The political role of the temple cities in the Hindu regional kingdoms (1,000—1600), see H. Kulke, Templestadt und Ritualpolitik indischer Regionalreiche, to be published in the Proceedings of the International Symposium on Urban Space and Ritual, Darmstadt, June 1977 (ed. by N. Gutschow).

23. Madan Mohan Mishra, Data on the ex-State of Keonjhar, prepared for the Orissa Research Project, Heidelberg (1974). For the important role of the Bhuiyans during the coronation ceremony of the Raja of Keonjhar "whose installation...is not regarded as complete until his Bhuiya subjects have performed their parts of the ceremonies" see S. C. Roy, The Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa, Ranchi 1935 p. 118 ff. The case of the Bhuiyas, however, has not been included into this paper because our historical knowledge about this tribe does not go back to the period which has been dealt with here.
SITUATED on the border of the Sea, Orissa had trade relations with foreign countries from the earliest time. Unfortunately we have very little information on this fascinating subject. The ancient sailors and sea faring merchants did not care to leave their footprints upon the sands of time as kings have left in the form of inscriptions. Yet we get glimpses of their activities from diverse sources and till today the memory of their voyages to distant lands is preserved in a unique manner. On Kartika-Purnima day colourful paper boats are floated on tanks, rivers, etc; this has become an annual ritual reminding us of the hundreds of merchants who used to set sail on the ocean to seek wealth by commerce. So great was the fame of Kalinga as a maritime power in ancient times that Kalidasa in his Raghuvamsa referred to the King of Kalinga as “the lord of the sea” (mahodadhipati). The Aryamanjusrimulakalpa, a text of Mahayana Buddhism, refers to “all islands in the Kalinga sea” (Kalingodresu). It seems that the eastern sea or the modern Bay of Bengal was known in the past as the “Kalinga sea” being dominated by the ships of Kalinga. With the network of rivers and the sea by the side, association of the people of Orissa with the boat was quite intimate; this is even reflected in sculptures. A sculptured frieze collected from the vicinity of the Brahmesvara temple, Bhubaneswar, depicts boats carrying elephants. Another slab containing an image of Mahisasuramardini lying under a banyan tree near the Brahmesvara temple, is interesting as having representation of a boat below the pedestal of the Devi. At Konarak, on the parapet of the Jagamohana, the Martanda-Bhairavas are shown as dancing on boats. An interesting sculpture of Orissa, supposed to have been collected from Konarak and now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, depicts a boat being rowed by four persons. A royal personage sits inside the boat. There is also an elephant on the boat. On the Bhogamandapa of the famous Jagannatha temple at Puri there is magnificent representation of a boat in chlorite stone. Perhaps the most faithful representation
of an oceanic vessel used by the ancient Indians exists in the sculpture of Borobudur at Java. As Kalinga’s relationship with Java was very intimate, it is natural to think that ancient Oriyas used such ships for their voyage to Java. In those days travel on sea was full of perils. There was no mariner’s compass; the sailors had to depend upon the Sun, moon and stars. It was difficult to know the direction during bad weather. Besides storm and the bad condition of weather there was danger from pirates and hidden rocks. During shipwrecks they used floats of several kinds such as planks, rafts, gourds (alabu), etc. Further the merchants travelling on the sea had to take with them enough of fresh water for drinking purposes. Yet in spite of such difficulties merchants used to travel on the sea for the sake of their trade.

**Ports of Kalinga**

The important ports on the coast of Kalinga were Tamralipti, Che-li-ta-lo, Paloura-Dantapura, and Pithunda. With excellent parts and well-equipped ships Kalinga dominated in the sphere of maritime trade; the geographical position of Kalinga also enabled it to control the trade-routes passing from North to South India. In the circumstances the economic reasons seem to have been the principal consideration in the Kalinga War. Asoka’s expedition against Kalinga could have been inspired, among others, by the desire to control the ports and the trade-routes passing through Kalinga. Tamralipti or modern Tamluk in Midnapur district of West Bengal was a well-known port which maintained maritime relations with other countries, specially Ceylon. In the days of Asoka, Indian missions to and from Ceylon passed through this port. In the fifth century A.D., Fa-hien left for China via Ceylon from the port of Tamralipti.

Che-li-ta-lo was another trading centre. In the words of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang “it was a thoroughfare and resting place for sea-going traders and strangers from distant lands.” It was situated to the south-east of the Wu-tu country or Orissa. The exact identification of this famous port is still a problem. Cunningham’s identification of it with the town of Puri does not seem improbable. It was a centre of Buddhism besides being an important port, and standing on its shore Hiuen Tsang could imagine of the glittering rays emanating from the gem placed on the tooth relic of Buddha at Ceylon.

Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) mentions Paloura as an ancient port. It may be identified with Palura in Ganjam district. According
to Gerini the point of departure for ships bound for Suvarnabhumi was located to the south of Paloura. The ships evidently started from Gopalpur in Ganjam district. Dantapura mentioned in Buddhist literature is probably the same as Palura since “palli” means “danta” (tooth) and “ur” is identical with “pura” (city). A descendant of Asoka is said to have embarked on a ship at Dantapura and being shipwrecked he stopped his voyage and settled on the coast of the Malaya Peninsula. That is how, according to traditions, Ligor was established.

From the Jaina work Uttaradhyana Sutra we know of a port named Pihunda. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela mentions Pithunda as an ancient metropolis of Kalinga. It appears that Pihunda of the Jaina literature was the same as Pithunda, and this may be tentatively located near Kalingapatanam. The Uttaradhyana Sutra mentions the story of a merchant of Champa named Palita who came to the port of Pihunda by boat. His son was named Samudrapala for on return voyage his wife gave birth to the child on the sea.

Trade Relations with the West

Due to the demand for Indian articles of luxury in the Roman Empire, India had active commercial relations with the West in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Periphus of the Erythraean Sea (1st century A.D.) throws light on this subject giving the names of most important ports of India. The discovery of rouletted ware from the fort of Sisupalgarh and the port of Tamluk is significant. These were probably brought into India by the Roman merchants. It may also be mentioned that Roman bullas have been discovered at Sisupalgarh (near Bhubaneswar) and Roman coins have been found in Mayurbhanj (at Bamanghati, Orissa), Bilaspur (Madhya Pradesh) and Vizagapatam districts. These apparently suggest brisk trade relations with the Roman Empire.

Orissa also had commercial relations with Africa. This may be presumed from the representation of a giraffe in the sculpture of Konarak. The giraffe is purely an African animal and its presence is important as evidence of commercial contact with East Africa. The sculpture is a fairly accurate representation of a giraffe and the sculptor therefore must have actually seen a giraffe or at least a fairly lifelike drawing of one. It is hardly likely that he would have travelled to Africa. This means that a giraffe was actually brought alive by sea from East Africa to Orissa. Possibly the Ganga monarch Naresimha I (A.D. 1238—1264) heard of the existence of this strange
animal from Arab traders who carried on most of the trade with Africa and commissioned them to fetch him a specimen. The sculptured panel of the Konarak temple shows the king being presented with a giraffe. The problem of bringing a live giraffe (which normally lives on the green leaves of trees) on such a long sea-voyage in a smallish boat must have been considerable, but evidently they succeeded in their mission. A Chinese Admiral named Cheng Ho who visited East Africa is known to have brought back a live giraffe to the Ming court in the fifteenth century. Therefore we can see no reason why a giraffe could not have been actually brought as a curiosity to Eastern India in the thirteenth century.

Kalinga and Simhala

Throughout the ancient period there existed a close relation between Ceylon and Kalinga country. According to Mahavamsa, Vijaya the first King of Ceylon, came from Eastern India. His grandmother was the daughter of the King of Kalinga. The island was called Simhala-dvipa after Simhala, the father of Vijaya. Sanghamitra the daughter of Asoka went to Ceylon being accompanied by eight families from Kalinga. The Dathavamsa reveals that Hemamala and Dantakumara went to Ceylon taking the tooth relic of Buddha from Dantapura of Kalinga. The Chulavamsa states that during the reign of Ceylonese king Agrabodhi II (592—602) the Kalinga King and his queen visited Ceylon. King Mahendra IV Srisanghabodhi (A. D. 953-69) married a princess of Kalinga. The Chulavamsa mentions, that king Vijayabahu of Ceylon (1054-1109) married a Kalinga princess named Trilokasundari. Her kinsmen Madhukarnava, Bhiraraja and Balatkara settled in Ceylon. Nihsankamalla who became the ruler of Ceylon was the son of King Jayagopa of Kalinga. It is known from the Polonnaruva inscription that Vijayabahu II (1186-87) was staying in Kalinga when he was summoned by Parakramabahu to Ceylon. Magha came from Kalinga with 24,000 soldiers, and deposed Parakrama Pandya. He ruled the island for 21 years (1214-35). The sailors of Kalinga were quite accustomed to making voyages to Ceylon. The sea-borne trade between Orissa and Ceylon must have continued throughout the ancient period. Ceylon occupied a strategic position so far as inter-oceanic commerce was concerned. It was a meeting place of merchants and sailors coming from the Eastern as well as the Western Sea. Trade between Kalinga and Simhala must have increased as a result of the strong political link that existed between the two countries.
Voyages to Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo etc.

India's cultural and political relations with the countries of South-East Asia is a fascinating chapter which had been dealt with by a number of scholars. It appears that at first because of commercial reasons the Indian Sailors reached these places. Subsequently political and cultural ties strengthened the relations. It appears that voyages from ports of Kalinga to the islands of South-East Asia were fairly common. Legends of Java relate that "20,000 families were sent to Java by the prince of Kling. These peoples prospered and multiplied." This suggests that people of Kalinga took a leading part in establishing political relationship with Java. The Chinese sources of the T'ang period reveal that a new name, Ho-ling, was given for Java. Scholars generally agree that Ho-ling is a Chinese form of Kalinga. The presence of a State in Java bearing the name Kalinga (Ho-ling) obviously suggests that the region was dominated by the people from Kalinga. There are indications to believe that the ancestral country of the famous Sailendras of Java was Kalinga. The Nagari alphabet used in the inscriptions of Java is very similar to the inscriptions of Orissa. The Buddha images of Borobudur possess striking resemblance with the Buddha figures of Ratnagiri (Cuttack district). The Kala-Makura ornament probably migrated to Java from Orissa as Makara heads at the springing of the arch and Kirttimukha at the crown is a fairly common motif in Orissa, an excellent example of this device being the Mangala-Torana in front of the Muktesvara temple, Bhubaneswar. The close connection between the art of Java and that of ancient Kalinga may even prove migration of Orissan artists to Java along with the merchants and missionaries.

Kalinga and China

The sea-route to China followed by ancient merchants passed through Ceylon and Java. Fa-hien returned from India to China through this route. Harshavardhana told Hiuen Tsang that if he selected the sea-route by way of Java he would be provided with official attendants. Hiuen Tsang, however, returned by the northern land-route. I-t'zing arrived at Tamralipti in A.D. 673 by the sea-route from China. The sea-route was generally preferred as the Central Asian route was unsafe. From Chinese sources it is known that a celebrated scholar of Orissa named Subhakara Simha visited the court of the Chinese emperor Husan-tsong and he translated into Chinese the Maha-vairochana-sutra. He has been described as the son of a king of Orissa. He embarked for China from one of the ports of Orissa (perhaps from Palur) in A.D. 715 and arrived there
in 716. Another Buddhist monk named Prajna "who had settled in the monastery of the king of Wu Cha (Orissa)" went to China in A.D. 795. He carried a Buddhist manuscript autographed by the "King of the realm of Wu-Cha (Orissa)" for the Chinese emperor Te-tsung. The name of the king of Orissa is mentioned as "the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion." Whatever we may feel about his possible identification with the Bhauma-Kara monarch Sivakara or Subhakara, there is no doubt that in the 8th century Orissa maintained relationship with China. Subhakara Simha and Prajna must have travelled in merchant vessels since we can hardly believe that special ships were chartered for their exclusive use. The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien is known to have returned from India in a large merchant vessel which had 200 other passengers. Orissa's cultural and commercial relationship with China probably continued till a later period. From the Chinese writer Wang Ta-Yuan (14th century) we learn that "because of the cheapness of living in Orissa nine out of ten persons going there for trade did not like to return home. Rice which was evidently the staple food of the people, was sold at the unbelievably low price of 46 baskets for one cowrie."

Articles of Export and Import

The sailors and merchants who travelled to the foreign lands were professionally competent people, but not much is known about their life, the volume of trade and the commodities involved in such commerce. Whatever evidence is available is too inadequate to give a full picture. Apparently the merchants generally carried commodities which possessed great value in small weight rather than bulky goods. Orissa seems to have supplied spices, diamond and other precious stones to the Roman Empire. From the accounts of Cosmas (6th century A.D.) we know that the king of Ceylon used to purchase elephants from India and the price of elephants was fixed by cubit measurement. Kalinga was famous for elephants. Therefore it is natural to suppose that Ceylon received elephants from Kalinga. Orissa probably imported pearl and silver from Ceylon. China received precious stones, ivory, pepper, betelnuts, drugs and fine textile fabrics for which Kalinga was famous. Chinese silk garment (Chinamsuka) was popular in India and it constituted the chief export of China to India.

The commercial relation with foreign countries had a salutary effect on the life and culture of the people. Kalinga became economically prosperous. The decline of Orissa in the later period can be
Maritime Trade in Ancient Orissa

linked to the disappearance of Orissa's medieval economic prosperity, overseas commerce, and internal trade. When Orissan sailors lost their spirit of adventure and when crossing the ocean became a taboo, its impact on the economic and cultural life of Orissa became obvious. Orissa of the mid-sixteenth century became different from Orissa of the Gangas and Gajapatis, not to speak of the Kalingas of ancient times. The spirit of the bygone times, however, is still echoed in its symbolic representations—and the paper boat floated on the Kartika-Purnima day is a symbol—even long after that time is buried in the past.

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KALINGA AND SINHALA
A Study in Ancient Relations

KALINGA-Sinhala relations date back to proto-historic times. The earliest contacts were established through direct migrations, some of which were of permanent nature. In subsequent ages, religious, cultural and political relations took shape within the fabric of broader historical developments, but an objective study of those relations with their obvious results remains a desideratum, both in the history of Ceylon and of India. The purpose of this paper is to indicate the lines on which ancient relations between Kalinga and Ceylon developed. An elaborate observation in a real historical perspective is yet a matter of future research.

The stories of prehistoric Indian migrations to Ceylon remain shrouded in mystery and Ceylon’s ancient traditions refer to some of them. The colonisation of Lanka by races from all parts of Jambudvipa, the coming of the Asuras, Yaksas, Nagas, and the Naras, the foundation of the Raksasa kingdom by Ravana, and the invasion of Rama form the traditional myths of the island. But the accounts of the proto-historic migrations of the beginning of the Buddhist era, also contained in ancient traditions, were no mere myths. The account of “Prince Vijaya, son of King Sinhabahu of Sinhapura, and his followers, who occupied the country and founded the Sinhalese dynasty” stands on the borderland between legend and history, with relatively a greater relevant bearing on the future dynastic history. It was Vijaya, and not Rama’s nominee Vibhisana, who was the first king of Ceylon. The time of his immigration was said to have coincided with the opening of the Buddhist era, and the Sinhalese chronicles gave the event a significance which could be viewed only in a historical meaning, namely, the foundation of the Sinhalese state and its civilisation. The Dipavamsa took shape over a long period of time ranging from the third century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., and the Mahavamsa was compiled in the fifth
century A.D. Both the chronicles did not belong to the contemporary time of Vijaya, but both originated from an older source, written in old Sinhalese prose—the Atthakatha-Mahavamsa of the Mahavihara monastery. That work recorded the events since Buddha’s death, and though itself got lost in future, its accounts found place in the Dipavamsa and Mahavamsa. Thus, these two Ceylonese chronicles, written in Pali, were nearer the beginning of the Ceylonese history, and nearer the immigration story of Vijaya.

Mythical or historical, the story of Vijaya got so deeply established in the Ceylonese mind that historical monarchs of even very late periods regarded him as the first king of the island. As the Vijaya story is irremovable from the Ceylonese history, so is his ancestry inseparable from Kalinga associations. The story starts with Vijaya’s great-grandmother, Susima, the Kalinga Princess, married to the King of Vanga.\(^1\) Through complicated accounts the story finally centred round Sinhabahu who abandoned Vanga and built the city of Sinhapura. It was there that his son Prince Vijaya committed acts of lawlessness for which he was banished, and after many adventures and after touching many places, he finally landed at Lanka, which was named Sinhala.

For Ceylon Susima, Suppadevi, Sinhabahu and other names associated with Vijaya were indeed legendary and so too was the name of that far-away city from where he came, Sinhapura. But for Kalinga, Sinhapura was a historical city from pre-Christian centuries till the period of the early as well as the later Ganga Kings.\(^2\) The historicity of the place is more significant in Kalinga-Sinhala relations than the accounts of the persons. The confusion created by attempts to identify the ‘Lala’, ‘Lata’ or ‘Lada’ territories, mentioned in Mahavamsa, with Gujrat, and the consequent theory of Vijaya’s emigration from the western coast of India, stand dispelled in the light of the location of Sinhapura in Kalinga territories. While the theory of different streams of immigration to Ceylon need not be doubted and one such stream was from Gujrat, in the case of the Vijaya story, its origin from the eastern coast appears more valid because of the existence of Sinhapura. Moreover, Mahavamsa’s description of the Lala territory, as being situated on the road from Vanga to Magadha, could have meant only one country which projected towards those two ancient lands in its north-eastern side, namely, Kalinga. Kalinga Emperor Kharavela’s (first century B.C.) chief queen, Dhusi was said to have been a daughter of the King of Lala. There being no evidence to establish the relation of that Emperor with Gujrat, the Lala of his time was somewhere nearer the centre of his
political activities. Even as late as 9th-10th centuries, there was a territory called Lata in the vicinity of Orissa, which the Soma Vamsi ruler Yayati Mahabhabagupta conquered. The identification of the Lala area inside or outside the changing boundaries of ancient and medieval Kalinga is a difficult task. If it was in the modern Chhotanagpur areas, in that case the location of the Sinhapura of Mahavamsa in that area would not coincide with the Sinhapura of the real historical fame of the Mathara royal family and of the Ganga Vamsa kings. If Lala was in the southern parts of Kalinga, it could not have been situated on the way from Vanga to Magadha, as mentioned in the Mahavamsa. Of course, the ancient routes could have followed the needs of those days under peculiar circumstances, not very clear to modern men. In any case, in the later history of Ceylon, the Sinhapura of Kalinga had a conspicuous role to play, and that city was situated in the south. It was peculiar to ancient Orissa to have possessed more than one city of the same name, as for instance, Kalinganagar. Sinhapura of the Vijaya legend and Sinhapura of later times could have been the same place, or different places having been believed as same by later chroniclers and Kings of Ceylon. For instance, as late as the last quarter of the 12th century, King Nissanka Malla of Ceylon, who was born at Sinhapura in Kalinga but came to Sinhala as the son-in-law to Parakramabahu I, justified his claim to the throne on the ground that his great Kalinga ancestor Vijaya was the first king of that island. Apparently the King believed that his birthplace Sinhapura was the same as Sinhapura of the Vijaya story. Interestingly enough, the Mathara Kings who ruled Kalinga in the 5th century A.D. sometimes called Sinhapura as Vijaya-Sinhapura.

In any case, it was Sinhapura in Kalinga which, from legendary to historical times, got associated with the Ceylonese history. The Hatigumpha Inscription of Kharavela, belonging to first century B.C., mentions of Sinhapatha from where the queen of Sinhapatha came. The ancient Tamil epics Silappadhikaram and Manimekhalai while describing a fratricidal war in Kalinga between two cousins, refer to the capital of one part of the territory as Sinhapura. The date of Manimekhalai, according to some is 200 A.D.; to others, 450 A.D. Sinhapura was the capital of the Kalinga kings for many centuries. A number of copper plate inscriptions of the rulers of the Mathara Dynasty were issued from Sinhapura during 5th and 6th centuries. The early Gangas issued their copper plate grants from that place. The Ceylonese chronicle Chulavamsa mentions Sinhapura as the capital of Kalinga. Till the 5th century A.D. Sinhapura was a political capital, but subsequently its prominence declined even
though small branches of the Ganga royal house might have exercised sway over the adjacent areas from that ancient city.

A good part of the Kalinga-Sinhala contact during the historical periods rested on matrimonial relations between the royal dynasties of the two countries. Some such relations led to direct political developments. King Mahendra IV who ruled Ceylon from 953 A.D. to 969 A.D. had as his queen a princess of the Kalinga royal race. Her relatives emerged as a force in Ceylonese court politics when her twelve year old son, Sena V ascended the throne. He ruled for ten year (969 A.D.—979 A.D.) only, a troubled period because of internal rebellions. His successor, however, was yet another son of the Kalinga princess. He ruled as Mahendra V from 979 A.D. to 1027 A.D. It was a long period, though politically instable. By the later half of the 11th century, the Kalinga party in the Ceylonese court was able to play a prominent part. King Vijayabahu I (1055—1110) married princess Trilokasundari of the Kalinga royal house. More significant than the marriage was the coming of the three Kalinga princes from Sinhapura to Ceylon who were allowed to settle in that kingdom by the king. That was the time of the rise of the imperial Gangas to power in Kalinga. Anantavarma Chodagangadева, the builder of the Temple of Jagannath at Puri, was a contemporary of Vijayabahu I. In the context of the political power of both the monarchs, matrimonial alliance between their houses had had its significance. The three relatives of Trilokasundari, as named in the Chronicle, were Madhukarnava, Bhimaraja and Balatkara. Trilokasundari was the mother of Vikramabahu who played a prominent though difficult role in Ceylon politics. Her daughter Ratnavali became the mother of Parakramabahu, one of the greatest kings of Sinhala.

Parakramabahu I who ruled from 1153 A.D. to 1186 A.D., as a descendant of the Kalinga princess Trilokasundari, leaned towards the Kalinga country. He invited Vijayabahu, a relation of his, who was living at Sinhapura of Kalinga to return to Ceylon. That prince succeeded Parakramabahu as the king and designated himself as Vijayabahu II. His rule however lasted for one year only. He was killed by a member of the Kalinga faction in the Ceylonese court who ascended the throne as Mahendra VI. The latter was destined to rule for five days only. The real power passed to the hands of Nissanka Malla, the son-in-law of Parakramabahu the Great. Nissanka was born at Sinhapura in Kalinga in 1157 A.D. and was brought to Sinhala by that great king who gave him his daughter. Nissanka was the son of king Jayagopa and queen Parvati of Kalinga, who most likely belonged to the Ganga family,
ruling over smaller territories under the Ganga emperors. At Ceylon, Nissanka Malla became the *Uparaja* after the death of Parakramabahu when Vijayabahu II ruled. But when Vijayabahu was assassinated by Mahendra VI, the latter was put to death by Nissanka Malla who then proclaimed himself as the king of Ceylon. Nissanka, also styled as Kirtinissanka, was the first historical monarch of Ceylon belonging to a pure Kalinga dynasty. He ruled from 1187 A.D. to 1196 A.D. and was a powerful king. The inscriptions of Polonnaruwa contain vivid accounts of his achievements. Nissanka was a great builder and the Rankot Vehare at Polonnaruwa, the cave temple of Dambulla, the Tooth Relic Temple, and even the Nissankeswara temple at Rameswara on the Indian soil were some of the evidences to his constructive genius. It is surprising that Nissanka Malla was never regarded as an alien power and no popular movement disturbed his rule. It was the age-long relation between the two countries, political and cultural, which could have made such an episode possible. The influence of the Kalinga element in Ceylon was no doubt deep enough to sustain the rule of a Kalinga prince.

Nissanka Malla was succeeded by his son Virabahu who was assassinated almost immediately. Thereupon, Nissanka’s younger brother Vikramabahu ascended the throne. The political intrigues of that time seem to have been confined to the inner circle of the Kalinga kingsmen of the royal house. Within three months Vikramabahu was murdered by a son of Nissanka’s sister who styled himself as Chodaganga and ascended the throne in 1196 A.D. The influence of the Ganga imperial dynasty of the contemporary Kalinga was so profound on the Kalinga faction at Ceylon that the king was proud to bear the name of the great Ganga monarch Chodagangadeva. The Ceylon Chodaganga, however, did not prove himself successful as a ruler and therefore was deposed within a year. But within three years the Kalinga party again triumphed in putting Sahasa Malla, a stepbrother of Nissanka Malla, on the throne (August 23, 1200 A.D.). His rule lasted for two years only. The military leaders who plotted against him succeeded in making Kalyanavati, the queen of Nissanka Malla, the ruler of Ceylon. She ruled for six years. After her there followed the succession of a number of kings and queens who ruled for brief and troubled periods. Amid political instability and confusion, an invader from the Pandya country named Parakrama Pandya captured the throne in 1211 A.D. When he had ruled for three years only, it was once again a Kalinga prince who occupied the throne in 1214.

The name of that invader from Kalinga was Magha who is said to have come with 24,000 soldiers. At that time the great Ganga
emperors in Orissa were at the zenith of their power. Magha drove out Parakrama Pandya and established his rule. He proclaimed his claim to the kingdom on the right of inheritance from his kinsmen who had ruled before. No doubt a strong man, Magha could have given Ceylon better government. But as a bigoted Hindu he felt intolerant towards the Buddhists and offended their religious sentiment by desecrating their places of worship. Consequently, his rule became unpopular. In spite of his actions, Magha ruled for 21 years, ending his rule in 1235 A.D. A notable feature of his administration was the distribution of land in Ceylon to his followers, many of whom constituted outside elements.

Magha's rule was followed by internal disintegration and external invasions. By the middle of the 13th century the Kalinga influence had declined permanently though the descendants of the Kalinga race lived at many places. At Jaffna, the ruling kings who styled themselves as the Arya Chakravartis claimed themselves as the descendants of the Gangas of Kalinga. How did they establish themselves there is yet unknown.

Politico-racial relations as outlined above were supplemented by religio-cultural impacts. In the history of Ceylonese Buddhism, Kalinga had a role to play. When Emperor Asoka sent to Sinhala a sapling of the Bodhi Tree in the hands of his daughter Sanghamitra, in the retinue of the princess were sent eight Kalinga families. Those families settled in Sinhala, and in the growth of the Theravada doctrine they had a good deal to do. A much greater episode centred round the Sacred Tooth Relic of Buddha. When Buddha attained Parinirvana, His Tooth was brought to Kalinga by a Buddhist saint named Khemathera and was given to the King of Kalinga Brahmadatta, who built a Stupa to preserve the Tooth. Khemathera brought the Relic from the Buddha's funeral pyre at Kusinara. The accounts of the transfer of the Relic from Kusinara to Kalinga are described in the Dathavamsa. The Mahaparinibbana Sutta also refers to Kalinga as receiving the Sacred Relic of Buddha for the purpose of worship. The place where the Tooth was preserved became famous as Dantapura (Danta meaning Tooth and Pura meaning City). In the Buddhist literature and the Jataka stories, Dantapura is mentioned as a religious and political centre of Kalinga. The early Ganga kings ruled from Dantapura as their capital at the start of their rule, and issued quite a number of copper plate grants from that place. It was after King Hastivarman that Kalinganagar became the capital of the Gangas. But the importance of Dantapura did not decline as it continued to be a royal abode and one of the official headquarters. As many as six inscriptions of the
Gangas refer to Dantapura as the place of residence of the kings. So late as the time of Vajrahasta, the grandfather of Choda-gangadeva, it was an administrative centre. Vajrahasta himself issued copper plate grants from Dantapura.

The Sacred Tooth Relic remained there for many centuries. Early in the 4th century A.D. when Dathavamsa was supposed to have been compiled, the account of the transfer of the Relic from Kalinga to Sinhala found a place in that work and it possessed more of historical authenticity than mere religious signification. The chronicle describes that the Tooth Relic was at Dantapura from the time it came there till the rule of King Guhasiva. Guhasiva of Kalinga was a contemporary king of King Mahasena of Sinhala whose time ranged from 277 A.D. to 304 A.D. Guhasiva, mentioned the chronicle, faced difficulties for his devotion to Buddhism, since his overlord, the King of Pataliputra was an anti-Buddhist. Hardly had Guhasiva overcome the difficulty when another monarch named Ksiradhara from a near about country invaded Kalinga with the ostensible purpose of getting the Tooth Relic. Guhasiva decided to resist the invader, but uncertain of the results of the battle, he sent away the Relic to the King of Ceylon, Mahasena, in the safe hands of his own daughter Hemamala and son-in-law Dantakumara. Guhasiva himself died fighting the enemy. But the Sacred Relic reached the destination safely. Of course, King Mahasena was dead when Hemamala reached Ceylon. But his son and successor Shri Meghavarna received the Relic in utmost devotion. The handing over ceremony of the Relic took place at Anuradhapura. King Shri Meghavarna earned reputation for his devotion to the Buddhist cause in subsequent years. He is referred to in the Chinese sources as Chi-mi-kiya-po-mo. He sent two messengers to the Indian Emperor Samudragupta to obtain the latter’s permission for the construction of a monastery at Gaya.  

The Sacred Tooth Relic, ever since its arrival became the sacredmost national treasure of Ceylon. Wherever it was preserved, the place became the centre of pilgrimage for Buddhists from every corner. The value of the Relic was so great that for centuries the kings of Ceylon were seen to have identified their fortunes with the intensity of their faith in the Relic. The veneration for the Relic was manifested through the various ceremonies and rituals, practised with great religious zeal. Those ceremonies associated with the Relic and faithfully observed in Ceylon right from the beginning had had their origin in Kalinga in some remote past and practised there for generations. The transfer of the ceremonies from one,
country to another was indeed an interesting socio-religious phenomenon which requires study. One or two points deserve reference in this connection. The Tooth Relic, which was so sacred for Kalinga, could not have departed from that land without leaving behind a permanent legacy. One of the most deep-rooted traditions in Orissa from an unknown past up-till now is that the Buddha's Tooth is preserved in the body of Lord Jagannath. In medieval Orissa, among the ten incarnations of Vishnu, the image of Jagannath appeared in place of Buddha's image. In the medieval literature, Jagannath is described as Buddha. Buddhist traits are distinctly noticeable at the centre of Jagannath. Puri had been the only place in the whole of India where all castes dined together in perfect equality. In its origin and evolution, the cult of Jagannath had irrefutable Buddhistic influences. Many symbols of Buddha are seen in the image of Jagannath.

In matters of close identity between Buddha and Jagannath, the relevance of the Tooth Relic cannot be denied as far as the influences of the ceremonial legacies of the Relic on the later ceremonies of Jagannath were concerned. Two festivals are the most notable in case of Jagannath, namely, the Snana Yatra or the Bathing Festival and the Ratha Yatra or the Car Festival. Those festivals had been practised long before the present Temple was constructed as Jagannath belongs to a much greater antiquity than his present Temple. Both those ceremonies were of Buddhist origin, and both were prevalent in Ceylon. Mahavamsa describes the ceremony of the 'Bathing of the Bodhi Tree' or the Bodhi Snana Puja. From the time of King Bhatika Abhaya the ceremony was made annual and King Dhatusena (509—527 A.D.) gave a further impetus to its celebration. As long as Buddhism continued in Ceylon in a thriving condition, the Snana Puja was performed annually at Anuradhapura. The festival of a greater significance in Ceylonese Buddhism was the Car Festival, with the Sacred Tooth Relic on the Car. The same is the greatest festival of Jagannath up-till today. The Tooth Relic from Kalinga obviously carried with it its Car Festival; but the legacy got associated with Jagannath from that very time. After many centuries, when the Temple of Jagannath had been built and the Car Festival of Puri had assumed much greater fame, the Ceylon King Parakramabahu IV (1303—1333) wrote the Daladasiriya in which he described the Ceylonese Car Festival. The reference to the families of Kiling in that festival is of special significance. The Casket which contained the Tooth Relic could be removed from the sanctum by the representatives of the families of Ganavasi and Kiling for placing it in the Car. "Two members of the above-mentioned families
mounted the Car and carried the casket in their hands. The chariot, drawn by a richly caparisoned elephant was taken through the streets which were specially decorated for the occasion. In front of the chariot marched the members of the samgha who chanted pirit holding in their hands a string tied to the car ... Immediately following the car, marched the musicians attached to the Temple of the Tooth, followed by those of the Royal palace......Having circumambulated the city in the manner aforesaid, the procession returned to the temple where, in the presence of the chief monks of the Uttaramula fraternity, the temple officials and representatives of the two families of Ganavasi and Kiling, the casket was opened and the sacred relic exhibited. It was first shown to the assembled monks, and then to the King who received it in his hands with marks of the greatest respect and placed it on a dais specially prepared so that it may be seen by the assembled multitude.”

A close study of the Buddhist Car Festival in medieval Ceylon and the Hindu Car Festival of Jagannath Puri may perhaps point to a common source of origin.

The Sinhala-Kalinga religious relation through Buddhism also operated in other forms. When Agrabodhi II was ruling Ceylon (592—602 A.D.), a Kalinga prince with his consort came there to listen to the preachings of the Buddhist monk Jyotihala and decided upon renunciation. Agrabodhi II himself dedicated his person and his kingdom to the Sacred Relic of Buddha.

No less significant, though perhaps entirely unknown, is the question of the influence of the language of Kalinga on that of Ceylon. Oldenberg argued that Pali came to Ceylon from Kalinga. He compared the Pali in Ceylon with the dialect of Kharavela’s inscription at Khandagiri-Udayagiri. E. Muller, in his Pali Grammar accepted the said theory. But the subject needs thorough investigation.

The object in giving an outline of Kalinga-Sinhala relations is not to advocate conclusions but to offer suggestions for purposeful investigation into the subject. Study is possible in four major fields, ethnic, political, religio-cultural, and linguistic. In a sociological point of view, a study of the present-day societies in Orissa and Ceylon is likely to reveal, among many other things, even surnominal affinity. Kalinga-Ceylon relation thus presents a prospective avenue for research in the context of broader area studies.
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2. As late as the 13th century, Sinhapura in Kalinga was a political centre of considerable importance. Two stone inscriptions of the Temple of Mukhalingam dated 1175 and 1179 A.D. mention of the royal officers of Kalinga placed at Sinhapura.
3. Pattana Subarnapura Plate of Yayati Mahabhavagupta describes the King as having “conquered Karnata, Lata, the Lord of Gurjara...”
4. Polonnaruwa Inscriptions of Nissanka Malla.
8. A slab at the right of the southern entrance to the Bhogamandapa of the Temple of Srikurmanam contains the name of the Kalinga prince Madhukarnarnava. This Madhukarnarnava is identified with the Madhukarnava of the Ceylonese chronicles. According to some scholars, Madhukarnarnava of the Srikurmanam inscription was the same as Anantavarman Kamarnava Jateswara-deva, the eldest son of the Ganga Emperor, Chodagangadeva, the builder of the Temple of Lord Jagannath.

To Dr. Hultsch, the name Madhukarnarnava of the Mahavamsa reminded one of the Eastern Ganga King Madhukarnarnava.

It may be mentioned here that Madhukarnarnava who went to Ceylon and received favour from the King of Ceylon could not have lived there for long because of his need in his own country.

10. Samanta Pasadika, part I, 96.
12. Sylvan Levi has identified Dantapura with Ptolemy’s Paloura. In Tamil, Danta is Pallu and Pura is Ur. Pallur means therefore Dantapura. The modern Palura in Ganjam is supposed to have been the ancient Dantapura.
13. The following Jatakas give description of Dantapura:
   a. Kurudharma Jataka
   b. Chullakalinga Jataka
   c. Kalinga-Bodhi Jataka.
14. Shri Meghavarna’s relation with Samudragupta is described in the Chinese work Wang-hiu-en-tse’s Hing-Tchoan.
15. According to one version, Puri, the place of Jagannath is an abbreviated form of the name Dantapuri.
16. *vide* General Cunningham’s works on Bhilsa and Barhut.
17. Mahavamsa, xxxiv, 59.
18. The Car Festival of Jagannath is supposed to have begun from 4th century A.D.
DECLINE AND FALL OF ORISSA'S MEDIEVAL HINDU KINGDOM

The Hindu kingdom of Orissa was a vast and powerful political entity through the various stages of the ancient and medieval Indian history. She lost her independence to Suleiman Karrani, the Muslim ruler of Bengal in 1568 after much of India had succumbed to the Muslim hegemony. During the rule of Kapilendra Deva (1435 A.D. -1466 A.D.) the founder-ruler of the famous Suryavamsi dynasty the territory of the kingdom of Orissa stretched from the river Ganges in the north up to Arcot in the South. Even during the comparatively feeble reign of Prataprudradeva (1497 A.D.—1541 A.D.), the third ruler of the said dynasty, the kingdom of Orissa extended “from the Hughly and Medinipur district of Bengal to the Guntur district of Madras.”

During the reign of Prataprudradeva the process of disintegration started. The disintegration can be attributed to both external as well as internal factors. Externally, Prataprudradeva found himself faced with formidable enemies in three quarters. In the south he had to contend with two powerful enemies—Rāja Krishnadeva Rāya, the second and most illustrious ruler of the Tulava dynasty of Vijaynagar and Quli Qutuh Shah, the ruler of Golconda. In the north, Bengal, after a long period of chaos had come under the rule of a strong and aggressive Muslim ruler, Sultan Hussain Shah (1493 A.D.—1519 A.D.). The powerful onrush of the Muslims which no part of India could successfully withstand may be regarded as the most primary factor responsible for the fall of the Hindu Kingdom of Orissa.

Internally, Prataprudradeva could not get the whole-hearted support and co-operation from his officials. Internal weakness and dissension continued to mar the prospect of giving effective opposition to the external enemies. Even sometimes the King’s most important official could be won over by the enemy. According to some
historians during this critical period the wave of Neo-Vaishnavite religious movement, the prophet of which was Chaitanya of Bengal chilled the spirit of the people and demoralized the whole governmental machinery. Thus writes R. D. Banerji.

"Suddenly from the beginning of the sixteenth century a decline set in the power and prestige of Orissa with a corresponding decline in the military spirit of the people. This decline is intimately connected with the long residence of the Bengal Vaishnava saint Chaitanya in the country. If we accept only one-tenth of what the Sanskrit and Bengali biographies of the saint state about his influence over Prataprudra and the people of the country, even then we must admit that Chaitanya was one of the principal causes of the political decline of the empire and the people of Orissa. Not only that; the acceptance of Vaishnavism or rather Neo-Vaishnavism was the real cause of the Musalman conquest of Orissa twenty-eight years after the death of Prataprudra. The religion of equality and love preached by Chaitanya brought in its train a false faith in men and thereby destroyed the structure of society and government in Bengal and Orissa, because in reality no two men are born equal and government depends upon brute force especially in a country like India in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. A wave of religious fervour passed over the country and during this reformation Orissa not only lost her empire but also her political prestige. In Orissa, on account of its acceptance by royalty, Neo-Vaishnavism became fashionable and powerful officers of Prataprudra, like Ramananda Ray, the governor of Rajmahendri before its final loss and Gopinath Barajena, that of Malijyatha Dandapata of Medinipur were the most notable converts after the king himself."2 Regarding the influence of Chaitanya and his followers on Pratapuradra, R.D. Banerji points out, referring to Jayananda's Chaitanya Mangala how Prataprudra was successfully dissuaded by Chaitanya from invading Bengal. Referring to 'Chaitanya Charitamrita' he further holds how an inefficient officer, Gopinath Barajena, the governor of Medinipur was exempted from the order of execution and allowed to continue in the said office at the intercession of Chaitanya's disciples.

A similar view is held by Dr. H. Mahtab: "......the administration of the country was very loose during the reign of Pratapuradra and the state of political stagnation that marks his reign may easily be ascribed to the cult of love which was gradually spreading in Orissa and which reached its climax on the advent of Shri Chaitanya into Orissa. A doctrine that preaches inaction and sentimentalism ......is simply fatal to an administrator who holds the destiny of millions. The attempt to make the Bhakti cult a mass religion and
to influence the king and his officers by its sweet and pessimistic philosophy had no doubt been fatal to the social and political life of the country”.¹

Prof. P. Mukherjee substantially rejects this theory. He attributes the decline of the Hindu kingdom of Orissa to the following factors:

In the first place, he holds that the decline was gradual in process and can be detected even before the sixteenth century, because Purushottam, the predecessor of Prataprudra lost more than one-half of his ancestral dominion within five or six years of his accession, and the Bahamani Sultans annexed the Godavari-Krishna Doab.

Secondly, the military strength of the kingdom had been sapped by the frequent wars of aggression waged by Kapilendradeva and Purushottam.

Thirdly, the people of Orissa rolled in luxury with the wealth plundered from Kanchi to Triveni and neglected their martial duty. As a result, Prataprudra had to employ, according to Vijaynagar inscription, Musalmans mercenaries in his campaign against Krishnadeva Rāya.⁴

“The Chaitanya movement”, Prof. Mukherjee holds “can be hardly blamed for this sad decline in military spirit of the people.”⁵ Of course, he partially accepts the theory of R. D. Banerji and Dr. H. Mahtab: “It would be futile to pretend that Neo-Vaishnavism had absolutely no baneful effect on the political history of Orissa. In the Capital at least a large section of people engaged themselves in chanting the names of Hari, quite oblivious of the dangers which threatened the State.”⁶ The Chaitanya movement was “he concludes” one of the many causes that precipitated the catastrophe, but it was not the real cause nor even an important one.”⁷

Prataprudra ascended the throne in 1497 A.D. In the first decade of his reign he enjoyed comparative tranquillity. Thereafter he was ceaselessly engaged in warfare. In 1509, while Prataprudra was in the southern part of his kingdom, Ismail Ghazi, the general of Bengal invaded Orissa, marched up to Puri and looted the holy city. Prataprudra returned from the south and pursued the Muhammadan general who retreated and took shelter in the fort of Mandarana in the Hooghly district. At this stage Bhoi Govinda Vidyadhar, the minister of Prataprudra betrayed him. As a result he had to withdraw.

After Prataprudra had repelled the northern invader, he was involved in war with Raja Krishnadeva Rāya from 1513 onwards. It is gathered from Telegu literature that Krishnadeva Rāya came as far as Cuttack. Prataprudra could not repel Krishnadeva Rāya and
ultimately sued for peace. According to a treaty concluded between
the two rulers, Prataprudra ceded the territory, south of the river
Godavari to the Vijaynagar empire. Tradition has it that Pratap-
rudra gave his daughter in marriage to Raja Krishnadeva Raya.

To the Sultan of Golkonda Prataprudra lost the Telengana
north of the Godavari. He died in 1540.

The death of Prataprudra was followed by a period of internecine
conflicts. At a time, when the people of Orissa should have
united in view of the inroads of enemies from all sides, they fought
among themselves and paid the price for the same by losing inde-
pendence. Prataprudra was succeeded by his two sons Kaluadeva
and Kakharuadeva, one after another. Both of them ruled for
short terms, and were murdered by Gobinda Vidyadharp, a Bhoi or
Minister who had earlier betrayed Prataprudra himself at the time of
war with the Muslim invader from Bengal. Having succeeded in
eliminating the two ill-fated sons of Prataprudra, Gobinda Vidyadharp
founded a new dynasty called ‘Bhoi’. Gobinda Vidyadharp lost the
whole territory between the Godavari and Krishna rivers to the
Sultan of Golkonda. The presence of Oriya inscriptions engraved in
Simachalam (Waltaire of Andhra) by Gobinda Vidyadharp indicates
that the kingdom of Orissa most probably extended up to Simachalam
during the reign of Gobinda Vidyadharp.

Gobinda Vidyadharp was succeeded by his son Chakrapratap
most probably in 1549. Chakrapratap was murdered and
succeeded by his son Narasingha Jena who was also murdered by
Mukunda Harichandan the Governor of Cuttack. Mukundadeva
acted as the virtual ruler of Orissa installing RaghuRam Jena the
youngest son of Chakrapratap as the puppet king. After some time
Mukundadeva assassinated the puppet king and himself became the
king in 1559.

Mukundadeva proved himself a capable ruler. But he had to
face tremendous odds, both external and internal. The Muslim
army of Bengal threatened to invade Orissa. Mukundadeva intensi-
fied the hostility of Suleiman Karrani, the Sultan of Bengal by entering
into alliance with the latter’s inveterate enemy, the Moghul Emperor
Akbar. This alliance could not prove to be of any use to Mukunda-
deva when Suleiman Karrani invaded Orissa in 1567 A.D. The army
of Bengal marched as far as Cuttack. At this time Ramachandra
Bhanja, the Chief of Sarangagada, proclaimed himself the king of
Orissa. Mukundadeva patched up a treaty with Suleiman Karrani
and turned against the domestic enemy Ramachandra Bhanja. While
fighting with this domestic enemy, Mukundadeva was killed in 1568
A.D. With the death of Mukundadeva the Muslim army of Bengal rushed into Orissa and occupied it. The Bengal general Kalapahada destroyed some temples at Bhubaneswar and desecrated the temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri with a view to fulfilling his vow to extirpate Hinduism. He was a Brahmin converted to Islam, and had taken this vow because he was forced to embrace Islam being excommunicated by the conservative Hindu society on account of his love with a Muslim girl. Thus the Hindu kingdom of Orissa was wiped out in 1568. ".....the independence of Orissa” remarks Dr. Mahtab, "was extinguished in the bloody depth of a fratricidal war rather than in a war of foreign invasion. Mukundadeva had to fall a victim to the knife of a treacherous brother and not to the sword of an invader.” Orissa, thereafter successively entered into an era of bondage in the hands of the Afghans of Bengal, the Mughals, the Nazims of Bengal, the Marathas and finally the British.

REFERENCES

2. ibid, pp. 330-331.
5. ibid, pp. 173-174.
6. ibid., p. 176.
7. ibid., p. 178.
9. ibid., p. 345.
Oriissa, more famous in the name of Kalinga and Utkal in ancient and medieval times, is acknowledged as one of the prominent regions in the Indian subcontinent with a distinct political and cultural heritage. The Muslim political contact with Oriissa lasted for more than five centuries. For the first three centuries the contact was in the nature of invasions and the last two centuries saw a direct involvement of the Muslim rulers in the politico-administrative affairs of their conquered territory. During the phase of invasions the contact did not lead to any permanent result. But during the phase of administration, the contact yielded inevitable consequences.

It was in the reign of Raja Raja III (A.D. 1198—1211) of the Ganga dynasty that the Muslims of Bengal invaded Oriissa for the first time in A.D. 1205. This was the beginning of Muslim invasions which continued to endanger Oriissa throughout the Ganga and Suryavamsi dynasties till her final conquest in A.D. 1568.

After the death of Prataprudra Deva in A.D. 1541, Oriissa became just like a ship without a rudder and plunged into the whirlpool of anarchy and confusion. The long record of treachery and murders came to a temporary halt with the accession of Mukunda Deva in A.D. 1559. He was a man of exuberant energy. He would have succeeded in maintaining the independence of the country had he not been surrounded by traitors on all sides. His short reign of eight years was spent in continual warfare. Mukunda Deva willingly and knowingly was entangled in the warfare that was then going on in the field of politics between the Mughals and Afghans. His friendship with the Mughal Emperor Akbar led to the growth of enmity between Mukunda and Suleiman Karrani, the Afghan ruler of Bengal.

Suleiman Karrani marched against Oriissa in the winter of A.D. 1568. The Afghan army was divided into two parts, the first was led by Suleiman himself and the second under the command of
his son Bayazid, assisted by Kala Pahar. In this critical situation, Mukunda did not receive any help from the Mughals. Thus the alliance with Akbar could not save Mukunda Deva from the approaching downfall as the Emperor remained too busy in the conquest of Chittor. He could not render any effective assistance to Mukunda against Suleiman Karrani. So Mukunda had to face the enemy alone. He deputed two of his officers Chhotrai and Raghubhanja to meet the invaders. But those two traitors reduced the troops from their loyalty and turned to attack their own master. Thus, Mukunda Deva had to fight alone, but could not withstand the pressure of the Bengal army. The Bengal army under the command of Kala Pahar unexpectedly appeared before the gates of Cuttack. The Barabati fort of Cuttack surrendered after a heroic resistance by its general. At this critical time, Ramachandra Bhanja the commander of Sarangagarh, declared himself the king of Orissa. When the news reached the besieged King Mukunda Deva at the fort of Kotisima, he patched up a treaty with Suleiman Karrani and hastened back to Cuttack.

Madla Panji and Akbarnama give different views regarding the final defeat and death of Mukunda Deva. Be that as it may, Orissa’s last ruler was put to death by his own countrymen. In spite of his mean treachery in capturing the throne, history has preserved a soft corner for him for the bravery he showed to retain the independence of the country against enormous odds. He was the last independent king of Orissa and he fell fighting for the motherland, a fact which has washed away all his misdeeds. Orissa now passed into Afghan possession in spite of local risings here and there.

Thus ended Orissa’s medieval independence in A.D. 1568. Henceforward, Orissan prestige was doomed, local kings became mere puppets in the hands of Muslim Governors. Fall of Orissa was mainly due to internal treachery and weak successors. It no doubt adds glory to Orissa that although the Muslim rule was established in India by the end of twelfth century A.D., Orissa could defend herself from the onslaught of the Muslim invasion for more than three hundred years. Rise of Muslim power was definitely a potent factor to snatch away the independence of Orissa at last. But before the Afghan rule had been consolidated in this newly conquered land, Suleiman died in A.D. 1572. He was succeeded by his son Bayazid. Bayazid was soon murdered and Daud Karrani, his younger brother finally captured the throne.

Although Suleiman Karrani had acknowledged nominal allegiance to Akbar in A.D. 1565, the Afghans were always anxious to throw off the shackles of Delhi and wanted to become independent
rulers of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Their opportunity came when Daud ascended the throne. At the instigation of the Afghan nobles, Daud assumed all the insignia of royalty, ordered Khutba to be read in mosques in his name and struck coins in his own name. Thus he considered himself strong enough to cast off his allegiance of the emperor Akbar. This act of Daud and his eagerness of demonstrating his powers very soon brought him into the long expected clash with the Mughals. Thus began the Mughal-Afghan hostilities for supremacy, the effect of which was also felt in Orissa. Akbar sent a number of able Mughal generals to subjugate the Afghans. Being driven out of Bengal, the Afghans were left free to play their roles in the far-off kingdom of Orissa.

When the news of fresh Afghan rising in Orissa was brought to the notice of Akbar, he decided to send one of his best generals to Orissa to settle the matter once for all. His choice fell on Raja Man Singh. Man Singh came to Orissa in A.D. 1590. By A.D. 1595, he defeated the Afghans and brought Orissa under the Mughal rule.

In the reign of Akbar, Orissa was ruled as a part of the Bengal province. For the first time in A.D. 1607, Orissa became a separate province by the orders of Jahangir. Cuttack became its capital. Hashim Khan was appointed as the first Mughal Subahdar on 26th September, 1607. Thus Orissa remained as a Mughal province till the end of Aurangzeb’s reign.

Disintegration of the Mughal empire began shortly after the death of Aurangzeb. During that period of confusion, political condition of eastern India took a new shape. A new dynasty emerged to give a new turn to the history of the three Mughal provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The founder of that dynasty was Murshid Quli Khan who began to rule those provinces as the independent Nawab. Thus Orissa came under the rule of the Nazims of Bengal and was administered by their deputies. Finally, Orissa was handed over to the Marathas by Alivardi Khan in A.D. 1751. Thus from this date the Muslim rule in Orissa ended and it became a part of Maratha Kingdom.

Though the Muslim rule in Orissa lasted from A.D. 1568 to 1751, yet the whole of Orissa was hardly brought under complete Muslim subjugation. From A.D. 1568 to 1575, the Afghans were in possession of Cuttack and they settled on the border districts to the north of river Mahanadi. Under Akbar the Mughals established their authority only on the northern portion of Orissa while the central portion was ruled by the native princes who enjoyed semi-independent status.
Some of them only were given the title ‘Mansabdars’ with ranks in the Mughal peerage. The rest were regarded as ‘Zamindars’. From Golkonda in the south, the Qutb Shahis held sway over the southern extremity of the province as far northwards as the lake Chilika. During the region of Shah Jahan, the power of the Golkonda rulers was broken by the Mughals and the Qutb Shah became a loyal feudatory chief of the Mughal Emperor, paying him an annual tribute. Early in Aurangzeb’s reign, Malud was the southernmost out-post of the Mughal Orissa, and beyond it lay the Qutb-Shahi district of Chicacole, from which the Golkonda tribute of about Rs. 20,000 was sent to the Mughal Subahdar of Orissa. In western Orissa, Sambalpur and its principalities were at no time under the Mughal authority. Thus, politically, the whole of Orissa was never brought under the Muslim rule. On the other hand, arising out of the administrative policies of the Mughal Government, Orissa lost some of its original territories for ever. During the Subahdarship of Murshid Quli Khan I (A.D. 1703—1706), a large portion of the Medinipur district which was formerly under the Jaleswar Sarkar of Orisias, was transferred to Bengal Subah. During the time of Muhammad Taqu Khan (A.D. 1727 to 1734), the rest of the Medinipur district was transferred to Bengal and river Subarnarekha became the northern boundary of the Mughal Orissa. Thus Orissa suffered a permanent loss of some of its northern territories. Similarly, though the Ain-i-Akbari mentioned five sarkars within the territorial limits of the Mughal Orissa, in fact, two of those Sarkars, namely, Rajmahendry and Kalinga Dandapat, were allowed to pass under the direct control of the Qutb Shahi rulers; leading thus to a permanent loss of territories to Orissa in the south.

In spite of the fact that the Muslim rule lasted over Orissa for two centuries, the Muslims were never able to consolidate their position in this distant eastern province. The semi-independent princes of Orissa revolted against the Mughal Government whenever they got opportunity. For example, taking advantage of the War of Succession of 1657-58, the Orissa princes felt bold enough to try to extinguish the Mughal rule altogether. When Khan-i-Duran too kover the Subahdarship of Orissa in A.D. 1660, the kings of Mayurbhanj, Khurda, Keonjhar, Khalikot and Kanika were in open revolt against the Mughal authority. Therefore, the first part of Khan-i-Duran’s regime was devoted to a task that was practically equivalent to the reconquest of Orissa. Instances of this type were common throughout the Mughal rule. The rebellious activities of the kings of Khurda constituted the main obstacle to the consolidation of the Mughal authority in Orissa. Those kings, more or less, championed the
struggle of the Orissan people against the Muslims whom they considered as intruders. This is the reason why every new subahdar of Orissa had to invade the territory of the Khurda king in order to subdue him.

From an administrative point of view, Orissa enjoyed the same benevolent policy of Akbar which he applied towards the Hindu princes of India in general. Akbar’s prime object was to make the whole country acknowledge his suzerainty and to bring it under a single political banner. It was no part of his design to completely wipe out the states and principalities which existed at that time. He recognised the inevitable necessity of leaving the numerous chiefs in virtual enjoyment of their internal authority over their respective territories. In case of Orissa, that policy proved highly successful so far as the Emperor’s general authority over inaccessible and wild territories was concerned. The Orissa chiefs remained autonomous under the Mughal supremacy. An interesting case as to how the privileges and self-respect of these chiefs were protected by the Emperor is mentioned by Abul Fazl. This relates to the Khurda King of Orissa. In A.D. 1595, when Raja Man Singh invaded Orissa, he summoned Raja Ramachandra Deva I of Khurda to attend on him. Ramachandra Deva protested against such demand on the ground that it was beyond the authority of a viceroy to summon a king. In retaliation, Man Singh sent an expedition against the Raja and the Mughal forces occupied several fortresses in Khurda. For that impolitic zeal of the Viceroy to dispossess the king, he received a censure from the Emperor. ‘On hearing this’, says Abul Fazl, ‘His Majesty who appreciates dignities became angry and censured Man Singh for this act of superciliousness’. Man Singh recalled his troops and apologised. Impressed with the graciousness of the Emperor, Ramachandra Deva on his own accord came and attended on Man Singh and was received with due honour. Thus a considerable part of the Mughal dominions remained under the rule of their hereditary chiefs and was never directly administered by the Imperial Government. Some of the Orissa chiefs enjoyed quasi-independent status and others remained as feudatory.

In the field of revenue administration, instead of following general practices, the Mughals permitted interesting deviations. For example, from the letters of Abdul Hassan who was the Secretary to the Subahdars of Orissa (A.D. 1655—1670), we find that the Mughals demanded half of the produce as land revenue. The Ain-i-Akbari laid down ‘one-third’ of the produce of the land as the share of the State. That was the practice all over Mughal India. But the
Muraqat-i-Hassan from Orissa tells us that "a half" was claimed and collected by the State.

Aurangzeb is generally regarded as the most cruel among the Mughal Emperors. The Muraqat-i-Hassan also throws light on Aurangzeb's policy of temple destruction in Orissa. But it is interesting to note that during the reign of Aurangzeb, it was reported to him by Khan-i-Duran, the Mughal Subahdar of Orissa, that due to the oppression of the Diwan, the condition of the people had worsened to a large extent. Aurangzeb was perturbed to hear the miseries of the people and immediately appointed a new Diwan and issued a proclamation abolishing the duties on a large number of articles for the good of his subjects. This instance shows that the Mughal Emperors were aware of the miseries of the people and showed kind consideration in matters of revenue collection and fiscal policies.

There was very little difference between the administrative and revenue systems of the Muslim Orissa, in comparison to the old indigenous system prevalent in Orissa. The revenue settlement and land systems which were introduced by Raja Todar Mal in Orissa were in the pattern of the old existing systems. Only for administrative suitability old Sanskrit and Oriya designations were changed into Persian terminology.

In spite of the occasional misgovernment, oppression and disorder, the economic condition of Orissa during this period was not bad. Particularly in the sphere of overseas trade and commerce, Orissa had prospered to a large extent during the Muslim rule. Orissa became famous for its industrial products and finished goods which attracted the attention of the English, French, Dutch, Danes and Portuguese traders. These European traders had established their trade centres and factories in the coastal districts of Orissa. In the seventeenth century, Pipli, Cuttack and Balasore were the main gateways of Orissa's maritime trade. Among the ports of Orissa, Balasore had acquired considerable fame and importance as the centre of ship-building, a reference which we get from a letter of Khan-i-Duran, the Mughal subahdar of Orissa.

It may be mentioned here that Orissa is conspicuous for the small percentage of the Muslim population within its territories. This can be accounted to the fact that the conquest of Orissa took place at a time when the zeal to convert the non-Muslims to Islam was almost at its lowest ebb. Orissa came under Muslim occupation in the era of religious toleration sponsored by Akbar. It is noteworthy that long before Akbar contemplated the conquest of Bengal, he sent envoys to Raja Mukund Deva of Orissa with the apparent
object of cementing an alliance. Later on, relations changed no doubt, but this shows the significance of Orissa among the numerous kingdoms of India. Thus in one sense, the impact of Islam on Orissa may be said to have been the minimum compared to the other regions of India. But there is another aspect of the picture. From the point of view of Hindu-Muslim cultural assimilation, Orissa equally benefited from the impact of Islam as any other part of India. It may be said that though the Muslim population in Orissa is the smallest, yet the legacies of the Muslim rule are in no way inconsiderable. These legacies are to be traced in the spheres of language, literature, religion, festivities, customs and manners. In reference to some such results the following may be mentioned:

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are very significant for the growth of Oriya language and literature. In the vocabulary of Oriya language more than 2,000 Persian, Arabic, Turki and Urdu words have found their permanent place. Sal Baig, though a Muslim, was a great devotee of Lord Jagannath and his devotional poems in Oriya have remained popular through generations.

In the sphere of religion, the cult of Satyapir, which has long since dwindled in Bengal, is yet to be seen popular in Orissa. Even today the Quadam-i-Rasul is a shrine dear to Hindus and Muslims alike. It has become a symbol of the impact of Islam on Hinduism and vice versa. Similar is the case with the Bokhari Sahib of Karpadar and other Muslim shrines scattered all over Orissa.

In the sphere of festivities, Mughal Tamasa is yet popular in the Bhadrak area of Orissa. It is a common sight to see both Hindus and Muslims participating in each other’s festivals.

Thus living together side by side for centuries, the Hindu and Muhammadan communities imbided some of each other’s ideas and customs on a permanent basis. The Muslims, in due course of time, have allowed themselves to merge in the main stream of the Oriya life. In the urban area, they speak in Urdu. But the bulk of the Muslim population who remain in rural areas of Orissa, speak only in Oriya. They have also adopted the Hindu customs, traditions and ways of life. In consequence, the two communities have been living side by side, in harmony and mutual attachment ever since the days of the Muslim rule.

In the broader context of Indian socio-religious history, Orissa presents almost a unique picture of Hindu-Muslim unity. In the dark days of the communal strife which marked the last phase of the British rule, Orissa was singled out as the only region in India without bloodshed and riot. That may be regarded as the most reliable legacy of the Hindu-Muslim relations of the medieval Orissa.
CHAPTER 14

MARATHA ADMINISTRATION IN ORISSA

Under the Maratha rule, the whole country of Orissa was divided into two political divisions, one of which was distinguished by the name of Garjat, and the other, by that of Mughalbandi. The Garjats which covered the hilly tracts were held by 24 tributary chiefs. They were intermediate superiors between the Maratha Government and the tenant of the soil. They were required to pay a light quit-rent either in money or kind.

In their policy towards these feudatory states the Marathas showed wisdom and judicious approach as these territories were generally in hilly regions, full of forests and were not easily accessible. In pursuance of the previous Muslim policy, they did not bring them under their direct control. It was not their desire to annex these feudatory states nor to allow them to enjoy full sovereign power in all respects. What the Marathas did was that they entered into some engagements with them, as a result of which they were entitled to manage their territories, to maintain their own forces and to enjoy such other privileges as enjoyed before. But the feudatory chiefs had to pay allegiance to the Maratha Government and had to recognise the overlordship of the Raja of Nagpur through the Maratha Government of Orissa.

Though the Maratha Government seldom interfered in the internal administration of the feudatory chiefs, still for the welfare of the territory, it reserved its right to intervene only if it was required to set the subordinate government right. In case of lunacy or inability, a chief was occasionally replaced by a suitable person from the same family.

If any of the turbulent chiefs showed insubordination, withheld the payment of tribute or defied the Maratha Government, often being instigated by the anti-Maratha diplomacy of the British in Bengal, the Marathas were ready to take measures to suppress it. Such spirit of insubordination whatsoever was found to have continued
from the previous Muslim rule and was thoroughly put down with the help of a big army consisting of 2,000 cavalry stationed at Cuttack and maintained at an expense estimated to be 7 lakhs of rupees.

Being the supreme power over the feudatory chiefs of Orissa, the Maratha Government took it as its responsibility to help a feudatory state if it has to face any invasion or trouble from some outside power. On the other hand it settled disputes among the feudatory chiefs and encouraged better inter-relationship amongst themselves in the Garjat region.

In short, in handling the affairs, in relation to the feudatory chiefs of Orissa, about half a century, the Maratha Government showed better vigilance and efficiency than the preceding Mughal rule. Its big military camp at Cuttack and occasional quick march of Maratha soldiers from Nagpur towards western feudatory states of Orissa held the refractory chiefs in better check, inculcated in them a sense of better discipline and made them more submissive than the Mughals did. The feudatory chiefs by themselves enjoyed the privilege of being less interfered by the Marathas than by the British, in the later period, who after their occupation of Orissa, more interfered and managed to annex with Khas-Mahal some of the established 24 dependant feudatory states of Orissa by some plea or other.

For better administration, Mughalbandi was divided by the Marathas into 150 paraganas under the management of 32 Amils. Each paragana was generally subdivided into two, three, four or more of Mahals or allotments. Amil or Revenue Commissioner was responsible for the revenue assessed in his division entrusted to his charge. Under him were a number of hereditary revenue collectors who were generally termed as Chaudhuries, Kanungoos or Talukdars each in charge of a taluka or subdivision.

The Talukdar collected revenue from the raiyats or pahikasht villages and through the Mukaddam from Mukaddami ones. They were required to keep the raiyats happy and prosperous. If they failed in their duty they were punished.

In return of the services they rendered to the State, the Amils as well as Talukdars were given rent-free lands known as Nankar as remuneration and were allowed an adjustment of accounts, certain perquisites and deduction of accounts on expenses for collection. The Mukaddams also enjoyed some hereditary rights of office and received a portion of land as Nankar known as pitrali or patrimonial property.

In the pre-Maratha period the Mughals for collection of revenue depended more on the hereditary collectors or zamindars and came
less in the direct contact with the tillers of soil. But the Marathas neither respected zamindari nor mukaddami tenure whenever it was considered suitable for them to collect direct from the cultivators of the soil. They were more inclined to favour a raywatari system than anything else, though they did not go too far in breaking away all the traditional tenures. During the Governorship of Rajaram Pundit, many hereditary Chaudhuries and Kanungoes, i.e., Talukdars of Mughalbandi were dismissed and rents were collected direct from the raiyats or through the heads of the villages. It appears that Maratha landlords had scarcely proprietorial rights in the soil. But such a wise and beneficial policy was upset by their British successors by introducing a zamindari system in Orissa, which brought a disaster to the economic life and as a reaction to this system, a mighty rebellion ensured.

In collecting the land revenue, the Marathas considered remission in case of crop calamity of any type. The country being watered by a large number of rivers was occasionally subject to violent inundations which resulted in crop failure leading to scarcity and famine. The Maratha Government constructed embankments at those places where banks were especially low in order to guard against spill of the rivers during flood. But in view of excessively heavy rains beyond human expectations, measures taken in respect of flood were not adequate to ward off such calamities from the country. Owing to flood and drought there were two principal famines during Maratha rule. Particularly the famine which occurred in 1775 caused a dreadful scarcity of grains at Cuttack. The Maratha Government was not shutting its eyes to this calamitous situation. Considering its destructive effects, a remission of seven lakhs of rupees was granted from the revenue that year.

A settlement known as Hustaabood was yearly made. The amount occurring therefrom was duly reported to the Government. The demand of the government was based on the amount of land actually under cultivation rather than on the basis of lands enrolled in the revenue register of the later British period. The total amount collected as land revenue comes to about 13,90,000 rupees of sorts.

The cultivators generally were found to have trusted the Maratha Government more than the zamindars of the locality. If there was increase in the production of the cultivators and hence a higher rent was imposed by the zamindar of their jurisdiction, the cultivators were not inclined to pay the enhanced rent to the zamindar but to the Maratha Government. For example, the zamindar made increase in the revenue of the parganas, Pataspur, Kamardachaur and Bhograi. But the cultivators preferred the payment of the increased
revenue direct to the Maratha Government rather than to the zamindars. This at least indicates the confidence the cultivators had in the popular Maratha Government over the local zamindars of the locality.

Besides land revenue, the pilgrim tax was adding to the source of income of the country. Maratha Government appointed some officers and guards where the tax was collected and adequate measures were taken to encourage the pilgrims from various parts of India. As a result, the amount of collection annually made from these pilgrims to Orissa increased in comparison with the amount collected by the Mughals and it is estimated to have ranged from 21½ lakhs to 5 lakhs.

Salt was another source of income to the Maratha State of Orissa. It was exported to various parts of India more particularly to Bihar, Bengal and Central Province in large quantities. From a statement made by Rajaram Pundit, the Maratha Governor of Orissa, it appears that the income of the Maratha Government from the salt sold only in Bengal amounted to two lakhs of rupees per annum.

The total revenue of the Maratha Orissa varied between 20 and 25 lakhs. If we take the instance of the particular year, 1768-69, the revenue of that State was Rs. 21,20,415. Whatever might be the total revenue of Maratha Orissa, fact shows that it was definitely less than the standard revenue of 27 lakhs of the Muslim Orissa. But this reduction in the Maratha income was mainly due to the hostile British economic policy adversely reacting in the economic condition of Orissaa, as explained below.

During the Muslim rule, a large amount of grains was exported to the other parts of India or outside from Orissa through the ports on the north and south part of Orissa coast. In return capital flew in large quantity into the country or other commodities could be brought in exchange. During Maratha rule, the export trade was considerable though not so much in comparison with the time of the Muslims. But during this time, Northern Sarkars fell into the hands of the British and also Bengal was brought under their power. Now for their own interest the British discouraged import of grains into Bengal and Madras from Orissa. As the British meanwhile had already occupied the principal ports of the Bay of Bengal, they controlled the trade on the coast. The Marathas being essentially a land power particularly in this part of India could not successfully counteract the superior British trade techniques nor the Oriya merchants could gather means to compete with them. As a result, such export trade of Orissa in all other articles as in grains deteriorated. The previous trade intercourse between Orissa and its neighbour countries of Bengal and Madras on the other hand was considerably
affected leading to decline of income of the Marathas from such export and consequently from import trade.

All stated above explain the declining economic condition of Orissa. This may be emphasised that the reduction of the total revenue of Orissa was not due to the tyranny of the Marathas as pointed out by the British. During the Muslim period particularly in the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, generally tyranny was practised in Orissa. For example Baqar Khan, a Muslim Governor of Orissa once called almost all the zamindars and put them into prison and made mercilessly 700 of the captives massacred. Again Khan-i-Dauran, another Governor, started repeated campaigns, oppressed the zamindars, people and Rajasfor collection. But this does not necessarily mean that such type of tyranny resulted in the reduced income from the country nor conversely collection of less amount is to be the result of tyranny. Reduction in the collection of revenue might be due to the distressing economic condition or might be due to some other reasons other than tyranny. Nobody will admit that during the British period because the land revenue of Orissa was to the amount of Rs. 15,15,526 in the year 1815-16, and that fell to Rs. 12,991,24 in the year 1819-20, therefore that reduction was logically the result of tyranny. There is no proof that Marathas practised tyranny. Hence the statement that "the resources of the Marathas in Orissa declined in proportion to the tyranny exercised over the cultivators" made by Stirling is merely a political statement which was both illogical and misleading. It is rather a lopsided conventional mis-statement of an imperialist historian who is habituated to plead everything indigenous to be bad and tyrannical.

Even though there was some decline in the previously more prosperous economic situation of Orissa for the reasons stated above, the various food grains and other articles of common use were comparatively much cheaper than during the British rule in Orissa. In the medieval society low standard of living and cheapness of articles added to the comforts of the people.

Cost of live-stock was cheap. In some years, a bullock was sold at the lowest price of only seven rupees and eight annas and a sheep from 12 annas to about 12 annas and 6 pies. Wages were not high. A palanquin bearer could be available for only three rupees and eight annas a month.

A rupee purchased 120 seers of paddy and 80 seers of rice. Similarly salt was very cheap. Four and a half maunds of salt were available for one Arcot rupee only. According to the statement of Hunter, those commodities were quite cheaper in comparison with such commodities available in the neighbouring states of either Bengal.
or Madras, more particularly in the Ganjam District of Madras. As for example, in the Maratha period while one hundred maunds of salt could be purchased in Orissa by paying only Rs. 55-1-8, Rs. 231 were required to purchase the same amount of salt in Bengal. This at least indicates that while the British monopolistic trade policy in an economic drain of several lakhs of rupees from Bengal was making the articles there dear and the economic condition somewhat ruinous, the people of Orissa under the Maratha rule were found to have comparatively lived in a better position.

In the absence of suitable bridges over the rivers for effectually opening a communication and intercourse between the one part of the country with the other, the general improvement of roads received the special attention of the Maratha Government. The Marathas granted Jagirs for the support of ferries, most important of which were at the rivers Mahanadi and Kathjuri. The persons who accepted the grants were found to keep the boats for the public purpose. E. Watson, Judge of Circuit Court said, “under the grants thus assigned by the Maratha Government the ferries flourished by far the best I ever saw in any part of India. They were decked and capable of carrying several elephants, carriages and palanquins together”.

During the Maratha rule, a network of roads spread in the states connecting one place with the other. That facilitated the march of travellers in the territory. Trees on the road gave shelter to the travellers. Rest-houses or halting places were found on the road. The travellers could keep their luggages here and refreshed themselves till they proceeded on their way to the destination. In order to provide water to the travellers wells and ponds were dug out near the road. Arrangements were made to supply provisions to the travellers on the way.

A postal system was established. The letters were sent through runners from one place to another. The runners were divided into two classes, one class known as tappis and the other as kasids. A tappi was a dak runner who covered the distance by foot while a kasid was generally a mounted postman.

The Subahdar of the province was at the head of both civil and military administration with his headquarters at Cuttack. Under him was a Killadar in the charge of the fort of Barabati with reserve which was composed of musketeers, horse and foot. Under the control of the Subahdar, there were a number of military stations each under the charge of a faujdar with some horse and foot. There were some chaukis under him. Each of them consisted of a thanadar with some men. Garrisons were placed in some parts of the country in charge of a faujdar.
The faujdar enjoyed both military and civil authority. He looked to the general order and discipline of his division, watched the movements of the strangers, supervised the trade and collection duties or grains and other commodities on the way.

The faujdars were given lands as their remuneration. The sanads granted to the zamindars required them to attend the faujdars with the contingent of paiks on all occasions for subduing refractory subjects.

The Amil was empowered to investigate and try both civil and criminal cases. Minor cases were settled by the zamindar in his revenue jurisdiction or, when referred to, by the Amil. The popular mode of disposing of the cases was to refer them to arbitration. Harcourt, the British Commissioner of Cuttack observed, “even in felonies as in civil disputes all were arranged by compromise”. The court of arbitration or Panchayat generally consisted of five members chosen by the parties themselves or by the officer to whom the matter was referred. More heinous crimes were brought before Subahdar of Cuttack.

Generally the time old customs were followed in determining the nature of punishment. A person committing a petty offence like stealing fire wood was often punished with a small fine. For serious offences, the offender was generally imprisoned or mutilated. In default of human evidence the Panchayat sometimes resorted to trial by ordeal.

Civil cases were not separated from the criminal ones. Proceedings were simple. All proceedings were summary; no written disposition was taken and no particular form of trial was observed. Justice was available quickly. A complaint could be heard without a prospect of incurring a loss neither of time and nor of money. “Heinous offences were exceedingly rare.”

Before the advent of the Marathas, the religious policy pursued by their Muslim predecessors was not quite helpful to the Hindu interest in Orissa, as the Hindus, generally, never felt secure in the worship of their gods and were subject to indignities. The priests of the temple of Jagannath often removed the idol of Jagannath to a place of safety towards south in fear of its being dishonoured at the hands of the Muslims. But the Marathas being Hindus were much interested in the worship of Hindu gods.

Particularly the worship of Lord Jagannath and the management of the Jagannath temple received the special attention of the Maratha Government. Unlike the previous Muslim or later British Governments, the Marathas brought the temple of Jagannath under their direct management and made adequate arrangements for its
maintenance. In order to add to the prosperity of this religious institution, every encouragement was shown to the pilgrims intending to visit the temple by readily issuing the passports for this purpose and often requesting the governments of other states to issue the same in the interest of the pilgrims. As a result, the pilgrims from all parts of India, more particularly from Bengal, Banaras and Central provinces came in large number to visit Lord Jagannath. The increasing number of the pilgrims brought larger income to the Maratha Government.

During Maratha rule, the income from the endowments of the temple was always inadequate to meet the heavy expenses. Every year the Maratha Government granted considerable sum of money for the repair of the temple, for the maintenance of the establishment and for the principal festivals of Jagannath. This grant came from the pilgrim tax. At the annual celebration of the two principal festivals the extra expenses incurred by the Government amounted from 30 to 40 thousand rupees annually.

The Maratha Government also showed generosity to other religious institutions in different parts of Orissa. Under the patronization of the Maratha Government either prospered or grew up a number of religious institutions or monastic houses which were known as Maths around the temple of Jagannath and at other places. Many of these Maths received encouragement from the hands of the Marathas, were granted some lands and were assigned certain duties to participate in some of the festivals of Lord Jagannath.

The Maratha Government also provided money for various philanthropic purposes. It introduced the practice of paying annually 20,000 kahans of kauris (about Rs. 6,000/-) for charity. This on the part of Government was known as Annachhatra. Marathas granted free lands to the Brahmans, offered money to sannasis and encouraged Maths to perform religious festivals by making religious grants. In view of such generous contribution of the Marathas in the field of religion and in view of the development of various religious institutions the period of Maratha rule in Orissa may be called a period of religious regeneration.

Muslim religious institutions also received due attention of the Maratha Government. In pursuance of the time old customs and old traditions, money was granted to persons in charge of mosques for maintenance. Kadam Rasul, Cuttack alone was given a monthly grant of Rs. 75/-. Lands granted to the mosques by the previous Muslim Government were confirmed. New lands to some mosques as Madad-i-Mas were granted. One of the most important grants in these respects was a grant of 5 batis of land or 100 acres to Gyasuddin a priest of Jajpur mosque.
The period of Marathas may be called a very brilliant age in the field of Oriya literature. The previous Muslim rule accompanied by occasional raids into the chief centre of religion at Puri or some persecuting measures made many poets and writers flee to the hilly chiefs of south or western Orissa for a secure place or shelter to cultivate their literary activities. But now as a result of the regeneration of religious life in Orissa under the Marathas and a better peaceful and secure atmosphere that followed, a new literary atmosphere flourished. The feudatory chiefs of Orissa more particularly the Raja of Khurda encouraged the literary activities of the writers as before. But now Bhonsla Raja and his representatives in Orissa were found to extend their patronization to the poets and literary men.

As a result, a very large number of writers appeared in the literary field of Orissa. The quality of works produced by many of them was of very high calibre. Not only in the field of Kavya and poetics there was remarkable improvement, but also in the purana literature. The period saw also the flourishing of prose literature in Oriya as of poetry or padya literature. Many of the works were marked for their high style. In the biographical literature ‘Sadanand’s Chaitanya Mangal and Iswar Das’s Chaitanya Bhagavat occupied a very high place. In the field of historical literature there was some contribution. Samara Taranga of Brajanath Bada Jena was a historical ballad (Kavya) of a very high order. It has faithfully described the Maratha attack of the fort of Dhenkanal, a feudatory state of Orissa. Kanchi Kaveri of Purusottam Das is another historical work throwing light on the military campaign of Purusottam Deva to Kanchi or Karnatak.

Followers of different cults, most of whom were Vaishnavites discussed literature from religious basis through love for their own cult and intense desire to spread their own faith. They composed many Kavyas more particularly many devotional songs. Besides, it is they who were mainly responsible for translating many Sanskrit works into Oriya. Some of those writers who could successfully do these works were Krishna Singh, Kavi Gopal, Jaya Singh, Madhusudan Jagadeva, Balabhadra Mangaraj, Dinabandhu Khadanga, and Keshav Charan Patnaik.

Thus the composition of innumerable Oriya works and the translation of various Sanskrit works into Oriya enriched the Oriya language and literature to a very considerable point.

Also Sanskrit study was not neglected. Popularity of Sanskrit literature did not decline. Almost all the feudatory chiefs of Orissa adorned their Darbars with some talented Sanskrit scholars as through them they could exchange ideas with the courts of the Rajas outside Orissa. When such scholars also received the encouragement
and patronization of the Maratha Government the Sanskrit literature flourished to a very considerable extent. There were many learned Sanskrit scholars. The contributions of some of them to Sanskrit literature were more remarkable than the others. Chaini Chandra Sekhar Rajaguru’s Naishadhiya Mahakavyam and Usha-Aniruddha Natakam, Rajaguru Vasudeva Rath’s Gangavansanucharitam, Maha Mahopadhyaya Narahari Panda’s Commentary on Mrichhakatikam and Meghadutam, Kavivar Nilakantha Mishra’s Bhanja Mahodaya Kavyam and Kavi Bhusana Kamalalochana Khadgaraya’s Braja Yuva Vailasa and Bhagavat Lila Chintamani are some works to be worth mentioned.

To conclude, the Maratha rule gave peace and provided a set of established rules and practices. The Maratha policy towards the feudatory states was a judicious and non-interfering policy which was followed by the British. In this respect, the Marathas were fore-runners of the later British feudatory policy. In the field of land revenue they showed better wisdom, set aside the Mughal practice of depending more on zamindars and were more interested to collect directly from raiyats. The very wise policy when set aside by the British not only brought misery to Orissa but fetched a rebellion for them in 1817. The Marathas could make themselves popular in the midst of cultivators by keeping the prices of the commodities lower than the British did. They were more sympathetic to the local trading communities than the British and even did not discourage the European trade settlements. The religious policy of the Marathas was certainly more conducive to the popular interest than that of either the Muslims or the British. Nearly half a century of peaceful rule in Orissa gave impetus to the growth of Oriya literature which reached its highest watermark of glory to be called as Golden Age in literature in Orissa.

Thus in view of the facts stated in respect of Maratha administration, Stirling’s remark that “the Administration of the Marathas as fatal to welfare and prosperity of the country exhibits a picture of misrule, anarchy and weakness, rapacity and violence combined which makes one wonder how society can have kept together under calamitous tyranny” is found incorrect.

No other Government perhaps could have done more than the Marathas within so small a period of merely 43 years particularly when they were successors to an administration which was in a state of utter confusion and had to rule at a time when the imperialist power like the British was adopting its diplomacy backed by superior military force and economic technique in order to strangle or impoverish the neighbouring State of Orissa for their own economic gain.
CHAPTER 15

ORISSA UNDER THE BRITISH
(A Political Sketch)

Early British Contact

The British contact with Orissa began in the first half of the 17th century. Hunter says: "True to our national character, we settled in Orissa as merchants long before we made our appearance as rulers." One of the earliest British factories in India was established at Hariparpur in Orissa in 1633. Subsequently other factories were established at Balasore on river Burabalang and Pipli on river Subarnarekha. "These two Orissa harbours", writes Hunter, "formed the basis of our future greatness in Bengal." The British factory at Balasore developed into a thriving centre of maritime trade. In 1670, of several factories in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Balasore was the seat of their chief and his council. The pre-eminence of Balasore as a commercial centre continued for a long time. It declined in the 18th century when the East India Company's trading concerns were shifted to Calcutta.

Orissa came within the orbit of the East India Company's political interest after the Battle of Baxar. On 12 August 1765 Lord Clive got the diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. 'Orissa' of the said grant was nothing more than the single district of Midnapore. The titular Mughal Emperor used the term 'Bengal, Bihar and Orissa' as those territories had long formed one administrative unit in the days of the great Mughals. Soon after the grant of the diwani, Clive made an attempt to get possession of Orissa proper through negotiation with the Marathas. In 1766 he sent Thomas Motte to Sambalpur to explore the possibility of diamond trade. At the same time he was required to meet the Maratha Subahdar at Cuttack to initiate political talks.

Accordingly Motte met Bhawani Pandit, the Subahdar, twice. In their first meeting Motte handed over Clive's letter to Bhawani Pandit. The latter reminded him of the 'just demand' of his master, Janoji Bhonsla, on the East India Company for the arrears of tribute
due from Bengal and Bihar. In reply Motte suggested that it would be better for Janoji to give up Orissa to the Company on payment of a stipulated sum. On his return journey from Sambalpur, Motte again reminded the matter to Bhawani Pandit who agreed to convey it to Janoji. But nothing came out of Clive’s policy to get Orissa by negotiation.

Warren Hastings opened negotiations with Janoji’s successor, Madhoji Bhonsla and succeeded in bringing him into some understanding with the British during the First Maratha War. The British troops were permitted to march through Orissa under the command of Col. Pearse. But he could not get the possession of Orissa from the Marathas. After Warren Hastings’ departure, Lord Cornwallis opened negotiations for defensive alliance with Madhoji by sending George Forster, a civil servant on the Madras establishment, to Nagpur. Forster’s attempt also failed, but Madhoji’s successor Raghují II permitted British troops to march through Orissa in time of the third Mysore War.

**British Conquest of Orissa (1803)**

From Clive to Cornwallis, the Company had tried to get possession of Orissa by peaceful means but had failed. It was left for Lord Wellesley finally to conquer Orissa during the Second Maratha War. The British conquest of Orissa in 1803 was an easy task for two reasons. First, the Raja of Nagpur had no adequate troops in Orissa to resist the British army and in fact, only feeble resistance was given to the enemy in time of occupation. Secondly, the British army had earned a sound knowledge of the topography of Orissa during their march through the territory on two previous occasions under the command of Col. Pearse in 1781 and Col. Cockrell in 1790. In 1803 they took only one month i.e., from 14 September to 14 October to occupy the province.

The principal army for the expedition to Orissa was ordered to assemble at Ganjam under the command of Lt. Col. Campbell. About 15000 sepoys gathered for the purpose. Besides, two companies of His Majesty’s 22nd Infantry Regiment and also a few hundred sepoys of 20th Bengal Regiment were sent by sea from Bengal to join Campbell’s troops.

Besides, Col. Campbell’s army assembled at Ganjam, Lord Wellesley decided to send troops under Captain Morgan to occupy Balasore. Another detachment was formed at Jaleswar in the northern border of the province under Lt. Col. Fergusson for advancing into Orissa after the occupation of Balasore. The reserved army under Col. Fenwick was stationed at Midnapore and was entrusted
with the duty of occupying some Maratha zamindaries north-east of the river Subarnarekha. Thus elaborate military arrangements were made by the British authorities for the conquest of the province.

Lt. Col. Campbell was also dictated to adopt certain diplomatic measures for smooth transition. First, he was asked to respect religious susceptibilities of the people by all means. On his arrival at Puri, he was strictly enjoined to employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the Temple and to the religious prejudices of the Brahmans and pilgrims. “You will understand.” Wellesley warned, “that no part of the property, treasure or valuable articles of any kind, contained in the Pagoda of Jaggernaut, or in any religious edifice, or possessed by any of the priests and Brahmans, or persons of any description attached to the temples of religious institutions is to be considered as prize to the army. All such property must be respected as being consecrated to religious use by the customs or prejudices of the Hindoos”.

Such a policy of religious toleration was needed to conciliate the Hindus, who constituted almost the entire population of Orissa.

Secondly, Lt. Col. Campbell was instructed to communicate with the zamindars of Cuttack who were not satisfied with the Marathas. So also he was required to conciliate the feelings of the tributary chiefs without demanding their absolute submission. The British authorities were aware of wide discontent of these elements against the Marathas and they wanted to take advantage of the situation in time of their invasion. Finally, Col. Campbell was authorized to offer a heavy amount to the officers in charge of the Maratha administration at Cuttack for surrendering the province to the British. Thus, the British authorities adopted all means to bring Orissa under their control in 1803.

The British army under Lt. Col. Campbell began its march on 8 September 1803, but only three days after Campbell was replaced by Lt. Col. Harcourt due to former’s illness. Harcourt was accompanied by a civil officer, John Melville for organisation of civil administration after occupation of the province. The British troops crossed the narrow and hazardous path in the mouth of the Chilka Lake by bribing Fateh Muhammad, the Maratha faujdar, who was in charge of that strategic locality. After crossing the lake, Harcourt halted at Manikpatna and sent conciliatory message to the priests of Jagannath temple. Without any fighting and bloodshed, Puri was occupied by the British army on 18 September 1803. The first phase of Harcourt’s task ended in complete success.

After making necessary arrangements for keeping the line of communication open between Ganjam and Puri, Harcourt began his
march towards Cuttack on 24 September 1803. He faced some resistance from the Marathas on his route to Cuttack. But no pitched battle was fought. On 10 October 1803, the British army reached Cuttack and took possession of the town. The Maratha troops took shelter in the fort of Barabati as their last resort. Harcourt first attempted to capture the fort of Barabati by bribing the Maratha garrison. But the negotiation somehow failed and on 12 October the British authorities decided to besiege the fort and to capture it by force. On 14 October, the British troops entered the fort and occupied it. During the whole operation only two European and thirteen Indian soldiers were killed and few more were wounded. The fort of Barabati, the citadel of Maratha power in Orissa, was thus captured.

In the meanwhile, the campaign of Captain Morgan in Balasore was also equally successful. He occupied the place without much resistance on 22 September 1803. After the completion of occupation of the coastal tract from the lake Chilka in the south to the river Subarnarekha in the north, Col. Harcourt occupied the Barmul pass, a place of strategic importance because of its situation between the two hills through which lay the shortest route from Cuttack to Nagpur by the side of the Mahanadi. It was occupied on 2 November 1803 and the Marathas fled to the hills beyond the pass. It was no longer possible for them to enter into the coastal tract of Orissa. The conquest of Orissa was over, and the British concentrated their attention on the one hand, for bringing the tributary chiefs to submission, and on the other hand, for organising the civil administration in the coastal tract.

Treaty of Deogaon (17 December 1803)

By the treaty of Deogaon, concluded on 17 December 1803, Raghuvji Bhonsla ceded to the East India Company "in perpetual sovereignty, the province of Cuttack, including the port and district of Balasore". Raghuvji also agreed to confirm certain treaties which had been concluded in course of the war with his feudatories by the British Government. The feudatory states or 'Garjats' which came under the control of the latter were sixteen in number, and they were generally known as the Tributary Mahals of Orissa. Two more Mahals were added to the number in 1837. Thus, the three districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri, in the coastal tract and eighteen Tributary Mahals in the hill regions to the west constituted the British Orissa in the 19th century. The total area was 23,907 square miles of which 16, 184 square miles were occupied by the Tributary Mahals. It did not include all the Oriya speaking territories under its jurisdiction.
The East India Company ruled Orissa for 55 years. After 13 years of the conquest, there broke out the Paik Rebellion, a widespread movement in Khurda region in 1817, which exposed for the time the weak foundation as well as the inherent defects of the new administration.

**The Paik Rebellion (1817)**

The territories of Khurda, the storm centre of the rebellion, were almost ruined by maladministration of the British officials and native subordinates before the outbreak of the rebellion in 1817. The ‘Paiks’, a kind of local militia, who rose as a body against the British, had suffered the most on account of the short-sighted policy of the Government. Major Fletcher, who managed Khurda after the British occupation, had resumed the service lands of the paiks which they enjoyed in the days of the Hindu kings. But that was not all. Toynbee rightly remarked that “deprived, thus of the lands which they had enjoyed from time immemorial, they were subjected to the grossest extortion and oppression at the hands of the farmers, sarbarakars and other underlings to whom our government entrusted the collection of the revenue, and also to the tyrannies of a corrupt and venal police.” In such a state of affairs, what the paiks needed was a leader who would lead them in arms against the British Government.

Such a person appeared in Jagabandhu Bidyadhar Mohapatra Bhramarbar Ray, popularly known as Bakshi Jagabandhu, who was the military commander of the Raja of Khurda before the British conquest of the province. He was second only to the Raja in rank. His family held the valuable estate of Rorang at a low rent for several generations. The estate was in the possession of Jagabandhu at the time of the British occupation. In 1803-4 and also 1804-5 he entered into agreements with the British for payment of the Rorang. But in subsequent years he became a victim to a plot hatched by the amalas of revenue department and a Bengali speculator named Krishna Chandra Singh. By their manoeuvre, he was deprived of his estate in 1813. He petitioned to the authorities against the injustice done and after an investigation, it was proved beyond doubt that the dispossession was a fraudulent one. An order was passed for the restoration of his estate in 1814. But before it was acted upon, another representation challenged the original rights of Jagabandhu to possess the estate. Consequently, another order was issued by the Government which forbade the restoration of his estate “until he should have established a title to the lands in the regular course of law”. Jagabandhu had already suffered for some years after the loss
of his estate and was almost reduced to a 'pauper'. Naturally, he was not prepared to go to the court of law for seeking justice from the British authorities. He had lost faith in their integrity and craved for vengeance at the first opportunity.

Such was the affair of Jagabandhu when in March 1817 a large body of Khonds from Ghumsar, an estate in Ganjam, entered into the territories of Khurda. The opportunity was availed of by the paiks of Khurda who under the leadership of their commander, Jagabandhu, joined the Khonds and broke out into open rebellion. They attacked the police station and other government buildings at Banpur and looted the treasury. Then they came to Khurda where all government buildings were burnt to the ground, and the treasury was looted. Soon the territories of Khurda and the neighbouring areas were at the mercy of the rebels. When the news reached Cuttack, the authorities took immediate steps to quell the disturbances and sent troops to restore order. One detachment of troops marched direct to Khurda under Lt. Prideaux and another under Lt. Faris, proceeded to Pipli to protect the neighbouring parganas. Edward Impey, the magistrate of Cuttack, sought the permission of the government for proclamation of martial law in those regions. In the mean time, Lt. Faris was killed at Gangpara and the confidence of the insurgents increased. On 12 April 1817 a body of the insurgents had reached Puri. The government 'cutcherry' and several other public buildings were burnt. The situation went out of control and the British troops with all civil officers retreated from the place. Martial law was proclaimed in Khurda on 14 April 1817, and it was extended to the towns of Puri and Pipli and to the 'parganas' of Limbai and Kotdes on 19 April 1817.

After the proclamation of martial law in the affected areas, strong steps were taken against the rebels and Captain Le Fevre captured Puri after some encounter with them. The Raja of Puri, the Superintendent of the Temple of Jagannath, was brought under the control and was shifted to Cuttack on 11 May, 1817. He died in confinement a few months later. In the meanwhile Major-General G. Martindell was nominated to command the troops for military operations in Orissa. He reached Cuttack on 6 May 1817. Soon he entered Khurda and directed the movement of troops to defeat the rebels and to capture their leader. He also made efforts to restore tranquillity.

The rising was not confined to Khurda, Puri and the neighbouring areas, but also spread all over the southern and eastern parts of Orissa. The 'Paiks' burnt the police thanas of Asureswar, Tirian, Hariparup and Gopa and committed various atrocities in the
surrounding localities. They had no recognised leader like Jagabandhu of Khurda, but they were as the British authorities suspected, secretly encouraged and helped by the Rajas of Kujang and Kanika. The rebellion took a serious turn in the estate of Kujang. Troops were sent to the place in September 1817 and within six days the rebels were completely routed. The Raja of Kujang surrendered himself to Captain Kennet on 2 October 1817. By the end of October 1817, 'the rebellion may be said to have been stamped out'. Order was restored in the territories under the military operations. A general amnesty was promulgated and the martial law was withdrawn from all places except Banpur. There it remained in force until April 1818. Many Paiks and other rebels were captured and stern action was taken against them. But Jagabandhu, the principal leader could not be captured for a long time. He surrendered in 1825 and lived at Cuttack as a prisoner of the government with the agreement that he would not leave the town without permission from the authorities." He died in 1829.

The government was not slow to realize that there were some underlying causes responsible for that violent outburst against the administration. The enquiries conducted revealed grave errors in the early administrative policies. The government appointed Robert Ker, a high official, as the 'Commissioner in Cuttack' to bring about decisive changes in the administration of the province. Orissa remained in peace for the rest of the Company's rule. The apparent and comparative ease with which the land was governed led the British authorities to suppose that their policy was sound. However, Orissa seems to have been neglected by the British administrators. The people in the Princely States suffered in their inaccessible seclusion, while the coastal districts which linked the Company's territories in Bengal and Madras were paid the minimum administrative attention. The consequences of such an apathy could not be realised by the servants of the Company during their tenure of administration. But an ominous future was stored for Orissa.

Famine of 1866

Within 8 years of the end of the East India Company's rule, in 1866-67, Orissa fell victim to a calamity which took away one-third of her entire population i.e., more than one million souls. Speaking on the Orissa famine in the British House of Commons on 2 August 1867, Sir Stafford Northcote, the Secretary of State for India gave the following concluding remarks: "This catastrophe must always remain a monument of our failure, a humiliation to the people of this country, to the Government of this country, and to those of our Indian officials.
of whom we had been perhaps a little too proud.” In fact, “Orissa was at that time almost isolated from the rest of India, the only road, leading to Calcutta across a country intersected by large rivers and liable to inundation was unmetalled and unbridged, and there was very little communication by sea...” The servants of the East India Company looked upon Orissa as a mere source of revenue. The negligence of such vital matters like communication, irrigation etc. caused an unprecedented calamity in 1866-67. The sufferings of the people knew no bounds for a long time. However, the attention of the British administrators was drawn to this neglected tract soon after the famine.

Growth of National Consciousness

In Orissa, as elsewhere in India in the 19th century, social movements as well as the growth of national consciousness were facilitated mainly due to two factors; first, the rise of a middle-class intelligentsia due to the spread of western education and secondly, the growth of mass media and communications like press, railways and postal services etc. The establishment of the English medium schools, colleges and universities led to the spread of western ideas and slowly but steadily a new class of intelligentsia with novel hopes and aspirations appeared on the Indian scene. The growth of railways, postal services and press, both native and English, provided the required media for giving necessary fillip to the growth of national consciousness. By the end of the first half of the 19th century, such a climate was available in different parts of India, especially in the presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and their neighbouring areas. But for the people of Orissa, such facilities came very slowly and mostly after the famine of 1866-67.

In matters of education, no interest was shown by the Company for a long time though the missionaries had established an English Charity School at Cuttack as early as 1823. Even by the end of the Company’s rule, the condition of education was rather lamentable. The report of the Inspector of Schools, South-West Bengal for the year 1857-58 gave the following picture: There were three Zilla Schools in the headquarters of the three districts and the number of pupils on roll was: Balasore English School-80, Cuttack—113 and Puri—89.

There was one Anglo-Vernacular School at Bhadrak which received a grant-in-aid of 30 rupees per month from the Government. Besides, there were only 16 vernacular schools in the whole province. Soon after famine in 1867, the Government declared that the Cuttack Zilla School would be raised to the status of a ‘High School”
(Intermediate College) affiliated to the Calcutta University, and on 20th January 1868, the ‘High School’ classes were started only with six students. In that year Madhu Sudan Das, the foremost leader of Modern Orissa, passed F.A., and in 1870 he passed B.A. from the Calcutta University. He was the first graduate of Orissa. He was also the first Oriya to pass M.A. in 1873 and the first Oriya to get the degree of B.L. in 1878 from the Calcutta University. The Cuttack High School was made a College in 1876. In both the years of 1878 and 1879, none could pass B.A. from the Cuttack College. In 1880 one Durga Charan Sahu alone passed the B.A. Examination from that College. As regards the women’s education, Orissa was still backward. By 1881 the highest standard which the girls’ schools had reached in Orissa was the lower vernacular scholarship standard. Only towards the end of the century two girls took admission in the Cuttack College. Thus the progress of education in Orissa was rather very slow and the number of educated persons was rather insignificant. However, this enlightened and educated minority formed the ‘hard core’ of the socio-political movements in Orissa during the last decades of the 19th century.

The missionaries were the pioneers in establishing the modern press in Orissa. The Orissa Mission Press was established at Cuttack in 1838, and the missionaries published a periodical named Jnanaruna in 1849 for propagating their religious ideas. Prabodha Chandrika and Arunodaya were two other short-lived early Oriya periodicals. But the most important journal of Orissa in the second half of the 19th century which moulded the public opinion and ventilated their feelings was Utkal Dipika edited by Gauri Sankar Ray, a champion of socio-political reforms. It came out on 4 August 1866 as a weekly paper from Cuttack. In 1868 another important journal of Orissa ‘Bodha-Dayinee’ and ‘Balasore Samvad Vahika’ came out from Balasore Utkal Press. On 30 May 1889, Sambalpur Hitaishini was published from Bamanda, a small feudatory state in Western Orissa, which gave expression to public opinion and moulded their views in that region. Besides these few important papers, which continued to appear for a long time, there were a number of short-lived journals and periodicals. Most of these papers were published from Cuttack, the headquarters of the Orissa Division, where the educated Oriyas worked and made united efforts to reach certain common ends.

One important reason for the slow growth of national consciousness in Orissa was the lack of good communication in the province. Even after the famine of 1866, the matter did not improve much. The government did not consider the construction of railways in Orissa feasible due to enormous cost of bridging a number of rivers in the coastal region. There was no good harbour also in the long
seacoast of Orissa. The seaports of Balasore, Dhamra, Point Palmiers, False Point, Puri etc. had considerably declined due to several factors. The Government constructed a coast canal connecting the river Hooghly with the river Matai near Dhamra in the Balasore district. It was opened for traffic in 1866. The people had to agitate for the construction of the railways in Orissa for a long time and it was not until the end of the 19th century that the railways were completed connecting Calcutta with Puri through Balasore and Cuttack. The rail link was fully completed for passenger traffic in 1900 and incidentally the first important visitor was Lord Curzon, the Governor-General, who toured Puri, Bhubaneswar and Cuttack etc. in the second week of December 1900. He was the first Viceroy to visit Orissa.

In spite of some handicaps, socio-political ferment took place in Orissa in the second half of the 19th century. Several organisations devoted to the cause of all-round improvement of the people were established. Those organisations succeeded in awakening the people from their long slumber and prepared the ground for bigger movements in the next century.

**Participation in the Indian National Congress**

No delegate from Orissa attended the first session of the Indian National Congress. But immediate attention of the people was drawn to its activities and a public meeting was held in the town of Cuttack on 3 March 1886 to discuss the resolutions adopted by the Congress in its first session. All leading men attended the meeting and took part in the deliberations. To the second session of the Indian National Congress held in the last week of December 1886, the ‘Utkal Sabha’ sent four representatives and the National Society of Balasore nominated three delegates. Thus, seven representatives from Orissa participated in the second session of the Congress. Thereafter, delegates from Orissa, nominated by these associations attended the Congress sessions held at different places. Especially the leaders of the ‘Utkal Sabha’ like Madhu Sudan Das and Gauri Sankar Ray acted as pioneers in bringing the message of Congress and its liberal ideas to Orissa in the last decade of the 19th century.

**Agitation for the Amalgamation of Oriya-speaking Tracts**

The problem which agitated the minds of enlightened Oriyas for a long time was the amalgamation of Oriya-speaking tracts into one administrative unit and then the formation of a separate province. A sustained struggle continued for many years in a constitutional way to achieve the said objective.
In November 1888 when Sir Steuart Colvin Barley, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, visited Orissa, the Utkaal Sabha of Cuttack presented a memorial to him and among other things, he was requested to give attention to the problem of uniting the Oriya-speaking territories of Madras, C.P., and Bengal in one administrative unit. The proposal was rejected outright by the Lieutenant Governor in his reply to the memorial. In 1895 the Chief Commissioner of the Central Province decided to abolish the Oriya language from official use in the district of Sambalpur. On 20 June 1895, the Utkaal Sabha sent a memorial to Lord Elgin, the Governor-General, protesting against this unjust and arbitrary measure. There was no immediate relief and the agitation continued for some time. The leading men of Sambalpur waited in deputation on Sir Andrew Fraser, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Province, in July 1901 and presented a feasible proposal. They said that “if it was thought impossible to have Oriya as the language of one Central Province’s district, they would prefer it to be transferred to Orissa”. A deputation from Sambalpur also met the Governor-General at Simla to acquaint him with their problems. The Government of India did not consider it feasible to transfer Sambalpur to the Orissa Division or to create a Chief Commissionership for Orissa at that time, though they restored Oriya to its rightful place in the Sambalpur district from 1 January 1903.

During the second half of 1902, the Oriyas of Ganjam sent a mammoth memorial to Lord Curzon in which they spoke of themselves as dissociated from their Oriya brethren and of Orissa as “a limb separated from the body.” and they prayed “not for a patchwork redistribution but that the Government of India will be graciously pleased to bring together the scattered divisions inhabited by Oriya-speaking peoples, i.e., Ganjam in Madras, Sambalpur in the C.P. and Orissa in Bengal, under the Government of Bengal or under any one government and one university”.

Towards the end of the year, Raja Baikuntha Nath De of Balasore presented a memorial to Lord Curzon in which he had urged upon the Governor-General to constitute a separate administrative unit for all Oriya-speaking territories or to keep them under one provincial administration of either Bengal, Madras or the Central Province. Thus the constitutional agitation continued in different parts of the Oriya-speaking territories on the issue of amalgamation.

Finally, the representatives of the Oriya-speaking tracts of Ganjam, Sambalpur, Midnapore and other out lying territories met in a conference at Cuttack on 30-31 December 1903. It was the historic gathering of ‘Utkaal Sammilani’ or the Utkaal Union Conference which
spearheaded the “Oriya Movement” till the formation of a separate province in 1936. The first conference was presided by Shriram Chandra Bhanj Deo, the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, and was attended by a few rulers of the feudatory states. Rajendra Narayan Bhanj Deo, the Raja of Kanika, was the Chairman of the reception committee and Madhu Sudan Das was the Secretary and in fact, the moving spirit behind such an organisation. An exhibition organised by the Conference, was opened by K. C. Gupta, the Commissioner of the Orissa Division. The Conference discussed many socio-cultural and political problems of the Oriya-speaking people and adopted resolutions on all important matters pertaining to them. Of course, the primary purpose of the Conference was to build an organisation to fight for a separate province of Orissa. In this regard the first resolution of the Conference welcomed the proposal of the Government of India regarding territorial adjustment outlined in the famous Risley Circular sent to the Government of Bengal on 3 December 1903. The circular proposed “to unite the whole of the Oriya-speaking peoples, both hill and plain, under one administration”. “In other words”, the circular added, “they would add to Orissa the Oriya-speaking tracts of Sambalpur (615, 941 Oriya-speaking people out of the total population of 829, 698) and its Feudatory States, the Ganjam District (with the possible exception of one taluk in which Oriya is said not to be the prevalent language) and the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency Tracts”. The Risley Circular was widely supported in different quarters. But the ‘greatest blow’ to the scheme came from the Madras Government. Lord Ampthill was not prepared to transfer the territories of Ganjam and Vizagapatam to Orissa. The final resolution of the Government of India on 19 July 1905, therefore, abandoned the transfer of Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency to Orissa, though the proposed transfer of Sambalpur area to the latter was approved.

The decision became effective from October 1905. The five Oriya-speaking States of Patna, Kalahandi, Sonepur, Bamra and Rairakhol were also transferred to the Orissa Division from the Central Province as also the two States of Gangpur and Bonai from the Chota Nagpur Division. Thus, the number of the Oriya-speaking States attached to the Orissa Division became twenty-four, and this group of States was known as the Feudatory States of Orissa. Thereafter, in spite of all agitations, the boundary of Orissa remained unchanged till 1 April 1936 though Orissa and Bihar became a separate province in 1912 when the partition of Bengal was annulled by Lord Hardinge. Of course, two states, Seraikella and Kharwuan, were added to the Feudatory States of Orissa in 1916, thus raising their number to 26.
The new Province of Bihar and Orissa came into existence on 1 April 1912. The Orissa Division included in the new province comprised the districts of Angul, Balasore, Cuttack, Puri and Sambalpur. The total area of the division excluding the feudatory states was 13,736 square miles and its population was 4,968,873 according to 1921 census. With the introduction of the Government of India Act, 1919, Bihar and Orissa was raised to the dignity of a Governor’s province.

The Nagpur Congress and the Utkal Union Conference (December 1920)

In the last week of December 1920 in the annual session of the Congress held at Nagpur, the final decision on the launching of non-co-operation movement took place. The Indian people now entered the decisive phase of their freedom struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Thirty-five delegates from Orissa including Gopabandhu Das, Niranjan Patnaik, Bhagirathi Mohapatra, Jagabandhu Singh, Mukunda Prasad Das, Jadumani Mangaraj and H. K. Mahtab attended the Nagpur session. Besides accepting the main resolution on non-co-operation, members from Orissa supported the formation of provincial congress committees on linguistic basis. The Congress agreed that Orissa should have a separate Congress Committee to be known as ‘Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee’.

Gopabandhu Das and Jagabandhu Singh returned from Nagpur before the Congress session was over in order to attend the Utkal Union Conference held at Chakradharpur on 30-31 December 1921 and 1 January 1922. The session became a landmark in the history of the Conference, because for the first time it accepted the Congress creed as one of its objectives.

The session was presided by Jagabandhu Singh. Gopabandhu played a prominent role in bringing about the change in the outlook of the Conference. On the second day of the Conference, Gopabandhu moved the resolution asking the Utkal Union Conference to accept the objectives and aspirations of the Indian National Congress. Chandrasekhar Behera, the prominent leader of Sambalpur and many others supported the resolution. When the resolution was put to vote, it got overwhelming support from the delegates and was adopted. In another resolution, the Conference whole-heartedly supported the decision of the Indian National Congress to form the provincial congress committees on linguistic basis. Thus the Chakradharpur session of the Utkal Union Conference changed the total perspective of the political scene in Orissa and drew its politicians back into the main stream of national politics.
Non-Co-operation Movement in Orissa

Soon after the Nagpur session of Utkal Provincial Congress Committee was formed according to new rules, the following office bearers took charge of the organisation. Pandit Gopabandhu Das—President, Dr. Ekram Russol—Vice-President, Bhagirathi Mohapatra—Secretary and Brajabandhu Das—Joint Secretary. Besides, five members were also taken in the Executive Committee. The movement began in right earnest. It got much encouragement due to Gandhiji’s visit in the last week of March 1921. He arrived at Cuttack on 23rd March 1931 and addressed several meetings at Cuttack, Bhadrak, Satyabadi, Puri and Berhampur within six days. Addressing a very big gathering in the Kathjuri river-bed at Cuttack in the evening of 23rd March, he explained the tenets of non-violent non-co-operation movement. He desired that at least one lakh of people should be enrolled as Congress members in Orissa and three lakhs of rupees should be subscribed to Tilak Swaraj Fund.25

Gandhiji’s visit created unprecedented enthusiasm among the masses in Orissa. The movement spread to different parts of the province and touched the imagination of the people even in the remote corner of far-off villages. Some young men of Orissa left their studies in schools and colleges. Among them were H. K. Mahtab, Nityananda Kanungo, Naba Krishna Choudhury, Nanda Kishore Das and Raja Krishna Bose, who later became prominent leaders of the Congress. Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Bhagirathi Mohapatra, Jagabandhu Singh and a few others gave up their legal practice. Gopabandhu Choudhury, who was a deputy collector, resigned from his job and joined the Congress movement. Pandit Nilakantha Das gave up his teaching assignment in the Calcutta University and came to take charge of a national school and the movement in Sambalpur. Pandit Lingaraj Misra, Surendra Nath Das, Muhammed Hanif and a few others resigned from their government service and devoted themselves to the Congress work. Such examples provided much impetus to the movement in Orissa. A number of centres were established at different places in Orissa to organise the Congress activities and to train workers and volunteers for the movement. Picketing before the foreign liquor and cloth shops was widely practised. It was successful to a large extent in the towns like Balasore, Bhadrak, Cuttack, Puri, Berhampur and Sambalpur.

Thus, the non-co-operation movement was in progress in Orissa during 1921. In December, about 127 delegates from Orissa attended the Congress session at Ahmedabad. They returned with
much enthusiasm to start civil disobedience movement in Orissa at the call of Gandhiji. Large number of volunteers were recruited for the purpose. But the tragic incident at Chauri Chaura in February 1922 changed the course of events all of a sudden. Within a few months the Congress leaders of Orissa including Gopabandhu were arrested and put in the jails.

**Madhu Sudan and His Liberal Statesmanship**

In the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council, Madhu Sudan Das was taken as a Minister and he assumed the charge of his office on 6th January, 1921. He had served the people of Orissa for the last forty years and also made significant contribution as the Minister of Local Self-Government in Bihar and Orissa. His name is chiefly associated with three important enactments, the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Bill, 1922, the Bihar and Orissa Local Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1922 and the Bihar and Orissa Village Administration Bill, 1922. He successfully piloted the first two bills and gave his strong support to the third one. For these three liberal measures, he deserved thanks from the Council. The people remember his name with a feeling of gratitude.

Madhusudan did not serve his full term as the minister. He had proposed a scheme of making his office honorary. “To ensure the success of the reforms” Madhu Sudan argued, “it is necessary that the Minister of Local Self-Government should not draw any salary, but should be an honorary worker”. Of course, he was willing to work honorary provided he was allowed to earn a living by practising as a vakil. He assured the Governor that his professional work would not interfere in any way with his duties as a Minister. The Governor, while replying to Madhu Sudan on his proposed scheme on 11 February 1923, said that it was ‘an absolute impossibility’ and was unable to accept his proposition. Thus when Madhu Sudan submitted his resignation on 8 March 1923, the Governor accepted it. It was announced in the Council on 9 March 1923. Thus, Madhusudan gave up the lucrative office on a basic difference of policy with the government. Perhaps he was the first minister to resign from the reformed Councils in India in such a manner.

**Civil Disobedience Movement in Orissa**

The call of the Lahore Congress to the people to fight for complete independence of India stirred the whole country in 1930. In different parts of Orissa the pledge of Independence was taken on 26 January. Mass meetings were organised in many places on the occasion. The decision of Gandhiji to break the salt law was received with much enthusiasm by the Congress leaders in Orissa. It was a heaven-sent
opportunity to re-establish their traditional right to manufacture salt in the long coastal tract. The Congress leaders especially H. K. Mahatab and Sardar Surendra Nath Das prepared the ground at Inchudi on the seacoast of Balasore for beginning the struggle in Orissa. The people participated in large numbers in actual breaking of the salt law and in preparing the contraband salt. It was claimed on the basis of the government report that the Salt Satyagraha at Inchudi occupied the second place in India, first being Gujarat where Gandhiji himself led the movement.\textsuperscript{28} Besides Inchudi, other important centres for salt satyagraha were Sartha in the Balasore district, Kujang in the Cuttack district, Kuhudi, Singheshwari and Latra in the Puri district; and Huma in the district of Ganjam, then under the Madras Presidency. Under the inspiring guidance of the Congress party, the people of Orissa achieved spectacular success in salt satyagraha. The movement slowed down towards June with the advent of rainy season which naturally hampered the production of salt on the seashore. In the meanwhile, all prominent Congress leaders of Orissa and hundreds of volunteers were imprisoned. Two important papers propagating the Congress views, \textit{Prajatantra} of Balasore and \textit{Samaj} of Cuttack were forced to stop their publication due to stringent press ordinance. A veritable reign of terror was let loose to suppress the movement. In spite of the absence of prominent leaders, the people continued their struggle with courage and determination. The movement lingered on and did not stop fully until it was called off by the Congress in 1934.

\textbf{Orissa Boundary Dispute and Formation of Orissa Province (1930-36)}

While the Civil Disobedience Movement was in progress, steps were being taken by the British authorities to constitute a separate province for Oriya-speaking tracts. The Indian Statutory Commission, which surveyed the problem, said:

"The province of Bihar and Orissa which was constituted in 1912, is the most artificial unit of all the Indian provinces. It was formed by bringing under a single administration three areas which differ markedly, not only in physical features, but in many racial, linguistic and cultural characteristics."\textsuperscript{29}

Therefore, as an ‘urgent case for consideration and treatment’, the Simon Commission appointed a sub-committee under the Chairmanship of Major Atlee to investigate the matter in detail. The Committee recommended the amalgamation of certain Oriya-speaking tracts of the Central Province and Madras with the Orissa Division of Bihar and Orissa. They were in favour of the creation of a separate province for Orissa.\textsuperscript{30}
The report of Attlee Sub-Committee gave much encouragement to the people of Orissa to pursue the matter at the highest level. Such an opportunity was afforded by the inclusion of K. C. Gajapati Narayan Deo, the raja of Parakhemundi, among the Indian delegates to the first Round Table Conference. He spoke ably on the matter in the Conference, and also presented a memorandum to the British authorities for the creation of a separate province. On 18th September 1931 a resolution, issued from the Reforms Office of the Government of India, announced the constitution of the Orissa Boundary Committee under the Chairmanship of Samuel O’ Donnel. Its report was submitted on 19th April, 1932.¹ The White Paper, issued in March 1933, mentioned Orissa as a Governor’s province along with ten other provinces of British India. But the boundary suggested for the new province was totally unacceptable and was strongly condemned by all sections of the people. It evoked so much criticism that the Secretary of State had to reopen the question in the deliberations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The Oriya delegates, consisting of seven members and led by the raja of Parakhemundi, met the Secretary on 3rd July, 1933 to put forth their views. The raja once again proceeded to London in 1934 and placed before the Secretary his views on the partition of his estate. Finally the Joint Parliamentary Committee, in their report on November 1934, recommended the formation of a new Province of Orissa of 32,695 sq. miles.² His Majesty issued the order on 3rd March 1936 which was entitled as “the Government of India (Constitution of Orissa) Order, 1936”. The members from Orissa attended the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa for the last time on 28th March, 1936. The new Province of Orissa was inaugurated on 1st April, 1936. On that historic occasion, His Majesty the King and the Governor-General sent warm messages of greetings to the people. Thus began a new phase of her history.

The First Congress Ministry and Working of the Provincial Autonomy (1937-39)

The general election to the provincial legislatures under the Government of India Act, 1935 was held in early 1937. The Indian National Congress decided to contest the election and vigorous propaganda was made throughout the country. Jawaharlal Nehru came to Orissa in November 1936 for election campaign and addressed mass meetings at a number of places like Salepur, Chandol, Bahugram, Kendrapada, Jagatsinghpur, Beridi, Cuttack, Puri and Berhampur. Besides the Congress two other political groups were also very active in the province. They were the Orissa Nationalist
Party and the United Party. These groups were led by the rajas and zamindars in the province who wanted to defeat the Congress and to safeguard their vested interests.

In the election to the Orissa Legislative Assembly, held between 18 January 1937 and 23 January 1937, the Congress Party won 36 seats out of 60 seats. The anti-Congress groups won 10 seats; independents 10 seats and 4 members were nominated by the Governor. The question of acceptance of office was raised soon after the election. The Congress wanted categorical assurance from the British authorities that there would be no interference in the working of the popular ministries. As no such assurance was given, the Congress party refused to form the ministry in those states where they had won absolute majority to the legislatures. In Orissa, Shri Biswanath Das, the leader of the Congress Legislature Party, issued a press statement from Cuttack on 28th March 1937 and refused to form the ministry.

After the breakdown of the negotiations with the Congress, the Governor succeeded in persuading the Maharaja of Parlakimedi to form the ministry in the province on 1st April, 1937. Besides K. C. Gajapati Narayan Deo, the Premier, two other ministers were Mandhata Gorachand Patnaik and Maulavi Latifur Rahman. The interim ministry continued till 13th July 1937. After due assurance from the British authorities the Congress decided to accept office, and therefore, on 19th July, 1937, the first Congress Ministry in Orissa headed by Shri Biswanath Das took the oath of office and secrecy. It consisted of three members. Besides the Premier, two other ministers were Shri Nityananda Kanungo and Bodhram Dube.

The first Congress Ministry in Orissa held the reins of office for about 28 months and submitted its resignation on 4th November, 1939. From the midst of struggle with the British authorities, they accepted office and became administrators. Of course, they did not forget their idealism or the ultimate goal. They discharged their duties with unabated zeal and enthusiasm and tried their best to bring to the statute book as many laws as possible for benefit of the common people. Their success was not spectacular primarily due to paucity of funds and natural hindrances like chronic floods, mass illiteracy etc. The problem of integrating various systems prevalent in different regions of the new province was also a difficult one and it took considerable time to bring about a unified pattern of administration for the whole province. The British authorities also created constitutional crisis, but the ministry faced it boldly and succeeded in tiding over the difficulty. The constructive programmes like upliftment of 'harijans', prohibition, basic education etc. were initiated with high
hopes, but adequate time and enough funds were needed to reap benefits from those projects.

The provincial autonomy provided by the Act of 1935 gave wider scope to the legislatures in guiding the destinies of the people. All problems of the provinces could be discussed and debated on the floor of the Assemblies and popularly elected ministries were expected to find out satisfactory solutions to those issues. In Orissa the opposition had only one-sixth of the total number of seats in the Assembly, but they did not allow the Ministry to have a smooth sailing. All issues were hotly debated before acceptance by the House. On the whole, the debates and discussions in the House generated a new sense of democratic values in the minds of the people and that boasted their morals for greater participation in the freedom struggle for reaching the ultimate goal.

War and the Non-Congress Ministry in Orissa (1939-44)

The Congress party had decided to quit office in October 1939 as the British Government was not prepared to make any substantial change of the old imperialistic policy. Accordingly, all congress ministries resigned by the middle of November 1939. The Congress Working Committee in its meeting held in the first week of July 1940 renewed their demand for an immediate and unequivocal declaration of full independence of India and proposed for the formation of a provisional National Government at the centre. As a response to the Congress demands, the Viceroy issued new statement of policy on 8 August 1940 which was popularly known as the ‘August Offer’. It failed to satisfy the Congress which now decided to launch the Individual Satyagraha campaign from October 1940.

The movement was started on 1st December, 1940 by H. K. Mahtab who delivered anti-war speech in a meeting near Balasore and was arrested. Besides him all Congress ex-ministers and members of the Legislative Assembly participated in the campaign and courted arrest. The movement continued for a long time and the Congress leaders went to jail by shouting anti-war slogans. Those who could not offer Satyagraha were required to devote themselves in different constructive works in the villages.

Formation of a Coalition Ministry

With the resignation of the Congress Ministry in Orissa in November 1939, the Governor had assumed the direct responsibility for the administration of the Province under section 93 of the
Government of India Act, 1935. In Orissa, Sir John Austin Hubback, the Governor, was assisted by Eric C. Ansorge, a senior I.C.S. Officer, in the discharge of his function. The war had brought greater responsibility on the shoulders of the British authorities and naturally, they desired the co-operation of popular representatives who would help them in their war efforts.

Some disgruntled congress legislators led by Pandit Godavaris Misra began their efforts to form a Coalition Ministry in Orissa with the help of opposition groups. The efforts began as early as July 1940. On 17 July, 1940, it was stated: “The Governor of Orissa had conversation with Pandit Godavaris Misra and the Raja Bahadur of Khallikote last evening on the question of the possibility of forming a Coalition Ministry in Orissa. The conversations will be continued.” The efforts to form a Coalition Ministry finally succeeded on 24th November 1941. The new ministry consisted of three members. Besides the Maharaja of Parlakimedi, the Premier, Pandit Godavaris Misra and Maulavi Abdus Sobhan Khan were two other members. The party strength in the Assembly by that time was: Congress 31, Nationalist Coalition 26 and Independents 2 (one seat vacant). Thus it was obvious that even if the Independent members supported the Ministry, the Congress would be able to pass a no-confidence motion against them. But such an opportunity would never come as a few Congress legislators were arrested under the Defence of India Rules. The Coalition Ministry continued to function for about two and half years.

‘Quit India’ Movement in Orissa

After the failure of the Cripps’ Mission, the Congress thought to launch a new mass movement in India to ventilate the grievances of the people against the British Raj. The Working Committee adopted a long resolution on the matter and the final decision was left to the meeting of the A.I.C.C. scheduled to be held on 7th August, 1942 at Bombay.

The historic ‘Quit India’ resolution was passed on 8th August and early in the morning of 9 August 1942, all important Congress leaders were rounded up by the police throughout the country. The Government of Orissa declared all Congress organisations illegal and the police took possession of offices of all such organisations.

The Government officials believed that with the mass arrest of Congressmen the storm had subsided. But it was not so. It was only a lull before the storm which broke out in the province
with all its fury in the third week of August. The novel feature of the August Revolution was the people's resistance in the far-off villages where the Government was caught unprepared and its authority could not be easily defended. Of course, without proper guidance from the Congress party the risings sometimes took the violent turn and the government properties were destroyed. The popular revolt was aggravated to a great extent by the unprecedented sufferings of the people in time of the war for stringent government measures and scarcity of essential commodities.

In the first week of September 1942, the Government communiqué reviewed the political situation in Orissa and stated that the situation in the districts of Ganjam, Puri and Sambalpur remained almost normal. Mob violence was witnessed in the districts of Cuttack, Balasore and Koraput. The people generally attacked post-offices, canal revenue offices, P.W.D. bungalows and some of them were burnt. Telegraph and telephone wires were cut in several places and Chaukidars' uniforms were snatched away and burnt.

The August Revolution took a violent turn in the district of Balasore in which the maximum number of persons were killed. Several police-stations were attacked by the villagers and some of them were burnt. The police opened fire and a number of persons were killed at Khaira, Turigadia, Dhamnagar and Eram. The most atrocious crime took place at Eram in Basudevpur Police-Station where the police party fired against the unarmed villagers and killed 29 persons on the spot. That was the most tragic event of the movement in Orissa and perhaps nowhere in India so many people were killed in a single police action during that movement. The incident took place on 28th September, 1942. The inhuman police action was vehemently criticised and the government was forced to make an official enquiry on the matter.35

In the tribal district of Koraput, the people started no-rent campaigns with the belief that the British rule had come to an end. One of the most violent incidents took place at Mathili, where large number of tribal people led by Lakshman Nayak, attacked the police-station on 21st August, 1942. One forest guard was killed and some government servants were injured in the scuffle. The police opened fire which caused the death of five persons and seventeen agitators were injured including their leader Lakshman Nayak. He was arrested and subsequently sentenced to death. He was hanged on 29th August, 1943.36 After the incident at Mathili, the police opened fire to disperse a large mob on 24th August as a result of which eleven persons were killed and 14 injured according to the press communiqué issued by the Government.37
In Orissa an underground organisation was secretly established by Shri Surendra Nath Dwivedy, a member of A.I.C.C. from Orissa. He averted arrest soon after his return from the crucial meeting of the A.I.C.C. at Bombay and remained in the Cuttack town itself by deceiving the government authorities. He managed to organise underground activities for about two months and was arrested on 12 October 1942. He and fifteen others were involved in what is popularly known as the “Orissa Conspiracy Case” and were tried in a special court which sentenced them to various terms of imprisonment. By strong repressive measures under the Defence of India Rules, the Government had succeeded to break the back-bone of the movement by the end of October, 1942.

The Coalition Ministry remained in power till 29 June, 1944 and Orissa reverted back to the administration under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935 from 30 June, 1944. The Ministry tried to justify its existence by adopting certain popular measures, but it is difficult to uphold their stand in the broader perspective of the national movement in India in those crucial years. The most notable work of those years was the foundation of the Utkal University in November, 1943.

After the World War, the new Labour Government in Britain tried to solve the constitutional deadlock in India in right earnest. It was decided to hold election to the various Indian legislatures in early 1946. Accordingly, the Orissa Legislative Assembly was dissolved in September 1945. In the next election the Congress won 47 seats, Muslim League 4, Communist 1, and Independents 4. Four members were nominated by the Governor of the Province. The new Congress Ministry headed by H. K. Mahtab took the oath of office in the forenoon of 23 April, 1946. Besides the Premier, the four other members of the Cabinet were Shri Naba Krushna Choudhury, Pandit Lingaraj Misra, Shri Nityananda Kanungo and Shri Radha Krushna Biswasroy. India was at the cross-roads of its political and constitutional developments and independence was not a distant object. Naturally the duties and responsibilities of the Ministry during that transitional period were tremendous. They played their role with conspicuous success. The Ministry was in office when the long-cherished goal of independence was achieved.

Merger of Feudatory States

In the Feudatory States of Orissa, Praja Mandal movement had begun in right earnest from 1938-39. The people demanded their legitimate rights and privileges from their autocratic rulers. They adopted all kinds of repressive measures to suppress the movement.
The situation became critical in several states. Major R. L. Bazalgette, the Political Agent, was murdered in the State of Ranpur in January 1939. In July 1939 the Orissa States Enquiry Committee headed by H. K. Mahtab, the member of the Congress Working Committee, strongly recommended that the sanads granted to the Feudatory Chiefs should be annulled and they should be treated as the Zamindars of the permanently settled estates. But the British authorities paid no heed to the report and thus, the administration of the Feudatory States could not be stream-lined to serve the interests of the people.

In 1946, with the restoration of popular administration in the province, H. K. Mahtab, the Congress Premier of Orissa, began fresh attempts to bring about a complete change in the position of those states. His efforts were crowned with success only after the independence of India when Sardar Patel persuaded the rulers to accept the plan of merger. The documents were signed in the morning of 15th December 1947 by all rulers except Mayurbhanj. The merger became effective from 1st January, 1948. Mayurbhanj alone signed the Instrument of Merger on 17th October, 1948 and it was integrated with the province of Orissa from 1st January, 1949. Thus ended the glorious chapter of the freedom movement in Orissa. The emergence of a greater Orissa in Indian body politic presented immense possibilities for the all-round development of a long affected people.

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CHAPTER 16

ORISSA FAMINE OF 1866

In 1866, Orissa was visited by a famine of most intense and desolating character. Its severity was so terrible that about a third of the population died.¹ The Famine Commission of 1866 remarked: "The famine in Orissa stands almost alone in this, that there was (till a comparatively late period of history) almost no importation, and the people, shut up in a narrow province between pathless jungles and an impracticable sea, were in the condition of passengers in a ship without provisions. Things came to that pass that money was spurned as worthless."² The ghastly nature of the famine displayed serious defects in the Bengal administration, and lamentable neglect of the vital problem of the development of Oissa. This showed a wide gulf which separated the foreign rulers from Indian subjects.

Causes

The main cause of the famine was the premature cessation of rain in 1865. The total quantity of the rainfall for the year 1865 was not unusually small. Much rain fell early in the season before the usual time of sowing while the latter rains, which were usually expected in the end of September and October, failed.³ That caused widespread damage to the rice crops and brought the famine.⁴

In order to understand the causes of intensity of the famine, it is necessary to analyse the circumstances, bearing on the history of the event, at the time of the failure of the crop.

The waters of the rivers had not been turned to any considerable account for purposes of irrigation. The whole province was "without artificial irrigation whatever beyond that to be drawn in an unusual crisis of drought from natural watercourses and the petty tanks and water lodgements of the country."⁵ The success of rice crop, therefore, depended solely on the supply of rain from above. The failure of the timely rainfall led to the total loss of rice crops which threatened the life of millions of people.
The whole province was geographically isolated from the rest of India. The one road which connected it with Calcutta passed over large unbridged rivers and was unmetalled. It was impracticable for wheeled traffic in the rainy season. When the rains were heavy, even pack-bullocks could not be used. The Famine Commission remarked: "At this day the European officer who cannot obtain a special steamer must find his way into Orissa, slowly and tediously, as ancient officers may have travelled in the days of Asoka, and the very post takes several days between Calcutta and Cuttack." In the same season steamers could not land cargoes on its surf-beaten shore except in such small quantities as surf-boats could carry. Under these circumstances, if there was a failure of crops in the province, the absence of timely importation of food could be nothing but to invite deaths by starvation. This was what happened in Orissa in 1866.

In education, Orissa was extremely backward. In the whole province with an area of 52,995 square miles, and a population of 4,534,813, the schools and literate people could be counted by units. The schools of all grades numbered 77 with about 3,500 pupils. There was thus a general want of enlightened people, who could give practical information to the authorities about the prospect of a famine and insist on them for carrying out remedial measures.

There were no European settlers and merchants in the interior of Orissa districts who might have seen the state of things and drawn early attention to it. There were mission stations at Cuttack and Balasore and also at Pipili and Jaleswar. At Cuttack the East India Irrigation Company had large establishments. They confined their warning chiefly to their correspondence with England.

The entire system of administration was defective. The executive had little contact with the mass of the people and knew little about their material condition. Bengal was administered, according to the Commission, "judicially and not by executive power. The executive reigns but does not govern. It has little executive machinery and it may be said that it, on principle, avoids interference with the affairs of the mass of the people." It further stated that "the system of administration caused a defect of information and an unwillingness to take direct action on the part of the Government, which materially retarded measures of relief and which could not have occurred in any part of India."

It was, no doubt, unfortunate that the 30 years' settlement was just expiring and no new arrangement had been made. The tendency of such a state of things was rather to contract than to extend the assessable area and cultivation. The result was that the
agriculture received discouragement and the supply of produce was checked.\textsuperscript{11}

The discontinuance of Government salt manufactures in 1863 threw about 26 thousand people out of employment. Many of them had small patches of land but not enough for their subsistence. They chiefly depended on working for others. It was certain that any calamity would throw them out of employment and out of food. Upon this class the utmost severity of the calamity of 1866 fell.\textsuperscript{12}

The food stock in the country was very low at the time of the failure of crops in the month of October, 1865. This was both because the export had been usually brisk of late, and because the people had not been taught to protect themselves by retaining sufficient stores at home.\textsuperscript{13}

The export trade of Orissa was considerable and averaged 20,000 tons of rice a year during the six years preceding 1865. The price of rice remained cheap as compared with most other provinces up to the end of the year 1864. Though the people themselves had not undertaken any large mercantile operations, their surplus grain had been sought by others for this reason. The surplus from the crop of 1864 had been carried off by the “energetic Telingah ‘Koomtees’ of the Madras territory who have scoured the country to buy up the grain and an enterprising French house (Messrs. Robert, Cherriol and Company) who have exported largely by way of False Point.”\textsuperscript{14} The quantity exported was unusually large \textit{viz.}, 33,000 tons, of which Balasore alone sent away 28,000 tons. This had, no doubt, depleted the stocks to a considerable extent.\textsuperscript{15}

When crops failed in October 1865, the above factors must have added to the sufferings caused by the loss of crops. The history of the famine commencing from October, 1865, would show how the local officers and the Bengal Government, instead of undertaking effective remedial measures for relieving the distress of the people, aggravated it by not importing food in time and strictly adhering to the policy of laissez-faire or non-interference in dealing with food crisis. The result was that the factors already mentioned, coupled with total absence of timely importation, produced in appalling calamity. The Secretary of State, Sir Stafford Northcote, while reviewing the report of the Famine Commission, remarked: “I am reluctantly brought to the conclusion that though the melancholy loss of life which the Commissioners report may be due mainly to natural and inevitable causes, there has been most unfortunate want of foresight and energy on the part of those who were charged with the administration of the province, where it occurred and that some grave errors of judgement have been committed.”\textsuperscript{16}
Policy of Laissez-faire in dealing with Famine

Non-interference or laissez-faire was very popular and the idea of price control or even import of foodgrains through Government agency was considered an undesirable interference with trade. A strict adherence to it at the time of Orissa famine proved a havoc. The Secretary of State remarked that the conclusions of political economy were true only when sound reasoning was correctly applied to well—ascertained facts. In the present case the facts had not been ascertained. It was taken for granted that sufficient food would come out after the prices had risen. The argument of Government non-interference with supply and demand would have been just if the assumption upon which it rested had been true. Unhappily, assumptions were not true and reasoning proved fallacious.\(^{17}\)

On 27th October, 1865, Ravenshaw submitted to the Bengal Government a detailed report on the situation admitting that not only the people but also the cantonnement authorities found great difficulty in procuring rice and he struck a confident note: "There is, no doubt, plenty of grain in the country, and I am confident that sooner or later it will find its way into the market. I have impressed on all who have applied to me the necessity of patience and entire non-interference with the natural course of trade, as the demand will certainly regulate the supply eventually......".\(^{18}\) In the same letter he anticipated a half crop. Ravenshaw's confidence, so fundamentally at variance with actual facts, shows clearly that he was entirely out of touch with the needs of the masses. The Famine Commission rightly held that Ravenshaw's opinions "were rash and founded on wholly insufficient information. He was entirely new to the division, had never seen that district, and was not in a position to form confident opinions opposed to those which he received from collectors, who, in fact, themselves had as yet no sufficient opportunity of forming complete opinion".\(^{19}\) Ravenshaw himself admitted: "Looking back I could wish that I had recommended general importation of grain for the whole province at an earlier date and that the indications of local distress at Puri had led me to anticipate general famine and to make earlier provisions for it. I also see that too sanguine hopes were entertained of the stocks of grain in the country and of their becoming generally available".\(^{20}\)

The Board of Revenue agreed with Ravenshaw's opinion. The Board thought that there would be suffering but no famine. They were strongly opposed to the policy of Government undertaking the duty of purchasing and storing grain. They held that the Government could not "under any circumstances, interfere with the course of trade or take upon themselves the duty of traders without
doing positive mischief.” The Board added that if the Government were to attempt “a huge monopoly of this kind, the operation of ordinary traders would be paralysed and an infinitely inferior agency substituted.”

At this time when his presence in famine-stricken area was absolutely necessary, Ravenshaw left for the Tributary Mahals towards the end of November and was absent for more than two months. He penetrated very far into the hilly country, visiting parts scarcely seen by any European before. His correspondence was delayed by many days. The absence of the head of the division at such a critical time, particularly when there was no urgent political matter requiring his presence in the Mahals, was really unfortunate.

It was soon apparent that the distress could not be effectually met only by local private charity. That was not forthcoming with any liberality. The public work, therefore, was the only means for the relief of distress. Accordingly, a scheme was put into operation for organising relief works by undertaking the construction of roads. The relief works might possibly have afforded considerable relief to the suffering population, if the Government had not made the mistake of insisting on payment in cash wages rather than the supply of food to the labourers.

Mr. Ravenshaw returned to Cuttack from his tour on 31st January. A critical time had arrived. He despatched that very day, the following telegram to the Board, “Famine relief is at a standstill. Public works department refuse to advance money to collectors to purchase rice. Pooree must get rice from elsewhere. May I authorise advance for this purpose for Cuttack, Balasore or Pooree.” The answer received was decisive. The following telegram came from the Board of Revenue on 1st February: “Your message received. The Government decline to import rice into Pooree. If the market favours importers, rice will find its way to Pooree without Government interference which can only do harm. All payments for labour employed to relieve the present distress are to be in cash.” The result of this unfortunate telegram was to stifle and put an end to discussion regarding the importation of rice from that time till a period when the state both of the weather and of the people rendered it too late to import it with successful effect.

The Famine commissioners held that Ravenshaw’s telegram of 31st January marked the point “when either importation should have been ordered to render effective the public works contemplated for the relief of the starving, or special enquiry should have been made which, in all probability, would have brought to light the deficiency of grain and the necessity of importation for purposes still more extended.”
Sir Cecil Beadon, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, visited Orissa with his Public Works Secretary, Colonel Nicolls, and G. F. Cockburn, Member of the Board of Revenue, in the middle of February 1866. On 17 February he held at Cuttack a darbar which was attended by twenty Rajas of mahals, eighty Zamindars, and the convenanted and unconvenanted officers of the districts. In his darbar speech he explained that Government could never interfere with prices. "If I were to attempt to do this, I would consider myself no better than dacoit or thief." On this statement the Hindu Patriot of 5 March remarked: "No sane or righteous man would wish him to be either, but have not the people of Orissa right to ask him to act as a man and a brother? A despot as Louis Napoleon, is, he did not spurn the common feeling of humanity when he heard of the terrible dislocation which the late cyclone had spread his small dependency at Chandernagore." The Lieutenant Governor proceeded to say that the duty of relieving individual distress rested on the Zamindars and landed proprietors. He finally added that employment had been given to many thousand persons both in the Irrigation Company's works and on the public roads and thus much had been done to avert the more serious consequences of a great calamity.

His speech was printed and circulated to officials and non-officials. Its general effect was to create a considerable feeling of disaffection. It was taken by everyone as a final exposition of the Government policy not to interfere other than by providing labour in the mode already arranged. He left Orissa without discovering the necessity of doing more than maintaining relief works which had been already ineffective. He had before him the correspondence on the famine, which had passed between his Government and the Public Works Department. If he had gone about his business in right earnest, he would have elicited all the information he desired from the local officers and then taken effective steps to import rice. A precious opportunity was thus lost of giving relief to the famine-stricken population. On his return to Calcutta he discussed the subject with the Governor-General in a personal interview and affirmed that the circumstances of Orissa were not such as to render the importation of grain expedient or necessary.

Beadon tried to justify his conduct afterwards by saying that although he discussed the food situation with the local officers, he was never told that "the stock of food in the province was actually insufficient for the next year's consumption, still less than Government would have to import it from abroad." In condemning the Lieutenant-Governor's conduct, Sir John Lawrence remarked: "It seems to me incredible that all the different individuals with whom he
personally conversed, should have been altogether silent at such a momentous period, and that they should have given no expression to the anxious fears and doubts which they cannot but have felt. But at any rate the very clamour from the starving multitude, which beset him at Puri, ought to have led him to make special enquiry, which could not have failed to lay bare the real condition of the people at that very time. It was certainly the duty of the Lieutenant-Governor to have done this.”

After Sir C. Beadon’s visit towards the end of May, the famine grew and spread throughout Orissa till it reached gigantic proportions demoralizing and decimating the province. The price of grain increased to more severe famine rates. It became scarcer and scarcer, and starvation became more and more general.

The rice was always cheap in Orissa, 12 annas a maund being the usual rate. Its recent rise was unprecedented and should have attracted long before May, the official attention. During the last two years, the rate rose a little higher than the normal rate of 12 annas a maund, but it did not exceed Rs. 1—4 annas a maund. In the month of January 1866, the price was about Rs. 3 a maund in Balasore and Cuttack and a little higher in Puri. In February, it rose to Rs. 4 in the first mentioned two districts and Rs. 5/- in the last mentioned district. No step was taken to meet the fearful crisis which was fairly approaching. In April the price rose still higher, and rice became scarce. It was sold in Balasore at 9 seers, in Cuttack at 7, and in Puri at 6½ seers to the rupee. But April also passed away and the British authorities did not take any step. At last came the terrible month of May. The whole Orissa was “engulfed by the tidal wave of starvation and crime, disease and death.” The self-confidence of the British administrators received a great shock. It is rightly commented: “Seldom can official complacency and doctrinaire economics have combined to produce such a holocaust”.

In June all Orissa was plunged in one universal famine of extreme severity. The cry of the famine-stricken population waxed louder and louder everyday. There never were such crowds of starving people and such mortality in every nook and corner of Orissa. No sort of order could be kept among the famishing crowd and “for miles round you heard their yell for food.”

By the end of June, rice to the value of about 25 lakhs of rupees was imported. But the importation was very much obstructed due to the outburst of monsoon on the Orissa coast with terrific violence. As a result, not much rice could be shipped there. There were no harbours on the Orissa coast. False Point, which offered a secure
anchorage during the monsoon was only then discovered for the first time. Another difficulty was, when the ships had brought rice to the coast, to get it unloaded and carry up to the interior. It was not till September that any sufficient quantity of rice had reached the centres of demand. June, July and August were the months in which famine was most intensely felt.37

As fast as rice came in, the relief operations, paralysed for want of it, were revived and multiplied. In July some centres for the distribution of cooked food were established, some in August, and in September all the 88 centres were in operation in the three districts. The numbers of these centres were 43 in Cuttack, 22 in Balasore and 23 in Puri.38

The mortality reached its culminating point at the beginning of the second week of August, during the heavy rains and storms which preceded and caused floods in rivers Mahanadi and Kathjori. The people were then in the lowest stage of exhaustion. The emaciated crowds collected at the feeding stations, had no sufficient shelter, and the cold and wet killed them in fearful numbers. The floods which followed the rains, were unusually high. Though considerably less so than those of 1855, they were more frequently renewed. The lands were laid longer under water, and the damage to the tract lying near the rivers in the central portions of Orissa was excessive. In the flooded parts the loss of the expected crop terribly increased the prospective sufferings of the people.

In September there was some relief, not only by the greater extension and better supply of the feeding centres and sales, but also in most parts of the country from the ripening of the small early crop of rice. In November the new crop began to come into the market in considerable quantity and by then the general famine was said to have come to an end. The people returned to their avocations, leaving only the emaciated, the orphans and the widows. There still continued to be more general distress in the unfortunate tracts which had suffered a second calamity by the floods.39

Consequences

The famine of 1866 was an event of great importance in the history of Orissa. It marked the culmination of the negligence of Orissa under the British rule. It had some far-reaching consequences.

This famine proved to be very costly. The total importation of rice up to the end of 1867 was 11,16,810 maunds, and the total consumption 9,24,704 maunds, which left a stock in store of 5,92,106 maunds. The gross expenditure up to the end of 1867 was approximately Rs. 46,57,172.
In spite of this heavy expenditure, its severity was felt very acutely in every nook and corner of Orissa. It exacted a heavy toll of human life. The population before the famine was calculated by the Famine Commission of 1880, to be 3,700,000 and the mortality to a million.\(^{40}\) Referring to the extreme severity of the Orissa Famine, Sir George Campbell remarked: "We were shocked by the human remains we saw all around. From an Indian point of view, the area of very intense famine was rather small, being confined to a few millions of people; and the period of intensity was short, being no more than a single half year. But within these limits, it was, I think, by far the most acute famine experienced in any part of India in the present (19th) century.\(^ {41}\) The Famine Commission of 1880 remarked: "It is a melancholy reflection that while a larger sum of money was spent on this famine than had ever been spent before, it should be associated in history only with the memory of a greater mortality than had ever been recorded.\(^ {42}\)

The Orissa Famine revealed serious defects of the Bengal administrative system as well as the fundamental weakness of the theory of laissez-faire. It shook the English ruling classes out of their self-Complacency. The Famine Commission of 1866 pointed out that the whole system suffered from the defect of the information available on any particular problem and also from the reluctance of the Government to take direct action.

After the famine, the Bengal Government inaugurated a policy of adopting a more active system instead of the old laissez-faire, with a more direct contact with the people. It was held that the Government was not to set up courts of justice to keep the peace and to deal merely with those questions which forced themselves on the attention of Government. Such power and influence as the executive had, should be used more decidedly to ensure the performance of its obligations by each class of the community and to apply, whether by legislative or by executive action, suitable remedies for those defects and wants which a thorough knowledge of the facts disclosed. The practice of holding detailed and systematic inquiries as a preliminary to the action by the Government was instituted. Comprehensive inquiries and compilation of statistics became the basis of subsequent Government.\(^ {43}\)

The Famine Commission presided over by Sir George Campbell made certain recommendations regarding the measures to be adopted for prevention of famine in future. It "dealt much on the necessity of efficient means of communications as the best means of prevention." It also "pressed the advantage of security of tenures for cultivators", and advocated "irrigation within reasonable limits,
but warned the Government against relying upon that as a panacea of all evils. The Commission further stressed that “the Government must undertake responsibility for famine relief, and that adequate financial provision must be made for a heavy expenditure in famine relief and at recurring periods.” Various modes of relief, especially employment in useful public works, import of food, etc. were recommended. These recommendations formed the foundation of definite famine relief policies of British Indian Government. Therefore, Orissa Famine of 1866 had been regarded “as the turning point in the history of Indian famine.”

As the immediate consequence of famine and commission of inquiry, measures were taken in Orissa for preventing or minimising the effects of the recurrence of such a calamity. Communications with Orissa were improved, by the provision of access by sea at the False Point and the Dhamra river. Roads, both those leading to, and those within the province, were ordered to be completed as rapidly as possible. The development of the canal system was pushed on steadily. Much attention was given to the progress of education by opening up schools and colleges. Through the famine, Orissa thus attained a turning point in her destiny. Each calamity had its lesson and the lesson of this famine was the adoption by the Government of policy of attention.

The opinion expressed by Sir Stafford Northcote, then Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons, may be regarded as a just conclusion: “This catastrophe must always remain a monument of our failure, a humiliation to the people of this country, to the Government of this country and to those of our Indian Officials of whom we had perhaps been a little too proud. At the same time, we must hope that we might derive from it lessons which might be of real value to ourselves, and that out of this deplorable evil, good of no insignificant kind might ultimately arise.”

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44. RCF, I, pp. 139—145.
CHAPTER 17

ECONOMIC LIFE OF ORIYA PEOPLE DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD

Introduction

With the beginning of the British administration, the history of the Oriya people entered into a new phase of development. The Oriyas who had distinguished themselves in the fields of religion, architecture and literature had to experience a new life in economic activities. This brought about basic changes. The Oriyas had never been exposed to economic factors as strongly as they were during the British period. No doubt, the Muslims and the Marathas had had their own periods of exploitation. The people had been subjected to serious suffering during these periods; as a result, their social and cultural life had practically come to a standstill position. But these economic and administrative penetrations of the Muslims and the Marathas into the core of socio-economic life of the Oriya people were more like shocks of fever. They were more often than not like spasms rather than systems. The British period differed in this particular aspect. It was distinct for its systematic exploitation, neglecting the local interests and ultimately destroying the traditional economic structure.

The period of British administration over the Oriya people is varied. It began in 1759 in Ganjam. At the end of this year the French abandoned their settlement at Ganjam. They had trade relations with this town which was situated on the banks of the river Rishikulya. The British inherited this advantage from the French and invaded the Northern Orissa from Ganjam. Incidentally it may be of interest to note that Orissa had been in the orbit of the East India Company's political interest immediately after the battle of Buxar. It was as early as 1766 that Thomas Motte had taken necessary steps to begin discussions with the Maratha Subedar of Cuttack, Bhawani Pandit for political considerations. It was indicative that the British had felt the great necessity to extend their political influence
on Northern Orissa. Fortunately or not, these initial steps brought no fruits. The Marathas did not reciprocate the efforts of the British.³

The British authorities took all possible steps to conquer the whole of Orissa. They had taken the Southern Orissa by the middle of the eighteenth century. The second half of this century was spent in peaceful methods to take the Northern Orissa from the Marathas. From Clive to Cornwallis was a period of discussions and negotiations. By the dawning of the nineteenth century there were rapid and dramatic changes in the history of British administration in India. They had neither the patience nor the necessity to wait any longer for peaceful discussions to bring the whole of Orissa under their control. By this time, the Marathas had become very weak and they were not in a position to resist the British attack. Moreover, the British had gained enormous knowledge about the nature of the country and the character of the people. It is important to observe that the people from the Southern India, particularly the Telengas were of great assistance to them in the South-Eastern area. The Telenga soldiers had already been stationed in the Northern Circar which included the southern tract of Oriya people. It was obvious, they had no apprehensions of any native ruler’s resistance nor any trouble from outsiders.

In 1803, the real control of Orissa was attempted and on October 14th, the Fort of Barabati was occupied by the British.⁴

The British administrators had a number of difficulties in understanding the economic and administrative problems of the Oriya people. They were different from the people of Bengal and those of Madras. It was not possible to adopt the same methods and principles experimented in these two neighbouring provinces. The conditions varied from one area to another and a uniform pattern was out-of-question.⁵ In spite of these basic difficulties, the British had shown great sagacity in their economic policy towards the Oriya people. It is difficult to make a very general observation on this period which began in Southern Orissa as early as 1759 and ended in 1947 when the country won her freedom.⁶ On a surface study it can be seen that the economic conditions of the Oriya people during the whole of the British administration was not happy. There were patches of development in a background of general backwardness. From the beginning of British rule till the last, the Oriyas have lagged behind and this has very heavily told upon the social and economic life of the people.⁷

Land Revenue Administration

For a long period the British Officials were engaged to find out a suitable land revenue policy for the Oriya people. They had
special difficulties for the northern tracts which contained Cuttack, Puri and Balasore. They were unable to solve the problems of land revenue administration throughout the 19th century.\(^8\) This was due to the fact that the British had to work almost from nothing. Whatever information they got on the subject was either insufficient or misleading.\(^9\) During the first few decades the local officers like the Kanungoes and Putwaries were of little assistance. They did not offer true and relevant information which were of vital necessity. These officials could not be either disposed of or relied upon. This was a very difficult situation. On the side of the general public, they were not very helpful. Most of them considered it unpatriotic to help the British administrators and the rest played an indifferent role. It was important that many of the Oriyas believed that the British would not remain in their land for long. They thought that like many other outsiders the British also would vacate their land after collecting their share. There were still others who tried to get maximum personal benefit out of this confusion. The greater was the difficulty the more would be their personal gain. It was under such circumstances that “every man’s hand was either actively or passively against the collector and the interests of the individuals were in direct opposition to those of the Government.”

The indifferent attitude of the general public and the dishonesty of the officials made the problem of land revenue administration a very complex issue. The Government had no other alternative but to accept any information whether correct or not to begin a policy of land revenue administration. It was obvious that their entire policy had to confront with serious difficulties in course of time because the very foundations of information were wrong, misleading and ripe with malafide intentions. The problem was worse because many outsiders and non-Oriyas took advantage of the difficult position. But, “none in Orissa was adventurous enough to take advantage of the situation and seek his fortune by helping the British at the cost of his own countrymen, as had been the case in Bengal when the East India Company made the revenue settlement there”\(^10\) This attitude of the Oriya people was disastrous. The situation was very different in Bengal and Madras. In Orissa, neither persuasion nor threats were of any use.\(^11\) Since there was no proper dialogue between the Oriya people on one side and the British on the other, there was no proper understanding between the two parties. This is amply reflected in the remarks of one of the Commissioners of Orissa. R. Ker who was the Commissioner in 1817 and was responsible for a great deal of revenue reforms and administration of Orissa had remarked that the Oriya people were “rude and ignorant of all the various races of India subject to the British domain.”\(^12\) This kind of
prejudiced attitude of the British officers was most unfortunate and unhelpful for a proper assessment and development of the land problems of the area.

**Mistakes in Land Policy**

The British Officials had adopted a faulty policy for several years in Orissa. The efforts were hasty and sometimes leading to greater problems. For instance, the abolition of the post of the Gomosta in 1803 did greater injury to land revenue administration than anything else. The Gomosta was an important official when considered from practical point of view. Unfortunately the British thought that the Gomosta was the root of all corruption and his exit from the system of land revenue management would solve all problems. On the contrary, this was a hasty step. It was still inopportune to consider the local Oriya officers as “unintelligent, lazy, unenterprising and backward”. Since this was the attitude, a number of officers came from Bengal. They had no local interest. This was another cause which aggravated the economic problems of the Oriya people in general and that of land revenue administration in particular.

It was a mistake that the British believed that they could eradicate all the ills and corruptions from the land revenue administration of Orissa as if by a miracle. They were not prepared for waiting. They did not realise that the cloud of corruption in the field had been gathering since the Muslim and the Maratha rule and it would definitely take some time to go into the depth of the problem. Anything hasty would not only make the bad problem worse but also perpetuate the evils with still greater consequences. In fact, a lack of understanding of the problems they were dealing with and the men with whom and for whom they acted was the greatest obstacle in the process of land revenue settlement of the British in Orissa throughout the nineteenth century. The British officers had realised this difficulty. It was admitted that everyone was eager for personal benefit and nothing more. “Nothing indeed is more certain than that when we first began to dabble in revenue affairs, we found that whatever may have been the system of land assessment......it was bearing only the bitter fruits of extortion and oppression. Every man tried in his turn to pay as little and exact as much from his neighbour as fraud and falsehood could compass.” Whatever may be the degree of truth in this statement, at least one thing is certain that the British officials were in dark as to what steps to be taken for the economic policy. It would have been definitely wiser for them to have adopted maximum of the prevailing rules and regulations instead of bringing entirely new ones. The introduction of new rules and principles and
appointing new officers without any knowledge of local conditions and problems did more harm to the system than the benefits it brought. In short, the problem became worse because the local people were not in a position to understand and practise the new regulations adopted by the British.\textsuperscript{17} Nothing could have been worse than such a situation. It was but obvious that local resentment was mounting up and waiting for an opportunity to explode.

The problem was taking a very sad shape because of the feeling of most of the British officers that the native system should be replaced. Hunter admitted: "True to our national character, we settled in Orissa as merchants long before we made our appearance as rulers".\textsuperscript{18} Unfortunately, this kind of attitude remained frozen long after the British changed from business-men to rulers. Another problem which maligned the British Land Policy was their lack of decision. The British were unable to take bold steps and had a tendency to compromise with divergent ideas and methods which led to inefficiency and needless delay. The Government was further handicapped by some of their officers who had migrated from Persia.\textsuperscript{19} These officers were accustomed to autocratic methods of administration. They failed to understand the local problems of Orissa and also the English liberal ideas.

In an atmosphere of confusion, the easiest action the British could take was simply to increase the land revenue collections. They thought that this would enable them to face the Pindaries who were still at large on the boundaries of Orissa. Moreover, it was doubted that the Oriyas had given wrong information about their land, collections, nature of tenure etc. and it was but necessary that at their end the officers should show no leniency. They argued that harsh steps were necessary because the circumstances had compelled them to accommodate 'partial evils' for the sake of 'practical expediency rather than theoretical excellence'.\textsuperscript{20} But, such steps were not in consonance with the policy announced by the British. They had declared to make a settlement, "as may be most conducive to the prosperity of the country and to the happiness of the inhabitants". It was further added to this announcement that the intention of the British Government was to impose reasonable assessment and the jumma to be formed, "upon a just and moderate consideration"\textsuperscript{21}. This promise was not kept for the Oriya land-holders. Throughout the 19th Century, in the name of practical expediency the Government sacrificed the principles they had themselves formulated at the beginning of their administration in Orissa. This was done with the primary interest for greater collections from the land. The desire to exhort the maximum was so much that the British officers even did
not hesitate to falsify the records and figures about the land, the previous land-holders and the previous collections.\textsuperscript{22}

**Privileged Tenures**

One of the worst suffered areas in the history of land revenue administration in Orissa was that of the Privileged Tenures. The Jageer or service tenures had been an important form of land-holding in Orissa for a very long time. Both the Hindus and the Mughal rulers had accepted this form of service tenure for their service holders as a method of payment. According to this pattern, the rural administration was framed with various officers like the Kanungoes, Putwaris and others. This privileged tenure of Orissa could be compared with the system of Inam or Manyam of Southern India. In both cases, the state gave its right either partially or fully of its revenue demand in favour of the individual or institution as remuneration for certain services rendered in lieu of monetary contributions.\textsuperscript{23}

The practice of the privileged tenures was deep-rooted in Orissa, so much so, that the Mughals with their best efforts had not been able to do away with it. They had realised the essential part it played in the socio-economic life of the people. Therefore, though such an institution was not in accordance with the Islamic Law they had to extend it further. Privileged tenures had existed in some form or other in Bengal, and the British officers had the experience in dealing with it.\textsuperscript{24}

There were people who held individual Jageers. They were like Dolbehera, Bisoiy, Nayak, Kat Karan, Dollai, Khandayat, Paik, Bata Karan, Bohimal, Amin, Bebarta, Padhan, Sethi, Blacksmiths, Kauri Bhagia, Sima Karan, Vakil, Bhoi, Tandakara, Chokidara, Potters, Ghat Majhis, Hajir Karan and a few others. Besides these service Jageers there were quite a number of grants tenured for religious purposes. They included both Hindu and Muslim religious functions. The following is a list of such holdings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Privileged Tenure</th>
<th>Particular of the holder</th>
<th>Purpose for which granted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alamga</td>
<td>Hindu &amp; Muslim</td>
<td>Religious and Cultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madi-i-Mash</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Religious &amp; Spiritual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aima</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazoorat</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khankab</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fakiran</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>For Mendicants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazir-i-Dargh</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>For Shrines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the Privileged Tenure</td>
<td>Particular of the holder</td>
<td>Purpose for which granted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazar-i-Imani</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>For Muharram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zamini-i-Masjid</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>For Mosque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharach-i-Musafir</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>For Travellers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-fi</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>For noble men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piram &amp; Khirati</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>For Shrines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bromhotter</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>For Brahmins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devottor</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>For Deities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pirottor</td>
<td>Hindu &amp; Muslim</td>
<td>For noble men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inam</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>For rewards²⁶</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These privileged tenures extended to a large number of holders covering much of the best land available. This meant a great deal of social loss. The British adopted a very cautious policy to face the difficult situation. They realised that the task of the privileged tenures was fantastically heavy. There were more than one lakh of claims covering more than thirty per cent of the total cultivable land of the state. The British, though confronted with the problem of the privileged tenures earlier in Bengal, had never faced the problem of this magnitude and dimension ever before.²⁶ Their first attempts at the beginning to resume the jagir lands led to the Paik Rebellion of 1818. After this, it was inevitable that they should not repeat the effort again. On the other hand, the privileged tenures were increased. The British officers thought that the extensions of the privileged tenures would offer them greater protection. This was vitally necessary in such an un-opened province like Orissa. They thought that this would mean for them political gain though they might be sustaining an economic loss. Thus, inside the liberal treatment extended to the privileged tenure holders was a well-planned attempt to win their loyalty and make them obedient towards the Government. On the surface it seemed as if the British were taking a very liberal attitude but it was a diplomatic attempt to cripple any possible resentment against the British authority.²⁷

Socio-Economic Impact of the Privileged Tenure

It was not only that the privileged tenure holders were liberally treated in payment, they were in certain cases also given some administrative powers as well. Some of them even had police power. It was argued that this was necessary for maintaining law and order in the rural area. But this was a wrong step taken by the British,
These tenure holders with power in their hands exploited the common people. The system made one section of society stronger against the other, which was relatively weaker and ignorant. It was reasonable to say that the pattern of the privileged tenure was allowed to continue and grow wider for political rather than economic considerations. The question became heavier due to the assertion of the Court of Directors that their intention was to honour all the resumptive rights of the holders and not to encroach on any of the private rights on land. This was a great burden on the administrative machinery. This forced the local officers to pay all possible attention to disputes arising out of the privileged tenures. In the year 1837, as many as 29,382 cases were registered. These cases covered an area of 78,064 bighas. To investigate these cases the Government had to appoint a number of officers. This was a great burden on the limited resources of the province. These expenses could have been diverted to more fruitful purposes had the problem of the privileged tenures been more rationally solved.

In terms of social implications, the privileged tenure was more injurious. The holders of Jageers did not share their due social responsibility. They collected as much as possible from the cultivators and paid either very little or nothing to the Government. For example, the Khandayats and the Dollais forming the lower rank of society enjoyed land on privileged rates. The Baziafudars were allowed to hold their land on half rates on condition that their land would be duly assessed in the next settlement. The Lakhirajdars were confirmed with their free tenures. The Grace Jageerdars held their land on normal rates but did not have the right to alienate the land to others. They held the land on condition that they would serve the Government and support it. They were usually from the upper rank of society and their support for the Government was considered as important. There were still others like the Kharida, Khaakhansamni, Mirasamni, Degromahal and others who held their land on differing conditions.

By the end of the 19th century, in the 1897 settlement it was found that the number of the privileged tenure holders was enormously increasing. In Cuttack their number was 1,33,400, in Balasore it was 1,08,900, and in Puri they were 92,000 in number. In terms of acreage, it was 1,34,400 acres in Cuttack, 90,600 acres in Puri and 10,600 acres in Balasore. Most of these tenure holders were in there gular practice of transferring land on sale. Therefore, they took little interest in developing them. Within a period of ten years from 1887 to 1897 there were 14,006 transfers in Cuttack, the number was 7,723 in Balasore and 1,166 in Puri. This was a very sad state of affairs for economic progress. The tenure holders neglected their land and
cultivation ultimately suffered. This had a very sad impact on the economic life of the Oriya people because land constituted the basic force for all economic activities throughout the century.

Impact of Permanent Settlement on the Economy

The history of economic development of the Oriya people is very closely associated with the problems of permanent settlement of land revenue. This has been one of the most important problems for nearly one and a half century. The British had considered that the permanent settlement would relieve them from the anxiety of land revenue collection in Orissa. This was important because they had to devote more time for consolidating their position and moreover they were not in know of the detail problems of the area. Permanent Settlement was considered to be suitable with the experience in England and in some other areas. The British wanted to create a class of aristocrats in Orissa. Following the English pattern, the Zamindars under this kind of settlement were supposed to protect the cultivators and look for their development. It was considered to be a great success bringing immense benefit to the people and was a “most wise and benevolent plan ever conceived by a Government to render its subjects rich and comfortable.” It was further supposed that by permanent settlement the people would remain grateful towards the Government and would repay the state by “a firm and lasting attachment”.

In adopting the permanent settlement in Orissa, the Government promptly used their knowledge and experience of Bengal. They thought that what was suitable to Bengal would suit to Orissan conditions as well. By this assumption the British made a mistake. There were wide differences in economic and social conditions of the two provinces and it was obvious that what was suitable to the Bengal conditions was not so for Orissa. Historical factors had played no less a role. During the period of the Marathas the Zamindars or the middle-men in land revenue collections were eliminated as far as possible in Orissa. The Marathas did not appreciate them. They knew how much revenue such Zamindars absorbed and intercepted. In Bengal the position was different.

There were 174 estates permanently settled in Orissa. Of them, 23 belonged to Cuttack, 3 to Puri and 148 to Balasore. All of them did not belong to one category on administrative and political considerations. Sixteen of them were known as Tributary Mahals enjoying different status on political grounds. There were 21 Ekraj estates which had special position than the other ordinary permanently settled estates. Thus, these estates not only had economic
problems but also political and administrative problems as well.\textsuperscript{37} The rulers of the Tributary estates could imprison their subjects and fine them. This was quite extraordinary and it brought immense misery on the people. The rulers did not take any interest in the welfare of the subjects and raised numerous taxes though they paid a fixed amount to the Government.

This attitude of the British in their land revenue policy has been criticised in serious terms. Even some of the British writers and administrators did not hesitate to bring it to the notice of the Government and the public.\textsuperscript{38} There are many Indian critics who hold the British responsible for the ultimate ruin of rural India wherever the permanent settlement was introduced.\textsuperscript{39}

The experience in Bengal was of a different kind. It might not have been of deep realisation for the Government. But in Orissa, the experience was too bitter and there was no chance for any delay to realise the grave consequences of the effect. The Government at every stage could realise the harm done to the cultivators. Meanwhile, there were many landlords and people with vested interests who claimed to extend permanent settlement in other parts of the country.\textsuperscript{40}

It is of special importance that the British officials could realise the gravity of the situation and did not wish to extend permanent settlement to other areas. With that view they introduced Mahalwari Settlement in the North and Raytvari Settlement in the South.

However, the fate of Orissa remained unchanged. Though Orissan experience made the British wiser, Orissa gained little from the bitter experience. There was little change in the attitude and plan of the British administrators here.

It is important to note that the British had envisaged that the holders of permanent settlements would not stand on the way of progress and they would play the role of the English landlords.\textsuperscript{41} But unfortunately the results led to sad consequences. This can be found from the following figures which indicate the approximate collection made by the rulers and the Jumma they paid to Government. The balance was spent invariably on luxuries.

The fixation of Jumma from the permanently settled estates was not on any definite principle. It had no relevance on any kind of economic or revenue considerations. For instance, a huge estate as that of Mayurbhanj covering 15,000 square miles paid an annual jumma of Rs. 1,001 whereas a small estate like Nilgiri covering only 284 square miles paid Rs. 3,656; Khandapara which covered 300 square miles paid Rs. 3,948 and on the other hand Athagarh covering only 180 square miles paid 6,848 rupees annually.\textsuperscript{42}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the permanently settled estate</th>
<th>Jumma paid to Govt.</th>
<th>Approximate Collection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mayurbhanj</td>
<td>Rs. 1,001</td>
<td>Rs. 50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanika</td>
<td>Rs. 10,132</td>
<td>Rs. 19,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athagarh</td>
<td>Rs. 10,000</td>
<td>Rs. 35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aul</td>
<td>Rs. 2,668</td>
<td>Rs. 15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhenkanal</td>
<td>Rs. 4,780</td>
<td>Rs. 50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khandapara</td>
<td>Rs. 3,948</td>
<td>Rs. 20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nayagada</td>
<td>Rs. 5,179</td>
<td>Rs. 35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narsingapore</td>
<td>Rs. 1,364</td>
<td>Rs. 9,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranpur</td>
<td>Rs. 1,313</td>
<td>Rs. 11,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tigiria</td>
<td>Rs. 826</td>
<td>Rs. 3,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joumoo</td>
<td>Rs. 620</td>
<td>Rs. 5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kujang</td>
<td>Rs. 1,034</td>
<td>Rs. 7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haraespore</td>
<td>Rs. 4,083</td>
<td>Rs. 11,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sookinda</td>
<td>Rs. 1,279</td>
<td>Rs. 5,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhupore</td>
<td>Rs. 5,813</td>
<td>Rs. 3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chedra</td>
<td>Rs. 2,134</td>
<td>Rs. 4,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dompora</td>
<td>Rs. 776</td>
<td>Rs. 8,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baramba</td>
<td>Rs. 1,310</td>
<td>Rs. 9,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bissenpore</td>
<td>Rs. 1,740</td>
<td>Rs. 1,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulkutta</td>
<td>Rs. 123</td>
<td>Rs. 373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keonjhar</td>
<td>Rs. 2,790</td>
<td>Rs. 3,279²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is noteworthy that the British could realise their mistake in having the permanent settlements almost immediately after a few years of their administration in Orissa. They realised that the system would not help either the cultivators or the Government and would not be able to institute a class of landlords comparable to those of England. They declared that the idea of permanent settlement would be postponed.⁴⁴ In fact it was never done any more. The British had bitter experience of the working of the system in Bengal and Madras. It was decided that the idea of temporary settlement would be adopted for land revenue collections in Orissa.
Zamindaries of Southern Orissa

The condition of Land Revenue administration in the southern area of Orissa is interesting. The Zamindars of this region who dominated the economic conditions of the people claimed their inheritance from the native kings of Orissa. When the British came here they had to recognise them. Some of the Zamindars had their family history for more than three hundred years when the British came. The Zamindari of Ghoomsor was nearly nine hundred years old by that time.45

In general, the permanently settled estates of Southern Orissa paid more Jumma in comparison to the permanently settled estates of Northern Orissa. For instance, Khallikote Zamindari with an area of 231 square miles paid Rs. 18,975-8-10 annually. Athgarh with an area of 265 square miles paid Rs. 59,929-1-9, Birili paid Rs. 4,456-13-0 with a small area of only 47 square miles and Dhorakote with an area of 125 square miles paid Rs. 24,965-5-6. These figures indicate that at least the Government was not losing as much as they were losing in settling the jumma with the zamindars in other parts of Orissa. Of special importance is the zamindari of Jeypore which was one of the most important zamindaries of this region. It contained almost hilly tracts and the British had taken special attention for it both in fixing the jumma as well as in bringing law and order.

Consequences of Temporary Settlements

In a mood of anxiety the British had handed over the responsibility of several estates for land revenue collection to the Zamindars. This step was necessary for historical and political causes. By 1812 it was realised that the idea of permanent settlement should be seriously reconsidered for economic causes. If the whole of Orissa would have been brought under permanent settlement then the Orijyas might have had a different story to tell in terms of economic development. The Board of Directors objected to any extension of permanent settlement and the people had to undergo a number of temporary settlements.

The history of economic development of the Orijyas is intimately connected with these settlements. No doubt, even till the end of the 19th century there were many who were claiming for permanent settlement. But in the 1897 settlement it was declared that the idea of permanent settlement cannot be extended to new estates. It was argued that the land-holders in Orissa were not the original descendants of the native land-holders of the province; hence they deserved neither sympathy nor liberal consideration on the matter. It is interesting that most of the temporarily settled Zamindars were interested
in economic exploitation of the local people and hence desired to be settled permanently.

The issue of whether to have temporary settlement or permanent settlement became one of the crucial problems of the Government in Orissa. The land-holders on one side and the Government on the other were putting forward their arguments for and against the permanent settlement. It was in this background that no final decision could be taken on the matter and there were several temporary settlements as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Years of the settlement</th>
<th>Assessment in rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1804-1805</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11,78,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805-1806</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10,89,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1808-1809</td>
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This nature of temporary settlements had deep impact on the economy. At the end of each temporary settlement the land-holders used to hope for a permanent settlement and every time they were disappointed. They took no interest in improving the land or extending cultivation. There were a number of instances where resentment against the Government came to the surface. How unfortunate were the timings of extending permanent settlement can be seen from the instance of the year 1812-1813, which had been tentatively fixed for offering permanent settlement to the Zamindars of Orissa. This would indicate that the British did not have necessary foresight and calculation. Firstly, the economic depression which had begun since 1785 due to international copper market was closing in 1812. Secondly, the first period of British rule in Orissa had made the situation very difficult for taking any long-range policy on land revenue administration. Moreover, the introduction of salt monopoly by the
Government by that time had its repercussion on the land and agriculture of the region. People who were engaged in salt trade were thrown out of it and they had to take to land as an alternative occupation. This increased the pressure on land and the rents were dramatically altered. Under such circumstances it was not possible to fix up the Government assessment on a permanent basis.

The British realised that the idea of permanent settlement as a general principle in Orissa was a "dreadful blunder" but they did not make it an open declaration. They were apprehending that any such announcement would lead to a rebellion. In fact, the 1818 Paik Rebellion was a bitter experience for them. Therefore, they depended on settlement to settlement and within 33 years from 1804 to 1837, there were eleven settlements. These rapid settlements were a new experience to the people. Due to the uncertainty associated with the short-term settlements the land-holders rendered a good portion of the cultivable land desolate and the general economic life of the area was bound to suffer.

The temporary settlements posed certain basic problems for the Oriya people. First of all, the officers who were kept in charge of the land and general administration were not efficient. Most of them were not in know of the actual conditions of the people. They wanted to manage the affairs somehow or other. There was neither the sincerity nor the minimum experience. This was leading to malpractice on a large scale. On the other hand, many people tried to take advantage of the situation and claimed their rights on land on forged documents. The few officers, who were even sincere, had neither the time nor the detailed knowledge of such affairs. It was a very complex situation which would have troubled even the best possible administrators. The situation was becoming more difficult because in many instances the Government was depending on information supplied by the dismissed officers of the land-holders. Therefore, in general the informations were not reliable. On the other hand, this was the only alternative information other than those supplied by the land-holders themselves. The Government doubted the information given by the land-holders because that would lead them to loss and they accepted the information of the dismissed officers which was in most cases not true.

The basic suffering of the people as far as the land was concerned, was due to a prejudiced attitude which the British had against them. From the very beginning the local Oriya Zamindars were considered inefficient and dishonest. The Government in their anxiety for quicker collections even imprisoned some of them for default in payment. This was a very discouraging attitude. Hereafter, the Oriyas did not come forward and the gates were opened for
the outsiders to fill up the vacancy. It was most unfortunate that the British could hardly understand the difficulties of the Oriya landholders. They could not be as merciless as the outside land-holders in collecting the rents from the cultivators. This was not taken into consideration by the British and they sent many Oriyas to a jail made in Orissa for the first time at Cuttack.

The economic condition of the Oriyas has been greatly hampered by the Bengalee land-holders. Most of the land-holders who came from Bengal were experienced with the British life and administration. Unlike the Oriyas, they had the tact and sense of manipulation. With this in the background, within a short period, the entire situation of land revenue administration in Orissa was radically altered. The situation has been described by a Bengalee writer as: "The Oriyas were very shy and mistrusted their new masters...the Bengalee subordinates now profited, because soon it became impossible for the Oriya land-holders to pay the demanded revenue from their deserted villages. The Bengalee officers had more accurate information about the quality of the soil and with the help of the British officials they speculated in land property exclusively." It will be more accurate to say that the Bengalees could easily collaborate with the British officials and it was not very difficult for them to eliminate the entire tribe of Oriya land-holders. The task of the Oriyas became more difficult because of the sun-set law. As a result of this law even innocent and obliging Oriya land-holders lost their zamindari. The problem became more difficult because all zamindaries bearing a jumma of more than five thousand rupees were sold at Calcutta. In those days, there was no good communication to Calcutta. It was difficult for the Oriyas to be present at the time of auction and the Bengalees took advantage of this situation.

Sometimes, only a few hours' notice used to be given for sale of estates. This might have been deliberately done to favour the people of Bengal against the interest of the Oriyas. This adversely affected the agro-economic life of the province. Between 1804 and 1816, 1,011 estates were transferred from Oriya land-holders to Bengalees for an amount of Rs. 10,70,392 only. The British became very particular to impress that they were very strict about rules and regulations. Come what may, they would sell away the estates for non-payment. Sometimes, they even did not bother whether the resale fetched more money or not. There are instances when estates bearing a jumma of Rs. 1,52,019 were sold away for 72,540 rupees only. In certain cases it was seen that the resale did not fetch even the arrear amount due from the previous land-holders. This could have averted had the British adopted a more rational policy in
land revenue collection. They should have taken into consideration the existing economic situation of the area and the taxable capacity of the cultivators and the exact position of the land-holders.

Orissa suffered a series of natural calamities. Floods and famines were too common. The Oriya land-holders had been handicapped by the famine of 1804, 1806 and floods of 1807 and 1810. These calamities had greatly hampered the economic condition and unfortunately this was not taken into consideration. Remissions should have been granted to the land-holders. The Government adopted the same principle of not allowing remissions as they did in Bengal. But the Bengal position was different from Orissa. First of all, in Bengal there was no temporary settlement but permanent settlement. Again, in Orissa the zamindars were habituated to remission from the Mughal and Maratha times. The Mughals and the Marathas had been considering individual cases and whenever found deserving allowed remissions. The Oriya land-holders, though mistakenly, hoped for the same kind of treatment from the British. As a result of this fond belief, they had to pay very heavily. 58

It was surprising that the British, like real business-men wanted only collections. They were prepared to collect the land revenue from a minimum number of holders rather than allocating the revenue collection to a large number of land-holders. The larger the number of zamindars the better could have been the socio-economic impact on the Oriyas. But this was not done. The basic aim was for quicker and easier collections. It was with this idea that the Government was thinking that, “If possible and if people of substance were found, the whole zillah would be given in farming”, for “that would lighten the work of the Government”. 59

The fundamental principle on which the British dealt with the land-holders was basically different from traditional principles. In Orissa land did not belong to the zamindars alone—it belonged to the family. For non-payment of revenue the zamindar could be punished or even sent to jail. This was done during the Mughal and the Maratha periods; but the zamindari always remained with the family. For the fault of the one, the entire family could not suffer. 60 Under the British administration, an absolutely new principle was adopted. This was not only ruinous to the family of the zamindars but it had also very grave impact on total economy.

G. Toynbee has observed this pitiable situation with sympathy. He was of the view that the Oriya land-holders instead of being shown due consideration were put in greater trouble. For example, the number of kisties in which they were required to pay the jumma was less than that availed in Bengal. In Bengal the zamindars were
allowed to pay in twelve kisties or instalments whereas the Oriya land-holders were asked to pay the jumma in six kisties. This was a great hardship on them.61

A study of the history of economic impact in the context of land revenue administration in Orissa will be incomplete without reference to the role played by the British revenue officers. Not all officers were corrupt; but corruption was afloat in the air. The British officers dealing in economic affairs in general and that of land revenue in particular were essentially dishonest people. There might have been a few exceptions. But, most of them were so corrupt that they participated in the auction of the estates and purchased them in ghost names. They deliberately kept the price of the estates low and put the Government in loss.62 On the other hand, because of the advantageous position they occupied in the administrative machinery they were able to exploit as much as possible from the cultivators.

One of the reasons for the outburst of the Paik Rebellion was the general belief that the British administration has gone down the drain and corruption was breathed in the air. The Government was handicapped by the magnitude of this problem. Everyone, from the highest to the lowest remained in this orbit of doubt and suspense. More often than not the suspicion was founded on truth and was established on facts. For instance it was alleged that even E. Impey, the Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack was not free from charges of corruption. It was found that he had recommended one Maulvi Salim Ali to be appointed as a sheristadar for his ‘high moral character’.63 It was later discovered that Salim had supplied stone to Impey to build a house at Cuttack and he was finally charged to have misappropriated 37,000 rupees from the state treasury and was sent behind the bars for nine years.64

Impey’s case was not an isolated illustration in the history of revenue and finance management in Orissa. There were many other high officers who were involved in corruption charges. Thomas Cooper, Head Writer of the Judge’s Court at Cuttack was prosecuted for embezzlement. Deputy Collector Goldsbury was removed from office and another officer Forester committed suicide for such offences. Major Fletcher who was an important officer left a bad record for his ‘incapacity and dishonesty’.

It was not only the prevalence of corruption among the officers that made the economic life of the Oriyas under the British difficult, but also the number of officers was insufficient to deal with such huge number of problems. To meet this demand, a number of native officers were recruited and unfortunately, they in collusion with the zamindars exploited the cultivators. It was a sad experience.65
These officers did not possess the necessary foresight. Till the end of the 19th Century many tracts in Orissa were not even surveyed and the faith in the administration was losing ground. It is important to note that in many instances the intentions of the Government were misunderstood and not given proper treatment. The Famine Commission of Orissa in 1886 had pointed out that the defects in land revenue administration could not be ignored in connection with the economic problems of the century and the famines which resulted. In other parts of the country the Government made itself felt everywhere and undertook corresponding responsibilities but in Orissa the system was different. The executive "reigned but did not govern. It had little of executive machinery and in principle the Government had tried to shift the responsibility on the Zamindars, Jageerdars and others who were not in the least qualified for shouldering a responsibility."

The shifting of responsibility as was done in Orissa by the British Government was unusual. Any attempt even to ascertain facts had been considered an infringement of the principles of settlement. The administration sold away the welfare and interests of the common people for the benefit of the officers and land-holders. This was particularly so in the Tributary Mahals. The land-holders were offered privileges by rules and regulations which the Government itself could not encroach upon even if they wanted this for the interest of general economic welfare. The administrative machinery was bound by rules and regulations most of which were not desirable. This hampered even relief work in times of emergency. In short, the system of administration retarded economic measures in the province as in no other part of India.

**Economic Impact of the Absentee Land-Holders**

The economic impact of land was worsened due to the huge number of absentee zamindars in Orissa. These zamindars wished to invest their capital on land in Orissa without any social responsibility. Most of them came from Bengal. It has been observed that zamindaries neighbouring Bengal fetched a higher income than those away from it. Had these zamindars invested their capital in industries in Orissa, the economic life of the Oriya people would have taken a better turn. Unfortunately, they did nothing of this kind. On the other hand, they exported much from Orissa in grains which caused serious shortage of food for the Oriyas. According to the Famine Enquiry Commission of 1867 the annual export of grain from Orissa was 20,000 tons. This export of food grains was one of the important causes for a number of famines from which the Oriyas suffered
throughout the nineteenth century. By the time of the worst famine of 1866, rice exported from Orissa was sold much cheaper in the Calcutta market at 30 seers per rupee. Most authorities agree that the famine of 1866 was not due to natural causes, it was primarily because of the attitude of the absentee land-holders.  

Whenever a new assessment was approaching, the zamindars were anxious to prove the poverty of their land, and therefore neglected cultivation. On the other hand, they used to be very anxious to collect all their dues from the cultivators and forced to sell their crops and cattle for payment. This was enough to cause a famine. The 1866 famine which ravished 12,000 square miles, affected 40,00,000 people and killed 10,00,00 persons was in fact the culmination of this kind of selfish attitude of the absentee land-holders who dominated the economic life of the Oriya people for more than a century.  

The absentee zamindars defended their position by arguing that they had to adopt a discouraging course of action due to the attitude of the Government which did not declare its intention about the coming of permanent settlement. So much so, the Zamindars with the intention to keep as much land as possible fallow, even did not take water from the canals provided. They preferred even to incur a loss so that the next settlement could be lighter. This can be verified from the fact that the investments of the Eastern Canal Company of 17,68,069 pounds in the major canals and 2,98,625 pounds in the minor canals were practically a losing concern receiving only 976 pounds from the major canals and 767 pounds from the minor canals. It was only after the declaration that the permanent settlement would not be extended in Orissa, the Zamindars took water from the canals and by the closure of the 19th century canal water reached 2,25,998 acres of land.  

In Orissa, people suffered because capital and labour remained mostly in the hands of outsiders. Orissa remained a “neglected benighted province.” The situation led to increase of wealth outside the agricultural community with increasing poverty within. The real chances of agricultural improvement were lost in the imbalance of the labour force of the community and the sources of investment available. The theoretical explanation given by Adam Smith that in such a context the share of labour in social production would be minimum was approaching reality.  

It was unfortunate that the British officers paid excessive attention for collecting land revenue and little attention for making any improvement for economic and agricultural sectors. The situation was further worsened due to the fact that more attention was
paid on revenue rather than on production and this led to excessive subdivision of holdings. This was unfavourable for a healthy agro-economic progress. For instance, the number of holdings increased from 5,4000 in 1837 to 31,900 in 1897 in Cuttack and from 1,5000 to 7,5000 in Balasore during the same period.75

On the whole, the condition of agriculture was deplorable. Eighty per cent of land in Orissa was either not cultivated or insufficiently cultivated.74 And without doubt, agriculture was the basis on which the entire economy of the Oriya people depended. The chances of further investment, ploughing back the products and other opportunities of investment became almost impossible.

Manufacturing of Salt

Manufacturing of salt had deeply influenced the economy of the Oriya people quite for a long time, and definitely throughout the nineteenth century. Salt trade was an important item absorbing labour and capital of the region and the economic conditions of the people fluctuated with every change in the salt trade. The manufacturing of salt in Orissa did not begin with the British—it was existing much earlier. During the Mughal period it was considered to be a very important occupation but the salt traders did not have the capacity or the resources to develop the trade on a large scale.

The British took advantage of the earlier grounds left in the field of salt trade in Orissa and made no mistake in exploiting all possible opportunities to develop a monopoly in the trade. In this context references can be made of the ‘Exclusive Society’ of Lord Clive. This Society had its ups and downs but the fact remained that the British officers had realised the immense importance of the salt trade and a possible source of collection either for them or for the Company.75

From the lake Chilka to the river Subarnarekhra there was a beautiful belt for salt production. Labour was comparatively cheap in this region and island communication was comparatively easy. There was a class of people who were known as ‘Malangis’ engaged in manufacturing salt. The life of this class of labourers depended on the development of the salt trade during the different phases of British history in Orissa. During the Maratha rule, they were not organised and the salt trade was left more or less to individuals or to groups of Malangis. Any monopoly or higher degree of control over these Malangis was not possible for administrative difficulties. However, Orissa salt used to be sold in markets of Bengal and Bihar. This is enough to prove the good quality of the salt and the improved state of the trade. The Maratha Government did not take any interest in the
business—it simply confined itself to collecting some share of profits from the salt traders. Some of the Maratha officers became very rich by this trade. One Maratha salt trader named Sambhu Bharati had gained importance both politically and economically by this trade alone. Some idea can be derived from the fact provided by Rajaram Pundit who was the Governor of the Marathas in Orissa about the salt trade and its economic importance. It was said that the Marathas were receiving as much as two lakhs of rupees from salt trade from the Bengal market alone annually. 76

The first problem the British had in connection with salt trade was not in Orissa but with the Bengal market. They had established monopoly of salt trade in Bengal as early as 1765. Since then, they had the difficulty with Orissa salt. The price of salt in Bengal was higher than the price in Orissa for the simple fact that in Bengal it was a monopoly price and in Orissa it was fixed in the open market. Because of this price difference, a lot of salt used to be smuggled. The British officers wanted to stop this smuggling and as early as 1784 there was an order prohibiting taking of salt to Bengal by any other persons except the permitted officers of the Company. The British even wanted to take the salt trade of Orissa from the Marathas long before they actually occupied Orissa. The Marathas who realised the importance of the salt trade refused it. On the other hand, they were ready to sell salt to the British at a lower rate allowing them a larger margin of profit. 77

The matter, after prolonged deliberations, ended in a compromise. The British got some degree of control of salt trade in the district of Balasore alone. This was done on the plea that Balasore was the border district and this step was necessary to stop smuggling of salt into Bengal. Though this was an effective step it did not satisfy the British interests in full. The Marathas still continued to smuggle salt from other areas of their possessions in Orissa and the economic interests of the Company continued to be in problem. The British officials made the punitive measures for salt smuggling more severe. By the beginning of the nineteenth century it was notified that salt attempted to be smuggled into the territories of the Company would be confiscated. 78

The manufacturing of salt in Orissa was brought under the salt commissioner James King in 1807. He took keen interest in the trade and in 1808 he supplied 1,50,000 maunds of salt to the Calcutta market. The production rapidly increased under the supervision of James King to 4,00,000 maunds. This enormously influenced the economy of Orissa.

The problem of salt manufacturing was made more difficult by the zamindars in whose lands salt was manufactured by the Malangis.
The place used for manufacturing salt was known as ‘aurang’ and there was the problem associated with these aurangs as regards their occupation right. The Zamindars in whose estates these aurangs were situated naturally claimed share of profit from the Malangis. This reflected on the price of the salt and ultimately influenced the total salt price and export.

With the introduction of salt monopoly by the British the position of the Zamindars in relation with the Malangis became more difficult. The Zamindars had no power over the British officers and they shifted their demand on the Malangis completely.79 This lifted the direct impact of the Zamindars’ collections as far as the British were concerned but the indirect impact was more severe than before. The British officers took little time to realise the situation and readily reported the matter to the higher authorities to relieve the Malangis from the oppressive exactions of the numerous zamindars of Orissa.

It was not merely an economic issue though it concerned about the income of the zamindars, the profits of the British officers and the earnings of the Malangis. The matter was considered to be of vital interest in the background of the Paik Rebellion of 1817. Many felt that the salt policy was one of the main issues which led to the rebellion in that year. However, the British argument was that an individual consumed salt worth only 14 annas and 7 pies in that period and a rebellion for such a small amount of expenses seemed to be quite unlikely.80 It was further argued that the price of salt in Orissa was much lower than the price of the commodity in the neighbouring regions like Bengal and Bihar. But the price of salt in the context of price level of other consumable commodities in the period was high. The price of rice was 30 seers for a rupee, that of mung was 20 seers per rupee and the price of salt was Rs. 4 per maund. This was definitely a high price. Ewer, one of the British officers, wrote: “I certainly believe the salt monopoly to be a real and unexaggerated grievance to the inhabitants of a large part of the district, and that the introduction of it with its consequences curtailed the already scanty comfort and circumscribed enjoyments of the oriah ryot”.81

Salt has been considered as an essential commodity for the Oriiyas because of their rice eating habit. It was never a luxury for them. But the policy of the British was so unfortunate that many people had to consider salt as a luxury for them. This view has been approved by a number of impartial British high officials. They deplored the economic policy of the Government and opined that it was most disastrous.82
Famines During the 19th Century

The very first year of British administration witnessed a famine (in 1803). From that year onwards, the economic problems of the people became worse from year to year. The impact of the Industrial Revolution in England was felt in India. The British power was regarded as the instrument for ensuring the necessary conditions by which the potentially vast Indian market could be conquered by the British Industry. It went to that extent that the Oriya people were denied the opportunity to make salt from the sea-water and were practically forced to purchase it from the British traders.84 These methods of economic penetration into the very core of agro-economic life threw a large number of Oriyas out of employment and hit very hard the entire economy of the province.85

As a result of the commercial and economic policy of the British, the Oriyas found the opportunities for economic progress in non-agricultural sector almost closed. Hence, they had to divert their attention to land; and there too they had to face serious problems. However, that was the only way, if at all there was any, left for them.

Depending too much on the land was a handicap for economic progress for the Oriyas during the 19th Century. Rainfall was uncertain and agriculture was a real gambling. This was clearly proved by the famine of 1866. Added to the uncertain rainfall there was the policy of the government which made the situation worse. Many authorities contend that this famine which was one of the worst famines of the century was more man-made than nature-sent. The worst portion of the famine affected area of Orissa was described as “one widespread sea of calamity”.86

The famine took a sharp shape because most of the Oriyas were poor. Whatever food grain was available was brought by traders and sold outside Orissa. The ‘Koomtees’ exported large quantities of food grains to the Madras territory. There was a French Company named Messrs. Robert, Cherriol and Company which also exported large quantities through the False Point.87 The total export of food grains just before the famine was more than 33,000 tons as against the normal export of 17,400 tons.88 The officers did not prevent this. The Zamindars wanted collections from the tenants because the settlement was coming to a close and they were not sure of the next settlement. The cultivators were compelled to sell away their paddy at whatever price they were offered. Unfortunately, the Government officers were not able to understand the position rightly. They carried on the wrong impression that there were large stocks of food grain with the cultivators hoarded and they thought
that this hidden paddy would come in time. They were completely wrong.\(^{89}\)

The famine of 1866 in Orissa clearly exposed the wrong policies of the British both in production and distribution. They knew that there would be serious shortage of food but they failed to take necessary steps. Even when private individuals and associations came forward to assist in the situation the officers seemed to be not very much moved. One British mercantile firm, Messrs. Gisborne and Company generously offered to import rice from Burma on Government account but this was turned down. There were many others who felt for the “starving poor of Orissa”.\(^ {90}\)

A general observation can be made that the whole of 19th Century was one of difficulties for the Oriya people. In 1803, 1806, 1808, 1809, 1813, 1817, 1828, 1830, 1837 and 1842 there were droughts. In 1815 there was a serious flood. In 1831 there was a major cyclone which was described as a “major calamity ever visited earth.”\(^{91}\) In 1834 there was again a flood, in 1840 and 1841 Orissa suffered from scarcity which created a “melancholy spectacle.”\(^{92}\) In 1842, there was a storm again. In the second part of the 19th Century Orissa suffered from repeated floods in 1851, 1853, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1862, 1866, 1868, 1872, 1874, 1877, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1885, 1892, 1894, 1895, 1896 and in 1900. Added to these floods, there were storms in 1866, 1872, 1874 and 1892.\(^ {93}\) It was but natural that the economic life of Oriya people could have been anything but unfortunate during this period of repeated disasters.

The economic life in Western Orissa was relatively happier and more secured. By the time the British occupied this area, there were plenty of opportunities for economic development. This was due to the fact that the land was fertile and the deep forests supplied many items of trade. Cotton, tobacco, sugarcane, oil-seeds and many other cereals were profusely grown. Cultivators who had migrated from the Chatisgarh tracts were hard workers and were able to adjust to any difficult situation. This was the reason why even with an uneven rainfall the nature of agriculture had remained high in many areas of Western Orissa particularly in Sambalpur District. It may be mentioned that the average rainfall in the area is nearly 60 inches but unfortunately it is not evenly distributed. To meet the challenge of Nature, there had been a good network of irrigation projects which played no less role in making the economic life of the Oriyas in this area comfortable.

The economic conditions of Western Orissa were so good that the area was considered immune from famines till late. It was said particularly of Sambalpur area that it was the Garden of Eden.
and a "Land of Promis". But by the end of the 19th Century there were a few exceptions. There were the famines of 1886 and 1897. They exposed Western Orissa to a new dimension of economic necessity which had never been felt before. It was obvious that by the beginning of the 20th Century economic life in Western Orissa was far from being satisfactory.

The Last Phase

During the last phase of British administration the economic condition of the Oriya people was interesting. They lived in villages by 96% and the rest 4% squeezed themselves in the unhealthy and insufficient conditions of urban life. More important was the fact that 20% of the total population belonged to the scheduled tribes scattered in different districts and 17% of the population to the scheduled castes. This was a heavy strain on the socio-economic life. These people did not have sufficient background for a push through any kind of modern economic or commercial activity. The rest of the people were poor and mostly accepted white-colour jobs. The British had no special interest to bring them to a higher par of technical know-how and the chances of economic exploitation were left in the hands of the non-Oriyas who mostly came from the South and settled in the southern portion of Orissa, and those who preferred the East and Northern region came from Bengal, Bihar and other provinces of the country.

By the time the British left India the economic strength of the Oriyas was as low as to show only Rs. 14.9 per capita expenditure whereas this figure stood at Rs. 35.1 in the Punjab, Rs. 27.1 in Bengal, Rs. 20.0 in Bombay, Rs. 18.2 in Madras and the overall figure for India was Rs. 21.1. The consumer's expenditure being so low there was no impetus for economic growth and whatever was produced in the province had to find market elsewhere.

Accordingly, the holding capacity for wealth fell down by the middle of the present century. There was a steady decline in the man-land ratio. This in its turn badly reflected in the general economic life of the people. There was no active effort to gear up industrial development and on the other hand the existing agricultural sector suffered a steady decline due to several factors and mostly because of the impact of the World Wars. Most of the able-bodied Oriyas had to go either to Burma or to the tea-gardens of Assam or the Jute Mills of Bengal. This drained out the working-class labour from the province and the land was left uncared and miserably neglected.

The economic conditions existing in the province can be determined by the price index of certain vital commodities by 1946. The
wholesale index of rice was 332, Sugar 195, Ghee 454, Gur 338, Wheat-305, Tobacco-521, Salt 200, Jute 240 and Pulses 350. This would give an impression when compared with all-India figures that there was general backwardness in the area.

The backwardness was a result of negligence continued for decades. The infra-structure was weak and had not been looked after very much. The money spent in 1947 under different heads was as follows:

<table>
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<th>Head</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
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<td>Medical</td>
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<td>Public Health</td>
<td>11,82,000</td>
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<tr>
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<td>10,50,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civil Work</td>
<td>55,51,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This level of expenditure on developmental branches was too low to be of any great importance. When compared with other areas of the country, this gave a dismal picture. The growth of the infra-structure was of highest importance and it was positively neglected. Added to this problem, the annual recurrence of floods in the coastal districts and drought in the other districts did not allow any scope for economic development.

The investors coming from outside the province did not like to invest their capital in Orissa because of the uncertain political condition that prevailed during the inter-war period. Even the existing industrial projects were not properly replaced. This was not a good sign for economic development. Moreover, there was the growing peasants’ movement throughout the province. This movement was too weak to bring about any basic change in the agrarian economy of the people but it was too strong to retard any kind of agricultural progress. The smell of uncertainty was felt everywhere.

The British left the Oriyas as they had found them when they had first come here. One hundred and fifty years they stayed in the coastal districts and fifty years more in the Southern parts; and during this period they were not able to bring about any fundamental changes in the economic life of the Oriyas. Changeless they continued in poverty and economic frustration as changeless were their rivers, mountains and temples have been for centuries whom ages could not alter nor made them stale.
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THE PRINCELY STATES OF ORISSA
IN RETROSPECT

Historically the Princely States of Orissa are more remote in antiquity than the appellation "Orissa". This (Orissa)\(^1\) is a modern nomenclature believed to have been in vogue from the time of the Muslim Suzerainty in this land. This name seems to have been derived from the word "Udra", the name of one class of people living under the permanent identification of militia class in this ancient land from time immemorial. Originally the Udras, who were Aryans, migrated to this part of the country at some remote period of history. There is reference to them in Manu Samhita, Ramayana and Mahabharata. At that time Orissa was called Kalinga or Utkal. Kalinga was a very prosperous and powerful country with vast political extensions and economic expansion. Its military prowess was so great that it could successfully retain its territorial integrity for a pretty long period when other parts of the country were subjected to intermittent political turmoils. The mention of Kalinga in "Rig Veda" indicates the ancient existence of this land even six thousand years ago.

Though the Princely States, also called Tributary Mahals and Feudatory States, do not have an authentic and comprehensive history of their own, and in addition a series of traditions and legends of doubtful value have grown round their origin, the archaeological evidences so far discovered prove beyond doubt the great antiquity of some of the Ruling Families.

According to tradition, these hilly inaccessible tracts were originally ruled by tribal chiefs but in course of time were penetrated by Aryan adventurers,\(^2\) who, by reason of their superior military prowess, subjugated the tribal chiefs and established themselves. The topographical features of most of the states provided an excellent abode for primitive men. Their prehistoric existence is proved by the discovery of Palaeolithic and Neolithic implements at two places
of Mayurbhanj—Kuliana and Baidyapur. Next in order of antiquity are the small mounds, fresco painting and rock inscriptions of Dengaposi which carry us back to the 4th Century A.D. The other archaeological monuments and sculptures of high excellence are found at Khiching in the Mayurbhanj State and at Gandharbadi in the Baud State. The temples of Khiching belonging to the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. give eloquent testimony to the high degree of cultural attainments by the rulers of Mayurbhanj. The temples of Gandharbadi, besides being monuments of great architectural excellence, also serve as the model for the study of temple architecture in Orissa because of its antiquity.

The Bhanjas of Bhanja Bhumí or Mayurbhanj were split up in course of time and established themselves in Keonjhar and other parts of Orissa. The copper plate grants of the Bhanja dynasty, so far discovered, range in date from the 7th Century, A.D. to 13th Century A.D. This inexorable epigraphic evidence coupled with the existing monuments and archaeological findings of Dengaposi and Khiching proves beyond doubt the great antiquity of the Bhanjas of Orissa.

According to legend, the rise of the present Ruling Dynasty of Patna, the parent State of the Sambalpur group, synchronises with the fall of the Somavamsi Kings who ruled over that region up-till the 12th Century A.D. Ramaideva, a scion of the Chauhan Dynasty, taking advantage of the chaos that followed the fall of the Somavamsis, established his sway over that region about the middle of the same century. This is corroborated by the discovery of the ‘Parimalagiri’ hoard of gold coins.

The decline of the Somavamsis was also followed by the rise of the present Naga Dynasty of Kalahandi. The details are described in the report of Colonel Elliot, Deputy Commissioner of Raipur in 1856. But before the establishment of the ‘Naga’ Dynasty, the state had a long history of its own as is evidenced by numerous archaeological monuments, sculptures and copper plates. On the basis of these finds, the antiquity of Kalahandi could be traced to the pre-Christian times. The river ‘Tel’ finds mention in the Buddhist Jatakas as ‘Tela-Baha’. A copper-plate charter of Mahasivagupta Balarjuna, a Somavamsi King of Shrirup mentions two villages named Khadirpadraka and Baidyapadraka donated to a Siva Temple, which have been identified with the villages of ‘Khaipadar’ and ‘Bejipadar’ in the Kalahandi State. This proves that the Kalahandi State was under the Somavamsi Kings. The existing monuments also corroborate this. J. D. Beglar who visited the ruins of Rajapadar (also called Belkhandi) has conclusively established their affinities with the monuments of Central Provinces built by the Somavamsi kings.
References are also found from Copper Plate Grants which are definitely connected with the Ruling Dynasties of Dhenkanal and Bonai. The rulers of the former with their names ending with 'nanda' or 'ananda' ruled and issued Copper Plate Grants in the 10th Century A.D. from Jayapura, now represented by the village of the same name with archaeological remains in the Dhenkanal State. The rulers of the latter state, known to have belonged to the Mayura Dynasty, migrated from Chitrakuta and ruled over 'Bonai Mandala' in about 10th Century A.D.  

Though no systematic archaeological survey has so far been conducted in the states of Orissa, nevertheless, the available archaeological evidence and geographical data establish beyond doubt the fact that these hilly, wooded and inaccessible tracts are ancient in origin and maintained their separate political existence through the vicissitudes of time. Their congenial geographical features solely contributed to their separate political existence. The acknowledgement of any paramount power by them did not necessarily mean their political extinction as separate states at any time in the annals of Orissan history.

During the period of Gajapati supremacy in Orissa which began in 1434-35 and almost ended in 1541, most of the states remained as feudatories but certainly without losing their separate political existence. An inscription in the Lingaraja temple of Bhubaneswar belonging to Gajapati Kapilendra Deva proves that there were feudatories under him. While paying tribute and rendering feudal services to the Gajapatis, they were completely left free to exercise their internal sovereignty. In the words of Prof. P. Mukherjee: "Many of the Garhjat Chiefs, ruling as they were in inaccessible jungle fastnesses, enjoyed virtual independence. It cannot be easily determined to what extent they recognised the suzerainty of the Gajapati Kings."

Their separate existence led some of them to entertain ambitious and aggressive ventures to defy the paramount power. After the death of the last Gajapati ruler, Prataprudra Deva in 1541, the founder of the Bhoi Dynasty had to face a fierce contest from a Garhjat Chief for the imperial throne. It is recorded in the Madala Panji and accepted by the historians that Raghu Bhanja Chhotaraya, a scion of the Bhanja Dynasty, entered into bloody strife with Govinda Vidyadhara, the founder of the Bhoi Dynasty—but was subdued by him. Again the same Raghu Bhanja taking advantage of the anarchical conditions that followed the death of Chakrapratapa, (successor of Govinda Vidyadhara) made an attempt to capture the imperial throne but was defeated and captured by Mukunda Deva."
Some smaller states like Athgarh, Baramba and Bamra were created by the Gajapati Kings themselves. It is said that Purusottam Deva, the second ruler of this (Gajapati) dynasty, with a view to satisfying his refractory brothers, made them feudatory chiefs under his suzerainty. These Princely States are sometimes referred to as Garhjats and Tributary Mahals also. A modern historian states as follows the political status of the feudatory chiefs.\textsuperscript{11}

"Before this country passed into the hands of the British Government, the chiefs were subordinates to the Raja of Puri, the \textit{de facto} Raja of Orissa from whom they held as liefs these mahals. The grants were originally made in recognition of menial services which the ancestors of the present beneficiaries had rendered to the then reigning monarchs."

Raja Mansingh’s allotment of papers published by Stirling in 1822 contains a list of feudatories under the Raja of Khurda. Khan-i-Duran (1660—1667 A.D.), the Mughal Governor of Orissa, in his despatch to Emperor Aúrangzeb, mentions Raja Mukunda Deva of Khurda, "the leading Zamindar of this country, whose orders are obeyed by all other Zamindars, whom all the Zamindars of this country worship like a god, disobedience of whose order they regard as great sin."\textsuperscript{12}

The sentiment of the feudatories towards the Raja of Puri or Khurda as written by Khan-i-Duran and Motte, is again corroborated by the report of 1818 by Mr. Ewer, the then commissioner of Orissa.

"The Garhjat Rajahs, formerly the great feudatories and Jaghirdars of the Gajaputte (Gajapati) Dynasty of sovereigns to this day acknowledge themselves the servants of the Khooordah Rajah and present Nuzzurs through their Mookhtars on each succeeding sooniah."

The year 1568 marked a turning point in the history of Orissa. This was the beginning of a period of disintegration and humiliating submission to foreign rule. After the death of Mukunda Deva, Orissa became subjected to the Pathan rulers of Bengal, and next to the Mughal Emperors of Delhi and finally to the Nazims of Bengal. These Muslim powers held Orissa under their suzerainty for a period of 183 years from 1568 to 1751. But this was not a period without political turmoil. Besides internal strife among the Muslims themselves, there was stubborn resistance from the people of Orissa, who being emboldened by the advantageous physical features of their country made continual desperate bids to thwart the domination of the Muslims. This comparatively short span of Muslim political hegemony left no permanent legacy of its culture and religion in Orissa mainly because of the Hill States which served as an effective bulwark against its spread.
There is no authentic evidence to prove that the Princely States of Orissa remained as feudatories under the Mughals and Afghans. Rather it is clear from the records of the Mughal historians that some of the Hill States did not hesitate to aggrandise themselves at the cost of the Mughal Empire whenever there was an opportunity. There is specific mention of this in the records of ‘Mayurbhanj’, the greatest of the States, because of its promximity to Bengal. According to Muraqat-i-Hassan, during the period that followed the serious illness of Shahjahan in 1657, “Krishna Bhanj of Hariharpur, the leading Zamindar of this province spread his power over the country from Medinipur to Bhadrak, a distance of about 50 or 60 Kms, seizing the property of the inhabitants and wayfarers and severely oppressing the people.”

The ruler of Mayurbhanj was not the only Garhjat Chief who defined the Mughal authority, but almost all the leading rulers of Orissa tried to profit from the chaos that followed the flight of Shuja, the second son of Shahjahan, from Bengal. The Muraqat vividly describes the conditions of Orissa during the interregnum and says that the Zamindars on the further side of Katak had been collecting vast forces and getting ready for war. Lakshminarayan Bhanj, the Raja of Keonjhar, wrested from Shuja’s men the fort of Machhara or Bachhara which has not yet been identified.13

After the accession, Aurangzeb sent Khani-i-Duran to quell the rebellion in Orissa. He defeated and killed Maharaja Krishna Bhanj and made his son Tribikram Bhanj (I) acknowledge the Mughal suzerainty. After defeating the titular Gajapati of Khurda, Khani-i-Duran ravaged Keonjhar and recovered the fort of Bachhara.

This short account of the Mughal relation with the Orissa States is enough to indicate their independent political status. Their revolt against the paramount power was doubtless an example of their military strength. Even when they were conquered, they were left free with their internal sovereignty, only subject to the formal acceptance of Mughal overlordship.

Orissa next comes under the sway of Aliverdi Khan who usurped the Musnad of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1740. Aliverdi invaded Orissa in 1741. Though his main rival was Murshid Kuli Khan, the Deputy Governor, the Zamindar of Morbhanj (Mayurbhanj), supporting the cause of Murshid Khan, gave him a strong resistance near Suvarnarekha.14 Of course, the troops of Morbhanj were easily dispersed by the superior artillery of Aliverdi but the role of a Garhjat Chief in support of Murshid Khan at a critical juncture was very much significant. Aliverdi Khan invaded Orissa for the second time when there was revolt. This time after quelling the
rebellion he marched against Morbhanj, defeated its ruler, Raghunath Bhanj and plundered the State.15

In 1754, compelled by the Marhattas, Aliverdi Khan ceded the Province of Orissa to Bhonsla Raja Raghujli (II) of Nagpur. Thus a new phase of political supremacy began with the Marhattas, which lasted for half a century (1754 to 1803). This was a period of anarchy and turmoil—repression and brigandage. They held their sway not only over the coastal strip, which was under the direct administration of the Muslims and had become known as “Mughalbandi” but also maintained their precarious control over the Hill States, only through coercion. Excepting the exaction of the stipulated tributes, the Marhattas were not interested in interfering in the internal administration of those Garhjats. They were left free in their internal administration. But instances were there when the Hill States had to fight pitched battles against the Marhattas partly to vindicate their independent political status and partly to oust the oppressive overlords.

Their political status and relations with the Marhattas are reflected in a series of letters published in the Calendar of Persian Correspondence. We learn from a letter received from East India Company’s gumastah at Balasore on the 22nd November 1763, which informs the Governor that the Rajah of Mayurbhanj was at war with the Marhattas and an army under the Marhatta General, Bhaskar Pandit was marching on Mayurbhanj.16 After the replacement of Sheo Bhatt, the first Marhatta Subahdar of Orissa, by Chimna Sau, also known as Chimna Bapu, there followed anarchy for some time. The Garhjat Chief of Dhenkanal, taking advantage of the situation, attacked and murdered Buli Khan, the adopted son of Sheo Bhatt.17 The younger brother of Sheo Bhatt, Bhaskar Pandit, entered into a confederacy with the zamindars of Mayurbhanj and Nilgiri against Chimna Bapu.18 In a letter to the Governor received on the 24th November 1764, Bhawani Pandit writes that he “will shortly march to root out the rebellious zamindars of Hariharpur (Mayurbhanj) etc.19 A letter of the 28th February, 1765 indicates that Bhawani Pandit invaded Mayurbhanj but retreated to Cuttack before that date. The invasion of Mayurbhanj by Bhawani Pandit is corroborated by the accounts of T. Motte, who undertook a journey to Sambalpur through Orissa at the instance of Lord Clive, the Governor of Bengal. The ruler of Mayurbhanj, Damodar Bhanj, was defeated by Bhawani Pandit because of the treachery of his own uncle, who was the Commander-in-Chief of his forces. But subsequently he recovered his lost power and independence as we find a letter addressed to him by the Governor of Bengal, dated the 24th December 1767, where the latter has requested him to give
necessary assistance to Mr. Portsmouth who had been appointed to survey the English districts contiguous to the seashore.

Since the Marhatta rule was never enlightened but repressive and baneful, widespread discontent and resentment arose in different Hilly States. A number of these states rose in revolt against the Marhatta sway. The most conspicuous of this group was the Raja of Dhenkanal. The evidence of such defiance is found in the translation of a Persian Letter enclosed in the correspondence of Rudolph Marriot, the Resident of Balasore, dated the 15th January 1781. This event is corroborated by another letter to Government, dated the 31st January 1781, from D. Anderson who had been entrusted to negotiate with the Marhattas for the passage of British troops through Orissa to northern circars. This fight has also been graphically depicted in a contemporary Oriya poetical work, “Samara-Taranga” by Brajanath Barjena.

The Sambalpur and Patna group of states came under the sway of the Marhattas only towards the end of the 18th century. It appears from a report of P. Vans Agnew on the Subah or Province of Chhattishgarh in 1820, that Raghujii Bhonsla, had succeeded in collecting Chauth from Sambalpur and its adjoining States through his agent Mohan Singh.20

The Marhattas, on the whole, had to face dogged resistance from the Hill States towards the close of the 18th Century. The waning of Marhatta power in Orissa encouraged some of the Garhjats to declare independence. This is clear from a letter from Lord Wellesley to Lt. Col. Campbell, dated the 3rd August 1803. Thus the situation was very much propitious when the Britishers appeared on the political scene of Orissa and effected the conquest of the province in 1803. The widespread political unrest, coupled with the continuance of maladministration and anarchical conditions, sapped the foundation of the Marhatta power in Orissa and paved the way for a new phase of political activities under the British. Thus Stirling is justified in his statement that, “the administration of the Marhattas was fatal to the welfare and prosperity of the country and exhibits a picture of misrule, anarchy, weakness, rapacity and violence combined, which makes one wonder how society can have kept together under so calamitous a tyranny.”

When the Marhattas were in a moribund stage and were gradually losing their grip over the Garhjats of Orissa, Raghujii II, the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur became involved in the Second Marhatta war which came as a direct aftermath of the Treaty of Bassein. The Britishers, in fact, had coveted, long before the commencement of real hostilities with Raghujii II, the annexation of Orissa so as to unite
the northern circars by a continued line of seacoast with Bengal which was imperative for the safe existence of British empire in India. To secure the co-operation of the Hill States or at least to ensure their friendly neutrality, the Fort William Authorities opened negotiations with some of the strategic states and also issued specific instructions to Lt. Col. Campbell (Commander of the expeditionary forces) to show a conciliatory attitude towards all the Chieftains of Orissa.

The British got the opportunity to secure the active co-operation of Mayurbhanj, the biggest and the most strategic of the States and also contiguous to the coastal strip, by supporting the cause of Rani Sumitra Devi against Tikayat Trivikrama Bhanj, the adopted son of the Late Raja Damodar Bhanj in a succession dispute. The Raja of Daspalla was also contacted by the British officers because the strategic Baramul Pass, which was considered to be the key to Chhattishgarh and Nagpur, lay in this State. This is evident from a letter of Lt. Col. Harcourt to the Acting Military Secretary to Government, dated Laul Baug (Lal Bag), Fort, Cuttack, the 28th October 1803.

The Ruler of Patna contacted Lt. Col. Broughton, the British Officer who conducted military operations against the Marhattas in the Sambalpur region, and rendered valuable help, which was communicated to the Government by this Officer in a letter dated the 24th January 1804.

The rulers of Sonepur and Baud also rendered military assistance to the British troops of the Sambalpur region.

From the correspondence passed between the British officers in Orissa and the Government at Fort William, it is evident that a number of states rendered active military assistance to the British in their military operations against the Marhattas.

There is no doubt that the British considered the support and co-operation of the Hill states or Garhjats as an indispensable requirement for the speedy conquest of Orissa. Had they adopted an antagonistic attitude, the British military operations would have certainly been subjected to a series of difficulties and procrastination. It is noteworthy that none of the Garhjats rendered any help to their paramount Power, the Raja of Nagpur, which hastened the discomfiture of the Marhatta army in this province. Thus the attitude of the Garhjat Rajas towards the British was not merely the outcome of disinterested neutrality but rather the result of spontaneous and wilful support and co-operation. There is no evidence to show that the British ever thought the conquest of coastal strip would automatically bring the Hill States under their control. On the other
hand, it is evident that the early British administrators made a clear distinction between two categories of territories in Orissa, of which one known as ‘Mughalbandi’ was to remain directly under the British as a result of the conquest of the Chief Towns in the coastal area and the other known as ‘Garhjats’ owned by the Tributary Rulers, was to be the subject of Treaties and Engagements by which the British would become their paramount power in place of the Marhattas. This distinction is clearly indicated in a letter dated, Cuttack, the 19th January 1804, from Lt. Col. Harcourt and J. Melville, the Joint Commissioners of the Cuttack Division to Major General Wellesley:

“The country called by the Marhattas the Subah of Cuttack comprised two kinds of possessions, one of which is distinguished by the name of Moghulbundy, the second by that of Ghurjaut; the first was considered actually in the possession of the Government as a royal domain or lands held direct from Government without any intermediate superiors; the second held by the Tributary Chief-tains, paying a stipulated revenue to Government.”

It is clear from Stirling’s report that the mere fact of paying a fixed revenue to Government did not entitle an estate to be regarded as a Tributary. It is the political antecedents of a territory that determined its position as being called a Tributary. Thus it was neither the annual collection of revenue, nor the total area nor the population also which formed the basis of distinction between the Estates paying a fixed Jamma of the Mughalbandi area and the Hill Tributaries. An attempt was, in fact, made by an Estate (Aul) paying fixed Jamma to be admitted as a Tributary in 1809. But, in spite of the recommendations of the Commissioner, Mr. Buller, this could not be accepted by the Government. Thus by 1809 the Garhjats or Tributary States as a class had become very much distinguished from the Zamindars paying fixed or variable revenues to the Government. As a matter of fact, the tributary status of the Hill States of Orissa was not an award given to them by the British, but they were in enjoyment of it in the preceding periods. The British Government merely confirmed this status on them at the outset of the British rule in Orissa. The continuance or confirmation of the traditional political status of the Garhjats was more because of political expediency than anything else. Annexation of those inaccessible, undeveloped and turbulent hilly states would have created economic and political liabilities for the British without adding any advantage to their political position.

The British relations with the Hill States of Orissa began in fact from 1803 which marked the conquest of Orissa by the British. It
was in this year that the Marhattas ceded the whole of Orissa with the Garhjats to the British.

The Oriya-speaking states, on the basis of their political combination prior to the British conquest and their first relation with the British Government, can be divided into three distinct groups.

Of these, the first group known as Orissa Tributary States or Mahals, consisted of 19 states. These states entered into Treaty Engagements with the British Government in 1803. They were the following:

1. Athgarh  
2. Baramba  
3. Athmallik  
4. Dhenkanal  
5. Hindol  
6. Khandapara  
7. Narasinghpur  
8. Nayagarh  
9. Nilgiri  
10. Angul  
11. Banki  
12. Ranpur  
13. Talcher  
14. Tigriria  
15. Baud  
16. Daspalla  
17. Keonjhar  
18. Mayurbhanj  
19. Pallahara

J. Malville, the first Commissioner for the Civil Affairs of Cuttck, sent special messengers to each of these states and reported the matter to the Government in a letter dated the 19th September, 1803.

The second group, known as the Sambalpur Garhjats, comprised seven states. They were: Sambalpur, Bamara, Banai, Gangpur, Patna, Rairakhol and Sonepur. These states continued to remain under the sovereignty of the Bhonsla till 1818 and finally came under British sway in 1826 as a result of the policy of ring-fence pursued by Lord Hastings. The British Government granted sanads to these states in 1827.

The third group, known as the Singhbhum group, contained two States—Saraikelle and Kharswan. Of these, the latter had no separate political status of its own. It was a dependency of Saraikella which has been recognized by Major Roughsedge in a letter, dated the 4th February 1810. The first Sanad was imposed on these States in 1860.

Besides these States (enumerated above), there was another Oriya-speaking Garhjat which does not come under any of these categories and needs a separate treatment. This was Kalahandi or Karond. This came under the Marhattas towards the last part of the 18th century and continued to be under their suzerainty up-till 1853 when the Nagpur State finally became extinct by the operation of the Doctrine of Lapse. Thus it was only in 1853 that Kalahandi came under the British Government. In 1867 this State received Sanad from the British Government.

At the first instance the independent political status of the Hill States of Orissa was recognised by the British Government and they
were exempted from the operation of the General Regulation system prevailing in the British provinces. This internal sovereignty of the Hill States was not a political concession given by the British but it was in their possession at the time of British conquest of Orissa. Although there is no clause either in the Treaty or in the Kaoool-Namah which implicitly or explicitly provides for the revision of the relation between the British Government and the Rulers at any future date, yet, both the letter and spirit of these Treaty engagements were violated and the British Government adopted an attitude towards these States that was totally incompatible with the first Political Contract. The Tributes of some of these States were arbitrarily raised and also attempts were made to introduce British regulations in the Hill States. The original position of the Tributary States of Orissa underwent a significant change in the subsequent period of their link with the British Governments when Sanads were imposed. In the Sanads the Tributary States were redesignated as “Feudatory States” which no doubt indicates an inferior political status. This was done by the British Government without caring to examine the original position of these States as defined in the first Treaty engagements.

Of the first 19 Orissa Tributary States, Banki in 1839 and Angul in 1848 were brought under the direct administration because the Raja of Banki was found guilty of murder and the Raja of Angul was found giving shelter to the criminals of the Baud State. Also, in 1849 the State of Sambalpur was annexed to the British Orissa.

The numerical strength of the Orissa Tributary Mahals was first 17 (after the annexation of Banki and Angul) but subsequently was raised to 26. To this number Bonai and Gangpur were added in 1905 being transferred from the control of the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur, and Bamra, Kalahandi, Patna, Rairakhol and Sonepur came at the same time from the control of the Commissioner of the Chhattishgarh Division of the Central Provinces. Finally the States of Sarai-kella and Kharswan were transferred from the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur in 1916.

Prior to 1906 all the States were directly under the administrative control of their respective Commissioners. The Commissioner of Orissa was given the title of Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals, a designation created in 1814. After the amalgamation of the seven States of Western Orissa with the existing 17, the post of the Political Agent, Orissa Feudatory States, was created in 1906 with his office at Sambalpur under the Commissioner of Orissa as the Superintendent, Orissa Feudatory States. It was only in 1916 that Sarai-kella and Kharswan were added to the charge of the Political Agent, thus increasing the number to 26. Again from 1st April 1922, the
Commissioner of Orissa Division, ceased all his connection with the States and all powers heretofore enjoyed by him were transferred to the Political Agent who was designated as Political Agent and Commissioner, Orissa Feudatory States. An Assistant Political Agent was at the same time appointed to assist him in administration. On 1st April 1933, the Eastern States Agency was established consisting 26 Feudatory States of Orissa and 14 other States from the Central Provinces. After the enquiry of the Butler Committee in 1929, these States were taken out from the control of the Provincial Government and kept directly under the Central Government. The Governor-General, then known as the Crown Representative, exercised his control over these States through the Agent to the Governor-General, stationed at Ranchi. There were two Political Agents under him (A.G.G.)—one for the 26 Orissa States with Headquarters at Sambalpur and the other for the 14 C. P. States with Headquarters at Raipur. Subsequently, two more States of Bengal—Tripura and Cooch-Behar were added to the Eastern States Agency. The designation of A.G.G. was also changed to 'Resident', and the Headquarters were transferred from Ranchi to Calcutta.

But this was not the final arrangement. The Eastern States Agency was further split up into three different agencies in 1936 under the same Resident, known as Bengal States Agency, Orissa States Agency and Chhattishgarh States Agency. The Orissa States Agency only represented 23 out of 26 Oriya-speaking States. Mayurbhanj was included in the Bengal States Agency and Kalahandi and Patna in the Chhattishgarh States Agency. Again in 1937 by granting new sanads, the status of the different Feudatory States was redefined with the sole objective of removing the various inequities, mainly arising from their grouping and regrouping under different administrative units. They were divided into three classes named A, B. & C and a uniform status had been accorded to the States of the same class. The new Sanads recognised the Ruling Chiefs of the Orissa and Chhattishgarh States as autonomous Rulers of their own Principalities.

The feudatory chiefs, being safe under the imperial protection, grew autocratic in their attitude and adopted exaction and repression as the standard norms of their administration instead of trying to ameliorate the lot of the people. Abysmal poverty of the people, combined with political oppression, provided grounds for popular unrest. Starting with sporadic uprisings, this popular unrest took a new dimension under the impact of the National Movement and finally merged in the main stream for liberation from both the Princely as well as the British yoke.
The Princely States of Orissa, though regarded as a "historical anachronism" by the nationalists of the modern period formed an interesting and inalienable annexure to the history of Orissa. But for it, the history of Orissa would have been an incomplete and dry narration of the rise and fall of dynasties lacking in historical continuity and comprehensiveness. Varying in number under different Paramount Powers, the Princely States formed an integral part of Orissa from a remote period and played a momentous role in its annals.

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A BRIEF STUDY ON THE FEUDATORY STATES OF ORISSA AND THEIR CONSOLIDATION

The Feudatory States of Orissa consisted of a group of 26 dependent territories attached to the Division of Orissa, and comprised the following States: Athgarh, Athmallik, Bamra, Baramba, Baud, Bonai, Khandpara, Daspalla, Dhenkanal, Gangpur, Hindol, Kalahandi, Keonjhar, Kharswan, Mayurbhanj, Narasinghpur, Nayaragarh, Nilgiri, Pallahara, Patna, Rairakhol, Ranpur, Saraikella, Sonepur, Talcher and Tigriria. Of these the States of Bamra, Kalahandi, Patna, Rairakhol and Sonepur were attached to the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces and Bonai, Kharswan, Saraikella, and Gangpur were attached to the Chota Nagpur Division and the remaining States were known as the Tributary Mahals. They lay between 22° 34′ and 19° 2′N, and 82° 32′ and 87° 11′E. They were bounded on the north by the State of Jashpur in the Central Provinces, the districts of Ranchi, Singhbhum and Midnapur; on the east by the districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri; on the south by the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam in the Madras Presidency and Khondmals (Angul); and on the west by the Raipur district, and Raigarh State of the Central Provinces and the districts of Sambalpur in the Bengal Presidency and Vizagapatam district in the Madras Presidency.

The States formed a succession of hill ranges which rolled backwards towards Central India. They formed three watersheds from south to north, with fine valleys between, down which poured the three great rivers the Mahanadi, the Brahmani and the Baitarani. The peaks were densely wooded to the summit, and, except at the regular passes, were inaccessible to beasts of burden. The natural beauties of the country were exceedingly fine. Vast ranges of forests and tree-clad hills and mountain ranges alternated with well-watered valleys gleamed bright in the sun, with green crops of paddy, or in the winter season, with brilliant yellow crops of _surguja_ contrasting
brilliantly with the deep green foliage of the forest. In the open plains along the valleys of the large rivers kilometres of highly cultivated lands stretched out before the eye, shut in on the horizon by lofty peaks and forest-clad ranges. In the wild hill tracts of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Bonai, Kalahandi, and at Barmul in Daspalla the soft beauty of the hill-clad ranges was relieved by wild precipitous bluffs scored and seemed by the storms of ages. In the rains raging torrents flashed for kilometres in the sunlight and hurled themselves in fine waterfalls to the slopes below. The finest of these waterfalls dropped over the sheer southern face of the Chheliatoka range (3,308 feet) in Bonai. In the highlands of Kalahandi, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Bonai clear pellucid hill streams flowed perennially, babbling over stones and rushing in tinkling waterfalls between grass-clad banks and sedgy shores, shaded by towering trees. Many were the deep, silent pools with the banks fringed with masses of white lilies, and the silence broken only by the gentle gurgle of the stream as it slowly trickled from the pools or by the splash of some rising fish. Here the kingfisher darted to and fro in all its glory and birds of every colour imaginable glorified the scene. In the rains these streams became wild torrents and swept all before them.

The inland hill tract, which formed the area covered by the Feudatory States, was chiefly composed of rocks of very ancient date, so completely altered and crystallized by metamorphic action. The same rocks cover an enormous area in Eastern and Southern India, and are usually spoken of, in works on Indian geology, as the crystalline or metamorphic series. However, the greater portion of the Feudatory States of Orissa was never explored geologically, and the information procurable as to their character is incomplete. In Mayurbhanj, the Chief had a geological survey conducted over the greater portion of that State. The vast area of the Similipal range of hills was, however, not investigated. Up to 1874-75 even the Talcher coalfield had only received, for the most part, a very hurried examination.

As regards the flora the surface of the plateau land between the valleys where level, was often bare and rocky, but where undulating, was usually covered with dense scrub-jungle in which *Dendrocalamus strictus* was conspicuous. The steep slopes of the hills were covered with a dense forest mixed with many climbers. *Sal* (*Shorea robusta*) was prominent. Among the other noteworthy trees were species of *Buchananis, Semecarpus, Terminalia, Cedrela, Cassia, Butea, Bauhinia, Acacia, and Adina*.

The large area of the States of Orissa was of one common physical aspect and the fauna were homogeneous. The elephants, however, did not generally range south of the Mahanadi although
fairly numerous in the central and north-eastern portion of the tract. Wild buffaloes were rare. Bisons usually called Gayal occurred in the denser and remoter forests in every part of the States. Tigers (Felis tigris), panthers (Felis pardus), hyaena (Hyaena strilata), wild-dog (Canis rutilans), jackal (Canis aurea), fox (Vulpes bengalensis), palm-civet (Paradoxurus niger), common Indian sloth-bear (Ursus labiatus), honey-badger (Mellivora indica), spotted deer (Aris maculatus), Indian mouse-deer (Memitina indica), muntjac (Cervulus auratus) and four-horned antelope (Fetraecerus quadricornis) were found throughout all these States. The Sambar (Rusa artoletis) generally frequented the high and most inaccessible hills. The Nilgai (Portax pictus) was found in all the less wooded forest, where it fed largely on wild berries. The black buck antelope (Antelope cervicapra) occurred in Kalahandi and Patna States.

Birds were numerous and occasionally to a certain extent protected, not from any religious feeling, but because they had taken the emblem of some of the Chiefs. Pea-fowl, jungle-fowl and common spur-fowl were found in plenty. The painted spur-fowl occurred, but was not common. The partridge was comparatively uncommon. The great horn-bill was often found in the forest tracts. Flocks of geese, ducks and teals were found in the winter season.

The climate of the States was akin to that prevailed in the rest of Orissa, except that it was hotter in summer and colder in winter. The climate of the States which bordered on the coastal districts of Orissa was naturally moister than that of the States further inland, and the temperature was somewhat lowered by the moist cool breezes from the sea. In the States in the neighbourhood of Sambalpur a temperature of 112° to 113° in May and June was not uncommon while a thermometer placed out on the open ground at Rampur of the Kalahandi State, in the early part of January, recorded temperatures of 33° to 34° at 6 O'clock in the morning. The majority of the population of the States was Oriya. The Bhuiyas, Binjals, Bhumijas, Gandas, Hos, Juangs, Kharias, Kandhas, Koras, Oraons, Santals, Savaras and Sudhas were the major tribes. The people were, on the whole, truthful, peaceable and law-abiding.

The majority of the population of the States followed agriculture as their chief source of livelihood. Few people were engaged in industries and trade. At Kantilo in the Khandpara State and in the Narasinghpur State a considerable manufacture of brass utensils was carried on. The next important industry was the weaving of tusser cloth at Sonepur and Binka in the Sonepur State. At Maniabandha in the Baramba State people manufacture silk and cotton cloth of fine quality and artistic patterns. In the States of Dhenkanal
and Nayagarh ivory work of good quality was made. In Baud in the Baud State and Tarabha in the Sonepur State there were skilful silversmiths. In Bonai and Nilgiri States people manufacture utensils from the soap-stone found there.

There were few local traders. Regular weekly or bi-weekly markets were held in all the States at convenient centres where the ordinary daily requirements of rural people were usually bartered for grain.

The land revenue system was a simple one and was practically homogeneous throughout the States. The land revenue was collected through the big farmers called gaontias, ganjhus, sarbarahkars, pradhanas and thikadars.

Education was backward in most of the States, but there was a steady progress, especially in primary education.

The health of the people was good. The main diseases were fever and bowel complaints. Outbreaks of cholera and smallpox were frequent, but with the spread of vaccination smallpox became less virulent and uncommon.

Wages were paid both in kind and cash. There was little of skilled labour except carpenters, blacksmiths and masons who were paid between Re. 0·17 to Rs. 1·25 per day according to their skill. Unskilled labour was paid at Re. 0·12 to Re. 0·19 per day. Agricultural labourers were paid mostly in kind. The system of bethi and begar was prevalent.

Relics of older civilization, such as, stone tools, potteries, coins and ruined forts are found at different places of the Feudatory States. The rock paintings and pictographic writings found on the hill ranges at Manikunda, Ushakothi, Gudahandi and Sitabanjhi throw light on the prehistoric and proto-historic culture of the States of Gangpur, Kalahandi and Keonjhar respectively. The archaeological remains at Khiching and Haripur in Mayurbhanj State are of considerable magnitude. In Baud there were many small but exquisitely built temples. In Narasinghpur, amidst the ruins of a brick temple, was found a sculpture carved on a slab of hard red sandstone with a central female figure, one of the finest specimens of the kind to be met within Orissa. In Baramba State in a romantic islet in the bed of the Mahanadi there was an old Saiva temple dedicated to Simhanath. The sculptures of Anantasayana Vishnu found at Sarang in Dhenkanal State and at Bhimakhand in Talcher State were remarkable for its peculiar style, technique and magnitude. The Chausathi Yogini temple and the ruined brick temple at Ranipur-Jharia, and the Nrusimhanath temple near Harisankar were the notable old monuments of Patna State. Besides, there were several inscriptions,
architectures, sculptures and decorations found at different places of the States.

The States had no connected or authentic history. The western and hilly portion of the Province of Orissa from the earliest times consisted of numerous petty principalities which were, more or less, independent of one another. They were first inhabited by aboriginal races, chiefly Bhuiyas, Savaras, Gandas and Kandhas, who were divided into innumerable communal or tribal groups each under its own chief or headman. They carried on incessant warfare with their neighbours on the one hand and the denizens of the forests on the other. In course of time their hill retreats were penetrated by powerful adventurers, who, by reason of their superior powers and intelligence, gradually overthrew the tribal chiefs and established themselves in their place. Tradition also relates how certain daring interlopers came to this part of the country and remained behind to found kingdoms and dynasties.

It was thus that the founder of the Raj family of the Patna State over seven hundred and fifty years ago set up his sway over a cluster of States known as the Athara Garhjats or 18 forts. According to tradition the ancestor of this royal family was a Chauhan Rajput Chief living near Mainpuri, and was expelled from his territories by the Muslims. This family settled down in Patna and quickly extended its power, till finally the whole of the country which was known as the Sambalpur district and the adjoining States of Sonepur and Bamra, the Chiefs of which were made tributaries, fell under its sway. The area under the sway of this family was divided up between two brothers. From this division originated the supremacy of the brother who received Sambalpur as his portion. Patna rapidly became a dependency of the Chief of the Sambalpur State which had grown the most powerful of all the cluster of Garhjat States. The State of Sambalpur fell before the Marathas, and with it Patna. Tradition relates that one Jai Singh became ruler of Mayurbhanj sometime after 1098 A.D. and was succeeded by his eldest son, while his second son got Keonjhar. The Chiefs of Baud and Daspalla said to have descended from the same stock, and a Rajput origin were also claimed by the Rajas of Athmallik, Narasinghpur, Pallahara, Talcher and Tigiria. Nayagarh, as tradition relates, was founded by a Rajput from Rewah, and a scion of the same family was the ancestor of the royal house of Khandapara. On the other hand, the Chiefs of a few States, such as, Athgarh, Baramba and Dhenkanal, owed their origin to distinguished officials of the ruling sovereigns of Orissa. The State of Ranpur was the most ancient, the list of its Chiefs being said to cover a period of over 3,650 years. This family furnished the only known instance
in which, amidst many vicissitudes, the supremacy of the original settlers had remained intact.

The States acknowledged the suzerainty of the paramount power and were under an implied obligation to render assistance in resisting invaders, paying tributes, etc., but in other respects neither the Hindu kings of independent Orissa nor the Mughals and Marathas, ever interfered with their internal administration. Within its rugged barriers, each State was thus permitted to work out its own growth, its boundaries expanding or contracting according to the strength or weakness of its Chief, the jealousies of its neighbours and final appeal for help to the sovereign power preventing its total extinction at any time.

The British conquest of Orissa from the Marathas took place in 1803 and was immediately followed by the submission of 10 of the States, the Chiefs of which were the first to enter into treaty engagements. Meanwhile, Major Forbes penetrated through the hilly and jungly country on the west and reached the famous Barool pass in Daspalla, the key to Berar and the Central Provinces. Here the Marathas made a last stand, but on the 2nd November 1803 the pass was forced and the enemy fled in confusion. The Raja of Baud and others hastened to tender their submission. The Raja of Banki was deposed in 1840 for murder, and his State, which escheated to Government, has since been added to the district of Cuttack. In 1847 Angul was annexed on account of the misconduct of its Chief, who was found to be preparing to wage war against Government and to countenance those who opposed the officers of Government employed in suppressing Meriah or human sacrifice among the Kandhas in Baud. The large tract known as the Khondmals with an area of 2,072 square kilometres which professed a shadowy allegiance to the State of Baud came under British influence in 1855-56, when the Chief of that State made over the Khondmals to British administration, being himself powerless to suppress the practice of Meriah and to bring under subjection the refractory Kandhas who had taken the side of the Gumsur rebel Chakra Biso. Since then it remained under British control, and in 1891 was formed into a subdivision of the scheduled district of Angul. Athmalik was a tributary of Baud and Pallahara of Keonjhar, and they were not mentioned in the earlier treaty engagements. They were both recognised as separate States in the sanads of 1874, which at the same time conferred the hereditary title of Raja on their Chiefs.

The 17 States named below were variously known as the Tributary States, Tributary Mahals or the Garhjats of Orissa. Treaty engagements were exchanged with the first eleven States in 1803, immediately after the British occupation. After Major Forbes
success at Barmul the Chiefs of Baud and Daspalla submitted and treaty engagements were entered into with them as well as with most of the remaining Chiefs of 1804.

5. Khandpara 11. Tigiria 17. Pallahara

This group of 17 States or Tributary Mahals of Orissa referred to above was ceded with the rest of Orissa by the Marathas to the British Government on the conquest of Orissa and it is from here that the history of the dealings of the British Government with the States commenced. But as they had never been regular districts, but rather Tributary States of the local Governments, they were exempted from the operation of the general Regulation system that prevailed in the British Provinces by sections 36, 13 and 11 respectively of Regulations XII, XIII and XIV of 1805. Engagements were entered into by all the Chiefs, binding themselves to maintain submission and loyalty to the East India Company's Government, and to pay an annual peshkash or tribute. All the Chiefs, except Keonjhar, were also bound under these engagements to depute a contingent force to assist Government against any opposition, the force to receive only rations from Government. In 1804 the Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack had certain jurisdiction in these States; but in 1814 he was superseded by a Superintendent, appointed and directed to endeavour to establish such a control over the conduct of the Raja, as would prevent the commission of crimes and outrages.

The Chiefs administered civil and criminal justice under the control of the Commissioner of the Orissa Division, as Superintendent of the States. Heinous offences which required more than two years' imprisonment, and all capital cases were sent to this officer, who also decided political causes and disputed successions. An appeal from his decision lay to the Government of Bengal. The Magistrates of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore were ex-officio Assistants to the Superintendent; but, with the exception of the Magistrate of Balasore, they did not ordinarily exercise criminal jurisdiction. The Superintendent had also an Assistant, who exercised the full powers of a Magistrate, and who tried such cases as the Superintendent made over to him. The States, during the minority of the Rajas or Chiefs, or when for political reasons they were placed under attainder, were managed by the Superintendent through a Government receiver (Tahsildar).
The jurisdiction of the Superintendent was defined by Regulation XI of 1816 and Act XXI of 1850.

In 1821 the Government ruled that the interference of the Superintendent should be chiefly confined to matters of a political nature such as, to the suppression of feuds and animosities prevailing between the Rajas of adjoining States, or between the Rajas and their subordinate feudatories; to the correction of systematic oppression and cruelty practised by any of the Rajas or by their officers towards the inhabitants; to the cognisance of any apparent gross violation by them of their duties of allegiance and subordination; and generally, to important points, which, if not attended to, might lead to violent and general outrage and confusion, or to contempt of the paramount authority of the British Government.

In 1839 suggestions were made for the introduction of a regular system of management, but the rules proposed were not approved. Instructions were, however, given to draw up some short, clear and well-defined regulations, making the Rajas responsible to the Superintendent in all cases of murder, homicide and heinous offences, without however, interfering so far as to make them amenable to the Civil Court of the Superintendent in cases between the Rajas and their creditors. Rules were accordingly drawn up proposing that the Rajas should be prohibited from exercising the powers of life and death; from subjecting any offender to torture, mutilation or other punishment opposed to the principles of British rule; and from allowing the practice of widow-burning and human sacrifices within their territories; that they should be made liable to punishment for murder, or other heinous offences committed by them, and should be held responsible for the amount of property robbed from travellers, if the commission of the crime and the non-recovery of the property were due to their imperfect policy or want of care; that the Superintendent's power of interference should be increased, so as to take cognizance of offences committed by foreigners in the Tributary States, to hold preliminary inquiries in heinous offences committed by the Rajas, and to sentence all offenders except the Rajas to imprisonment for a term not exceeding seven years; that the punishment of the Rajas, and all punishment exceeding seven years, should be awarded by the Government of Bengal. The Bengal Government, however, thought it better not to pass any permanent or defined rules upon the subject, but directed that the spirit of the proposed rules should be acted up to in all future cases, with certain limitations, and that the Rajas should be informed that they are ordinarily amenable to the Superintendent's Court, subject to such instructions as may from time to time be furnished by the Government. These were the orders of 1840; and all sentences of more than seven years'
imprisonment although passed by the Superintendents, had been to be reported to Government for confirmation. In 1850, Act XX was enacted for settling the boundaries of these States. In 1858, the system of trying petty criminal cases *viva voce* was extended to the States.

The Penal Code was declared applicable to these States by an order of Government in December 1860, and in 1863. Under orders of Government the criminal authorities were directed to be guided in their proceedings as closely as possible by the spirit of the Criminal Procedure Code. Section 13 of Regulation XIII of 1805, and as regards the States under the Rajas, the proviso contained in Section 11, Regulation XIV of 1805, were in force.

In 1862 adoption *sanads* were granted to the Chiefs by Lord Canning. The relations between the British Government and the Orissa Mahals were defined in the treaties and engagements with the Chiefs as detailed in Aitchison's Treaties. Questions of inheritance and succession were decided by Regulation XI of 1816. In 1882 the Calcutta High Court ruled that the Tributary Mahals of Orissa did not form part of British India. The decision was accepted as final by the Secretary of State, and a special Act, called the Tributary Mahals of Orissa Act, XI of 1893, was passed to indemnify certain persons and to validate acts done by them in the Mahals, and to admit of certain sentences passed there being carried into effect in British India. *Sanads* were granted to the Chiefs in 1894 defining their relations with the British Government and these *sanads* were revised in 1908.

The Chota Nagpur Mahals, to which the States of Gangpur and Bonai belonged, were acquired by cession from the Marathas; their position was only that of *zamindars* paying tribute, who were allowed certain powers of internal administration, liable to reduction or abolition at any time. The States of Chota Nagpur belonged politically to two clusters of States known as the Sambalpur and Siriguja groups, each of which was once linked together by some sort of feudal tie.

The Southern or Sambalpur group comprised Gangpur, Bonai and other States in the Central Provinces. In 1818 these States reverted to the British Government under a provisional agreement with Madhuji Bhonsla (Appa Sahib). They were finally ceded in 1826. On the cession of these States in 1818, the feudal supremacy of the Raja of Sambalpur was annulled. In 1821 the tribute payable was fixed on a lower scale than had been levied by the Marathas. Up to 1860 the Sambalpur States were administered from Ranchi by the Agent to the Governor-General.
Under the rule of the Bhonsla dynasty of Nagpur the position of the Chiefs was uncertain and fluctuating. At one time they were held in some check by a strong local governor, and at another, left in almost complete independence. The British Government adhered to the latter policy, and from the first declined to lay down any definite rules for the guidance of the Chiefs. Only the general line of policy was indicated. Separate engagements were taken from each Chief, binding him to the proper administration of the judicial and police powers entrusted to him. In 1823 it was laid down that no sentence of death or of imprisonment extending beyond seven years, should be passed or executed without the previous sanction of the Agent to the Governor-General on the South-West Frontier. Precise rules for the guidance of the Chiefs in the administration of criminal justice and in the exercise of their police functions, were first promulgated in 1863.

There was a considerable difference between the position of the Chota Nagpur Mahals and the Orissa Mahals. With the former, treaties were entered into, but the latter only received engagements specifying the conditions on which their lands were settled with them. They were granted sanads in 1899, and in the case of Gangpur and Bonai, revised sanads were granted in 1905, bringing them within the Orissa Division.

As regards the five States, Patna, Kalahandi, Sonepur, Bamra and Rairakhol, transferred from the Central Provinces to Orissa in 1905, the position of the States and zamindars in the Central Provinces was the subject of enquiry in 1863. The States of Patna, Sonepur, Bamra, and Rairakhol formed a group known as the Sambalpur Garhjats. Kalahandi or Karond did not originally form one of the Garhjats and was grouped with the tenures known as the Nagpur zamindaries. The exact origin of the tenure of the Sambalpur Garhjat Chiefs is unknown, but it is certainly very ancient; they were first independent, then held in subordination to the most powerful, the Maharaja of Patna, who afterwards had to yield supremacy to the Maharaja of Sambalpur, till all fell under the Marathas in A.D. 1755 as tributaries. When they came under British rule, this dependence was cancelled in 1821, and separate sanads were granted. Adoption sanads were granted to Karond or Kalahandi in 1862; Bamra, Patna, and Sonepur in 1865; and Rairakhol in 1866. In 1867 sanads were granted to these five States giving them powers of life and death subject to confirmation of an officer of the British Government. In 1905 revised sanads were granted to these Chiefs in accordance with the territorial change bringing them within the Division of Orissa.

The sanads defined the status and position of all the States with reference to the British Government. The Tributary Mahals of
Orissa received their sanads in 1894, the Tributary and Political States of Chota Nagpur in 1875-76 and which were reissued in 1899 and the five States noted above in the year 1867. In the sanads of 1894 and 1899 the Chiefs of Orissa, and Chota Nagpur Mahals were termed Feudatory Chiefs. In 1908 revised sanads were granted to the States formerly known as the Tributary Mahals of Orissa. In the sanads granted in 1867 to the States transferred from the Central Provinces it is stated, with the exception of the Kalahandi State, which did not originally form one of the Garhjat States, that whereas these Chiefs were formerly Tributary Chiefs of a Garhjat State they have been recognised as Feudatories.

In respect of paying tribute and Nazarana, the tribute payable in the case of the States constituting the group known as the Orissa Tributary Mahals was fixed, but that payable by the five States transferred from the Central Provinces and by the States of Gangpur and Bonai was liable to revision. Of the States comprising the group known as the Orissa Tributary Mahals only the States of Athmallik, Baud, Mayurbhanj and Pallahara were bound to pay nazarana or succession fees. The five States transferred from the Central Provinces and the States of Gangpur and Bonai were all bound to pay nazarana.

The year 1905 is a landmark in the history of the Feudatory States of Orissa. The States of Orissa as constituted in 1905 consisted of three groups: the largest group formerly known as the Tributary Mahals or Garhjats, consisting of 17 states, which, since the conquest of Orissa, were attached to the Orissa Division and whose dealings were always with the Commissioner of Orissa at Cuttack. Two of these States, Baud and Athmallik, however, for a time formed part of the South-West Frontier Agency with headquarters at Ranchi, but subsequently, on 11th April, 1837, were handed over to Orissa. In October, 1905, the five Oriya-speaking States of Patna, Kalahandi, Sonepur, Bamra and Rairakhhol were transferred to the Orissa Division from the Central Provinces and at the same time the two States of Gangpur and Bonai from the Chota Nagpur Division. The States thus incorporated in the Division of Orissa numbered twenty-four, and all the Oriya-speaking States except Saraikella and Kharswan were consolidated in one Division. Simultaneously with this amalgamation of the Oriya States a Political Agent was appointed in 1906 under the Commissioner of Orissa to assist the Chiefs. The amalgamated group of States are now known as the ex-States of Orissa after the merger of the States with the Indian Union.

The States of Saraikella, and Kharswan remained till 1916 under the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur during which year these two States were brought to the charge of the Political Agent, Orissa, and
finally transferred to the Orissa Division in 1922. With the promul-
gation of the States' Merger (Governors' Provinces) Order, 1949,
these two ex-States were again transferred to the Bihar State in the
Indian Union.

In fact, the history of the merger of Princely States in the Indian
Union and Orissa's contribution for it is a special and interesting
subject which requires elaborate discussion. But, in nutshell, Orissa
led the way for the rest of India to follow. Sardar Vallabha-
bhai Patel under the active participation of Harekrushna Mahtab
summoned the rulers of Orissa Feudatory States to meet him at Cuttack
on 14th December, 1947 where he impressed upon the Rulers that
the States should fully merge in the Province of Orissa in the interest
of the Rulers as well as the people. On the same day, after a good deal
of discussion and hesitation the Rulers signed the Merger Agreement
except the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj. But, subsequently, on
1st January, 1949, the State of Mayurbhanj was also merged with
Orissa which ended the long reign of feudal lordship.
CHAPTER 20

THE FORMATION OF THE PROVINCE OF ORISSA

The formation of the linguistic Province of Orissa in 1936 may be regarded as one of the landmarks in the history of the evolution of the Indian Union. The demand for linguistic States, which became so conspicuous in India after independence, had had its genesis in the movement of the Oriya-speaking people for a separate province on the basis of language during the later half of the British rule. This movement had a long and chequered history ranging from the last quarter of the nineteenth century till the new Province was created on 1 April, 1936.

The British conquest of India was carried on according to prevailing political situations as well as military conveniences of the conquering power. In the process of territorial conquests the traditional compositions of the socio-cultural affinities of the various Indian peoples were very much neglected. As one of the major linguistic communities of the Indian subcontinent, but placed under several administrative jurisdictions, the Oriya people suffered the injustice of dismemberment for nearly a century since the British conquest of Orissa in 1803. Ganjam and other Oriya-speaking areas south of the Chilka Lake remained tagged to Madras; Midnapore to Bengal; Singhabhum, Saraikella and Kharswan to Chhota Nagpur Division; Sambalpur and Chhatisgarh feudatory states in the west to the Central Provinces. Thus when the British occupied Orissa in 1803, it was confined to the three coastal districts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore.

A new awakening was marked in Orissa after the ‘Naanka’ Famine of 1866 and during the time of the ‘Language Agitation’. Growth of education, development of communication, increase in the volume of trade and commerce, establishment of printing press and publication of periodical journals paved the way for the growth of political consciousness in Orissa. This consciousness made the people aware of administrative disadvantages.

The tales of the woes of the scattered Oriyas under other neighbouring people and their strong desire for union with Orissa crowded
the columns of the newspapers and journals. When Lord Northbrook, the Governor-General, suggested to break up the Central Provinces and to merge its areas with other provinces, the pioneers of the Oriya thought advocated strongly to merge Sambalpur with Orissa.

The question of amalgamation was confined to the newspapers and journals. Steps were taken to submit representations to the Government to that effect. When John Beames was the Commissioner of Orissa, Oriyas appealed to him for the merger of the Oriya-speaking areas into a distinct linguistic unit. The people of Balasore made a similar representation to Richard Temple, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Unfortunately, the Lieutenant-Governor did not pay any heed to that appeal. In 1876, Raja Baikunthnath De of Balasore and Bichitranchanda Das, the Serastadar of the Commissioner of Orissa, made a representation to the Government for the union of all the Oriya-speaking areas under a single administration.

In creating consciousness for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas, the district of Ganjam played the leading role. The people of Ganjam, for the first time, organised meetings and passed resolutions for the unity of all the Oriya-speaking areas. In September 1870, in the village of Rasulkunda under Ghumsar Taluk in the Ganjam district, a mass meeting was held. People of the areas to the north of the Rusikulya river, such as Palur, Huma, Ganja, Biruli, Purba Khand, Khallikote, Athgarh, Ghumsar, Dharacote, Soroda, Rataba, Karada, Katinga, Gadapur and those to the areas of the south of the river, such as Bargarh, Sergarh, Sanakhemundi, Barakhemundi, Chikkiti, Mahuri, Jarada, Surangi, Budarsingha, Jalantar, Manjusa, Tarala, Tikkili etc. attended the meeting. There they deplored the introduction of the Telugu language and the monopoly of the Telugu officers in the administration. Harassed in the matters of language and employment they expressed their willingness to come under Orissa Division. But they felt that they were unable to achieve the end and therefore decided to communicate to the people of Cuttack and Puri districts to help them in that matter. It was stated in the meeting, “Let their Oriya brothers of Cuttack Division know their troubles in following the dictum that in times of soaring prices, the cow, and in times of peril, the brother, should be depended upon.” It was hoped that the Oriyas of Cuttack Division would approach the Governor-General of India and request him to unite all the Oriya-speaking areas in the Orissa Division. “By doing this”, they expressed, “the Oriyas of Cuttack Division would win immortal glory. The friends of the poor would try to help the poor and this assurance would give a feeling of joy and surprise to the sufferers.”
In the Ganjam district, the Oriyas formed an association called the ‘Ganjam Utkal Hitabadii Sabha’ and the Raja of Katinga Shri Venkatesh Beu was its secretary. The secretary in a letter to the editor of the ‘Utkal Dipika’ urged the preservation of the Oriya language and the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas. In that letter he also made a request to one Kalipada Bondopadhaya a naturalised Bengali in Orissa, who was about to visit London on official matters, to appeal to the Queen of Great Britain to unite all the Oriya-speaking areas. The Ganjam Oriyas kept their movement active till the end of the 19th century and made solid efforts to help the ‘Language Agitation’ at Sambalpur.

In the Orissa Division, on 28 November 1974, there was a vast congregation of all the Rajas, Zamindars and aristocrats in the garden of Bichitrnanada Das to discuss the common problems of Orissa. In July 1877, an association called the ‘Utkal Sabha’, was formed. The prominent members of this association were Madhusudan Das, Fakirmohan Senapati and Radhanath Ray. By 1882, a large number of associations were formed to take active part in the political affairs of Orissa. These associations created public opinion. One of the noteworthy associations was the ‘Orissa Association’ which was formed on 16 August 1882 under the leadership of Madhusudan Das. In 1888, the Orissa Association made a representation to Sir Steuart Colvin Bayley, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to unite all the Oriya-speaking areas. On 15 December, 1902, Raja Baikunthnath De submitted a memorial to Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, to the same effect.

At the beginning of the 20th century the desire for administrative union of Ganjam with Orissa was seen to have been very keen. In 1903, a monster memorial to Lord Curzon was drafted and signed by hundreds of Oriyas of Ganjam. The memorialists included the landlords, the princes and the common men. They spoke of themselves as ‘a limb separated from the body’, and they prayed, “not for patch-work redistribution but that the Government of India will be graciously pleased to bring together the scattered divisions inhabited by the Oriya-speaking people, i.e., Ganjam in Madras, Sambalpur in the Central Provinces and Orissa Division in Bengal, under the Government of Bengal or under any one Government and one University.” The memorialists sent a copy of their memorandum to the ‘Utkal Sabha’ of Cuttack and requested the people of Orissa Division to support their demands.

Early in 1903, a small band of enthusiasts gathered at Rambha in the Ganjam district under the Raja of Khalkote and resolved to establish “the Ganjam Jatiya Samiti” (Ganjam National Conference).
Its first meeting was held at Berhampur in the Ganjam district in April 1903. The conference was presided over by Shyam Sundar Rajguru of Parlakimedi. Nilamani Bidyaratna, the Secretary of the conference, made strenuous efforts for its organisation. Harihar Mardaraj, the Raja of Khallikote and Madhuri Sahu, a businessman of Berhampore, bore the expenditure of the conference. Persons from Orissa and the Oriya-speaking areas were invited to attend it. It was stated that six delegates from Cuttack, four from Puri, three from Balasore and two from Sambalpur attended the conference. Delegates from Cuttack included such eminent persons as Madhusudan Das, Biswanath Kar, Nanda Kishore Bala, Krishna Prasad Choudhury and Gopal Chandra Praharaj. In that conference a resolution was passed to record the activities of the national conference in the Oriya language. Secondly, it was decided to hold the national conference annually for national progress. This meeting of the "Ganjam Jatiya Samiti" was regarded as the first national conference of the Oriya people.

The grand idea of national assembly which had originated in Ganjam, culminated in an informal conference convened by Madhusudan Das with many prominent men of Orissa, who gathered at Cuttack in January 1903. There lay the germs of the Utkal Union Conference which began its life on 30th December 1903. About two hundred persons attended the meeting including some European ladies and gentlemen, pleaders, landlords, government servants and students. According to the decision of the Conference a memorandum was submitted to the Government by Madhusudan Das to transfer to the Orissa Division all the Oriya-speaking areas from other provinces.

In 1901 Andrew Fraser, when he was the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces proposed to transfer Sambalpur district to the Orissa Division. On 3rd December 1903, Lord Curzon proposed a scheme for the partition of Bengal. Accordingly Henry Risley, Secretary to the Government of India, asked for the opinion of the governments of Bengal, Madras and the Central Provinces. One of the provisions of this scheme was to unite under a single administration the scattered sections of the Oriya-speaking population.

The above scheme was very much opposed by Lord Amthill, the Governor of Madras. Unfortunately for Oriyas Lord Amthill became the Viceroy of India in the absence of Lord Curzon who went on leave. He was greatly influenced by the Telugu agitation and abandoned the question of the transfer of Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency to Orissa. But the proposed scheme was partially carried
into effect by the transfer of the Sambalpur district, less the Chandra-
pur, Padmapur Estates and the Phuljhar Zamindari on 1st September
1905 to the Orissa Division. In the same year the two states of
Gangpur and Banai were transferred from the Chhotanagpur
Division to Orissa and the five Oriya states—Patna, Kalahandi, Sone-
pur, Bamra, Redhakhole—were transferred to Orissa from the
Central Provinces.29

The transfer of Sambalpur region to Orissa was a half measure
towards the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas. From 1905
to 1911 several delegations, representations and memorials, both to the
local and central governments, had been made without effect.30
During this period a great agitation continued in the Bengali-speaking
areas for their union. At the same time the Biharis were dissatis-
sified with the Bengalis and agitated for their separation from Bengal.
All those movements created problems for the Government.31

On 25th August 1911, Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General,
recommended the following administrative changes: Firstly, the
headquarters of the Government of India had to be transferred from
Calcutta to Delhi. Secondly, Bengali-speaking areas were to be reunited
and formed into a Presidency under a Governor. Thirdly, a new
province consisting of Bihar and Orissa including Chhotanagpur
was to be created. Lastly, it was suggested to restore the Chief
Commissionership of Assam.32 In this Despatch he made it clear
that the union of Orissa with Bihar would provide a seaboard to the
new province.33

When the above suggestions were being debated in the House
of Lords on 1st February 1912, Lord Curzon opposed the formation
of the new province of Bihar and Orissa. According to him, it would
be an unnatural union of people of different races and languages. He
made a prophecy, 'This is a blunder that cannot remain permanent.
Were the Orissans an agitating people, which they are not, they would
soon make their protest heard. As it is, they have been sacrificed
without compunction.34 At last the new province of Bihar and Orissa
was created on 1st August, 1911 excluding the Oriya-speaking areas of
Midnapore in Bengal, Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency in Madras,
the States of Sarangarh, Raigarh, Bastar, Phuljhar, Chandrapur,
Padmapur, etc. in the Central Provinces and the States of Saraikella,
Kharaswan and Singhbhum in the administrative division of Bihar
proper.

The question of amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas was
raised again by Mac Callum Scott in the House of Commons on 20th
February 1912. But E. S. Mantagu, the then Under-Secretary of
State for India, in his reply stated that the proposed transfer of Ganjam
to Orissa was to be made at any time if “accumulated evidences be forthcoming.” On 22nd July 1912, Sir Charles Steuart Bayley, the new Governor of Bihar and Orissa, visited Cuttack. In reply to the memorandums submitted to him by the Oriyas, he promised to move the Government of India for amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas. In 1913, a memorandum was presented to Lord Hardinge on his visit to Orissa. The Governor-General assured the Oriyas that he would look to their interest.

The Oriya movement continued in full speed. The claims of the Oriyas were pressed by the Utkal Union Conference which met every year. In its 10th session at Parlakimedi on 26th and 27th December 1914, the Raja of Manjusa said, “Can you say that I am alive if you cut off my head and keep it at Ranchi, throw my trunk in the Bay of Bengal and keep up my legs in the Madras hospital? This is the condition of our Utkal Mother who is lying dead being disfigured and separated from her body.” The Oriya Peoples’ Association held its meetings in different places to voice the demands of the Oriyas. It also opened many branch organisations in the rural areas to create public opinion. In 1912 in the Balasore National Conference, it was resolved to submit a memorandum to the Government for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas.

Agitation for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas of Singhbhum, Saraikella and Kharswan became very powerful under the leadership of Barrister B. N. Misra and Pandit Krishna Chandra Acharya. An association called ‘Udit Club’ was formed to work for the Oriya cause. A petition, dated 21st January, 1916 was submitted by rulers, landlords and the common people of Singhbhum to Sir Edward Albert Gait, the then Lieutenant Governor of the Bihar and Orissa Province for the restoration of the Oriya language.

Oriyas in the Madras Presidency continued their movement and named these areas as ‘South Orissa’. In March 1912, an amalgamation meeting attended by more than seven hundred people, was held at Berhampore with the Raja of Chikkiti in chair and formed a new association called the ‘Utkal Milan Samaja’ at Berhampore to work for the merger of Ganjam with Orissa. In the same year, the Utkal Union Conference was held in the Townhall of Berhampore and decided to take national oath in order to hold annual meetings and observe fasting on ‘Sunia Bada Ekadasi’ every year until Ganjam had merged with Orissa. On December, 1913, the Land-holders’ Association and the Oriya Samaj of Ganjam presented memorandums to Lord Pentland, the Governor of Madras at Berhampore. Another memorandum was also presented to him at Parlakimedi by Shri Nityananda Pattanaik on behalf of the ‘Utkal Hitaisini Samaja’.
In 1914, the Utkal Union Conference was held at Parlakimedi with Shri Vikramdev Verma in chair. In this Conference the Raja of Manjusa strongly advocated for the merger of the Oriya-speaking areas. In 1914, the Raja of Dharacote delivered a speech in the Madras Legislative Council for territorial amalgamation. In 1915, he reiterated the above views in the Council.

The amalgamation movement in Ganjam was very much opposed by the Telugus. Their counter-movement called the Ganjam Defence League was very active since 1904. But at the same time the Telugu leaders like N. Suba Rao, a member of the Imperial Council, and Shri Rama Aayanger, a member of the Council of the Governor-General who were fighting for a separate Andhra province on the basis of language, advocated to place each community under a separate administration.

In 1917, the Mantagu-Chelmsford Commission consulted various opinions in India on the subject of self-Government. Amalgamation meetings were held at Berhampore, Cuttack, Puri etc. and resolutions were passed to submit memorandums to the Commission. On 11th December 1917, the Oriyas waited on a deputation to the Commission at Calcutta under Madhusudan Das and the Raja of Kanika.

The Commission in their report recognised the need for an administrative union of the Oriya-speaking people and recommended for a sub-province for Oriyas. But their recommendations held out only a distant hope. Besides, in the Act of 1919, there was no provision for the merger of the Oriya-speaking areas. At last Madhusudan Das and the Raja of Kanika interpellated the Government in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council and in the Imperial Council respectively on the question of sub-province. But the Government reply in each case was to consider the issue in the new reformed Legislative Council as directed in the report.

The Mantagu-Chelmsford Report raised a grave fear in the hearts of the Oriyas since the possibility of a united Orissa depended upon the nature and personnel of the reformed provincial governments concerned in all of which the Oriyas formed minority. So the Utkal Union Conference was held at Cuttack on 19th and 20th April 1919 with Pandit Gopabandhu Das in chair and called upon the Oriyas to sacrifice their life for the cause of the mother-country. Similar resolutions were passed in different amalgamation meetings throughout the Oriya-speaking areas.

The question of amalgamation was taken for discussion from time to time in the central and the provincial legislatures. On 20th February 1920, Sachidananda Sinha moved a resolution in the
Imperial Council to appoint a mixed committee of non-officials and officials to formulate a scheme for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts. Sir William Vincent, the Home Member, expressed his inability to take any step to change the provincial boundaries before the reformed provincial councils came into being. A similar resolution of Shri A. B. Lathe supported by Shri Brajasundar Das was moved in the Indian Legislative Assembly on 21 September 1921. In reply, the Home Member repeated his above opinion.

In the very year, resolutions were tabled in the Legislative Councils of Bihar and Orissa and Madras to effect unification of the Oriya-speaking areas. On 25 November 1921, Biswanath Kar moved the resolution in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council to bring all the Oriya-speaking tracts under one government. But the Government pleaded the administrative and financial difficulties in implementing the scheme. The Government further wanted to ascertain the popular consensus of the people of the outlying Oriya-speaking areas. In the same year Sashibhusan Rath moved a resolution in the Madras Legislative Council to transfer the Oriya-speaking areas of Madras to the Bihar and Orissa province. This resolution was disallowed by the Governor.

At last the Indian Government took interest in the matter and appointed C. L. Philip and A. C. Duff to make detailed enquiry on the spot regarding the attitude of the Oriya inhabitants of the Madras Presidency towards their merger with Orissa. The Commission in their visit to the district of Ganjam received countless, memorandums, representations, deputations and addresses in favour of amalgamation. At last the Commission gave the following concluding lines. "Our enquiry has shown that there is a genuine long-standing and deep-seated desire on the part of the educated Oriya classes of the Oriya-speaking tracts of Madras for amalgamation of these tracts with Orissa under one administration."

Next came the question of financial solvency of the Ganjam district. It was considered by the Government of Bihar and Orissa that the amalgamation of the Ganjam district might not be financially solvent. So in March 1927 the Government of Bihar and Orissa appointed Rai Sahib U. M. Sen, their financial adviser, to investigate into the financial implications of the amalgamation of the Ganjam district. Rai Sahib Sen in his report concluded that the annual receipts from the district was T. R. 3,642. He calculated that the deficit would be to the tune of 11 lakhs and 36 thousand. On the receipt of this report neither the Bihar and Orissa Government nor the Central Government proceeded any further. The report of Rai Sahib Sen was sharply criticised in Ganjam and Biswanath Das,
M.L.C. in an article "The Fallacy of a Deficit" criticised Sen's report and tried to prove through facts and figures that what to speak of deficit there would be a surplus of 4 lakhs.73

On 30 August 1928 the All Parties' Conference met at Lucknow and resolved to create a separate Orissa Province provided Orissa "bears the financial burden which is incidental to separation".74 This decision insisting on the financial precondition was very much resented in Orissa. On 7 December 1928 the Utkal All Parties' Conference met at Cuttack. In the Conference Shri Niranjan Pattnaik of Ganjam protested against the statement made by the All Parties' Conference on the financial position of the proposed Orissa Province.75 As regards the financial report of Rai Sahib Sen, Shri Pattnaik expressed that had the district of Ganjam been a deficit one, the Madras Government would not have been insisting to retain it.76 The people of Berhampore in a meeting with Lingaraj Panigrahi in chair, endorsed the stand of Niranjan Pattnaik.77 At last the Utkal All Parties' Conference sent a memorandum for the creation of a new Orissa province to the All Parties' National Convention which was held at Calcutta on 22 December 1928.78

In the meantime the British Government appointed a statutory commission early in 1928 under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon to report on the working of the reforms in India. The Oriyas submitted a memorandum to the Commission praying for the creation of a separate Orissa province.79 The Commission was generally against redrawing the map of India; but they made particular deviation with regard to Sind and Orissa. Their report stated "Bihar and Orissa is a glaring example of the artificial connections of areas which are not naturally related."80 Therefore the Commission appointed a subcommittee for Orissa to have a detailed investigation.

The subcommittee with Major Attlee as Chairman consisted of Suhrawardy, Raja of Kanika and Rai Bahadur Laxmidhar Mohanty. It recommended creation of a separate Orissa province consisting of Orissa Division, Angul, feudatory states of Orissa, some portions of Mohanpur and Gopiballabhapur under the Bengal presidency, Khariar estate under the Central Provinces and Ganjam district under the Madras presidency. It did not recommend inclusion of other Oriya-speaking areas including Singhbhum and the Jeypore Agency on various grounds.81 On the basis of this report of the subcommittee the Simon Commission recommended the appointment of a boundary commission for the new Orissa Province.

The report of the Simon Commission led to the summoning of the Round Table Conference. Shri Krishna Chandra Gajapati Narayana Dev, the Maharaja of Parlakimedi in the district of Ganjam
played the most important role in the formation of the province of Orissa. The Maharaja was elected by the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council to represent in the conference. In the conference he circulated a pamphlet, "The Oriyas, Their need, and Reasons for a separate Province". The Raja assured the leaders of Orissa through cable that he had enlisted unanimous support in the conference for the creation of a separate Orissa province. His telegram from London on 17 January 1931, ran, "Happy to inform, my presentation of Oriya problem received unanimous support whole conference today." His efforts bore fruits; before the third Round Table Conference ended, the Orissa Boundary Commission was appointed to review the boundary line of the proposed Orissa province.

According to the suggestion of the Simon Commission the Orissa Boundary Commission was appointed with S. P. O’Donnell as the chairman. Other members of the Commission were T. R. Phukan, H. M. Mehta and Sachidananda Sinha and two other Oriya members from Ganjam namely the Raja of Parlakimedi and Raibahadur C.V.S. Narasingh Raja Guru. The committee met at Patna on 7 November 1931 and invited memorandums. Memorandums were submitted to it by different Oriya associations of Oriya-speaking areas including the Ganjam district. The committee also recorded oral evidences at Patna. Besides, it visited Gopalpur on sea on 15 December 1931 and Parlakimedi on 16 December 1931 in the district of Ganjam to take oral evidence. The committee examined the claims and finally recommended the inclusion of the plains and the Agency areas excluding Parlakimedi in the Ganjam district and Khariar and Padmaipur excluding Phuljhar in the Central Provinces. But the Commission opposed the inclusion of the Oriya-speaking areas from Bihar and Bengal. Therefore the O’Donnell Committee report was very much opposed by the Oriya leaders.

Consequent upon the discussion at the Round Table Conference the British Government was set for the reform of the Indian Constitution, the draft proposals of which were embodied in the ‘White Paper’ published on 17 March 1933. The ‘White Paper’ proposed to create two new provinces, Sind and Orissa. But the proposal regarding the boundary of Orissa was far from being satisfactory. It accepted the recommendations of the O’Donnell Committee with certain modifications. It excluded the Vizagapatam Agency and the Parlakimedi Estates and the Jalantar Maliah in the Ganjam Agency from the proposed Orissa Province. Oriyas expressed their utter disappointment for the exclusion of the above areas. When the ‘White Paper’ was under review of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, an Oriya delegation consisting of 7 members met the Secretary of State under
the leadership of the Raja of Parlakimedi on 3 July 1933 and submitted a representation. On the other hand, the Secretary of State received a Telugu representation on 10 July 1933. On 6 November 1933 he consulted with S.P.O.'Donnell. In the meantime the views expressed by the Government of India and Madras Government were taken into consideration. On the basis of such consultations it was recommended to include the Jeypore Agency into, and exclusion of the Parlakimedi East at from the proposed Province of Orissa. The Government of India objected to this recommendation on financial consideration. Besides, they apprehended that the Telugus would not accept this recommendation and the Oriyas would continue demanding Parlakimedi.

In the meantime the 'Utkal Union Conference Committee' met and authorised the Raja of Parlakimedi to represent before the British Parliament for the inclusion of the Oriya-speaking areas of Ganjam during the discussion of the Government of India Bill. In England the Raja approached the Secretary of State to transfer at least a portion of his Estate including the Parlakimedi town to Orissa. His argument could not convince the Secretary of State, who asked the Viceroy of India for his view on this matter. But the Viceroy strongly opposed the transfer both of Jeypore and of Parlakimedi to Orissa.

The Joint Select Committee was very much impressed by the genuine demands of the Oriyas of Ganjam and made the following recommendations. A separate province of Orissa would, however, be perhaps the most homogenous province in the whole of British India both racially and linguistically, the communal difficulty is practically non-existent; and its claim appears to have the sympathy and support of all parties in India, the financial effect of the creation of the proposed new province upon the finance of the federation is discussed elsewhere and we are satisfied that no difficulties of a financial kind beyond those which already exist are likely to be caused thereby. In these circumstances we recommend that a new province of Orissa be constituted. They recommended that there should be added to the Orissa Province as defined in the proposal 61 of the 'White Paper': (a) that portion of the Jeypore Estate which the O'Donnell Committee proposed to transfer to Orissa, (b) the Parlakimedi and Jalantar Maliahs; and (c) a small portion of the Parlakimedi Estate including Parlakimedi town. By this recommendation the total areas were raised from 21,545 to 32,695 square miles. These decisions of the joint Committee were opposed by the Telugus. They observed 'protest day' throughout the Andhra territory. Ananta Sayanam Ayanger M.L.C. called on the people to agitate for the Andhra
Province. All their protests did not change the decision of the Select Committee.

In the lines of the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee the Government of India Bill, 1935 was passed by Parliament and the new Province of Orissa came into being on 1 April 1936. But still their remained 26 Garhjat States outside the jurisdiction of provincial administration as quasi-sovereign States. The Oriya movement, therefore, entered its second phase in 1936 till all the states except Saraikella and Kharswan were amalgamated with Orissa in 1949. Thus Orissa has emerged as a major state with unlimited economic potentiality for a prosperous future.

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41. Ibid, 26 January 1912.
42. Asha, 1 December 1913.
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44. Asha, 27 October 1930.
45. Utkal Dipika, 9 March 1912.
46. Ibid, 28 September 1912.
48. Asha, 22 December 1913.
49. Ibid, 18 January 1915/22.
50. Ibid, 12 April 1915/24.
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53. Asha 25 May 1914; Asha 24 April 1916.
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73. Ibid, pp. 398-402.
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80. Ibid, Vol. 11, pp. 24-25
81. Ibid, p. 51,
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CHAPTER 21

FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN ORISSA

Orissa lost her independence in 1568. The feudal organisation that had prevailed in Orissa broke down at last and the peasant militia were crippled. For long 379 years Orissa was ruled by the Afghans, the Mughals, the Marathas and the British. And during these years Orissa was a chronically rebellious province.

During the Muslim rule there were sporadic rebellions of the chieftains of Orissa. The Rajas of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar were most noteworthy. But there was no cohesion or co-ordination among the chiefs and moreover, the people of the Mughalbandi did not support these Garjat chiefs. The Raja of Khurda all through resisted the tyrannical rule of the Nazims of Bengal. Anarchy and confusion reigned supreme and all vestiges of an established government vanished.

The Marathas ruled Orissa from 1751. Only after 1751, the ancient feudal organisation among the peasantry and native chiefs woke up from their slumber and started resisting the Marathas. The peasant militia of Orissa, strong in their network of rivers, defied the Maratha troops. The Rajas of Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Dhenkanal also revolted against the Marathas. But all these were short-lived.

The Maratha invasions paved the way for the English into Orissa. The district of Ganjam in southern Orissa came under the formal possession of the English in 1765 by a firman of the Mughal Emperor. The Raja of Ghumsar gave first resistance to the European authorities. In 1767-68 Raja Narayan Dev of Parlakhemundi rebelled against the British. Then the Rajas of Athgarh and Khallikote followed him. In 1778-79 the Raja of Ghumsar again rebelled against the British. In the last decade of 18th century the district of Ganjam remained in a state of unrest and turmoil due to the rebellious activities of the Zamindars of Mohiri, Vijayanagar, Tarala, Jalantara, Budarsing and Surangi. But insurrectionary activities
continued in Ghumsar and Parlakhemundi till the middle of 19th century when they were completely suppressed by the British.

In northern Orissa the Raja of Mayurbhanj was a powerful ruler. He resisted the authority of the English Company strongly. Insurrectionary activities continued to prevail from 1777 to 1796 and all attempts of the British to bring a reconciliation with the Raja failed.

Thus the 18th century saw the first phase of rising against the alien powers in northern and southern Orissa. The next phase would start in 19th century.

Wherever the rights and privileges were suddenly taken away by force, there was resistance either organised or disorganised. The first half of 19th century was full of resistance to the British everywhere. And in the first quarter of that century there was organised resistance on a large scale. Broadly speaking there was armed resistance of the people during the period from 1803 to 1895. This sort of resistance was against the imposition of a system of Government that was highly prejudicial to their interests. The second half of 19th century was comparatively a peaceful period in which nationalism had an opportunity to grow. Political consciousness among the people grew during this period. But real fight for freedom actually took place in 1920 when, under Gandhi’s leadership, non-violent non-cooperation was declared.

The first rising in early 19th century was seen in Parlakhemundi. The supporters of the Raja broke into rebellion in 1799 and it continued till 1800. The British authorities had to yield to the people’s will of being ruled by their own Raja. In 1801 rebellion started once again in Ghumsar. The Raja Srikara Bhanja was dethroned. The local battalion called Sibundies which were organised by the British for the purpose of collecting land-tax, broke out in open revolt. After considerable disturbances they were disbanded in 1803. A temporary peace then prevailed in that area. But Ghumsar again rose in revolt in 1815.

The conquest of Orissa by the British in 1803 was a part of the Second Maratha war in which the rival ambitions of the British and the Marathas for supremacy in India were finally adjusted. On 14 October, 1803 the historic fort Barabati fell to the hands of the British. With the concluding of the Treaty of Deogaon on 17 December 1803 by Arthur Wellesley and Jaswant Rao Ramachandra, the British occupation of Orissa received recognition from Raghji Bhonsla. By 1804 the districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore and 16 Tributary Mahals came under the subjugation of the East India Company. The conquest was followed by a rebellion.
In 1804 the Rajas of Khurda, Kujang and Kanika rose against the British authority. The prime mover of this rising was the minor Raja of Khurda. But the real leader was Jayakrishna Raiguru, the guardian of the minor Raja. The rising was ruthlessly suppressed. Khurda was occupied, its ruler was imprisoned and the leader Jayakrishna Raiguru was hanged. The other Rajas of Kujang and Kanika were either imprisoned or dethroned. Khurda, from 1805 onwards, became a Government managed estate.

Khurda again rose in revolt in March, 1817 under the leadership of Jagabandhu Bidyadhar Mohapatra Bhamarbar or Buxi Jagabandhu. The rising manifested general feelings of discontent and disaffection among the people of Orissa. During the period from 1805 to 1816 a system of extreme tyranny, violence and oppression existed which proved ruinous to this once flourishing country by the consequent desertion of a great proportion of the cultivators of the soil.

On 29 March 1817 'the first spark of rising' was seen in Khurda. The insurgents were of landed militia class consisting of Paiks, Khandait, Dalais, Dalbeheras, and Rayats. They were assisted by the Kandhs, Savaras and other tribal people, and were encouraged by the Zamindars and supported by a few Garjat Chiefs. The rising in Khurda was suppressed, but the insurrectionary activities of the insurgents in other areas continued for long 8 years. The Government was afraid of the people. It was the first agrarian and popular rising in British Orissa. The rising brought out many changes in the British administration in Orissa. Still then, there was prevailing discontent and disaffection among the people.

In 1827 the Dalbehera of Tapang Garh, Madhab Samantaray rebelled against the British. With the active support of the people, the Dalbehera resisted the British force for 7 days in a fight. At last he was imprisoned. But, later on, he was released as the authorities apprehended disturbances again in Khurda.

In Ghumsar and Parlakhemundi people again rose in revolt against the British in 1815. The people were fighting for restoring native rule in their zamindaries. The leader of Ghumsar rebellion was Dora Biso, a Kandh by birth. With the support of the native chiefs, and with the help of the Kandhs, Savaras and other hill tribes, Dora Biso carried on his resistance movement till 1837 when he was imprisoned. The entire district of Ganjam was in revolt against the authorities. The spirit of insurrection spread to the neighbouring areas like Banpur, Daspalla and Nayagarh.

In 1846, Raja Somanath Singh of Angul, at the instigation of his people rose in rebellion. At the same time the Kandhs of Boudh
and Ghumsar under the leaderships of Madhab Kanar and Chakra Bisois respectively, rose in rebellion. This rising spread to all the Kandh areas and at last, took a serious turn. Meanwhile the Raja of Angul was preparing for ‘a little war’ with the British. In order to suppress the Kandh rising, the British authorities first confiscated the Tributary Mahal of Angul and then made it a base for operation against the Kandhs. The Kandh rising, however, continued unabated till 1857 under the erstwhile leadership of Chakra Bisois.

In 1849, a mass popular rising took place in Nayagarh under the leadership of Kamal Lochan Paikray. The rising was finally suppressed in 1851. The insurgents were imprisoned and the Raja was deposed. Before the great rising of 1857 Nayagarh came under the complete control of the British authorities.

India saw the great rising of 1857. By that time, excepting a few places of Orissa, the rest were comparatively dormant. The most dangerous and troublesome places like Khurda, Banapur, Nayagarh, Ghumsar and Angul were completely under the control of the British Government. The only dangerous place was Sambalpur. Besides, a few persons in Jajpur and Puri took active part in the great rising of 1857. The Raja of Porahat and his adviser, Jagu Dewan also defied the British authorities during this great rising.

In Sambalpur, Surendra Sai, his brothers, son and his followers numbering thousands rose against the British during and after 1857. It was a long struggle between the people and the British. One thing surprises that when everywhere in India the so-called mutiny had been suppressed, in a small corner of Orissa the people were still fighting against the mighty British authority. The rising, however, came to an end with the arrest of Surendra Sai and his followers in January 1864.

Chaki Khuntia alias Chundun Hazuri, a ‘sepoy Punda’ by profession of Puri took active part in anti-British activities. He was arrested on suspicion in Bihar. After the declaration of Amnesty in November 1858 by Queen Victoria, he was released.

Ramkrishna Samanta Sinhar, ex-Zamindar of Balia in Jajpur, and his followers instigated the people against the British Government since the Company’s rule was about to cease. The insurgent leaders were arrested on the charges of evil designs and seditious conduct, but afterwards released.

In the post-mutiny period there were only a few armed resistance of the people against the British. Within a decade after the mutiny there were two noteworthy incidents. The first was ‘Naanka Fituri’ of Khurda and the other, ‘Keonjhar Meli’. These two were the direct effect of the great famine of 1866 in Orissa.
In May 1866 the people of Khurda under the leadership of Narayan Harichandan rose against the British. Khurda and its adjoining areas were hard hit by the great famine. The paiks, dalais, dalbeheras, sarbarakars, khandait and rayats organised themselves to raise the standard of rebellion. Situation became critical. The police-force were employed to suppress it. By 1867 situation came under control. The leaders fled to the neighbouring garjats to take shelter.

In Keonjhar a new type of rising occurred in 1867. The *adivasis* mainly the Juangs, Bhuyans and Kols rose against the British in support of their native ruler. The leader of the *adivasis* was Ratna Naik. The British interfered in the internal affairs of the state. Therefore the situation was aggravated and took a serious turn. Troops were requisitioned from Bengal, Chotanagpur and the Tributary Mahals of Orissa to suppress the rising. At last, in 1868 Ratna Naik and his 4 other followers were imprisoned and afterwards sentenced to death.

The *adivasis* again rose in revolt in Keonjhar in 1891. This time their leader was Dharanidhar Naik, a Bhuyan by birth. The rising aimed at abolishing ‘Bethi’ system and other oppressive systems of exaction. Raja Dhanurjaya Bhanja of Keonjhar fled to Cuttack to seek help of the Commissioner of Cuttack. The police-force were sent to suppress the rising. Peace was restored in Keonjhar by December 1893. Dharanidhar Naik was imprisoned, but in 1897 he was released.

In 1882 the Kandhs of Kalahandi rose against their authorities’ economic exploitation and denial of human rights. The risings were short-lived since the British Government suppressed it inhumanly. The Kandhs, though suppressed, rose again in revolt in the early part of 20th century in Daspalla, Ranpur and Koraput.

The last act of resistance movement was seen in Nayagarh, Ranpur, Khandapara and Daspalla. The people of Nayagarh demanded a change in the administration and of the ruler who was a tyrant and corrupt. The risings continued from April 1893 to January 1895. The risings spread to Ranpur, Khandapara and Daspalla where the people became violent and uncontrollable. Here in these risings we came across for the first time, a new slogan—‘Praja Vidroha’.

The 19th century was a base for future freedom struggle in Orissa. Political consciousness among the people of Orissa was aroused much before the birth of Indian National Congress. It was caused partly due to the spread of English education and partly as a protest against the Bengali agitation against Oriya language and domination of higher appointments.
The Utkal Dipika played a dominant role in upholding the rights of the Oriyas, and the prestige of the Oriya language and the race. The origin of the idea of a united Orissa started in 1868 by Sir Stafford Northcote who suggested separation of Orissa from Bengal. In 1875 Raja Baikuntha Nath De of Balasore and Shri Bichitrnananda Das of Cuttack jointly petitioned to Government for the unification of the Oriya-speaking people. At the same time Raja Padmanabha Narayan Dev of Parlakhemundi started Utkal Hitaisini Samaj at Parlakhemundi to agitate for the inclusion of Ganjam with Orissa. The Oriya unification movement had really started in the outlying parts where the people were constantly dominated by the non-Oriyas.

Simultaneously Political Associations were established to ventilate the grievances of the Oriyas. The earliest political association was Utkal Hitavadini Sabha of Berhampur organised by William Mahanti. Then the land-holders of Orissa formed an Association with Beharilal Pandit as its President to introduce local self-government in Orissa.

In 1882 the Orissa Association or Utkal Sabha was started with Gourisankar Ray as its Secretary. Dinanath Banerji started a rival organisation namely Orissa People’s Association which lived for a while. A National Association was started at Balasore. One branch of Utkal Sabha was formed at Kendrapara. The Utkal Sabha in its meetings passed resolutions to reconstitute the Legislative Council, to introduce the principle of election and to protest against the imposition of salt tax. After the birth of Indian National Congress in 1885 the Utkal Sabha and the Jatiya Sabha took keen interest in it. In its meeting of January 1888 the Utkal Sabha passed a resolution to join the Congress. Elected delegates from these Associations were represented at the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress. The members were actively engaged in organisational works in different parts of Orissa. Madhusudan Das became leader of the national movement.

The Utkal Sabha passed resolution to protest against the abolition of Oriya as the court language of Sambalpur. In this connection the Utkal Dipika published the views of Madhusudan Das, Gokulananda Choudhuri, Gourisankar Ray and Raja Padmanabha Narayan Dev.

The Utkal Sabha had lost public sympathy because it was dominated by the Bengalis. It was Madhusudan Das, who by his efforts, gradually brought the Sabha under the control of the Oriyas. But in the first decade of 20th century, Madhusudan Das gradually disassociated himself from the Congress activities and leadership
passed to Gopabandhu Das. In the second decade of 20th century, though the Uttal Sabha was merged into the Congress organisation in Orissa, yet it served the purpose by making the people politically conscious.

Agitation for amalgamation of Oriya-speaking tracts took its shape right from the beginning of 20th century. In 1901, the people of Sambalpur and in 1902, the people of Ganjam urged to merge with Orissa. In April 1903, the Uttal Sammilani or the Uttal Union Conference was born. It aimed at awakening the Oriyas. Madhusudan Das attended the Conference at Ganjam. Memorandum was sent to the Governor-General of India. But all the time Madras Government opposed to the merger of Ganjam with Orissa.

In 1905, at the time of Partition of Bengal, some tracts of Sambalpur merged with Orissa. In 1907, another representation was sent for a United Orissa. On 1st August 1912, the new province ‘Bihar and Orissa’ was created. Orissa still remained as a Commissioner’s Division. Public opinion in Orissa was not consulted at the time of creation of the new province. The Oriyas were greatly disappointed. Lord Curzon, during the debate in the House of Lords on the Government of India Bill in 1911 observed: “The interests of the Oriyas have been sacrificed without compunction”.

During 1912, meetings of Uttal Sammilani were held every month at different places of Orissa. In one of the resolutions it was passed that there should be a separate representation of Orissa in the Imperial Legislative Council to safeguard the interests of Oriyas in different areas.

Praja Pratinidhi Sabha was started by Madhusudan Das. Another association called the Tenants’ Representative Association was also established.

In order to fulfil their demand the Oriyas joined the First World War in thousands. During the war terrorist movement spread to Orissa. Among the terrorists Jatin Mukherjee alias Bagha Jatin, Manoranjan Senagupta, Nirendra Dasgupta, Sasanka Sekhar Mukherjee, Dr. Atal Behari Acharya and Shri Bairogi Tripathy were most noteworthy. The first three of these sacrificed their lives for the sake of the motherland.

The 1916 Session of Uttal Union Conference held at Balasore appointed a Subcommittee named Uttal Union Committee which gave a memorandum to Montagu and Chelmsford for unification of Oriya-speaking territories in Orissa. In December 1917, Madhusudan Das urged in the Bengal Legislative Council for a united Orissa. In 1920, Sachidananda Sinha suggested for the unification. But Madras Government again opposed it.
The Chakradharpur session of Utkal Sammilani was held in 1920 where the leaders were divided into two groups. Gopabandhu Das wanted to transform the Sammilani into a branch of the Indian National Congress. Another section headed by Madhusudan Das wanted to maintain the separate existence of the Sammilani for creation of a separate Orissa province.

Against these internal troubles, efforts were made to create a separate province for Orissa. In 1924, Philip-Duff Enquiry Committee was appointed. But the Committee's proposals were opposed by the governments of Madras and Central Province. In 1927, Pandit Nilakantha Das also moved the matter in the Legislative Assembly. The Bihar and Orissa Provincial Committee of Simon Commission appointed a Subcommittee. Its Chairman, Major Attlee gave a well-founded view. In the Round Table Conference, the Raja of Parlakhemundi raised the question of a united Orissa. He said, "The ideal of an All India Federation is meaningless to the Oriyas unless they get a separate province. Formation of a separate province is a life and death problem to us." The other persons like Rama Chandra Deva, Bhubanananda Das and Lingaraj Panigrahi who were at London impressed Sir Samuel Hoare, the then Secretary of State for India, about the formation of a separate province for Orissa. And at last, the Province of Orissa came into existence with effect from 1 April 1936.

The people of Orissa were not only fighting for a separate province for them, but also accepted the creed of the Indian National Congress. In 1919 young leaders like H. K. Mahtab, N. K. Choudhury, Nityanand Kanungo and Bhagirathi Mohapatra were keenly interested in the Congress organisational work. For working out their plans they established Bharati Mandir at Bakhradab of Cuttack Town. Gopabandhu Das and many others joined the Nagpur Session of 1920. After returning from the Congress Session, Gopabandhu gave up his legal practice for the freedom struggle. Non-cooperation movement spread to Orissa and many prominent leaders activism. On 24 March 1921 Mahatma Gandhi came to Orissa to accelerate the movement. Gopabandhu Choudhury resigned from the post of Deputy Collector. One S. I. of Police left his job to join the movement. The cloth merchants of Cuttack Town organised an association to boycott foreign cloths. Utkal Provincial Congress Committee and District Congress Committee were formed in March 1921. The original Students' Mess of Cuttack Town was converted to Swaraj Ashram. At Jagatsinghpur, Alakashram was established for working out the Congress organisations.

The Muslims of Orissa formed a Khilafat Committee under the presidency of Dr. Akram Russool. Swaraj Sevak Sangha was
established at Cuttack. The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1908 was enforced in Orissa in 1921. Indiscriminate house searches and arrests were made. Most of the top ranking leaders were arrested. The Samaj which was born in 1919 in Satyabadi School precincts, played a very important role during this critical period. At the same time ‘Swarajya Samachar’ was started from Balasore to ventilate the news through the people. The article ‘Triumph of Non-cooperation is Sure’ of Gopabandhu Das drew the serious attention of the Government. A National School at Nayabazar in Cuttack Town and another at Jagatsinghpur were started in February 1922 to create the sense of Swadeshi in the minds of people. In August, 1922 Raj Gopal Achari, Motilal Nehru etc. came to Orissa to observe the progress of the movement. In the same month Subhash Chandra Bose came to discuss with the local leaders regarding the National Struggle here. The summary report was that Orissa was ready for Individual Civil Disobedience Movement and Council Entry but not for Mass Civil Disobedience Movement.

Sambalpur played a vital role in the non-cooperation movement in Orissa. Leaders like Laxminarayan Mishra, Mahabir Singh, Ghanasam Panigrahi, Bhagirathi Patnaik, M. N. Varma, Achyutananda Purohit and Ladh Seth etc. were actively engaged in the movement. But the most special features of Sambalpur was that the Harijans under the leadership of Kastaram Ganda offered Satyagraha. Shri Ganda was imprisoned along with Govind Brahman and Raghubir Goud.

There was an uprising in Kanika Zamindari in 1922. It was the first agrarian rising of the 20th century in Orissa. Leaders like Gopabandhu Das, Nilakantha Das and H. K. Mahtab were imprisoned. Congress organisation in Orissa was moving in right earnest. Early in January 1923 the Congressmen selected village Tirtol in Cuttack district for an experimental civil disobedience. Madhusudan Das resigned from his ministership on the ground that it was not an honorary job.

H. K. Mahtab, after his release from jail, established a good number of Congress Ashramas in Balasore district. For the first time he invented a new weapon to mobilise the mass for national struggle. It was his Prajantrana which started working from 2nd October, 1923. In the same year a Swaraj Party was formed by Godavarish Mishra and Bhubanananda Das.

The Utkal Provincial Conference sat at Cuttack on 28-29 June 1924 under the presidentship of Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray. Madhusudan Das for the first time joined the Congress. By that time Gopabandhu Das was released from the jail. He activised
himself once again. In the heavy flood of Balasore in 1927 he formed a non-official Inquiry Committee. It was a sensational report and for this he was tried in the Khurda Court.

1928 was an eventful year for Orissa. First, Gandhiji visited Orissa to spread the use of Khadi. Secondly, there was a set-back in the Orissa Congress. Lastly, Gopabandhu Das expired the very year. Equally, 1929 was an important year in the history of Congress in Orissa. Gandhiji was again arrested. The Lahore Congress Session decided to launch mass civil disobedience movement all over India. Accordingly Congress organisations in Orissa became very active in enrolling volunteers in large number, village by village.

A meeting of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee was held at Cuttack in December, 1929 under the presidentship of H. K. Mahtab. Office bearers and members were elected for 1930. On 26 January 1930 Independence Day was observed at Cuttack and many other places of Orissa. Meetings were held on this ocassion. Many leaders were also arrested for this.

The historic Salt Satyagraha started in Orissa under the able leaderships of H. K. Mahtab and Surendra Nath Das. Although some members were pessimistic about the idea of Salt Satyagraha, Achariya Harihar Das led the first batch of volunteers for Salt Satyagraha at Inchudi in Balasore. Smt. Rama Devi and Smt. Malati Devi felicitated the volunteers. The march started on 6 April, 1930, the famous Dandi March Day of Gandhiji. The second batch marched on 9-4-1930, the third on 13-4-1930, the 4th and 5th on 16-4-1930. Most of the leaders including Gopabandhu Choudhury, Atal Bihari Acharya, R. K. Bose, Govind Misra, L. N. Mishra, Birakishore Das and H. K. Mahtab were arrested. On 7 May 1930 protest meetings were held for Gandhiji’s arrest. The Samaj stopped its publication from 15 May 1930. Smt. Sarala Devi a prominent woman leader was also arrested. Gopal Chandra Prahraj and Braja Sundar Das published a newspaper called ‘Satya Samachar’. The Inchudi Salt Campaign had a speciality that women joined it. Salt campaign spread to Balasore, Kasaba, Basta, Bhadrak, Astaranga, Marichpur and Kujang. Another woman leader Annapurna Devi joined the Salt Satyagraha. Many revolutionary books written by H. K. Mahtab, Kuntalakumari Devi, Ramprasad Singh and Nityananda Mohapatra were forfeited. Rama Devi, Narayan Birabur Samant and the ex-Rani of Paradip were actively engaged in the Salt Campaign at Kujang, Pandua and Gandakpur.

On 16 November 1930 Jawahar Day was observed at Cuttack. The British Government declared the Congress Working Committee
illegal. They locked up the Congress office. In this connection protest meetings were held. Smt. Binapani Devi and Surendranath Patnaik were arrested. Publication of Prajatantra was stopped by the Government. But, after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact things changed. The Congress leaders suspended the Civil Disobedience Movement. So also the Government released the political prisoners all over India including Orissa.

In the 20th century we saw intensive and active freedom movement in the British Orissa or Mogulbandi. It would be incomplete if we do not discuss about the role of the people of Garjats in Orissa during the freedom movement. There were five risings in Bamra from 1911 to 1928. In Talcher there were three risings from 1911 to 1932. There was a serious Kandh rising in Daspalla in 1914. Mayurbhanj rose in revolt in 1917. In 1922 the people of Dhenkanal revolted. Due to oppression in Nilgiri the people there rose in revolt in 1928. All these risings were either against the British interference or against the oppression of the Rajas.

The Orissan Princes had no fear of external aggression or internal risings so long as they were loyal to the British Crown. The role of the princes was the corner stone of the federal constitution projected by the Act of 1935. But the national democratic movement became more powerful to sweep the princes away. Prajamandals were formed in different princely states. Active struggle for elementary civil rights developed in many states of Orissa. About June 1938 a movement was launched by the people of the states like Nilgiri, Nayagarh and Ranpur. The movement attracted the attention of the Socialist leaders of Orissa. Sarangdhar Das took lead in Nilgiri. The States People’s Enquiry Committee was formed under the Chairmanship of H. K. Mahatab. No settlement could be made regarding the demands of the Prajamandals of Nilgiri.

The agitation spread to Dhenkanal, Angul and Talcher. H. K. Mahtab, Malati Devi, Sarangdhar Das came to have discussion with the ruling chiefs. But the situation had gone out of control due to the repression of the chiefs. The agitation spread to Athgarh and Ranpur. The All Orissa Garjat Day was observed in different places on 29 October 1938. Nabakrushna Choudhury took leading role after resigning from the Orissa Legislative Assembly. He joined the Satyagrahis of Dhenkanal. The Socialists supported the agitation. The Muhammedans also paid their allegiance to the Congress movement.

In December 1938 there was Kisan agitation in Nayagarh. The agitation spread to Ranpur where it took a serious and dangerous turn. The, Prajamandal leaders organised the mass. The Raja
could not control the situation and so sought the help of the Political Agent of Sambalpur, Major Bozelgette. The people attacked and killed him at last. This was a sensational news all over Orissa. The authorities held responsible the Congress and the Socialists. After this incident in Ranpur—there were a few agitations in Khandpara, Hindol and Nilgiri.

Meanwhile, things developed differently among the Congress workers. There was a rift between the Congress and the Socialist circle. There was a move for the formation of a Forward Block in Orissa. Subhash Chandra Bose visited Cuttack on 5 August 1939, and preached in favour of the Forward Block. Jadumani Mangaraj became the President of the Local branch of the Forward Block in Orissa. Pandit Nilakantha Das actively supported it.

In the same month of 1939 Jayaprakash Narain and Swami Sahajananda Saraswati visited Cuttack. They advised the Congress Ministers to resign and to join the national struggle and encouraged the States' people for their heroic sacrifices.

Situations in the Princely States did not improve. Oppressive and repressive measures were taken vehemently by the chiefs of the states like Dhenkanal and Talcher. The Prajamandal of Talcher under the Presidency of Pabitramohan Pradhan fought constitutionally for redress of their grievances. The agitation of the people for the achievement of their legitimate rights continued with unabated vigour during the later half of 1939. The ruling chiefs adopted a repressive measure forming a 'Praja Parishad'. This was a weapon to curb the movement of the people. Thousands were rendered destitute and homeless. From time to time the President of Talcher Prajamandal approached the Political Agent at Sambalpur for redress of their grievances. The people of Prajamandal formed a counter Association namely ‘Praja Sangha’ to launch a counter propaganda to Praja Parishad. The Nilgiri Prajamandal formed a Defence Committee to render financial assistance to the victims of the chief.

The repressive measures of the State Chiefs grew vehement in their attempt to quell the popular agitation in the beginning of 1940. In spite of the repressive measures of the Chiefs, the people of Garjats fought with earnest endeavour to strengthen their organisation for freedom. The British Government was strongly condemned for violation of the conditions of the Butler Committee’s Report and for aiding the chiefs in their repression of the subjects.

The Second World War started in September 1939. The anti-war agitation began in Orissa. The Congress Ministry in Orissa resigned on 4 November, 1939. Active agitation was carried on in the Princely States in order to attract the confidence and support of the
States’ people for the general movement. The peasant communities protested against the action of the Viceroy relating to withholding of Madras Estates Land Act Amendment Bill. The agitation was led by Sri Biswanath Das. The landlords of Orissa opposed the anti-war agitation of the people. In March 1940 Provincial Committee of the Forward Block of Orissa was formed under the Presidentship of Dibakar Patnaik. Asok Das was its Secretary.

Preparation for a Civil Disobedience movement was started by the Congress in Orissa from April 1940. The Cult of Satyagraha was opened at Bari in the district of Cuttack. A Satyagraha Committee was formed. The Utkal Provincial Congress Committee was dissolved and converted into Satyagraha Committee. Gopabandhu Choudhury was the leader of this new cult. Preparations for Satyagraha commenced in earnest in the Congress and Socialist circles of Orissa in April 1940. Surendra Nath Dwivedi was the President of the Utkal Congress Socialist Party. Thus the anti-war agitation was carried on in Orissa with vigorous earnestness by the united efforts of the Congress, the Socialists as well as Congress sympathisers among the students and the Communists.

When the Congress leaders launched anti-war agitation, a few of them led by Godavaris Misra opposed the idea and formed a new association called ‘Orissa Congress Swarajya Dal’. Its Secretary was Dibakar Patnaik. They tried to form a coalition ministry. It was supported by the Forward Block. Pandit Nilakantha Das resigned from Congress Party in November 1940. On the other hand the Working Committee of U.P.C.C. reorganised the Party and selected H. K. Mahtab as their General Director.

However, the struggle for freedom continued unabated. The campaign of individual Satyagraha was started on 1 December 1940 under the leadership of H. K. Mahtab, N. K. Choudhury, Biswanath Das, Bodhram Dubey, N. Kanungo, Mohan Das, Sadasiv Tripathy, Lokanath Misra and Smt. Sarala Devi etc. Numbers of Satyagrahis continued to sacrifice their liberty and court imprisonment. In Koraput ‘Batch Satyagraha’ was started. The Satyagrahis who participated in the campaign after those who offered Satyagraha in December 1940 were mostly inconspicuous in the political field.

Certain elements in the Congress and other political circles in Orissa had no faith in the Satyagraha movement and Gandhiji’s leadership. As a result enthusiasm for Satyagraha gradually waned in Orissa towards the beginning of March 1941. But nevertheless, a new plan was devised by the Provincial Congress Committee for the prosecution of the Satyagraha Campaign. Fresh instructions were issued in the form of circular in May 1941. The Congress
workers were engaged vigorously to carry it out into the interior of the Province.

Side by side the peasants of Ganjam District carried on their agitation against the Zamindars under the leadership of Biswanath Das. It spread to Polsara and Parlakhemundi. Kisan Sanghas were also established at Khurda.

In the Congress circle strong reaction accumulated against the proposed Coalition Ministry. But the Coalition Ministry was formed with the Maharaja of Parlakhemundi as its premier and Godavarish Mishra and Maulavi A. S. Khan as its members. But this Coalition Ministry became rapidly unpopular and public support for it greatly declined towards June 1942.

Miss Mira Ben came to Orissa in May 1942 to strengthen the morale of the Congress people. She preached the policy of Gandhiji in regard to the question of non-violent resistance to the aggression and the absolute non-cooperation with the British.

Mass Civil Disobedience Movement started in Orissa in August 1942. In Koraput this movement took the most daring form. Chief among the revolutionaries who played a conspicuous role in the August Revolution in Koraput was Lakshmana Naik who, along with his associates, was taken into the custody of the police and sent to prison. He was executed on 29 August 1943 and thus became a martyr to this land. August Revolution was also started in the districts of Cuttack and Balasore. Surajmal Saha and Bibudhendu Misra were arrested from Cuttack. Students took active part in this revolution. The Forward Blockists issued leaflets like 'War of Independence', 'Harijan Notes' etc. A number of Congress Bulletins were issued by Surendra Nath Dwivedi. An organisation called the 'National Government' was started in Gurpal area of Balasore. Congress underground activities started in the districts of Balasore and Cuttack.

The revolution of September and October 1942 in Orissa was pronouncedly violent in nature. The dreadful firing in Eram in Basudevpur Police-Station in the district of Balasore may fitly be called the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy of Orissa. The police fired at a mass meeting of 5,000, several times. The casualties were 35 killed and 107 wounded.

In this Quit India Movement or August Revolution most sections of the people in Orissa took active part. The Harijan Sevak Sangha under the leadership of Nandakishore Das actively supported the movement. Besides, there were rampant underground activities. Against the Government repression, the Congress propaganda continued. In 1943 the movement was in a quieter phase. But in 1944
the Congress workers started revival of the organisation. They indulged in constructive programmes. The Congress leaders were earnest about the formation of a ministry (after the fall of the Coalition Ministry in 1944) with a view to capturing power and thus, started efforts in that direction in July 1945. A Congress Ministry was formed in April 1946 under the leadership of H. K. Mahtab. Interim Government Day was observed in September 1946 when H. K. Mahtab and N. K. Choudhury explained to the people the intention of the formation of this Ministry.

The British Government announced at last, the transfer of power and passed the Indian Independence Bill in the House of Commons in July 1947. On 15th August, 1947 India observed Independence Day. This was hailed with joy by the General Public of Orissa.

Though Orissa became free from the foreign rule, its Garjat people were not yet free from the oppressive rule of their chiefs. The agitation of the Garjat people for the establishment of a democratic government in the States continued with unabated vigour in the year 1947. The Secretary of States’ Subcommittee issued bulletins against the rulers. The rulers from their side moved for draft constitution in the States. But the people did not accept it. The States’ Regional Council rejected the proposal of the rulers. This enraged the rulers who used the police-force and established counter organisations like Praja Samities. The Praja Mandal Workers were active in Dhenkanal and Nilgiri. In each State, States’ Student Congress and Council of Action were formed.

The atrocities of the rulers evoked strong resentment amongst the people. The provisional government of Orissa intervened in the States’ affairs. H. K. Mahtab took leading role in the merger of the States in the Province of Orissa. At first Nilgiri was merged in November 1947 with Orissa. This gave a fresh impetus to the agitation of Prajamandals in other states. As a result of the vigorous agitation carried on by the Prajamandals the rulers of Bonai, Sonepur, Baramba, Athagarh, Rairakhol and Mayurbhanj made over the entire administration of their respective states to the Prajamandals in November 1947. Then followed the ruler of Khandapara.

Sardar Vallabhai Patel visited Orissa in December 1947. He held a conference with the rulers of the Princely States of Orissa in the very month and successfully persuaded them to agree to part with their administrative powers. As a result of this, all the Princely States except Mayurbhanj were integrated with Orissa from 1 January 1948. Mayurbhanj merged with Orissa the following year. Thus, by the unintering efforts of H. K. Mahtab and continued agitation of the people of Garjats, Orissa achieved a full-fledged independence.
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CHAPTER 22

THE STORY OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT
IN ORISSA STATES

Historical background

HISTORY of freedom movement in India reveals many events, incidents, legends and anecdotes which generate a nationalistic fervour in the heart of everybody who has been born on the sacred soil of India—his motherland. Pertaining to Indian Freedom movement of 1857 a great political thinker of India had referred to the following passage which Ludlow had written in his memorable treatise “Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown”. He wrote, “Surely, the natives of India must be less than men, if their feelings could not be moved under such circumstances in favour of the victims of annexation, and against annexer. Surely there was not a woman whom such annexation did not tend to make our enemy, not a child whom they did not tend to train up in hatred to the Firingee rule.” I think the same could be said about British Policy in the native States of India of which the Orissa States formed a distinct part.

The Orissa States formerly known as Orissa Garjats (Land of Forts) had a total area of 28,656 square miles and a population of 46½ lakhs. They were divided into 26 small States beginning with Tigiria with 47 sq. miles and a population of 24,000 ending with Mayurbhanj, the biggest of the Orissa States with an area of 4,243 sq. miles and a population of 10 lakhs.

Formerly, these small States formed part of the great kingdom of Kalinga, lately known as Orissa. The Rajas were known as Samanta Rajas under the independent Gajapati King of Orissa.

An official historian states as follows regarding the states of these Samanta chiefs. He says, “Before this Country passed into the hands of the British Government the chiefs were subordinates to the Raja of Puri, the de facto Raja of Orissa from whom they held as fiefs these mahals. The grants were originally made in
recognition of menial services which the ancestors of the present beneficiaries had rendered to the then reigning monarchs."

Prior to 1803 Orissa including these States formally formed a part of the territory of the Marahatta Bhonsla king of Nagpur, whose dependencies included Suruguja, Sambalpur, Bastar, and to the eastward, Cuttack and Orissa. The peace of Deogaon was purchased by Raghují with the sacrifice of Berar and Cuttack and Appa Seheb's treachery had been the cause of transferring to the English Company much more of the territory to the east. Even though the suzerainty over these territories was transferred from Raghují to the British, they could not take possession of all the territories as they were never actually conquered. The present day British districts of Orissa were gradually brought under direct administration by the Regulation of 1805 leaving aside the Orissa native States which were exempted from the said Regulation. The Company entered into treaties, engagements, Kawolnamas with almost all of the then existing chieftains. But in course of time mahals of some of the chieftains were incorporated in the British districts such as Kanika, Aul, Kujanga, Harishpur etc. But the present day Orissa States referred to here were excluded and kept under their chieftains.

It may be mentioned here that even though the Regulation of 1805 did not extend to these native States they were known as Zamindaries. These territories were divided into 3 groups for administrative convenience. One group was known as "Sambalpur Garjat Chiefs" consisting of Bindranuagada, Khariar, Borisambar, Phuljhar, Bargarh, Patna, Saranggarh, Sakti, Raigarh, Bamara, Redhakhhol and Sonepur.

The above Sambalpur group was administered by a British Agent with his headquarters at Ranchi in Chhotanagpur. There was another group with 18 States beginning from Tigiria, Athガrh up to Mayurbhanj and was known as the Cuttack Tributary Mahals.

The States of Boud and Athmallik had previously been attached to the Ranchi Agent. But when in 1816 a Superintendent of Tributary Mahals was appointed as subordinate to the Commissioner of the Orissa Division, Boud and Athmallick were transferred from the jurisdiction of the Ranchi Agent to that of the Superintendent of Cuttack Tributary Mahals in 1837.

Subsequently the seven States of Kalahandi, Patna etc. known as Ex-C. P. group were transferred to the jurisdiction of the Chief Commissioner of Nagpur. The two States Saraikela and Khariswan remained under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Chhotanagpur, the rest being under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Orissa.
The C. P. group of the 7 Orissa States were again amalgamated with the other Orissa States in 1906 and all these were placed under the “Political Agent” whose office was then created and located at Sambalpur with judicial powers of High Court and administrative supervising powers exercised by the Commissioner of Orissa Division. In 1916 the two States—Saraikela and Kharswan came under the Political Agent of Orissa. Again from 1st of April, 1922 the Commissioner of Orissa Division ceased all his connexion with the States, all powers heretofore vested in him being transferred to the Political Agent who was thereafter designated as Political Agent and Commissioner having also jurisdiction of certain judicial powers over the administration of Angul, a Non-Regulated area of British Orissa. The Deputy Commissioner of Angul was also delegated powers of an Additional Political Agent from 1922 and used to supervise and try Sessions Cases in some neighbouring States. This arrangement was discontinued from 1st December, 1924, all powers then being exercised by the Political Agent and an Assistant Political Agent.

There came another change in 1933. The Eastern States Agency was established on the 1st of April of that year comprising the 26 Feudatory States of Orissa and 14 other States from the Central Provinces. Prior to that the 26 Orissa States were under the control of the Governor-in-Council of Bihar and Orissa and 14 States of C. P. were similarly under the control of the Governor-in-Council of C. P. After the enquiry of the Butler Committee in 1929 these States were taken out from the control of the Provincial Governments and had direct relationship with the Central Government, the Governor-General (then known as Crown Representative) exercising his jurisdiction through the Agent to the Governor-General, (later designated as Resident) whose headquarters were first located at Ranchi. Under him 2 Political Agents worked—one for the 26 Orissa States with headquarters at Sambalpur and the other for the 14 C. P. States with headquarters at Raipur. After a short period 2 more States of Bengal—Tripura and Cooch Behar were added to the Eastern States Agency and the headquarters of the Resident were transferred from Ranchi to Calcutta and it was then that the designation was changed from A.G.G. to Resident.

There was then a further vivisection of the Orissa States. The Eastern States Agency was divided into 3 different agencies under the same Resident, known as Bengal States Agency, Orissa States Agency and Chhatisgarh States Agency. In the Bengal Agency besides Tripura and Cooch Behar which were Bengali States the Oriya State of Mayurbhanj had been included and this Agency was under the jurisdiction of the Secretary to the Resident. Two other Oriya States Kalahandi and Patna were torn out from the Orissa
States Agency and amalgamated with the C.P. group of Chhatisgarh States Agency. The Orissa States Agency thus represented 20 out of 26 Orissa States.

The above would clearly show how from time immemorial all the Orissa States formed part of Orissa proper and how they had been politically and administratively vivisected from Orissa and revivisected amongst themselves. The parent Province of Orissa similarly represented certain torn limbs of natural Orissa which comprised also the outlying tracts of Singhbhum, South Midnapur, Phuljhar, Chandrapur and Bindranuagarh of C. P. and Jalantar, Tikkali and Mandasa of Vizagapatam District. The result of such vivisection was that Orissa and the Ooriya race were dismembered, their cultural tie broken up, social unity split up and economic and constitutional development seriously hampered. The contrast between the Province of Orissa and the neighbouring Orissa States afforded a sad and deplorable picture. With the advent of gradual reforms in British India one part of Utkal known as the Orissa Province was lifting its head but the other part known as Native Orissa had been gradually sinking and had almost come to a point of collapse.

Administrative vagaries

It has already been stated and has now been widely recognized that the native States of Orissa have got enormous potential resources such as valuable minerals and extensive forest wealth unequalled in any part of India. Some have compared it to the Rhineland of Europe. All the big Steel Plants both in Private and Public Sectors so far established in India mostly draw their raw materials almost exclusively from the regions of Orissa States. These potential resources when fully developed may produce hundreds of crores of rupees worth of goods and power which one can hardly comprehend. But though nature has been so bountiful in providing such hidden potential wealth to these historic States of Orissa, it had been the worst poverty-stricken area and its economic condition had been extremely deplorable. Not only the people were living half fed and on the verge of famine but also the despotic rulers were trekking a miserable life due to extreme backwardness, illiteracy and most undeveloped conditions caused by absence of any communication and repeated incidents of famine and pestilence and in many cases due to maladministration. What were the conditions even of the rulers could well be imagined from the following remarks of an Indian Administrative Officer who was for a long time in charge of these States. He writes, "In his Resolution dated the 2nd October, 1874, whilst reviewing Mr. Raven-shaw’s Administration Report of the Tributary Mahals of Cuttack
for the year 1873-74 the Lieutenant-Governor remarks, "In each of
the Killahs not under direct management the tribute, in full, amount-
ing in all to Rs. 33,249-7-11 has been paid up, and in addition the sum
of Rs. 10,000 has been paid in advance on account of the current year.
The arrears due from Tigiria have been fully realized." In another
place of the same Resolution His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor
has expressed his satisfaction, because the arrears of preceding years
and the jumma for 1873-74 have all been fully realized during the
year under notice. Does not this indicate that even the smaller amount
of Rs. 33,000 in comparison with the gross revenue collections was
hardly realized in full in previous years? Does not this state of
things bear testimony to the poverty of the Rajas? It may be asked
then what could be the cause of such an unhealthy condition of Garjat
finance. The country is still in the same dormant state as she was
100 years back. The progress which she has been reported to be
making towards refinement is mere nominal and cannot therefore be
taken into account. The charges for revenue collections and keeping
quasi military establishments do not come up even to the smallest
fraction of the gross rental. The wants of these jungly Rajas are few
and the luxuries to which they may naturally be addicted are less
expensive. The houses they live in are generally, thatched ones,
environed by mud-walls which require a trifling amount annually to
keep them in repair. The other kinds of expenditure of the
State are also in quite keeping with these. What becomes then of the
enormous amount realized annually? And why difficulties are
experienced on the part of the Rajas to pay off regularly their tributes
to Government? One of these two reasons may be assigned for such
an embarrassed State—either that the Rajas are out at elbows, or that
they having their purse full, are loth to part with any portion there-
of even in the payment of their tribute. The former seems to be the
most probable reason that can be applied in their case. It is said that
the itinerant merchants who visit the Garjats periodically are not paid
off on first demand the value of their goods sold to the Rajas, but are
kept detained for months and months together, receiving a daily
allowance of 2 or 3 Rupees for their Khoraki on account of the
shortness of cash in the Rajas' treasury. Again, whenever the Rajas'
are summoned to attend durbars at Cuttack on important occasions,
many of them, it is reported, have had to contract debts at heavy
interest in order to defray their expenses for the occasion. We have
been informed of the case of a teacher employed in a Tributary State
who does not regularly receive his salary from the Raja, but is in
liquidation of his arrears paid something on market days for the
defrayal of his lodging expenses. Instances of such a kind are too
numerous to be noticed all here in detail. Those cited above are, I
think, sufficient for our present purpose to show the insolvent state
of the Garjat Treasury.

It is always customary with low paid servants to lead by con-
stant fawning their weak-minded masters to extreme prodigality and
malversation. They know very well that in an attempt like this their
own interest can best be served. On occasions therefore, of marriage,
the investiture of sacred thread, etc., their endeavours to make the
candle burn at both ends are unremitting. Similar are the tricks
played upon the Garjat Rajahs also by their own servants, and the
result is that in a fit of enthusiasm and transport thus excited in their
breast they squander away the greatest portion of their savings which
otherwise could be appropriated to more useful ends.

The instances given below will convey to our readers some
idea of the depravity which prevails in the Raja’s court and the means
adopted generally for plundering them of their money.

The fluctuating nature of the Garjat revenues renders it
necessary sometimes to grant remission to the ryots in years of
drought or scarcity. But the amlals whenever they find an oppor-
tunity, always try to turn the table to their own advantage. For,
remissions as a rule, are never recommended in any one’s favour
without the payment of money to them. If handsomely remunerated
they can, even in years of plenty, procure exemptions in favour
of some from the liability of payment of their revenues. Again,
on festival days, and also on occasions of marriage or other festivities
a large amount, much larger than what is required for those occasions,
is drawn from the treasury, and disbursed through the hands of the
amlahl. And you can well perceive that more than half of the aggre-
gate sum goes to fill the coffers of these insatiate men.

It is however a matter of congratulation to find that some
of the Rajas have now commenced to understand their own interests,
and have directed their attention to the accumulation of wealth.

Such being the state of affairs it is no wonder that the rulers
of these petty principalities took to undesirable methods and exploited
their poor helpless gullible subjects sometimes mercilessly and in most
cases squandering away the money on personal and family expenses or
on luxuries as there was nothing to deter these despotic rulers from
doing so. The purpose and the character of such exploitation and the
inefficient or indifferent administration extending over years and
years demoralized the people to such an extent that there could hardly
be any effective opposition or effort to bring pressure on the rulers to
behave properly and rule fairly. Of course it was not that all were
so irresponsible and recklessly. There were at times a few rulers
here and there who inherited their ancestral nobility and sustained
the same in their personal conduct as also in their approach to the problems of their subjects. The religious faith, the social prestige and the cultural heritage later on supplemented by modern education and enlightenment provided them with wider vision and some rulers though not affluent in financial resources maintained a high order of moral tone in administration and tried to bring about some reforms in administration even in the early part of the 20th Century. They encouraged education and literature and endowed for educational, religious or charitable institutions liberally. In this connexion the names of Maharaja Shriramchandra Bhanj of Mayurbhanj and some individual rulers of a few other States could be mentioned. Maharaja of Mayurbhanj introduced Cabinet form of Government and Legislature as early as 1912 in accordance with the scheme prepared by late Pt. Gopabandhu Das who was then the State Pleader and Legal Adviser. But such rulers were of course very few. In the majority of cases the situation was sad and depressing. The vagaries of despotic rule, the nature and extent of exploitation and the consequent miseries and privations of the people could be appreciated from the brief note quoted from the Enquiry Committee Report, Orissa States, 1939.

CONDITION OF THE PEASANTRY

The peasantry has no full land rights in all these States. It is liable to ejection in spite of its long possession and enjoyment for generations. The claims of reclamation were of no avail to it.

Besides, there are no rulers for remission and suspension of arrears in the land rent. A default in payment means the confiscation of land which is sold to the highest bidder without the balance, if any, over the arrears being refunded.

The agrarian situation in these States is getting more acute everyday by the increase in rents, which knows no check, aggravated by the present economic depression. The peasantry is naturally restive and shows signs of impatience for the lightening of the burden. Much valuable land remains uncultivated as the outside people are not attracted by the conditions on which it is given on rent. Insecurity of tenure and liability to arbitrary increase in rents are the two stumbling blocks which create serious difficulties in the way of increasing cultivation over vast blocks of rich land which might bring prosperity to the local population and add substantially to the State Treasury.
SYSTEM OF TAXATION

The system of taxation now prevailing in these States defies all canons of sound finance. Land is heavily taxed without regard to the capacity of the peasants to pay. Neither the wholesome rules of Manu regarding land tax, nor the scientific principles of land revenue assessment evolved by the experts of the British Government in India are observed by the Rulers of these States.

Land-revenue in British India is considered to be high enough and there is a widespread demand for its substantial reduction. But the same rent in the States is higher still.

Added to this there are numerous other taxes, fees, salarries, levies and monopolies, education cess varying from half anna to two annas three pies per rupee of rent; hospital cess varying from half anna to one anna six pies per rupee of rent; forest cess varying from half anna to one anna three pies per rupee of rent, road cess or miscellaneous cess varying from six annas to one anna and six pies per rupee of rent (such cesses are levied in lieu of bethi and beggari, but in actual practice this excessive cess is collected over and above the bethi which is also realised as before in many States); grazing fee at one anna to Rs. 1-4-0 per cattle per year; tax on industrial castes; special cess on sugar-cane; cess for using sugar-cane crushing machine; tax on landless labourers; fruit cess; cess for exporting grain or merchandise; fee for adoption; salami for permitting widows to adopt (and such fee is in many States levied at the rate of Rs. 5/- or thereabout per acre of land); in many States levy of income-tax, tax on salt, kerosine, bidi, tobacco, pan, cocoanut, coir, meat, and many other articles and necessaries of life through monopoly; in some States special fees for permitting use of double plank doors, use of any head-dress, use of palanquins, tax on plough and many other taxes have been levied. In the reports given in this book on Athgarh and Talecher, the details of different taxes and cesses will be found. What is true of these States is also true of most of the States.

In a poverty-stricken area which has no other sources of income except land, this heavy and iniquitous burden has broken the backs of the peasantry and created conditions ripe for an agrarian revolution, a very mild type of which has already manifested itself in several States in Orissa.

The system of monopolies in the daily necessaries of life like salt, kerosine, pan, cocoanut, etc. hits the people very hard, increase in prices in those commodities encourages sale of inferior stuff and
sets the law of diminishing return in motion with the consequent fall in consumption of the articles concerned.

PRIVY PURSE

From all evidence that we have been able to gather and from all our careful enquiries we are led to believe that the Rulers generally spend about half the public revenues on themselves and their families.

Besides the sums earmarked in the State Budgets for the 'domestic department' there are various other devices which the Rulers and their advisers have found out by which a good portion of public money is diverted to the private treasury of the Raja.

As a specimen of how the Rulers spend the bulk of the State revenues on themselves leaving a very scanty pittance for the purposes of State administration, we give in detail the position as it exists in the State of Nilgiri. What is true of Nilgiri is also true of most of other States in a large measure.

So far as Nilgiri is concerned the Enquiry Committee noted that while the gross income of the State was Rs. 1,71,000/- and net income Rs. 1,50,000/-, the budgeted amount for the domestic departments was Rs. 50,000/-. The Committee had analysed as to how palace charges debited to other departments amounted to much higher amount and had observed, These invisible charges combined with the visible Rs. 50,000/- will bring the amount used by the Raja on his personal and family account to more than one-half of the total income of the State. Apart from this there are several other sources of income which are not accounted for in the Budget. These go to swell the private coffers of the Ruler.

RISINGS AND REBELLIONS STARTED

The history of risings and small rebellions in Orissa States could be traced back to the year 1866, the year of great famine known as 'Naanka'. The States were then under the direct supervision of the Commissioner of Orissa Division which formed a part of the then Bengal Presidency. Just after the British took over, there were repeated famines in Orissa and Orissa States in 1806, 1807, 1809, 1836 and the worst famine that had ever occurred in any country came upon these poor gullible people in the year 1866-67. The harrowing tales of this disastrous famine were beyond description. Over 8 lakhs of people died within a span of few months. The coastal districts of Orissa Division and particularly the Orissa States proved to be the worst graveyard of innocent men, women and children who died
of hunger and pestilence literally like flies and the tragedy was so terrible that even the last souls in many villages were killed by this monstrous famine. It went to such a pass that the mother tried to live on the flesh of the dead child and man ate the flesh of man. It was a veritable hell that men and nature created together. The inhuman negligence and the callous attitude of the administrators was greatly responsible for this holocaust which was re-echoed not only in this country but even in the British Parliament of those days as a result of which a famine Commission was appointed by the British Government known as the Malvelli Commission. Prior to the famine the economic condition of these States had deteriorated to such an extent that the then British Government put some of these States such as Daspalla, Keonjhar, Nayagarh, Narasinghpur, Tigiria and Hindol into public auction on account of repeated failures on the part of the rulers to pay the meagre tributes to the British Government. When there were no bidders the Government itself purchased these States. But later on political considerations these States were again restored to the rulers. These States which formed part of the Great ancient Utikal which had built up a cultural empire and oversea market in South East Asia through its merchant Navy and was in a prosperous condition, was ultimately reduced to utter penury in course of time. After the great famine there was the first rebellion in Keonjhar State when T. E. Ravenshaw was the Commissioner. It was a rebellion by the Bhuyans, an Adivasi tribe and a large number of people were killed on account of repressive measures.

The subsequent risings and rebellions are briefly stated below.

The Bamra Risings

In Bamra, there were four popular movements against the arbitrary increase in land rent, within a period of 28 years led by Hara Padhan, Bhagavatia Padhan and Jagannath Garnaik, Daitari Hota and Bhagban Patel, respectively. Some of these were beaten and put in Jail, some were fined, while the rest were banished from the State. The fifth movement started in 1928 against the Meefar Settlement which increased the land rent still further. About 4,000 people advanced towards the Bungalow of the Political Agent at Sambalpur for demanding redress. A no-rent campaign was started on the failure to secure redress from the Political Agent. Six Gauntias (village headmen) were arrested and imprisoned for 3 months. Some leaders lost their jobs in service and 4 Gauntias were deprived of their Gaunti rights. Section 144 was served on Dayananda Satpathy and 5 others. The former had to go to prison for a month and a half. Several others were dealt with under various charges. The movement was thus suppressed.
"In 1937 some persons had to disobey orders under Section 144 for which they were sent to prison for six months. In 1938 Kandarp Padhan, Krisna Padhan and 23 others asked the authorities to grant the people fundamental rights of citizenship. They were sent to prison for 3 years each under Section 110."

**The Boudh Rising**

"Land rents were increased in Boudh in 1930 under the new Settlement. There was an increase of 100, 200 and 300 and in some cases 400 per cent in different places. About 2,000 people went to the Raja to lay before him their grievances. The officials prevented an approach to the Raja. Twenty-seven Khonds then went to Sambalpur to get relief from the Political Agent. On their return to the State they were cruelly beaten and imprisoned."

**The Daspalla Rising**

Of all the risings and rebellions so far occurred in these States the rising in Daspalla in 1913-14 was the most widespread and the brutal repression was the worst that had ever occurred. The then Ruler of Daspalla, Narayan Bhanja Deo was too old to look after the State affairs. He had a very cunning, tricky but skilful Dewan named Bhabagrahi Biswal. The said Dewan found to his interest to get the State under the Court of Wards so that he would become the supreme of the State as Superintendent directly responsible to the Political Department of the Government. In the natural course the ruler being without an issue would have been succeeded by a cousin brother. If the Raja had retired the cousin brother Baishnab Deo who was an adult would have succeeded him. But Dewan Sri Biswal did not want it. He cleverly managed to get a minor Rajkumar from Parikud who happened to be the daughter’s son of the old Raja to be adopted. But Baishnab Deo was more popular. When the Raja died, the Dewan and Baishnab Deo both were absent from the headquarters. So the Dewan’s henchmen conveniently put the Rajkumar on the Gaddi and on his orders disposed of the dead body of the late Raja which was the conventional practice. Baishnab Deo protested and there was a rising in the State in his favour. Though he was not in the State during the rising he was arrested, convicted and sentenced to transportation. The rising took a serious proportion. Most of the people who started the rebellion were aborigins. Though this succession to the Gaddi was the immediate cause, the oppressive rule and merciless exploitation by this clever Dewan had brought the people’s feeling to a boiling point. This incident of succession only served as the match stick to start the flare-up. British forces were
immediately requisitioned and a regular massacre was started and it was described as Khond (tribal) rising. Nobody could say how many hundreds of men, women and children were killed and what reign of terror was let loose. There were public hangings, looting and arson on a large scale. The repression was so terrific and such an iron curtain was applied that it was difficult to get information about the inhuman brutalities perpetrated. There was a poor young student named Govind Misra, a resident of Daspalla, then reading at Cuttack who somehow managed to get into the State and carried information to the outside world. Late Pandit Gopabandhu Das of hallowed memory and his co-workers took up this matter and brought to light some of the brutalities through the newspaper ‘Asha’, then published and edited by Shri Sashi Bhusan Rath at Berhampur. This informant young man along with several others was declared as an absconding accused and had he been caught hold of he would probably have been sent to the gallows as many others were. He narrowly escaped the clutches of the terrorizing Police-force and for some time was under the care of Pt. Gopabandhu Das and later on went to Sabarmati to be under the shelter of Mahatma Gandhi with whose blessings he took to public work. It was only after 1919 Reforms that a general clemency was declared and Sri Misra could return to Orissa as a free man.

**Nilgiri Agitation**

“In 1928, people of Nilgiri started a popular movement against bethi and mangan and in the course of this movement, about two thousand people left the State and came away to Balasore. Ultimately the Paramount Power intervened and a settlement was arrived at. Mr. C. F. Andrews has mentioned this struggle with his comments in his book “India and Simon Commission”.

**Ferment in Talcher**

In Talcher, when the miscellaneous cess was first levied in 1911, there was an agitation which was suppressed by punishing the leaders. Another movement in 1922 was similarly dealt with. Again the question was agitated in 1932 but to no purpose.

**Movement in Dhenkanal**

In Dhenkanal, at the end of the 19th century the Manager of the State contemplated enhancement of rent under a new settlement. One thousand people came and protested, in consequence of which the idea was abandoned. Again in 1922 the management wanted to
revise rent. Forest rules were also revised and enforced just then. Against both these there was much resentment and agitation. Some redress was effected, but four of the leaders were charged with conspiracy and were sentenced to imprisonment for three years. This gave a set-back to the movement.

PRAJAMANDAL MOVEMENT

In such circumstances the Orissa States' People's Conference was first organised in 1931 at Cuttack with the active co-operation of the All India States' People's Conference and with the help of a handful of workers of Orissa States and the help and co-operation of some level-headed public men of Orissa. The co-operation of the Rulers was sought who however refused to recognise it. On the contrary all attempts were made to nip it in the bud. Extraordinary circumstances owing to aggressive Congress movement in the Province also stood on the way and after the 1st Conference the organization became dormant for a pretty long time.

It was in the year 1936-37 that fresh attempts were made to rejuvenate the organisation and the second session as held at Cuttack in the year 1937 under the Presidentship of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. It was then proposed that an Enquiry Committee should be constituted to enquire into the prevailing conditions in the Orissa States. It has already been stated that prior to these there had been many agitations before in some of the States for the redress of grievances and oppressions. In Keonjhar, Talcher, Daspalla, Nilgiri, Baramba, Narasinghpur, Boudh, Bamra, Sareikela, Nayagarh, Bonai, Dhenkanal and several other States people tried to bring their grievances and the misdeeds to light. But such attempts were suppressed with severe repressions. In one case only, that is in case of Baramba, the Ruler was deprived of his powers and the State was placed under Court of Wards. But the fundamental defects and abuses of State administration such as Bethi etc. were not abolished. On the other hand, the Political Officer of the Government rather codified Bethi, Beggari and Rasad even in the year of grace of 1930 in which the Government of India ratified the Geneva Convention of abolition of forced labour and slavery.

States Enquiry Committee

But after the new constitutional changes in the Provinces and the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy and advent of Congress Ministry a great psychological change came in the outlook of these oppressed people of the Orissa States, and at such a time the Orissa
State's People Enquiry Committee with Sjt. H. Mahtab as President and Sjt. Balavantarai Mehta and Sjt. Lalmohan Patnaik moved to hear the people that came forward in hundreds to lay their grievances before them. Many of the Rulers tried to prevent such evidence being forthcoming. Just at this time the Ruler of Nilgiri created a serious situation in his State by imposition of heavy fines on people for the "offence" of inter-dining on a social occasion.

Renewed Repressions

This was very much resented by the people and they organized a meeting to protest, but the Ruler would not permit any public meeting. This was the signal for non-violent resistance and the Nilgiri Prajamandal was first formed to secure the Civil liberty for the people of the State. Satyagraha went on for months together; hundreds were put into prison houses; there were lathi charges and even fire was opened; but through the mediation of late Major Bazelgette, the then Political Agent, Orissa States, Sjt. H. Mahtab and Mr. Solomon, I. C. S., District Magistrate, Balasore, a settlement was arrived at. The Ruler conceded certain demands of the people, civil liberty was guaranteed and the Prajamandal was recognized as representative body of the people to place their grievances before the Durbar in a constitutional manner. The settlement was hailed on all sides as a happy sign of change and it was expected that other Rulers would likewise redress such grievances and grant civil liberty to their people. People in Talcher, Dhenkanal, Pal Lahara, Athgarh, Tigarla, Nayagarh, Ranpur, Keonjhar, Hindol and several other States began to represent their grievances to the Rulers through their Prajamandals. But Dhenkanal and then Talcher gave a definite adverse lead in the line of repression. It had then already been widely known that some important evidences and documents were stolen away by a man of Dhenkanal from the office of the Enquiry Committee and this had very much agitated the people of Dhenkanal who were already at a point of utter despair and desperation.

It is now a matter of history how on the 11th September, 1938 five of the Prajamandal leaders of Dhenkanal were arrested and how on the 12th September, 1938 fire was opened and lathi charges made on a vast agitated crowd of 40,000 people in the town of Dhenkanal and consequently how the entire State came into ferment, how attempts at reconciliation were frustrated on account of the large influx of Armed Police Force from different States and a large number of troops of the King's own Scottish Borders Regiment in order to meet the situation and pursue repression in full swing. We had by then heard
enough of the repeated firings in the State and how a number of innocent persons were killed including Baji Rout, a boy of 11 years of age who showed exemplary courage and determination in facing the bullets of the Armed Forces and whose name has become a legend in Orissa. So also was Shri Mura Mallik who was sentenced to death, but was saved from the gallows on clemency by the Crown Representative. The houses of the local Prajamandal leader Shri Maheswar Subahu Singh and many others were raised to the ground and their properties looted and confiscated. It was a tragic drama which could hardly be described at length in this short note. There was a virtual reign of terror spread over the whole State with stories of inhuman brutalities filling the columns of the newspapers. The fact, however, remained that thousands of people lost their properties, many thousands fled away from the State, crores lost their lives and many women lost their honour and the whole State by then practically presented a spectacle of a country seigeed by an Armed Force. It is needless to say that it was first in Dhenkanal that the Prajamandal was declared unlawful and the method of severe repression pursued. It was only in this State that outside Congressmen and also some socialists participated in the movement.

It may be mentioned that when Dhenkanal agitation took a very serious turn in November, 1938 after the observance of “All Orissa Garjat Day” in different parts of the Orissa States accompanied by peaceful Hartal on the 29th October, 1938 at the call of the Orissa States’ People’s Conference the British-Orissan politicians and workers joined the agitation. On 2nd November, there was a clash between the Armed Police and the big crowd that had assembled in the Dhenkanal Town. Some people came with bows, arrows, axes and lathis and resisted the Police atrocities. In the resulted clash some Police officers as well as members of the public sustained serious injuries. The trouble spread and on the 11th November there was a greater clash and Police indiscriminately opened fire on the riotous mob and a number of people died on the spot. It was apprehended that violence may spread and the agitation may get out of control of the Prajamandal leaders. So, in order to give a peaceful turn to the agitation, Satyagraha was started in the 1st week of December, 1938. Shri Nabakrishna Choudhury who was then a Congress Member of the Orissa Legislative Assembly and belonged to the Socialist group of the Congress resigned his seat in the Orissa Assembly and led the first batch of Satyagrahis from Cuttack to Dhenkanal. They were arrested by the State authorities as soon as they reached Dhenkanal on the 3rd December, but soon after were let off. A number of Congress workers joined this agitation along
with the Prajamandal workers and this movement spread from one place to another.

Dhenkanal’s neighbour Talcher followed suit. The people of Talcher are exceedingly docile, but they were at a breaking point. Exaction of Bethi or forced labour in addition to a very excessive cess of five annas per rupee of rent levied in lieu of Bethi since 1911 and taxation through monopolies over necessaries of life and a systematic economic exploitation of the poor peasantry shook the very foundation of people’s confidence in the administration and its Ruler. Formerly there were several agitations in the State, but they were suppressed through repression. On this occasion the non-violent and constitutional methods were taken up by the leaders of the people and the Prajamandal pursued first the way of praying and petitioning. But the Ruler would not hear. He could not brook the sight of his proverbial “sons” even constitutionally resisting the great proverbial “father”. (In these States the rulers fondly depicted the relationship between the Ruler and his subjects as that of a father and his sons.) He would not abolish Bethi but would terrorise the people and submit them to forced labour for road repairs. He would not give any relief in taxation. He would suppress the people through repression and if his armed forces were found inadequate, he requisitioned forces from outside. There was indiscriminate firing on peaceful crowd and some were killed. This gave a new turn to the Prajamandal movement. Satyagraha was started, hundreds were imprisoned, but it was not imprisonment which people feared, but the merciless beating, inhuman torture caused by wounds with hot iron rods and thrashing and slashing and above all widespread seizure of crops and properties that turned the State to almost a concentration camp and the result was that thousands left their dear land of birth and their poor hearths and homes to take shelter in the neighbouring British Orissan areas of Angul. It was found that about thirty thousand people, men, women and children made an exodus to the neighbouring British Orissa and exposed themselves to the bitter winter and then to the scorching sun of the Summer only a few having temporary shelter under the chequered leaf-shades hurriedly built by themselves. They would rather die than return to a State where life, honour and property were all unsafe. They came away with tears in their eyes and babies in arms knowing not what would happen to them, as they were desperate and determined. There were about 30,000 refugees lying in the open fields forming about 46% of the population of the State. Most of the Prajamandal leaders had been arrested and confined in British Orissan Jails under extradition warrants. Their leader Shri Pabitra Mohan Pradhan had by then gone underground by escaping from Talcher Jail long ago and there was a reward declared
for his head by the Durbar. He is the man, a bachelor, who had all along been in the forefront of the fight. But that had in no way disheartened the people. They determined not to return unless assurances were forthcoming from the dependable authorities of the Political Department as they had no longer any confidence in the Ruler whom they had found repeatedly going back upon his own promises and declarations during the last several years, and even during the present agitation.

Peaceful civil resistance started in the States like Athgarh, Tiglia, Baramba, Narsinghpur, Nayagarh under the guidance of the leaders of the respective Prajamandals, and the Rulers of these States more or less followed repressive policy in the wake of their brother rulers of Dhenkanal and Talcher and they had also their share of firing and lathi charges on innocent and peaceful crowds following the declarations of the Prajamandals in their States as unlawful and going back upon their declarations and assurances given before in response to the agitation and demand of the Prajamandals. The Kisan agitation in the Nayagarh State took serious proportions as a result of which the Prajamandal leaders were arrested and assistance of military Police was sought for from the Political Agent. There was a great tension almost in all the Orissa States on account of the widespread activities of the Prajamandals and upheavals amongst the people including the tribals.

At this stage of the drama the poor Ranpur State suddenly featured so violently that it proved to be the last straw on the camel's back. The lately constituted Prajamandal in this State had never been aggressive. It was fighting the cause which was on the face of it pathetic and astounding. Such were the canons of rule that the poor people of Ranpur could not fix double doors to their houses, could not wear head-dress, could not move on palanquins on ceremonial occasions without State permission. Bethi, Rasad, Magan not only for the ruler's palace but also for the meanest of the servants of the State must be supplied by them free.

Extraction of money by officials was the worst in the State. There was, therefore, peaceful agitation by way of leading processions in the headquarters of the State to present their grievances and place their charter of demand in the hands of the Ruler. Thereupon the Prajamandal was declared unlawful and some of the leaders were arrested. This made the situation extremely tense. On the 5th January, 1939 huge crowds gathered before the palace from all over the State and demanded the immediate release of the Prajamandal leaders. The ruler instead of pacifying the people called for assistance of military force from the Political Agent. Major Bazelgette
who was then the Political Agent at Sambalpur immediately came over with a posse of armed police-force from the neighbouring State of Nayagarh and by the time he reached the Ranpur Town the crowd had swelled to several thousands and there were many who were armed with lathis and the roads were blocked by bullock carts and branches of trees. Major Bazelgette with great difficulties could ford through this peaceful crowd and get into the palace for consultation with the ruler. But by then the crowd had become unmanageable and there was an uproar. There was a rumour that two persons were killed at the instance of the Political Agent. Major Bazelgette finding that the crowd was recalcitrant came out of the palace and went into the mob probably to explain to them about the unfounded rumour of death of two persons at his instance. But as soon as he got into the dense crowd in the narrow street he was surrounded by a section of the people and was about to be assaulted. He then fired his revolver and one person dropped down dead. This infuriated the mob who pounced upon him and Major Bazelgette was stoned to death in a few minutes. This ghastly murder of the Political Agent Major Bazelgette took place on the fateful evening of the 5th January, 1939 on the verandah of one Bimba Padhihari where Mr. Bazelgette tried to save himself from the onslaughts of the crowd, behind two wheels of a bullock cart. A part of the crowd became violent and threatened to break open the Jail and Palace unless the Pranamandal leaders were released forthwith. Under the orders of the ruler the jailor released all the political prisoners. The whole episode was, however, due to a misrepresentation of facts. When the Political Agent was coming with a posse of Police from Nayagarh he found road blocks near about Ludhachua, a village in Ranpur. He asked the people nearby to remove the same. But there was no ready response from the people. The Police charged some of them with lathis and canes. Two persons out of the crowd removed road block but one person who was severely beaten by the police was carried by a small crowd on a bullock cart to Ranpur town. The rumour went on that this man had been killed by the Political Agent and this rumour was the cause of the frenzy of the mob. It was under these regrettable circumstances that the Political Agent was killed and two policemen who were by his side were severely injured. The death of the Political Agent was followed by a reign of terror. Police and military forces almost seige the State and there was virtual Martial Law promulgated and the civil life was completely paralysed. Thousands of people fled away from the State and took refuge outside in different parts of Orissa. In the wake of this ghastly murder under deplorable circumstances a Special Preliminary Enquiry Court was established with Mr. B. Sivaraman, I.C.S., then Joint Magistrate
of Berhampur as the Enquiry Magistrate, his services having been lent to the Ranpur State to conduct the enquiry. The following 26 persons were arrested as accused in the case and were charged under Section 302, 147, 149, 325 and 353 of the Indian Penal Code. The accused persons were Raghunath Mahanti, Dibakar Parida, Agadhu Boral, Magi Naik, Bhagaban Sahu, Bidya Sahu, Achut Das, Banshidhar Patnaik, Krishna Chandra Rout, Bhagavat Behera, Raghu Prusti, Bhabani Prusti, Hoto Naik, Natha Bhol, Chaitan Chinar, Bidhar Mohapatra, Chinta Naik, Chakra Rout, Bansi Swar, Narasingh Sahu, Dhobi Santra, Antak Kailas, Biswanath Panda, Madhava Kailas, Ananda Rout and Kasi Rout. Finally the case was tried in a Sessions Court and Raghunath Mahanti was sentenced to death and many others suffered transportation for life and long terms of imprisonment. 10 more were subsequently arrested and some imprisoned for life and some were acquitted.

The movement of Satyagraha got a rude shock from this deplorable incident but it gave a turn more towards constitutional agitation. Prominent Congress leaders of Orissa and some notable Indian leaders tried to intervene in the State People’s agitation in order to bring about a settlement between the rulers and the people. Babu Rajendra Prasad (later President of Free India) Rev. C. F. Andrews, Miss Agatha Harrison (Secretary of the Indian Conciliation Group, London) Sri Harekrushna Mahat, Prof. N. G. Ranga and a few others played some important role in bringing about such settlement. Ultimately under the advice of Mahatma Gandhi the Satyagraha movement was withdrawn and the demands were taken up in the constitutional way both with the rulers and political department.

REGIONAL COUNCIL OF THE STATES

The Prajamandal leaders who were associated with the Regional Council of the States People’s Conference took a lead in preparing memorandum on the repressive measures under the auspices of the said Council, and submitted the same to the authorities and to the AISPC. They led the agitation in a systematic way beginning from the Constituent Assembly down to the remotest corners of the States. Though some small political groups of Socialists and Communists tried to keep the fire of civil disobedience smouldering, the majority of Prajamandal leaders and workers took to the continuance of constitutional methods of agitation. The Political Agent also intervened and the Talcher refugees returned to their home on assurances given. It is worth nothing that the Orissa States People’s agitation for securing fundamental rights and democratic Constitution could not have been effective if the then Congress ministry of Orissa headed by
Shri Biswanath Das, Chief Minister, would not have extended its moral support and exercised its influence with the Government of India and the premier political organisation of the country.

The situation after Ranpur agitation was followed by a tactical change of policy by the rulers. The Dhenkanal Ruler made a proclamation of constitutional reforms in the State in June, 1939 followed by the Durbar of Talcher. Similarly in Athgarh, Khandapara, Nayagarh, Hindol and various other States some popular leaders were associated with the administration of the States. Hindol was perhaps the first to do so with some amount of sympathy for the people under the influence of its Dewan. Nominated Gram Panchayats were declared to be set up. In some States Constitution of Advisory Councils were also declared. But with the advent of second World War and the resignation of the Congress ministries in September, 1939 the situation had taken a different turn and the Political Department tightened its grip on the States. Some of the Rulers who were considered to be weaklings or truculents were banished from the States and all Prajamandals or political organisations banned and leaders and workers clapped into jail. It is well known as to how after the war rulers were restored to their former positions as a prelude to the transfer of power by the British to the Indian hands on the 15th of August, 1947. But prior to such transfer of power the Eastern States Agency minus Tripura, Cooch Behar and Mayurbhanj constituted itself into Eastern States Union with administrative and judicial headquarters at Raigarh. But this undemocratic union was vehemently opposed by the people and almost in every State there was political ferment and organised demand for the establishment of responsible Government in the States.

It may be remembered that the All India States’ People’s Conference under the leadership of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Shri Balvantrai Mehta had previously suggested that the small States should have a common administration with the neighbouring provinces. The first session of the Orissa and C. P. Regional Council of the All India States’ People’s Conference held at Cuttack on the 1st March, 1947 with 50 duly elected delegates from 15 affiliated organizations like Prajamandals of Mayurbhanj, Patna, Khairagarh, Nandagaon, Dhenkanal, Talcher, Athgarh, Sonepur, Nilgiri etc. and with a large number of distinguished invitees from the other States of Eastern States Union considered the situation for over 3 days and arrived at momentous decisions regarding the future status of these States and introduction of democratic rule in their administration and ultimately their collaboration with the neighbouring provinces on cultural, linguistic and geographical considerations.
A number of delegates were elected to represent this region in the General Council of the All India States' People's Conference. The delegates were to represent all the States in the Union and they were:

1. Shri Bijayalal Oswal, Khairagarh
2. Shri Vidyachandra Verma, Raigarh
3. Shri B. N. Rai, Nandagaon
4. Shri Sarangadhar Das, Dhenkanal
5. Shri Radhanath Rath, Athgarh
6. Shri Chaturbhuj Misra, Sonepur
7. Shri Kailash Chandra Mahanti, Nilgiri
8. Shri Sarat Chandra Das, Mayurbhanj
9. Shri Madanmohan Pradhan, Talcher
10. Shri Yudhisthir Misra, Patna.

To carry out the agitation and to represent the viewpoints of the States' people in the Constituent Assembly through their accredited representatives and to direct the Prajamandal movement in a systematic way a Working Committee was constituted with Shri Sarangadhar Das as President, Shri Kapileswar Prasad Nanda, Patna and Shri Kishori Mohan Tripathi, Raigarh as Vice-Presidents; Shri Madan Mohan Pradhan, Talcher as General Secretary; Shri Prasanna Kumar Das, Mayurbhanj and Gobardhanram Varma, Chhuikhadan as Joint Secretaries; Shri Kailash Chandra Mahanti, Nilgiri, Shri Radhanath Rath, Athgarh, Shri Sarat Chandra Das, Mayurbhanj, Shri Dibakar Bohidar, Patna, Shri Markand Pradhan, Baudh, Shri Bhagaban Behera, Athmallick and four others from C. P. States as members. The following resolutions were unanimously passed by the Council.

Resolutions passed by the Council:

"1. The Regional Council of the Orissa and C. P. States and Bastar Region in its first meeting takes the opportunity of endorsing the resolution of the Standing Committee of the A.I.S.P.C. regarding the objectives of the Constituent Assembly which runs thus:

"The Standing Committee expresses its full agreement and whole hearted approval on behalf of the people of the States, of the 1st resolution of the Constituent Assembly which declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India an Independent and Sovereign Republic. It welcomes, in particular, the declaration in regard to social, economic and political justice to all people of India, equality of status and opportunity before the law and fundamental rights and safeguards for minorities, tribal people and depressed and backward classes."
"The Committee endorses the declaration that 'All power and authority in the Sovereign and Independent India, its Constituent parts and organs, is derived from the people."

"2. In view of the British Government's Declaration of the 20th February, 1947 definitely fixing June, 1948 as the time-limit by which all powers in respect of the administration of India will be transferred to the hands of the Indian people, and further, in view of the fact that British Paramountcy over Indian States will be liquidated when such transference of power is effected, the Council feels that the Princes and Rulers of Indian States should now be considered to be free to transfer all powers of administration to the people's representatives in their respective States or groups of States or to negotiate and amalgamate, in consideration of language, culture, geographical contiguity and economic necessity, with neighbouring provinces, so that a free and federated India may be constituted comprising separate and autonomous linguistic units of homogeneous people, and thereby to effectively contribute towards the all-round progressive growth of the Democratic Federated Indian Republic.

"The Council notes with satisfaction that negotiations are proceeding between the Negotiating Committee set up by the Constituent Assembly and that of the Chamber of Princes vis-a-vis Negotiating Committee constituted by the All India States' People's Conference, on the subject of the method of selection of the 93 representatives of the Indian States for the said Constituent Assembly, and on the principle of allocation of seats to different States and groups of States. But the Committee is definitely of the opinion that the principle of representation as envisaged in the Cabinet Mission's proposals both for British India and the Indian States, being on population basis, all the seats for the Indian States, therefore, should be filled up with elected representatives of the people.

"In consonance, therefore, with the aforesaid resolution and in pursuance of the public opinion of the people of Eastern States Agency the Council urges upon the Rulers of the Eastern States Agency not to proceed any further with their proposed scheme of Eastern States Federal Union, the basis of which is fundamentally wrong, in as much as, it does not take into consideration the linguistic, cultural, social, geographical and economic facts and exigencies, but to explore every possible means for the collaboration of Oriya-speaking States with the Province of Orissa, as also of Hindi-speaking States with the neighbouring Hindi-speaking Province. The scheme in the perspective of the future progress and development of the country tends more towards disintegration, than towards integration of the scattered areas of the provinces of Orissa and C. P. intersected between by a number
of States and, as such, is ultimately bound to prove not only ineffect- 
ive but also harmful.

"The Council, therefore, urges upon the Rulers of the Eastern 
States Agency to abandon the scheme and devise ways and means 
for establishing mutual contact with the provinces around, in order 
that distinct and complete linguistic units under the free and federated 
India may be carved out and administrative, cultural and economic 
collaboration might be established by way of united constitutional 
arrangement, conferring full democratic rights to people of the 
States".

9. "The Council considered the resolutions forwarded by the 
‘Krisak Party’, Patna State, as adopted and ratified in public meetings 
of the State on the subject of :

(a) The Declaration of responsible Government by the Durbar 
by 1-7-1947.

(b) Constitution of a popular Government for the Interim 
period with effect from the 1st April, 1947 etc.

"And further considered the request of the ‘Krisak Party’ 
to permit them to launch upon civil disobedience of the relevant 
laws, rules and regulations for the vindication of the above rights 
and resolved that a copy of the resolution be forwarded to the Standing 
Committee of the All India States’ People’s Conference for favour of 
necessary instructions.

"The Council is surprised to note that the fundamental rights 
conceded to the people of the State by the Declaration of the Chamber 
of Princes of the 18th January, 1946 and subsequently ratified by it in 
its resolutions and fully and unreservedly accepted and proclaimed 
by the Durbar of Patna State themselves are not being acted upon.

"The Patna Durbar thereby is acting not only unconstitutionally 
but also provoking the people to resort to direct action for the 
vindication of their fundamental rights. The council, while deploring 
this action on the part of the Patna Durbar, respectfully invites 
their attention to the fact that unless this anomalous situation be 
clarified and their own declarations are implemented, it would not 
only mean gross betrayal of all canons of law and constitution but 
also a betrayal of the Chamber of Princes itself. The Council hopes 
that the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes will please take note 
of this failure on the part of the Patna Durbar and exercise his moral 
and constitutional influence on the Durbar to redeem their own 
pledge. While expecting that the Chancellor of the Chamber of 
Princes and Patna Durbar would react favourably to the aforesaid 
request the Council advises the ‘Krisak Party’ to keep themselves
ready for all eventualities for the vindication of their rights by way of
direct action if necessary and if approved by the Standing Committee
of the All India States' People's Conference and recommends that the
Standing Committee be pleased to accord such sanction."

However, when demand for responsible Government thus
took a definite turn and the State administrative machineries were on
the verge of collapse, some of the rulers in their anxiety to sabotage
the popular movement encouraged the Adivasis as a result of which
violent disturbances occurred and the State of Nilgiri figured promi-
nently in this connexion. Lawlessness and insecurity of life and pro-
erty became so serious that the Central Government had to intervene
and the State administration was taken over by the Orissa Government
at the direction of the Centre during the month of November, 1947.
This was followed by the passing of the Extra Provincial Jurisdiction
Act by the Dominion Parliament and then followed the Merger Plan
of the States Ministry. The Orissa States were the first to sign an
agreement with Government of India on the celebrated day of the 14th
and 15th of December, at Cuttack whereunder the Rulers handed
over the administration of the States to the Dominion Government
in perpetuity, who on their part delegated the administrative power
to the Provincial Government of Orissa in order that these States
should be merged with the Province in due course. Out of the 26
States only Mayurbhanj which had by then a Legislature and a Cabi-
net with the Prajamandal leader as its Chief stood aside up-till 1949,
the 25 others being integrated to the Province of Orissa. There is no
doubt that it was almost a day of rejoicing for the people of Orissa
but nobody ever imagined that there would be a fly on the oint-
ment and the two Oriya-speaking States of Sareikella and Kharswan
would be snatched away from Orissa and handed over to Bihar on
account of the unscrupulous manoeuvres of some leaders and the
inspired and instigated opposition of the neighbouring Adivasis of
Bihar. This arbitrary decretal of the States Ministry had saddened
the hearts of Oriyas and brought about a reaction which was full of
potentialities of future trouble. The Prajamandal leaders of Sarei-
kella and Kharswan such as Shri Bijoy Kumar Pani and others entered
into an emphatic protest but unfortunately they were not heeded
to by the authorities. The Oriyas also never accepted this decision
and on this the ship of peace and tranquillity in the different parts of
the country was about to be foundered.

But with the amalgamation of the States Orissa's future was
bound to be great and full of hopes. The Province was thereby
almost doubled in area and the population went up by 50 per cent
more and the economic resources such as minerals, forests, land and
waterways have been so richly consolidated that with the construction of the multipurpose Hirakud dam on the great river Mahanadi and the establishment of the Rourkela Steel Plant the face of the earth in this part is being changed.

After 1948 Free India under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and under the banner of the Indian National Congress had made phenomenal progress politically, culturally, socially and economically and the six hundred Princely States of India including those of Orissa having been merged into the Indian Union so skillfully by the Indian Bismarck Sardar Patel have also been making great progress, though later reaction in respect of increased land rents in settlements and the unusual rise in prices has rather been very distressing. This has given birth to the New India which has been declared a Sovereign Democratic Republic with justice, liberty, equality and fraternity extended to all sections of the people irrespective of caste, colour and creed. The people of the Orissa States and the former Rulers thereof all have now mingled into one class and community and along with their fellow-men of Orissa are making effective contributions towards the development of this ancient land of glory. They pledged to maintain the freedom of the country and abide by the doctrine preached by Mahatma Gandhi, "Democracy is not a state in which people act like sheep. Under democracy individual liberty of opinion and action is jealously guarded." This is the beacon light for the people of India and the people of Orissa. People do remember that "United we stand, Divided we fall. May people ever stand united and go forward in their march to make India happy, prosperous and morally and physically strong."
MERGER OF ORISSA STATES:
EXPLOSION OF THE MYTH

It is said that Alexander the Great, after his conquest of vast territories, humbly asked his preceptor Aristotle how his vast kingdom could be protected and maintained for long. Aristotle replied that kingdoms are always protected by the army from external aggression but they are maintained by the loyalty of the subjects to the king and their loyalty can be sustained only by a myth which can be created about the king and his dynasty. This story may or may not be historically true. But the fact is that the practice of attributing the origin of a ruling dynasty to the Sun, Moon or any God has prevailed all along the history of ruling dynasties and the myths have been successfully established in the faith of the common people. While this was the common practice for the maintenance of conquered kingdoms, the British for maintaining their empire in India devised a novel myth which may be described as the polished version of the ancient ones. The British myth was the creation of ‘sovereign powers’ in India under the over-all paramountcy of the British Crown. This was a fiction which was elaborately written up chapter by chapter in the course of about a century and a half. The creation of the so-called princely India is the content of that fiction which was believed to be a true story in the political history of India of the British period. Prof. Leon Duguit says about his fiction in this ‘Law in the Modern State’:

“But the British empire in India surpassed the Roman Empire of Europe in creating the fiction of Paramountcy over Sovereignty. It may appear to be ludicrous today, when the empires are all gone but it was solemnly provided in the Government of India Act, 1935 in Section 311 that:

‘Indian States include any territory whether described as State and an Estate, a Jagir or otherwise belonging to or under the suzerainty of a ruler who is under the suzerainty of his Majesty and not being a part of British India.’"
Before the British conquest of India there were several suzerainities having many feudatory Chiefs under them in several parts of India, as for instance the Peshwa of the Marhattas in Poona and the Raja of Khurda in Orissa. The first act of the British was the abolition of the suzerainities annexing their kingdoms and then recognising their feudatory Chiefs as sovereigns under the Crown. Besides these feudatory Chiefs, there were also influential landlords who were raised to the status of feudatory Chiefs. If one studies the history of evolution of local zamindars to the position of suzerain powers under the Paramountcy of the British Crown, one will be amazed to trace the steps which were taken to create two distinct divisions in India, one to be known as Princely India and the other as the British India. The Princely India was built up to be the suzerain India under the suzerain British Crown and the British India was thrown open to development of democracy within the commonwealth. This process was going on side by side to balance one with the other. Along with the preparation of the 1935 Act providing for provincial autonomy and federal government in the Centre as recommended by the Simon Commission and further processed by several round table conferences, Butler Commission was also appointed to examine the constitutional status of the rulers in the Princely India and recommended their status. As recommended by this Commission, the Princes were made sovereigns in their states whatever be their areas and population with the saving provision that the over-all paramount power would have the authority to tender such an advice as would be deemed proper and just for good administration. There was not the slightest suggestion of introducing rule of law and democracy in these princely states although the neighbouring British Indian States were to have representative governments under the 1935 Act.

At this distance of time, one will wonder how the British statesmen astute as they were traditionally could not visualise the conflict which was bound to arise in the princely states where there were absolute individual rule and just at the next-door there were full-fledged representative governments for the people. Perhaps the idea was then to stop the tide of movement for independence in the British India by providing the stone-wall of the individual rule of loyal rulers puffed up by the power and prestige which had been conferred upon them on the recommendation of the Butler Commission. But the tide was too strong for the wall which was after all an imaginary one of diplomacy.

As soon as the future prospects of the administration in the two Indias became known there was flutter in the dovecots. All India States People's Conference was organised and the demand was put
forth that there should be rule of law and democracy in the princely states. In this matter Orissa States went ahead of all other States although the latter were much bigger and more important. States People's Conference in Orissa met in 1933 and appointed a Committee to enquire into the conditions of administration in the Orissa States. I had the honour of being the Chairman of the Enquiry Committee. The Committee made thorough enquires in regard to all the twenty-four States which were known as Orissa States. The Committee found out that except in two States, Mayurbhanj and Bolangir, administration in the other states was most primitive and in many states continuous oppression had made the people morally degraded to an extent which could not be imagined in any civilised society. The committee examined all the issues and came to the conclusion that it was impractical to introduce any kind of democracy in these small and politically backward states. The only solution for relieving people from oppression and moral degradation was to cancel the Sanads of suzerainties granted to the rulers and merge the territories in the neighbouring province of Orissa.

The idea of merger of States in the provinces thus originated in Orissa as early as in 1938 when the Committee submitted its report to the then Viceroy Lord Linlithgow, the representative of the British Crown. On glancing through the report, the Viceroy remarked that the report had thrown a ray of light in one of the darkest corners of the country.

The extensive enquiry by the Committee and the publication of the contents of the report had its impact on the population of the States. The fact that a representative government had been established just on the border after the general elections held in 1937 had a galvanising effect on the mind of the people in the States which though natural, was not foreseen by the British Statesmen. Tremendous movement automatically started not only in some politically advanced States, such as Dhenkanal and Talcher but also in the most backward States such as Ranpur and Nayagarh. The movement gained so much momentum within such a short time that the Political Department working under the Viceroy thought it to be its duty to come to the rescue of the Rulers. The help of the Army was given but before they were asked to act, the Viceroy thought that he should ascertain facts from his own agency, the M.I.B., the Military Intelligence Branch, all Englishmen. Military Officers of ranks of Major and Captain reported the facts as they were which went to support the report of the Enquiry Committee. During the intensive movement in some of the states, the political agent for the Orissa States, an officer of the rank of Major in the army, Major Bazelgette was
killed by the infuriated mob at Ranpur. This added to the seriousness of the situation which developed in the States soon after the introduction of parliamentary democracy in the Province. It was likely, as the consequence of the M.I.B. report, the paramount power would have given a second thought to its pet scheme of creating secondary paramountcy under the overall paramountcy. But the war broke out and the politics of the country changed completely. Congress Ministry in Orissa resigned as Quit India Movement was started. All the problems of the States and of the province were put in the cold storage till 1946. As soon as the representative Government was set up in the province, the problem of the neighbouring States came up again with full vigour.

When the Cabinet Mission came over to India in 1946 to discuss the transfer of power with the political leaders of India, I as the Chief Minister of Orissa placed before them the problems of States and pleaded for their merger in the neighbouring province. To be fair to the Cabinet Mission, particularly to Sir Stafford Cripps, it may be said that though the Mission realised the mistakes which had been committed in the past, they felt there was no scope to correct them at that stage. In fact, Sir Stafford Cripps said this apologetically to me in a private conversation. The problem was further complicated when the British left India on the 15th August, 1947 making India, Pakistan and six hundred and odd states all free to act as they like. It was a dangerous situation in which India was placed. She would have to face Pakistan and also hundreds of independent states who might join together and form one or more viable independent unions of their own. Negotiation went on with the Chamber of Princes who were bidding high stakes to come to an understanding with India. Hyderabad was refusing to have anything to do with India. Some states joined together and formed Unions such as the Deccan States Union and the Eastern States Union. The Eastern States Union consisted of all the Orissa States and the Chhatisgarh States in the Madhyapradesh. The Union was regularly constituted with a President and his cabinet and a Prime Minister. Its headquarters was located at Raygarh in Madhyapradesh. The Union raised also a few battalions of armed police to control popular agitation wherever it would be started.

Will it be believed today that between August and December, 1947 Orissa Government Transport Service had to obtain permits from four the then independent kingdoms of Athgarh, Dhenkanal, Athmalik and Redhakhol? The Union also examined whether the Orissa plane could fly over the independent kingdoms without their permission.
The Political Department fully backed the rulers to thwart any popular movement in the States. In fact, it is the Political Department which advised the rulers of some states to instigate the tribal population to rise against the other sections which were agitating for rule of law. This advice was seriously accepted and worked upon by the ruler of Nilgiri, a small state near Balasore. There the Santals with the backing of the Darbar administration rose in revolt against the non-Santals, setting fire to their houses and committing lawlessness of all kinds. The ruler’s calculation was that the people terrorised by the Santals would approach him for protection and the agitation for democracy would then stop. But the Orissa Government came to the rescue of the people of Nilgiri. It was held that the provincial Government could not allow lawlessness in a neighbouring area which might spread to its own jurisdiction. So with the knowledge and tacit approval of Government of India, Orissa Government decided to take some effective action. A battalion of Orissa Military Police marched into the State of Nilgiri under the leadership of Shri N. Senapati, I.C.S. on the 14th November, 1947 and forced the ruler to hand over his administration to the Orissa Government as he was not able to control lawlessness. Thus Orissa Government was in charge of administration of Nilgiri from the 14th November, 1947 to the 1st January, 1948, the date on which all the Orissa States merged in the province. Today it will be an enigma for the constitutional pandits as to how could a foreign territory be acquired and under what law the acquired territory was administered. This daring act of the Orissa Government created the impression that the so-called independent rulers could not have their way under the new dispensation. Taking over Nilgiri by the Orissa Government made the Government of India serious to find some solution of the problems arising out of creating so many independent kingdoms inside the country. Shri V. P. Menon devised a formula according to which the rulers would surrender some of their powers to the Government of India and retain some powers themselves to be exercised by them as advised by the Government of India. In short the Government of India would take the place of the paramount power and the rulers would have their local authority though restricted it will be.

Orissa Government did not accept this formula. They insisted upon complete merger of the States in the province. Sardar Patel with his advisers came to Orissa on the 13th December. He had a long and searching discussion with the writer of these lines. He was convinced that merger was the only solution, provided the State Government could take the risk in case the rulers did not agree to the merger. As Chief Minister, I took the responsibility and assured the Sardar that no ruler could dare disagree.
On the 15th December, the merger agreement was signed by the rulers of Orissa States. Then the Eastern States Union was broken compelling the Chhatisgarh States to fall in line on the 15th December. Then the formula of merger was enforced on all the rulers including Hyderabad where the army had to act.

Thus the myth which the British created in the course of a century and a half was exploded on the 14th December at Cuttack. This is Orissa’s contribution to the Post-Independence history of India.
PART II

Religious Developments
PART II

Religious Developments
CHAPTER 24

JAINISM IN ORISSA

Marked by a unique place in the annals of the subcontinent, right from antiquity Orissa is fortunate to have a distinct history of its own. The rich exuberance of the alluvial soil of the coastal region created by multiple streams and rivers with a long sea-base, washed by the swirling waters of the Bay of Bengal as well as a vast hinterland and highlands with all the beauties and bounties of nature constituted Orissa in the hoary past. It was then stretched from the Ganges to the Godavari and from the Amarkantak hills to the Bay of Bengal. Embroidered with glorious achievements of her mighty kings and people, Orissa in the remote past, breathed an air of religious magnificence. And it was Jainism which appeared to have played a prominent role through ages in the religious life of the people of Orissa.

Owing to the paucity of positive information, the exact date of the origin of Jainism in Orissa cannot be determined. However, it can be traced back to a period much earlier than that of the rise of Buddhism, and Jainism like Buddhism had a long career in Orissa. Traditional accounts of the Jaina sacred literature and epigraphic evidences suggest that possibly the Jaina faith obtained a footing in Orissa from the earliest times of its appearance in India.

Rishabhadeva or Rishabha known in the traditional accounts of the Jainas as the founder of Jainism and the Adinatha or the first Jain Tirthankara is believed to have been associated with the cultural history of ancient Orissa. In the lines 11-12 of the famous Hati-gumpha Inscription there is a reference to the fact that the image of Kalinga Jina was carried away from Kalinga by a Nanda king. The image referred to in the inscription has been identified by R. D. Banerjee as that of Sitalnath, the tenth Tirthankara. But analysing the nomenclature there is also reason to identify this image with that of the first Jina, Rishabha. We come across instances where the image of Rishabhadeva had been named after the place of his worship. For example, the image of Rishabhadeva at Satrunjaya is called Satrunjaya Jina and that of Abu is called the Abudajina and so on. Similarly
the image of Rishabhadeva of Kalinga might have been designated as Kalinga Jina. Of course here he was named not after a particular place but after the entire kingdom. Thereby it carries with it a name of national significance. It is perhaps the solitary example to name the image of a Tirthankara after a kingdom. However, this fact prompts us to think that Rishabhadeva, the first Jina, was the well-reputed and established deity of Kalinga long before the 6th century B.C., when Mahavira, the last Tirthankara of the Jaina tradition appeared in the religious firmament of India. It was possibly for the outstanding significance of the deity that Nandaraja later on took away this image as war trophy to pronounce his victory over Kalinga. But Rishabhadeva was not known to have preached Jainism in Orissa.

It was Parsvanath, to whom Jaina tradition gives the twenty-third place in the hierarchy of Jina Tirthankaras is believed to have visited Orissa and preached Jainism in this region. It is evident from numerous sculptural representations in the caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar where images of Parsvanath are found to have been carved magnificently. Specially the scenic pictures of Ranigumpha faithfully depict the life and activities of this honoured saint. This fact goes a long way in proving that he was the most venerable and reputed of the Tirthankaras in ancient Orissa. If on the basis of the Jaina tradition, this great saint emerged two hundred and fifty years before Mahavira, i.e., in 777 B.C., then as early as the 8th century B.C. Orissa was a reputed seat of Jainism with Parsvanath playing a distinguished role in the religious life of the people.

Furthermore there are a few references in the Jaina texts which make us believe that there ruled in ancient Orissa, a king named Karandu or Karakandu who embraced Jainism and in all probability he was the disciple of Parsvanath. It is known from a legend that once the king of Champa, Dadhibhabana, while moving in the jungles with his pregnant queen found himself separated from her. She was then given shelter by a Jain nun. Subsequently the queen gave birth to a son who was named Karakandu and he was brought up by a ‘Chandala’ couple. Later on the king got back his son Karakandu and he was made the king of Kalinga. In Jaina texts, the reference made to a Chandala king in all probability was this Karakandu. About this Jaina king of Kalinga, a few other references are also found in Jaina canonical texts. One such reference says that once a royal disciple of Parsvanath, Karakandu by name, the king of Champa visited the Terapura caves and built Jaina shrines in which he installed the old as well as newly constructed images of Jinendras. From another reference given in Abhidhana Rajendra\(^6\)
it is known that in Kalinga, there ruled a king called Karakandu and his wife was Padmavati who happened to be the daughter of Maharaja Chetaka. A reference to it has also been made in the dictionary of Pali proper names. Therein it is stated that one day, Karandu (Karakandu), the king of Dantapura of Kalinga was eating mangoes in his own park from a tree laden with fruits and when his followers started eating the fruits from the same tree, it appeared barren. Having seen the sight of a tree smiling with fruits, becoming barren in a moment Karakandu after returning home began to think on and on and rightly realised that the same tree would no more face any such ravages. Comparing the fruits with material prosperities which are transitory he thought them to be the causes of all sorrows and unhappiness. Kumbhakara Jataka states that the transitoriness of the world impressed him so much that he became a paceeka Buddha and went to Nandamula Pabhhar with three other kings. Uttaradhyayana Sutra also mentions that there was a Jaina monarch of Orissa named Karakandu, who was a disciple of Parsvanath. It is of course difficult to find out the exact date of his rule in Orissa. But if Karakandu is to be accepted as the disciple of Parsvanath, he may plausibly be placed in the 8th century B.C.

In the 6th century B.C. Mahavira is believed to have preached his gospel in Orissa. It is known that Chetaka, the Kshetriya king of Kalinga had invited Mahavira with all cordiality to preach his doctrine in his kingdom. This fact has been corroborated by important Jaina canonical works. Jaina Harivamsa Purana records that Mahavira preached his sermons in Kalinga and Haribhadriya Vritti states that he went there because the Kalingan king was a friend of his father. Further Avasyakasutra tells that Mahavira Swami during his religious tours visited Toshali, the capital of Kalinga. According to Vyavahara Bhasya, Toshali was the seat of a Jaina image which was guarded by the king Toshalika. Further Dr. Jayaswal referring to line 14 of Hatigumpha Inscription writes that Mahavira visited Kalinga and preached Jainism from Kumari Parvata, identified with Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar. A reference to this has also been made by K. P. Jain. Uttaradhyayana Sutra further refers to Kalinga as a centre of Jainism and Pithunda, a far-famed port, during the days of Mahavira was an important seat of Jaina culture. Sylvan Levi identifies Pithunda of the Jaina work with the Pithunda of Hatigumpha Inscription. Thus keeping in view all these references, it can be said with certainty that Mahavira visited Kalinga in the 6th century B.C. and he paid his visit at a time when Jainism was already flourishing under the patronage of the Kshatriya monarch. Since then Jainism was found to have figured as a major religion of Orissa up to the 1st century B.C.
In the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., Orissa was a stronghold of Jainism when Nanda dynasty was in power. This fact is highlighted by the Hatigumpha Inscription of the king Kharavela. It records that in the 12th year of his reign, Kharavela vanquished the Magadhan king and brought back the sacred image of Kalinga Jina that had been carried away from Kalinga long ago by the Magadhan king (Nendarājanītaṃ Ca Kalingajinaṃ sannivesya). This image of Kalinga Jina was that of a Jaina Tirthankara. While K. P. Jayaswal has identified it with Lord Sitalnath, the tenth Tirthankara, Dr. N. K. Sahu has equated him with Rishabhanath, the first Tirthankara. But Dr. K. C. Panigrahi opines that the Hatigumpha Inscription has referred to the seat or throne of Jina (Jinasana) and not the image of Jina Tirthankara. In any case, the Nanda ruler in question has been identified by some scholars with Mahapadmananda. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi has rightly stated that after the conclusion of the Orissan Invasion, the Nanda ruler took away the honoured seat of Jina as war trophy for its great significance in the religious life of the Kalingans. Possibly it was for this reason that later on this incident finds a special mention in the Hatigumpha Inscription. However this fact amply suggests two things. First, the practice of image worship was in vogue among the Jainas in Orissa even before the days of the Nandas, i.e., in or before the 4th century B. C. Secondly Jainism was the state religion of Orissa in the 5th and the 4th centuries B. C.

The political history of Orissa from the days of the Nandas till the invasion of Ashoka is shrouded in mystery. It is not yet known as to when Kalinga regained her independence and what was the necessity again for another Magadhan king, Ashoka to invade Orissa in 261 B.C. However, with firm attachment to their religious traditions, the religious life of the people of Orissa had never been affected by the political changes at any time of her ancient history. In view of this finding it can be said that Jainism continued as the major religion of Orissa down from the fall of the Nandas till Ashoka’s invasion. Of course Buddhism was ushered in and it gained a firm footing in Orissa in the wake of Ashoka’s invasion in the 3rd century B.C. Nevertheless Jainism was not relegated to the background in Orissa during this period. Even after Ashoka’s invasion Jainism continued as a major religion.

In the 1st century B.C. Jainism appears to have reached the acme of its prestige and glory in Orissa during the reign of Kharavela of the Chedi dynasty. With utmost zeal and zest he was found to have championed the cause of Jainism in such a manner that it became once more the state religion of Orissa. This is evident from the Hatigumpha Inscription which he caused to be engraved on a rock at
Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar in the district of Puri. On a close study of the Inscription, it is to be seen that Kharavela was as much keen for the re-establishment of the supremacy of Jainism in Orissa as Ashoka was for the spread of Buddhism in this region. This is apparent from the very preamble of the Hatigumpha Inscription which contains a salutation to Arhats (Tirthankaras) and Siddhas (Liberated Souls). In order to fulfil his avowed object of re-establishing the Jaina supremacy in Orissa he adopted a few measures. The first measure in this direction was to recover the honoured seat of Jina from Magadha that belonged to Kalinga but had been taken away by a Nandaraja about three hundred years ago. With this end in view in the twelfth year of his reign Kharavela launched a massive war of revenge against Magadha, entered its capital, Pataliputra, defeated the Magadhan king Bahasatimita and carried away with him enormous wealth including the seat of Jina. This appears to have had great religious significance in the religious life of the people in the sense that it was connected either with State ritual or with royal household. Otherwise it would not have been taken away as a war trophy both by the Magadhan emperor after his victory over Kalinga and by Kharavela after his victory over Magadha. However Dr. K.C. Panigrahi opines that the honoured seat of Jina was connected with royal household and this conclusion has been derived from a panel of sculptural scenes found on the walls of Manchapuri cave in the Udayagiri hill.16 In identifying the scene, depicted therein Mr. T.R. Ramachandran writes, “as one in which the king perhaps Kharavela, the prince perhaps Kudapsiri and the queen or princess are doing honour to the image of the Kalinga Jina which Kharavela recovered from Magadha and restored to his people.”17 The second measure that Kharavela adopted was one of benevolence. He decided to start a Jaina establishment in Kumari Parvata (Udayagiri and Khandagiri hill). Evidently behind the selection of this site, lay one prime consideration and that was its secluded location that would provide to Jaina Monks an eminently suitable atmosphere for monastic life and Meditation and at the same time not be far from the capital Sisupalgarh, which was situated within a range of 10 km. from Kumari Parvata. Hence having abandoned war, in and from the 13th year of his reign Kharavela engaged himself in excavating a large number of caves on the Kumari Parvata for the shelter of the wandering Jaina monks during the rainy season. Several members of Kharavela’s family also participated in the donation of caves. An inscription in the upper storey of cave No. 9 called Svaragapuri reveals that it was donated by the chief queen (Aga Mahishi) of Kharavela in favour of the Jaina ascetics18. B. M. Barua refers to 117 such caves in all and this view is supported by Dr. K. C. Panigrahi.
But John Marshall enumerated 37 in both the hills\(^{19}\) while M. M. Ganguli enumerated them to be 27\(^{20}\). In accordance with extreme penance of the Jaina monks, these caves with low heights and small doors were deliberately made neither commodious nor amenity-giving. Further, Kharavela is said to have distributed respectfully white garments among the monks and this indicates that he was a Svetambara Jaina. Although primarily benevolent towards the Jainas, Kharavela was never intolerant of other religions as was the case with many Indian kings of ancient time. His religious catholicity is known from Lines 16-17 of Hatigumpha Inscription which state that he was a worshipper of religious orders and he honoured the saints of all sects namely, the Brahmins, the Buddhists, the Jainas and the Ajivakas. Rightly with the passage of time these caves meant for the Jaina monks had become the abodes of the ascetics of all sects.

Even after the death of Kharavela Jainism appears to have enjoyed royal patronage during the rule of his successors. Of course it is not yet definitely known as to who were the successors of Kharavela on the throne of Kalinga. But from an inscription engraved on the verandah of the lower storey of Manchapuri cave in Udayagiri hill and sculptural scenes carved out on its wall as stated earlier, it can be suggested that Kudapsiri and Vadukha were the two successors of Kharavela, that they were all Jainas and that they took pride in the recovery of the honoured seat of Jina. Both of them have been described as Aira Maharaja and Kalingadhipati. Thus the rule of Mahameghavahanas of Chedi dynasty was the most glorious period of Jaina supremacy in Orissa.

From the fall of the Mahameghavahanas in about 1st century B.C. to the 7th century A.D. the history of Jainism in Orissa cannot be systematically traced. However some stray references lead us to opine that Jainism continued as a living religion and it retained its popularity among the mass although it ceased to enjoy royal patronage. Admittedly it suffered a partial set-back during this period owing to the ascendancy of Buddhism and Saivism.

In reference to a gold coin excavated at Sisupalgarh there was one Maharajadhiraj Dhammadamadhara (i.e., Dhrarmadamdhar) who happened to be a Murunda king and a Jaina by faith.\(^{21}\) This king might have ruled over certain parts of Orissa and Bihar during the 2nd-3rd quarters of the 3rd century A.D.\(^{22}\) That he was a Jaina king is further indicated from its very mention in a Jaina literature.\(^{23}\) Further, it is known that in the last quarter of the 3rd century A.D. there was one king, Guhasiva who is stated to have worshipped the Nirgranthas (Jainas).\(^{24}\) Jainism might have continued to flourish in Orissa in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. when the Nagas and the
Guptas constituted its ruling dynasties. It is revealed in the Asanapat
Inscription of Keonjhar district that Maharaja Satrunjaya of Naga
dynasty donated large amount of wealth to Bhikshus, Nirgranthis
although he himself embraced Brahmanism\textsuperscript{25}. Further when the
southern part of Kalinga remained under the Matharas, they appeared
to have professed Jaina faith at the beginning of their rule. It is
substantiated by the fact that the Mathara king named one of their
headquarters as Vardamanapura in honour of Bhagavan Mahavira.\textsuperscript{26}
The Matharas were succeeded by the Early Gangas. Two royal
princes of this dynasty are said to have accepted Jainism as known
from the family tradition of the Gangas referred to in Sravanvelgola
Inscription of Mysore. They were known to have used the sacred
emblem of elephant indicating their respect to Jainism. One king
Devendravarman appears to have used the elephant emblem in the
seal of Bangalore copper plate.\textsuperscript{27}

In the 7th century A.D. Jainism was still in affluent condition in
Orissa as known from the account of Hieun Tsang who visited this
region in 639 A.D. Politically Orissa was then divided into three
principalities—Odra, Kangoda and Kalinga. During his visit he
observed that while “in Odra there were only 50 Deva temples; in
Kangoda the Deva temples were 100 in number and of Tirthikas
there were more than 10,000......In Kalinga the professed adherents
of the various sects were very numerous, the majority being Nirgranthis.”\textsuperscript{28}
The Deva temples referred to therein might have been the
Brahmanical shrines. However the observation of the Chinese
pilgrim suggests that as late as the middle of the 7th century A.D.
Jainism was in flourishing condition in Orissa, although Brahmanism
had its sway in this region.

Further we come across certain evidences which show that in
the 8th century A.D. when Sailoddhava dynasty was in power Jainism
in Orissa was not in a state of decline. The Banpur copper plates of
Dharmaraja Manabhiba of Sailoddhava dynasty record a grant of
lands to Prabuddhachandra at Madhuvataka village situated within
the Vishaya of Thorana, a part of Kangoda\textsuperscript{29}. D. C. Sircar states
that Prabuddha Chandra was possibly a Jaina monk. If this be
accepted, then in and around Banpur there was located a Jaina estab-
ishment. This fact is further corroborated by the discovery of
10 Jaina bronzes and a large number of Chlorite images of Rishabhna-
nath which are now found within the enclosure of Daksha Prajapati
temple at Banpur.\textsuperscript{30} Those bronzes are dated to have been carved
between 8th and 11th century A.D. Further a place namely Podsasing-
gidi in the District of Keonjhar is found to have been an important
Jaina centre in the 8th century A.D. as known from the availability
of a number of Jaina images of Rishabhanath, Parsvanath and Maha-vira etc. from this place.

In the recent exploration it is known that in the Prachi Valley Jainism flourished from 7th century to 9th century A.D. simultaneously with Saivism, Saktism and Vaishnavism.51 A nicely carved image of Rishabhadeva surrounded by 24 Tirthankaras has been preserved in the Swapneswar temple, the construction of which may be traced back to 7th century A.D. Similarly several beautiful images of the Jaina Tirthankaras found in the Prachi Valley eloquently speak that the flame of Jainism was still radiant in Orissa from 7th to 9th century A.D.

Jainism also continued to flourish in Orissa during the rule of the Somavamsi, Keshari of 10th and 11th century A.D. although Saivism was in its ascendency then. This is proved by epigraphic and iconic evidences. It was in the reign of Saiva Somavamsi king, Udyotakeshvari (1040 A.D.—1065 A.D.) that in Khandagiri hill some Jaina caves were found to have been carved out. Those were the latest group of Jain caves called Navamuni cave and Varabhuja cave. Further Lalatendukeshvari Gumpha cave No. 11 bears an inscription which records that in the fifth regnal year of Lalatendu Keshari he caused to have restored a decayed Vapi and temples on the Kumari hill (Khandagiri) and also images of the Tirthankaras were set up on the walls of the temple. Besides the epigraphic evidences, a large number of Jaina images belonging to this period (10th and 11th century A.D.) have been discovered from different parts of Orissa. Mostly they were found at Charampa in Bhdrak town, at Ayodhya in the district of Balasore, at Khiching in the district of Mayurbhanj and also in the districts of Keonjhar, Koraput, Cuttack and Puri. Jainism during this period flourished due to the fact that the Saivas were not antagonistic to Jainism. Rather they had, in certain cases, allowed the Jaina images to be placed in their temples. A number of miniature Jaina images carved in the Saiva temple of Mukteswar at Bhubaneswar is a brilliant illustration of this statement.53

It was also during the reign of the Imperial Gangas and even the Gajapatis that Jainism was not in utter state of decadence in Orissa. It is known that in 1,100 Saka year or in the 11th regnal year of Anantarvarma Rajaraja II of the Imperial Ganga dynasty, one Kannama Nayak, a devout worshipper of Jina and a subordinate of Utkal king installed a sacred image of Jina at Remaraniagiri in a temple called Rajaraja Jinalaya.54 Further on the walls of the Khandagiri cave 9 called Trisula Gumpha there are found relics of Tirthankaras which appear to have belonged to the 15th century A.D. or even later. Of course by this time, the rulers and their subjects were the patrons
of Brahmanism and it was then the predominant faith in Orissa. Naturally some Jaina centres might have been victims to its mighty influence and thereby Jainism was gradually eclipsed. There are found a number of Jaina images being worshipped as Hindu divinities.

After 16th century A.D. Khandagiri, the most illustrious centre of Jainism in Orissa was found to have been deserted. However having acquired spiritual domination as a beehive of Jaina activities for about 2,000 years with occasional breaks, Khandagiri and Udayagiri stand today as silent witnesses to the rise, growth and decline of Jainism in Orissa. It was in the first quarter of the 19th century A.D. that on the hilltop of Khandagiri an exquisitely beautiful temple has been erected by the Jainas. It has become one of the most sacred places for the Jaina pilgrims of India. In the recent times, the Digambar Mandir at Jaunliapati and the Swetambar Mandir in Choudhury Bazar of Cuttack city have been built by the Jaina community of Cuttack. Quite a good number of Jaina families are found now in and around Choudhury bazar area of Cuttack. The patrons of the Digambar Mandir of Cuttack have been able to collect and house therein a large number of Jaina images, found scattered all over the state.

Thus Jainism in Orissa had a long life and it continued as one of the religions of Orissa right up to modern times. Although its period of ascendancy came to an end with the opening of the Christian era, it continued to live through the ages as a minor religious sect along with other religions, mainly for its non-antagonistic attitude towards Brahmanism, Saivism and Saktism. Besides playing a fascinating role in the religious life of the people, it did contribute a lot to the enrichment of Indian cultural heritage, specially in the realm of art and architecture. Construction of a large number of caves, temples monasteries and images of Jaina Tirthankaras in Orissa has not only added a glorious feather to the cap of Indian art and architecture but has also contributed largely to the illustrious role that Jainism played in the ecclesiastical realm of our land. Of course human vandalism, coupled with the vagaries of nature, has razed a number of such monuments to the ground. Yet the remnants speak volumes of the Jaina influence in the history of our subcontinent.

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BUDDHISM AND ORISSA

Oriissa, the holy land of Lord Jagannath has been a meeting ground of various challenging faiths and sects through ages. The exponents of different faiths from Sankara to Shri Chaitanya could not forsake the desire of visiting this holy land on the East Coast of India and look at Shri Purushottama to discover in the all embracing image of the Lord, the Supreme Being of their faith and to be absorbed in the great ocean of the cult of the Lord. Thus Oriissa possesses the wonderful spirit of assimilation of various religious faiths originating in the bosom of the Sanatana Dharma from Vedic belief to the unorthodox faith of the Buddhists. The culminating climax of this religious assimilation is found in the devotional note of poet Jayadev Goswami, of Oriissa, when he sings “Keshava Dhritabuddhasarira Jaya Jagadisha Hare”. The deep-rooted legend of the bloodthirsty Chandasoka turning into Dharmasoka in the thick of the battle and after a brilliant military victory, bowing reverentially before the yellow robed Upagupta to acknowledge his moral defeat, cannot be erased from the people’s mind. This is at least evident that Buddhism had appealed to the people of this land, and made a notable progress in Oriissa which contributed substantially to the enrichment and adorning of Buddhism. In the Foreword to “Buddhism in Oriissa” by Dr. N. K. Sahu, Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt writes, “In the growth and the development of Buddhism, Oriissa played an important part and it was the only province of India, except a few districts in Assam and East Pakistan, which preserved and nurtured the religion up to the 17th Century A.D.”

The history of Buddhism is the history of the upward growth of religious thought of this land, “Bharata Varsa”, from sixth century before Christ. In the words of Romila Thapar, “Buddhism was a product of socio-intellectual movement of sixth century B.C.”. As such these centuries will remain distinguished for the intellectual development produced by the application of human reason to solve the riddle of life and death. Hari Sing Gour in his “Spirit of
Buddhism.” says, ‘Buddha has been spoken of as a social reformer, but he was less a reformer than a humanitarian. He was not a religious teacher, even as religion was then understood. For he never cared to go beyond the depth of human reason.” However, Buddhism has been regarded as a religion distinct from Hinduism and this arose as a protest against the latter. As it grew crossing the narrow regions of Nepalese Tarai it recruited followers large enough to assume vigour and maintain its separate identity. But as it was the reflection of the development of intellectual thought, always fluid, it could not rest where it was and though distinct stages of development with certain and distinct development from the past it grew into three distinct branches widely differing from each other in all aspects, the earliest form of which is known as Sravaka Yana or Hina Yana. This contained the ethics preached by the Sakyamuni while the later development Mahayana evolved a sound philosophy around it and the latest phase Tantra Yana evolved a system of Sadhana while maintaining the philosophical aspects of Mahayana. These three developments influenced the life and spirit of this land and found expression in the philosophy, art and literature, and Orissa, being the meeting ground of different faiths could not remain away from the spell of this. Although the earliest contact of Orissa with Buddhism is obscure, yet the contribution of Orissa to the three distinct developments of Buddhism is striking, specially the contribution to the latest phase is quite amazing.

The antiquity of Orissa in its ancient names Kalinga, Utkala and Odra dates back to the Brahmanical literature. The culture of Orissa has been greatly influenced by the Savar and Dravidian cultures, which once extended from Australia to South India, including Orissa. References to Orissa are not to be found in the Vedas because this was treated as a country of the Non-Aryans and “Buddhdhayana Dharmasutra” depicts Orissa as an unholy land:

Paddhyam Sa Kurute papam Yat Kalingan Prapadyate
Risayo Niskritim tasya Prahur Vaisvanaram Havih.
(Sacred Books of the East —Vol. XIV, p. 148)

However during the time of Brahmanical literature Orissa found positive expression in the Aryan texts. The Kapila Samhita depicts Utkala as a sacred land:

“Varsanam Bharatah Sresthah Desanamutkalah statha,
Utkalasaya Samo Deso nasti kutra Mahitale.”

This speaks of the Aryanisation of Kalinga. The episode in the Mahabharata narrating about the sage Dirghatama and his five sons Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Sumha and Pandra speaks of the mythical origin of Kalinga. The Vayu Purana depicts the origin of
Utkala after the name of the son of King Sudyumna and the Markandeya Purana faintly establishes the origin of the Aira Dynasty with Ila, the daughter of Manu. However, it is evident from the foregoing discussions that Aryan civilization penetrated into this country by the time referred to in the Epics and Kalinga was a distinct political entity although it is not included in the list of the sixteen great Janapadas due to some kind of political discomfitures. However, by this time Kalinga had found expression in various Brahmanical Texts.

Although Kalinga found emphatic expression in the different Buddhist texts including the Jatakas, it is quite difficult to determine at what particular point in history Buddhism penetrated into this land. It is evident from the Jaina Harivamsa that Mahavir came to Kalinga to preach his gospels. In the “Tirtha Kalpa” Kalinga is said to be the son of Lord Adinath. That the twenty-third Tirthankara of the Jainas preached his Dharma in Anga, Vanga and Kalinga is evident from the Jaina Bhagavati Sutra. It is said that after preaching his gospels at Tamralipta he came to Kopakataka, which is identified with Kupari by some scholars. But nowhere there is any reference to the Buddha to have preached his gospels in Orissa. However, the Buddhavamsa and the Dathadhatu Vamsa make us believe that after the death of the Buddha, as a relic, one of his teeth was carried to Dantapura, the then Capital of Kalinga. But there is difference of opinion as reflected in the texts. The Kumbhakara Jataka tells us the story of King Karandu becoming a convert to Buddhism while the Jaina Uttaradhyayana Sutra says that Karandu was a Jaina. It is, however, a riddle to place king Karandu at a particular point of time in history. The story of King Kalinga II paying reverence to the Bodhi tree, in its mythical version at least speaks of the early touch of Kalinga with Buddhism not on a wide basis but on individual basis.

The statement describing the two tribes of Utkala Vassa and Vanna receiving the message of the Buddha is furnished by the Maha Chattarisaka Sutta of Majjhima Nikaya. The Pali texts inform us about Sakyamuni the two merchant brothers of Utkala paying reverence to the and becoming the lay disciples. These two brothers were Trapusa and Bhallika who found popular expression in Buddhist literature and it is interesting to note that they even visited Ceylon and erected a Chaitya there.

What seems conclusive from the above informations is not that Buddhism made any progress during that period in the land under discussion, but simply a scattered and remote contact of individuals with the faith of the Buddha was established. During the first Buddhist Council at Rajagriha shortly after the Mahaparinirvana of
the Buddha the followers were trying to consolidate. But during the second Council, there was sharp division among the adherents of Buddhism. During these two Councils however, Kalinga does not figure as a land of Buddhism, but it cannot be said that Kalinga did not feel the spell of Buddhism or Kalinga was not known to the Buddhists if Buddhism spread far south as far as the Godavari region and influenced the social and cultural life of the inhabitants as is furnished by the Sutta Nipata. The Rock Edict XIII of Asoka makes it explicitly clear that both Brahmans and Sramanas equally bore the brunt of the war. What is evident from this is that Buddhism was making a gradual headway to this land and it cannot be said that Buddhism was unknown to the people of Kalinga during the second Council at Vaisali.

The Asokan Age ushered into Buddhism a new spirit and instilled a fresh vigour and under the royal patronage Buddhism could not be confined to the limited regions and assumed the shape and vigour of all India religion and crossing the frontiers of India it rapidly brought under its bosom the foreign lands. It is no exaggeration if Mahindra reported to Devanam Piya Tissas of Ceylon “Jambudwipa itself glitters with yellow robes” as recorded in the Mahavamsa. So Asokan period can be termed as the golden period when Buddhism not only touched the limits of Bharatavarsha but marched out for the intellectual and spiritual conquest of the foreign lands. The obscure history of Buddhism in Kalinga becomes clear and sure with the accession of Asoka and specially after the Kalinga War in 261 B.C.

The Kalinga War vanquished a freedom loving people (previously unconquered) who lost their political sovereignty and cultural vigour as a result of the terrible war which brought untold misery and hardship to a proud people but ushered in a new age to give a fitting tribute to this military genius, so long a Chandasoka, who hereafter forsaking “Bherighosha” was to resort to “Dharma Ghosha” to inaugurate the new spiritual imperialism to be based on peace and fraternity. Thus out of the horrors of the Kalinga war emerged a new Asoka and Kalinga war became a turning point in his life. However, the historians differ among themselves to accept the traditional idea that Asoka’s conversion to Buddhism was a direct and immediate result of the Kalinga war. Romila Thapar in his “Asoka and the decline of the Mauryas” puts forth various probable reasons which might have acted upon and prompted Asoka to accept Buddhism from social, political, moral, psychological and rational points of view. Similarly his abandonment of war was probably not due to his conversion but due to the dictates of administrative exigencies. Even various scholars including the author mentioned before are not prepared to accept Asoka’s Dhamma as the teachings of Buddhism.
Thapar says “The policy of Dhamma was a policy rather of social responsibility than merely demanding that the entire population should favour Buddhism. Dhamma was largely an ethical concept related to the individual in the context of the society.” As such Buddhism was a personal factor to Asoka and he never made Buddhism the state religion. Thus what Asoka propagated was not canonical Buddhism but his own conception of social morality for peace and harmony in the Mauryan India. That Asoka’s conversion was not the result of a sudden emotional upheaval is clear from the fact that Rock Edicts 11, 12 and 13 were not allowed to be engraved in Kalinga molested by his thirst for blood. Instead, two separate Edicts were meant for Dhauli and Jaugarh.

Although Asoka did not preach Buddhism personally, yet Buddhism received the stimulus under his patronage and its dominant note was to be harked throughout Bharata Varsa. However, by this time Buddhism had lost its homogeneity and had split into Theravada, Sarvastivada and Mahasamghika. Although different versions are there to claim that Asoka favoured this or that section, yet it is quite improbable on the part of a religious liberal like Asoka to have been sectarian enough to favour any particular group or section. Rather under his vigorous patronage all sections must have tried to enhance their sphere and recruit more and more followers. Thus Kalinga already in touch with early Hinayana Buddhism must have become a field of operation of the three different sections which is also corroborated by historical evidences. During this time Buddhism made a notable progress in Kalinga.

The Third Buddhist Council held at Pataliputra under the presidency of Moggaliputta Tissa for the purging of the sects other than the Vibhajjavadinis though opened to question by various historians, it is probable that after this Council, reputed monks were dispatched to various parts of the country inside and outside Asoka’s Empire to propagate the Dhamma and to sanctify the Sanghas as per the decree of the Council. In this process Mahadeva a notable monk of the order, led his mission to Mahisamandala and is known to have come to Kalinga. Asoka’s brother Tissa, who was appointed Uaparaja by Asoka, chose to be an Arhat and came to be known as Ekaviharika. He came to Kalinga and a monastery called Bhojaakagiri Vihara was built for him by the emperor. It is said that Dharma-raksita a notable monk of the order spent his last days with Tissa in the said Vihara. The missions of Arjutha the nephew of Devanampiya and celebrated Mahendra the son of Asoka via Tamralipti, cannot be ignored as such missions must have produced a stir and infused great enthusiasm among the people for Buddhism.
With Asoka as Imperial Patron vigorous missionary activities were undertaken by the giant intellectual monks of the order to give a new lease of life to Buddhism as a result of which the remote areas felt the fragrance of the Buddhist gospel and the whole country became vibrant with a new energy. As such Kalinga was no exception to it and Buddhist resurgence in Kalinga must have been the desired result.

Dr. N. K. Sahoo in his “Buddhism in Orissa” has taken much pain to describe in great length the remnants of the Buddhist art in Orissa. The similarity which the learned author establishes with other similar arts at Bharhut and Sanchi is quite revealing of the fact that Orissa was no longer to lag behind.

The geographical position of Kalinga and its strategic importance which induced the Maurya Emperor to conquer Kalinga is revealing of the fact that Kalinga maintained close enterprise with Burma (Subarna Bhumi) and Ceylon and the southern territories. If Buddhism spread in the distant lands it is evident that the monks and missionaries sailed from Kalinga and on their way to those countries they would not have left Kalinga behind them. As such Kalinga must have played a prominent part in such cultural colonisation as is evident also from the scriptures like the Dipavamsa, and other indigenous and foreign inscriptions. In this short space it is not possible to give the details of such accounts; however, the cultural intercourse, that ancient Orissa maintained with other countries is a recognised fact and such intercourse helped the growth and spread of Buddhism in other parts and as such Orissa became a prominent centre of Hinayana Buddhism till the difference between the Hinayanas and the Mahayanas became clear. Buddhism was not only confined to the recluses of the monastery, but also it assumed a mass basis embracing the whole life of the society which undermined the political stability of the State which is known from the popular legends and the accounts of the Dathavamsa of Ceylon, which even speaks of not only the political debacle but also the transfer of the sacred relic of the Buddha (tooth) to Ceylon from Dantapura where it was previously placed. In early Christian era, Dantapura, Tosali and Puspagiri were chief centres of Buddhism. Owing to the transfer of the sacred relic Dantapura declined, but Puspagiri continued to thrive and as late as the 7th Century A.D. captivated the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang. Up to the time of Harshvardhan (7th Century A.D.) Orissa remained a strong centre of Hinayana Buddhism on popular basis. This is evident from the story of King Harsha being reproached and challenged by the Hinayana monks in Orissa for his benevolence shown to the monks of the Nalanda Vihara. This challenge for intellectual duel was accepted by Harsha. But whether the
contest took place or not is not known. From its face value it is evident that any Mahayana monk of high repute was not present in Orissa then. But after Harshavardhan the Mahayanists started their conquest, and under the early Bhaumakaras who came within a century after King Harsha, Mahayana faith had its stronghold in this land.

Taking accounts from Taranath, the Tibbetan chronicler and the Prajna Paramita sutra Dr. N. K. Sahoo establishes the fact that Orissa (Odivisa in Taranatha’s account) was the land of the origin of Mahayanism. But because of the migration of such monks it failed to flourish there up to 7th Century A.D. Cultural development is destined to be influenced by political overtures like all other developments. As such, Buddhism which under the lavish patronage of Asoka assumed the scheme of vigorous propaganda would have suffered a set-back with the emergence of Kharavela in Kalinga who was a Jaina, though he was not a religious bigot. Again the emergence of the Kushan Ruler Kaniska, opened a period of hectic activities for the monks of Mahayana Buddhism. The brilliant galaxy of Buddhist scholars adorning Kushan court caused their influence to be felt in the length and breadth of the country and with a fresh vigour Buddhism was once again ready for the foreign lands. Orissa, of course was not under the Kushan domination in spite of the Kushan coins found at many places. Yet in this heyday of Buddhism Orissa could never have been away from its magic spell. What is more, Buddhism became a popular religion of Orissa and the different centres of Buddhism that sprang up at Tosali, Tamralipti, Ratnagiri and the controversial Che Li Ta Lo, caused the spread of the flavour of Mahayanic doctrine up to 9th Century A.D. and onwards.

With the large number of Buddhist centres developing in this country at different times various learned Acharyas, from Nagarejuna, the propagator of Madhyamika philosophy during Kaniska and his disciple Aryadeva to Asanga and Vasubandhu championing Yogachar school during the Guptas, lost their influence. This was the culminating epoch in the history of Buddhism, owing to the emergence of brilliant luminaries in the intellectual firmament of Buddhism. Dignaga, Vasumitra, Silabhadra, Dharmakirti, Santideva and many others preached and propounded their variant philosophies. The invincible chariot of Buddhism rolled over the whole land amidst popular acclaim.

Towards seventh and eighth century Tantric Buddhism was a dominant force not only in Orissa but in other parts also. This tantrism influenced the religion, literature and even the society at large. Though scholars differ in their opinion about the Indian origin of
Tantrayana and about the period of its origin, the Baudhacharyas of Orissa in 7th and 8th century had composed in Sanskrit language many texts on Tantra. Among them Kanhupa, Savaripa, Luipa, Indrabhuti and Laxmikanta are to be mentioned. It is most interesting to note that ‘Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang’ of Tibbet refers to Odiyan as the land of origin of the Tantric Buddhism. There is difference of opinion among the scholars to identify Odiyan with Orissa. But the fact stands as Dr. B. Mohanty says, in the “Baudha Gana O’ Doha” lies the origin of the Eastern Indian languages as Oriya, Bengali, Maithili and Assamese. As the Acharyas of the Doha belonged to the Odiyan Pitha there is no reason to identify Odiyan with some other place ignoring the linguistic factor. The Kali Purana relates Jagannath and Katayani with the Odiyan Pitha.

Vimala Sa Mahadevi Jagannathastu Bhairavah
Katayani Choddiyane Kamakhya Kamarupini.

The Kubjika Tantra describes Viraja as the Maheswari of Oddiyan. Dr. Bhattacharya while erroneously speaks of Orissa as a part of Bengal identifies Uddiyana with Orissa. B. C. Law in his Buddhistic studies identified Uddiyana with Orissa. Among the five Tantra pithas referred to in the Kalika Purana Odra is the first and we find numerous references to the other Pithas in the 16th Century Vaisnava literature of Orissa.

Uddiyana being the premier centre of Tantrayana a large number of siddhas emerged here. Lama Taranath gives a long list of Siddhas to have flourished in Uddiyana. According to various scholars these Siddhas flourished in between 950 A.D. and 1200 A.D. Although it is improbable to say that all the 84 Siddhas hailed from Orissa, yet it will be no exaggeration to accept most of them to have belonged to this place.

The Tantrayana branch or Mantranvaya was divided into Kalachakrayana, Vajrayana and Sahajayana. Indrabhuti, the King of Sambhal, identified with modern Sambalpur, was the champion of Vajrayana and in his Jnana Siddhi he has accepted Lord Jagannath as the Buddha—

Pranipatya Jagananatham
Sarva Janavararchitam,
Sarva Buddhhamayam Siddhi-Vyapinam gaganopamam.

His son Padma Sambhava went to Tibbet to preach Tantrayana according to Wadel during 780-95 A.D., while Laxminkara the sister of Indrabhuti, helped propounding Sahajayana.
Uddiyana or Orissa with various centres at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Lalitagiri and Alatigiri was transmitting this faith to various parts including Nepal and Tibet. Pitopada, an Acharya of Ratnagiri was the founder of Kalachakrayana. Thus Mahayana Buddhism with its various branches, such as Vajrayana, Sahajayana and Kalachakrayana was highly popular in Orissa. It not only influenced the life and religious philosophy of the people but also found emphatic expression in the Art and specially the separate line of literature originated with it which even greatly influenced the subsequent literary creations. The Vaishnava literature of Orissa incorporated many aspects of Tantric Buddhism in a modified way. Through this process of assimilation the last phase of Buddhism was incorporated into Oriya literature which radiated its glow to appeal to the heart and mind of the millions satisfying their religious aspirations. If Buddhism has been expelled from the land of its birth, it has undergone physical transformation which influenced Orissan art, literature and philosophy up to 17th Century A.D. Orissa contributed to the development and splendour of Buddhism in a magnificent way which maintains the singularity of Orissa in comparison to other parts of India. If Buddha is no more, if Buddhist Vihara with its sweet philosophic fragrance has disappeared and buried, and if Buddhist monks no more move about in their yellow robes, certain aspects of Buddhism still prevail in the culture of Orissa unnoticed to the naked eye. The cult of Jagannath and the concept of Trimurti as Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha are the brilliant instances of it.
SAIVISM IN ORISSA

Saivism is said to be a blend of two lines of cultural development namely the pre-Aryan and the Aryan. The element of phallic worship, which is associated with this cult but condemned in the Vedas, seems to have been borrowed from the pre-Aryan Indus culture. The figure of male god seated in Yogic posture, found at Mohenjodaro, may, with a tolerable degree of certainty, be taken as identical with Rudra-Siva of the Aryans. In the Rigveda, the name Siva does not occur as a proper noun whereas Rudra is described as a terrible god whose wrath could be appeased by offerings. But in Satarudriya (Taittiriya-Samhita), he is represented both as a malevolent and a benevolent god. In the latter aspect, he was known as Siva. This development found culmination in the Svetasvatara Upanishad where Siva is described as the great soul whose work is the universe, who always dwells in the hearts of men, who is knowable by faith, love or the pure heart and having known Him, one attains eternal peace. Here we find the beginning of the theistic system.

We come across the earliest mention of Siva worship in the account of Megasthenes (300 B.C.). In second century B.C., Patanjali mentioned the Siva-Bhagavatas as ascetics moving with iron tridents in their hands. The earliest coins bearing image of Siva with trident in hand on the obverse and his bull on the reverse belonged to the Kushanas in A.D. first century. About this time, there arose in west India a great propounder of Saivism named Lakulisa who is regarded as the last incarnation of Mahesvara and the founder of the Pasupata sect. He had four eminent disciples namely Kusika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurusya or Rusta. The tenets of this sect are summed up by Madhava in 'Sarva-darsana-samgraha' under the name of Nakulisa-Pasupata. The popularity of this cult under the Guptas is attested to by the Mathura pillar inscription of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya dated in Gupta year 61 (380 A.D.) which records the installation of two images by Uditacharya, the
tenth Guru after Kusika, the direct disciple of Lakulisa. In the post-Gupta period, Saivism rose into importance all over India. But there was no homogeneity in it. During this time, another sect of Saivism called the Mattamayura took its birth in central India and flourished in the Haihaya kingdom of Tripuri. In later times, the Mattamayura cult gained popularity in western Orissa whereas the Lakulisa cult became influential in the coastal regions of this province.

Saivism was in flourishing condition in Orissa long before the advent of the Mattamayura and Lakulisa cults. Although the early history of Saivism in Orissa is now lost in obscurity, it seems that it had a parallel growth and development with those in other parts of India. The Asanpat stone inscription in Keonjhar district containing a beautiful image of Nataraj is the earliest known epigraphic evidence indicating Siva worship in this region. This inscription records the building of a temple (Devayatana) evidently of Lord Siva by Maharaja Sri Satrubhanja of Naga dynasty and is ascribed to A.D. fourth century. The image under which the record is inscribed, depicts Nataraja Siva with eight hands. In his two upper hands, he holds a snake and in the lower two arms he plays with a lute. One of his hands exhibits varada-mudra while in the other three, he holds a Trisula, a Dambaru and an Aksha-mala. It is in naked Urdhvalinga form indicating Tandava dance of Siva after his consort Sati gave away her life in the sacrificial altar of her father Daksha Prajapati. Nandi and Bhrukuti, his two attendants are represented on both the sides. It is the earliest Nataraj image found in Orissa and speaks of the popularity of Saivism in this country in A.D. 4th century.

The early Nala kings of Kosala (Western Orissa), Bhavadattavarman and Arthapatiraja in 5th century A.D. were worshippers of Siva and they declared in their charters that their kingdom was bestowed on them by Mahesvara and Mahasena (Maha-mahesvara-Mahasena-srita rajyavibhavah).

In Kalinga (South Orissa), though the Mathara kings in 4th and 5th centuries A.D. were patrons of Vaishnavism, they had no dislike for Saivism. Satrudama of Simhapura, who was probably a subordinate ruler under Mathara king Saktivarman, was a worshipper of Damanesvara Siva. The Vasitha king, Anantavarman, also calls himself a devout worshipper of Mahesvara.

The Eastern Gangas, who established their rule in Kalinga in A.D. 498, were great patrons of Saivism. The earliest known ruler of this dynasty, Indravarman I, pays homage to Paramesvara who is described as the creator, sustainer and destroyer of all the worlds. The tutelary deity of the Ganga rulers was Gokarnasvami Siva,
installed on the crest of the mount Mahendra. In the Preamble of their charters, they worship at the lotus feet of this great God.

In Uttara Tosali or Utkala, Saivism was in flourishing state during this time. In the last quarter of the sixth century, Maharaja Shri Sambhuyasa, the Mudgala king of this territory, was a devout worshipper of Lord Siva. Early in the second decade of the seventh century A.D., Utkala was occupied by king Sasanka of Karnasuvarna who was a devout Saiva and a great patron of Saivism. In the Ekamra Purana we get repeated references to the building of a magnificent temple for the Lingam of Tribhuvanesvara at Ekamra by king Sasanka who is known as Chandrama in this work. In chapter 13, there is a discourse between Siva and Brahma in which the latter expresses his desire to build a temple for the former, but Siva wants to remain in the open ground till the Kali Age, when king Chandrama (Sasanka) would build for him a beautiful, white and purifying stone temple. In chapter 48, Siva says that in Kali Age “my devotee Sasanka, the lord of the earth, with his mind fixed on none (except me) will rule a portion of the earth extending up to Kalinga. According to my command, he will construct a massive and beautiful temple for me.”

The tradition about Sasanka building the temple of Tribhuvanesvara is also found in the Kapila Samhita, the Svarnadri Mahodaya and the Ekamra Chandrika. This shows that the worship of self-revealed (Svayambhu) Lingam was popular in Bhubanesvar (Ekamra) long before Sasanka who constructed there the temple of Tribhuvanesvara with a view to giving Saivism a prominent position. Soon after this, a large number of Siva temples raised their heads at Ekamra and the city came to be regarded as a great Saiva Kshetra in India. Later on, it assumed the name of Bhubanesvar after the deity Tribhuvanesvara. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi believes that the temple built by Sasanka has been replaced by the present great temple of Lingaraj.

After Sasanka, Saivism found royal patronage under the Sailodbhavas of Kongoda-mandala. The early Saiva temples of Bhubanesvar namely Parasuramesvara, Satrughnesvara, Bharatesvara, Svarajalesvara and Lakshmanesvara, were built during this period. Even on the eve of the conquest of Utkala by Sasanka, the Sailodbha king Chharamparaja, in his Khandipada Nuapalli grant professed his profound faith in Trilochana Siva whose “head is decorated with flowers like lotus and lily and whose matted hair is adorned with the shining gems of the serpent tied to it.” Sailodbha king Madhavaraja II, who was a feudatory of Sasanka, declares in his Ganjam grant (619 A.D.) that he was “devoted to the feet of the blissful Master of the three worlds (Tribhuvana-guroh) who is the cause of creation, existence and destruction, whose arms are placed on the hump of the
great bull resembling the pillow of a couch and whose matted hair is illuminated by the crescent of the moon." From the Buguda copperplates of this king onwards, the Sailodhbava charters assumed a set preambles in which the blessing of the matted hair of Siva is sought. The opening verse of these charters runs as follows:

इष्टोद्भव्यमृगालत्त्वमुदितविभेट: करे: कोमलः
वंशाहरयोः स्फुरत्सङ्गेत्रिधिव्रह्म्यम् प्राणयुभिः।
पार्वस्य: सकच्चाद्वैतिशिकस्थावऽवस्यचक्षुः
गृहाम्भःस्निर्विभिन्नमस्तमतिकाणम्: शम्भोजता: पान्तु व: ॥

(Let ye be saved by the matted hairs of Siva that are embraced by the moon with his tender hands (beams) resembling the clean fibres of a lotus stalk, whose radiance is besmeared with the tawny rays of the bright hood-gem of the great serpent, whose tie becomes loose when Parvati seizes Siva by the hair and from which particles of ashes are washed away by the leap of the Gangetic water).²⁶

During the time of the Sailodbhavas, the Lakulisa-Pasupata cult found its way to Orissa. In the Bharatesvara temple, Lakulisa is given a conspicuous place at Rāhāpaga in the front part of this temple and in the Parasuramesvara temple his image is carved in low relief at the base of the Jagamohana. But the influence of the cult in this period is not so remarkable and it did not receive any patronage from the Sailodhbava kings. According to the ‘Saddarsana Samucchaya’ of Acharya Haribhadra, the Pasupata sect worshipped Lord Siva who is not associated with the matted hair, the river Ganges, the cobra, the crescent, the garland of skulls, the besmeared of ashes and also with Parvati.²⁷ All these attributes are, however, found in the charters of the Sailodbhavas as well as in the records referring to Sasanka.

Lakulisa-Pasupata cult seems to have gained ascendancy during the time of the Bhauma-Karas. The Muktesvara temple of Bhuvanesvar built during this period had a good number of miniature images of Lakulisa all over its body. They are specially found in the ornamented chaitya arches in various mudras, such as Bhumisparsa, Yoga and Dharma-Chakra-Pravartana. It is interesting to mark that here they are not accompanied by the figures of their disciples.

Although the early Bhauma-Kara rulers were devout Buddhists (Paramasaugata), they did not refuse patronage to the Saiva sect. Madhavi Devi, queen of Buddhist king Subhakaradeva I, is known to have built the temple of Madhavesvara Siva and appointed a Saiva Acharya for conducting the worship.²⁸ The Hindol plate²⁹ of king Subhakaradeva III records the donation of a village Naddilo in
Uttar Tosali for the worship of the god Vaidyanatha Bhattarakar
installed in the Pulindesvara temple built by Pulindaraja.

Subhakaradeva IV was a Sivaite ruler and he was the first Bhauma
king to declare himself Parama-mahesvara, the devout worshipper
of Lord Siva. The two Baud charters of Bhauma reigning queen,
Prithvi-Mahadevi (A.D. 894) record the grant of villages for the
worship of Uma-Mahesvara enshrined in the temple of Nannesvara
Siva built by Sasilekha in commemoration of her deceased father,
Nanna. A number of examples can thus be gathered from the epi-
graphic records to show that Saivism was popular in the coastal plains
of Orissa during the rule of the Bhauma-Karas.

Western Orissa (Kosala) in the sixth and seventh centuries
A.D. was under the rule of the Amararyas (the Sarabhapuriyas)
who were all Parama Bhagavatas, i.e., devout Vaishnavas. After
them, the early Somavamis till the accession of Balarjuna were also
worshippers of Vishnu. Saivism could not, therefore, make much
progress during this time. But from Balarjuna onwards, all Soma-
vamsi kings without exception were Parama-Mahesvaras. In fact,
this period was a golden age for Saivism in Orissa.

The form of Saivism which received the patronage of king
Balarjuna and his successors was the Mattamayura sect. This sect
was so named because it was first propounded in the city of Matta-
mayura in central India by Acharya Purandara Svami. We get an
account of this sect from a number of inscriptions the most important
of which were the Ranodi inscription and the Bilhari inscription.
Prof. Mirashi, on the study of these inscriptions draws the genealogy
of the Mattamayura Acharyas as shown in the next page.

The Senakapata inscription of the time of Balarjuna records the
building of a temple by Durgarakshita for Sadasivacharya who
hailed from Amardaka penance-grove, which was an important
centre of Mattamayura sect. It cannot, however, be definitely
asserted that he is identical with either Acharya Sadasiva of the above
list. In the Lodhia copperplate charter, king Balarjuna donated
a grant for the worship of Isanesvara Bhattarakar at the request of his
Saiva Guru Sulapani who was a disciple of Pramathacharya. Sulap-
ani and Pramathacharya apparently belonged to the Mattamayura
school. The Senakapata inscription sheds some interesting light on
the doctrine of this sect. In verses 22-23, it says that the Saiva ascetics
should arrange sacrificial ceremony, the exposition of Saiva doctrine,
the initiation of people into Saiva faith and free distribution of food
on the full-moon days of Asadha, Kartika and Magha every year.

The sect of Mattamayura became dominant in western
Orissa with the rise of Acharya Gagana-Siva in the last
Kadambaguhadhivasi
Samkhmathikadhipati
Terambipala
Amaradaka-tirthanatha Rudra Sambhu
Mattamayuranatha Purandara

Kavacha Siva
Sadasiva
Hrdayasiva
Vyoma Siva (Gagana Siva)
Patanga Sambhu

Dharma Sambhu
Sadasiva
Madhumateya Purandara
Chuda Siva

Hrdaya Siva
Aghora Siva
Prabodha Siva

Prabhava Siva
Prasanta Siva
Isana Sambhu

Vyoma Siva II

quarter of A.D. 9th century\(^37\). Gagana-Siva is also known by the names of Gaganesa, Vyomesa, Vyoma-Siva, Gagana Sasimauli etc. He built the temple of Somesvara Siva at Ranipur-Jharial of western Orissa and left there an inscription in which he introduced himself as 'one hailing from Teramba situated in the north' (Uttara-Terambagraha-vinirgatah).\(^38\) B. C. Chhabra who edited this inscription believes that Gagana Siva’s original home was at Terambi which was a centre of the Mattamayura sect. The third Acharya of this school was known as Terambipala. There is, however, controversy regarding the location of the Mattamayura centres. Some historians have tried to identify Kadambaguha with Kadwaha, Terambi with Terahi and Amardaka with Amod of Madhya Pradesh.\(^39\) But Orissan scholars have located these places within the state of Orissa.
Shri S. N. Rajguru believes that Kadambagiri of the Patalesvara temple inscription in the precinct of the temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri was Kadambaguhu of ancient time. In this inscription, the king of Kadambagiri, Jayantaraju of Matsya dynasty, declares a donation for the worship of Purusottama on the occasion of the Netrotsava. Similarly it is held that Amardaka was Amarda located in the district of Mayurbhanj and Teramba was Temra on the bank of the river Tong of western Orissa. It is not possible to discuss here the details about these identifications. We, however, believe that Terambi and Teramba were two different places. The former may be Terahi of Madhya Pradesh as identified by Mirashi. But there are reasons to believe that Temra, on the Tong, located to the north of Ranipur-Jharia was Teramba, the birthplace of Gagana-Siva.

Gagana-Siva chose for his religious activities the serene spot of Ranipur (Ranipadraka) which soon developed into a Sivaite centre. He received the patronage of the Somavamsi king who seems to be Mahabhavagupta Janamejaya I (c. 845—885 A.D.). It was probably because of this that the Siva temple which he built there was named as the temple of Somesvara and the place came to be regarded as Somatirtha. Gagana-Siva visited many places of India for propagation of Saivism. At last, he became the chief Acharya of the Mattamayura sect and settled himself in Madhya-Pradesh. The Saiva centre which he developed there came to be known as Ranipadraka probably after the name of the original place of his activities. After this, Ranipadraka of western Orissa also became an important centre of Mattamayura sect and the temple of Chausathi Yogini with Uma-Mahesvara in the central Mandapa was constructed there. The contribution of Gagana-Siva for the development of Saivism in India and particularly in Orissa can never be overestimated. After his death, he was deified by his followers and later on in the closing years of twelfth century, the temple of Meghesvara was built for him at Bhubanesvara.

Acharya Gagana-Siva was succeeded by his disciple Patanga Sambhu. The latter is sometimes identified with Patanga Siva who was the preceptor of Ganga king Devendravarman I as revealed from the Dharmalingesvar copperplate inscription of Samvat 184 (A.D. 682). The identification does not hold good as Acharya Gagan-Siva is known to have flourished in the last quarter of A.D. tenth century. Patanga Siva of Dharmalingesvar inscription appears to be an early Acharya of Mattamayura sect. This cult seems to have gained entrance into the coastal Orissa in A.D. seventh century.

In 9th and 10th centuries, the Bhanja rulers of Khinjali-mandala and of Khichinga-mandala were also patrons of Saivism. The early
Bhanjas of Baud were devotees of Vishnu. Ranabhanja in the first part of his reign was a Vaishnava king although his chief queen Vijaya Mahadevi was a devotee of Siva.\(^45\) It is during this period that the twin temples of Nilamadhava and Siddhesvara at Gandhatapati (Gandharadi) were built in fulfilment of the religious desires of the king and the queen. Ranabhanja in the last part of his reign became a devout worshipper of Lord Siva probably being influenced by his queen. After Ranabhanja, the Bhanjas shifted to Ghumsar region and made Vanjulvaka their headquarters. The invocation of Lord Siva found in the charters of the Ghumsar Bhanjas shows that they were patrons of the Mattamayura sect. The verse describes Sadasiva Sankara with matted hair, crescent moon, ashes and cobra.\(^46\)

About 1000 A.D., the coastal plains of Orissa came under the possession of the Somavamsis who decorated the town of Bhubaneswar with a number of Saiva temples. The temple of Indresvara\(^47\) which is now known as Rajarani temple was probably built by Indraratha in the first quarter of A.D. 11th century. It is really mysterious that this beautiful edifice at present contains no deity in the sanctum. The two figures on the door-jambs of its Jagamohana wears Jatamukuta, a garland of skulls and a cobra which remind us of the Mattamayura cult whereas on the lintel occurs an image of Lakulisa with his four disciples on the side panels. The next important Siva temple in chronological order was the gigantic Lingaraj which is ascribed to Mahasivagupta Yayati II, the successor of Indraratha. Standing on a compound measuring 520 feet in length and 465 feet in breadth and rising to a height of about 180 feet, it is regarded as the most magnificent Siva temple in India. As suggested above, the temple was probably constructed in place of the old one built by Sasanka. With this, Saivism reached the pinnacle of glory in Orissa. Kalavati Devi, queen of Yayati II, built the temple of Brahmesvara at Siddha-tirtha in Ekamra during the reign of her son Udyota Kesari about the middle of A.D. eleventh century and she dedicated for Lord Siva some beautiful dancing women.\(^48\) In architectural and sculptural features, this temple bears close affinity to the temple of Lingaraj.

After Udyota Kesari, the Somavamsi power declined and about 1110 A.D. Utkala was occupied by Ganga king Chodagangadeva. In the beginning, Chodagangadeva was a devout worshipper of Siva, but later on he changed his religious conception and called himself Parama Vaishnava. It is Chodagangadeva who built the majestic temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri. After this, the cult of Jagannath became the religion of Orissa and Saivism had to choose for a peaceful co-existence with it.
During the rule of the Gangas and the Suryavamsis and even subsequently, vigorous efforts were made for synthesis of Saivism and Vaishnavism. Sterling in "Account of Orissa" (1822) has recorded that according to the orthodox interpretation the three images, Balabhadra, Jagannath and Subhadra respectively represent Siva, Vishnu and Durga. This idea was probably prevailing in the later medieval Orissa. Hereafter, the Siva-lingam of the Lingaraj temple came to be regarded as Harihara and not Hara alone and accordingly the daily worship of the deity, the mantras in which he is worshipped, the offerings given to him, the rites and rituals and the festivals and ceremonies underwent significant changes. The religious movement for a synthesis of Saivism and Vaishnavism spread throughout Orissa. A product of this movement was the temple of Hari-Sankara built in 15th century A.D. at the foot of Mount Gandhamardana in Balangir district. This temple came to be regarded as a place of pilgrimage by both the sects. Gradually the dividing line between Saivaism and Vaishnavism in Orissa dwindled down and the Hindus of this state now believe in the saying of the Ekamra Purana that "There is no distinction between Vishnu and Siva. This is the eternal Dharma and the man, who observes this Dharma, attains Mukti."

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4. X—92-9
5. III—2, IV—14, 16, 17, V—14
10. E. I. XXI pp. 1-9
11. The Saiva Acharyas of Mattamayura Clan. I. H. Q. XXVI No. 1 p. 16.
15. Ibid XXXI pp. 89-93.
20. Ch. XVI
21. Ch. XI V.
22. Ch. IX.
27. Referred to in the Ganakarika (G. O. S.) p. 29.
31. The name Amararya-Kula occurs in the Mallar Plate of Vyaghrra line 3-4 E. I. XXXIV p. 49.
32. E. I. pp. 351 f.
33. C. I. I. IV p. 204 f.
34. I. H. Q. XXVI No. 1 p. 16
35. E. I. XXXI pp. 31-36.
36. ibid XXVII pp. 319-25.
37. For the date and other details about Gagana-Siva, vide my Oriya article in 'Saptarsi' Vol. V. No. 7 pp. 15 f.
38. E. I. XXIV pp. 239-43.
40. Inscs. of Orissa IV p. 351.
41. Patalesvara temple insc. is yet unpublished.
42. Dr. N. K. Sahu—Odiya Jatira Itihasa (in Oriya) I p. 342.
43. We get the references of Ranipadra in the 15th, 17th and 32nd verses of the Ranad insc.
44. J. A. H. R. S. II p. 275.
45. Patona Museum Plates. E. I. XX pp. 100-04
46. बद्धर: लंबडशांकेशरः
कपालमालासितमस्मधुरः I
स्तुपुरू महापिथंनाववंकंकवः:
सदावं सव्वम्बो विद्वाधतु संकरः II
47. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi—op. cit pp. 94-95.
49. An Account of Orissa proper or Cuttack by Sterling p. 104.
50. Ekamra Purana Ch. V. p. 29.
SAIVISM IN ANCIENT ORISSA

In Hindu pantheon Śiva is considered as the great god, the god of all gods as well as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the whole world. The worship of Śiva, both in iconic and phallic forms goes back to the period of Indus valley civilisation. But "the rise of a definite religious sect, revering Śiva as the Supreme God and with a philosophy and organisation of its own, cannot be traced back earlier than about the beginning of the Christian era."1

In Orissa, however, the worship of Śiva can be traced back to the fourth century A.D. The images of Śiva discovered at Asanapat in the Keonjhar district2 is the earliest evidence of Śiva worship prevalent in this land. The image depicts him in nātarāja posture with eight hands, of which two are engaged in playing the viṇā across the chest and two in holding the snake over the head. Of the rest four hands one displays the varada muḍrā, while the three others hold the triśūla, aṅkṣamālā and ādambaru; the image is in naked ārdhviṅga form indicating tāṇḍava dance after his consort Sati gave away her life in the sacrificial altar prepared by her father Dakṣa Prajāpati. His attendants, Nandi and Bhṛkuṭi are represented on both of his sides. The image is one of the beautiful specimens of Orissan art.

Saivism seems to have replaced Buddhism as the dominant faith in Orissa as a result of her coming into contact with the all-pervasive Gupta culture in the fifth century A.D. We find both literary and archaeological evidences about the conflict between the Buddhists and the Sivaites as well as the victory of the latter over the former. The Ekāṭra Purāṇa3 mentions a conflict between the demons and the gods, in which Śiva on behalf of the gods defeated the demons. This is nothing but an echo of the struggle between the Buddhists and the Sivaites in which the latter triumphed over the former. The huge Śiva linga, now enshrined in the Bhāskaresvara temple at Bhubaneswar seems to be the remnant of an Asokan pillar destroyed by the Śaivas into a phallic emblem. The lion figure which crowned the pillar was also partly damaged and then buried in the close
proximity of the said temple. It bears an inscription in the charters of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., pointing out that the conversion of the Aśokan pillar into a Śiva liṅga took place in that period. In this connection it will not be out of place to mention that the Śiva temple of Śatrughnaśvara in Bhubaneswar is assigned to the sixth century A.D.

The Śiva ascetics used to live in caves to practise penance. Sitabinji in the Keonjhar district contains a number of natural rock shelters in the hills which attracted the Śiva ascetics. This fact is proved by the existence of a stone Mukhaliṅga with four faces of Śiva as well as the record of the names of Śiva as Śaśidhara and Śasalāñehhanadāhara in the stone inscriptions at Sitabinji. In the close vicinity of Bhāskareśvara temple there are rock-cut caves which also appear to have been abodes of Śiva ascetics in ancient times. The caves at the aforesaid sites are assigned to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. In the chaturmukhaliṅga T. N. Ramachandran notices the flap or the foreskin of the phallus below the head of Śiva. In the Bhāskareśvara liṅga K. C. Panigrahi notices a deeply incised small dent on the top centres, just resembling the central orifice on the inside nut of a male organ. The representation of these details indicates an attempt to give the aforesaid liṅgas a close resemblance of the membrum virile. The glorification of sex is a concept of Pāṣupata Śaivism. It is quite legitimate to believe that the shrines at Sitabinji and Bhāskareśvara were established by the Pāṣupata sect of Śaivism.

The form of Śaivism that established itself at Bhubaneswar in the seventh century A.D. also bore the influence of Pāṣupata sect. Two images of Lakulīsa occur on the front facade and the Jagamohana of the Parsurāmēśvara temple, assigned to this period. Each of these two images holds a club and sits in yogāsana. A. Ghosh and K. C. Panigrahi believe that the temple was originally named after the Pāṣupata teacher Parāśara. This temple contains bas-reliefs depicting several incidents in Śiva’s life. We find here an eight-armed Arddhanārīśvara in dancing pose. The upper two female hands hold a mirror and a book, whereas the upper two male hands hold a lute and an akṣamālā. This type of image is quite interesting, as in it Śiva and Śakti are merged in one body. We also notice here a four-armed Śiva wearing a snake kundala in sitting pose. The upper left hand holds a long trident whereas both the right hands hold an akṣamālā and a lotus. It is an anthropomorphic image of Śiva. There is an interesting scene depicting the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī in the said temple. They are dressed as the bridegroom and the bride and surrounded on all sides by Agni, Brahmā, Sūrya and Viṣṇu. A still more interesting scene in this temple is Rāvana raising the mount.
Kailāsa (the abode of Śiva), Pārvati turning her head in panic and Śiva consoling her with his left hand and raising his right hand in abhaya.

Śaivism suffered a set-back due to the rise of Buddhism in the eighth century A.D. But there took place a revival of Śivaite activities in the ninth century A.D. The Śiva linga at Soro contains a Buddhist dhārani, which proves that Buddhism lost its identity and merged itself completely in Śaivism. The Śaiva temples of Śiśirēśvara and Someśvara seem to have been constructed during this period at Bhubaneswar and Ranipur-Jharial respectively. We notice on the jagamohana of the former the figure of Lakulīśa seated in Dharmachakrapravartana mudrā with a club placed on his right shoulder. This Śaiva temple of Śiśirēśvara could not, however, escape the influence of Buddhism. The pedestal of Lakuli is occupied by a tri-ratna superimposed by a lotus and flanked by deer. A wheel in place of the lotus would make it a complete Sarnath device, which is clearly a Buddhist symbol. K. C. Panigrahi has very aptly remarked, “A sculptor trained in the Buddhist tradition and accustomed to carve a Sarnath device on the pedestals of the Buddhist images has, by force of practice, allowed himself to carve the same device here and then has tried to camouflage it by putting a lotus in place of a wheel.”

We may state here that there is no canonical prescription about carving of such a device on the pedestal of a Śivaite image. Buddhist figures of Amoghasiddhi, Avalokiteśvara and Jambhāla, are noticed very close to the aforesaid figure of Lakuli.

The growing popularity of Śaivism in the ninth century A.D. is evident from the presence of Śaiva images in the Tantric temple of Vaitāla. Apart from the composite image of Śiva and pārvati (Arddhanārīśvara), we notice Śiva and Pārvati (Umāmaheśvara) seated side by side on a lotus seat. Śiva is four-armed, holding a lyre, a trident and a japamālā, whereas Pārvati is two-armed placing her right hand on the shoulder of her consort. Śaivism could not, however, escape the impact of Tantrism as we find an image of Śiva in a terrific form (Bhairava) in this temple. He wears a garland of skulls and possesses sunken eyes, open mouth, protruding tongue and hollowed belly. He sits in a fighting posture, rests his body on the left knee and holds a kharpara and a dagger in both of his hands.

We may state here that images of Arddhanārīśvara, Umāmaheśvara and Bhairava are seen in large numbers either as presiding deities or as side deities in the temples of Prāchī valley. The finest specimens of such images exist in the Vileśvara temple at Paidapatana, Amareśvara temple at Amareśvara, Dakṣinēśvara temple at Dakṣinesvara, Aṅgeśvara temple at Pitapur, Vandeśvara temple at Vandesvara,
Gokarṇēśvara temple at Kantapara, Grāmeśvara temple at Lataharana, Someśvara temple near Kakatpur, etc. They seem to have been constructed in and around ninth-tenth century A.D.

There is thus almost a spate of Sivaite activities in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. Among the numerous Sivaite temples that were built in this period, the Mukteśvara, the Brahmeśvara and the Liṅgarāja were the most remarkable. The Mukteśvara, the earliest of the three is one of the most beautiful temples of India, and has been described by M. M. Ganguly as “a dream realized in sandstone.” Two images of Lakuli are found in this temple—one in dharmachakra-pravarttana mudrā and the other in bhūṃisparśa mudrā. This proves the prevalence of Pāśupata sect in the tenth century A.D. This also shows the influence of Buddhism on Saiva images in the said century. Another noteworthy image noticed in the said temple is the Gajasaṃhāra mūrti of Śiva. The Brahmeśvara temple, assigned to the eleventh century A.D., also contains a number of Sivaite images, e.g., Ekapāda Śiva, Arddhanāriśvara, Naṭarāja, Andhakavadha mūrti etc. Ekapāda Śiva holds a trident, dambaru and aṅkṣamālā in his hands and wears a garland of skulls around his neck. Of the two four-handed Naṭarājās, one holds a lyre and the other a snake. Andhakavadha mūrti stands in the pose of an archer wearing a garland of skulls, holding a kharpara and lifting the demon with the long trident.

The Liṅgarāja temple can be considered as the most notable Śaiva shrine of Orissa. Śiva in his phallic form is enshrined in this temple. The linga is a natural one and is known as svayambhūlinga. This Śaiva shrine probably came under the impact of Vaisṇavism during the twelfth and thirteenth century A.D. As a result, Liṅgarāja became a combination of Hari (Viṣṇu) and Hara (Śiva). In other words, he is Harihara and not Hara alone. The local priests point out a natural line of the linga as the line demarcating the Viṣṇu and Śiva portions of the deity. The Vāhanastambha in front of the temple contains at its top not only the image of Nandi, but also that of Garuda, pointing out a synthesis of Vaisṇavism and Śaivism. Liṅgarāja is worshipped at present by both Śaiva and Vaisṇava methods.

The rising tide of Vaisṇavism almost swept the whole of Orissa during the twelfth century A.D. As a result, there was a decline of Sivaite activities in this period. Two important Śaiva shrines constructed in this period were the Kedāreśvara and the Megheśvara at Bhubaneswar. The former was built in the early part while the latter in the later part of the said century. These two temples are devoid of Śaiva images, which are illustrations of various Śaiva mythologies and which are abundantly noticed in early temples.
The Śaiva activities of the Orissan monarchs were, however, not confined to the construction of beautiful temples and images. They patronised Śaivism in several ways. In the fifth century A.D. Ananta-varman, a king of the Māthara dynasty, ruling over Kaliṅga was a devotee of Śiva as he styles himself as Paramamāheśvara. This is quite interesting in view of the fact that a number of rulers of this dynasty were devotees of Viṣṇu. In the sixth century A.D. Śambhu-yaśa of the Mudgala dynasty ruling over Northern Tosali was a devotee of Śiva which is evident from his epithet Paramamāheśvara. His feudatory Śivarāja, as the name itself indicates, also appears to be a Śaiva. During this period the early Gaṅgas, who established their kingdom on the eastern coast, were staunch Sivaites. All their copperplate grants open with an invocation to Gokarnāšvara established on the top of the Mahendra mountain in the Ganjam district. Hastivarman, Indravarman, Devendravarman, Anantavarman, Nandavarman, Satyavarman, Jayavarman and Śāmantavarman were all devout worshippers of Śiva (Paramamāheśvara).

Śaivism, however, attained a position of honour in Orissa in the seventh century A. D. During this period Śaśāṅka, who appeared in Eastern India as a great patron of Śaivism, extended his sway over Orissa. Literary traditions inform us that Śaśāṅka constructed a massive temple at Bhubaneswar, the presiding deity of which was Tribhuvaneśvara.

Śaivism practically became the royal religion in the Śailodbhava dominion of Koṅgoda in the seventh century A.D. We may state here that Koṅgoda came under the pale of Śaśāṅka’s suzerainty during the rule of the Śailodbhava king Mādhavarāja. Mādhavarāja, Madhyamarāja and Dharmarāja were devout worshippers of Śiva, as is obvious from their assumption of the title Paramamāheśvara. Śiva is invoked as the highest god in the opening lines of many of the inscriptions of this dynasty. The Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja describe Śiva as one “who is the blessed lord of the three worlds, who is the cause of existence, creation and destruction, whose arms are placed on the hump of the great bull (Nandi) and on the pillow of the couch, whose matted hair is illuminated in one place by the crescent of the moon.” In his Khurda plate he is stated as “a devout worshipper of Lord Mahesvara’s feet.” The Banapur plates of Madhyamarāja refer to Śiva as “greater than the sky, superior to the lord of immortal divine beings (Indra), establisher of Dharma in the jayna of Dakṣa, winner of Rāksasa, deeper than the fathomless ocean, brighter and more luminous than the Sun, more pleasant in looking than the moon, and the ruler of all the three worlds.” The Śailodbhavas, like the Eastern Gaṅgas, seem to have paid reverence to Lord
Gokarnesvara on the Mahendra mountain as is evident from the Cuttack Museum charter of Madhavavarman. There was a retardation in the progress of Saivism in Orissa during the rule of the early Bhauma-Karas (eighth century A.D.) who were staunch Buddhists. In spite of the lack of royal patronage Sivaite activities did not completely disappear from Orissa, as this faith obtained support from some members of the Bhauma-Kara family. The Hamsevara temple inscription mentions that Madhavadevi, wife of Subhakara I constructed a Saiva temple and enshrined Madhavesvara in it after her name. It is interesting to note that Sivaite emblems such as the couchant bull, conch shell, the Sun and the moon, appear on the seals of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty, even though the early monarchs of this dynasty were great patrons of Buddhism. The fascination of Bhauma-Kara kings for the name Sivakara (which is borne by as many as three kings) also points out that they held this faith in high esteem in spite of their strong Buddhist leanings. In course of time, Buddhism, under the influence of Tantrism, came very close to Saivism. As a result, there took place a revival in the Sivaite activities in Orissa during the rule of the later Bhauma-Karas, who patronised Saivism. The visit of Shankaracharya to Orissa in the ninth century A.D. might have stimulated the growth of Saivism in this region.

The Bhauma-Kara king Subhakara III was a great champion of the Saiva faith. His Hindol plate registers the gift of a village to god Vaidyanatha Bhattacharya (Siva) enshrined at the temple of Pulindevara. The gift was intended for the maintenance of the temple, the worship of the deity as well as for meeting the expenses of the Sivaite ascetics who resided in the temple. The Virajama Mahatmya makes references to some Saiva temples, known as Kusumesvara, Lalitesvara and Danthisvara at Viraja (Jajapur). There exists no such temple at Jajapur now-a-days. However, these names indicate that the temples were constructed by Kusumahara, Lalitahara and Danthi Mahadevi respectively. Subhakara IV and Sivakara who bore the surnames Kusumahara and Lalitahara respectively, were great Saivas, inasmuch as they also bore the epithet Paramamahesvara in their records. Danthi Mahadevi was also a devout Saiva since she possessed the same title in her own grants. Her Kumurang plate registers the gift of a village to some Brahmanas. The names of their gotras Sarvadeva, Isvara, Vaigesvara, etc. indicate that they adhered to Saiva faith. Prthvi Mahadevi, in her Baud plate donated a village for perpetual offering of ablution, sandal paste, etc. to the deity Umanahesvara installed in the Nanneesvara temple. Vakulamahadevi was also a devout worshipper of Siva as she used the title Paramamahesvara in her own charter.
Many of the feudatories of the Bhauma kings were ardent advocates of Śaivism. The Śulkis had goddess Stambheśvari as their tutelar deity. At the same time the Śulkī inscriptions begin with an invocation to Śiva.\(^{45}\) Raṇastambha,\(^{46}\) Jayastambha\(^{47}\) and Kulastambha\(^{48}\) of this dynasty were great devotees of Śiva and bear the epithet \textit{Paramamāheśvara}. It is interesting to point out that the manifestation of the Universe is effected through the power (Śakti) of Śiva, and that power is not different from the possessor thereof. In other words, Śakti is Śiva’s creative energy and is regarded as his feminine aspect.

Several kings of the Nanda and Tuṅga dynasties were also great followers of Śaivism. Devānanda\(^{49}\) Vinitatūṅga\(^{50}\) and Gayāda-tūṅga\(^{51}\) were devout worshippers of Maheśvara, as is revealed by their own records.

Śaivism was also the predominant faith in the Bhaṅja kingdom even though the Bhaṅja kings were devout Vaisṇavas. The twin temples of Nilamādhava (Viṣṇu) and Siddheśvara (Śiva) at Ghandharadi in the Phulbani district stand today as the mute witnesses of the co-existence of Vaisnavism and Śaivism in the Bhaṅja kingdom. They seem to have preserved an echo of a verse in the \textit{Ekāmra Purāṇa} which says, “There is no distinction between Śiva and Viṣṇu”.\(^{52}\) The Khandadeuli inscription of Raṇabhāṇjadiśa\(^{53}\) mentions that the donor expiated his sin through the worship of the feet of Śiva. Mahānāmādhavabhaṅja made a grant in the name of Bhagavat Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭāraka,\(^{54}\) i.e., Śiva. Nettabhaṅja\(^{55}\) and Vidyādharabhaṅja\(^{56}\) were devout worshippers of Śiva (\textit{Paramamāheśvara}). The Orissa plate of Vidyādharabhaṅja opens with a verse glorifying the (third) eye of Hara. Sattrubhaṅja of Jangalpada plate was a devotee of Śiva.\(^{57}\)

Śaivism attained the zenith of its glory in Orissa during the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. In this period the Somavāṇḍiśis dominated the political scene of Orissa. The Somavāṇḍiśi kings of Orissa were staunch Sivaites, as is evident from their epithet \textit{Paramamāheśvara} in their records,\(^{58}\) even though the Somavāṇḍi rulers of Kośala were ardent Vaisṇavas. According to K. C. Panigrahi,\(^{59}\) Yayāti I constructed the Mukteśvara temple at Bhubaneswar. It stands today as one of the finest representations of Orissan art and architecture. According to the said author,\(^{60}\) Yayāti II began the construction of the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar and Udyotakesari completed the same. The latter was a great champion of Śaivism. It was during his reign that his mother Kolāvati constructed the magnificent Brahmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar.\(^{61}\)

Śaivism continued to flourish in Orissa in the early part of the rule of the later Gaṅgas. Vajrahasta granted a piece of land to the
Śiva temple of Koteśvara for bali, chāru naivedya, dīpa and pūjā. Kāmāṅgava built the huge Madhukeśvara temple. The name of the place Madhukeśvaralingam or Mukhalingam has been derived from the name of the temple. Aniyaṅkabhima seems to have built a Śiva temple known as Aniyaṅkabhimeśvara in Parlakhemidi. Anantavarma Chodagangadeva expressed his devotion to Śiva in his Korni copperplate (S.E. 1003). His Vizagapatnam copperplate (S.E. 1003) records his grant of a village in honour of the deity Rājarājeśvara. The Rājarājeśvara Śiva temple had probably been constructed by his father Devendravarma Rājarāja. The Korni copperplate (S.E. 1034) of Anantavarma Chodagangadeva describes him both as Paramamāheśvara and Paramavaiṣṇava whereas his Vizagapatnam copperplate (S.E. 1040) depicts him only as Paramavaiṣṇava. Thus there was a change in his religious faith from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism in the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. Thereafter, Śaivism lost its pre-eminent position, and Vaiṣṇavism began to dominate the religious life of Orissa. Even though Vaiṣṇavism acquired a paramount position in Orissa in the Ganga period Śaivism did not lose its hold on the people. The Liṅgarāja temple inscriptions of the thirteenth century A.D. record the grants of perpetual lamp in favour of Śiva by a Gaṅga general named Iśvara and a commoner named Kambali.

Thus there was not a single dynasty in ancient Orissa that did not come under the influence of Śaivism at one time or other.

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15. M. M. Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, p. 275.
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25. ibid, p. 250.
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   "Bhagavanmahesvara charanayugalaika saranyah."
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57. ibid, Vol. XXX, Pt. VI, p. 254.
   (b) Vakratentali grant of Mahabhavagupta—EI, Vol. XI, p. 94.
   (f) Kudopali plates of Mahabhavagupta—EI, vol. IV, p. 258.
60. ibid.
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The origin of Śakti cult in India is shrouded in mystery. The archaeologists, historians, indologists, philosophers and scholars of different other disciplines have expounded various theories with regard to the origin and evolution of the all pervasive female principle, but none has been able as yet to explain it satisfactorily. Whatever might be the time of origin of this mysterious cult it is an admitted fact that the worship of Śakti (power) has been an important religious complex of the Indian civilization since time immemorial.

Śakti as we understand means power which is expressed through different phenomena. Devi Sūkta in the Saptasatī records Intelligence (Buddhi), Satisfaction, Pity, etc., as various forms of Śakti. The goddess of Śakti in her many-faceted aspects represents various phenomena; as for instance, Sarasvatī represents learning and wisdom, Laxmi represents wealth, Durgā the benevolent aspect, Kālī the malevolent aspect and so on.¹ The Purāṇas and Upa-Purāṇas hold the Śakti in the highest esteem even over and above the cult of Brahmā, Visṇu and Mahēsvara—the creator, preserver and the destroyer of the universe. On the basis of archaeological evidences the concept of Śakti can be traced to the Indus Valley Civilization. In course of its evolution during the pre-Vedic, Vedic, Epic and historical periods Śakti occupied a prominent position in the religious firmament. During the Purānic period Śakti was considered to be the World Mother, the supreme reality.² The Mahenjo Daro and Harappa discoveries have made it clear that the origin of the Mother Goddess (Śakti) can be traced to the pre-Vedic period. A large number of terra-cotta female figurines recovered from these two sites and from other places of proto-historic period, are taken to stand for Mother Goddess. The ring stones, the female figurines along with the circular discs and the nude figurines of the historic period collectively establish the long continued existence of the worship of the female principle in aniconic and iconic forms.³ A seal from Harappa showing on the obverse a nude female figure, head downwards and
legs stretched out upwards, with a plant issuing out of her womb, may be regarded as the proto-type of the mother goddess Śākambhāri of the Purānic period. The ring stones may be taken to be the cakra and yantra of the Śāktas in historic period. The pre-Vedic archaeological data throw a flood of light on the early phase of evolution of the Mother cult.

We have some indirect evidence of Śakti cult in the early Vedic literature. Since the religion of the Rigveda was patriarchal the people of the time resorted to the worship of the heroes and ancestors. The male gods such as Sky, Vāyu, Sūrya, Soma, Rudra, Varuṇa, Agni etc. held the pre-eminent position in the Vedic pantheon, whereas the female deities occupied a very subordinate position and had no share in the Soma offerings. Macdonell remarks, “Goddesses occupy a very subordinate position in Vedic belief and worship. They play hardly any part as rulers of the world.” The important goddesses of this period were Aditi, Ushā, Sarasvati, Prthvi, Vāk, Rātri, Diti, Revati, Indrāṇī Varuṇāni, Rudrāṇi, Agneyi and so on. As a result of the influence of the non-Vedic people the goddesses like Ilā, Mahī, Puruṣandhi, Rākā, Kuhū, Sinivāli, Lakshmi, Alaksmi Oṣadhi, Apyā, Yōṣā, Gāndharvi, etc. came into the fold of the Vedic pantheon. As has been stated earlier the Rigvedic society was patriarchal and the patrilineal inheritance was basically a rule. This cultural complex stood in sharp opposition to the female dominated culture of the pre-Vedic and non-Vedic peoples. Out of the constant conflict there emerged a synthesis, the pre-Vedic elements thus gradually making their way into the Vedic society.

In the later Vedic period the seers made sincere attempt to find out the consorts of the gods. Ambikā, Kālī, Durgā, Umā, etc., the non-Vedic deities adopted by the Vedic Aryans became singly or collectively the names of the central figure of the Śākta cult. In this connection it may be pointed out that the three deities viz., Sarasvati, Rātri and Sri provide us a vivid picture of the three manifestations of Śakti as Mahā Sarasvati, Mahā Kālī and Mahā Laxmi. In course of time some of the female deities were identified as the female counterpart of Śiva, the pre-Aryan god. Ambikā who was conceived as sister of Śiva (Rudra) became his spouse. Slowly and slowly Śiva gained prominence and his consort Umā became a powerful goddess. Sayana’s commentary regards Ambikā, the consort of Rudra as Pārvati, the mother of the whole universe. The names of Durgā Vairocanā, Katyāyanī and Kanyā Kumārī appear in the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka. In the Muṇḍaka Upanishad the seven tongues of Agni are said to be Kālī, Karāli, Manojavā, Sulohitā, Sudhūmravarānā, Sphulingīni and Viśvaruchi who may be regarded
as the precursors of Saptamātrkā of the later period. Umā is described as the daughter of Himavat (Himalayan mountain) in the Kena Upanishad. The legend of her appearance before the gods and imparting divine knowledge to them has been beautifully described. Her rise to the position of a teacher of the gods indicates that she must have been known long before this period. In later works this mountain goddess has been identified with Durgā or Pārvati. The names of these goddesses emphasise their relation with inaccessible mountain regions inhabited by non-Vedic tribes. Kāli, Karāli, Bhadrakāli, etc., were originally fearful goddesses of the dark-skinned people. Thus it is clear that during the later Vedic period there was a constant attempt of assimilating some pre-Aryan and non-Aryan goddesses with the Vedic pantheon. In the process of assimilation some of the Rigvedic goddesses like Ushā, and Aditi lost their importance while some of the deities held very prominent position in the pantheon. As for example Sarasvati, a mere river goddess of the Rigvedic period was identified in the Brāhmaṇa literature with Vāk or speech and was regarded as the goddess of learning and wisdom. The name Durgā which occurs with others in the Taittirīya Āranyaka is the same Durgā who rose to eminence in later period.

A number of Śākta Upanishads, composed in glorification of the goddess and the Śākta cult, regarded Śakti as Brahmaṇ, the idealistic monism or absolutism. The Śaiva Upanishad regarded Śakti as the creative power of Śiva and the mother of the universe. These Upanishads not only mention different embodiments of Śakti as Durgā, Mahālakshmi, Sarasvati, Vaiṣṇavi, etc. and identify her as Viśvarūpī but also introduce Tantric terminology like Bindu, Nāda, Śakti, Mantra, Yantra and a number of plexuses such as Tālu cakra, Bhrū cakra, etc. Śakti according to the Upanishads is the ramification of the whole world and there is nothing in the universe devoid of Śakti. This indicates the significant status of Śakti during this period. The omnipotent, incomprehensible and unknowable characters of the Śakti (Durgā) are described in a verse of Devi Upanishad.

Tāmangivarṇā tapasā jvalantī vairochanim karmaphaleṣu
juṣṭām.

Durgām Devim śaaraṇamaham prapadye sutārām naśyatī tamah.
Sixth century B.C. marked the advent of two important religious thoughts—Buddhism and Jainism. The worship of female principle which was started in the previous epoch did not perish; rather it became very popular, and principal goddesses of the Vedas Ambikā, Durgā, Kātyāyani, Bhadrakāli, etc., crept in some form or other into the Buddhist and Jaina religions. The Vajrayāna
school enumerated large number of female deities such as Prajñā pāramitā, Tārā, and many other manifestations of female principle. Here it may not be unwise to mention that the concept of absolute political power had a close bearing on the development of monotheism in the field of religion. During this time there appeared Vaisnavism (3rd century B.C) as a distinct creed supporting absolute monarchy. Similar information we have heard in the Mahābhārata. The Mahābhārata upholds the idea of political unification of India under an absolute monarch known as chakravartin who was guided by Viṣṇu, the master of the universe. Despite the rise of Buddhism, Jainism and Vaisnavism as the higher religions of India, the cosmic reality of female principle became the driving force. Saivism which rose to eminence in the earlier phases had the greatest potentiality of absorbing the Śaktta elements and in course of time Saivism and Śaktism became inseparable.

In the literature we have explicit indication about the Śakti cult. In Rāmāyaṇa Śakti or the Mother Goddess is not an independent cult though she holds a very high position. She is known as Devī revered by all.17 In this literature she is always considered to be the consort of Śiva and bears the epithet of Umā, Girijā, Rudrāṇi, etc. The two Durgā sotras in the Mahābhārata throw a flood of light on the position of Śakti cult. These two hymns give an indication of the fusion of Vaisṇava and Śaiva goddesses. In this epic the Śakti is known as Durgā and she rescues people from the difficulties.18 During this period many new names and new characters of Śakti were introduced.

The last great authorities of religions are the Purāṇas which contain all elements of Hinduism namely rites, ceremonies, vows, modes of worship, heaven, hell, virtues etc. All trends of thought evolved through the ages fused together in the Purāṇas and were expressed in simple and lucid language blended with legendary traditions. Their very forms and styles attracted the people of all walks of life. The knowledge of fanciful mythology, cosmology, theogony and other branches of learning was imparted to all classes of people. Through these popular purāṇas, Śaktism in its multifarious dimensions rose to the highest peak of glory. The royal patronage further accelerated and accentuated the cause of this religion. As a consequence the mythical conception of various manifestations of goddesses took a concrete shape in the form of sculptures with all iconographic features. The Mārkandeya purāṇa, one of the oldest purāṇas and scriptures of the highest sanctity and efficacy in which the supreme principle is invoked and glorified under the name of Devī, narrates Her as the most powerful goddess ever conceived of.
Such a supreme deity who is omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe is born out of the concentrated and accumulated energy of all the gods, who entrusted with her the task of killing the fierce demon Mahisāsura and his powerful associates and they all supplied her their respective weapons to kill Mahisāsura and several other demons such as Śumbha and Niśumbha, Raktavirya, etc. Here in this text Devi as the war goddess dominates the whole episode and we find her for the first time as a fierce goddess equipped with the weapons of the gods and revelling in her terror-striking war cries. This tradition gives Her the highest status. In the last section of Devi Māhātmya Devi recites Her various future manifestations for the purpose of destroying the demons and for sustaining the world. In the last verse She assures that when the gods will be put to troubles by the demons She will incarnate Herself to destroy the enemies.¹⁹

In this connection it may not be out of place to fix the chronology of the Purāṇas viewed by different scholars. Bhandarkar and Smith ascribe the Gupta period to the final phase of the Purāṇa literature.²⁰ In the opinion of R. C. Majumdar the period from 300 A.D. to 700 A.D. witnessed the full development of the Purāṇas.²¹ Farquhar opines that the present form of the Purāṇas was under development during the Gupta period.²² The views of these scholars prompt us to conclude that the Purāṇas which form the source materials of religion, history and sociology of India took a real shape during the Gupta period and continued to develop till about 1000 A.D.

Religion, art, architecture, science, literature on the whole, the Indian civilization embarked upon a new phase of development during the Gupta rule. Gupta age was evidently the golden age in the history of India. It was during this period that the social and economic development changed the whole religious outlook. The ceremonial worship of Visṇu, Śiva, Śakti and the Buddhist and Jain deities with their female counterparts in the beautiful temples of high magnitude was a new feature in the realm of religion. There was an attempt in the process of transformation and assimilation of the different higher religions.²³ The female principle with the mass strength behind triumphed in the field of religion. Śaktism during this period assumed an independent status. The theoretical interpretation of the Śakti cult inculcated in Upanishads, purāṇas and upa-purāṇas composed in the earlier period, and in this glorious epoch it found expression in the glorification of the goddesses. The great gods like Śiva and Visṇu became subordinate to the goddesses. Another peculiar characteristic in the field of religion was the intimate relation between Śiva and Śakti. The Puranic story of
Daksha sacrifice (Yajña)—for example avers the fact. According to Vāyu Purāṇa composed in the Gupta Age, Sati, the daughter of Daksha was married to Śiva. Daksha performed a sacrifice and invited all the gods except Śiva. In order to teach a lesson to her father, Sati on her own accord came to attend the ceremony but was shocked at the coal reception of her father and ultimately destroyed her body in the sacrificial fire. The death of Sati enraged Śiva who destroyed the sacrifice and with the dead body of Sati He moved about the country aimlessly. The wrath of Śiva in His madness was a danger to the universe. To save the creation from His wrath, Viśnu cut the body of Sati into pieces. The places where the parts of the body fell down were sanctified as the Śaktā pīṭhas. This interesting episode indicates the close alliance of the female principle with Śiva.

With this at the background let me discuss the Śakti cult that evolved in Orissa which afforded ample scope and opportunities for its development in its various manifestations. Under the benevolent patronage of the royal dynasties the popular cult continued to flourish along with other religions. It is really difficult to say when this cult first appeared in ancient Orissa. On the basis of available archaeological data we can presume that this powerful religion made its appearance in Orissa two or three centuries before Christ. Yaksini and Nāgini, the malevolent deities of the tribals are found in their sculptural representations in the second century B.C. Of the earliest Yaksini and Nāgini sculptures influencing the iconographic conceptions of the female principle, mention may be made of the crude Nāgini figures with pot belly, bulging hips and five-hooded snake over the head, worshipped in a modern temple of the village Kapilaprasad near Bhubaneswar and several Yaksini figures with similar iconographic characters collected from the vicinity of Bhubaneswar and now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, at Bhubaneswar. These cults exerted a very important position in Jain, Buddhist and Brahmanical legends and religions in the later period.

The period, in the beginning of the Christian era is considered to be a turning point of religious history in this part of the country. A large number of tribal deities were incorporated in Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism. As for example, Stambhesvari, basically a tribal deity represented in the form of a pillar was found worshipped in certain parts of Orissa. The Kalahandi copperplate of Tusṭikar indicates that She was worshipped as the family deity of the Sulkis. At present such goddess is worshipped at Sonepur in the district of Bolangir and at Aska in the district of Ganjam. The representation of seven Tirthankars and the seven female figures guarded by Ganesha in the Sātaghara cave at Khandagiri and two rows of images—the
upper showing 24 Tirthankars and the lower 24 Śāsana Devis—indicates that the female principle was fully adopted in Jainism in the beginning of the Christian era.

Śakti cult particularly in the form of Mahisasamardini made its appearance in Orissa since very early times. The earliest representation of the deity is offered by the two-armed Virajā at Jajpur in the district of Cuttack. The sacred centre of Jajpur on the river Vaitarani has been a place of pilgrimage since the time of Mahabhārata and Purāṇa.26 Visnu Purāṇa mentions it as Nābhigayā and Kubjikā Tantra 26 refers to it as one of the forty-two Siddha piṭhas. Jajpur or Virajā kshetra is named after Virajā, the presiding goddess of the place. On examination it is learnt that Virajā in the form of Durgā is engaged in killing the buffalo demon. This two-armed goddess mounting on a lion holds in her right hand a spear which pierces the body of the buffalo and in her left hand she pulls the tail of the animal. Her right foot presses the head of the buffalo. R. P. Chandra27 places this type of Mahisasamardini to the pre-Gupta period, but K. C. Panigrahi28 dates it to the Gupta period. He, on examination of a ruined temple at Kalaspur situated at a distance of about one mile from the present temple of Virajā indicates that she was originally worshipped there. He ascribes this flat-roofed structure to the Gupta period. Whatever might be the age of the present image of Virajā this two-armed variety represents the earliest phase of the cult in Orissa.

In Orissa Śakti is worshipped in the forms of Mahisasamardini Durgā, Pārvati, Chaṇḍī, Saptā māṭṛkās, Chāmunḍā, Mangalā, Vārāhi, Kāli, Vimalā, Charchikā, Bhagavati, etc. In addition, the female principle is invoked under various local names which cannot be enumerated in this short paper. Śakti cult is so popular in Orissa that every village even individual household worships her either as presiding deity or as the protectress of the particular house or the village whatsoever may be. The wide distribution of Śakti cult in some form or other indicates its pre-eminence in Orissa. Of all the emanations of Śakti, Mahiṣamardini Durgā is very common and is found in large numbers in different parts of Orissa. The two-handed Mahiṣamardini Durgā which represents the earliest phase of chronological evolution is found at Someśvara near Kakatpur of the Prachi Valley. She is contemporary to Virajā of Jajpur and assumes the similar iconographic features. Four-armed Mahiṣamardini began to be worshipped in the Prachi Valley. A beautiful image of this variety in the village Motia of the same valley, deserves mention. Her upper hands hold Sankha and Chakra while the lower hands pierce the trident to the breast of the demon. Similar such image is seen in the temple of Mādhava at Niali and in the western wall of the temple
Charchika at Banki. Mahisasamardini with six hands is not very common in Orissa. Only one image of this variety seen at Astarang is peculiar in the sense it presses the mouth of the demon with one of her right hands while the other five holding sword, arrow, bow, shield and trident. Another image of this group known as Dvāravāsinī is worshipped on the eastern edge of Vindu sarovara at Bhubaneswar.

Here it may be mentioned that the worship of Aṣṭa-bhuja (eight-handed) Mahisasamardini became very popular during the reign of Bhaumakars (c.736—c.948 A.D.) who patronized Tantrik Buddhism, Tantrik Śaktism and caused erection of many Śākta and Śāiva temples in the Prachi valley, at Bhubaneswar, at Rānipur Jharial in the district of Bolangir and the famous Buddhist monasteries at Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri and Udayagiri in the district of Cuttack. The temples of Vaital for Chāmuṇḍā, Sisiresvara, and Mohini at Bhubaneswar, Yogini temples at Hirapur and Ranipur Jharial, Vārāhi temple at Chaurasi, temples at Talmul in Angul, Banesvara Nasi near Narsinghpur, Baudh in Puri district, Kupari and Ayodhya in Balasore district deserve mention. This has been attested by the accounts of Hieun Tsang which indicate that there were large number of Deva temples in Orissa in the 7th century A.D. Some of these centres grew up as centres of Śaktism and acclaimed wide popularity. Certain elements of other cults were introduced in Śaivism. It was during this period that Tantrism crept into the fold of Śaivism. Tantrik Buddhism known as Vajrayāna was the dominant religion and several images of this religion appeared in the Hindu temples. “It is during this period that Śaktism first made its appearance in Bhubaneswar. The Vaital temple, the first Śākta shrine, shows in its sculptures a strange amalgamation of Saktism, Saivism and Mahāyāna Buddhism. While the presiding deity of the temple is a Chāmuṇḍā, it bears such Saiva images as Hara Pārvati, Ardhanārīśvara Harihara, Lakulisa, Virabhadra, Bhairava and Gajāntakārimūrti and such Tantrik Mahāyāna images as Amoghasiddhi, the female deity holding a lily....”

Four Śākta shrines also sprang up on four sides of the Vindusvarovara tank. While the temples of Mohini and Uttareśvara situated in the south and north of the tank enshrine chāmuṇḍās, the shrines on its east and west banks contain the images of Mahisasamardini.

During this period the concept of female principle dominated the Mahāyāna Buddhism. Tārā the primordial deity of Buddhist pantheon absorbed within herself a number of divinities representing different aspects of female principle. From the 7th century onwards the influence of Tārā in her various manifestations began to be felt in the religious system of Orissa. Khādiravani Tārā at Banpur, Prajñāpāramitā of Vanesvaranasi Tārā and Hāriti of
Ratnagiri, Tārā images of Khiching museum, various such images in the Orissa State Museum, the exquisitely carved bronze images of varieties of Tārā in Lalitāsana, four-handed Cunḍā, Vajra Tārā, Ugra Tārā, Hārīti now preserved in the Orissa State Museum are the few examples which indicate the influence of Tāntrik Saktism in Mahāyāna.

Daśabhūjā Mahisasamardini was even more common and more popular in Orissa. Availability of this variety of image in different parts of Orissa either as presiding deities or as side deities indicates its wide distribution. She in this form is depicted as the war-goddess with full energy produced from the flames of the gods and bearing the āyudhas of the gods such as Śiva’s trident, Viṣṇu’s disc, Varuṇa’s conch, Agni’s dart, Yama’s iron rod, Vāyu’s bow, Śūrya’s arrows, Indra’s thunderbolt, Kuvera’s mace, Brahmā’s rosary and pot, Viśvakarmā’s sword, Himavān’s lion and various weapons of other gods. Of the numerous Daśabhūjā Mahisasamardini mention may be made of the beautiful images found at Dalavada, Pitapura, Lataharana, Nivarana, Niali, Jogeswar and Vakatpur of Prachi valley, Bhaṭṭārikā near Baramba, Kanaka Durga near Remuna, at Khiching, Padhuan near Basudevapur, at Bhubaneswar and at many other places. All the images of this variety are seen fighting vigorously with the demon who emerges out of the decapitated trunk of the buffalo. Standing in pratyāśīḍha pose she is planting her right leg on the back of the mount lion and pressing the buffalo with her left leg. She has in her hands the trident, khetaka, tanka, sara, khadga (in right hands) and dhanus, paraśu, aṅkuśa, nāga-pāsa and suci-mudrā.

Sapta Māṭrās (seven mothers) representing the śaktis of important deities are found in different parts of Orissa. They are Brahmāni, Māheśvari, Kaumāri, Vaśnavi, Vārāhi and Chāmūnda. The antiquity of the Māṭrās is shrouded in mystery. A group of eight Māṭrās has been mentioned in Devī-Bhāgavata and Liṅga purāṇa. In the subsequent literature the names of as many as 16 Māṭrās have been given beginning with Gauri. But on the basis of iconographic data the above-mentioned seven Māṭrās have been accepted as the 7 mother goddesses or Divine Mothers. Mārkanḍeya Purāṇa indicates that the Māṭrās helped Ambikā to kill the powerful demon Raktaṭīva who was endowed with the quality of multiplying into demons of his stature and strength from the drops of his blood oozing from the wounds. It was with the assistance of these Māṭrās that Devī could cause death to the demon. The Agni Purāṇa32 and Matsya Purāṇa33 deal in detail the iconographic features of these Mothers. According to the Mārkanḍeya Purāṇa34 the śaktis of the individual gods are characterised by the respective forms, ornaments
and mounts of those gods. In fact they are the female counterparts who are armed with the same weapons, wear the same ornaments and ride the same Vāhanas and carry the same banners as the corresponding male gods do.\textsuperscript{35}

The Mātrkā figures are shown standing or seated with their usual characteristic features. They may be two-armed or four-armed. Sometimes they are found associated with children to indicate the Mother Aspect. The earliest group of Sapta Mātrkā belonging to 7th century A.D. is depicted along with Gaṇeśa and Virabhadra in the northern wall of Jagamohana of Parasurameswar temple (Bhubaneswar). They are Chāmunḍā, Vārāhi, Indrāṇi, Vaiṣṇavī, Kaumārī Māheśvari, Brahmāṇi flanked by Virabhadra and Gaṇeśa. These Mātrkā figures are four-handed. Chāmunḍā has a lily bud and a vija-pūraka in her right hands and a long trident and a vase in the left hands. Her Vāhana owl is seen on the pedestal. Chāmunḍā is terrific in form with the drooping breasts, sunken belly and bulging eyes. Vārāhi has a lotus and a fish in her right hands and a kuṭhāra and a vase in the left. Vaiṣṇavī holds a śaṅkha and chakra and a vase in her hands.

The next in order of chronology comes a group of Sapta-mātrkās in the Vaital temple at Bhubaneswar. Here in this group, Chāmunḍā acts as the presiding deity. She is depicted in fierce form with sunken belly, emaciated body and bulging eyes garlanded with skulls and seated on corpse, flanked by jackals. We notice here for the first time that Chāmunḍā is enshrined as the presiding deity. She is locally known as the Vetali derivative form of the word vetāl. Here it is interesting to note that Vaital is derived from the word Vetāla or spirit with the help of which the Kāpālikas and Tantrikas attained their Sidhi. Hence the shrine of Vaital popularly known as Kāpālini or Vetāli must have some relation with the Kāpālika and tāntrik practices. However, it cannot be denied that this was evidently a great centre of tantrism and sāktism. The Sapta Mātrkās here are found in Yogāsan pose on full-blown lotus with their attributes. The bear-headed vārāhi holds a fish and Kuṭhār in her hands. One significant feature of Chāmunḍā is her association with Corpse eaten by a jackal and it has a hood of a snake over the head. In the ceiling of Jagamohana of Muktesvar temple we find a group of Mātrkās with Virabhadra on an eight-petalled lotus. Here the association of babies with the figures (except Chāmunḍā) indicates the next stage of iconographic representation.

The Sapta mātrkā figures of Belkhandi in the district of Kalahandi represent the next stage of evolution. The lower portions of the images discovered in course of excavation have been identified
as Kaumāri, Māhesvari, Brahmnā, Vaisnāvi and Chāmunḍa. According to Shri K. N. Mahapatra, who was in charge of excavation of the site, the Chaṇḍi temple at Belkhandi was built by the illustrious Somavamsi kings who are also credited for the construction of Saptamāṭkā temple at Puri and Jajpur. The discovery of Saptamāṭkā temple attributed to the Somavamsi kings who ruled over the Kosala region indicates the prevalence of ṣakti cult in those days in that area.

Jajpur, known as Virajā kṣetra after the name of the presiding deity Virajā, is credited with two sets of Saptamāṭkā images. The first group consists of three colossal images of Varāhi (8' 10") Chāmunḍā (8' 10") and Indrāṇī (8' 8") now kept within the compound of the Sub-divisional Officer of Jajpur. According to a local tradition these three images originally stood on a platform with five other Mothers—Brahmnā, Māhesvari, Vaisnāvi, Kaumāri, and Nārasimhi of the same colossal size. Chandrasekhar Banerjee on the basis of tradition indicates that the Mahommedans broke down the five images and made them to balls and shoots for their guns and threw these down the platform. Another set of life size Māṭkās is now found in a modern temple on Dāsaswamedha Ghata of Jajpur. They are associated with babies and represent a piece of Orissan plastic art. On an average, the images are 6 ft. in height and 3 ft. in breadth. To the north of this shrine there stands the temple of Ganeṣa with Ganeṣa as the presiding deity. In size, workmanship and the type of stone used, Ganeṣa is similar to the mother goddesses. It is obvious that Ganeṣa must have been in the same group earlier. According to Matsyapurāṇa an image of Vināyaka or Ganeṣa should always be associated with the māṭkās. Since no inscriptional evidences in regard to the date of these images are available on style and iconographic features, these images may be assigned to the early mediaeval period.

One notable feature of the māṭkā images of Orissa is that they are never depicted in the shape of killing the demon for whom they were created but are found sitting at ease in their motherly affection on their mount with babies on laps. Thus we find in the images of māṭkās two antagonistic features, the war goddesses in terrific form with the weapons of war as the ‘caressing mother.’

A set of mother goddesses of the same variety is found on the edge of Markandeya tank at Puri. The figures made of chlorite stone resembles the Jajpur māṭkās. Here except Chāmunḍa and Siva deity all other māṭkās are associated with babies and have four arms each. Upper two hands with usual attributes represent malevolent aspect of the ‘Ṣakti’ whereas the lower right hands in Varada
pose and the lower left hand engaged in holding the baby, indicate the benevolent, and benign characters. Here the sculptors have taken utmost care to depict the celestial smile in the facial expression rather than showing them as war goddesses.

Madala Panji\(^{41}\) in this connection elucidates that a king named Bhimakesari installed these images as seven sisters on the eastern edge of Markendeswar tank. The scholars have identified this Bhimakesari with the illustrious Bhimarath of Soma dynasty. On the basis of iconography of these images and other circumstantial evidences this group of images may be assigned to the glorious rule of Somavamsi\(^{42}\) kings.

Another set of saptamātrkās recovered from the village Salanpur in Jagatsinghpur P.S. are found in sitting pose with babies on their laps. Stylistically they are contemporary to the Jajpur and Puri mātrkās.\(^{42}\)

Four mātrkā figures namely Vaisnāvi, Vārāhi, Indrāṇī and Chāmunḍā in chlorite sist (7\(\frac{1}{2}\)′ × 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)′) preserved in the Orissa State Museum represent in style and workmanship mātrkā group of Puri and Jajpur. Except Chāmunḍā, other three are in Yogāsan pose with babies in their arms. The figure of Chāmunḍā, a fine piece of Orissan plastic art is shown with sunken eyes with the body reduced to a skeleton exhibiting the sinews, nerves in detail having hairs showing upwards like flames tied with a serpent, sunken belly, holding a cup at her breast and decapitated head in her hand seated on a corpse flanked by jackals.

The archaeological remains at Khiching in the district of Mayurbhanj brought to light a set of Mātrkā images consisting of five (Māheśvāri, Vaisnāvī Brahmāṇī and Chāmunḍā) along with a large number of beautiful images of Brahmanical and Tantrik Buddhist pantheons, which now find place in the Khiching museum. These images show speciality in workmanship. The modelling and the facial expression are elegant. The images of Khiching according to critics of art, belong to an independent branch of schools of Art in Orissa.\(^{44}\)

In the chronology of evolution we have a set of mātrkā figures in the temple of Khajureswar, near Sergarah in the district of Balasore. The figures are Chāmunḍā, Vārāhi, Kaumārī, Māheśvāri, Brahmāṇī, Vaisnāvī, Pārvati, Virabhadra and Ganesh. Since the temple on the basis of architecture is assigned to 12th/13th century A.D. the sculptures also belong to this period. The other notable figures of Śakti cult of this site are Haraparvati in chloride stone and a Gajalaxmi.
The sapta mātrkās discussed above indicate their popularity and wide distribution in Orissa beginning from 7th century A.D. to 13th century A.D. So far I have dealt with the divine mothers in group. Now I deem it proper to throw light on the mātrkā images worshipped individually either as presiding deity or as side deities.

Chāmunda in her terrific form is worshipped as Mohini at Bhubaneswar, as Kichakeswari at Khiching temple, as Jāgulāi at Chaurasi, as Charchikā at Banki and as Caṇḍaghaṇṭā at Niali and as side deities in different other places.

Vārāhi, another Mātrkā also flourished in its individuality. The most significant image of Vārāhi is seen in the temple at Chaurasi. This colossal image (6'1"×2'9") enshrined in the sanctum holds in her right hands a matsya, in her left a Kapal seated on a crouching buffalo. This shrine is assignable to 10th century A.D. The outside wall of the temple contains a few interesting sensual figures which may be associated with the tantra-saktak ritualism. The eight reliefs carved on the outer walls probably illustrate the practice of eight types of art of love described in the text. These eight modes of Love-making are (1) Vaśikaraṇa, (2) Sammohana, (3) Ākaraṇa, (4) Yāyān-visheka, (5) Puraścharana, (6) Rājha Paṇa, (7) Prastāva, (8) Nivṛti. Prof. Banerjee remarked, “it seems that the cult of Varahi flourished as an adjunct of Tantrik form of Śakti worship in mediaeval India, especially in eastern and central part of India for I know of many reliefs of the Goddess, some in the Museum collections and others in situ”.

We have reference that there was a separate Vārāhi temple on the northern outskirt of Ekāmraśthetra which was perhaps demolished at the time of construction of New Capital.45

Another life-size figure of Indrāṇi is found in the southern facade of Jagannath temple at Puri which holds Vajra in her two hands and is seated on a pedestal flanked by her Vahan elephant. She is devoid of ornamentation and baby.

That the cult of Yogini was widespread and popular in Orissa is evidenced from the two extant Yogini temples located at Hirapur near Bhubaneswar and at Ranipur Jharial in the district of Bolangir. The Yoginis or female anchorites who were originally conceived as emanations of Gauri centred round the esoteric Kaula-Kāpālikā worship. The basic principle behind this cult is that the Kāpālikas used to live in spiritual intimacy with the Yogini and it is the Yogini who was instrument of the transformation of her associate anchorites into Śiva in and through the insights and pleasures of sex. In this concept Kula is Śakti and Akula is Śiva, the unity of the two is Kula and the
process by which the relationship is established is the Kaula mārga. Śiva, the Akula is represented in our Yogini temples most superbly in His supreme pose and beatitude. It is noteworthy that the Yogini temples, comprising images of sixty-four manifestations of Śakti, are met with only at four places of India, such as Bheraghat, Khajuraho in Madhya Pradesh and Ranipur Jharial and Hirapur in Orissa.

So far we have not come across any epigraph dealing with Yogini cult of Orissa, but several references are available in other parts of India. The Ankalgi inscription of Jath Taluk in Maharashtra refers to the village, Ankulage as the abode of Mahayogeswari-Ugra Chāmuṇḍā, the presiding deity of the sixty-four Yoga pithas. Yoginis are evidently the mother-goddesses expressing the brooding motherly tenderness and compassion in one respect and grimness and ferocity in the other. The two Orissa Yogini temples are in many ways different from each other stylistically and architecturally too. Hence it may be mentioned that the circular Yogini shrines are fundamentally different from the Orissan temples and their sculptural representation finds no resemblance in the temples that have been erected through centuries. Whatever might be the fact the Yogini temples in the circular shape not covered by any roof with the beautiful images on the niches represent affllorescences of Orissan plastic art. At Hirapur we have 63 images out of 64 in chlorite stone. Here we find altogether 80 images out of which 56 are two-armed, 20 are four-armed and 4 are ten-armed. The ten-armed Mahāmāyā is taken as the presiding deity and the temple is named after her. The other images of interest in this temple are Nava Kātyāyani depicted on the outer surface of the circular enclosure and four-armed Ajaikapāda Bhairava and ten-armed male figure of Bhairava.

At Ranipur Jharial there are at present 48 images in the niches leaving the rest of the niches vacant. One most important point of difference from Hirapur is the absence of Dvārapālas and nine Kātyāyaniś on the exterior of the enclosure. Besides the deities are devoid of vāhanas and the images are too defaced to be identified. The Chāmuṇḍā in terrific form and bigger than all other images appears to be the presiding deity of the Pitha. Cunningham on the basis of archaeology and extant literature on Tantric religion assigns the temple of Hirapur to 9th century and that of Ranipur Jharial to a century later.

The Yogini Pithas were established when the Brahmanical Tantrism gained popularity. Kālikā Purāṇa reveals that the first Brahmanical tantric pitha in India originated and developed in
Odra desa or Orissa. This fact is avered by the existence of a large number of Śākta Tantric temples in Orissa.

Lord Jagannath, the pivot of Orissan culture is regarded as Bhairava and Vimalā (the important Tantric Śākta deity) as Bhairavī. According to Skanda Purāṇa Subhadra is taken as both the sister and consort Visnu. In the pattern of daily worship of Jagannath various Śākta Tantric elements like mātrkā nyāsa, Panchamakāra are in vogue. In the ritualistic worship fish is substituted by green vegetables mixed with Hingu, meat by Adāpachedi (ginger) wine by green coconut water offered in bell metal pots, grain by ‘kānti’ (a preparation of flour and sugar) and Mithuna by the dance of Devadāsī and the offering of Aparājitā flower. The predominance of Śakti cult at Shrikshetra is further attested by the worship of Vimalā as the presiding Śākta deity, Shyāmā Kāli at Balisahi near old palace and Sapta Mātrkās on the edge of Markandesvar tank and several goddesses such as Kuttam Chāndī, Śmaśāna Chāndī and Bāṭa Maṅgalā.


With the development of Śākta Tantric cult in its various manifestations it was not confined to the cult images only but found expressions profusely on the outer facades of the temples of Orissa in the forms of Nāyikā, Apsara, Nāginis, Mithuns, Gāndharvīs etc. expressing the exquisite, sensuous beauty and the warmth of romantic fervour with unusual liveliness and charm. The Apsaras, the dancers of heaven, the nāyikās, courtisans of earth as depicted in the classical texts with their youth blossoming forth in every curve of the body and with the nuance of love in every pose, gesture and movement, vent their manifold charms in the temple architecture of Orissa. It is their angelic charm which brings man close to Mahāmāyā or Mahāvidyā, such metaphysical conceptions underlay Śakti worship, and art in various form in mediaeval India, and made the human sexual approach in post-mediaeval sculpture a symbol and observation, filling the facades of the temple with numberless surasundaris,
Yoginis and Nāginis, as well as nude Apsarās, Nāyikās whose seductive-ness and charm are components of the most elevated spiritual experience. The human love affair is metamorphosed. Marriage, love and conjugation are divinised. The Mithuns or amatory couples become the symbol of the purest abstraction of divinity.”

The amatory complex, Apsarās, Nāyikās, in their representation far excel the traditional bandhas described in Kāmasūtra of Vatsayayana. The Mithuna in the temples of Puri, Bhubaneswar, and Konark in lustrous form, smoothly balanced postures and gestures and the serene melodious rhythm symbolize the immanence of Śakti. The colossal Apsarās playing cymbals, flutes and drums on terraces at Konark resemble veritable goddesses. On the whole these divine, semi-divine and mithuna in the temple sculptures are no doubt revelation of consummate beauty and power of total transcendence of lover and beloved. This symbolises the mystery of divine bi-unit of Purusa and Prakṛti, Śiva and Śakti, being and becoming.

This Śakti cult in its various manifestations had a very long and varied history of its own in Orissa which provided suitable field for its evolution and development. The royal patronage, the popular support, consummate skill of master craftsman helped the all-round growth and development of Śakti cult in this state through ages. The most interesting features of this cult is that with its origin in the distant past it still continues as an important independent religion.

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47. ibid. South Indian Inscription V. IX. quoted by M. P. Das in A Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. Mss. of Orissa, V—V. p. IX.
50. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India, V. IX, p. 73.
52. Skanda Purana, quoted by K. S. Behera in his article *The evolution of Sakti cult at Jajpur, Bhubaneswar and Puri—The Sakti cult and Tara*, p. 84.
56. ibid., p. 190.
CHAPTER 29

DEVELOPMENT OF SAKTISM AT JAJPUR

JAJPUR, in the Cuttack district of Orissa, is identical with Viraja or Virajakshetra. The place sacred to Viraja (Durga) is one of the traditional panchakshetras in Orissa dedicated to Brahanical Panchadevatas. As a seat of ancient culture and a place of pilgrimage it was once studded with scores of ancient stone temples, like the temple town of Bhubaneswar. But unfortunately the place is in ruins at present with most of the temples destroyed. Except a few temples like the Akhandaleswar, the Trilochaneswar, the Siddheswar and the Varaha, mentioned by the Kapila Samhita in its seventh chapter and traditionally attributed to Pratapprudrudev (1497—1541 A.D.), all other stone temples are said to have been destroyed by Mohammedan invaders. Thus evidence for the study of characteristic features of early Orissan temple architecture of Jajpur in a systematic way is not available to us. But in and around these surviving temples and modern temples built on the old sites we, however, come across a large number of sculptures ranging in date from the 5th to the 16th century which not only stand as milestones in the long evolution of art and architecture of the place but also provide us with ample materials to reconstruct a continuous cultural history of Orissa.

The stone images bespeak of the importance of the place as an old seat of Saktism. According to a story described in the Gayasura Mahatmya section of the Vishnu Purana, Vishnu slew the Demon Gayasura. When his burial was performed by Brahma, Vishnu and the Devas, his head remained buried at Gaya, his navel at Jajpur and his feet extended as far as the Mahendra mountain of Kalinga. The Viraja Mahatmya, which forms part of the Brahmanda Purana, also repeats the story. It appears that the story of Gayasura is an allegorical representation of the decline of Buddhism in India, particularly at Gaya and Jajpur which were once the chief seats of that religion. It is also stated that in course of the horse sacrifice celebrated ten times at Jajpur by Brahma, there sprang from the flaming altar an embodiment of the divine mother Durga in the form of Viraja (the
immaculate) and in her honour the place is called Viraja Kshetra. This story points to a revival of Brahmanical Hinduism during the period of the Guptas, probably about 4th or 5th century A.D. as is evidenced by the image of Viraja which is stylistically placed in the 4th-5th century A.D.\(^5\)

At the opening of the 4th century A.D. Kalinga was under the rule of a Buddhist king named Guhasiva. According to Vayu Purana Chap. 19, 386, Guha or Guhas were ruling over Kalinga, Mahendra and Mahisa, while the Guptas were ruling the territory along the Ganges including Prayaga, Saketa and Magadha.\(^6\) It is evidenced by Datha-vamsa\(^7\) that Guha sent the sacred Tooth in the custody of his daughter Hemamala and son-in-law prince Danta Kumara of Ujjain to the court of the king of Ceylon. He had great confidence in the miraculous power of the Tooth Relic of Buddha, worshipped in his capital Dantapura in a Chaitya since the days of his ancestor Brahmadatta. The same Guhasiva appears to be a remote predecessor of the Bhauma-Karas. This is evidenced by the fact that the capital of the latter was called Guhadevapataka or Guhesvarapataka, apparently named after Guha (or the Guhas) with which the Bhaumas are associated in the Vishnu Purana.\(^8\)

Brahmanism was revived at the time of the Guptas. It was in the 4th or 5th century A.D. that Brahmanic revival took place in this region with the installation of the image of Viraja. The seat of Buddhism was converted into a seat of Sakti worship. The Gayasura mahatmya referred to above contains a veiled allusion to this transformation. The evidences of certain later sections of the Mahabharata and the Puranas like the Markandeya no doubt show that the Mother Goddess conceived as the wife of Siva, was occupying the front rank at the time of the Imperial Guptas.\(^9\)

The Iconographical features of Viraja support such a conclusion about its date. She is a form of two-handed Durga engaged in fighting the buffalo, \textit{i.e.}, demon in his theriomorphic form. With her right hand she holds a Sula, which pierces the body of the buffalo and with her left hand holds its tail. She tramples on its neck with her right leg. The lion, mount of the goddess, is not present as the late Mr. R. P. Chanda believed.\(^10\) Judging from this image it appears that this type of Mahisamardini seems to have its inspiration from some other source but not the Markandeya Purana which mentions the lion as the mount of the goddess. But the standing attitude of the goddess exactly corresponds to the Devimahatmya description of the Devi.\(^11\) This image except for its two hands closely resembles the representation of goddess in the Siva temple at Bhumara ascribed
to the 6th century A.D.\textsuperscript{12} The Viraja image might have belonged to a still earlier date, a view which is also held by the late R. P. Chanda about the date of Viraja.\textsuperscript{13}

Epigraphical evidences also point to this conclusion. The Paralakhemedi plate of Prithivi Maharaja mentions Viraja as Viranja.\textsuperscript{14} The date ascribed to this inscription has been dated in 6th century A.D. Bhanvdatta who has been taken by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar to be the last of Sasanka's Governors ruling over Utkala and Dandakabhukti, issued the grant of the Soro plates from a place which has been read as Viranja most likely a mistake for Viraja.\textsuperscript{15} The Ganjam grant of Jayavarmadeva of Svetaka refers to Unmattakeshari who ruled about the middle of the 8th century as the king of Virajas.\textsuperscript{16}

The Bhaumakaras who have been supposed to be the descendants of Guha ruled with their capital at Viraja which they called Guhadeva-pataka or Guhesvarpataka probably in honour of their predecessor. All their Copper plate grants have been issued from this place, the earlier rulers from Guhadevapataka and the later rulers from Guhesvarpataka. The Ganjam grant refers to Unmattakeshari (Sivakar I), king of the dynasty as a king of Virajas. It is evident that it was probably the name applied by the Bhaumakaras either to Viraja or to a new city built by them in its neighbourhood. Thus, Viraja, the modern town of Jajpur and its neighbourhood, became the main centre of their architectural activities. The early rulers of this dynasty like Laksmikarna, Paramaposaka, khyamanakaradeva, Paramatathagata Sivakaradeva and Paramasaugata Subhakaradeva were all devout Buddhists.\textsuperscript{17} Under the patronage of Bhaumakara kings large number of religious institutions developed in the city of Viraja and its environs. The Sakta cult which made its appearance before the coming of the Bhaumakaras with the revival of Brahmanism at the time of Imperial Guptas continued to flourish under Bhaumakaras. It flourished side by side with Mahayana Buddhism and Saivism. Mahayana form of Buddhism fostered Tantrism. Though the Bhaumas were Buddhists yet they tolerated other religions. Subhakara-I of Neulpur grant\textsuperscript{18} was a Buddhist but his queen Madhavidevi was a Sivaite and built a temple and installed Madhevesvarasiva at Sivadaspur\textsuperscript{19} not far from the present Viraja temple at Jajpur.

The popularity of the Sakta cult during the Bhauma period is evidenced by the fact that the Bhaumakara ruler of Orissa, Tribhubana Mahadevi compares herself with Katyayani at the time of her accession to the throne at Guhesvarapataka.\textsuperscript{20} It may be said that this deity is no other than the goddess Viraja of that capital city.\textsuperscript{21} The Kalika
Purana mention God Jagannath and Goddess Katyayani as the presiding deity of Odra, noted as one of the four Pithas alongside Kamarupa, Purnagiri and Jalandhara. The Buddhist Hevajra Tantra (7th or 8th century A.D.) mentions Oddiyana in place of Odra. The identification of Uddiyana with Orissa does not seem to be improbable. The Goddess referred to in these texts is no other than Viraja of the capital city of the Bhaumas. The Kubjika Tantra supposed to be a fairly early work mentions Viraja as the Goddess of Uddiyana. In this connection it may be pointed out that the Mahabharata Book III Chapter 85 mentions the Vaitarani and Viraja tirtha after the enumeration of the holy rivers of Eastern India.

Saktism gradually grew in popularity in this part of Orissa with the decline of traditional Buddhism. The Mahayana form of Buddhism fostered Tantrism. Saktism, Tantrism and Mahayana Buddhism seem to have been inseparably mixed up. The Vaital temple built during the Bhauma period at Bhubaneswar, though a Saktar shrine, shows in its sculptures strange amalgamation of Saktism, Saivism and Mahayana Buddhism. The Sakti cult was accelerated by the Buddhist revival in which Tara and Avalokitesvara played a prominent part. Siva was worshipped along with mother goddesses and styled as Bhairava. By the side of the Somesvara temple Jajpur, there is an image of Bhairava with an inscription “Sri Vasta Devyae Kirtee” carved sometime as its palaeography indicates in 8th century A.D. Mahisamardini images were carved on the Saiva temples at Jajpur as on the Udayagiri, Bhumara, Mahamallapuram and Bhubaneswar temples. In some later temples of Jajpur the detached images of this goddess in its earlier forms are found to have been affixed.

Besides the image of Viraja described above, another image with features closely corresponding to those of Viraja is found in Mukteswar temple by the side of Dasaswamedha Ghat at Jajpur. The lion, the mount of the goddess, is conspicuous by its absence. Stylistically, though it belongs to a much later date yet the image corresponds closely to the Dhyana of Viraja recited by the priests. Like Viraja, she bears the crescent moon, linga and a miniature Ganapati on her head.

The tiny image of Mahisamardini found in the village of Khadipada on the southern bank of Vaitarani in the Balasore district, five miles from Jajpur, is four-armed. Here the demon is in the shape of a buffalo. The Goddess is shown as lifting the buffalo by the tail with her front left hand and thrusting the trident through the demon’s body with her front right. She tramples on the neck with her right
leg. The image closely resembles the four-handed form of Mahisa-
mardini found on the Markandesvara temple at Bhubaneswar and on
the Siva temple at Bhumara ascribed to the sixth century A.D. Lion,
the mount of the Goddess is absent in this image. In this connection
it is interesting to note that this village was one of the centres of Bhauma
art and from here six large-sized Buddhist images have been
removed to the Orissa State Museum, including one of Avalokitesvara
containing an inscription of the reign of Subhakaradeva.

The image of Mahisamardini which is found affixed to the outer
wall of Hanumaneswar temple in Jajpur town is quite different from the
images of Viraja group of images described above. Here the Goddess
is shown as eight-armed pressing down the shoulders of the demon
with her upper left hand and thrusting a trident through his body
with the upper right. The other hands hold the different weapons
such as the sword, the chakra, the shield, the bow and the arrow and the
snake, the latter biting at the demon. The demon has been represented
as a buffalo-headed human figure. The lion, the mount of the Goddess
attacks the demon. This image closely resembles the images of
Mahisamardini to be found in the niches of the Vaital and Sisiresvara
temples at Bhubaneswar. These images of Mahisamardini are
very rare in occurrence at Jajpur. The close similarity of this image
of Mahisamardini with the same of the Vaital and Sisiresvara temples
makes them close contemporaries and places them in the eighth cen-
tury (the Bhauma period) when these monuments were built.

Next in process of development, the image of Mahisamardini
which deserves consideration is one now worshipped in a small shed
near Gariapur in Jajpur town. Here the demon has been shown as
issuing out of the decapitated body of the buffalo, and the goddess
with the eight hands fights him. Barring variations in the representation
of the demon, there is very little difference with Mahisamardini found
affixed in the outer wall of Hanumaneswar temple described above,
either in pose or attributes. Since this type of images are, usually
associated with temples built from the 10th century onwards at
Bhubaneswar, it appears to have been the prevailing form of the image
from the 10th century.

The Sakti images other than the Mahisamardini are also
to be found at Jajpur. In this connection the representations of the
Sapta Matrikas with their guardians Virabhadra and Ganesha are to
be noted. The Matrikas found at Jajpur have been illustrated by
R. P. Chanda, R. D. Banerjee, J. N. Banerjea. In their icono-
graphic features they differ from the Matrikas occurring on the inside
walls of the sanctum of the Vaital temple at Bhubaneswar in as much
as the Jajpur Matrikas, except the Chamunda each holds a baby in the arm. In this respect they closely agree with Matrikas occurring on an eight-petalled lotus carved in the ceiling of the Jagamohana of the Muktesvara temple at Bhubaneswar and Matrikas found in the Markandesvara tank at Puri.\textsuperscript{37} From this Dr. K. C. Panigrahi\textsuperscript{38} concludes that it was a later iconographic development, which did not come into vogue before the end of the Bhauma period. These Matrikas (with baby in the arm) were probably installed during the period of the Somavamsis at Puri and Jajpur\textsuperscript{39} and do not appear to have belonged to the 8th century A.D. as R. Chanda thinks.\textsuperscript{40} The Somavamsis were traditionally associated with Puri and Jajpur, and Jajpur was their capital.\textsuperscript{41} The Matrika worship received a great impetus during their period, though the official faith of the Somavamsis was Saivism. The Sakti images in their terrific forms continued to be sculptured on the temples as is evidenced by these images occurring on the Brahmesvara built by Kolavati, mother of Uddyota Kesari.\textsuperscript{42} According to a tradition preserved in Madalapanji, Bhima Kesari or Bhimaratha was a great worshipper of Devi. He installed Seven sisters (Probably Sapta Matrikas in the Markandesvara tank at Puri) on the eastern side of the Markandesvara tank.\textsuperscript{43}

One of the interesting representations in connection with the Sapta Matrikas at Jajpur is Dantura\textsuperscript{44} “a form of the dire Goddess Chamunda” a hideous decrepit old woman, seated on a pedestal quite naked, with a countenance alike expressive of extreme old age, and of that sourness of disposition which has rendered her proverbial as a scold”.\textsuperscript{45} The prolific occurrence at Jajpur of various forms of Chamunda like Siddha Yogesvari, Rupavidya and Dantura leaves no doubt that it was a great seat of Saktism during the period of Bhaumakaras and Somavamsis, roughly covering the period between the 8th and 11th century A.D. Even a Sakti of Ganesa (Ganesani) was subsequently conceived. It occurs in one of the inner niches of the Akhandaleswar temple.\textsuperscript{46}

Buddhism, Saivism and Saktism became strangely mixed up in Orissa during the Bhauma period, but at Jajpur, because of the fact that it was originally a Sakta pitha, Saktism predominated ultimately and even in the present day, Jajpur remains \textit{par excellence} a Sakta shrine, notwithstanding the fact that numerous Buddhist and Saiva monuments are also to be found here.
REFERENCES

1. Ganesh, Bhaskar, Vishnu, Siva and Durga.
2. Viraja-Mahatmya contains a long list of these temples. From this list Pt. B. Misra has specifically drawn our attention to three temples—Kusumësvarà, Lalitësvarà and Dandisvà— which he believes to have been named after Kusumahara, Lalitahara and Dandi Mahadevi of the Bhauma family, Pt. B. Misra, Orissa under the Bhauma kings, p. 82.
11. III,37—Evamukta samaptaya sahasatam mahasuram padenakramya kanthe ca sulenainamatauddyayat.
12. R. P. Chanda—Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India. No. 16, Plate XIV.
17. Pt. B. Misra, Orissa under the Bhauma Kings, p. 4, Neulpur grant.
18. ibid.
21. Dr. N. K. Sahu, Buddhism in Orissa , p. 146.
23. Dr. N. K. Sahu, Buddhism in Orissa, p. 147.
24. ibid. p. 146.
25. Tato vaibaranim gatva sarvapapapramochnam virajatirthamadasya virajati yatha sasi.
27. Dr. D. C. Sircar—The Saktapithas, p 104.
28. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi—Itihasa O’ Kimbadanti (in Oriya) PL. XXXI—This is the image of Bhairava.
29. Dr. D. C. Sircar—The Saktapithas, p. 10.
30. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi—Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar. p. 134; Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India No. 16, Plate-XIV.
32. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi—Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, p. 156.
33. ibid. pp. 133-134. An image of this type of Mahisasamardini is found in the southern facade of the Jagamohana of the Lingaraj temple.
34. R. P. Chanda—Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 44, Plates I, VI, VII, IX.
37. Mahatab, Odisha Itihasa Plate between pp. 296-97.
39 ibid, p. 137.
44. J. N. Banerjea—Development of Hindu Iconography, p. 507, Pl. XLV (1), R. P. Chanda called it Sivaduti.
46. Panigrahi, Itihasa O' Kimbadanti, PL. XX II.
RISE AND GROWTH OF VAISNAVISM IN ORISSA

EPIGRAPHIC evidences reveal that Vaisnavism had its rise in Orissa during the Māthara rule in the fifth century of the Christian era. What was its place in pre-Māthara period cannot be traced with certainty. Rock Edict No. XIII shows that in the 3rd century B.C. Brahmanism and Buddhism flourished side by side in Kalinga. Hātigumpha inscription reveals that Kharavela, though a Jaina, patronised the followers of all faiths and repaired places of worship of all Brahmanical gods (Savva devāyatana Samskāra Kāraka). These evidences indicate that Viṣṇu being a prominent Vedic god must have been worshipped by a good number of Brahmanical Hindus in Orissa. But it was only after Samudragupta’s invasion of Orissa that Vaisnavism received its momentum under royal patronage. The Māthara Kings, who ruled over Kalinga in the fifth century A.D. from the river Mahānadi in the north to the mount Mahendra in the south in their palmy days, embraced Vaisnavism and extended active patronage for the construction of temples dedicated to Viṣṇu. We learn from the Nīngodi copper plate grant that Prabhaṇjanavarmā was a worshipper of Lord Nārāyaṇa. (Bhagavat Swāmi Nārāyaṇa Pādānte dhyātaḥ). In the Chicacole copper plates Nanda Prabhaṇjanavarmā declares himself as a Parama Bhāgavata and Chanda Varmā also describes himself as a devotee of Viṣṇu in his Bobili charter. The Māthara Kings who ruled over the Mahendra Bhoga Visaya, constructed a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu on the top of Mahendra. Amidst the ruins of the temple, near the so called Kunti temple we find a beautiful icon of Nārāyaṇa with four arms. It is made of black stone. The image is dressed only in loin cloth and the tiara is truncated. The hallow round the head is plain. It seems that the image was made during the reign of Prabhaṇjana Varmā who was a votary of Lord Nārāyaṇa. Prabhaṇjana Varmā, who ruled as far as the river Mahānadi, in the North also appears to have built a temple for Lord Viṣṇu at Bhubaneswar, which is essentially a place of Saiva importance. On the bank of the lake Vindusaravara there stands the famous
temple of Ananta Vāsudeva which was built by Chandrika, daughter of Anagagabhimā III, in the year 1278 A.D. In front of this temple on the very bank of the lake there is a fine image of Viṣṇu, which from its iconographic feature seems to belong to the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era. It is a four-armed image carrying conch, wheel, discus and the palm of lower right hand is shown open without a lotus. The tiara on the head is cylindrical. Simple loin cloth adorns the waist and the image is in a standing position.

It appears that this Viṣṇu image was originally worshipped on the spot where the great temple of Ananta Vāsudeva was built in the thirteenth century. There must have been an old temple where this Viṣṇu image was installed. The Māṭharas, who extended their empire up to the Mahānadi, were probably responsible for constructing the Viṣṇu temple at Bhubaneswar. Probably the temple was destroyed by the vagaries of nature. Thus in the thirteenth century Chandrika was prompted to construct a new temple—the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva—in its place.

While there was rise of Vaisnavism in Kālīnga under the Māṭharas, in the western part of Orissa it was given impetus by the Nalas and Śarabhapurīyas. We learn from the Podāgarh stone inscription that Skanda Varman of the Nala dynasty constructed the footprints of Viṣṇu. In the same inscription he has offered his prayers to Vāsudeva. Pritī Bhāgavata was the name of one of his officers in this record. These evidences indicate that Bhāgavata cult centering round Vāsudeva had become popular in Kālīnga and Kosala under the Māṭharas and the Nalas. The Śarabapurīyas who flourished in Western Orissa during this period with Śarabhagarh as their capital, also embraced Vaisnavism. In his Arang plates Mahārāja Sudevalāja describes himself as Parama Bhāgavata. The silver coins of Prasannāmatra bear the figure of Garūda together with the symbols of conch and discus. The Panduvamsis, who ousted the Śarabapurīyas from power in South Kosala, were also staunch devotees of Viṣṇu. Tivara Deva, overlord of the whole of Kosala, is described as a Parama Vaiṣṇava in his Rajim plates. Sirpur temple inscription reveals that his nephew Harshadeva was also a worshipper of Viṣṇu. But his son and successor Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna embraced Saivism and described himself as "Parama Māheśvara" in his Lodhia Plates.

This period is a turning point in the religious history of Orissa. Vaisnavism lost its royal patronage and its place was occupied by Saivism. A century prior to this period the early Gangas and Śailodbhavas had professed Saivism. The great Saiva Āchāryas, who
exerted preponderating influence over the princes and people of Orissa, were Patanga Sivâchârya, Pramathâchârya and Gaganâ Sivâchârya. Under their spell the Somavamsis and the early Gangas continued to extend their royal patronage for Saivism. Consequently Saiva shrines clustered in groups in various parts of Orissa especially at Rani-pur Jharial and Bhubaneswar.

Under the Šailodbhavas, Bhaumakaras and Somavamsis, Saivism thrived in Orissa under imperial patronage. The climax of Saivism in Orissa was reached in the construction of the great temples of Lingaraj and Brahmeśvara at Bhubaneswar. There was temporary set-back in the Vaisnava movement in Orissa. With the rise of Shri Râmânujâchârya once again Vaisnavism gained royal patronage. With the conquest of Utkala by Anantavarmâ Chodagangadeva there begins the golden age in the history of Vaisnavism in Orissa. Cholaganga conquered Utkala in 1110 A.D. and ruled over the vast empire from Gangâ to Godâvari. The ruler of such a vast empire soon after his conquest of Utkala is known to have embraced Vaisnavism. He was a devout worshipper of Siva. But obviously under the influence of Śri Râmânuja, the propounder of the philosophy of qualified non-dualism, he accepted Vaisnavism as his personal faith. In his Sellada copper plate grant13 dated S. 1006 = 1084 A.D. he described himself as a paramamâheśvara. But in his Korni copper plate grant14 dated in S. 1034 = 1112 A.D. he described himself as paramavaisnava Parama Brahmanya. It was during this period that Śri Râmânuja15 in course of his journey from Melukote to Delhi between 1107 A.D. and 1117 A.D. visited and stayed at Furî. His disciple Govinda established the monastery called ‘Em-per-Manur’ or Ema Math. Undoubtedly under Râmânuja’s influence Cholaganga embraced Vaisnavism and constructed the great temple of Jagannâth and the temple of Lakshmi at Puri16. This is indeed a landmark in the growth of Vaisnavism in Orissa. From now onward worship of Visnû with Lakshmi was given impetus. Even the Bhanjas, who were already Vaisnavas from the time of Satrubhanja,17 embraced the new ideology of Śri Vaisnavism as propounded by Śri Râmânuja. This is known to us from the Antirîgan plates18 which reveal that Jayabhâna embraced Śri Vaisnavism in the twelfth century A.D. Twelfth century is indeed very significant with history of Vaisnavism. The beginning of the century witnessed the movement led by Râmânuja. Middle of the century witnessed the rise of Jayadeva as a great saintly luminary in the horizon of Orissa. It was he who more than anybody else emphasised the importance of the worship of Râdhâ along with Krishna in the Vaisnava pantheon in
his immortal lyric Gita Govinda. From a verse of Govardhana Āchāryya quoted by Keśava Misra¹⁹ in Alankaśa Śekhara we know that Jayadeva was earlier than Govardhana Āchāryya and he flourished in the court of the King of Utkala in the middle of the twelfth century A.D. In all probability it is the same vaisnava poet whose name is mentioned as Sādhu Pradhāna Jayadeva in the Lingaraja temple inscription of Rāghava²⁰ of 1163 A.D. In the tradition, as recorded in literature, Jayadeva was born in the village of Kendувilver near Jagannāth-Puri in Utkala. Jayadeva himself says in his Gita Govinda that he emerged as a moon from the ocean of Kenduvilver.²¹ There is no doubt that in the village called Kenduli in the Puri district Jayadeva was born and by composing the famous work Gita Govinda he exerted great influence on the people during his time and afterwards. The great contribution of Jayadeva to Vaisnava creed is the concept of Rādhā, which also finds mention in Padma Purāṇa, Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa and in the works of Nimbārka Āchārya. Thus there was the dawn of a new consciousness in literature art. We find a large number of Gopinātha images²² from thirteenth century onwards in different parts of Orissa. But Rādhā had not yet been recognised for worship along with Krishna in the temples of Orissa. In iconography it came much later.

In Orissa like the worship of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa and Rādhā-Krishna, worship of Sitā-Rāma had also started and it had attained celebrity during the reign of the imperial Gangas. We learn from Narahari Yati Stotra²³, which forms a portion of Stotra Mahodadhi, that Madhya, the Āchārya of the Dwaita School of Vedanta Philosophy, had deputed his disciple Narahari Tirtha to Kaliṅga to obtain the image of Rāma and Sitā from the Ganga monarch. Srikurumam temple inscription²⁴ of S. 1203 proves that Narahari Tirtha had really exerted preponderating influence over the Ganga monarch. We learn from the two sources cited above that Narahari Tirtha came to Orissa during the reign of Bhānu I (1264–1278) and acted as the spiritual guardian of the young prince Narasimha. When Narasimha II succeeded to the throne after the death of his father, he became the governor of Kaliṅga and had strong hold over the monarch. His presence in Orissa as tutor-guardian of the crown prince and subsequently as Governor of Kalinga must have resulted in the tremendous growth of Vaisnavism in Orissa. It was during this period that the famous temple of Ananta Vāsudeva was completed by Chandrikā, daughter of Anangabhima III, in the year 1278 A.D.²⁵

It may be mentioned here that during the preceding four hundred years the process of synthesis of Vaisnavism and Saivism had set in.
Hastivarman *alias* Raṇabhīta, the early Ganga monarch, who was a Paramamāheśvara, also worshipped Nārāyaṇa (Bhāgavata Saptārṇavaśāyine Satpa Śāmapagītāya satapakokai Natāya Raṇabhīto-
dayābhīdhanāya Nārāyaṇāya) and donated land for the maintenance of the temple dedicated to Nārāyaṇa (vide lines 12–14 of the Narasimhapalli plates). Similarly although Sailodbhavas were Śaivas Mādhava Varman II worshipped Bhagavān Mādhava (vide Khurdhā plates). Although Somavamsis embraced Saivism under the influence of Āchāryas of Mattamayura Sect, they also worshipped Viṣṇu. Thus at Rāṇipur which is crowded with Śiva temples we find one brick temple dedicated to Viṣṇu. In this process of synthesis the twin temples of Śiddhesvara and Nila Mādhava were built at Kantilo. The process reached its climax in the temple of Lingarāj where the presiding deity was worshipped as both Hari and Hara. It is this process of synthesis that enabled the construction of the single Viṣṇu temple of Ananta Vāsudeva in the very heart Śivakshetra at Bhubaneswar.

In this process all religious faiths in Orissa ultimately converged in the great institute of Jagannāth. The cult of Jagannāth assimilated in its fold different creeds which evolved through centuries in Orissa. Under the Suryavamsi-Gajapatis Jagannāth consciousness was the greatest religious force of the people. Kapilendradeva having inflicted a defeat on Mālik Pārisa (Sultan Nasiruddin) presented a sari called Pandarika Gopa to Lord Jagannath. In Matukapalle inscription Purushottama Deva is described as “Jagannātha vara Prasāda”. Pratāparudra was equally devoted to Lord Jagannāth.

The reign of Pratāparudra marks the climax in the growth of Vaisnavism in Orissa. Before the arrival of Śrī Chaitanya Bhaktivadana had already dawned over Orissa. Jagannātha, Balarāma, Achyutānanda, Yaśovanta and Ananta were the Five Associates who had absorbed in their writings the essence of Tantra, Buddhism, Vedanta and the Cult of Prema-Bhakti. The most famous of these Five Associates, Jagannatha Das, had composed Śrimad Bhāgavata, which is considered to be the most representative work of Oriya literature. In this *magnum opus* he incorporated all the different faiths which evolved in Orissa and identified Shrikrishna with Lord Jagannatha. Śrikrishna of the five associates is the Personal God of Purānas as well as the Impersonal Being of the Upanishads. Rāï Rāmānanda, who was the governor of Rāj mahendri under Pratāparudra, was an exponent of the Prema-Bhakti cult. Before the arrival of Śrī Chaitanya he had expounded the chief tenets of this Cult and composed the great work “Jagannātha Vallabha”. When Śrī Chaitanya came to Orissa in 1510 he was
anxious to meet Rāi Rāmānanda. The meeting of these two stalwarts of Neo-Vaisnavism has been graphically narrated by Krishnadas Kavirāj in his famous Bengali book ‘Chaitanya Charitāmrita’. In course of the dialogue Śrī Chaitanya is reported to have commented that Rāi Rāmānanda was already well versed in Prema-Bhakti Cult. After this meeting Rāi Rāmānanda relinquished his services and devoted the rest of his life in the service of the Lord. Śrī Chaitanya in the company of the Five Associates, Rai Ramananda and Sārvabhauma spent eighteen years at Puri. He identified Śrī Krishna with Jagannātha and consequently Krishna consciousness and Jagannātha consciousness were rolled into one. In the words of Sir Jadunath Sarkar31. “The diverse religions of Orissa in all ages have tended to gravitate towards and finally merged into the Jagannath worship, at least in theory”.

This is the story of Vaisnavism in Orissa in outline. It had its rise in the classical age of Indian History when there was the cultural efflorescence in India. Under the patronage of Mātharas and Nalas it flourished in Kalinga and Kosala. Under the Imperial Gangas it spread throughout the length and breadth of Orissa from Gaṅgā to Gautama Gaṅgā. Rāmānuja, Jayadeva and Narahari Tirtha upheld its cause and enriched it with their new ideologies. Under the Sūryavamsi Gaṇapati worship of Viṣṇu was identified with the worship of Jagannātha. In this new consciousness that marked the climax of Vaisnavism in Orissa, the contribution of Rāi Rāmānanda, Śrī Chaitanya and the Five Associates shall remain imperishable in the history of Vaisnavism.

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CHAPTER 31

THE CULT OF JAGANNATH

ORISSA, the land of Jagannath is not an ordinary area from cultural and historical consideration. Many emperors and empires have risen here and fallen into dust. Situated on the eastern fringe of the sub continent, it is bestowed with the best possible geographical advantages. It was a suitable place for intellectual, religious and spiritual attainments. Here, Ashoka could be converted from Chandashoka to Dharmashoka; Kharavela left important foot-prints on the sands of time in this place and diverse religions have grown from intellectual pursuits. This was a meeting place of Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas and had unique advantage to systematise and assimilate the essence of these three spiritually intellectual disciplines. It is no wonder that the cult of Jagannath could grow here from facts unknown to a culture of multiple dimensions.

Centuries have not been able to wither His greatness in changing times and have not made His importance any way lesser.

HISTORY OF LORD JAGANNATH

The earliest references about Lord Jagannath are found in the various Puranas and other literatures of India. There are several copper-plate inscriptions which established the idea of Lord Jagannath as a paramount deity of the entire country. The concept of Jagannath is not only confined to Hinduism but also extends to both Jainism and Buddhism. The late Pandit Nilakantha Das has suggested that Jagannath cult is primarily a Jaina cult. He is of the view that “rites and rituals connected with the Lord are undoubtedly non-Vedic”. He is perhaps of the opinion that the three main images of Balabhadra, Subhadra and Jagannath collectively stand for the Jaina Trinity of Samyakjnana, Samyakcharita and Samyakdrsti. But he has not cited sufficient conclusive details in support of his thesis. His contention of the spirit of tolerance, the absence of caste distinction, the Kalpabata, the belief in Kaivalya Mukti and
certain other common features of the Jaina cult are not sufficient to establish the idea that Jagannath is pre-eminently a Jaina deity. There are other scholars who suggest that Jagannath is of Vedic origin, but they do not offer sufficient grounds for their reasoning. The Rigveda and Atharva Veda have few references about the divine Daru which has been identified in course of time with Jagannath. But these references are not sufficient to establish Jagannath as a Vedic deity. The interpretation of Sayanacharya of the 13th century in this regard needs further research and elaboration. Of all Puranas, the Brahma and the Skanda have made elaborate attempt in creating a history with regard to the building and consecration of the temple and have introduced Indradyumna as a great devotee for the first time in Puranic literature.

In the different traditions that have evolved about the Deity, the name of Indradyumna is common. In the Mahabharat, Indradyumna has been described as a powerful and pious king. The name of Indradyumna is further associated with the Indradyumna Sarobara (tank) of Puri. It is also said that he brought one thousand cows for sacrifice and by the hoofs of the cows, the Indradyumna tank was dug. The name Indradyumna is also found in several other writings. This gives an impression that either Indradyumna was a very important and powerful ruler or it might be that it was a title given to the powerful kings.

Orissan literature particularly, Sisukrishna Das’s Deulatola accepted Indradyumna as the first devotee of Lord Jagannath who took interest in building up a temple for the Lord. The story is interesting that Indradyumna was advised by Narada to invite Brahma (the Creator of Universe) to consecrate the temple as a sign of dignity. There was some delay in Brahma’s coming and meanwhile, ages had passed and Galamadhaba became the ruler of Orissa and claimed the temple as his own. The legend further continues that the dispute between Indradyumna and Galamadhaba was amicably settled and the credit of building the temple was given to Indradyumna.

About the creation of the three deities, there are similar legends in various literatures of the country. To some, the idea of the three deities, Balabhadra, Subhadra, and Jagannath seems to have come from the Buddhist traditions. According to others, there were three Rastra Devatas (State gods) in three different places where they were worshipped by Sabaras or Pulindas from time immemorial. Earliest reference about one of these Rastra Devatas can be found on the Mahendragiri as Narayana worshipped by
Matharas and some of the rulers of Kalinga, particularly, the Sailodbhavas had their family Deity Svayambhu on the Mahendra Giri, the highest mountain peak in the Andhra-Orissa boundary. Among the aboriginals of Orissa, the custom was to worship a family Deity, village Deity and a State Deity or Rastra Devata. The Deity that was worshipped on the Mahendragiri, was, it is presumed, transferred to Krushnagiri and again removed to Nilagiri or Nilachala of Puri. This Deity of Narayana or Sailodbhava or Svayambhu was identified as Jagannath. How exactly the change of place occurred is a question for further search. But the legends say that Nilamadhaba alias Jagannath was brought from the aboriginals by the Aryan rulers.

The Deities which are made of log give an indication that they might have been aboriginal in origin. In Southern Orissa, particularly among the Sabaras, the Deities are made of wood. Jagannath whose other name is Darubrahma (and Daru means wood), might have been a Sabara Deity. The Sabaras worshipped a Deity named Kitung who had ten synonyms, One of the names of this Deity Kitung is Jaganta or Jaganallo. Who knows that this name Jaganta or Jaganallo is the original name of Lord Jagannath?

In Northern India among the Aryans, wood-worship is not completely absent or rare. But among the aboriginals, this wood-worship is very common. Even now, the Sabaras worship pieces of wood as their village Deity. This practice might have started long ago in these parts on the Mahendragiri mountain as it is considered by Sabaras as their homeland. Legends say that Vidyapati was a Brahmin and was sent by a king of Malava to bring Nilamadhaba from the forest. Vidyapati could manage to marry the Sabara girl named Lalita and brought the Deity named Nila Madhaba to the coastal area. How far this is true, is a matter of dispute. But there is a similar legend about the origin of Jagannath. It is said that the Lord told in dreams and advised the king of Orissa that He would float to the sea-shore as a piece of log and again it was directed that the proper Deities should be made from the log. The king Indrayumna brought the piece of wood with much difficulty and his queen whose name was Gundicha ordered that beautiful images be made of this wood. Strangely, no carpenter was available and the king was very much worried. At last, Visvakarma, the divine builder came in the guise of a carpenter and proceeded to make beautiful images on condition that he would be allowed to remain inside the temple for 21 days during which, nobody should disturb him. This was granted. In the beginning, the sound of the carpenter's tools was heard out
side. But gradually this sound became feeble and after some time, was not heard at all. This was much before the target date when Gundicha, the queen became extremely impatient and doubted about the life of the carpenter. She wanted that the door should be opened though the king vehemently opposed this. At last, the queen won, and the doors were opened. It was surprising that the carpenter was absent and the three unfinished images of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra were there. According to Sarala Das, a famous poet of Orissa, these three images were of three different colours and represented Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswar. (Jagannath—Vishnu; Balabhadra—Siva and Subhadra—Brahma). According to Vaishnavas, these three Deities were Puranic Deities—Balabhadra, the elder brother of Jagannath is Balarama, Subhadra is the sister of Jagannath and Jagannath is identified as Krishna.

It is unfortunate that deeper understanding of the Jagannath cult and image is still wanting. According to some writers, Jagannath was originally a Sun God. Sun worship was prevalent in the coastal districts of Orissa. Lord Jagannath has been described as Surya Narayana (Sun God) while he is in the chariot. He combines within Himself all the five gods (Pancha Devatas) of Hinduism.

Scholars who are prone to make Jagannath a Buddhist Deity are many. They attempt to establish the idea that the three Deities are the three Ratnas namely, Buddha, Dharma and Sangha and that the image of Jagannath contains a relic of Lord Buddha. It is further argued that the car festival of Lord Jagannath resembles Buddhist festivals which became popular in the time of Fahien’s visit to India. In Buddhism, there was no caste, no sect. On the other hand, Hindu religion is caste-ridden. It would be possible that the Jagannath culture which disowns most of caste barrier would be nearer to Buddhism rather than Hinduism. In Buddhism, the concept of God is absent and Jagannath sometimes is declared as Nirakara. This might have been a reflection of the inner feelings of Buddhist’s belief in Godhood. But the idea of Jagannath as Buddhist God can be challenged on several grounds. That Buddhism is sectless appears to be wrong. Lord Buddha, desired to be born in a higher caste family as is cited in the Lalitavistara. Secondly, Buddhists make no reference about the images of Laxmi, Goddess Earth, Madhava etc. which are a part of the seven images besides the four viz., Jagannath, Balabhadra, Subhadra and Sudarsana. Thus the Buddhist idea of three Ratnas does not stand the test of reasoning. That the idea of car festival as a common feature of Buddhism is also not tenable. Use of car or chariot was prevalent in ancient times.
In Atharvaveda, there are references as to how the gods were coming down by chariot. That Jagannath does not accept caste barrier is an original idea of Hinduism. Such references have found place in several Hindu Puranas. Buddhists might have been influenced by such a Catholic Hindu practice rather than Buddhism influencing the cult of Jagannath.

We agree that Jagannath religion is an excellent contribution to the various religious practices and a splendid synthesis of diverse beliefs and a meeting place of various views of philosophy. Even Jainas claim that the existence of Kalpabata, Nilachakra and the affix “nath” as well as Purushottamavada are their contribution to Jagannath cult. This gives an idea that Jagannath is really an institution of diverse religions, meeting at a single point like mighty rivers meeting the sea.

In our opinion, there is every probability that God Narayana was installed on the Mahendra mountain and was worshipped by Matharas for a long time. It is presumed that prior to this period, the Sabaras worshipped some gods on this mountain whose names are not yet ascertained. When the Matharas came, they overpowered the Sabaras and took possession of their Deity. The next dramatic change came when the Gangas arrived on the scene and began worshipping the Deity as Gokarneswara. The Gangas were worshippers of Siva and the Deity was worshipped as Swayambhu by Sailodbhavas prior to them. It is interesting to observe that an identified Deity beginning with the Sabara worship became Narayana with the Matharas, Swayambhu with the Sailodbhava and Gokarneswara with the Gangas. The Sailodbhavas were the worshippers of both Vishnu and Siva and this is proved from a number of copper plate grants they have donated. In course of time, their attachment to Vishnu became more and they worshipped the Deity perhaps on the Mahendra mountain as Chakradhara Madhava or Bhagavan Madhava. This is an interesting development which traced the metamorphosis of the Deity at Mahendra Giri from an unknown Deity aboriginal in origin to Narayana or Vishnu. In course of time, this is supposed to have been transferred to Puri in a complex and mysterious manner. In this connexion, it will be relevant to quote the late Dr. Mayadhar Mansingh that Jagannath of Puri was originally a Siva Lingam.4

However, his view is slightly different. He is of the opinion that the blue stone referring to Jagannath was nothing more than a Siva Lingam. The Sabaras at Mahendra Giri wanted to imitate a Siva
Lingam of Shri Sailam which is the important religious centre on the bank of the river Krushna in Andhra Pradesh. This Deity at Shri Sailam is pre-Vedic and had tremendous impact on the religious life of the entire eastern India. The Adivasis of Orissa, because of their proximity to Andhra Desh were influenced by this Shri Sailam Deity and began worshipping the blue stone at Mahendra Giri. In course of time, this Siva Lingam was named as Nila Madhava meaning Shri Krushna which ultimately referred to Narayana or Vishnu. This theory agrees with our thesis that in a slow and gradual process, the present Jagannath has emerged from the concept of Siva. According to the Tantric tradition, Bhairava referred to Siva. In a number of places, Jagannath has been named as Bhairava. The colour of Jagannath is another clue in this connection. The black colour which has been referred to as the ultimate and final synthesis of all colours is all embracing and symbol of finality. It is only Siva who has been accepted in such tense of finality and his attributes are all embracing. It may not be out of place to refer the black Jagannath containing the qualities and attributes of Siva and Bhairava.

Whatever may be the argument and counter-argument, the fact is unchallengeable that Purushottama Jagannath is a resultant composite of many divine concepts and gods. Historically, man has been searching avenues to express his urge for divinity, a shelter to take refuge and an unknown where he could surrender himself. Purushottama has been successfully used to meet these needs of man. In the view of W.J. Wilkins, Jagannath is unparalleled in this context. Starting from a local Deity of an unknown tribe in the dense Jungles, Jagannath manifested Himself as one of the greatest religious centres of the whole world. It has found unity in diversity. In spite of heterogeneous ritualistic practices Jagannath stands supreme. He is not meant only for any sect or tribe. In course of time, He became universal. Let alone the Buddhists and Jainas worshipping Jagannath, even Muslims like Salabega and Haridas accepted Him as the source of their salvation.

PHILOSOPHY OF JAGANNATH

The philosophy of Jagannath is one of the most difficult philosophies in the history of religions. In course of time, interpretation of Jagannath has changed according to different thinkers and philosophers. As with most of the oriental philosophies, the philosophy of Jagannath defies a definite definition. It is obvious from the fact that different currents of philosophy flowing through centuries in this continent have ultimately merged in the philosophy
of Jagannath. Beginning from a dim historic past, the history of Jagannath has assimilated the essence of Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. As a Jaina Institution, Jagannath meant not the Lord of the Universe but Jagat as universe itself. This is substantially opening a new dimension in the realm of philosophy because, the cases of God being identified with the universe are rare. The Jainas had a special approach towards the Lord of the universe and universe itself. In case of Jagannath, he represented the entire universe with all its attributes including the common man. The Jaina believed transmigration as a consequence of Karma and the philosophy of Jagannath amply recommended this conviction. The idea of Nirvana had found its place in the philosophy of Jagannath in different degrees. The philosophy of Tantra which, in course of time, became an integral part of Buddhism had a special place in the philosophy of Jagannath. This is one of the most important contributions of Yogic and trantric methods in expounding a philosophy of Mukti, Nirvana, and Kaivalya. It is no secret that Vaishnavas who worship Jagannath regard the Lord as Buddhistic manifestation and as the Bouddhavatara, the incarnation of Tathagata. Philosophy of Jagannath had to rejuvenate itself in different directions. In course of time, Jagannath, Vishnu and Buddha became synonymous and Jagannath became ultimately the highest Deity of Hindus.

Jagannath is worshipped in four forms in His Chaturdha murti. Firstly, there is Sudarsana which is a pillar with indifferent colour, Balabhadra with white face with eyes and hands, Subhadra with the form of a woman with yellow faces, eyes but no hands, and Jagannath, with black face with brilliant eyes and hands. Balabhadra is the nomenal or the transcendent, the unchangeable and the unqualified, the unmanifest, the pure form, the Sat which is pure being and all divine. It is the fullness of itself and by itself. The conception of Balabhadra is a unique one which can be described as the most perfect and supremely excellent. The method of understanding Balabhadra is pure knowledge or Suddhajnana.

In case of Jagannath, He is supremely manifest with pure qualities, changeable in order, qualified with diverse dimensions and also supramundane. The conception of Jagannath is a synthesis of Bhakti, Jnana, Prema and Sadhanā. Centuries of intellectual curiosity into the purpose and manifestation of Jagannath have not yet found the reality of Jagannath but on the whole, He is the supreme Lord of the universe. The Gita propounds the Purushottama vada and makes an attempt to present Jagannath in a proper perspective. Even then, he becomes Achintya or incomprehensible. Very often logic
fails, philosophy enters into abstract phrase and the philosophy Jagannath epitomises itself in an abstract explanation. Subhadra is a mysterious Deity between the two males namely Jagannath and Balabhadra. It is not yet certain as to why and how Subhadra could find a place here. But Subhadra has been accepted as a symbol of Karma or Action. But this Karma is not a vital Karma or that Karma which goes before Jnāna. But it follows after Jnāna and is attributed to it. The existence of Subhadra has been traced by many to Buddhist influence on Jagannath. But there are still others who regard Subhadra as a Hindu Deity with absolute right to remain there by herself. However, the philosophy of Jagannath is embodied in the principles of mystery of measureless belief of man in the supreme Lord of the Universe. But the presence of Sudarsana is very strange and is the symbol of the unknown. It represents time and change. It is connected with the unchangeable and the eternal force. It could have been possible that Dharmachakra of Buddhism and Sudarsana of Jagannath had something in common. Change is the basic principle of the many oriental philosophies and more so, that of Jagannath philosophy. It is remarkable that Sudarsana is taken to the chariot during the Rathayatra before the other three Deities and placed with Subhadra. The different colours of the three Deities Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra symbolise the three main races of mankind, i.e. the black, the white and the yellow. This is a symbol of unity in the total mankind in the philosophy of Jagannath.

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5. The Cult of Jagannath p. 25
CHAPTER 32

PROTOTYPES OF THE NAVAKALEVARA RITUAL AND THEIR RELATION TO THE JAGANNATHA CULT

1. The Navakalevara Ritual and Hinduization

The contrasting functional characteristics of tribal and Hindu worship can be characterised as follows: The tribal shrine contains an unanthropomorphic symbol of the deity whose apparition and presence is not so much connected with that symbol, but occurs through the medium of a human being, by possession: the centre of the cult is the sacrifice, which is celebrated at considerable intervals only. As opposed to this, the functional characteristics of Hindu worship are an anthropomorphic image which is believed to convey the very presence of the deity because it is daily worshipped with an elaborate ritual (pūjā) which asks the deity to appear in that image. A main element in the Hinduization of a tribal cult is the gradual addition of Hindu ritual, an addition which eventually will mostly lead to a total substitution.

The process which leads from one pole to the other, and may also be reversed, has been called Hinduization. It operates on different levels, mainly village cults and "proper" temples, which are recognised by all castes, of more than local importance, and having a daily worship. On that level, some features of tribal religion, which are still fairly frequent in folk religion, as for instance possession, will usually no more be present. By then, especially the mode of worship, the daily rituals performed, usually belong fully to Brahmanical "High Hinduism". The only ritual, which may have been continued from the beginning right to the final stages of even more intense Hinduization is sometimes the sacrifice, but as an institution mainly, the details of its execution having mostly been changed.

From the ritual itself the tribal origin of such Hinduized temple-cults can therefore usually not be inferred. Other realms, mainly three, may still point to that origin: the legend attached to the
temple, the peculiar nature of the icon, and the affiliation of all or some of the priests to a non-Brahmin group or caste which may even be of tribal origin. Also in this respect, as in so many others, the Jagannātha Temple offers an exception within its complex mode of worship which belongs to the highest level of Brahmanical Hinduism. There is one ritual which is as unique as the icons themselves: their periodic renewal during the grand ceremony of the Navakalevara. The close connection to the iconography—it is their being of wood which allows or necessitates the renewal of the Jagannātha images as well as the dominating role which the daitas, i.e., the priests of tribal origin play in this ritual, strongly suggest its being of tribal origin.

However, this obvious implication has often been suggested but so far hardly been thoroughly studied. Probably for two reasons: The Puri Navakalevara ritual used to be most secret, and consequently its study was taken up only very recently. This, in a way, is a happy circumstance, because, even if the inhabitants of Puri hardly used to know about the Navakalevara ritual, it is impossible to assume that it should have penetrated into tribal and folk religion “from above” by an inversion of the process of Hinduization. Moreover, these prototypes of the ritual are by far too widespread to allow such an assumption. Secondly, the existence of such rituals in tribal and folk religion of Orissa as well seems to have been so far almost completely unknown.

The question of renewal is naturally relevant only where wooden poles or structures are involved—stones need not be replaced. Curiously enough a renewal, namely the removal and disposal of the old structures and the installation of a new one in the very same spot, is hardly ever mentioned in the ethnographic literature. Though also in tribal religion the ritual tends to be kept secret, at least from foreigners, this can only mean that a ritual renewal is not necessarily connected with the existence of wooden structures in tribal religion. Obviously some wooden structures, as for instance memorials for the dead, are not renewed. But even where wooden structures seem to be at the very centre of the worship of a tribe, their renewal is not necessarily ritually relevant. The Saoras in South Orissa for instance have in their villages shrines consisting of a post on which a pot is hung. The poles may be very small or rather big and carry even a thatched roof. However, the part which may be called the symbol of the deity or which is at least relevant to the worship, is the pot, in which offerings are put and not the pole. It therefore seems almost logical that repairs or even a replacement of that post are not
an important ritual. As an old Saora explained, "you just go and fetch another stick of wood."

One might therefore venture the hypothesis, that rituals of renewal can occur only where the very post—not a more complicated structure, which might be repaired—is considered to be the symbol of the deity. This hypothesis would explain why such a ritual—as far as I could find out up to now—is mainly found in Central and Western Orissa, almost exactly in that area where since the sixth century A.D. the "lady of the post", Stambhesvari, Oriya: Kambhesvari, a Hinduised tribal goddess, is worshipped.³

In this area, most of the tribal cults—mainly Khond—and many folk and temple cults on different levels of Hinduisation are centred in wooden posts dedicated to a goddess, a feature, which might originally have been connected with the Khond Meria cult.⁴

2. Tribals Examples of the Ritual of Renewal: The Khonds

A typical shrine of a Khond village of the area consists of an open mud house with thatched roof and an enclosure fenced by posts of Sāl wood. Whereas within the enclosure there is always a stout post of rohini wood the shrine may be completely empty as well as contain another post of māhula wood.⁷ At these shrines once in a while buffaloes are sacrificed, often with details which remind the Meriah sacrifice⁸. At the time of such festivals the priest (dehuri) worships the post by offering water, milk, flowers, heaps of rice (punji) etc., in a process which, sometimes, resembles the giving of the five upacāras, typical for the Hindu pūjā. Elements of Hinduisation cannot be excluded in these villages, which since long have been interacting with Hindu communities. However, the cults listed here are tribal, as they are sponsored by villages entirely or almost entirely inhabited by Khonds. The further development, once other castes are involved, is clearly discernible from this stage. For instance in Urumunda, a village with mixed population, the Khond priest offers milk once a week to the post, a first step towards the daily performance of the five upacāras.

The renewal of the post is always carried out at the eve of such a sacrificial feast, but not at regular intervals. It may be done whenever it is necessary and the community can afford it. The inner and the outer post are not necessarily replaced at the same time but with the same ritual⁹ which may be most conveniently described according to the classification used by Tripathi for the Puri Nava-kalevara.¹⁰
(a) *Selection and transport of the log*

The goddess herself indicates the spot or the direction where the tree is to be found. She usually appears in a dream to the *bhejini* (the medium or shaman) who in most of the instances also leads the search party to the right tree while being possessed. The search party always consists of the *dehuri*, the *bhejini*, the *bāhuka* (the person who kills the sacrificial animal), the drummers, and mostly the village chief. In some instances, the whole village or at least one person from each house, sets out. The tree to be selected has to display certain features: it must be straight, strong and round, not show any mark of having been struck by lightning or by an axe and not bear any birds’ nest. Before it is cut, the *dehuri* worships the tree in the same way as the post in the shrine is worshipped. After that, a sheep or goat may be sacrificed. Then the tree is cut, the first stroke being invariably performed by the *dehuri*. While falling, the tree should not touch the ground. The upper part is therefore cut first or else, branches and shrubs are arranged in such a way, that the tree will fall on them. The log is then freed from the branches and covered with a new cloth which may be red or white. Sometimes it is stated, that the search party now eats what has been offered to the tree, and then the log is carried to the village with drumming and shouting. The log should never be put on the ground. Whenever this becomes inevitable—mostly while crossing a river—a sacrifice has to be offered.

(b) *The carving of the post*

Once in the village, the log is put into a newly constructed shed near the shrine. Whoever is entrusted with the carving—the whole search party, the *dehuri* only, or the village carpenter—is not supposed to leave this place until the work is completed. He has to eat only once a day rice which is specially prepared there, and to abstain from drinks or drugs.

(c) *Removal and disposal of the old post*:

Before the new post can be installed, the old one has to be removed. This is done by one of the priests—the *dehuri*, the *bhejini* or the *bāhuka* or by all of them together. The old post is either thrown on the ground—usually within the compound—"to be eaten by the ants as we ourselves will be", or else later on, when the installation ceremony and the subsequent feast are over, buried within the enclosure towards south.

(d) *Installation and consecration of the new post*

The same person who has removed the old post cleans the hole where it used to stand, and puts five metals (gold, silver, iron, copper...
and brass metal) either in one plate or in five different pieces, into it. The old pieces of metal are usually not removed, because "the earth eats them." Then the new post is inserted and erected, sometimes by filling up the hole with sand from the river bank "on which nobody has walked yet." In many Khond villages this actual installation of the post is preceded by a consecration through a Brahmin, who often is called for this purpose only from considerable distance. He performs fire sacrifice, (homa) and gives the prāṇa pratiṣṭhā mantra to the carved post. Naturally there are no mantras or ritual prescriptions relating to the goddesses worshipped by the Khonds. The Brahmin will therefore usually construct the mūla mantra to her name according to the rules, and for the rest follow the instructions given for the worship of Vana Durgā in the ritualistic handbooks current in Orissa as for instance the Purohit-Karma-Kāṇḍa. This consecration by a Brahmin may be called a first decisive step of Hinduisation: by imparting a mantra, the Brahmin so to speak formally acknowledges the post as a Hindu mūrti, an acknowledgement which on this level of predominantly tribal worship is of no further consequence. This occasion, which recurs at the utmost every twenty years is the only one where a non-tribal has any ritual function. The Hindu intervention is not practised in all villages of the area.

As soon as the post is installed, the regular worship and afterwards the sacrifices are performed. Usually after a renewal a buffalo has to be sacrificed as first animal. The buffalo is tied to a specially erected post of sāl wood outside the enclosure at the southern side. Sometimes a rope is led from his neck over the sāl post to the rohini post. The blood of the sacrifice is poured over the inner and the outer post, its head buried within the enclosure, also at the southern side.

The Khond ritual of renewal is by far more simple than the Puri Navakalevara. Nevertheless, the parallels are obvious: Not only do the main actions—with the exception of the painting of the figures which is found in Puri only—coincide; many significant details are also alike, namely:

The spotting of the direction in which the tree is to be found through a dream.
The identification of the right tree by certain features, as for instance no birds' nests, no signs of strokes of lightning or axes.
The worship of the tree with a sacrifice, which in the Puri ritual is only symbolically performed.
The first stroke to be performed by the main priest.
The fact that the tree should fall towards east.
The special precautions in the transport of the log.
The deposition of the log in a newly constructed shed or mandapa
near the main shrine.
The restrictions under which the carpenters have to live during
their work.
The beginnings of the separation between the consecrations,
carried out exclusively by Brahmins—in Puri it is performed
by seventy Brahmins during thirteen days—and the installation
or exchange of the posts, which is carried out by the tribal
priests in the Khond villages and accordingly by the Daitas
in Puri.

3. The Ritual in a Hindu Lineage Cult: The Dumals

A more elaborate version of the ritual of renewal is performed
by the Dumals, a group prevalent in the Sonepur region. They are
considered to be Hindus, and sometimes call themselves casā (cultivators), but their status within the caste hierarchy varies very much.
Majumdar already suggested that they might be of tribal origin, because they interdine with the sudelhas, a group which is clearly of tribal origin, and because they worship posts as the Khonds do. As will be seen below, their worship shows indeed a close relation to the Khond-cult in many details. Moreover, it is certainly significant, that features of the Meriah sacrifice are also met with in the Dimal practice of buffalo sacrifice. This and the fact that in some Khond villages Dumals may act as bhejini, seem to prove that they are indeed of tribal, and most probably Khond origin.

The cult of the Dimal is commonly called bādi-pūjā "worship
of sticks". The division of the sacred compound is basically the
same as in the Khond villages: a house and an open enclosure with
one post. The house is usually a respectable brick building, often with
beautifully carved doors, and faces east. It enshrines the bādis: long, slim, highly polished sticks of red māhula wood which
represent the goddess Paramahešvari. In most of the temples there
are two bādis of almost human height and in between them stands a
shorter one, which is the handle of a sword used for the sacrifice. In
some villages that sword is worshipped only. The bādis are supported
by a structure of sāl wood, they stand within an earthen pot, where
also ankle rings are put, which the goddess likes to wear. As she is a
lady and likes jewellery, a silver "girdle" is sometimes also put round
the "waist" of the bādis.
The outer enclosure may be just a fence of săl wood as well as an open pavilion. The post standing there represents Maheśvarī-Kambheśvarī. It is of rohini wood, always rectangular and covered with elaborate decorative carvings. The middle of the post—which might be of considerable height—is marked by a rectangular hole which is referred to as its “navel”.

The worship, including sacrifices, is carried out several times a year—and always at daśaharā—, and in some temples the bādis and the outer kambha are worshipped daily by the dehuri who offers the five upacāras. The dehuri, who performs the worship is always a Dumal, the bhejini and the person who kills the sacrificial animals not necessarily, may belong to a lower group (Harijan). A Brahmin takes part in the worship only when the bādis or the kambha are renewed, which as in the Khond instances, is done according to the same process but not necessarily at the same time.

In general the ritual of renewal observed by the Dumals closely follows the Khond pattern, whose details—for instance the sacrifice at the foot of the spotted tree—seem to be more strictly observed perhaps better remembered. Wherever the Dumal ritual is significantly deviating from the Khond pattern, it is by addition or elaboration, not by omission. The most important additions concern three topics: the handling of the log, the disposal of the old and the consecration of the new post.

(a) The Handling of the log

Though the whole process of spotting and fetching the tree follows very much the Khond model, there is in addition a marked emphasis on the special care which must be taken while handling the log. It has to be completely covered by a new white cloth as soon as it is cut, and in one village it was stressed, that while it is brought to the village—suspended on fresh ropes—a person proceeds the procession sprinkling water on its way. Once it is put down in the new shed near the temple, invariably the dehuri has to worship it and a sacrifice has to be performed. The carpenters—always Dumals—not only have to live on the spot and eat only once a day, they also have to be in a state of ritual purity. That means that they are expected to take a bath and put on new clothes whenever they had to follow the call of nature or even when a drop of sweat has fallen from their foreheads.

(b). Consecration and Installation

This part of the ritual is considerably more complicated as in the Khond instances, and always requires the participation of a Brahmin.
If the outer kambha is renewed, the dehuri cleans the hole and then gives into it one plate as well as five separate pieces made of the five metals. Thereafter he inserts three golden nails in the kambha or in each of the bādis: at the top, at the middle (the "navel") and at the bottom. In one village only, this was supposed to be done by the Brahmin. Meanwhile the Brahmin has finished his homa. The dehuri now holds the post or sticks leaning on his right shoulder while the Brahmin sits opposite and imparts the prāṇa pratiṣṭhā mantra, namely the Kambheśvari mantra to the outer post, and the Kāli mantra to the bādis. Thereafter the post is carried three times round the hole and then installed by the Dehuri, sometimes with the help of the Brahmin purohita and the village-chief.

(c) The removal and disposal of the old post

The main factual difference as compared to the Khond ritual is that the old bādis or kambhas are not buried but thrown into the river, mostly the Tel, and that a Brahmin participates in this stages of the ritual as well. Before they are removed, it is the Brahmin who worships the old bādis or kambha for the last time by performing the ritual usually done by the Dehuri. The old post is carried away by night, when the feast is over, by the dehuri, the man who removed the post, who is sometimes specially appointed and other Dumal. At the bank of the river a last sacrifice may be offered, then the post is immersed, the members of the party take a bath and return home.

In some villages the Brahmin goes with the party and speaks the visarjana mantra. In these villages the old post is considered to be "dead" and therefore the persons connected with its removal and disposal have not only to take a bath, but also to shave and to observe mourning rituals for one day. In one of these villages a Brahmin has an additional function, namely to cook the Bhoga so that non-Dumals may also participate in the general feast.

The additions to the Khond pattern found in the Dumal ritual seem to be signs of a higher degree of Hinduisation; they all point so to speak in a Hindu direction. The significant enlargement of the functions of the Brahmin marks a higher degree of general recognition of the cult. The posts and the bādis are definitely looked at as mūrtis of the goddesses. In this context it is interesting to note, that there certainly is a certain degree of anthropomorphization in the Dumal concept: the bādis are adorned as human beings and spoken of as such, but no iconographic consequences are (yet) drawn. Last but not the least, the careful handling of the new log which must remain pure
and even the unusual disposal of the old posts as something which has become impure agree very well with Hindu concepts of purity.

If the special features of the Dumal cult are signs of a higher degree of Hinduisation it is only natural that they should find parallels in the Puri Navakalevaro. The most important features to be found in both the rituals are the conception of the death of the old posts or figures, and the fact, that to instal them properly something has to be inserted into them. As in the Dumal instances, the Daitas in Puri after having disposed of the old figures have to take a bath and then to observe mourning, because of the death of Lord Jagannatha, who was their "relative." The parallel between the insertion of the Brahna padartha and the golden nails, both necessary to the installation but separated from the brahmanical consecration is also obvious. The insertion of the Brahna padartha is a prerogative of the Daitas—only for the figure of Lord Jagannatha it is performed by the Pati Mahapatra, who is the only non-Daita present.

The Dumal cult can be called a partially Hinduised cult in the sense of a "lineage cult". With one exception other groups do not generally join into the cult. Accordingly the Mahešvari temples are of some importance only in those places where the Dumals play an important role or have a large majority. In other villages of the area where that is not so, the Mahešvari temples are neglected, or even in ruins.

In one of those villages for instance, the temple enshrines only a sword, and in front of it there is a sort of platform, but without kambha. It broke down and could not be renewed, because the insignificant Dumal community here is no more able to support such a complicated ritual. "We are fools" says the old Dumal, who acts as a dehuri, and sadly adds, that his son does not even know, how to perform the yearly sacrifice properly, so that the worship of the deity will die with him.

The Hinduisation of the post worship as found in the Dumals is clearly associated and that means also limited, to the degree of Hinduisation or assimilation the whole group enjoys. But this is not necessarily so. Whereas we could speak of a partial Hinduisation in the case of the Dumals there are many instances of this cult being Hinduised in general, i.e., attended to by all castes and groups.

4. The Ritual in Hindu Village Cults

In many villages through Western Orissa posts are worshipped by the whole community of a village consisting of different castes. The
worship of the post may either be connected with the cult of the village goddess or be carried out in a shrine of its own, where usually several goddesses are worshipped together, one of them being represented by a post. The priests of these village shrines are almost invariably non-Brahmins, and sometimes belong to groups of clearly tribal origin. What is most remarkable in the present context, is the fact, that though posts are frequently found in these village-cults, yet the ritual of renewal is seldom performed. In one of those shrines, for instance, Kambheśvari is represented by an almost entirely dilapidated post and a huge stone, and worshipped, together with other goddesses, by a suddha-dehuri. He is perfectly aware of the fact, that this mere stump of a post will not last much longer, and also has a vague idea of how a renewal should be performed. But he and the villagers are equally positive on the fact, that it is impossible for them to perform this complicated ritual, and that to remove the post without the proper knowledge would be moreover highly dangerous. So they calmly wait for the post to disappear, which does not mean that the worship of Kambheśvari is going to be discontinued, she will be by then represented by the stone only.

The inability to perform the ritual of renewal might be reinforced in modern times but does not seem to be a modern feature altogether. As has been seen in the Dumal case, the performance of the ritual of renewal needs the support of a strong community. This necessary precondition is no more present on the level of village folk religion, where the worship of a post is not the dominating feature of the cult but just one element of it. Substitutions by stones are therefore common and sometimes still remembered. Their occurrence explains a fact which at first sight seems most disturbing: in most of the Kambheśvari shrines listed by the Religious Endowments office the "lady of the post" is represented not by a post but by a stone. This regression in the occurrence of the ritual of renewal is typical for that stage of general Hinduisation which may be called an intermediate stage.

5. The Ritual attending the level of a Temple Cult.

The ritual is again found to be carried out quite frequently on what may be called a final stage of Hinduisation, the temple level. On this level the necessary support for the performance of the ritual may again be found on a larger scale. Where the impact of the Khonds or Dumals is considerable, the worship of the post may be such a predominant feature of a particular cult only just having reached the temple level, that its renewal has to be performed and supported by
the whole community, as for instance in the temple of Bāralā Devi in Balasgumpha, which is on the verge to become a “full” temple, not yet being fully recognised by all castes. At this place the beginning differentiation amongst the priests can be well exemplified.

Though most probably originally all of tribal stock, the priests belong to different groups: the dehuri is a sūdha, the kālisi and the bāhuka only are Khond. As a sort of compensation so to speak, some actions of the ritual of renewal, usually performed by the dehuri are conferred to Khonds specially called in. The search party has to consist of Khonds, they only can remove the old and instal the new post. And strictly speaking Khonds should also carve the new post—but as, according to the villagers, they don’t have the skill, that is now done by the dehuri.⁴³

Often the worship of posts at temple level is also connected with a royal cult—probably as a guarantee for the allegiance between the king and his tribal subjects and it is therefore the rājā who sponsors the ritual of renewal.⁴⁴

A good example of such a cult is found in Gopalprasad near Talcher, a shrine which may also be said to be, typologically, at the verge of the temple level. It fulfils only two of the three conditions mentioned above: it is accepted by all Hindus and of more than local importance, but there is no daily worship being performed. Accordingly the “tribal” elements of the cult, as possession and mass sacrifice are of considerable impact, whereas the Brahmanic influence is comparatively weak.

The yearly Hiṅgulā yātrā at Gopalprasad, where the goddess appears in a fire, attracts people from all over the region. During the four preceding Tuesdays the goddess is worshipped at her shrine, but without sacrifices. The Hiṅgulā of Gopalprasad is supposed to be the non-vegetarian sister of the Puri Hiṅgulā, who is Laksmi. The possession of the kālisi during Hiṅgulā yātrā and the beginning of the sacrifices take place between sunset and the rise of the moon, because at this hour, the Puri temple of Hiṅgulā is supposed to be closed, and so the Hiṅgulā from Puri can come to Gopalprasad. The legend says, that Hiṅgulā, the family deity of the previously powerful Nālas, advised the new king Padmanābha Haricandana, who after having just founded Talcher, fought against the Nālas, how to win. He had to sacrifice the Kaiwarta, who worshipped Tāleśvari in Talcher, and to offer his head. This the rājā did and since then the Hiṅgulā cult of Gopalprasad is attached to the royal cult of Talcher.⁴⁵ There is a shrine built by the rājas of Talcher, where
Hiṅgulā—represented by pebbles and three other goddesses, represented by small platforms only, are worshipped. In a separate pavilion behind the shrine two rough pillars of sāl wood are said to represent Vana Durgā but are also called Budhi Thākurāṇi or Kambheśvari. The dehuri and the kālisi claim to be Kṣatriyas, but are by others sometimes called casā, and wear a thread. They are even referred to as “śuddha dehuri” and are the descendants of the original inhabitants.

The two posts are renewed once in a lifetime of a rājā at the first occurrence of the Hiṅgulā yātrā after his accession to the throne when he has to offer his weapons, —swords and guns—to the goddess. The pattern of the ritual is very similar to the Khond one, with a few exceptions. All but one—no sacrifices are given when fetching the tree, probably because it is brought from quite nearby—recall the Dumal pattern: the old post is drowned in a tank, the carpenter has to cover his mouth while working. No metals are given into the hole, but the new posts are “given a heart” by the dehuri, who inserts a golden nail into their middle portion. Thereafter the Brahmin, who comes from the palace at Talcher, gives the pratisthā mantra. The marginal function of the Brahmin, whose actions here are a mere addition, can be very well observed in Gopalprasad: while performing his homa, the Brahmin sits unnoted in a remote corner of the shrine, the main attention being focussed on the actions of the dehuri. After the dehuri and the carpenter, who belongs to the same group as the former, have erected the posts, the rājā has to worship them. Then the kālisi—as the medium is called here—gets in trance and utters prophecies on the coming year, and after this the yearly sacrificing of goats and buffaloes starts.

As compared to the Khond and the Dumal pattern, there is only one new feature in the Gopalprasad ritual: the fetching of the new log and the disposal of the old post is escorted by royal soldiers who watch over the whole ceremony. This marks the special relationship to the king, and it seems almost natural that the same feature should also be present in Puri, where the rājā also sends policemen along with the search party.

6. The Ritual in a Temple Cult: Sonepur

The highest level of Hinduised post worship is found in Sonepur, where there are five instances interrelated, one separate, one within the palace and three in connection with a temple. Rectangular posts with a sort of crest stand near the Kambheśvari and the Sureśvari temples. The Šamaleśvari temple is flanked by very high twin poles. All these posts are of rohini wood and only roughly carved.
They are supposed to represent Kambheśvari, who is thought of as a sister of the deity worshipped within the temple, or as her representative, who in her stead accepts blood sacrifices. The daily pūja, which always includes offerings of water, flower, milk etc., to the posts, is carried out by thānapatis ("Lords of the place") The thānapati acting in the Šamaleśvari and the Kambheśvari temple is one and the same person whereas the thānapati of the Sureśvari temple is supposed to be of a slightly higher rank and wears a thread. Whereas the Kambheśvari and the Sureśvari temples contain only images of the main deity (in the case of Kambheśvari actually a Durgā image), the Šamaleśvari temple enshrines also a movable post which is considered to represent Baunthi. To Śamalāi or Šamaleśvari, once a day food (including fish curry) from the palace is offered, where it has been cooked by a Brahmin woman. All the three temples are connected with the shrine in the palace, which is actually situated in the residential part of it. There Durgā, Kāli and Bhubanesvari are worshipped daily by one of the two main court Brahmins, the sākta purohitā. Outside the shrine, in front of its only window a round pillar of rohini wood is supposed to represent Durgā and also included into the daily worship. In front of this pillar at the time of the Durgā pūja a buffalo is sacrificed by a māli ("gardener") with a special sword. The sword is kept within the palace and afterwards washed in the Mahanadi at a special spot called Khaṇḍādhuāghāta. At Daśaharā also in the other three temples sacrifices are offered while the deities from the palace, represented by their calanti pratimā—visit them: Durgā goes to the Kambheśvari temple, Kāli to Sureśvari, and Bhubaneśvari to Šamaleśvari.

For the renewal of the posts attached to the three temples, Dumals are specially called in. The procedure follows the Dumal pattern with a few exceptions: the logs are covered with red cloth, no gold is inserted into the posts themselves, but brass and gold plates are put into the earth. The dehuri accompanies the search party, which is duly escorted by royal pāikas, worships the spotted tree and performs the first stroke. The prāṇa-pratishā mantra is given by the sākta purohitā. It is that of Durgā in the Kambheśvari temple, that of Dakṣiṇa Kāli in the Sureśvari and that of Šamaleśvari in the Šamaleśvari temple. The post in the palace is also renewed according to the same pattern, only that the ritual is carried out, as was independently stated by two eye-witnesses not by Dumals but by thānapati.

These temples of Sonepur are not very old. But they offer a good example of how the originally tribal worship of posts can be incorporated into a royal cult of some complexity. The most
prominent feature of this stage is the separation between the main cult and the sacrifice, which is no longer offered to the main icon, but to the posts as representatives only, and the further division of labour and differentiation in the ranking of the priests, which restricts those belonging to a group of tribal origin to special duties only.

Besides Puri, Sonepur is the only place where the ritual of renewal is performed on the temple level. As in Puri, here the Hinduisation of the ritual has become more intense in so far as some more important duties are performed no longer by the specialist priests of the “tribal” group but by the regular priest of non-tribal, or no more tribal affiliation: the worship of the spotted tree is conducted in Puri by the Brahmin Pati Mahapatra, in the Sonepur temples by the thānapati. These priests also give the very first stroke, the second only is left to the chief Daita or Dumal.

Naturally, the Puri temple is by far more Brahmanised. Accordingly, the Puri Navakalevara represents a further stage of intensified Hinduisation, where the Brahmanical side of the ritual, especially in the consecration, as well as the division of labour between the different priests, is considerably more elaborate, and a new part has been added: the painting of the figures.

7. Prototypes of Navakalevara and the Origin of Jagannātha

The fact, that rituals of renewal are not a common feature in tribal and folk religion, suggests that their similarity to the Puri ritual is more than typological: one is led to suppose, that the original tribal deity, who was Hinduized into Jagannātha, specifically belonged to such tribes, which practised the ritual of renewal. This is supported by the fact, that the Puri Navakalevara ritual considers the Jagannātha figure to be Narasimha\(^4\), Narasimha is that iconographical aspect of Jagannātha, which recedes in the later theology, it can be easily associated with tribal cults, and was probably instrumental for the development of the Jagannātha iconography\(^5\). It has been shown, that today the main realm, where rituals of renewal on tribal and village level are found, is western Orissa. These rituals are even today associated with the worship of the goddess Kambheśvari, who represents the same type of Hinduization as Subhadra of the Puri Triad and has been worshipped in that region since 500 A.D. It is also in this region, where, today the associations of wooden posts with Narasimha still are to be found.

This seems to support the legends, which speak of Jagannātha having originally been worshipped in the West, along the Mahanadi
coast. Moreover, the Mādalā Pāñji directly states a connection between the Puri Navakalevara ritual and practices of renewal in West Orissa. It is told, that the images of Lord Jagannātha had to be recovered from the invasion of Raktabahu and hidden, buried actually in the region of Sonepur. The King, Yayāti Keśari who built the first Jagannātha temple we know of, rediscovered them, but as the images were disfigured, new ones had to be made. Therefore the king looked for the Daitas and Patis who had settled down in that region and assembled them. It was these priests from the Sonepur region, who "cut the tree and reconstructed the wooden images of the greatest Lord according to śāstric instructions".56

The question is, did Yayāti import the Navakalevara ritual and possibly, also the Hinduised deity Jagannātha —Narasimha altogether, or did he, as the text says, renew a local cult in Puri which had been neglected? The question has been thoroughly discussed57, here only these aspects connected with the Navakalevara ritual will be considered.

There is one important feature in the Puri Navakalevara, which links the ritual to the coastal region. It is not, as one should expect, Lord Jagannātha, who through a dream indicates the direction in which the tree is to be found, but the goddess Maṅgalā in Kakatpur on the bank of the river Prachi.58

This goddess probably stands in place of an aboriginal deity59. It is remembered, that originally not Maṅgalā, but the goddess of the place Kākateī was worshipped there, who still owns a dilapidated shrine near the temple. It is said, that the original place of worship was at Deuli, near the river, where today the matha stands in which the Navakalevara party of Puri stays.

The image worshipped today is evidently substituted, it is, as Tripathi could ascertain, a Buddhist statue of Tārā. The local legends in a way account for that, saying that the original statue of the goddess vanished, or hid from the invasion of Kalapahar, to appear again in an image drowned in the river.60. Up to a few years ago, when the pressure against such “improper” offering to a parama vaisnava devi succeeded61, buffaloes were sacrificed to the goddess. The details of the sacrifice are similar to those met with in other Hinduised cult.62

The connection of the Puri Navakalevara ritual with an important śākta deity of the coastal region, suggests, that the ritual originated in that very area. This is very likely, as it has to be assumed, that the tribal substrat, which practised the ritual of renewal, did extend in former times up to the coast. Even today the limits of the
area where post worship connected with renewal starts, begin at a distance from more or less 50 km. to the coast, trace. Traces of it are present for instance at Aska, Banpur, Nayagarh, the villages Sukinda and Jenapur on the bank of the Brahmani.

Considering the present distribution of rituals of renewal on different levels of Hinduisation, as well as its presence in Puri, one cannot but suppose, that the tribal stratum practising this ritual once extended up to the coast. Moreover, Hinduised cults in Orissa are usually local cults. They received royal patronage because of their “territoriality”, a peculiar feature which connected these deities with their surrounding territory. It is therefore very probable, that the Hinduization of a tribal deity connected with the ritual of renewal took place in Puri itself.

Thus it is likely, that Yayāti did exactly, what the Mādalā Pāṇji text says: he patronised a local cult, which represented the same type of Hinduised cult prevalent in his homeland. If, as the text suggests, the Puri cult had been discontinued, or at least neglected, it might have been indeed necessary to reinstate priests, which were attached to such cults and specialists in the ritual of renewal. To introduce such priests from his homeland, where such cults were prevalent, would have been natural for Yayāti and serve a political issue as well, namely to secure the ties between his homeland and the newly conquered area.\

8. Rāmacandra’s probable Impact on the Navakalevara Ritual

The Mādalā Pāṇji which relates the Yayāti story was compiled at the end of the sixteenth century, at the time of Rāmacandra. Rāmacandra, the founder of the Khurda dynasty, renewed the Jagannātha cult, and reinstalled the figures, which had been destroyed by the Muslim invasion in 1568. The king was highly praised for this deed by the Puri priests and given the title of the “second Indradyumna” abhinava Indradyumna avatāra.

Seen against this background, one might of course doubt the historicity of the Yayāti tradition and its relation to the Navakalevara ritual altogether, and suppose, that the story of Yayāti was introduced in the late sixteenth century—as a model to Rāmacandra’s deed of reinstallation. It has therefore even been supposed, that the Navakalevara altogether was introduced only by Rāmacandra. However, the ritual itself showed, that this is impossible. Had it been introduced in the late sixteenth century, at a time when Jagannātha’s identification with Kṛṣṇa was already prevalent, the ritual would certainly acknowledge this Kṛṣṇa character, as well as the distinct
character of Balabhadra as Saṃkarṣaṇa and Subhadrā as Ekanamśā instead of concentration on the older Narasimha character.

The reinstallation of the figures through Rāmachandra, had certainly an impact of their iconography and the ritual of Nava-kalevara. It has already been noted, that the wrappings around the figures, and their paintings are additional features found only in Puri. The angular form of the Jagannātha sculpture in Konarak (c. 1250 A.D.) also suggests, that the wrappings, which are mainly responsible for the rounded forms, were not yet existing in thirteenth century when this earliest known sculpture of Jagannātha was carved. It was perhaps Rāmachandra to introduce these additional features, when he reinstalled the figures.

Rāmachandra’s reinstallation probably also marked another change in the ritual as to the nature of the Brahma padārtha. The tribal prototypes of the ritual always have pieces of the five metals inserted beneath and gold within the posts.

One is therefore led to suppose, that the Brahma padārtha of the Puri figures contains gold, or metal as well. But in all the prototypes of the Navakalevara ritual this piece of metal or gold is always newly installed, whereas in Puri it has to be the old Brahma padārtha which is transferred. This could be an addition from the time of Rāmachandra. The legends in the Mādalā Pāṇji and Cakāḍā Pothi narrate, how a part of the old Jagannātha figures destroyed by Kalapahar, namely the Brahma padārtha was saved by Biṣar Mahānti, and hidden in Kujang, until it could be reinstalled in the new figures set up by Rāmachandra.66 Rāmachandra’s reinstallation of Jagannātha figures followed a real interruption of the cult or at least desecration, which lasted several years. The old figures were no more present, at least not in a correct ritual condition. Accordingly, the Nava-kalevara ritual could probably not occur in its usual form, directly substituting the new figures to the old ones. To insert an element of the old figures together or in place of the metal, to “give life” to the figures, may therefore have been introduced at that moment as a means to secure the continuity of the cult, which had been forcibly interrupted.
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1. This article of late Dr. Anncharlott Eschmann is included in the proceedings of the Orissa Research Project ("The Cult of Jagannatha and the Regional Tradition of Orissa"), ca. 600 pages. The proceedings were originally to be edited by Dr. A. Eschmann, together with Dr. H. Kulke and Dr. G. C. Tripathi. Due to her sudden death on 6-4-1977 publication had to be postponed till the beginning of 1978. By printing one of her main articles in the present Souvenir Volume of the Indian History Congress in Bhubaneswar her great contribution to the history of religion and culture of Orissa is appreciated in a befitting manner. She was expected to arrive in Orissa on the 9th of April to take up her research on this year's Navakalevara ritual, but instead, the news of her death reached Orissa on that very day.

2. The latest study is G. C. Tripathi's article, which is incorporated in the above mentioned Book. See also his previous essay: Tripathi, 1974; A. Das, 1969 and K. C. Mishra, 1971, p. 139 ff.

3. During my field work in Orissa I was happy enough to witness by chance such a ritual of renewal, namely the renewal of the Kambesvari posts at Gopalprasad during the festival of Hingulayatra, which occurs only once within the lifetime of a raja of Talcher, after his accession (see below). Thereafter, when I searched systematically for occurrences of this ritual, I could often notice how reluctant the priests were to talk about it. It was usually only their realising that I was already familiar with it, which induced them to speak. This naturally involved the danger that I should influence them, which I tried to avoid as far as possible by a very cautious questioning.


5. See A. Eschmann 1978, Chapter IV and H. Kulke in the present volume.

6. There is probably a connection between these posts and the famous Meriah posts. This is suggested for instance by the fact that "the brass effigy of a peacock is buried besides the Meriah post" (McPherson, 1865, p. 4), which recalls the metal buried underneath the posts discussed here.

7. Empty shrines are found mainly in the Phulbani area, dedicated to Barala Devi, for instance in the villages: Ganjuguda, Urumunda, Balasgumpha (see below). Posts within the shrines as well as in the outer enclosure are frequently met with in the Khond Mahals (between Daspalla and Baudhi), for instance in Thakuda (Bandiri Thakurani) and Raniganj (Barala Devi). A stone within a shrine which has a post in the outer enclosure is found for instance in Bahali (for the goddess Pitabali) in the Northern Khond.

8. As shall be seen below, the common practice amongst the Khonds and Dumals is, to tie a rope from the buffalo to the sacrificial post (set up for this occasion only), from there to the "navel" of the outer post and eventually to the inner post, so that both posts partake of the sacrificial blood at the very moment of sacrifice. In addition, the blood is usually poured over these posts, or at least symbolically offered to them. The head of the buffalo is also often offered, worshipped even and then buried within the outer enclosure. In some villages (Raniganj for instance) the buffalo roams freely through the village to be worshipped and offered gifts. Often, the buffalo has also to eat the rice offered to the goddess (pun). This practice recalls the meriah sacrifice, where the victim was also allowed to roam through the village and stay in whatever house he or she chose. A burial
of the remains of the Meriah sacrifice is also mentioned in some reports (for instance Mc Pherson, 1865, p. 50 ff.)

9. The posts I could so far find in the Khond area were all quite old, so no recent occurrence of the renewal could be related. However, the accounts given in the different villages were conforming in nearly all major features, varying only in details. The following description follows mainly the account given by Bamadeva Malika Khanda, the priest of the Pitabali temple in Bahali. Major variations in details, as found in the villages listed in Note 7, are mentioned.


11. In Raniganj it was added, that the top of the tree should be shaped like a triangle and its leaves should not touch the ground, in Thakuda the condition was, that it should not be hollow, if found to be so, another tree must be selected.

12. Urumunda (here the log is immediately covered with a red silk cloth) and Balasgumpa.

13. Raniganj.

14. An additional precaution, namely, that the log is never actually put on the ground but only on blocks of newly cut wood, was mentioned in Udayagiri and Raniganj.

15. Whether another puja and sacrifice was performed there, could nowhere be well remembered—it may depend on the wealth of the community. In respect to the carving, Bahali offers a major exception as it was said that the whole carving was done already in the wood.


17. Bhejini (Khond) is the person, who becomes possessed (Oriya: Kalisi), bahuka is the person, who kills the sacrificial animal.

18. Urumunda, Raniganj.

19. Only in Thakuda people could not remember that metal was given into the hole but named rice and milk instead, in Udayagiri salt was mentioned.

20. Bahali only.

21. For instance not in Thakuda and Bahali.

22. Raniganj. Sometimes the head of the animal is also given to a special group for their function in the ritual, for instance in Ganjuguda to the drummers.

23. Mazumdar 1911, p. 121. Interesting in this connection is that the Gandas, one of the scheduled castes of the region, worship a deity called Thanopati.

24. The most striking account of meriah—like practices was given in Ranisardha by the village chief Judhishtira Mahakura. Here the head of the buffalo is taken into a newly constructed shed at the north of the shrine and put on a mandala. The Brahmin (1) worships it and gives a jivanyasa mantra, so that “the eyes move again, the tongue is put out and life restored”. The Brahmin feeds the head, and then the dehuri carries it away “without looking to the left or to the right” and buries it. The meat of the buffalo’s body is given to the Harijans. In Harada Khala the head is buried under two pots, the body given to the Panas.

25. In Urumunda there used to be a Dumal bhejini, in Raniganj, whose whole cult of all the Khond villages surveyed, seemed most close to the Dumal cults, always a Dumal acts as bhejini.
26. Nandi (1973, p. 122) thinks, that "The use of red rohini wood, in place of black wood, also followed from a desire to shed most of the primitive features of the deity before she could be finally accepted as a goddess of the Brahmanical (!) pantheon." Mazumdar (1911, p. 446) mentions, that Paramahesvari is worshipped by Brahmans, whereas Kambhesvari, represented in the Dumlal cults by the outer, black post, is not. This has been taken up by Nandi (ibid.). In my own field work, I could so far not find any trace of this practice.

27. This may occur in relatively great temples of prosperous Dumlal villages as for instance in Harada Khala, but also in dilapidated shrines of multi-caste villages, where the Dumlals form only a neglected minority, for instance in Menda (see below and Bambala, South-east of Baudh). All villages with Dumlal cults are situaed in the Sonepur-Baudh region.

In some villages, for instance in Ranisardha, the badis stand in an inner room, and in the anti-room three more badis are separately leaning against the wall. They are meant to support the cattras at the time of festival and are also occasionally worshipped. A similar subdivision with an inner chamber is also often found in the Khond shrines.

28. For instance in Harada Khala, Baladi, Ranisardha every Purnima day.

29. In the Dumlal area I was happy enough to find an instance where the post was renewed in 1967 only. The following description follows the account given by the dehuri Benu Dara Karani in that village (Harada Khala), which but for one house of Brahmans is exclusively inhabited by Dumlals. The only major difference between the various accounts I could collect, was found in Baladi, where only the renewal of the outer posts, not that of the badis was remembered to be accompanied by sacrifices.

30. Kokshakona, Ranisardha. In the latter the log is carried through the whole village before being brought to the temple.

31. In Harada Khala it was stated, that the gold to be inserted into the navel was not a nail but a greater piece. Here as in one Khond village as well, sand from the river is brought to fill up the hole.

32. Ranisardha.

33. Fortunately I could interview the Brahmin Narayana Mishra who acted at the last renewal in Harada Khala. He lives in Dhungripali, at a considerable distance. His manual is "Thakura Puja Paddhati" by Shri Dhara Rao published in Cuttack 1928.

34. Harada Khala.

35. In Baladi the Dumlal appointed for this task is said to be given Rs. 100/- The removal of the old post is considered to be a very dangerous action (see below).

36. Baladi, Harada Khala.

37. Baladi.


39. Visva Mahakula Dumlal, the dehuri of the Mahesvari temple in Menda, a great multi-caste place North West of Sonepur with several temples.

40. For instance in the Kambhesvari shrines in Baudhapatta and Gamberipada (both in the Sonepur region) where Kambhesvari is worshipped amongst other goddesses, but is the only one to be represented by a post.

41. Upendra Dehuri, priest of the Kambhesvari shrine in Bahira (North West of Sonepur).
42. Such a replacement is still remembered in the Samalai temple of Baragarh, where there is a Kambhesvari shrine. It is in front of Kambhesvari—"the sister of Samalai"—that the sacrifices are performed, because whereas Samalai takes sacrifices only at Dassahara, Kambhesvari always accepts them. Kambhesvari is now represented by a stone in a small shrine.

But people remember, that formerly two posts were standing there. When decayed, they were thrown into the river, and the shrine was constructed over a stone which used to lie there.

43. A similar case is found in Udayagiri, fifty miles north-east from Phulbani, in the temple of Bharalarauladevi. This is a closed temple of concrete, which is only opened four times a year. Such "closed temples" are sometimes found in places where castes and tribes live together, the rare opening corresponds to the tribal feature of worship in large intervals. Inside the temple a heap of mud painted as a face is said to be. The dehuri is casa. But when the post has to be renewed, a "Khond guru" is called and Khonds have to perform the ritual under his supervision.

44. See also H. Kulke's article in the present volume.

45. Gadananayak, 1970, p. 17 ff. Similar legends about the foundations of a kingdom through a human sacrifice are very frequent in that region, for instance in Dhenkanal, see Kulke 1976.

46. Namely : Pitabali, Andhari Thakurani, Katasuni. In the village itself there is another shrine for Katasuni, represented by one sal-wood post.

47. Gadananayak, 1970, p. 16. There are also other minor castes attached to the cult which have lands allotments for their services: A camar wears the chattra, a mali brings flowers, the drummers are Hodi (a low untouchable class) a gaua supplies curd and water, a bhandari (barber) the puja articles, a kumbhara the pots, a gudia the sweets, paikas are the messengers for instance between dehuri and kalisi.

48. The heads are offered to the goddess, represented by one allama near the fire, the kidneys are stored and afterwards cooked by the dehuri to be offered to the goddess. No features recalling the Meriah-sacrifice are found here.


50. In Sonepur five instances of post worship are found which are themselves interrelated. Locally known as the oldest instance are two posts of rohini wood which stand near the Da temple in that part of the town known as Gadahatpur. They are worshipped four times a year by their pujari who is a Teli, (oil presser) with sacrifices of goats and chickens. At Dassahara the so called thanapati, the dehuri of the Samalai and the Kambhesvari temple, comes to worship, and when the posts have to be renewed, the Brahma Purohit attached to the royal court comes to give the pratistha mantra.

51. The sakta purohita is only concerned with the worship of these goddesses whereas the other royal Brahmin, the raja purohita is officiating in the king's family ceremonies. For all informations relating to Sonepur I am greatly indebted to Mr. Nagpadi Panda, the manager of the palace.

52. This probably indicates a relation between the two groups which needs further study.

53. From their outer appearance these three temples look as if they were built in the nineteenth century only. According to the tradition given by Mazumdar, the Kambhesvari temple was built by Raj Sing Deo, a Chohan king who according to
Mazumdar should have lived in the early eighteenth century (cf. Mazumdar, 1911, p. 51 and p. 117 f.).


55. For a more detailed study of the process of Hinduization of the early Jagannatha Cult see A. Eschmann’s articles (Chapters 4 and 5) in the forthcoming proceedings of the Orissa Research Projects.


57. See the article “the Formation of the Jagannatha Triad” by Eschmann/Kulke/Tripathi in the forthcoming proceedings of the Orissa Research Project.


61. Mohapatra (1968, p. 11) expresses himself very strongly on that point.

62. The details of the sacrifice as related by one of the priests, Narayana Dikshit, are similar to those met with in Hinduised cults. The sacrificial sword is kept in the house of the “Zamindar” and brought to the temple at the eve of Dassahara. A sacrificial (forked) post of mango wood (to hold the head of the buffalo) is erected at the north of the temple, within the compound. The ‘puja panda’ worships the sword, the sacrificial post and the buffalo (pasu mantra). A Bhoi (Harijan) kills the animal. The blood is offered to the four candi camundas in the four directions. Afterwards the Bhoi who has sacrificed throws the pillar over the northern wall of the compound. All this happens at the dead of the night, and while the doors of the main temples are closed.

Another feature of the Mangala cult, which suggests aboriginal influence, is the practice of walking through the fire, which is practised there on Caitra Sankranti (see Bihar and Orissa Gazetteers, PURI, 1929, p. 284).


64. G. N. Dash 1964.


66. The legend is discussed at length by Kulke, 1978 b.

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CHAPTER 33

JAGANNATH DURING THE RULE OF THE GANGAS AND SURYAS

Puri or Puruṣottama Kṣetra of Orissa has got its name and fame for Lord Jagannāth all through the world. This Kṣetra on the basis of the cult of Jagannath has been described in Purāṇas as the most sacred place in Bhārata Varṣa. It is the place, where the God Puruṣottama (Jagannāth) has made his perpetual abode like Vaikuṇṭha Bhuvana. Therefore its unparalleled greatness, sanctity and importance is unique and unquestionable. Not only it attracts the pilgrims of all sects from all over the world, but it also, has created enthusiasm in the mind of the kings belonging to different sects of religion during their rule over Orissa. The Mātharas, Sailodbhavas, Bhaumakaras, Somavamsis, Gangas and Suryas, all paid homage to the Lord and did a lot for His worship. Even the Marāthās and the British did not neglect their duty towards the Lord.

During the rule of the Keśari or Somavamsi dynasty Puri and Bhubaneswar both had become religious centres. Although they were Saivas, they were also supporters of Vaisnavism. Yayati Keśari himself constructed a temple of Jagannath after the reinstallation of the deities from Sone Pur.

It is not the present temple of Jagannath which Yayati built, but a different one. The height of the present temple is 120 cubits (hands); but the height of the temple constructed by Yayati was thirty-eight cubits only.

Scholars like Dr. K. C. Mishra, suggest that the present temple of Lord Jagannath gives credit to three rulers. It is possible that the construction of the house-structure was begun by Yayati, although the epigraphical records undoubtedly prove that it was Chodaganga Deva who built the present temple. It is however strange that tradition gives credit for the structure to Anangabhima Deva only.
M. M. Ganguli calculates the height of the present temple to be 214 feet and 8 inches from the ground level.\(^6\) According to the copper plate inscription of Raj Raj III of 1198 A.D., the credit for construction of the temple of Jagannath goes to one Gangeśvar.\(^6\) According to M. M. Chakravarty this Gangeśvar is identified with Chodaganga Deva which has been accepted by all other scholars. But Madalapanji suggests Gangeśvara Deva to be a separate king who succeeded the throne after Chodaganga Deva, belonging to the same Ganga dynasty.\(^7\) However, we are sure of this much that the present temple has been constructed and completed in the 12th century A.D. during the rule of the Gangas.

This is the time when Jayadeva was attracted to settle at Puri and to spread the inspiration about the Lord by writing his famous Gitagovindam. After the great temple was constructed. \(\ldots\) Jagannath became the real Ruler, and the king ruled as his representative only.\(^8\) This conception came into existence in the times of Anangabhima Deva (1212—1239 A.D.) who was a Parama Vaiṣṇava and Parama Māheśvara at the same time. He was also entitled Durgāputra, Rudraputra and Purusottama Putra.\(^9\) Madalā Pānij gives the credit to Anangabhima for the construction of the temple. When Anangabhima saw the three small temples of Purusottama, constructed by Yayati, which were very old and about to collapse, he constructed the great temple.\(^10\) In this time the present Chhatišāniyoga or the ‘thirty-six institutions for the Lord’s service’ was organised for the first time.\(^11\) It is for this that the temple of Jagannath could attain the height of glory in the time of Anangabhima Deva.

In the eighth century when the Purusottama Māhātmya of Skanda Purāṇa was composed, Jagannath was conceived as Viṣṇu-Krisṇa and Krisṇa Vāsudeva; but never as Krisṇa the pious lover of Sri Rādhā.\(^12\) In the 12th century Jayadeva conceived Krisṇa as the so called husband of Rādhā and Jagannath became Krisṇa of Gita Govindam.\(^13\) However, in the time of Pratāparudra, Jagannath was visualised as the embodiment of Rādhā and Krisṇa.\(^14\)

In the 13th century Narasingh Muni, a follower of Madhyāchārya and then Naraharitirtha and Jagannāth Tirtha preached Vaisnavism in Orissa.\(^15\) Jagannath as their prominent deity, the temple of Jagannath became the centre of Vaisnavism under the patronage of Ganga Kings.\(^16\) By this time the Viṣṇuite conception of Jagannath was merged in the sun worship and his chariot was also called “Ravi Ratha”. As a result of this prevalence of sun-worship, the famous Ganga king Narasingh Deva constructed the artistic temple of Konarak.
In the fourteenth century Bhānuadeva II (1308—1328 A. D.) was the ruler of Orissa as well as the administrator of Jagannath temple.\(^\text{17}\) His period did not pass smooth. He had to fight a battle with the Muhammedans when Ghiyasuddin sent his son Ulugh Khan to attack Telengana in 1321 A.D.\(^\text{18}\) This is the period of Muslim invasions for which considerable development could not have been done in the temple of Lord Jagannath. His grand-son is said to have fought a battle with Sultan Firoze Tughlak of Delhi and defeated him.\(^\text{19}\) However, due to the treachery and rivalry of Hindu kings among themselves, Firoze could succeed to win the battle in the second time. As a result the Muslims could get an opportunity to enter into the heart of Orissa and thereby destroyed Hindu gods and temples. When they entered into the Jagannath temple, the deities were removed by the Pandas to some secure places like Chilika. Therefore, any development in the activity of Jagannath temple could not have been made during this time.

The last king of the Ganga dynasty was Bhanu IV who was also known as Nihšanka Bhanudeva. He was ruling Orissa in the fourteenth century. Like his predecessors he had to face a battle with the king of Gauda where he won the victory.\(^\text{20}\)

He was a great devotee to Lord Jagannath and in his time some works were composed for the Lord by different writers. After him the Ganga dynasty went behind the screen and Kapilendra Deva or Kapileswar appeared there to start the Surya dynasty.

When Kapilendra (15th century) ascended the throne, he saw the enemies all around. He felt, if he would not suppress them, his fate would be similar to that of the last kings of Ganga dynasty. Therefore he followed the footsteps of Anangabhima Deva III and emphatically upheld the Lord as the supreme Lord of Orissa and himself as his representative. Very often he was bringing to the notice of Lord Jagannath about the day-to-day administration of his kingdom. For example, he prayed to Lord Jagannath that he might be permitted to punish some of his officials for their rebellious activity.\(^\text{21}\) This activity of the king earned popular support at large; as a result, he was able to conquer the kings of Lata, Karnata, Gauda and Gulbarga, etc.\(^\text{22}\) However, it was known from different inscriptions of his time, i.e., the inscription of the left side of the door frame of the gate of Jagannath temple, that he was taking permission of the Lord for all types of his activities.\(^\text{23}\)

According to tradition Kapilesvara Deva constructed the outer wall of the temple of Lord Jagannath in his fifteenth regnal year.\(^\text{24}\)
He was a sincere devotee of Lord Jagannath. As per tradition mentioned in Madala Panji, he was praying for mercy to the Lord whenever he was in trouble. Whatever truth there might be, every time the mercy and decision were granted by Jagannath through dreams.

Purusottama Deva, the son of Kapilendra Deva, ascended the throne after his father. He was a great devotee of the Lord and his name reflects the name of Jagannath. According to tradition, he was born due to the mercy of Lord Purusottama for which he was named after the Lord. After his coronation in 1467 A.D., he first thought of the service of the Lord and lavishly endowed charities in the form of jewels and land for the performance of the daily worship of Lord Jagannath.²⁵

His administration was also running in the name of Lord Jagannath. Anyone including the tributary rulers of Orissa, if he deceived the King or tried to violate the social order, was regarded a rebel against Lord Jagannath. A popular story, as recorded in Madala Panji discloses that he conquered Kānchi and married the princess Padmāvati.²⁶ In this story we find Jagannath as the protector of the State. The tradition, started at the time of Ananga Bhīma (12th Century) as Jagannath to be the state deity or the real monarch of Orissa and the king his foremost servant, reached the high pitch of its glory at the time of Purusottama Deva. This king as the devotee of the Lord introduced a new “Gitagovindam” known as “Abhinava Gitagovindam”. It was composed by the king himself for the recitation before Lord Jagannath along with the original Gitagovindam of the renowned Orissan poet Jayadeva. After Purusottama Deva, his son Pratāparuddha became the king of Orissa. With the notion that Jagannath would protect the kingdom from the attack of the enemy, this king did not attach any importance to the defence of the empire. According to R. Subrahmanyam Shri Chaitanya from Bengal came to settle at Puri in February-March 1509 A.D. and king Pratāparuddha embraced the new form of Vaisnavism.²⁷ Its doctrine was incorporated in the cult of Purusottama. This is the time when Lord Jagannath was conceived as the embodiment of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa due to the influence of neo-Vaisnavism.²⁸ Therefore Shri Rāmadeva Ray, the son of Bhavānanda Ray, who was the Governor under Pratāparuddha in Rājmahendri, composed a drama known as “Jagannātha Vallabha nāṭakam” where under the influence of neo-Vaisnavism Jagannath was described as Kṛṣṇa, the pious lover of Rādhā.²⁹

After Pratāparuddha embraced the new Vaisnavism, all his high officials like Rāmadeva Ray, etc., accepted this. Ultimately the subjects of the State including the soldiers followed the footprints of the
king. Giving the responsibility of defence to Lord Jagannath, everybody as if became callous towards administration. As a result the administration of the State began to collapse. The monarchy of Jagannath which brought the integrity in the State since 12th century A.D. and made Orissa a formidable power in the whole of India, now became a factor for Orissa’s decline. The downfall of the Surya Vamā kings was due to the impact of neo-Vaisnavism, preached by Shri Chaitanya in Orissa.

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JAGANNATH & KINGSHIP

The Rajas of Puri popularly known as Gajapatis of Orissa are considered as divine as Lord Jagannath. They are generally regarded as the founders and patrons of the Jagannath cult. Their intimate relationship with the paramount deity has long been recognised. It is said that "The Maharaja of Puri is the most respectable person among the Hindus of India. Though there are many wealthy Rajas none of them is held by the Hindus with equal veneration." The Rajas of Puri could attain such a venerated position for their intimate ritualistic association with the paramount deity through ages.

Despite a long history of incursions by hostile forces the association between Lord Jagannath and the Raja has remained unbroken though there was rise and decline of the latter’s position in different periods of Orissan History. The people of Orissa are still used to address the Raja as Chalanti Vishnu (moving-Vishnu in contrast to the Jagannath-Vishnu, who stays permanently in the temple). Similarities exist between the palaces of the Rajas of Puri and the temple of Lord Jagannath. The Lion’s gate is present in both the temple and the palace. The minor deities which are found in the temple are also present in the palace.

The Raja of Puri is the foremost Sevaka of the gods. He performs important services on ritual occasions. He cleans the Cars of the deities during the famous Car Festival. He has similar ritual duties during the summer festival and in the winter festival.

The Raja enjoys certain ritualistic privileges. When he enters the temple all classes of functionaries perform their respective duties in his honour. The tributary chiefs of feudatory states of Orissa perform their respective duties which they are entitled according to tradition and custom.

One of the significant ritual performances which is observed by the Raja every morning in the palace shows a close association between
the Raja and Lord Jagannath. The ritual is called Devarchana (worship of God). The booth stick of Lord Jagannath, a little water used by the Lord during his morning bath and the coconuts which are offered to the Lord on the previous night are carried to the Raja by special Sevakas of the temple for his morning ablutions and it is performed in the same manner as in the case of the deity.

In sanctity and sacredness the palace of the king stands parallel to the temple of Lord Jagannath. The high esteem in which the Rajas of Puri were and are held is a direct result of their relationship with the temple of Jagannath.

The recorded history of their relationship with the temple of Jagannath goes back to the date of its construction (12th century A. D.) though through traditional sources their relationship can be traced back to still earlier period.

The temple was built by Anantavarman Chodaganga Deva in about 1112 A. D. The worship of Jagannath became very popular and the cult rose to prominence after the construction of the present monumental temple. The builder of the temple, king Chodanganga Deva perhaps raised this temple in order to unite various religious cults of Orissa and to popularise the Jagannath cult which had strong Shaka, Shaiva, Tantric and even tribal influences.

Jagannath became the state deity of Ganga empire during the rule of Anangabhima Deva (1211—1238). In order to protect his empire from the Muslim forces he systematically re-organised his empire and built a new capital at Cuttack and named it as Abhinava Kataka. In this capital he erected a huge temple of Jagannath and dedicated his empire to the new State deity. This action of dedicating the empire to Lord Jagannath had certainly a strong impact on the entire Hindu world. In a series of inscriptions dating from his later years Anangabhima described himself as the “Son of Purushottama” acting as the deity’s Viceroy (Rauta) under his advice (adesha) and authority (Samrajya).

Since he was acting as the deity’s Viceroy (rauta) any service rendered to the Raja became a service to Jagannath, the Overlord (Samrajya) of Orissa. Some of his successors therefore followed his example and called themselves rautas under the Samrajya of Jagannath. The Rajas of this dynasty legitimised their action with the “will of Jagannath.”

The politico-ideological aspect of Jagannath cult reached its culmination under the Rajas of the Suryavamsa (1435—1540) who
told their subordinates that any resistance against them would be a treacherous attack (droha) on Jagannath. It is thus evident that the kings of the Ganga and Surya dynasties had utilised Jagannath for their political as well as religious purposes.

Under the Ganga- and Suryavamsi Rajas the Jagannath cult grew into a symbol of Hindu Kingship and royal authority in Orissa. Therefore only those rulers who were in possession of Puri and its Jagannath temple were recognised as the legitimate Gajapatis and rulers of Orissa.

On the death of Mukunda Deva, the last Hindu Raja of Orissa in 1568 A.D., the country was thrown into a great disorder. The Afghan general Kalapahad seemed to have destroyed the central power and demolished the wooden images of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra. In the following years Ramachandra Deva from South Orissa succeeded in building up a small kingdom in about 1572 A.D. with its capital at Khurda. It may be mentioned here that from the reign of Anangabhima Deva, Cuttack was the Capital of Orissa and administration was conducted from the fort of Barabati by the Hindu Rajas who were intimately connected with the cult of Jagannath. But the centre of activities was shifted to Khurda after the establishment of the small kingdom there by Raja Ramachandra Deva.

Ramachandra Deva's position was strengthened when he was recognised as the paramount chief of Orissa by Raja Mansingham, Akbar's famous general in 1592. He appointed him in Puri as the Superintendent of the Jagannath Temple. He was thus installed as the legitimate successor of the Gajapati of Orissa. Dr. N. K. Sahoo speaks of Ramachandra as the Phantom Gajapati of Orissa. In the mean time Ramachandra Deva had taken considerable part in the Jagannath cult. He had already established his political power by installing the Jagannath Trinity in the Puri temples. According to the Madala Panji, during the grand ceremony in the Jagannath Temple at Puri Sannyasins and Brahmacarins in the Jagannath temple accepted Mahaprasad (sacred food) from the Raja and then all the Sannyasins, Brahmacarins and Brahmanas called Maharaja Ramachandra the second or new Indradyumna and gave him the turban.

This was really a great success for Ramachandra Deva. After this he systematically re-organised the administration of the Jagannath temple and could strengthen the political situation. Thus prior to his imperial recognition as the legitimate Gajapati of Orissa by Raja Mansingham, he had already received the traditional legitimation through the Jagannath cult.
We have stated earlier that the Jagannath cult had grown into a symbol of Hindu kingship and royal authority during the reigns of the Ganga- and Suryavamsi kings. The cult at that time was confined to their political jurisdiction. When the cult spread to the other regions outside their political jurisdiction it was due to the fact that the feudatory chiefs also wanted to utilise this symbol as a symbolic declaration of their independence.

It is true that the position, power and authority of the kings of the Ganga and Surya dynasties had increased to a great extent for their intimate connection with the Jagannath cult but there was gradual decline of the position and authority of the Rajas of the subsequent period even though they had also associated themselves with the Jagannath temple. Though Ramachandra Deva tried his best to establish himself as the Gajapati of Orissa by popularising the Jagannath cult, for further strengthening his position, he and his successors could not gain the same position as the kings of the Ganga and the Surya dynasty had. One of the reasons for this gradual decline of the position of the Rajas was due to the Mughal Policy towards the religious institutions. During Mughal rule there were frequent raids and their policy changed rapidly after Akbar's death.

The Rajas of Khurda tried to assure the support of the feudatory Rajas (samanta Rajas) by issuing official sanads conferring new titles upon them and giving them special rights of worship in the Jagannath temple. We find a list of Sanads granted by the Khurda Rajas to the feudatory Rajas of Orissa in the Telgu Manuscripts entitled Jagannathasthala Vruttantam.10

In spite of all these efforts there was gradual decline of the status of the Rajas of Khurda after the downfall of the last independent Hindu dynasty. Let us take the example of Raja Ramachandra Deva-II. When he was dethroned and converted to Islam by the Deputy Nawab Taqie Khan one Padmanabha Deva of Patia was made the Raja of Khurda in about 1736. Though Virakesari Deva, son of Ramachandra Deva-II could regain the Khurda kingdom with the help of Samanta rajas his position was greatly affected for the fact that his father had become a Muslim. For this damaging inheritance all his efforts to regain his position proved to be of no help. Thus there was considerable decline in the status of the Khurda Rajas and they had little or no influence as “the sacred” Gajapatis of Orissa.

In 1751 the Marathas occupied Orissa. During their administration there was the final blow to the Khurda Rajas' position. He was deprived of more than half of his estate, was separated from his
feudatory rajas in the hinterland of Orissa and was driven out of the Superintendence of the Jagannath temple.\textsuperscript{11} The Marathas directly took over the administration of the temple, because they were suspicious of the position held by the Rajas of Khurda. The important role of the Khurda Raja in the administration of the Jagannath temple and his close relationship with the feudatory Rajas made the Gajapati appear as the sacred ruler of Orissa. That was why perhaps the Marathas took over the administration of Jagannath temple and separated him from influences over all the fourteen Garajat States.

The Marathas after a few decades could identify themselves with the \textit{Gajapati} of Orissa. After the British conquest of Orissa in 1803, the ambassador of the Maratha Raja of Berar tried hard in his negotiations with the East India Company to regain at least Puri. Jagannath was his (the Raja of Berar) own Pagoda; he was desirous of retaining it (and)...........his honour was involved in this point.\textsuperscript{12} The British authorities seemed to have a clear picture of what it meant to the Maratha Raja to lose Jagannath. The Governor-General pointed out that the loss of Jagannath must deeply affect the considerations of the Raja of Berar in the eyes of all native powers.\textsuperscript{13}

The East India Company during the early years of their administration gave much importance to the temple of Jagannath and to the religious sentiment of the local people. The central British Policy regarding the Jagannath temple and its priests was the principle of confirming “the confidence of the Brahmin and officers of the temple of Jagannath in the liberality and protection of the British Government.”\textsuperscript{14} The British therefore granted all the rights which were granted to the priests at Puri by the previous Governments, and even agreed to continue the yearly payment of an excess amount of Rs. 60,000/- for the maintenance of the temple, a financial aid which was introduced by the Marathas. For some years they also took over the direct supervision of the Jagannath temple administration.

In view of strong criticism from the Home Government and the Christian Missionaries the East India Company gradually did away with the direct interference with the religious matter—“Without however openly giving up the responsibility and commitments which it had assumed for political reason during the conquest of Orissa.”\textsuperscript{15} As the British officers were not allowed to enter inside the temple as non-Hindus it was realised by the British Government that it could not arbitrate fully in the temple management. All these factors led the British to hand over the administration of the temple to the Raja of Khurda. The Rajas of Khurda who had been ousted from the said office of the First \textit{Sevaka} of Jagannath by the Marathas were
reinstalled as the Superintendent of the temple by the British by Regulation IV of 1809 and finally confirmed by the Act of 1840. They at the same time abolished the pilgrim tax.

Though the Raja of Khurda was made the Superintendent of the Jagannath temple by the East India Company the Raja did not regain his Khurda territory. According to Dr. H. Kulke, from being virtually "a king without a kingdom the Raja of Puri succeeded in the following decades in compensating for the loss of his political power by building a religious State".16

Through the Acts and Regulations of 1809 and 1840 the Rajas of Puri had received a kind of British Legitimation for their authority over the Jagannath temple. The main source of their claim as Gajapatis of Orissa was their ritual role in the Jagannath temple. Madala Panji, calls Jagannath the (real) king of Orissa.17 In the Purusottama Mahatmya of Vishnurahasyam, Jagannath has been described as the Universal King.18 It has been mentioned in their record of rights that when Jagannath appears in royal dress (Raja-vesa) the Gajapati king performs his royal ritual.19 So by being the Maharajas of Jagannath's sacred empire they claimed their legitimation as Gajapatis of Orissa. The Gajapati king being the first servant of the deities clears the Cars of the gods during the famous Car Festival at Puri. The Raja is regarded by the Hindus as the Chalanti Vishnu.

It may be noted that the Rajas of Puri could regain and strengthen their positions as the Gajapatis of Orissa in 19th century to some extent.

The British administrators had often tried to restrict the power of the royal Superintendent but the Rajas of Puri were able to withstand this pressure by means of their sacred role as Gajapatis. In February, 1877 Divyasingha Deva, the hereditary Superintendent of the Jagannath temple was convicted of a murder of a Sadhu and sentenced to transportation for life to the Andaman Island. The British Government proposed to take all the administration of the temple and proposed an Act (Draft Act XV of 1882) and granted a certificate to Rani Suryamani Patamahadei allowing her to administer the temple in the name of her minor grand-son for about 20 years. The Government also conferred the title of Raja on the minor son of the convicted Raja.20

In 1887 the Government of India lost another case, the famous Puri temple case21 when it again tried to bring the temple under the supervision of a Government-controlled board. This victory was celebrated not only by the local newspapers but also by the editor for
the Statesman. This victory was a victory over the British administration.

Thus nineteenth century witnessed a process of gradual rise in the position of the Rajas of Puri in their religious kingdom.

The twentieth century witnessed a process of decline in the position of the Rajas of Puri in their religious kingdom. Due to growing ritual deterioration and the reduction of the social distance the later Rajas were considered no longer godly. Gradual economic impoverishment has been one of the important factors for disintegration of sanctity of palace ritual. The growing control of the secular political powers has also deprived the Rajas of political, economic and moral support.

The State Government took over the administration of the Puri temple through the new Shri Jagannath Temple Act, 1954 (Orissa Act XI of 1953).

It is clearly stated that all former laws and regulations regarding the temple superintendence of “the Raja of Khurda or the Raja of Puri shall cease to have any effect.” A Shri Jagannath Temple Managing Committee was constituted by the Government of Orissa. The chief executive officer of this Committee is an administrator. The Acts define the rights of the Raja in a very restricted way. The Raja of Puri means the person on whom rests for the time being the obligation of discharging the duties of a sevaka in respect of the Gajapati Maharaj Seva (service) as recorded in the Record of Rights. The Act also abolished the “worldly” rights of the Raja of Puri and his temple superintendence. Thus the tremendous influence the Rajas had in the temple and in rural area has been reduced to a great extent in the 20th century. But still there is a strong feeling among a section of the Hindus that his role of performing the Gajapati Maha raja Seva is indispensable, and he is the fallen but revered descendant and representative of their ancient native sovereigns.

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In every age a ‘bhagat’ (devotee) or a God-intoxicated man appears to destroy the forces of evil. “I assume a mortal form in every age to save those who are righteous and to destroy those who are evil-mongers,” said Krishna. Prophets thus appearing at different times have spoken of the truth which it was their mission to bring to society to cure the sickness of the soul. They speak words that suit the needs of the society.

Guru Nanak (1469-1538 A.D.) was one such prophet who came to this planet to show the true way out of the darkness of superstition. He came to fight formalism and to show integration. He spoke to the people that the law of life was to love one another and in that loving to awaken the spirit of devotion to see God. He came to lift the low and the downtrodden and to endow the weak and the faltering with the power of faith. He came to save the people broken up with castes, creeds and colours and to tell them that they were the children of one God. Salvation can’t be obtained, he said, by abandoning home, hearth and family life or by wandering aimlessly, by torturing the body, or frequenting holy places, by performances of external austerities, ceremonials or pouring oblation into the sacrificial fires. It is by kindling the fire of devotion in the self itself and feeding it by the daily performance of duties allotted under the divine plan that the sense of self is lost and the path to higher consciousness opens up. Guru Nanak declared that he was neither a Hindu nor a Musalman. He belonged to all and enjoined on all to worship one God to the exclusion of any other.

India in the 15th century faced a crisis. India then was facing the march of powerful invasions ruthless beyond description massacring men without distinction. People had forsaken their spiritual heritage and had lost the art of united action and with it had lost the power to defend themselves. In spite of their heroic traditions, without the firmness of faith in one God they wasted their stock of noble emotions in the observance of endless rituals and taboos which robbed
them of the power to unite and sapped the very source of their strength. There was such a confusion in society that people did not know what to do and where to go for succour. At such a gruesome period Guru Nanak took his birth on the 23rd November, 1469 in the village of Talwandi situated on the bank of the River Ravi some 35 miles away from Lahore. This village is now known after him as Nankana Sahib and is a place that is visited by Sikhs and others coming from all over the world in great numbers.

Guru Nanak practised what he preached and true to his way of life lived as a labourer, a farmer, a shop-keeper, a government servant, a preacher, a patriot, a poet and a prophet, all rolled into one. He laboured in the field and sweated side by side with his mates lest they thought that he was not of this earth. He did this to show that his problems were the same as those of the ordinary mortal but the difference if any, was how to tackle them and how to pursue them with perseverance and a clear conscience. He served the Government to show that he could be an honest and faithful member of the administration and he could handle a weighing scale with as much impartiality as he could handle the destinies of the Hindus and the Musalmans.

Guru Nanak stood for equality between the high and the low, between man and woman, between man and woman, between the ruler and the ruled. It was this great message that he instilled into the hearts of the people that inhabited our land. And this message echoed and re-echoed till it was assimilated by millions and millions of our countrymen. And to inspire people and teach them his doctrines of life, Guru Nanak undertook his extensive historic tours to places flung far and wide on foot. He lived a precious and a glorious life full of utility and service for 71 years. Out of this span Guru Nanak spent 25 years in travelling to go to all the nooks and corners of India including Orissa, Mecca, Medina, Turkey and even China. It has been estimated that he walked about 50,000 miles in these tours, that he devoted for enlightening humanity to take them out of the morass of darkness and to lead them into light and knowledge and for their progress. In Ceylon he stayed for a year and a half, to win over the ruler to his way of life....

It was in 1506 that Guru Nanak at the age of 36-37, set his holy feet on the soil of Orissa. After walking a long distance he came on to the bank of the river Mahanadi at Cuttack and rested at the site which to-day is known as Kaliaboda. The then ruler of Orissa, tradition says, went to pay his homage to him and spent a whole day with him. This interest of the ruler created such an intense envy in the heart of Chaitanya Bharati that he invoked the curse of God
Bhairab against Guru Nanak but as God Bhairab didn’t respond to this invocation and did no harm to Guru Nanak, Chaitanya Bharati caught hold of a small branch of a Sahada tree and ran out to beat Guru Nanak. But the moment he cast his eyes on Guru Nanak, he was fascinated with the hypnotic grandeur of the saint Nanak and was so lost and charmed that the branch of the Sahada tree he held, fell from his hand and he found himself like an automaton bowing down to him in respect. Guru Nanak however picked up this branch of the Sahada tree that was intended to be used as a club and kept a part of it to use it as a ‘Datan’ (tooth brush) and the rest of it Guru Nanak with his own hands planted as a sappling on the very spot it fell.

This little branch in due course grew into such a gigantic Sahada tree and with such a heavy girth that a few years ago as it couldn’t be protected against the ravages of the advancing river it had to be cut down and kept as a relic of history. It was examined by experts to find out its age. The Gurudwara, constructed near the tree is called “Datan Saheb” by the Sikhs.

In the district of Balasore near Bhadrak, in the settlement records, we find a village named Sangat, recorded as a Revenue village. Guru Nanak, it is recorded, stayed here to hold community prayers and community ‘Lungars’. This village has a recorded plot called ‘Nanak Diha’ on which the Guru had his small cottage built. In this village poet Bansi Ballab Ghoswami was born in the 18th century. He wrote extensively in Oriya, Bengali, Hindi and Persian. In one of his poems, he mentions this village and says that here Guru Nanak preached his religious philosophy and discussed it day and night. In 1930, Rajballabh Mohanty composed two lines in his Bhadrakali Janana in Oriya and said that this renowned place of Sangat was the centre of Guru Nanak’s activity. A few manuscripts containing verses from Jap jee of Guru Nanak are there and in one of them it is stated that “Sangat belongs to Guru Nanak” (Sangat hei Guru Nanak Kon).

Finally, Guru Nanak went to Puri. He reached there very late in the evening. On the beach near the present Swargadwar he sat down and went into meditation. His disciples, Bala and Mardana were accompanying him; one was a Hindu and the other was a Musalman. Guru Nanak could get along without food and without water on these strange premises where the vast sea roared in front and nobody was around to receive them and offer them hospitality but the two disciples hungry and thirsty were at their wit’s end and they could only blame Guru Nanak for his indiscretion about selecting places in his
itinerary where they had only to face starvation, thirst, fatigue and hazards of all kinds. They were raving in this agitative mood when suddenly somebody appeared and offered food and water, carrying them in utensils of gold.

In the early hours of the morning however there was a commotion in the Jagannath temple. The gold utensils of the Lord were missing and the messengers had been despatched to the Raja of Puri to apprise him of the theft. The Raja on the other hand was found arranging a procession to go out to the beach to give a hearty welcome to the saint who was shown to him by the Lord in his dream at night. So when the theft was reported to him he gave a broad smile and asked the messengers to join him and his procession that was moving out to catch the thief. The Raja arrived at the spot which had been shown to him in his dream and he found the saint sitting still in his meditation, the two disciples sleeping and the empty gold utensils lying close by. The whole mystery of the theft and the great spiritual stature of Guru Nanak were now crystal clear to the Raja and the Raja and his party thereafter gave a hearty reception to the saint who had come to Puri to pay his homage to the Lord of the universe. Guru Nanak then was invited to pay his visit to the temple. He went there in the evening when Arati was being offered.

During the day as water was required Guru Nanak asked his disciples to dig a hole in the sandy surface of the sea-beach where they were resting. They did so and to their pleasant surprise they struck the vein of a stream that poured out sweet water. A well was constructed round this hole and a Gurudwara called Bauli Saheb came into existence. A Brahmin priest looks after it. The Sikhs tried to get possession of this Bauli Saheb as their shrine but they have so far failed to get it. The priest continues to look after this sacred place of the Sikhs in his own way. Guru Granth Saheb, the sacred Book of the Sikhs is enshrined there and it is opened up every morning for the visitors to chant hymns from it. The sea has since receded from the spot. When I used to visit this place with my mother as a young lad of 8 or 9, I still remember that the sea was not so far off from Bauli Saheb, which in spite of its nearness to the sea gives sweet water to the pilgrims to drink. Elsewhere in the town no well gives such sweet water. I must say this water is a permanent gift bestowed to posterity as a grace. One feels refreshed after getting a drink from this historic well that runs a vein of sweet water parallel to the saltish water of the sea. In the evening at the temple Guru Nanak would not take part in the offering of Arati to the Lord. Finding that the Guru didn’t take part in the evening ceremonial service and kept sitting, a priest enquired:
“Are you ill”? Why didn’t you join in offering Arati to the Lord”? 

The Guru said that the gamut of the Arati offered to the Lord paled into insignificance when the grandeur of the Lord was in vision.

The Guru then sang the following historic song; Mardana playing the *rubab* (musical instrument).

“In the salver of the sky,  
The sun and the moon are the lamps  
The luminous stars are the pearls.  
The warm wind from the Malaya mountains  
Wafts the incense.  
The god of air waves the *Chanvar*  
The forests of the world offer their wealth of flowers  
And the spheres play their music. 
Thus is Thy evening service performed,  
O Thou destroyer of suffering.  
A thousand eyes are Thine.  
No, no, Thou hast no eyes.  
A thousand forms are Thine.  
No, no, Thou art one without form.  
A thousand stainless feet are Thine.  
No, no, Thou art without feet.  
A thousand scents are Thine, that pervade the universe.  
No, no, Thou art without scent.  
In everything is Thy light.  
It is Thy light  
That illumines everything.  
It is by the grace of the Guru  
That the secret light is found.  
What is pleasing to Thee  
Is the best of the evening service.  
Day and night my heart thirsts like the bumble-bee  
To touch the dust of Thy lotus feet.  
And may thirsty Nanak  
Like the *chatrak* drink the nectar  
Of thy grace  
And devote every breath to Thee.”

When the Guru stopped singing, “the crowd including the priests, in spite of themselves, fell at his feet.” After a momentary pause, the Guru addressed the congregation:
“The Lord of the universe is not confined in one place, house or temple. The sky, the earth, nay the whole universe with all the planets and millions of stars and earths and suns and moons are His. He is all-pervading. He creates and He, in destroying, recreates. There is no end to His greatness. The whole universe bows before Him. It is His light that is in the sun and the moon. It is His light which is in each of us. Seek it within your hearts. It is manifested in the Shabda, the name. Therefore take refuge in the sacred name, charge every breath with His name till self is submerged in its sound and through His grace salvation is attained.”

There is another story. The Guru told the crowd that God is present everywhere and doesn’t belong to any individual or community and so saying, he showed both his palms on which Lord Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra were resting.
MONASTERIES IN PURI

Spirituality has been the leading motive and determining power of life in the Indian civilization; the greatest periods of efflorescence whether in art, literature or material advancement have been when the collective endeavour has kept close to this vision of spiritual origins and goal of life. To Shri Aurobindo, the special mission of India is to supply the world with a perennial source of light and renovation, drawing upon the heritage of spiritual knowledge and experience—not indeed in precisely the same forms as in the past but in new forms suited to the present conditions of evolving humanity.¹

If means justify the end, if actions determine the future, and if all good moral philosophy is but the handmaid to religion, the first phase of establishment of a trans-human society of spiritual men is achieved by the monasteries—never through senses in a refined way through the inferring mind, but mostly through a state of spiritual vision. Seership may be decreed or denied, affirmation cannot bring it into being; negation cannot repudiate it; it rests not upon proof or absence of proof but upon spiritual experience. This is that appropriate stage that is to be found in a monastery, the abode of spirituality. This is very much true of the monasteries in Puri, especially as the indispensable part of a salvation centre (mokshapuri) with the happy fraternity of mankind ('Lokah samastah Sukhino Bhavantu') as its clarion call.

"Ayodhya Mathura Maya Kasi Kanchi Avantika,
Puri Dwaravati chaiva saptaita mokshadayakah", is a Puranic couplet in which the whole of India is represented as the land of seven principal salvation-centres (mokshapuris) which it is incumbent on every Hindu to visit and which cover between them practically the whole of India.
The Religious Significance of Puri

The religious significance of Puri has been written down in manifold ways by such authors as W. W. Hunter and S. P. Rice, and their confessions are profusely eulogistic. Peeping into the pages of history, one finds materials to prove Puri as "an eternal city". There are four cities around which the mainstream of Indian culture and religion hued its way. Of these, while Badrinath and Dwaraka are permeated with Vaishnavim, and Rameswar is the centre of Saivism, Puri fostered the confluence of all sects in and through the Jagannath Temple, the 'Imperium Imperii'. Encyclopaedia Britannica waxes eloquence in the following strain, "The national reverence of the Hindus for holy places has been, for ages, concentrated at Puri, sacred to Vishnu under His title of Jagannath, the Lord of the World". Puri has a Pan-Indian influence; people from all parts of the world resort to this place to worship the deity and to die per chance, being lulled to their last sleep by the roaring of the eternal oceans. Puri is considered by some to be the most sacred place in India, even more sacred than Benares", the so-called spiritual capital of India. The old name of Puri is 'Kanakapuri'. However Bruton suggests that Puri is named 'Purusottama' after the same name of Lord Jagannath. The city is also known by other names such as 'Uddiyana Pitha', 'Jamanika Kshetra', 'Shrikshetra', 'Sankha Kshetra', 'Niladri' and 'Uchhista Kshetra'. It is the 'Heaven on Earth' and so it is called Martya Baikuttha' as well. It stands in the midst of a sacred country, and in this sacred town is situated the famous temple of Juggernaut, the very sight of which is said to bring a blessing upon the head of the spectator, to cure diseases and ensure paradise to those that remain upon its sacred soil.....In these ceremonies (relating to the Car Festival) the proud Brahmins mingle humbly with the lower classes whom they consider impure; so great is the Majesty of Juggernaut that all are equal before Him, and all social distinctions disappear in presence of His Immensity". The sectarian bias and segregations, thus, disappear as Jagannath, the "one supreme Lord of the World" (Hunter) is claimed by each of the sects and religions as its be-all and end-all—thereby equating all spiritual tracks and giving it a name, 'Sarva Dharma Samanwaya Dhama'. Casteism had not entered into Utkal by 1715 by the time Gadadhar Mahapatra became the royalteacher; and according to Late P. Acharya, Bruton's report reveals no religious barrier, and no objection whatsoever from the 9,000 Brahmins and priests in the Jagannath Temple, for gaining entrance to the temple. Thus, while Puri is a sobering influence, it is at the same time equally progressive in its tendencies. This sobering and this unifying of the disintegrating forces are its heritage. The
imbuwing of a sense of religiosity to all national activities is its contribution.

Monastic Life: a philosophical perspective

The predominant status of religion in the social life of every region or nation irrespective of time and clime is a fact of history. From the point of view of etymological perspective, "religion" denotes all that is retained or embraced. But in conventional sense, religion is something which guides men in their everyday life, the faiths under which they lead their lives to attain perfection and propitiate God. The emergence of the conception of religion since remote times is traceable to constant consternation out of the belief that all natural phenomena are attributable to this or that god. India has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great sons and institutions. Indian culture is "a delicate balance between the religion of the social order and the religion of the individual." Man's first object of awareness is not God but the world and the consciousness of God is not forced upon man but awaits his own uncompelled response to non-coercive modes of revelation." The monasteries and the monastic life have traditionally been the repository of such realization—pinpointing the radical malaise of society and civilization and suggesting remedies. "Occupation and attendant life-styles such as those of priest or spiritual preceptor, which focus thought and action on realizing the essential truths of the universe, are 'Sattvik', for through them men approximate their greatest human potential, and may even realize their essential unity with Brahma". The monasteries, thus, tend to be conceived as divine stage-hands, who, amidst the recency of deification of Jagannath for their individual ends and spiritual dividends, shuffle sets around to assist the real drama of moral development and perseverance on the human stage. It is in this perspective that the monasteries in Puri are to be viewed and studied.

Sources of Information

The chief sources of information about the monasteries particularly in Puri are the following:

1. 'Madala Panji'—The Temple Chronicle.
2. 'Matha Chakara'—It is preserved in the Jagannath Temple, Puri. It is written by 'Tadhau Karans', the traditional writers of 'Madala Panji'. In accordance with this, the monasteries are honoured by the Temple. It contains many concrete informations regarding the 742* monasteries supposed to be existing in Puri.
3. ‘Mathamnaya’ is the chronicle of the Gowardhan (ro ‘Bali’) Math, the Chief of the four monasteries of the sect of Sankaracharya, vivid accounts of each of which are depicted therein. Those four monasteries are Gowardhan Math, Mahiprakash Math, Gopal Tirtha Math and Bharati Math.

4. ‘Guru Parampara’—This is the famous treatise of the ‘Shree cult’—otherwise known as Visishtadwaita’ cult. It contains detailed informations of the monasteries especially belonging to the sect of Ramanuja. It is recited daily at the seat of the Ramanuja sect, the Emar Math.

5. Another ‘Matha Chakara is also to be seen at the “Bada Oriya Math, established by Atibadi Jagannath Das, which contains accounts of monasteries belonging to this cult at places like Shalagaun, Manapur etc.


A Historical Account

The most ancient monasteries at Puri are four in number, namely, Angira Ashram, Bhrigu Ashram, Markandeya Ashram and Pandu Ashram. With the passage of time they have been reduced to what is colloquially called, ‘Chhata.’ Big old banyan trees shelter spacious slabs of stones under them with no more mendicants or sects rollicking in spiritual dalliance on them. History whispers in those desolate places and awakens a rhapsodic thrill in a sensible heart. As not much is known about them one is apt to invoke the historical excuse that they are pre-history.

Historical accounts show that Sankaracharya established “Gowardhan Pitha”, as the centre of Adwaita philosophy, in the sixth century A.D. at Puri, Ramanuja founded the Emar Math in 1150, Madhvacharya founded Balabhadrak Akhara in 1240 and Nimbarka Acharya founded Radha Ballabh Math in 1268. Royal permission was essential for setting up a monastery and records reveal that in 1752 King Balabhadra Dev gave necessary permission to Sannyasi Laxmibhadra to set a monastery up, anywhere around the 665—644’ rectangular wall around Jagannath Temple (Meghananda Prachira). Shri Caitanya stayed at Tota Gopinath Temple (now a monastery) and set up Gambhira Math in Bali Sahi that still preserves with pride articles used by the founder. The Mangu Punjabi and Bauli Maths are linked with Guru Nanak, ‘Kabir Chhata’ with Kabir, Salabega and Siddha Bakula Matha with the mahammedan Salabega
and Haridas respectively, Purusottama Math with Udulomi Acharya, Nandini Math with Mirabai and Jhanjapita Math with Charandas and Ramdas.

The Jagannath Ballabh Math, set up by Vishnu Swami, is the oldest public religious Institution mainly connected with various religious rites of the Jagannath Temple and 44 acres’ beautiful garden surrounding it is said to be the ‘pleasure garden of Lord Jagannath’. Rai Ramananda a consort of Chaitanya, was residing in this garden after resigning the Governorship of Southern Orissa under the then King of Orissa. He wrote a valuable Sanskrit drama, ‘Jagannath Ballabh Natak’ and got it staged in this garden. Baba Brahmacari, the high priest of the Maratha Kings, was also residing here. Most of the properties now owned by this institution were dedicated and endowed to Lord Jagannath through Baba Brahmacari in whose name ‘The Founder’s Day’ is still observed on ‘Akshaya Tritiya’ every year. Consequently there was no Mahant (traditional name for the head of a monastery) or hereditary trustee, unlike in most other monasteries. When the provisions of the Government of India Act XX of 1863 were passed for operation, this monastery’s management was vested in a Committee of 3 Life-Members appointed from time to time by the District Judge. Since 1939, when the Orissa Hindu Religious Endowment Act was passed and promulgated, the administration is being placed under a non-hereditary Board of Trustees nominated by the Commissioner of Endowments. As per a 1953 scheme, an Executive Officer also has been assisting the Board in the management of its affairs. Though some other monasteries have their Executive Committees most of them have been nominal and the management of general affairs in them seldom reaches the meticulous proportions of the Jagannath Ballabh Math.

Many other monasteries were later adherents to the cults as they flourished. These include Bada Chhata Math (contemporaneous with Tulsi Das), Mulak Chowra Math, Dasavatara Math (the abode of Jayadeva, author of ‘Geeta Govindam’), Sankarananda, Sivatirtha, Sanachhata, Gopalatirtha, Mahiprakash, Suna Gosain, Ramji, Achari, Dukhisam Baba, Naga, Papuria (Pippalayana), Kausalya Das, Jhadu, Jyarswami, Newaldas, Kothabhog, Languli, Siddha, Laxmibhadra, Chauni, Sata asana (dedicated to Jagannath Das, for meditation), Badasantha, Ghumusar (of Shrikr Bhanja and the great Upendra Bhanja), Sunar Gowrang, Goswami, Girnarivanta Adwaita Brahmasram and Dakshina Parswa and Uttara Parswa (dedicated to Baba Brahmacari, dating back to Maratha times) and Pandita Maths.
Philosophy

The Monotheistic cult or Adwaita Sampradaya has its centre in Gowardhan Math, as mentioned elsewhere. Its philosophy is Sankara's famous dictum "Brahma Satyam Jagat Mithya", "Jagannathah Swami nayanapathagami bhavatu me" and "Tasmat-twameva Saranam mama Sankhapane."

The Visistadwaita cult is embraced by Emar Math, Raghabadas Math (of Raghu Arakshita), Shriramdas Math etc. Its philosophy is summed up as "Dasya Upasya Bhava"—access to God Narayan only through Goddess Laxmi will alone bring redemption for the soul.

To the cult of Ramananda belong Bara Akhara Math and the Akharas, with the philosophy of worship of God Hanuman as means of access to Lord Ramachandra.

To the cult of Madhwa belong Gangamata, Havā, Ahula Maths, etc. with the philosophy of 'Bhaktiyoga' and 'nama sankirtan'. The philosophy of 'Gopi Bhava' of Ramji Math of Nimberka and Gauda Madhwa cult, the doctrine of unity between the devotee and God of Jhanajapita and Radhakant Maths, and, above all, the cult of Jagannath Das to which belong the Bara (Big) and Sana (Small) Oriya Maths envisaging a quaint mixture of knowledge with devotion—as is also apparent from 'Pancha Sakha' Oriya Literature—are broad categories, too, of enunciation of spiritual messages of different schools of religious thought. Individuals like Nanak, Kabir, Mahima Goswami etc. had set up their own monasteries for enunciating their individual philosophies. Monasteries of Shalabeg, Haridas etc. present fusion of Hindu and Muslim religion—though the mendicants are denied direct service in the temple.

The 'Jagannath' Synthesis

These monasteries at Puri are singularly devoted to deification of Lord Jagannath in their own sectarian beliefs, bias and cult to monotheistic proportions. To Chaitanya, Jagannath was a symbol of life, to Nigamananda a symbol of truth. With the advent of the British, the christian missionaries wanted to supersede the spirituality of the monasteries and Jagannath. Buchanan suggested formation of a christian institution to underscore and undermine the indomitable superiority of 'Juggernaut' and his spiritual empire. William Carey, the head of the Serampore Mission, asked one Pandit Purusottam to translate the New Testament which the latter completed in 1809. Long before his death in 1838 Sadhu Sundar Das too proposed himself as Christ's reincarnation in Puri. The followers of the Mahima
(Alekh) cult, anti-Brahminical and so protestant, made an attempt in 1881 to destroy, Jagannath’s image so as to preserve His Symbolism, and not physical entity that had been the monopoly of the Brahmins. During 1811—1831, the British, too, built settlement houses, (Dharmasalas), charitable dispensaries etc. to eclipse such social and humanitarian functions of the monasteries, but to no avail.

Man is an amphibian who lives simultaneously in two worlds—the given and the sanctified. The monastic life in Puri is a confluence of these two. Their common religion—Jagannath Dharma—incorporates and accommodates all the mutually differing Brahminical, Buddhist and Jaina cults of our land. Even Islam and Christianity appear to have apparently merged into the totality of the monasteries and the Sumnum Bonum—Jagannath. The ‘Mahaprasad’ and the ceremonies and functions of the temple unite the different monastic orders and people at large. “The Oryians combined in Mahaprasad brotherhood which makes it difficult for the Government to maintain Law and Order.”

The religion of all monasteries—Jagannath Dharma—is both expansive and constrictive, pluralistic and sectarian, sprawling and rigidly defined. Its lesson—religion—must be construed not in terms of any particular belief, but simply as a way of looking at the world and human experience as a whole. So low is an individual sound from it that the myriads of the whole sublimity reach the ear but as a shrivelled and intermittent recitative; and yet, so intense and ardent is the fire of the monastic sparks that it not only is not suffocated beneath the weight of fuel but also penetrates the whole super-incumbent humanity with its own heat and radiance. So much so that Lord Wellesley advised Lt. Col. Campbell not to disturb but preserve the Jagannath Temple and not to cause affront to the religious sentiments of the Brahmins, mendicants and pilgrims. That is how, starting as a local deity of an unknown tribe, Jagannath has been elevated, thanks to the monastic confluences, to one of the greatest religious centres of the world. One fails to reconcile oneself, in view of these, to the insensible and imprudent opinion that the Oriyas are “rude and ignorant of all the various races of India subject to the British domain.”

These monasteries became and were ingrained in the life of society. One of the ancient sources of information reveals to us that a certain amount of grain (2 morsels) must be taken out of the total yield per acre for use in the monasteries. This shows that the monasteries were intimately involved in the social life of the common man. The daily practice, too, of divine recitations—‘Nama Sankirtan—in monasteries is its swan-song.
FUNCTIONS

"Mathastu Chhatra Nilayah". The monastery is a place where the disciples reside, learn and recite religious discourses. Chiefly it approximates to the Buddhist 'Sangha'. In those days every monastery had a study centre for spiritual discourses from whose curricula literature and grammar were excluded. From the 16th century to the fall of the Maratha age in the history of Orissa, there were 16 such "tolls" as per "Madala Panji". These were meant for spiritual discourses, teaching of Sanskrit and classics. These 'tolls' also provided certain scholarships to the students. Almost all monasteries have their respective libraries howsoever big or small, Gymnasium (Vyayamasala) and reciting of scriptures by Pundits for the benefit of their own students as well as for the public. The Jagannath Ballabh Math has provided a spacious house within the garden for a primary school financed and managed by the Puri Municipality. Monetary help is offered by the affluent monasteries to orphanage, sarvodaya 'Seba Samiti. The Jagannath Ballabh Math too bears the cost of 'Gita-govinda' citations by a blind celibate during 'Badasinghar' in the Temple. This endowment also contributes monthly educational help to Sadasiva Sanskrit College, Jagannath Veda Karmakanda Vidyalaya, S.C.S. College, two high schools, two Sanskrit tolls and some other schools of Puri town and five schools, within landed estates of the institution, for poor and deserving students. The Emar Math has traditionally been the most benevolent patron for the academic pursuits of the poor and meritorious students. It also houses one of the best libraries of the district—the Raghunandan Library. Needless to say, the Mahantas, Babas and Acharyas are the cream of the religious and philosophical scholars of the country and the celibates keep up this tradition from time to time.

Originally the Maths were established at Puri for two reasons, namely (1) to propagate their respective sects—it is generally done through 'Kirtan' and recitations from scriptures and ancient texts etc; and special mention here must be made of their sectarian magnanimity and sublimity wherein a mutual vilification or sectarian mud-slinging is totally conspicuous by its absence; (2) to provide shelter for the visiting co-religious brethren, especially during the Car-Festival of the deities. Thus the Bengalis used to remain in Gaudiya Maths, the mendicants of monotheism in the four monasteries of the sect of Sankaracharya, the Marathas in the Bargi Math, the Gujratis in the monastery known as 'Mahaprabhuji-ke-Baithak'. But in course of time when tourism began to flourish as a business of a section of the local inhabitants and Temple attendants, Settlement houses
(Dharmasala and Lodging Houses) cropped up to offer shelter and accommodation to the pilgrims.

The various Acharyas came to Puri and established their centres which came to be known as monasteries. Every sect has tried—and it is a continuous process—to expound its own system of discipline and to prove Jagannath as the embodiment of its sectarian philosophy. Traditions and documentary evidences mingle at the monasteries. The Acharyas performed miracles and received landed property, gold and such other presentations from the King of Orissa. For example we know from ‘Madala Panji’ that when Nanak came to Puri, he was consequently branded as a disbeliever and was denied entry to the Temple. He miraculously demonstrated Jagannath’s image on his palm to convince the royal authority and the public. He was given some land, gold and every arrangement was made for his services to the deities. Nanak used to burn a “Ghee Masal” daily near the deities and since then his abode, the Mangu Math, has been keeping it up daily. The great and pure Acharyas or the ‘Siddhapurusas’ got the premises of the monasteries, landed property and other gifts from the King.

These apart, some Kings and rich men set up certain mini-monasteries with the accumulated wealth of their lives, in order to pass their last days at Puri. Their sole aim was to do some service to the deities and have religious enlightenment thereby. The Keonjhar Queen’s monastery, the Lunia Chaudhury math, Burdwan Queen’s monastery, Sarguja math and Raja Kirti-Chandra Math are but a few of such monasteries. In course of time they have been stabilized and though they do not have any particular system of religion to propagate, they continue to function as subsidiaries or tributaries to the Temple. For these and other reasons various monasteries exist, solely functioning under an elaborate system of division of labour, Malai Math, Kadalipatuka Math and Jharu Math belong to this category.

Since 16th century the menace of foreign invasion for usurping and plundering the fabulous wealth of the temple has been frequent. The Maratha and Moghul incursions of Kalyanamalla and ‘Kalapahar’ speak of it. But the storehouse of Jagannath has never been vulnerable to such efforts. Such menace however had led to the establishment of a group of monasteries with royal patronage. At the start of alien incursions, Langula Narasimha Deva (builder of the famous Konark temple) established four ‘Akharas’ (mentioned earlier). Though these go by for monasteries, the rank consisted of strong and valiant heroes (nagas) who became pillars of strength to the temple.
royal patronage, they have successfully defended the temple, remaining within and, if need be, taking recourse to 'ruse de guerre' (a stratagem of war). Such a successful *ruse de guerre* is known regarding the assault of the ex-Hindu and hitherto-Mahommmedan Chief 'Kalapahar' on the temple. Once inside the temple, he found the nagas concentrating on the defence of the temple of 'Batamadhav'; mistook it as the main store-house of fabulous wealth, destroyed it, plundered articles of little importance and value and returned. Thus, for the defence of the temple, a group of monasteries were created. Thus, is it too, that the monasteries also looked upon it as obligatory to protect the temple, by use of force if and when needed.

The most primary function of the monasteries, however, has been in rendering day-to-day service in the temple. This dates back to King Anangabhima Deva's implementation of "Chhatisa Niyoga," an elaborate system of temple-rites based on division of labour. Originally the Mahant (religion head of a monastery) used to serve and worship the deities, under the supervision of the King. In course of time the system lost its original glamour and, of late, the mahants are doing it through their representatives and hence the confusions and disorders in rendering service in recent times.

Harking back to the legendary pedigree of the functions of monasteries in rendering service, mention should be made of a few outstanding ones. In the first month of the Hindu Calendar, Vaisakh, the Jagannath Ballabh Math offers 'Bhog' to the Deities on 'Pana Sankranti', and it participates in making arrangements for the 'Chandan Yatra' of the replica of the deities, Madan Mohan, along with Mangu, Chauni, Radha Ballabh, Emar, Uttaraparswa, Raghavdas and Jatia Babaji Maths. Sirramdas Math offers 'Chausara' and the 'Tulsi' cap to Shri Madan Mohan. For the ceremonies associated with the birth of Lord Nrsimha in the temple, Emar and Mangu Maths bear the brunt of responsibility and then Lord Nrsimha is made to repair to Jagannath Ballabh Math. On the 12th day of Jyeshtha, the temple celebrates the marriage of Rukmini, the Chauni, Emar, Mangu, Radhaballabh, Chikti, Gangamata, Oriya, Shriramdas, and Raghavdas Maths making all elaborate arrangements for the sake. For the Annual Bathing Ceremony of the Deities and the later period of their inevitable indisposition (Anasara), while Raghavdas and Gopaltiritha Maths arrange for the elephant dress, crown and cap of the deities for which the Mahant of the former is presented with royal kerseymere by temple officials, Emar, Mangu, Rebasa, Uttarparswa, Jagannath Ballabh, Sankranti, Trimali and Sanachhata Maths.
do their bits. Almost all the monasteries are to take some part or other in the very expensive Car Festival and in the return Car Festival of Deities—as if vying with one another for rendering greater service than their compatriots so as to win recognition. Of late, they have resorted to having their own corps of volunteers for service and help to the pilgrims alongside the Government agencies. The annual expenses for the Car and Chandan Festivals totalled Rs. 40,000/- during Maratha times. Other outstanding celebrations of the Lord in which the monasteries render service within the temple and outside it are as follows: in the ‘Sravan’ cradle-swinging festival (Jhulan), the Emar, Shriramdas, Bhrigu, Ramji, Ghumsar, Oriya and Gopaltirtha Maths; On the occasion of ‘Rishi Panchami’ the Emar, Uttarparswa, Trimali and Badasantha Maths; on ‘Radha Astami’ the Chikt, Oriya, Shriramdas and Raghavdas Maths; for the Dasahara the Chhauni, Emar, Mangu, Radhaballabh, Raghavdas and Jagannath Ballabh Maths, with the Ghumsar, Khandakhia Sauri and Naga maths joining these for the ‘Kumar Purnima’ celebrations; for the Diwali the Emar, Mangu, Radhaballabh and Jagannath Ballabh Maths and for the ‘Dola’ and Holi ceremonies the Chhauni, Emar, Mangu and Darpani Maths and so on. While Badachhata Math performs Kirtan and arranges for the ‘Lotus dress’ (Padma Vesha) of the Deities, the Raghavdas and Gopaltirtha Maths arrange for the Elephant dress ‘Hati Vesha’. A close scrutiny of the temple services of the monasteries would fascinate anybody by the meticulous division of Labour among them and the 36 ranks of Temple servants (Sevayats) attached to the temple.

Another function of the Monasteries has been to have their own ‘Gosala’ to keep and feed cows. For it also, they set aside separate landed property. But it has been either discontinued or in the process of disuse. The declivity is traceable to the dwindling funds at their disposal.

The charitable functions of the monasteries include handsome contributions to serve educational and medical purposes and, above all, to feed the poor—the ‘Daridranarayana’. For this there grew certain ‘Chhatras’—places where one gets food and drink, free of cost. We have at Puri Rima Chhatra, Narasimha Bhadra Chhatra etc. to serve the poor in this way. “Besides daily poor-feeding of Mahaprasad at the gate and widow-feeding in the holy months of Kartik, 7 invalid, old and blind persons are fed once every evening” by the Jagannath Ballabh Math. To quote some statistics to give some idea regarding the functions of the monasteries and their financial involvement in them, the gross income of the year (1970-71) of the Jagannath Ballabh Math was estimated at Rs. 1,29,004/- and the gross expenditure,
Rs. 1,28,669/- with, thus, a closing balance of Rs. 335/- only for the year. Of course, the opening balance was Rs. 260,461/- and so the closing balance came to Rs. 2,60,796/-. The gross expenditure is inclusive of Rs. 4510/- for charities and educational help and Rs. 48,534/- for ‘Seva Puja and Festivals’—roughly above 4 and 37.5 per cent respectively of the gross annual income.22

As torch bearers of ‘Sanatana’ Dharma, the monasteries zealously stick to—

“Adrohah Sarvabhutesu Karmana Manasa gira
Anugrahasheha Sauhardam Satam Dharmah Sanatanah.”

friendship to all, kindness to others and offer of charities, the dharma of the Hindus.

Lastly, ‘Honos alti arites’—honour nourishes the arts. The monasteries gave patronage to traditional Oriya Arts, Odissi dance and to literatures. Also major monasteries established small temples in the centres of their landed property, for example the Emar Math set up Patitapawan Temple at Kakarudrapur in Puri district for artistic, ethical, spiritual and, of course, ‘Missionary’ purposes.

PROPERTY

The properties of monasteries are traditionally divided under two heads—Debottar and Amritmanohi. While the former category of properties are for the use of the Mahant in connectoin with the deity of his own sect, the latter is solely used for the services in the temple. This dichotomy of worship and purpose is obvious, as, each monastary aimed at fostering its own sect, and to prove Jagannath as its own sectarian fulfilment. Also, there are monasteries which do not have their own deity (the Raghavdas Math, for example) and these are the very ancient monasteries. There too are monasteries which do not have any ‘Amritmanohi’ property though they render direct services in the temple. Bada chhata Math is an example in this regard. The properties of monasteries were the donations and allotments made to them by the King of Orissa. Other Kings have also made donations from time to time. A very rare document, presumed to be about 4000 years old, contains the following message.23

‘The Rana of Udaypur, Rana Chhotesinghji Suraj, resting his head on the feet of the Lord, hereby declares on the Kartik Sukla Saptami that the Paramabhatka Shri Guru the Mahant of Emar Math may kindly use Char Susrura’ in the district of Jabrobari, from this day for the services of the Lord Jagannath.”24 Another such document, partly in Persian and partly in Oriya, written presumably at some time between 1897 and 1903 may be quoted here. “On the 8th day of
Kumbha, in the 9th year of reign, the Queen of Puri, Rani Suryamani-Patamahadei gives this letter to the Bhanja King of Daspalla and the Daspalla Math at Puri will receive and be received at the Jagannath temple in accordance with the terms of this letter.”

Orissa under the British was a neglected province. Since 1803, the year of the advent of British rule by the defeat of the feudatory Hindu ruler under the Marathas the whole of the belongings of the monasteries virtually became the properties of the British Sovereignty. The monasteries of all varieties, viz. Math, Badi, Chhata, and Chhatra, of Puri with all their inter-district and inter-province properties became entirely subordinate institutions, responsible religiously to the temple and politically to the Hindu Sovereign State. During 1803—1840 when the affairs of the central institution were chaotic, the monasteries lost hold of the administrative control of either the Hindu Sovereign or the feudalatory State, which was lost at the first British advent, retaining only relation within purely religious construction. In 1897, 92,000 privileged Tenure holders held a total acreage of almost 90600. The Jagannath Ballabh Math at present has 8253-816½ acres of land, apart from vesting in the Government in 1952-53 two villages in Puri district, three in Sambalpur, two in Bolangir, two in Ganjam district and one in Shrikakulam district of Andhra, for which it received annuities.

The Maths, Badis, Chhatas and Chhatras have also no self-acquired property for the heads of these institutions—the Mahants, Endowments and donations are made to the institutions, for charity, to the deities and sometimes to preceptorial religious heads. The last named may be treated as self-acquired property but the utility may not be free from scrutiny from moral and legal points under the grounds of misuse or disuse.

“The charitable religious institutions are purely constructed on moiety and mite however big the quantity or volume might be, and however richer and wealthier the heads of the institutions appear to be, they live upon moiety and have been freed from the worldly drudgery of earning in consideration of high honour and respect to qualify them to be at the heads of the institutions. Age old traditional maxim, “What is the rate of rice? Ans. —Have meals in Math,” clearly explains that whoever acts in connection with the Math, has nothing to do in connection with the acquisition of the properties.”

Yet, however, Jagannath was a God of fabulous wealth. The devotion of centuries has long ago made Jagannath a very wealthy God.” Ever since He is groaning under the weight of poverty, the reason being that “Every servant of the Temple does as he pleases
and most of them amass wealth by the plunder of the pilgrims... These Lands (of Jagannath) are under the charge of Muthdharis to whom they were assigned for the express purpose of defraying the established expenses of the temple. I am strongly inclined to believe that the Muthdharis so far from appropriating the resource of these lands to the purposes for which they were designed, have embezzled the greater portion of them."27

A conspicuous, though relatively minor, source of income for the monasteries comes out of the Kitchenette of the temple. It is partly owned by monasteries like the Emar, Trimali, Srimadhas Gangamata, Haridakhandi, Jagannath Ballabh, Acharya, Mahiprakas, Baula, Punjabi, Oriya and Raghavdas maths, and these monasteries collect annual rent from those templecooks (Suara) whom they let their ovens out on a contract basis.

The monasteries, or at least most of these, in Puri thus constitute an affluent society of themselves.

Elections of Mahants

Succession of Mahants was based upon a precedent and it was of course conventional. Originally the ageing Mahant used to choose his successor and it was final, subject of course to the concurrence of the King. Later on, they selected their successors by Will Property and other legal requirements. It is necessarily a legacy of the British legalism. But there are also separate formalities stipulated by different sects. The Ramananda sect have their "Panch" consisting of 5 Mahants who decide a successor to a monastery of its sect. The sect of Sankara stipulate that to be a Mahant, one must be somewhat old, well-versed in the Vedas, a traveller and of very high scholarly accomplishments. He may belong to any part of the country.

Papuria Jagannath Das, the then Mahant of Papuria Math, had wide recognition throughout India in 19th Century. Mahant Bhagwan Das (1803) of Jagannath Ballabh Math was famous for his anti-British tendencies. He was a great champion of patriotism and nascent Hindu nationalism. Baba Brahmacari of Brahmacari Math (1749) was the 'Rajguru' of the Marathas. He built the temple at Sakhi Gopal, wanted to renovate the Konark temple and brought the Sun Pillar (Aurana Stambha) to the Jagannath temple. Mahant Gadadhar Ramanuja Das of Emar Math was an Orientalist and a social worker. Jagadguru Bharati Krishna Tirthaswamy of Gowardhan Math in recent memory was acclaimed in the U.S. as a great scholar and a 'human computer'. Among others in recent times, Shrinivas Ramanuja Das of Emar Math, Brindaban Das Goswami
of Bara Oriya Math, Gouragopal Das of Radhakant Math are famous for their contributions to literature and culture. 'Jagannath Temple Historical Research Society' of Emar Math has published "Shreevachan Bhusan" the philosophy of the Visistadvaita sect, "Tripandu" the famous Dravidian classic and "Paikakhed" the Oriya science of War. The Oriya Math has published "Jagannath Charitamrita" "Upavasatattva nirmaya" etc. Mahant Gouragopal Das started publication of the monthly magazine "Purusottam Patrika".

DECLINE

There is an ancient phrase: 'Rajanugatath Dharmah', meaning to an extent that the religion of the King is ipso facto the religion of the subjects. The authority of the State is, or at least ought to be, the benign guardian of public morality. The monasteries, delegated automatically with some of this authority for supervising and setting ideal examples of public morality, have failed miserably during the last century—at least since mid-19th century. Also "the monks in some charitable maths lived mostly impure life." In 1867 the then Gajapati Divyasingha Dev ordered the execution of a Mahant on charges of immoral conduct of the latter. Instances have been mounting up of the Mahants' immorality, corruption, usurpation and other charges that have accounted for the decline of the intrinsic idealism and spirituality of the monasteries in public eye. The rebellion of the Mahima cult was aimed, too against this Socio-religious malaise. At present, only a very small number of monasteries are 'alive'. Some Mahants have begun to marry, like those of the Siddha, Pandita and Bara Santha Maths.

The Endowment laws and preceding embezzlements of Math property also account for the withering away of humanitarian functions of most of the monasteries. Only the most prominent ones now offer charities.

Thus, aloofness from masses due to above reasons also account for the latent 'introvert' tendencies of the monasteries.

CONCLUSION

"Whatever your heart clings to and confides in, that is your God." "It is either God or an idol", as Luther described, there is no third. Dostoyevsky echoes, "If he does not worship God, he will worship an idol made of wood". Man is indeed "homoreligious"; without a God or without a faith he cannot possibly live, this is not simply a psychological fact, it is an ontological exigency. The
religious pursuits of the Indian, since time immemorial is reflected in and through religious institutions as the monasteries. Institutions are ethical ideas. A failure here or a deficiency there does not alter their basic character. And it also must not be misconstrued that monastic asceticism of the celibates is an escape from an unhappy and unsatisfying world. Its growth had been accentuated by a measure of psychological confidence and certainty, thirst for knowledge, and a zeal to work for spiritual homogeneity under one religion and one lord, i.e., Sanatana Dharma and Lord Jagannath. Thus it is these religious institutions that constitute the very bed-rock of our synthetic outlook, lofty equalitarianism, the ideal of indispensable interdependence, the pursuit of spiritualism, and the evolution of the composite culture of the Hindus.

The endowments are primarily for “Amritamanohi” of Sri Jagannath. As such, their income should rightly come to the temple. Like the ‘Pilgrim Pandas’, the Mahants have also been depriving Sri Jagannath of the income from these properties. In some monasteries the Mahants claim private ownership over some properties. “The case of each monastery, the nature of the grant, how far these conditions are fulfilled and what portion of income of such endowed properties can be secured from the temple should be considered.” The cases of ‘Heirless’ monasteries have to be taken into reckoning, too. These rightfully belong to the Temple and they should be made so, irrespective of claims of fake successors or imposters. Proper rehabilitation of material positions is a beacon need of the moment, and once these are achieved some pristine glory can be revived to act as a moral incentive for monastic efflorescence as a whole.

Uncertainty regarding the meaning and aims of life, confusion of ethics and the conception of a new mode of spiritualism and materialism to prepare a more human future are all contemporaneous problems which the anger and hope, impatience and dynamism, dogmatism and rationality of the Youth compellingly confront the society. They see religion, and for that matter the monasteries as a buttress for the status quo, a haven for the maladjusted, a compensatory mechanism for the misfits. Of course, the dwindling influence of religion, however, is a process of recent origin and has to go a long way before it ceases to be an effective factor in the evolution of culture.

The need, therefore, is for those gentle devotees and mendicants, dedicated to the socio-economic obligation of the present. Singularly devoted to achieving an authentic spiritualism
in which the free-self realization of each would depend on the free-
self realization of all, less committed to the goals of success and accom-
plishment, suffused with a benign feeling and affect elsewhere, these
gentle devotees may provide pliant, non-abrasive human material
for the soul-less, over organized society. "Transcending intellectua-
licity need not mean negating it, it has to be subsumed to be
transcended".

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CHAPTER 37

MAHIMA DHARMA

A search into the rise and development of Mahima Dharma leads us naturally to the authoritative expositions and treatises, particularly those of Brahmabhuta Biswanath Baba. Baba is the most learned and senior-most mendicant-exponent of the faith. In almost all his treatises, which run into twenty-two in number with a few others, yet to be published, the discussions may be divided into two parts, i.e., (1) Mahima Gosain, His teaching and activities and (2) the principles of the faith and the duties enjoined on the devotees. For the historical development of the faith, a reference to two of his books may, in particular, be made. They are Satya Mahima Dharma Itihasa and Satya Mahima Dharma Siddha-Sadhu Charitamrta. The latter is a study in biography, whereas the former a systematic development of the faith. In none of the treatises, referred to above and others, there is mention of the date of birth, parentage, place of birth etc. either of its founder or the sannyasis. This omission is rather conspicuous, purposive and significant. Unlike all the historical discussions and biographical studies, reference to data relating to birth, parentage, caste etc. is conspicuously wanting. The Parāpara Sannyasis remain mum over such questions. The new entrants, also known as Fakadias in their practice of the faith make no expression. The omission is purposive as it marks a new approach to history. The achievements in Sadhan and Bhajan and the practice of the faith according to the Guru's commandments for the welfare of mankind are high-lighted. The purposes of the faith are adhered to. How does it matter where, when and of what parentage one is born? Further it has the significance in the sense that it is helpful for the practice of non-attachment (विरक्त जीवन). With the renunciation of the family and its worldly ties, the Mahima Sannyasis have no further attachment. The world of men and women is addressed as father and mother. Above all, the great Guru Mahimamaya Mahaprabhu is the only Tātā-Mātā who is the only creator of all. Even not until, the Bairagi pays his last visit in the company
of Sannyasis, to his home-village and takes his last food from home, being served by the mother in the open sky as prescribed, his initiation into the Apara Sannyas order does not take place. How can there be further references to the family, parentage etc.?

The sources for materials of history on which Baba depends are two, i.e., firstly his association with the Siddha-Sadhus of the first line in the order. They are Kṛpāsinḍhu Baba, Nanda Baba, Niladri Baba, Anama Baba and others. They had direct experience with Mahima Gosain and were initiated into the faith at His behest. It is a common experience that Biswanath Baba is gifted with uncommon memory and so this has helped him to bring out the first systematic treatment of the faith during 1935. Secondly he has toured all over Orissa and the adjacent States for the spread of the cult. This he has been doing for the last eighty years or so since his initiation into the faith. In addition, he got the materials, thus collected, checked up by his fellow Sannyasis belonging to the second line in the order.

It is said that Mahima Gosain also known as Mahima Swami had His self-revelation at Puri sometime during 1826. The Christian Missionaries had by the time made Puri their centre for the spread of Christianity and the study of the Jagannath cult. The only Oriya literature available on the Christian faith highlighted monotheistic trends which made themselves felt as the most favoured style of the time.

Further with the British conquest of Orissa by the treaty of Deogarh on December, 17, 1803, the Christian Government tried to assume the role of the “Church-warden” of the temple of Jagannath at Puri, the nerve centre of Orissan religion and culture. For their patronage of the Temple, the people in general remained satisfied with the British authorities. But the Christian missionaries began to make vehement attack on their idolatrous practices, held high by the Brahmical priesthoood. Thus there grew up the Mahima cult with its sole emphasis on the One Absolute Lord as the Originator of the Universe and its revolt against polytheism, rites, rituals and the hierarchical division of the society on the basis of the castes. The latter, in turn, led to pompous display of colour, forms and formalities in religious practice. Even at times, amidst external show of Rajasik and Tamasik nature, the sacrifice of beasts on the altar added to the glory of the occasion. The gratification of desires as the goal of the practice became, on many occasions, the order of the day. As against this background, it has been rightly asserted by Biswanath Baba that Mahima Swami stood for non-attached sport,
The emphasis is on the purity of the heart, the practice of the faith without worldly desires and Sattwic simplicity in the code of conduct. Splendour and show originate from the aristocracy. It depends on the practice of the religion on payment. Salvation is, therefore, bought and not practised. Thus, as a reaction to this, in the Mahima cult, the common man—all and sundry have the rights to salvation through Atma-Jñāna-bhaktiyoga, advocated by Mahima Swami.

Besides, Puri has been recognised as a place of All India pilgrimage. It has, through the ages, been the meeting point for religious movements and the reformers. The unique synthesis is brought out with trends of thoughts and tenets of religions from the North and the South. In this context, it is no wonder that Mahima Swami, as claimed by Biswanath Baba, might have hailed from the Himalayas, journeying through the different States. But all this is shrouded in mystery. It is, however, claimed by the adherents of the Mahima cult that Mahima Swami is Himself Alekh Swami. He is Prabhuparam Brahman residing in the Great Void. The writings of Bhima Bhoi which are the original sources in the faith strongly subscribe to this view. Later writers and particularly Biswanath Baba have made careful analysis to establish the thesis. However, the Mahima cult is a great protestant movement with revolutionary challenges. Dr. Mayadhar Mansinha in a study entitled “The Unique Alekh Cult” lays stress on the main tenets which are (1) a casteless society, (2) recognition of one God who is Alekh or Void or ‘He who cannot be described in words or figures’ and who, therefore, should not be worshipped through man-made idols, (3) abandonment of all external rituals, like pilgrimage or ceremonies, as means of acquiring religious merit, (4) preparation for spiritual emancipation through only a strictly ethical way of living and through meditation on the Alekh, and (5) thinking always of the good of humanity as an essential part of the religious discipline. Thus Dr. Manasinha, in the same study, speaks of the Founder of the Cult as follows: “The unfavourable environment out of which this iconoclast and heretic sprang up, and the success with which he tried to establish a new moral order on earth through self-culture and ethical discipline, sternly eschewing the worship or any external object, make this obscure, illiterate man out of the jungle-lands of Orissa, one of the most daring thought-leaders of India”. Also Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, National Professor of India in Humanities, assesses the Mahima cult of Orissa as comparable to the Brahma Samaj movement in Bengal, with Sikhism in the Punjab and with the Kabira Panth in Northern India and with the Arya Samaj in Punjab and North India.
It is reported that while at Puri, Mahima Gosain was called Dhulia Gosain as He used to lie on dust in the main road. He would seldom speak. The few auspicious utterances made to others generally come true. He had matted hair on His head and saffron-coloured loin cloth around His waist. He would sit quiet in meditation in a cave called Arka-cave in Puri.

It is also said that He was invited to participate in discussion on the nature of Brahman at the Mukti-Mandap Sabha and He established Brahman as Unqualified and Satchidananda. Thus He toured around the Khurdha area including Dhauligiri, Khanda giri, Udayagiri, Bhubaneswar etc. He used to live on water only. He was usually addressed as Nirāhāri Gosain. Thus having spent twelve years, He set foot on the most beautiful Kapilas hill in Dhenkanal.

With the most exquisite sylvan beauty and unprecedented quietude all around, the Swami spent 24 years from 1838 to 1862 on the southern side of the extreme top of Kapilas hill. During the first half of this period, He lived on fruits and roots and the second half, on milk, One Savara, Sadananda by name of the village Deogan at the foot of the hill came, in the course of his daily rounds, nearer the deepest jungle and found it lighted due to Swami’s effulgence. During this period of 12 years of Swātmayoga Samādhi, two things are worthy of mention, i.e., Sadananda supplied fruits, roots etc. for food and fuel for the Dhuni and Govind Das Baba was initiated into the faith. He is the Adi Siddha (first self-realised) from whom the Siddha Para Sannyasa order of the first line was established. With detailed instruction, he went westward for the spread of the religion.

By 1838, Mahimamamahy Mahaprabhu as He was called out of devotion cast off the matted hair and the saffron-coloured cloth and put on the bark of the kumbhi tree (careya arborea) before entering into the Atmayoga Samadhi for 21 days. Some Siddha Sadhus, of course, opine that He had the bark on right from 1826. This has also been supported by Bhima Bhoi. Subsequently, during the period of 12 years preceding 1862, two landmarks in the development of the religion need mention. One relates to the then ruler of Dhenkanal, Bhagiratha Mahindra Bahadur who supplied milk and was blessed by the great Guru and the other to the initiation of Bhima Bhoi.

Up to 1876 when Guru Mahima Swami brought to a close, of His own accord, the non-attached sport and left His mortal coils at 5.22 P.M. on Monday, the tenth day of bright fortnight of the month of Phalgun (the entire period from 1862 was devoted to the spread of
the religion—Satchidanand Prabhu Alekha Mahima took his first rice meal during 1863 in a Vaisya's house, Gangadhar Sahu by name in a village, Kasipur on the bank of the Brahmani under the open sky after Gangadhar Sahu and his wife were initiated to the faith. Then he travelled from village to village and reached the house of Bhima Bhoi in Kankanpada village in the Rairakhol Subdivision in the District of Sambalpur. He commanded that Brahmbhakti admits of no caste distinctions. He had extensive tours for the spread of the religion.

It is necessary to provide corroboration to this short but significant account of the long and detailed history of the Mahima faith. There is reference to Mr. Madhusudan Das who, in course of his visit to Patia in 1864 in the company of his father he happened to see the Founder of the Mahima faith. He had then passed the Entrance Examination and his father Chowdhury Ragunath Das was an advocate at the Cuttack Court. He was also an advocate of Raja Ragunath Deb, ruler of Patia. Mahima Gosain had, on a Dolo Poornima day, arrived at Patia from Darutheng. Mr. Das was greatly moved at the catholicity of this religious reformer in his religious outlook, practice of the faith etc. He used to say later on that if the founder of the faith had been born in the Punjab or Bengal and not in Orissa, he would have ranked with Swami Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj and Raja Rama Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahma Samaj. Mr. Das used to admit among learned dignitaries that the Mahima Cult is a great contribution of Orissa to the religious movement of the world. The detailed account of the spread of the religion in and around Darutheng, Damana, Patia, Andharia by 1864-65 may be seen in Biswanath Baba’s History of Mahima Dharma.

Two news items published in the Utkal Deepika in Oriya may also be analysed. The first one is entitled “The spread of the New Religion” and it is dated 1-6-1867 and the second one is entitled “Mahima Babaji” dated 6-9-1873. These two dates support the fact made out earlier that the intensified efforts for the spread of the religion start from 1862. The first news-item is translated into English as follows: “A new religious faith has started spreading from some ex-state areas adjacent to Cuttack. It is named as Mahima Dharma. There was a Sannyasi living on fruits on the Kapilas hill in Dhenkanal. He first lived on fruits for some days, then on milk and at last only on water and worshipped God Shiva. He relinquished the Sannyas faith after cropping off his matted hair as directed one day by the Void. Now he puts on bark and is engaged in spreading a religion.”
In this cult, there is no caste discrimination. Funeral rites and idol-worship are forbidden. Only one Lord is to be worshipped. The founder of this religion is completely free from greed and is most eager in feeding the people. He and his disciples do not take food inside a house or in any pot made of bell-metal. They eat, on the road, in a broken earthen pot, whatever is offered by any person, irrespective of caste. They build good large-sized houses in one place and feed 40 to 50 thousand people. They leave the spot after burning the houses whenever they so desire. It is said that about 20 or 30 thousand people have resorted to the faith. The residents of the places visited by the said Sannyasi are so obedient to him that they do not dare to do other than what he commands. The people offer him whatever is desired by him.

On arrival at Kapilas, Mahima Swami, as pointed out earlier, lived on fruit and then on milk. He lived on water prior to 1838. So it is perhaps a mis-statement to report that he at last lived on water. Now about the worship of God Shiva. The same news reports later that idol-worship is forbidden. How can the worship of Shiva be correct? Besides, Chandrasekhar is the presiding deity of Kapilas. So it is natural to connect it with Shiva worship. Even the Adivasi Sadananda who on his first sight of Mahima Swami took Him for Chandrasekhar later corrected himself and realised that He was no other than Akhila Brahmanda Natha (Lord of the Universe). The correspondent on whose report the news appeared might have viewed it with an orthodox norm of the existing Hindu practice and so naturally described it as worship of God Shiva.

The remaining items of news as reported corroborate the findings of Biswanath Baba. Regarding the “good and large-sized houses” referred to in the news-item, detailed information may be had from Baba’s history. They are the Tungis and temporary resting places and Dhunimandaps built for Mahima Swami at His command. Some of the important places worthy of mention are Khanduali Khuntuni, Dalijoda, Mangarajpur, Sapanpur, Kashipur, Malabiharpur, Madhi, Joranda etc. Their dimensions were 5 cubits × 5 cubits, 7 cubits × 7 cubits, 9 cubits × 9 cubits, 16 cubits × 16 cubits, 21 cubits × 21 cubits etc. The significance of the dimension has been explained in Baba’s history. The non-attached soul within Mahimamaya Mahaprabhu is reflected outside. So there is complete identity between the internal and the external. Baba adds that the crowd was so large that it was not possible to walk on the road to Malabiharpur. The articles needed for the Mahima function, i.e., flattened rice, coconut, ripe plantains, molasses, ghee, honey, milk, curd, camphor, sandal,
cream etc. were so much at Baulapur that they covered land, approximately 25 acres in area and to contain them, there were earthen pots, each one maund and a half in volume, the number of the pots being 40,960 (32 Kahans). The devotees, who assembled covered an area of 4 miles. Such descriptions given in the history certainly account for 40-50 thousand people being fed. (reported in the news).

The ideal of non-attachment is antithetical to vested interest. So the Tungis and Dhuni Mandaps used to be destroyed. The Sapanpur Tungi was also destroyed under orders of Mahima Swami as its walls contained some figures and images. The supreme Lord is beyond all forms. He is all-pervading.

The news item dated 6-9-1873 lays stress on the revolt against the casteless social order, upheld in the Mahima Cult. The ruler of Madhpur drove out the Mahima Sannyasins, as according to him they were anti-Hindu and did not recognise the caste division of the society. This was supported by the Brahmins of Jajpur who rose in revolt against the Mahima cult. It also corroborates the accounts given in Satya Mahima Dharma Itihasa. The only difference is that the incident reported in the Itihasa highlights anti-image worship as the cause for the ruler of Madhpur to drive out the Sannyasis. But it is further reported that the Sannyasis of the Mahima faith were tortured by the Brahmins. At this, Mahima Mahameru instructed the followers to be tolerant and steadfast to the faith. Abusive statements such as “Mahima eating in untouchable houses were hurled at Mahima Swami who was happy that they at least uttered “Mahima”. Such was the height of the agitation against the anti-caste movement and of the tolerance on the part of Mahima Swami who loved to suffer so that the world may be in peace. Bhima Bhoi sums it up as “who can remain in peace at the sight of the endless sufferings and sorrows of all living beings?” He concludes “Let the world be saved, I may be doomed to hell”. Like Bhima Bhoi, Biswanath Baba emphasises the practice of truth, non-violence, tranquillity, purity of conduct, compassion and forgiveness.

George A. Grierson has taken note of this cult in Orissa. In a scholarly and comprehensive treatment of the “Alakhnamis”, “Alakhgirs” or “Alakhiyas” in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, he refers to a modern sect, akin to the Atakhiyas (Alakhiya, a Hindustani derivative of Alakh, meaning a follower of the Unseeable) founded in Orissa by about 1850 by one Mukund Das who was according to his followers, an incarnation of Alekh Himself. He, however, claimed only to be in special communication with Alekh whom he described as a formless spiritual being, omnipresent
and omniscient. In other respects, his teaching was identical with that of the Alakhiyas of Northern India. He died in 1875 and the seat then dwindled, but is still in existence in some force in the district of Sambalpur, immediately to the west of Orissa. Now the founding of the faith by about 1850 supports Biswanath Baba’s contention for 1850 as a land-mark in the development of the religion. Though the founder revealed Himself at Puri by about 1826, the cult gains limelight by 1850. Also 1875 according to Grierson and 1876 Phalgun or January–February for the Founder to close His non-attached sport as the devotees describe, according to Biswanath Baba, agree. But Mukund Das being the Founder of the faith is not supported by Biswanath Baba. Bhima Bhoi’s writings which are so far the primary sources of materials do not provide any base for the conclusion arrived at by Grierson. There is no mention of Mukund or Mukund Das in any shade of its meaning or use in any of his writings. Bhima Bhoi, Jaya Krishna, Madhu, Kaludas Baba, Biswanath Baba, and others on the other hand, make a systematic analysis of the tenets of the religion in relation to the Founder, Mahima Gosain. The Utkal Dipika, some of the news-items of which have already been referred to was first published on 4-8-1866 at a momentous period in the history of the State when the religion was in the height of the glory. It did not refer to Mukund Das as the founder of the faith. “Mahima Babaji” was, on the other hand, the caption of the news-item published in the Utkal Dipika, Vo. 8 No. 36 of the 6th September, 1873. It may be pointed out in this connection that a monthly entitled “Sevak” published from Cuttack from 1883 has a news-item in its issue dated the 2nd January, 1884. It runs as follows, “A proposal has been published in the Tattwabodhini Patrika about the followers of the Mahima cult. It has been written there that the name of Mahima Gosain is Mukund Das. But the writer does not say how he came to know this. We have not succeeded, despite several efforts on our part, to know his name.”

The news-item further adds: “Mahima Gosain was free from greed, because He used to construct Tungis one after another at huge expenditure and He burnt them by setting fire to them without any difficulty”. To destroy a house by fire after having built it is not to be recommended. But it speaks of His non-attachment. Senapati adds a note to his treatise on Mahima Gosain to say that “it is learnt on the authority of Biswanath Baba that Mukund Das was a disciple of Guru Mahima Gosain. He used to live at Kapilas and go about meeting state authorities and arrange for Guru Mahima Gosain’s Leela (activities). That has given the wrong impression that he was himself the founder of Mahima Dharma”. Further
the change of name, as in some cults, is not done in the Mahima faith. The Tyagi casts off his family name and on entry into the Apara Sannyas order gets the title of Das added to his original name. He then becomes Baba, on his admission into the Para Sannyas order.

It is ascertained that Bhagiratha Mahendra Bahadur took over the administration of Dhenkanal as its ruler from 1832 to 1877. He was issueless and so it was naturally a matter of great concern for him as to who would, after him, succeed to the throne. He had great qualities of head and heart. He was possibly, therefore, drawn to Mahima Swami who also found a patron in him. So possibly after 18 years of his accession to the throne, in his worry and anxiety to find an heir, he might have utilised Sadanand, one of his tenants to have darshan of Mahima Swami. He too was liberal and encouraged the people from all parts of the country, particularly the talented to settle in and serve the State. That may be a fact why Mahima Swami having travelled around Khandagiri, Patia, Damana etc. moved to the Kapilas Hill and ultimately selected Joranda as the Seat of Church—Satya Ananta Kshetra Mahima Gadi Dhama. As reported earlier, the Raja Saheb arranged to supply milk to Mahima Swami for 12 years from 1850. Perhaps within a year or two from 1862, the Mahima function of children’s sport was held at Khuntuni. The field near the mango-grove extending over an area of about 400 acres was cleared for the purpose. The aforesaid Raja Bahadur supplied 21,420 earthen pots, each a maund and a half in volume to keep the materials. Also at Baulapur, sometime near about 1868, he witnessed the Balyalila function on a grand scale. All these might have influenced him. He was a member of the Orissa Famine Committee of 1866. As reported in the Utkal Dipika of 9-1-1869, his boundless charity was recognised. He threw open all his stores and barn for free use by the famine-affected people. Those who would not join the free ration centres, opened by the Raja Bahadur because of the caste prejudice were supplied special assistance in cash and kind amounting to Rs. 6,700-00. In assisting the famine-affected persons and thus saving the lives of thousands of people, he spent, in all, on various relief measures a sum of Rs. 1,39,700-00 In recognition of the yeoman’s service, rendered by him, the title of Raja Bahadur was conferred on him by the British administration during 1866. Further he was made “Maharaja”, a unique honour, conferred on him by the Governor-General in a special Durbar. It may be, as claimed by Baba and others, due to his association with and the blessings of the Great Guru Mahima Swami.

As pointed earlier, the period from 1862-1876 recorded rapid spread of the Mahima cult under the direct guidance of its founder.
Mahima Dharma

It is also known from history that Orissa faced an unprecedented famine during 1866. There were sorrows and sufferings on account of death, destitution and desertion. Economic depression was accompanied with moral degradation. In addition, there was the threatened conversion to Christianity. A situation of this kind brings to focus the social relevance of the Mahima cult.

As in any religion, the Mahima cult has three orders, sharply demarcated. They were established by Mahima Swami. Govinda Baba is the first self-realised. He heads the 92 Siddhas, known as the 64. This order was established sometime between 1838 and 1850. Towards 1870 at Jaka Tungi, the Apar Sannyas order was established at His commandment by Banchhandidhi Das Baba of the Para Sannyas order. They were the 80 murtees. This was followed by others. More than one hundred of these Apar Sannyasis were by 1912-1915 admitted into the Par Sannyas order. The 3rd order is the lay disciples, headed by Gangadhar Sahu of Kasipur, Bhima Bhoi and a host of others. This is the Mahima society. The Sannyasis in the Mahima cult maintain continuity with the Ayadhur order of pre-historic times. They live, move and have their being in the society. Their example of simplicity and austerity in their code of conduct and of stern abstinence from pleasures in strict obedience to Guru’s commandments has been a source emanating moral and spiritual forces. The principle of spending a night in a village and of taking one meal in a house keeps them dynamic. The beacon light of Jnana and bhakti is kept burning. It was reported in the Utkal Dipika dated 21-3-1868, Volume III, No. 12 that the monks in certain charitable maths lived, in many cases, impure life. Some seven or eight years ago, Kedaranath Dutta, a teacher of a School at Cuttack wrote as reported in the Utkal Dipika, a book on the extravagance and evil conduct of the monks in Maths in Orissa. The Mahima cult is, indeed, a revolt against this. The Para Sannyasis are not to touch gold and even coins. Non-possession of wealth is one of the goals. They offer prayers under the open sky. They would not take food of any kind, even a drop of water except under the open sky. This is designed to keep them open-minded and pray for the good of mankind. Thus they are free from narrowness, sectarianism and partisanship. The prayer is mainly offered twice, the morning and evening Brahma muhurtas. It is called “Darshan”. They surrender themselves fully and wholly in body, mind and soul to Guru Brahma Mahima Alekha. The Para Sannyasis have Valkal Bheka on whereas the Apara Sannyasis have Kana Kaupin Bheka on. The lay disciples have Darshana Kapada on. They stand with both the hands folded high above
the head and after the darshan in the prescribed manner, they have a feeling of "having nothing and yet hath all".

Temperate food habits are prescribed. No food, not even a drop of water is taken from the sun-set to the sun rise. This is scientifically sound and supported by the scriptural injunctions. It is also economically a better programme. The Sannyasis are not required to carry food. They are not even to place orders for any kind of food. Whatever is easily available in the family, the simplest and the Sattwic, is accepted with satisfaction. In a life, surrendered to Brahman, food is a means and not an end. It ensures easy acceptance of all people, irrespective of caste, colour, sex and occupation. In the Mahima cult, mankind is one and indivisible.

The Mahima Gadi Mandal which is the seat of the Church is located at Joranda in the district of Dhenkanal. It was constructed in 1876. This is the first and innermost structure. The second structure round the first was begun in 1880 and completed in 1890. The foundation for the third structure round the second has been laid. The entire area is roughly 100 acres. The Campus has a few buildings. The most important are the Sunya Mandira, Gadi Mandira, Dhuni Mandira, Niti Upakaran Mandira. Manohi pedestal, Granth Kosha Bhavan, Stores, Cowshed, kitchen, dining hall, Satsang area etc. There are more than hundred dormitories known as Dharmasalas to accommodate about ten thousand devotees. There are a few wells and tanks. There is the place for meetings and few tungi Ashrams for the Sadhus. The Ashrama Mandal does not have any landed property, endowments etc. The main source of income is the gifts made by the devotees. It is managed by the Para Sannyasi Siddha Babas who conduct Niti. They manage the Dharmadhama. The Kana Kaupinadhari Apar Sannyas, Vairagis and the lay disciples help in the management of the Dharmadhama according to the direction of the Siddha Babas.

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EVANGELIZATION IN ORISSA AND ITS IMPACT

Scarcely was the conquest of Orissa made in 1803, the Missionaries of Serampore thought of evangelization. William Carey, the head of the Missionaries at Serampore, appointed an Oriya Pundit named Purushottama to translate the New Testament. This work was completed in 1809.

In 1806, Rev. Cladius Buchanon, Chaplain of Fort William in Calcutta passed through Orissa during his journey to South India. He witnessed the Car festival which took place in June 1806. The obstreperous Chaplain wrote letters from the Chilka coast in which he "penned graphic statements respecting the gigantic outrage upon all that is dear to God." ¹

Buchanon narrated the ‘atrocities at Juggernath’ whom he described as the Moloch (blood-seeking god) of the east. He cited an exaggerated number of cases of self-immolation under the wheels of the ‘Car of Juggernath’. He suggested the formation of a Christian institution to undermine ‘the wide and extended empire’ of Juggernath. ²

Though he returned to England, his letters stirred the evangelical conscience of the Missionaries of Serampore. Early in 1808, Krishnadass and another Bengali convert were sent to Balasore to distribute tracts. In 1809, John Peters, an ‘East Indian working under the patronage of the Serampore brethren’ settled at Moriganj, Balasore. Peters converted Jagannath Mukherjee, ‘a Bengali well-versed in Oriya’.³ Probably Jagannath recanted after some time. Peters returned to Serampore in 1817. The Missionaries in Bengal were few in number. They could not be spared for activities outside Bengal. In 1813, Cladius Buchanon addressed two letters to the Court of Directors in which he argued that the immense gathering of the ‘heathens’ from all parts of the country to Puri, was a golden opportunity for ‘preaching the pure religion of Jesus Christ’ by distributing copies of the Bible.
But the Court of Directors showed no interest in the salvation of the idolatrous pilgrims resorting to Puri. Buchanon now reminded the English people what Jesus had said: ‘Go, preach the Gospel to every creature’. He advocated the formation of a Baptist Mission Foreign Society to fulfil the desire of the Saviour. His letters gathered wide forum and subscriptions were raised to form such a Society. In 1816, William Bampton and James Peggs were ordained for service in North-India.

In 1821, Bampton and Peggs reached Serampore with their families. Orissa was selected as the field of their activities. Permission was necessary to preach Christianity in Orissa. ‘A previous application from the Missionaries was unsuccessful on account of the unsettled state of the country’.

But as peace was restored after the Paik Rebellion in 1817, Lord Hastings, the Governor-General, permitted them to proceed to Orissa. They took with them ‘a thousand copies of the Gospels and Epistles in Oriya’. Bampton and Peggs arrived at Patamundai on 12 February, 1822 and reached Cuttack by canal. Peggs remained at Cuttack, while Bampton proceeded to Puri—the great emporium of idolatry—in November 1823. Charles Lacey arrived in December 1823 and Amos Sutton came in 1825. They stayed at Cuttack to help James Peggs, who was sick. Peggs lost his three children Francis, Eliza and Mary at Cuttack and being ‘afflicted in body and mind’ returned to England in 1825. He became the Pastor of the Baptist Church at Bruton-on-Trent. For a period of a quarter of a century, this evangelical pamphleteer, who styled himself ‘Cuttack Missionary’ carried on a campaign of vilification against Jagannath by distorting facts, to sever the connection of the East India Company with the Jagannath temple.

At Cuttack, the Missionary efforts evoked little response from the Hindus. F. Rennel, the son of a Catholic Engineer became Protestant on 27 April 1823, to marry a Protestant girl. In 1824, the wife of Abraham, a Christian Jew and the mother and brother of a Catholic Portuguese teacher named Sunder, were baptized. A small chapel was opened at Cuttack on 6 November 1826.

At Puri, Bampton met with decided opposition and ridicule. He carried with him an Oriya tract entitled *Folly of the worship of Jagannath*. But a man pointed out: “If the Government does not forsake Jagannath, why should we”?

Bampton tried to convince some persons from Calcutta. “Yet these learned heathens, notwithstanding their acquaintance with
European manners and culture"--"Could adore the wooden idol with so much apparent devotion as the most ignorant idolater!"  
  
Being disappointed about the redemption of the people of Puri Bampton proceeded to Berhampur where he converted Erun, a Telugu weaver on 25 December 1827. The two wives of Erun, the first Hindu convert, forsook him. The first Missionary conference was held at Puri in July 1828. Towards the end of 1828, Bampton fell asleep in Jesus. Puri was temporarily abandoned after his death.  
  
Lacey and Sutton distributed Nistara Ratnakara (Way of escape from damnation) and the Oriya translation of the Jewel Mine of Salvation during the market days at and near Cuttack. They failed to convince the people. At that time, Sadhu Sundar Das was preaching theistic doctrines at Kujibar near Cuttack. He asked his disciples to worship God and to reject idol worship. "The old Guru was the unwilling means of bringing the first disciples of Christ from among the Oriyas."  
  
In January 1826, one of the disciples of the Sadhu went to a fair at Tangi in the Cuttack district and received an Oriya catechism on the Ten Commandments. He took it to the hermitage, where it was read to the congregation by Gangadhar Sarangi, the chief disciple of Sundar Das. Though unlettered, the Sadhu had a highly retentive memory. He was interested in the Ten Commandments and formulated ‘Das a Agyas’ for his disciples. Shortly afterwards, some of the followers of the Sadhu came to Cuttack and received more tracts and a New Testament. "The books were welcomed by the old Guru since they conformed and carried out the doctrines which he had thought, e.g. folly of idolatry and worship of God."  
  
If we believe the statement of Sutton, Sundar Das imagined himself to be the incarnation of Christ. To complete the resemblance, he chose twelve of his principal disciples to represent twelve apostles.  
  
When Lacey and Sutton came to know that the Sadhu was interested in the teachings of Christ, they wanted to meet him. They intimated the Sadhu who sent a guide to fetch them. On 10 October 1826, they went to Kujibar and were cordially received by the Sadhu under a wide and spreading banyan tree. During the conversation he referred to the death of Christ. He illustrated it by supposing the case of a criminal who is condemned to death, for whom another person offers himself as a substitute. Sutton wrote that 'he was frequently surprised' at the correct scriptural knowledge, the Sadhu possessed on many subjects.
The Guru made some striking predictions. He declared that there would be dawn of a millennium, when piety and peace instead of falsehood and discord would prevail in the world. But the Guru showed no inclination to embrace the Gospel. The Missionaries returned disappointed. But their efforts were not fruitless. "His approval of our Tracts encouraged the disciples to read them and they grew beyond the narrow limits within which he sought to confine them."12

Gangadhar Sarangi, the chief disciple, was the first Oriya convert. He was baptized in the water of the Mahanadi by Lacey on 23 March 1828. His wife followed his example. Ramachandra Jachak, another disciple of the Sadhu, became Christian on 1 May 1830.13 They were followed by other disciples Daitari Naik, Karuna Sahu and Raghunath Das. The Sadhu was indignant when he found that the Missionaries 'had reaped the corn which he had sown.'14

Sundar Das now sought solace in religion. He became a Vaishnava. "He enlisted persons well-versed with the writings of Kabir, Chaitanya and specially of an Oriya reformer in his own vicinity.15

Sundar Das did not forgive the Missionaries for misusing his confidence. Two women, Dhani and her married daughter Kamala were converted by Gangadhar Sarangi. Kamala took her infant daughter with her when she left her husband's home. The Sadhu persuaded Kamala's husband to institute a case in 1830. The Judge16 ordered the restoration of the infant daughter to the husband of Kamala and fined the Missionaries Rupees fifty for abetment. He also ordered them not to convert any married Hindu woman without the permission of her husband. The Missionaries sought an opportunity for revenge. In August 1830, the Sadhu wrote in his manuscript bulletin, entitled Kujibar Patrika a short article 'Jishu O Sishu' in which he compared Jesus with an infant. The Missionaries complained that this article had wounded the religious sentiment of the Christians by such comparison.

Sundar Das was arrested and lodged in the Cuttack Jail. As no cognizable offence could be proved against him, the Sadhu was released after some months. He went back to his hermitage at Kujibar and died there on 16 April 1838.17

In 1836, Sutton went to America and persuaded the American Missionaries to work in Orissa. Rev. E. Noyce and Rev. J. Phillip accompanied Sutton when he came back to Orissa. The American
Missionaries at first worked at Sambalpur, but as the insalubrious climate did not suit them, they settled at Balasore. Jaleswar also became a Missionary centre.

Puri was ‘re-occupied’ in 1836.

During the great famine of 1866, the Missionaries at Cuttack started a relief organisation. They brought paddy from Calcutta. The Missionaries tempted the low-caste people, whom the opulent caste-Hindus did not give food, to become Christians.

ITS IMPACT

(i) Education

The Missionaries were the pioneers of popular education in Orissa. They considered education ‘as auxiliary to preaching’. There were no schools at that time. The British rulers in Orissa neglected education. Henry Ricketts, the Commissioner, criticized the apathy of the Government. He wrote: “At the time of the conquest, we found the Oriyas in a state of degradation and to our shame be it recorded that our policy was to perpetuate the degeneracy which is the usual consequence of misrule.” The Government accepted his suggestion and started a Vernacular school.

When the Missionaries came, they found that Hindu religious texts were taught in the indigenous schools by the Brahmin teachers. Within four months after their arrival, Bampton and Peggs started a Vernacular school at Cuttack, on 1 June 1822, to impart elementary knowledge of Christian theology through the medium of Oriya. By December 1823, they started 15 such schools at and near Cuttack. The Missionaries promoted co-education. Sixty-three girls were reading in these schools.

Caste prejudice and conservatism stood on the way of the progress of English education in Orissa.

The Brahmins did not like the spread of English education which, in their opinion, instilled hatred against the Hindu religion. In October 1823, an Anglo-Vernacular School was started at Cuttack by the Baptist Mission Society in England. It depended on charity. Two ‘heathen’ boys took admission along with boys of European descent. Gradually the number of Hindu boys increased. As Sutton pointed out: “When we commenced the institution 15 years ago, it was the only (English) School between Calcutta and Vizagapatam.” The Baptist Mission at Cuttack could not manage the School because of financial difficulties and handed over the institution to the Government in 1841. Wilkinson, the Collector of Puri, started ‘Pooree Free Academy’ in 1835. It was closed after some years because of the conservatism of the people of Puri.
The Missionaries also spread secular education, though with some theological bias. In 1837, a School for the ‘heathen boys’ was started under the supervision of a Christian master. Though the medium was vernacular, rudimentary knowledge of English was also imparted.  

(ii) Books

The *New Testament* was the first book in Oriya which was reprinted. There were no books for the Vernacular Schools. Sutton wrote Oriya grammar in 1831, History in 1839, and Geography in 1840. The Calcutta School Books Society published Sutton’s Oriya Primer and *Padartho Vidya Sara* (elementary science). Sutton compiled Oriya Dictionary in 1843. In 1845, he translated the *Old Testament* in three volumes. Sutton wrote more books in Oriya language than any Oriya in the 19th century.

The Government took interest in Vernacular education only from 1844 and started Schools. The first eight Oriya Deputy Magistrates during the rule of the East India Company were non-Brahmins, who read History, Geography and Grammar written by Sutton in those Vernacular Schools, instead of the *Bhagavata* in the indigenous Schools run by the Brahmins.

When the Oriyas first read the printed books, they read the *New Testament* and the Gospels of St. Mathew and of St. Luke. “Before 1841, 50,000 copies of tracts and Gospels in Oriya were distributed.”

In 1837, Mission Press was established at Cuttack. The next Press in Orissa was started in 1866. The first Oriya story book *Phulamani O’ Karuna* was published by Rev. Stubbin in 1857. In 1849, Rev. Lacey started a periodical bulletin entitled *Jnanaruna*. Along with Christian topics, there were also casual references to the contemporary events. This bulletin was shortlived. In 1856, he started the monthly magazine *Prabodha Chandrika*.

(iii) Religion

Evangelization gave impetus to the concept of theism which two Hindu religious teachers preached in Orissa in the 19th century. The religion of the conqueror influences the religion of the conquered. Little is known about the early life of Mahima Svami, the founder of the Mahima or Alekh faith. The first advent of Mahima Svami is recorded in 1826 and the Mahima *Abda* (year) is reckoned from that year. It is said that Mahima Svami spent his time on the Temple road at Puri, smearing his body with dust. As he died in 1876, he was a young man with impressionable mind in 1826. He must have
listened to ‘Padri Bampton’s preaching against image worship specially attacking Jagannath. From Puri he went to Khandagiri and other places and after wandering for 12 years, he settled on the Kapilas hill near Dhenkanal for meditation. He preached his faith in the second half of the 19th century. Bhima Bhoi, the most prominent lay disciple of Mahima Svami condemned image worship in his poems. In 1881, some disciples of Bhima Bhoi attacked the Jagannath temple, “to lay violent hands upon Jagannath and to destroy the image.”

Though there was no direct contact between Alekhism and Christianity, there are several similarities. The Alekh faith like Christianity spread due to the vigour of the monks. In Alekhism, there is the institution of confession which is held at Joranda, the chief seat, once a year.

Sundar Das was born in the second half of the eighteenth century though his devotees assign him a very long life. He was a Kshatriya by caste. While hunting in a dense forest at night, he heard an oracle, which brought a great change in his life. After spending some years in meditation he settled at Kujibar, not far from Cuttack. His fame as a religious teacher spread and a large number of disciples gathered at his Ashrama or hermitage. He declared that all things are created by God, Who alone should be worshipped. He asked his disciples not to worship images or to go on pilgrimage. Unfortunately, his attempt of synthesis between Christianity and Vedantic Hinduism was misunderstood by his disciples. While the sect of Mahima Svami spread, that of Sundar Das declined.

For theistic conception, both Mahima Svami and Sundar Das drew inspiration from the Upanishad and Vedanta. It is said that Mahima Svami gave a lecture on Vedanta in the Mukti Mandap of the Jagannath temple. Sundar Das composed poems on Advaita, the Absolute. One of his poems has been found. Both the religious teachers observed the ritual of pouring libation of ghee in fire.

(iv) Society

The Missionary activities affected the placid dullness of the Hindu society in Orissa. “From time immemorial, they (the people of Orissa) are a priest-ridden race, kept in subjection by Brahmans and subject to the paralysing influences of religious superstition and caste prejudice.” (Hunter)

With the spread of secular education, sponsored by the Missionaries, there was a new consciousness among the masses. The sects
of Mahima Svami and of Sundar Das spread among the lower classes of people who were oppressed by high caste Hindus. Gangadhār Sarangi was an exception. There is no caste system in Alekhism. At Joranda, the chief seat of that faith, the ‘Satsang Gosthi’ is held once a year, when devout householders by permission and the monks take meal together. A monk of the Alekh faith will not like to dine in the house of a Brahman.

Sadhu Sundar Das also insisted on community eating among his disciples. He asked them to lay aside the caste symbols like sacred thread and sandal marks.

Christianity in Orissa expedited the rise of the non-Brahmans who intellectually led the people of Orissa towards the end of the 19th century. Madhusudan Das, the greatest among them, became Christian.

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2. Buchanan’s letters: Ganjam, 23 June 1806: India Office Library. In 1817, summer issue of the journal of the Missionary Society, London, there was a picture of the ‘Car of Juggernath’—drawn by the pilgrims by means of hooks fixed in their flesh.


6. *Calcutta Christian Observer* (to be abbreviated C.C.O.) Letters of Sutton, August 1845. “The way the Gospel took root in this province (Orissa) was without parallel in India. An old Sadhu was the man appointed to prepare the way of the Lord”. Address of J. Millers: C.C.O. December 1849.


10. We are to depend on the jaundiced account of Sutton. It is difficult to believe that the Sadhu prostrated himself before two Christians, as stated by Sutton.


13. Ramachandra’s grandfather Lakshmanji was the governor of the Barabati fort. After the British conquest Ramachandra’s father Haebarta settled at Buxibazar, Cuttack.


15. Sutton: *Orissa and its evangelization*, p. 153. This reformer was Mahima Svami, the founder of the Mahima or Alekh Dharma.
16. He appears to be C. J. Middleton, Judge and Magistrate, Cuttack.

17. Sadhu Sundar Das, the first Theistic reformer in the 19th century is now forgotten, while Rammohan Roy who preached monism after him, is remembered.

18. Ricketts to the Board of Revenue, 7 December 1837. Board of Revenue Records No. 2955.


20. At Bhadrak, many of the people "entertain most absurd notions of the intentions of Government, believing that the children, if allowed to attend School, will eventually be taken away from the parents and sent to England". A. J. Mills, Commissioner to Board of Revenue 13 April 1846. Board of Revenue Records No. 704.


24. The grace (Mahima) of Param Brahma, the Absolute Being cannot be described in writing (lekha).

25. It is stated in the Utkal Dipika, 1867: "The Sadhu is propagating a new religion which does not recognise caste system or image worship and is strictly monotheistic" S. Patnaik: "Orissa in 1867" (Orissa Historical Research Journal, X, No. 3.)
PART III

Monuments, Art and Architecture
PART III

Monuments, Art and Architecture
FOLK ART:

To introduce Orissan Art let me start from the folk art of Orissa. Though Orissa is the poorest land of modern India, she is richest in folk art. Art has become a part of Oriyas’ daily life that we can mark from every walk of life of her village people.

Folk art is the art of the folk people, by the folk people and for the folk people (Though now the folk art pieces have come to the house of modern urban people as decorative pieces). We take the village people as folk people who live away from the urban area and urban culture.

Folk art is different from court art. Court art gets patronisation from the royal house. It follows certain rules framed by philosophers or priests and accordingly changes from period to period. It changes its character coming in contact with other culture, it grows to the zenith and again deteriorates when it gets an unhealthy treatment. It flourishes and dies too.

Just the reverse is the case with folk art. It is ruled by no grammar, it needs no royal help, and no royal appreciation, so its death is not as easy as of the court art. It is conceivable that in distant future men will cease to produce works of art. Mankind may some day outgrow its need for art, but it is not the case with the folk art.

The folk art in Orissa has become a part of the life of the folk people. It is interwoven with people’s day-to-day life. It is mingled with Hindu religion so thoroughly that it is difficult to separate one from the other.

Like the social life of the people of other provinces of India, the life of an Oriya is conducted mostly by religion and, to add flavour to the religious functions, folk art has enough contribution. From the
folk art of any country or nation it is easy to study the people's aesthetic sense; and that sense is not created in a day or two but takes a long peaceful period to achieve that quality. That also gives a clear picture of the healthy economic condition of the country. For a healthy economic status an established political situation is responsible. That is why I want to give the political situation of Orissa in brief to help the readers to visualise the arts of Orissa which has become renowned both in home and abroad.

Kings of Orissa, beginning from Kharavela in the 2nd century B.C. to Purusottam in the 15th century A.D. conquered lands in the north, in south, in west. The Sailendras conquered Suvarna Dweepa and reigned there in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. and thereby enlarged the scope of sea-trade for Orissa. The Keshari Kings ruled in the 8th Century A.D., the Gangas in the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th Centuries A.D., the Suryas in the 15th Century A.D. No defeat but success was in the fate of Oriyas. So the land flourished in wealth, in food, in culture. The people lived happily, and that happiness was reflected in their day-to-day life. They lived decent lives, they made their social functions joyful, their festival colourful, their temples grew lofty and their art and literature became rich.

After 15th century the bad days came for Orissa. Kings became weaker and weaker, defeats came from different quarters. Attacks came from the south, and from Vijaynagar; there came the Afghans and the Moghuls from the north, and Mahrattas from the west. One after another they came, looted wealth, broke temples, destroyed peace.

At last like a last straw on the camel's back came the pressure from the Portuguese pirates to disturb the sea-trade. Finally came the English to conquer and rule. In addition to all these, flood and drought were always there. The people became poorer and poorer.

Orissa's poverty left specific marks on her folk literature. For instance I mention a few lines here:

My hairs I husk with paddy
then mid-day passes
A potful of boiled rice
mixed with water they give
O' my mother, when I eat

Tears roll down to fill my rice pot.

again:

The moon of Kumar Purnima came
All graced themselves with new clothes
But O' my mother, you made me graceless.
Gradually the poverty-stricken men-folk lost the sense of aesthetics; art only remained confined to women-folk. It is also nicely registered in the folk songs:

“I coated this building and that building with clay and cow-dung. Over them I put decorations by gourd flower. Still O’ my husband, you did not even talk to me when we were in bed and that attitude breaks my heart.”

But her folk art which became more religion-oriented still speaks of her better days. In the month of Margasira comes the harvest season. Paddy, the staple food of Oriyas, gets ready in the field. People worship Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth. There is a specific day, Thursday for Lakshmi worship. On that day, every week, for the whole month women-folk give a mud and cow-dung wash to the walls and floors of their mud houses and put beautiful decorations with white colour made of rice paste. Another festival for Lakshmi is performed on the day of Karkata (Cancer) Sankranti, when the sun touches the tropic of cancer. The Brahmin community of Orissa observes that festival. They decorate their mud walls and floors with beautiful designs. Mainly on their doors they draw various kinds of ornaments, both old and those in use now-a-days.

In the month of Kartik, ladies who have passed their 45—50 years of age, who are widows, lead a strict religious life for the whole month or for the last five days of the month. They take a dip early in the morning in a pond or a river, or sea, clean and wash the altar of the Tulsi plant and decorate that place with dust colours made of rice powder, leaf powder, black powder, turmeric powder and vermillion. They draw beautiful designs and human figures. Their central figures are Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra. They draw nice trees with birds on them, ladders, probably the ladder for the Heaven, ornaments, wooden ships of old days, and many other things. The onlookers will simply be astonished to observe the drawings so free and beautiful, colours so harmonious. The figures are simple and suggestive, symbolic and sophisticated. They seem effortlessly coming out of the hands of ladies who have no schooling but a strong sense of observation and good taste.

Similarly there are other festive occasions such as Chitalagi Amavasya, Dasahara, and many others where drawing and paintings go as a part of the performance. Besides these religious festivals there are social functions, such as marriage ceremony, sacred thread ceremony, visits of important persons when decorations are made.
There are some occasions when gifts, generally sweets, are sent to the newly married daughters, placed inside earthen pots. Those pots are painted with mono-colour and sometimes with multicolours. Fish, flowers, geometrical designs are the main motifs drawn and painted by women-folk of the village, to make the outside of the pots as sweet as their contents.

Besides paintings, we find folk sculptures which are produced to meet various demands of the folk people.

Horses and elephants are made out of clay to meet the demand of a religious belief. People, when in danger, due to the illness of their children or any personal troubles, promise to offer horse or elephant to the goddess of the village, who is believed to be their guardian.

The village potter makes horses and elephants, as small as 6 inches and as big as three feet in height, according to the demand and price, using his wheel. He makes very simple and appealing figures revealing their essential characters in them.

In Sambalpur area people observe the new moon day in the month of Bhadra, they call it Ghoda Uansa or simply, Ghoda Ghicha (Horse pulling) festival. Clay-made horses, elephants and bulls, attached with four wheels on their legs are made by potters for that purpose. A bold simplification is marked with those figures with a head, the artist has attached four legs, totally omitting the body.

Beautiful metal casting art pieces are made to meet the folk as well as aristocrats' demand. Lamps and lamp-stands, rice measuring bowl, elephant, elephant with rider, horse and horse with rider are made of brass. Most of these articles are used by the households for their daily worship. We get nice designs, both simple and complicated, over them, which show a high workmanship and creative faculty of the folk artists.

Beautiful toys are made of clay and wood and available almost in every part of Orissa. Puri, Berhampur, Navrangpur, Sambalpur, Barapali, Bargada, Balasore, Jaspur, Angul, Paralakhemundi are the main centres for toys. Those toys are really charming with their simple forms and pleasing colours. They also bear their identities according to the places.

Female-folk of villages make beautiful baskets, hand fans, table mats from golden grass with beautiful designs over them. The applique work is another art which has a folk as well as court demand. Big-sized flat umbrella called 'Chhatri', heart-shaped fans called Tras, big and small canopies are prepared by traditional tailors of Pipli
of Puri district. They cut clothes into various shapes and sizes, stitch them over a cloth producing colourful patterns. Flowers, birds, beasts, geometrical forms are arranged to produce a beautiful design.

Those umbrellas and Trases are used in religious festivals. On certain occasions people take their deity in procession and to make that procession colourful these materials are used. Big canopies are used in big gatherings to protect from the sun and to give a colour to the function. Canopies are used in the temples also.

It is hung over the deity to protect it from filth and also to beautify that room. People in rural areas generally carry Batua or a small bag to carry their betel leaf, betel nut, lime, tobacco and nut-cutter. This Batua shows the people's love for art. They prefer a Batua with an applique work to a Batua without. Though most of the people are poor and they find it difficult to afford for a decorative bag still they do not miss to purchase one whenever they get a chance.

The articles made of wood, such as door, door belts, door jams, door beams etc., to hold the thatched roof, brackets, are found decorated with floral, bird and beast designs. Though now-a-days those are not in vogue and old houses have perished either by fire or by flood still there are some old houses where we can find them. The decoration over the parts of a structural building had a demand from every quarter both from rich and poor classes, rural and urban people.

Now it is a past story, the people have lost the taste, lost their love for art. But the folk art still survives and gets appreciation from a new group of people who are educated, enlightened, aristocratic and urban.

SCULPTURE

For sculpture of Orissa we shall have to go to Dhauli near Bhubaneswar, where there is a sculpture of an elephant, half hewn from a living rock. Asoka wrote his edicts on a stone just near that elephant. To commemorate the event of Kalinga war, Asoka instead of erecting a pillar, inscribed the edict on a living slab.

Then came Kharavela, the most powerful king of Orissa. He excavated many caves at Khandagiri and Udaigiri, a dwelling abode for Jain monks near Bhubaneswar. There we get some good and clear pieces of relief works over the doors. At the frieze of Rani Gumpha, there is a scene, a hunting episode from a Jain theme. There the king is shown aiming at a winged deer who is running away
with other deer. His horse is seen standing behind him, guarded by a keeper and behind the horse there are a few human figures, may be the King’s men. In that very scene again the king is shown standing with his bow hanging from his hand, before him there is a tree on which a lady is shown sitting and by stretching her hand indicating the king not to kill the deer, who has taken shelter under that tree.

That relief work is almost a single plane composition. The sense of proportion is lacking, and perspective is ignored. But the artist has tried to add force to the figures. The running deer, the standing horse and the King’s pose of charging arrow are really impressive.

History says that after Kharavela’s death his empire vanished as quickly as it had risen. So we are quite in dark about the artists of Rani Cave. Again in the 7th and 8th centuries, we find a rise of art in Orissa through structural temples and their decorations. Before that we meet art works of Ratnagiri and Lalitgiri of the 6th cen. A.D. which grew by collecting sap and spirit from Gupta sculpture. Gupta influence actually came to Orissa in the 7th Century A.D. The Avalokiteswar Vajrapani and Avalokiteswar Padmapani of the 8th century A.D. (State Museum Orissa) make this point strong. We can mark a very sharp development in the 10th century Avalokiteswar. Like other parts of India Brahminism and Buddhism made their stronghold in Orissa and there was a great demand for Sculptors aided by Hindu and Buddhist iconography. In Bengal and Bihar Pala Sculpture made a remarkable progress under the demand of Buddhism. From the 8th to 10th Century A.D., we get figures of different Avalokiteswars in Orissa and one can mark how the decorations on Avalokiteswar of the 10th century A.D. is similar to that of Surya and Vishnu of that period and later. True Orissan sculpture is seen on the temple of Parasurameswar. The temple was built in the middle of the 8th century A.D. Both the main temple and the pillarated hall bear sculpture pieces.

There are beautiful relief works. There are two stone grills, one on each side of the door-ways. The figures there represent a group of dancers and musicians playing on trumpet, flute and cymbals. Every figure is well-proportioned and in motion. The dancers are shown with complicated pose, with twisting bodies. That shows that by this time the Oriya artist knew to handle figures from almost every possible angle. The figures on the temple of Mukteswar show a step forward in sculpture. By this time Orissa had developed a style of her own. The sculptors got a vast field for experiment, as structural temples were built continuously from 700 A.D. to 1250 A.D. to meet
the demand of Buddhism, Saivism, Shaktism, Vaishnavism, and many others. Temples of various sizes and shapes came up with well-decorated designs on their exterior parts. Gods, demigods, human and animal figures, geometrical designs, flower and foliage motifs, animals with real, fantastic and mythical forms covered the temples' body. Human figures were shown representing daily life. Out of the four disciplines of life viz. Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha, gradually 'Kama' became more pronounced on the temple walls.

The scholars say that Hinduism emerged into a particular phase known as Tantrism. As a result the mithuna ritual is represented in the carving of the temples.

Generally, we divide the sculptures into three classes, one is canonical and follows Silpa shastra keenly; the second is free from canons and gives chance to the artists to express their creativity; the third is decorative motifs. The idols are strictly cut by following the treatise of Silpa Shaastra. With all strictness in anatomy, poses, expression, costumes, the artists' achievement is unique. Besides the main idol of the temple, other idols are installed on the three sides of the temple as Parswa Devata. Different gods have different idols in their group. For example, Siva temple has Ganesh, Kartikeya and Parvati as Parswa Devata (side deity), Vishnu has as his side deity, Bamana, Nrisinha and Baraha, three out of 10 incarnations of God. The sun has three suns with three moods in different times of the day as his side gods.

In Konarak the figures of sun of the morning are shown with smiling faces, the mid-day sun with a confident and grave look and the setting sun with withered appearance. Here the artist has shown his full realisation, deep observance and perfect workmanship in revealing these moods in stone.

In the temple of Lord Jagannath one of the side gods, Nrusinha is another perfect achievement of Oriya artists. A nine feet colossal figure in black granite is so successfully handled that one really wonders to see its fearful mood with its minute and correct anatomy, with its clothes so finely decorated, with its pose so steady and stubborn.

In the temple of Lord Lingaraj at Bhubaneswar the figure of Parvati with her lion is really charming. One can observe the perfectness of the artist from this figure. More charming and more original is the figure of the lion at the feet of goddess Parvati. The lion is lying in a playful mood, sitting on its three legs and raising the fourth to the chest, it has twisted its body looking up towards the face of goddess Parvati in a gayful mood. It proves the creative genius of the Oriya artists.
The Gate Lion is another creation of Oriya sculptors. Those are installed at the entrance of the temple as guardians. That is why the temple door in Orissa is called Sinhadwara or Lion’s gate. Again those are placed at the middle part of the roof of the temple on four sides, again in between the Amalak and the Chhapar (at Beki) as if they are bearing the weight of the stone Amalaka on their back.

These lions are quite imaginary and unnatural pieces. That is the case with all the lions produced by the Indian artists. Orissan lion bears a big and sharp nose like a man with a pair of thick mustaches and broad open eyes. Its face is kept wide open, the manes are decorated. Somewhere it is shown crumbling an elephant under its hind legs and the other two legs raised to the chest. Some where they are without elephant, standing on 3 legs with one leg raised to the chest. The female figures with their various poses are the true art-pieces to gauge the ability of Oriya artists. Here only the artists got the opportunity to do anything they liked. Most of the female figures are graceful with their rhythmically inclined bodies smiling faces, and well-proportioned structures. The charming glances of their eyes have added life to the stone. The setting of ornaments on their bodies is neither too less to ignore the importances of the ornament nor too much to ignore their natural beauty. The artists knew where to stop, they were not just carried away by their enthusiasm to spoil their labour, their sense of aesthetics.

Female figures have been shown in various poses doing various activities and expressing various moods. Someone is shown holding a branch of a tree, someone is shown observing her face in looking glass, someone putting a nupur, others putting off their armlet. Someone is shown tying her cloth around her waist, someone untying. The Mithuna figures are similarly shown engaged in various activities, somewhere looking at each other and somewhere engaged in sexual intercourse in various poses. Let me describe one of the mithuna figures of Konarak.

The man has encircled one of his hands around the woman’s waist, one of the arms of the woman encircled the neck of the man, the right hand of the man travels across her chest and lifts her face by holding the chin with a tenderly manner.

There are various poses of sexual union, ‘most fanciful,’ but natural. How and why they have been so freely exhibited on the temple walls is really a matter to think over. It is not a new thing in the history of Indian sculpture. We find these amorous groups at Mathura in 2nd century A.D., at Nagarjunakonda in 2nd-3rd century A.D., at Aihole in the 6th century A.D., with Pallave sculpture in the
7th century A.D., at Elora in the 8th century A.D., with Chola in the 9th century AD., at Khajuraho in the 10th century A.D. and it continues up to the 17th century A.D. which we see at Shrirangam. Different views have been expressed by different scholars on this point. But Mithuna is a sexual union, which is the cause of intense pleasure, cause of all living creatures and is at the root of the world, which is without either beginning or end.

In Hindu thinking human life flows along the course of natural rhythm, there being no cause to hide anything, and no limitations and fears. There is no boundary line between religion and life. How can life be separated from religion? It was Buddhism which separated the spiritual from sexual. But when that took to tantra the old theory changed.

In Konarak, we find scenes from life as they were, somewhere a teacher holding a book and discoursing to his disciples, somewhere an archer shooting an arrow on a fully stretched bow, or musicians playing on their various instruments. King is going in a procession, a soldier is taking farewell from his wife, a victorious warrior is getting reception from his people, so on and so forth.

The colossal figures like steeds led by cavaliers and war elephant crushing a man are very naturally depicted by the artists. Elephants both colossal and miniatures are shown in their natural poses. At the base of the temple miniature elephants are shown in various poses and engaged in various activities. If we look at those figures we feel as if we are witnessing elephants playing in a wood.

The naga-nagini is a common subject for many door jamb decoration. How nicely they are shown twisted into one! Various floral designs are carved on the temple walls in a very complicated form, creating texture on the walls and thereby adding beauty to the temples.

Mahisa Mardinee of Baital temple is another unique creation of Oriya artists. Here the goddess Durga and Mahisasura, the demon of buffalo are composed in an unusual manner. It is quite different from the Durga, the demon-killer of Chola, Pallav, and Gupta sculptures. The goddess has used one of her hands in pressing the head of the demon and is piercing her trident into his heart. The entire composition is so compact, the figures so rhythmical and the contour so flowing that one cannot but admire the artist of this high relieved piece.

Navagrahas and Dasa Dig-Palas (10 guardians of 10 sides of the world) are another really wonderful creation of Orissan artists.
One wonders how the artist has applied his creative faculty in creating Rahu. A figure with fearful face with projecting teeth and round eyes is distinguished from other ‘grahas’ by holding a broken piece of moon in his hand.

The singular female figures are always with trees loaded with foliage and flowers. The form of the trees echoes with rhythm of the body which takes three bendings (tribhanga) to avoid stiffness. This knowledge of balance pertaining to sculpture needs mathematical calculation and sense as well. Somewhere the space is covered with miniature human figures, somewhere with tree trunks, with the godly figures, with flying nymphs, with garlands.

The designs on the temple body are beyond description. A strong creative sense of our atrists is visible in these vegetal, floral, geometrical motifs.

We can see how step by step the Oriya artists reached perfection. Starting from the 2nd century B.C. and ending in the 13th century A.D., long 1500 years, they marched and marched with slow but steady steps and reached perfection.

Konarak is the last temple with sculptures of such high order. After that no colossal temple was attempted. No doubt that many temples had been built after Konarak but those are not up to the mark. I saw the temple of Lord Jagannath in Dharakot whose construction started in 1836 and ended in 1914. It has pieces of sculpture on Krishna Lila and 64 sculpture pieces of sexual subject. All of those are miniature works, and the artists have just tried to copy the master artists of Konarak but in vain. In every feudatory state of Orissa temples were built in the 18th and 19th centuries but those temples are not rich in sculpture.

The successors of those master artists are producing art, not in hard stone but on soap stone. There is no new creation in their work, those are mere copy, an inferior copy of those old masters.

PAINTING

For Painting of Orissa we shall have to peep into the caves. Orissa has some man-made caves at Khandagiri near Bhubaneswar. Some of those caves bear the impression of Paintings. From the record left on the cave walls by Kharavela, we know that he made the inside of the caves painted. But unfortunately we get no trace of the paintings.

Then we get another piece of Painting in Sitabanjhee of Keonjhar District on a stone called Ravan Chhata. The stone is placed like
a roof on another stone standing erect. That stone acts as an umbrella at the time of downpour. So it is called by the local people Ravan Chhata. There is a painting of a very high order painted on that rock. The subject-matter is a royal procession with elephant and horse. The physiognomy of the figures bears the impression of Ajanta figures mainly with thick lips. The subject does not convey any religious theme.

For widely prevalent paintings of Orissa, we shall have to go to the temples, royal palaces and to the houses of nobles. Now-a-days paintings are found only in temples and monasteries and to some extent on the walls of Royal palace of the Maharaja of Puri. The old nobles have disappeared, the feudal states under the kings of Orissa have also long been dissolved; so the paintings are now only confined to temple walls and walls of mathas in Puri and other places of Orissa. Those paintings are usually repainted every year. Specific subject-matters are depicted on the inside walls of the temples and those are mostly related to religion. Generally the story of Rama, Krishna, Siva and Shakti is common. Allegorical and historical subjects connected with the history of Orissa are also the themes of painting. In old days there was a great demand for painting in Orissa and painting was much in vogue. From a manuscript it is found that the writer of the 13th century mentioned the names of 14 places where paintings should be done and wrote that themes should vary according to the places. Main purpose of painting is decoration. But, side by side, painting is used as a narration of religion, as a record of history, as a language to communicate religious ideas.

In Orissa paintings are used as decoration on different occasions, mainly at the time of marriage. The front walls of the houses are decorated with elephants, horses, guards, women, blowing conch, jars with green coconuts, and many other floral designs. The marriage pandal is a place where the painting is done. Radha Krishna, Ram’s coronation, Hanuman carrying mountain, figures of Jagannath, Balabhadra, Subhadra, Navagunjar etc. are very common subjects for walls.

Our medieval literature gives the evidence of the demand of painting in royal palaces. Princes and princesses were fond of paintings, and they themselves painted portraits.

Every prince had a Chitralekha, who could draw and paint.

We can divide the Orissan paintings into three main schools. The first is the Ganjam or Dakshini, second is Puri and the third is Champamal. The Dakshini prevails in Ganjam district, the centre of old Orissan culture. Ghumsar, Khalikot, Dharakot, Khemundi,
Parala, Ichhapur, Tikali, Manjusa etc. are the areas where this style prevails.

The Puri style is found in Puri and its adjacent areas like Pratappur, Balapur, Raghurajpur and others. Sonepur and Sambalpur are the areas where Champamal School prevails. Each school differs from the other. The physiognomy of Puri and Ganjam Schools is closer to each other whereas the Champamal School is quite different. It bears the character of Indonesian Paintings.

Let me describe the paintings of Jagannath temple to introduce Puri School. In the walls of that temple painting is a permanent phenomenon. There are many small temples around the main temple where various deities are worshipped. And according to the deities the subject-matter of painting varies.

In the main temple of the Jagamohan, the pillared hall is the only place where mural paintings are found on its walls and ceiling. Ten incarnations of Vishnu according to Kavi Jayadev's Dasavatara are painted. Those are Matsya (Fish), Kachhapa (Tortoise), Baraha (Boar), Nrisinha, (half-man and half-lion), Baman (dwarf) Parasurama, Rama, Haladhara, Buddha and the last, Kalki. Krishna Lila or activities of Krishna in his childhood and boyhood are also depicted.

The creation of the world where Vishnu is shown lying on the Snake Ananta in the sea, and from his nabhi comes out a lotus and over that sits Brahma, the creator of the world. Another popular painting is Vishnu in the form of a child, resting on a Banyan (Kalpa Bata) leaf floating on the sea and suckling his toe. Some sculpture pieces on the pillars are also painted. And the relief work of Lord Jagannath and Balabhadra on horse-back is painted. These two figures with a milk-maid are from a half historical and half allegorical subject. The king Purushottam of Surya dynasty invaded Kanchi on a prestige issue. He was a firm devotee of Lord Jagannath. So to help him in the battle both Lord Jagannath and Lord Balabhadra went before the Oriya army mounting white and black horses respectively. On the way they met a milk-maid. To quench their thirst they drank some curd from the milk-maid and Lord Jagannath deposited his precious stone-setting ring as security with the maid against the price of the curd. Later the king collected the ring from the milk-maid paying her the cost of the curd.

Other small temples inside the campus are of Goddess Bimala, Lakshmi, Saraswati, and many others. The respective walls are painted with subjects mostly related to respective deities; goddess
in her various forms, such as Chhinnamasta, cutting her own head and drinking her own blood with that face, Chamunda and many others.

The figures of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra are a common subject for every Vishnu temple, almost every house and almost all monasteries in Puri. Nava Gunjar is another popular subject of Orissan Painting. In the Mahabharat there is a story that Lord Krishna once came before Arjuna in the form of a peculiar animal, with the body of a lion, with a bull’s hunch, neck of a peacock, head of a cock, tail of a snake, and four feet of different animals—elephant, tiger and bull and the last one being not a foot but a human hand, holding a flower. Hanuman carrying mountain, and wrestlers fighting are some other common subjects of painting.

For Ganjam School, we shall have to go to two places of that district. One is Biranchi Narayan temple of Buguda and the other is the temple of Dharakot palace. The outside walls of the Biranchi Narayan temple are covered with mural paintings, both Rama and Krishna Lila. The fight of Ram and Ravan is painted entirely on one wall. There are also some paintings inside the side-room of the main room, where the deity is installed.

The carelessness and the ignorance of the owners of the temple have caused damage to most of the painting of such high order. They are almost unprotected, and exposed to smoke from the kitchen.

The Dharakot paintings, though on walls, are of miniature character, those are painted around the walls in two rows one above the other. Their subject-atters are Rama and Krishna Lila. Figures are not more than 6 inches in height.

The characters of the paintings of the above said temples are similar to each other. And I think they represent the Ganjam School of Paintings. The drawing is very fine and flowing throughout, colours are applied flat but harmonious and pleasing.

Besides mural paintings or paintings on walls we get miniature painting which is called Patta Painting. Usually Pattas are painted to be hung on walls. The subject-matters of these Patta Paintings are also limited and mostly confined to religious theme of Krishna and Rama. In Krishna theme, Rasa Lila, Vastra Harana, Radha and Krishna under Kadamba, Kaliya Dalana etc. are common. Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra are mostly common subjects for Patta.

Puri is a religious place where the pilgrims coming from different parts of the country need pattas of Lord Jagannath with Lord Balabhadra and Subhadra. Now-a-days the printed reproductions
of that Patta is meeting that demand and the Oriya traditional painters are gradually losing ground.

There is a folk demand for Patta painting. The folk people, generally the girl community worship a goddess called Khuda Rankuni. They need Patta of that deity along with other figures representing the story behind the worship of that goddess.

Earthen Pots are painted for various purposes by the Chitrakaras. Out of them, one pot is very significant. That is so to say a beggar's bowl. There is one sect of people who beg and live. Of course they are so few to be counted in finger-tips. They do not beg from door to door as other beggars. They are called Janughantas. A Janughanta wears a tight half pant or puts on his cloth in that manner, binds a bell around his thigh, puts Ramanandi symbol on his forehead and carries a painted bowl on his left shoulder, supported by his left hand. He leaves his body bare and walks in speedy feet shouting the name of Rama. He does not stop at anybody's door to ask for alms. People of the village know his way of begging and stop him at their doors and put alms inside that pot and in this way he walks for a number of times to and fro and then goes out of the village for other villages.

That bowl is painted with Dasavatara subject. And, why does the beggar's bowl need painting is still unknown. That shows nothing but a keen aesthetic sense of the people, who beg and of those who give alms.

Caskets, which are used for sending cosmetics or precious clothes of the bride, need decoration. They are decorated with paintings and their subject-matters are mostly on Rasa Lila, or any other theme based on Radha and Krishna, Dasavatara etc.

One kind of playing cards, Ganjapa as we call them, is painted by Orissan artists. There are different motifs and human figures which are painted very nicely with various colours in an arranged way to make the cards attractive.

In the marriage ceremonies in some parts of Orissa the pattas of Durga and Madhava are required and the Chitrakaras meet that demand.

Old Paintings

There is one painting in the Ashutosh Museum of Calcutta University. The subject is reception of a Muslim embassy by an Orissan king. It has been identified as Mukunda Harichandana receiving a foreign embassy. Some say it is Prataprudra (not
Mukunda) receiving embassy from Bengal or Golkonda. In the picture the king of Orissa and the Muslim ambassador are sitting in the middle of the picture facing each other.

The figures, behind the king, are king’s people and all are shown standing with bare bodies, one with a turban and the other without. Out of the figures with the ambassador two are sitting behind the ambassador and other figures are shown standing. All are well-clad with Mughal dress. These figures bear the character of Dharacote and Buguda paintings.

There are two other paintings in the Ashutosh Museum on Gita Govinda where Gopies are standing and talking on the moonlit bank of the river Jamuna. There are deer, peacock and tree forms. The drawings are fluid and graceful. The animal figures are more natural and forceful. A tint of colour has been applied to this painting to make it more poetic.

The composition of Orissan paintings is very simple. We call it one-plane composition. The artists arrange the figures on one plane like all old schools of painting of India. Ajanta School is the only exception. The arrangement is, in most cases, of formal balance.

To make the word ‘Formal’ clear it is better to give some instances. Take the case of Rasa Lila or Vastra Harana. Here the artist puts the tree just in the middle of the picture and makes the figures of Radha and Krishna stand under the tree and arranges equal number of Gopies on either side of them, busy with various activities, some playing on Mridang, some cymbals, some carrying chamar. Similar is the case with Vastra Harana where the Kadam tree is in the middle on which Krishna is shown sitting and equal number of Gopies are shown standing, on either side, naked in the water. They have raised their hands upwards and begging for their clothes which have been stolen away by Krishna and thrown on the branches of the tree.

Overlapping is avoided as far as possible. Human figures are represented frontally. That means the front of the body is shown, face and feet are shown sidewise but eyes are drawn as from the front. Perspective or the sense of far and near is totally neglected. Fore-shortening is also absent. In some cases the painters have followed the way of sculptors. They have shown the main figure bigger than the minor figures. The question of proportion is neglected here. In the picture Nrisingha killing the Demon Hiranyakashipu, the figure of Nrisingha is the biggest among other figures, viz. the demon, his son and his wife.
The paintings are flat i.e. no light and no shade have been applied to give the sense of the third dimension. After Ajanta painting we get no light and shade in Indian paintings. Again we meet them in Mughal Paintings. The Orissan artists are very independent in applying colours. They do not apply colours true to nature. In human bodies pure red and yellow, green and blue are used. Similarly cows are painted in various colours irrespective of naturality. Mostly basic colours are used like other Indian paintings. Krishna and Rama are painted with pure blue; for fair complexion yellow is used.

Lines play an important part in Orissan Painting. First the artist paints the figures and puts correct lines to make the figures more prominent. Lines are bold and steady, flowing but unvarying.

Palm Leaf Etching

The Book illustration is another kind of Orissan Art. When there was no printing machine Palm leaf and Bhoja bark were used for writing books. People were writing with ink and pen. But in Orissa, only palm leaf was used. Script writers were writing by etching on the leaf by a stylo or iron pen. Besides writing they were etching drawings to illustrate the subject-matter. In some books paintings are found with drawings. These illustrated manuscripts are mostly found in Ganjam and Puri districts. Like paintings, they vary in character from place to place, while in some aspects they bear a common character.

Certain Literatures of mediaeval period have been illustrated. Among them the noteworthy are, Lavanyavati, Vaidehisha Vilasha, Usha harana, Ushabhilasha, some Sanskrit books like Vidagdha-madhava Nataka, Gita Govinda, Dasavatara, and Amarusataka.

Unlike paintings, the illustrations have not been done by any particular caste of people. We know that the paintings are done by a certain class of people whose fore-fathers were painters and they are known as Chitrakaras. But in this case it is different. No Chitrakara has ever attempted to make such drawings on palm leaf. They have prepared painted cover plates for Pothi (palm leaf books). Irrespective of caste palm leaf books have been scribed and illustrated by people, other than Chitrakaras.

Generally the Script writers were the illustrators. In some books we get the name of the artist and in some do not. Though the illustrations have not been done by the caste artists (Chitrakaras) they (illustrations) bear the character of paintings, done by them.
I observed some paintings of Buguda and Dharakot palace temple and marked the same style in the illustrations of Lavanyavati found in a village near Dharakot. The illustrator of that book has mentioned his name Raghunath Prusti and his caste Teli or oilman. I came across a number of books illustrated by that very artist and marked a zonal character in them.

The illustrations in palm leaf books found in Puri area bears a different character. They are closer in character, to Puri Paintings. Poets of that period know how to illustrate. Our famous poets Upendra Bhanja and Gopal Krishna knew that art too. Some books on sex have been illustrated by Gopal Krishna.

Oldest illustrated books are rare. We get only books of the 17th century and onwards. A limited space is left for illustration on a palm leaf. The breadth of a leaf is hardly two inches. Accordingly the artists have to compose their picture. So they have adopted very simple methods in drawing and composition. They have simplified the forms, avoided perspective. Overlapping is avoided as far as possible. We find no expression on faces.

Their trees are more decorative than other objects in paintings. To distinguish events indoor, and events outdoor they have added architecture to the former and trees to the latter. Frontality in figures angularity in clothes, incorrectness in setting of toes etc. are common with Orissan paintings.

But the lines are very sure, steady and forceful. With a very few key lines they have drawn nice figures with various actions. The sexual poses are very complicated but they have been rendered very successfully. Some figures are as small as one fourth of an inch but the artists were so confident about their lines that they have done marvel giving full expression to their ideas.

The printing press came, books got printed and gradually the script writers and illustrators lost their job, forgot their art and it is now almost a dead art. The stylo, the manuscripts are now things of curio, they are found either adored in private houses or public places as deities or exhibited in a museum,
Chapter 40

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AND MONUMENTS OF ORISSA—A BRIEF SURVEY

Orissa is full of archaeological treasures ranging from the pre-historic times to the end of the Muslim Rule in the middle of the eighteenth century. These sites can be categorized in the following manner: (a) Pre-historic sites; (b) Jain and (c) Buddhist monuments; (d) Brahmanical temples; (e) Secular structures; and (f) Muslim monuments. The purpose of this article is to throw some light on the major archaeological sites of Orissa from the Pre-historic times to the end of the Brahmanical period.

Pre-historic Sites

It was towards the end of the 19th century that Orissa was placed in the Pre-historic map of India when V. Ball collected a few Lower Palaeolithic implements from four different places of Orissa. Eminent archaeologists like R. D. Banerjee, N. K. Bose, Dharani Sen, E. C. Warman (Jr.), Gardon, Paramananda Acharya, and recently B. K. Thapar have undertaken surveys of different Pre-historic sites of Orissa. These sites are mainly confined to the hilly tracts of western Orissa. Experimental explorations have been undertaken in the Mahanadi, the Baitarani, the Budhabalanga, Tel and Khadakei valleys for the study of the culture of this age. These explorations have yielded valuable informations about the Early, Middle and Late Stone Age Cultures in Orissa.

It is likely that the first man lived in Orissa in the second wet phase of the Pleistocene period. This constitutes the Early Stone Age Culture. Many sites of the Early Stone Age or Lower Palaeolithic period have been discovered in Orissa. The Lower Palaeolithic tools have been collected in Kuliana, Kuchai, Kamarpal, Barasol, Mahulia in Mayurbhanj district; Tikapara, Dhenkanal, Talcher, Bhaktitundi, Hindol in Dhenkanal district; some places in the Ib valley in Sundargarh district; some places on the bank of Anga in Sambalpur district; Kharligarh and some places on the bank of
Tel in the Bolangir district; and Bhubaneswar in the Puri district. These tools are generally made out of coarse grain quartzite which include hand axe (47% of the total collection), cleaver, scraper, point, discoid, irregularly flaked pebbles and irregularly flaked bifaces.

The Middle Stone Age Culture is characterised by the tools made of fine grained rocks like chert, chalcedony, agate, opal, jasper, etc. which include scraper, borer, burin etc. The principal sites are Bahalda, Barasol, Bisoi, Rairangpur in Mayurbhanj district, Jhira- pani, Bisra, Bonai in Sundargarh district; Champua in Keonjhar district; Manumunda, Haladipalli in Bolangir district; Gudahandi in Kalahandi district; and Bhubaneswar in Puri district.

The primitive man was not completely devoid of the sense of beauty and perfection. In order to satisfy this sense he devoted a part of his leisure in drawing pictures on the walls of his dwelling caves. The remnants of these paintings are still found in Gudahandi in Kalahandi district and at Naraj in Cuttack district. These are among the few Pre-historic paintings of India. The painting in red ochre of a hunting scene in the Gudahandi cave is characterised by liveliness, movement and perfection. Besides, in the same hill there are other paintings of various geometrical shape. These are quite unintelligible. These paintings can roughly be assigned to a period between 25,000 B.C. and 15,000 B.C.

The microlith tools have been discovered in a number of places of Orissa, like Bisoi, Rairangpur in Mayurbhanj district; Kaniha in Dhenkanal district; Patana, Danguaposi in Keonjhar district; Jamapadar in Bolangir district; Burla in Sambalpur district; Jaugada in Ganjam district; and Udayagiri in Puri district. These tools, very small in size, were used in a composite fashion. Excepting a few, other types of tools were hafted on handles made of wood or bone. Till now no pottery has been found in connection with this culture, though these have been noticed in Northern and Western India.

The Neolith tools, otherwise known as polished stone celts, have been found in many places of Orissa. The excavation at Baidipur in Mayurbhanj district has yielded neolithic tools along with pottery. The excavation at Kuchai in the same district was undertaken by B. K. Thapar in 1961 and this excavation has brought to light some neolith implements. Other sites include some places of Mayurbhanj district Harichandanpur, Angul in Dhenkanal district; Ib Valley in Sundargarh district; Anga Valley in Sambalpur district; Jamapadar, Amapali in Bolangir district; Tel Valley in Kalahandi district; Jaugada in Ganjam district; and Udayagiri, Dasapalla,
Ranapur in Puri district. The tools include chisels, hammer-stones, ringstones, digging sticks, etc. These are hard, polished and decent looking. The shouldered celts, which were used towards the end of the polished celt culture, have also been discovered in many places of Orissa such as Baidipur in Mayurbhanj district, Kaniha in Dhenkanal district; Ranpur, Sisupalgarh in Puri district; and Mathurapur in Cuttack district.

Finally, Orissa too bears the evidence of Copper Age Culture which probably reached its climax about 3,000 B.C. It is believed that the authors of the stone-shouldered celts had the knowledge of the use of metal because it was necessary for preparing stone-celts. Copper-celts have been discovered in places like Khiching, Bamanaghati, Panchapidha, Kshetra in Mayurbhanj district and Dunuria in Dhenkanal district. The use of metals heralded the dawn of human civilization. One important contribution of this culture is the development of the art of writing. It is believed that the pictographic writings at Vikramkhol in Sambalpur district; Ulahgarh in Sundargarh district; and in the Yogimatha hill near Khadial in Kalahandi district belong to this period. It is a matter of regret that systematic excavations have not been undertaken for the study of the Copper Age Culture in Orissa.

The above discussions clearly indicate the existence of pre-historic culture in Orissa. Further explorations of different pre-historic sites of Orissa may yield more informations regarding the culture of this period. No systematic and adequate exploration has been undertaken in Copper and Bronze Age Settlements.

**Jaina Monuments**

Jainism had a strong footing in Kalinga in the pre-Christian era. Mahâvira personally visited this land in order to preach his teachings. Jainism was the religion of the people of Kalinga during the Nanda hegemony in Northern India in the 4th century B.C. There is an indirect reference to this fact in the famous Hâthigumpha inscription of Kharavela in Udayagiri hill near Bhubaneswar. Jainism reached its climax in this land under the patronage of Mahâmeghavâhana Aira Kharavela (1st Century B.C.), who is one of the great Jaina monarchs of India. Thereafter it continued to linger on up to the fifteenth century. It is evident from the crude relics of the Tirtha-âankaras in the Triśulagumpha in the Khandagiri near Bhubaneswar which belong to this century.

Jainism had its influence in the field of art and architecture. But, unfortunately most of the Jaina monuments have been
completely destroyed. What we find today of the ancient Jaina structures are nothing but left over Jaina images.

The most prominent Jaina centre of Orissa is the twin hills of Khandagiri and Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar. The Hāthigumphā inscription in Udayagiri records the achievements of Mahāmeghavāhana Aira Kharavela both in the time of war and in the time of peace in a chronological order. This is the only source of the history of this great ruler. Kharavela raised the glory of Kalinga by embarking her on a career of conquests both in Northern and in Southern India. He is also famous in history for his zeal to serve the people by undertaking some public works and providing them with entertainments through musical and theatrical performances.

Khandagiri and Udayagiri represent the only specimen of Orissan cave architecture. There are altogether 18 caves in Udayagiri and 15 caves in Khandagiri. Most of the caves were excavated for the dwelling retreat of Jaina monks during the time of Kharavela and his successors. This architectural activity continued even up to the time of the Somavamsis when there were some modifications in some of the caves of Khandagiri. Probably these habitational caves were converted into sanctuaries with the carving on the walls of the Tirthaṅkaras in relief along with their śāsanadevis. In Khandagiri we also find two inscriptions of the time of Udyotakesari of the Soma dynasty. On the top of the Udayagiri there is the base of an apsidal structure.

The caves consist of one or more cells fronted by a pillared verandah. The doorways of the cells have pilasters on either side with crowning animal figures, and arches over them are decorated with flowers, creepers and animal motifs. The size of each cell is very small and the back is slightly inclined to serve the purpose of pillow. Among all the caves the Rāṅigumpha (Cave No. 1) is most imposing. It is two-storeyed, the upper one slightly receding to the back. It has two wings at right angles to the main. Other important caves are Hāthigumpha, Manchapurigumpha, Svargapuri, Alakāpurigumpha in Udayagiri and Anantagumpha, Navamunigumpha, Lalatendugumpha in Khandagiri.

All the caves are highly decorated with sculptural motifs. Sculptured friezes and decorative patterns have been depicted on the facades of the cells. The sculptures on the facades of Rāṅigumpha are highly artistic and natural and constitute an advance over the reliefs of Bhārhut. The sculptures of Khandagiri and Udayagiri form a landmark in the history of Indian art. The relief sculptures
of the caves present a vivid picture of the contemporary society and life of the people.

Commenting on the caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri Dr. (Mrs.) Debala Mitra says, "the group of caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri has an important place in the rock-cut architecture of not only in Orissa but in Eastern India, where rock-cut caves are rather rare."  

There was a Jaina establishment in or near about Banapur in Puri district. It is evident from the discovery of Jaina bronze images in Achyutarajpur (near Banapur) and a chlorite image of Rshabhanātha which now exists inside the Dakshaprajāpati temple at Banapur. The date of bronze images varies from the 8th century A.D. to the 11th century A.D. Another Jaina centre was Podasingidi in Keonjhar district. This place has yielded some Jaina images belonging to the 8th century A.D. Four Jaina images have been discovered from Charampa near Bhadrak in Balasore district. These images, now preserved in the State Museum at Bhubaneswar, belong to the tenth-eleventh century A.D.

Other places where Jaina images have been discovered are Jaleswara, Ayodhya, Bhimapur, Pundal in Balasore district; Khiching, Baripada, Kosali, Badasai in Mayurbhanj district; Kakatpur in Puri district; Nandapur, Suai, Bhairabsingpur, Narigan in Koraput district and Jajpur, Jharesvarapur in Cuttack district. Some of these places also contain structural remains.

**Buddhist Monuments**:

In Orissa Buddhism has a glorious past. Orissa's association with Buddhism goes back to the life-time of the Buddha, though, unlike Mahāvira, he did not pay a visit to this land. It is said that two merchants of Orissa named Trapusha and Bahillika are first lay disciples of the Buddha. The Kalinga War (261 B.C.) of Asoka Maurya is a landmark in the history of Buddhism not only in India but also in the World. The terrible violence of the War made the Emperor remorse and consequently, turned him towards Buddhism. He devoted the entire machinery and resources of the State for the cause of the principles for which Buddhism stands. We find two versions of his major Rock-Edicts in Orissa—One at Dhauli in the Puri district and the other at Jaugada in the Ganjam district.

The earliest specimen of Buddhist art is the forepart of an elephant figure hewn out of a rock-boulder containing Asokan edict on Dhauli hill near Bhubaneswar. It appears as if the elephant, with
a majestic look, is emerging out of the rock. The lack of Mauryan polish on it exhibits local craftsmanship independent of the Mauryan School. The Shiva-Linga of Bhaskaraśvara Temple in Bhubaneswar (9' in height and 12' in diameter at the base) is suspected to be an Asokan pillar. The fragments of the railing-posts and lion capital have been recently discovered in the vicinity of this temple.

The Birupa-Chitrotpala Valley in Cuttack district contains a number of Buddhist monuments belonging to the Bhauma-kara period. Among them Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri, Udayagiri, Kulanagiri and Ramesvara are famous. Ratnagiri is situated about 67 kms. from Cuttack on a small stream called Kelua, a branch of Birupa. It has been excavated under the auspices of Archaeological Survey of India in the year 1957-58. The excavation has revealed the remains of a large brick stupā on the south-western part of the hill, many minor stupas around the main stupā containing images which were either carved on the faces of the stupas or fixed in the niches, two magnificent monasteries, a single-winged monastery, eight temples, hundreds of miniature votive stupas, and a large number of sculptural objects. This establishment was called “Ratnagiri Mahavihara” which is evident from an inscription discovered there. The building activities probably continued from the 5th century A.D.

Lalitagiri or Naltigiri, near Ratnagiri along with Olāshuni, Landā and Pārabhādi hills are covered with extensive Buddhist remains. The Landā and Pārabhādi peaks are full of ancient break mounds. A large number of images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas of great artistic and antiquarian value have been collected from these hills; some of them have been preserved in the site museum at Lalitagiri. Recently the Post-Graduate Department of History of Utkal University has taken up the excavation work at Lalitagiri.

Udayagiri is situated at a distance about 9 kms. from Lalitagiri on the other side of Birupa. It also contains a number of brick mounds and fine sculptures, some of which have been removed to other places. The carved door-frame, now preserved in the Patna museum, probably belongs to this establishment.

The Jajpur town on the right bank of the Baitarani (Cuttack district) contains a large number of Buddhist remains of the Bhauma-Kara period. Jajpur was the Capital of the Bhauma-Kara Kings and also a cultural centre. The colossal image of Bodhisattva Padmapani, now lying on the ground on its back inside the compound of the office of the S.D.O. is the biggest of its kind in Orissa. It measures 15'-8" in height without feet and pedestal. At Khadi-pada, 12 kms. N-E of Jajpur (Balasore district) there is a mound which
has not yet been excavated. A number of Buddha and Bodhisattva images have been discovered from the surface (now in the State Museum, Bhubaneswar). Therefore, it is presumed that it was a Buddhist establishment belonging to the Bhauma-Kara period. Most of the monuments of Jaypur, Buddhist as well as Brahmanical, had succumbed to the vandalism carried on by the Muslim invaders of North during the 16th and 17th centuries.

Another Buddhist centre of the Bhauma-kara period is the Solampur (Balasore district) situated opposite to Jaypur from which it is separated by the river Baitarani. Some Buddhist images have been discovered here, but most of the remains are still lying buried within a mound. Probably it was a prosperous Buddhist establishment and can be identified with the "Salonapura Mahāvihāra" of the Ratnagiri copper plate of King Karna of the Soma dynasty. At Jayarampur (Balasore district) some Buddhist remains belonging to the 6th century A.D. have been brought to light. It is believed that this was an important Buddhist establishment of Mahāyāna sect.

Another rich site of the Buddhist remains is Ayodhya in Balasore district. Buddhist images belonging to the Vajrayāna cult have been discovered here. The images of Mārichi, Lokesvara and Manjuśrī are now preserved in a newly constructed temple. There is a ruined Buddhist temple at Kupari (Balasore district). The temple is now covered with dense vegetation.

In western Orissa, Baud (Phulbani district) was an important Buddhist centre in the 9th century A.D. It is likely that the very name Baud has been derived from Buddhism. There is a colossal image of Buddha in the earth-touching position near the local palace. The remains of a quadrangular monastery have been recently unearthed near the Buddha image. Another flourishing centre of Buddhism of the same period is Khiching (ancient Khijjingakotta) in Mayurbhanj district. It was the capital of the famous Bhanja kings. The excavation at Virātagarh in this locality has yielded many antiquities. A quadrangular brick structure with a row of cells around a central courtyard has come to light. Probably it was a monastery. A good number of antiquities have come out in other localities also. These include several images of Buddha i.e. Lokesvara, Manjuśrī, Mārichi and Jambhala.

Banesvaranasi in Cuttack district is littered with Buddhist antiquities. It is a picturesque hillock in the bed of Mahanadi. Images of Tārā, Padmapāni and Avalokiteśvara have been discovered from this place. There are remains of stone and brick temples on the
eastern side. Other Buddhist places of Orissa are Bhuinpara and Kasba in Balasore district, Ranibandha and Udala in Mayurbhanj district; Kharia, Chaudwar and Kundesvara in Cuttack district; Bhubanesvar, Kuruma and Achyutarajpur in Puri district, and Talcher in Dhenkanal district.

**Brahmanical Temples**

Brahmanical temples constitute a major part of the architectural wealth of Orissa. In this connection James Fergusson remarks, “There are more temples now in Orissa than in all the rest of Hindustan put together”. Orissa evolved her own style of temple-architecture quite independent of Northern and Dravidian Schools. In course of her temple-building activities, stretching from the 6th century A.D. to the 16th century A.D., Orissa evolved certain distinct characteristics of temple-architecture. In Orissa we notice three types of temples:—‘Rekhā deula’, ‘Pīdha deula’ and ‘Khākharā deula’—the last being associated with Sakti worship. ‘Rekhā deula’ and ‘Pīdha deula’ form two component parts of a single shrine. The ‘Rekhā deula’ is characterised by curvilinear spire, whereas the latter by pyramidal roof. The ‘Khākharā deula’ is surmounted by a semicylindrical roof.

The main temple or the sanctum (called *Vimāna*) is of Rekhā order and preceded by a porch of pīdha order, called the ‘Jagamohana’ or *Mukhāśālā*. In the earlier phase the ‘Jagamohana’ was a rectangular structure with a flat roof, but in the subsequent period it was changed into a pyramidal order. The ‘Jagamohana’ is lower in height than the ‘Vimāna’ and both are linked internally. In the later period two more structures were added to it—the ‘nātamandapa’ and the ‘Bhogamandapa’ of pīdha order. All these temples stand in the same axial alignment with gradual descending height. Sometimes there is a compound wall to enclose these structures.

Generally the ‘Vimāna’ is either of ‘tri-ratha’ or ‘pancha-ratha’ or ‘sapta-ratha’ order depending upon the number of ‘pagas’ or vertical projections on the body. The earlier temples are of ‘tri-ratha’ order, but in course of evolution it gave place to ‘pancha-ratha’ and finally to ‘sapta-ratha’ order. Both ‘Vimāna’ and ‘Jagamohana’ (also ‘Nātamandapa’ and ‘Bhogamandapa’) consist of ‘pishta’, ‘bāda’ ‘gandi’ and ‘mastaka’. In the earlier temples, we do not find ‘pishta’. The ‘bāda’ of earlier temples consists of three segments whereas in later ones it is of five segments. The ‘gandis’ of both ‘Vimāna’ and ‘Jagamohana’ differ in shape—the ‘Vimāna’ has a curvilinear outline where as the ‘gandi’ of ‘Jagamohana’ is of pyramidal shape. The
'Gandī' of the 'Vimāṇa' of the later temples is decorated with 'angaśikharas' or miniature temples. The 'mastaka' of rekhā deula' and 'pidhā deula' differs to some extent.

Sometimes the constructional plan differs in case of earlier and later temples. The Orissan temples are remarkable for the exuberance of sculptures. In this respect a gradual change can be noticed in course of the evolution of temple architecture. For example, the architraves of the door-ways of the earlier temples contain figures of eight planets (without 'ketu') whereas in the later ones the number increased to nine with the addition of 'ketu'. Secondly, in the earlier group of temples we find eight 'dikpālas' carved on the walls but subsequently, the 'dikpālas' are depicted along with their respective consorts.

Here a list of the major temples of Orissa is given in a chronological order. To begin with, there are a few 'khākharā' temples in Orissa. The Vaitāla temple at Bhubaneswar (8th century A.D.), the Durgā temple at Rameswara in Cuttack district and the Vārāhi temple at Chaurasi in Puri district (9th-10th century A.D.) belong to the early phase of this group. The Gangesvare temple at Balalīsati in Puri district (13th century A.D.) shows that climax of this group of temples. Besides, there are two sakta temples in a circular plan—the chausathī yogīnt temples at Ranipur-Jharial in Bolangir district and at Hirapur near Bhubaneswar in Puri district. The tantric temple at Baud in Phulbani district has been constructed on a star-shaped ground plan which is very rare elsewhere. Another important Sākta-kshetra of Orissa is Jaypur in Cuttack district. The three mātrakā images (Vārāhi, Chāmundā and Indrānti), now preserved inside the S.D.O.'s compound, are the finest specimen of Orissan art.

The temples of Orissa belonging to the early phase, i.e., under the Sailodbhava and Bhauma-kara dynasties (from the middle of the 6th century A.D to the middle of the 11th century A.D.) have certain characteristics. Some temples are without 'Jagamohanas' and some with rectangular 'Jagamohanas' with flat roof. These temples are small in height, 'tri-ratha' in form, 'bāda' with three segments and marked by the absence of anga-śikharas on the 'gandī' and 'ketu' in the panel of the planets on the architraves of the door-jamb. To this period (under the Sailodbhavas) belong the temples Bharateśvara, Lakshmanesvara, Satrughnesvara, all at Bhubaneswar (6th century A.D.), Parasuramesvara and Svarnajaleśvara at Bhubaneswar, Shiva temple at Bodagaon in Ganjam district, Simhanāth (near the village of Rameswara) on an island of the Mahanadi in Cuttack district,
Nilakanthesvara on the top of the Jagamandap hill near Padampur in Koraput district (7th century A.D.).

The temples of the Bhauma-kara period include Siśireśvara, Markandeyesvara at Bhubaneswar, Nilamādhava Vishnu and Siddhesvara Shiva at Gandharadi in Phulbani district, Bhringesvara at Bajракota in Dhenkanal district, Kanakesvara at Kualo (Kodalaka of Sulk copper plates) in Dhenkanal district, Manikesvara at Suktesvara in Cuttack district (all 8th century A.D.), and Shiva temple at Khiching in Mayurbhanj district (10th century A.D.).

During the Somavamśi period the 'Jagamohana' became an integral part of the Orissan temples. This time it is a full-fledged 'pildha deula' instead of a rectangular structure. Another feature of these temples is the soaring height with miniature temples or anga-sikharas on the 'gandi'. The 'bāda' is divided into five segments. The addition of 'ketu' into the planet slab is another innovation of this period. Kosalesvara temple at Baidyanath in the Sonepur sub-division of Bolangir, three small temples in the premises of Ramesvara temple at Baud in Phulbani district and Pancha-Pandava temple at Ganesvarapur in Cuttack district belong to this period. The most outstanding temple of this period is the Muktesvara temple (10th century A.D.) at Bhubaneswar. James Fergusson describes it as the "gem of Orissan architecture."

The Rājarāṇi temple and the Brahmesvara temple (11th century A.D.) at Bhubaneswar also belong to this period. The great temple of Lingarāja (11th Century A.D.) is a crowning specimen of the Orissan or Kalinga style of temple-architecture.

The temples of the Ganga period are characterised by the construction of 'Pishta', addition of 'Natamandapa', construction of subsidiary temples in front of the 'Pārśvadevatās' and association of consorts with the 'Dikpālas'. The most outstanding contribution of the Ganga-rule is the celebrated temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri built by Anantavarman Chodagangadeva (1112 A.D.—1147 A.D.) The temple is famous for its soaring height. Apart from the temple, Puri is famous as the cultural centre of Orissa.

Other temples of this period are Lakshmi temple inside the compound of Jagannath temple, Meghesvara at Bhubaneswar, Sovanesvara at Niali in Cuttack district, Madhava temple in Cuttack district, Chatesvara at Kisenpur in Cuttack district (all 12th Century A.D.), Dakshaprajapati temple at Banpur in Puri district, Gopināth temple at Kakudia in Puri district, and Buddhhanāth at Garudipanchana in Puri district (all 13th century A.D.).
The finest specimen of the Ganga art and the greatest monument of Hindu architecture in India is the famous Sun Temple, built on a chariot design at Konarak in Puri district. This was built by King Narasimha I of the Ganga dynasty. Konarak witnessed the climax of Orissan temple architecture and thereafter the decline started. After Konarak few more temples were constructed, like Sāri deula, Yameśvara and Ananta-Vāsudeva at Bhubaneswar, and Śikhareśvara at Kapilas in Dhenkanal district.

The building activities also continued during the Gajapati period. The Kapileśvara temple at Bhubaneswar was built by Gaja-pati Kapilendradeva (1435 A.D.—1467 A.D.) and Dhavaleśvara Shiva temple at Cuttack (in an islet on the Mahanadi) was built by Gajapati Prataparudradeva (1497 A.D.—1540 A.D.)

Secular

Śisupālagarh about 3 kms. to the east of Bhubaneswar is an archaeological site. The excavation of this place in 1948 has brought to light the existence of a fortified township dating back to the 3rd-4th century A.D. The excavation has yielded toileted pottery, Romano-Murundo gold coin and clay bulla with human heads imitated from Roman coins. From this it is evident that ancient Orissa had commercial contact with Roman Empire during this period. The excavation at Asurgarh in Kalahandi district in 1973 has yielded various important antiquities dating from the 3rd century B.C. to the 5th century A.D. These include iron objects like hooks, arrow heads, axes and door hinges, about fifty punch marked coins, terra-cotta figures, decorated potteries along with copper coin of Kaniska. Dr. N. K. Sahu believes it to be a complementary to the finds of the excavation at Sisupalagarh.

The paintings at Ravanachhaya in Sitabinti in Keonjhar district with an inscription of Mahārāja Disabhanja of the Bhanja dynasty is the finest specimen of Orissan mural paintings. The painting depicts a royal procession on an elephant.

Finally, Orissa also possesses remnants of a few ancient forts. It is not difficult to find out the ruins of “Panchakataka” (five forts) mentioned in the ‘Mādalāpāñji’, which were either conquered or established by Anantavarman Chodagangadeva. These forts can be located at Jaypur “Abhinava Jajāthinagar”, chhatia (“Dvitiya Amarā-vati Kataka”), Choudwar (Jajananagar), Cuttack (Abhinava Vārā-naśi Kataka) and Saranggarh (Chudanga Kataka) all in Cuttack district.
Thus, Orissa is full of archaeological remains of different categories, starting from the pre-historic times to the medieval period. These remains give an insight into the evolution of the culture and civilization in Orissa from the earliest times. In spite of the immensity of the archaeological wealth a large part of it is still either undiscovered or partly or improperly discovered. Therefore, an earnest effort should be made to carry on a systematic survey and excavation of these places. The result will no doubt add to the present knowledge of our glorious past.

REFERENCES

11. ibid.
12. ibid.
17. James Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, p. 408.
18. ibid. p. 419.
19. Excavation was conducted by the Sambalpur University.
ROCK-CUT MONUMENTS OF BHUBANESWAR

The temples of Bhubaneswar have received adequate treatment in the hands of scholars in the recent years. But the series of rock-cut monuments barring the few at Udayagiri and Khandagiri have not been widely known so far. As many as four groups of rock-cut monuments have been reckoned with at Bhubaneswar. The first group is located on the three ranges of hills at Dhauli, a place known for the famous Asokan edicts and the rock-cut elephant. Kittoe¹ and R. L. Mitra² just mentioned them in their works. The second group is our famous Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves. A series of scholars during the last one hundred and fifty years have made attempts to unravel the contents of the famous Hāthi-Gumpha inscription found at this place along with the art, architecture, religion, social and cultural history of the Caves revealed through their sculptures and cult images. The third group is located at a place known as Gumphā-munḍiā, near village Nuapalli, a suburb of Bhubaneswar almost in the same range of the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills. This has found a passing reference in the Archaeological Survey report by Cunningham for the years 1874-75.³ The last group is popularly known as 'Pāṇḍava Gumphā' located near the present Bhaskareswar temple of Bhubaneswar in a thick laterite bed. This group, unlike the others designed absolutely on the laterite deposits for which Bhubaneswar region is widely famous. Shri K. N. Mahapatra first noticed these monuments and published an elaborate account in the now defunct magazine Vaitaranī⁴. A brief account of all these monuments is attempted here in the following pages.

Dhauli Caves

The three ranges of hillocks with several depressions and prominences at Dhauli contain a number of rock-cut monuments. They are three to the west of the hillock having Asokan inscription, three in the hillock containing the modern shrines and as many
as twenty-two in the middle range overlooking the present rock. Very little is known about their architectural peculiarities, age and religious affinity. They were all cut in the living rock and abandoned subsequently when the rock appeared unsuitable for ambitious designs. But in their present position many of them can easily provide sitting accommodation to wandering mendicants and casual visitors. In those which are low in height but larger in length one can stretch one's body hardly leaving any space a round. Peculiarly enough all the caves at Dhauli were designed on the southern sides of the hillocks. None of them shows any sign of further structural embellishment in front or sculptural decoration on the inner walls. The openings cover the entire length in front. Backportions appear narrow in comparison to the front. Of the entire series only one contains an inscription.

Kittoe\(^6\) who visited this place in the year 1838 indicates that “there are five Caves in a row on the high rock, south of the elephant called by some ‘Pancha Pandava’ or by others ‘Pancha Gosain’! Besides these caves (where there are traces of many others) there are numerous small holes like mortars cut in the rock. These were probably used to compound the drugs and medicines by the medical devotees mentioned in the inscriptions. Like cavities occur at the caves of Khandagiri, some larger than the rest have been used as reservoirs.”

While discussing the rock-cut monuments of Dhauli we face the problem of fixing their age as well as their religious affinity. It is a well-known fact that Dhauli attained importance due to the engraving of the Asokan inscription on the rock beneath the elephant. This elephant is regarded Buddhistic along with the inscription which was issued after Asoka adopted Buddhism. In the back-ground of the above facts it is reasonable to infer that Asoka was responsible in executing these rock-cut monuments at Dhauli for the occasional resting of the Buddhist recluses. The only cave containing the inscription of Bhimatta, son of Nanntta, the physician of the time of Sānti-kara Deva of the Bhaumakara dynasty might be an exception.

**Udayagiri and Khandagiri**

The twin hills of Udayagiri and Khandagiri near Bhubaneswar comprise a number of rock-cut monuments of the first century B.C. Of late the Archaeological Survey of India numbered them 18 in Udayagiri and 15 in Khandagiri, besides the rock-cut wells found in these hills.\(^6\) Emperor Khāravela, his chief queen, sons and successors and officers were responsible for excavating these monuments as
revealed from the inscriptions found on the body of several of these caves. The secluded situation of the place was probably responsible for the selection of the site for designing the rock-cut dwellings of the jaina recluses. The ancient Capital of Kalinga, the Kalinga Nagar tentatively identified with present Sisupalgarh is not far from this place. All the important monuments of this group have traditional names assigned to them, having, however, no historical significance. At the same time there is great confusion in nomenclature in different books, which indicates that the names have been varying from time to time.

These monuments were first noticed and partially described by A. Sterling in "an account Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa proper or Cuttack in the 15th volume of the Asiatic Researches published in 1825." Since then several scholars like Kittoe, Ferguson, Cunningham, Hunter, R. L. Mitra, Luders, Fleet, Princep, Arnott, Bhagvanlal Indraji, John Marshall, Stella Kramrisch, M. M. Ganguly, M. M. Chakravarty, B. M. Barua, T. N. Ramchandran, S. K. Saraswati, D. Mitra and many others worked on different aspects of these monuments. But no attempt has been made by these scholars to provide a comprehensive account of these monuments with special reference to art, architecture, religious affinity, social condition, iconography, date, chronology etc. On the other hand laudable works have been done in the field of inscriptions engraved on these Caves.

The substance of the rocks in which these monuments were designed is Coarse-grained sandstone of a varied texture. The stone, being brittle, the rock shelters once excavated on different heights of the hills have become an easy prey to the inclemencies of weather. This type of sandstone is abundantly available in the neighbourhood. The temples constructed in subsequent periods at Bhubaneswar derived inspiration from the excavations and carvings at this place for which a lot of damages have been done to them while quarrying stones from the site.

These monuments at Udayagiri and Khandagiri were excavated at varying heights by following the configuration of the existing rock and by connecting several of them, wherever necessary through rock-cut steps, some of which exist even now. These caves provide little amenities as they were designed for Jaina ascetics. The inner height of their cells does not allow a man to stand erect. They are generally plain inside, except a few Jaina images carved in some of them in the medieval period. The sloping ridge of the floor towards the back and extending from one end to the other facilitated occupation
tion of these cells of a number of mendicants at a time. Shelves have been provided in verandahs of some leading caves to keep articles of daily use. Their ceilings are generally flat or arched.

The cells have been designed on one, two or three sides of the verandah. There is no departure from this pattern, even in double storeyed ones. At places extra side wings along with independent pillared verandahs have been added to the main wing. The upper storey in most cases does not exist immediately over the lower one but slightly recedes back.

The facades of the cells containing doors from one to four as per their size are extensively decorated with sculptures. Profuse door openings provide adequate lighting to the dwellers.

Some of the doorways are simple, but most of the cells with verandah and some of those without pillared verandahs have doorways with side plasters; a tympanum and tympanum arch within two semicircular lines. The verandah is short or long according to the size of the back rooms. It is generally benched inside corresponding to the three walls. The floors of the verandahs are dug lower than the cells and their flat roofs supported by massive pillars as well as non-functional brackets, pilasters and lintels. Where there is no verandah the front part of the cells projects forward in the shape of some animal. Extended parts of the verandah roof are cut inside to form caves to throw rain water. The ends of the verandah are often provided with armed guards both mounted on animals and standing in bare foot or at times with boots. In rare cases, however, lady figures occur at one side of the verandah of a few Caves.

The entire absence of a sanctuary, which is an indispensable concomitant of a rock-cut Buddhist monastery is a peculiar feature at this place. The Jain monks apparently substituted it by a structural one. In later periods however, some of the dwelling cells were converted into shrines with minor alterations, such as increasing the height of the chamber by the excavation of the floor to a deeper depth and providing greater space by the removal of not only the partition walls between contiguous cells but those dividing the verandah. These caves were also marked by the absence of internal pillars within the chambers.

The sculptural representation of these monuments comprises broadly the large panels of popular legends, historical episodes, religious observances, dancing performances depicted within intervening spaces between arch bands and tympanums and individual guards, bracket figures, vidyadharas, capitals of pillars and a series
of decorative designs both floral and linear within arch bands, pilasters, brackets, railings, etc. In addition, representation of Jaina Tirthankars and Śāsanadevis along with their vehicles, costumes and emblems of the medieval period are found on the inner walls of important caves of Khandagiri hill.

The broad panels on facades of the lower storey of Rāṇīgumpha represent the political and cultural activities of Kharavela like waging wars, subduing enemies, reception accorded to victorious kings, observance of dancing sequences etc. In the upper storey of the same Cave are elaborate panels showing elephant hunt, duel between a man and a woman, Duṣyanta-Sakuntala episode, etc. can be inferred. Similarly the first frieze of Ganesh-Gumpha is a mere repetition of the duel scene of Rāṇīgumpha and the last panel a vivid description of Udayana-Vāsavadattā episode. The Maṇḍapuri frieze indicates the reinstallation of Kalinga Jina by the members of the royal family of Khāravela. The broad facade of Chhōṭahāṭhi-Gumphā shows the reverence of wild elephants. The tympanums of Ananta-Gumphā on the other hand depict worship of sacred elephant, Sun God driving on a chariot, Gajalaxmi and worship of sacred tree within railings. In Jaya-Vijaya cave the worship of sacred tree is more vividly narrated. The outer faces of the small guard-rooms of Rani Gumphā represent scenes of forest life in all its beauty and grandeur.

Guard figures are carved standing or mounted on animals in front of the terminal piers of a few important caves.

Inner and outer brackets seemingly provided to support the superstructures and the railings are relieved with decorative motifs, human beings, animals in various poses, Ganapatis as well as winged and enigmatic figures. The worship of elephant, performance of dance to the tune of a stringed instrument under a tree, ladies holding trays of offerings, cavaliers, mounted elephants, lions, birds, etc. give us an idea of the life and activity of the period.

The tops of the pillars as also those of pilasters are relieved with addorsed makaras and winged animals having the head of birds. Lions, bulls, horses, elephants and deer have found a prominent place in crowning the Capitals of Rāṇī-Gumphā, Ganesh-Gumphā, Ananta-Gumphā, Tāṭowā-Gumphā, etc. Honey suckles, lotus and other floral devices played a major part in decorating the flattened surfaces of the arch-bands with occasional display of animals hotly chased by boys and birds carrying buds in their beaks. Vidydharas or semi-divine figures running in haste or hovering in the sky with offerings in hand are noticed on either end of the facade of Rāṇī-Gumphā, Ananta-Gumphā and Jaya-Vijaya Gumphā.
Trees representing or symbolising forest and often laden with fruits and leaves are depicted within friezes. Creepers carved in the flattened surface of the arch-bands over some of the door heads are often laden with fruits and flowers as a decorative feature rather than showing any connected link with them. Plantain and mango fruits as well as lotuses in multipetalled designs are most numerous in representation. Flowers of many varieties in the shape of decorative elements within arch-bands, space pillars in single patches, garlands in the hands of devotees and in trays, buds attached to stalks and held in hands of bracket figures, containers of lotus lakes, adorning human heads and trunks of elephants are represented. The display of linear designs like bead, and reel vertical and horizontal lines within sections, curved lines enclosing half medallions or enclosing arch-bands and floral motifs within them and circles within circles bordering the bracket figures are remarkably executed on the shafts of door pilasters around their crowning parts, on the sides of the brackets as well as with a number of arches.

Among animals, birds and reptiles we find elephants, bulls, lions, horses, deer, antelopes, monkeys, fox, dog, crocodiles, parrots, doves, goose, crane, snake, lizard etc. associated with the early sculptural representations of the place. Bull, horse, lion, elephant and deer form in the most cases as the crowning animals of pillars and pilasters. Others usually shown within panels, on brackets, pillar tops or in arch-bands, a series of other animals and birds like buffalo, boar, tortoise, fish, hawk, etc. depicted as vehicles of the Tirthankaras and Sāsana-devis of the later period. Among the winged and enigmatic figures we find horse, bull and lion attached with heads of ram, goat, human head, parrot’s beak etc. a feature of west-Asian motifs.

An appraisal of the sculptural representation of Udayagiri and Khandagiri monuments has been given by Devala Mitra in the following words:

The artist is no longer labouring under the law of frontality and lack of perspective but has attained sufficient mastery over form and skill in depicting figures in every position—front, back and side. The faces are shown in full or in three-quarters and half profiles. The poses of the figures are easy and natural in their movement. Vivacious and elastic emotions like agony, pleasure, fear, determination, mental tension, etc. are tolerably well-expressed. The composition is fairly coherent and effective; the different figures bear relationship with one another. The reliefs have matured into depth, displaying
a considerable plasticity of form and naturalism of modelling. Slender figures of men and women are marked by suavity of outline.

The sculptural representation on the facades and other places of these monuments gives us a glimpse of life of an affluent generation which lived during the first century B.C. Contemporary dress and decorative ornaments are faithfully displayed through male and female figures. The chief drapery consists of a long dhoti often diaphanous in the case of women, tied by a waist band with folds of the ends hanging like tassels in front. Both men and women usually are without any ornament to cover the upper part of the body, but scarves are used on ceremonial occasions. Men wear a turban and the more affluent ones often with crest jewels. Veils covering the head, but not the face are occasionally worn by women especially when engaged in dancing performances. Both women and men of rank are decorated with ornaments for the ear, neck and wrists, women having girdles, anklets and head ornaments in addition. The ear ornaments consist of rings and studs and are either directly attached to the ear lobe or suspended from a hook. Coiffure of both sexes is varied and often bedecked with ornaments, chaplets, leaves, etc.

Music, dance, sporting in the lotus lakes and even armour are systematically delineated at various places of caves. Except at one place dancing and orchestra seem to be mainly confined to the women. Among the musical instruments flute, harp, mridanga, drum and cymbals are carved.

Among out-door games, hunting of antelopes with bow and arrow and of a lion with spear and shield and fighting elephants with cudgels are depicted. In addition, boys playing with bulls, lions and hares, dancing before pet birds, jumping over open jaws of monstrous crocodiles are also represented. Fighting between men and women, war and chasing of enemies scenes also occur. The sentries are armed with a staff or spear besides sword suspended from their shoulder by a strap.

Household articles of daily use and furniture mainly comprise table, seat, bench, bowl, plate, pitcher, umbrellas, fans, toilet trays, caskets, fly whisk, wicker-stand, garlands, etc.

Women attained respectable status along with their male counterparts. They were well acquainted with military exercises. They appeared in public with the husbands, formed orchestra and danced to the tunes of musical instruments.

The Hāthi-Gumpha inscription of Khāravela refers to the education training and military accomplishments of princes. They should
acquire thorough knowledge in the field of correspondence, currency, accountancy, state regulations and laws, music, diplomacy and war before taking up the responsibility of ruling the state. There are also references to army in the field of horses, elephants, chariots foot soldiers, storming of fortifications, confiscating of enemy’s wealth, spending the booty for the joy and happiness of the people, granting exemptions of all kinds, such as entertainments, amusements, exciting games and sports, enriching and improving the art and architecture of the country, etc.

Jainism attained its stronghold at Udayagiri and Khandagiri. Numerous references in shape of inscriptional evidences and sculptural representations are available within the caves of the place. In the early phase worship of symbols, trees, elephants, throne etc. were in vogue. But in the medieval period most of the leading caves of Khandagiri were converted to sanctuaries by excavating their floors and demolishing their front walls and Jaina Tirthankaras and Sāsana devī figures with their conventional attributes were carved on the inner walls. As per details Navamuni-Gumpha contains the figure of ten Tirthankaras, a figure of Ganesha and seven Sāsana devīs of the seated Tirthankaras, on the back wall; Bārabhuji-Gumpha, twenty-four Tirthankaras excluding the standing Pārśvanātha at the beginning of the back wall, twenty four Sāsana devīs leaving apart the two in verandah; Mahāvīra-Gumpha, twenty-four Tirthankaras, sixteen seated and eight in standing pose; Cave No. 10, two standing Tirthankaras and one standing Sāsana devī and Lalāṭendu Keśarī Gumphā, as many as eight Tirthankara images, all in standing posture. Of the lot Riṣabhanātha and Pārśvanātha have been repeated in nine and ten places respectively. Similarly among the Sāsana devīs Rohiṇī, Chakreśvari and Āmra have been carved at three places and Prajñāpti Vajraśrīnkhalā, Gāndhāri, Padmāvatī at two places each. In Navamuni Gumphā only seven seated Tirthankaras like Riṣabhanāth, Ajītanāth, Sambhara nāth, Abhinandana nāth, Vasupūjya, Pārśvanāth and Nemināth and their respective Sāsana devīs are given additional representations. The small figure of Chandraprabhā is no exception to this.

The Tirthankaras though appear more or less in conventional posture having much similarity with the fundamental features of the Jainas, the Sāsana-devīs with the exception of Āmra do not as a rule follow the canons of Jaina iconography as laid down in the available scriptures.

To facilitate provision of water supply to the dwellers of the caves a series of rock-cut wells have been excavated in both the hills. On
the Udayagiri two of them called Hāthī-nisuni and Lalitā kuṇḍa can be seen; on the Khandagiri there are two, the Ākāśa Gaṅgā and Rādhā Kuṇḍa besides two tiny ones the Shyāma-kuṇḍa and Guptā Gaṅgā.

**Gumphā-munḍiā**

Gumphā-munḍiā, a low flat hillock near village Nuapalli once saw the activities of rock-cut monument designers. As many as four caves have been attempted at the place, but for solid mass of rock they have been left unfinished. This hillock is located in the same range of Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills. From the pattern of their design one can safely surmise that they were an extension of the rock-cut monuments of Udayagiri and Khandagiri group. Of the four caves three were fashioned in the style of the scoopingings i.e., widely opened in front without any structural embellishment or sculptural decoration. The more important one of the group is having a cell with two door openings, flat roof, raised floor and a projected ceiling forming the verandah. Supporting pillars or pilasters are not available below the verandah roof. Chisel marks on the inner walls of the cell as well as the verandah indicate the fact that it was not made smooth or plastered with lime like its counterparts in Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills.

**Pāṇḍava Gumphā**

The Pāṇḍava-Gumphā group of caves has been designed on the sharp edges of an immense laterite quarry. This quarry as contended by Dr. K. C. Panigrahi possibly came into existence with the establishment of Sisupalgarh fort in the close neighbourhood. The innumerable edifices including the massive gate-way of this ancient fort which came to light in the recent excavation were all supplied with huge blocks of laterite stones from this quarry and as Sisupalgarh originated in the 3rd century B.C. and was abandoned in the 4th century A.D. we may assign these edges as well as the rock-cut monuments in them a period later than the lower limit of it and not very far from the time of conversion of the Bhaskareswar pillar into a Śiva Liṅga.

As regards the technical aspects of these rock-cut monuments it may be said that they were all cut in the living laterite bed having spacious chambers both single and interconnected ones. The roof and floor of these monuments have been kept uniformly plain and flat. A standard height of 5'-8" has been maintained as the height of the ceiling from the floor level. Surprisingly enough the floor level of the chambers is lower than the adjacent verandah which in
most cases is ruined leaving the trace of pillar positions only. Steps have been provided from the verandah to enter inside the inner chambers. The pillars in some of these caves though appear as the part of the partition walls, in others they are narrower at the base and wider at the top. Other decorative motifs and sculptural representations were never attempted here as the stone is entirely unsuitable for the purpose.

The most notable monument of this group is known as Pancha-Pāṇḍava Gumpha. It is in tolerably good condition. It consists of three spacious chambers of which the middle one measures 20' × 6' and has on both sides smaller chambers each measuring 16' × 6'. All the chambers have a uniform height of 5'-8". In front of the chambers, there was a spacious verandah, 41' × 11' with a row of six pillars which supported the super-structure and of which only the base-ments remain at present. The dimension gives us an idea that they were much better designed and more spacious than many of the cell-like caves of both Udayagiri and Khandagiri. The existence of seven other groups of similar rock-cut monuments can be traced on the edges of this laterite quarry and also on the close vicinity of Bhaskareswar temple but they are now mostly ruined or half buried in debris. Water supply to these monuments seems to have been maintained from a Vāpi (stepped well) located to the north of Bhaskareswar temple which is now filled up with debris.

No evidence exists on the body of these monuments to indicate the sect to which they belonged. But taking a clue from the Lakulisa image worshipped inside the Pancha Pāṇḍava gompha of the place, the conversion of the Bhaskareswar pillar to a Śiva liṅga as well as the existence of a number of later Śaiva temples in the close neighbourhood Dr. K. C. Panigrahi suggested a date to these monuments during the Gupta period of Indian history. He further substantiates his assertion from the rock shelters, inscriptions and other archaeological relics of Sitabiṇḍhi of Keonjhar district which have strong association with Śaiva ascetics. In the same analogy the Śaiva ascetics of Bhubaneswar also utilised these monuments as their abodes during the Gupta period when Śaivism attained a strong hold.
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HISTORIC MONUMENTS IN THE KSHETRA OF JAGANNATHA: SOME HIGHLIGHTS

LITTLE does one pause to think of the significance of the historic monuments which abound in the kshetra of Jagannātha, also known as Śrīkṣetra or Sankha-kṣetra according to the Kapila Samhitā. The Śrīkṣetra is one of the greatest centres of Vaishnava worship, and forms one of the four pithas the others being Badrinath, Rameswara, and Dwaraka. Though primarily associated with Jagannātha, it contains a number of temples sacred to the worship of all other principal deities in the Hindu religion. The foreign tourist after having traversed Bhubaneswara and Konarka along the so-called “golden triangle”, visits Puri mainly out of its attraction of a beautiful beach and is content to dismiss its monuments as no more than “relics of the past weeping over a lost civilisation and an extinguished grandeur”. The antiquity of the various monuments or their artistic merit hardly receives the serious attention of both tourists and scholar alike.

The oldest building extant, according to Dr. Rajendralal Mitra is the temple of Alabuceswara built by Lalatendu Kesari (A.D. 623—627). Hunter records the existence of temples dedicated to the worship of Śiva and his female energy, in their sixteen different manifestations in Puri. The male ones or Sambhus are represented by the images of Yameswara, Visveswara, Kapāḷa Mochana, Markandeswara, Nilakantheswara, Trilochana, Bhubeswara and Pataleswara; the female figures or Chandis have the appellation of Mangala, Vimalā, Sarvamangalā, Kāli, Dhātri, Kamākhyā, Ardha Asti and Bhawāni.

The shrine of Yameswara (45 ft. below ground level), Pāṭaleswara (27 ft. below ground level), Isāneswara, Mārkandeswara and Kapālmochna (61 ft. below ground level) are the five Svayambhu Lingas now receiving devotion. The temple of Yameswara probably belongs to the eighth century A.D.
The sanctuary of Yameswara contains a beautiful replica of a pancha-ratha type of temple. The vimana of the temple has on its three sides beautiful statues of Kārtikeya, Ganesa and Parvati which speak of a high order of artistic skill. An interesting feature found on the Jagamohana is the one-legged statue of Āja which probably goes to suggest the commemoration of a sacrifice at that spot. In the Jagamohana there is a statue of Yama. Just behind the Lingam there is a beautiful three-headed statue of Triambaka representing the three aspects of Siva: creation, preservation and destruction.

The Märkandeswara temple erected by Kundala-Kesari (A.D. 811–829) has lost much of its architectural value due to copious plastering. The temple comprises the four sections of Vimana, Jagamohana, Nata-mandira and Bhoga-mandapa usually conforming to the style of Orissan architecture. The Vimana and Jagamohana were probably constructed at the same time. At the entrance of Jagamohana on either side of the wall, there are certain inscriptions of Chodagangadēva in Sanskrit and Tamil commemorating his achievement. That the temple was constructed earlier than the Shri Jagannātha temple is established clearly by these inscriptions. Excavations made some years ago from a mound adjacent to the temple have unearthed the beautiful statues of five of the saptamātrikas viz., Brāhma, Sivāni, (Māheswari), Kaumāri, Indrāni and Vārāhi with Virabhadra and Ganesa on their side. In the ‘bedha’ of the temple one also comes across statues of Ganesa, Uma-Maheswara and Lakulisa.

The next edifice in chronological order is the bridge of Atharanaḍa (A.D. 1038–1050). It is built of laterite and sandstone and has a total span of 290 ft. divided by 18 vents as its name suggests of which the extreme ones are the narrowest and the central one the widest. This solid structure, it is no small wonder, has withstood the ravages of time over a period of nearly thousand years, still bearing testimony to the engineering skill of Orissan architects of the eleventh century.

The temple of Pātāleswara (27 ft. below ground level) within the premises of the Jagannātha temple is famous for the inscriptions of Anangabhima Deva and Kapilendra Deva on either side of its walls. Construction of this temple is ascribed to Anangabhima Deva, the fifth king of the Ganga dynasty who ascended the throne in 1192 A.D. Inscriptions on the left walls of the Pātāleswar temple written in three different characters refer in most eulogistic terms to Anangabhima Deva.
It was believed by some scholars notably, Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra that the famous “Puri Pagoda” sighted by mariners off the coast was originally built on a mound or a Vihara hall which had either fallen down or was so dilapidated as to necessitate its demolition and on its site the new structure was erected. Tradition has it that the original temple of Jagannatha having been dilapidated was again built by Yayatikesari in the 9th century A.D. From the Dasgoba copper-plate of Raṇa Raṇa III, it is, however, clear that Chodaganga Deva built the temple of Purusottama on the seashore. But the work was completed during the time of Anangabhima Deva (A.D. 1189—1223).

The plinth of many of the shrines well below the ground level like Pataleswara and Isaneswara located within the precincts of the Jagannatha temple and a number of other temples outside, which precede its construction evidently goes to suggest that the original plinth of the Jagannatha temple must have been more or less at the same level as the other temples and due to ravages of nature, and sand cast by the sea, the ground level of the main temple has increased to its present height.

The general style of architecture of the Jagannatha temple conforms to the canons of the Kalinga school of temple architecture comprising the Vimana, Jagamohana, Nata Mandira and Bhoga Mandapa. The Vimana has marked affinity with that of Lingaraja temple, which is a square of 66 ft. on the ground with a height of 160 feet. The Vimana of the Jagannatha temple stands at a height of 214’—8” on the plinth which is 80 ft. square. It is a curvilinear tower divided into vertical sections running from the base to the top of the sikhara. This represents the rekha type of temple. The temple originally consisting of the Vimana and the Jagamohana was reported to have been completed during the reign of Anangabhimadeva around A.D. 1198. Afterwards the Nata Mandira and Bhoga Mandapa were added to it. The Bhoga Mandapa was constructed during the reign of Purusottamadeva (A.D. 1465—1495) and the Nata-mandira during the reign of Prataparudra Deva (A.D. 1495—1532). According to the Madala Panji, construction of the temple took 14 years and cost 5 lakhs of tolas of gold and the value of ornaments dedicated to the deity was about 1/4 lakh tolas of gold.

The main structures along with a number of shrines and other structures which have come up in later periods occupy the inner enclosure of the temple, called the Hosanbera, surrounded by a wall with six openings of which four correspond with the four main gates. The outer enclosure, the Meghanada Prachira is rectangular in size measuring 665 ft. x 644 ft. The height of the wall varies from 20 to 24 ft. with battlements at the top. The main entrance to the temple
in the eastern side is called Simhadwāra which derives its appellation from the colossal crouching lion on either side. The other gates in the north, south and west are called the Hasti-dwāra, Aswa-dwāra and the Khaṇḍā-dwāra respectively.

In front of the Simha-dwāra the Aruna-stambha is a striking monument of marked elegance. It is a monolithic sixteen-sided polygonal column measuring 25'-2" from the top of the plinth to the bottom of the capital, the diameter of the pillar is 2 ft. and the circumference is 6'-3½". The height of the capital is 2'-6". The total height from the ground level to the top of the capital is 33'-8" including the pedestal which is 7'-9" square and 6 ft. high. It is believed that the Aruna-stambha was brought from the Sun Temple of Konarka by the Maratha rulers.

The sacredness of the shrine of Jagannātha in a sense overshadows the artistic merits of the temple, which is considered somewhat inferior in design and detail to the Lingaraja and the Konarka temples. The temple on account of its close proximity to the sea has suffered extensive damage by erosion and most of the original carvings are now heavily plastered and white-washed. The first thorough repairs to the temple are reported to have been executed in the reign of Pratāparudradeva (A.D. 1495—1532) according to the Mādala Pāṇji. Narasimhadeva is reported to have repeated the operation in 1647 and during the reign of Kṛishnadeva (1713—1718 A.D.) thorough repairs were necessitated on account of the Mohammedan onslaught. All these repairs significantly contributed to converting a monument of beauty no less rich than any other Orissan temple to an ugly mass of stone and plaster as one sees today. Whatever is left of this great monument can be seen from the decorative carvings of the three Nisha-devatas, viz., Varāha, Narasimha and Vāmana who adorn the three niches on the body of the vimāna on the south, west and north respectively. These figures made of chlorite take the same position which Bhagavati, Kārtikeya and Ganesa occupy on the vimāna of the Lingaraja temple.

The Jagamohanā which is a pyramidal structure represents the Pancha-ratha style of temple like its counterpart viz., Lingaraja of Bhubaneswar.

The Nāta-mandira as mentioned earlier is a later addition and architecturally is of quite a distinct character. Its plinth is a square of 80' outside, the inside measurement being 69 ft. × 67 ft. It is divided by 4 rows of pillars into a hall and two corridors on each side. The incidents of Kāṇchi Kaṅvari expedition find 'pictorial representation in the hall of the Nātamandira, probably by the order of king
Purusottamadeva himself. The incidents of Kānchi Kāveri expedition have been recorded in the Mādala Pānji. In the Bedhā Pari-kramā of Balarama Dasa (17th century) there is also a reference to the pictorial representation on the walls of the Jagamohana of the two brothers galloping valiantly towards Kanchi.

The Bhogamandapa or the Refectory is a pyramidal structure of dark-red sandstone and is of tri-ratha type. At the entrance to the Bhogamandapa converting the same with the Nāṭa-mandira, the twin figures of Jaya and Vijaya stand as the celestial guards. The ground plan of the Bhogamandapa which measures 58 ft. × 56 ft. has a richly sculptured plinth 7'-6" high. The height of the building inside is 15'-6" and is profusely carved in the most accomplished style. This is possibly the only monument inside the temple enclosure which has not suffered from white-wash and plaster. The door of the Bhogamandapa is a frame of chlorite and the architrave over it contains figures of Navagraha exquisitely carved. There are niches on the outside of the Bhogamandapa representing festivities of Shrikrishna, such as the festival of colours, Krishna as the celestial cowherd playing the flute and the cattle listening with their heads raised, Gopikas rowing the boat with Srikrishna, etc. Besides there are other reliefs depicting scenes from the Purānas and epics such as Siva seated on the bull, investiture of Rama, Indra holding his heavenly court, etc. There are also carvings representing entwined Nagan. On the Southern wall of the Bhogamandapa, there is a base-relief representing Jagannatha seated on a throne, along with the Lingam surrounded by Sakti, and Durgā in the form of Mahisasura Mardini.

Among other important monuments inside the inner enclosure mention may be made of the temples of Vimalā and Lakshmi. Both these temples have the usual sections of Vimāna, Jagamohana, Nāṭa-mandira and Bhogamandapa and are believed to have been constructed during the reign of Pratāparudra Deva although some ascribe the Lakshmi temple to Chodaganga Deva. Vimalā finds mention in the Matsya Purāṇa, Kapila Samhitā and Skanda Purāṇa. According to Sākta Tantra, Jagannatha is identified with Bhairava and associated with Vimalā (Vimalā yatra Bhairavi Jagannāthastu Bhairavah). Offerings to Jagannatha acquire the qualities of Mahāprasāda only after the same is offered to Vimalā according to certain prescribed tantric rites.

The Lakshmi temple lays claim to some delicate carvings on its Vimāna and Nāṭa-Mandira. Some of these carvings which suffered extensive damages in the past are in the process of being restored as a result of the extensive renovation work undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of India recently.
The temple of Narasimha, situated to the west of the Mukti Mandapa was according to the Skanda Purāna (Utkala Khandha) reported to be in existence at the time of the construction of the original temple of Jagannātha. This ancient temple with its entrance to the east, contains some inscriptions on the western wall. There is a beautifully carved statue of Trivikrama on one of its niches.

The Mukti Mandapa situated in front of the southern entrance of the Jagamohana, measures 38’ × 38’. The Mandapa supported by sixteen pillars was constructed during the reign of Pratāparudra Deva, and was meant to seat the learned pundits of the sixteen Brahmin sasanas of Puri. The famous ‘Jhoolan’ festival of the deities is celebrated here every year.

Among works of art mention may be made of the exquisitely carved statue of Satyanarayana in the temple dedicated to him situated to the South-east corner of the inner enclosure. The statue is carved out of a single block of chlorite about 5 ft. in height representing Janardana with four arms associated with the symbols of shankha, chakra, gada, padma and posed in the abhaya mudra. The statue is flanked on either side by Jaya and Vijaya. On the pedestal, Garuda is represented seated on his knees, and there are other figures of apsaras and kinnaris.

In front of Vimalā, is the statue of Ganesa—one of the rarest of its kind, in the dancing posture. The size of the statue is 6’ × 3’, and the pedestal is about one feet high. Ganesa is represented with eight arms, playfully holding a snake with two of his upper arms, and dancing with his feet on his vahana—a mouse.

There is another interesting statu of Ganesa in a small inconspicuous temple situated within the inner enclosure of the temple close to the western gate. Popularly known as the ‘bhandā’ Ganesa, (Ganesa—the cheat), this statue was brought by Raja Purushottama Deva from Kanchi as a war trophy. Beautifully carved from one block of black granite it represents Ganesa, with Sakti seated on his lap, and is associated with tantric worship. The statue of Nilamadhava situated to the north of Saraswati temple, is a work of rare beauty, delicately carved in a style similar to that of Satyanarayana. Seated on a Simhāsana the statue measures approximately 2½’ × 1½’ and is associated with king Indradevumna of the legends.

In the temple of Surya, to the east of the Lakshmi temple, one comes across a finely carved image of Buddhist origin. This image is kept just behind that of Surya and cannot be seen except with the help of a bright light. This is popularly associated with Indra which does not appear to be correct.
A detailed inspection of the Jagannatha temple by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1972 revealed the intensity of the damages and the urgency of effecting repairs to the same. Apart from the general state of dilapidation affecting the main temples and other shrines within the enclosure, large cracks were found to have developed on the north-eastern point of the Bhogamandapa, which are distributed over an extensive area. In one portion of the Bhogamandapa, stones have been displaced, as a result of rusting of the iron joints holding these together. There are similarly a large number of cracks on the northern and southern side of the Jagamohana along with deep cracks in the ceiling, which results in profuse leaks at the conjunction of the Jagamohana and Vimana. Because of these cracks iron joints were provided earlier this century to support the lower part of the pithas around the nāta-mandira, Jagamohana and Bhogamandapa. Large cracks over the pillars and in the ceiling of the Mukti-mandapa need immediate attention. Extensive cracks have developed in the temples dedicated to Lakshmi, Sakshigopal and Nilamadhava, where the coping stones forming part of the ceiling of the structures have collapsed at places.

In consideration of the seriousness of the problem, and the extensive repairs required, which is well beyond the meagre resources of the Jagannatha Temple Administration, the Archaeological Survey of India have assumed responsibility in the matter in view of the national importance of these ancient monuments. This is a most welcome step indeed. Extensive repairs undertaken in course of the last few years to the Lakshmi temple, have brought to public gaze, details of the sculptures on the vimāna and Nāta-manidra. Similarly, heavy plastering removed from the ‘pābhāga’ or the foot part of the Vimana of the Jagannatha temple has brought into sharp relief the intricate designs, albeit, mutilated of the Pancakrtya showing the symbols of khura, kumbha, damaru, vasanta and culika representing in the parlance of the artist, the five activities of production, maintenance, destruction, embodiment and release, in any significant work of art.

While acknowledging one’s deep gratitude to the Archaeological Survey of India, for their timely intervention in restoring this great monument of national importance, as an art lover, one would hope to see soon the original art work on these ancient monuments which were hidden from public view partly on account of gross negligence, but mainly on account of thoughtless and unimaginative repairs which have been undertaken in the past from time to time.
THE DATE OF THE JAGANNATHA TEMPLE:
LITERARY SOURCES RECONSIDERED

The dates proposed for the construction of the present Jagannātha temple at Puri range from A.D. 1085 to A.D. 1223. During the last decades most historians tended to place the temple within the first half of the 12th century. And this period was further narrowed down by some scholars to the years between 1130 and 1142—an approximate date which seems at present to be generally accepted. All these dates were based entirely on literary evidence. The only other reliable sources of information, namely the architectural and sculptural details of the temple itself, were until recently inaccessible to scholars. These details were hidden under thick layers of plaster and of ever renewed white-wash intended to protect the temple against the corrosive power of the saline winds of the sea.

This state of affairs is about to change. During the last two years the Archaeological Survey of India, in a praiseworthy effort, has finally undertaken to remove the plaster. The work started in the Laksmi temple within the Jagannātha compound and is now in progress on the main temple itself. A complete photographic documentation of the ornamentation and sculpture of the temple is not yet available to the general public or to the scholarly world. It will undoubtedly provide further valuable information on the development of Orissan Art, and the present writer hopes that such a documentation will be published without delay. But chronological considerations based on style can yield only a relative chronology. In order to determine any point in the relative chronology in terms of absolute chronology, the combination with historical knowledge derived from other sources is essential. Therefore it seems advisable at this stage to reconsider once again the literary evidence in order to provide as reliable as possible a basis for further research.

The literary evidence gathered from inscriptions, and other sources appears in itself as contradictory. The traditions preserved in the devotional literature and in the Mādala Pāñji do not correspond
to the inscriptions. Therefore scholars were compelled to make a choice between conflicting statements. In view of the obvious unreliability of the Mādālā Pāṇji and the largely legendary character of the purānic texts and the Odiyā traditions most of them relied entirely on the inscriptions for establishing the date of the Jagannātha temple. In doing so, they avoided the intentional and unintentional distortions of history inherent in those texts of the priestly class, the main object of which is the spread of religious propaganda, the justification of changes in ritual and cult, and the consolidation or extension of priestly influence. On the other hand the inscriptions—specially the praśasti portions containing the genealogies and achievements of ruling houses—also present a biased view: they tend to polish up history and to suppress unpleasant events both in external politics and in the domestic sphere. Both sets of sources, therefore, call for a careful and sceptical approach. But they supplement each other, and none of them should be entirely neglected. This proves to be true in the present case where a comprehensive view of the sources and more careful translations will lead us to reject some of the conclusions hitherto arrived at.

The most important inscriptive evidence regarding the present Jagannātha temple is contained in a verse recurring in the praśasti portions of Imperial Gaṅga inscriptions from the time of Rājarāja III onwards. It gives the credit for the construction of the temple of Purusottama to Gaṅgeśvara, a title usually referring to Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva. The verse in question is well known. It forms the basis of all the dates proposed so far and has been quoted and translated several times. My own translation runs as follows:

“What king, verily, is able to build a temple for that Purusottama whose two feet are the earth and the entire space his navel, whose two ears are all directions, whose pair of eyes the couple of sun and moon and, lastly, whose skull is that sky (above)?”

So thinking, this (temple) had been passed over (lit. overlooked) by previous kings.

(But) then Gaṅgeśvara built it.

Noteworthy early translations are the following:


All translators were faced with a difficulty in translating the historically decisive last pada of this verse. In his first version M. M. Chakravarti rendered the passage as: “Left undone by the first kings, Gaṅgēśvara built it”. The same meaning is expressed in N. N. Vasu’s more circumstantial translation: “In consideration of this it seems that the kings who preceded Coḍagaṅga did not take in hand the erection of a temple to Purusottama: but Gaṅgēśvara built it”. Later, when Mr. Chakravarti revised his translation, he wrote: “This task which had been hitherto neglected by previous kings, was fulfilled by Gaṅgēśvara.” He thus still retained the same meaning, but expressed it differently and wrongly, because ayam of the text refers to prāsādam: “this temple” was neglected, not “this task”. In this portion, the first version of Mr. Chakravarti was evidently better than the second version.

But the real problem lies in the word upeksitam. “Ayam (prāsādam purusottamasya) ādyanpair upeksitam” is an important statement. The Sanskrit verb upa-taś literally means “to over-look,” “to look without noticing”, from which the further meanings “to disregard”, “to treat with contempt”, “to neglect” are derived. The last word which is used in Mr. Chakravarti’s second version is tempting. It tempted, e.g., Mr. K. N. Mahapatra to interpret the passage in the light of an information contained in the Mādāla Pāṇi where it is said that an old temple of the Supreme Lord (Parameśvara, i.e., Purusottama) built by Yayāti was in a bad state of repair and was pulled down by Anāṅgabhīma before he erected the new and larger temple for the same god.10 If the occurrence of the name Anāṅgabhīma is taken as the result of a confusion in the Mādāla Pāṇi—as all scholars unanimously do—the deplorable state of the earlier temple must be due to “neglect by previous kings”. Thus Mr. Mahapatra would take the words upeksitam (prāsādam) to refer to the older temple which was replaced by Coḍagaṅga’s new and majestic building.12 Recently D. K. Ganguly even goes so far as to attribute to the Kenduli copperplates (which repeat the same verse) the statement that the temple “was built on the ruins of an old and dilapidated edifice by king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga...”13.

Unfortunately this interpretation is not at all justified by the Sanskrit text. The temple which Gaṅgēśvara “made”, and the one which was “neglected by earlier kings” is clearly one and the same
ayam (ādyanāṃ pair upakṣitam) (prāśadaṃ puruṣottamasya) cakre 'tha Gaṅgeśvaraḥ. The text does not refer to any earlier temple.

This is evident also from the immediate context. The rhetorical question: "What king verily is able to build a temple of Puruṣottama?" certainly implies the answer that except for Gaṅgeśvara nobody else could claim such an achievement. The next verse again shows that Gaṅgeśvara's temple was an absolute innovation. Its purport is that on account of his residence in the milk-ocean which was the birth place of Lakṣmi (and therefore his father-in-law's house) the god Puruṣottama must certainly have been depressed by the thought that somebody who lives in his father-in-law's house is (generally) not respected. He was therefore highly pleased to get his own residence (built by Gaṅgeśvara); and Lakṣmi, preferring this house of her husband to that of her father, was equally pleased.14 This verse presupposes again that Puruṣottama had no temple—at least no temple in Puri—before Gaṅgeśvara built one for him.

The word upakṣitam in the preceding verse does therefore indeed imply, as both Mr. Chakravarti and Mr. Vasu understood, that such a temple was not built by earlier kings.15 Whether such a temple was disregarded (upakṣitam), or the possibility of building it was overlooked (upakṣitam), or the very conception of such a temple neglected (upakṣitam): in any case does Rājarāja III claim that Gaṅgeśvara was the first and only king who built a temple for Puruṣottama.

On the other hand there is enough evidence, both in inscriptions and other literary sources to prove that a Puruṣottama temple existed on the sea-shore of Utkaladeśa during the time of the Soma dynasty,16 i.e., prior to the Gaṅga ascendency in Orissa. Its fame reached throughout India. Does Rājarāja try to manipulate history? Does he consciously propagate a lie in order to claim all the merit for his own dynasty? Certainly the attempt would be worthwhile on the part of a ruler to project all the glory of the Jagannātha cult exclusively on his own family. No doubt, legitimation through religious merit could provide at that time an appreciable basis of power in a Hindu society. And since Rājarāja III was already the fifth king after Coṛagaṅga and belonged to the third generation of Gaṅga rulers in Utkala, the time factor seemed favourable for such an attempt. De facto it became the official policy of all the subsequent rulers to repeat Rājarāja's statement. But the remembrance of an earlier temple of Puruṣottama could not be rooted out from Brahmanic traditions, nor be suppressed in devotional literature.
At this point, our analysis leads inevitably to the following alternative conclusion:

A. Either the temple of Gaṅgeśvara was really the first Puruṣottama temple in Puri. In this case the earlier Puruṣottama temple of the Somavāṃśi period mentioned above must have been situated elsewhere on the seashore of Utkaladeśa among the Oḍra people. The transfer of the name of a sacred kṣetra from one place to another is not unknown in Indian history,17 nor hints at a geographical transfer of Jagannātha (Nilamādhava, Puruṣottama) missing in Sanskrit and Oḍiā texts. But only extensive excavations in Puri itself will prove or disprove such a possibility.

B. The other alternative is that the royal inscriptions of Rājarāja and his successors are unreliable in regard to their statements about the temple. In this case the very different information contained in other texts will gain more weight. It should be carefully examined and interpreted. But before taking up one instance for doing so I shall discuss another passage of Rājarāja’s inscription which has induced some scholars to draw unwarranted conclusions.

The passage in question is verse 37 in the praśasti of the Gaṅga kings from Rājarāja III onwards. It refers to the coronation of Jaṭeśvara Kāmārvana VII, the eldest son of Coḍagaṅga. Kāmārvana’s coronation took place in śaka 1069–1147 A.D. The reading of the date in the two earliest inscriptions containing this verse, the Dasgoba plates of Rājarāja III18 and the Nāgari plates of Rājarāja’s son Anaṅgabhīma III19 is clearly nandarturyomacandraprasrama-śakasamā, i.e., śaka 1069. Later inscriptions repeat the verse with a slight change in the date: they replace the word nanda (=9) by veda (=4) which changes the date to śaka 1064–1142 A. D. Since the later versions were known first, the coronation of Kāmārvana was believed to have taken place in 1142.20

The verse contains also the epithet “sarvalokaikanāthe” which some scholars took to refer to Jagannātha/Puruṣottama.21 The passage, after giving the exact date of the coronation, continues: asmīn mūrdhābhīṣikte nṛpavaratanaye sarvalokaikanāthe śrīmat-kāmārvana-śe jagad-abhavat-idam tat-tad-ānandapūrṇam/ S. N. Rajaguru interpreted the locative sarvalokaikanāthe as “before the god Sarvalokaikanātha or Jagannātha”22 or simply “at Puruṣottama (Puri)”23. Consequently he concluded that the Jagannātha temple must have been completed at the time of the coronation. He thus gets the date 1142 A.D. as the terminus ante quem for the construction of the temple.
This argument, however, which has been repeated over and again, is based on a wrong translation of the text. The epithet sarvalokaikanātha does not refer to a god in front of whom the coronation took place, but clearly and unequivocally refers to the king himself. The verse in Sragdharā metre the text of which is given in footnote 24, should be translated as follows:

“When this glorious ruler Kāmārṇava, the only lord of the entire people, the son of the best of kings, was consecrated (as king) at a (auspicious) time of the śaka year measured by the moon (1), the sky (O), the seasons (6) and the Nandas (9) [śaka 1069 = 1147 A.D.] when the sun stood in (the zodiacal sign) Sagittarius the multitude of other planets was strong (favourable) and the enemies had met with their destruction—then this world was filled with joy about it.”

This verse does not contain any hint at the completion of Coḍagaṅga’s Puruṣottama temple, nor does it say that Kāmārṇava was crowned in Puri. But it clearly states that he was the only lord of the entire people and thereby excludes the theory of his co-regency during his father’s last years.25

Our investigation of this inscription has shown
1. that the Gaṅga praśasti which credits Gaṅgeśvara with building the first Puruṣottama temple may not be fully reliable;
2. that the coronation of Kāmārṇava cannot be considered as terminus ante quem for the erection of the temple.

It is also noteworthy that the building of the great temple is not mentioned in any one of the many inscriptions of Coḍagaṅga himself, nor in other inscriptions incised in Orissa during his reign. It is not also mentioned in inscriptions of the reigns of his four sons who ruled after Coḍagaṅga in succession: Kāmārṇava VII (1147—1156 A.D.), Rāghava (1156—1170 A.D.), Rājarāja II (1170—1190 A.D.) and Ananāgabhima II (1190—1198 A.D.). The first inscriptive reference to the temple so far discovered occurs in the Dasgoba plates which record a grant made on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the year śaka 1120. The only solar eclipse in this year fell on Thursday, the 28th January 1199 A.D. This date, therefore, is at present the only reliable terminus ante quem.

As for the terminus post quem, we can get some indications from the political events recorded in inscriptions. Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva alias Gaṅgeśvara who is said to have built the temple at Puri was in his early career involved in conflicts with
his southern neighbours, namely the Colas under Kulottuṅga I and particularly their viceroys of Veṅgi. Twice he suffered a major defeat, the second time in 1110 A.D. when he was forced to give up—at least for some time—his ambitions to extend his rule southwards into the Godāvari basin. As long as Vikrama Cola, the son of Kulottuṅga and heir-apparent to the Cola throne was viceroy in Veṅgi (1092—1118 A.D.) he did not dare to attack that area again.

Instead, he turned his attention towards the north where the last Somavamśi ruler of Utkala was in a precarious condition. The latter’s country was about to fall to the prey of Rāmapāla of Bengal when Coḍagaṅga moved into Utkala about 1112 A.D. His Korni inscription issued in the beginning of 1113 A.D. states that he re-installed the fallen Somavamśi king. It is not impossible that the Somavamśi ruler was reduced to the status of a feudatory already at this time, but the sovereignty of the Gaṅga king over Utkala becomes evident only in 1118 A.D. when Coḍagaṅga in his Vizagapatam plates claims “Overlordship over the entire Utkala”. There are scholars who believe that the Somavamśi king Karna still continued for some time to rule in Utkala as a vassal of Coḍagaṅga but as yet we have not sufficient proof for this theory. In any case Coḍagaṅga succeeded only a few years later in extending his dominions further north up to the mouth of the Ganges, probably using the opportunity which arose from Rāmapāla’s death about 1120 A.D.

Meanwhile the Veṅgi region in the south had been captured from the Colas by the Western Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya VI whose death in 1126 afforded a fresh occasion for Coḍagaṅga to extend his influence into the Godāvari basin. It appears that he came to an arrangement with Vikramāditya’s son and successor Someśvara III, since a whole group of seven queens and one mother-in-law of Coḍagaṅga could demonstratively visit the Bhūmesvara temple at Drākaśārāma on the eastern bank of the Godāvari in 1128 A.D. This would have been unthinkable in enemy territory. On the other hand it was not yet Coḍagaṅga’s territory: the date of the inscriptions in the Bhūmesvara temple recording this memorable occasion is not expressed in terms of Coḍagaṅga’s reign but refers to the reign of the Cāḷukya regent Viṣṇuvardhana.

Even with Coḍagaṅga as an ally, Someśvara III had difficulties in defending his sovereignty over Veṅgi against the Colas who tried to regain this area and finally defeated the joint forces of Someśvara and Coḍagaṅga in a battle on the Godāvari about 1133 A.D. As a result Someśvara was ousted from this region and subsequently the Godāvari river became the dividing line between the Cola and Kaliṅga territories.
Difficulties arose also on the north-western border of Coḍagaṅga's realm. There the forces of the ambitious Kālachuri king Ratnadeva II of Tumāna moved into Utkala territory and occupied part of it about 1134 A.D. Ratnadeva's invasion is mentioned in several inscriptions and although Coḍagaṅga finally succeeded in mastering this dangerous situation in 1135/36 A.D. he recognized the weakness of his position in Utkala. Shortly after the war, therefore, he shifted his capital from Kaliṅga to a strategic position in Utkala — which was more in the centre of his vast empire and afforded better control of the newly acquired territories.

During the period just reviewed there was hardly any possibility for Coḍagaṅga alias Gaṅgeśvara to build the great temple. It was a period of ruthless expansion and of intensive struggle for power. The period of consolidation followed after 1135/36 A.D. when Coḍagaṅga's frontiers were relatively safe and the transfer of his capital required a general re-orientation and re-organization of the empire. It is precisely in this context of internal consolidation and re-orientation that the erection of the Jagannātha temple should probably be viewed. Therefore the year 1135, or rather 1136 A.D. may be considered to be a likely terminus post quem for the commencement of the building activities. The two earlier inscriptions of Coḍagaṅga in Puri are noteworthy in this respect: although dealing with grants to Puruṣottama they were placed in the Mārkaṇḍeśvara and Narasimha temples respectively—a fact which may indicate that the new temple of Puruṣottama itself was not yet erected at that time.

Turning now to the non-inscriptional literary sources, regarding the construction of the Jagannātha temple, the most striking observation is that none of them agrees with the statements of the Gaṅga inscriptions. The question may be asked who provides a more reliable information: the court poet Appayyana who composed the Gaṅga praśasti for Rājarāja III a little more than half a century after Coḍagaṅga's death (and whose possible unreliability was already pointed out above), or the authors of the other texts which were compiled and remodelled at a still later date? The Puruṣottama-māhāmya contained in the Utkalakhaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa, e.g., which contains the most extensive account of these events, was compiled more than 150 years later and the Rājabhoga-Itihāsa of the Mādala Pāñji bears signs of still later compilation.

The basis for deciding this question will be provided by the archaeologists when the art and ornamentation of the temple will be fully exposed. Meanwhile we collect from the texts the interesting information that the temple was not completed during the reign of
the monarch who laid its foundation. The Puruṣottama-māhātmya tells us that the foundation was laid by a victorious king (Indradyumna) who had conquered 18 provinces through his prowess and through the grace of Viṣṇu. Whatever wealth he had acquired with his own arms through the victory he was now dedicating to the God and spending on the temple of Jagadīśa, the lord of the world, hoping that the increase of his realm (rājyaṁdhi) will bear fruit through the grace of God.  

The garbhapratiṣṭhā ceremony of the Puruṣottama temple was performed, according to the Puruṣottama-māhātmya, by the same king (Indradyumna) who gave the initial order for the erection of the temple. The term garbhapratiṣṭhā has been wrongly taken to denote the consecration of the temple. This is not so. It refers to a stage in the building of the main temple tower when the foundations have been built and the level of the garbhagrha is reached. At this point the interior space of the garbhagrha, which also determines the width of the uppermost portion of the temple tower is precisely measured. The first layer of stones for its walls is joined with utmost care. And the rite of garbhapratiṣṭhā is performed. It is only after the completion of this rite that work can start for the raising of the temple walls.

The same text further tells us, that the temple itself was not completed when the king “ascended to heaven”, i.e., died. It describes how the king, while in heaven, is worried about the proper continuation of the building activities. He wonders whether the temple is finished or not, whether enemies take possession of it, or the servants, being greedy for money, become lax in their care. He also suspects that the artisans who have received their salary work slow while he is in heaven.

This passage indicates that there was some stagnation in the building activities after the death of the king. Progress was slow. War seems to have diverted the attention of the next king, and the persons in charge, the sevakas, did not really care. The same fear of neglect is expressed once again in another passage where the king is grieved by the thought that the consecration (Pratiṣṭhā) of the temple, the building of which he had begun, may be delayed.

By equating the victorious conqueror and temple-builder Indradyumna of this text with Gaṅgeśvara of the Gaṅga prāṣasti we may be led to believe that Anantavarman Coḍagaḥgadeva, the victorious conqueror of Utkala, started building the new temple of Puruṣottama but did not live to see its completion.
The impression that the building was completed after Coḍa-gaṅga is also conveyed by the various Odia chronicles known as Mādalā Pāṇji, the historical portions of which constitute the Rāja-bhoga-Ithiḥāsa. This text, as is well known, attributes the erection and consecration of the temple to “the second” Anaṅgabhima. Since Anaṅgabhima III is known to have built a Puruṣottama temple in Cuttack which was consecrated in 1230 A.D., scholars have been able to explain the Mādalā Pāṇji’s version as a result of a double mistake:

1. Anaṅgabhima II and his grandson Anaṅgabhima III have been merged into one person, and
2. the Puruṣottama temple of Cuttack has been confused with that of Puri.

Both these points must be accepted as correct. It may be even added that the temple of Anaṅgabhima, as described in the Mādalā Pāṇji, was planned with a height of 100 hastas (ca. 46 meters) — which according to one Pāṇji were reduced to 90 hastas (ca. 41 meters) in order to speed up the completion of the building — whereas the Puri temple has a height of ca. 65.5 meters.

Yet the problem proves to be more complicated. There is no reason to discard the statement of the Mādalā Pāṇji completely, as has been done so far by various scholars. On the contrary, the obvious fusion of two different personalities (Anaṅgabhima II and III) into one (Anaṅgabhima II) may be prompted not only by their equal names but also by similar achievements, such as the consecration of a Puruṣottama temple.

Two indications point in this direction.

1. There is a Sanskrit verse current in the Orissan tradition and quoted by various scholars which not only attributes the erection of the Jagannātha temple to Anaṅgabhima but also gives a date. The verse is grammatically defective and has been simply rejected as a fiction worth to be ignored. But it says clearly enough that the wise Anaṅgabhima built the temple in the śaka year 1119 which corresponds to 1197 A.D. This date actually falls into the reign of Anaṅgabhima II, the fourth of the sons of Coḍa-gaṅgadeva who ruled successively in Utkala, and therefore strengthens the point of the Mādalā Pāṇji tradition. Anaṅgabhima II was succeeded by his son Rājarāja III in śaka 1120, i.e. already one year after the traditional date of the temple just referred to. And it is this Rājarāja whose Dasgoba copperplate grant, dated in the same year, śaka 1120 is the first official document of the Gaṅga family so far
discovered which refers to the Puri temple.\textsuperscript{48} I have already drawn attention to the absolute silence about the temple in all inscriptions of the Gaṅga dynasty and their subjects prior to Rājarāja III, and I have proposed the date of the Dasgoba copperplate grant as the \textit{terminus ante quem} for the completion of the temple. The close vicinity of the above-mentioned traditional date (śaka 1119) and the first official statement in a royal document (śaka 1120) render it indeed very likely that Anaṅgabhīma II completed and consecrated the temple towards the end of his reign.

2. The second indication is contained in the Mādalā Pāṇji and seems to have been overlooked completely in the discussion about the date of the temple. It is the fact that this text mentions not only one but several rulers, ending with Anaṅgabhīma (II), as builders of the great temple. Coḍagaṇga himself is not referred to in this connection—a fact which should be kept in mind for further consideration.

The first Gaṅga ruler connected in this text with the temple is Coḍagaṇga’s eldest son and successor Ekajaṭā Kāmāśava VII who is spoken of as Ekajaṭā Kāmadeva. He is said to have been a keen follower of Viṣṇuism\textsuperscript{49} and to have brought the Lord to Madhupurpātaṇa in Ćuḍāṅgasāhi. On the same day he laid the foundation for the great temple.\textsuperscript{50} The 3rd Pāṇji even gives the date of this event which if deciphered correctly, by the editor, would fall into the reign of his younger half-brother Rājarāja II. It is given as śaka 1093 in the printed text\textsuperscript{51} but should be checked again in the manuscripts.

The text is silent about the next king Rāghava who reigned for ca. 15 years from 1156–1170 A.D. He does not seem to have contributed to the progress of the temple. We are strongly reminded of the stagnation referred to in the Utkalakhaṇḍa of Skanda Purāṇa.

After Rāghava followed Rājarāja II (1170–1190 A.D.) who is again mentioned as building on the Great temple.\textsuperscript{52} If the text is to be believed he seems to have been involved in a religious conflict which led to a prosecution of Buddhists and must have caused major tensions in the socio-political and religious climate of the state. This would not have been favourable for a rapid progress of the building activities in Puri. The king is named Madana Mahādeva but his title Rājarājeśvara is also given in our text.

Rājarāja II transferred the kingship on his younger half-brother Bhīma Parirāya who became known as Anaṅgabhīma II (1190–1198 A.D.). It was he who brought the Lord back from Madhupurpātaṇa in Ćuḍāṅgasāhi\textsuperscript{53} where he had been carried by Ekajaṭā
Kāmārṇava. This marks the completion of the main temple and its final consecration. After Anaṅgabhima II, no other king is said in this text to have built the Great temple, although various buildings were still added in subsequent times. The Mukhaśālā or Jagamohana was probably completed by Anaṅgabhima III, the Nāṭamaṇḍapa was added after the 13th century and the Bhogamaṇḍapa was an addition of the 15th century. The Mādalā Pāṇji therefore confirms the result already arrived at above, that it took more than one reign to build the Great temple and that it was Anaṅgabhima II who completed it.

If Rājarāja III or his court poet said that Gaṅgeśvara built the temple, he only chose to extol the more famous monarch who initiated the work, not the one who completed it. A more serious difference between the inscription and the Mādalā Pāṇji must be seen in the attribution of the foundation of the temple to Gaṅgeśvara and to Ekajaṭā Kāmārṇava respectively. The latter would shift the terminus post quem for the temple to 1147 A.D. A motive for Rājarāja III to credit Gaṅgeśvara rather than Kāmārṇava with this work could be easily seen in the fact that he himself was a descendant of Gaṅgeśvara, but not of Kāmārṇava who died without issue. Yet we are unable to decide this question at present.

The result of our reconsideration of some literary sources, both inscriptive and other, dealing with the erection of the present Jagannātha temple may be summed up as follows:

The terminus ante quem for the completion of the main temple, namely śaka 1120 or more precisely the 28th January 1199 A.D. can be confirmed by all the sources. The actual date of completion must probably be placed immediately before this date, i.e., śaka 1119 or 1197/98 A.D.

As terminus post quem the date 1136 A.D may be accepted for the time being, but it is not impossible that on further investigation this date will be replaced by 1147 AD. The span of time for the building of the Jagannātha temple thus encompasses half a century or more, if the deduction from literary sources is justified. It will be interesting to see whether this long period has left any trace in the development of art on the Jagannātha temple.
REFERENCES

The following abbreviations have been used in this article: EI = Epigraphia Indica; Ep. Rep. = Annual Reports on Epigraphy; IO = Inscriptions of Orissa; JAHRS = Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society; JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; JIH = Journal of Indian History; OHRJ = Orissa Historical Research Journal; SII = South Indian Inscriptions.


2. T. N. Ramachandran, Temples of Bhubaneswar and Jagannath Puri, JAHRS, Vol. 19, 1948/49, p. 93. This author attributes the temple to Ananga Bhima Deva whose reigning period he gives as 1182—1223 A.D., but contradicts himself on p. 91 where he gives the date of the temple as A.D. 1100, probably following Percy Brown’s dating.


5. Prabodhacandrodaya of Krsna Misra, act II; Anargharaghava of Murari; Brahma Purana, adhy. 41—48; Narada Purana, adhy. 52—54; Skanda Purana 2, 2 (Purusottama-Mahatmya) adhy. 7—29 and 48; Niladrimahodaya, adhy. 1—5; Vamadeva Samhita, adhy. 1—5; Kapila Samhita, adhy. 3-4; Sarala Dasa, Mahabharata, Musali-parva 7—12 and Vanaparva 2,6; Deula Tola of Sisu Krsna Dasa; Deula Tola of Sisu Dama Dasa; Deula Tola of Magunia Dasa; Darubrahma Purana; Madala Panji (Rajabhoga-itihasa).


7. The context in several Ganga inscriptions clearly shows that Gangesvara or Gangesa are titles of Codagangadeva. Only the Madala Panji gives Gangesa a different personality. According to this text Gangesvara ascended the throne after Codaganga. One version of the text states that he ruled for 9 years, was publicly disgraced because of incest with his daughter and was finally killed by his queens. The other version, while upholding the same accusations, gives him 12 years (14 angas) of rule and says that after murdering him the queens continued to rule for another 9 years. See Madala Panji, Prachi-edition, p. 23 f.

8. Padau yasya dharantariksam-akhilam nabhis-tu sarvva disah srotra netrayugom ravindrayugalam murddhapi va (ca) dyaur-asaual/ prasadam purusottamasya nratpah ko nama karttum ksamas tasyety-adyanarpair-uperkisitamayam cakre 'tha gangesvarah ||
This verse occurs for the first time in the Dasgoba plates of Rajaraja III, dated saka 1120 and edited by D. C. Sircar and S. R. Sharma in EI, vol. 31, 1956/57, p. 249—262. It is repeated in the prasasti portion of the inscriptions of all later Ganga kings.

9. K. N. Mahapatra, in his article: "Antiquity of Jagannatha Puri as a Place of Pilgrimage" OHRJ vol. 3/1, p. 13 noticed that Mr. Chakrabarti's translation was defective. But his own interpretation was biased by his knowledge of other sources and does not agree with the text either as will be shown below.


11. Anangabhima III built a Jagannatha temple in Cuttack which was consecrated in the year 1230 A.D. It is generally supposed that the Madala Panji simply confuses the construction of the temple of Puri with that of the temple in Cuttack.


14. LaksmiJanmargram payonnidhir-asau sambhavitasya sthitir
no dharmi svusarsaya puyata iti ksrabdhivasad-dhruvam

This text does not refer to a separate temple of Lksmi built also by Codaganga, as was proposed by K. N. Mahapatra, OHRJ, vol. 3/1, 1954, p. 14 and often repeated by Orissan scholars. Mr. Mahapatra was apparently influenced by the statement of R. D. Banerjee (History of Orissa, vol. II, p. 376) that the Laksmi temple was contemporaneous with the Jagannatha temple. The statement was originally made on the basis of style. Mr. Mahapatra wrongly, though still with some hesitation, projects it into the text. Others after him have more boldly but equally wrongly quoted this inscription to prove that Codaganga built the Laksmi temple. (N. K. Sahu, The imperial Ganga and the Gajapati rule in Orissa, OHRJ vol. 3/3, 1955, p. 167). For a discussion see G. C. Tripathi "The Concept of Purusottama in the Vaisnava Agamas", in: A. Eschmann and others (ed.): The Cult of Jagannatha and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, (in press).

15. D. C. Sircar, while editing the Nagari plates of Anangabhima III writes rather carefully: “The language of verse 27 seems to suggest that the god Purusottama-Jagannatha had been in worship at Puri for many years before the conquest of that region by Chodaganga, but that the Saivite Somavamsis, who were supplanted from Utkala by the Gangas, had neglected the erection of a temple for the Vaishnavite deity.” (EI, vol. 28, 1956/57, p. 211. My italics)


17. An instance of such transfer over a long distance is the arkasetsra at the Candra-bhaga (Konarka) where the name of the ksetra and that of the river were taken from Western India. The transfer of a ksetra within a limited area combined with the total eclipse of the original place by the more famous new one is also attested, e.g., in the case of the solar sanctuary Mulasthan on the Chenab which fell into oblivion after the new foundation Mulasthan (Multan) on the Ravi. It is precisely the geographical vicinity of the more famous new ksetra of the same name, which makes the old ksetra disappear completely from the scene, while the various memories converge into one tradition. See v. Stiicencon, Samba und die Sakadvipya Brahmana, 1966, p. 229 f and 279 f.
20. The difficulty arising from the fact that Codaganga was known to have lived till 1147 A.D. was explained away by N. K. Sahu, S. N. Rajaguru and others (see N. K. Sahu, The imperial Ganga and the Gajapati rule in Orissa, OHRJ, vol. 3/4, 1955, p. 167; S. N. Rajaguru, The Kenduli Copperplate Grant of Narsimha Deva IV of saka 1305, OHRJ, vol. 5/1, 1956, p. 59 ff, and later often repeated by Orissan scholars). They believed that in order to avoid succession conflicts among his sons, Codaganga consecrated his son Kamarnava in 1142 A.D. and raised him to the status of a joint ruler. This explanation was never very convincing. A murdhhabhisika or royal consecration does not usually initiate a crown prince and co-regent, but confers full regal power. Furthermore, Codaganga’s reign is documented in inscriptions up to saka 1069 = 1147 A.D. and Kamarnava’s starts only from saka 1070 onwards. This agrees with the date as given in the Dasgoba plates.

It is therefore simpler and more logical to accept with Dr. Sircar the first occurrences of the date in the Dasgoba and Nagari plates as correct, while the later repetitions seem to be based on a faulty copy.

24. Nandarturyomacandrapramitasasakamayaptakale dinese
capas the ‘nyagragaughpe va (ba) lavati ripusu praksayam praptavatstu/
asmin murddhabhisiktie nrpavaratanayaye sarvalokalkatamthe
srinat kamarnavase jagad abhavad idam tat tad-ananda purnnam //

25. This proves that Kamarnava was crowned after Codaganga’s death or abdication and thereby confirms the correctness of the reading “nanda” in the date of this verse. Codaganga’s last known date is saka 1069 (Ep. Rep. No. 182 of Mukhalingam, listed in M. M. Chakravarti, Chronology of the Eastern Gangas Kings of Orissa, JASB, vol. 72, 1904, p. 106 f). Kamarnava was crowned in the same year, and the first record mentioning his reign is dated saka 1070. (Ep. Rep. 1895-96, No. 178 of Mukhalingam cited amongst others in M. M. Chakravarti, op. cit., p. 111).
29. Inscriptions recording grants of these ladies, all (except one, the date portion of which is lost) issued on the same day, are preserved in the Bhimesvara Temple. See: 10, vol. III/1, No. 98—105.
31. Ratanpur Inscription of Prthivideva II (EL. vol. 1, p. 47); Malhar Inscription of Jajalla II (EL. vol. 1, p. 40); Kharod Inscription of Ratadeva III (EL. vol. 21, p. 161); Pendrabandha Copperplate Inscription of Pratapamalla (EL. vol. 23, p. 4); Telugu Inscription of Codaganga dated saka 1057 = 1135 A.D. (S. II., vol. 5, No. 1335); The relevant passages are quoted by S. N. Rajaguru in IO. Vol 3/2, pp. 395-6.


33. Both Sarangagada and Caudvar on either side of the Mahanadi river near Cuttack could have been the main residence of the king. Some scholars even think that his residence was at Jajpur.

34. This aspect is more fully treated by H. Kulk in the work cited above in footnote 28.

35. It was compiled after 1278, since it refers to the Ananta Vasudeva temple of Bhubaneswar, and belongs probably to the first decade of the 14th century.

36. Skanda Purana, Utkalakhanda 20, 47b-59

37. op. cit. 21, 44 b: garbhakaristham vidhitav krtva sa nrpasattmah
(This half-verse is metrically in disorder.)


39. Utkalakhanda 21, 59b-60a appears to state that the king has finished his task:
tatah sa naradam-prahe prasadante munivaram/
sarvam sampannam-asin-me yad-asakyaum surasurah
But then the text continues to describe the unfinished condition of the temple after the king’s death and the continuation of the building activities.

40. Utkalakhanda 22, 13-14
prasadam cintayamasa sampurno va na va bhavet/
mayy-agate brahmaikam satrubhir-va ‘bhibhuyate //
slathadara va bhuyasah sevaka drayalobhatah /
gritavetanah silipivinda mandakriyas-tatha /
na sighram ghatayisanti mayi brahmakasyagate //

41. samarabdho bhagavatah prasado yo mayadhuna /
attragamat mam te jnata nanutisthanti sevakah //
aradbhasya pratistha hi kartavya niscita mune /
tasyantarayam sambhayva dukkhitam me manah prabho //
loc. cit. 22, 22b-24a.


47. sakabde randhra-subhrasam-rupa-naksatranayake / prasadam karayamasanangabhimen a dhimata //

Earlier inscriptions referring to the God Purusottama but not to his temple and situated on other temples of Puri have been referred to above. Their position on temples other than the Purusottama temple indicates that the latter was not in existence at the time of issue of these grants.
49. *e raja bada baisnaba acharana kale*

50. *e dina bada deulaku subha dele.*
   2nd Panji, loc. cit., p. 24-25.

51. *sa 1093 kabda e raja bada deula tolalba paim subha dele.*
   (loc. cit., p. 25).

52. *e raja bada deula tolauthile*
   (3rd Panji, loc. cit., p. 26)

53. loc. cit., p. 33, 2nd Panji.

54. The Utkalakhandha states that the (mukha) sala was built after Indradyumna had come back from heaven. It is likely that this new Indradyumna and the activities attributed to him should be related to the reign of Anangabhima III who reorganized his country, dedicated it to Jagannatha and introduced a new ideology, according to which the king claimed to have direct contact with the Supreme God (like Indradyumna) and acted as his representative on earth.
ANTiquITIES OF GANJAM

Washed perpetually by the blue waters of the Bay of Bengal on the eastern coast and fringed in the west by the spur of the picturesque Eastern Ghats, the Ganjam district in south Orissa has the unique distinction of being a rich storehouse of antiquities. History almost lies littered around the district. Its shrines and monuments bear ample testimony to a glorious history and culture of Ganjam ever since the days of Asoka the Great. Some of its historical remains at Manjusa, Tekkali, Srikakulam, Mukhalingam, Dantapura, Srikurumam, Kalingapattanam were retained by the Madras province when Ganjam was separated from it to form a part of Orissa in 1936. In this paper an attempt has been made to furnish an account of the historical remains of Ganjam which have yet to receive the publicity they deserve.

Jaugada

It is situated near Purusottampur at a distance of 25 kms. from Berhampur. Here we find an Asokan inscription known as the Separate Kaliṅga Edict, which proclaims the principle on which Asoka sought to base his administration of Kalinga and its border tribes. The inscription is addressed to the Mahāmātras of Samāpā, the headquarters of the southern part of Kalinga under Aśoka. Samāpā is identified with modern Sammā near Jaugada. In this inscription we find the famous declaration of Asoka—“All men are my children.” One who visits Jaugada is deeply impressed by Asoka’s inculcation of his doctrine that conquest through love is greater than conquest by sword.

The inscription was engraved on the vertical face of a rock in a large old fort (traces of which are hardly to be seen at present) near the bank of the river Rishikulya. J. D. Belgär, the noted archaeologist, who had visited the place sometime between 1874 and 1880, has stated that its original name was ‘Jagat’ from which it was known as ‘Jaugada’ or ‘Lac Fort’. According to a Legend the
Fort was built by Rajakeśari, who built the walls in 'Lac', instead of bricks in order that an enemy’s cannon balls might bury themselves harmlessly inside. Once a king, living on the nearby Rawalpilli hill, had attacked Keśari and besieged him for a long time in vain. At last, a milk woman, whose milk had been forcibly taken away by one of the besieger's soldiers, being unable to obtain redress, angrily exclaimed—'you fools, you have strength to plunder poor people, but have not the sense to see that the 'Lac Fort' could be taken with the greatest ease.' She told that the besiegers had to apply fire to the walls of the fort, built of lac. Accordingly the fort was destroyed.

Mr. Harris in his letter dated 26th August, 1872 printed in the proceedings of the Madras Government, has stated that when the Fort was lost Rājakeśari cursed the milkmaid who was at once turned into a stone, which was seen by Beglar in the form of a statue on the south face of the fort. Beglar has said that the transformed woman was nothing but a 'Sati pillar', not even sculptured into the form of a woman. But at present there is no trace of the pillar.

A large number of copper coins were discovered at the foot of the Sati pillar in 1858 by a European official of Chatrapur. Cunningham identified the coins with the Kushana coins and assigned them to first century A.D.

Purushottampur

At a distance of 5 kms. from Jaugaḍa is the town Purushottampur where we find the temples of Sundara Mādhava and Tumbeśvara. Sundara Mādhava is the most famous Vaishnavite temple of South Orissa, which was built by Purushottam Gajapati (1466—1497 A.D.) to commemorate his victorious campaign against the King of Kāṇchi and the village Purushottampur is named after him. The Tumbeśvara temple near Govindagarh bears an inscription from which it is known that the temple was constructed by Anaṅgabhimadeva III (1211—1238 A.D.).

Aska

The Tridiveśvara temple stands on the north bank of the river Rishikulya at Aska. Tridiveśvara is the tutelary deity of Pādhy Brahmins. The pedestal of the image bears an inscription. It appears that the temple was once a Buddhist Vihāra with three halls. After the decline of Buddhism a Śiva Linga was installed in the 13th century A.D.
Kulāda

Kulāda, about 5 kms. from Bhanjanagar, was the capital of the Bhanja Kings of Ghumasar\textsuperscript{10}. Here we find the remains of a fort built by the Bhanja Kings. Sewell\textsuperscript{11} has stated that on the top of a hill near the Fort are said to be two large stones fastened together with iron pins over which the Kondh inhabitants kept a jealous guard.

Buddhakhol

Situated at a distance of 4 kms. from Bugudā, Buddhakhol\textsuperscript{12} is a place of Buddhist remains, mostly caves and images of about 1st century A. D. which bear silent witness to the memory of the Buddhist Sramanās who lived here. Besides, we also find five Śiva temples here, constructed probably by the Bhanja Kings of Ghumsar.

At Bugudā there is the famous temple of Viriṅchinārāyaṇa built by Śrikara Bhaṅga of the Ghumsar Bhaṅja dynasty. The life-size image of Viriṅchinārāyaṇa was originally known as Sūryanārāyaṇa (Sun God). The image was unearthed from the foot of the Mālati hill near Kendupadara (on the Aska-Bhanjanagar road) and brought to Bugudā where it was consecrated in a new temple, built on the ruins of a Buddhist shrine in the shape of a ‘Chariot’ of the Sun with seven horses.\textsuperscript{13}

Krishnagiri

Honeycombed with caves, the Krishṇagiri hill is situated within Khallikote and Āṭhagaḍa. It is referred to in the Ganjam copperplates\textsuperscript{14} of the Šaṅkodhava King Mādhavarāja II as a Vishaya (district) of Kāṅgoda Maṇḍala which comprised a major portion of the Ganjam District. At the foot of this hill we find the famous Jhādeśvara and Mukteśvara temples. An inscription\textsuperscript{15} of Choḍagaṅgadeva (1078—1147 A.D.) dated in the Saka year 1064 (1142 A.D.) is found at the entrance of the Mukteśvara temple. Both the temples were constructed by Choḍagaṅgadeva.

Jilludi

It is a hill in the ex-Zamindari of Āṭhagaḍa at the foot of which stands the Mahālīngesvara temple. One of the two Dhyāni statues below the Muktimanaḍapa of the temple bears an inscription\textsuperscript{16} in early Oriya character which refers to ‘Parvata Tapi Mahapatra’ who has been identified with Parvata Vyāghra Tapi Mahapatra the first ruler of the Āṭhagaḍa State (989—1047 A.D.).\textsuperscript{17}

Pālur

It was a prosperous port on the East coast near Humma in the Chatrapur Subdivision since the days of Ptolemy\textsuperscript{18} who has
mentioned it as Pāloura. It was selected by Ptolemy as one of the bases for the preparation of his map19. Some scholars20 have located the capital of the Šailodbhava Kings at Pālur. It was through Pālur that the Oriyas carried on maritime trade and commerce with the South East Asian Islands and established colonies there.21

At Pālur we find the famous Vaṭeśvarā temple. There is an inscription22 on the door lintel of the Jagamohana of the temple. On the basis of its architectural style and iconographic features the temple may be assigned to c. 10th century A.D.

Ganjam

Popularly known as Ganja, it is situated at a distance of 8 kms. to the north of Chatrapur. The accounts of the Arab Geographer Ibn Khurdadabīh23, relating to the reign of the Bhauma queen Tribhuvana Mahādevi I (846 A.D.), mentions some place names of Orissa in order of their situation including Kanja which has been identified with Ganja24. Some scholars25 have located the capital of Kaṅgoda at Ganjam.

Till 1815 Ganjam was the headquarters and the chief town of the district; also a centre of international trade and commerce. It was at first a French Settlement. In 1759 the English drove out the French and settled here. In June, 1815 due to the outbreak of a great epidemic a large number of people died. The population was reduced from 30,000 to 6,000. Consequently in November 1815 the English shifted their establishment to Berhampur deserting the town.26

We find at Ganjam the remains of a Fort, known as Potāgaḍa on the bank of the river Rishikulyā which was commenced in 1768 by Mr. Cotsford, the first English Resident in Ganjam. The Fort ‘recalls to mind the memoirs of the former Residents and Chiefs in Council who were engaged here partly in political and partly in commercial enterprises for the good of the honourable Company’. (East India Company 27.)

Mahendragiri

Mahendragiri, in the Parlakhemundi Subdivision, is mentioned in the Purāṇa28 as one of the Kulaparvatas of India. We find the Gokarnēśvara temple, the earliest Śiva temple of South Orissa, on the summit of Mahendragiri. Lord Gokarnēśvara was the family deity29 of the early Gaṅgas of Kalinga who have installed it in this temple as early as 7th Century A.D. We also find here the temples of Yudhisthira, Arjuna, Bhima and Kunti; all these temples
may be assigned to the 12th Century A.D. On a slab at the right entrance of the Kunti shrine we find an inscription\(^30\) which refers to Lord Gokarne\(\bar{\text{s}}\)vara as Mahendreshvara.

Gur\(\text{\=a}n\text{\=}d\text{i}

At A\(\text{\=a}v\text{\=a}\), near Gur\(\text{\=a}n\text{\=}d\text{i} (about 25 kms. from Parlakhemundi) we find the temples of Dharmalinge\(\text{\=s}\)vara and Yage\(\text{\=s}\)vara Bha\(\tilde{\text{t}}\)\(\text{\=t}\)\(\text{\=a}\)raka. The dates of both the temples may be assigned to 9th Century A.D. The famous Saivite Scholar Patanga Sivach\(\text{\=a}\)rya of the Matta Mayura Sect delivered his discourses for some time in the Yage\(\text{\=s}\)vara Bha\(\tilde{\text{t}}\)\(\text{\=t}\)\(\text{\=a}\)raka temple\(^31\). At a distance of 16 kms. from Gur\(\text{\=a}n\text{\=}d\text{i}, there is a mound called Siddhapatkara or ‘Sit\(\text{\=a}\)pathara’. It was a seat of Buddhist monastic establishment till the beginning of the 9th Century A.D. when it was converted into a centre of Saivism\(^32\) by the early Ga\(\text{\=a}\)ga King Devendravarma, who was a disciple of Patanga Sivach\(\text{\=a}\)rya.

Parlakhemundi

On the bank of the river Mahendratanay\(\text{\=a}\) at Parlakhemundi stands the Nilakanthe\(\text{\=s}\)vara temple which was constructed by Mukunda Gajapati (1656 to 1674 A.D.), the Ga\(\text{\=a}\)ga King of Parla-

khemundi. The temple has an inscription\(^33\). A Mukhas\(\text{\=a}\)l\(\text{\=a}\) was constructed in the temple by Gajapati N\(\text{\=a}\)\(\text{\=r}\)\(\text{\=a}\)ya\(\tilde{\text{a}}\)deva in 1791.

In addition to the monuments described above, we also find a number of shrines and monuments at other places of the Ganjam district. At Jarad\(\text{\=a}\) we have a temple of 14th Century where Kris\(\text{\=n}\)a is worshipped as P\(\text{\=a}\)rthas\(\text{\=a}\)rathi (the driver of the Chariot of Arjuna). The Sva\(\text{\=p}\)ne\(\text{\=s}\)vara temple of Polosara has an image of Ekap\(\text{\=a}\)da Bhairava which may be assigned to the 13th Century A.D. The Raghun\(\text{\=a}\)nth temple at Nalagaon in the Ghumsur subdivision attracts a large number of devotees on the Rama-navami day. Wooden sculptures of the Bha\(\text{\=n}\)ja period decorate the doors of the temple. At Nirmalajhara near Khallikote we find the remains of a Fort and some Siva temples, probably built by the Sa\(\text{\=i}\)odbhava Kings. The Kapile\(\text{\=s}\)vara temple near Gopalpur-on-sea was probably built by Kapilendra Gajapati. The T\(\text{\=a}\)r\(\text{\=a}\) T\(\text{\=a}\)\(\text{\=r}\)\(\text{\=i}\)\(\text{\=n}\)i, near Purushottampur is a famous Sakti shrine where, according to a tradition, human sacrifices were made to propitiate the Goddess before the British conquest of Orissa.

Thus the Ganjam District, being rich in antiquities can rightly be proud of having contributed significantly to the history of Orissa and its art and culture through ages.
REFERENCES

9. For an account of the Bhanja Kings of Ghumars see Binayak Mishra’s Dynastic History of Medieval Orissa, pp. 43 ff (1933)
11. It is a hill locally known as ‘Buddhikhola’ or ‘Bruddhakholo’.
23. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi, Chronology of the Bhaumakaras and Somavamsis of Orissa, p. 68.
24. B. Mishra—Dynasties of Medieval Orissa, p. I.
27. The Vamana Purana, XIII, 14.
28. See the Prasastis of all the copperplates of the early Gangas of Kalinga—S. N. Rajguru’s inscription of Orissa, Vol. II.
RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN ORISSA

Orissa rich in Pre-historic and Proto-historic sites has not been fully explored and excavated. Most of the river valleys of Orissa had glorious civilisations of the past. Through exploration and survey it has come to our notice that most of the pre-historic and proto-historic civilisations once flourished in these river valleys and had equal contribution to contemporary civilisation which had flourished in other river valleys of India. Orissa State Department of Archaeology which is in the path of expansion in every sphere of activities took up trial limited excavation in the following sites:

1. Sankerjanga near Angul, District Dhenkanal

The hilly area of Sankerjanga of the Brahmani valley is located about 16 kms. from Angul in the district of Dhenkanal. On the basis of the finds of some polished stone implements by the local people and collected by Shri Shrinibas Rath, the then S.D.O. of Angul, it was felt proper to take up excavation of the site to get a vivid picture. Accordingly trial excavations were conducted in three selected mounds of the area. The excavation not only exposed the system of burial of the primitive people along with their belongings but also has focussed a clear picture of stone implements used by these people. During the course of excavation we have found out copper bangles, polished stone implements of the chisel design and fragmentary pieces of bones. The placing of chisels, copper bangles in one place and bones in section indicate the system of burial of primitive people. We did not get full size skeleton as we have got in other parts of India. Since the site is located just below the hill there is every possibility that the wild animals, after the cremation, might have disturbed the dead-bodies. Most probably polished stone implements found out from this place can be dated to the Post-Neolithic period. In this connection it may be mentioned that this type of excavation was taken up by Archaeological Survey of India at Kuchai in the district
of Mayurbhanj. This is the second excavation in Orissa so far as neolithic burials are concerned.

2. Kuruma near Konark

Kuruma is located about 8 kms. to the south-east of Konark. On the basis of surface finds consisting of the images of Buddha in Bhumisparsha Mudra, Avalokiteswar, Heruka and other terra-cotta antiquities trial excavations were conducted over the mound yielding such antiquities. The excavation has revealed the existence of ancient brick walls of thirty metres of length in west, north and east together with other allied brick structures. Within such enclosures of brick wall rooms made of bricks of average size with a courtyard in the centre having drain system of both outlet and inlet have been brought to light. Moreover three ovens interlinked to each other have been exposed at a depth of three metres close to the courtyard mentioned above. All these structural discoveries indicate the possibility of the habitation area of those days. Among the antiquities discovered from trenches mention may be made of pottery of redware, inscribed pottery of Devanagari script and a terra-cotta seal engraved with the Buddhist Dharani. These antiquities can tentatively be assigned to the period of c. 9th—10th century A.D. Most probably this was a Buddhist establishment which flourished after Ratnagiri complex.

3. (a) Excavation of Chitrotpala Valley

The river Chitrotpala is as sacred as the Ganges. Unlike the Prachi its valley was a flourishing centre of Buddhism, Jainism, Saktaism, Saivism, Tantrism and Vaishnavism. The present exploration and survey of this valley have brought to light that this valley is rich in Buddhist antiquities of the post-Ratnagiri period. The trial excavation conducted inside the Brahmanavan of this valley near Salipur in the district of Cuttack has brought to light the structural remains of the collapsed Buddhist temple of c-10th century A.D. Systematic plan has been chalked out to take up the excavation of this valley for a further period of five years.

(b) Ranipurjarial, District Bolangir

On the basis of an image of Buddha placed under a tree trial excavations were conducted on a mound close to the Indralath brick temple of Ranipurjarial in the district of Bolangir. The excavation has revealed the existence of stone and brick structures of the period from c. 7th century A.D. to 11th century A.D., Besides it also gives a picture that there existed a row of five temples in a line starting from
Indralath brick temple. The excavated structures can be dated to c. 9th—10th century A.D.

(c) Maragoda, District Kalahandi

The village Maragoda of the Jonk valley is situated about 35 kms. from Nawpara in the district of Kalahandi. Trial digging conducted on the two mounds of Maragoda has brought to light the existence of the structural remains of brick and stone temples datable to c. 9th century A.D. and 12th century A.D. respectively. A beautiful image of Kartikeya made of red stone has also been discovered from the site.

(d) Raibenia fort, District Balasore

The Raibenia fort is located about 100 kms. from Balasore on the valley of the Suvarnarekha river. This fort was said to have been built by the Marahattas during 18th century A.D. Trial diggings were conducted in the vicinity of the Jayachandi temple site on the western corner of this valley. It is difficult to determine the chronological position of the site unless the entire fort is thoroughly surveyed and excavated at some places.
TEMPLES OF BHUBANESWAR

During the course of two centuries a lot has been written by eminent scholars like A. Stirling, J. Fergusson, W. W. Hunter, Rajendralal Mitra, Manamohana Chakravarti, Manamohana Ganguli, R. P. Chanda, Pery Brown, A. K. Coomarswamy, P. Acharya, D. C. Sircar, K. C. Panigrahi, Debala Mitra and others about the dates of temples from different angles of view. A new attempt has been made in this paper to fix the dates of temples by taking into consideration the initial year of the Bhauma Era, information furnished by some epigraphic records of the Bhauma, Somavamši, Gaṅga and Sūrya-vamši periods, certain aspects of temple architecture, and calculation of Astronomical data of a few epigraphic records.

Initial year of the Bhauma Era

The initial year of the Bhauma Era fixed as 736 A.D. by S. N. Rajaguru has generally been accepted by scholars. But in my humble opinion, the theory of Rajaguru seems untenable on close examination of the chronology of the Bhauma Kara and Somavamši kings as it leaves barely a period of fifty years. (c. 950—1000 A.D.) for the earlier branch of the Somavamši kings, the latest data in the Bhauma Era so far found being 213, which, when calculated in the light of his theory corresponds to 736+213=949 A.D. The latest definite date in the copperplate grants of Janamejaya I, Yayāti I, Bhimaratha, and Dharmaratha being 34, 28, 3 and 11 years respectively, the total comes to 76 years.

If Śrī Mahābhavagupta, son of Śrī Mahāśivagupta of the Kudopali plates is taken as identical with Bhimaratha, he should be given at least 13 years for his reign. This is justified in view of his eulogy found in the Khandapada grant of his son Dharmaratha, where-in he is stated to have burnt Āndhra and Gauḍanagarī, easily without any opposition. His great descendant Udyota Keśari also describes him as a great hero, who posted pillars of victory in eight directions after defeating the enemies.
Sri Mahabhavagupta of the Mahakosala Historical Society plates who issued his grant from Kesarakella Mahavijaya Katak in his 11th regnal year may be identified with Naghusa, the younger brother of Mahasivagupta Dharmaratha, who is stated to have ruled for some years in the Narasimhapur plates of Udyota Kesari i.e.,

"वर्तमान तथा ब्रह्मणगुण भूलकरते
प्रवर्तकः विद्वत्तार्थो नन्दगुणे इत्युत्परीतीन्ति पति:"

(V,6)

The same verse is also found in the Ratnagiri plates of Karn Deva.

This proposed identification seems tenable in view of the fact that Rudra Datta, who is mentioned as his Mahasandhivigrahika, continued as such during the reign of his cousin Yayati II and up to the fourth regnal year of Udyota Kesari, son of Yayati II, when his Narasimhapur plates were issued. Then the total period of reigns of the five Somavarsa kings of the earlier branch as elicited from the epigraphic records discussed above becomes 97 years in all i.e., Janamejaya 1—34 years, Yayati 1—28 years, Bhimaratha—13 years, Dharmaratha—11 years, Naghusa—11 years. The actual reigning periods of these five kings exceeds a century on calculation of the astronomical data. Consequently it becomes impossible to adjust the reigns of these rulers within a period of 50 years obtained by taking 736 A.D. as the initial year of the Bhauma Era. So it must be calculated from 614 A.D. when this Era was started by Paramapaska Kshemankara Deva, the first powerful king of the Bhauma family and an ally of Maharajadhiraja Harshavardhana, the last Buddhist monarch of India.

Mohini Temple

The temple of Mohini standing on the southern bank of Vindusagara tank of Bhubaneswar and belonging to the Parashuramesvara type of temples, was built by Mohini Devi, the queen of the Bhauma sovereign Sivakara II to perpetuate her memory like her mother-in-law Madhavi Devi, queen of Subhadra I, who built the Madhavesvara temple at Viraj on her name. The temple was called Mohini, after her name though the deity worshipped in the temple is a ten-armed dancing ChamundÃ¹, terrific to behold. The date of the Chaurasi plate of Sivakara II being 73 years of the Bhaumakara Era, the building of the temple may be fixed near about 614 A.D. + 73 = 687 A.D.

Age of the earlier group of Temples

Taking this definite date as a clue, the temples of Lakshmanesvara, Bharatesvara, and Satruhnesvara, which are without the
ante-chamber or Jagamohana, and Tri-ratha in plan like the vimāna of the Mohini temple, can be placed in the early decades of the seventh century. The temples of Mohini, Uttarāsvara and Mārkaṇḍesvara, standing on the southern, northern and western banks of Vināusāgara; Kapālini and Śiśirēśvara found within the same compound, and Parasurāmeśvara and Svarṇajāleśvara, both on the road to Kedagarūri may be assigned to different decades of the same century. Thus the conclusion of K. C. Panigrahi, who assigned the Parasurāmeśvara temple to the seventh century on the evidence of palaeography of the inscribed labels above the eight grahas on the lintel of the sanctum-door is fully supported by my calculation.

Most of the temples of the early group have got Triratha Vimāna but all their Jagamohanas are rectangular structures with terraced roofs sloping in two stages. The roofs of the Jagamohanas of Kapālini, Śiśirēśvara and Uttarāsvara have got no monolithic pillars for their support, whereas those of Mohini, Mārkaṇḍesvara and Parasurāmeśvara are set on parallel rows of monolithic pillars.

In this group of temples, we find the depiction of Aṣṭagrahas instead of Navagrahas in the lintels. The Dīkapālas are not found on the temple walls. On the top of the temples, there are no kalasas but Śivalingas fixed in the centres of the Āmalakas.

Due to the predominance of the Śākta cult in this century two temples are dedicated for the worship of Chāmunḍā. In the sanctum of the Mohini temple is installed a terrific ten-armed dancing Chāmunḍā, whereas in the central niche of the sanctum of the Kapālini temple is enshrined an eight-armed Chāmunḍā called Kapālini, who is depicted in her most terrific aspect conceivable, surrounded by the images of Sapta-mātṛkās and other tantric deities. The figures of Sapta-mātṛkās without babies are found carved on the northern wall of the Jagamohana of the Parasurāmeśvara temple. Śākta deities are more or less found in the Uttarāsvara and other temples of this group.

Gaurī Temple

In the family of the Bhauma-karas, two queens namely Tribhuvana Mahādevī I, daughter of Rājamalla, the sovereign of the southern country and Prthvī Mahādevī alias Tribhuvana Mahādevī II, daughter of Svabhāvatūṅga of the lunar dynasty, the overlord of Kosala proclaimed themselves as Siddha-Gaurī in the closing portions of their grants:

“श्रेयः: श्रीसिद्धगौरी: प्रभवतु शुभने शासनं नाशदेतथ”
The Dhenkanal plates of the first is dated in the year 110 of the Bhauma Samvat which is equal to 724 A.D., whereas the Bauda grant of the second is dated in the year 158 of the Bhauma Era corresponding to 772 A.D.

It may be pointed out here that the identification of Svabhāvatūṅga with Janamejaya I of the Soma dynasty, accepted by some scholars has created anachronism in the history of Orissa. His correct identification should be with Harṣa Gupta, king of Sripur, who is eulogised as such in the eighth verse of the Sripur stone inscription of the time of his illustrious son Mahāśīvagupta Bālārjuna as quoted below:

“तत्वाभावःन्यन्तरामस्ववरस्य
प्रत्यातो जनगति धुतो यथा हिमानाते:।
रसनां वसतिरक्तिकोदेशप्रतो
मैत्राको मिंगिरिरं यः स्वभावसुतः।।
Svabhāvatūṅga is glorified in the above verse as the personification of the great Mainaka hill whereas the expression स्वभावसुतः निम: पौराणिक18 simply denotes the attribute of a king and not the king himself.

In the Bhauma family there was only one queen, the wife of Śubhākara and mother of queen Daṇḍi Mahādevī who bore the name of Gaurī and ruled powerfully for some years after the death of her husband as stated in the verse quoted below19:

यः श्रीशुमाकर इति प्रत्यातो यवार्थम् (V.2)

“तत्त्व विद्विधायुः परमेववरस्य
देवी समतल बनता-नतपदंतः।
तिहासनं शिविकरामकोलकातीयोरेन
गोरोवेगोर्ववं विरमध्यरोहित।।” (V.3)

In the above verse queen Gaurī is proclaimed as the incarnation of Gaurī or Pārvati, who built the temple of Gaurī at Ekāmra-Kshetra following the noble example set by her predecessors Mādhavī Devī and Mohini Devī. As no copperplate grant of queen Gaurī Devī has come to light the period of her reign may be fixed with the help of the earliest date found in the copperplate grant of her daughter Daṇḍi Mahādevī20 which was 180th year of the Bhauma Samvat or 794 A.D. So the date of the Gaurī temple may be fixed near about 790 A.D.
The exquisitely beautiful temple of Vārāhi in the village Chaurasi in the Prāchī valley, which is definitely a monument of Śivakara II, consists of a vimāna and a Jagamohana, the first being a replica of the sanctum of the Gaurī temple and the second resembling that of the famous Paraśurāmeśvara temple in all respects. So there is every justification for taking the temple of Gaurī as a monument of the Bhaumā period.

Mukteśvara temple

Mukteśvara temple which has got striking affinities with the Gaurī temple in respect of decorative details, style of execution and exuberance of ornamentation cannot be far removed from it in date. Great importance is given to the adoration of the Sapta mātrkās and Virabhadra whose figures are displayed with considerable ingenuity and artistic skill in the eight petals of a full-blown lotus placed upside down in the garbha-muda stone of the Jagamohana. This is a clear proof of the Tantric propensity of the builder of the temple, who in all likelihood, belonged to the Soma family and flourished during the early period of their rule over Orissa in the 10th century.

The special features of this temple as noted by K. C. Panigrahi run as follows: "Here we find for the first time a porch which marks the beginning of a piṭha temple, well-shaped pilasters and recesses formed by them, the images carved in alto-relievo, Gajasimha and Nāga columns. In the cult images we find here for the first time a mouse used as a mount of Ganesa, a cock associated with Kārtikeya, babies carried in the arms of the Sapta Mātrkās, Ketu among the planets. It is to be noted that these architectural and iconographical features are conspicuous by their absence in the earlier group of temples discussed before."

The plan of this temple is a full-fledged pāncharatha, the Pābhāga or lower portion consisting of five mouldings 'Pañcha-kāma' as is commonly found in the later temples. The 'low enclosure wall with off-set projections and sculptural exteriors is a fitting appendage to the temple.' This temple has the unique distinction of having a magnificent Torana fronting the entrance through the compound wall. The decoration of the arch with exquisite reclining female figures and bands of delicate scroll-work of masterly execution is a crowning beauty of the monument. On account of its elegant proportions and exquisite and lavish ornamentation, this small temple has been rightly acclaimed as the gem of Orissan architecture.
Yayāti-I was the builder of the Liṅgarāja temple

Yayāti, the traditional builder of the Liṅgarāja temple, is identified by scholars with Yayāti II, the first ruler of the second branch of the Somavamśi kings of Orissa. But this identification is not acceptable as Yayāti II came to power, when the back-bone of the Soma Empire had been broken, due to the crushing defeat and capture of Indrarathā in 1023 A.D. by Rājendra Chola, the greatest Chola Emperor. For want of a suitable legal successor, Yayāti II was chosen as the king of the two states of Kosala and Utkala by the vassal chieftains at an advanced age. This is clearly stated in verse 9 of the Narasimhapur plates of his son Udyota Keśāri as quoted below:—

“मतेरवर्यमिव नरेन्द्रः
राज्यं कोयलरुपोकता च।
ब्रकस्वतं साध्यत: समस्त:—
द्वुज्ज्वल्यं यस्य कुता: सामान्योऽ॥

This is corroborated by verse 7 of the Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the time of Udyota Keśāri which states that Chanḍī-Hara or Yayāti-II was elected as the ruler of the realm by the ministers:

“श्रीरक्षणोर इत्यौपनयति: सवेरामालेः कुतः”

Yayāti II who had a short reign of about a decade (c. 1025—1035 A.D.) had to fully utilise his time, energy and resources in leading retaliatory expeditions against Rājendra Chola (1012—1044 A.D.), ruler of Kāčhī, Paramāra Bhoja (1010—1042 A.D.) overlord of Lāṭa, Karnāṭa and Gurjara, and Mahipāla ruler of Gaṇḍa and Rāḍha as is known from his Maraṇjamurā charter issued in the 3rd year of his reign23. It is clear from verse 10 of the Brahmeśvara temple inscription that the fight with the rulers of Dāhala, Chōda and Gaṇḍa did not end in the reign of Yayāti II but continued up to the reign of his son Udyota Keśāri, who was able to vanquish the enemies. So it is purely hypothetical to conclude that he was the builder of the Liṅgarāja temple, which was then the loftiest and most magnificent temple of the land. This conclusion should be discarded as it is not supported by solid facts of contemporary history. On the otherhand, the traditions as recorded in the Mādalā Pāṇji24 giving the credit to Yayāti I as starting the construction of the Liṅgarāja temple after the completion of building a small temple for Jagannātha at Puri, should be accepted for the grounds given below:—
Yayāti Keśari

(a) "श्री गुप्तोन्मेय महान्याति महाकवि हार्ष-चक देषि पदोदे गोदाये, तोलि प्रतिष्ठा करि परमेश्वराः बिजे कराइले तत्त्व एवं गुप्तोन्मेय महान्याति महाकवि पदोदे गोदाये, तोलि प्रतिष्ठा करि परमेश्वराः बिजे कराइले।"

(b) 2nd Pāṇji—ए उत्तार राजा देवल गीतिपर्यंत् सुभ कले। वा हार्ष देवल गीतिपर्यंत् सुभ कले। तत्त्व एवं गुप्तोन्मेय महान्याति महाकवि पदोदे गोदाये, तोलि प्रतिष्ठा करि परमेश्वराः बिजे कराइले।"

Sūrya Keśari

1st Pāṇji—"ए राजा महान्याति महाकवि पदोदे गोदाये, तोलि प्रतिष्ठा करि परमेश्वराः बिजे कराइले।"

2nd Pāṇji—""

Ananta Keśari

1st Pāṇji—"ए उत्तार राजा देवल गीतिपर्यंत् सुभ कले। ए गुप्तोन्मेय महान्याति महाकवि पदोदे गोदाये, तोलि प्रतिष्ठा करि परमेश्वराः बिजे कराइले।"

2nd Pāṇji—"the same"

Lalāta Keśari

1st Pāṇji—"ए उत्तार राजा देवलिक्रमेय महान्याति महाकवि पदोदे गोदाये, तोलि प्रतिष्ठा करि परमेश्वराः बिजे कराइले।"

2nd Pāṇji—"ए उत्तार राजा देवलिक्रमेय महान्याति महाकवि पदोदे गोदाये, तोलि प्रतिष्ठा करि परमेश्वराः बिजे कराइले। ए गुप्तोन्मेय महान्याति महाकवि पदोदे गोदाये, तोलि प्रतिष्ठा करि परमेश्वराः बिजे कराइले।"

It is clear from the quotations made above that the building of Bhubaneswar (Liṅgarāja) temple was only started by Yayāti I but could not be finished. This work was continued by his successors Sūrya Keśari and Ananta Keśari and completed by Lalāta Keśari, who installed the huge Śiva Liṅga inside the sanctum. The authenticity of this traditional account may be examined in the light of facts of contemporary history and close examination of the architecture of the temple.

Yayāti I inherited a strong, well-knit and extensive empire from his powerful father Janamejaya I. His long reign was peaceful as he could successfully check the expansion of the Chedi power in the west by inflicting a crushing defeat on its ruler Yuvarāja, before his 8th regnal year.

So he could utilise the abundant resources of his prosperous state in building the city of Yayātinagara after his name on the bank of the Mahānadi, the Jagannātha temple at Puri, the Daśāśvamedha ghāṭa on the Vaitaraṇi in Virajā Kshetra, and
initiating the construction of the magnificent and lofty Bhubaneswar temple.

The city of Yayātinagara founded by him is proudly mentioned in eight epigraphic records of the Somavamśi period i.e., Yayati-I—2, Bhimaratha - I, Dharmaratha - I, Rāṇaka Puṇja-I , Indraratha - I, Udyota Keśari - I and Karna Deva - I and referred to in twelve inscriptions of the reign of Rājendra Chola issued between the 12th and the 31st years of his reign. Dhoyi, a poet of the court of Lakshmana Sena, king of Bengal gives a beautiful description of this city, where tall Guvāka trees were found entangled by creepers of betel leaves, in his kāvya, ‘Pavanadūtam’. On the basis of the description given by poet Dhoyi, Yayātinagara can satisfactorily be identified with Chaudvāra, a place of strategic and archaeological importance between the rivers Virūpā and the Mahānadi, which abounded with gardens of betel leaves. Thus Yayāti-I who was a great builder can be credited with the plan of construction of this magnificent structure.

Close examination of the architecture of the Liṅgarāja temple indicates that in the original plan made by Yayāti - I there was provision for building the lofty structure of a Vimāna only. Odd and crude joints existing between the Vimāna and the Jagamohana prove that the latter was a later addition. This is corroborated by the convincing remarks of R. D. Banerjee, who was placed in charge of its conservation

“The vimāna of the Krittivāsa possesses a single opening on the east. During the repairs it was discovered that the stone door-frame from which the wooden gates are hung, conceals behind it two different stone door-frames, the sizes of which do not correspond. The stone lintel of the front door-frame is much lower than that of the rear one, proving these by that the vimāna and the Jagamohana were not built at the same time”.

The close resemblance between the Jagamohana of the Liṅgarāja and Brahmēśvara temples was possible as the Jagamohana of the Liṅgarāja temple was built by Udyota Kesari, whose mother Kolāvati had erected the Brahmēśvara temple during his reign.

On the basis of the discussion made above, the vimāna of Liṅgarāja, the building of which was started by Yayāti - I and completed by his two successors may be assigned to the 10th century, whereas the Jagamohana, a work of Udyota Keśari, famous as Lalāṭendu Keśari is a work of the mid-eleventh century.
Nāṭamandira

There being no direct epigraphic evidence regarding the date of the Nāṭamandira, it may tentatively be assigned to the reign of Anangabhimā III (1211–1239 A.D.) as all the five inscriptions of his reign written on chlorite slabs are found fixed on the western entrance of the Nāṭamandira leading to the Jagamohana. The earliest of the inscriptions being dated in Śaka year 1140 or 1218 A.D. it may be assigned to the period 1211–1218 A.D.

Bhogamanḍapa

The necessity of building the Bhogamanḍapa arose for providing sufficient space for keeping the earthen pots of cooked food, other offerings of sweets and fruits, before the deity at a respectable distance.

From a mutilated inscription of the time of Bhima Deva (Anangabhimā III) it is known that a certain person (name lost) granted three vātis of land for providing offering of food to God Kṛivāsa (Liṅgarāja) from the produce of the gifted land “मूलनकालस्य गुरुनुवितकालस्य गुरवेदशय नैवेद्य”. This endowment was made when Pāṭhi Mahādeva, Pāḍita Purushottama, Govinda Karana and Śiunātha (Śivanātha) Karanā were managing the affairs of the temple.

Another inscription of the 34th Anka (1238–1239 A.D.) of the same king records the deposit of some gold coins (?) in the treasury of Lord Liṅgarāja, the interest of which was to be spent for offering small earthen pots of cooked food daily before the deity: “नरुदिने दयप्रशांनीतरतेन त्रिवन्दनात्मक (आराथका) प्रस्तुता। ॥

The use of the word Āṭikā is significant as it supplies evidence regarding the introduction of Mahāprasāda. Another inscription of 1257 A.D. records the endowment of Nirmālya (mahāprasāda) prepared from rice measuring ten mānas. “निर्मालयं मणिकुशभण्डेः”

This endowment was made by Bhāva Sadāśiva the guru of Narasimha I (1238–1264 A.D.). The term Nirmālya is significant.

On the basis of evidence furnished by the above three records, the building of the Bhogamanḍapa may be placed in the middle of the 13th century.

Rājārāṇi (Indreśvara temple)

The date of the famous Rājārāṇi (Indreśvara) temple of Bhubaneswar can now be fixed with certainty after the publication of the Banapur copperplate grant of Indraratha, both in Oriya and English by K. B. Tripathi.
From this, it is known that Indraratha was the eldest son of Bhimaratha a very powerful ruler through his second wife named Durgā. Being a favourite of Dharmaratha, he was appointed as the governor of Kaliṅga and Odra. He forcibly occupied the throne of Yayātinagara, perhaps after driving Nagusha and killing Abhimanyu, the grand son of Janamejaya I, who claimed the throne of the state. He was a very powerful ruler and repulsed the attack of Paramāra Bhoja. But he was totally defeated and captured in a battle fought near Yayātinagara in 1023 A.D. About this K. A. Nilakantha Sastri writes thus:

"After having captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon together with his family in a fight which took place at Adinagara (Yayātinagara) whose great fame knew no decline".32

As he was an usurper, he has not used the title of Mahabhavagupta or Mahāśivagupta borne by the rulers of the Soma family. His name is not mentioned in the genealogy given in the Narasīṁhapur grant and Brahmaśvara temple inscription of Udyota Keśari and the Ratnagiri copperplates of King Karna Deva.

His Banapur grant was issued on Kārtika Śukla Dvitiyā of his sixth regnal year which corresponds to 25th October, 1006 A. D. on the day of Kanyā Samkrānti. So his reign started from 1000 A. D. and ended in 1023 A.D.

With this reliable epigraphic evidence at our disposal the excellent Śaiva shrine of Indreśvara built to perpetuate the memory of Indraratha, can be placed between 1000 A.D. and 1023 A.D. This was not a Vaiśṣava temple as wrongly noted by M. M. Ganguli33 and R. P. Chanda.34

Kedāreśvara temple

The time of Kedāreśvara temple can be fixed on the basis of information furnished by two inscriptions of the time of Choḍa gaṅga Deva incised on the right wall of the entrance of the Jagamohana. Of these two the first one records the provision of 'Akhaṇḍa dipa', i.e. temple of 'Bhagavān Kedāreśvara' the lord of the three worlds (सातः प्रकरणानि), by Śrī Pramādi Deva, younger brother of Śrī Choḍa gaṅga Deva in the Śaka year 1064 or 1142 A.D. while the second issued by Choḍa gaṅga, son of Pramādi Deva in the Śaka year 1067 or 1145 A.D. informs about the provision of Akaṇḍadipa before the same deity35. The high respect shown to the deity is a proof of its being famous before the days of Cholaganga. So it can definitely be assigned to the eleventh century and accepted as a Somavamsi monument.
Siddheśvara temple:

The entire area round the Siddheśvara temple has been eulogised as ‘Siddhāśrama’ a hermitage of recluses in ‘Kapila Samhita’, ‘Svarṇādri Mahodaya’ and ‘Ekāmra Chandrikā’36. By the time of issue of the Brahmeśvara temple inscription by Udyota Kesari, Ekāmra or this area has been proclaimed as a Siddha Tirtha (एकाँ तिष्ठति चुरुरस्वरुपी × × ×) (V. 12) a holy place inhabited by recluses. Siddheśvara, being the presiding deity of this area, might be taken as existing before the Brahmeśvara temple. This view is supported by the architecture of this temple as noted by Mrs. Debala Mitra,—“The arrangement of the piṭhas, like that of Mukteśvara is continuous, without any recess, and the crowning element consists of only a Kalasa without the usual components of the full-fledged Jagamohana”37. So this may be taken as a monument of the SomavamŚi period.

Brahmeśvara temple:

Among the monuments of the pre-Gaṅga period only the temple of Brahmeśvara contained a record indicating the date of its construction as “क्रमदश्रीकेशरीरविष्णुविवरणामिषाहि सम्बन्ध 10 घण्ट 9 व्रत 3” which, calculated astronomically, corresponds to 24th February, 1053 A.D. Wednesday; the Mina Samkrantī having fallen on 22-2-1053 the day of Phālguna Amāvāsyā38. 1053 A.D. being current in the 18th year of Udyota Kesari’s reign, it began from 1053—18=1035 A.D. This is supported by the dates of his Narasimhapur copperplate grant issued on ‘माग्न वर्ष दशमी’ of his 4th regnal year. It is definitely known that Vṛṣchika Samkrantī fell on 26-10-1038 which was Mārgaśira Krṣṇa, Daśamī Guruvaṛa.39 So his reign started from 1035 A.D.

Another important thing which deserves consideration here is that the Brahmeśvara temple is described as—“चुरुरस्वरुपी

नाप्पखलासमेत;” “(V. 12) or having four temples at four corners and a nātyaśālā or antechamber for dancing, popularly called Jagamohana in later ages.

Such ‘Panchāyatana’ or group of five temples is found at Kuālo (ancient Kodālaka), the capital of the Śulkis, now situated in the Parjang block of the Dhenkanal district not far from the Brāhmanī river. The Kanakeśvara temple which was originally about 80 feet high stands in the centre with four small temples at four corners, all of which are now in a dilapidated state. These temples were built by Kula Stambha Deva Vikramāditya, i.e.,40.
The date of the copperplate grant of his son Śrī Raṇa Stambha being 103 of the Bhauma Era or 717 A.D. these Paṁcāyatana temples may be placed near about 700 A.D. Thus they are earlier than the Brahmeśvara group by more than three and a half centuries.

Megheśvara temple

The Megheśvara temple inscription, the slab containing which is now wrongly fixed on the western compound wall of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple, states that, this temple was built by Svapneśvara Deva, brother-in-law of Rājarāja Deva II (1170—1190 A.D) during the reign of his younger brother Aniṇyaṅka Bhima II (1190—1198 A.D.). The vimāna or sanctum has developed into a saptā-ratha temple, whereas its Jagamohana now bereft of its crowning members, resembles that of Rājarāṇi, both having Nāga columns on both sides of the entrance. In the temple we find only the Dikpālas and not their Śaktis which proves that the Śaktis of the Dikpālas were not depicted on the body of the temples at least up to the end of the twelfth century.

Bhāskareśvara temple

The temple of Bhāskareśvara stood in a predominantly Buddhist area, which is proved by the discovery underground of the headless image of Lokeśvara (now preserved in the Orissa State Museum) near the road leading from it to the Brahmeśvara temple. This image must have been enshrined in a Buddhist temple which has now gone out of existence. The Buddhist association of the Lināga of Bhāskareśvara with an unusual height of 9 ft. from the floor level, which was originally a free-standing pillar is proved by the discovery of not only a deliberately broken and mutilated lion capital but also of four fragments of railing posts resembling similar ones, fencing the stūpas at Barhut and Sanchi. Of these four, three are preserved in the
Asutosh Museum, Calcutta, while one is exhibited in the Orissa State Museum along with the mutilated lion bearing a short inscription of the fifth century.

As an analogy it may be pointed out here that at the time of renovation of the dilapidated Dhavalesvara temple on the peak of the Dhauli hill assigned to the sixth century by J. D. Beal⁴⁶, the slender Linga enshrined in it was found to be 14 feet high with a circumference of nearly 5 feet, the thickness being disproportionate with its height. This must have been originally a column of the ancient Buddhist stūpa, the existence of which nearby, was proved by the scattered bricks and brick-bats of the original structure. The fall of these two earliest Buddhist stūpas near Bhaṅkaḷesvara temple and on the Dhauli hill, was caused by the militant Pāśupatas, who were inimical to Buddhism when they came to prominence in the royal courts during the sixth century.

During the period of Bhauma-kara rule over Orissa (c. 684—850 A.D.), there was revival of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its branch Vajrayāna cult, as the first powerful rulers of this family were devout Buddhists.

The Somavamsi rulers followed a policy of reconciliation towards Buddhism, which is proved by the re-installation of Buddhist Jagannātha as Purushottama in a new temple built by Yayātī I, grant of land made by Indrarahta for the female Buddhist deity called Khadiravanti Bhaṭṭāraka, gift of village for Rāni Karpurā Śrī hailing from Šoḷanapura Mahāvihāra of Utkaladeśa. The slow process of assimilation of Buddhism into the fold of Hinduism resulted in its founder Gautama Buddha as being accepted as the 9th incarnation of Viṣṇu. The temple of Bhaṅkaḷesvara, which symbolises this process of transforming a portion of an ancient Buddhist pillar into one of the famous Aṣṭa Śambhus may be assigned tentatively to the eleventh century.

**Temples of the early Gaṅga period**

Establishment of śāsanas and building of Śiva temples were started in full swing from the reign of Choḍgaṇa Deva called Gaṅgaśvara Deva towards the close of his reign, with a view to eclipsing the fading glory and greatness of ancient Buddhist sites and monuments, which continued for at least two centuries.

The temple of Raṃesaṃvara, without any Jagamohana was built on an elevated ground containing the remains of an old Buddhist monument. The tall temple of Alābukesaṃvara was erected in an area
full of Buddhist caves, the chief of which is known as Pañcha-Pañḍava Gumphā. His queen Lakshmi Devī built the temple Chintāmanīśvara near the extensive tank of Lakshmīśagara excavated in the village of Lakshmīśagara Pāṭaṇā founded by her. The beautiful temple of Gaṅgeśvara bearing his name still stands near the tank Devipāḍaharā in a good state of preservation.

From a fragmentary inscription on the back of broken Pārvatī image in 17 lines found in the heart of Śīṣupāḷagāḍa it is known that Gaṅgeśvara built a lofty temple as high as the Himalayas extract from which is quoted below:

\[\text{तत्साह ब्रह्म भुवननिवासिक्षित} \\
\text{गञ्जेश्वर: महत्र सुवर्णमन्दवाहः} \] ।
\[\times \times \times \]
\[\text{प्राणेश्वरसस्तु कृतिवच सिद्धालाकारः प्रस्थित} \]

This great Śiva temple of Śīṣupāḷagāḍa was perhaps razed to the ground at the time of destruction of this fort by Mohummad Taqui Khan, Subadar of Cuttack in 1734.

Gaṅgeśvara paid special attention to founding Śāsanas and building Śiva temples round about Dhauli or ancient Tosali. So Śāsanas named Śriyadeipura (present Sardeipura), Kalyāṇapura, Kauśalyāpura, Gaṅgeśvarapura, were founded by his queens Śriyā Dei, Kalyāṇa Devi, Kośala Devi, and himself respectively. Near the extensive tank called Kauśalyā-Gaṅga, bearing the joint names of Kauśalyā Devi and Gaṅgeśvara Deva, were established two śāsanas named Pūrva and Uttarā. The temple of Bahiraṅgeśvara, erected on the western promontory of the Dhauli hill and marking the southern limit of the sacred Ekāmra Kshetra, along with the temple of Gaṅeśa and the temple of Sāṅkatesvara standing by the road leading to the Bahiraṅgeśvara temple may be assigned to this period. The Gaṅeśa is now installed in a new temple, whereas the other two temples have been reconstructed.

The temple of Kuṇḍalesvara of Śrī Rāmapura Śāsana at a short distance from the famous circular enclosure containing the sixty-four Yoginis of Hṛāpura belonged to this period as it finds mention in the Alarpur copperplate grant of Narasimha II. It marked the eastern limit of Ekāmra Kshetra. वर्षाकालानंतर एकमपश्चातः कालमय वर्षाकालानंतर एकमपश्चातः

Temple of the thirteenth century

The assumption made by my guru late P. Acharya that the Śaktis (female energies) of the eight Dīkṣālas were depicted for the
first time in the Ananta Vāsudeva temple of Bhubaneswar and the temples called Sāri, Chittrakārini, Yameśvara, Mitreśvara and Varuneśvara containing such śaktis are later than the A. V. temple is wrong, because Dikpālas and their śaktis are prominently displayed in the Chāteśvara temple of Kriṣṇapura. This temple can be definitely placed, on the basis of an inscription found in it, to the second decade of the 12th century, when Anangabhima III was ruling over Orissa. With this reliable evidence at our disposal, the broken temples of Mitreśvara and Varuneśvara standing side by side within an enclosure to the north of the Pāpanāsini tank and Sārt Deula may be placed in the first quarter of the 13th century.

The Chittrakārini temple standing on the right of the main road is of the pāṅchāyatana type having four subsidiary shrines at the four corners, the whole group being enclosed by a compound wall. Within the sanctum is worshipped a Chāmuṇḍā image. The frieze on the lintel of the southern window of the Jagamohana depicts the marriage of Śiva and Pārvati, while that on the lintel of the northern window shows Kṛṣṇa playing on his flute amidst his enchanted followers and cattle listening with rapt attention. In consideration of the existence of this presiding deity and the above two friezes this temple may be assigned to the reign of Narasimha I who had equal respects for Durgā, Purushottama and Śiva. In his Kapilāsa temple inscription of 1246 A.D. he proclaimed himself as “परमाधेश्वर: श्रीहुम्बुष्ट्र: श्रीयुव्वोत्तमुष्ट्र:.” An inscription of his second śrāhi (1238-39 A.D.) found on the door jamb of the Dvāravāsinī temple on the eastern bank of Vindusarova begins thus “श्रीनरसिद्धेश्वर मुनिसय्य दुर्गापुरुषस्य शाहि”. Mahiṣamaroini Durgā installed in this pīṭha temple built of laterite stone is called Dvāravāsinī. Thus the temple may be dated near about 1240 A.D.

Yameśvara temple:

The fairly large-sized temple of Yameśvara having a vimāna and a Jagamohana and standing within a spacious compound to the south of Bhārati Matha, is an important ancient monument of Bhubaneswar. It stands on a high plinth like the Ananta Vāsudeva temple which it resembles in respect of structural features, richness and affluence of decorations. Its general plan seemed to have followed that of the great temple of Koṅārka, where the Aruna Stambha stood in the intervening space between the Jagamohana and the Nāṭamandira. Here we find the stump of Vṛsha Stambha in between the flight of steps leading to the Jagamohana and the pillared nāṭa-mandira of which nothing now remains except the plinth. In consideration of the points stated above, it may be taken as a work
of Vira Narasimha Deva I, built under the influence of his guru Bhāva Sadāśiva, who is stated in his two Līṅgarāja temple inscriptions as a great Śaiva teacher living on charity, granting land for the study of Vyākaraṇa, making provision for Śiva Nirmālya, performance of yajña and associated with a Maṭha.

(a) "गोरीगुष्ठ चराणांकरणसारासंसारानिरासनिदानतपसा भासिकाक्षबुक्षणां मिशात्तिमने वा धाकरणपाठाओऽवसि इति।"

(b) "निर्मायं दष्माणङ्गसुधाबलन्नेनः अः अः मठः जृत्वा अः औषधः दिवसः दलः यशस् तः कः।"

Though the second record is mutilated नमा, यश और मठ are clear.

From the story of the Yameśvara temple as narrated in the Ekāmra Purāṇa it is known that this temple was built by Yama who also performed a sacrifice and made gift of a wealthy maṭha enclosed within a compound wall to a Kāpālikayatī or Pāṣupata Āchārya who stayed here as its head, i.e.,

"सह तन महामारी चक्के यशद्वापय: च
 × ×
 काणालकाय सर्वेऽणुविषयम् च
 × ×
 वरिष्ठय वनस्वेताय श्रीचाचायपाराय: च॥
 × ×
 तयोनिष्ठाय निष्ठाय ददर बै मठयुस्म: च
 × ×
 वनस्वासमाछुकं शिबायायकारसैविन्त॥
 × ×
 इत्यावशुपताचाय यथं मठवर शिवे
 × ×
 काणालकायविषयः तयोपयवस्तानिधी
 × ×
 वमदते मठसे तस्या थमपरायणः।"

The description of the Yati given in the Purāṇa is fully applicable to Bhāva Sadāśiva given in his records. So this temple may be taken as a monument built under the influence of this great Śaiva Āchārya towards the close of the reign of Narasimha I and the maṭha-vara of the Purāṇa can satisfactorily be identified with the present Bhārati Maṭha called बहमठ by the people.

Vakeśvara temple

The Vakeśvara temple standing to the north of Yameśvara temple consists of a vimāna and a Jagamohana, which is in a completely
dilapidated state. “It is important however in having a Navaratha plan, which is a further advance on the sapta-ratha plan of the monuments of this epoch”.\(^4\) The elaboration of the ground plan indicates its construction at a later date than the Yamesvara temple and as such it may be assigned to the closing years of the 13th century.

**Dākrā Bhimeśvara temple**

The Dākrā Bhimeśvara temple also known as Vibhishanaśvara temple stands within a compound wall at a short distance of the eastern gate of the compound of the Liṅgarāja temple to the south of the Puri road. This temple built on a ruined pītha originally consisted of a Vimāna and a Jagamohana, of which the former was in an extremely dilapidated condition, whereas its Jagamohana had totally gone out of existence at the time of its renovation by the N.A.C. of Bhubaneswar in 1970-71 under my supervision. As indicated by the name of this monument it may be taken as a work of Anaṅga Bhima Deva III (1211—1238 A.D.) who is also called Raut Bhima Deva in his two out of five epigraphic records in the Liṅgarāja temple.

(a) राज्य भीमदेवाः of the 23rd Aṅka or 1230 A.D.
(b) " " (date damaged).

**Dakshīna Chaḍḍi temple**

The small pītha temple built of laterite stones enshrining the image of Mahisha Mardini Durgā called Dakshīna Chaḍḍi, is situated to the south of the ruins of the royal castle, which stood near the southern gate of the compound of the Liṅgarāja temple. It has got historical importance as Durgā became the presiding deity of the castle called ‘Kṛttivāsakaṭaka’ in two Liṅgarāja temple inscriptions.\(^5\)

(1) 4th Aṅka of Gajapati Kapileśvara Deva—1437 A.D.

‘कृतिवास कटके भितर पूजा धर्मकासे’

(2) 19th Aṅka of Gajapati Purushottama Deva (1481 A.D.)

‘कृतिवास कटके पूजा धर्मकासे’

Thus it is proved that this Kaṭaka as well as its presiding deity was existing long before Kapileśvara Deva and as such may be assigned to the Gaṅga period.

**Other important temples within the compound of Liṅgarāja :**

**Pārvati temple :**

Of the minor temples within the compound of Liṅgarāja, the temple of Pārvati is a fine architectural piece, remarkable for the exuberance of its carvings. The temple structurally and stylistically
is definitely later than the Liṅgarāja. K. C. Panigrahi has taken it as a near contemporary of Ananta Vāsudeva. But the discovery of a short inscription in 2 lines engraved on the plinth near the south door of the Jagamohana of the temple in the 13th śrāhi of Bhānu Deva I corresponding to 1274 A.D. proves its existence before the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva, which was built in 1278 A.D. This inscription does not tell anything about the date of the temple, but records the offering of cakes in two earthen pots (प्राणिक) by one Bhima Bāhika, when the temple was in charge of (बिकार) of one Yasōdhara Mahārāṇa. The offering of ‘Āṭīka’ is a sure proof of established reputation of the deity Umā Devi before this date.

It may be presumed, though it is difficult to prove that the necessity of building a temple for Umā or Pārvatī arose when the temple of Lakṣmi had been constructed near the Jagannātha temple by Cholagaṅga Deva, because the early Gaṅga rulers were trying to give equal status to the temple of Liṅgarāja with that of Lord Jagannātha at Puri. So this temple may be placed in the second half of the twelfth century.

The temple of Gopālinī or Bhuvanesvari to the north of the Jagamohana of Liṅgarāja and the temple of Sāvitrī in the south-west corner of the vimāna of Liṅgarāja, which belong to the Gaurīchāra type may be placed during the Somavamśi period. Gopālinī or Bhuvanesvari, the killer of the demons Kirti and Vāsa, being the harbinger of the greatness and sanctity of this place according to all Purānic accounts may be taken as a contemporary of Liṅgarāja.

The temple of Siddha Lambodara

In order of precedence of visiting the deities within the precincts of the Liṅgarāja temple, the name of Ganeśa worshipped in a temple to the right of the flight of steps comes first. In the historic inscription of the fourth year of Narasimha I (1240 A.D.) Siddha Lambodara is given equal importance with Śrī Kirtivāsa (Liṅgarāja)

Thus it was definitely earlier than 1240 A.D. There is an inscription in Telugu characters on the eastern wall of the sanctum belonging to the time of Cholagaṅga. But it is not deciphered. Until the contrary is proved it may be taken as a pre-Gaṅga monument.

Ananteśvara temple

After the establishment of the Gaṅga rule over Orissā, Vaiṣṇavism gradually rose into prominence as a result of which
temples were erected within the enclosure of Lingarāja for worship of different Vaiṣṇava deities. In a small shrine made of laterite stones situated to the south of Lingarāja, are enshrined three chlorite images of Balarāma, Subhadrā and Kṛṣṇa, for which it is called Ananteshvara temple. The deities were installed in this enclosure during the reign of Anaṅgabhima Deva, who dedicated the whole empire at the feet of Purushottama for which it was called ‘Purushottama Śāmṛajya’ in his Lingarāja temple inscription and ruled over it as his राज or representative.92

Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa and Lakshmi Nṛsiṁha temples

According to tradition the beautiful deity of Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa was kept hidden in the northern entrance of the Bhogamanḍapa on the eve of attack on the temple by Kalāpāhāḍa in 1568 A.D. In the pedestal there is engraved a small inscription in which the name of Narasimha is visible, who may be identified with Narasimha I, who calls himself ‘पुष्पोत्तमपुत्र’.

The small temple of Lakshmi Nṛsiṁha situated to the south of Bhogamanḍapa within an enclosure may be assigned to the 13th century.

The image of four-armed Nārāyaṇa popularly called Mādhava holding chakra in his upper right hand and Śaṅkha in his upper left hand is found installed in a small shrine to the east of the Pārvatī temple which may be assigned to the early years of the Gaṅga rule.

Ananta Vāsudeva temple

The supremacy of Vaiṣṇavism in this greatest centre of Saivism in Orissa was fully established after the building of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple by Chandrikā Devī, the daughter of Anaṅgabhima III and sister of Narasimha I in 1278 A.D. after which Vāsudeva became the guardian of this sacred place and his representative image (विजय प्रतिमा) was worshipped along with that of Lingarāja in all important festivals like Rathayātrā, Chandanayātrā, Dolayātrā, etc.

Kapileśvara temple

The last great monument of this place is the temple of Kapileśvara situated within a spacious compound on the southern border of the sacred Kshetra. It was founded by the most powerful Gajapati Kapileśvara Deva whose coronation according to Mādalāpāñji, was celebrated at Kṛttivāsa Kaṭaka on the 2nd day
of Kakadā, Sukla Chauṭhi, Budhavāra, which astronomically corresponds exactly to 29th June, 1435⁶³ from which date an era called ‘Kapilābdha’ is still calculated in Orissa. To perpetuate the memory of his coronation he founded the villages of Kapileśvara and Kapila-prasāda, and built a Śiva temple after his name which is the second important temple of this place.

The association of Kapileśvara Deva with this place is proved by the existence of a short epigraph⁶⁴ engraved in a chlorite slab containing a panel of elephant riders, which is fixed in the southern wall of the porch of Kapālī Maṭha situated to the east of Pāpanāśini tank. It mentions the name of one Raņa Śūra Mahāsenāpati, the Commander-in-chief of Śri Kapileśvara Deva.

The second inscription which is historically very important was engraved on a chlorite slab fixed near the eastern entrance of the Jagamohana of the Lingarāja temple⁶⁵. Its date is 4th Aṅka, Mithuna Saṅkrānti, Kṛṣṇa, Maṅgalavāra which corresponds to 28th, May, 1427 A.D. the day of Raja Saṅkrānti, Jyeṣṭha, Kṛṣṇa Navami, Maṅgalavāra.⁶⁶ So the building of this temple may be fixed about this date when the king was encamping at Bhubaneswar.

With the death of Gajapati Kapileśvara Deva closed the long glorious period of temple-building at Bhubaneswar, which continued for about one thousand years since the days of the Šailodbhava rulers.

Synopsis

On the basis of calculation of 614 A.D. as the initial year of the Bhauma Era by me, the date of the Mohini temple belonging to the Paraśurāmeśvara type of temples has been fixed near about 687 A.D. whereas other temples of this group may be assigned to different decades of the 7th century. Gaurī temple, a work of the Bhauma queen Gaurī Mahādevī is dated near about 790 A.D. whereas Mukteśvara has been assigned to the 9th century.

Yayāti I is shown as the builder of the Vīmaṇa of the Lingarāja temple, while its Jagamohana was a work of Udyota Keśari, famous in Orissan tradition as Lalātendu Keśari. The Nāṭamandira and Bhogamaṇḍapa have been assigned to the 2nd decade and middle of the 13th century. The date of Indrēśvara (Rājarānt) was definitely between 1006 and 1023 A.D. as it was built by Indraratha. Kedārēśvara is a pre-Gaṅga monument; the date of Brahmaśvāra has been calculated as 1053 A.D. and that of Megheśvara between 1190 and 1198 A.D. Bhāskarēśvara is assigned to the eleventh century.
The temples of Rāmeśvara, Alābukeśvara, Gaṅgeśvara Chintāmanīśvara, a Śiva temple in Śīşupālagaḍa (now gone) Bahiraṅgeśvara, Gañesā, Kuṇḍaleśvara are assigned to the twelfth century.

The temples of Mitreśvara, Varuneśvara, Sāri Deul, Chitrakārini, Yameśvara, Vakeśvara, Dākra Bhimeśvara, Dakśina Chandī were built in different decades of the thirteenth century.

Pārvati temple, which was built in imitation of the Lakshmi temple in the compound of Lord Jagannātha at Puri is placed in the second half of the 12th century. The temples of Gopālīnī, (Bhuvanesvari), Savitri, Siddha Lambodara, are shown as pre-Gaṅga monuments.

The temples of Ananteśvara, Lakshmi Nṛśimha, Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa, Narāyaṇa (Mādhava) may be assigned to the first half of the 13th century, when Vaiśnavism was established in the compound of Liṅgarāja, who had presided over the destiny of Śaivism in Orissa for 3 centuries. With the building of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple in 1278 A.D. control of Vaiśnavism over Ekāmra Kshetra was complete as Vāsudeva became the guardian of this place since then.

The temple of Kapileśvara was built by Gajapati Kapileśvara Deva, the founder of Suryavamsi rule over Orissa in commemoration of his coronation at this place in 1435 A.D. With his death ended the glorious period of temple building at Bhubaneswar which had continued for about a thousand years.

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ARCHITECTONICALLY the temples of Orissa can be classified into three broad orders, known locally as rekhā, pīdha and khākhara. In the fully evolved Orissan temple both the rekhā and pīdha orders are employed, the rekhā for the deul, consisting of a square sanctum surmounted by a curvilinear spire, and the pīdha for the jagamohana (mandapa), or frontal hall, consisting of a square astylar structure covered by a pyramidal roof of receding steps. The balance of these two contrasting superstructures in the mature Orissan temple, of a low pīdha-deul subordinate to the higher rekhā-deul, is peculiar to Orissa and greatly enhances the grandeur of the soaring curvilinear spire or gandi (sikara), even when modest in size. This contrasts with other regional variations of the Nāgara (northern) style where the superstructures of the mandapas (frontal halls) prepare and defer the climax of the spire surmounting the sanctum. Even in areas where the spire is closely related to the Orissan type, as at Osian in Rajasthan, the logic of the temple complex is lost as open pillared halls which serve as an airy prelude, detract from the grandeur of the closed mass achieved in the Orissan temple.

The study of the Orissan temple is particularly rewarding in that there is a continuous series of monuments, many of which are situated in a single city, which enables one to trace the evolution of this regional style with a certain amount of exactness and precision often lacking in other areas. In addition, despite continuous architectural activity extending more than a thousand years, this regional style remains nearest to the original archetype, “while every other regional manifestation of the Nāgara style experiences strange modifications and transformations in course of evolution and elaboration of the original prototype.” This is particularly true in regards to the design of the deul, which is of the Latina type,
where the ascent is continued in one theme, by way of projecting pāgas or offsets (latās), from the walls of the bāda to the shoulders of the gāndi (sikhara). Between these ornately decorated pāgas are shadow-filled recessed chases which further accent the vertical thrust of the gāndi while horizontal bands of shadow separate the tiers of horizontal mouldings into which the pāgas are divided, light and shade thus becoming part of the texture of the gāndi. It is on the Orissan temple that this Latina form of curvilinear sikhara is particularly perfected; "the coherence of its monumental shape is enriched by carvings; nowhere else in India are the walls of the temple as intimately connected with their sculpture." It is this decorative program of the gāndi, and its continual evolution, which is the concern of this study.

One of the most intriguing aspects encountered by scholars studying Orissan architecture is the veritable lack of any progressive evolution leading up to the extant specimens of temple construction. The earliest extant temples at Bhubaneswar, aligned in a row within a single compound, are the Laksmanaśvara, Bharateśvara and Śatrughnaśvara. They are squat and simple structures of the rekha type in which the sanctum is surmounted by a curvilinear spire. They evince a mature conception and exhibit decorative features standard on later temples, though not as elaborate or refined, to suggest the existence of earlier prototypes which have not survived. The northernmost temple of the group, the Laksmanaśvara, provides epigraphical evidence on its southern eaves, originally attached to the niche but now housed in the Orissa State Museum, consisting of inscribed names of planets, which enables us to date the temple to the latter half of the 6th century. The three temples form a homogeneous group though they are in a ruinous condition, their fallen sculptures intermingled in a makeshift compound wall, with only the core of their superstructure intact. The Śatrughnaśvara has recently been reconstructed though only a few of its original sculptures are in situ, the gāndi being particularly bereft of decoration. It is for this reason that the slightly later Parasurāmeśvara temple identical in plan though slightly more refined in sculptural details, will be used as the model of delineating the basic components of the early Orissan temple.

In elevation the deul consists of three principal parts: the bāda (perpendicular wall); the gāndi (curvilinear spire); and the māstaka (crowning elements), each of which is subdivided into further architectural components. The bāda is subdivided into pābhāga (horizontal mouldings at the base) jāṅgha (vertical wall
between the mouldings at the base and those of the *baraṇḍa*), and the *baraṇḍa* (upper set of mouldings which separate the *bāḍa* from the *gaṇḍī*). The *bāḍa* of these earliest Orissan temples is *tri-ratha* in plan with three *pāgas* (*rathas*) or vertical segments on each side which project out slightly from the plain wall. The center or *rāhā pāga*, much wider than the flanking subsidiary *pāgas* is designed as a miniature *rekhā deul* terminated above the first *bhūmi* or tier of horizontal mouldings of its *gaṇḍī*. On the front or west side the *rāhā* frames the door or entrance to the sanctum whereas on the other three sides the *rāhās* are provided with major niches which cut through the *pābhāga* mouldings simulating doorways. The basic plan is thus based on a primitive four-door shrine, the niches originally housing the *pārśva-devatās*. The flanking subsidiary *pāgas* are placed midway between the *rāhā* and the corner of the structure. They are designed as miniature shrines of the *vajra-munḍi* type, the crowning elements above the niche shaped as miniature *vajra-mastakas* consisting of two superimposed *caitya-medallions* (*kuḍus* or *candraśālās*). The *baraṇḍa* consists of a recess, relieved with sculptural motifs or *jālī* patterns, sandwiched between two projecting mouldings which run continuously around the *deul*, though partially obfuscated on the projecting *rāhā* by the ribbed *bhūmi-amalās* terminating the miniature *rekhā* design of this center *pāga* (figures 1–3).

Peculiar to Orissa, and the concern of this study, is the overall shape and decoration of the superstructure or *gaṇḍī* (*śikhara*).10 The hollow interior above the cella (*garbha-griha*) is in the shape of a pyramid tapering upwards to form a solid block at the top, though this space is hidden by a ceiling (*garbhahamuda*) consisting of lithic beams and rafters which reinforce the stability of the structure by tying the walls together.11 A corbelled arch is provided over the lintel to help reduce the load on this slab. The arch is generally covered-up by the projecting *rāhā* but is visible on the Lakṣmaṇeśvara and Bharateśvara temples where only the core of the spire remains.12 The silhouette of the *gaṇḍī* inclines inward in a gradual convex curve ending with the *bisama*, the topmost course which does not partake of the *pāga* divisions but continues the curve of the silhouette. This contrasts with the *bisama* on the Cālukya temples at Aihole or Alampur which abruptly terminates the incline of the silhouette and generally consists of two slabs. The *mastaka* consists of a *beki* (recessed cylindrical portion or neck above the *bisama*),13 *āmalaka* (ribbed disc), *khapuri* (covering skull or flattened bell-shaped member), an *ākāśalinga* (Śivalinga),14 and the *āyudha* (sacred weapon) of Siva, *i.e.*, the trident. The *āmalaka* is quite flat in contrast to the
bulbous examples at Alampur, Pattadakal or Mahâkośala. It is also wider and the beki shorter so that it effectively terminates the gradual curve of the silhouette rather than floating as an appendage as at the above mentioned sites. Though rising to a height of 42 feet the general appearance is squat and heavy set due to the size of the base, the gradual curve of the silhouette and the thick shoulder. As such, virtually bulging with latent energy, it serves as a solid foundation and presages the development of the magnificent soaring spires on later temples achieved merely by adding more bhûmî divisions to this early prototype. This again contrasts with the basic designs of the early Câlukya temples, or those in Mahâkośala or Osian which in appearance have reached their maximum height due to the angle of incline or curvature of their silhouette and the size of the crowning âmalâka. The only way these temples could increase in height is by increasing the size of the basic units or greatly altering the angle of incline, it being impossible to add additional units at the top.  

Particularly unique is the decoration of the gânđi. It is pañcha-ratha in plan with five projecting pâgas on each side in contrast to the tri-ratha design of the bâda. Only the center or rûhâ pâga is a vertical extension of the lower design, the kanika (corner) and anartha (intermediate) pâgas beginning above the baranâda and completely independent in alignment from the subsidiary pâgas of the bâda which terminate beneath the baranâda, a feature which re-enforces the truncated appearance of the gânđi. Elsewhere on early temples, at Sirpur (figure 6), Palâri (figure 20), or Osian, the pâgas on the sikhara are aligned with those of the bâda or ground story, an exception being the Siddhâśvara temple at Barakar (Bengal) which is a later temple seemingly influenced by Orissan designs (figure 5). The kanika is divided into five bhûmîs (tiers or stories) by bhûmi-amlâs or ribbed discs with each bhûmi further subdivided into four bhûmi-baranâdis (horizontal mouldings) in addition to the ribbed amlâ. The upper two baranâdis are thin and joined together at the center by a caitya-medallion (figure 7). The lower two baranâdis are also decorated with beaded caitya motifs, some of which house various deities, mithumas or lion motifs, an exception being the lower baranâdis of the first bhûmi which is the top moulding of the baranâda and relieved with frieze motifs on its lower edge and animal, floral or caitya design on its supper surface all lightly carved. This arrangement contrasts with that on the temples at Alampur, Rajim or Aihole where the number of bhûmi divisions is either three or four or at Barakar where there are six. The design and number of baranâdis
within each bhūmi is also quite different on these temples, in some cases numbering only two (figures 8, 10), with those at Alampur and Osian most closely related to the Orissan arrangement (figure 9). At Sirpur there is only a single barāndi, decorated with a pair of short pilasters imitating a torana which is dominated by the crowning bhūmi-amālā (figure 6). The anartha on these earliest Orissan temples consists of horizontal mouldings (barāndis) superimposed one above the other continuously to the bisāma, four mouldings corresponding to a bhūmi division. Each moulding is decorated with an ornate triple caitya motif (udgama) consisting of a center keyhole or trefoil-shaped niche with extended wings or flanking half-medallions. As on the caitya designs on the kanika mouldings, strings of pearls frame the motif, an ornate feature peculiar to early Orissan temples.

The recessed chase (anurāhā) separating the kanika from the anartha is decorated with superimposed miniature shrines, one for each bhūmi division, a feature also present on the temples at Alampur,17 the Hari-Hara 1 at Osian (figure 9), and the Galaganatha temple at Pattadakal. These miniature shrines on the Orissan temples are more elaborate, however, consisting of a pābhāga, tala-garbhikā (dental frieze), sill with lotus-petals, niche and crowning vajra-mastaka of two superimposed caitya motifs (figure 7). The niches are filled with mithuna motifs or Brahmanical deities including various aspects of Śiva, Ganeśa, Kārttikeya, Durgā, Sūrya or Varāha.

The center or rāhā-pāga consists of horizontal mouldings superimposed one above the other continuously up to the bisāma as in the anartha and likewise decorated with triple-caitya medallions. These medallions are more widely spaced, with the increased width of the rāhā, and the center medallion generally houses a figure or bust of a deity. Superimposed in front of these mouldings of the first two bhūmi divisions are large vajra-mastaka motifs. On the front facade, above the entrance to the sanctum, the motif consists of two large superimposed caitya-medallions, rather than one as at Aihole or Alampur, with a crowning kirtimukha mask which serves as a base of a surmounting image of Lakulīśa the latter flanked by female figures and large squatting atlantis on the Paraśurāmeśvara, which extend the motif to the top of the third bhūmi. The upper part of this motif does not extend the width of the rāhā so that the ends of the underlying horizontal mouldings are visible, appearing almost like offsets. The medallions are framed by strings of pearls dripping from the mouth of the kirtimukha. The circular upper medallion houses a Naṭārāja image while the larger lower medallion, keyhole in shape, invariably houses a Rāvaṇānugraha-mūrti motif. Visually this large vajra-mastaka motif, projecting slightly from the
underlying horizontal mouldings,\textsuperscript{18} serves as the crowning element to the truncated rekhā design framing the entrance to the sanctum and unifies the bāda and gāndhi by virtually obfuscating the divisive function of the baranda, the decoration of the flanking pāgās of the body and superstructure being non-aligned and independently conceived (figure 3). A similar function is served by the vajra-mastaka motifs on the north, south and back sides of the temple, though the designs are different and not as dominating. They consist of two superimposed vajra-mastaka motifs, the lower formed by a large keyhole-shaped medallion crowned by a moulding with a triple caitya motif with a surmounting kūṭimukha mask. The scenes housed within the keyhole medallion include an Offering of Poison to Śiva on the south,\textsuperscript{19} Lakulīśa on the east and Durgā Mahiśamardini on the north. The upper vajra-mastaka consists of a single large circular medallion formed by strings of pearls issuing from the mouth of a kūṭimukha. The medallion houses a Naṭarāja image. Surmounting the kūṭimukha is a seated figure of Śiva or Lakulīśa flanked by lions. This double vajra-mastaka alignment likewise serves as the crowning element of the truncated rekhā design framing the pārśva-devatā niche of the bāda.

The decorative program on these earliest Orissan temples, dating from the Šailodbhava period, thus consists of a tri-ratha bāda surmounted by a pāńcha-ratha gāndhi with every architectural component clearly articulated.\textsuperscript{20} The baranda effectively demarcates the bāda from the gāndhi and the subsidiary pāgās, designed as vajra-muṇḍis, terminate beneath the baranda. The rekhā design of the rāhā, on the other hand, extends through the baranda to unify the bāda and gāndhi decorative programs. It is not until the late 9th or early 10th century, with the development of a pāńcha-ratha plan for the bāda, that there is complete alignment of all of the pāgās from the base of the deul to the bisāma. That there was not complete satisfaction with this early decorative plan is evident on numerous temples dating from a transitional period, between the Šailodbhava and Bhauma dynasties, where slight variations of this program are exhibited. Most of the temples during this period are modest in size and only partially decorated. In several, such as the Paśchimesvara (now destroyed),\textsuperscript{21} Gauri-Śaṅkara-Ganesa, and the Paśchimesvara at Khandarpur (figure 4), the recessed chase is eliminated from the gāndhi and the number of bhūmi-barandaś is reduced to three or even two. On the latter temple the bhūmi-amālāś are more bulbous in shape though not as pronounced as at Sirpur. The most innovative changes, however, result from influences filtering into Bhubaneswar from neighbouring areas.
BHAUMA PERIOD
(A.D. 736—931)

These innovative changes appear primarily on a group of larger temples, more ornate in decoration and datable to the second half of the eighth century, including the Mārkaṇḍeyeśvara, Śiśireśvara and Vaitāl Deul. The most noticeable change involves the attempt to achieve complete vertical alignment by shifting the flanking subsidiary pāgas to the corner of the bāḍa. This appears first on the Mārkaṇḍeyeśvara temple (circa A.D. 750). These kanika-pāgas are fashioned as pilasters with crowning pūrna-ghaṭa and surmounting addorsed lions rather than vajra-muṇḍis as on the Śailodbhava temples. Offsets are added to the rāhā so that the trend is towards a pāñcha-ratha design. It is not a full-fledged pāñcha-ratha design, however, as these offsets are not independent elements. A similar transition appears on the Hari-Hara temple No. 1 at Osian though the offsets there are provided a niche (figure 9). Changes also appear on the gāndi which is tri-ratha in plan rather than pāñcha-ratha as on the Paraśurāmeśvara. The pāga divisions are not clearly articulated, however, as the recessed chase is not aligned in a vertical continuum but appears as isolated miniature niches filled with jāli patterns. The kanika is divided into five bhūmis as on the Śailodbhava temples though the barandes are reduced to three and all linked together by a small vajra-mastaka. The overall design of the dominating rāhā with flanking offsets is pāñcha-ratha in plan though only the center facet is clearly articulated (figure 11). The offsets partake of the bhūmi divisions and consist of two barandes, joined by a small vajra-mastaka, with surmounting horizontal recess. This recess, which disrupts the vertical thrust of the offsets, is filled with a figure flanked by short pilasters and jāli designs, an arrangement which appears on detached fragments at Ratnagiri where they probably served as roof decoration. This, along with various Buddhist motifs appearing on this group of temples, suggests influences filtering into Orissa from the Asia Hills to the north, the homeland of the Bhauma-kara rulers.

The major vajra-mastaka on the rāhā extends through the baranda, obfuscating its demarcating function, and consists of two caitya motifs crowned by a kirtimukha. The large lower caitya is horseshoe in shape, resembling a window in contrast to the keyhole-shaped caitya on earlier temples. The smaller upper caitya is oval in shape rather than circular. This center facet above the major
vajra-mastaka tapers rapidly and is decorated with superimposed minor vajra-mastaka motifs progressively diminishing in size. The rāhā design thus presents a continuous vertical thrust from the base of the deul to the bisama, though the upper part above the horseshoe niche is extremely narrow. The major vajra-mastaka on the east, beginning above the roof of the jagamohana, extends up to the top of the third bhūmi. The lower caitya is horizontal in plan, in contrast to the vertical design on the other three sides, while the upper caitya is again oval, though larger, and filled with a Naṭarāja. This center facet containing the vajra-mastaka projects out a great distance from the facade to serve as a roof, supported by two massive pillars, for an antarāla connecting the deul with the jagamohana. The bisama is plain and does not partake of the pāga divisions. Dopichhā-sinhas appear at the corners.

Although the overall decorative program is innovative it lacks the clarity exhibited on the temples of the Šailodbhava period. In contrast to the truncated rekhā design framing the pārśva-devatā niche on the Šailodbhava temples, simulating an entrance to the sanctum and its enshrined divinity, emphasis here is shifted to the large horseshoe-shaped caitya of the vajra-mastaka on the gaṇḍi which vies with the bāḍa niche for dominance. The pūrṇa-ghaṭa pillars flanking the pārśva-devatā niche, in fact, appear more like supports for this upper niche than a frame for the enshrined deity. The pilaster design of the kanika-pāgas of the bāḍa likewise appears more as a support for the bhūmi divisions on the gaṇḍi than an independent and self-contained element. This change of decorative program for the pāgas of the bāḍa, from miniature shrines or vajra-muṇḍis to engaged pilasters, suggests the influence of pillared maṇḍapas such as were constructed in Chattisgarh, though the interstices between the pillars are filled in with stonework, i.e., walls. In general, however the pilaster designs of the bāḍa appear too fragile to support the massive weight and mass of the gaṇḍi. In this early attempt continuous vertical alignment is achieved though tenuously, by reducing the number of pāga divisions on the gaṇḍi rather than creating a full-fledged paṇṭha-ratha design, though the trend is towards the development of a paṇṭha-ratha plan for the bāḍa.

The innovations introduced on the Mārkandeyeśvara are further developed on the slightly later Śiśireśvara temple, datable stylistically to circa A.D. 775. It is slightly smaller in size and its crowning members and top bhūmi are missing. The bāḍa is similar in design to the Mārkandeyeśvara though the pilasters abutting the rāhā are provided with niches so that for the first time
we have five major figures on each side, though the design is still not a full-fledged pāñcha-ratha plan. The decoration of the gāndī is similar though better articulated as there is only one recessed offset on each side of the rāhā, the miniature shrines decorating these offsets more clearly recognizable though not aligned with the bhūmi divisions on the kanika. The vajra-mastaka on the north, south and west sides again extends up the height of the lower two bhūmi divisions with the larger lower medallion likewise rectangular in shape resembling a window. The smaller upper medallion is circular in shape rather than oval. On the east or front rāhā, above the jagamohana, the vajra-mastaka again projects sharply out with the lower motif being in the shape of a rectangular niche. The upper medallion is circular, rather than oval, and is filled with an eight-armed Naṭarāja (figure 13).

Located within the same compound as the Śiśireśvara is the slightly later Vaitāl Deul, datable to the closing years of the 8th century. Although the temple is of the khākharā order, having an elongated ground-plan, the decoration of the shorter north and south sides of the bāda is nearly identical with that of the Śiśireśvara, pilasters again abutting the flanks of the rāhā. That these pilasters are conceived as part of the rāhā, rather than as independent pāgas, is evident by the manner in which the vajra-mastaka on the gāndī extends horizontally to crown these as well as the rāhā (figure 16), the pilasters directly supporting the external wings of the lower, horizontal caitya-medallion. The overall design of the rāhā, and its flanking pilasters, assumes the shape of a large vajra-mundī which completely obfuscates the demarcation of the bāda and gāndī. The lower portion of the gāndī is in the shape of a truncated rekhā terminated above the second bhūmi. The design on these shorter sides is thus tri-ratha with the vajra-mastaka forming the center unit or rāhā. The kanika is decorated in the same manner as on the Mārkandeyaśvara and Śiśireśvara though it is wider. The longer west side of the bāda is treated differently. For the first time there are five independently conceived projections, each separated from the next by a recess, though they are conceived basically as pilasters rather than pāgas.

During the latter part of the Bhauma period very little in the way of architectural construction took place at Bhubaneswar, the decoration of the jagamohana of the Vaitāl Deul being interrupted and left unfinished, perhaps due to the so-called Raktavāhu (Rāṣṭra-kūta) invasion recorded in the Mādalā Pāñji occurring during the reign of Subhanadeva (Subhākara deva I), between A.D. 805
and 814, though architectural activity appears to have gone on un-interrupted elsewhere in Orissa. It is during this period of political turmoil and disunity following the invasion that the country was divided into numerous small principalities ruled over by minor dynasties. Though many of the temples from outlying districts obviously date from this period of decline in Bhauma sovereignty, being situated in provincial centres they are difficult to pinpoint with exactitude in regards to stylistic chronology due to the predilection towards archaizing and the natural tendency to incorporate regional manifestations into the evolving parent style. With the growing independence of minor dynasties it is likewise natural to expect that such regional manifestations, often influenced by neighbouring architectural traditions, would more likely emerge.

The temple most closely aligned to those at Bhubaneswar is the Bhringeswara Mahâdeva temple at Bajrakot near the Brâhmaṇī river in the Dhenkanal district (figure 12). Although dating from the Bhauma period the temple incorporates archaizing features borrowed from the Śailodbhava period, including the simple tri-ratha plan of the bâda whereby the râhâ is designed as a truncated rekhā and the subsidiary pâgas are fashioned as vajra-mundis terminating at the top course of the jânga; the employment of a clearly defined barânda which effectively demarcates the bâda from the gândi; and the squat, thick-set silhouette of the gândi. Bhauma features which clearly relate the temple to the Śisireśvara include the manner in which the râhâ niche cuts partially through the pâbhâga; the design of the pâbhâga mouldings with the middle two joined by a projecting pûrṇa-ghaṭa; ratikera scroll-work; the decoration of the door frame; and the stylistic and iconographic peculiarities of the sculpture. An innovative aspect is the introduction of a kumbha-stambha at the corners of the bâda, a feature suggesting influence from Câlukya traditions current in Telingana where such pillars, likewise extending up the height of the jânga, formed part of their architectural idiom. The decoration of the gândi, unfortunately, is covered by numerous accretions of stucco so that only the basic silhouettes of the major vajra-mastaka motifs and the bhûmi-amlâs are visible.

A second temple displaying archaizing features along with regional manifestations of the evolving parent style is the Dakhinēswar Mahâdeva temple at Badgaon, near Bhanjanagar, in district Ganjam (figure 15). The bâda is again a simple tri-ratha plan with the added thin stambha placed next to the râhâ rather than at the corners. The gândi is pâncha-ratha in design similar to the temples of the Śailodbhava period with the kanika being divided into five
bhūmis. The recessed chase (anurāhā) between the kanika and anartha is not as pronounced, however, and is filled with decorative designs, alternating with female figures on the first two bhūmi divisions, rather than miniature shrine motifs. The rāhā is tri-ratha in plan, the corner divisions having bhūmi-amlās aligned with those of the kanika, thus continuing the design of the truncated rekha framing the pārśva-devatā niche of the bāda. The first three bhūmi divisions of the center facet are decorated with superimposed vajra-mastaka motifs which are not as prominent as on the earlier temples due to the tri-ratha division of the rāhā. The anartha-pāgas are decorated with the triple cattya motif as on the temples of the Šailod-bhava period.

Also showing stylistic affinities to the temples of the Šailodbhava period, though dating from the early Bhauma period, is the Mukhalingesvara temple at Mukhalingam on the left bank of the Vamśadharā river about twenty miles south of the Orissan border near Parlakimedi. Although the deul of the main shrine is completely covered with accretions of stucco, the subsidiary shrines at the four corners have recently had the stucco covering removed so that the sculptural decoration is now visible (figure 16). The bāda is of the simple tri-ratha plan with the rāhā designed as a truncated rekha and the subsidiary pāgas as vajra-mudris. The baranda likewise consists of a recess sandwiched between two projecting mouldings and runs continuously around the structure though partially obfuscated on the rāhā by the vajra-mastaka motifs of the gāndi. The gāndi, in silhouette and decoration, is the same as on the Šailodbhava temples except for the elimination of the recessed anurāhā.

This standard pañcha-ratha plan for the gāndi, including recessed anuvāhā, is also employed on the temple of Śimhanātha, situated on an island in the Mahānadi river between Baidesarwar and Baramba in Cuttack district, stylistically datable to the closing years of the 9th century (figure 17). The bāda is tri-ratha in plan with a thin engaged stambha added on each side of the subsidiary pāgas. Of particular importance is the design of the vimānika or spire crowning the niches of these subsidiary pāgas. It is in the shape of a truncated rekha, terminated above the second bhūmi, each bhūmi crowned by a splayed pheņi rather than an amlā. This is an experimental design which serves as a transition to the pīṭha-munḍi and khākharā-munḍi designs standard on later temples. The decoration of the kanika on the gāndi is the same as on the Šailodbhava temples while the narrow recessed anurāhā is filled with standing figures in niches surmounted by vajra-mastaka motifs. The decoration of the anartha deviates slightly from the standard plan, being divided into
bhūmi divisions by splayed pheni mouldings rather than consisting on identical mouldings repeated continuously to the bisama. The barandis are decorated with minor vajra-mastakas repeating the program of the kanika. The major vajra-mastaka extends up the first two bhūmi divisions on the rāhā and consists of a keyhole medallion surmounted by a circular one as on Šailodbhava temples. The mouldings of the rāhā above the vajra-mastaka are decorated with triple caitya motifs. The bisama is partially decorated with scroll-work on its lower edge surmounted at intervals by caitya medallions. The crowning member of the mastaka is a kalaśa (water jar) rather than the ākāšaliṅga standard on most earlier Orissan temples.

Šailodbhava features also appear on the Mallikesvara temple situated at the eastern base of Jagamanda hill overlooking the small village of Padmapur in the Gunupur subdivision of Koraput, one of the last temples of the Bhauma period, its probable date of construction near the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century. The bāda is tri-ratha in plan, similar to the Śimhanātha and Badgaon temples, though the truncated rekha design of the rāhā extends above the baranda with its crowning amlās aligned with the lowest barandi of the gandhi. The subsidiary pāgas are framed by a projecting multifaceted pilaster on each side and designed as miniature rekha-deuls complete with beki and crowning āmalaka. This is again a transitional feature leading to the development of the ptāha and khakhara mundi designs standard on later temples. Little of the decoration of the gandhi remains. The kanika is divided into seven bhūmis, however, in contrast to the five bhūmi divisions of earlier temples, each bhūmi containing only three barandis in addition to the bhūmi-amlā. The recessed anurāhā is eliminated. The anartha is decorated with multiple caitya medallions with interlacing bars rather than the beaded designs standard on earlier temples. The decoration of the rāhā has not survived. The crowning member of the mastaka is an ākāśaliṅga.

Of the same approximate date, though more archaizing in nature, is the Nilakanthesvara (Kutātundi) temple at Khiching. Khiching is to be identified with Khijiiṅgoṭṭa, the ancient capital of Khijiiṅga-mandaḷa ruled over by a branch of the Bhanjas, feudatories owing allegiance to the Bhauma-karas who achieved an independent status during the declining years of Bhauma supremacy. Khiching is situated in the Punchpir sub-division of Mayurbhanj district near the border with Bihar. The bāda is tri-ratha in design with a thin pilaster added on each side of the rāhā. The rekha design of the rāhā extends above the baranda as on the Mallikesvara temple. The subsidiary pāgas are designed as vajra-mundis as on the
Śailodbhava temples. The temple consists of a *deul* only and rests on a low *piṭha*. The curvature of the silhouette of the *gaṇḍi*, as reconstructed, is not as gradual as on the Śailodbhava temples so that it does not appear as squat (figure 18). The decoration of the *gaṇḍi* appears not to have been completed except for the broad *ratha* and *bhūmi* divisions. It is *pañcha-ratha* in plan but without the recessed *ānurāhā*. The *kanika* is divided into five *bhūmis* by *bhūmi-amlās* with the three *baraṇḍis* in each *bhūmi*. The *rāhā* projection above the *vajra-mastaka* (now missing) tapers sharply, as on the Śimhanātha, so that the under-lying horizontal mouldings appear as offsets. The crowning member of the *mastaka* is an *ākāśalinga*. Despite the preponderance of archaizing features, however, there are some innovations newly introduced from Central India which become standard decorative motifs on temples of the SomavamŚi period, such as the carving of atlantid dwarfs at the top of the thin pilasters. Also new is the addition of figure sculpture at the base of the jambs framing the niches. Some of these sculptures, as well as the frieze fragments filling the *baraṇḍā* recess, illustrate erotic Tāntric rituals, relating it to the Someśvara temple at Mukha-liṅgām and the Vārāhī temple at Chaurasi. Other sculptural motifs, however, display a stylistic affinity with Pāla traditions to the north.

**SOMAVAMŚI PERIOD**

(A.D. 931—1110)

In general these temples in the outlying districts of Orissa constructed during the Bhauma period are conservative in nature and display a predilection for archaizing along with a strong adherence to established regional conventions. The decorative program of the *gaṇḍi* in particular is strongly influenced by the *pañcha-ratha* design standard on the Śailodbhava temples in which there is no attempt to relate, or align, the subsidiary *pūgas* with those of the *bāḍa*, bypassing completely the innovations introduced on the Bhauma temples at Bhubaneswar. In addition to this conservative trend, however, new developments were appearing in the upper Mahānadi valley which were to strongly affect the evolution of the Orissan temple. In the last decades of the 9th century, during the period of dis-unity following the death of the Bhauma king Subhākaradeva IV, Janamejaya I Mahābhavagupta (circa A.D. 882—922) consolidated the eastern part of Dakṣina-Kośāla, comprising the Sambalpur tract of western Orissa, and established an independent kingdom with its capital at Sonepur (Suvarṇapura). Although Janamejaya, in a grant issued during his third regnal year from Sonepur, declares
himself "Lord of the Three Kalingas" (Trikaliṅgādhipati),
there is no evidence to show that he had control over any part of
Orissa proper, his suzerainty being confined to the Sambalpur tract
and his hostilities directed mainly against the Chedis or Kālachuris.
Matrimonial relationship with the Bhauma-karas was established
but it was not until the reign of his son and successor, Yayāti I
Mahāśivagupta (A.D. 922—955), that the Somavamsīs were able
to occupy the coastal tract of Orissa, probably first having to subdue
the Chedis and the Bhañjas. Yayāti I is credited with building two
capitals, Yayātinagar on the banks of the Mahānadi river near Baudh,
and Abhinava Yayātinagar in Utkala (Jajpur) where, according to
tradition still current at Jajpur, he performed the Āsvamedha sacri-
fice to which ten thousand Brahmins were invited from Kanauj.
From copperplate grants we also learn that the Somavamsī rulers
settled a number of Brahmin families in the upper Mahānadi valley,
an action which must have induced the other caste Hindus to
migrate to that region from the coastal strip of Orissa. These hill
regions of Orissa, which were primarily tribal areas, thus gradually
came under the cultural influence of Orissa. Although it was Janame-
jaya who established an independent kingdom in western Orissa, it
was during the reigns of his successors that Kośala, Utkala, Koṅgoda
and parts of Kaliṅga gradually came to be united by cultural and
linguistic bonds.

The Somavamsī-keśaris thus established their rule in Orissa
after a long period of anarchy and misrule and introduced architec-
tural features and decorative motifs which became assimilated with
indigenous traditions to forge the beginnings of a revitalized style of
temple architecture. Among the innovations filtering into Orissa
via the upper Mahānadi valley homeland of the new rulers pertinent
to this study is the development of a full-fledged pañcha-ratha plan
for the bāda so that its pāgas become aligned with those of the gāndī;
the addition of multiple offsets to the pāgas; the division of the
jāṅgha into two stories; the erection of a pīṭha or platform upon
which the temple rests; the addition of a small antarāla or portico
on temples lacking a jagamohana; a change in the design and number
of mouldings in the baranda; a change in the silhouette of the gāndī,
necessitated by the increased height of the spire, so that it curves
suddenly inward near the top; and the employment of new scroll
motifs of a repetitive pattern which serve to unify the overall deco-
rative program.

One of the earliest of these temples constructed in the upper
Mahānadi valley, though conservative in taste and evincing archai-
zizing features reminiscent of Chattisgarh architectural traditions, is
the brick Viṣṇu temple at Rāṇipur Jhariāl situated in the Titlagarh subdivision of Bolangir district (figure 19). The temple stands on a high pitha with its jagamohana now missing. In dimensions the ground-plan of the bāḍa, 20 feet square, closely approximates that of the seventh century Laksmana temple at Sirpur (figure 6). In elevation, however, particularly in regards to the double story design of the jāṅgha, it more closely resembles the later brick temples at Pujariḍāli which are likewise divided into two stories by a plain madhya-bandhanā or string-course. On the Keutin and Gopal temples the upper story is not as developed in design, being smaller than the lower story. Stylistically the temple is later than those at Pujariḍāli and may tentatively be assigned to the last quarter of the ninth century.

The bāḍa is basically pańcha-ratha in plan with the rāhā framed at the sides by nāga-stambhas. This stambha division extends vertically up the gaṇḍi as offsets to the rāhā where they are divided into bhūmi divisions, complete with bhūmi-amlās, echoing the decoration of the kanika-pāgas. The anartha of the bāḍa is fashioned as a thin pilaster while the kanika is decorated with a vajramunḍi on the lower story and a pair of pilasters on the upper story. The rāhā duplicates the decoration of the kanika. All of these decorative motifs, except the nāga-stambhas, appear on the earlier temple at Sirpur, their position merely altered and a second story added. There is no barāṇḍa division per se, so the gaṇḍi appears to spring directly from the jāṅgha. All of the pāga divisions of the bāḍa are continued on the gaṇḍi so that for the first time there is a continuous alignment from the base of the temple to the bisama, an alignment achieved much earlier on the Laksmana temple at Sirpur and standard on temples from Chattisgarh. The kanika of the gaṇḍi is divided into at least seven bhūmis, the upper portion now missing with each bhūmi containing one multi-faceted moulding. The first bhūmi is decorated with a caitya-medallion and is not crowned by an amlā, suggesting it may have served as a barāṇḍa. The anartha is decorated with miniature shrines, consisting of a pair of short pilasters crowned by a caitya, repeated continuously to the bisama. There are no dominating vajra-mastakas on the rāhā but simply small caitya-medallions superimposed one above the other up the height of the gaṇḍi. The repetitive nature of the decorative program, though less interesting than the more varied decoration on earlier temples, gives an increased fluidity to the overall design which enhances the vertical thrust of the pāga. Although the temple must have been quite imposing in its day, it represents the swan song of a once vigorous tradition, transplanted on Orissan soil, rather than serving as a harbinger for future development.
It is at Gandharādī, a small village some eight or nine miles west of Baudh in Phulbani district, on the right bank of the Mahānadi river in the ancient Khinjali-maṇḍala, that the innovations filtering into Orissa are successfully integrated with the framework of the indigenous architectural tradition. The twin temples of Siddhānḷvara and Nilūmādhava, dedicated to Śiva and Viṣṇu respectively, are erected side by side on a low platform and can tentatively be dated to the closing years of the ninth century. The deul is paṅcha-ratha in plan with the pāga divisions extending continuously from the base of the bāḍa to the bhasma, interrupted briefly by the baranda recess (figure 21). Although the kanika of the bāḍa is designed as a pilaster, thus unrelated to the bhūmi decorations of the gaṇḍi immediately above, the anartha is carved as a miniature shrine with multiple horizontal mouldings in its crowning vimāṇikā which visually echo the mouldings on the gaṇḍi above and reinforce the vertical thrust. The rāhā on the bāḍa has a tri-aṅga arrangement, the flanking aṅgas carved as offset pilasters and crowned by a kalaśa at the level of the baranda. Above the eave crowning the pārśva-devatā niche is the remains of a vajra-mastaka which terminates beneath the baranda. This vajra-mastaka is linked with the major vajra-mastaka of the gaṇḍi above by an elongated khākharā-muṇḍi which obfuscates the baranda division on the rāhā. This is a change from the truncated rekha design standard for the rāhā on earlier temples and serves as a harbinger for later developments. The kanika of the gaṇḍi is divided into seven bhūmi divisions by bhūmi-aṃlās with four baranda in each bhūmi. The top two baranda are linked by a caitya motif as on early Orissan temples though the decorative details are missing. There is no recessed anurāhā. Another innovative feature is the multiple caitya-scroll overlaying the horizontal mouldings of the anartha on the gaṇḍi and the upper part of the rāhā, each caitya joined to the one immediately above by bars or ribbons, three caityas aligned on the anartha mouldings and five on the rāhā. For the most part, however, only the interlacing framework of this motif remains, the ornamental details either missing or never completed. On later temples this motif becomes extremely ornate and refined, replacing the beaded caitya motifs standard on earlier temples. The crowning member of the mastaka on the Siddhānḷvara temple is an ākāśaliṅga while that on the Nilūmādhava is a cakra.

The decorative motifs on the slightly later triple temples in the neighbouring city of Baudh are more refined though unfortunately most of the exquisite details are covered over by numerous application of whitewash. These temples are located inside the enclosure
of the later Rāmeśvara temple standing at the corners of a triangle, two facing east and one west. The temples are each built on a high plītha and provide with a small projecting portico supported by two pillars rather than a jagamohana (figure 22). A unique feature of these temples is the ground-plan which is in the shape of an eight-pointed star, a plan duplicated by the argha-pattas of the Śiva liṅgas enshrined within. The carving of pāgas at angles may have been inspired by building practices in Chattisgarh, such as on the brick temples at Kharod or Palāri (figure 20), though there the ground-plan is not that of an eight-pointed star. Each wall in the eight-pointed design contains two multi-faceted pāgas of varying width and a pilaster at the pointed corner, the pāgas designed as elongated khākharā-muṇḍis surmounted by a kalaśa and flanking jagrata motifs of a rider on a springing lion monster. These pāga divisions extend vertically up the gandī in a continuous thrust interrupted briefly by the baraṇḍa recess. Although the kanika or corner pāgas are divided into only five bhūmis, rather than seven as at Gandharādī, the sudden inward curvature of the silhouette near the top is even more pronounced. The inside anartha is divided into bhūmis duplicating the design of the kanika though the bhūmi-amalās are replaced by splayed phenis. The wider middle pāga consists of uniformly carved horizontal mouldings decorated with multiple caitya-medallions with interlacing ribbons forming a lace-like pattern or encrustation of jewel-like delicacy, a further development of this motif which first appeared at Gandharādī. Although triple caitya medallions were standard decoration on the anartha from the very beginning on Orissan temples, they were beaded and lacked the interlacing ribbons running vertically up the motif. The overall design of this motif at Baudh is more closely related to similar scrollwork appearing at Osian (figure 9), Gyraspur (figure 26) or Pattadakal (figure 27), though at these sites the medallions are not connected by ribbons running vertically up the gandī and appear more like jāli patterns. The Orissan motif, seen at its most exquisite phase on the Mukteśvara (figure 25), appears more like an encrustation suspended from above whereas at Osian and Pattadakal the designs are dominated by deeply carved circular medallions which seemingly puncture the walls. There is only one vajra-mastaka and it appears over the projecting eave of the entrance portico. It is carved on a flat panel which extends up the first three bhūmi divisions and obfuscates the underlying pointed design of the pāgas. At the base of the motif is a centre niche flanked by a smaller niche on each side, a design which presages the development of an upper niche on the rāhā of later temples. The ārdhva-garbhiṅgā crowning the center niche, in the design of an elongated khākharā-muṇḍi, extends up into the medallion of the
vajra-mastaka. The crowning member of the mastaka is a kalaśa, though it is missing from two of the temples.

One of the earliest temples in eastern Orissa to exhibit these new features, aside from the Vārāhi temple at Chaurasi, is the Viṣṇu temple situated at the foot of Jalauka hill, on the bank of the Birupa river, on the outskirts of the village of Ganeswarpur in Cuttack district, about five miles east of Chhatia. It is of the pañchāyatana class, and hence known locally as the Pañcha-pāṇḍava, with subsidiary shrines at the four corners of the compound. Although the main shrine is mostly in ruins, three of the subsidiary shrines are in a good state of preservation and are virtual duplicates of the original deul, though smaller in scale and lacking a jagamohana (figure 23). Stylistically the temple is closely related to the twin temples at Gandharāṇi, though more richly ornamented, and can tentatively be dated to the first quarter of the tenth century. As at Baudh, however, much of the crispness of the original carving is obscured by the accretion of numerous coats of whitewash. The bāda is pañcha-ratha in plan with the kanika designed as a pilaster and the anartha as an elongated khākharā-muṇḍi. The rāhā is tri-ānga in plan and designed as a truncated rekha-deul. The baranda portion of the rāhā is designed as an upper niche and is surmounted by the vajra-mastaka motif which consists of a single caitya medallion crowned by a projecting kirtimukha. On the front facade this projecting mask is surmounted by a seated figure holding a staff or triśūla. The gaṇḍi continues the pañcha-ratha divisions of the bāda with the kanika divided into five bhūmis with each bhumi containing four baranda as on earlier temples. The horizontal mouldings of the anartha are decorated with the triple-caitya motif with interlacing ribbons as at Baudh while the upper part of the rāhā is decorated similarly but with five caityas on each moulding as at Gandharāṇi. The curvature of the silhouette is gradual rather than bending sharply inward at the top as at Baudh. The bisama is decorated with scrollwork at the base and caitya motifs on the upper surface. Crowning the rāhā-pāgas are squatting ganas, a feature which becomes standard on later temples, though there are no dopichha-simhas at the corners. The crowning member of the mastakas are missing.

The temple that best assimilates these motifs filtering into eastern Orissa from the upper Mahānadi valley is the Muktesvara which was built, according to tradition current in Bhubaneswar, by Yayāti Kesari (A.D. 922—955). Stylistically the Muktesvara dates from the mid-tenth century, so the tradition may be based on fact, though it could be the Kṛttivāsa temple mentioned in an old palm-leaf manuscript as having been built in A.D. 966.
would place it slightly later than Yayāti Keśari but still make it one of the earliest temples constructed at Bhubaneswar after the arrival of the Somavaraśī-Keśarī and the establishment of their hegemony over eastern Orissa. The temple is still small in size, following the indigenous tradition, but extremely rich in decoration and one of the most beautiful of all Orissan temples. The bāda is pañcha-ratha in plan with the kanika carved as a flat pilaster. The anartha is fashioned as an elongated khākharā-muṇḍi with the horizontal mouldings of the vimānikā decorated with the multiple caitya motif with interlacing ribbons, five caityas aligned on each moulding. The anurāhā recess between the kanika and anartha is filled with a nāga-stambha. The rāhā is pañcha-ratha in plan with a pair of pilasters on each side of the niche, the outside pilasters being crowned by a kalasa at the level of the baranḍa recess. The lower moulding of the baranḍa partakes of the pāga divisions and serves as the crowning member for both the kanika and the anartha, khura-shape in design, which contrasts with earlier conventions where these pāga designs terminated beneath the baranḍa. The ganḍi continues the pāga division of the bāda with the kanika being divided into five bhūmis, each bhūmi containing four baranḍis as on earlier temples (figure 24). The anurāhā recess is filled with the popular motif of a female standing in a doorway surmounted by a moulding and minor vajra mastaka motif, one of these vajra-muṇḍis for each bhūmi division. This contrasts with the more varied treatment on the Sailodbhava temples where these miniature shrines housed various deities rather than a single pose repeated ad infinitum to the top. The anartha mouldings are decorated with the reticulated caitya motif though there are only three caityas on each moulding rather than five as on the bāda (figure 25). The baranḍa recess on the rāhā is designed as an upper niche as at Ganeswarpur and is crowned by a bhūmi terminating with a splayed pheni. Above this is a bho-type vajra-mastaka consisting of a large caitya-medallion with a projecting kirtimukha at the apex and flanked on each side by a large gana with uplifted leg. The projecting kirtimukha serves as a pedestal for a springing udyata lion. This lion is small, however, in contrast to the mammoth lion motifs on later temples which completely dominate the vajra-mastaka. Above this lion is a small Natarāja, a vestigial carryover from earlier conventions where this figure was housed in the upper medallion of the vajra-mastaka. The vajra-mastaka visually serves as the crowning member of the rāhā design on the bāda as on earlier Orissan temples. The bisama is decorated with scroll motifs and caityas as at Ganeswarpur though the beki-bhairavas helping to support the āmalaka are now missing. The upper part of the rāhā is decorated with the reticulated caitya motif.
A kalaśa with surmounting triśūla serves as the crowning member of the mastaka.

The new features filtering into eastern Orissa from the upper Mahānadi valley are thus completely integrated with the indigenous conventions on the Mukteśvara to produce what has been aptly described as “the gem of Orissan architecture.” There is, as Stella Kramrisch points out, unification in each major part and an enhanced clarity of the total design in plan and elevation. The pūga divisions are clearly articulated from the base of the bāda to the hisama yet the baranḍa recess effectively demarcates the bāda from the gaṇḍi. Rather than serving as an examplar for further architectural development, as might be expected with the new rulers firmly entrenched in eastern Orissa, the Mukteśvara serves instead as the culmination of an artistic epoch. Rising to a height of only 34 feet 6 inches it is the last major temple intimate in scale. New motifs are now introduced and the general conception of the temple complex changes. The new trend is towards increased height and monumentality. Pūga designs become increasingly standardized and ornamental richness is produced primarily by the constant repetition of identical decorative units.

For a brief period following the completion of the Mukteśvara temple these new motifs and architectural features introduced from Central India were employed in a bold and dramatic way which, though assimilated with indigenous traditions, lend an exotic look to the temples. Many of these experimental features are strongly reminiscent of the architectural traditions at Khajuraho. Yayāti I, as mentioned earlier, invited ten thousand Brahmans from Kanauj for the performance of a great sacrifice, so it is evident that the Orissan Silpins were cognizant of Chandela architectural traditions. Other changes, however, result from the continuing evolution of the indigenous idiom. Among the most important changes pertinent to this study is the increased height of the temple with the jāṅgha being divided into two stories and the number of bhūmi divisions on the gaṇḍi increased accordingly; a change in the design of the baranḍa which now consists of multiple mouldings without a sharply demarcating recess; the carving of pūgas as pilasters with multiple facets which produce a nearly circular ground-plan; the carving of figures in high relief; the insertion of virāla motifs and alasā-kanyās in the recesses of the lower and upper story respectively; and the addition of bekti figures. The most conspicuous new feature, and the one which most suggest Chandela influence, is the cluster of anga-sīkharas added to the gaṇḍi which projects sharply from the silhouette, though in Orissa these anga-sīkharas are designed as
Decorative program of the superstructure on the Orissan Rekhā-deul

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miniature rekhā-deuls and decorated accordingly. Although miniature shrines, such as vajra, khākharā or pātha munḍis have been standard repertory in the Orissan architectural idiom, they have always been retained within the boundaries of the pāgas and generally confined to the jāṅgha.41

This experimental use of exotic features is particularly noticeable on three temples at Bhubaneswar, the Dākṛa Bhīmesvara, the Rājarāṇi and the Ekāmbaresvara, all datable to the end of the 10th century or the opening years of the 11th century. On each temple the aṅga-śikhara is confined primarily to the lowest bhūmi divisions except for the rāhā and the roof of the sandhi-sthala which connects the deul with the jagamohana, a fact which, despite the increased height of the gaṇḍi, produces a rather truncated silhouette. This contrasts with the best examples at Khajuraho where these aṅga-śikharas extend up a greater height and are more integrated into the overall decorative program so that they produce a more gradual, and harmonious, vertical thrust (figure 33).

The least successful integration of these exotic features appears on the Dākṛa-Bhīmesvara (figure 28). The bāḍa is pācha-ratha in plan with the jāṅgha divided into two stories by a madhya-bandhanā (string-course) consisting of three horizontal mouldings. The kaṇika and anartha are identical in design and consist of a multi-faceted pilaster with a figure carved in high relief on the center facet of both stories, the offsets left plain. The baranda partakes of these pāga divisions and consists of five horizontal mouldings likewise multifaceted giving a rounded appearance.42 Aṅga-śikhara, extending up approximately two bhūmi divisions, spring directly from these baranda mouldings and serve visually as crowning elements to the pāga designs of the bāḍa. This extension of the kaṇika and anartha designs into the gaṇḍi contrasts with the conventional practice of terminating them beneath the baranda. An aṅga-śikhara also appears above the anurāhā recess separating the kaṇika from the anartha so that there are three such turrets, of slightly staggered height, aligned on each side of the rāhā. The kaṇika and anartha divisions above these aṅga-śikharas are not vertically aligned with these turrets terminating the upward thrust of the bāḍa designs, due to the elimination of the anurāhā recesses, and seemingly represent a new and independent upward thrust. The kaṇika is divided into five bhūmis with each bhūmi containing five barandaīs rather than four as standard on most earlier temples. The anartha consists of superimposed horizontal mouldings extending the height of the gaṇḍi with a vertical bar running up the center. The aṅga-śikhara on the rāhā is much larger, extending up nearly five bhūmi divisions from the baranda, and
continues the vertical thrust of the rāhā design of the bāda. There is an additional small aṅga-śikhara superimposed on its center facet which springs directly from the projecting eave covering the upper niche of the bāda thus obfuscating the baranḍa division. Except for the pāga and bhūmi divisions the gauḍi is devoid of decorative detail and appears rather bald. The bīsama partakes of the pāga divisions and consists of two horizontal slabs. Dōpičhā-sīṁhas appear in the beki above the kanika to help support the weight of the āmalaka. The crowning members of the mastaka are missing.

It is on the Rājarāṇi temple that the aṅga-śikhara are best assimilated into the overall design of the gauḍi (figure 29). The deul is more complete in its decoration and, in terms of grace and ornamentation has been aptly described as one of the most original masterpieces of Indian art.43 The pāncha-ratha ground-plan is nearly identical to that of the Dākrā-Bhimeśvara with the multiple offsets for each pāga forming a lozenge-shaped design with serrated sides. The deul is built on a pīṭha consisting of three mouldings and rises to a height of about 59 feet. The baranḍa of the subsidiary pāgas is increased to seven mouldings which visually serve as the pābhāga for the aṅga-śikhara and continue the upward thrust of the bāda rather than demarcating it from the gauḍi. These aṅga-śikhara are more varied in size than those on the Dākrā Bhimeśvara with the ones crowning the anurāhā recesses extending higher up so that they effectively serve as a transition to the upper gauḍi. The height of the gauḍi above these aṅga-śikhara is also increased to seven bhūmi divisions so that the silhouette is not as truncated. The most important change, however, is on the rāhā where the lower aṅga-śikhara, springing directly from the eave covering the upper rāhā niche and partially obfuscating the baranḍa, extend two bhūmi divisions above those crowning the kanika and serve as the crowning elements of the rāhā design of the bāda. Its double āmalaka with surmounting kalaśa serves as the apex for this cluster of staggered aṅga-śikhara of gradually increasing height. This aṅga-śikhara at the base of the rāhā is superimposed on a larger one which extends up three additional bhūmi divisions and is wider than the rāhā and helps to continue the upward thrust of the anartha. The overall solution is more graceful and harmonious than on the Dākrā Bhimeśvara with the staggered arrangement avoiding the abrupt interruptions of the silhouette. There are additional aṅga-śikhara over the sandhi-sthala and above the adjoining pīṭhas of the jagamohana. The aṅga-śikhara are all pāncha-ratha in design thus duplicating the plan of the deul. The bīsama terminating the gauḍi partakes of the pāga divisions but is otherwise undecorated. The āmalaka is supported
by bekī-bhairavas (squatting gaṇas) above the rāhā and is sur-
mounted by a kalaśa. Except for a diminutive figure placed
between the turrets of the kanika and anurāhā there are no figures on
the gandī proper. Its decorative program is completely dominated
by architectural motifs. Even the reticulated multiple caitya scroll-
work on the upper anartha is too high up to be effectively appreciated.
There is not even a vajra-mastaka, traditionally the most auspicious
decoration on the gandī, though there is a small stylized caitya design
(udgama) on the base of the lower aṅga-śikharas of the rāhā which
could ostensibly perform this function.\textsuperscript{44}

It is on the little-known Ekāmbaresvara temple, situated within
the compound of the Lingarāja temple, that the exotic nature of these
projecting aṅga-śikharas is most pronounced (figure 30). The temple
is pāṅcha-ratha in design though virtually devoid of decorative
details except for its pāga divisions. As on the Dākrā-Bhimesvara
and Rājarāṇi temples aṅga-śikharas placed at the base of the gandī
served as crowning members for the kanika and anartha-pāgas.
Although there are no crowning turrets above the anurāhā recesses
there are aṅga-śikharas crowning the flanking pilasters of the
rāhā. There are thus three aṅga-śikharas aligned on each side of
a slightly larger one which forms the center facet of the rāhā. In that
all of these aṅga-śikharas are of approximately the same height, there
is virtually no ascending thrust suggested whatsoever, the aṅga-
śikharas serving only to terminate the upward thrust of the pāga
divisions of the bāda. Although there is an upper aṅga-śikhara on the
rāhā it is flattened out and completely assimilated with the upper
rāhā so that it does not disrupt the silhouette. The pāga divisions
above the row of clustered turrets are again not in alignment, due to
the elimination of the anurāhā recesses, and appear to erupt abruptly,
and independently, from the aṅga-śikharas. The kanika is divided
into only four bhūmis so that the silhouette is rather truncated.
Udyata lions, much larger than those on the Muktesvara, project
out from the flattened aṅga-śikharas on the rāhā though kirtimukh
masks have not been carved on their pedestal. Bekī bhairavas
are placed above the rāhā and dopichhā simhas at the corners to
help support the āmalaka. The upper gandī is thus more in keeping
with the evolving indigenous tradition whereas the row of aṅga-
śikharas at the base appears to be grafted unto the framework.
Although the solution appears awkward in contrast to the harmony
achieved on the Rājarāṇi it serves as a harbinger for one of
the two major solutions employed on most later temples for
assimilating aṅga-śikharas into the overall decorative program of the
gandī.
It is on the Brahmeśvara that the exotic innovations introduced on the Dākrā-Bhimeśvara, Rājarāṇi and Ekāmbareśvara temples are modified and more completely synthesized with indigenous traditions, or eliminated altogether, to forge a mature decorative program which serves as a model for later temples. From an 11th century inscription originally attached to the temple, now lost, we know that it was built by Kolāvati-devi, mother of the Somavamśi king Uddyota Keśarī, in the latter's eighteenth regnal year which would date the temple to circa A.D. 1060. The deul assumes a more traditional pañcha-ratha design without the multiple projecting surfaces of the Rājarāṇi temple. The jāṅgha is divided into two stories and the kanika and anartha are identical in design, the lower story fashioned as a khākhara-mundī and the upper story as a pāḍha-mundī. The baranda consists of three mouldings which effectively demarcate the bāda portion of the subsidiary pāgas from the gāndī rather than serving as an elongated pābhaga division for the crowning aṅga-sikhara as on the Rājarāṇi group of temples. There is no baranda division on the rāhā but rather a flattened aṅga-sikhara which springs directly from the pāḍha-mouldings covering the pārśva-devatā niche. This aṅga-sikhara is provided a small pārśva-devatā niche of its own, at the level of the baranda, which serves as an upper niche for the rāhā. A small vajra-mastaka with projecting kirtimukha is carved above this niche on the flattened aṅga-sikhara. A second and larger vajra-mastaka appears on the rāhā immediately above this aṅga-sikhara. It is an bho-type vajra-mastaka with its projecting kirtimukha mask surmounted by a huge udyata lion which juts out from the silhouette of the gāndī as on the Ekāmbaresvara temple. For the first we have two independent vajra-mastaka motifs carved on the rāhā on all four sides of the temple. The gāndī is pañcha-ratha in design with the pāgas aligned with those of the bāda though the anurāhā recesses are eliminated as the kanika is widened to abut the anartha (figure 31). The kanika is divided into five bhūmi divisions with each bhūmi containing five barandas. A flattened aṅga-sikhara is superimposed in front of the barandas on the lowest bhūmi while a vertical bar runs up the center of the kanika above the aṅga-sikhara, the bar decorated with scrollwork. The first bhūmi of the anartha is likewise decorated with a flattened aṅga-sikhara. The upper four bhūmis of the anartha are decorated with miniature vajra-mundī motifs consisting of a panel carved with a mithuna-mūrti crowned by an upper panel ornamented with a bho-type vajra-mastaka. This is a radical departure from earlier conventions where the decoration of the anartha invariably consisted of horizontal mouldings relieved with caitya motifs. The arrangement of miniature shrines superimposed one above the other was standard
decoration for the anurāhā recesses which are here eliminated. The rāhā decoration above the large vajra-mastaka consists of plain horizontal mouldings with a vertical bar decorated with scrollwork running up the center. The bisama partakes of the pāga divisions but is undecorated. Beki-bhairavas are placed above the rāhā to help support the āmalaka. The crowning member of the mastaka is a kalaśa surmounted by a trisūla. Although the gandī soars to a height of 60 feet from the ground, nearly 20 feet higher than the Paraśu-rāmeśvara, the measurements of the base of the bāda are nearly identical, the distance from corner to corner being 20 feet, just 6 inches larger than the earlier temple.\(^{46}\)

Although there is a horizontal alignment of aṅga-śikharas at the base of the gandī as on the Rājarāṇi group of temples they are flattened out and completely integrated with the pāgas. They are also effectively separated from the bāda by the large mouldings of the baranda and no longer serve visually as the terminus for the pāga designs on the bāda, the latter being terminated beneath the baranda by pyramidal piṭha-muñḍi designs. There is thus a continuous vertical thrust from the base of the deul to the bisama which is interrupted only briefly by the baranda division of the subsidiary pāgas and the projecting udyata lions of the upper rāhā.

A second solution to integrating or assimilating the aṅga-śikharas to the decorative program of the gandī appears on the Liṅgarāja temple (figure 32). Although there is no reliable record of its date, an inscription on the wall of the jagamohana, recording the grant of a village for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp, corresponds to A.D. 1114-15 in the reign of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chodangaṅga and sets the upper limit of its construction.\(^{47}\) According to tradition as recorded in the Mādalā Pāṇji, the chronicle of the Jagannātha temple in Puri, the temple of Kṛttivāsa, as the Liṅgarāja was known, was completed in three generations. Its construction was begun by Yayāti II Keśari, continued by Ananta Keśari and completed by Lalāṭendu Keśari.\(^{48}\) Ananta and Lalāṭendu, as Panigrahi suggests, may be two other names for Uddyota Keśari, the successor of Yayāti II, thus correlating the Mādalā Pāṇji version with tradition current at Bhubaneswar which credits Yayāti II and Lalāṭendu with the building of the temple.\(^{49}\) If correct this would place its construction to circa A.D. 1030—1065 and make it contemporary with the Brahmeśvara temple. In general the sculptural embellishment of the deul and jagamohana are of exquisite workmanship, as on the Rājarāṇi and Brahmeśvara temples, and acts as a perfect accompaniment to the architecture. With all of the features fully evolved and assimilated, it is the culmination, after a long
evolutionary process, of the architectural movement at Bhubaneswar and, along with the Brahmesvara, sets the norm for the later temples. The bāda is pāncha-ratha in plan similar to the Brahmesvara though larger in size, measuring approximately 52 feet square at the base, and more ornately decorated. The baranḍa consists of ten mouldings richly ornamented with scrollwork and animal friezes. Rather than clearly demarcating the gaṅdi from the bāda, however, the baranḍa appears more as a pābhāga division for the soaring pāga divisions and is barely distinguishable from the bhūmi divisions. The baranḍ partakes of the pāga divisions and runs continuously around the temple, appearing even on the rāhāh though its horizontal divisions are interrupted by a small vajra-mastaka motif carved on a panel placed in the center of these mouldings. This motif is crowned by a kirtimukha mask supporting a projecting udvata lion (figure 35). The large vajra-mastaka of the gaṅdi begins immediately above this small version on the baranḍa. The projecting motif crowning this large vajra-mastaka is a gaja-krānta (lion resting on a crouching elephant with one paw uplifted as if to strike) rather than the udvata (lion seated on hind legs with both front paws uplifted as if ready to jump) appearing on the baranḍa version. The major vajra-mastaka on the front facade appears much higher up on the rāhāh, directly over a large projecting anga-sīkharā crowning the sandhi-sthala, its elevation due to the increased height of the piṭha roof of the jagamohana (figure 32). The projecting gaja-krānta is also much larger than those on the other three facades. This contrasts with the Brahmesvara where the motifs are all at the same elevation and of the same size. The gaṅdi is pāncha-ratha in plan with the pāgas aligned with those of the bāda though the amurāhā recesses are again eliminated and the kanika extended to the edge of the anarthā. The kanika is not only wider but disposed on two planes with the corner projecting and rounded, an innovative feature appearing on many later temples which enhances the vertical thrust of the gaṅdi. The kanika is divided into ten bhūmis with each bhūmi containing five baranḍis. A small vajra-mastaka, bereft of crowning projections, is carved at the base of the flat portion of the first bhūmi. The anarthā is decorated with a succession of four anga-sīkharas, pāncha-ratha in plan and complete with pārvadāvatāa niche and vajra-mastaka, which begin in the middle of the second bhūmi and diminish in size progressively to the top. This vertical arrangement, with the anga-sīkharas superimposed one above the other on the same pāga, is presaged by a similar alignment of vajra-munḍis on the Brahmesvara and likewise greatly enhances the
soaring thrust of the gāndī without breaking up its continuous contour and represents the second solution for assimilating aṅga-
sikhāras into the overall decorative program without disturbing the indigenous framework.53 Although this vertical alignment recalls
similar arrangements appearing on Bhūmiya style sikhāras popular in
Central and Western India where multiple rows of superimposed
urrets are carved on each side of a broad center band of scrollwork
(figure 34), the overall effect is quite different. On Bhūmiya temples
the sharply projecting turrets appear stacked one upon the other and,
along with the sharp incline of the silhouette, tend to force the eye
upward too rapidly in a staccato-like manner. The flattened
aṅga-sikhāras on the Liṅgarāja, conceived more as miniature rekha-
deuls than turrets, are contained within the boundaries of the pāga
rather than forming serrated edges on the silhouette. The diminishing
size of these flattened aṅga-sikhāras leads the eye gradually up
the soaring height of the gāndī, which reaches nearly 150 feet,54 and
in no way disrupts the graceful and elegant contour which bends in
gradually near the top where it is softly terminated by the bisama.
The decoration of the rāhā above the projecting gaja-krānta consists
of multiple caitya-medallions in low relief framed at the sides by a
vertical bar of scrollwork which runs uninterruptedly up to the
bisama. The bisama consists of two horizontal slabs relieved with
small vajra-mastaka motifs in the center of each pāga. The huge
āmalaka is supported by dopichhā-simhas at the corners and seated
male or female deities above the rāhā.

GANGA PERIOD (A.D. 1110—1435)

With the death of Uddyota Keśari the Somavamsi dynasty
rapidly declined and the Gaṅgas, with their capital at Kaliṅganagarā
(Mukhaliṅgam) in Koṅgoda, under Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, conquered Orissa in about A.D. 1110. During the declining years
of the Somavamsi period and opening years of the Gaṅga period
there were numerous temples built at Bhubaneswar which were only
partially decorated and lack the vigor and refinement characteristic
of the best examples of the Somavamsi period. Though exhibiting
some of the experimental solutions achieved in the Brahmeśvara
and Liṅgarāja, particularly in regards to the assimilation of aṅga-
sikhāras within the decorative program of the gāndī, they lack most
of the advance architectural features developed during the Gaṅga
period. They belong to a transitional period between the two
dynasties, a period in which some of the most ancient shrines were
renovated or reconstructed, including the Jagannātha temple at
Puri. Some of these temples were partially constructed with
materials from earlier temples built at the same site but no longer extant. In general the temples are characterized by their thick-set heavy-shouldered ganḍi and its crowning āmalaka which continues the curve of the last bhūmi and exhibit a predilection for archaizing. Except for the pārśva-devataś and doorframe they are mostly devoid of sculptural decoration. In some cases, as on the small temple near the Tīrtheśvara, the only decoration on the ganḍi is the row of aṅga-sīkharas at the base and a large udyata lion on the front facade above the projecting portico leading to the sanctum (figure 36). Even the bhūmi divisions of the kanika are lacking.

Three of the largest of these temples, the Kedāreśvara, Siddheśvara and Rāmeśvara, form a homogeneous group with their ganḍi decoration based essentially on that of the Brahmaśvara though not as refined in ornamental details or as elegant in proportion (figures 37-38). Though none of these temples can be dated with exactitude there is an inscription on the right jamb of the doorframe of the jagamohana of the Kedāreśvara which records the donation of a perpetual lamp by Rāja Pramādi, the younger brother of Ananṭa varman Choḍaganga, dated in A.D. 1142, which proves the existence of the temple before that date.55 The temples are all paṇcha-ratha in plan with their pāgas carved with multiple off-sets to produce a more rounded plan somewhat similar to the temples of the Rājarāṇi group rather than the nearly square plan of the Brahmaśvara. These rounded contours of the subsidiary pāgas are particularly noticeable on the baraṇḍa mouldings which are likewise similar to those on the Rājarāṇi. The large aṅga-sīkhara on the rāhā springs directly from the pūtha mouldings over the pārśva-devataṁ niche as on the Brahmaśvara and likewise obfuscates the baraṇḍa division on the rāhā. Immediately above this aṅga-sīkhara is a large projecting udyata lion as on the Brahmaśvara. On the front facade, however, the motif is a gaja-krānta, as on the Liṅgarāja, and is likewise larger than the motifs on the other three sides and placed higher up on the rāhā above additional aṅga-sīkharas carved over the sandhi-sthala or, as on the Rāmeśvara where there is no jagamohana, above the entrance portal. As on the Brahmaśvara there is a horizontal alignment of shallow aṅga-sīkharas on the base of the ganḍi, those of the kanika and anartha extending up the first bhūmi division. The kanika is divided into five bhūmi divisions, each bhūmi having five baraṇḍis, with a bar running vertically up the center but not through the bhūmi-amlās as on the Brahmaśvara. The anartha is likewise decorated with four vajra-mūndis superimposed one above the other though the decorative details have not been carved. The āmalaka is supported by beki-bhairavas placed above the rāhā. A
kalaśa surmounts the āmalaka as the crowning element. There is thus an eclectic nature evident in these temples, exhibiting motifs borrowed from the Rājarāni, Brahmaśvara and Liṅgarāja temples, suggesting an uneasiness and lack of self-assurance typical of a transitional period following a period of tremendous architectural accomplishments.  

There is also a certain awkwardness in the design of the gandi of the Jagannātha temple at Puri, the most stupendous architectural undertaking during the early Gaṅga period and the tallest extant temple in Orissa. Although the construction of the shrine was started in the Somavamśi period, either by Yayāti I or Yayāti II, very little appears to have been accomplished and the main structure as it exists today, i.e., the deul and jagamohana, was probably built during the reign of Anantavarman Choḍaganga (A.D. 1078—1147) after the prolonged war with the Kālachuris and the suppression of the border rebellion in about A.D. 1135, though additions and renovations continued even up to the 18th century. From epigraphical evidence we know that Choḍaganga’s son, Kāmārṇava, was anointed as Yuvarāja in A.D. 1142, during his father’s lifetime, at the temple of Sarvalokaikanātha, i.e., Jagannātha, showing that the present temple was completed by that date. Although the decorative details are covered by numerous coats of plaster the overall plan is visible (figure 39). Basically the plan follows the decorative program of the Liṅgarāja with the multiple baranda mouldings forming the base for the gandi rather than effectively demarcating it from the bāda as on earlier temples. The design is pañcha-ratha with the wide kanika disposed on two planes with the corner rounded and projecting. The kanika is divided into ten bhūmis by amlās though most of the bhūmi divisions appear to be additionally subdivided by a projecting ring lacking ribs. An added feature not found on the Liṅgarāja is an aṅga-śikhara carved on the flat portion of the first bhūmi. The anartha has three, rather than four, aṅga-śikharas superimposed in a vertical alignment beginning at the level of the second bhūmi. In general these aṅga-śikharas are too large and do not effectively enhance the upward thrust of the spire. The first bhūmi of the rāhā has a horizontal alignment of four aṅga-śikharas, two on each side of the projecting motif of Garuḍa pouncing on a crouching elephant which crowns the vajra-mastaka carved on the baranda. The major vajra-mastaka appears immediately above and is likewise surmounted by a pouncing Garuḍa. The designs of the vajra-mastakas are covered by layers of plaster and obscured by later carvings depicting the various triumphs of Viṣṇu’s avatāras or other Vaiṣṇava motifs. Additional images, including a Jagan-
nāth trinity, appear near the top of the rāhā. The āmalaka is supported by dopičchā-simhas at the corners and images of Garuḍa above the rāhās. Although the gaṇḍi rises to a height of 214 feet 8 inches from the ground, it lacks the elegance and graceful proportions of the Liṅgārāja. The curvature of the silhouette is too gradual and the crowning mastaka, particularly the khapuri and kalāśa, are too ponderous. The overall appearance is squat and heavy. There is also no transition between the gaṇḍi and the bāḍa, the sharply projecting baranda forming the base of the gaṇḍi, so that the massive spire appears awkwardly grafted onto the supporting walls below. Rather than evincing a soaring appearance there is a downward thrust.

That this predilection for archaizing typical of the early Gaṅga period continues well into the 13th century is evident in the Lakṣmī temple at Puri and the Pārvati temple at Bhubaneswar, temples particularly noted for their exquisite scrollwork and refined details of ornamentation. Unfortunately both temples have generally been neglected by scholars due to their location within the Jagannātha and Liṅgārāja compounds respectively where they have been overshadowed by these larger temples. According to the praśasti inscriptions of the Gaṅgas, Anantavarman Choḍaganga, in addition to completing the temple of Jagannātha, is also given credit for the construction of a temple of Lakṣmī. If this refers to the temple within the Jagannātha compound, as some scholars feel, then the temple of Pārvati must be a close contemporary as these two structures are almost identical in plan though the Pārvati is more ornate in decoration, particularly the gaṇḍi. The upper limit for the construction of the Pārvati temple is established by a small inscription engraved on the plinth near the south door of the jagamohana. The object of the record is the gift of two earthen pots filled with cakes as a daily offering to the goddess Umā in the 13th regnal year of king Bhānudeva (A.D. 1264—1279), proving the existence of the temple in A.D. 1274. Aside from the preponderance of archaistic features there are certain details, such as the design of the gavakṣa-maṇḍana, the manner in which nāga-stambhas are vertical extensions of the gavakṣa-balusters into the pāṭhāga, body proportions of the cult images and the ornate scrollwork, which stylistically relate the temple to the Chitrakārini and Yameśvara temples dating to the second half of the 13th century.

The bāḍa of the Pārvati is basically paṇcha-ratha in plan with some innovative features, in addition to archaizing aspects, which are unique to this temple and the Lakṣmī temple at Puri. The jāṅgha is a single-story design somewhat similar to that of the
Muktesvara in the alignment of pilaster with figure carved in high-relief, recess with nāga-stambha, and elongated khākharā-mūndi, though on the Pārvati an additional nāga-stambha is inserted between the anartha and rāhā while the elongated khākharā-mūndi tapers sharply and is crowned by a pointed vajra-mastaka. The baranda recess effectively demarcates the bāda from the gāndi yet does not disrupt the vertical thrust of the pāgas, partially because miniature vajra-mūndis are inserted in the horizontal recess above the nāga-stambhas and anartha. The gāndi thus continues the pañcha-ratha plan of the bāda and revives the earlier convention of including the anurāhā-recess, though here there are two such recesses (figure 40). These recesses are filled with miniature vajra-mūndis superimposed up the height of the gāndi. The kanika is divided into ten bhūmis with each bhūmi having five barandas, the latter all rounded and ornately decorated. The anartha consists of superimposed horizontal mouldings decorated with triple-caitya medallions as on early temples. A bho-type vajra-mastaka with surmounting gaja-krānta appears at the base of the rāhā. The rāhā mouldings above the projecting lion are decorated with five vertical bands of scrollwork. The bisama partakes of the pāga divisions but is otherwise undecorated. Dopichhā-simhas are placed above the corners and seated female deities above the rāhās to help support the āmalaka. Aṅga-śikharas are thus completely eliminated and the decorative program of the gāndi, though exquisitely carved and beautifully proportioned, is essentially eclectic and reverts back to earlier conventions in spite of the fact that it was probably constructed in the second half of the 13th century, the most prolific period of architectural activity at Bhubaneswar and one in which most of the temples exhibit the latest innovative features.

The earliest temple to exhibit the more advanced architectural features of the Gaṅga period is the Megheśvara. According to a commemorative inscription originally attached to the temple, now fixed to the western compound wall of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple, the Megheśvara was built by Svapneśvara, brother-in-law of the Gaṅga king Rājarāja II (A.D. 1170—1190) and commander-in-chief of the army, during the reign of the latter's brother Anāṅga-bhima (A.D. 1190—1198). Although the deul is quite small, measuring only 18 feet 6 inches from corner to corner excluding the pāga projections, there are seven full-fledged pāgas on each side plus an additional thin pilaster between the two anartha-pāgas so that the overall design presages a nava-ratha plan as each pāga, including the thin pilaster, is separated from the other by a recess. The width of the projecting pāgas is varied rather than being standardized,
an innovation which is further exploited on later temples, particularly on the jagamohana, to produce an undulating surface. Due to the increased number of pāgas, and corresponding recesses filled with sculpture, the overall effect is very crowded on such a small structure. This crowding is not extended into the gaṇḍi, however, as the anurāhā recesses separating each pāga are eliminated. The baranda consists of seven multi-faceted mouldings which partake of the pāga divisions but are otherwise devoid of decoration. They form the base of the gaṇḍi, as on the Liṅgarāja, rather than being conceived as an independent element. The kanika is divided into nine bhūmis, rather than ten, with each bhūmi containing only three barandas, reductions which correspondingly reduce the height of the spire. Miniature vajra-mundis were planned as decoration for these mouldings but were not completed, the general shape merely being blocked-out. Both anartha-pāgas are decorated with a series of four superimposed aṅga-sīkharas of diminishing size (figure 41). This is perhaps the only surviving example of twin rows of aṅga-sīkharas aligned in a vertical row on each side of the rāhā, though the later Bakeśvara has a row of superimposed vajra-mundis juxtaposed next to a row of aṅga-sīkharas as perhaps did the Sūrya Deul at Koṅārak. Had the vajra-mundī designs on the kanika been completed there would have been three rows of miniature shrines vertically aligned on each side of the rāhā, an alignment again reminiscent of the Bhūmija temples. These aṅga-sīkharas are very shallow, however, and completely synthesized with the pāgas as to be almost unnoticeable. The thin pilaster extension between the two anarthas appears almost like a string of pearls running vertically up the spire and visually serves more as a recess separating these larger pāgas. The two vajra-mastaka motifs at the base of the rāhā were left unfinished except for the projecting udyata lions or the larger gaja-kṛānta on the front facade. The rāhā above the lions is decorated with a single vertical band. Beki-bhairavas appear at the corners, rather than lions, and male figures above the rāhā.

That experimentation with sharply projecting aṅga-sīkharas was not completely abandoned is evident in the decoration of the gaṇḍi of the Chateśvara temple in the village of Kisenpur, perhaps the most unusual gaṇḍi anywhere in Orissa. Kisenpur is situated midway between Cuttack and Kendrapara in Cuttack district. According to an inscription on a slab attached to the temple, consisting of 25 lines lauding the exploits of Anaṅgabhima III against the Muslims and Kālachuris, the temple was erected by Viṣṇu, the Brahmin minister of Anaṅgabhima III (A.D. 1211—1238). The bāda is pañcha-ratha in plan, ignoring the innovative sapta-ratha plan with pāgas
of varying size introduced on the Megheśvara and Šobhaśešvara temples, with the center facets of the pāgas decorated with niches framed by scrollwork rather than the pihã and khåkarā muṇḍis standard on most temples at this time. The barançãa division above the kanika and anartha consists of seven mouldings which partake of these pāga divisions. In that the mouldings extend slightly beyond the silhouette of the ganḍi they somewhat disrupt the continuous vertical thrust of the pāgas rather than functioning merely as the base for the spire as on the Liṅgarāja and later temples. Only the lowest barançãa moulding continues across the rāhā where it serves to crown the triple upper niche. Above this single moulding, aligned with the triple niches, and extending the height of the barançãa division, are three anga-sikharas, most likely influenced by the horizontal alignment of four anga-sikharas above the barançãa of the Jagannātha temple. This triple alignment continues on the rāhā above where there are three rows of four anga-sikharas superimposed one above the other in diminishing size (figure 42). The anartha-pāgas of the ganḍi are also decorated with a vertical row of four superimposed anga-sikharas so that there are five anga-sikharas horizontally aligned repeated four times up the ganḍi, an arrangement again reminiscent of the Bhumija style temples though on the Chatesvara temple these anga-sikharas are larger and not separated by a broad band of scrollwork. These anga-sikharas project out sharply rather than being flattened and confined within the pāga decoration as on the Megheśvara, though the alignment of four vertical rows of anga-sikharas of the latter temple, two on each side of the rāhā, may have served as an inspiration. A projecting gaja-krānta appears above the center anga-sikhara of the first row, the crouching elephant not being carved. The kanika is divided into five bhūmis with each bhūmi probably having three baranḍis. Due to reconstruction some of the bhūmi-amlās are out of place. The top bhūmi division of all five pāgas is devoid of decoration and covered with plaster, giving a rather bald appearance to the top of the ganḍi. Dopichhā-simhas are placed above the corners to help support the āmalaka. There is an additional cluster of anga-sikharas over the sandhi-sthala connecting the deul with the jagamohana.

The most ambitious project undertaken during the Ganga period, and one of the most stupendous projects ever attempted in India, was the construction of the Sūrya Deul at Kaṅārak during the reign of Narasimha I (A.D. 1238—1264), though to-day mostly in ruins. Some of the innovations introduced on the Megheśvara and Šobhaśešvara temples appear on the platform and jagamohana, such as inserting multiple vertical units within the recesses to produce
a splayed or undulating effect, though the crowded effect is here eliminated. The bāda of the deul, despite its huge scale, measuring 52 feet square, is pañcha-ratha in plan. Though little of its exterior decoration has survived it appears to have been similar to the Liṅgarāja with its fundamental unit of measurement (mūlasūtra) being one-and-a-half times that of the Mahākailāsa Prāsāda, the model of the Liṅgarāja as described in the Śilpasūra, an unpublished Orissan treatise on temple architecture. The gāndi, originally soaring to a height of approximately 220 feet, has collapsed and can only be tentatively reconstructed with the aid of a drawing prepared by Fergusson after his visit to the site in A.D. 1837 at which time only a thin portion of the southwest side, estimated to be 140-150 feet high, was still standing. The kanika is disposed in two planes, as on the Liṅgarāja, with its bhūmi divisions apparently subdivided as on the Jagannātha. Innovative, however, is the row of miniature shrines, most likely vajra-mundis, superimposed one above the other on the flat area of the kanika, one shrine for each bhūmi. On the drawing these shrines appear to be anga-ṣikharas and it is apparent that Fergusson, most likely restoring details on the drawing from memory, mistakenly fuses the motifs of the kanika and anartha as one design, thereby eliminating the anartha. Anga-ṣikharas are standard decorative motifs on the anartha and their number is generally limited to four. Even on the Jagannātha, approximately the same size as the Sūrya Deul, there are only three anga-ṣikharas superimposed in a vertical alignment on the anartha. When anga-ṣikharas do appear on the flat portion of the kanika, as on the Jagannātha or later Ananta-Vāsudeva, there is only one and it is placed at the base, on the first bhūmi. It was standard practice on earlier temples to fill the recess next to the kanika with superimposed vajra-mundis extending continuously up the gāndi, approximately one shrine to a bhūmi. A late example of this appears on the Muktesvara and this practice was revived on the Pārvati. In that the extended flat portion of the kanika replaces the anurāhā recess on later temples it is obvious that this alignment of superimposed vajra-mundis on the Sūrya Deul is essentially based on anurāhā recess designs standard on earlier temples. The anartha, mistakenly left out on the drawing, was probably decorated with four superimposed anga-ṣikharas of diminishing size while the rāhā was decorated in the standard manner with projecting gaja-krāntas over the vajra-mastakas.

The construction of the Sūrya Deul at Konārak was virtually a national undertaking, the temple intended not only as a sanctuary for the Sun God but also as an imposing tribute to Rāja Narasimha’s military prowess, with workmen recruited from all over Orissa.
With the completion of the temple and the dispersal of the workmen an unparalleled amount of temple construction commenced throughout Orissa; particularly along the coastal areas. Although none of these temples can vie with Koñārak in regard to size, not receiving the royal patronage lavished on the Sūrya Deul, many of them are its equal in regard to the quality of craftsmanship exhibited in the sculptural decoration. Unfortunately the original beauty of these late 13th century temples has greatly suffered due to the poor quality of stone employed in their construction. Stylistically these temples exhibit a uniformity of design and decorative program which virtually dissolves regional manifestations noticed in earlier periods, a fact probably explained by the communal effort and training undertaken at Koñārak. For the most part there is an absence of innovative experimentation, a conservatism suggesting the culmination of an epoch which, without fresh inspiration from without, slowly transforms into decadence. The most noticeable changes are in the form of elaboration or variation of existing motifs, most noticeable in the decorative program of the jagamohana. The decorative program of the deul is more conservative and completely standardized, though no two temples are exact duplicates. Due to the lack of progressive innovations, however, it is difficult to chronologically date these temples on purely stylistic grounds.

One of the least known of these temples dating from the mid-13th century is the Mādhavānanda situated in the village of Mādhava on the eastern bank of the Prāci river about eight kilometers from Niali. The deul is sapta-ratha in plan with the pāgas varying in width. Only the kanika has multiple offsets and these are undecorated. In contrast to this rather flat treatment of the jāṅgha, however, the horizontal moulidings of the pābhāga, madhya-bandhanā and baraṇḍa are all multi-faceted and rounded to produce an undulating surface. The baraṇḍa consists of eight moulidings and forms the base for the gāndi as on the Liṅgarāja temple. A vajra-mastaka with surmounting udyata lion is carved on the rāhā portion of the baraṇḍa. A larger vajra-mastaka with projecting gaja-kṛānta is carved immediately above on the rāhā, extending up three bhūmi divisions. The gāndi is sapta-ratha in plan, continuing the design of the bāda though eliminating the recesses, but most of the decoration is covered with plaster, giving it an extremely bald appearance (figure 43). The kanika projects out and is rounded. It is divided into ten bhūmīs with the bhūmī-amālaś continuing on the smaller adjacent anartha which is also rounded, an alignment obviously influenced by the kanika on the Liṅgarāja which was disposed on two planes with the corner rounded. Here, though there are two inde-
pendent pāgas, both of them are rounded. The larger inside anartha, likewise rounded, is decorated with three superimposed aṅga-śikharas of diminishing size as on the Jagannātha temple at Puri. Seated figures appear in the beki above the rāhā and dopichhā-sīnhas at the corners. The crowning mastaka is intact and contains a Sudarśana-cakra at the top.81

Stylistically similar to the Mādhavānanda, though more ornately decorated, is the Daśaprajāpati Śiva temple at Banpur opposite Chilka Lake in the southern extremes of Puri district. The deul is sapta-ratha in design with the pāgas varying in width, the inside pāga being extremely narrow and devoid of offsets while the kanika and outside anartha have multiple offsets richly ornamented with scrollwork. The upper niche of the rāhā extends up the height of the barāṇḍa and is designed as a vajra-muni flanked by a pilaster on each side, the pilasters partaking of the barāṇḍa design. The crowning vajra-mastaka is surmounted by an udyata lion springing from a kirtimukha mask. The upper niche and lower vajra-mastaka, separate motifs on most temples, are here combined as a single unit. Immediately above the projecting lion motif, on the first bhūmi of the ganaḍi, is a large pṭṭha-muni flanked by a smaller pṭṭha-muni on each. Above the center pṭṭha-muni is a large gaja-krānta, the three pṭṭha-mundis thus replacing the standard upper vajra-mastaka. The barāṇḍa consists of ten mouldings all multi-faceted with a vertical band running up the center of the pāga divisions. The ganaḍi continues the sapta-ratha plan of the bāda though the narrow inside anartha appears more like an offset for the rāhā (figure 44). The kanika is disposed in two planes with the corner projecting and rounded, though due to the multiple facets it almost appears like two separate pāgas. It is divided into ten bhūmis with each bhūmi containing five barāṇḍis, all ornately decorated. A small kirtī or bho motif appears at the base of the flat portion with a vertical band of scrollwork running continuously up the center to the bisama. The first anartha is decorated with four aṅga-śikharas of diminishing size all with multiple offsets. Five vertical bands of scrollwork extend the height of the rāhā above the gaja-krānta. The bisama partakes of the pāga divisions but is undecorated except for applications of plaster. Dopichhā-sīnhas and seated deities appear above the corners and rāhās respectively. The crowning members of the mastaka are intact. Every square inch of the ganaḍi is thus ornately decorated. Due to the small scale of the details, particularly the multiple facets, the entire surface appears formed by continuous rows of dentils, an effect which detracts from the architectural clarity of the structure.
A group of temples in and around Bhubaneswar form a homogeneous group, particularly noted for their elaborate scrollwork, and exemplify the high quality of craftsmanship and consistency of decorative program characteristic of temples constructed during this final florescence of architectural activity in Orissa. The only notable changes in the decorative program of the āṇḍi within this group involve the deployment of āṇga-śīkhara, or elimination of them. Included within this group, all datable to the last half of the 13th century, are the Gopinātha and Somanātha temples at Kakudiā, the Buddhānātha Śiva temple at Garuḍipaṇḍana, the Śari Deul, Chitrakārini, Yameśvara and Ananta Vāsudeva temples at Bhubaneswar. The most unique temple of this group is the Gopinātha temple at Kakudiā which consists of a deul only. It is paṇcha-ratha in design with projecting porticoes, supported by four pillars, in front of the pārśva-devatās rather than the small niśā-shrines standard on most temples at this time. The kanika of the āṇḍi is disposed on two planes and divided into ten bhūmīs with an āṇga-śīkhara placed at the base of the projecting corner and extending up two bhūmi divisions. There is also a cluster of five āṇga-śīkhara framing the pyramidal roof of the porticoes and the entrance portal. The larger center āṇga-śīkhara of this cluster is surmounted by a projecting gaja-krānta. The anartha consists of superimposed horizontal mouldings extending up to the bisama. The crowning members of the mastaka and supporting beki figures are all intact (figure 45).

Perhaps the most beautiful of these temples is the Buddhānātha Śiva temple at Garuḍipaṇḍana, situated to the east of Bhubaneswar. The deul is sapta-ratha in plan with the multi-faceted pāgas of varying width (figure 46). The baraṇḍa, forming the base of the āṇḍi, partakes of the pāga divisions and consists of ten ornamented carved mouldings which present an undulating surface of multiple facets. The āṇḍi, in contrast, is extremely flat except for the rounded corners of the kanika. The kanika is divided into ten bhūmīs with the number of baraṇḍis increased to seven. The flat area of the kanika, basically a visual extension of the narrow outside anartha, has an āṇga-śīkhara carved on its first bhūmi as does the wide inside anartha with a vertical band running up the center of the otherwise plain horizontal mouldings above. An innovation is the addition of a recess between the inside anartha and rāhā, filled with superimposed discs running up the height of the āṇḍi. The rāhā has two vajra-mastakas, the smaller one carved on the baraṇḍa division, with surmounting udyata lions springing above a kīrtimukha mask. In the center of the rāhā above the upper udyata lion is an āṇga-śīkhara. The horizontal mouldings of the rāhā are undevo-
rated except for five bands which run vertically up to the *bisama*. The *gandhi* above the seventh *bhumi*, including the crowning *mastaka* has collapsed.

The only temple among this group which provides us with a date is the Ananta Vāsudeva. According to a commemorative inscription originally attached to the temple, now in the Royal Asiatic Society at London, it was built in A.D. 1278 by Chandrā Devi, daughter of Anāgabhīma Deva III, during the reign of her nephew Bhānudeva I (A.D. 1264-1279). The *bāda* is *saptaratha* in plan with *pāgas* of varying width as on the Buddhānātha Śiva while the *gandhi* is basically *pañcha-ratha* with the narrow outside *anartha* being terminated in a similar manner by an *anga-śikhara* on the first *bhumi* of the flat plane of the *kanika*. This is the reverse of the decorative program of the earliest temples, dating from the Śailodbhava period, where the *gandhi* had more *pāga* divisions than the *bāda*. The wide *anartha* is decorated with four superimposed *anga-śikharas* of diminishing size which begin above the second *bhumi* (figure 47). This vertical alignment is more effective in enhancing the upward thrust of the *pāga* divisions than the horizontal alignment on the Buddhānātha Śiva temple though the addition of a recess filled with superimposed discs on the latter compensates for the missing vertical alignment of *anga-śikharas*. The *rāhā* is decorated with two *vajra-mastakas* in a similar manner, though the upper one is surmounted by a *gajakrānta* rather than *udyata*, with seven vertical bands running up the horizontal mouldings as on the Liṅgarāja. The *gandhi* rises to a height of approximately 60 feet with all of the members of the crowning *mastaka* intact, including the *cakra* surmounting the *kalaśa*. The decorative program of the Chitrakārīṇī and Yamesvara is nearly identical with the *anga-śikharas* deployed in the same manner. On the Śari Deul the *gandhi* continues the *saptaratha* plan of the *bāda* and *anga-śikharas* are eliminated altogether except for those over the *sandhi-sthala*. The *kanika* is disposed in two planes with a small *vajra-mastaka* or *kirīta* carved on the flat area of the first *bhumi* as on the Liṅgarāja. There is also one of these motifs carved on the base of both *anarthas* so that there are three of these horizontally aligned on each side of the *rāhā*. There are five vertical bands running up the horizontal mouldings of the *rāhā* above the *gaja-krānta* surmounting the upper *vajra-mastaka*. The Somanātha temple at Kacudi is decorated similarly with small *kirītas* or *caityas* or carved at the base of the first *bhumi* division though the temple is *pañcha-ratha* in plan.

There are also numerous other temples at Bhubaneswar similar to this group of temples though slightly later in date and
less ambitious in plan, consisting of a deul only. Included within this group is the Vijayesvara and several Vishnu temples within the Lingaraja compound. The most varied decorative program appears on Visha temple No. 64 (figure 48). The gandi is sapta-ratha in plan, continuing the paga division of the bada, with the kanika disposed in two planes. The rounded and projecting corner is not as pronounced as on earlier temples. A small kirtta or crest appears at the base of the flat area. The thin anartha is decorated with superimposed discs or pots extending vertically up the height of the gandi similar to the decoration in the recess on the Buddhnanatha Siva temple. The wide anartha is decorated with eight superimposed khakharu-mundis similar to the larger vajra-mundis appearing on the Brahmesvara, though here the miniature shrines have been merely blocked-out rather than ornately detailed. The rah above the projecting udyata lion is relieved with three bands running vertically up to the bisama. The horizontal mouldings, or barandis, are extremely thin throughout and devoid of ornamentation. There is no lower vajra-mastaka on the baranda, but only a small projecting udyata lion at the base of the rahu as a vestigial carry-over. The major vajra-mastaka immediately above is missing or left uncarved. There are thus no anga-sikharas in the decorative program of the gandi except for those over the entrance portal. The amalaka is supported by Dopichha-sinhhas at the corners and an image of Garuda above the rahus. In spite of this rather complete and varied decorative program for the gandi, the sculptural decoration of the bada, as on the Vijayesvara, was left unfinished, the mundi designs merely blocked-out, suggesting that they were probably the latest temples of this group, tentatively datable to the opening years of the 14th century.

This lack of decorative detail, along with a gradual decline in artistic quality, is characteristic of a group of temples to the west of the Lingaraja compound. The most ambitious decorative program in this group of temples, and the one most closely related to the Visha temple No. 64, appears on the Bakeesvara temple, situated across the road from the Yamesvara, probably dating to the early 14th century (figure 49). The deul is nearly nava-ratha in plan, as on the Meghesvara, with three pagas of varying width and a thin pilaster on each side of the rah. The facade is undulating in appearance with the pilaster, inserted between the kanika and outside anartha, conceived more as a recess. The sculptural decoration was left incomplete except for the mundi designs which are merely blocked-out. The baranda consists of ten mouldings which partake of the paga divisions and serve as the base for the gandi. The
gāndī continues the pāga divisions of the bāda with the kanika disposed on two planes and divided into ten bhūmis. The vertical extension of the thin pilaster, virtually a recess, is filled with superimposed discs or pots which extend up the height of the gāndī as on the Buddhānātha Śiva and Viṣṇu temple No. 64. The outside anartha is decorated with superimposed khākharā-muṇdis, one aligned with each bhūmi, a motif also appearing on Viṣṇu temple No. 64. The wide inside anartha is decorated with four superimposed aṅga-sīkharas of diminishing size. The upper niche of the rāhā is covered with a pīṭha roof with its crowning kalaśa extending up to the top moulding of the bāndā where it is surmounted by a projecting udyata. The single vajra-mastaka at the base of the rāhā is crowned by a projecting gaja-krānta. The āmalaka and supporting bekī figures are intact though the upper crowning member is missing.

The most completed decorative program of this late group of temples appears on the Varuṇēśvara (figure 50). The deul is pāṇcha-ratha in design with the pāga divisions continuing on the gāndī. The muṇdis are carved with figures and framing scrollwork while the recesses are filled with the standard virāla and alasā-kanyā motifs. The anartha is decorated with three superimposed aṅga-sīkharas of diminishing size while the kanika is disposed in two planes with a kirtī or caitya at the base of the flat area. The rāhā has the conventional vajra-mastaka motifs and three vertical bands of scrollwork. The decorative program is thus a rather uninspired eclectic summation of earlier designs with little artistic merit and no variations whatsoever. On other temples within this group of early 14th century temples, such as the Makareśvara, even the aṅga-sīkharas are omitted. The only ornamentation is the wide top moulding of the bāndā, demarcating it from the gāndī, and small kirtī or caitya motifs placed at the base of the pāgas, even these left uncarved. The entire decorative program of the gāndī, excluding the vajra-mastaka motifs with projecting lions, consists simply of horizontal mouldings with plain multiple facets repeated continuously up to the bisama (figure 51).

With the decline of the Gāṅga supremacy the creative force of the Orissan artist becomes rapidly exhausted. Much of the energy of the artisans appears to have been spent on adding structures such as the bhoga-maṇḍapa in front of existing temples, an activity which apparently influenced building practices in general as many of the later temples are pīṭha-deul structures, obviously an easier type of temple to construct and one which demands less ornamentation, the roof consisting merely of mouldings of diminishing size,
Occasionally there are more ambitious undertakings, such as the Narasimhanātha temple constructed at Narasinghnath in Sambalpur district by Vaijaldeva in A.D. 1413,86 or the Kapileśvara temple situated on the bank of the Gangua about a mile south of the Liṅgārāja and probably dating from the reign of Kapilendra Deva (A.D. 1435-1467). Both temples are pañcha-ratha in plan and employ standard Gaṅga features in the decorative program of the gaṇḍī. On the more ornate Narasimhanātha the kanika is disposed on two planes and the anartha is decorated with a vertical alignment of aṅga-śikharas. On the Kapileśvara, the last notable temple built at Bhubaneswar, the aṅga-śikharas are aligned horizontally at the base of the pāgas following the design on the Brahmėśvara (figure 52). The kanika is divided into only five bhūmis, however, and the anartha and rāhā above the row of aṅga-śikharas are devoid of decoration, either left incomplete or covered over with plaster. The barāṇḍa, consisting of only five mouldings, is overly heavy and the silhouette of the gaṇḍī lacks the soaring grandeur of the earlier temples.

GLOSSARY OF ARCHITECTURAL TERMS

alasā-kanyā—indolent or playful maiden (nāyikā), female figures in various poses decorating the exterior facade of the temple.

amā, āmalaka—fluted disc, resembling an āmalaka fruit or flattened melon, crowning the top of the spire.

anartha—vertical wall projection (pāga) running from the base of the bāda to the top of the gaṇḍī intermediate between the kanika and rāhā on pañcha-ratha designs; on a sapta-ratha plan there are two such anarthas, one usually very thin; on early tri-ratha temples the anartha appears only on the gaṇḍī which is pañcha-ratha in plan. Also called anurāhā, pratiratha.

aṅga-śikhara—miniature representation of rekha on the spire of a temple.

anurāhā—narrow vertical wall-part (recess) between the projecting pāgas, on later temples filled with nāga-śtambhas, virālas and alasā-kanyās on the bāda; on the gaṇḍī it is generally filled with superimposed miniature shrines though on later temples it is usually eliminated from the spire.

bāda—wall portion of the temple below the curvilinear spire, consisting of pābhāga, jāṅgha, bandhanā and barāṇḍa; on later temples the barāṇḍa is generally incorporated into the gaṇḍī on the rekha-deul.

bandhanā—string-course, series of horizontal mouldings along a wall.
baranda—moulding, single or multiple, forming the topmost element of the bāđa; on early temples consists of a horizontal recess sandwiched between two projecting mouldings to demarcate the bāđa from the gandhi, the top moulding forming the lowest barandā of the first bhumī division; on later temples it consists of multiple mouldings without a recess and serves as the base for the gandhi with a minor vajra-mastaka carved on its rāhā portion.

barandā—horizontal mouldings forming a bhumī division on the gandhi.
beki—neck part of temple between the spire and the āmalaka.
beki-bhairava—crouching figure on the beki helping to support the āmalaka.
bho—an ornamental motif of a highly ornate caitya-medallion crowned by a kārtimukha with flanking figures, the pattern resembling a coat-of-arms; vajra-mastaka.

bhoga-mandapa—the refectory hall of a temple, generally added in front of the nāṭa-mandira on the east-west axial alignment.
bhumī—story, plane, horizontal division of the spire or gandhi.
bhumī-amlā—fluted disc demarcating one set of mouldings forming a bhumī from another on the kanika.
bisama—topmost course of the spire above the top bhumī-amlā, immediately below the beki.
caitya—ornamental motif, resembling the window of a rock-cut caitya-hall in the general shape of a horseshoe.
deul—general name for the temple as a whole; when used alone it refers to the sanctuary as distinguished from the hall or jagamohana.
dopichhā-sinха—a lion with two hind parts at right angles to each other often placed in the beki above the corner pāgas to help support the āmalaka.
gaja-krānta—lion seated with three legs on an elephant with one paw held in front of the chest as if ready to strike the elephant; generally placed above the major vajra-mastaka on the gandhi where it projects out from the silhouette of the spire.
gandhi—curvilinear spire above the bāđa; divided into pāgas, vertically, and bhumīs, horizontally; śikhara.
garbha-grīha—innermost chamber, or womb, of the temple, containing the image or symbol of the main divinity.
garbha-mūda—lowermost ceiling of the sanctum.
garbhikā—architectural element above and below the niche of the pāgas, generally in the shape of a miniature shrine.
gavākṣa—mullioned window, square window with balusters or lattice work, decorating the center north and south projections of the jagamohana.
gavākṣa-mañḍana—sculptured panel above the gavākṣa window.
ghantā—bell-shaped member in the finial of a pīḍha-deul.
jagamohana—rectangular or square hall or porch in front of the sanctum.
jāli—any perforated or honeycombed pattern.
jāngha—vertical wall portion of the bāda between the mouldings; on later temples it may be divided into two stories by a string-course.
kalaśa—water jar; crowning element of the temple in the form of a stone vase, figuring as the container of the nectar of immortality.
kanika—corner vertical segment running from the base of the bāda to the top of the gaṇḍi; also called konikā: karna.
khākhāra—semi-cylindrical member resembling the fruit kakhāru, a local variety of pumpkin.
khākhāra-deul—temple having a khākhāra as the crowning member; oblong in shape and in Orissa always dedicated to a form of the goddess.
khākhāra-muṇḍi—miniature representation of a khākhāra temple as an ornamental motif; on later temples it is the standard decoration for the projecting subsidiary pāgas on the lower jāṅgha.
khapuri—skull; slightly curved stone slab covering the roof of the āmalaka: kharpara.
kirtīta—crest, crown, tiara, diadem, often appearing at the base of the first bhūmi.
kirtimukha—"face of glory", decorative motif showing the grinning face of a lion, frequently with festoons of pearls dripping from its mouth; appears at the apex of the vajra-mastaka.
kumbha-stambha—pillar with a kumbha (water pot) at the base and top.
madhya-bandhanā—string-course in the middle of the jāṅgha.
manḍapa—hall in front of the main shrine; jagamohana mastaka—crowning element above the spire or gaṇḍi.
mithuna—amorous couple.
muṇḍi—miniature shrine as decorative motif.
nāga-stambha—pillar encircled by one or more nāgas (serpents with human features from the waist upwards).
nāṭa-mandira—festive hall generally placed in front of jagamohana; dancing hall.
pābhāga—set of lowermost mouldings at the base of the temple; paṇca-karma.
pāga—vertical projecting divisions of the wall and spire of the temple; ratha.
pārśva-devatā—deities connected in doctrine with the main divinity of the temple, placed in niches of the central projections.
phent—projecting profile curving upwards, cyma, generally carved with lotus-petals.
pīṭha—downward curving pediment; projecting member constituting the pyramidal roof of a jagamohana.
plāḍha-deul—temple with roof made of plāḍhas in steps of diminishing size forming a pyramidal shape with crowning mastaka.
plāḍha-munḍi—miniature representation of the plāḍha-deul as an ornamental motif.
plāḍha—base or platform of the temple below the pābhāga; plinth.
pūrṇa-ghāṭa—jar overflowing with foliage; vase of plenty, abundance.
rāhā—central vertical projection on the temple; on the bāḍa its niche houses the pārśva-devatā; on the gaṇḍi it is decorated with the vajra-mastaka with crowning kirtimukha and projecting lion motif; bhadrā.
ratha—projecting vertical segment on the outer face of a temple; pāga. Temples with three, five, seven and nine such rathas are respectively known as tri-ratha, pañcha-ratha, sapta-ratha and nava-ratha.
rekhā-deul—order of temple characterized by a curvilinear spire which presents the appearance of a continuous line.
sandhi-sthala—wall portion connecting the deul with the jagamohana.
sikhāra—spire of the temple; gaṇḍi.
stambha—pillar, pilaster.
sūtra—measuring thread, canon of architecture.
tala-bandhanā—string-course at the base of the jāṅgha, above the pābhāga.
tala-garbhiṅkā—decorative wall element below the central niche.
torana—portal, porch, entrance, arch.
udyātā—lion seated on a platform with both hindlegs on the ground appearing ready to leap; generally projecting from the rāhā above a kirtimukha mask.
ūrdhva-bandhanā—string-course above the jāṅgha and below the spire.
ūrdhva-garbhiṅkā—decorative wall element above the niche.
vajra-mastaka—prominent ornament on the front of the rāhā at the base of the gaṇḍi, smaller on other parts of the temple, generally consisting of cāitya-medallions crowned by a kirtimukha; a protective device, it was believed that the security of a temple depended on the strength and stability of this element.
vimānikā—small spire crowning the top of pāgas.
virāla—a rampant lion springing on a crouching elephant or on a demonish human figure; generally placed in anurāhā recesses of lower jāṅgha; vyāla.

*Adapted from Debala Mitra, Bhubaneswar (New Delhi, 1961) and Alice Boner and Sadāśiva Rath Šarmā, trans. Šilpa Prakāśa (Leiden 1966).
Fig. 3 Śatrughneśvara temple; vajra-mastaka on ganḍi above entrance portal

Fig. 4 Khanderpur: Paśchimeśvara temple; deul

Fig. 5 Barakar: Siddheśvara temple; ganḍi

Fig. 6 Sirpur: Laksmaṇa temple; deul
Fig. 13 Śiśireśvara temple: vajra-mastoka on front facade; circa 775 A.D.

Fig. 14 Vaitāl Deul: southwest corner of deul; late 8th C
Fig. 17 Sihhanātha temple: late 9th C

Fig. 18 Khiching: Nilakanthesvara (Kutāinādl) temple; late 9th-early 10th C (reconstructed)
Fig. 19 Rānipur-Jhāriāl: Viṣṇu brick temple; late 9th C- early 10th C

Fig. 20 Palāri (Chattisgarh): Siddhesvara brick temple circa 675-685 A.D.
Fig. 21 Gandharādi: Siddhāśvara temple; late 9th C

Fig. 22 Baudh: Kapileśvara temple; early 10th C
(courtesy Archaeological Survey of India)
Fig. 30 Ekāmbareśvara temple; early 11th C (courtesy American Institute of Indian Studies, Benares).
Fig. 33 Khajuraho: Kandariya Mahadeva; detail with āṅga-śikharaς.

Fig. 34 Udaypur: Udayeśvara temple; śikhara with āṅga-śikharaς.

Fig. 35 Liṅgarāja: detail showing kanika disposed on two planes; āṅga-śikharaς; vajra-mastaka.
Fig. 36 Temple next to Tirthesvara; early 12th C

Fig. 37 Siddhesvara temple; early 12th C
Fig. 38 Rāmeśvara; early 12th C

Fig. 39 Puri: Jagannātha temple; mid-12th C
Fig. 40 Pārvatī temple; gāndhi; mid-13th C (courtesy of American Institute of Indian Studies, Benares).
Fig. 41 Megheśvara temple; *circa* 1190-1195 A.D.

Fig. 42 Kisenpur: Chatēśvara temple; *circa* 1220 A.D.
Fig. 43 Mādhava: Mādhavananda temple; 13th C

Fig. 44 Banpur: Daksāprājapati Śiva temple; 13th C
Fig. 45 Kakudiā : Gopinātha temple; 2nd half 13th C

Fig. 46 Garuḍipañchana : Buddhanātha Śiva temple; 13th C
Fig. 47 Ananta-Vāsudeva temple; 1278 A. D.

Fig. 48 Viṣṇu temple, No. 64: circa 1300 A. D.
(courtesy AIIS, Benares)
Fig. 49 Bakeśvara temple; *circa* 1300 A. D.

Fig. 50 Varuṇeśvarā temple; *circa* 1300 A. D.
Fig. 51 Makareśvara temple; 14th C

Fig. 52 Kapileśvara temple; 15th C
REFERENCES

1. The more exotic khakhara order, always dedicated to a form of the goddess, is oblong in plan and covered by a barrel-vaulted roof.

2. The earliest jagamohanas are rectangular and covered by a terraced roof sloping in two stages. A nata-mandira and bhoga-mandapa were often added in front of the jagamohana on the largest Orissan temples but in only a few late examples were these parts of the original plan.


6. There are a few scattered pidha-deul temples, small in size and devoid of sculptural decoration, including the Nilakanthe-vara at Padmapur in Koraput district, but these are actually later than the early rekha temples at Bhubaneswar and play no role in the evolution of the Orissan temple. See Indian Archaeology 1966-67, A Review, ed. M. N. Deshpande (New Delhi, 1975), p. 29, pl. XVIIa.

7. The Laksmanesvara may originally have had a jagamohana. See Krishna Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar (Calcutta, 1961), p. 148.


9. The Parasuramesvara can be dated stylistically and on palaeographical evidence to the early part of the 7th century. See Panigrahi, JRASB, 109–118.


11. The number of ceilings increases on later temples in keeping with the increased height of the deul. See Debala Mitra, Bhubaneswar (New Delhi, 1961), p. 18.

12. See Panigrahi. Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, figs. 26–27.

13. The dopicha-sinhas (lions with two hind parts at right angles to each other) in the beki of the Parasuramesvara were added during restoration of the temple and are not parts of the original design. See Mitra, op. cit., p. 26.


15. The bada of the Parasuramesvara, for example, is approximately 19 feet 6 inches square, as is that of the Brahmaesvara, yet the spire of the latter rises to a height of 60 feet from the ground, nearly 20 feet higher than that of the Parasuramesvara.

16. The sikhara on the Calukyan temples appear more as a superfluous appendage added on top of the flat-roofed rectangular structure and their decoration in no way can be considered an extension of the exterior wall decoration, exceptions being later temples such as the Chakragudi at Athole and the Kasi Visvesvara (figure 27) and Jambulingesvara at Pattadakal.

17. At Alampur the sikhara are tri-ratha in design, so this recessed chase appears between the ratha and the kanika.
18. This decorative motif does not project out as far as on the temples at Alam- 
pur, Ahole or Pattadakal where it frequently serves as a roof for the antarala 
but rather is flush with the architrave above the doorframe or parsudevata 
niche.
19. This has also been interpreted as Arnapurna offering alms to Siva, see Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, p. 76, or as a Blikschatana-
murti of Siva by D. Mitra, op. cit., p. 28.
20. The gandi of a small sunken temple in the south-east corner of the Yameshvara 
compound is tri-ratha in plan but was probably a subsidiary shrine and not 
the major temple of this complex.
21. For a photograph of this shrine see R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa, II (Calcutta, 
1931), pl. 4 between pp. 420-421.
22. The shifting of the subsidiary pagas to the corners is presaged on the slightly 
earlier Uttaresvara temple where narrow stambhas appear on the corners, a 
feature common on Calukya temples in Telingana and introduced into Orissa 
at this time though not popular at Bhubaneswar until the Somavamsi period. 
The carving of a large purana-ghata on the pabhaga, now increased to four 
mouldings, on the other hand, suggests influence from Chittisgarh in Mah-
kosala.
24. On the jagamohana the corner pagas have a single bhumi design crowned by an 
amalaka, a design even closer related to the pidha-mundu.
27. Krishna C. Panigrahi, Chronology of the Bhima-karas and the Somavamsis of 
Orissa (Madras, 1961), p. 15.
29. It has been suggested that the plan was necessitated by the Tantric puja per-
formed, both the temples and deities being made “in the form of mandalas or 
mystic figures, with the help of which the Tantrikas wanted to attain their 
siddhas.” See Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, p. 158.
30. The Varahi is a khakhara temple and thus not pertinent to our study.
31. The bada of the main shrine measures 15 feet square whereas those of the sub-
triary shrines are only 7 feet 6 inches square. See Debala Mitra, “Pancha-Pandava 
32. This presages the placement of an udya tu lion above the vajra-mastaka on 
later temples.
33. On the contemporary Somesvara temple at Mukhalingam there are bulls placed 
in the beki above the kanika-pagas suggesting South Indian influence.
34. Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, p. 160.
35. The Tirthesvara and Gauri temples are slightly earlier though the gandi on the 
former is mostly undecorated and the Gauri is a khakhara-temple. The decor-
a tion of their badas is almost identical to that of the Muktesvara but not as refined.
36. For the stylistic evolution and iconography of the vajra-mastaka motif see my 
upcoming article in East and West.
37. James Ferguson, A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II (London, 

39. Most of the Brahmins in Orissa still trace their origin to these ten thousand Brahmins. See Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 250.

40. The earliest examples of major figures being carved in high relief, rather than being encased in niches in the indigenous tradition, appear on the pointed corners of the triple temples at Baudh where this technique was dictated by necessity as it would have been impossible to sink niches into pilasters meeting at sharp angles. On the Tirthesvara, Gauri and Muktesvara temples figures carved in high relief appear only on the corner *pagas*.

41. The miniature *rekha-deuls* on the four corners of the *jagamohanas* of the Vaital Deul and Mukhtalingesvara are obvious exceptions as are the miniature *vajramundis* filling the *amruta* recesses.

42. The use of multiple horizontal mouldings for a *baranda* rather than a deep recess sandwiched between two projecting mouldings is presaged on the brick temples in Chhattisgarh, such as at Palari (figure 20), though it is not clear if it represents a *baranda* or an upper story of the *jangha*.


44. This is similar to, though smaller than, one carved on the *gavaksa* pediment of the Muktesvara and is obviously influenced by Central Indian conventions where these *udgama* motifs were standard decorative features.


46. The *rahas* of the Brahmesvara project out an additional 34 inches on each side, much more than on the Parasuramesvara, but this does not affect the basic size of the *boda*.


52. See Ramacandra Kaulacara, *Silpa Prakasa*, trans. by Alice Boner and Sadashiva Rath Sarma (Leiden, 1966), p. 117, for the descriptions of these lion motifs.

53. The decoration of the *gandi* on the half-buried Valukesvara temple to the east of the main gate of the compound is identical to the Lingaraja but on a much smaller scale.

54. Estimates of the height of the *deul* vary from 144 to 180 feet. According to R. Mitra (op. cit., II, p. 130), who had a man climb up to the top with a rope and measuring tape, the height from the courtyard to the top of the *kalasa* was 160 feet.


56. Because of the thick-set heavy-shouldered *gandi* of these temples and the lack of the full-fledged crowning elements on the *jagamohana* of the Siddhesvara, Debala Mitra (*Bhubaneswar*, pp. 44-45) assigns these temples a date prior to the Rajarani, suggesting they betray an immaturity in concept. There are other features, however, both stylistic and iconographic, which relate them to artistic conventions of the early Ganga period. The Kedaresvara temple, in addition, does have all of the constituent components in its crowning *mstaka* of the *jagamohana*. 
59. *ibid*, p. 41.
60. Dimensions as given by M. M. Ganguly, *Orissa and Her Remains* (Calcutta, 1912), p. 417. According to R. Mitra (*op. cit.*, p. 197), however, the height is 192 feet.
61. Part of this, no doubt, is due to the heavy plastering of the *gandi* as most of this has been removed from the *bada*.
65. A similar temple must have been built at Khiching as fragments have been incorporated into the recently constructed Kichakesvari temple.
66. The *bada*, however, evinces a rather crowded effect due to the profuse amount of ornamental detail.
67. *Epigraphia Indica*, VI (1900-01), pp. 198-203. K. C. Miséra (*op. cit.*, p. 57) records the date as A.D. 1182 though he does not provide his source. Since Svapnesvara served under two kings there is some discrepancy as to the actual date of construction.
68. The decoration of the *jagamohana* of the Meghesvara was not carried out though the *pabhaga* designs suggest it would have been similar to that of the contemporary temple of Sobhanesvara at Niali on the banks of the Prachi river.
69. Part of this crowding is now alleviated, unintentionally, by the plundering of images from the recesses.
70. The height of the *deul* is thus only 51 feet.
72. Many of the decorative sculptures bear a striking similarity to motifs on the Rajarani while the *gavaksa* of the *jagamohana* is flanked by *naga-stambhas* and the window filled with *jali* patterns as on early Somavansi temples such as at Chaurasi or Gandharadari, again testifying to the predilection for archaizing in the early Ganga period.
73. Some of the *anga-sikhara* are badly damaged and others obviously restored. It is difficult to tell how faithful the reconstruction is to the original design.
76. Debala Mitra, *Konarak* (New Delhi, 1968), p. 11, pl. 1. The drawing was published as an engraving some 10 years after his visit to the site and is not very accurate in regard to details, the *gandi* portion appearing as an afterthought and distorted so that it appears as if it is a portion of the east façade.
77. These superimposed shrines are not included, nor is the *kanika* disposed on two planes, in the palm leaf drawings, mostly imaginative, produced in Boner, Sarma and Das, *op. cit.*, pls. 2, 6.
78. This is evident in the numerous depictions of the Raja engaged in various activities, as well as countless battle scenes, carved on the temple.
79. At Korarak, through the munificence of Narasimha’s personal wealth, stone of high quality was imported from various parts of Orissa for many of the major sculptures though the remaining images were built of a poor quality of khondalite.
80. According to local tradition the temple was constructed by Anangabhima III (A.D. 1211—1238), an attribution probably stemming from his association with the Jagannatha temple at Puri, which he is also credited with building, and his widespread fame as an able minister who, in fact, did construct many temples in addition to building roads and excavating numerous tanks.

81. Another exception is the Biranchinarayana temple at Palia in the Bhadrak sub-division of Balasore district which is a four-door shrine.


83. On the Angesvara, a brick temple situated in the village of Pitapada along the Prac river, diminutive shrines appear at the base of the paga divisions though their decoration has not survived. The kanika is not disposed on two planes, however, and, being brick, is not divided into bhumi divisions nor are the pagas multi-faceted.

84. In that the vajra-mundi becomes synthesized with the khakhara-mundi, i.e., the khakhara-shaped crown is ornamented with a large vajra-mastaka, there is no clear-cut distinction between them or later temples. On early temples the vajra-mundi is crowned by a double caitya motif, duplicating the design of the major vajra-mastaka. On later temples, however, the bho-type vajra-mastaka consists of only one caitya and the vajra-mundi design changes accordingly.

85. The jagamohana decoration appears to have been more complete though the structure has collapsed into a heap of rubble.

DECORATIVE MOTIFS OF ORISSAN Temples

THOUGH vast in number, the temple sculptures in the ultimate analysis reduce themselves into some broad classes. They can even at once be divided into two broad categories, namely the cult images and the decorative motifs. The first category includes the representations of gods and goddesses and episodes from their lives, and the second, a variety of subjects or objects introduced to beautify the structures or to create a religious atmosphere about them. The decorative motifs embrace within their scope the male and female figures, erotic sculptures, semi-divine beings such as Gandharvas, Nagas, Yaksas, Kinnaras etc., griffins, enigmatic figures of amusing character, fauna and flora, scrolls and arabesques, fables and stories, Chaitya arches and lotus medallions and others of similar decorative character. Most of the temples of Orissa, particularly the early ones assigned to the early medieval period, were decorated with these motifs and with them they stood as the epitomes of beauty, breathing a religious fervour and serenity around them.

Of these decorative motifs, erotic sculptures scarcely make their appearance in the early temples, but they occur in profusion in late ones, particularly in the great temple of Konarak. Because of their profusion in this particular temple and because of their revolting character, these erotic figures have claimed greater attention and have come in for greater criticism than any other class of decoration. One notable writer of Indian architecture, Mr. Percy Brown, has even gone to the length of doubting the survival of the demoralised race of people who were responsible for carving them in stone and who, according to him, might have carried into practice the gross vulgarities displayed by these figures. These sweeping remarks however betray a lack of knowledge of the origin and purpose of these plastic obscenities and also of Orissan history. Mr. Brown further attempts to strengthen his remarks by contending that the present people of Orissa will be hardly capable of raising a stupendous structure like the Konarak temple, but he does not tell
Decorative Motifs of Orissan Temples

us as to which part of India or the world will at present be capable of producing an exact replica of Konarak (Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Buddhist and Hindu Period, first edition, pp. 126-27).

To judge a matchless monument of the past against the background of the present, is to miss the whole perspective of its study. Mr. Brown’s theory is also not borne out by the known facts of the Orissan history. The Ganga period, of which this matchless temple was a product, was followed by an equally or even a more brilliant period of the Orissan history and it was ushered in by Gajapati Kapilendra-deva who was a son of the soil (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIX, 1901, p. 175). The empire established by him at one time extended from the Ganges in the north to the Kaveri in the south (*Further sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I, p. 120) and that too at a time when Orissa was sandwiched between the powerful Muslim and Hindu states both in the north and south. The people of this eastern coast of India showed their last vitality in the Gajapati Period and so, if a change of catastrophic character as imagined by Mr. Brown is to be sought in the Orissan history, it should be sought in the post-Gajapati period in the sixteenth century and after and not before it when the temple of Konarak was built in the thirteenth Century. The Orissan history does not record any such catastrophic change before the sixteenth Century, but in the drama of the rise and fall of the civilised races of the world, events unknown to history and unknowable by the ordinary standard of human knowledge have played no small part and the past and the present of many peoples are by no means of consistent nature. Orissa is no exception to this freak of human history.

Actuated by a modern spirit of research, scholars have perhaps attached more significance to these erotic figures than their creators and the vast majority of the faithful visiting the temple shrines, could have ever dreamt of. These figures are by no means an isolated phenomenon in the temples of Konarak and of Orissa, although at Konarak they occur in profusion. But profusion is a characteristic of the art of this temple and it shows no stint in respect of any type of decoration. Obscene or erotic figures “occur on the temples of Khajuraho in Central India, at Madura, in certain of the eleventh Century temples of the Dekkan, as for instance at Balsane in Khandesh and in the Asvera at Sinnar in the Nasik district.” They occur on the wooden Rathas of the Bengali Vaishnavas and have been kept in some modern shrines of Bengal (R.D. Banerji—*History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 401). They decorate the modern Nepalese temples of which a wooden temple built by the Nepalese near the observatory at Banaras is a notable example. In Orissa they are absent from the
earliest temples, but they first make their appearance on the temples assignable to the Bhauma Period (eighth-nineth Century A.D.), which was dominated by the Mahayana form of Buddhism that fostered Tantrism. The present writer has therefore held the view that their occurrence on the Orissan temples is due to the Tantric influence (Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, p. 103 ff.). Dr. N. R. Ray, an eminent scholar of Indian art, makes the following observation on them:

"The present writer can bear witness to the fact that he has seen Oriya villagers of the present day look at the panorama of life stretching before their eyes on the walls of Konarak with as much unconcern and detachment as belong to the figures themselves, while the middle-class educated students either shrink or glance at them through a corner of their bashful eyes!" (The Struggle for Empire, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, pp. 653-54).

Among the other decorative motifs of the Orissan temples the female figures that occur on them are the most beautiful products of the Orissan sculptures. Each of them is like a piece of love poem written on stone, which occurring alongside the serious scenes of religious significance, the stereotyped forms of cult-images or the obscene figures of voluptuous poses, provide a diversion and relief to a discerning visitor. The origin of the decorative female figures goes back to remote antiquity. They are first noticed in the Jaina and Buddhist stupas. The railing pillars of the Buddhist stupa at Bahrutt, of the Bodhi tree shrine at Bodh-Gaya and of the Jaina stupa at Kankali Tila near Mathura, have yielded a large number of decorative female figures which are now preserved in several of the museums in India.

There may be noticed certain features which link the female figures of the early monuments with those of the Orissan temples. In these two classes of monuments separated by centuries the figures have been mostly depicted with trees by their sides and in both they stand in torana-bhanjika or sala-bhanjika poses. Again they are found decorating their own persons, holding beautiful objects or engaged in some kind of feminine pastime. That many of them in the early monuments represent semi-divine beings is proved by the inscriptions on the railing pillars of the Bahrutt stupa, which describe them as Yaksis. Here in the temples of Orissa, the supernatural character of these female figures is proved by the fact that most of them have been represented as standing on lotuses, and sometimes with lotuses serving as canopies over their heads. Their semi-divine character is thus indicated by the manner of their representation,
In Orissa these decorative female figures are known as alasa-kanyakas, a term which may indicate women in idle mood, but in north India they are known as sura-sundaris or the beauties of the heaven. Many of these figures represent conventional poetical ideas to be found in Sanskrit literature. That an Asoka tree blossoms at the touch of the feet of a beautiful woman, is a conventional poetical idea which is to be found in several Sanskrit works like the Meghaduta, Malavikagnimitra, etc. and this conventional, poetical idea has been executed in stone by the ancient artists of Orissa. In fact, for inspiration and for achieving grace and elegance in their creations both the poet and the artist had to borrow ideas from the same common source, viz., the Sanskrit literature. We do not, however, go to the length of suggesting that certain motifs or forms have been inspired by a particular poet or poets like Kalidasa or Bhavabhuti. All that is intended to be said is that certain well-known poetical ideas were widely current in the periods when the temples were built, and that the sculptures have depicted them in stone to lend charm and elegance to their creations. It is also to be noted that the sculptors in reproducing these ideas have been inspired by their beauty and appropriateness rather than by a desire to depict the real life of the society in which they lived.

Although these female figures are conventional, they are not completely devoid of human sentiments. The females holding babies, plucking flowers or fruits, writing love letters, putting on ornaments, or engaged in similar feminine pastimes, that we find in the Orissan temples, are not always devoid of human sentiments, although such sentiments are of universal and ideal nature.

The Chaitya windows or arches form a very large part in the decoration of the Orissan temples. In fact, in the earlier temples all important cult-images except the parsva-devatas and religious scenes are found in the medallions or shallow niches enclosed by the Chaitya arches. The form of the window or arch has changed from period to period and, therefore, such changes possess a special chronological significance. In the earlier temples they are to be found in post-Gupta forms and in the later ones they are seen in highly stylised forms.

The lotus medallions and foliated vas capitals are the distinguishing features of the earlier temples belonging to the early medieval period and in later ones they have become stylised so much so that they have become merely the semblances of their earlier models. In the earlier temples like the Parasuramesvara and the Svarnaajalesvara
the lotus medallions consist of lotus petals shown in full profile with corollas at the centres, but in the later great temples like the Lingarāja and the Konarak they are totally absent. Alongside these decorative motifs occur the semi-divine figures like the Nagas and Nagis holding garlands in their hands, the flying Vidyadharas, the corpulent Yaksas and the bearded Siddhas descending from heaven.

The secular figures are rarely represented on the temple structures, but an exception has been made in the case of royal personages, builders of the temples, ascetics and worshippers who have been allowed to appear alongside the gods and goddesses and semi-divine figures. The musicians and dancers too have been allowed to decorate the edifices. Artistically the grills of the Parasuramesvara temple with dancing figures appeared to be so excellent to Mr. Percy Brown that he has described them in following words:

"But one portion stands out as being a product of exceptional merit, namely the two stone grills one on each side of the west doorway (Plate LXXI, Figs. 2 and 3). These represent figures of young dancers and musicians with trumpet and with shawm, lute and cymbal, so grouped as to form perforated stone windows. In some respects these panels might be reproductions in stone of one Della Rabbia's glazed terra-cotta reliefs, excelling even the work of that famous Florentine in their vigour and rhythm, and evidently the creation of one who left this brilliant work of art as the sole record of his inimitable genius (ibid, p. 120)."

Most likely Mr Brown did not notice the grill fixed to the laterite wall in the Kapilesvara temple at Bhubaneswar, or else he would not have called those in the Parasuramesvara a sole record of inimitable genius of an Orissan artist, for, the figures of the Kapilevara piece in their vigour, rhythm and linear treatment far excel their parallels at Parasuramesvar.

The decorative art in the temple structures in Orissa reached its zenith at Konarak. Speaking of the sculptures of the Konarak temple, the same critic, Mr Percy Brown, says:

"Few buildings can boast of such an unrestrained abundance of plastic decoration as this vast structure, every portion of the exterior being moulded and chiselled either in the form of abstract geometrical ornament, conventional foliage, mythical animals, fabulous beings half human and half serpent coils, figures satanic and figures divine, of every conceivable motif and subject known to the Indian mind and in a..."
which ranges from pattern cut with minute precision of cameo to powerfully modelled groups of colossal size."

Havel records the following appreciative remarks about the colossal war horses of Konarak:

"Had it by chance been labelled 'Roman' or 'Greek', this magnificent work of art would now be the pride of some great metropolitan museum in Europe and America. Here Indian sculptors have shown that they can express with as much fire and passion as the greatest European art the pride of victory and the glory of triumphant warfare: for not even the Homeric grandeur of the Elgin marbles surpasses the magnificent movement and modelling of the Indian Achilles and the superbly monumental war-horse in its massive strength and vigour is not unworthy of comparison with Verrochhio's famous masterpiece in Venice."
CHAPTER 49

MUSLIM MONUMENTS AT CUTTACK

The Muslim Kings of India were great builders. They constructed buildings of lasting interest because they were great lovers of art. Moreover, these buildings would be the means of perpetuating their names and would lavish upon them the praise of all. Sher Shah is reported to have lamented that God did not give him a longer life so that he could construct buildings “with such architectural embellishments that friend and foe might render their tribute of applause.”

The Subedars and the Nazims of the provinces imitated the style of their masters within the means available to them. The provincial architecture of India, therefore, is no less beautiful and numerous than the imperial architecture. During the two centuries of Muslim rule in Orissa from 1568 A.D. to 1751 A.D. mosques, tombs, graveyards, residences of the governors and forts were constructed. The town of Cuttack, which enjoyed for a long time the honour of being the political capital has also remained the cultural and architectural metropolis of Orissa.

The Diwan Bazar mosque is the oldest of these monuments constructed by Diwan Murshid Quli Jafar Khan, who was the trusted friend and administrator of Aurangzeb. According to the inscriptions inside the mosque, it was constructed in 1079 A.H. i.e., 1666 A.D. Though small in structure, the mosque has a beauty of its own. It is one of those rare monumental buildings at Cuttack that have escaped the ravages of time and are kept in good condition. The mosque as it stands today was not constructed at any single period. The Saiban and the Peshgah were built at later periods. Symmetrical vaults and arches adorn the unpartitioned hall. The semi-spherical domes and a few small towns add to its overall beauty. To crown all, a large pond situated near the mosque attaches a natural charm to its religious sanctity.

The Jami Masjid at Balubazar may be regarded as the magnum opus of Muslim monuments in Orissa. It easily surpasses all
others in matters of beauty and grandeur. Aurangzeb’s piety and devotion to Islam resulted in his ordering the provincial governors to construct mosques in their territories. The Jami Masjid at Balubazar was built by Khan-i-Khanan Nawab Nazim Ikram Khan in 1102 A.H. i.e., 1689 A.D. He dedicated the mosque to Aurangzeb’s daughter Shahzada Begum.

The Jami Masjid is constructed in conformity with all the basic principles of an Islamic prayer house. It stretches from east to west to facilitate the performance of prayer by the devotees in India, who while praying should turn towards Mecca.

The access to the Jami Masjid at present is through the southern gate built much later. Inside the courtyard there is a cistern or ‘hauz’ for the purpose of ‘wuzu’ or ablutions. Inside the main hall there is a pulpit called ‘mimbar’ with three steps from where the Imam delivers his Khutba. The various niches or ‘mihrabs’ indicating the Qibla enhance the beauty of the mosque. The vast hall is unpartitioned to hold the congregation at the time of prayers. Islam enjoins on its followers the need of congregational prayers, to maintain and develop unity and brotherhood. The mosque is enclosed by a dead wall “lest through some opening some human or animal form or some disturbing material object may lure away the penitents’ thoughts from ‘Allah’.” Three stately and magnificent bulbous domes or cupola and a few other small domes add a pearl-like decoration to this structure. To crown all, there are the two tall and elegant towers on both sides of the mosque. The most interesting objects here are the stairs leading to the top of the towers from where a brilliant view of the Cuttack city can be had.

The Qadam-i-Rasool, enclosed on all sides by high stone walls, is the main burial ground of the Muslims at Cuttack. Here lies the grave of Nawab Mohammad Taqi Khan, the Deputy Nazim of Orissa who died in 1148 A.H. (1735 A.D.). Among other notable graves are those of Fateh Khan who died in 1182 A.H. (1770 A.D.) and Azam Khan who died in 1188 A.H. (1776 A.D.). Both of them were generals during the Maratha regime and the locality near the central jail is named after the latter as Azam Khan Bazar. A few tombs of the saints can also be seen in the Qadam-i-Rasool. A saint Shahid Panni who died in 1193 A.H. (1781 A.D.) is also buried here.

Inside the Qadam-i-Rasool is situated a mosque built in 1130 A.H. (1718 A.D.). In structure it is similar to the Ujale Khan mosque at Mohammodia Bazar built in 1128 A.H. (1716 A.D.) and the Shahi Masjid inside the Barabati fort. All the
three mosques are adorned with beautiful domes on hexagonal bases. The stones and tiles used in their construction are also of the same quality. The Shahi Masjid has suffered from the ravages of time and is unfortunately not well preserved. It remained long in disuse and is again used for prayer since the last few years. It seems that during the British rule of Orissa it was used as a magazine as it is apparent from the two Mihrabs on the flanks which are bricked up. In boldness of conception and excellence of execution, these three mosques, however, are inferior to the Jami Masjid and the Diwan Bazar mosque. The resemblance of structural designs and materials and the proximity of their dates lead me to believe that these three mosques were built during the rule of Nawab Shuja-ud-din Khan who was then the Deputy Nazim of Orissa.

The shrine at Qadam-i-Rasool is a monument of beauty built by Shujauddin Khan, the deputy Nazim of Orissa. According to the Siyar-ul-Mutakherin, "He was a man of moderate temper and a lover of justice, and he bore a character for many valuable qualifications that had acquired him the esteem and respect of all the world." He was also a patron of letters and a keen lover of art and architecture. The village of Shujagadh near Kakatpur is most probably christened after him.

The main burial ground of the Muslims at Cuttack is the Qadam-i-Rasool enclosed on all sides by high stone walls. At four corners of this compound there are four small yet strong towers constructed out of chiselled stones. The Qadam-i-Rasool including the Naubat Khana covers 57 acres of land. Various authorities have from time to time made donations of land for its upkeep and maintenance. Thus Nawab Shujauddin Khan donated 50 batis, Nawab Ali Vardi Khan, 90, Janoji Bhonsle, the Raja of Berar granted a Sanad at Kharagpur and donated 31 batis and last but not the least, emperor Farukh-Siyar donated 70 batis. The British Government in 1838 confirmed all these grants.

The entrance to the Qadam-i-Rasool is through the Naubat Khana (Music gallery) constructed much later in 1169 A.H. (1757 A.D.) by Masaleh-ud-din who was Nawab Taqi Khan’s son. The chronogram of the Naubat Khana is wrongly translated by Mr. Cato an English scholar and is published in the journal of Asiatic Society No. 73 of 1838 on page 206. The original Persian Chronogram is:

جو طبل کفررا سر بشتی رود
لُو بخت خانگر دین سال فاتی
Mr. Cato who seems to be ignorant of the art of making chronogram in Persian has translated it thus: "When the king broke the heads of infidels, read the year (in) of the music gallery of the faith "(year of the Hijra 1169)". The correct translation will be as follows: "If you break the head of the word طبل (drum) of infidelity meaning that if you take away the numerical value of the letter "ب" from the word طبل which is 9 and deduct it from the numerical figures of the words لومت خاژر دین then you will get the year of its construction." In other words, deduct 9 from 1178 and the result will be 1169 Hijri.

Thus the chronogram on the Naubat Khana is an artistic mathematical formula to calculate the date of its construction and not the record of fanaticism of Muslim Kings as Mr. Cato took it to be.

The Sarai constructed by Nawab Shujauddin is a simple structure consisting of six chambers for the residence of travellers with a big gate in the centre. It is adorned with four flat domes.

Pucca pavements from all directions of the graveyard lead to the main octagonal building in the centre with a majestic magnificent dome, perhaps the biggest in Orissa. It was constructed in 1127 Hijri (1715 A.D.) by Shujauddin Khan with the specific purpose of sheltering the sacred relics of the prophet. The octagonal building has a door each in the North, South, East and West. The floor is also divided into eight sections and is covered with black and white square marble pieces. The foot-print of the Prophet engraved in a circular stone is placed in the centre of the monument. The inner part of the big dome is indeed the most beautiful part of the building and is covered with delicately-coloured floral paintings fully illustrating the remark that Islamic painting is "Cloth-embroidery transferred to stone." The dome outside is adorned with a golden pinnacle.
The Persian inscriptions on the building translated into English are as follows:—

“It was with the name of Allah, the most Gracious and the Merciful”.

1. It was during the reign of the emperor of the world Alamgir II on whose threshold great monarchs like Naushirvan and Qaisar are mere sentinels.

2. Shujauddin Mohammed Khan who is a reputed and generous officer protects the earth from the oppression of the sky and that too on account of his exalted position.

3. The brilliance of his face is but a reflection of the divine light and his very suspicious fortune speaks of his greatness.

4. The sweet perfume of his politeness vies with that of paradise and the very garden of paradise becomes scented with the sweet-smelling flower of his beauty.

5. He is as exalted as the sky, innocent like an angel, a man of good principle and God-fearing. His very generosity is a healing balm to wounded hearts.

6. God gave him as brilliant a heart as the sun which illuminates the earth. He knows hidden secrets of the Universe even.

7. When they decorated his body with heart and soul, they infused in them all the good qualities of a great man.

8. For the same reason actuated by firm faith and belief he laid the foundation of this edifice the height of which vies with the sky.

9. The great Prophet went on Heaven in the Night of Ascension and this dome is but in commemoration of that auspicious night.

10. After chanting the name of Allah wisdom dictated the date of construction of this dome in these words:

“It is the shrine for the foot-print of that being who decorated this world with honour. Wherever I may find his foot-print, I would dig up earth with my eye-lashes so much so that water might come of it. Shujauddin Mohammad Khan craves the intercession of Prophet Muhammad.”

1127 Hijri (1715 A.D.)
As mentioned above Nawab Shujauddin Khan also built here in 1718 A.D. a simple yet a beautiful mosque. The English translation of the Persian inscriptions in the mosque is given below:

1. "That Shuja who is a devotee of the Prophet's religion has constructed this edifice which is as illuminated as the heart of those who are the Prophet's favourites."

2. "May his wealth be eternal in the world O God, with the blessing of Muhammad", Ali and Batul (Fatima).

3. 'He has also constructed in this sacred place a mosque so that, the devotees may pray here day and night.'

4. 'I was anxious for a chronogram of its foundation so that from paradise may descend a he'mistich into my mind.

5. 'When the celestial voice told me to deduct the head of the word 'Hajad'.

"And thus the foundation of this exalted mosque was laid at the foot of the Prophet the Qadam-i-Rasool. 1130 Hijri." (1718 A.D.)

The Nawab also built a large reservoir in 1127 A.H. (1715 A.D.).

There are graves of many distinguished persons within the walls of the Qadam-i-Rasool as mentioned earlier.

The sacred relic, the footprint of the Prophet has a chequered and romantic career. This is borne out by the following affidavit submitted on 7th September 1835 A.D. in the court of the Amil of Cuttack by the ancestors of the present Darogha. When Kalapahar was busy in his conquest of Orissa one Haji Syed Alimullab, the forefather of the present darogha brought the Qadam-i-Rasool from Najaf in Arabia with the signature of the then Sherif of Mecca to prove that it was genuine. This relic was at first enshrined at a village called Kukariapada in the Sungra Patrgana of the Cuttack district. This village was named Rasoolpur in honour of sheltering the relics of the Prophet and this name was recorded in all Government papers. Nawab Shujauddin expressed his desire of visiting the village to pay his respects to the relics. He was, however, prevented from doing so by his officers on the ground that the Mofussil would not be able to bear the strain of his cavalcade. Mohammed Ali, the Nawab's Diwan, then sent instructions to the Officer-in-charge, Sungra to remove the relic to Cuttack. Accordingly the Qadam-i-Rasool was brought to Cuttack, and kept at Jobra-ghat on the bank
of the Mahanadi in a thatched house in the year 1099 Amali. The Nawab appointed Syed Mohiuddin as the daroga and also set up a separate department under one Hoshmand Khan whose duty it was to look to the maintenance and necessary repairs of the shrine. One night some unknown persons threw the relic into the river; the Nawab appointed some fishermen who restored it to him. From there it was removed to its present site.

To-day the Qadam-i-Rasool is a shrine dear to the Hindus and the Muslims alike. It has become a symbol of the impact of Islam on Hinduism and vice versa. It is a common sight to see Hindus, and Muslims making a pilgrimage to it. Historically, the Qadam-i-Rasool is a monument of art and beauty, morally it is a solace to desperate and wounded hearts.

The Lal Bagh seems to have been the residence of the Muslim governors of Orissa. In 1633 A.D. an English merchant Burton came to Cuttack and he saw the Nawab who was building a palace. Most probably the Nawab was Bagir Khan, after whom a locality near the Lalbagh is called Baqarabad or Bakharabad. The Riyazus Salatin for the first time mentions the Lalbagh in 1742 A.D., when Ali Vardi Khan came to rescue his nephew Saulat Jung imprisoned there.

Inside the Lalbagh lies the tomb of the saint Shah Mansur. One wonders to find beside it another unusual grave stretching from east to west instead of stretching from North to South. It may be the grave of a pet animal of a Nawab. A better explanation would be to regard it as the permanent tazia. This is corroborated by the presence of a ‘Panja’ just near the grave. During the viceroyalty of Nawab Shujauddin Khan, Shia influence might have infiltrated to Orissa. According to the Siyar, he was an Iranian adventurer, who sought service at Burhampur in the Deccan and was promoted to the Viceroyalty of Orissa. As an Iranian he was most probably a Shia. Moreover, all the edifices built in his period, namely, the Qadam-i-Rassool Mosque, the Ujale Khan mosque and the monument containing the footprint, bear respectful references to Hazrat Ali and Bibi Fatima Zuhra particularly in their inscriptions. All this is supported by the fact that Muharram at Cuttack had been celebrated in as grand a scale as at Lakhnau where a large number of Shias live. Within the precincts of Shah Mansur’s tomb is a small mosque built in 1215 A.H. (1803 A.D.)

Among other tombs of the saints at Cuttack, I may mention those of Panju Shah at Oriyabazar, Bukhari Shah in the Barabati Fort. Malang Shah in the compound of the G.P.O. and Mastaan
Shah on the Cantonment Road. The sentiment of respect for these saints is very strong in the Muslim community. By their pious and exemplary life they have endeared themselves both to the Hindus and the Muslims.

Nawab Seyyid Ahmad Khan of Saulat Jung the nephew of Ali Vardi Khan was assisted by one of his most trusted generals Gujar Khan during his Viceroyalty of Orissa. Sayid Ahmad Khan became a puppet in the hands of a pseudo-saint Shah Uahya who started a reign of terror at Cuttack. On the plea of hoarding wealth, noblemen and their pretty women were disgraced, tortured and dishonoured by this 'Rasputin' of Orissa. His amorous tyranny caused a rebellion. There are two graves situated just in front of the eastern gate of the Jami Masjid at Balubazar. The Muslims, particularly men of that locality believe traditionally that the smaller grave is that of a saint 'Arya Shah'. I believe that this 'Arya Shah' is a perversion of 'Shah Yahya', the notorious pseudo-saint and the grave is his. Similarly a village called Gujarpur six miles from Cuttack in the Salipur P.S. in the Kendrapara sub-division is probably named after the notorious general Gujar Khan.

Two examples of the architecture of the British period are the Sardar Khan mosque at Shaikh Bazar and the Oriyabazar mosque. The former was built for family use in 1267 A.H. by Sardar Khan, son of Rahman Khan who was an Afghan trader in horses. The latter was built by Roshan Mohammad, son of Fateh Mohammad who was a high officer during the Maratha regime.

The Muslim rule in Orissa is now a thing of the past. Along with the rulers passed away many elements of their administration. But their contribution to Orissan culture lives. The Muslim monuments at Cuttack are the symbols of their contribution—their footprints in the sands of time.
GRAPHIC ART—A BIRD'S EYE VIEW
ON ITS DEVELOPMENT IN ORISSA

Graphic Art is a comprehensive term which includes printing, engraving, painting, drawing, lettering, writing and all other arts using lines or marks on a "surface as distinguished from music, sculpture, dance etc. The word Graphic denotes 'engraving'. The art which is engraved on paper, lino, wood, stone, copper and zink plates, is known as graphic art. It is also a process of reproduction like sculpture and architecture. Graphic art is one of the basic substances of Fine Art. Both art and craft are interrelated to produce Graphic pictures. The development of printing presses has expedited the evolution of graphic medium.

There are four great general groups of Graphic Art, such as Serigraphy, Planography, Relief and Intaglio. Each requires its special kind of tools, inks and incidental materials. The print which we get from the thin card-board block like stencil, silk-screen printing is included under the category of Serigraphy. The paper-cut which is prevalent in the folk art of China is considered to be the preliminary stage of Serigraphy. Different types of mono-prints, sando-prints and lithography are accepted in the family of planography. Lino-cut, wood-cut, wood-engraving, metal-cut etc. are in the family of Relief medium. Potato-cut is the primary stage of Relief medium. Dry-point, metal engraving and etching are included in the Intaglio medium. Metal plates are used for it. Generally nitric acid or sulphuric acid solutions are used for etching medium. After 1830, as a result of improvement of scientific invention of photography the blocks were prepared by the photo-mechanical process, which makes the product cheap.

The pictorial art of Orissa expresses the peculiar form and special type evolved by native Orissan genius. It is assumed to have been influenced by the aboriginal tribal pre-Aryan culture of Orissa. In ancient time kings were the main patrons of Graphic Art. They were interested in engraving their activities on rocks, caves, temples,
and pillars in an artistic way. So Orissa is rich in inscriptions. The art which grew in Asoka’s reign is represented by his inscriptions, the sculptures on his monolithic columns, certain caves and a few fragments of pottery found from excavated areas in Mauryan Age. The Inscriptions are worthy of being mentioned among the fine arts on account of their beautiful execution and accurate cutting. In Orissa also the craft of the skilled mason and the stone cutter reached perfection in the days of Asoka.

Graphic Art in Orissa entered into a new phase during the reign of Kharavela. The activities of king Kharavela are very nicely engraved in Hatigumpha Inscription. The culture of the people, their manners and customs are revealed in the sculpture of the caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri. They speak of an age both materially prosperous and culturally advanced. The earliest surviving remains of pictorial art, perhaps date from this particular time. The remains of the painting inside these caves show that they were painted on a lime base or priming, now visible below the obliterated Colours. The Hatigumpha Inscription of Kharavela provides an inscriptionsal confirmation that Graphic art was practised in Orissa.

From numismatic evidence we come to know that Orissa was ruled by Kusans. 84 coins were discovered at the village Gurubai near Chilika in 1893 A.D. The writings of these coins show that the artists were familiar with Graphic art. The copperplates of Orissa during Gupta era speak of the artistic achievements of Guptas. The Sailodbhava age is an important period in the religious-history of Orissa. Saivism was very popular in this age. The copperplate inscriptions of Buguda, Purusottampur, Sumandala, Tikkali, Parikud, Banpur, Puri and Khurda reveal the development of Graphic art in Orissa. Also the inscriptions of Bhauma-Kara kings reveal that a large number of monasteries and temples were built in this period. The fine art at Kupari in Balasore District may be attributed to this age. Oriya as a language came into being and began to develop in Orissa during the Bhauma supremacy. The Ganga Period ushered a new era in the history of Graphic art. A large number of stone inscriptions, copperplates and coin engravings are found in this period. Wood-cut was introduced in this time. Apart from historical graphic paintings there are evidences of general practice of engraving the walls of the temples of Orissa.

The painting on palm leaf and indigenous paper manuscripts of Orissa forms an important section in the history of Graphic Art. A large number of beautifully illustrated palm leaf manuscripts are preserved in the Orissa state museum at Bhubaneswar.
study of these manuscripts it appears that the practice of drawing or scratching on palm leaves with the help of an iron stylo has been in vogue in Orissa from the early medieval period. The illustrated palm leaf manuscripts are found from 16th century A.D., in which beautiful drawings were depicted on both sides of each folio of the manuscripts, giving pictorial representation of each stanza written by the side of pictures. Both calligraphy and painting are simultaneously kept on the palm leaf manuscripts.

Due to the popularity of Gita Govinda in Orissa, illustrated manuscripts of this celebrated work are commonly found in the state. The Dasavatara painting on palm leaf is a special feature of Graphis art in Orissa. From the 17th century A.D., all best works on Oriya literature such as Bhagavata by Jagannath Das, Rasa Kallola and Artatrana Chautisa by DinakrushnaDas, the Lavanyavati and Vaidehisavilasa by Upendra Bhanja, Basanta Rasa by Shri Chandan and Champu of Kavisurya were depicted on palm leaves. Dr. O. C. Ganguli refers to the graphic paintings of Bhagavata with the Sanskrit texts written in Oriya character. These paper manuscripts are illustrated with considerable liveliness and movement and very graphically delineate the principal episodes treated in the next text e.g., Gai Charana lila, the visit of Akrura and other well-known opies of Bhagavata. The earliest palm leaf manuscript so far discovered is the Amaru Satakam or one hundred verses by poet Amaru in which beautiful drawings are depicted on both sides of each folio after manuscript, giving a practical representation of each stanza written by the side of the picture. The artist has used a permanent colour of the 16th century, which has very slightly faded in spite of the worn out condition of the manuscript. This manuscript was discovered in the ex-Mayurbhanj State.

Another set of remarkable pictorial art, on double leaf, of a group of Gopins gathering flowers on the bank of Yamuna is preserved in the Asutosh museum. The figures are depicted majestically lending a life-like gesture. “These unique drawings surviving in only two specimens of manuscripts prove how much interesting evidences of high class pictorial art of Orissa have been lost to us and prevent a comprehensive study of an art now only confined to its sculptural remains.”

In the different parts of Orissa people are well-acquainted with graphic art. Particularly the Parajangas of Dhenkanal District are familiar with stencial type of work. They used to draw the picture of Rama, Ravana and other characters of Ramayana on deer skins. After preparing all these figures on the leather they exhibit these
characters behind a thin screen by the help of the light on the stage. This is known as Ravana Chhaya. This type of art can be compared with Indonesian shadow plays. So from this evidence we mark the speciality of Graphic art in Orissa.

The fine engravings on bell-metal utensils, bronze bugles, gold and silver ornaments are important aspects of Orissan Graphic art. These works speak of the peculiar character of Oriyas to which they are attached since long. Even today we see the use of bell-metalled utensils and figured bronze bugles in some parts of Orissa.

The works of Adivasis of Koraput, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj districts represent another feature of Orissan Graphis art. They are found using bamboo-made articles. They used to engrave beautiful pictures on the combs, flutes and other articles. These figures are very beautiful to look at.

The tattooes are included in the Graphis art section in Orissa. Some ladies used to engrave coloured pictures on their bodies by the help of a nail. Usually the lower class ladies are fond of keeping the pictures of gods and goddesses in the hands or other parts of the body. This is native in origin. This is known as body decoration. At present we see some ladies who have decorated their bodies in this way.

A tremendous change was marked in the sphere of Graphic art in Orissa after the coming of missionaries. These people come with press materials to the State. For mass reproduction, Oriya letters were printed out of wooden and Zink blocks. The aim was to educate the common people. The family of Banamali Giri of Cuttack prepared first of all the wood and Zink blocks in Orissa for printing purpose.

More developed form of Graphic art came due to photography and electric machine. Electro-photography blocks were prepared. Shri Balakrushna Kar was the first Oriya to have such type of work at Cuttack. Dr. H. K. Mahatab also brought this machine to Prajatantra Press later on.

During the time of Swarajya movement lithography also was popular, because the leaders of the movement staying in the underground, wanted to propagate their ideas. For this, they printed pamphlets and news bulletins. The Utkal Dipika was first published having lithographic prints. Swaraja Ashram of Cuttack became the centre of all these activities. Lino and wood blocks were prepared for this purpose.
Recently wood engraving has come to be recognised as one branch of art. Some artists during the beginning of 20th century, realised the aesthetic vitality of wood engraving and used it as a means of free aesthetic expression. In the present century Artist Shri Ananda Misra applied the technique of modern graphic form in Orissa. After obtaining his degree from Calcutta Government School of Arts, in lithography he started his work at Puri. Through Lithograph he printed more copies of “Sunā Beśa of Jagannath and Gaja uddhāraṇa”. He did it mainly for business purpose. But he was not successful in his attempts. After him the renowned artist Shri Muralidhar Tali started wood engraving work. Shri Tali is the first graphic artist in whose works we mark some realistic touch. His etching process is highly noteworthy. Mainly his works are on black and white.

The next famous artist in this line is Shri Ajit Kesari Ray, who got his wood engraving training in U.K. He is at present working as Principal in the G vernment School of Arts, Khallikote. In the beginning of his artistic career he was very much interested in graphic paintings. Like Shri Tali, he also works on black and white. But his compositions are traditional with a modern touch. He is the only artist who first of all gave modern touch to graphic paintings of Orissa. Some of his graphic paintings are of sculptural type.

The lino-cut and wood-cut paintings of Shri Gauranga Charan Soma are notable and traditional in character. The contribution of Shri Laxmidhar Das for the development of Graphic art in Orissa is highly commendable. He is famous for his coloured wood-cut paintings. He is realistic in his approach and works on lithography. Somehow Artist Shri Sunamani Samal is following the ideas of Shri Das.

Among the present Graphis artists of Orissa Shri Binoda Rautaray is one, who is working sincerely for its development from various angles. He is working as lecturer in Graphic Arts in the Government Art School of Khallikote. After getting guidance from Shri Nandalal Bose and Ram Kinkar, the celebrated artists of the country he has started his work with earnestness and devotion. To-day he is one of the first-rate graphic artists in India who has evolved a personal idiom of artistic expression, truly remarkable for its simplicity, vigour, direct pictorial communication of ideas and feelings. He is famous for wood-cut, wood-engraving, lino-cut, lithography, stencil prints and sando-prints. His paintings are realistic in nature.
Comparing the development of Graphic art with other states at present, our state is still on the starting point. Lack of modern printing machinery hampers a lot for its development. The artists of Orissa will keep a glorious record in the history of Graphic Art, using their talents if suitable opportunities will be provided to them. Certainly they will bring back the artistic glory which Orissa once enjoyed in the past.
CHAPTER 51

BHANJAS OF KHIJJINGAKOTTA
AND THEIR MONUMENTS

The stone inscriptions, copperplate inscriptions, monuments, sculptures and archaeological remains of Khijjinga have revealed the existence of a culture from at least the 4th-5th century A.D. down to the present day. At present, the survivals of the Bhanja ruling families are to be found in Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Kanika, Daspalla, Baudh and Ghumsar. It is known from the inscriptions that all these Bhanja kings originated from one common ancestor. But they have ruled at different times in different parts.

The Bhanja dynasty had its capital at Khijjingakotta, identified with the modern Khiching which is situated in the Punchpir subdivision of Mayurbhanj. Khiching still contains important archaeological remains consisting of three standing stone temples, several sculptures which have been preserved in the local museum, several archaeological sites with remains of ancient structural parts and about forty ancient tanks of various dimensions situated on an area of about four square miles.

The kingdom of Khijjingamanḍala was an extensive territory comprising the present Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar districts and parts of Singhbhum, Midnapur and Balasore districts.

A good number of copperplate inscriptions numbering about eleven, issued by different kings of this dynasty, have been discovered at Adipur, Khandadeuli, Ukhanda, Kesari and other places which give details of the history and culture of the Bhanjas of Khijjingamandal. The history of Khijjinga has also been supplemented by Baripada Museum stone inscriptions, the Khiching museum votive inscriptions, the Asanpat Siva Tandava stone inscription, etc. A good number of monuments and sculptures at Khichinga, Baripada, Manitri, Haripur, Badasahi, Ranibandha, Gajari Sasan, Dhudhua, Kuradihi, Kutinga, Pathuriagarh, Itagarh, Ayodhyamandal, Purunagaon,
Bhimpur, Maninageswar, etc. are valuable testimony of architectural and art activities of this area. Besides this, the paintings at Sitabinji, the Roman, Gupta and Kusana coins, excavated materials, etc. are important sources of informations of the history and culture of the Bhanjas of Khiching.

The kingdom of Khijjingakotta had a glorious past and its antiquities can be traced as early as the time of Mauryan rule in India. At the time when emperor Ashoka led his army against Kalinga, Khiching region was a part of the Kalinga territory. This has been corroborated by the findings of punchmarked coins. Further Tamralipti was a flourishing harbour in the 3rd century B.C. as is known from the Buddhist literature of Ceylon. The rule of the Kushans and Murundas is suggested by the finds of Puri Kushan coins in large numbers in the Khijjingamandal. Evidence of Naga rule, Gupta rule, Mudgala rule and Mana rule, reign of Harsha and Sasanka in this region are known from different sources. All these rules preceded the rule of the Bhanjas, and formed an important historical background for the history and culture of Khijjingakotta. Some of the copperplates record donations of two independent kings, such as, Narendra Bhanja and Ranabhanja and careful study of these records reveals the genealogy of Ranabhanja as a younger brother of Narendra Bhanja. However, the study of these records, such as Bamanghati copperplate of Ranabhanja, Adipur grant of Narendra Bhanja, Khandadeuli copperplate of Ranabhanja, Ukhunda copperplate of Prithvi Bhanja, Keshari copperplate of Satrubhanja, Adipur copperplate of Durjaya Bhanja, etc. reveals a comprehensive and complete genealogy which can be accepted as final till new discoveries of authentic records are made. The genealogy may be as follows:

Adibhanja
Kottabhanja
Digbhanja
Narendrabhanja
Ranabhanja
Rajabhanja
Prithvibhanja alias Satrubhanja
Durjayabhanja
Kottabhanja-II
Narendrabhanja-II

The genealogy of this dynasty as given above has been traced out on the basis of the historical references and astronomical data given in the copperplates.
On the basis of this accepted genealogy, a systematic dynastic history can be traced out beginning from Shri Virabhadra Adi Bhanja. It is known from the copperplate inscriptions that Virabhadra Adi Bhanja was born at the reputed hermitage of Vasistha located at Kotyashrama. This place has been identified with Khiching. The inscription reveals that Virabhadra was an emperor and an expert in vanquishing all adversaries and was a wild conflagration in destroying enemies. Since he was the founder of a dynasty he must have been a powerful man. His successor is known to be Kottabhanja. Kottabhanja appears to be a historical ruler and not a legendary figure like Adibhanja. The successors of Kottabhanja are represented differently in different copperplate grants. It appears that Digbanja was the successor of Kottabhanja. Digbanja was succeeded by Narendra Bhanja who was a powerful ruler and has issued copperplates in his own name. Narendra Bhanja appears to have been succeeded by his brother Ranabhanja in the year 924 A.D. This fact is known from the copperplate grants. Ranabhanja is known as Maharaja and Maharajadhiraja in different copperplates. The Bamanghati copperplate records that Ranabhanja was a powerful king. He was like Yudhisthir ever devoted to good Government of his country. Ranabhanja was a devout worshipper of Lord Siva. There are some large tanks known as Ranaraj and it is argued by scholars that some of the temples at Khiching might have been built by him. He was succeeded by his eldest son Rajabhanja. Rajabhanja is also known from the inscription of Avalokitesvar image in the museum at Khiching.

Rajabhanja appears to have been succeeded by Satrubhanja alias Prithvi Bhanja. The Ukhunda and Kesari copperplates not only reveal the donation of villages, but also refer to high officials like minister for War and Peace, the chamberlain, etc. which gives an idea about the administrative set-up. Satrubhanja was succeeded by Durjaya Bhanja. He appears to be a powerful ruler who had a minister of War and Peace and feudatories. He has also made grant of villages. Nothing in detail is known after Durjaya Bhanja except Kottabhanja II and Narendra Bhanja II. It appears that the decline of the Bhanjas followed Kottabhanja-II.

The religious history of the time of Bhanjas of Khijbinga is interesting as it was cosmopolitan in nature. Saivism, Vaishnavism, Saktism, sun-worship along with Buddhism and Jainism and other obscure religious cults flourished side by side. The outstanding feature of the popular religion of Bhanja kings was the worship of varieties of images. Temples were built in large numbers with
lofty spires, rich ornamental designs and graceful sculptures. Large number of tanks were excavated for worship of the temple deity and for other religious and public purposes.

Khiching contains important archaeological monuments consisting of three standing temples and architectural remains recently brought to light by excavation. These monuments remained in obscurity for a long time till they were explored, re-constructed and properly preserved in recent times. These specimens reveal the existence of the traditional Orissan architectural style in Khijjingakotta kingdom. The archaeological explorations were started by Beglar as early as 1869 and were renewed by R. P. Chanda during 1921-31. Encouraged by the conservation of Kutaitundi temple, attempts were made to take up conservation of other temples at the site. Excavations at Khiching have revealed the remains of the ancient cities of Viratgarh and Kichakagarh along with their structures. The newly discovered monuments, excavated structures and the newly conserved temples of Chandrasekhara, Kutaitundi and the Khichingeswari have enhanced the archaeological importance of the site. These monuments reveal the constructional activities of the Bhanja kings who were great builders of temples, palaces, and forts etc.

The contemporary art of Khiching was derived from centres such as Bhubaneswar, Jajpur, etc. The temples of Khiching have followed the temple building style of Bhubaneswar with some peculiarities of their own. The same thing can also be said of the sculptures of the place. The cult images, the decorative female figures, the Nagas and Naginis, the arabesques and even the Chaitya arches closely followed their prototypes of other Orissan centres, particularly of Bhubaneswar. The stone used for these art activities is of fine character and capable of receiving very high polish, which also gives almost a metallic surface to the images of the best execution. For example, the life-size figure of Hara, the head and a small portion of body of which have survived, was perhaps the best product of Khiching. Its modelling recalls the characteristics of the great image of Kartikeya, enshrined in the Lingaraj temple at Bhubaneswar. R. P. Chanda has stated that the figure of Hara may be the presiding deity of the great temple at Khiching. Indeed, references in all copperplate grants representing the donors as worshippers of Hara indicate that the presiding deity of the great temple was a Saiva deity. Two Bhairava images, the Dhyani Buddhas, the Nagas and Naginis, the Alasakanyas etc. are some of the best examples of artistic excellence of that period. Art is the expression of culture. The Bhanjas have made permanent contributions to the culture through the visible creation of magnificent art at Khiching.
Besides the figure of Lord Siva, the images of Chanda and Prachanda, the beautiful figures of Uma-Maheswar, Aja Ekapada etc. are some of the beautiful images of Saiva cult.

Amongst the Sakta icons, Kichakesvari is still recognised as the chief deity and a patron goddess of not only the royal families but also the public of Mayurbhanj. This figure of Chamunda broken into three parts with excellent features is an example of mediaeval sculptural style. Some of the Saptamatrika images, such as Maheswari, Brahma, Vaishnavi now preserved in the Khiching Museum are valuable examples of Sakta cult of Khiching. Some of the Mahisasamardini figures and Ardhanarishwar images show that these Sakta icons were not only proportionate but also good pieces of workmanship of Khijjinga.

The excellent specimens of Ganesh are seen at Khiching, Baripada and other places, particularly, the Prasanna Ganapati and the Nritya Ganapati at Khijjinga. The Kartikeya image preserved in the site museum offers good scope for the study of sculpture and art of this period.

The image of Vishnu and the Chakra of Vishnu temple represent the best specimen of Vaishnavite art of Khiching. The figures of Garuda and Varaha preserved in the Baripada museum are archaeological evidences of the development of Vaishnavite art of Khiching. The beautiful Chakra with Navagraha on either side was the flag of a Vishnu temple of Khiching. This shows that besides Siva temples there were also temples dedicated to Lord Vishnu.

The interesting figures of sub-gods represent the iconography and work of art of that period. The Naga and Nagini figures carved in conventional hybrid form have beautiful facial expressions radiating divine bliss. Khijjingakotta kingdom was a historic land of decorative art. Archaeological researches have brought to light a good number of Buddhist and Jain figures. The inscribed image of Marichi and other images of Marichi preserved in the Baripada Museum, the figures of Aparachana-Manjusri, the Buddha figures in different Mudras, and the figure of Tara are excellent illustrations of the workmanship of Buddhist art of that period. Some of the fine specimens of the Jain traditions have been found not only at Khiching, Baripada, but in the interior parts also. The image of Parsvanath at Pundala, the Mahavir sculpture at Podasingadi and Risabhanath figures at Khiching are some of the rare specimens of Jain cult. The discovery of a figure of Risabhanath datable to the 8th century A.D. goes a long way to prove that the Jain art and
religion at Khiching were part of an all India movement, because during that period of Indian history, Jain temples of Risabhanath were built at Anhelwada, Kanauja and Mathura. Some of the contemporary rulers, such as the Rashtrakuta, Chalukya, Kadamba and their feudatories were great patrons of Jain art and religion in other parts of India. Jainism has enriched fine art as is known from the discovery of Jain sculptural and architectural remains in Rajasthan, Central India, South India, Kathiaward, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Jain images of Risabhanath recently discovered are of unique iconographic interest. On account of its rare graceful features the whole composition is remarkable and the image can be considered to be a brilliant specimen of Indian art treasure.
PART IV

Language, Literature and Education
IAHG

Linguistic Prehistory and Education
ORISSA AS KNOWN TO THE PURANAS

The Purāṇas constitute an important source of the cultural history of India and supply enough of materials for the critical study of religion, philosophy, sociology, politics, ethnology, science, geography and history of the country. Though the Vedas, which are the earliest written records of the Aryans, do not contain any account of Odra, Kaliṅga and Utkala, the Purāṇas have sufficient sources to prove the existence of those three regions in the past. In the Purāṇas we find these names denoting three territories of India. The name of the modern state of Orissa is derived from the term Odra, which represented only a small region of present Orissa. The country Odra is variously known in different texts as Odra, Auḍra, Udra, Odhra or Oṇḍhra.

In order to trace out the root of the term we have to bank upon the Pre-Aryan or Dravidian family of languages, which consists of mainly Telugu, Tulu, Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada etc. In Kannada¹ we come across such terms like odda meaning to put a stake at play, Odda, a wager (personal combatant between parties or champions), but they do not denote any clan or tribe of any region. The Mundari language contains a word like Orea², which is used as the name of a clan (Kili) of the Mundas. The Encyclopaedia Mundarica³ places on record a very interesting myth as to how the Orea clan was formed and relates it to the name of the caste of basket makers.

The Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata (circa 2nd century A.D.) in chapter thirteen (The Zones and Local usages) divides the entire country into four regions in view of their local usages regarding costumes, manners, professions and languages (pravṛtti). Among those four divisions Odra-Māgadhī is included—

चतुर्विधा प्रवृत्तिश्च प्रोक्ता नाटयप्रेषोपकुूभि:।
प्राक्ति शास्तिरावश्च प्राप्तां चोठ्यायणिः॥

Nāṭyaśāstra, 13, 37
The same text recognises the significance of Odhra country in view of its characteristic features. In addition to the seven dialects (bhasa) it accepts Odhra as one of the seven less important dialects (Vibhasa) to be used by the dramatic personages in a drama:

Thus it is indicated that the group of people speaking the dialect lived by that time.

The Aranyaka Parvan of the Mahabharata (114, 3 ff) points out the area which was peopled by the Kalingas. The Puranic texts like Vayu (I, 50, 17), Matsya (48, 29) and others speak of the Kalinga tribe. While discussing on the political division of Orissa during the early ages A.C. Mittal states that Kalinga or Kalinji is the name of a race of cultivators, who reside on the southern bank of the Chilika Lake, and the name of the country is derived out of that.

The other territory adjacent to them was Utkala. In order to find out the etymological meaning of the word we have to look to the Pre-Aryan stock of vocabulary. In Tamil we get Okkal meaning, 'relations, kinsfolk', in Kannada Okkal is used in the sense of residence, tenant, husbandman, farmer, and Okkala, Okkaliya 'farmer, husbandman, Sudra', Okkaliti is used to imply a farmer-woman and Okkalatana expresses 'husbandry, farming'. In Tulu Okkelu means 'a tenant' and Okkelone 'one of a cultivating class called Bants, a Bant'. Thus Okkal is used in Tamil and Kannada in the sense of a kinsfolk or a cultivator (farmer), but in Tulu it points to a cultivating class. It seems that such a class or tribe of cultivators spread in the region and the country was named after them.

Geographical description of the territory

The geographical position of these territories is variously stated in different texts. In course of describing the local usages regarding costumes, manners and languages of India the Natyasastra speaks of the area of the Deccan (daksinapatha) circumscribed by the mountains like the Mahendra, the Malaya, the Sahya, the Mekala and the Kalaapajara. In the subsequent verses (40-41) it states the names of the countries which lie between the southern ocean and the Vindhya mountains and are used to the Dakshinatyay local usages; among the list of countries taking to the use of the Dakshinatyay custom Kalinga is included. The text makes this much clear that the boundary of Kalinga extended in between the Vindhya mountain and the southern sea. Moreover the same text (13, 45—
48) also includes Kalinga with Odhra among the eastern countries which adopted the usages of Odhra-Magadh. It appears that the Kalinga country extended not only within the Vindhya mountain and the southern Ocean but also beyond it in certain territories of the eastern region; on the other hand Odhra was a country of the eastern region. It is clear that the author of the Nāṭyaśāstra was not definite about the boundary lines of the countries.

Among the Purāṇas the Brahma Purāṇa (28, 1-2) states the boundary of Ondra (Odra) country. The Ondra country stretches from the southern Ocean to the border of Viraj̄amaṇḍala:

\[ \text{तत्रास्ते भारते वयं दक्षिणेोदमिस्थिन्ते।} \]
\[ \text{भोगुप्षेदश इति स्वात: स्वान्ध्यप्रमिकः: II}^{16} \]
\[ \text{संमुद्राभावः ताष्ट्र याववं विरजमान्दलम्: II}^{16} \]

This region might have denoted the whole of present Cuttack district, south of the river Vaitarani and a part of Puri district, the north of the Sara lake—the whole demarcated by the Bay of Bengal in the east. The Matsya version (113, 51-54) includes Ondra among the countries situated on the northern part of the Vindhya mountain (South-central India)—

\[ \text{भोगु: माण्डलाण्डास्वभ: भोजा: किमिङ्क: सह: II}^{5b} \]
\[ \times \quad \times \quad \times \]

\[ \text{पौराणिक विन्द्ययुग: भोज: II}^{5b} \]

In the Vāyu Purāṇa (I, 45, 132—134) Mālaya, Karuṣa and Mekala are assorted together with Utkala as the countries on the northern part of the Vindhya mountain:

\[ \text{मालवाण्ड करूवाण्ड मेकलाण्डोलकः: सह: I} \]
\[ \text{उत्तमाण्ड व्याण्डो भोज: किमिङ्क: सह: II}^{132} \]
\[ \times \quad \times \quad \times \]

\[ \text{पौराणिक विन्द्ययुगाण्ड भोज: II}^{134b} \]

The Matsya Purāṇa (113, 52—54) version follows the Vāyu and speaks of Utkala like Ondra as one of the countries on the western extremity of the Vindhya mountain. This much is clear that at one time Ondra and Utkala were contiguous and situated on the upper part of the Vindhya mountain (i.e., contiguous to central part of India in the west) and at another time it extended to the adjacent of Anaga, Vaṅga, Magadha etc.

Among these three countries Kalinga appears to be very popular and is mentioned in different texts. In the Āraṇyaka parvan of the
Mahābhārata the sage Lomaśa is said to have described to Yudhiṣṭhira different sacred places of India; in course of description Lomaśa points out from the mouth of the river Ganges (Hooghly) where it joins the sea (the Bay of Bengal) saying—Here is the territory of the Kaliṅga tribes and the river Vaitarani passes through it. After plunging in the river and performing all sorts of rites to avert evil Yudhiṣṭhira repaired to the skirts of the Mahendra mountain to spend the night:

Mahābhārata 2, 114, 3-4.

At one time the confluence of the river Ganges served the northern border of the Kaliṅgas.

The Brahma Purāṇa (27, 42—55) locates Kaliṅga in the Madhyadesa (the central region, the country lying between the Himalayas and the Vindhya mountain)—

as well as in the Dakṣināpatha (Southern India)—

Instead of giving any clear cut position of Kaliṅga the Matsya (113, 36, 47) simply accepts the view of the Brahma and says that it stretched in the central region as well as in the southern region, whereas the Kūrma (I, 47, 42a) simply takes it to be a country of the south—

But the Vāyu Purāṇa (II, 14, 4 ff) in course of describing the glory and splendour of the mountain Amarakaṇṭaka states that the Amarakaṇṭaka stands on the middle of the western side of Kaliṅga Country:

Thus some texts put Kaliṅga as one of the countries of the south whereas other groups of texts accept it as the country stretching
both in the Madhyadeśa and in the Dakṣiṇāpatha; above all the Vāyu, the Matsya and the Skanda specifically mention that the Amarakaṇṭaka is situated in the middle of the western side of Kaliṅga. It seems that the Purāṇakāras were not particular about the border of the countries and it was changing from time to time due to political activities.

Traditional history

Though the Mahābhārata refers to Kaliṅga, Utkala, and Auḍra or Odṛa there is scanty reference to Utkala and Auḍra. The king of the Auḍra country was present in the Rājaśūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira (2, 48, 18) and was recognised as a hero of fame (5, 4, 180). Like the Auḍras the Utkala king with his vast army was regarded to be a fighter of eminence (8, 17, 20).

Above all the glory of the Kaliṅgas occupied a large portion of the Mahābhārata. The king of the soil was very valiant and was invited to the Svayamvara ceremony of Draupadi (1,177,12); he was present in the coronation ceremony of Skanda (9,44,59). The Kaliṅgas joined the Kauravas in the Kurukṣetra battle (7,52,17 ff) and were well-versed in the fight on the back of elephants (8, 17, 3). In the Mahābhārata war the unparallel fight of the Kaliṅgas captivated the author of the Mahābhārata so much that he devoted more than a chapter (6, 50, cf. 7,52 ff) to describe the stratagem of the Kaliṅgas in the fight with the Pāṇḍavas (specially with Bhima). The valiant Kaliṅgas fought a bloody battle and at last fell a prey in the hands of the Pāṇḍavas. The heroic deeds of the Kaliṅgas were no less significant than others.

Like the Mahābhārata the Purāṇas also contain the account of Utkala and Kaliṅga. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa (V, 28, 10ff) states that the king of Kaliṅga was present in the marriage ceremony of Aniruddha with the granddaughter of Rukmin. Persuaded by the king of Kaliṅga Rukmin insisted on a play of dice with Balarāma, who had the liking for it. When Balarāma was defeated in the game of dice, the king of Kaliṅga laughed at him. In a feat of rage Balarāma broke his teeth.

Contemporaneous with the Pradyota or Balaka dynasty and Śiṣunāka dynasty will flourish in the Kaliyuga other kings also, who will endure an equal time. Along with twenty-four Ikṣvākus, twenty-seven Pāṇcālas and others there will be thirty-two Kaliṅga kings. Thus states the Matsya version (271, 15) about the dynasty of Kaliṅga kings.
Utkala is put as the son of Dhruva and grandson of Uttānapāda. Though Utkala got the ancestral kingdom by virtue of his birth, he relinquished it to be engrossed in fervid penance (Bhāgavata IV, 10, 2ff). Apart from the sporadic references to the territories and the heroic deeds of their kings popular myths as to their origin of the territories—Utkala and Kaliṅga, have developed in the Purāṇa literature.

In the Purāṇas we find the myths at the root of the traditions, which seek to explain the earliest conditions of the country. These myths derive all the dynasties reigned in India from a primeval King Manu Vaivāsvata, the son of Vivasvān (the sun). There are two groups of texts¹¹ in the Purāṇas.

According to the first group of texts¹² Manu had nine sons; he offered a sacrifice to Mitra and Varuṇa for another son, but a daughter Ilā by name was born therefrom. Ilā was united with Budha, son of Soma (the moon) and begot Pururavas Aila. Through Mitra’s and Varuṇa’s favour she regained manhood and was known as Sudyumna. Sudyumna had three sons; they are Utkala, Gaya and Vainatāśva. Utkala became the ruler of the country named after him—उत्कलस्तोत्तरः राजन् विनालस्वस्य पलवमय (Harivamśa 9, 15b) Vinatāśva had the western country as his kingdom and the eastern region was occupied by Gaya, which was known as Gayāpurī (modern Gayā).

In the second version of the text¹³ found in the Matsya Purāṇa, 11, 40 ff and the Padma Purāṇa V, 8, 75ff the urkern of the myth remains the same with certain corrections and elaboration. It appears to have undergone such changes in the hands of the later redactors of the text. The second form of the myth states: Manu had ten sons among whom Ilā was the eldest one. While going on an expedition Ilā entered into Śiva’s grove, Saravanaṇa and transformed into a woman Ilā by name, because Umā had laid down a curse that any male being entered into it should become a female. Ilā consorted with Budha, the son of Soma. The son born out of their union was called Pururavas. Due to Śiva’s favour Ilā became a kīṁpuruṣa named Sudyumna and remained a man for one month and a woman for the other month. This Sudyumna was the father of Utkala, Gaya and Vinatāśva.

Thus we find that Utkala was the son of Ilā when he was turned into a Kīṁpuruṣa, Sudyumna and ruled over the region, which was west of Bengal and south of Gayā. The region was named after him and called Utkala. उत्कलस्तोत्तरः नाम गयाः सु गयापुरी (Matsya 11, 17; Padma V, 8, 122i). The Vāyu Purāṇa (II, 37,262)
calls the descendants of Utkala as Saudyumnas—रेवा वै तपेश्वराशून सौध्यमन वै परवथान। It appears from the above myths that the country Utkala came into existence much before Kaliṅga and Oḍra. The Kaliṅgas had genealogy of their own also.

From the above text traditions we find that Ilā in union with Budha gave birth to Pururavas, who was the progenitor of the Aila race. He ruled over Pratiṣṭhāna (Allahabad). Though Pururavas is said to have had six or seven sons, two of them only are important; they are Āyu and Amāvasu. Āyu continued to rule at Pratiṣṭhāna and had five sons. Out of these five sons Nahuṣa ruled at Pratiṣṭhāna. Among the six or seven sons of Nahuṣa Yāti and Yayaṭi are significant. As Yāti embraced asceticism Yayaṭi succeeded to the throne. He had two wives—Devayāni, the daughter of Bhārgava Uṣanas-Sukra and Sarmiṣṭhā, the daughter of Vṛṣaparvan, the king of Daityas, Dānavas and Asuras. Devayāni gave birth to two sons namely Yadu and Turvasu; Sarmiṣṭhā had three sons viz., Druhyu, Anu and Puru. Yayaṭi divided his kingdom into five parts. From these five sons five royal lines descended, who were known as the Yadus (or Yādavas,) the Turvasus, the Druhyus, the Anus (or Anavas) and the Purus (or Pauravas).

The seventh successor of Anu was Mahāmanā, who divided his kingdom among his two sons—Uśinara and Titikṣu (Matsya P. 48, 15). Though Titikṣu’s lineage is given by the above Purāṇas, there are certain omissions and commissions in their accounts but the Matsya (48, 21ff) and Harivaṃśa (23, 22ff) contain the best and systematic accounts of it. Titikṣu founded his dynasty in the east—तितिक्षुमस्तुरवर्तिनिन् राज्य पुरवस्यां विभिन्न विविष्यः (Matsya P. 48, 22 a). Titikṣu’s son Vṛṣadratha and his grandson Sena ruled the kingdom of the east. Sutapa was the son of Sena, who succeeded his father. Bali, the son of Sutapa occupied the kingdom after his father. There was a demon king named Bali, the son of Virocana and grandson of Prahlāda. The Ānava king Bali should not be confused with the demon king Bali.

Bali, the descendant of Anu ruled over the kingdom of the east. He had five Kṣetraja sons born of his wife Sudeśṇā through the appointment of Dirghatamā, a ṛṣi of ucathya lineage. Those five sons are Āṅga, Vaṅga, Suhma, Puṇḍra and Kaliṅga; they were well-known as Bāleya kṣatriya and also Bāleya brāhmaṇas. Bali divided his kingdom among his five sons. The regions occupied by them were named after them—

शेष जनपदा: पच्च सुह्मम् बुध्म: सभुदेशना।
कविन्द्रा: पुष्पकामिकास्व प्राचेतस्वध्यय साम्राज्यम्।

Brahma Purāṇa 13, 36.
Thus the country occupied by Kaliṅga was well-known as Kaliṅga. But there appears no definite myth to justify the origin of the name Oḍra.

In the above traditions supported by myths there is no connection between Manu Vaivasvata’s nine sons, Pururavas Aila and Sudyumna except through Ila with her fabulous change of forms. Pargiter is right when he states that these three myths have been blended together to unify the origins of the three dominant races said to have been derived from Manu, Pururavas and Sudyumna, which constitute three separate stocks.

According to the above traditions Pururavas Aila and his lineage at Pratisthāna formed one stock, the chieftains of Utkala and eastern India formed a second stock and the rest of the kings of India belonged to the third stock. The lineage of Pururavas is well known as Aila race which is often called Lunar race, for the myth derives it from Soma, the moon. The second stock is distinguished as Sudyumna race and the third one has no definite common name in tradition.

To sum up:

(1) There were three regions in the east coast of India namely Utkala, Kaliṅga, and Oḍra, which later on formed the modern state of Orissa.

(2) These territories were named after the tribes, which occupied these areas in the hoary past.

(3) The geographical idea gleaned from the Purāṇas does not give us the exact location of those three territories, but it tries to locate the situations of territories in general.

(4) Due to the origin and development of various myths to justify the names of places, the names of the territories like Utkala and Kaliṅga are correlated to some myths to make it a complete whole. They are described to have been organised after the names of the monarchs of the region.

(5) Out of these two opinions as to the origin of the name of the territories, the earlier one appears to be more plausible, because the possibility of the nomenclature of the kings according to the peoples they ruled, may also be a possible explanation. Later on different types of myths might have developed to correlate the names of the kings and the peoples they ruled.
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Śiva Purāṇa, Ed. Panchanana Tarkaratna, Calcutta, 1890.
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3. ibid, Vol. VIII, pp. 2421—2423.
6. महेर्सद मलयः सहो मेकलः कालपत्रः
   एते संवित देशास्ते त्या दक्षिणाययः: ॥३०॥
7. कोशालोत्सवलस्वेद संविस्तः यबनः: खसः: ॥४०॥
   ×   ×
   दक्षिणाययः समुदस्यत्वे विश्वस्वस्वते चालने ॥
   ये देशास्तेः गुणेऽवत वालिकायं तव निवः: ॥५१॥
7. ibid, 13, 40-41.
8. In Brahma Purāṇa (27, 59b) we find the reading Colakaith is accepted in place of Utkalaih (Vide, p. 77, f. n. 15), since the order of the countries followed in the list tallies with the Matsya and others, the term Utkalaih appears to be a more plausible reading.
9. The Vayu Purana (I, 45, 124 ff) groups Kalinga with other countries of the south as the country situated in the south—

Mahāraṣṭra Mahāpuruṣa: कलिन्देश्वर सर्वशः II

× × ×

Bākṣāvālaśa vā desha 128a

10. The Matsya (185, 12)—कलिन्देश्वर परशारे पवित्रमरुकस्तक्ये II as well as the Skanda (V, 3, 21, 7)—कलिन्देश्वार परशारे पवित्रमरुकस्तक्ये I 7a accept the same idea.

11. In order to find out the ancient Indian historical tradition of India F.E. Pargiter pointed out that the Vayu and the Brahmaṇda contain the oldest account of historical traditions and the Brahmaṇa, Harivamśa, and the Matsya contain the next best account. Following Pargiter Kirfel prepared a concordance of the Panchalakṣana texts and came to the conclusion that the Brahmaṇa, Harivamśa, and the Śiva Purāṇa (Dharmasamhitā) have the best version, the Brahmaṇda and the Vayu contain the next best version but the Matsya version can be called the revised form of the two text groups—Brahmaṇa, Harivamśa, Śivapurāṇa and the Brahmaṇda and Vayu. Dos Purana Panchalakṣana is the outcome of his study. I have thought it advisable to follow the thesis of Kirfel regarding the original version of the Purāṇas, as it has developed taking into all the earlier theses including that of Pargiter. The Vamsanucarita section of the texts contains the genealogy of kings reigned in India.

12. Brahma Purana 7, 1 ff; Harivamśa 9, 1 ff; Śivapurāṇa (Dharma Samhitā) 60, 1 ff; Brahmaṇda Purana II, 60, 2 ff; Vayu Purana, II, 23, 3 ff; cf. Agni Purana 273, 4 ff; Bhagavata Purana IX, 1-10 ff; Devi Bhagavata VII, 2, 16 ff; Garuda Purana 138, 1 ff; Kurma Purana 20, 46 ff; Linga Purana 65, 17 ff; Morkondaya Purana, 111, 4 ff; Viṣṇu Purana IV, 1, 7 ff; W. Kirfel, Dos Purana Panchalakṣana, Leiden, 1927, p. 299 ff.


ORISSAN PALM LEAF MANUSCRIPTS

In Orissa, though a clear picture on the palm leaf manuscripts could not be built up, yet a large number of them are available in the institutional collections and individual collections of learned people. It could not be told definitely when the scribing first began in Orissa. Vishnu Sarma, the court poet and royal priest of Ananta Sakti Verma of Mathara dynasty composed the world famed Panchatantra. Prior to this, Upanishads in the Atharva Veda traditions and Paippalada Samhitas were written in plenty in Orissa. Beginning with this an unbroken chain of succession in compositions in palm leaves has followed in Orissa up to the present century. Palm leaf is available in abundance in Orissa and it provides easy material for the scribes on which they engraved their subject-matter with a stylus. Bhurja bark, which was common in India as a writing material, was not available here. It is not easy to cut a square patterned letter or letters carrying a flat head on the palm leaf and as a result letter types such as Bengali, Gujarati, Sharada, Gurumuki, Newari etc., do not get into the sphere of the scribes. On the other hand, almost all the South Indian languages are depicted on it with lucidity. Though it is not impossible to scribe on wooden planks or copperplates still it is not feasible and naturally we find only manuscripts in palm leaves.

In the first half of the 19th century after the British occupation of Orissa, our great stock of palm leaves was first exposed to western scholars. The writings published in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal of Rev. J. Long in 1859 A.D. on the palm leaf manuscripts available in Bhubaneswar and its suburbs are perhaps the first in the history of research on palm leaves. Colonel Makenji was attracted towards the palm leaves and collected a few from Ganjam and Koraput districts which are now preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, Adyar Manuscript Library, Madras and Sarawati Mahal Library, Tanjore. John Beams while he was Collector, Balasore, before 1871 A.D. had worked on palm leaves which are appended to the Hunters’ Orissa Vol. II. His
paper on “Rasakallola” published in Indian Antiquary Vol. I is a valuable research in this field. R. L. Mitra, the famous Archaeologist, had collected a large number of palm leaf manuscripts from Orissa and had published a report “Notices of Manuscripts preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal before 1898 A.D. M. M. Chakravarty had also collected a good number of manuscripts and his discussion had been published in Asiatic Society Journal in 1898 A.D. Mahamahopadhyaya H. P. Shastri in collaboration with Prof. Macdonel had located more than a lakh of manuscripts in several Maths and private houses in Puri and its adjoining villages, the report of which has been published in the Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society Vol. XIX. Besides those who have contributed to the field of research are K. P. Jayaswal and A. P. Banerjee Sastri.

With the emergence of Orissa as a separate province attempts were made for the collection of palm leaf manuscripts by the education department and Ravenshaw College Museum at the initiative of Prof. G. S. Dash and Prof. N. Banerjee, and by Prachi Samiti with Arta Ballabha Mohanty at its lead. Bichhanda Charan Patnaik, Paramananda Acharya, the erstwhile archaeologist of Mayurbhanj state, Purna Chandra Rath, the historian of Bolangir, and Shri Kedar Nath Mohapatra, the then archaeologist of Kalahandi state had individually contributed substantially for the enrichment of palm leaf manuscript collections.

Sometime in 1950 A.D. at the initiative of Paramananda Acharya, the then Superintendent of Orissa State Museum, and Shri Kedarnath Mohapatra, the then Curator, a separate section for Manuscripts was opened in the Orissa State Museum, which now has grown to a huge establishment with more than twenty thousand manuscripts. This collection comprises twenty-six sections dealing with Vedas, Tantras, Dharma Sastras, Darshanas, Yotisas, Ayurvedas, Abhidhanas, Vyakaranas, Kavyas etc. Besides the State Museum, the Sambalpur University and Berhampur University have their individual Manuscript collections. On private initiative the Raghunandana Library at Puri and Banchanidhi Library at Nayagarh are also busy in collecting palm leaf manuscripts.

The rare acquisition of the State Museum is the Bhasya of Sayana on Yajurveda, the mantra portions of Paippalada branch in Atharvaveda, Angirasa Kalpa, and a large number of Upanishads. These manuscripts are not found in other parts of India.

Orissa was famed as an important centre of Tantric cult from 6th century A.D. The first Odiyan Pitha was in Orissa which can be testified from the scriptures. The presiding deities of Tantra
system, Bhairava and Bhairavi are identified as Vimala and Viraja. Besides, the goddesses Mangala, Bhagavati, Bhadrakali, Charchika, Bhattarika, Samalai, have immense popularity in Orissa. All these might have paved the way for composition of Tantra manuscripts Uddisa Tantra, Oddiya Tantra, Udubhasvara Tantra, and Oddamaresvara Tantra, though they do not bear any names of the scribes. They are believed to have been written in Orissa which can be testified from the naming and subject-matter of the manuscripts. Apart from this, many novel additions have been found in Sankhya- yana Tantra, Yogini Tantra, Kumari Tantra, Kumara Tantra and Yoni Trnatra, which have relevance to their being scribed in Orissa. Bhubanesvari Pallava dedicated to Gajapati Purusottama Deva, Sarada Saradarchana Paddhati, Yantra Chintamani of Godavara Mishra, Sakti Pratima Pratistha of Vidyakara Vajapeyi, Durgotsava Chandrika of Vardhana Mohapatra, Tarinikula Sudha Tarangini of Ramachandra Udga, Durga Yajana dipika of Jagannath Acharya, Bhubaneswari Prakash of Basudev Rath, Vanadurga Puja of Raghunath Das, Sivarchana Paddhati and Jnanavalli Tantra of Lakshesvara Rath are famous as Tantrik texts in Orissa.

It is not easy to identify the Sanskrit Puranas composed in Orissa. In Skanda Purana and in few other Puranas the mention of “Utkala Khanda” presupposes their relation to Orissa. Besides Niladri Mahodaya, Niladri Chandrika, Tirtha Chintamani, Mukti Chintamani, Ekamra Purana, Ekamra Chandrika, Svarmanadri Mahodaya, Kapila Samhita, Viraja Mahatmya, Saura Samuccaya also deal with Puranic aspects in Orissa.

The contribution of Oriya scholars to the field of Dharmashastra in India is commendable. The Oriya compositions have special significance with relation to Orissa dealing with the different religious rites. Beginning with 10th and 11th centuries up to 18th century the Pundits of Orissa have written a number of texts on Canons, Customs, Fairs, Festivals, Pilgrim centres, Worship and Srdhada ceremonies. These in course of time have been adored as the law book of the rulers and guide book of common mass. Among them Satana Samgraha of Satana Acharya, Agnistoma Paddhati of Sambhukara Mishra, Adbhuta Sagara of Yogisvara Patra, Achara Pradipa of Narasimha Vajapeyi, Smruti Sara Samgraha of Visvanath Mishra, Kaladipa and Srdhadipa of Divyasimha Mohapatra, Srdhada Nirnnaya, Utpata Tarangini of Raghunath Das, Kalasara and Acharasara of Gadadhara Rajaguru are the unique contributions of Oriya scholars to the Indian Dharmasstras.
In the field of Indian philosophy, the Oriya philosophers have equally gained popularity. Beginning with Buddhist philosopher Dharmakirtti up to the exponents of six canons of philosophy, Kavidindima jivadevacharya, Acharya Narasimha Vajapeyi, Gaudinya philosopher Baladev Vidyabhusan have enriched our works. Although mention of a number of names is available in Orissa, only the Govinda Bhasya of Baladev Vidyabhusan is handed down to us in its entirety. From a saying of Nrusimha Vajapeyi it is known that he had been awarded at the Delhi courts for his knowledge in logic and he was being treated as the most erudite scholar in Mimamsa.

"विज्ञान बालन समानं दत्तं तथोऽब्रह्मान्ततांकिनेन्द्रम्
मुकुन्दभोगीनूक्तेजयाम नानाविद्यानुविद्यातः यः॥
× × ×
मोरासनां मृि बोधीनीयो बेशाखापेदी मुरुक्षय: स्वरूपः: ॥
विद्याः गोर्भावतार्प्रभोः निर्मित्य योगेन ब्रह्म सिद्धः ॥
× × ×
दिलोकवर्गे गो परितोष्याक्षरिजस्त्वादलम्: प्रबोधः:
मुकुन्ददेशम् प्रशास्तबारं समानवाद सर्वभक्तनस्य मधे" ॥


Nidana the famous text on Ayurveda of Madhava Kara is presumed to have been composed in Orissa. The works—Pathyapathya- vinishaya, Chikitsa, Ayurveda Samgraha of Visvanath, a contemporary of Gajapati Prataparudra Deva had been acclaimed countrywide. Besides, Ayurveda Lilavati and Vaidya Kalpalata of Raghunath aDasa, Bhima Samhita of Bhima Dasa, Vaidya Shastra Bol of Krishna Dasa, Chikitsa Manjari of Gopinath Patra, Salihota of Dinabandhu Harichandan are wide famed books in the sphere of Oriya physicians.

Oriya Dictionaries which were composed in Orissa also deserve special mention. Trikanda Sesh and Haravali of Purusottama Deva of 9th Century A.D. and Medini Kosha of Medini Kara had
won recognition in India. Apart from these two, Mugdhabodha Abhidhana of Mayurabhanja, commentaries on Amarakosha of Raghunath Dasa, Mahidhar Misra, Jayadev Vahinipati and Gitabhidhana of the renowned poet Upendra Bhanja are each a documentary literary evidence among the Oriya scholars.

Siddhanta Kaumudi based on the analogies of Panini is not very much prevalent in Orissa. The Oriya grammarians have simplified the Panini and have contributed a large number of grammar texts. Among them Jumaravyyakarana of Jumara, Siddhanta chandrika of Ramabhadra, Sarasvata Vyakarana of Anubhuti Svarupacharya, Prabodha Chandrika of Vajjaladeva, Nama Nirmaladarpana of Lakshmidhar Ugata, Sara Samgraha, Vardhamana Prakash, Katantra Vistarakshepa, Nigudhartha Prakash of Raghunath Dasa, Katantra Vistara Paribhasa of Kavindu Jayadeva, Karaka Samasa Manjari of Jagannath Dasa etc. are notable Grammars of Oriissa.

Manuscripts on Sanskrit kavya are also plenty in Orissa. It has already been referred to Vishnu Sharma the great poet whose stories had been widely acclaimed. He was a resident of Kalinga and was the contemporary of Ananta Sakti Varma of Mathara dynasty. Panchatantra has been translated into several languages of the world. Panchatantra contain the descriptions of rivers, riverines seashores, forests and elephant herds of Kalinga and this makes it quite significant, which has no bearing to any other part of India. Considering the importance of Panchatantra it can be said that Vishnu Sharma is the pride of Oriyas. Of the Sanskrit Dramas “Anargha Raghava Nataka” has gained immense popularity with a deviation in the text from the original “Valmiki Ramayana”. The scholars are of opinion that the writer of Anargha Raghava Nataka is Murari, who is known as Murari Mishra in Orissa. With a benediction to Lord Jagannath in the beginning he has rightly mentioned in the dialogues of Sutrathara about the date of composition of this drama probably during Ratha Yatra. Had Murari not belonged to Orissa a reference to Jagannath would not have been in his compositions. Apart from this, a large number of palm leaf Manuscripts on Anargha Raghava are also available in Orissa which testify its author’s relationship with this land. The outstanding lyric, Gita Govinda was composed by the celebrated poet Jayadeva. The first commentator of this lyric has been equally famous. Following the style of Gita Govinda a number of lyrics have been composed in Oriissa. Out of them Abhinava Gita Govinda dedicated in the name of Gajapati Purusotam Deva, Rukminisa Vilasa dedicated in the name of Narayana Bhanja, Jagannatha Ballabha Nataka composed by the
Vaishnava poet Raya Ramananda Pattanaik, Mukunda Vilasa of Raghuttama Tirtha belonging to Banapur, Sivalilamruta and Krushnalilamruta of Nityananda belonging to Nayagarh and Gita Sita Ballabha of Sitikantha are worth mentioning here.

The great epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata of Valmiki and Vyasa, are the two most important works whose fame had reached far and wide. Basing on the text of these two epics a large number of kavyas and other literary works have been composed in all-India level. Similarly in Orissa the Oriya scholars have also followed suit. Bharatamruta Mahakavya comprising 48 chapters following the text of the Mahabharata of Kavichandra Divakara Mishra, Bhakti Bhagavata Mahakavya in the light of the Bhagavata of Jivadevacharya, and Dasagriva Vadha Mahakavya in the footprints of the Ramayana of Kavindra Markandeya Mishra have been composed in Sanskrit language. Besides this a number of Oriya poets have composed several Puranic and imaginary thematic works which still await publications. When these works will be brought to light these will undoubtedly create sensation in the literary sphere.

Oriya scholars are expert commentators which can be testified from the works of Purusottam Mishra, Gopinath Rath, Lokanath Dikshita, Raghunath Das and others, who have written commentaries on the famous Sanskrit Mahakavyas.

Keeping balance with other aspects of literature, Oriya scholars have also equally made inroad into Sanskrit poetries. The Sahitya Darpana of Mahapatra Visvanath Kaviraja is a much praised work. Apart from this, Dhvani Siddhanta Samgraaha and Kayyaprakasha Dipika of Mahamahopadhyaya Chandi Das, Kavya Prakasha Darpana of Visvanath Kaviraja, Kavya Prakasha Vivarana of Visvanath Samantaraya, Sahityadarsa of Lokanath Dikshita, Alamkara Chitamani of Gopinath Patra and Sahitya Bhusana of Raghunath Das were also composed in Orissa. In the sphere of Sanskrit Chhandas, Ganga Das’s Chhanda Manjari, Raghnath Das’s Vrutvatvali and Kalidasa Chayani’s Srutabodha are a selected few works which have been recognised.

Like Kavyas, the musical texts also claim antiquity. The Oriya poet who first experimented the use of music in a traditional Sanskrit lyric is Acharya Jayadeva. This presupposes the prevalence of music in the country prior to Jayadeva. From the mode of collection of these texts it is presumed that Southern Orissa and Puri were the main centres of this culture where regular musical performances along with textual deliberations were being held. Even from the days of Bharata Muni, Orissa had a special preference to music. The
Natyasastra of Bharata which gives a special credence to the Udra style of music does never make commitment of Bharata Muni's affiliations to Orissa. It is a sheer irony of fact that the old Sanskrit manuscripts dealing with music texts are not available in Orissa. The musical Sanskrit texts that are available in Orissa only belong to the later part of medieval times. These include Sangita Kaumudi, an anonymous work, Gita Prakasha, a work of Krishna Dasa Badajena Mahapatra, Sangita Kalpalata composed by Haladhar Mishra, Tala Sarvasva rendered by Kavi Chandra Purusottama Mishra and Sangita Sarani written by Narayana Mishra. Besides, Sangita Narayana of Jagannath Narayana Deva the king of Paralakhemindi, and Natya Manorama of Raghunath Rath have been acclaimed high.

Orissa, where a large number of temples, sculptures, caves and monuments stand to proclaim a glorious indigenous school of Art, literature should have also equally been at the background of such creations. The Orissan Art as depicted in the facades of the temples is extremely rich. So also the supporting literatures dealing with the technicalities of Art and Architecture should have been equally profound. But only a few manuscripts dealing with architectural texts are available.

Leaving apart the four Southern languages, Oriya has a celebrated place in the hierarchy of Indian languages. Beginning with 9th and 10th centuries up to the later part of 19th century, the literary monuments that have been built by the Oriya scholars are unprecedented in any other regional languages of the country. The development of Oriya script has been from 6th century resulting in its fulfilment in 12th century. The Natha and Siddha literatures are the earlier works in Oriya. Out of the eighty-four Siddha Sadhakas, Kanhupa and few others have composed in Oriya and even today a number of palm leaves bearing the name of Gorakh Nath and Adinath are available in Orissa.

Serious writings in Orissa started in 14th and 15th centuries during the times of Gajapatis. The demand for Mahabharata and Ramayana in Oriya grew at this time and the demand could be met substantively by the Oriya Mahabharata of Sarala Dasa. Sarala Dasa as he claims himself is a lowly man from the peasants who could compose the voluminous Mahabharata of eighteen parts, giving therein all the details of Orissan rivers, pilgrim centres, hills, customs and manners etc. Though it is a prototype of Sanskrit Mahabharata it can claim originality and distinction.

Other works—Saptakanda Ramayana, Chandi Purana and Vilanka Ramayana of Sarala dasa are also available in Orissa. The
other authors who have composed in the traditions of Sarala Das are Purusottama Dasa, Krushna Singh, Jagannath Dasa, Kapilesvara Nanda, Gopinath Das etc.

Balarama Das's Jagamohan Ramayana is another monumental work like the Mahabharata of Sarala Dasa. Jagamohan Ramayana is read with difference in Northern and Southern Orissa and it has been named Dandi Ramayana and Dakshini Ramayana respectively. Although Balarama Das has other works, he is famous for his Ramayana in each and every Oriya home. In later times Purusottama Dasa, Krushna Charan Patnaik, Kesava Tripathy, Krupasindhu Dasa, Jagannath Dasa, Mahadeva Dasa, Mahesvara Dasa and Rama Dasa also had composed Ramayanas in Oriya language.

Vilanka Ramayana written in the footprints of Sanskrit Adibhuta Ramayana, which contains the episodes of Sahasrasira Ravana is available in Orissa. Baranidhi Das, Siddheswar Das, Balarama Das and Sarala Das have viewed this particular incident of Sahasrasira Ravana from different angles. Apart from Ramayana, Bhagavata is another popular work. The sixteenth century Vaishnava poet Atibadi Jagannatha Dasa had composed Bhagavata for the first time in an Eastern Indian language. Like Sarala Dasa and Balarama Dasa he has also given mention of Orissan culture. As Bhagavata rose to fame in Eastern India other works following this were composed. The Bhasabandha Bhagavata was composed by Sanatana Vidyaavagisha in Bengal. The poet has acknowledged the greatness of Jagannath in his works, in the following lines:

"सुद दुन शोतापान कार्र निन्द्वमि।
प्रभम दृढ़े प्रत्य विलितं प्राप्न ||
दापिय लोऽह भाषा नापाह ।
प्रभेन्तेपति प्रामे प्रामे वेदान्त ||
ए हेतु उक्त्र प्रभा करित लिखन ।
रामायण दास कः वृद्धिः लेखन ॥
प्रथम नरायण हेतु उक्तकः हर्षयः ।
उपेशाय भाषाय उक्तकः विलादयः ॥
दधमकाक्ष व्राजसत सम्पृविहृदधे ।
वह व्रता लीलिलम् भुदु सुप्रे माते ॥"

Jagannath Dasa has also other works. In the light of the Bhagavata of Jagannath Dasa, Janaki Ballabha Kara Sharma of Bhograi in North Orissa has composed another Bhagavata in 17th century A.D. Besides the thirteenth chapter of Bhagavata by Dwaraka Dasa, the 12th chapter of Bhagavata by Mahadeva Dasa, Gupta Bhaga-
vata by another Jagannath Das, Bhagavata Bala Charita by Ghatesvara Das, Bhagavata Mahatmya by Padmanabha Das, Bhagavata Ratnamala by Krishna Das and Ananta Das. Bhakti Viheda Bhagavata by Sadhucharan, Lilamruta Bhagavata by Vipra Uddhava are noted works.


Oriya poetry has several sections such as Samhita, Geeta, Malika, Bhajana, Janana, Chautisa, Chaupadi, Chitau, Poi, Boli, Padia, Champu, Pala, Suarga, Lila, Rasa, Yatra, Vratakatha, Samara Sahitya and Chhanda.

The golden age of Oriya literature was the period from the advent of 15th century to the first half of 19th century. The two main aspects of Aryan culture on which all Indian works were based, namely, Rama and Krishna, became very popular in Orissa. Oriya works are loud in describing the Lilas of both Rama and Krishna in the light of Sanskrit poetry. During this period hundreds of Chhanda Kavyas, Padias, Bolis, about five thousand Chautisas, more than a lakh of Chaupadis, about twenty numbers of Pois, more than fifty numbers of Koilis have been contributed by the Oriya scholars. Those who had spearheaded this great literary movement are Arjuna Das, Narasingha Sena, Bishnu Das, Dhananjaya Bhanja, Rasa Kavi Banamali Das, Dinakrushed Das, Upendra Bhanja, Sadananda Kavi Surya Brahma, Brajanath Bada Jena, Dinabandhu Raj Harichandan, Bhakta Charan, Abhimanyu Samanta Simhara, Salabega, Banamali Das, Gopal Krushna, Kavisurya Baladeva Rath and Gaurahari Parichha. Each one of them is a radiating unit subscribing to the total evolution of Oriya literature. These
have inspired a number of followers who have adopted this style in their works. They are little known and we have mentioned a few of them and their works in the following. They are Pitambara Deva’s Akhila Rasa Chintamani, Kesava Rath’s Ananga Rangini, Shyama Sundar Deva’s Anuraga Kalpalata, Ramachandra Patnaik’s Haravati and Anuragavati, Padmanabha Shri Chandan’s Ichhavati, Sadhucharana Dasa’s Udebakara, Dvija Sridhara’s Kanchanalata, Gajapati Mukunda Deva’s Krushna Abhilasha, Natabara Bhramaravara’s Krushna Kalpalata, Dhananjaya’s Krishna Krida Kanya, Bansidasas’s Gaura Kalasa, Sapta Raga Chautisa on Gopalila and Lokanath Vidyadhar, Gaura Chandra Bhramaravara’s Govinda Mangala, Gopinath Dasa’s Govinda Vilasa, Madhava Rath’s Chaitanya Vilasa, Bhakta Rama Dasa’s Janakisha Vilasa, Madhusudanas’s Tulsī Ramayana, Maguni Jyotisa’s Deula Tola, Balabhadrā Nrupa’s Nalacharita, Jayaratha’s Narada Saptanga, Sadananda Kavisurya Brahma’s Nistha Nilamani, Raghunath Parichha’s Nruyta Bhagavata, Khirda Mali’s Padmanabha Janma, Bhagavata Dasa’s Vanajavati, Bihari Parsurama Dasa’s Brahma Geeta, Janaki Vallabha Kara’s Bhagavad Gita, Dasarathi Singh’s Bhagavadgita, Upendra Banja’s Narada Purana, Kaviraj Madhusudana’s Madana Manjari, Vasudeva Dasa’s Mahabhurata Chhanda, Gadadhara Dasa’s Mahalakshmi Purana, Kshatriya Vara Banja’s Rasani, Shyama Sundar Banja’s Rasa Ratnakara, Raghunath Parichha’s Radhakrushna Parihasa Chintamani, Maguni Patnaik’s Ramachandra Vihara, Krishna Chandra Rajendra’s Ramalila, Bipla Somnath’s Lakshmi Purana, Dharmadeva Nrupati’s Lavya Tarangini, Purusottama Dasa’s Lavyalata, Pura Patnaik’s Lavya Lilavati, Nalikanika Mardaraj’s Lavya Nidhi, Gangadhur Mishra’s Vishnu Rasarnava, Lokanath Dasa’s Vraja Vinoda.

Besides this long list of lesser known writers with their works we have also women poets who have composed several works with merit. They are Madhavi Dasi, Rani Mohan Kumari, Rani Khirod Mali, Krishnapriya Jema, Siva Priya Dei, Kalpalata Jema, Madhuri Dasi, Achyuta Jema and others.

Historical poems, proses and translations each, form a separate component of Oriya literature. We get a good number of palm leaf manuscripts of such variety. A few of them have been published and a sizeable number awaits print, which after publication will throw a flood of light on the medieval literary works of India.

Oriyas have also written books in Bengali and Hindi out of which Bengali predominates. Among the Bengali works by the Oriya poets, Krishnalila of Ramananda Patnaik, Manasamangala of
Dwarka Dasa, Govardhan Utsava of Gaura Chandra Parichha, Basanta Rasa of Pindika Shrichandhand, Jayananda Pala of Raghu- nath Dasa, Dolarasa of Natabara Dasa, Dwarka Pala in the light of Lakshmipurana of Sitala Charan Dasa, Navanuraga of Shyamabandhu Patnaik, Ganga Mahatmya of Jagannath Dasa, Bhuvana Mangala of Raghunath Dasa, Siddhanta Chandrika of Ramachandra Dasa and palas of Kavi Karna are important. Similarly in Hindi Brajaboli Geeta of Ramananda Patnaik, Jaya Chandrika of Prahlada Dube, Gundicha Vije of Brajanath and poems of other twenty writers are available in manuscripts. Besides, manuscripts written in Telugu, Tamil, Sarada, Newari, Persian, and Urdu are also preserved in the manuscript gallery of the Orissa State Museum. The illustrated palm leaf manuscripts of Orissa are a special attraction for the scholars of the world. The illustrations on a small long format of palm leaf with the help of an iron stylus are the work of highly gifted Oriya artists. These speak of their tremendous patience and artistic ability. Among these are Amaru Sataka Bidagdha Madhava, Geeta Govinda, Usha Vilasa, Mathura Mangala, Basanta Rasa, Chitra Kavya Bandhodaya, Artatrina Chautisa, Na' Poi, Dasa Poi, Adhyatma Ramayana, Bhagavad Gita Mala, impress the onlookers.

Even to-day a large number of manuscripts are lying uncared for in the villages of Orissa. They are left to decay and destruction at the hands of insects, fire and flood. Still people lack promptness either to donate or even to sell these rare treasures of literature and art to some museums universities or to any other similar institution of academic and cultural interest of this country.
CHAPTER 54

CONTRIBUTION OF UTKAL TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

(A GENERAL SURVEY)

The State of Orissa has an area of sixty thousand and one hundred thirty six square miles. Geographically it may be divisible into two parts, the western part and the eastern part. The western part consists of highland with hills and dales and is considerably forested. The eastern coastal part consists of plain area. The chief rivers of the State viz., The Mahanadi, the Brahmani, the Baitarani, the Subarnarekha and the Rishikulya after passing through these western highlands flow into the Bay of Bengal. Of these rivers, the Mahanadi is the longest with its source in Madhya Pradesh and the valleys of these rivers have been cradles of culture and civilization from ancient times. It appears that Aryatisation of the land extended from Central India along the valleys of these rivers and also from North India through Bengal.

We have a fair picture of the history of Orissa from the middle of the 3rd century B.C. up to now, but what is now called Orissa was previously included in Kalinga and Utkal. The northern part of Orissa was included in Utkal and the southern part in Kalinga. However, the boundaries of Kalinga and Utkal appear to have varied from age to age and Ashoka’s conquest of Kalinga in the 3rd century B.C. exercised great influence on the life of the conqueror and also on the land he conquered. Of the 14 rock edicts of Ashoka, 11 are inscribed in the Dhauli hill near Bhubaneswar and in the Jaugada hill near the bank of the river Rishikulya. The language of these edicts is a Middle Indo-Aryan dialect and is simple in style.

Sometime before the first century B.C. the Mauryan sovereignty over Kalinga declined and Kalinga became independent and under its powerful king Kharavela, it became a great power in eastern India and successfully invaded Magadha. The history of Kharavela is known to us from his inscription at Hatigumpha in Udayagiri
near Bhubaneswar. It is also written in a Middle Indo-Aryan language with an elaborate style and is very near to Pali.

From the first century A.D. up to the beginning of the 4th century A.D., the history of Orissa appears to be dark, though it has been stated that the fort of Sisupalagarh near Bhubaneswar was in occupation by the native kings of Kalinga during this period and to this period is ascribed a small inscription discovered at Bhadrakhand also written in Middle Indo-Aryan ascribed to king Gana (See E. I. Vol. XXIX, No. 23).

From about the first quarter of the 4th century A.D. up to now, we have a fairly connected history of Orissa and have a large number of Sanskrit inscriptions of the local rulers or emperors of Orissa. It is also admitted that the Gupta emperors (4th, 5th and 6th centuries A.D.) and Harshavardhan (1st half of the 7th century A.D.) exercised paramountcy over Kalinga. The dynasties that ruled over Orissa and that are known from Sanskrit inscriptions are noted below:

1. The Matharas and the Shrirama Kasyapas (South Orissa) (c. 320—c. 570)
2. The Stambhesvaripapabhaktas and the Nalas (West Orissa) (c. 570—c. 620)
3. The Vigrahias, the Maudgalas and other miscellaneous families (North Orissa) (c. 570—c. 620).
4. The Sailodbhavas (Central Orissa) (575—730)
5. The Bhaumakaras (All Orissa) (8th—10th centuries)
6. The Somavamsis (All Orissa) (Middle of the 10th to the beginning of the 12th century)
7. The Imperial Gangas (All Orissa) (c. 1037—1434)
8. The Suryavamsis (All Orissa) (c. 1435—c. 1545)
9. The Ministerial Dynasties. (All Orissa) (c. 1545—1568)
   Orissa lost her independence in 1568 A.D. and her subsequent history is divisible as follows:
10. The Mohammadan Period (Moghul Period) (1570—1751)
11. The Marahatta Period (1751—1803)
12. The British Period (1803—1947) (South Orissa) however, was annexed to the British territories in 1765 A.D.

Orissa became a separate province in British India in 1936. Before this date, the principal Oriya speaking region and the princely small States of Orissa were tagged on to different administrative units of India. So search for Sanskrit inscriptions and for Sanskrit palm leaf manuscripts has not been satisfactorily undertaken in
Orissa, as a result of which some of the manuscript materials have perished for ever.

We shall now, however, give a brief survey of the Sanskrit epigraphic materials and of Sanskrit literature of Orissa.

Fifteen Sanskrit inscriptions of the Matharās have been published. Their style is simple and sometimes attractive. I give a specimen of Sanskrit style from the Paralakhemudi plate of Shri Prithivi Maharaja.

वेदविवेकपापाय पर्दर्मनिरताय सुनियमपरायणाय पुराणारामायाणमण्डलांशाश्चाचनेिक-
विवापारवविन्ते मुनयमोगय वैतरियाय (कस्मारिक) पद्वणामणे प्रमोदम... महाराष्ट्रकृति
दत्तः।

(See page 55 Vol. I Part II Inscriptions of Orissa)

Five Sanskrit inscriptions have been discovered of Stambhesavri-
padabhaktas, three of which are written in Sanskrit prose and two in Sanskrit verse. I quote two slokas as a specimen of the Sanskrit style of the Podagada Inscription of Skandavarman. This was found in the Koraput district.

अंतगोणिक्रम राजवन्ती: खुलोमारामाय पुष्करीम्।
पितृः पितामहानां च जनायः कृतान्तः ततः॥
हर्या पर्वमिशिंभाश्चामिद् (?) मातृहितैतिस्मा
पादशूले कृतं विम्यों राजा श्रीलक्ष्मनरमिणा॥

(See pages 94 and 95 of Inscriptions of Orissa Vol. I, Part II)

Eleven Sanskrit inscriptions have been discovered of the Vigrahās, the Maudgalas and other miscellaneous dynasties. Of these epigraphs, two are written in sloka metre and the rest are written in ornate prose. Of all these epigraphs, I give quotation from Patiakella plate of Sivaraj in the district of Puri (See p. 25 ibid) and Sumandala plate of Dharmaraja of the time of Prithivivigraha (p. 114, ibid).

ॐ स्वरूपः तस्मिनिद्वेषांबलवाचवलशतस्माराणकाविशृङ्गः॥

...पर्वमिशिंभाश्चामिद् (?) श्रीमथिंभाश्चामिद् मद्यपालणे (श्री) पर्वमिशिंभाश्चामिद्
लक्ष्मणरमायणे॥

ॐ स्वरूपः चुलवेदविखमेकलायं वस्त्रोपानवन्तिवतिः नवमन्तृयुगणं बसुधरावं प्रवर्त-
मान्यस्माये च इत्यादि (Sumandala Copperplate).
Sixteen Plates of the monarchs of Sailodbhava dynasty have been discovered. Some of these documents are written in beautiful slokas. We know from the Khurda Plates of Madhavaraj that he was himself a poet and was a patron of poets. The king is described as follows—page 163.

स्वप्निताविषयानददुन्त काव्यार्थबोधनेंककायम् (ि) संस्कृतितविविधभाषणसमूह: etc.

There are about 44 panegyric verses in many of the epigraphs of the Sailodbhavas. The records usually begin with one verse invoking Lord Siva. The first verse from the Buguda Plate of Madhava Varma is noted below. page 167.

One of the Charters of Sailodbhavas has been written by Upendra Singh. See page 185.

Fourteen Sanskrit inscriptions have been discovered of the Bhauamakaras from all over Orissa. They are written in attractive style. I quote a verse which describes the conditions during the reign of a queen.

उच्छेष्ठा विश्वरूपान्तरित्व धरेयु मुक्तस्वतिष्ठि: ।
वोपास्कृतेषुमि पारिकर्षिर्विक विवे क्षणुद्वैतात् ।
राज्यो तीर्थरक्षकः धृतिगृहु नाशोदयः केवलम् ।
कालाकृतिकालसत्तो कुटिलता वथ्या: प्रभुवेच्छ चुदि ॥

Prof. Sylvan Levy draws our notice to the fact that Subhakar Kesari of this dynasty presented an autographic copy of Gonda Vyuh of Buddha Vamsa to the then Chinese Emperor. I will give an extract from this work. (p. 150 ibid.).

मद्याकृतिप्रद: द्विवेद्याधिपेत्रामविषयंतत्तै: तत्त्रत्तै: तद्युग्मस्त: तद्युग्मस्त: ।
तत्वा विषयायोजनाश्रयत्व: प्रतिवेच्छे येन भारतयातीचो जनवर: ।
जेतय तोप्पामनार परीमार्गोऽनुपूवि तोसलनर्गरम्: भ्रुनोत्स: ।
सुदृढ्यीतेयांत्यापनालाल्यम् कृतं तस्या नाम: नरसम ।
नन्दुवान्तित: मध्ये नदरङ्ग्यान्तेष्वस्वश्च नवसरं च चासां चासां नाम ।
सर्वाप्रमिणं-नामावली ॥
Next we have a number of inscriptions (17 in number) of the Somavamsi kings and of other minor dynasties. I have edited a charter of a monarch of this dynasty named Maharajadhiraj Indra Ratha discovered from Banapur. I will quote part of one stanza from this charter. Indrarath, a son of Bhimarath and a grandson of Mahasivagupta alias Yayati II of this dynasty is described as follows:

श्रीमान्नर्सरूपार्जिन प्रथमतः सोन्दर्श-श्रीर-शमा—
गभ-श्याम-दया-विवेक-बिनय-प्राणभूमि-सत्याध्याय: etc.

We have a number of Sanskrit inscriptions of the Eastern Gangas whose capital Kalinganagari was on the bank of the river Vamsadhara near the modern village Mukhalingam now in Chicacole district in Andhra Pradesh. The inscriptions of the Eastern Gangas are generally in rythmical prose as is evidenced form the following specimen.

श्रीमलाम् श्रवणभुजविनितनयिनिंदनवासाविनश्वरस्यस्वर्गालीयन्वितकृतमात्रायाम् चित्यवरिष्टमाले—
पवित्रालाम् प्राम्यविताएं विद्वद्विधाराद्वारदुस्सिद्धिलक्ष्मीस्यस्यस्य कामस्थिताएं महेन्द्रचतुर्भर्तप्रतिष्ठातयं सचाराचारुरो: सकलस्रुवन्यमार्तिक्षुद्रांश्च...प्रथमतो वोकृतांवामन: प्रसादादु...


A ruler of this dynasty named Codaganga Deva conquered northern Orissa and shifted his capital to Cuttack on the Mahanadi river and founded the imperial dynasty of Gangas in Orissa. They have left us about a dozen copperplates which are written in the ornate kavya style in verse. The number of these verses is 159.

The following verse ascribes the construction of the Jagannath Temple at Puri to Chodaganga (1077 A.D.—1147 A.D.).

प्रवृ यस्य धर्मनिरोक्षासाहं नामाश्रय सभी दिशः
श्रोचे नेवथुम रबीदुर्गलः मृदुमय व दैवती ।
प्रसादान्त शुभोत्सवमयं नृपति: को नाम कर्तुः क्षमः
सत्येशादिन्द्रितिष्ठतायं चक्रे य नगेश्वर: ॥

Of the 159 verses, verse No. 71 describes (p. 396 ibid) Narasimhadeva I's victory over the Yavanas of West Bengal in 1245 A.D. as follows:

राजावर्जयवर्तीनयवांशादु पूरेण हृद-विनिशंतिकालिक्योऽः
तद्विप्रलस्मकर्षनादुस्त्रिपरमात्रां गजंग्यपि दूरमदुमा यमुनाधुमास्तूर ॥
Of the next dynasty of Solar kings, we have got many Sanskrit inscriptions written either in old Oriya script or Telugu script. Many inscriptions in the Telugu script have been published in South Indian Inscriptions Vol. X. I quote below three verses from the Gopinathpur inscription of the time of Kapilesvaradeva (1434-1467 A.D.)

The king is thus extolled—

कलेश्वरकाजसिसिः कलेश्वरमणियो मालवंचसौलिसां
वंशायो प्रभांद्रमणी भ्रमरवर्दनयो व्यस्तदिल्लविणवर्गः etc.

His priest Lakshmana is thus praised—
तस्यांहुष्मुं: स हि हृत्यवर्षकेरोः पुरोपाधा मसकुण्डकर्तः
शिवद्वान महायाज्ञ्यकलावर्तकस: प्रवेशावन्ध्र्य प्रविष्टप्रवर्तसः।।

Then follows the eulogy of the priest’s son Narayana—

मिकस्य बिविरोबिलिः: सुमनसां सत्तानविलामलिः:
पापरातबिभवायाहमिएः: बद्धतुर्वलामलिः।।
पद्मोलास्विनलस्वासरमिएः: युनोज्य नारायणाः:
सत्यारम्भपराल्योऽस्मि बन्नारायणाः नारायणाः।।

Orissa lost her independence in 1568 A.D. as a result of which the subsequent Sanskrit Inscriptions have become rare.

I will now proceed to present a survey of the Sanskrit literature of Orissa under several headings such as dramas, epics, lyrics etc.

**DRAMATIC LITERATURE**

Bhatta Narayana who is the author of the drama Venisamhara and who refers to the deity Purushottama at the end of his play is identifiable with the donor of Purushottampur grant of Madhava of Sailodhava dynasty.

Murari Misra is the author of the drama Anargharaghava.

It deals with the story of Ramayana. In the prologue to the drama, the stage manager refers to the festival of the deity Purusottam on the seacoast. He speaks as follows:

भो भो ललितकलस्तुरीकाप्रभुतकुरस्य भवते: पुष्पोतमस्य यात्रायामुस्वानीयं: समासः।।
So Prof. Wilson in the second volume of the Hindu Theatre thinks that the drama was first staged on the occasion of the car festival of the deity Jagannath at Puri. The play lacks the dramatic characteristics of characterisation or the intricacies of plot construction, but it shows that the author is a master of elaborate Sanskrit style. Prof. Keith, in his Sanskrit drama says that we cannot say definitely about the place of activity of the author. Pandit Madhusudan Tarkavachaspati speaks of Murari's nativity in Utkal referring to some social customs such as "Ulu Ulu Dhvani" of married ladies as referred to in the drama. Murari belongs approximately to 8th century A.D., because he was referred to by Rajasekhar of the 9th century and almost quotes Bhavabhuti of the 7th century.

Krishna Misra, the author of the Prabodhachandrododaya refers to Purushottamaksetra as a holy place, but without positive evidence he cannot be said to belong to Utkal.

Visvanath Kaviraj, the famous author of Sahitya Darpana wrote several plays, viz., Chandrakala and Prabhavati which come under the category of Natika in Sanskrit. (Four-act plays). Of these two, Chandrakala has been published. His father Chandrasekhar (c. 1264—1279) wrote also a Natika named Puspmala. We have also the following one-act pieces, viz., Parashurama Vijaya by king Kapilesvara (1434—1467 A.D.), Abhinava Venisamharam by king Purushottamadeva, son of Kapilendradeva, Ramanandana by Narayana Nanda of the last half of the 15th century. The following one-act pieces of indefinite dates also exist in palm leaf manuscripts:

- Prachanda Vrukodara, Syamantakaharana, Sisupala Vadha, Ambarisha Charita, Kichaka Vadha, Shriramavijaya, Chandravatharana, Pratijnarjuna, Ramabhiseka, Shrikrishnavijaya, Shrikrishna Bhaktavatsalya.

We have two plays written by Bhujiya Devacharya or simply Jivadevacharya, a court poet of Prataparudradeva (1497—1541). His Bhaktivaivavam is an allegorical drama like the Prabodhachandrododaya of Krishna Misra. He has also written a play entitled 'Utsahavati' named after the heroine who obstructed Arjuna in the protection of the sacrificial horse of Yuddhisthira and who ultimately married Arjuna in the presence of Narada and Shrikrishna.

Jayadeva, the son of Jivadeva mentioned above, has left to us two plays viz., Piyusalahari (one-act play) dealing with the life of Radha and Krishna with the mediation of Duti and Vaishnavamrita
also dealing with the theme of Radhakrishna. Jayadeva possesses a melodious Sanskrit style. The following verse testifies to this:

महाम्यःमंक्याकोलसहुकरोस्मात्स्विषः  
पुष्पमालीबलीकुमुदपुष्पहलीदकन्तः।  
सुरति नायिकाली मधुरमछुचवति कबलयन-  
नवन मन्दं मन्दं तरलतङ्कुड़ें प्रसर्थि॥

(See page 26 of the Contribution of Utkal to Sanskrit Literature).

Markandeya Misra, the famous author of Prakritasarvasva is also the author of a Sattaka named Vilasavati from which he quotes in his Prakrit grammar. Sundara Misra of about 1597 A.D. is the author of a drama in seven acts entitled ‘Abhiramamani’ dealing with the story of Ramayana. Viraraghavachariar of Puri and a contemporary of king Mukundadeva is the author of a drama called ‘Niladri Chandrodaya’. (See History of Sanskrit—Krishnamachariar, Section 782). Chandrasekhar Rayaguru (1735—1750) has written a drama called Madhuraniruddha dealing with the love of Usha and Aniruddha in eight acts perhaps borrowing the theme from Srimad Bhagavata Mahapurana. He describes Puri as follows:

किन्नौर्येण लक्षोद्वरोरसिषिरः भिषिष्टितोतिम्भुता  
केमोश्चूलितगमः समुद्र मधुवतः कौशङ्गूरो हस्यवतः।  
यन्त्रार्थं सहवालिनिङ्गविविधं भस्माभिषितो।  
देवो नीलमधुपराणाधरवरोऽद्धारः क्रोड़ती॥

Ramanand Roy, a high dignitary of king Prataparudradeva, has given to us an interesting drama ‘Jagannath Vallabha’ in five acts. His style compares with that of Jayadeva’s Gita Govinda. I will quote two Sanskrit songs:

यदा नासो श्रेष्ठ गतुपति श्रुत्यां कुबर्चने  
न ब्र तोपः पल्ले सरसबने नामःचुहाम्।  
शिपार्न भोजस्वेन कुमारित विदुषः पवकसमम्  
तद्वत्वासुदुर्वतं तथो गवितुंमनामहम्॥

मुदुतर-माभ वे लित-पल्लव-बली-वैलित-शिबवासु  
तिलक-विशिबद्ध-मक्तममित्रेषु-तल-विज्ञ्याय-वाचंधर-सार्ध्॥

युक्तिमनोहशोष्यम्
कल्य कल्यातिनिपिय घरणीमण्ड मयानलु-रूप-विशेषम्॥

This play as well as another play written by the poet entitled Govindavallabha deals with the life of Shrikrishna.
Kavikarnapura of the court of king Prataparudra has also left to us a drama called Chaitanya Chandrodaya dealing with the life of Chaitanya.

Madhvidasi, a poetess of Vaishnavite faith of Shri Chaitanya’s school is the author of a Sanskrit drama called Purushottama Deva. [See author’s note in Women Pioneers in Oriya Literature by Dr. (Mrs.) S. Rout].

Anadi of the first quarter of the 18th century, who enjoyed the patronage of Padmanabhaodeva of Khemendi, has left to us a drama named Manimala which deals with the marriage of Manimala of the Puskar island with a prince of Ujjain. Nilakantha Kavi has given to us in his quasi-drama Bhanjamahodaya the achievements of the rulers of Keonjhar beginning from the Jyotiadiitya Bhanja up to Janardan Bhanja. Nilakantha belongs to the last part of the 18th century. Prof. Keith also refers to a philosophic play named Svanarayan Bhanja Mahodaya in honour of a prince of Keonjhar written by Narasingh. The following pieces of dramatic literature may also be noted:

1. Syamantakaharana (Vyayoga) by Jagannath Kavichandra of Manjusa.
2. Adhutaraghava Natakam by Banamali Misra.
3. Aghataghatana Natakam and Vrajaraja Nandana Natakam both by Jogi Patnaik.
4. Puranjaya Charita in five acts is written by Krishna Dutta of the time of Purushottamadeva and Kuvalaysaya by the same author depicts the story of Madalasa of Markandeya Purana. (vide History of Sanskrit Literature by Madhav Das Chakravarti page. 396.

As regards Champu literature the following may be noted:

1. Mrugaya Champu by Kaviraja Bhagavan Brahma, a rival of Chakrapani.
2. Gundicha Champu (1778 A.D.) by Chakrapani Patnaik.
4. Ananda Damodara Champu by Bhubaneswar 
5. Bamanda Rajavamsa Champu Badapanda.
6. Mahanadi Champu

Pandit Sudarsan Padhi of Puri Sanskrit College is the author of four interesting Sanskrit dramas, viz., चक्रपालिकाबाय, कजग्र-पारिबारिक, सत्यविरामू and पादुका-विभद्यम Pandit Gadadhara Vidyabhusana of South Orissa has written a dramatic piece called राजकौशलमामुः:
KAVYA AND KHANDAKAVYA

It is not easy to ascertain the earliest poetical works of Orissa. Attempts have been made to associate Kalidas and Dinnaga with Orissa. Fresh evidences are forthcoming to associate Shriharsa, Govardhana Acharya and Udayana Acharya with Utkal. As regards the association of Jayadeva the author of Gita Govinda with Orissa, we are comparatively on more definite grounds. The Sanskrit Bhaktamala of Chandra Dutta definitely ascribes the nativity of Jayadeva to a village Kenduivilva identifiable with modern Kenduri in Puri district in Utkal.

(See page 39 of Utkal’s Contribution to Sanskrit Literature by K. B. Tripathi)

Krishnananda, a court poet of Narasinghadeva IV of the 14th century, is the author of Sahrudayananda in 15 cantos depicting the story of Nala. He is skilful in depicting human characters and natural sceneries in an elegant style. The 11th sloka of the 2nd canto of the work occurs in the Sankarananda Muth Copperplate Inscription and is as follows:

निरर्गलं वैभलोच्छा मिनीमिनीमयोद्यनेव करेत गामनो।

(See page 49 . The Contribution of Utkal to Sanskrit Literature by K. B. Tripathi)

A century of lyrics has also come down to us from Krishnananda. No poetical work has come down to us of the poet Narayana Das, the grandfather of Viswanath Kaviraj, but we have quotations from the Kavya ‘Vijayanarasimha’ of his father Chandrasekhar. I shall quote one verse from this work occurring in Viswanath’s Sahitya Darpana.

विश्वनाथ कविताविद्यात् प्रामाण्यकुवर्ण पदे पदे प्रमरान्।

Viswanath Kaviraj has written several epics such as Raghava Vilasa, Narasimha Vijaya and Kuvalayasva Charita, the first two in
Sanskrit and the last one in Prakrit. All these have not come down to us, but he appears to quote many verses from these works in his Sahitya Darpana. He is a master of elegant style and is adept in delineating various sentiments.

Kavidindima Jivadeva has given us in his introduction to the epic Bhakti Bhagavata a brief account of Orissa’s monarchs from Chodagangadeva up to Prataparudradeva.

Divakar Misra of the 15th century has described a part of the story of the Mahabharata in 40 cantos in his Bharatamrita Maha-kavya. From the last sloka of the 6th canto, it appears that he was also honoured as a court poet of Krishnadeva Ray (1409—1530) of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Divakar Misra comes from a family of poets. His father, uncles and brother were all poets with Sanskrit works to their credit.

Tuka, the daughter of the Emperor Prataparudradeva who married Krishnadeva Ray mentioned above has left us several verses as quoted in Rasakalpadruma of Jagannatha:

मा फिकूक प्रकट्याश्निमेयवर्ण मनुष्यस्त्रे विहरती परमेष्वरमक्षम ||
किमालोतिबिराहेनाय त्वदीयं श्रव्य प्रसुतमाचिरादनलक्ष्मेयम ||

(See introduction of the same work—Jha.)

Markandeya Misra who is better known for his grammatical work Prakrita-Sarvasvam has presented to us in 20 cantos the story of Ramayana in his epic Dasagrignavadha. The poet is skillful in characterisation, in the description of natural beauty and in the use of rhetorical figures. The Smriti digest Sarasvati Vilasa ascribed to Prataparudradeva has its prologue written in prose and poetry in a very ornate style, depicting briefly the genealogy and exploits of Prataparudradeva and his capital city Cuttack on the Mahanadi. The following Kavyas also deserve our notice.

1. Gangavansanucharitam by Basudev Rath, depicting as its name indicates, the history of Ganga kings of Kalinga. He describes the history of Gangas up to Purushottamadeva.

2. Sulochana—Madhava by Brajasundara (Patnaik) dealing with the marriage of Sulochana with Madhava.

3. Kosalananda Mahakavyam in 21 cantos consisting of 1200 verses of Gangadhar Misra (c. 1616 A.D.) giving a brief history of the Chauhan rulers of Bolangirpatna, Sonepur and Sambalpur. The poet is a descendant of Sambhukara, a famous poet of Puri.
4. Nagasagotra Vansanucharitam of Bairagi Pattajoshi describing the history of the Rajas of Khurda along with their sub-families bringing down the history up to the conquest of Orissa by the British. Coming to modern period, the following deserve our notice:

5. Mahamahopadhyaya Samanta Chandrasekhar (1835—1904) well-known author of the astronomical work Siddhanta Darpana written in Sanskrit has given us several beautiful verses about 60 in number embodying his prayer to Lord Jagannath. One of these is quoted as follows:

अश्वाध्य भाषि यदीयमाध्यरस्युचितं भचर्कमां
भिन्नं भोजनम: सुदर्शनमिति श्वांत कपालं शिलो।
भक्तांं भव्योत्साहमाभिभे भुमार्यसुतिष्ठ्वे
धार्मि श्यामचरावराविविधवे कहःशीर्षद्वेस्वे नमः॥

6. We have two epics entitled Rukmini Parinaya ascribed to the Ruling Chief Viswanathadeva Varma of Athagarh (Cuttack district) and Lakshmana Parinaya written by Bhubaneswar Rath Sarma (1905), both depicting episodes from Shrimad Bhagavatam.

7. Madhusudana Tarkavachaspati, the commentator of Dhvanyaloka and of Sahitya Ratnakara describes in beautiful Sanskrit slokas the genealogy of the ruling chiefs of Brama who trace their genealogy to Cholagangadeva.

8. Pandit Ramanath Nanda in his Jeypur Rajya-Vansavali (printed in 1938, Madras) describes the genealogy of the rulers of Jeypore of Orissa basing his theme on materials which are no longer easily available.

9. Biswanath Mahapatra an ex-Principal of Sanskrit College, Puri, is the author of Kanchi Vijaya Mahakavya in 20 cantos (published at Puri 1920). It describes the marriage of king Purushottamadeva of Orissa (1467—1497) with the princess of the king of Kanchi.

10. Pandit Chandrasekhar Misra of Khandapara has given us the genealogy of the kings of England in his Kavya British Vansanucharita.

Medieval Orissa has given to us several commentators on Sanskrit Kavyas such as Chandrasekhar, Mitradeva, Purushottama etc. But of these commentators the most famous is Mahamahopadhyaya
Narahari of Chikiti in Ganjam whose Tika on 117 verses of Meghadutam called Brahmaprakasika interprets the text so as to describe the car festival of the deity Jagannath of Puri. This Tika which has been printed by the Orissa Sahitya Academy is a unique prodigy of scholarship.

ALANKARA SAHITYA (LITERARY CRITICISM)

Medieval Orissa has given to India some very popular and unique works of literary criticism. Vidyadhar in his Ekavali examines the nature and divisions of literature in 8 chapters following the method of Mammata. The most outstanding feature of the work is that the verses cited as illustrations eulogise the achievements of Narashinghadeva of the imperial Ganga dynasty of Orissa. This king might be the second Narashinghadeva. The poet says in the first chapter:

\[ \text{Viswanath Kaviraj of the last part of the 14th century is the author of the Sahitya Darpana which in its 10 chapters deals with the various features of literature including drama. His son Ananta Das has written a commentary on the work. This work is perhaps the most popular of all Sanskrit works and poetries and has been translated not only into English but also into Hindi and Bengali. Narahari Misra in his Rasavali consisting of four chapters discusses about poetic sentiment from several standpoints. Gopinath Kavibhusana born of a Karan family belonging to Badakhemundi is the author of Kavichintamani belonging to the middle of the 18th century. It deals principally with poetic sentiment and poetic preparations. The Rasakalpadruma of the first quarter of the 18th century of Jagannath Misra is encyclopaedic in nature and is full of excellent illustrative verses from various authors. This work has been published by the Orissa Sahitya Academy.} \]

The following works also deserve our notice:

(1) Abhinava Darpana Prakasa by Jadunath Raisingi, the Ruling Chief of Tigiria, (2) Rasapariccheda by Samant Jagannath Mahapatra, (3) Kavyachandrika by Ramachandra Nyayavagisa, (4) Shrngararasa Dipika by Govinda Misra, (5) The unpublished work of Vaṅmaya (बाङ्मय विवेक) Viveka by Chintamani Misra of the 16th century, dealing with poetics and metrics and is encyclopaedic in nature, (6) Rasamuktavali is ascribed to Gadadhara Narayana Bhanja, the Ruling Chief of Keonjhar (1831—1861) and it deals with poetic sentiment.
As far as the science of music is concerned, the following works deserve our notice: (1) Sangita-Narayana of Gajapati Narayana Deva (or Purushottama Mishra according to others 1726 A.D.). (2) Sangitamuktavali of Harichandana and (3) Gitaprakasha of Krishnandasha Badajena Mahapatra (1565 A.D.) who won fame in the court of Akbar, (4) Natya Manorama of Raghnath Rath under the patronage of Nilakantha of Kerala (1697).

SMRITI WRITERS

The medieval Orissa has given us many famous writers of Smriti beginning from Satananda Acharya of about 11th century A.D. (who is also the author of an astronomical work entitled Bhasvati) up to Gadadhara Rajaguru of the first quarter of the 18th century. The most famous of all these are the following:


Medieval Oriya poets such as Jagannath Das, Dinakrishna Das, Chakrapani Pattanayak and Brajanath Badajena have Sanskrit compositions to their credit. Dinakrishna’s prayer addressed to Lord Jagannath at Puri in 34 stanzas in chaste Oriya has also come down to us in a Sanskrit form. The translation is ascribed to Dinakrishna himself.

Even outstanding Oriya poets of the British period such as Baladeva Rath and Radhanath Ray, the latter being called the Father of modern Oriya poetry, have Sanskrit compositions to their credit. I shall close this article with the Bharata-vandana of Radhanatha:

सर्वो नो जनो भारत-दर्शनी-कल्पलेखयेम |
जननीविश्वलोकानीपैंतुम सम्प्लु शर्म बिधेयम् || अः बुम ||
ह्रिम्मैैै-गोरम्मनित-मस्तमनिद-मस्तुचिततिरितपार्श्वम् ||
प्रस्मादप्रभंलोकनिन्यं गोरुगरुतारतायम् ||
... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 
भारतेश्वर गंतरस्याक्षे नायरारं शुंिषि नाम ||
सर्वो नो भारतविदि के र भारतवेद नमः ||
THE PANCHASAKHA OF ORISSA

Introduction—

The Panchasakha or the five fellow-religionists of Orissa belonged to the medieval times. They were all contemporaries of Shri Chaitanya, the great exponent of Gaudiya Vaishnavism in Bengal, and by their religion, both in theory and practice, did much in shaping the society of medieval Orissa, their influence extending to the spheres of ethics, literature and the social being of the area.

The Panchasakha came from different parts of the districts of Cuttack and Puri in Orissa. They were Balarama Das, Ananta Das, Jasobanta Das, Jagannatha Das and Achyutananda Das.

The Panchasakha have left an immense wealth of literature with their disciples and close initiates. There are still many seats of worship (Gadi) in Orissa where the manuscripts have been preserved in piles. These works are the most dependable testimony of the various movements sponsored by them as religious teachers and masters of literature. Several of these manuscripts have been recovered and published while many are still outside the purview of literary study and criticism. Panchasakha bhajans can still be heard from beggars and wandering Sannyasins.

All the five of the Panchasakha can be said to have belonged to late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. They were all there at Puri when Shri Chaitanya spent the last phase of his life at that place. As is often found in India’s religious tradition, Achyutananda, the youngest of the Panchasakha, has given us a description of the previous births of each of the Sakhas and has asserted that they have been and will always be born along with every incarnation of God upon earth. As in the case of many Indian saints he traces his Guru-line to have started right from Anadi Nirvana. In another of his books, he has mentioned a line of seventy preceptors before him. Starting with Mahashunya, Tattwa-Brahma and Parambrahma, it ends with Nimananda, Shri Chaitanya and Achyutananda.
The Panchasakha in Oriya Literature

The very little study which has till now been made of the Panchasakha has been, as it were, half-way and one-sided. Without going into the rich stock of Panchasakha literature, critics have only picked up a few books to their advantage and arrived at hasty conclusions.

Some decades back, Shri Nagendranath Basu, Prachyavidya-maharnava, had made an archaeological survey of Mayurbhanja, North Orissa, and after examining the sculpture and the few manuscripts he came across, concluded that though the Panchasakha "outwardly professed the Chaitanya cult yet in their heart of hearts, they were but sincere and staunch pioneers of the long-neglected and almost forgotten religion of the Mahayana School."

The Prachi Samiti, virtually the pioneer in bringing out several works of the Panchasakha, is in fact also the pioneer in bringing to light most old manuscripts of literature in Oriya. Prof. Arta Ballava Mohanty, the learned editor of the Samiti, has written a long preface in one of these edited books to suggest the Panchasakha were close associates of Shri Chaitanya who with his disciples flooded Utkal with the cult of love. According to the editor, the Panchasakha were only the followers of Shri Chaitanya in his "leela anga."

A third view, which takes these medieval saints of Orissa as great Tantrik Sadhakas, can also be justifiable. To them, a Guru must be an adept in Yantra, Mantra and Tantra. Like the Tantras also, their works have often a strong esoteric ardour in them. They have also recommended the arousing of Kundalini to the thousand-petalled lotus up the forehead as a means of realization. For these reasons, Dr. Shashi Bhusan Dasgupta has allied them with Gorakhpanthis who believe in the cult of the body (Kaya sadhana) as the first principle of God-realization.

The difficulty is, the Panchasakha of medieval Orissa are at once Buddhists, Vaishnavas and Tantrikas, still they are neither of the three wholly. To trace out the character of this peculiar attitude to religion is the purpose of this whole thesis.

Various religious movements in Orissa

Orissa has been the meeting ground of almost all the main currents of religious movements of India. The ancient scriptures describe her as a busy place of religious culture. All the different kinds of religious thoughts, Brahmanic, Tantric and Vaishnavite have been intertwined here to form a synthesis which has always made its influence felt on all her later religious movements.
During the Bhauma dynasty of the 6th Century A.D., Buddhism had its sway in Orissa and places like Puspagiri became important seats of Buddhist learning. Even now the ruins at Lalitagiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri bear the traces of the high tide of Buddhist culture that had once flourished in Orissa. Orissa is known as Odi or Ottivisa in the Pag Sam Jon Zang, the famous Tibetan text. This book tells us of many Buddhist scholars of note coming for study to Orissa. An archaeological survey of Mayurbhanja has brought to our notice the deities of later Buddhism, viz., Avalokiteshvara, Dhyani Buddha, Padmapani, Aryatara, Vajratarā and Manjushri etc. The hymns of the Baudhā Siddhāchārya, recovered from Nepal by Dr. H. P. Shastri, suggest that some of them must have been composed in Orissa. In fact the Pag Sam clearly mentions that Kanhupa or Krushnacharya hailed from a Brahmin family in Orissa.

There has been frequent mention of Kalinga and Odradesa in the various Buddhistic Tantric texts. The Nityahnika Tilakam speaks of Odda Pitha, Odda Visaya, Jajapura Pattana and Jaja Nagarī, Shri Kamaksha Guhyasiddhi gives us the name of Charitra, a Tantric centre in Orissa, which Dr. P. C. Bagchi traces to be in Puri district. The Shri Chakrasambhara Tantra brings in the name of Kalinga, with Subhadra and Shyama Devi as its Vira and Yogini presiding over one of the petals of the Sambhoga Chakra of Vajradhara and Vajravarahi.

Tantra, or Sadhana by the Mother cult was also once very powerful in Orissa. Mother worship is still prevalent among the Savaras, one of the very ancient tribes of Orissa. The various female deities now worshipped in Orissa, also speak of the Tantric culture. Till to-day we come across Tantric masters of the Vamachara school in the interior of Orissa. Many popular bhajans depict, after the Tantra, a conversation between Shiva and Shakti.

Vaishnava cult was prevalent in Orissa long before the advent of Shri Chaitanya. The grants of Dandi and Tribhuvana Mahadevi, two renowned queens of the Bhauma dynasty tell that they were great followers of Vishnu. Shrimad Bhagavata had already been translated into Oriya before Shri Chaitanya came to Orissa. With the rule of Chodaganga Deva in 1078, Orissa also came in contact with the Alwar school of Vaishnavas. Rai Ramananda was the learned Vaishnava poet who flourished even before Shri Chaitanya came to Orissa.

Thus religion in Orissa has been a happy compound of all the important religious movements in India and has been symbolized in the tradition of Lord Jagannatha. The evolution of Jagannatha
proves that He is the outcome of many shapings and reshapings by the religious cross-currents of a variegated nature. Jagannath has been the great Lord (Bada Thakura) of all the religious upheavals in Orissa, be it Vaishnava, Shaiva, Shakra or Baudhada.

So also was the court of Raja Prataparudra Deva, who was the contemporary of Shri Chaitanya and the Panchasakha. Himself a scholar of great erudition, he had, in his court, great scholars of a representative character from almost all the religious schools beginning from Lolla Lakshmidhar, the great Shakra Pundit to Shri Chaitanya, the great Vaishnava saint. The gates of Orissa were always open to scholars of whatever school of thought they might be. The Panchasakha also once adorned the king's court and came in close contact with the cluster of literary gems. They accepted everyone of them with due reverence, but never fell into any of the sectarian lines.

Panchasakha religion: Its prominent features

(a) Cosmological Theory

The Panchasakha start with the eternal question, "who was there when all this phenomenal universe was not." And their answer is, "when this world, the sun and the moon, day and night, wind, the stars, Devas, men and demons, Brahma, Vishnu or Shiva were not, only He was in the form of Shunya." This idea of Shunya has been personified as the Shunya Purusa. "He is detached, the creator of this world of manifestations, ever present and ever compassionate......" Still the Anakara or the Shapeless has no concrete representation of His own; "He is self-caused."

In the beginning, Achyutananda tells us, there was only water. The Purusa was resting on the Kalpavata or the heart of Time. He wished to be two, not being very happy in the solitude. And thus commenced creation in the following order: Nirakara Satchidananda—Shunya—Anahata—Nada—Ekakshara—Akara.

Like the Tantra, the Panchasakha give Prakrti its due place in creation. "From the original Brahma was conceived the Prakrti, and from it the entire universe." "I am without any shape, my two aspects are the Male and the Female." But this must not be taken as dualism, as the Panchasakha, like the Tantric teachers, were never dualists. To them these are only the two comprehensible attributes of the Supreme Being who is without any attributes. Achyutananda concludes, "Male and Female are His two aspects. But He is neither Male nor Female."
It will surely be interesting to mention the two factors, that, according to the Panchasakha, necessitate the function of world-creation. The first is the factor of conflict or imperfection. “If the world were without a flaw, what would move Brahma to the act of creation?”, asks Achyutananda. The urge for perfection and fulfilment ever keeps moving the cycle of creative experiments.

The second factor is that of compassion. Both Balarama and Achyutananda think that compassion moved God to creation. “After millions of years, compassion came to me and I wished a creation.” Or, “when all was submerged in the Shunya Brahma, God wished to create, He became compassionate and this bliss percolated out as the Shabda.” This idea of compassion reminds us of the development of Karuna in Mahayana Buddhism. Buddha was then meditated upon as the Lord of Mercy.

(b) Pinda and Brahmanda

The Omnipresent is also in you. The Being who is outside is also within oneself. The Universal also resides in the individual. The Panchasakha literature is rife with like descriptions. In one of Balarama Das’s books, Krishna tells Arjuna, “See yourself illumined in me, also me in you, you and myself are one and not separated.”

But before examining Panchasakha’s approach in this regard, it is good if we remember the concepts of Shakti and Kaya Yoga in the Tantra. If the Supreme Being is all pervading, then He is also in the body. The nearest approach to Him must be realizing Him in one’s own body. Thus, what was Maya in Vedanta became the first medium of Sadhana according to the Tantra. Hence has emanated the theory of unity of the Pinda and the Brahmanda and it has been very familiar with all the medieval saints of India. According to Balarama Das, “Whatever you see in the Brahmanda is in the Pinda. In Achyuta’s Jnanapradipa Geeta, replying to Arjuna’s question, Krishna says, “Do never tell it to the ignorant, the unmanifest Being is in the Shunya. Jiva and Parama are His two feet. The Parama pervades and plays with the Jiva; they are both of one body.”

Proceeding on this line the mystics have visualized the whole universe with its details inside the body. All the parts of the body are only the various sacred places of the world. Here Achyuta and Balarama come very near to Kabir who sees inside the body, “all the gardens and seas, all the suns and the stars, above all also God with the creation.” This idea of the universal epitomizing itself in the individual has, in Orissa, culminated in the deity of Lord
Jagannatha. Making Jagannatha their emblem, the Panchasakha could bring their new religion to the comprehensive reach of the society which had always taken Him as the Great Lord, Jagannatha is Buddha. He also presides over the thousand-petalated lotus. Thus the body becomes the sacred temple of Puri, the seat of the Lord.

But this is all for the convenience of Sadhana. Viewed essentially, the Supreme Being is neither Buddha, nor Adimata, nor the deity on the Sahasrara, nor even Jagannatha. He is the Supreme Light illuminating whatever is. Thus Achyutananda says, "The Light (Jyoti) is revealed of the Light, the Light is the illumined creation and the Light is the end of all."

(c) Saguna and Nirguna: Nama and Brahma

In the works of the Panchasakha, we come across certain names of God like Rama and Krishna. But they cannot be for that matter taken as upholders of a deistic pluralism. For them, the unattributable assumes attributes for the convenience of the devotee in the process of his realization. Achyutananda writes, "Nama pre-existed Rupa; it revealed itself through Rupa. How can one know Nama without the medium of Rupa?.......Nama comes to the world in the garb of Rupa."

The various deities we come across in the works of Panchasakha only point out to the way through them to the realization of the one, where all image-making ceases to be. Thus to Achyutananda, Radha is the individual soul. He has also given us the symbolic interpretation of the Gopapura, the Kadamba tree, all so famous in the nomenclature of the Krishna cult. Proclaiming a hands-off to the gross worship of lesser attributes, Achyutananda concludes, "The Shunya is never corporeal; only in the aspirant's eye it assumes an attribute."

(d) Mantra, Yantra and Yoga

Panchasakha literature abounds with Mantras, often to the extent of remaining inscrutable. Each of the Mantras stands for a particular deity which again stands for a particular favour the aspirant craves for being conferred upon him. Thus, though literally having no meaning absolutely, it has surely its indirect or symbolic value to the devoted heart that utters it.

If Mantra is taken to be the symbol of the various devatas, Yantra can be attributed to be their respective bodies. It is just a way of line-arrangement, giving the idea of a figure whereupon the intended deity is invoked to come down for the benefit of the devotee.
To penetrate the Yantra with the Mantra, this is said to be the way of worship.

Yoga is Chitta-Vṛtti-Nirodha. Negatively meant it is a process of detaching oneself from the stress of sense-perceptions. The Shastras have imagined this world to be a tree upside down where we have to get over the branches and leaves to the root that is God or the Supreme Reality. The Panchasakha also have accepted Yoga as a step in the spiritual preparation. According to Achyutananda, the five stages of mind are Sumana, Kumana, Aman, Bimana and Mana. For God-realization we have to withdraw the mind from the stages of Mana and Vimana and finally make it Sumana. For this mental preparation, Achyutananda prescribes for the initiate a systematized course of Yogic practice for twelve years. It comprises Mantra Yoga, Yantra Yoga, Tantra Yoga, Chhaya Yoga, Abada Yoga, Jyoti Yoga, Sumedhi Yoga and so forth.

The Panchasakha have also given due importance to Kundalini Yoga or Chakra-Bheda. After the Tantras, Achyuta has contemplated of a Devata on each of the Chakras, with His corresponding consort. The series ends with Anadi and Adi-mata in the Ajna-Chakra or the plexus near the forehead. Presiding over the thousand-petalled lotus is Parama Brahma, the ultimate being who has been equalled with Jagannatha, the presiding Lord of Orissa.

But all Yoga is only the means, never the end-all of spiritual Sadhana. Though indispensable, the aspirant should not take it for realization itself. Achyutananda sounds a cautious warning in the like vein when he says, “you will perish in your Yogic pursuits, yet can never attain Him. I am therefore now immersed in Atma Yoga and meditate Him in His Brahma-rupa,” and, “See with your divine eyes, you shall see everything but the Rupa.” Thus, rightly speaking, Yoga to the Panchasakha was never only a negative way of withdrawals, but also the happy union with the Supreme Being.

(e) The all-accepting inner purity

Prior to the Panchasakha, Orissa became bewildered with the effrontery of the many religious scholars who then flourished in the country. The royal court was a place where they broke their heads on tiring discussions about religion. All inner purity seemed to have lost its importance and the religious temper changed according to the patronage from the court. Here came the Panchasakha challenging the pundits their dry and lifeless discussions and the king his tampering with one of the finest aspects of man’s total being. For these bold avowals, Balarama had to be pelted with stones from the
people. Achyutananda and the others had to give tests of their Yoga before the king and the pundits. Yet these did not lessen the stringency of their tone. They openly condemned the ignorant way of worshipping idols of stone, of making long pilgrimages and of following the practices of Yoga and Tantra as ritualistic fancy.

But, we shall be careful to remember that the Panchasakha were not mere iconoclasts. They came in the time of a religious crisis when only scholastic quips ruled the day and it was incumbent upon them to clear the mess before preaching anything new. The entire gamut of their teaching centred round the fact that inner purity and faith is most essential for a life in religion and to avert a calamity the age ought to come back to this purity and faith.

To bring in the real emphasis, this is what Achyutananda has to say, "The practice of Yoga will be futile if the mind is not in control. The mind is the Guru, it is at the root of everything. The mind is the Bhagavata, it is the Geeta. Even nectar tastes bitter if the mind is not ready for it."

Achyutananda allies himself with a line of seventy gurus, which begins from the supreme Being. The latter is the end of all Sadhana, the corporeal Guru is only a beaconlight. The act of realization is fully of the aspirant's. As Achyutananda writes, "One has to see Him within completely by Himself, the Guru is only to show the way. Accordingly as the depth of a man's faith will be the height of his attainment also."

(f) Language, Society and Religion

Sarala Das, who will surely be acknowledged as the father of Oriya literature worth the name, came just before the Panchasakha. Though the greatness of Panchasakha is attributed more to the sphere of religion, did much in building the language of a people. Their style took its roots from the soil and so through it they could bring tough stiffs of philosophy to the easy reach of the people. The Bhagavata of Jagannatha Das and the Dandi Ramayana of Balarama are the two books which have always the first place in having provided a whole matrix to the life of the Oriyas.

Gautama Buddha insisted on preaching his doctrines in the spoken language of the people. Ramananda and all other medieval saints also sang their thoughts through the medium of the spoken language. Kabir once referred to Sanskrit as the tight-bound water of the well while the language of the people was always flowing and thus ever-fresh. The Panchasakha have done the same thing in Orissa. Their sticking to the spoken language incurred the worth
of the Brahmins and even the court. When challenged by the king, Balarama once sang the whole of the Geeta in simple Oriya verses.

The Panchasakha wanted to eliminate all distinctions of caste. They took disciples from all the castes. They associated themselves with several lower castes of society and tried for their upliftment. The way of the Panchasakha was a double process: of pulling down the hegemony of the social bigots and also raising up the lower strata of society with the means of cultural innovations. In short, they worked for the creation of an environment where the finest gifts of life could be at the reach of whosoever was worthy of them.

II

(a) The Panchasakha and Shri Chaitanya

There has often been much difficulty to ascertain the role of the Panchasakha vis-a-vis Shri Chaitanya. Some critics have gone straight to assert that they were just followers of the latter while some others seem to be confused between a positive and a negative conclusion.

Shri Chaitanya spent the later phase of his life at Puri where he came in contact with the Panchasakha. The latter were all initiated by Shri Chaitanya. But, would it have been a complete conversion, there would not have been any difference between Gaudiya Vaishnavism and the Panchasakha-Dharma. These five religious teachers of Orissa represented the evolving religious idea which always centred itself round Lord Jagannatha. Even in each of the cases of their conversion by Chaitanya, their own tone of distinction has come up very prominently. They were all, the lores depict thus, directed by their own Ista Devata to take Mantra from Shri Chaitanya and hence came to Puri. The Chaitanya Bhagavata of Iswara Das says that Lord Jagannatha commanded Achyutananda to be initiated by Chaitanya. Ananta Das got the same behests from the Sun-God at Konarka whom he was worshipping. Jasovanta also had it ordered by Jagannatha. Balarama Das had already attained fame before Chaitanya came and the latter also gave him the status of a Guru. Jagannatha Das had long before finished translating the Bhagavata, and Shri Chaitanya honoured him with the title of Atibadi (the very great).

The name of Raja Prataparudra Deva is already associated with this Chaitanya and Panchasakha episode in Orissa. The king zealously patronized the new religion and tried his best to make it popular. Shri Chaitanya accepted Jagannatha as his Supreme Lord.
of worship. At the outset, the king had a very unfavourable attitude towards Panchasakha (Perhaps their Brahma idea and above all their preaching for equality of castes worried him much). Both Balarama and Achyutananda were harassed in various ways during their stay at Puri. Their religion brought, in its wake, a powerful social consciousness in Orissa and the king with his coterie of pundits did not much like it. The royal persecutions took place when Shri Chaitanya was already at Puri. If the Panchasakha were just five henchmen in the Chaitanya camp, then why should have the king been so much intent upon harassing them? The same question arises also when Prataparudra, on account of the fact that he had already accepted Shri Chaitanya as his guru, accepted the former as his Paramaguru.

The Panchasakha Dharma also bore the distinct traditions of Buddhism and Tantrism and hence always laid stress on the metaphysical sides of it. Even the Kadamba tree, the flute and the Gopis have been given a symbolic significance. A legend in the Shunya Samhita by Achyutananda describes the journey of Krshna on Garuda’s back with his eight queens to see the eternal Radha. Only Sudama (the alleged previous birth of Achyutananda) accompanies the party. As they approach that kingdom of dazzling light, all of them become unconscious and only Sudama sees the Nitya Leela from a distance. The Nitya Radha and Nitya Krshna represent here the Purusha and Mula Prakrti (the primordial consciousness and matter), just preceding the one Brahma in the logical sequence of creation in the ascending order.

The Panchasakha have fervently revolted against all outward garbs of religion, including those of the Vaishnavas. In Nitya Rasa, a small unpublished work of Achyutananda, we get his clear distinctive ideas about Rasa. It goes beyond the Radha and Krshna of the popular lores and deeper than the Yamuna river. Like the Tripurasundari of the Saundarya Lahari, Radha is pictured as the Mula Shakti or the primordial kinetic energy. Achyutananda writes also in the Gurubhakti Geeta, “Only one among the million knows Him and surrenders before Him after sublimation of all his desires. In your spiritual practice you have to die unto the Supreme. Then only the Rasa will be genuine, only when it goes along with the Shunya-Rasa.”

Shri Chaitanya had given Balarama the status of a guru. After hearing the Oriya Bhagavata, he honoured Jagannatha Das as the “very great.” Gaudiya Vaishnavism had started disintegrating even during Chaitanya’s life-time. The religion became so popular
and its camp so crowded with enamoured adorers that, perhaps, the master could not hold its reins in check and thus the intensity gave way. Probably, sensing this centrifugal tendency in his camp, he decided to spend for ever in Puri, worshipping Lord Jagannatha, the sacred deity of that place. His own followers who had come with him from the north could not be at home with this stand of the master. Divakara Das’s Jagannatha Charitamrta gives the details of the story, and from him we get many valuable informations about the later days of Shri Chaitanya at Puri.

The Gaudiya Vaishnavas did not wish that Chaitanya should be “Oriyanized” by making friendship with the Oriya Brahmin (refers to Jagannatha Das) and wanted to intervene. But Shri Chaitanya remained indifferent to the charges and conferred the title of Atibadi on Jagannatha. To the protests of his own followers he replied, “This is a sacred land and you cannot forcibly impose your ideas upon another country.” Thus disappointed, the Vaishnavas left Chaitanya and went to Jajpur and finally again to Brndavana. Divakara Das writes, “They (the Vaishnavas) gave up all the rituals of Purussottama (Puri). They gave up ‘Hare Rama Krsna’ and took to the Japa of ‘Hare Krsna Rama’, accepted Kama Gayatri in the place of Yugala Gayatri, left Jagannatha in preference to Madana Mohana, and taking shelter under the Kadamba tree, withdrew from the Kalpataru.” ‘Hare Rama Krsna’ was the avowed Mantra of the Panchasakha.

Dr. Biman Behari Mazumdar (in his book in Bengali about the life of Shri Chaitanya) admits of the difference of views between the Oriya and the Gaudiya Vaishnavas, but takes the above-mentioned episode as not reliable. The only argument he has produced in his favour is that the followers of Shri Chaitanya could not be so mean and jealous. The attitude of Dr. Mazumdar is, this is how he has introduced himself in the preface to his book, that of a devotee, and a devotee is often prone to shut up the truth by his enchanted acceptances.

All the Bengali authoritative books dealing with Shri Chaitanya’s life and activities are as it were unanimously laconic about his later life of many years spent at Puri. There are no sound arguments to refute a doubt that does arise that this has been done consciously. All of the Panchasakha all through their works have accepted Shri Chaitanya as their Guru, they have brought him in the line of Krsna and Lord Jagannatha. But strange in contrast, we find no mention of them in the Bengali works on the same theme, except of course, a casual mention of Balarama and Jagannatha Das.
Even the Oriya manuscript, Chaitanya Vilasa, written by Madhava Pattanayak, an acclaimed disciple of Shri Chaitanya, does not forget to eliminate their names from his book. This cannot be all by accident. One is thus inclined to believe the story of Divakara Das as true. The fact that Chaitanya lived alone in Puri while his followers withdrew to Brndavana (this fact is referred to in the Bengali books) all the more strengthens the belief.

However, we cannot be hasty in drawing a conclusion. The Chaitanya episode in Orissa is still an unstudied chapter. The recovered materials are also not enough. It is hoped that with the discovery of more material, we shall be in a better position to know more about Chaitanya and to draw conclusions.

(b) The Caste of the Panchasakha

The Aranyakas and the Sannyasins have no caste according to the Indian tradition. Gautama Buddha had repudiated all such social discriminations. As soon as a person assumed Sannyasa, he had to throw down all his social reveries to prove that he belonged to none but the ultimate one.

From the songs of the medieval mystics, we get also some hints into their caste. Commonly we take Kabir as a weaver, Dadu a carder, Rabidas a cobbler, and Namadeva a tailor. From the names of some Buddhist Siddhacharyas, viz., Tillipa, Tantipa, Hadipa and Dombipa, we get a suggestion about their castes also.

But these hints and suggestions cannot fully be taken as literally true. Taking the case of Kabir, he has described himself as a man of every caste, a potter, a washerman, a cobbler, an oilman, a Kshatriya and what not.

The same confusion arises also in the case of the Panchasakha. Critics think Achyuta to be a milkman and also a Kshatriya. It is to be carefully remembered that the Panchasakha have often alluded to their caste never in the social sense, but only to indicate their definite religious attitudes. Achyutananda’s book, ‘Varmateeka’ clearly reveals this truth.

“My grandfather was a Karana and earned his living as the royal scribe. My father was employed as an attendant in the temple at Puri and hence his title was Khuntia. He is, by birth, a Karana. But I do none of a Karana’s functions. So I, though his son, am not a Karana.”

In his previous births, Achyuta says, he had always been worshipping the Supreme Lord in the way of Bhakti. The Shudra
symbolizes the Bhakti attitude. A complete self-surrender is the surest way to God-realization and this is symbolically the nature of a Shudra. Thus Achyutananda concludes, “I do not crave to be a Brahmin, neither a Kshatriya nor a Vaishya. The mind becomes humble only when one is low. Thus I have taken unto myself the role of a Shudra.” And, “The Lord Jagannatha has assumed his three births in the three eras. I am a servant by his feet, thus I am a Shudra. My attitude is the Shudra attitude and I am nothing but a Shudra.”

Thus Achyuta is spiritually born as a Gopala and becomes a Shudra by choice. Balarama Das, in his translation of the Geeta, has declared himself to be a Bauri, an untouchable. Shri Nagendra-natha Basu, already referred to in the essay, has taken great pains to prove that the Bauris or Bathuris were Aryans. But the caste of the mystics does not follow the commandments of Manu. Their aspiration is their only commandment.

Achyutananda took the title of Das, though his father's was Khuntia. Balarama Mahapatra also became Balarama Das. Ananta Das was originally Ananta Mohanty. Josovanta's title of Das was also a later addition. Even to-day, the followers of Pancharaksha assume this title. This represents their distinctive religious order. This tradition goes very similarly in the line of many religious orders who assume a definite title to distinguish themselves and their own social school from others.

(c) A short note on Achyutananda's Nitya-Rása

The Nitya-Rása is one of the short works of Achyutananda. The text of the book consists of seven chapters in verse.

The content of the work is a synthesis of the legend of Radha and Kṛṣṇa with the metaphysics of Yoga and Tantra. The place of this “Eternal Rása” is without day and night, it is impenetrable. This is beyond all personified images of the Lord. All the the gods melt away when we attain to that realm. They owe their existence from it again to be submerged in it. That is the place of the thousand-petalled lotus in full bloom; the eternal Radha eternally makes love (रति) on this lotus. All the universe is born from this Radha.

To realize the Shakti by awakening the Kundalini through the six chakras is the way of the Tantra. Achyutananda goes a step further and instals Kṛṣṇa or Purusha above Radha or Prakṛti. Kṛṣṇa conceals Himself where Ida and Pingala unite with the Susumna and pour nectar over Radha’s nipples. This is the place
where the sixteen thousand Gopis with Tripura attend to Kṛṣhna’s comforts. The Sahasrara lotus is the Bṛndavana upside down; there Kṛṣhna rests his feet upon Radha’s limbs and sits upon her waist.

After the realization of Prakṛti or eternal Radha in the Sahasrara lotus, one climbs up to see Kṛṣhna, the self-existing Being. The repetition of ‘Hare Rama Kṛṣhna’ is a sure path for this vision. We get here a slight metaphysical distinction in the Tantra-shastras of Orissa. After Shakti, there is the Supreme Brahma, beyond sex; and Nitya Rāsa symbolizes this state. Achyutananda has taken the concepts of Rāsa from Vaishnava literature and attempted to explain the Supreme Reality through Tantric interpretations. This imaginative venture in religion is surely quite unusual in its kind.
UPENDRA Bhanja

Upendra Bhanja is popularly known as the ‘Kavi Samrat’ of Orissa. This epithet literally means ‘the emperor of poets’. In other words, he is the greatest of poets in the Oriya language. His poetical works have been the centre of severe controversies and scholarly disputations among all sections of readers and writers of Orissa during the past three quarters of a century. To some, Upendra Bhanja is far from being a poet in the sublime sense of the term ‘Kavi’; he is only a ‘mighty literary acrobat who has shown his greatest skill in verbal jugglery’. To the others, he is so great a poet that he deserves a place higher than those held by Kalidas, Homer, Milton, Rabindranath and the like. Thus, the pendulum of Upendra Bhanja’s poetic appreciation oscillates between the two extremities of derogatory denunciations and complimentary commendations. It is needless to point out in this connection that sentimentalism and emotionalism preponderate over all such observations.

Biography

Upendra Bhanja was the grandson of Dhananjaya Bhanja, (and the son of Nilakantha Bhanja) who ruled over Ghumsur, now part of the Ganjam district in South Orissa, for 65 years. The Bhanja Kings ruled over Ghumsur for several centuries past and Dhananjaya is known to have ruled from 1636—1701 A.D. In addition to his being a very powerful king and a benevolent ruler, he was an accomplished scholar and a poet of no mean repute. He was the author of some Kavyas (long poems of the medieval type), the most remarkable of which was the Raghunaththa Vilasa. It is a poem based on the story of the Ramayana and written in an ornate style, characteristic of medieval Oriya poetry. Upendra Bhanja drew inspiration from his grandfather to engage himself in literary activities. His father Nilakantha Bhanja, who too was a man of poetic genius, might have also exerted influence on his ductile mind. Orissa was divided into a number of principalities in those days
and many kings, ruling over particular areas, were great lovers of art and literature. Some of them were illustrious patrons of music, dance and drama. Almost everyone of them had a ‘Council of Poets and Pandits’. Occasionally, eminent poets and scholars from the neighbouring States or kingdoms were invited to make a display of their talents. Those who could stand the acid test of scholarly examination by the Council of Poets belonging to the host-king were duly honoured with connotative titles. Ghumsur was noted for such literary activities and this also gave Upendra Bhanja the necessary impetus to unfold his talents. Thus, providentially the poet was favoured with a congenial atmosphere to acquire profound scholarship and to express himself poetically.

The place and date of birth of the poet

Upendra Bhanja is definitely known to have been born at Kulada, the capital of Ghumsur, situated at a distance of five miles from Bhanja Nagar (Subdivisional headquarters of Ghumsur at present) which was formerly known as ‘Russel Konda’. To perpetuate the memory of this great poet, Russel-Konda, the biggest town of the Ghumsur Subdivision was renamed as ‘Bhanja Naga’ about a decade ago. Persons desirous of visiting the birthplace of the poet may proceed from Bhubaneswar, Orissa’s New Capital by road via Khurda, Nayagarh, Oragaon, Jagannath Prasad, Bellaguntha, Bhanja Nagar and finally reach Kulada after covering a distance of about 115 miles. Those who wish to go from Berhampur may proceed straight by road through Aska and Bhanja Nagar and reach Kulada after covering only 55 miles.

The exact date of birth of the poet has remained a mystery till now. Scholars and historians of Orissa have not been able to fix the poet’s date of birth conclusively. The birthday celebrations of the poet are held now-a-days from Sripanchami onwards till about the end of August. The Kalinga Bharati which is the most important organisation for high-lighting the glories of Upendra Bhanja holds the Jayanti Celebrations for a week from the 16th of May every year. But the Bhanja Sahitya Prarishad of Bhanja Nagar holds the Jayanti function on Sripanchami in January-February every year. Attempts have been made to collect reliable materials from the Raj families of Ghumsur, Nayagarh, Baud and other places with a view to getting fresh light on the date of birth of the poet. But nothing conclusive has been arrived at so far. However, on the basis of the various views put forth by scholars, it may be reasonably held that the poet was born between 1675 and 1680 A.D.
Early Education

Upendra Bhanja received not only the warm affection of his grandfather but also his solicitous care to give him the best education considered necessary for the acquisition of profound scholarship in oriental literature. He had the benedictions of Dhananjaya and several Pandits who were engaged to teach him the different branches of Sanskrit literature. He studied the Koshas (works of lexicography), Sanskrit grammar, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the different systems of Hindu philosophy, the Upanishads, the Puranas and the various Sanskrit Kavyas of all-India repute which were very popular in Orissa too in those days. The five poets whom he studied thoroughly were Kalidas, Banabhatta, Bharavi, Magha and Shriharsha. But he studied some other branches of Sanskrit literature to equip himself thoroughly for recreating them in Oriya. The ornate style of the Sanskrit Kavyas was highly appreciated by all the Sanskrit scholars. Thus, Upendra studied the rhetorical works with avid interest and special care. Beginning from the Natya Sastra of Bharata, he studied Dandi, Bhamaha, Vamana, Mamamata, Ananda Vardhana, Viswanatha and Jagannatha all of whom shine bright in the firmament of Indian poetics. He had also a special study of Indian music and the Kama Sutra of Vatsyayana. He was a voracious reader and had a precocious memory. We are also told by competent authorities on Bhanja that he could sing poems melodiously and could inspire huge audiences with his oratorical performances. Thus, he was provided with facilities to be taught by proficient scholars: he had a retentive memory and a melodious voice. Above all, he had a profound sense of reverence for the Oriya language which was almost looked down upon with contempt by the Sanskrit scholars of Orissa for the simple reason that there were no poetical works in Oriya embellished with rhetorical excellences to stand in comparison with the scholarly works of Sanskrit literature. Upendra Bhanja developed in him a grim determination to obliterate this despicable attitude of the Sanskrit Pandits for the Oriya language and engaged himself wholeheartedly to establish the Oriya language on so firm a footing as to vie with the Sanskrit language in the context of poetical creations and literary compositions, replete with rhetorical erudition and devotional profundity.

His family life

It is definitely known that he was never a ruler of Ghumsur and even his father did not rule over Ghumsur for a long time due to conspiracies and constant revolts that characterised the activities of some members of the Raj family then. And what is known from
traditional accounts with regard to his marriage is not accepted unanimously. Tradition has it that he married twice: first the princess of Nayagarh and next, the princess of Banpur. But some scholars strongly maintain that he was the son-in-law only of the Raja of Banpur. Nayagarh is contiguous with the State of Ghumsur and undoubtedly, there had been matrimonial relations between these two adjoining states even much earlier. But, Upendra Bhanja never married a princess of the Nayagarh Raj family. The truth is yet to be discovered.

Tours and excursions undertaken by Upendra

In the days of Upendra Bhanja, religion exerted a tremendous influence on the Indian mind and religious people all over the country thought it absolutely necessary to go on pilgrimages to the various centres of religious worship in India, exceedingly important among which were the four Dhamas and the Sapta Pures. The four Dhamas are Puri or Jagannath Puri in Orissa, Rameswar in Tamilnadu, Dwaraka in Gujarat and Badrinath on the Himalayas. The seven Pures are Ayodhya, Mathura, Maya (Haradwar), Kasi (Varanasi), Kanchi (Kanjivaram), Avantika and Dwaravati (Dwaraka). Upendra Bhanja is known to have widely travelled in India and his Kavyas give us internal evidence to conclude that he repaired through many States in India including the four ‘Dhamas’ as well as distant places like Srinagar. It is also known from the traditional accounts that he had been to many of the remarkable centres of Sanskrit culture in India for display of his poetic talents and to establish his poetic excellence and extraordinary literary eminence. This was the case with the emperors of India who used to set out in ‘Dig-Vijaya’ as was undertaken by Samudragupta or by Kharavela of Orissa. This is known to have been the case with Lord Sankaracharya and Mahakavi Kalidasa and the Sanskrit work ‘Sankara Digvijaya’ by name bears eloquent testimony to it. His visit to Varanasi deserves special mention as much as there in that famous Vidya Nagari (City of Knowledge) of India, he took the Pandits by storm with the interpretation of his magnum opus the Vaidehisavilasa. His writings prove beyond all shades of doubt that he was deeply indebted to Valmiki, Kalidas and Sriharsa and it is quite possible that he had succeeded in presenting a comparative picture of his writings with those of the great poets of India at Varanasi mentioned earlier.

Literary output

As in the case of his date of birth and marriage so also in the case of his literary output, historical opinion is divided. According to
the others who have taken pains to actually calculate the number of his literary works on the basis of facts available, the total number is in the neighbourhood of 50. In his work called 'Chitra Kavya Bandhodaya', he has recorded the names of his literary works. But there he has specifically said that the number of minor works he had composed is almost countless. It is likely that at the initial stage of his poetical career, he used to compose small poems almost daily and on different occasions too. They were never collected in the form of a book nor did he either desire or attempt to collect them under some suitable caption. Therefore, he has clearly stated that he wrote without number small poems and small Kavyas at different times of his literary career. The reason why some people hold that he composed more than 500 Kavyas is that a line of the Chitrakavya Bandhodaya has been incorrectly read by some scholars. The poet mentions the names of his important Kavyas and then says, "In this way, I have composed Kavyas in the names of the others numbering, 'Pancha...Sata'. Now 'Pancha' means five and 'Sata' means seven. But the word 'Sata' means one hundred. If Sata is incorrectly read and accepted as Sata, then it means four things as stated below:

1. I have composed such Kavyas numbering about five to seven.
2. I have composed such Kavyas whose number is equal to an aggregate of five and seven i.e., 12.
3. I have composed such Kavyas whose number is five and seven put side by side, i.e., 57.
4. I have composed Kavyas whose number is 500.

In this case, to explain the point more clearly, the word "Sata" (ତା) which is the Oriya word for number 7 has been wrongly read as 'Sata' (ସା) which is the Oriya word for number 100.

Thus a single line of the poet has created so much of confusion. The first and the last of the four meanings presented above appear to be incorrect and the third interpretation seems, no doubt, to be more reasonable. But then, we have not been able to find out so many Kavyas as to lend support to the view that he wrote as many as 57 Kavyas in the names of his friends, relations or admirers.

It has already been stated that the total number of books written by Upendra Bhanja is round about 50 excluding numerous minor compositions and only about half the number of books has been printed till now. Very recently, some more writings of Upendra Bhanja have been traced by two scholars. These books, when
published, may provide us with new materials for the study of Bhanja literature.

The greatness of Upendra Bhanja

Upendra Bhanja is undoubtedly a great poet of India, though the Oriya language was the medium of his poetic expression. His writings have for the readers at large, a three-fold mission which may be stated as follows and which provides the clue to the greatness of his personality, poetic magnificence and literary craftsmanship.

1. He vindicated the potentiality of the Oriya language and boldly asserted that it was capable of producing such Kavyas as are considered outstanding in Sanskrit.

2. He wrote not only for the scholars but also for the common masses. For the scholars and critics, his proficiency in Sanskrit provided him with rhetorical scholarship intermingled with the profundity of knowledge, characteristic of the writings of Kalidasa and Shriharsa. But through his mellifluous musical compositions, he provided the most palatable food for the ears of the inarticulate masses. His language is alliterative all through and even if a person does not understand the meaning, still he would like to repeat his melodious compositions. This is a clue that he learnt from the Gita Govinda of Jayadeva of the 12th century. Even to this day, people in the countryside recite portions of the Gita Govinda. But many do neither understand their meaning nor even care to know what they mean at all. Even from this point of view, Bhanja was a people’s poet in Orissa. But that he was full of compassion for the poor people constitutes the solid basis for his being admired as the people’s poet of Orissa—a fact which is being explained a little later.

3. The most interesting thing in Bhanja Literature is its many-sidedness. His Kavyas centre round the stories of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Bhagavata, apart from kings, queens and lovers of various categories. But he has not forgotten to communicate his message to the common man to think of life not only here in this world but also after death. He was one of the foremost poets of Orissa who dissociated literature from religion. He has depicted elaborately the glories of kings and queens as well as their luxurious ways of life in his Kavyas. But he has tried to impress upon his readers that luxury in the palaces is completely meaningless without good and efficient administration in the public sector. In his famous Kavya (a romance), the Lavanyavati, he has described at length the early life of the princess Lavanyavati and her marriage with prince Chandrabhanu of a remarkable Raj family. But he has
categorically stated under 36 sections as to how they ruled the country and rendered all sorts of help to people of the various social, financial and cultural grades in the country for their material and spiritual amelioration. These 36 points may now be taken to constitute, in my own phraseology, an election Manifesto of the great poet. In other words, it may be said that in the last canto of Lavanyavatī, the poet has stated that if he was to be made the ruler of a State, he would undertake speedy action in 36 different directions to bring about a cultural and economic rejuvenation in the country. At one place, in the Vaidehisavilasa, he has said that if a capitalist, who owns enormous landed property, deprives the actual tillers of the soil or the tenants by force from their legal rights over the cultivated land, such tenants should organise themselves and take direct action against the landlord, in spite of blindly surrendering themselves to the landlord’s atrocious action. He has also said that if the highest head of the State does not act as per the rules or as per the legal codes, the highest officers of Government should be bold enough to face him and to tell him that his actions are illegal and that he should refrain from doing such things. For the cultivators he has said that they should pay taxes but there should not be over-taxation which will crush their moral strength and incapacitate them for further creative activities. He has cautioned the shopkeepers against disappointing the consumers by telling them that the commodities they wanted were out of stock in as much as the very fact that there is a shop in the vicinity of a customer’s house makes him hopeful to get his requirements therefrom. These are only a few of the many such things that we find in the writings of the poet.

This is not all. He has also warned the people of Orissa to be very conscious about the pronunciation of words spoken both by the Oriya and the people of the adjoining States as otherwise, adulteration of speech would jeopardise the chastity of the Oriya language. He believed that people of the various language-zones of India should learn not only Sanskrit and their own mother-tongue but should also know the languages and literatures of adjoining States. For example, the people of Orissa have to their north-east, Bengali, north and west, Hindi and Telugu to their south. Therefore, he has indicated that a literary man of Orissa should not only be proficient in Sanskrit and Oriya literatures but should also learn Bengali, Hindi and Telugu. This specification for Orissa high-lights the adoption of the principle of a multi-lingual formula in the various States of India.

Upendra Bhanja was a Hindu in the most dignified sense of the term. He did not believe in sectarianism in the domain of religious
worship. We come to know from history that in south India, Saivism and Vaishnavism ran counter to each other for several centuries and there are religious sects that prohibit the recitation of particular portions of the Vedas because the godhoods of some other sects are found to have been glorified in them. Just as, geographically speaking, Orissa is neither in the north nor in the south, likewise, Upendra did not believe either in Saivism or in Vaishnavism to the total exclusion of all other religious creeds nor did he decry the worship of any deity other than his own. He strongly maintained that for people of Hindu India, Brahman is one and undivided. The various cults, creeds and schools of sectarian philosophy should not stand as dividing lines among the Indians in the field of devotion, worship, spiritual upliftment and above all, emotional integration in the country. Such an objective is seen fully cherished in the temple of Lord Jagannatha of Puri, the presiding deity of Orissa. All the important centres of worship in India have close associations with particular religious cults or creeds or deities and in some cases, it is more than one. But the Jagannatha temple at Puri in Orissa is a most illustrious example of what may be termed as 'peaceful co-existence' in the field of religious worship. The aboriginal tribes of the country, the Vedic Brahmins, the Tantriks, the Buddhists, the Jains, the Saivites, the Vaishnavites and the Saktas all hold Jagannatha to be the Supreme Lord of the universe and devotees of all sects and creeds do not hesitate to surrender themselves at the lotus feet of the deity in the Puri temple for their spiritual inspiration. Students of Indian literature in general and of religious systems of India in particular, may feel highly delighted to know that in the beginning of his Kavya, the Vaidehisavilsasa, Upendra Bhanja has composed two invocatory verses, comprising about 30 adjectives of Hari. Since he had equal respect for Siva, Vishnu, Ganesh, Durga, Surya, Brahma, Ramachandra, Jagannatha so on and so forth, he has invoked all these gods and goddesses in the said invocatory verses. In other words, if a Saiva (a worshipper or follower of Lord Siva) reads them, he finds that they are meant for the glorification of Lord Siva. If a Vaishnava reads them, he finds that Lord Vishnu has been glorified in the adjectives given. Similarly, the devotees of many other deities belonging to the Hindu Pantheon will find their supreme objects of worship invoked in the said introductory verses. We come to know from popular tradition that a big conference of poets and pandits was held at Puri and Upendra Bhanja was invited by Divyasingha Deva, the then Raja of Orissa to explain how and why his Kavya, the Vaidehisavilsasa should claim to find a place among the great Kavyas of India. As he read out the invocatory verses, it was pointed out to him by a
Pandit that since he was a man from Orissa, having equal consideration for the various religious sects of India, he should not have invoked merely ‘Hari’ or Vishnu who is the supreme object of worship for the Vaishnavas. In other words, it was alleged that Upendra Bhanja glorified only Vaishnavism for having invoked only Hari to the total exclusion of Saivism, Saktism etc. Great was the suspense created over this issue when the challenge was made in an open conference of Pandits in Puri. But Upendra boldly accepted the challenge and explained his verses in such a way that whosoever wanted the description of the greatness of his sectarian deity in the verses was immediately provided with the most convincing interpretations to his great surprise. He was felicitated thereafter not merely as the greatest traditional poet of contemporary India but as an incarnation of Goddess Saraswati in male form (Saraswatah Ko’pi Purushovatarah.)

It is interesting to find in the writings of Upendra Bhanja that he had a deep-seated compassion for the poor or the ‘have-nots’. Our Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has been telling us for some time past that ‘Garibi Hatao’ or ‘Drive out poverty’ should be our objective in all national plans and programmes. It looks preposterous at the very outset that a prince of the 17th-century Orissa, brought up in an atmosphere of luxury and political authoritativeness, could have thought of vindicating the cause of the economically downtrodden sections of the society. But a critical study of his writings reveals that he has really championed the cause of the poor. Devotees in India worshipping God under different names have said that He, the supreme object of worship, has 1000 names as is reflected in the Vishnu Sahasra Nama, the Kalika Sahasra Nama, the Rama Sahasra Nama etc. In the very first invocatory verse of the Vaidehisavilasa, as explained earlier, Upendra Bhanja says that he worships God under the celebrated name ‘Hari’ because He is Deenabandhu or a Friend to the Poor. He is Hari in as much as he has powers to remove or dispel (Hari, who robs or takes away) misery and mental darkness of the people. This psychology of extolling the greatness of God in his highest form of ‘Hari’ due mainly to the poet’s affection for the ‘have-nots’ also finds reflection in some of his other poetical works. Thus, in the ‘Lavanyavati’, he has described beyond all shades of doubt that a ruler should not only stem the tide of corruption thoroughly and successfully but should also eradicate the poverty of the people of his State. At another place he has said that even if a ruler shines bright in the political firmament of the country like the SUN, still, if he debases himself intellectually and degrades himself morally, the great Creator of the universe will never
allow him to hold the highest seat of Government. Consequently he will be pulled down to the pandemonium of ignominy and derecognition by his subjects. There is a saying that too much of friendship breeds contempt. It was perhaps true of Upendra Bhanja who was born and brought up in a glorious Raj family. Too much of plenty and luxury might have engendered in his mind a terrible hatred for a life of enjoyment, resulting in a total disregard for the common man of the country. Under the cloth of a bourgeoisie writer, Upendra Bhanja was really a people’s poet, advocating their cause amidst strong oppositions from the nearest circles in the Raj family and scholarly critics of those days who were habituated to take refuge under royal patronage.
CHAPTER 57

LITERARY AND CULTURAL SOCIETIES IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY ORISSA

The 19th Century is a significant period in Indian history. In the second half of this century our national life experienced the impact of Renaissance or a new revival. In different spheres of national life remarkable changes were noticed and new ideas emerged. With the spread of English education the people came in contact with western ideas, ideologies and ways of life. The intense desire for developing self-consciousness or individualism among the newly educated middle class people initiated into western ideas, is really a historical event. They strove hard to improve themselves through the acquisition of knowledge, identifying themselves with the wider world. They developed free-thinking, a rational attitude towards life and simultaneously became engaged in thinking and working collectively which would be beneficial to the common society and humanity at large. The western people placed before them the example of yielding beneficial results of collective thinking and endeavour.

Society as termed Sabha, Samaja or Samiti in our regional languages is an assemblage of persons brought together for fulfilment of a noble end. These persons are united for a common cause. They strive hard for its successful implementation. They are usually refined in taste and cultured in their ways of life. Through their free thinking, liberal ideas and honest deeds the cultural trend of a nation is formed.

In the 19th century the newly formed societies were called as Sabha, Samiti or Samaja. Through the aims and activities of these societies the amazing awakening of the period is marked. In various fields of national life and thought, encouraging efforts, and unending interests were revealed through these societies. Among these, some were purely cultural and literary, while some were engaged in social reforms or activities relating to common welfare.
The historical significance of social movements of the modern times was to establish societies to think, discuss and decide collectively. In the past this was never a social phenomenon. The pundits or the courtiers were advising the kings in various matters and the priests were advising people regarding decisions that were acceptable to the scriptures. But the practice of establishing societies of any kind to converse collectively and arrive at a decision acceptable to many was unknown. It has been rightly remarked: “The world had not known until the eighteenth century any society organised for collective thinking and discussion. There had been religious sects, guilds of merchants and artisans, colleges of doctors and parliament of lawyers, but there had never been anything like societies for the avowed purpose of collective thinking and talking. Closely connected with the growth of education and enlightenment...is the creation of literary and philosophical societies in the leading mercantile towns...Societies of the type became centres of reforming zeal as well as of literary and philosophic illumination.” In the English social life of the 19th century the social movement by the philanthropist Wilberforce brought about a remarkable change and commenting on it the famous historian G. M. Trevelyan rightly observed: Wilberforce and the antislavery men had introduced into English life and politics new methods of agitating and educating public opinion. Public discussion and agitation of every kind of question became the habit of the English people. Voluntary association for every conceivable sort of purpose or cause became an integral part of English social life in the 19th century.

From the above-quoted remarks it is evident that in the 19th century free thinking and free opinion in a collective manner became a social practice. English-influenced 19th century was a suitable period for India for the establishment of different societies in the English model and the English educated people started such societies for the avowed purpose of social upliftment.

In Orissa with the spread of English education in the second half of the 19th century the educated elite came in close contact with the English people. They were initiated into their ideas and there was considerable interest to establish cultural societies. Bengal in respect of modern education, initiation of English ideas and thought was half a century ahead of Orissa. In 1784 the great Sanskrit scholar Sir William Jones established the Royal Asiatic Society. But for nearly half a century this represented the elite of the European Community in Calcutta. In the first part of the 19th century, the Englishmen established agricultural and garden-making societies as well as debating societies on medicine and physical science in
Calcutta. Besides, to spread Christianity societies also were formed. The Christian missionaries were ruthlessly denouncing the manners, social customs and rituals of the Hindus and as a reaction Raja Ramamohan Ray established the Atmiya Sabha in 1815. Distinguished persons like Dwarakanath Tagore and Prasanna Kumar Tagore were participating in the deliberations. Social topics as caste distinction, child marriage, polygamy, early widowhood etc., were being discussed and denounced. In 1817 through the efforts of David Hare the Calcutta School Book Society was established to publish standard textbooks for the school level. In 1828 Academic Association was formed through the initiation of Derozie and the Young Bengal group actively participated in it. This association attracted famous young men like Krushna Mohan Bandopadhyaya, Radhanath Sikdar, Peary Chand Mitra and Ramatanu Lahiri who later on became pioneers in the making of modern Bengal. They were influenced by the Western positivism and developed a rational attitude towards life. The conservative aristocrats namely Radhakanta Deva and Bhavani Charana Bandopadhyaya established “Dharma Sabha” to save Hinduism from the attacks of Christianity and Brahmaism. Similarly we find the establishment of “Tattwabodhini Sabha” in 1839 for the propagation of Brahmoism. Debendra Nath Tagore and Akshaya Kumar Dutta were active members of this society. Bangabhasa Prakashika Sabha (1836) and Bangabhasanuvadaka Samaja (1850) were formed to serve the cause of Bengali language.

So by the first half of the 19th century there grew many cultural societies in Bengal to serve the cause of religion, language and literature and the educated elite deemed it a privilege to be actively associated with these societies. It is needless to establish the fact that these Societies in the neighbouring state of Bengal gave enough impetus towards the establishment of such societies in Orissa. In the 19th century any sort of cultural and academic activity in Bengal had its corresponding impact on Orissa. Dr. N. Samantaray has given a long list of such societies in Orissa. We give below the details of some of the leading cultural societies of the 19th century Orissa:

1. Mutual Improvement Society (Cuttack—1859). The English elite living in Cuttack were participating in it. There were deliberations on social and literary topics; papers were read and discussed.

2. Utkala Bhasa Unnati Vidhayini Sabha : (Balasore—1866)—Fakir Mohan Senapati, Radhanath Ray, Bholanath Samantaray, Damodara Prasad Das and Jayakrushna Choudhury were members of this society. The society had in view the new useful books published in Bengali and treid to publish such books in Oriya.
3. *Utkala Bhasoddipani Samaja* (Cuttack—1867): Gourishankara Ray, the famous editor of Utkal Dipika was the Secretary of the Samaja. The object of the society was to prepare a catalogue of old Oriya books, to move the Government for getting the privilege of approving suitable text-books for Schools and to compile suitable portions from old Kavyas such as Vaidehisa Vilasa and Rasakallola etc. The famous Bengali author Rangalal Bandopadhyaya gave a talk on Oriya and Bengali literature and drew the attention of the members for proper study of ancient Oriya literature.

4. *Cuttack Debating Club* (1868): The educated persons of Cuttack started the society for discussing about English language. The Commissioner was the permanent President. The famous indologist of Bengal, Rajendralal Mittra read a paper in the society and advocated his views for introducing Bengali language in Orissan Schools in place of Oriya language as the former was very rich compared to the latter. This view created a deep sensation among the Oriyas there.

5. *Utkalollasini Sabha* (Cuttack-1869): The language issue stirred the minds of the educated persons in Orissa and through this society they tried to fight for the cause of Oriya language. The Deputy Magistrate of Cuttack and the famous Bengali author Rangalal Bandopadhyaya delivered a few lectures on Oriya language in this society.

6. *Utkal Brahma Samaja* (Cuttack-1869): The society was established to propagate Brahmoism. In one of its annual sessions Visvanath Kar delivered a speech on 'Revelation of the Absolute' in Oriya.

7. *Ganjam Utkala Hitavadini Sabha* (Berhampur—1872): Most probably this was the first political association. It represented to the Government for submitting petitions in Oriya, maintaining records in Oriya, conducting examinations in Oriya and arranging classes in Oriya in the schools. As Ganjam, mostly an Oriya speaking district, was then in the Madras Presidency the aspirations of the people were expressed through this association.

8. *Utkala Bhasoddipani Sabha* (Cuttack—1873): Pundit Pravakar Vidyaratna was the President of the Society. Every Sunday in the premises of the Normal School the society was having its sessions. The object of the society was the development of Oriya language, through discussion about Oriya text-books, improvement of the creative faculty and debating capability of the educated persons.
9. Utkala Sabha (Cuttack-1877) : This was primarily a society for literary deliberations. In one of its meetings Radhanath Ray was the President and Peary Mohan Acharya, the speaker. A comparative assessment of ancient and modern Oriya literature was made. Peary Mohan condemned ancient Oriya literature as being obscene in taste and unintelligible in content. Chaturbhuja Patnaik gave proper replies to the points raised by the speaker. In 1878 under the auspices of this society a periodical entitled “Utkala Madhupa” was brought out and many literary writings were published in it. There were sharp criticisms on the writings of Upendra Bhanja in the periodical.

10. National Society (Balasore—1878) : Fakirmohsan Senapati as a delegate of the society went to Madras to attend the Indian National Congress. Raja Baikunthanath Deb, Daitari Prasad Das and Haris Chandra Sarkar were actively associated with this society. Through its endeavour the Town Hall at Balasore was constructed.

11. Unity Association (Balasore—1881) : This association was striving hard to bring about a unity and amity among the Oriyas and Bengalis by solving their differences.

12. Utkala Hitaishini Sabha (Paralakhemundi) : The Rajakumar of Paralakhemundi with the help of Shri Shyamsundar Rajguru established this society towards the end of the 19th century. This agitated against the injustice done to Oriyas in Ganjam. This society sent delegates to Indian National Congress held at Madras, Poona and Calcutta.

13. Utkala Sahitya Sammilani (Cuttack-1886) : Through the initiative of Radhanath Ray, Madhusudan Rao and some other literateurs, a literary society named “Utkala Sahitya Sammilani” was formed. Its main object was to conduct discussions on Oriya language and literature and a critical estimation of newly published Oriya books. Gouri Sankar Ray, Rama Sankar Ray, Jagan Mohan Ray, Kapileswar Vidyabhusan, Chaturbhuja Patnaik and Nemai Ballabh Bhattacharya were the active members of this society.

14. Cuttack Alochana Sabha (Cuttack-1893) : This society was established for the improvement of Oriya language and literature. The main object of the society was to discuss about old and modern Oriya literature. This was confined to some eminent persons of the education department and to some students of the Cuttack Training School. Visvanath Kar, Chandra Mohana Moharana, Shyama Sundar Nanda, Krushna Prasad Choudhury, Ananda Chandra Dutta,
Mrutyunjaya Rath and Mohini Mohana Senapati on different occasions read papers on topics of literature, history and philosophy. To work in a wider sphere and express the literary aspirations of Oriyas this society was renamed as Utkala Sahitya Samaja in 1903 and subsequently it became a premier literary organisation.

15. Smaranartha Sabha (Cuttack-1898) : This was another society of the Brahmos where persons from different sects participated and discussed about the achievements of Rama Mohan Ray and Keshab Chandra Sen. Deliberations were conducted in Oriya, Bengali and English.

16. Observer Club (Cuttack-1898) : In the annual celebrations the Principal of Cuttack College Shri Nilakantha Mazumdar was the President and Shri Abhiram Bhanja was the Secretary. English and Oriya poems and essays were read and discussed.

17. Graduate and Undergraduate Association (Cuttack-1890) : Madhusudana Das was the President of the Association. In the sessions resolutions regarding reforms of Hindu Society, glorification of women’s education, denouncement of child marriage, and introduction of widow marriage were accepted. This gave expression to the reforming ideals of the educated youth and their reaction against social superstitions and blind faith.

From the details given above we can analyse the general characteristics of these cultural societies in the 19th century Orissa. The societies functioned in the leading towns of Orissa such as Cuttack, Balasore, Puri and Berhampur where the newly born educated middle class group came into existence. The societies tried to express their ideas and ideologies to do something for the social upliftment and the development of Oriya language and literature. About the growth of these societies by the third quarter of the 19th century a contemporary Oriya periodical remarked : “Orissa is gradually being flooded with societies in the Western style like infectious diseases. For the last six and seven years it has become rampant. There are societies of school-founders, societies relating to social and political issues by the new youths, the exciting societies by the pandits and Normal School teachers, societies of old people also adorn this town of Cuttack”. These societies had some avowed purposes. During the period of language movement, different societies advocated for and against the preservation of Oriya language. Some societies were formed for the propagation of Brahmoism and as its reaction some other societies tried to advocate the cause of old Hinduism. Such societies were formed in the towns of Cuttack, Balasore and
Puri and in different Brahmin Shasans (villages) of Puri district and Bamanda. In the contemporary society the adverse effects of western education were felt. Some young persons became addicted to liquor. So societies such as Ganjam Nisha Nisodhini Samaja (1875), Madakdravya Nivarini Sabha (1879), Utkocha Samharini O Surapana Nivarini Sabha (1884) were instituted to fight against these social evils. For the spread of education different societies such as Sikshavidhayika Sabha (1881), Siksha Samiti (1887), Siddheswarapur Siksha Bodhini Sabha (1894), Kothapada Sikshavivardhini Sabha (1897) were formed. In Cuttack, Puri and Balasore Sanskrit societies worked for safeguarding the interests of Sanskrit. Barring a few these societies did not engage themselves in political activities and were wholeheartedly supporting the cause of social reconstruction and upliftment.

It is very interesting to study the growth and activities of different cultural societies of the 19th century which brought about radical changes in the cultural life of Orissan society, formed public opinion and self-consciousness in the minds of countrymen who with their relentless efforts tried to improve the State of Orissa in various fields. The spade-work done in the 19th century yielded nice results in the 20th century.

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CHAPTER 58

DEVELOPMENT OF ORIYA LYRICS
(TILL 1850 A.D.)

FROM the data collected so far, it is ascertained that the first manifestation of Oriya literature was in the form of lyrics in Apabhraṇsa literature. In this connection 'Baudhā gana o doha' containing the poems of Kanhu pa, Lui pa, Sabari pa etc., the famous Baudhā ascetics, may be cited. These poems are of the 9th and 10th century as has been ascertained by distinguished scholars. The theories and principles of Vajrayana or Sahajayana of Buddhistic school of philosophy have been depicted in these short poems. The shape, form and the language of these lyrics, written about a thousand years back may be surmised from the following poem written by Sabaripa:

"Uncha uncha pabata tahin basai sabari bali
Mouranga pichha parahina Sabari gibata gunjari mali
Umata Sabara pagala Sabara ma kar gali guhada tohari
Nia gharani name Sahaja sundari".

It means the Sabara maiden is sitting on that mountain. She is having a peacock’s tail on her waist, a wreath of Gunja around her neck. The Sabara being intoxicated is roaming about like a mad man. The Sabara maiden is saying, oh Sabara! for God’s sake, do not disturb me. I am your wife. My name is Sahaja Sundari.

Devotional Poem—Janana and Bhajana

Balarama, Jagannath, Yasobanta and Ananta (the famous devotional poets of the 16th century) and others were the successors of the ancient mystic, religious and poetic tradition. We find the echo of the Buddhistic Charyagiti in their poems popularly known as ‘Sarirabheda Bhajana’.

During 15th and 16th centuries, after the decline of Buddhism, the spread of Vaisnavism in this land knew no bounds. An unprecedented enthusiasm to create literature in folk language instead
of Sanskrit was felt among the people. Many legends and stories took shape centering round the worship of Lord Jagannath. After Orissa lost its independence in 1568 many poets wrote devotional poems and strengthened the foundation of Oriya lyrics.

Oriya devotional poetries are popularly known as ‘Janana’ and ‘Bhajana’. In ‘Bhajana’, the name, form, qualities and the activities of the deities are generally described. On the other hand in Janana we find the earnest hope and desire of the devotee depicted along with the description of the supernatural power of the gods and goddesses worshipped. The devotional poems in the morning are popularly called ‘Prabhata Avakasa’.

Like Saguna worship, Nirguna worship is also popular in Orissa. In the devotional poems of Nirguna school of thought we find the prayer and contemplation of Nirguna Brahman. These poems in general are mystic in character. Many poets of ‘Nirguna’ faith have conceived Pinda (Human body) to be the microcosm of the vast universe. They have also described the mystic experience of the presence of divinity in human body. This can be attained through the religious effort of the devotee. Such type of poems is known as ‘Sarirabheda Bhajana’. The following couplet of Achyutananda can be cited as an example—

Mana bhula na re chahan trikuta sandhiki
Trikuta Sandhire Nirakara bije
Laya lagaa tahinki'

It means, oh mind ! don’t forget about the middle of the ‘Trikuta’. The formless ‘Nirakara appears on that.

Thus in simple language and employing the folk metre the devotional poets have expressed their spiritual experiences. They have also employed different types of metaphors to express their mystic feelings. For instance in the following poem the human body is conceived as a Kadamba tree in reverse order and the soul within has been identified with a swan—

“Hansa rahichhi je olata kadamba mule
Mane Mane hansa udyama bandhichhi
udijiba gaganare
Nahin tara mata nahin tara pita
rupa rekha tara nahin
Edala boile sedala heuchhi
Tu taku paibu kahin?”
The swan lies at the root of the reverse Kadamba tree and the swan has thought within himself to desert its abode and fly away. The swan has no mother or father, neither name nor form. Yet the swan moves from branch to branch which is beyond reach.

The poem of Bhima Bhoi and of the poets belonging to Bramho religion, may be classified as the devotional lyrics of Nirguna school. Most of the devotional songs are written in folk metre, codified classical Raga and Tala are not employed. The hymns on the goddesses are known as ‘Malashree’ in Orissa. These poems are generally written in Malashree Raga (Metre).

Chaupeadi or Songs

In the past the songs composed according to the rules of Raga and Tala were called ‘Chaupeadi’ probably because they consisted of four padas. Though the origin of the songs can be traced to 15th century, the real development took place in the 17th and the 18th centuries. The famous king Kapilendra Deva of 15th century has incorporated an Oriya song in his Sanskrit one-act play named ‘Parasurama Vijaya’. From this it can be deduced that Oriya songs were popular in 15th century. Dhananjoy Bhanja (1637—1701), Dinabandhu Hari Chandan (17th century), Upendra Bhanja (1676—1720), Biswanath Khuntia (18th century), Banamali Pattanaik (18th century), Nrusingh Pattanaik (17th century), Rama Krushna Pattanaik (18th century), Kavisurya Baladeva Rath (1789—1845), Gopal Krushna Pattanaik (1785—1856), Gour Charan Adhikari (1814—1890), etc. enriched Oriya lyrics through their thousands of lyrical composition.

In the past Orissa due to its geographical situation and political circumstances could assimilate both the northern and southern cultures of India. As a result, a novel metrical skill evolved intermingling both the schools of music of India. In Oriya ‘chaupeadi’ we find the use of about a hundred types of Raga and ten types of Tala. Chaupadis are mostly of love themes either about human love or the divine love of Radha and Krushna.

Chautisa

In ancient and medieval era importance was attached to alphabets in Tantric cult. Therefore, poems were composed in alphabetic sequence in praise of gods and goddesses. The poems were composed in the alphabetic order of Oriya consonants. The form of poetical composition popularly known as ‘Chautisa’ gained immense popularity for four centuries beginning from 15th to the middle of the 19th century. This can well be proved from the hundreds of Chautisa
written during this period. Considering all these, Oriya lyric should be given its pride of place in the field of modern Indian Literature.

Generally Chautisas are composed following the sequence of consonants at the beginning of every line from ‘ka’ to Kṣa. This alphabetic sequence-tradition is also maintained at the end of the line. Some Chautisas were also composed following the sequence of consonants in reverse order in which the poem starts with ‘ks’ and ends with ‘ka’ in the beginning of the last line. It is known as ‘Olata Chautisa’. The alphabetic principle of ‘ka’ to ‘ks’ sequence in the beginning of each line and the reverse order at the end of the line are also presented in some Chautisas. Some Chautisas are known as ‘Mesayudha Chautisa’. This is different in its technique as the last consonant is placed after the first and the 33rd consonant is placed after the second consonant. Implementing many novel meters and techniques through this poetic form the poets of ancient and medieval period achieved a great success. Dinakrushna Das (17th century), Upendra Bhanja (18th century), Bhima Bhoi (19th century), Shyama Ghana (19th century) etc. are some of the notable poets who handled this form most successfully.

Observing the vowel sequence a few poetical compositions named as ‘Sataka’ have also been written in Oriya. This form could not gain popularity as the words beginning with vowels are few in number.

Many lyrical compositions, in the model of Sataka and Astaka of Sanskrit verse form, were also written in ancient Oriya literature. One of these types called ‘Padi’ or Padia” generally depicts the pangs of separation.

Like the Saudesha Kavya or Duta Kavya of Sanskrit literature ‘koili’ form of poetry was very popular in ancient Oriya literature. Generally the poems addressed to Cuckoo are called ‘Koili’. Most of the koili poems are written according to the rules of consonant sequence.

Another ancient form of lyrics is known as ‘Boli’ in which a short story is depicted in a simple manner. This form may be regarded as the ancient ballad or narrative poem. The epistolary form of poetry in ancient and medieval Oriya literature was called ‘Chitau’ in which the emotion or mental anxiety of the sender is depicted or some message is sent to a dear one staying abroad. Ancient poets like Upendra Bhanja, Kavisurya Baladeva Ratha, Padmanabha Shreechandan etc., have written many ‘Chitaus’.
The poetical form named ‘Baramasi’ was also popular in ancient and medieval literature. Through this form of poetry the experience of twelve months of the year is depicted generally of the poet or of any mythical or legendary character. Pangs of separation and the affection of a mother are the thematic contexts of this type of poems. ‘Bachanika’ is a variety of ancient poetic form written in a dialogue form. At the time of the famous car festival of Lord Jagannath the poetic dialogue between Jagannath and his consort Laxmi is recited before the temple. For this occasion ancient poets have composed songs known as ‘Laxmi Narayana Bachanika’. ‘Gopalanka Ogala’ is also a form of poetic dialogue of medieval period.

Traditional songs recited by ladies at different stages of marriage celebration were known as ‘Mangala Geeta’. These songs depict the marriage rituals of Rama and Sita. Besides, humorous and satirical songs known as ‘Dhamali Geeta’ were also composed during the ancient and medieval period.

A composition of a bunch of poems depicting a single theme is another feature of the ancient Oriya lyrics. ‘Poi’ is one of the examples of this form. If there are sixteen poems in a bunch, the bunch is known as ‘Sola Poi’ or sixteen small poems. So we find ‘Das Poi’, ‘Na Poi’ ‘Chha Poi’, etc. according to the number of poems it contains.

From these it can be concluded that the theme of the ancient and medieval poetry was limited in scope. The ancient and medieval poets were mostly engaged in musical and formal experiments and achieved a great deal of success.

During the last quarter of the 19th century with the introduction of English education these poetic forms were discarded and have become outdated. In imitation of the English poetic form the Oriya poets composed sonnets, odes, elegies and ballads. The old rhyme scheme and the metre were rejected, giving place to blank verse and verse livre. Hence a new type of poetry different both in form and content emerged in the last quarter of the 19th century bringing about a new horizon in Oriya Literature.
DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN ORIYA LITERATURE
(1803-1977)

It should be very much borne in mind, at the outset, that Modern Oriya literature did not flourish all on a sudden with the advent of British Rule in Orissa in the year 1803. Rather it took more than seven decades to make its feeble mark in the middle of the seventies of the last century. The reason can simply be attributed to the slow movement of modern education in Orissa even after sixty years of British Rule. Although Bengal and Madras presidencies could have two Universities in the year 1857 Orissa could only think of having some secondary schools in the most notable urban areas like Cuttack, Puri and Balasore. Even a college for the sake of higher education was a dream till 1868. The miserable economic condition of the people of Orissa did not permit them to seek higher education in Calcutta which was not connected by railways at that time. Hence there was a dearth of external forces to open a new vista in the stereotyped norm of Oriya literature. This was really a period of post-medieval Oriya literature which prolonged its date even to the sixties of the last century. This was a period when vaishnavic love lyrics and devotional songs were extensively composed by notable poets like Kavisurya Baladev Rath, Gaurahari Parichha, Gopal Krishna Patnaik, Banamali and poets of the same school. The only modernity could however be marked in the prose composition of the missionaries in shape of translation of the Bible for the sake of propaganda of Christianity. But this translation was very much crude in its style and defective in its language; hence unworthy to be called Modern Oriya Prose literature. The only press which was established by the missionaries in the year 1937 was the Cuttack Mission Press. But this press could not cater to the need of a new literature as there was no scope for the same at the time. The British did not like to enlighten Orissa with facilities of extensive education as they, in their heart of hearts, apprehended that higher education would make Oriyas rebellious against British
Rule. The basis of this assumption could be attributed to the good
deal of resistance given to the invaders in the year 1817 which is
known in history as the Paika-Rebellion. But during 1803—70
Orissa was actually ruled from Calcutta where obviously all facilities
of modern education were provided much earlier. For this partisan
attitude of the British, Orissa was very much neglected till 1870.

The year 1866 witnessed the widespread famine when people
died in numbers for want of food. Most of the people deserted
the villages and left for distant places like Calcutta and Rangoon in
search of daily wages. Taking advantage of this situation some of
the notorious local Bengali Officers tried to influence the Government
to abolish Oriya language from the school curriculum. They publicly
propagated that Oriya had no independent existence and it cannot
be called a separate language. It was only a dialect of Bengali
language. This attempt though matured in the year 1869 had
already started fifteen years before. But these two grave situations
worked as a real stimulus for the Oriyas to strengthen their own
language and hence to evolve a modern literature which could very
well compete with other developed languages of the neighbourhood.
This socio-cultural set-back brought unity among the Oriyas to work
whole-heartedly for all-round development of the area. Hence
it could be very well said that the modern Oriya literature evolved in
the sixties of the last century as a defence and protest against the
parochial attitude of the Bengalis for their own survival.

These two critical events, though perturbed Oriyas as a nation,
had their own contribution to Oriya literature. A journal named
‘Utkal Deepika’ (1866) was published under the stewardship of
Gouri Shankar Roy to ventilate grievances and ushered in a neo-
consciousness followed by journals like ‘Sambada Bahika’ (1868) and
Utkal Hitaisini (1869). These three journals not only played a
remarkable role in the crucial moments like famine and conspiracy
against Oriya language to a great extent but also inspired and
organised a newly built youth force in Orissa which was prepared to
safe-guard the interests of the language at any cost. These brought
an opportune moment for the advent of modern literature during
seventies of the last century.

‘Utkal Darpana’ (1873) and ‘Utkal Madhupa’ (1878) were the
two great literary journals of the period which created a forum for
the advent of modern literature, as some of the writings of Radhanath Roy and Madhusudan appeared in those journals. Of course,
a good deal of works in form of text-books for school education had
been published by Fakir Mohan, Radhanath and Madhusudan in
this time to replace missionary and Bengali text-books. In fact these
text-books gave a new dimension to our literature. Prior to these
books our students in the rural pathasalas were reading ancient pieces
of literature like 'Keshaba Koili', 'Gopi Bhasa', 'Manabodha Chautisa'
and 'Bhagavata'. The literary merit of these books was beyond
question but these books could not imbibe a new spirit among
students. In fact 'Kavitabali' (1976) by Radhanath and Madhusu-
dan and a collection of essays named 'Prabandhamala' (1880) by
Madhusudan opened a new scope of modern outlook in the academic
curriculum of Oriya literature. The other factors which gave birth
to a modern literature in Orissa would be the debating societies and
cultural institutions which were established in between 1866 and 1880
to serve as a strong medium for the development of Oriya literature.
A new atmosphere in the socio-educational field was very much
marked in these years and a new type of literature came to exist.
Fakirmohan Senapati (1843—1918) and Radhanath Roy (1848—
1908) are widely accepted as the pioneers of this new type of literature
which took its shape during the last three decades of the last century.
As a result of continuous agitation during the post-famine period
the Government were compelled to pay their attention to Orissa and
allotted more of funds for publication of Oriya books including their
clear cut decision to introduce Oriya language as the only medium
in schools as against the attempt for Bengali by a minority. For
this decision Oriya literature became a compulsory subject in all the
schools of Orissa and funds were allocated for its development. The
version of a great friend of Orissa Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, the then
Commissioner of Orissa, could be cited here who remarked,
"with separation of Bengali language from Oriya the latter has grown
in a new breeze spreading its own leaves and branches. But the
Bengali language is cutting its root underneath and nay it may make
it bald-headed." The other factors responsible for the develop-
ment of a new literature would be attributed to the establishment
of more and more presses, publication of journals and editing of
old manuscripts. Radhanath Roy, the then Joint Inspector of
Schools took full advantage of higher education and wrote Kavyas
one after another which could be distinctly marked for their newness
both in form and content. His Kavyas not only brought new charac-
ters to Oriya literature but also gave new outlook to it. He picked
up characters from Western mythology especially from Ovid and
tried to assimilate them in Orissan historical back-ground. This was
a period for assimilation of Western ideas with those of the East as
had been marked in the advent of Brahma movement resulting
out of collision of Hinduism with Christianity. The pioneers of
modern Oriya literature like Madhusudan, Biswanath Kar and some
others accepted this new religion and reflected its thoughts in their literature. An educated middle class which evolved during this period engaged itself in writing as an imitation of the West. There are the following three manners in which modern Oriya literature took its shape:

(i) In form of translation
(ii) In form of imitation and assimilation
(iii) In form of new creation.

Radhanath, Ramsankar, Madhusudan and later Nandakishore were the four talented English educated writers of Orissa who tried in all these three ways. Fakirmohan, though devoted to translation work of Sanskrit classics and epics including Vedic literature at the first phase of his literary career, soon switched over to creative prose writing. Radhanath, on the contrary, switched over to poetry and brought Kavyas one after another. Thus Radhanath imitated ‘Pyramus and Thisbe’ of Ovid and assimilated these in his first Kavya Kedar-gouri (1885). His second Kavya ‘Usha’ (1886) was designed after ‘Atlanta’s Race’ of Ovid and ‘The Milanion’ of William Morris. Similarly his 3rd Kavya ‘Chandrabhaga’ (1886) and 4th Kavya ‘Nandikeswari’ (1887) were imagined after the original piece of Ovid’s Appollo and Daphne and ‘The Scylla’ respectively. His ‘Nandikeswari’ also adopted the war picture from Byron’s romantic poetry ‘Siege of Corinth’. His ‘Parbati’ (1890) though gives an illusion of the history of Orissa, was totally based upon the drama of Aeschylus namely ‘Agamemnon’ and Shakespeare’s classic drama ‘The Hamlet’. Chilika (1891) a poetry on nature speaks of the masterly talents of his power of assimilation which gave a new dimension to study of nature in literature. Radhanath in this romantic poetry followed Shelley, Byron, Keats and the poets of the romantic school in English literature and also Scott so far as its historical aspect is concerned. The only epic he produced, though picks up characters from our own mythology like ‘Mahabharata’ about the ‘Pandavas’, totally differs in eastern spirit as specified for epic poetry and adopts western outlook in its development. Even the irregular metre he has adopted in this epic is a new experiment in Oriya literature which has been widely adopted by poets after Radhanath. Even in satire like ‘Darabar’ (1894) he adopted the western outlook and hinted upon social evils during British regime.

While Radhanath stood like a solid rock as the exponent of modern attitude in Oriya literature his compatriot Madhusudan gave a new outlook to the lyrics in shape of ode, elegy and sonnets.
Like Radhanath he was also romantic though his sense of romanticism was confined to religious transcendentalism only. He was as much metaphysical as Donne would have been in 17th century English poetry. Madhusudan explored new form in Oriya poetry in shape of Sonnet and Ode which was unknown earlier. But Nandakishore and Gangadhar Meher (1862—1924) emerged as two popular poets of the period as they dealt with wide mythological themes picked up from ‘Mahabharata’ and ‘Ramayana’. Nandakishore concentrated on rural elements, folk-rhymes and folk traditions in his lyrics whereas Gangadhar gave a new flavour to ancient themes and portrayed characters in a novelistic way. In his poetry the old outlook took a living and colourful shape along with the epic characters which were very much identified with universal feelings of a common human being. Dr. Mayadhar Mansing rightly points out, “though his field was limited within those small boundaries he created small paradises.”

Another great litterateur of the period was Ramsankar who wrote dramas as a new branch of literature. His first drama ‘Kanchi Kaveri’ (1881) though designed after five-act plays of English literature deals with patriotic theme regarding the Deccan invasion of the Oriya King Purushottama Deva of 15th century. The modern test which he could develop out of English education must have encouraged him to write dramas and novels in the period under review. Umesh Chandra Sarakar’s ‘Padmamali’ (1878) is considered as the first modern novel in Oriya literature which, also, symbolises a new branch not dealt before. But the modern Oriya literature would not have been full-fledged if a great organiser devoting most of his life to fight for the cause of the language like a general in the battlefield would not have opened a new vista in the prose literature. He is Fakirmohan Senapati, father of the modern prose literature in the filed of stories and novels. His short stories though only 20 in number are pure gems of literature for their humanistic approach and social outlook. Fakirmohan proved himself a great social critic and reformer in most of his novels. His short story ‘Rebati’ (1896) dealing with human love and loss has stood the annals of time and still claims its highest position in modern Oriya literature for its eternal pathos. So also his novel ‘Chha Mana Ata Guntha’ symbolising the exploitation and torture of a new class of landlords without blue blood of royalty on the poor rural peasants is a heart touching story which traces back the historical back-ground of 19th century Orissa. Fakirmohan was a writer of wit and intelligence. Although he had no back-ground of modern English literature he could write four novels and hundreds of lyrics including ballads which speaks
of his great inborn talent. Unlike Radhanath, Fakirmohan did not imitate anybody and wrote in his own way. Even his autobiography is a piece of fine literature and its style could only be compared with Hazlit or Addison of English literature. As a great satirist Fakirmohan aimed at social reforms for which he had to hammer at the maladies prevalent in the society due to western civilisation.

The 19th century modern literature ushered in an era of nationalistic spirit thus paving its way for Satyabadi literature best known for its pure Orissan aspects. The Satyabadi School of poets led by Utkalmani Gopabandhu Das aimed at unification of Orissa. With this, the suffering of the multitude, flood and famine that devastated Orissa so many times found its expression in the literary creations of this period. The poetry of Gopabandhu dips into the very core of different problems of the people and imbibes a sense of faith for a better future. So also the plays and novels of his compatriot Pandit Godavarish Mishra and Kavyas of Pandit Nilakantha deal on different problems of the people on the historical perspective with a view to arousing the lost sense of patriotism among Orissan people. An elder politician and social worker of the time known as the ‘Glory of Utkal’ was Madhusudan Das, who worked till his death on this noble cause of unification and economic development of Orissa. His poetry though less in number, is quite notable for its evocative tone. Other writers belonging to this Satyabadi ideology namely Padma Charan, a lyricist, Bihikari Charan, a dramatist; Kuntala Kumari both a lyricist and novelist and Kanta Kavi Laxmikanta a fictionist and lyricist devoted themselves very much for the nationalistic upsurge that had its swing after 1920 with a great cry for achievement of India’s Independence. But a prolific writer Gopal Chandra Praharaj of the period took to prose literature and went on hammering at the social evils of the modern civilisation. His essays are peculiar in their form, and speak of a powerful style of a matured mind. Other writers who resorted to writing of essays and literary criticism in the period very much aimed at social reform, philosophic reflections and socio-cultural problems of the time. They are great professors like Ratnakar Pati, Bipin Bihari Ray, Mohinimohan Senapati and Nilakantha Das. But the essays of Sashi Bhusan Ray the son of great Radhanath Ray, were very much concerned with nature-description of Orissa known for powerful style whereas those of the professors are better known for their philosophy and scholastic representation.

When Oriya literature reflected the socio-political problems of the state as well as of the nation, a group of young writers known as
Sabujites differed from the mainstream and revived the romantic trend without any ideology. They have witnessed a World War in between 1914—18 and have seen how European literature has been influenced by the same. They have at least known how Russian literature devoted itself to a new kind of social philosophy based on the theory of Karl Marx, and how it brought a total social revolution and established a new socialistic society. They have known how their predecessors belonging to Satyabadi School raised their strong voice for the freedom of India. But nothing could influence them for their literature and they were completely detached from the social mainstream. They wrote dreamy poetry as if they were in ivory towers. Youthful imaginary love was the only essence of their creation. They were escapists in the sense they did not like to face the realities of life and wanted to fly away from the world in which they were existing. They imitated Bengali thyme and metre to a great extent. The poetic thoughts of Rabindranath Tagore were very much reflected in the creations of this group as well as the contemporary writers like Mayadhar Mansingh and Radhamohan Garnaik. But the latter two poets are more known for their love lyrics and ballads respectively than their metaphysical poetry imitated from Rabindranath Tagore.

But this period has really witnessed greater talents in fiction and prose literature than poetry although numerically speaking the poets always outnumbered the fictionists in this literature. Kalindi Charan Panigrahi, the Subujite, exhibited greater talent as a fictionist than as a poet. When the first spell of ‘Sabuja’ was over he paid his attention to the real problems of the society and wrote his classic novel ‘Matir Manish’ (The man of the soil) in the year 1931. He was very much influenced by the freedom movement and Gandhian philosophy which preached and experimented passive resistance as a matchless weapon. His hero, within his own limitations practised this doctrine and won the heart of his bitterest enemies. Mr. Panigrahi as an all-round writer, also, proved his worth in short stories and criticism. The latter part of his poetry is marked with realism and has been identified with the leftist views.

Oriya literature had to undergo a drastic change in the later thirties when Marxism as a clear cut concept was accepted by its exponents. Bhagabati Charan Panigrahi created a forum namely ‘Nava Yuga Sahitya Sansad’ (1935) with a deep consciousness to evocate Oriya literature with a new norm which would be very much befitting to the time. His short story ‘Jangali’ (1929) and ‘Sikar’ (1938) are two symbolic creations of the age which deal with the
psychological and social aspects of the persons concerned. In the first story for the first time he tried to establish a relation between a girl and a wild animal. As they stay together they develop certain kind of liking towards each other so much so that the girl feels very much perturbed when she deserts the beast. This story might have drawn some inspiration from the drama ‘Beauty and the Beast’. But psychology as a study in literature was very much unknown at this time in almost all the Indian literatures. In the second story the writer indicated about a peculiar character belonging to the aborigin class who cuts the head of a local tyrant and produces it in the police station with a hope to get some reward for the social service he has rendered. He had received such awards previously when he had killed wild tigers. He thought that the concerned tyrant is more ferocious than the tiger and hence his reward would be much more. But the law works in a sophisticated manner for which his hopes must have been very much shattered. These two stories represent a new outlook for which a lot of reference has been made to Freudism and Marxism in Oriya literature. Perhaps it will not be out of way to speak that the Post-Independence modern Oriya literature springs from these two ideologies which gave altogether new outlook to this literature during the thirties and forties of the current century. Poets led by Shri Sacchidananda Routray, Ananta Patnaik, Manamohan Mishra and Raghunath Das, all devoted to Marxism, brought to Oriya poetry revolutionary leftist ideology. They meant to break the socio-economic disparity which denies privileges to the poor have-nots in the society. The short stories of Godavarish Mohapatra and S. Rautray also aim at the social justice and parity whereas those of Shri Nityananda Mohapatra deal with psychological aspects of the characters. In the period under review two great novelists made their distinct mark in the development of Oriya literature. They are Shri Kanhu Charan Mahanty and Gopinath Mohanty. Kanhu Charan is considered as the most industrious writer who continued the trend of Fakirmohan so far as his direct social consciousness is concerned. But Gopinath was more conscious of the individual which was perhaps the outcome of the impact of Second World War on Indian literature.

Though Gopinath Mohanty started his career as a novelist during pre-Independence period, he became a prolific writer during the post-Independence era. His classic novels Paraja (1945), Amrutara Santana (1950), ‘Danapani’ (1955) and ‘Matimatala’ (1964) have elevated Oriya literature to a height not attained before. When his elder brother Kanhu Charan has a clear social commitment in almost all his novels, Gopinath has shown leanings towards the individual.
The intellectual horizon and philosophic speculations of his novel surpass those written before. Deviation from the beaten track in treatment and technique is an important factor of the novel of Gopinath Mohanty. Although he has deviated from the recitative style of both Fakirmohan and Kanhu Charan his novels provide ample food for thought for a serious reader with acclaimed poetic justice. The language he has experimented with is quite colloquial and forceful. The style is much analytical which shows a great tendency of deviation from the descriptive style of either Fakirmohan or Kanhu Charan. Sometimes the writer adheres to the stream of consciousness style in treatment of psychological aspects of the character. In themes also Gopinath made bold experiments in delineating the lives and customaries of the tribal class people who have been very much neglected since Gopal Ballav Das's 'Bhima Bhuyan' (1906) a novel first dealing with thin neglected class of the society. Though Gopinath worked on this well-known pattern based on the traditional conflicts between poverty and affluence, rural and urban, traditional and modern, he had expanded its scope and invested it with new dimensions.  


Another novelist Shri Nityananda Mohapatra has rightly hit upon the class struggle and socio-economic aspects in his novels namely, 'Bhangahada' and 'Hidamati', when his recently published novel 'Jianta Manish' deals with sexual and psychological life of a lady with deeper analysis of man's deepest concern of socio-economic problems. Among other novelists who have substantially contributed to the growth of Oriya literature in the period under review, the names of Rajkishore Patnaik, Basanta Kumari Patnaik, Kamalakanta Das, Pranakrishna Samal and Gyanendra Verma deserve mention. Most of the writers among them belong to the traditional school whereas Shri Rajkishore Patnaik has shown some amount of deviation both in form and thematic concept. All of them have popularised Oriya novels among masses before and after Indian Independence. Here the 'Amadabata' of Basanta Kumari Patnaik needs special mention for its grace and revelation of the innermost feelings of an adolescent, petulant girl with lot of dynamic change at the womanhood of married life. Oriya literature suffered an irreparable loss due to the premature death of Pranakrishna Samal, a potential novelist of Modern Oriya literature. No survey of post-Independence Oriya novels will be complete without reference to
Development of modern Oriya literature (1803—1977)

young novelist Bibhuti Patnaik who has produced more than thirty novels within two decades and has been very much popular among common readers. This is due to his story element most of which deals with the romantic love themes. But Mohapatra Nilamani Sahu represents a different personality in modern fictions with the expanded horizon of concept and experiment in style. His stories though appear humorous from their title have a subtle feeling of deep realisation with clear cut social outlook. He emphasises class disparity and hammers at the exploitation of the bourgeois.

The second World War compelled these leftist writers to diverge from the trend of social revolution and engage their attention to the immediate needs. Peace became obviously the only cry for writers amidst the devastations of war, the other cry being Indian Independence. A group of writers led by Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab and Nityananda Mohapatra aimed at achievement of freedom and designed their writings in the same way whereas poets like Ananta Patnaik in 'Santi Sikha', Satchidananda, Kunja Bihari Das, Krushna Chandra Tripathy etc., aimed at permanent peace and social reconstruction. The ravages of the world war changed the old values of life for which Indian philosophy valued so much and a peculiar type of frustration, cynicism, selfishness was marked in the individual and social mainstream. The post-Independence period found the old values completely derailed and Indian mind suffering from a bankruptcy which was not seen before. This was a kind of nihilism as experienced by European writers after World War I. Along with this the Indian mind suffered from a great disillusion after independence as a result of degeneration of the socio-political values of the country. The intellectual giants who struggled so much for Indian Independence no more included Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation. The second grade leaders in the Indian scene tried to reap benefits out of their sacrifice during freedom struggle and forgot the poor peasants and labourers all around. The general elections proved only a brain washing and hypocrisy. The five year plans were so designed that the poor became poorer; thus the entire monetary system was captured by only a small number of men. The mixed economy and centralisation of power led the country to a deplorable condition. In view of all these the writers were bound to be egoistic, self-centred and individualistic. They hammered the very structure of post-independence society and tried to get out of it. They became existentialists in the sense that they wanted to raise voice against the establishment and God. 'Amabasyara Chandra' by Govinda Chandra Das, 'Nara Kinnara' by Santanu Kumar Acharya and 'Danapani' by Gopinath Mohanty speak of the
existentialist values of life. ‘Danapani’ (1954) reveals a true picture of the post-Independence society and industrialisation where life has become mechanical. The virtues of human life are no more. Most of the novels and short stories of the period reveal the psycho-sexual problems of the men and women in the society.

So far as development of short-stories is concerned the post-Independence Oriya literature beholds a number of talented writers led by Surendra Mohanty, Raj Kishore Roy and Manoj Das. Mr. Mohanty is eager for new themes as most of his stories deals about the cosmopolitan urban life and its homogeneous problems. He goes deep into the human psychology and tries to ridicule the character in the context of the time he lives. His stories extend from historical period of the past to the contemporary affairs of the present time. They are not only rich in their language but also bold in experimentation. Mr. Roy is better known as a romantic short-story writer who projects most of his personal affairs into his stories thus making them a personal diary in most of the times. The richness of his ornate language once very much appreciated by readers has been considered as artificial by the modern critics. But Mr. Das has a subtle sense of humanistic appeal which reveals the most pathetic inner self of the character. Most of his stories translated into different Indian languages as well as into English have brought him international fame as an artist. Among other short-story writers of the period a mention should be made of Mahapatra Nilamani Sahu, Kishori Charan Das, Bama Charan Mitra, Akhilmohan Patnaik, Rabi Patnaik, Santanu Kumar Acharya, Binapani Mohanty and others. They have all raised the standard of Oriya short-stories to a considerable height which could well boast of its position in par with other Indian languages. But towards the middle of the sixties a new genre of stories appeared in profusion, popularly known as ‘Abhasa Galpa’ without any plot in them. They appear more poem-like than they have any element of short-story in them. However, this kind of short-story giving rise to mini-stories during the seventies has finally been rejected by its innumerable readers.

But the post-Independence Oriya poetry has undergone many changes and experiments. It has started from a traditional outlook and has crossed all boundaries of tradition. During fifties poets like Sachi Routray and Guruprasad Mahanty have left their romantic ideology and have become more and more realistic. Their poems, though of varying excellence display greater talent and at moments attain height of poetic quality. Mr. Routray seeks to give expres-
sion to the urges of mind which almost defy embodiment and yet there are times where thought and feeling have fused in an authentic image of beauty. His ‘Baji Rout’ (1942) translated as ‘Boatman Boy’ is a masterpiece of his literary conviction which Mr. Routray shook off in the growing years. No more he raised his voice for the poor class or the downtrodden. In the sixties and seventies his poetry took a different shape and bade farewell to its striking social purposes. He made more and more experiments in form, verbatic metre (verse livre) and imagery as a result of which he gradually confined his poetry to himself. During seventies his poetry has passed through a period of decadence although Mr. Routray ushered in a new era in modern Oriya poetry after 1935 both in form and concept.

Among the contemporary poets Ramakanta Rath and Sitakant Mahapatra stand at the top-most position. Shri Rath is the most conscious modern poet who has made many experiments including that in the metrical arrangement of his poetry. His verse though devoid of lyrical charm deals with the consciousness of time, death and love. Some of his poems have left an everlasting impression in Oriya literature. Of course those are the poems like ‘Chandramara Chari’, ‘Naba Gunjar’ and few others which are his earliest creations. He has a fair blending of emotion with intellect in his poetry and deals with eternal pathos of life. But Mr. Mahapatra is very often metaphysical and appears to be more serious in his tone. His ‘Astapadi’ is considered as a classic creation in Oriya literature which presents a chain of pictures of death, hell and the life after end and beyond. Both Rath and Mahapatra have accepted myth as the archetype of their poetry and both are anxious for rich imagery. Among other modern poets, the names of Jagannath Das, Deepak Mishra, Saubhagya Mishra, Brahmatri Mahanty, Prativa Satpathy, Harihar Mishra and Kamalakant Lenka of the younger group and the names of Dr. J. B. Mohanty, C. Behera, Benudhar Rout, Bhanuji Rao and Bidyut Prava Devi of the elder group are worth mentioning. The elder group appears to be more traditional and rational in its approach whereas the younger group has confounded itself more and more to a surrealistic attitude behind a thin veneer of nihilistic romanticism. R. N. Singh and Brajanath Rath have all along stuck to the leftist ideology whereas still younger poets do not seem to show any definite viewpoint in their creations. Among them a number of young writers in different groups namely ‘The Akabita’, ‘The Oyan Lu’ ‘The Abadhu’, ‘The Anams’ have emerged in the middle of the last decade. But their attempt could not give rise to a new movement in Oriya poetry for which they have disintegrated during the seventies. The mini-magazines catered by their
aimless productions have, also, been totally rejected by the middle of seventies.

After Independence Oriya literature has grown very fast almost in all directions. Literary criticism, belles-lettres and travel stories have enriched both in quality and quantity within the last twenty years. Dr. N. Samantray is undoubtedly the best critic who has expanded the dimension of this branch of literature by his constant efforts. Among other critics the names of Surendra Mohanty, Prof. C. Behera, Prof. Dasarathi Das, Chittaranjan Das, Dr. Narendra Mishra, J. M. Mohanty and S. Mahapatra should be mentioned for all purposes. During the sixties and seventies many dissertations have been produced by eminent scholars in the University and in the colleges of Orissa. Although they have enriched Oriya literature in various ways most of them have been written on religious aspects belonging to ancient times only. Few attempts have been made on contemporary literature. Numerically speaking the dissertations on Jagannath cult, on Sarala literature and Nathism together outnumber other such dissertations written on pure and modern literature so far.

In the post-Independence period during the sixties, Oriya drama has undergone a drastic change. It has deviated from the traditional path enunciated by its exponents like Aswini Kumar Ghosh, Kalicharan Patnaik, Ramachandra Mishra, Bhanja Kishore Patnaik and Gopal Chhotray within three decades prior to the sixties. Manoranjan Das, Pranabandhu Kar, Bijay Kumar Mishra, Biswajit Das, Ramesh Chandra Panigrahi, Kartik Chandra Rath and some other younger playwrights have given newer dimension both in the thematic concept and stage-craft of the modern drama. A latest tendency has always been marked in the Oriya plays to make them deliberately obscure and name them absurd. They are imitating the dialogue used by the absurdists of the European literature like Backett, Adamov and writers of the same school. But speaking the truth, the traditional dramas have not been superseded by these attempts of the younger group so far as their mass appeal and commercial aspects are concerned. People in Orissa still like the traditional plays for which the contemporary writers are trying frantically to go back to the mass-elements of Gana Kavi Baishnab Pani in their new experiments. Present Oriya dramatists do not consider their play as a commodity for mass entertainment, rather they think it as a genuine form of art. Hence all the intellectual experiments they have made during the last fifteen years have been confined to the academic world and have failed utterly to reach the mass. To quote Surendra Mahanty "Towards the close of the sixties the absurd drama has
gained a fashion though not popularity on the stage. But though so-called absurd dramas may be appearing in profusion, their cultural and philosophical implications are hardly appreciated by their authors, which intrinsically makes the dividing line between the well-made and the absurd very thin."

To sum up, one can say that modern Oriya literature is in a developing stage. It has just completed one hundred years of its existence looking forward with new experiments every decade. It in very difficult to guess as to what would have been its form towards the end of the present century. Although the readers have mixed reaction for it the expansion of higher education will solve the problem and the writers will, also, look at the illiterate mass whose percentage is so high in Orissa.

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‘CONNECTING EVERYTHING TO EVERYTHING’
LANDMARKS IN POST-INDEPENDENCE
ORIYA LITERATURE

Discussing the main trends in a literature over a specific period of time is somewhat artificial and may even create confusion in literary discourse unless it is taken in the proper perspective. Literary developments are better treated in terms of continuities, traditions, linkages; seeds germinating at a point of time and flowering at another; the inchoate, new and unfamiliar today becoming the all-too-familiar and cliche-ridden tomorrow. Cataclysms, upheavals are not unknown in literary developments but they are very rare. Historical periods are more susceptible to sociological analysis of changes in literary taste rather than trends in the field of creative writing. Thus, when one speaks of landmarks in post-independence literature, the intention is not to treat 1947 as the great divide in the development of Oriya literature, or for that matter of Indian literature. The year of independence is adopted only as a convenient, even though important, point of reference.

Another difficulty in assessing the achievements in these twenty-five years is that one is perhaps too much immersed in it to take an objective and detached view of the whole thing which a fairly distant time-perspective confers. On the other hand it may be claimed that an analysis in contemporaneity helps retain all the warmth and liveliness of the present movement and to that extent serves a useful historical purpose. In a short survey one can only touch upon some of the more important landmarks as it is impossible to go into any detailed analysis of either individual genres of writing or individual authors.

At the outset one may venture one or two general observations. Immediately after independence there was quite a bit of idealism, euphoria and enthusiasm in the air; perhaps a sense of release as well. Our national culture had suddenly discovered its hidden roots of
strength, vitality and complexity. The cataclysmic experiences of martyrdom, the non-violent struggle, Salt Satyagraha, the tyrannies let loose, by an insensitive alien raj, the sacrifices of the anonymous millions for the noble ideal of freedom and the holocaust of partition in the wake of independence—all these did, no doubt, find a place in the stories and novels immediately following 1947 and literature was thus intimate with the popular imagination. The folk spirit was right in the centre of the literary concern and literary idiom. The folk, the community was of prime relevance. A literature wedded to immediacy and authenticity of experience seemed possible with its distinctive national flavour. As years flowed by it got slowly and imperceptibly divorced from that imagination. I have no doubt some day sociologists of literary evolution in India will analyse the complex turn of events and factors responsible for this development. Literature that is creatively significant has always its roots deep in the soil. Could it be that the writer in Oriya, or perhaps for that matter in other Indian literatures, is more capable of joining celebrations and pageantry, singing praises or shouting blames and slogans, than sitting back in his lonely room of the private self to take a meaningful yet realistic, and detached view of all the post-independence complexities in the society around him? Could it be that the instinctive, intuitive and the experiential had always less fascination to our mind than the ideational and the ideological? Could it be that there is some inherent difficulty for the Indian writer in giving the ring of authenticity to his social concerns and at the same time lifting the social events to the level of the metaphysical? After all, is it not this latter quality which characterises all great art? Our literary categories and literary concerns, with few significant exceptions, unfortunately, followed the patterns of the west and a significant literary revolution which combines the peculiarities of a historical situation and ethos with an aesthetic and literary style all its own became only too rare. This is, however, not to deny the many significant works in Oriya literature particularly in the field of poetry and short story.

It is possibly Oriya poetry which has registered the most significant development both in its concerns, thematic complexities and stylistic variations and revolutionary language-use. It has broken grounds, conducted “raids on the inarticulate” with the worn-out and newly-fabricated tools of language. It is a colourful and complex mosaic. In 1947 Sachi Rautray's Pandulipi was published. The concern and tone was still romantic and revolt against the established order of things was the major theme. In Pandulipi one could see the search for a new idiom, a language nearer to the spoken word and an
element of comparative non-seriousness in its thematic treatment. The poems were thus in the new experiential mode of the post-war years. But in it there were also poems that were superficial in their concern and almost bordered on the rhetoric and the slogan. Rautray has published other anthologies in 1969, 1971 and 1974. It is, however, ironical that the Rautray of Kavita-1969 or of Kavita-1971 is significantly nearer to the poet of Pandulipi in its concern with the occasional and the historical event. In between, Swagata and Kavita-1962 showed a new trend which was actually more metaphysical, more concerned with the problems of the individual existence and the problem of value in a period of growing decadence all around. Rautray has no doubt been a tireless experimenter and his experiments in the use of language and diction have enriched modern Oriya poetry. These two decades have seen poetry which is tentative in its approach to Reality; which concerns itself with the search for new themes; wants to be in tune with the changed social milieu and yet speaks with meditative, metaphysical tones and couched in a language which, if not identical, is at least very near to the spoken idiom. He has gone on experimenting in many modes and styles and has now almost come full circle.

In the best of Rautray as in ‘Memory’ the abstract romantic fancy finds transformation in a concrete situation:

“Her touch
The smell of her body like soft happiness
Her female grace like soft steel
Her looks like the peacock’s eyes
And the blue Chowrangee of innumerable sleepless desires.”
(Translation: J. M. Mohanty)

Sometimes there is more of a meditative mood as in “Soliloquy”:

“It is not Sanchi or Ajanta
It is only a coloured urn,
and it has many stars that shine strangely in a moonlit sky
(Oh Strange Sky!)

Whenever I see myself with its eyes,
It is my second meaning that I always understand.
(Translation: J. M. Mohanty)

Baikunthanath Patnaik, a poet primarily belonging to the pre-independence era continued to write some significant poetry but in the earlier romantic mode. Godavarish Mahapatra’s poetry gave a new strength and variety to Oriya poetry by using satire in an extremely humanistic way. Godavarish enriched the quality of folk-idiom in modern Oriya poetry. Ananta Patnaik, another significant poet
in the revolutionary tradition also produced quite a number of excellent pieces. More significant were his earlier writings inspired by a burning commitment to man in the best of the humanistic tradition. He also showed a rare command over the colloquial idiom and the music of the words. But unfortunately he could not evolve an idiom and theme powerful enough to sustain his development. Binod Nayak and Gyanindra Verma two other important poets of this period continued with their pre-occupation with outlandish themes and moods. There were liberal references to the Andes, the clover-gardens of Zanzibar, the Cossack Girls and so forth in Nayak’s poetry though of late he seems to have grown more meditative.

A significant voice in Oriya poetry was noticed only in 1955 with the publication of *Nutan Kavita*, a joint-anthology of poems by Guru Prasad Mohanty and Bhanuji Rao. It was immediately seen that here was a kind of poetry which combined lyrical charm with powerful themes and classical qualities. Guru Prasad primarily dealt with the decadence of love but it was so different from Rautray!

No longer is the protagonist reminded of the palace of Videha or Barunabanta. No longer is his love the long-waiting, the pining-away, the tryst and the fulfilment quenching the primeval thirst in the eternal game of hide and seek. Alaka Sanyal in Guru Prasad, unlike in Rautray, is only the sex-object, a part of the routine to which modern love has degraded sex as the unromantic ‘other’ in life. In poem after poem—'Gobara Ganesh, Harekrushna Das, Picnic, The Doves of my Eyes, The Golden Stream, The Murdered, Twilight' degraded sex held up to ridicule is the main theme of Guru Prasad. The protagonist is afflicted with his own failures and unfilled dreams that bring anguish. He has the emptiness of his own life quivering on his palm and seeks fulfilment in packaged pleasures including sex and love. This desiccation of life and failure in love does not, however, end up in a sense of personalised failure or anguish. Guru Prasad gives it a broader dimension as in (1) *Harekrushna Das* or (2) *Picnic* where the failure of the protagonist is given a near-universal significance. *Picnic* is a successful poem satirising modern life. Its packaged pleasures consist of tea and milk, stove and camera, gramophone and friends, and beyond all these staves the emptiness all around. It is only an escape and not a fulfilment. The protagonist is afraid of life and seeks deliverance, aware of his futility and the fact that deliverance cannot be permanent and the City will claim him again. Guru Prasad is an objective poet in whom
qualities of detachment and psycho-analysis blend with powerful organisational ability. In a poem like *Harekrushna Das*, the routined life of the protagonist is typified by isolation, loneliness, fear of evil and in the midst of these all a pathetic balance is maintained somehow and it is finally linked to the movement of the stars and planets in the sky. Life is only a kaleidoscopic view of fractioned time pregnant with fear and guilt. Still *Harekrushna Das* maintains his balance, smiles at people and salutes chance-acquaintances encountered on the way. All these require courage and fortitude.

Guru Prasad’s long poem *Kalapurusha* has justly been praised by critics and fellow-writers. *Kalapurusha* has exceedingly charming lyrical passages. More than that, it marked the beginning of a new development—the flowering of long poems in modern Oriya poetry. A number of them like *Mati O’ Manisha*, *Bagha Shikar*, *Solon* are powerful poems which delineate the anguished destiny of modern man through a central symbol, myth or archetype. In the editorial of *Prajna* where *Kalapurusha* was first published, it was explained that Guru Prasad has “tried to experiment on the limits of the power of Oriya language with certain emotional situations akin to those of *The Wasteland*”. Thus, to an extent, the similarity with *The Wasteland* is deliberate. *Kalapurusha* has also far too many local associations and deep linkages with Oriya culture, tradition and values to be called a Cuttack edition of *Wasteland*. As pointed out earlier, Guru Prasad has been rightly acknowledged as the first distinctively modern poet unconcerned with the Radhanath-Madhusudan tradition and the pseudo-revolutionary zeal of the thirties which had its echoes in so much of early Sachi Rautray. It is a pity, Guru Prasad has almost ceased to write over the last ten years. It is difficult to say what development his poetry would have taken if he had continued to write. The co-author of *Nutan-Kavita*, Shri Bhanuji Rao has written a kind of lyrical poetry with delicate nuances of word-rhythms and intimate imageries almost like Chinese scroll paintings. He too has not written much over the last five years.

Another significant poet is Ramakanta Rath. In his poetry one can discover a genuine concern to find a relevance for the modern consciousness of awed by the multiplicity of events and situations. He is a serious poet and portrays the intellectual’s frustrations in a world of make-believe. His poetic landscape is a lonely man in a world of broken gestalt and man’s desperate bid to discover meaning and significance through the anguish of love and death, as in the following lines from
'Connecting everything to everything'

The Other Day:

"And I could not follow you because I was lame;
That is your freedom,
But when I wake up in the midst of the damp walls
and falling roofs
And when all that noise returns,
I, a lame man, would be alone in that brokenness"

(Translation: J. M. Mohanty)

Sometimes the result is scathing, and anguished irony as in
A Section from "Four stolen glances at Time" where love is time's fool in more sense than one:

"And yet I look for Madhavi, I am impressed neither
By her firm breasts nor by her indolent pairs of legs,
These no longer are, and wouldn't matter in any case.
She and I merge in my despair for her,
And in the memory of my secret hopes for happiness and repose
Which she alone could give".

(Translation Poet)

Ramakant's poetic landscape is full of darkness and lonely echoes, the protagonist's silent and anxious footfalls and the faint possibility of a return to childhood innocence. His poems show a remarkable capacity to hold on to an experience and explore its many facets in a detached ironical vein. This, perhaps, is the most significant contribution he has made to modern Oriya poetry. His impact on the younger poets of the sixties is pronounced deep but by and large they have failed to imbibe his real strength and have only succeeded in imitating his superficial stylisations.

According to C.D. Thorpe, empathy is an attempt to explain imaginative experience in which there is an involuntary projection of ours into the object. In Ramakant this projection often suffers because of a possible conscious non-identification with the protagonist and, what would appear, the almost deliberate concealment of emotion in many of his poems. The symbols and images are sometimes so rapidly altered and agglomerated that they break down the communication between the reader and the poet.

One poet who has continued to write quite a bit of revolutionary poetry is Rabi Singh. He has published several volumes. The poems taken as a whole reflect his genuine concern with social maladies though they sometimes lack the strength of organisation and only rarely translate into a significant poetry of revolt. Of the older poets, Binod Nayak, Rautray, Ananta Patnaik and Benudhar Rout have
continued to write. There are other younger writers who have deliberately branched off from the western-inspired idioms and concerns and have looked to the metaphysical tradition of Oriya poetry in Jagannath Das’s Oriya *Bhagavat* and the classical lyrics of the blind tribal poet Bhima Bhoi and Narayana Abadhutamanda Swami. They have fully exploited the capacity of the language for a fresh and powerful local idiom even while expressing concerns and themes that are universal. Their poetry has a quality of tentativeness and a sense of pathos that make an immediate connection with our troubled fate. Some of it has the quality of sophistication and complexity that is the hallmark of great poetry and yet it has no respect for literary isms or emphasis on stylisation or technical virtuosity. Like modern science it is often empirical in its approach to experience and has insisted on a fresh colloquial idiom that smells of the soil. Sometimes their themes are old archetypes or myths that are invested with new meaning and significance relevant to our times. It is a kind of poetry that is extremely rich and vibrant and has succeeded in breaking the communication barrier that had bedevilled so much of the earlier modern poetry. They insist that the voice of poetry should be both that of the *Voyeur* and of the man next door.

In this connection one may mention the more significant young poets like Dipak Misra, Jagannath Prasad Das, Harihara Misra, Hara Prasad Das, Prativa Satpathy, Sarat Pradhan, Brahmatrei Monaty, Soubhagya Misra, Sourindra Barik and many others. However, it is not necessary to mention the names. It would be sufficient to say that Oriya poetry is passing through a phase of experiments, the search for new themes and significant concerns and it is now perhaps the most significant field of literary growth in Oriya.

Next to poetry comes the short story, which is approximating more and more towards the condition of poetry. As a matter of fact a number of poets like Haraprasad Das, Soubhagya Mishra and Harihara Misra also write short story. The most significant trend in modern Oriya short story is the emergence of the lonely protagonist seeking his true authenticity. He may be the spoilt young man of Surendra Mohanty’s “Oh ! Calcutta”, the duty-conscious and conscientious official in Gopinath Mohanty’s “Ants”; he may be emerging as the new Guru in Krishna Prasad’s ‘Emergence of a Guru’ or he may be the protagonist in the dark by-e-lane of Rabi Patnaik’s stories. One thing however is common to all of them. They are no longer the plain social types, as in the stories of Fakir Mchan Senapati (1842-1918). Ananta, the widow’s son in Fakir Mohan was completely merged in the social. He sacrificed his life for a
'Connecting everything to everything'

'cause' and never bothered to think whether he would have any claim either on immortality or fame. In Fakir Mohan passages after passages are devoted to describing social mores, conventions and physical landscapes and objects. The physical landscape no longer exists in the modern Oriya story for itself. If it is there, it becomes only a part of the mental landscape of the protagonist. And no cause seems to be worth dying for. It is no wonder for often the protagonist seems to have felt that there may be no cause for living either !. He asks himself "who am I ? where am I going ? What is the meaning of all this ?" These questions find expression in many stories of Gopinath Mohanty, Surendra Mohanty, Manoj Das, Kishori Charan Das, Santanu Acharya, Krushna Prasad Misra, Mahapatra Nilamani, Akhil Mohan Patnaik and many others. Take the following example from Gopinath Mohanty's story "Ants". The protagonist had gone to check the smuggling of rice across the border of his State. He was full of enthusiasm when he started and felt dedicated to the 'cause' of doing his duty properly. How was he completely transformed by the end of the story. No longer his feet were on the solid ground of personal judgement or social conventions of right and wrong :

"Ramesh kept standing. Before his consciousness there was no more any history. Time had ended. There was no Kapilendradeva, no Purushottam, no Konarak. There was no special distinctive image of the men who form the backbone of a country or a nation. History was devoid of sense, meaning. There was nothing but ants, ants, ants ; everywhere, hungry ants carrying mouthfuls of rice to live, to survive and the stream of ants converging on ant-heaps for a new lease of precarious life. The ant wanted to live. Ramesh felt a cold shudder. The brief sunshine of late winter had faded. All around a thin layer of blue haze was spreading. It was evening. He felt the cold of Magh inside". And yet behind the superficially cynical mask there remains a deep sense of humanism, of the concern with human destiny and an attempt to understand our complex fate. There is no running away from this disturbing awareness of our cruel destiny. Life, as Camus pointed out, begins on the other side of despair. The commitment, however, is ultimately to life, the difficult job of living and finding some meaning and significance for oneself like the Mayor of Madhubana in Manoj Das who discovers maturity of understanding only through a terrible dawn of the sense of helplessness.

Many protagonists in modern Oriya fiction are like Ramesh. No longer they can be satisfied with the social events. The experi-
ence is now of an intense self-search, caught in the maze of numberless unsolved questions. The landscape is the dense forest of the self and the darkness within is not relieved by any social more or personal faith. We meet the characters in our daily life in known situations but they are not like Rebati, Saria, Bhagia or the miserly Mangaraj or the sacrificing Anant, the widow’s son, characters we encounter in Fakir Mohan the first important modern writer of fiction in the language. What is retained of Fakir Mohan in Gopinath, Manoj or Kishori Charan is only the gift to tell a story and an ability to handle the language skillfully. They are thus not the social types we encounter in Fakir Mohan or Kalindi Charan’s Matira Manisha. They are withdrawn. Their look is directed towards the inner forest of the self. The emphasis is on the fragmentation of existence as in many stories of Surendra Mohanty like “Krushnachuda”, “Death of the Swan”, “The lonely sky” etc. Gopinath Mohanty and Surendra Mohanty are the two significant short story writers during this period. Both of them are also equally significant as novelists. Besides them, Manoj Das has made significant experiments by using fables and allegories in a modern context. Or take the example of Kishori Charan’s “Million Birds”, Mrs. Puri’s afternoon is quiet and joyless—perhaps unmeaning too—like the fly sitting on the window pane and watching her. Or as in Krushna Prasad’s “The story of a Hippy” where the moment of truth leaves no choice but an instant death-wish. The other significant short story writers are Akhil Mohan Patnaik, Bama Charan Mitra, Rabi Patnaik, Santanu Acharya, Binapani Mohanty, Ganeswar Misra, Bibhuti Patnaik, Nimai Patnaik, Nandini Satpathy, Govind Das, Rajkishore Patnaik, Rajkishore Ray, Ananta Patnaik, Ramachandra Behera and Jasodhara Misra. Rajkishore Ray, Rajkishore Patnaik and Ananta Patnaik wrote quite a number of significant stories in the period after independence but now they are more or less silent and have ceased to write anything significant. Bibhuti Patnaik continues to be the most prolific and his stories have a variety of themes and situations which is itself quite significant. The most significant novelists since independence are Gopinath Mohanty, Kanhu Charan Mohanty and Surendra Mohanty. Gopinath’s Paraja and Amrutara Santana are unique novels which combine a high level of artistic excellence with social concern. They describe social events but those events partake of the qualities of the movement of an ineluctable Fate. It is the blind Destiny before which the individual is helpless. Individual characters like Sukrujani or Sarabu Saonta are like quiet volcanoes. They are also social types. They clear the jungles and are intimately tied to society and its mores. They have tried to overcome and prevail
over Fate. Their defeat becomes a kind of victory. The novels of Gopinath are records of the social man against the dark forces of social oppression and destiny. The world in these two novels is the world of the tribals. But it is so only in the same sense as the world in Kafka’s Trial is the world of the Court of Law. Gopinath has given epic dimensions to this social world, a quality that can be seen not only in Paraja and Amrutara Santana but in Dana Pani, Laya Bilaya and Mati Mataala. The last mentioned novel won him the Gyanapeetha Award. In his hands the social tends to become the classical and metaphysical. Surendra Mohanty made significant analysis of the lack of hope and the confrontation against blind forces in his novel Andha Diganta. Nidhi Das the old time-worker is inspired by Gandhian ideals but it is now a new world—a world dominated by cynical rat-race and an anti-hero stance. From the social he has gone to the historical theme in his second novel Nila SAILA which won him the Sahitya Akademi award. Kanhu Charan, the elder brother of Gopinath is a prolific author and has produced more than thirty novels which are extremely popular. He writes in a plain and unsophisticated style which captures the best elements in the life and society of rural Orissa. Santanu Acharya has portrayed the faceless protagonist in search of the multiple realities that may give some meaning to his tortured self. Another significant novel during this period is Jantrarudha of Chandra Sekhar Rath, portraying the transformation of a simple village-priest in his private quest for meaning. Bibhuti Patnaik has employed historical and social themes like Kanhu Charan. He has a plain unvarnished style that is extremely popular. Mention may also be made of Basant Kumari Patnaik’s Amada Bata and Chora Bali and the novels of Gyanidra Verma and Mahapatra Jatendra Kumar. Amada Bata is characterised by an intense sense of personal tragedy which, however, does not alienate the protagonist from the social values.

In the post-independence period Oriya drama has undergone a significant transformation. The eminent dramatist Kali Charan Patnaik, whose social plays were deservedly popular, has now virtually ceased to write. Bhanja Kishore Patnaik, Gopal Chhotray, Rama Chandra Misra and Kartik Chandra Rath are still popular but they mostly write on social themes on the tradition of Kali Charan. The new dramatists are Manoranjan Das, Biswajit Das and Bijaya Misra. Manoranjan has won the Sahitya Akademi award for his play Aranya Fasala. His plays are variously described as absurd and existential. Without bothering about such categories it can be stated that he is a significant dramatist in whom the theme and language combine to create sequences which are not merely signifi-
cant as literature but also are effective on the stage in its visual presentation. Amrutasya Putrah, (Sons of Nectar) Banahansi and Aranya Fasala have created a kind of stir in the field of drama. Another dramatist, equally significant, is Biswajit Das. His Mrugaya, a short play, is one of the most important plays written during this period. The protagonists in Mrugaya are in search of an authenticity which they lack in the daily ritual of living. The play is subdued, lyrical and highly artistic. Biswajit does not bring in “ideas” into the play like Manoranjan. His plays are thus thin but extremely delicate. Bijaya Mishra’s play Saba Bahakamane is another significant achievement in the field of drama.

Literary criticism continues to be somewhat back dated and undeveloped. Generally they are of the academic scholarly type and only rarely, penetrating, perceptive or critical. They reveal an inability to combine book-learning of literary categories and theories, with the critical ethos and tradition of Oriya literature. Literary criticism is still largely practised by University teachers in the Departments of Oriya and English but they suffer either from a surfeit of ideas like “dissociation of sensibility”, “stream of consciousness”, and various literary theories or isms on the one hand or Mammata and Sanskrit poetics on the other. A recent review of a book of poems sandwiched the poor poet between Ulysses, and Mammata’s poetics both of which could hardly help the intelligent reader to appreciate the ‘Poetry’ under scrutiny. There are a few exceptions but they are exceptions that only prove the rule. In the field of historical literary criticism mention may be made of the significant contribution made by Natabara Samantray, Bansidhar Mohanty and Nityananda Satpathy.

In this connection some general observation on the relevance of metaphysical poetry and fiction to a society experiencing tension would seem to be in order. Much of the obscurity of modern poetry and fiction in Oriya, as perhaps elsewhere, can be explained by this experienced tension and the inability to forge a linguistic and poetic structure adequate to convey its complexities. While it is true that metaphysical poetry flourishes in a social milieu experiencing violent emotional and intellectual tensions complex and metaphysical poets try to assimilate this tension into their poetry and give it a new language and not merely new professions or rhetoric. It is true, as John Press points out, “there must come a time when the strain grows too acute and incoherence follows, or when, all their uncertainties resolved, men begin to acquire a simplicity and an assurance less rich but more comforting than the painful excitement which animated their predecessors”. (The Chequer’d Shade—page 200).

In modern Oriya poetry and, more particularly in the poetry of the
sixties, this uncertainty has not been somehow overcome and all the
modes and techniques of poetry seem to suffer from a consequent
intellectual ambivalence. It neither goes to the limits of a fragmented
existence and adopts the verbal stratagems of the Howl and so
much of similar modish poetry, nor does it speak with the freedom,
ease and fluency of the earlier quiet times when the epical voice or the
folk-idiom was the natural choice. This brings me to the problem
of communication which was very ably summed up by Edwin Nuir
as one of the central paradoxes in contemporary poetry; "The more
a writer tries to render his vision of the world in its completeness, the
more irrevocably he turns it into his private world. The more
carefully he connects everything with everything, the less is his reader
able to connect anything with anything". Thirdly, the obsession
with the striking symbol and image, has come to a blind alley and it
is time that modern poet or the novelist in Oriya realised that a good
poem or novel is not necessarily a summation of clever and striking
images or symbols. The symbol is not only visual. It is also
auditory. Besides, the image or the symbol has to be not merely
decorative but points to something which is central to the meaning
and concern of the poem or the story or the novel. In this connec-
tion, one may recall the most original and penetrating analysis of
metaphors in George Whalley's Poetic Process. According to him
"the pointing metaphor makes for intense clarity, but a clarity some-
how visual, static and sterile. The full process of metaphor—the
"ringing" metaphor as I shall call it—makes for resonance, a pervasive
tone which spreads outward in rings of sound and light to bring into
sympathetic vibration other or all features of the poem" (page
148). Thus the marrying together of visual and the auditory
imagination and the recognition of the value of words as both sound
and meaning are essential if modern poetry with its claim to be meta-
physical can be efficiently so and at the same time solve the problem
of communication. Allen Tata used to say that he derived the
term tension from the two logical terms “extension” and “intention.”
Poetry, after all, is an alternative to the referential characteristic of
other forms of social communication. Its meanings must multiply,
unfold layer after layer, be intense, as they also escape one by one and
extend outward beyond the words. The dead end which the symbol
has reached in the Oriya poetry of the sixties can be broken if only
symbols, howsoever bright or original are recognised as only essential
ingredients of a simple metaphysical or archetypal style and not as
ends in themselves. Otherwise the symbol could only be shining and
clever and fail to touch the roots of intuition and the creative process
which is inseparable from artistic excellence. One can do no better
than repeat Croce's warning to artists in this regard. "There is no
double bottom to art, but one only; in art all is symbolical, because
all is ideal. But if the symbol be conceived as separable—if the
symbol can be on one side, and on the other the thing symbolised,
we fall back again into the intellectualist error; the so-called symbol
is the exposition of an abstract concept, an allegory; it is science
or art aping science" (Aesthetic—page 34).

Modern Oriya literature particularly in poetry and fiction
seems to be gradually coming round to this awareness of metaphysic-
ical style which is wedded to the lyric and the folk but is not rhetorical;
which has concerns that are immediate and relevant and not super-
ficial or extra-literary. It has been trying to connect "everything with
everything," a task it approaches with humility, tentativeness but a
high degree of sincerity and devotion.
ORIGIN OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN ORISSA

After initial hindrance to its speedy success the introduction of English education in Orissa had, as in most other experiments of this nature, a reasonable success. There never was truth in the reproach thrown to the Oriyas that they neither appreciated English education nor possessed the attitude for it which their Bengali rivals did. The Government had to put up with the indifference and neglect they exhibited in a matter which so deeply concerned them till the Oriyas began to perceive the advantages of new educational system. The appreciation of the merit of the new educational policy led to the demand for higher education in Orissa and the British Government felt the necessity of establishing a college to fulfil the aspiration of the Oriyas.

The progress of higher education in Orissa was very slow. In the absence of a separate province the educational needs of the Cuttack Division were overshadowed by the needs of two gigantic neighbours, i.e., the Madras and Bengal Presidencies. Prior to the establishment of a college in Orissa a few scholarships were instituted in the colleges of Calcutta to enable Oriya students to prosecute higher studies. In 1841 I.A. Wise, Secretary to General Committee of Public Instruction, informed the Secretary to the Local Committee, Cuttack, regarding the institution of a scholarship of eight rupees per month in the Hooghly Central College. The scholarship-holder was entitled to receive senior scholarship of thirty rupees per month on affording satisfactory evidence of attentions and due advancement in his studies during that time. Owing to distance and poverty Oriya students were reluctant to take advantage of the opportunities. In 1846 Nabin Sarangi and Sriram Mukherjee, both from the Cuttack Zillah School, were directed by Mactier, the Secretary, Local Board, Public Education, to proceed to the Hooghly College. The latter expressed his wish to join the College and the former was obliged to decline the scholarship offered by the Government. Students having relatives at Hooghly availed of the scholarship.
The necessity of a College was keenly felt in the districts remote from Calcutta.¹ "Not only does no pupil from Orissa who fails in obtaining a scholarship even think of joining a Calcutta College, but even those who do succeed, frequently resign in preference to undergoing the expense and expatriation entailed by it". In case the Government entertained the idea of establishing a College for Orissa H. L. Harrison officiating Inspector of Schools, S. W. Division suggested to the Director that Cuttack was the place in every way most suited for the same. More than 400 boys in that city were learning English in the schools under his inspection. The school house was in excellent condition. It was spacious enough to provide accommodation without any further expenses. Mr. Harrison was prepared to visit Cuttack to examine the feasibility of establishment of a College and submit a more definite and detailed plan for the approval of the Director if so directed. The Local Committee also demanded a College under the Calcutta University. The Committee sincerely believed that it would not be long before this promising institution could become the first institution in importance in Orissa and be converted into a College.

The contributions of T. E. Ravenshaw, officiating Commissioner of the Cuttack Division to the origin of higher education are highly significant. He rightly pointed out that the Oriyas have hitherto derived little benefit from the Cuttack Government School as the School was resorted to principally by naturalised Bengalees.² "The little benefit which advanced students of the highest class attain after a prolonged period of study and by passing the University Entrance Examination is soon evaporated by their omission to keep up reading. This is attributed to the unwillingness of their friends to send them to the Colleges of Bengal for prosecution of their studies. The remedy for this I have suggested in my last report, viz., the formation of a Collegiate class in connection with the Government School."

The Director of Public Instruction W. S. Atkinson supported the views expressed by the Commissioner of the Cuttack Division regarding the establishment of College class. In his letter No. 399 dated the 28th January 1867 to Government he stated,³ "My present proposal exactly meets the suggestion of the Commissioner regarding the establishment of a College class in the existing School at Cuttack." With the view to placing the institution on the footing of a College of the lower class to supply means of obtaining University education in Orissa sanction was obtained for raising of the existing assignment of the Cuttack School from Rs. 3,616 to Rs. 12,000 per annum. Originally the officiating Commissioner proposed the establishment of collegiate class in connection with the Cuttack School, which
involved only the salary of a competent master. But the Director in reporting on the proposal, recommends the establishment of a Colle-
giate, or High School at Cuttack, as a preparatory step towards the
foundation of a College for the province and for this purpose an
increase to the assignment of the existing Zillah School from Rs. 3,616
to Rs. 12,000 per annum. ‘The Director’s scheme though more
expensive than the Commissioner’s appears to the Lt. Governor’
wrote S. C. Bayley, Junior Secretary to the Government of India
‘to be better adapted to meet fully the requirements of a Division
situated as Cuttack is and His Honour therefore begs to recommend
it for the sanction of H.E. in Council”. In the opinion of S. C.
Bayley the reasons for which the establishment of a High School
at Gauhattay was recommended by this Government and sanctioned
by the Government of India, are in the Lt. Governor’s opinion equally
applicable to the present case. Cuttack is similar to Assam in
respect of its distance from any collegiate institution. Mr. Ravenshaw
in his letter of the 12th September 1865 pointed out “the Ooryahs
are quite as averse as the Assamese to send their children far from
their houses in order to obtain a higher class of education than is
afforded by Zillah School. Many of the Government appointments
in Cuttack are also held by Bengalees instead of by the natives of
the province, and there is an equally urgent necessity for giving it
facilities for a higher class of education”.

With the opening of a first year’s College class the Old Zilla
School at Cuttack was converted in January 1868 into a High School.
The education of the students instead of stopping at the Entrance
Examination is carried on to the standard fixed by the University for
the First Arts Examination. The second-year class was expected to
be opened in January 1869. Only six students all of whom passed
the last Entrance Examination from schools in Orissa joined the
College class. Inspector R. L. Martin reports “if there had been
no College class at Cuttack one only of these six would have joined an
affiliated College in Bengal, the remainder like the passed lads of the
former years would have had to content themselves with the amount
of learning already acquired. Six under-graduates does not seem a
large number certainly, but I believe the Patna College, the Calcutta
and the Gouhaty School, opened College classes with still small
number”. Thus the High School at Cuttack in 1869 consists of three
departments i.e., (a) College class, (b) Law Department opened in
March 1869 and (c) the usual classes of a Zillah School.

The conversion of the Cuttack Zillah School into a Collegiate or
High School seems already to promise good results. The number
of students increased to 22 out of which 15 were Bengalis and 4 were Oriyas. They all studied English, Sanskrit, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Mental Philosophy and History. The remarks of Mr. R. L. Martin, are quite interesting. "It will be noticed how much more ready the few Bengalis that live in Orissa are to seize the benefits of education than are the multitudes of Uriyas... but it is pleasant to know that the people of the land are beginning to enter the fight". In 1871 the number of Oriya lads in the College Department increased to eight. It is a satisfactory proof of English education being more appreciated by the natives of Orissa.

Conditions prevailing in South Orissa were entirely different. The Madras Government didn't feel the necessity of making any provision for higher education for the people of Ganjam. The Acting Director of Public Instruction Lt. Col. Macdonald desired to solve the problem with the aid of scholarships to annually send one or two pupils who had passed Matriculation Examination to complete their studies in the Presidency College. In his letter to the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, dated Madras 7th June 1872 No. 1707 he wrote, "It seems to me that scholarships are most needed for districts in which least has been done in other ways, such as Kurnool and Ganjam and for races which labour under special disabilities, such as the Oriyas and the Mahammadans. The Inspector of Schools, First Division H. Bowers in his letter dated Waltair, 9th June 1873 gives a different view. According to his opinion there was no demand among Oriyas of Ganjam for higher education. He did not believe that the supply of it just now would create the demand. He held the view that the proper base of really effective operations for the elevation of the Oriyas must be sought in Orissa and not in Ganjam. So the steps of the Oriya scholars anxious to prosecute their studies beyond the Matriculation standard should be directed to Cuttack and Calcutta rather than to Madras. Such are the steps proposed to encourage education among Oriyas of Ganjam that formed a part of the Madras Presidency.

However the efforts of the Government for promotion of higher education were not confined to the conversion of the Cuttack Zillah School into a second grade College in 1868. With the modification of the policy of the Government establishment of a first grade college was considered essential. Sir Richard Temple decided that save in cases of special exceptions, candidates shall not be admitted to the upper classes of the service unless they have passed the First Arts Examination." "Further, it is his wish to bring the advantages of the highest education within the reach of students in all parts of the Lower
provinces, by multiplying, so far as may be possible, the institutions in which the full course of study for the University degree is pursued. With this object he has already sanctioned arrangements for raising Krishnanagar and Cuttack to the status of full colleges."

During the visit of the Lt. Governor to Cuttack the matter was brought to his attention by the people. Complaints were made that if Oriya young men passed the First Arts Examination of the University they could not prosecute their studies for a degree without proceeding to Bengal. The Lt. Governor signified his willingness to propose the conversion of the Cuttack High School into a College, provided a certain sum could be raised by private subscription. He was glad to learn that the required amount is likely to be raised.

The Minute by the Lt. Governor of Bengal dated the 27th April 1875 gives information regarding the conversion of the High School at Cuttack into a Degree College. The Commissioner, T. E. Ravenshaw after consulting W. Atkinson, the Director of Public Instruction desired to try the experiment with an extra charge of Rs. 1,000/- per mensem in addition to the present cost of the High School thus:

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<td>Principal</td>
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<td>Rs. 450/-</td>
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<td>Professor</td>
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It was also objected that the Oriyas are exposed to much disadvantage by their distance from the Presidency. No Bengali or Bihari was subjected to this disadvantage. "I think" wrote Richard Temple, "We ought to give the Uryas a chance of remedying this by letting them establish a College at Cuttack if they can. The D.P.I. whom I have carefully consulted, is in favour of making the attempt. If, therefore, the Commissioner can induce the people to guarantee Rs. 500/- per mensem or Rs. 6,000/- per annum for five years, I will endeavour to convert the Cuttack High School into a College."

On 10th December, 1875 H. J. Reynolds, officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department, submitted for consideration and orders of H.E. the Governor-General in Council the copy of a Minute by the Lt. Governor of Bengal, dated the 27th
April, 1875 on the proposal to convert the High School at Cuttack into a College. He wrote, "Foundation of College in Orissa itself will, by giving such students facilities which at present are denied to them, have a very beneficial effect on the intelligence and educational attainments of the people. The scheme of the Lt. Governor provided that half the additional charge should be raised from private subscriptions and I am to state that this has been done."

The subscription locally raised amounted to nearly Rs. 30,000 a sum sufficient to provide one half of the additional outlay for a period of at least five years. "The Governor-General in Council is pleased to sanction the proposal for three years on the understanding that it will not be renewed unless local contributions to the extent of Rs. 500 a month are permanently secured either from funded subscriptions or from fees." Thus was born the Cuttack College the first College of Orissa to fulfil the long cherished aspirations of the Oriyas. The higher class English School established in 1841 at Cuttack and raised to a second grade College in 1868 was converted to a first grade College in 1876.

The Cuttack College was designed rather to test the desire of the Oriyas for higher education than to try the possibility of carrying on a full College with a staff of ungraded officers. The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj gave a donation of Rs. 20,000 as the nucleus of a permanent endowment, and at his request its name has been changed to Ravenshaw College "in commemoration of Mr. Ravenshaw's services as Commissioner of Orissa. The separation of School and College was recommended by the University Commission as the discipline of School boys and of young men of College ought to be different. The Collegiate School and the School of Engineering were removed in 1912 and 1916 respectively. The College was shifted to the new building in 1921 built at a cost of 10 lakhs of Rupees on a land of 84 ½ acres. The foundation stone of this impressive building was laid by Sir Edward Albert Gait, the Lt. Governor of Bihar & Orissa on November 11th, 1919. The history of University Education in Orissa is closely coincided with the origin and growth of this temple of learning during the last hundred years.
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8. Minute by the Lt. Governor of Bengal, dated the 27th April, 1875.

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PART V

Music, Dance and Drama
PART A

Music, Dance and Drama
DEVELOPMENT OF THE ODISSI MUSIC

"Sama Vedadidam gitam sanjagraha pitamahah"—this verse suggests that the Sama Veda is the source of music. The triple union of lyric, instrument and dance contributes to the concept of music. Gitavaditranrutyanam trayam Sangitamuchyate. Voice Swara, pose thara and lines gara were the mediums of expression of the primitive man before the creation of the language. The urge for the union between the greats is an eternal truth, and for this the calm ocean waits to receive the rays of the blazing sun. A mediatory force is necessary in every union of this type and wind plays the vital role of mediator in the union of sun and ocean. By this waves are created in the calm ocean which originate voice. Praying this first voice it is told "Om nada brahmene namah." Hearing this first voice, out of joy the primitive man invited his friends by the movement of his hands. From this emerged pose. In order to make it permanent he drew lines on stones and from these lines there developed script and language. So voice, pose and line were the basis of music. So voice was originated first, which was followed by pose and language.

There is a glorious tradition of music in Orissa. The standard of music in Orissa during the earliest period cannot be systematically traced. But in Second Century B.C., during the reign of emperor Mahameghavahana Kharavela music was patronised by all, which is evident from the Hathigumpha Inscription. The fifth line of the Hathigumpha Inscription reads, "Tutiye punah-base gandhaba bedabudho dapa-nata-gita-badita-samdasanai usab-samaja karanaviscah kridayatinagarin". It narrates that Kharavela who was an expert in music, entertained his people through dance, music samajas etc, during the third year of his reign. It proves that in pre-Christian era music was cultivated in Utkal (Orissa). Thereafter "Bharata Natya Sastra" was composed. During Second and Third Centuries A.D., saint Bharata composed his famous treatise on dance. At that
time the music in India was divided into four classes such as: "Aavantida kshinatya cha Panchali Chodramagadhi". It is believed that a similar type of music was in use both in Magadha and Odra.

From Sixth Century A.D. to Eleventh Century A.D. Orissa witnessed unprecedented architectural activities and every piece of stone became lively with the rhythms of music. The figures of dancers on the temples of Laxmaneswar, Bharateswar and Satrughneswar (6th century A.D.) in Bhubaneswar; the figure of a lady playing on musical instrument on the temple of Brahmeswar (eleventh century, and the figure of a dancer on Megheswar temple (twelfth century A.D.) speak of the rich musical traditions of ancient Orissa.

In the Charyya Age, Kahunupa, Luipa and Binapada etc., had composed many lyrical poems in Oriya language. Truly speaking these are not poems, rather lyrics intended to be sung. These originated from the noble idea of preaching religion in various regions through music. The tunes (Raga) are mentioned there. It clearly reveals that by this time the folk music of Triswari, Chatuuh-swari and Panchaswari were modified into classical style.

The twelfth century poet Jayadeva composed "Gita Govinda". The lyrics of this book are arranged in rhymes in consonance with the idea. Prior to this, Bruttas and Chhandas were used in India. But Jayadeva, the poet of Utkal, first composed music by applying swara (tune) in words.

The Ganga Emperors were the great patrons of music. They introduced the dance of Devadasi in eleventh century Orissa. In 13th century Narasingha Deva constructed the "Epic of Stone" at Konark and thousands of idols of Nata, Narttaka (Dancer), Gayaka (Singer), Nati, Narttaki (female Dancer) Badaka (The male who plays instrument), Badika (The female who plays instrument), Gayika (The female singer) on it represent the enriched musical tradition of 13th century Orissa.

From the available sources it is known that from 16th century, treatises on music were compiled in Orissa. "Sangitarnava Chandrika" is the first book of this type. But its author is still unknown. It seems logical to mention something about "Gita Prakash" of Krishna Das of 16th century. Hari Das, the disciple of Krishna Das, was the teacher of the famous musician Tansen, who lived in Akbar’s Court. It is assumed that "Sangita Muktavali" of Harichandar was contemporary to this. "Sangita Kalpalata" of Haladhar Mishra was a gift of seventeenth century. In the beginning of 18th century, Raghunath Rath composed "Natya Manorama". In 1800 A.D.
Narayan Mishra’s “Sangita Sarani” and in 1803 Gajapati of Parala’s “Sangita Narayana” were composed.

Secondly the Odissi Sangita (music) was composed following the styles (Riti) of four classes of music like Dhrubapada, Chitrakala, and Panchali, described in these above-mentioned books. The music used as example in the books positively belongs to the language of contemporary Orissa and this style continues till now. The Dhrubapada or Ghosha (The first line or lines to be cited repeatedly) has importance in Odissi music. But in the music of other provinces Dhrubapada or Ghosha has not been given much importance. It is so obvious that examples are not required. The use of art in music is called Chitrakala. Its use in Odissi seems very prominent and “Badhila jani kshama kara nohile Rama” etc. of Kavisurya is the beautiful example of this style. Chitrakala means the arrangement of words. Generally, Odissi (Music) is highly ornamented with “Yamaka” like “Shrimati Shripati Brundabane keli rachile; Brundabana shobhataru tarutale kalpataru taruni ratana taru tarolakshi matile” etc. Lastly, Panchali means multi-lined lyric (Bahupadayukta gitra). It is divided into two types—Adhruva and Sadhruva. In Sadhruva Panchali there is a Ghosha. Odissi Choupadis (Quadrants) are the best examples of Sadhruva Panchali. Choutisha belongs to the category of Adhruva Panchali. After all Chhanda (rhetoric section) is the originality of Odissi music. Chhandas are included in Adhruva Panchali. It is deceptive to trace the origin of Chhanda from the word Skandha. Practically, it is derived from the Sanskrit word “Chhanda”. A large number of Chhandas are composed in accordance with the Sanskrit Brutta. Chokhi, one of them, is framed in the pattern of Sanskrit Brutta, “Pancha Chamara”. The “Chokhi” is formed by the introduction of tune (Swara) and rhythm (Tala) into the letters of the Sanskrit Chhanda, like “Chinta Bhairava”. Quite a large number of Chhandas were composed with theme (Bhava), time (Kala) and tune (Swara). It is another unique and special aspect of chhanda. Chinta Bhairava is used in the context of a dream sequence of Ravana in “Vaidehisha Vilasha.” Ravana dreamt at dawn that Ramachandra had detected imprisoned Sita in Ashoka-Vana for which he was going to Ashoka Vana in thoughtful and pensive mood. The Chhanda, narrating this enchanting dream, is composed in the Bhairava Raga. Dawn is the appropriate time to sing Bhairava Raga. Both the tunes, Rushabha and Dhaivata, have a soft and melodious use in this Raga. Reflecting the thoughtfulness of Ravana, the Chhanda is directed to be sung in Chinta Bhairava. This Chhanda reads like this: “Budhe shunima heu Sumati”, etc. Like this many Chhandas are composed in the line of Sanskrit Chhanda.
The Choutisha Section represents the originality of Odissi. Using all the thirty-four letters from “Ka” to “Ksha” at the beginning of each line (Pada) the Choutisha is completed in thirty-four lines as “Manabodha Choutisha”.

In Odissi, the words used in Drutatala (speedy rhythm) are called “Padi”. Its use is the special feature of Odissi. Use of “Navatala” (Nine rhythms) is famous in Odissi music. Besides, Dashatala (Ten rhythms) and Egaratala (Eleven rhythms) etc. are used in the music of Orissa as “Kuduka” and “Upudu”. “Jhula”, commonly known in Orissa as the “Traimatrikatatala” (Three-lettered rhythm), is used as a speedy tala. So also speedy “Chaturmatrikatala” is known as “Pahapatta”.

According to tuning the “Melaragas” were composed and their names are completely different from the Ragas of “Hindusthani” and “Karnatak” music. The names are (1) Kalyana, (2) Nata, (3) Shriraga, (4) Goure, (5) Varadi, (6) Panchama, (7) Dhanashri, (8) Karnata, (9) Bhairavee and (10) Shokavaradi.

The compilation of treatises on and the detailed analysis of music for a long period led to a definite conclusion. By 16th century an original stream of Odissi music has already emerged. In various times the composers of music had tried to modify and develop it by establishing certain theories. Because, theory comes after creation. It cannot be believed that the enriched status of 16th century music was built in a single day. Behind it stood hard labour, sacrifice and determination of hundreds of years. Hence, there is nothing to doubt the ancestry of Odissi music.

Analysing the evolution of Odissi music it is concluded that it originated from “Choutisha” and “Choupadi”. At the beginning of child’s education a beautiful verse had to be attached after every letter to make it easier for him to remember. Attempts were made to attract the fickle mind of the child towards letters when it was sung in form of music. For example: “Ka”—“Kalinditire” and “Kha”—“Khatanti dhire” etc. By the by “Choutisha” took birth from this music and quite a large number of Choutisha were also composed. “The musical desire” (Sangitika Pravrutti) emerging from this, became the source of inspiration in the subsequent period to compose Chhanda and other music.
THE CHHAU DANCE OF ORISSA

Like the Bharata Natyam of the South, the Kathakali of Kerala, the Kathak of North India, the Manipuri of Assam or the Kuchipudi of Andhra; Orissa has also contributed two distinct schools of dancing, the Chhau and the Odissi, to the rich and colourful dance art of India.

The history of Chhau dance is very ancient. It originated in the mock-fights of the Oriya paiks (warriors) who fought rhythmically to the accompaniment of a band of indigenous musical instruments to amuse as well as to keep themselves physically fit to meet any emergency. At this stage it was known as "Rukmar", i.e., one group of soldiers protect themselves with swords and shields while the other group attacks, and vice versa. Gradually this war dance developed into a fine stylised classical art of the palace under the patronage and nourishing care of some Rajas and Maharajas of Orissa ex-States. Mayurbhanj and Seraikela (now in Bihar) are the two main centres where this dance has been widely cultivated and has reached perfection. In the ex-States of Keonjhar, Nilgiri and Dhenkanal Chhau dance was also very popular and flourished under royal patronage. The "war dance" which is undoubtedly the corner-stone of the present Chhau dance has become, however, obsolete. The large number of men and tremendous labour and risk that this dance involved might be one of the reasons for its discontinuance. A war dance is usually performed with a band of sixty-four, thirty-two or at least sixteen players. They apply turmeric paste and red clay to their face and body and dress like the paiks. They divide into two batches and coming in files from opposite directions, show their feats of swordsmanship in regular rhythms to the accompaniment of a band of indigenous music consisting of Dhumsas (Kettle-drum), Mahuris (Orissan Sanai), Dholaks and Charharis. When the peculiar weird music 'maru' begins the players fight man to man and move gracefully in circles and semicircles presenting a unique spectacle. The dance lasts for about one hour. If some fairyland
had been governed by the rule that fighting must be done rhythmically, a false step entailing defeat, then this is the kind of battle that would have been waged there.

In 1912, Mayurbhanj Chhau Party gave a performance of the war-dance in honour of His Majesty King Emperor’s visit to Calcutta. “The dance drew Universal appreciation. The Oriya Paik dance was a great spectacle” observed the ‘Statesman’ in its issue of January, 6, 1912. On the same day ‘The Englishman’ described it as follows: “The war dance of Oriya *paiks*, it is understood, was much admired by their Majesties. The paiks danced their best and furnished a relief from the monotony of silent processions.”

The origin of the word ‘Chhau’ is still obscure. Some have found out an etymological meaning of the word Chhau (from Sanskrit word Chhaya, meaning—shade-mask) and claim that the dance bears the name Chhau for its use of the mask. This is the view of the Seraikela School where mask is used. The use of mask in dances or carnivals is not a new idea. Various kinds of masks are used on such occasions in Sikkim, Java, Mexico, Ceylon and in some other parts of the world. It is difficult to know at what time mask came to be used by the Chhau dancers of Seraikela. In Mayurbhanj and in other parts of Orissa mask is not used by the Chhau dancers. People belonging to the Mayurbhanj School of the dance maintain that the term Chhau has been derived from *Chhauni*, i.e., military encampment. The latter view seems to be more credible, as it is commonly admitted that this dance originated from the war rehearsals of the Oriya *Paiks*. It is quite likely that *Chhauni Nacha*, in course of time, came to be called by the people as *Chhau Nacha*.

The highly stylised Chhau dance of to-day has gradually evolved from a dance form which was essentially folk in character. This is also true in case of other major dances of India. As a well-known connoisseur of Indian dance has observed, “Primitive dance was the foundation of folk dance, and folk dance was the foundation of the refined forms. Refined dance when degenerates re-enters the category of folk dance, just as folk dance with culture and development ascends to that of refined dance.”

The Chhau dance follows the basic principles of the Hindu dance as embodied in the holy treatises of Bharata Muni’s Natya Sastra and Nandikeswara’s *Abhinaya Darpana*, though it has acquired much of its local concepts and technique to distinguish it as a distinct school of art. Like other Hindu dances the Chhau dance is also deeply associated with religion and the Chhau dancers worship Lord Siva
and Goddess Parvati, the two presiding deities of the Tandava and the Lasya style respectively. The dancers come to the stage after performing religious sacrifices. Young boys of seven or eight years are picked up and given a systematic training for five to six years to acquire a thorough mastery over the basic techniques of the Chhau dance. The new recruits are initiated to the dance in a simple religious ceremony performed in the Siva temple. Their first course of training comprises Chaukbandha, i.e., placing the feet in a slanting position with bent knees so that the legs form a square. The arms are stretched sideways with the right hand raised upward and the left hand hanging low forming right-angles at the elbow. After the trainees have acquired mastery over this basic pose of the Chhau dance, they are given sword and shield in their right and left hand respectively which is called dharana, and are taught various steps, walks and whirls keeping the basic pose intact from waist upwards. In Bharata Natyam or Kathak, after performing various dance items the dancer always comes back to a particular stylistic pose. In Chhau, the dancers while performing a dance number always come back to the Chaukbandha pose after whirling round thrice. There is a slight difference in this pose in Seraikela Chhau dance.

The Chhau dancers learn various topkas (different modes of walk, gait and movement) and 36 principal uphis or Upalayas without which they are not fit to participate in stage performances. Many of the uphis of Chhau are taken from the classical texts on Indian dance and despite their local nomenclature have much affinity with the Upalayas embodied in them. For example, Sindur Pidha (applying of vermillion) and Harina dian (jumping of the deer) have their origin in ‘Lalatatilakam’ and ‘Harinaplutam’ of the Sastras. Being a development of the ancient war dance Chhau is essentially virile, though much of its bellicosity has been toned down by the rigid rules of the classical dance art. Still the dance items like Astradanda, Dandi, Jambes and Siva Tandava are more physical feats and need tremendous physical exertion. Women are not allowed to participate in Chhau dance and the female roles are impersonated by men. During the European tour of the Seraikela Chhau Party some women artists were included in the group, but afterwards the idea was given up as the virile nature of the dance was not suitable for them. But now at some dance and music centres where Chhau dance is taught as a part of the curriculum the girls often participate in female roles and acquit themselves well. This may change the future set-up of Chhau, and it may no longer remain purely a male prerogative.

In Seraikela the dancers cover up their faces with beautifully designed masks of papier-mache to represent gods, goddesses or other
characters of a dance number. By means of its peculiar lines and
colours the mask helps to evoke in the mind of the spectator a particu-
lar bhava or rasa that the dance aims at. As the mask completely
covers up the most expressive parts of the body like the eyes, the eye-
brow and the mouth which play so prominent a part in other classical
dances of India, the Chhau dancer has to fall back upon the other
limbs to express his ideas and feelings. In Mayurbhanj where mask
is not used, the facial expression of the dancer is also not very
important. Even the hands and fingers that play so prominent a
part in Bharata Natyam and Kathakali, play a minor role in Chhau
dance as the hands mostly remain fixed in Chauk and Dharana
pose. Such restrictions have led Chhau to develop completely
on a different line in which the waist, the legs and the feet practically
do all the talking. In intricacy of foot-work, walk, poise, gait, whirls,
and jumps Chhau dance, in fact, far surpasses any other school of
Indian dancing. During the European tour of Seraikela Chhau
Party in 1938 an English paper rightly commented, “The foot-work
of the whole company, and especially of Suvendra, is very fine and
their feet, stained red on the soles, were interesting to watch, as they
had all the suppleness which we in the west have in our fingers, but
not in our toes.” This remark is equally applicable to the Chhau
dance of Mayurbhanj and other parts of Orissa.

The dance is performed in open air on a raised earthen platform
with moist and velvety surface, which is very suitable for such a dance
with intricate foot-works. The platform is profusely lighted and on
one side of it there is a chariot-shaped stage with velvet hangings.
The musicians stand on one side of the platform and as the thundering
sound of the big kettledrums reverberates the evening sky, men, women,
and children pour in thousands and surround the three sides of the
platform. Villagers from miles and miles away come to see this dance
during the Chaitraparva festival which is celebrated consecutively
for three days during the month ending Chaitra and sit for the whole
night watching with interest their popular stories from the Ramayana,
the Mahabharata and the Puranas enacted on the stage. With the
beginning of the dance the music suddenly changes to a milder note
and the dancers descend from the chariot-shaped stage with digni-
fied heroic gait and stepping. The costume, headdress and other
ornamental requisites of the dance are carefully selected to befit
various dramatic characters and their splendid brocade with gold and
silver embroidery produces a highly colourful and dignified effect
without being gaudy or over-ostentatious. The dance programme
consists of solo, duet and group performances, some of them lasting
from twenty to thirty minutes. The stories of the dances are usually
borrowed from the inexhaustible sources of Indian mythology and the Puranas. There are also many original compositions of high imaginative skill like Haimantika (Harvest-dance), Maru-Maya, Akal-Salami, Diamond Jubilee, Card dance, etc. Every year the master dancers compose new themes and set them to their peculiar raga, tala, and technique based on the fundamentals of the Chhau art. In order to encourage the best composers and performers, in the past, the Ruling Chiefs of Mayurbhanj and some other ex-States of Orissa rewarded them in public during the Chaitra-parva festival. The main contenders for the honour in Mayurbhanj were the ‘Uttar Sahi’ and the ‘Dakhin Sahi’ Chhau parties who have made major contributions to the development of Chhau dance in Orissa, and continue still to be the main centres where this dance art is cultivated with religious zeal under the expert advice and supervision of the old veterans of the art.

In fact, the subject-matter of the Chhau dance is borrowed from the whole gamut of animate and inanimate nature. The hilly regions of North-Eastern Orissa with a rich folk and tribal culture have left a profound influence on the music and the general pattern of Chhau dance. The famous Peacock, Swan, Deer, Hunter and Deer dances depict the wild beauty and grace of the forest and have been universally appreciated for their high artistic representation and excellent choreography.

The best dance items of Seraikela Party consists of solo or duet performances as the use of the mask does not allow any side-view necessary for bigger group dances. But in Mayurbhanj where mask has been given up the group dances are highly developed. Group dance numbers like Nisitha Milana, Maya Savari, Garuda-Bahana, Rasa, Holi, Baul Krishna, Odia and Card Dance are some of the masterpieces of the Mayurbhanj School for their artistic composition, music and graceful performances. These dances very often last from twenty to thirty minutes. Towards the close of the dance drama when the tilting music ‘natki’ begins all the dancers of the group dance in unison and moving swiftly in circles, semicircles, and various other designs create a veritable wonderland of Elysian beauty and grandeur.

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JATRA OF ORISSA

‘JATRA’ happens to be the exact equivalent term for the English word ‘Theatre’. In Sanskrit, it is Yatra. It is very interesting to note that there is a very close phonetical affinity in the pronunciation of all the equivalent terms of Theatre in all the languages of the eastern hemisphere. They range between Jatra and Theatre.

In Orissa, this word Jatra, seems to be in vogue since time immemorial. The earliest documentary evidence is found in the rock edicts of Chedi Raja Mahameghavahana Kalingadhipati Aira Kharavela, which dates back to second century before Christ. The edicts are still intact and preserved on the Hatigumpha Caves of Udayagiri hills of Bhubaneswar located hardly six kilometres away from the New Capital of the State of Orissa.

Emperor Kharavela, who himself was also an exponent of all histrionic arts, had constructed special theatre halls all over his State for the entertainment of his people.

In the fifth line, the inscription reads: “Gandharwa Veda-Budho-Dapa-Nata-Gita-Vadita-Sandasanahi-Usava-Samaja-Karapanahi-Chakidapayati-Nagarim.”

This means ‘Expert in histrionic arts himself (Kharavela) arranged for the entertainment of his citizens, items such as Dapa (Combats), Nata (Dance), Gita (Music), Vadita (Orchestra), Usava (Festival) and Samaja (Plays)’.

In the thirteenth line, the inscription reads: “Vithi-Catara (or Jathara), Palikhani-Gopurani-Siharani-Nibesati....” etc.

This means that Kharavela built in his kingdom Vithi (Roads), Catara or Jathara (Theatres), Palikhani (Channels), Gopurani (Gates), and Siharani (Temples) etc.

Although the second word in the above sentence has been deciphered either as catara or as Jathara by different experts, the
meaning invariably remains the same i.e., Jatra or Theatre. The language of the inscription is Prakrit and is very close to Pali and the script is Brahmi.

Although only the plain word ‘Catara’ or ‘Jathara’ is in the thirteenth line, we find that an adjective ‘Patalika’ has been prefixed to it in the sixteenth line, thus making it “Patalika Catara”. This means a huge “Roofed Theatre” which Kharavela had constructed having fifty pillars bedecked with precious stones.

Incidentally, in Orissa we have, not only the inscriptions relating to theatre and theatrical arts but also the archaeological remnants of theatres built during second century B.C., in and around the Khandagiri-Udayagiri hills. While two wings of the seating galleries of the huge “Patalika Catara” are identified at base juxtaposed between both the hills, the double-storeyed Rani Gumph on the Udayagiri hill is now proved to be the only existing specimen of the ancient Indian classical theatre of the middle-rectangular variety specified in the Natya-Sastra of Bharata-Muni, in the whole country.

Thus history of Orissa records in its first chapter, the history of the histrionic arts and the playhouses built for their presentations also still in existence.

With this great ancient tradition of evidential testimony, Jatra of Orissa, surely had reached the heights of glory in the past just as sculpture, dance, music and other allied arts.

Besides, we have many other evidences in our literature both in Sanskrit as well as in Oriya, where the word Jatra had been used to mean Theatre.

The seventh century Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhuti has used this word Jatra in the introductory speech of the Sutradhara in two of his dramas, “Mahavracharitam” and “Uttararamacharitam.”

The ninth century Sanskrit dramatist Murari Mishra has also used this word Jatra in the introduction of his play “Anargharaghavam.”

Similarly in 1665, the Sanskrit playwright Ramachandra has used this word Jatra in his play “Shrikrishna Bhaktavatsaly Charitam” in the introductory dialogues of the Sutradhara.

That this word Jatra conveys the direct meaning of Theatre is explained by the fourteenth century Pandit Vishwanath Kaviraj in his famous treatise “Sahitya Darpana”. At a place while describing women he mentions, “those women who regularly visit Jatra are
every year has become a part of the traditional life of every Oriya household today, after 500 years. While in olden times, each character used to give self-introduction and sometimes the dialogues were improved, these are no more adhered to. In the process of evolution, style of writing has undergone changes and the themes of Jatra plays now are no more mythological, historical or fantastic but they include social themes to suit modern conditions. Similarly the age-old indispensable comic character “Dwari” (the door-keeper) is now dropped from the cast.

The production technique of Jatra

As we know, Jatra corresponds to the word Theatre. The written play is not Jatra. It remains a Natak, Nata, Nacha, Suanga or Lila etc. Its presentative is Jatra. The presentation of a theme written in a particular style depends on the creative imagination of the producer and the resources available at his disposal. But with the worldly limitations, a play is mainly confined to just four types of presentation such as (i) one-side spectators, (ii) two-side spectators, (iii) three-side spectators and (iv) four or all-side spectators.

Of these, the oldest form which evolved out of the absolute necessity of the first primitive society of the human civilisation, is the form where the speaker or actor is surrounded by listeners or spectators on all sides.

The inquisitive Man has never ceased in his efforts of experimentation and by now perhaps every conceivable form of presentation of a play to a gathering has already been made and results such as evidence reactions, controlling the masses and production difficulties have been noted. With series of successes and failures man has become wiser and for the common Jatra a most popular legitimate form which remained to stay is the form where the spectators surround the acting area from all sides. This corresponds to the Caturasra and Tryasra styles described in Natya-sasthra of Bharata Muni.

The production style in the common Jatra is absolutely simple with the acting area (stage) in the centre with spectators all around. The Pusapatha or the artist’s passage wends its way through the spectators to the distant greenroom. This Pusapatha path also serves as an additional acting area besides being the way for entry or exit of each character. The chorus and the musicians take their place near the style opposite this Pusapatha. There are no stage properties except a single chair or the stage which serves as the King’s throne, a poor man’s hut, a bed cot, lover’s bench, a tree,
a hiding place, a shelter, even a weapon to fight with, as the story demands—a symbol for everything changing from scene to scene.

With stylised gaits, ornate costumes of the artists, tuneful traditional music, plenty of dances, songs, conflict and humour, Jatra of Orissa has always remained not only a mere place of entertainment but also an essential institution of learning for the people in general.

Evolving round this popular method and the style of presentation, the Jatra of Orissa has been winning the hearts of the masses from time immemorial. Through passage of time, this state had come under alien rules for long, and many of its forms must have been abandoned and forgotten, many must have been altered to suit prevailing conditions best, but the wide and varied colourful forms which have still lived and remained from the pangs of total extinction give us a glimpse of the glory that was ancient Orissa.

Age-long foreign domination, low economic conditions of the people, inflow of outside influences, hatred of the so-called sophisticated, lack of proper patronisation and the tropical climate, all combinedly had helped this indigenous Jatra of Orissa not to prosper in a very legitimate way and it is because of this that Jatra of Orissa has turned to be open-air and the Jatra-walls always await until fair weather. In absence of permanent pandals for regular performances the Jatra-Dalas of Orissa today have turned peripatetic and move from place to place to accommodate themselves in all sorts of assorted available conditions. But as every dark cloud has also got its silver linings, these conditions have also helped the Jatra of Orissa because in certain places it has been able to reach fantastic dimensions in open-air presentations, unparalleled in the country.
ORISSI AS A FORM OF INDIAN CLASSICAL MUSIC

Music is the abstract and oldest of all arts. It is coeval with the creation of the universe. Music comprehends both melody and rhythm, which were in existence even before the living being appeared on this earth.¹ Our Nature is the original source of Music. The entire function of the universe is balanced and controlled by the rhythmic motion, which is followed by the cosmic sound. Various pleasant and unpleasant sounds of Nature, the periodicity of all changes and happenings of Nature and the pulse and heart-beats, indicate the rhythm and sound. Possibly the primitive man, having been inspired by the rhythm and sound provided by Nature, started singing, even before the languages developed. This Nature-oriented music is known as Pathogenic Music.²

Music elevates our souls and exhilarates our mind to a lofty plane through its celestial Notes and Rhythm for which it is treated as one type of ‘Yoga’ to achieve salvation. It is the most difficult of the other Arts such as Sculpture, Painting, Architecture, Poetry, Acting and Dancing etc. Music, due to its elusive nature, is perceived through our ears, whereas the other arts, due to their palpable nature, are easily perceived through our eyes. Even poetry is also more easily perceived than music, as its underlying theme produces a picture, for perception through our mind’s vision. The artists, other than musicians, have to produce their art in tangible forms with a desired feeling expressed to produce aesthetic effect, whereas the musicians have to stimulate the imaginations of the listeners first and thereby they produce the desired aesthetic effect.³

Music is the language, through which our inexpressible thoughts and feelings find expression. Thus it has tremendous effect on the human beings, animals and plants. From the dawn of civilisation, till the present day, in every walk of life, Music has become a bare necessity. It gives celestial pleasure to the listeners and performers. The practice of Music is accepted as one type of Yoga for achieving salvation. Hence Music is a superb and divine art.
The following verses connote the real philosophy of Music:

(a) छेतन्य सर्वभूतानि विवृतं जगदात्मनां

नावशशा तवानन्दम् भविषयफूमास्महे

नाभिकाशनम् देवा वधातिन्यामहेश्वराः

भवन्यस्यिता तु पुरे व्यासिते तत्तवावराः

(b) नाहि वसामि वैदुष्टे, योगिनाः हृन्देये न च

मद्यलक्ष्य यथा गायनित तत्र किद्यामि नात्वं

(c) खण्डकोटिकृष्णं ध्यानं ध्यानकोटिकृष्णं लयः

तयाकोटिकृष्णं नानं गानानं परस्परं न हि

Music, nurtured in the dawn of civilisation has, through ages, assumed various forms, attuned to nature and test of the society. So far Indian Music is concerned, it includes in its vast compass all its forms: vocal, instrumental and choral, etc. It is the abstract of all arts, which employ sound and rhythm, agreeable to the ear and act as the finest medium for expressing emotions.

Of all the forms of Music prevalent in India (such as Tribal Music, Folk Music, Light Music, Light Classical Music and Classical Music), Classical Music is the most developed and systematic in the form, based on grammar and has a long and varied history of not less than three thousand years. Modern Classical Music is the outcome of the continuous evolution of Ancient Classical Music. The important evolutionary phases, through which Indian Classical Music has passed through are Vedic Music (Sama-Gana); ‘Gandharva-Gana’, ‘Jati-Gana’, ‘Raga-Prabandha-Gana’ and Modern Raga Sangeeta of different Paddhati4 (Systems). The Genealogical Table stated below is a glimpse of Indian Classical Music.

Although in India Classical Music has been accepted in two major forms, i.e. North Indian Classical Music (Hindusthani Paddhati) and South Indian Classical Music (Carnatic Paddhati), it is really surprising that the Musicians and scholars on different aspects of culture, connoisseurs as well have not thrown light on the tradition-oriented system such as Udra Magadhi and Panchali Pravritti etc. of Bharata out of which Udra-Magadhi gave birth to the Odissi Music. Odissi Music is evidently a classical form consisting of all the necessary ingredients which are common in Hindusthani and Carnatic Music such as Raga, Tala and Composition based on Udra Paddhati, but unfortunately it has not yet been attended to, in proper perspective. Hence is my attempt to discuss in short, the system of Raga, Tala, various Prabandhas (Compositions), styles of presentation, evolutionary phases, and historical development etc. of Odissi Music.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genealogical Table</th>
<th>Pathogenic Music</th>
<th>Logogenic Music</th>
<th>Desi Sangeet</th>
<th>Undeveloped Desi Sangeet</th>
<th>Various Types of Folk Music</th>
<th>Mediaeval and Modern Classical Music</th>
<th>Music of Hindusthani Paddhati</th>
<th>Music of Carnatic Paddhati</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dravidian Music</td>
<td>Tribal Music</td>
<td></td>
<td>Various types of Tribal Music</td>
<td>Raga-Prabandha-Gana</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Gandharva Gana</td>
<td>Jati Gana</td>
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HISTORY AND CULTURE OF ORISSA
The main ingredients of Indian Classical Music and Light Classical Music are Raga, Tala and Composition. The establishment of Raga through improvisations of its standard melody and improvisations of Tala is the outstanding literature of Indian Classical Music. The Music, other than classical, is devoid of dignified and systematised form, which can constitute the musical entity of the Raga system of Classical Music of our country. The Light Classical Music with a few numbers of Raga is more elastic and does not conform strictly to the grammar of the Ragas. Thus Indian Classical Music occupies a prominent position in the musical firmament of India and diffuses its fragrance to other parts of the world.

Indian Classical Music, since its inception till the period of Prabandha-Gana (covering the period from Vedic era to the period of Sangeet Ratnakar, possibly of 11th century A.D.) was continuing basically in a single form in the entire subcontinent. Though Classical Music during this period was in a single form, the style of presentation of this music in different regions had marked differences. ‘Bharata’, the great pioneer musician and illustrious Master of Dramaturgy, in consideration of different styles of presentation, prevalent in the then India, has clearly mentioned of Chaturvitha Pravritti in his ‘Natya-Satra’. The four Pravritti ‘were known as ‘AVANTI’, DAKSINATYA, PANCHALI and UDRA MAGADHI, current in the four regions of our country—Northern, Southern, Western and Eastern respectively.

Thus it can be presumed that, being convinced of the marked differences among the various Pravritti, in the field of Indian Classical Music, Dance and Drama, current in different places of our country, Bharata has divided the whole system into the aforesaid four Pravritti according to their respective geographical regions of the then larger India. According to him Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Udra, Magadha, Nepal, Antargiri, Vatsa, Paundra, Bahirdura, Plavanga, Mahendra and Maladamala etc. were the places
of the eastern zone of the then larger India, wherein Udra-Magadhi Pravritti was current in the field of Indian Classical Music, Dance and Drama. So it is clear that Anga, Kalinga and Udra (ancient Orissa) were the pioneer places of the eastern zone of the then India, which nurtured Indian Classical Music, Dance and Drama during the period of Bharata (5th or 6th century B.C. to 1st or 2nd century A.D.).

The Hathigumpha Inscription of 1st century B.C. provides us sufficient proofs regarding the prevalence of Vocal-Instrumental Music, Dance and Drama in ancient Kalinga. The mighty emperor took interest for popularisation of Music, Dance and Drama. The mention of Gandharva-Vidya, Geeta, Vadya, Nrutta and Natya in the said inscription, clearly bespeaks about the prevalence of the highly developed and systematised Music, Dance and Drama in Ancient Kalinga during the reign of Emperor Kharavela. The sculptural depictions of Swarnapur and Manchapuri caves of Udayagiri Hills at Bhubaneswar aver the glorious tradition of Music, Dance and Drama current in the then Orissa which were enjoyed by the people, dignitaries, courtiers, and members of royal family. The Hathigumpha inscription records Tauryatrika (Music, Dance and Drama) and we come across from the caves, the four types of instruments—(i) Tata-Vadya (Many-stringed Harp; Harp played by Plectrum and Lute), (ii) Vitata-Vadya : Mridanga, Dhakka, (iii) Sishir Vadya : Flute, (iv) Ghana-Vadya : Cymbals (Manjira). Besides we find the dancing girls dancing to the tunes of the Music concert and in the music concert there were also the vocalists.

The analytical study of the sculptures of the aforesaid caves, prompts us to conclude that a highly developed form of music was prevalent there and people were well-conversant with Classical Music, Dance and Drama.

The archaeological evidences of Orissa prove that music in all its aspects was in highly developed form and that tradition was maintained through ages. Thus the present tradition of music of Orissa known as Odissi music is the outcome of the continuous evolutions. It will not be unwise to mention that the reign of Kharavela was a golden period in the history of Art particularly Music of Orissa.

We are now aware of the fact that during the reign of Kharavela, Classical Music, Dance and Drama in Udra-Magadhi Pravritti was current in the societies of ancient Kalinga. But, in absence of the records of that period about the exact form of that classical music we have to depend on Natya-Sastra. Natya-Sastra has given a vivid description about the form of Indian Classical Music prevalent then in India and that form was nothing but the
Jati-Gana, a highly developed form of Indian Classical Music, based on suitable grammar. This type was evolved from the Vedic Music (Sama-Gana) of our country. Jati-Gana was the next evolutionary phase of Sama-Gana which is accepted as the main source of mediaeval and modern Indian Classical Music by all the musicians and musicologists of our country.

We also come across the reference of Gandharva-Gana in old books like Sangeeta Makaranda and ‘Naradiya Siksha’ on Indian Classical Music. However the ‘Gandharva-Gana’ could not flourish in this land due to its unsuitable and unnatural tonal arrangement.

Jati-Gana comprised eighteen Jatis out of which seven were Saddha-Jatis (Pure Jatis) and eleven Vikrita-Jatis (Mixed Jatis). These eighteen Jatis were derived from the twenty-one sub-scales known as Murchhanas of Sadj-Grama and Madhyama-Grama the two main and ancient scales of our country. Bharata prescribed various rules and formulas to implement 14 Murchhanas for production of 18 Jatis, which were meant for practical display as the standard melodies. Jati-Gana was in vogue in our country from the end of the Post-Vedic era to the 7th or 8th century A. D. which, then merged into the Raga-Sangeeta. It is an admitted fact that the mediaeval and the modern Raga is the outcome of the evolution of ancient Jatis and the rules prescribed for Jatis by Bharata, are being followed in the present Raga-system.

We are now convinced that during the reign of the mighty Emperor Kharavela, Jati-Gana Form of Classical Music, in Udra-Magadhi Pravritti (style) was prevalent in the then Kalinga which pioneered in the spread of Classical Music in the whole eastern zone of the then India. Thus the Classical Music took a tangible shape at the time of Kharavela, which might have taken 4/5 centuries to evolve to Udra-Magadhi form of Jati-Gana. So it can be said without any doubt that Indian Classical Music was in practice in ancient Kalinga from 4th or 5th or still earlier century B. C. and continued to flourish unabated from 1st century B. C. to 18th century A.D. in Kalinga in pursuance of Udra Padhati.

Some of the latest available literary works on Sanskrit Drama, composed in different periods through musical aspects, are noted below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Drama</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Anargha-Raghava</td>
<td>Murari Mishra</td>
<td>8th Century A.D.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Prabodha Chandrodaya</td>
<td>Mahamahopadhyaya</td>
<td>1041—1070 A.D.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Krushna Mishra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Drama</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Period</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Chandra Kala</td>
<td>Viswanath</td>
<td>1120—1447</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Parasurama Vijaya</td>
<td>Mahapatra</td>
<td>(Ganga Dynasty)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gajapati</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Ananda Vilasha</td>
<td>Kapilendra Deva</td>
<td>15th Century A.D.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Dasagriya Badha</td>
<td></td>
<td>1435—1466</td>
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<td>7. Janaki-Pramoda</td>
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<td>8. Kuvalayasva</td>
<td>Gajapati</td>
<td>15th Century A.D.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Purusottama Deva</td>
<td>1466—1497</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Bhakti Vaibhava</td>
<td>Jeevadevacharya</td>
<td>The period of Pratapa Rudra Deva 1497—1534</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Utsahavati</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Dhurta-Charita</td>
<td>Dibakar Mishra</td>
<td>Do.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Abhinava Veni Samhara</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do.</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Shri Jagannath Vallabha</td>
<td>Raya Ramananda</td>
<td>Do.</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. Shri Krishna Bhakta</td>
<td>Gajapati</td>
<td>Rama Chandra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vatsalya</td>
<td>Ramachandra Deva</td>
<td>Deva’s period</td>
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<tr>
<td>17. Chayani Chandra Sekhara</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
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<tr>
<td>18. Madhuraniruddha</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
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<tr>
<td>20. Manimala</td>
<td>Anadi Mishra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Piyusa-Lahari</td>
<td>Jayadeva (different from the writer of Geeta-Govinda)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

All these Dramas embellished with musical colours bespeak the continuity of the tradition of Udra form of Classical Music in Orissa. “Shri Jagannath Vallabha Nataka” of Raya Ramananda can be taken as a bright example to prove this fact; the songs we come across in this work, are in the form of ‘Prabandhas’ based on Raga and Tala. The authors of later periods referred to in this work are Krishna Das Badajena Mahapatra, Raghunath Nanda, Gajapati Narayan Deva, Harichandan etc. We are prompted by the above facts to conclude that the ‘Udra Paddhati’ of prabandhagana continued to flourish in Orissa till 19th Century A.D. unabatedly.

References regarding the Classical Music and Dance available in other important literary works are ‘Ekamra Purana’, ‘Swarnadri Mahodaya’, ‘Durgotsava Chandrika’, Sarala Mahabharata (in Oriya), “Parimala’ Kavya” (in Oriya), ‘Dandi Ramayana’ (in Oriya),

Besides these books, there are also so many Music Books dealt with various aspects (Technical, Practical and Theoretical) of Music specially of Odissi Music, published and unpublished available in Orissa State Museum, which authenticate the fact of continuity of Classical Music of Udra-Paddhati, during the period from 15th Century A.D. to 19th Century A.D., which are chronologically stated below :19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Book</th>
<th>Name of the writer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sangita Kaumudi</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Geeta-Prakasha</td>
<td>Krushna Das Badajena Unpublished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sangeeta Narayana</td>
<td>Gajapati Narayana Deva (or</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Purushottam Mishra)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Sangeeta Sarani</td>
<td>Narayan Mishra Unpublished</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Sangeeta Kalpalata</td>
<td>Haladghara Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Natya Manorama</td>
<td>Raghunath Rath Published</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sangeeta Muktavali</td>
<td>Harichandan Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Tala-Sarvasva</td>
<td>Purusottam Mishra Unpublished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Sangeeta-Sara-Boli</td>
<td>Veenakar Ray Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Abhinaya Darpana Prakash</td>
<td>Jadu Singh Mahapatra Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Sadananda Sangeeta</td>
<td>Kavisurya Brahma Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Vadya Nirupana</td>
<td>Unknown Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Mridanga-Vadya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Tala Nirupana</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Raga-Mala</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The temples, sculptures and inscriptions indicate the continuity of musical tradition in Orissa.190 The important musical panels and sculptures preserved in the temples and in the Orissa State Museum deserve mention in this connection. The inscribed Nataraj image of Asanpat20 (16th Century A.D.) now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Nataraj and musical figures of different ages in the temples such as Satrughneswar, Bharateswar, Parasurameswar, Baital, Sisireswar, Markandeswar at Bhubaneswar ; Pataleswar at Teruvalli, Mukteswar at Bhubaneswar, 64 Yogini temples at Hirapur near Bhubaneswar31 and at Ranipur Jharial in the District of Bolangir, Amangei temple at Dhenkanal, Lingaraj, Raja-Rani, Megheswar and Papanasini temples at Bhubaneswar, Jagannath Temple at Puri, Sun temple and Chhaya temple at Konarak, Ananta Vasudeva and
Kapileswar temples at Bhubaneswar furnish us the information in regard to the prevalence of Classical Music in Orissa in chronological order beginning from 6th to 15th Century A.D.

Orissa was the meeting ground of important religious florescence. Jainism, Buddhism, Tantrism, Saivism, Saktism and Vaishnavism, all played their vital role in promotion of Art and Culture of Orissa. The sculptural representation of Gopinath, Krishna, Bhairava, Nataraj etc. available in large number is the clear testimony of the influence of religious movements on the music of this land.

The rulers of Sailodhava Dynasty (570 A.D. to 675 A.D.), Bhaumakar Dynasty (678 A.D. to 794 A.D.), Somavamsi Dynasty (795 to 1046 A.D.), Ganga Dynasty (1077 to 1435 A.D.), Surya Dynasty (1436 to 1529 A.D.) and Bhoi Dynasty (1568 A.D. to 1600 A.D.) patronised Art, Architecture, and Religion in this land. Here it may be pointed that particularly during the reign of Ganga Dynasty Music and Dance reached their apex. In this context the illustrious rulers who patronised Music and Dance in this land were Subhanakara Deva of Bhauma Dynasty, Jajati Kesari and his queen Kolavati Devi of Somavamsi Dynasty, Anantavarma Chodagangadeva, Rajarajdeva, Anangabhimadeva and his daughter Chandrika, Narasingha Deva of Ganga Dynasty, Kapilendra Deva, Purusottam Deva, Prataparudra Deva of Surya Dynasty, and Ramachandra Deva of Bhoi Dynasty.

The reign of Ramachandra Deva (1568 to 1600 A.D.), the founder of Khurdha Raj-family, the protector of Jagannath cult, appeared in the political firmament of Orissa, at a time when the state was devastated by continuous warfare. Orissa was then under the Afgans with the capital of leaving no space for feudal lords to rise. At this critical juncture he saved the State from further disintegration, and Shrikhsetra as well as the cult of Jagannath, which experienced turmoil and trouble for long eight years. The attack of Kalapahada on the temple of Shri Jagannath during the reign of Mukundadeva and the atrocity caused to the cult, seem to be the most spectacular and regrettable events in the annals of the history of Orissa. Shri Ramachandra Deva not only re-installed the cult images in the great temple but also established sixteen ‘Sasanas’ (Brahmin villages) around Shri-Ksetra which itself was divided into seven units known as Sahis or Muhallas. In each ‘Sahi’ there was one ‘Akhada’ and Six ‘Jagas’ (Gymnasiums). This arrangement was introduced to fortify the protection of ‘Jagannath Ksetra’. These Akhadas of the sahis were meant for the local administration of their respective sahis, promoting the culture of Sangeeta (Singing, playing and
dancing); and organisation of ‘Sahi-Jata’ comprised Annual sports, viz. sword fighting, Lathi fighting, Physical culture, various athletic exhibitions, Naga dance, Medha dance, Budhabudhi dance, Fire-play etc. accompanied by Veera Vadya. The activities were to be presented publicly on various festive occasions of Jagannath Temple. During the Jhulana Jatra of Lord Jagannath the presentation of Sangeeta by the Akhadas was a special attraction for the public. Thus the Akhadas acted as the political, cultural and administrative centres of Srikssetra.

The ‘Jagas’ were the centres for physical education and music (consisting of singing and playing). In all the festivals the members of a ‘Jaga’ arrange feasts. ‘Hazura, the chief member of the ‘Jaga’ arranges the competitions of gymnasm (Kusti pratiyogita) and Music concert (Sangeet Asara). Among the singers one group was meant for singing in high pitch and the other group in low pitch. In the Sangeet Asara singers were presenting different ‘Prabandhas’ (compositions) of Odissi music such as Shri Geeta Govinda; Odissi with and without Padi; Champu, Chhanda, Malasri, Sarimana, Chaturanga, Tribhanga, Bhajana and Janana. The singers were well conversant with ‘RAGA’ and ‘TALA’. The techniques of ‘Kala-Amsa-Mana Prayoga’, ‘Vasti-Prayoga’ and ‘Sudha-Prayoga’ in Odissi Sangeet were known to the singers and Drummers (Gayaka and Bayaka) of these ‘Jagas and Akhadas’ very well. The seasonal songs were also sung during the different seasons. In different festivals, the singers were singing different songs related to these festivals of different deities Ganesh Vandana on the occasion of Ganesh Puja, Rama Vandana on the occasion of Rama Navami etc., followed by various items of Odissi Music. The important festivals observed in these ‘Jagas’ such as ‘Hanuman Janma’, ‘Nrusingha Janma’, Rama Navami, Janmastami, Jamuna Gadhua, Ganesh Puja, Saraswati Puja, Sitala Sasthi, Jagara, Makara Sankranti, Dhanu Sankranti, Raja Sankranti, Dasahara, Kumara Purnima, Dola Purnima, Gamha Purnima, and so on were always associated with musical performances.

The Odissi music was also in vogue in sixteen Sasans and 36 Karabada villages. The musicians and Drummers of these Brahmin villages were participating in the Music Conference of Jhulan Jatra observed in Jagannath Temple. Even now Musicians of different places come to Jagannath Temple to see before deities, specially on the occasion of ‘Jhulan Jatra’. For this reason Jhulan Jatra of Jagannath Temple has been a celebrated occasion for Musicians and listeners.
The Jaga Akhada system, the core of Odissi music promoted the music and was responsible for maintaining the tradition for centuries. The culture of music in all the Jagas continued till the independence. But unfortunately these centres were shrouded in oblivion for the reasons stated below: Spread of mass media of communication, cheap and commercial music; lack of knowledge in theory and practice of traditional Odissi music; want of practice, want of textbooks and proper schooling, apathy towards this art and its artists, misinterpretation and misrepresentation of the original form, apathy in recognition of this art as a discipline in academic level, and lack of patronisation. In spite of these adverse factors the traditional Odissi music has somehow survived in Sriksetra.

Thus for many reasons, we are convinced that the classical music of India which continued in ancient Kalinga before 5th Century B.C. and reached its apex in the form of Udra Magadhi, during the reign of the mighty Emperor Kharavela of 1st Century B.C. has been continuing in this land of Orissa unabated. It has undergone the following changes such as ‘Sama-Gana’, ‘Jati-Gana’, ‘Raga-Prabandha-Gana’ etc. from time to time till the period of Jayadeva i.e. 11th Century A.D.

Jayadeva the great composer, illustrious master of classical music, saint-poet of Orissa and a great devotee of Lord Jagannath gave a new shape to ‘Prabandha-Gana’ form of Indian Classical Music.

Since the time of Jayadeva, Shri Geeta Govinda was introduced as the temple music in Orissa especially in Jagannath Temple. The concourse of the Prabandhas of Shri Geeta Govinda is ever glittering in the Musical galaxy due to its artistic dexterity of the fabric of the compositions, the profound devotional the mes of the song-texts and the charmingness as well as the suitability in the phonation of the song-texts, for which Shri Geeta Govinda has had a perpetual influence on the later composers of Orissa of mediaeval and modern era. The compositions of ‘Shri Geeta Govinda’ are categorised as Divya Alikia Ksudra Geeta Prabandhas. The prabandhas of ‘Abhinava Geeta Govinda’ by Purusottama (15th Century A.D.) the prabandhas of ‘Jagannath Vallabha Nataka’ by Raya Ramananda (16th Century A.D.); the prabandhas of Mukunda Vilasa by Jatindra Raghunath (17th Century A.D.) and the Prabandhas of ‘Siva Lilamruta’ by Nityananda (17th Century A.D.) were greatly influenced by Jayadeva.

Besides these Sanskrit compositions of Prabandhas the Oriya compositions of post-Jayadeva era were also very much attuned to the vibration of Sri Geeta Govinda. Sarala Das, Balarama Das, Jagannath Das, Bachha Das, composers like Upendra Bhanja, Abhimanyu
Samanta Singhar, Deena Krishna, Baladeva Rath, Banamali, Gopala-krishna, Bhakta Charan Das, Kasinath Das and Biswanath Khuntia were greatly influenced by Jayadeva. Even several composers of modern period are not an exception to this.

Thus the ancient Classical Music took a new shape due to the skilful effort of Jayadeva which paved the way for establishment of ‘Udra Paddhati’ of Indian Classical Music in distinct style and system, different from Hindusthani and Carnatic Paddhatis.

The present composition of Udra Paddhati owes basically to Jayadeva. Similar to Carnatic and Hindusthani Paddhatis, Udra Paddhati has its own Raga-Tala-composition. Although the establishment of Raga and Tala is more or less a common factor in all the three Paddhatis, there are marked differences in expositions, compositions, presentation and voice culture which are presented below comparatively:

1. Mela-system

(a) Carnatic-Paddhati : It has 72 Melas, which are meant for classification of its Ragas based on genus-species system.\textsuperscript{23}

(b) Hindusthani-Paddhati : It has 10 ‘Thatas’ or ‘Melas’, which are meant for classification of its ‘Ragas’ based on genus-species.\textsuperscript{24}

(c) Udra-Paddhati : It has 32 Melas, which are meant for classification of its ‘Ragas’ based on genus-species.\textsuperscript{25}

2. Raga-system

(a) Carnatic-Paddhati : Number of Ragas is huge, but fixed and classified within 72 ‘Melas’.

(b) Hindusthani-Paddhati : It has unlimited number of Ragas, classified within 10 ‘Thatas’ or ‘Melas’.

(c) Udra-Paddhati : It has unlimited number of Ragas classified within 32 Melas.

Some Ragas of these three Paddhatis, with similar notes but different names are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carnatic System\textsuperscript{26}</th>
<th>Hindusthani System\textsuperscript{27}</th>
<th>Udra System\textsuperscript{28}</th>
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<td>2. Vajrakanti</td>
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<td>5. Sarasangi</td>
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<td>6. Suddha Saveri</td>
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<td>7. Hindola</td>
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<td>8. Huseni</td>
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<td>Nilambari</td>
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<td>9. Chandrakanta Todi</td>
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<td>10. Chakravaka</td>
<td>Ahir-Bhairava</td>
<td>Salaga</td>
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<td>11. Nata Bhairavi</td>
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<td>Bhairavi</td>
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Some Ragas of these three Paddhatis, with similar names but different characteristics are:

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<td>3. Bhairavi</td>
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<td>6. Panchama</td>
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<td>7. Nilambari</td>
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<td>10. Ramakriya</td>
<td>Ramakeri</td>
<td>Ramakriya</td>
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<td>11. Kalyani</td>
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Some important Ragas of Udra Paddhati which are not found in Carnatic and Hindusthani Paddhati are:

1. Kumbha Kamodi
2. Kedara Kamodi
3. Natantarayana Gauda
4. Gauda Kedara
5. Nilambari Sankarabharana
6. Karnata Abhirika
7. Simha Bhairavi
8. Salaga Sankarabharana
9. Manjughosa Kedara
10. Sindhu Abhiri-Karnata
11. Bangali

(3) Tala-System

(a) Carnatic-Paddhati: It has seven main Talas, such as Dhruva, Matha, Rupaka, Jhampa, Triputa, Atta and Ekatala, which being implemented with five types of ‘Jati’ like ‘Chaturasra’, ‘Tryasra’, ‘Misra’, ‘Khanda’ and ‘Sakirna’ are evolved into thirty-five ‘Talas’. All these Talas are mainly displayed on Mridanga only.
(b) Hindusthani Paddhati: It has unlimited number of Talas which are categorised under three groups such as: Dhrupada Anga Talas, Khayal-Anga Talas, and Light Classical Talas. Dhrupada-Anga Talas consist of Chautal, Dhamara, Sultal and Tewar etc. being displayed on Mridanga only. Khayal-Anga Tala consists of Vilambita-Eka Tala, Jhumra, Tilwada, Adachautal, Jhaptal, Druta Eka Tala, Tritala and Rupaka, which are displayed on Tabla. Light Classical Tala consists of Dipchandy, Punjabi Trital, Jat Tal, Kaharva, Dadra and Dhumali etc. which are displayed on Tabla only.32

(c) Udra-Paddhati: At present it is having fourteen Talas, such as Adi Tala, Yati Tala, Nihsaru Tala, Manthya Tala, Adda Tala, Jhampaka Tala, Rupaka Tala, Eka Tali, Kuduka Tala, Jhula Tala, Ada Tali and Pahapata Tala which are displayed on ‘Pakhaja’ (Mridanga) only.33

4. Composition System

(a) Carnatic-Paddhati: Mainly there are eight types of composition current in this Paddhati which are known as—
(i) Ragamalika, (ii) Talasulika, (iii) Padam, (iv) Kirtanam,
(v) Kriti, (vi) Varnam, (vii) Tillana, (viii) Javali.34

(b) Hindusthani-Paddhati: There are nearly fourteen types of composition current in this Paddhati, which are known as—
(i) Dhrupada, (ii) Dhamara, (iii) Vadakhayal, (iv) Chhota Khayal,
(v) Tarana, (vi) Tirvat, (vii) Chaturanga, (viii) Raga-sagara,
(ix) Sargam geeta, (x) Laxan geeta, (xi) Thumari, (xii) Tappaa,
(xiii) Hori and (xiv) Bhajan.35

(c) Udra-Paddhati: There are fifteen types of composition in this Paddhati which are known as—(i) Shri Geeta Govinda,
(ii) Anirjukta Prabandha, (iii) Divya Manusi Prabandha,
(xii) Tribhanga, (xiii) Vyanjani, (xiv) Bhajan and (xv) Janana. The compositions of ‘Shri Geeta Govinda’ are categorised under two types of Prabandhas such as—(i) Divya-Alikrama-Chitrakala-Ksudragesha Prabandha and (ii) Divay-Alikrama-Chitrakala Ksudra Geeta-Prabandha. ‘Anirjukta Prabandha is not set to any Tala. ‘Chhandas’ are of two types which are categorised under (i) Sadhrusa-Panchali-Ksudra Geeta-Prabandha and (ii) Adhrusa-Panchali-Ksudra Geeta-Prabandha. ‘Chautisas’ are categorised under Adhrusa-Panchali Ksudra Geeta Prabandha, ‘Odissi’ compositions are mainly of two types such as Odissi with Padi and Odissi without Padi
which are categorised under four types of Prabandha—
(i) Chitrapada-Kshudra Geeta Prabandha, (ii) Chitrakala
Ksudra Geeta Prabandha, (iii) Dhruvapada Ksudra Geeta
Prabandha and (iv) Vastu Prabandha. ‘Champu’ compositions
are categorised as Divya-Manusi Alidrama-Ksudra Geeta
Prabandha. ‘Malasree’ compositions are categorised under two
types of Prabandha— (a) Chitrapada-Ksudra Geeta Prabandha
and (b) Chitrakala Ksudra Geeta Prabandha. ‘Sarimana’
compositions are also grouped under Ksudra Geeta Prabandha.
‘Kuduka Geeta’ compositions are under Ksudra Geeta Prabandha,
‘Chaturanga’ compositions under Dipini-Manusi-Chaturanga-
Prabandha and ‘Tribhanga’ compositions under ‘Pavini’ Rupaka-
Prabandha’ and ‘Vyanjani’ compositions are categorised under
Manusi Matrika Prabandha. Bhajana and Janana are the light
classical compositions.\[96\]

All the above compositions of Udra Paddhati are mostly set
to ‘Ragas’ and ‘Talas’. Though like Carnatic and Hindusthani
Paddhatis, the establishment of Ragas and Talas through their
improvisation is also done in Udra Paddhati yet due importance is
being given not to void the theme of the song test of the composition
in the *Nibaddha-portion* while improvising Ragas and Talas. This
practice is never and to some extent followed in Hindusthani and
Carnatic Paddhatis respectively. On the other hand the Ragas and
Talas in Udra Paddhati are comparatively less elaborately exposed
than Hindusthani and Carnatic Paddhatis because, many types of
rhythmic improvisations which are done in the *Nibaddha-portion* of
the compositions of Hindusthani and Carnatic Paddhatis are totally
absent in the same of Udra Paddhati for not voiding the theme
of the song-texts of the compositions. The performers enjoy only
those rhythmic improvisations while implementing the *Nibaddha-
portion* of a composition of Udra Paddhati by which the theme of the
song-text of the composition is not void.

Besides these aforesaid differences, the process of phonation of
‘Gamaka’ (*Musical Technique*) is also different from that of Carnatic
and Hindusthani Paddhatis. The Gamaka in Udra Paddhati is not
phonated in so much thrilling process as is done in Carnatic Paddhati
and in so much standing process as is done in Hindusthani Paddhati. The
phonation process of Gamaka in Udra-Paddhati is just in
between the two processes of Hindusthani and Carnatic Paddhatis.\[97\]

The sound produced from the Pakhauz (Percussion Instrument
for accompaniment) in Udra Paddhati differs from that of Hindus-
thani and Carnatic Paddhatis due to its separate constructions and
elaborate expositions of the standard compositions of Talas of this Paddhati which are played in Pakhauz through improvisations and expended compositions done with the strict maintenance of the metres of the Talas which are not maintained in the improvisation of Talas in Carnatic Paddhati and to very little extent maintained in Hindusthani Paddhati.\(^{38}\)

The improvisations of the Ragas in Anibaddha-portion in Udra Paddhati are done with the help of meaningless syllables like ‘As’, ‘Ass’, ‘Ta’ ‘Tun’, ‘Ri’; ‘De’; ‘Na’, etc. in slow, middle and fast tempo, with the use of ‘Gamaka and Tants’ which are markedly different from those of Carnatic and Hindusthani Paddhati.\(^{39}\)

Odissi Music has a long and popular career and varied history of its own the annals of which are studded with luminous facts. The archaeological evidences, historical facts, literary and documentary proofs, oral tradition handed down from generation to generation, style of presentation, gramatical and technical aspects prompt us to conclude that ‘Odissi’ is a form of Indian Classical Music based on Udra Paddhati.

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CHAPTER 66

A GLIMPSE OF ODISHI DANCE

INDIAN art has its origin in religion and philosophy. All the forms of Indian art, music, dance, paintings, sculpture, architecture, literature etc. have their roots deep in the religion of the country. As such, Indian art is a spontaneous expression of sincere devotion to God. The word ‘Sadhana’ which means continued pursuit or meditation is very often associated with it. Devotion means complete concentration to reach the goal. The artist in his devotion is united with the Almighty and feels himself as one complete whole.

The background of Indian dance is more than the history of a man or of a nation. It is the history of the soul of India. We can’t divorce it from religion and philosophy. Dance is not something meant for demonstration but for realisation. Dance is a path of Yoga—it is a spontaneous mode of achieving unity in consciousness. It leads to an ecstatic communion with God, and to salvation.

Classical Indian dance forms have common heritage. In course of time, each cultural area developed a local idiom of its own. The movement of folk dance might have been assimilated in the form. There might have been foreign influences on the art and due to various reasons, one area might have been cut off from another and this could have resulted in the development of new characteristics. The six types of classical dance such as Bharata Natyam of the South, Kathakali of Malabar, Manipuri of Assam, Kuchipudi of Andhra Pradesh, Kathak of the north and Odissi of Orissa might have originated in one of these ways.

The temple is the home of architecture and sculpture. It was here that great poets presented their works for the first time. Great musicians and dancers were attached to the temples. Music and dance were presented as a part of ritual and worship.
Odissi dance, which is the typical classical dance form of Orissa, had its origin in the temples of Orissa. As the temples are the seats of cultural life in this State, the Odissi form of classical dance has been closely connected with their day-to-day activities. Odissi dance is a peculiar form of Indian dance. The rhythm, Bhangis and Mudras used in Odissi dance have a distinctive style of their own. Odissi dance deals mainly with the theme of infinite love of Radha and Krishna.

The earliest mention of this form of classical dance is found in the Natyasastra of Bharatamuni which dates back to some time between the 2nd century B.C and the 2nd century A.D. The four styles namely ‘Avantya’, ‘Daksinatya’, ‘Panchali’, and ‘Audra-Magadhi’, were mentioned in this monumental and authoritative work. The Abhinaya Chandrika mentions as many as seven styles: Sauraseni, Karnata, Kerala, Odra, Gauda and Panchanada. We can refer Bharata Natyam to the Karnata style, Kathakali to the Kerala style and Odissi to the Odra style.

The Orissan image of Nataraja has been carved in various poses by various hands. Most of the Natarajas occupying the front facades of temples are ten-armed. The Natarajas depicted on the walls are two-armed, four-armed and six-armed. The Natarajas of the Lingaraj Temple and the Jagannath Temple of Bhubaneswar and Puri respectively, are six-armed. In all cases the foot rests in Suchipada (right foot resting on the point of the toe).

Siva and Parvati images of the 11th century found in Soro (Balasore), display Abhaya mudra, which is the earliest of the mudras to be found in Orissan architecture. Of course the dancing Heruka in Tandava pose as in Ratnagiri in Orissa, poses another problem. At Ratnagiri one can find only 4 mudras: Dhyana, Abhaya, Varada and Bhumisparsa. For evidence, one has to take Konarak into consideration—the last milestone of Indian architecture. Since the Konarak is a lasya conception, the dancing forms depicted on the walls of the temple, are of the lasya type. Every inch of the Nata mandira is covered with the carvings of dancing girls and musicians. Dancers holding drums, cymbals and mirrors, are excellent expressions of dance forms. The most fascinating of all, the “Alasa Kanya”—an expression of relaxation which can be seen in the middle of the wheel, is a magnificent example of sculpture. The highest expression of Odissi dance is there in the “Nayika bhava” in the corners of ‘Ananta Vasudeva’ temple at Bhubaneswar. Here different Nayika bhavas such as Mugdha, Vidagdha, etc. are seen with full bhava and rasa. There are other evidences in stone. Let us now come to the living evidences.
History provides evidence of the practice of dedicating dancing girls to the temples, in honour of the gods. The practice was prevalent at one time throughout India. Devadasis or dancing girls dedicated to gods, were attached to the temples in Kashmir, Bengal, Orissa, Saurashtra, Rajastan, Mahastra, Andhra, Mysore, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. The institution of Devadasis is now extinct everywhere except in Orissa. Devadasis in Orissa are known as maharis, meaning mahat naris. We can find the earliest mention of the devadasis attached to the temples in the 9th century A.D., where inscriptions state that Kolavati, the queen of the Kesari king Uddyota, built a temple of Siva and dedicated dancing girls. Thereafter the Ganga dynasty came to power. Chodagangadeva ruled from 1077 to 1147 and built the temples of Lord Jagannath at Puri having employed Devadasis. After Chodagangadeva’s death, Anangabhima Deva came to power and built several temples and also built the Nata mandira in the Jagannath temple. It was intended for the performance of the Maharis and musicians, in honour of the Lord. Maharis are of two kinds—‘Bhitara gani maharis’ and ‘Bahara gani maharis’. The Bhitara gani maharis alone are allowed to enter the Bada Deula or the Sanctum Sanctorum. They sing during Bada Sinhara. The Bahara gani maharis are not permitted to enter the innermost sanctum of the temple. They dance in the Natamandira.

Devadasis or maharis were the only ones who kept this dance tradition alive through generations. The maharis attached to the Jagannath temple were all Vaishnavites and the maharis at Bhubaneswar were attached to Shaivite temples. While at Jhankada and Kakatapur maharis were dedicated to Shakti.

In the copperplate inscription of Purushottama Deva it is mentioned that there were Sampradayas of Nachunis, one of them was from the south and the other from Orissa. They used to dance in tune with Jayadeva’s “Gitagovinda”. Before the “Gitagovinda” was introduced, the maharis used to dance only the Nrutta (rhythmic) portion and the abhinaya with mantras. But after Jayadeva’s “Gitagovinda” became a part and parcel of the rituals, the maharis performed abhinaya with different bhavas and rasas.

Another exponent of Odissi dance is Ray Ramananda who was a musician, dancer, and a dramatist. He taught dancing to some boys and presented his dance drama Jagannatha Vallabha Nataka, before Lord Chaitanya and convinced Him that singing and dancing are also forms of prayer. Then we find that the Gotipua system has been introduced since the Vaisnavite followers did not approve of dancing by women. The boys dressed as girls began to dance and for
the first time, Odissi dance came out of the temples and began to be performed in public. During this period, Vaishnava poets composed innumerable lyrics dedicated to Lord Krishna and the Vaishnavas chose this dance of Gotipuas as a medium for the publicity of their cult. In the Gotipua system as contrasted to the other forms, one can find a jerky movement in place of the smooth transitions from one movement to the other.

Odissi includes both Tandava and Lasya elements.

Sabdasvarapata and Bandha Nrutya are parts of the Tandava style and these exist in a crude form in some remote places and need a good deal of refinement. The other items, which will be explained later, are of the lasya type. The dance is based on the technique laid down in Bharata’s Natyasatra, Nandikeswari’s Abhinaya Darpana and Maheswar Mahapatra’s Abhinaya Chandrika. (The main pose of this dance is Tribhangi followed by Atibhangi, Adabhanga and abhangana.) The Odissi dance follows, the mudra, caris, mandala, karana, Sirabheda, Drustibheda, Grivabheda, Kati-bheda, Rasa and Bhava, according to the Sastras. Among the innumerable bhngis described in Abhinaya Chandrika, some are very traditional and are not seen in any other form of dancing such as—Mardala, Parsvamardala, Abhimana, Shivakara etc. Like Bharata Natyam and Kathakali, Odissi has a rich variety of mudras which is based on Natyasatra, Abhinaya Darpana and Abhinaya Chandrika. There are some other traditional mudras which are not mentioned in any of these Sastras. They are Gavaksa, Vana, Pechakamukha, Valaya, Tambula etc.

In Odissi dance we have the Nava Tala system. They are:
1. Jhampa—of 7 beats
2. Dhruva—of 14 beats—In the Odissi dance it is Sariman Tala.
3. Matha—of 10 beats
4. Rupaka—of 6 beats
5. Tripata—of 7 beats
6. Atta—of 12 beats—In the dance it is known as Kuduka.
7. Ekatali—of 4 beats
8. Adatali—of 7 beats
9. Jhoola—of 6 beats

Apart from these talas we have certain other talas named Nisari and Uati Tala. A unique chhanda rhythm is also found in the Odissi system, i.e., Jhoola, which is seldom seen in any other form of dancing or music. These talas may vary according to different jatis—such as tryasra, caturasra, misra, Khanda and Sankirna.
Odissi embraces Nrutya and Natya in the different items of its repertoire which is as follows:

1. *Mangalacharana*: This is a dance in which the dancer dedicates herself to the Lord and begs forgiveness of the mother earth for stamping her feet on her, apologises to the audience for any shortcomings and at last, offers salutations to the Guru.

This item is divided into three parts:

(a) Bhumi Pranama
(b) Deva or Devi Stuti
(c) Sabha Pranama

Then follows:

2. *(Batu) Stheeyee Nrutya*: This is an item of pure Nrutta. It begins with a series of sculpturesque poses like veena, drum, flute, cymbal etc. There is no theme or abhinaya except uttering of syllables.

3. *Pallavi*: Pallavi means elaboration. The movement of this dance is extremely graceful and lyrical. This is accompanied by both music and rhythm. Music and rhythm are given equal importance with the dance proper. A tune in some raga is sung and is developed through different variations. ‘Sargam’ may or may not be added. ‘Bols’ with rhythmic syllables come in between to enrich the beauty of the item. A number of passages of Nrutta are performed with stylised poses and movements. This item brings out an exceedingly intricate interwoven rhythmic pattern of very graceful and lyrical movement.

4. *Abhinaya*: This is done through facial expression depicting rasa and bhava with the help of different hastas and action to bring out the meaning and mood of the songs. The dancer turns song into picture of graceful movements.

No performance is complete without the performance of an ashtapadi from Jayadeva’s “Gita Govinda”. Songs from the poets Banamali, Kavisamrat Upendra Bhanja, Kavisurya Baladeva Rath, Gopal Krishna etc. are performed by the dancers depicting various moods.

5. *Moksa Nrutya*: It is the last item performed. This is an item of Pure Nrutta and is performed in a fast tempo to the accompaniment of rhythmic syllables. The dancer becomes ecstatic and through the ecstasy, the dancer’s mind and soul merge with God.

Dance, thus considered, is an effort to come near God and experience true happiness (Moksa).

*Jagannathah Swami Nayanapathagami bhavatu me.*
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