

**AN EPISODE OF EXCEPTIONAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN
AURANGAZEB & MIR JUMLA-FROM THE ANNALS OF MEDIEVAL
MUGHAL HISTORY OF INDIA**

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Abstract

Mir Mohammad Sayyid Ardistani, surnamed Mir Jumla entitled as Muazzam Khan, Khan Khanan Sipah Salar was born in Ardistan near Isfahan and came to India as a personal attendant of a Persian merchant. He made a big fortune by trading in diamonds and precious stones. He entered the service of the Sultan of Golconda, who was struck by his exceptional talents, military genius and administrative capacity. He rose to become the Wazir of Golconda and become the virtual dictator of the state. Though they had the rank of a noble, he possessed the power, wealth and grandeur of a ruling prince. In course of time because of lines of misunderstanding with his master, he joined hands with prince Aurangazeb, the third son of the Mughal Emperor Shahjahan who was the viceroy in the Deccan. He threw himself on the protection of Shahjahan in 1656 C.E. as per planned. On the accession of Aurangazeb to the Mughal throne, he was appointed as the Governor of Bengal and died at Khizarpur, in Kooch Bihar in 1663 C.E., after his retirement from an expedition against the King of Assam. Tavernier, a famous traveler who left a monologue of his travels in India during the rule of Mughal, referred to Mir Jumla, with the name Mirza Mulla¹. Mir Jumla with a perfect understanding of the Deccani politics, geographical profile of the Deccan and immense wealth helped Prince Aurangazeb to consolidate his position in the Deccan. It was the help extended by Mir Jumla, which ultimately played a crucial role in Prince Aurangazeb meticulous planning of his future course of action, which led his ascendancy to the Mughal throne and there after consolidate his position in the Eastern parts of India. This article is an endeavor to trace the exceptional friendship and understanding between Mir Jumla and Mughal Prince Aurangazeb in the chaotic cauldron of Indian Politics and his rise into prominence as Aurangazeb Alamgir, the Mughal Emperor.

Keywords:Annals, Medieval, Mughal, Deccan, Karnatic

Introduction

If one carefully looks into the Annals of Medieval Mughal History of India and tries to analyze the rise of Prince Aurangzeb in glory and finally becoming the Mughal ruler Aurangzeb Alamgir in 1658 C.E., his stint as the Mughal Viceroy of Deccan twice (in 1636-1644 C.E & 1652-1657 C.E.) and its role cannot be ignored. At the same time, in an age of blood and iron, court intrigues, the hot cauldron of Deccan politics, the suspicious nature of Aurangzeb and others around made it difficult to find trustworthy friendship and strike a balance for staking a sound future related to power and suzerainty. Such an exceptional friendship was forged by prevailing circumstances in the Deccan between Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla which proved to be beneficial to both and stands out as an important episode. In this article an endeavor has been made to explore that.

Subject of the Article

Mir Jumla had acquired his wealth, which was prodigious, not only by the opportunities offered to him as Wazir of an opulent kingdom, but likewise by means of his extensive commerce with various parts of the world, as well as by the diamond mines, which he formed, under feigned names. Mir Jumla was in the habit of selling diamonds to the Portuguese. Dom Filipe Mascarenhas, sent as Portuguese viceroy to Goa, was his principal correspondent. The objective of Mir jumla was to secure Portuguese protection in the event of a change of fortune. Jumla's political influence was also a penetrating one, as the commander of the Qutub Shahi army. He also kept a personal body or corps of artillery composed of Christians in his own pay. Mir Jumla, looted and plundered Karnatic areas, pillaged the whole of its ancient temples and thus increased his pecuniary resources to an incredible amount². The jealousy of Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah of Golconda was aroused and he seek an opportunity to destroy or remove him from his presence, for he regarded Jhumla as a dangerous rival rather than an obedient subject. When informed of an improper relationship/intimacy between Mir Jumla and Queen mother who still retained her beauty, the Sultan openly decided to take action. Mir Jumla, who was in Karnatic, was informed by his followers of the danger, which awaited him³. As a part of Mir Jumla's stratagem, the first step was to write to his only son Mohammed Amir Khan, then within Golconda, to depart or slip out under pretext and join him in the Karnatic, but he could not comply with the same because he was under strict vigilance of the guard⁴. In fact, Mir Jumla's wife, son and relatives were arrested and interned in Golconda⁵. Disheartened by this twist, he planned his next step, at once original and daring, which brought the Sultan of Golconda to the very verge of destruction. Mir Jumla addressed a letter first to prince Shah Shuja who was the Provincial Governor in Bengal, trying to induce him to declare a war against the Sultan of Golconda, but having failed to prevail upon him turned his attention towards Aurangzeb⁶. Mir Jumla, addressed a letter to

prince Aurangazeb, who was at Daulatabad, the centre for Mughal activities in the Deccan. The letter so addressed was the one, which spoke about an open conspiracy and also sealed the friendship between himself and Aurangazeb permanently. The contents of the letter are as follows:

“I have rendered, as all the world knows, essential services to the king of Golconda, and he owes me a heavy sort of gratitude. Nevertheless, he is plotting my ruin and that of my family. May I be permitted, therefore, to throw myself under your protection. In acknowledgement of the kindness I anticipate at your hands, I suggest a plan by which you may easily obtain possession both of the king's person and kingdom. Confide in my integrity and the enterprise will neither be difficult nor dangerous, assemble four or five thousand of your choicest cavalries, and proceed by force marches towards Golconda, which may be reached in sixteen days, spreading a rumor that this body of horse is escorting an ambassador from Emperor Shahjahan, who has affairs of moment to negotiate with the king at Bhagnagar (Hyderabad). The Dabir, through who's medium the first communication is always made to the king, is my relation and entirely in my confidence. You have to advance with rapidity, and I promise so to order it, that you shall arrive at the gate of Bhagnagar without exciting a suspicion that you are any other than an ambassador from Shahjahan. When the key arrives, according to custody, to receive the credentials, you may easily secure his person, then his whole family and dispose of with in the manner you may deem fit, in as much as his palace of Bhagnagar where usually lives is unwallled and without a ditch or fortifications of any sort. Meanwhile, I will defray the whole expense of the expedition, and engage to pay fifty thousand rupees daily during the time it may be in progress⁷.”

Aurangazeb regarded this as a golden opportunity not only to conquer Golconda but also strike an enduring friendship with a rich merchant noble of Deccan which would help him consolidate his position in the Deccan and chalk out his own course for future destiny. Aurangazeb accepted the plan and proceeded towards Golconda. No one suspected the move or motive. After Aurangazeb reached Bhagnagar, the sultan proceeded to meet the ambassador, as was customary, in a garden. Ten to twelve soldiers were about to seize the unsuspecting Sultan. When one of his own soldiers involved in the conspiracy, overcome by remorse shouted and warned the Sultan disclosing the identity of Aurangazeb, Sultan took flight and by stroke of good luck, reached Golconda fort and entrenched himself over there⁸.

Urged on by Mir Jumla, Aurangazeb stripped the city of its precious wealth and precious jewels. He then proceeded to Golkonda Fort and laid siege to it. The siege was a protracted one, because Aurangazeb was without a supply of the necessary ammunitions of

war. Emperor Shahjahan, himself instructed Aurangazeb to raise the seize and return to Daulatabad. Maybe it was the urgent plea by the Sultan to the Emperor or because of Daras influence over him with the fear that Aurangazeb with Mir Jumla's help would become powerful in the Deccan. Aurangazeb suspected Daras hand. Aurangazeb returned back to Daulatabad after concluding a treaty with the Sultan⁹.

The treaty had the following provisions: Mir Jumla had a say in the provisions, which were set. Mir Jumla's influence on the letter written to Emperor Shahjahan by the Sultan of Golconda with an urgent plea to save Golconda from Prince Aurangazeb and the Emperors reply to it can be gauged very clearly. And it was Mir Jumla, who was responsible for prince Aurangazeb to suspend hostilities for some time against the Sultan of Golconda¹⁰. The Sultan had to pay war indemnity. Mir Jumla should have free permission to remove with his family, property and troops, the silver coin of the realm should in future bear the name of Emperor Shahjahan, the son of Aurangazeb, prince Mohammed was married to the eldest daughter of sultan with an extracted promise that he would be nominated as a successor to the Golconda throne*¹. The fortress of Ramgiri located at 113 miles north-east of Bhagnagar was given as dowry. Back on his way to Daulatabad, Aurangazeb and Mir Jumla besieged and captured Bidar, known for its metalware trade. After both of them returned to Daulatabad, they lived upon terms of the closest intimacy, forming gigantic plans for future aggrandizement¹¹. Aurangazeb and Mir Jumla have been stated to have returned via Burhanpur¹². When Mir Jumla and Aurangazeb attacked Bijapur, they were refrained from total conquest by the order of Dara in 1657 C.E.¹³.

Mir Jumla, as per careful understanding with Aurangazeb, visited Agra several times on invitations sent to him by Emperor Shahjahan. Mir Jumla, carried magnificent presents in the hope of inducing Emperor Shahjahan to declare war against the king of Golconda, Bijapur and the Portuguese. On one occasion Emperor Shahjahan was presented with a celebrated diamond unparalleled in size and beauty. Later Tavernier, identified this as mountain of luster¹⁴. The planning of Mir Jumla with Prince Aurangazeb's approval worked on the cupidity of the old Emperor, which made him tow the line of suggestion made by Jumla¹⁵. It is stated that Mir Jumla prevailed upon Emperor Shahjahan, to put him in command of an army against Golconda and that the precious wealth of it would become his and it would be easy for him to run upto the farthest part of Deccan. Emperor Shahjahan accepted the idea of Mir Jumla and decided to raise an army and put it under his command, which would in future refrain the growing insolence of his eldest son. Daras proximity and interference in the daily functioning of the Empire was over bearing on Emperor Shahjahan.

But Dara, was able to prevail upon Emperor Shahjahan, to impose certain conditions, before Mir Jumla was given the command. Dara was apprehensive about Aurangazeb taking charge over the army being sent to the Deccan under Jumla. Accordingly, Mir Jumla was to

have total command of the army. Aurangzeb should not indulge in further war. Aurangzeb should exemplarily confine his activities to Daulatabad and Mir Jumla should leave his family in the capital as a measure of Jumla's safe conduct. The last condition was offensive to Jumla, but was requested by Emperor Shahjahan to comply with only to appease Dara. Mir Jumla, himself seemed to have consented because of the advice of Aurangzeb, whom he had consulted¹⁶. Because of the prevailing circumstances and the unexpected death of the Wazir, Emperor Shahjahan appointed Mir Jumla to that office as a stopgap arrangement, with a thousand zat rank and he was asked to treat Golconda and Karnatic regions as his Jagirs¹⁷.

Mir Jumla, went down to the Deccan at the head of a fine army and entered into Bijapur and commenced his operations against Kalyani, a place of considerable economic strength¹⁸. This was the state of affairs when Emperor Shahjahan was affected by a severe illness in September 1657, the news of which spread like wild fire throughout the Mughal Empire. Dara, collected powerful armies in Delhi and Agra, in Bengal Sujah made the same vigorous preparations. Aurangzeb in the Deccan and Murad in Gujarat, also levied such forces as evinced a determination to content for empire. The four brothers gathered around them their friends and allies; all wrote letters, made large promises and entered into a variety of intrigues. Aurangzeb made careful preparations. He entered into an agreement with Murad through a letter and sent another one to Mir Jumla, his trusted aide, through his son Mohammad, with a request to come down to Daulatabad to discuss a matter of great importance. Mir Jumla, who was pressing the siege on Kalyani refused to quit his post and also informed Aurangzeb that Shahjahan was not dead according to the information received from Agra.

Mir Jumla also expressed the fear of cooperating with Aurangzeb as his wife and family were in Agra and under Dara's control. Aurangzeb's son unable to accomplish his objective returned back to Daulatabad¹⁹. Aurangzeb not discouraged sent his second son Muhammad Muazzam who was able to prevail upon Mir Jumla with utmost humility the request of Aurangzeb. Impressed by the way things were presented to him Mir Jumla prosecuted the siege of Kalyani with extreme vigour and made it capitulate. He then reached Daulatabad with his army. The two old friends met each other with open expression of admiration and love and Aurangzeb addressed Mir Jumla with Baba Babagi words of utmost respect²⁰. Then Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla planned and schemed for further course of action to lay the foundation of Aurangzeb's power. Mir Jumla placed the command of his army under Aurangzeb and created a drama wherein he surrendered himself and allowed himself to be kept as a prisoner at Daulatabad fort. This was done because both Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla were worried about the safety of Mir Jumla's family, who was under Dara's control at Agra. They did not want to raise any suspicion. When the army of Mir Jumla

protested against their master's imprisonment. Aurangzeb personally apprised them of the scheme worked out and won them over with valuable presents. As promised Mir Jumla also started financing Aurangzeb for putting his plan into motion for securing the Mughal throne²¹.

As agreed earlier the two brothers with their respective armies met outside Dipalpur in Malwa and marched on to Agra. Meanwhile Prince Shuja was defeated by Sulaiman Shikoh and Raja Jai Singh at Bahadurgarh in February 1658. Raja Jaswant and Kasim Khan were deputed from Agra to deal with Aurangzeb and Murad. What ensued was the battle of Dharmat fought on 20th April 1658. Aurangzeb and Murad scored a complete victory. When Dara at Agra was informed about the debacle, he openly blamed Kasim Khan and Mir Jumla as being the primary and principal cause of the crisis (since Jumla had supplied Aurangzeb with troops and money)²². Foolishly not heeding to sane advice Dara fought with Aurangzeb and Murad in the Battle of Samugarh on May 28th 1658 C.E. In the closely contested battle as advised earlier by Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb used a stratagem of war as designed by Jumla²³. Aurangzeb and Murad scored a victory. Aurangzeb and Murad proceeded to Agra. Dara escaped to Delhi and was provided with troops and money by Emperor Shahjahan in his flight. Murad was arrested by the order of Aurangzeb when in drunken state and kept as a prisoner at Salingerh. This happened after Emperor Shahjahan's troops accepted the command of Aurangzeb. All the leading nobles paid homage to him and the royal treasury was taken control off. After pursuing the fugitive prince Dara for a distance Aurangzeb returned back to Agra. Dara went on to Ahmedabad and the Governor of that city Shahnawaz Khan, descendent of a prince of Muscat and father-in-law of Aurangzeb and Murad handed over the city to him. Aurangzeb was informed of the same²⁴.

When prince Shuja proved a threat to Aurangzeb. He moved towards Agra and Aurangzeb fought with him at Khajwa on 1658 C.E.*². On the day (morning of the battle) Mir Jumla joined Aurangzeb with his troops. The flight of Dara, the family of Jumla being released from captivity and his own imprisonment being no longer necessary to the promotion of Aurangzeb's designs, made Jumla come out and join forces with his friend. In the warmly contested battle the support given by Mir Jumla and the right advice given to Aurangzeb not to dismount from his elephant in the face of a brave charge by Shuja, twisted the battle in favor of Aurangzeb²⁵. Aurangzeb reached Agra with his two trusted allies, his son Mohammed and Mir Jumla. He presented them with the customary seraphas (complete suit, robe of honour), few horses and elephants. He retained back his son's wife. Mir Jumla's only son at Agra and sent both his son and Mr Jumla at the head of a powerful army to deal with Shuja who had taken flight to Bengal²⁶.

Prudence made Aurangzeb raise Mir Jumla to the post of Amir-Ul-Umara and a promise that Jumla would be made the provincial governor of Bengal and the Governorship would be made be passed on to his son after him. In the first encounter at Raj Mahal

between Prince Mohammad and Jumla against Shuja nothing much was achieved. Shuja sought the help of the Portuguese. Serious differences arose between Mir Jumla and Prince Mohammad who wanted the command of the army and who boasted that his father should be indebted to him for the conquest of Agra. When Jumla reported the same to Aurangzeb, Mohammad deflected to the side of Shuja. When not entertained by Shuja who suspected a foul conspiracy, Mohammad went back to Mir Jumla and sought the pardon of his Father. Later he was taken as prisoner and interned at Gwalior²⁷.

Meanwhile Dara was defeated by Aurangzeb at Ajmer*. He took shelter in Sindh. Jiwan Khan treacherously handed him over to the pursuing army in June 1659 C.E. He was brought to Delhi as a prisoner and brutally executed. Sulaiman Shikoh was taken a prisoner in 1660 C.E. and sent to Gwalior²⁸. With replenished army sent to Mir Jumla by Aurangzeb, pressure was put on Shuja. He was defeated by Mir Jumla and chased to Dacca and from there to the Arakan frontier. He was either killed by the Maghs or escaped from India. Due credit should be given to Mir Jumla's offensive against Shuja, but for which Shuja would have recovered back Bengal and Bihar.

Mir Jumla sent a letter to Aurangzeb requesting him to send his family to Bengal where he was stationed. It was complied with. But Mir Jumla's son was retained back at Agra and appointed as the Grand Master of the Horses²⁹. Aurangzeb asked Mir Jumla to declare a war against the ruler of Assam, which was done in 1661. Mir Jumla overran Kooch Bihar and marched into Assam and overran it. But because of adverse climatic conditions, which prevailed, and being attacked with stealth by his enemy, he thought it prudent to return to Bengal. Mir Jumla retreated with his army with his usual skill and by his admirable retreat added greatly to his reputation. He returned to Bengal laden with immense wealth. This illustrious man fell victim to dysentery on 31st March 1663 at Khizarpur in Kooch Bihar. Aurangzeb issued an order for public mourning of the death of his friend and a close ally. Aurangzeb publicly told Mir Jumla's son "you mourn the death of an affectionate parent and I the loss of the most powerful and most dangerous of my friends³⁰".

Aurangzeb also openly acknowledged that but for Mir Jumla's help and support, perhaps he would have found it difficult to ascend the Mughal throne in June 1659 C.E. with the title Aurangzeb Alamgir. Aurangzeb behaved with utmost kindness and liberality towards Mir Jumla's son. He asked him to look upon him as a second father and instead of reducing his pay or seizing upon Jumla's treasures, as was wont, reversed it and confirmed Jumla's son posting as Bakchis, increased his allowance by one thousand rupees per month and regarded him as the sole heir to the father's property³¹. The regular and steady correspondence maintained between Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla till the latter's death testifies to the mutual respect to each other as friends and allies.

According to J.N. Sarkar “no other General of that age conducted war with so much humanity and justice, not kept his soldiers, privates and captains alike, under such discipline, no other general could have retained to the last the confidence and even affection of his subordinates amidst such appalling sufferings and dangers. The owner of 20 mounds of diamonds, viceroy of the rich province of Bengal, he shared with the meanest soldier the privations of the March and brought premature death on to himself by scorning delights and living laborious days. He issued strict orders forbidding plunder, rape and oppression of the people and saw to it that his orders were obeyed³²”. Perhaps this last quoted sentence was flouted once by Mir Jumla in Karnatic raid. The exceptional friendship which lasted between Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla should be seen in the light of an age where loyalty came by a very hard way and where Aurangzeb’s usual way of dealing with things was based on acid distrust. Maybe the friendship was based on political compulsions where survival was slippery, but one thing surely stands forth, the steadfast loyalty of Mir Jumla to Aurangzeb till the last and its reciprocation. Perhaps Aurangzeb as Emperor was a bit apprehensive while putting Mir Jumla at the head of offensive against Shuja and subsequent giving of Governorship of Bengal to him. But this can be understood in the light of Bengal and surrounding areas as being one of the most fertile areas for rebellion and declaration of Independence.

Conclusion

But for Mir Jumla’s support in the form of financing, supplying of troops and planning stratagem at the right moments, things would have been different and perhaps a disaster for Aurangzeb, the Monarch of Mughal Empire, in his quest for power, glory and Mughal political expansion. Likewise, because of the exceptional friendship with Prince Aurangzeb, Mir Jumla, the Persian adventurer, was able to pull himself out of difficult situations in the Deccan and climb on to the pinnacle of glory in his own way in Medieval politics by striking an exceptional friendship with the Mughal Emperor which was valued by both even if it was for mutual survival. This stands out as an episode by itself.

Footnote:

*1. Point of dispute, whether eldest daughter or second daughter of Sultan of Golconda. According to Stanley Lane Poole’s contention, it was the second daughter.

*2. According to Satish Chandra, the battle was Fought at Khajwa near Allahabad in December 1658 C.E.

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**BACKWATERS DISPUTE BETWEEN COCHIN AND BRITISH
COCHIN IN SOUTHERN INDIA:
A MODEL TO SETTLEMENT OF FUTURE WATER DISPUTES**

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Abstract

Water is a precious gift of nature. The very existence of human life depends on water. As being a precious gift of nature, man is eager to custodies this valuable resource. The world civilizations had emerged on the banks of various rivers. It often led to conflict between individuals, kingdoms and empires from time immemorial. It has no boundary limit, no land borders, which is still continuing. The name Cochin originated after the formation of harbor in 1341. The State was originally known as Perumpada ppu Nadu and the ruling family is called as Perumpadappu Swarupam. The British dominated and controlled the neighboring places of Cochin called it British Cochin. The control of backwater caused conflict with Cochin and British Cochin. This fact is very applicable even in Cochin and British Cochin culture. The backwater and land had served as a bone of contention between States. The Backwaters are located on the border of Cochin and British Cochin. The encroachments and sharing of back water had caused certain differences and disputes. Often these water disputes were solved diplomatically at time intervals, though its recurring can be seen throughout the course of history. The proposed study topic encompasses such course of events which even determined the nature of relations between the two States. The Primary sources are used for the study. The analytical and descriptive method is used for the study.

Keywords: *Backwaters Swarupam, sovereignty, island, tribunal, bar, hereditary, Ghats*

Introduction

The matter in dispute is the sovereignty over a part of the backwaters and the bar west of Ernakulam. In this statement of the case for the Cochin State, the word “backwaters” is used to designate the inland waters east of the bar. The word bar” is used to designate the portion between two lines drawn straight south from the east end and the west end of British Vypeen to British Cochin. To the west of the bar is “open sea”. Cochin State claims the whole of the backwaters and the bar. The Madras Government claim the bar and a portion of the backwaters east of the bar. Vypeen Island is the major island relating to the backwater dispute. The sources used for the study is primary sources. It includes letters, memorandum, and documents of archives. The analytical and descriptive method is used for the study.

Materials and Methods

The primary sources used for the study, is collected from National Archives New Delhi and State Archives Kerala. The Primary data before a century is analysed and described it. The analytical and descriptive method is used for the study. The backwaters dispute settlement records reveals how the state of Travancore and Cochin settle the difficult problem through discussions’ and diplomatic way of method. It is a model to modern states.

Vypeen Island

Vipin is located 9°58’30" latitude and the longitude of 76° 18’20". It was then that “the island of Vaipin rose from the sea “In the early years of the Christian era the sea is believed to have run along the eastern shore of backwaters”. Megasthenes (4th century BC) mention Thripunithura as a sea port. It is more than four miles island. The length and breadth of island is 14.34 miles long and 13/8miles¹. The line of fortifications was taken from the sea near the island of Vipin right up to the Ghats. The fort of Ayakkotta was situated at the northern extremity of Vipin, and Craganore on the same estuary, three miles distant². Vaipin Island is located between backwater on the east and Arabian Sea on the West the northern side located Craganore and the south is surrounded by Cochin bars. The emergence of old Cochin which is later called Puthuvaipin reveal new deposit³. The fluctuation and soil erosion caused the extend of island sea broke in the backwater led to three miles in the north of British Cochin. The protective work in this area caused dispute with backwater on British Cochin. The island area was access by Dutch and Portuguese powers that led to the dispute and managing the area caused difficult one⁴.

Tracing the history and Geographical Setting

The portion of the backwaters that is involved in this matter of sovereignty has been differently represented at different times after the dispute arose. The first specification of the

claim is given by the Port Officer in his letter of the 29th July, 1911⁵. “The recognised boundary limits for the port of Cochin are eastward by the sea and from imaginary line drawn from Vypeen boundary pillar to the north-east corner of Ramanthuruthu island to a point south east of such island across the backwater in a south south-west direction (imaginary line) to the boundary pillar of the British “custom house.” This description clings to the Coast of Ramanthuruthu Island going round it like a belt except in so far as the coast faces Cochin and Vypeen. The next description of it is to be found in the letter of the British Resident of date the 25th June, 1914⁶. He says: “The boundary of the Government has in mind would run somewhat as follows Starting from the British Cochin boundary on the eastern shore of Vypeen. It would run north-east and north between Gondu Island and the submerged flat of Cheriya Ramanthuruthu to a point roughly equal distant from Vypeen, Cheriya Ramanthuruthu and the Cochin territory immediately to the north of the latter thence would run in a straight line due east and midway between Ramanthuruthu and Cochin territory⁷. On the north to a point midway between Bolghatty and Ramanthuruthu, a little to the north of the latter thence to running south, south east to a point midway between Ernakulam and the British Cochin boundary on the south east of Cochin town; thence it would run south west and terminate at that boundary⁸.”

This description is based on a theory of division by median lines expounded in the paragraph proceeding the above description in his letter, but “adapted and adjusted wherever necessary so as to meet practical difficulties and requirements” Unlike the Port Officer description leaves ascertain margin of waters all round Ramanthuruthu Island in the north and east as part of the waters claimed by the Madras Government. A map supplied by the Madras Government to elucidate their claim has made a further departure from this second description by bringing the eastern boundary line further down south to a point just east of the boundary pillar of British Cochin⁹. So the word south-west at the end of the description has to be replaced by the words straight west. The bar and the backwaters to the east of it enclosed by the lines drawn on the map by the Madras Government as above stated are involved in the question that falls to be determined by the Tribunal¹⁰. The material facts are not in dispute and the law applicable is, it is submitted, fairly simple and easy

Traditional Background of Cochin

The history of the Cochin State goes back to the sixth century AD. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Cochin State possessed sovereignty over the entire territory including the Ernakulam mainland, the backwaters and the islands in it, and British Cochin and British Vypeen. The backwaters east of the outer western line of the bar will be, in modern International Law, National Waters. These national waters were always tidal and navigable, and vested in Cochin as a Sovereign State¹¹. This right of the Cochin State is not

connected with the ownership of the lands on either side of the waters, east and west or north and south, or as the result of the application of doctrine of Median line. If there were two different States separated by these waters, there may possibly be a question of ownership in equal moieties up to a median line. But, in this case, before the Portuguese came, there was only one State owning this tract and therefore the backwaters and the soil below belonged to the Cochin State¹².

Portuguese and Dutch on back water

Thorne, the port officer is under a misapprehension when he assumes that if both banks belonged to one State, the waters cannot belong to it, but only where one bank belongs to one State and the other is unoccupied. While things were in this state, the Portuguese appeared on the scene about 1500 A.D ¹³. This object was not conquest, but profitable trade. They asked for land to build a fort for their residence and for the warehousing of their goods. To this end they obtained a grant of land from the Cochin State like of British Cochin¹⁴. This grant by a sovereign ruler at the time for the purpose of constructing a fort does not involve, according to International Law, a grant of waters, half or whole or to any extent, in the bar or in the backwaters, in the absence of a grant in express terms of any such right. No grant of lands separated by tidal or navigable waters carries the right to the waters up to the median line, unlike the grant of lands abutting on non-tidal and no navigable waters¹⁵. On the authorities, therefore, the grant passes only land and no part of the waters. Thorne mistakenly supposes that the authorities as to non-tidal and non-navigable waters governed rights as to tidal and navigable waters also. When the Dutch ousted the Portuguese, they got all the rights of the latter.

Later on, the Dutch got Vypeen from the Palieth family. The latter were hereditary ministers and vassals of Cochin State. The family had no right to the bar or the backwaters, either as owners of Vypeen or otherwise .When the Palieths passed Vypeen to the Dutch, what passed was only land which is passes to British Vypeen, and no part of the adjacent waters. The Palieth family cannot pass what they had themselves no right to. When the British ousted the Dutch in or about 1795 and seized Cochin and Vypeen, they possessed all the rights which the Dutch previously enjoyed¹⁶.

Background of Settlement

South of the existing bar make it clear beyond doubt that Hannington the Arbitrator, meant to exclude the site of the bar when he awarded nearly¹⁷ “three miles of sand Bank measuring South from the site of the existing opening “whether the word from always imports exclusion “as the contended for Cochin. It is sometimes imports inclusion also it context as pointed out above least on doubt that Hannington used it to be not exclusion. He wanted to

award the side of the bar also to Cochin he could very easily have expressed it in unmistakable terms¹⁸. As rightly observed by the Arbitrator about the very force does reading of this passage to make the word measuring South from the site of the artificial opening including the opening itself. Hannynghton was not in the passage quoted by Cochin concerned so much with three actual measurement of the strip of sand bank as with defining its position¹⁹.

It is further the Contended of the Appeal Memorandum and that is if the property in the bar was not the subject matter of dispute under the first head of disputes mentioned, it certainly must have been under the second heard to the demand relating to the ownership of the water and land. The whole river was the subject matter of disputes before Hannynghton and the latter in dividing it fixed the point. It is said to belong to Travancore, in reply already stated it be abundantly clear that .on Hannynghton. Even granting for the sake of argument that he considered that point there is no reason to think that he had a subject it to the difference treatment from the rest of the river whose mouth it is said to be. If she proposed to treat it differently from the river he would certainly have given a reason for doing so what do not find any such things in this document and therefore the only reasonable inference is that he left it as government to both of the state it is not sound argument²⁰. The appeal of memorandum shows that is because Hannynghton did not draw and east to west in midline between the points in the Arbitration map. The bar belonging exclusively to travel good and the east note common to both its absence only shows that there was no limitation of boundary between the two States with reference to the sand spit laying²¹. An attempt is then made in the Appeal Memorandum to take a strong point of observation contained Hannynghton's award that "at the point where the opening exist and artificial opening was once made by Cochin which had however closed at the time of authority decisions." On this observation of Hannynghton, The British Cochin authorities comment that it is not possible to suppose that the Cochin made and artificial opening at in Cochin territory, for no one will be allowed to make opening in another's land and want it to be inferred there from that she was the owner of that site²².

There is nothing on record to show on what materials Hannynghton based above conclusion. He does not refer to any artificial opening be made by British does he say anywhere in his letter that the opening had closed at the time he made his decision. It is not therefore possible to test its correctness. Event granting that Cochin did once make an artificial opening at must have been at a time when active controversy was going on between the two States regarding the ownership of the sand spit²³. In question and each was attempting to exercise act of ownership as occasion presented. It is seen from Thorns letter that Cochin was at that time in actual occupation of the whole sand-spit by force if they are for the making of an opening is evidence of ownership in favours of Cochin of the north and South

of the bar and this lead to the consideration. British which has to be replied to connection with the issue is whether the bar is an artificial or a natural opening into the sea²⁴. Cochin contends that it is an artificial opening made by her but there is no evidence to prove that it is so in the absence of any such approve it must be held to be natural opening constituting a natural waterway between waterway and this is the finding of Arbitrator. British Cochin not succeeded in showing that this finding is incorrect. Hannington has record any clearer finding to the effect that the existing issue. Opening reason artificial opening it was note one of the decision before him²⁵.

Thorne's View on Backwater

So far, the history is not the subject of any material dispute; it is in fact common ground. Says Thorne in his Note enclosed with his letter of the 17th September, 1923." British Cochin was originally part of the Cochin State. The Portuguese landed in Cochin in the beginning of the sixteenth century and erected a factory and a fort at the mouth of the river²⁶. The Portuguese were driven out of Cochin by the Dutch. By a treaty entered into between the Raja of Cochin and the Dutch East India Company in the year 1663 the Raja made over to the Dutch all the rights and privileges which the Portuguese formerly possessed in the settlement of Cochin and its dependencies and from that time forward the Dutch were in disputed possession of the settlement of Cochin. The fort of Cochin was captured by the British under the commandant of Major Petrie in October, 1795, and the British then became possessed of whatever rights the Dutch had previously enjoyed²⁷. The settlement remained under the British raj till by the convention of Paris in 1814 it was finally ceded to Britain.

Thorne adds that the territorial sovereignty over the backwaters never formed the subject of any definite settlement. In the absence of an original grant or of any subsequent settlement the original sovereignty of the Cochin State remained undisturbed. The matter does not rest merely upon these legal considerations²⁸. Actual enjoyment of rights during the whole period from 1500 A.D. to the date of the present controversy supports the conclusion drawn from the above historical narrative that sovereignty continued with the Cochin State.

Customs and rights of Cochin

Customs were collected during the time of the Portuguese and wholly paid to the Cochin State. Later, a small percentage of the collections were taken by them for their trouble and the balance was paid to the Cochin Raja in recognition of his sovereign right. This payment, with slight variations, continued during the Dutch period and during the British period till 1819, when the subsidy was reduced by Rs. 76,000, and the Raja was induced to forego the customs²⁹. But it was restored in 1865 without any corresponding increase of the amount of the subsidy. The British Government and Cochin divided the customs in equal

halves³⁰. This claim of the Cochin State which has received unbroken recognition for four centuries is ultimately founded on its sovereign rights.

Fishing stakes

What is even more decisive of the question of territorial sovereignty claimed and exercised on without question and with full knowledge and recognition by British authorities is the “Fishing Stakes”. These fishing stakes are planted under the authority of the Cochin State by the fishermen. The original these stakes is lost in the dim unknown past, but there is no doubt that a levy likened to royalty had long been levied on these fisheries in the exercise of sovereign right over the waters and the part of the Cochin State³¹. Subject to the claims of public navigation and without prejudice to them, these stakes are a standing assertion of sovereign ownership never denied or questioned. The existence of these stakes for a long time is not in doubt. The Cochin State has accounts of collections going back to as early as 1817. The fishing stakes thus obtained by State grant have been the subject of mortgages and sales by fishermen³². At one time, the British authorities requested the Cochin State to have these stakes removed either by payment of compensation to owners or by refusal to renew permission at the end of the previous term of permission without minding the pecuniary loss to the State in the interests of public navigation. There is a volume of correspondence about the removal of these stakes and it proves the ancient character of the rights and the unquestioning recognition of their ancient character on the part of the British authorities. The correspondence is too clear to admit of denial at this distance of time of the right of sovereign ownership distinctly recognised as vested in the Cochin State. If the waters belonged to Britain, the planting of these stakes must be trespass; there is no need to address or consult Cochin³³.

Thorne explanation for addressing Cochin State in the matter is not borne out by the language of the correspondence. On the other hand, it is worthy of note that there is not a word about the British claim to or over the waters, which is the first thing that one would expect to have in the forefront of the British case, if there is any real foundation for their present claim³⁴. The only proper inference from the whole correspondence is that British authorities recognised the sovereign Ownership of the Cochin State in the bed of the backwaters and appealed to them solely in the interests of navigation. The time that supplied a map showing the location of these stakes and no attempt was made to controvert its correctness³⁵. There is also the British Admiralty map of 1883 which bears out the case of Cochin as to the places at which these stakes had been planted. Two very important series of stakes falling within the area now made the subject of contention are shown in this Admiralty

map, and no question has ever been raised as to Cochin right to allow the planting of those stakes³⁶.

Lease and Purchase

Ramanthuruthu is used to claim the waters up to median line with the mainland all round. It is an impossible claim. The Dutch got this island by private grant or purchase. Their predecessors possessed only the limited right to land. And the British authorities have recognised this island as embedded in the midst of waters which are Cochin territory. There are fishing stakes all round the immediate vicinity of the island showing the assertion and unquestioned enjoyment of Cochin sovereign right over the waters.³⁷

There was again a correspondence about the lease of the island of Ramanthuruthu to Cochin as it was necessary for the effective exercise of Cochin jurisdiction over the surrounding waters and seizing the smugglers that escaped into the island. This right of Cochin to the surrounding waters receives ample recognition in this correspondence³⁸. Earlier, these islands were sought to be exchanged for other lands. This correspondence again shows that the British had only the land, and the surrounding backwaters belonged to the Cochin State.

Survey and Assessment

Lastly, survey has been made both of the British territory and of the territory of Cochin State³⁹. The Madras Revenue survey does not include the disputed area within British limits. On the other hand, the survey of Cochin marks the area in dispute as Survey No. 850 of the Mulavukad village of the Cochin State. The survey of Cochin was made by a British Officer lent to Cochin who acted on materials supplied by the Madras Survey Department⁴⁰. From the earliest times up to 1913, that is, till after dispute arose, there was no claim made to these waters, no traverses on the map to indicate any such claim, not even when the old map was republished in 1909. In 1911 arose the existing dispute, and it was only in 1913 that a map was prepared with traverse lines showing the British claim⁴¹. The Malabar Gazetteer shows, just like the survey, both that the British do not claim it and that they recognise the claims of Cochin State.

Whatever criticism may be attempted as to each one of these heads of proof of Cochin's claim, the combined result of all these considerations is to substantiate the case for Cochin as against the case for the Madras Government⁴². Cochin is not aware that the British authorities claim to have acquired any right at any other time or in any other manner. If there is any other head of claim put forward by the Madras Government, it will be dealt with, when disclosed.

Conclusion

The points on which Cochin strongly relies in support of their claim may be summarised thus:—History shows that Britain succeeded to the original rights of the Portuguese in Cochin under the grant of the Cochin sovereign. Unless the waters are expressly granted, the grant will pass only land. It was of course competent to the Cochin sovereign to give the right to any part of the backwaters Vypeen and the islands were not granted by Cochin but by those who were the subjects of Cochin and there is no possibility of grants by them including the adjacent backwater. The doctrine of “Median line” is inapplicable to any of these cases. The right to waters cannot come out of any grant other than that by the Sovereign of Cochin. As for conduct throwing light on the extent of grant everything that is known shows open acts of Cochin in exercise of their continuing ownership and British authorities recognising such acts as proper. The case of each side has many times been referred to, by the Port Officer, by the British Resident, by the Collector of Malabar and by the Dewans of Cochin. Such documents are filed to enable the tribunal to assumed in its progress and how it has been tried to be argued and supported Cochin. It is settled amicably by using diplomatic relations. The settlement is a model to settlement future water disputes.

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**DISTRICT MINERAL FOUNDATION AND GOVERNANCE IN FAIR
SHARE OF REVENUES FOR AFFECTED COMMUNITIES IN
KEONJHAR DISTRICT, ODISHA: AN AHP ANALYSIS**

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Abstract

In India the states with enormous mineral deposits show low per capita income with high predominance of poverty. According to a study conducted by Center for Science and Environment (2008) that of the 50 major mining districts, 60% figure are among the 150 most backward districts of the country. Out of the four mining districts where only two from Odisha and one each from Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, among the top 25 backward districts of the country. States like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Odisha are significantly contributing to the country's total mineral resources having poverty rates of about 48%, 42% and 50% respectively. Major amount of revenue in these states come from mining royalty but this royalty money has not been directed towards the development of those people in the concerned state, especially those who are affected and displaced. This paper focuses on spending priorities of the revenue collected through District Mineral Foundation (DMF) in Odisha. The objective of the study is to assess governance in fair share of revenues from extractives through formation District Mineral Foundation for welfare of affected communities. The study is based on secondary sources of data and review of various reports of the government and studies conducted on the revenue contribution from mining through DMF in India and Odisha. Data has been collected through secondary sources which include government data from the central and state levels. This paper tries to analysis the process governance of the DMFs in Odisha, and the sectoral priorities of the spending in the study area. It has been tried to explain a vital step towards initiating fair sharing of revenue for the tribal in governance of the state where the current government set up a District Mineral Foundation to ensure that a share of mineral revenue, collected from the mine leaseholder, be used for the development of the affected communities and focusing on the tribal in state. The objective of this paper is to analysis the process

governance of the DMFs in India with special focus on Odisha and to assess the magnitude of collection of resources through DMF, and the sectoral priorities of the spending in the study area using Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) analysis tool. The paper uses both qualitative and quantitative data analysis through primary and secondary sources like household interview, focus group discussions and interaction with key stakeholders.

Key words: District Mineral Foundation, Odisha, Governance, Revenues and Fair Share, AHP analysis

Introduction:

The Government of India introduced the District Mineral Foundation (DMF) fund in March 2015 under the Mines and Minerals Development and Regulation (MMDR) Amendment Act 2015. Section 9B of the Act 2015 instructed the establishment of a DMF fund in every district affected by mining activities for the welfare of the mining-affected communities, including tribal and forest-dwelling communities. With the scheme, the mining companies would pay 30 percent of the royalty amount for leases granted before 2015 and ten percent by the leases granted through the auction mechanism post-2015. The DMF aims to work for the interest and benefit of persons and areas affected by mining-related operations (Ministry of Mines, 2015).

Indian states with large mineral deposits show low per capita income with high prevalence of poverty. A study conducted by Center for Science and Environment (2008) had established the fact that of the 50 major mining districts, 60% figure among the 150 most backward districts of the country. Four of these mining districts—two from Odisha and one each from Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh—are among the top 25 backward districts of the country, 13 of these districts figure in the top 50 backward districts of the country.

During the year 2010-11, mineral production was reported from 32 States/Union Territories of which the bulk of value of mineral production of about 90% was confined to 11 States (including offshore areas) only. Odisha had the biggest share of nearly 10.6% of the total value of mineral production in the country followed by Rajasthan (8.6%), Andhra Pradesh (7.8%), Jharkhand (7.7%), Chhattisgarh (6.6%), Gujarat (6.3%), Madhya Pradesh (5.3%), Assam (4.6%), Goa (3.5%) and Karnataka (3.3%). The remaining 21 States/Union Territories had individual share of 3% or less than 3% and all together accounted for 10% of total value during the year under review.

District Mineral Foundation is a new method of sharing resources for the affected tribal communities. There are not ample studies available on this subject. There are number of studies conducted on the mining and the welfare of the affected communities which suggests

that there is a need for sharing of revenues for welfare of the affected communities. Increased well-being is needed to secure social acceptance of mining projects and to maintain regional competitiveness and future prosperity. Other industrial activities, mineral extraction tends to leave a strong environmental footprint. The environmental problems associated with mining relate to destruction of land and forests, soil erosion, mine tailings as well as contamination of surface, ground water and air from toxic wastes and ore particles. In order to compensate the losses DMF has been enacted in the country with legislation in respective states. Since there are development plans already designed from the ground level under the 73rd constitutional amendment, Centre for Science and Environment suggest that DMF plans may consider convergence and integration with other plans and programs of the Centre and state governments.

- This intervention demonstrated recognition on the part of federal government that aboriginal people and northerners should benefit from mineral development, and
- The environmental impacts of such development should be managed responsibly (CIRL 1997).
- Indian states with large mineral deposits show low per capita income with high prevalence of poverty.

In September 2015, the Government of India announced Pradhan Mantri Khanij Kshetra Kalyan Yojana (PMKKKY) to transform people's living standards and develop the mining-affected areas. The overall objectives of PMKKKY scheme are (Ministry of Mines, 2017):

- (a) To implement various developmental and welfare programs in mining-affected areas which will complement existing ongoing projects of state and central governments.
- (b) To minimize/mitigate adverse impacts during and after mining on the environment, health and socio-economics of people in mining districts.
- (c) To ensure long-term sustainable livelihoods for affected people in mining areas. Under Section 20A of the MMDR Act, all states would incorporate PMKKKY into DMFs rules.

Accordingly, the DMFs shall implement PMKKKY in their respective districts. At least 60 percent of the DMF funds will be utilised for high-priority areas, including (a) drinking water 6 District Mineral Foundation Funds Evaluating the Performance supply, (b) environment preservation and pollution control measures, (c) healthcare, (d) education, (e) welfare of women and children, (f) welfare of aged and disabled people, (g) skill development, and (h) sanitation. The rest of the funds will be utilised for these purposes: (a) physical

infrastructure, (b) irrigation, (c) energy and watershed development, and (d) any other measures for enhancing environmental quality in mining districts.

In March 2020, the central government issued additional instructions regarding the DMF funds. The guidelines suggested that up to 30 percent of the funds could be used towards expenditure related to COVID-19. According to the MMDR Amendment Act 2021, the central government may also give direction regarding the composition and utilisation of the fund while state governments continue to prescribe the constitution and functions of the DMF. On July 12, 2021, the central government issued an order detailing that “no sanction or approval of any expenditure out of the DMF fund shall be done at the state level by the state government or any state-level agency” (Ministry of Mines, 2021b).

DMF Collection and Expenditure:

These Major Mining States Rs 53,830 crore have been collected towards the DMF funds between 2015 and September 2021. About 39 percent (Rs 20,766 crore) has been collected from coal and lignite, 50 percent (Rs 27,108 crore) from major minerals other than coal and lignite and the remaining 11 percent (Rs 5,956 crore) from minor minerals according to the Ministry of Mines, 2021. The key mining states in India are Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Goa, Gujarat, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Telangana. These top 12 mining states account for 96.4 percent of the total DMF collection in the country.

The top four states—Odisha (Rs 14,934 crore), Chhattisgarh (Rs 7,651 crore), Jharkhand (Rs 7,393 crore), and Rajasthan (Rs 5,468 crore) account for almost 66 percent of the total DMF collection in the country. A majority of the DMF fund in Odisha (77 percent), Rajasthan (82 percent) and Karnataka (85 percent) come from major non-fuel minerals, Jharkhand collects 78 percent of its DMF from coal and lignite. Other states in DMF collection basically from coal and lignite are Telangana (89 percent), Maharashtra (88 percent), Madhya Pradesh (70 percent) and Chhattisgarh (54 percent).

The state of Odisha has the highest DMF collection at Rs 14,934 crore but has only spent 50 percent of it. Chhattisgarh collected Rs 7,651 crore and spent 68 percent (Ministry of Mines, 2021a). Four states—Odisha, Telangana, Gujarat and Karnataka—allocated a higher amount than the DMF fund collection. The allocation of funds does not necessarily translate into actual expenditure. For example, while Odisha allocated the highest amount, it spent only 49 percent. Karnataka allocated about 1.26 times its DMF collection but spent only 31 percent of its allocated funds (39 percent of the total collection).

Review of Literature

- A study conducted by Center for Science and Environment (2008) had established the fact that of the 50 major mining districts, 60% figure among the 150 most backward districts of the country.
- Shalya, (2020) Data from the CSE report have been used, which provide sector-wise allocations as of November 2019.
- CIRL (1997), Exercising ministerial discretion, the federal Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development made project approval contingent on the negotiation of several legally-binding agreements. This intervention demonstrated recognition on the part of the federal government that aboriginal people and northerners should benefit from mineral development, and that the environmental impacts of such development should be managed responsibly.
- Keenan (2002); Sosa (2000), Studies conducted in the past depict the adverse impact of the mining exploration. There is evidence that mining projects do little to reduce poverty for which benefits need to be shared. Mining activities around the world have resulted land expropriation and environmental degradation that harm the livelihoods and health of local communities.
- Auty (1993), The cross-country empirical study by Sachs and Warner (1995) provides a link between natural resource abundance and poor economic growth, lending credibility to the 'resource curse' thesis.

Ross (2001), however, this finding does not deny the adoption of natural resource-based growth strategies. Policy-makers should pursue strategies that are sensitive to issues of distribution, welfare and environment.

Bulte (2005), emphasize on institutional reform for resource-rich countries to outflow the resource curse and achieve economic development. The issues recognized by the World Bank and incorporated in their technical and financial assistance to member countries to develop the mining sector.

Hancock (2002), many more studies suggest for benefit-sharing of mineral revenue with key for attaining sustainable local area development. Appropriate benefit-sharing mechanisms developed through the process of consultation between the stakeholders which are deemed indispensable for generating broad-based economic growth from mining activities.

Objective of the study:

- To study about District Mineral Foundation in Odisha;

- To explore magnitude of collection of resources through DMF in Keonjhar district;
- To assess fair sharing of revenues from extractives for affected communities in Keonjhar district;
- To find out the representation of affected communities in decision making process.

HYPOTHESIS

H1 – There are fair sharing mining revenues for affected communities.

H2 - The governance and planning mechanism effectiveness establish with the DMF

The four states like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Odisha with significant contribution to the country’s total mineral resources have poverty rates of about 48%, 42% and 50% respectively, which is higher than the national average of 29.5 %. This is despite the fact that a major chunk of revenue in these states come from mineral royalty. A clear indication that this royalty money has not been channeled towards the upliftment of the people in the state, especially those affected and displaced. For instance, Odisha during 2001-02 collected Rs 379 crore as royalty from mining. This increased 15-fold by 2016-17 to Rs 6720 crore. These mining royalties, in 2001-02 contributed to 54% of the state’s total share of non-tax revenues. This has only increased in the subsequent years. During 2011-12 and 2012-13, the share reached 71%; in the current year it is estimated to touch 68%. In comparison, the revenue from other sources during the last 15 years has seen only a less-than 10 fold jump; it has grown from Rs 318 crore in 2001-02 to Rs 3103 crore in 2016-17.

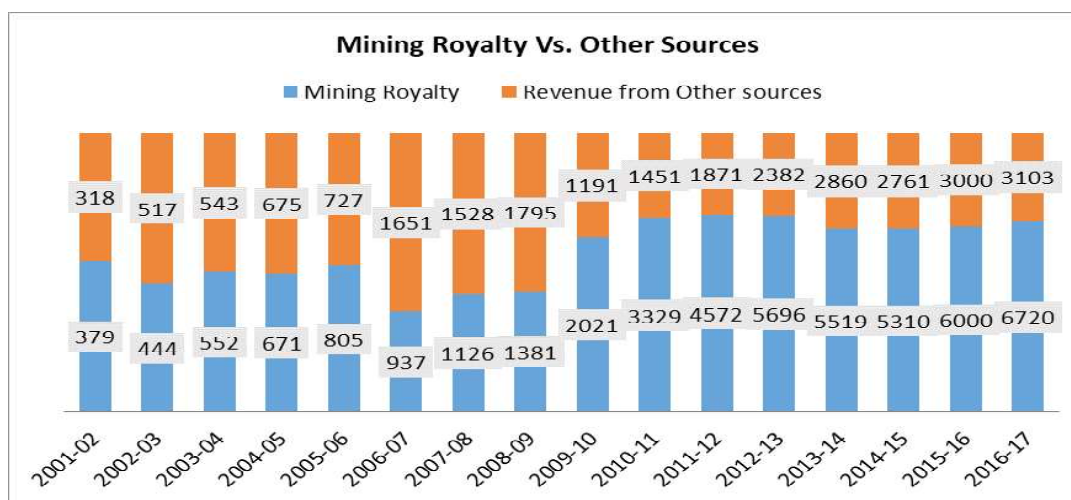


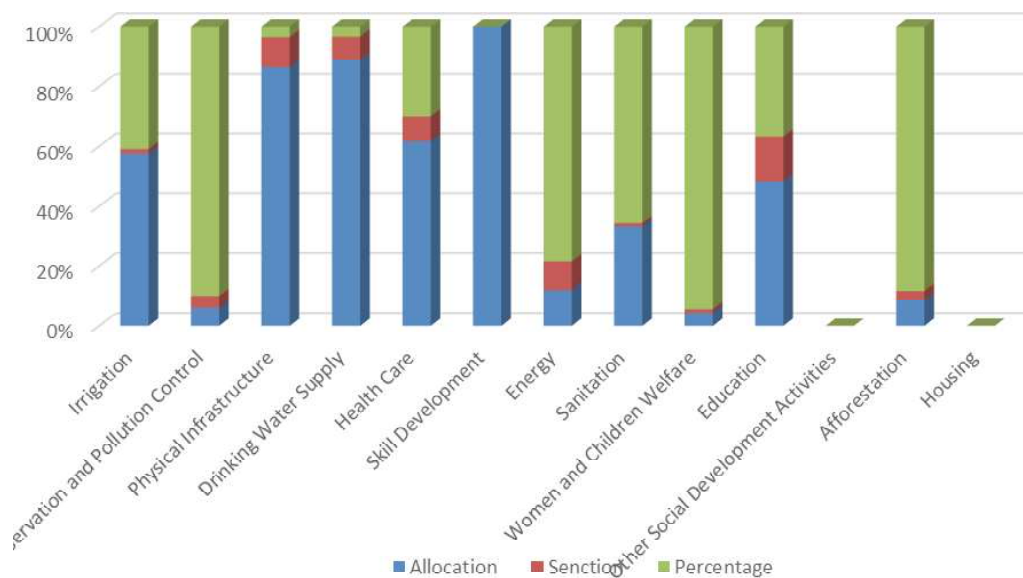
Table No-1

(Source: Budget documents of various years, Government of Odisha)

This spectacular rise in the mining royalties can be attributed to the fact that the State and the Center encourage mining companies to set up their exploration units in the mineral bearing districts. This has particularly been the trend in the last 15 years. By the end of 2014-15, 419 diversion proposals covering an area of 44,351 hectares of forest land were approved by the Ministry of Environment and Forest (MoEF) for non-forest use. Out of these 164 (39%) proposals are under mining sector with an area of 20,265 hectares (46%)¹. These mines are in forest areas that are largely inhabited by the Adivasis. The trend indicates that the state is generating revenue from the mining sectors at the cost of livelihood of the Adivasis who, for generations, have lived sustainably in these forests. These royalties have never been traditionally used for the development of the communities.

Fund Allocation and Sanction

Table No-2



(Source: mineralsodisha.gov.in)

As a crucial step towards initiating **fair sharing of revenue for the tribals**, the current government set up a District Mineral Foundation (DMF). The DMF ensures that a share of mineral revenue, collected from the mine leaseholder, be used for the development of the affected communities. As per the DMF rules, the foundation will get up to one-third of the royalty amount; 30 % of royalty will be collected from leases not granted through auction and 10 % of royalty will be collected from leases granted through auction.

The center as well as the state government have constitutional powers to collect resources through various tax and non-tax sources. The priorities and intentions as well as targets of expenditure of these resources are decided by the legislative body. The resources of DMF are routed outside the budget and is managed by the district level officials. The DMF is formed under a Trust Act in which the Collector or the Revenue Divisional Commissioner is the chairman supported by other members who are either government officials or political representatives. Since it does not come under the purview of the legislative discussion, expenditures under DMF are likely to be influenced by the powerful state and district political representatives, leaving no scope for discussing on the floor for either its rationale or its viability.

It is thus crucial that the DMF stays on its course. DMF is a supplementary resource and it needs to be utilized, in addition to the existing budgetary provisions made by the state government. The resources are meant to address critical gaps specific to the affected communities like water, health and education.

On March 26, 2015, the parliament approved the enactment of DMF through The Mines and Minerals (Development and Regulation) Amendment Act, 2015. The rules of the DMF are framed by the concerned state governments. The Central Government, through the powers vested in it u/s 20A of the MMDR Act, 1957, directed the concerned State Governments to incorporate the *PradhanMantri Khanij Kshetra Kalyan Yojana (PMKKKY)* into the DMF rules.

District Mineral Foundation (DMF) in Odisha

Odisha framed its rule on August 18, 2016. It is estimated that in this mineral-rich state, Rs 2240 Crore will be deposited in the DMF (assuming that one third of the royalty to the mining companies will be deposited in the DMF resources) during the financial year 2016-17. Prior to August, by March 2016 the state government had collected only Rs 90 crore under the DMF. This could be attributed to the fact that the systems and the processes to administer the DMF were still at a very nascent stage. However, in August 2016, the state accelerated its collection for the DMF and secured Rs 1100 crore.

Objective

- To protect the interest of the tribal communities.
- To share the benefit among the people in those areas.
- To serve the communities/people in mining affected areas
- To provide an opportunity to get the share of mineral revenue directly from the mine lease holder for the development of affected communities.

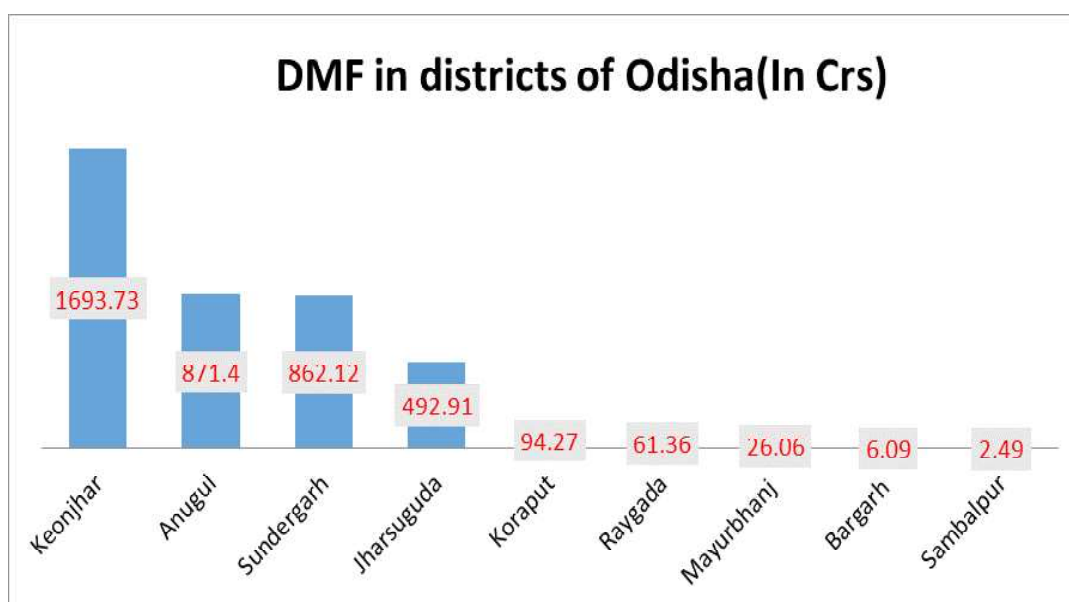
Status in Odisha

In Odisha, 10 districts are rich in Chromite, Coal, Iron-Ore, Manganese and Bauxite, and most of these districts have high proportion of tribal. The DMF funds have to be judiciously utilized for the benefit of the affected communities, the ground realities are quite different. Though it's too early to assess the effectiveness of the spending of DMF fund, the planning and governance process initiated in some of the districts raise questions on the intentions of using the funds for the affected communities living in and around the mining areas.

The case of Keonjhar district in Odisha, one of the mineral rich districts in the state. The first DMF meeting was held on February 2, 2016; this was an introductory meeting regarding the formation of board of trustees and other operational modalities. The second meeting held on May 31, 2016, discussed the amount collected for DMF and spending priorities. It was found that till May 2016, the amount collected for the district was Rs 280 crore and an additional amount of Rs 150 crore was estimated to be collected in the coming months. In the meeting, a total of 11 proposals were discussed out of which 10 proposals were road projects and one was for setting lighting facility in Keonjhar Municipality.

It was clear that the real needs of the mining affected communities like strengthening of livelihood, health and education facilities had not been prioritized by the DMF. In another instance, the DMF committee approved building a medical college at a cost of Rs 55 crore in the district.

Table No. 3. (DMF in Odisha in crs)



These instances indicate that the resources from DMF runs the risk of becoming a financial back up plan, over and above the MLA and MPLAD funds, for the political representatives to fulfil the electoral promises and for the state to adjust the funds into their state planned expenditure. The Odisha State DMF rules, thus, have to be strictly followed and monitored.

The rules mandate that high priority areas such as drinking water supply, environment preservation and pollution control measures, health care, and education are to be undertaken through the DMF. It needs an assessment of the existing provisions and the amount needs to be spent keeping view of change in the life of the affected communities. The state cannot possibly do all of this on the existing human resource and expertise. It will have to deploy adequate experts for long term plan and implementation of such kind of resource.

DMF is an additional resource and it should have separate planning mechanism with opportunity for integration with the mainstream planning process of the state. At the district level, there will be two meetings per annum in which the priorities of the spending will be decided. In fifth schedule areas, the plans which will be implemented should be approved by the Panchayat bodies.

The current structure and planning process of the DMF shows that there is a lack of backward linkage to gather people's expectation at the ground. Evidences from Keonjhar shows that the decisions on priorities of spending are decided at district-level meetings headed by the collector. Community consultation for assessment of the needs of the target group was absent. Thus, there is very little space to incorporate peoples need in the overall planning of the affected areas.

What the DMF plan has done is bypassed the role of Panchayats as well as District and Block Panchayats in the planning process. Rather, it has set up a parallel body which does not say anything on how the existing panchayat level plans, which are already in the works, can be integrated with the DMF plan. Instead of a top down approach where planning is done at the district level and then endorsed by the Panchayat, the reverse should be done. A bottom up approach should be adopted that begins with due planning at the ground level. A planning mechanism at the Panchayat level is already in place. As per the three-tier Panchayati Raj system, the development plans are made at the Panchayat level which is further consolidated at the Panchayat *Samiti* (Block) and district level. The District Planning Committee is the final approval body at the district level to priorities the needs of the communities gathered through Gram Sabha.

AHP Analysis

Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) is one of Multi Criteria decision making method that was originally developed by Prof. Thomas L. Saaty. In short, it is a method to derive ratio scales from paired comparisons. The input can be obtained from actual measurement such as price, weight etc., or from subjective opinion such as satisfaction feelings and preference. AHP allow some small inconsistency in judgment because human is not always consistent. The ratio scales are derived from the principal Eigen vectors and the consistency index is derived from the principal Eigen value.

Number of things	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	n
Number of comparisons	0	1	3	6	10	15	21	$\frac{n(m-1)}{2}$

AHP Scale : 1- Equal importance, 3-Moderate importance, 5-Strong importance, 7-Very Strong importance, 9- Extreme importance(2,4,6,8 values in-between)

District wise ranking

Priorities

These are the resulting weights for the criteria based on pairwise comparisons

Table No. 4. (District wise ranking)

Sl. No.	Districts	Priority	Rank
1	Sundergarh	24.70%	1
2	Keonjhar	18.00%	2
3	Jharsuguda	14.10%	3
4	Raygada	11.30%	4
5	Koraput	7.80%	5
6	Jajpur	7.30%	6
7	Mayurbhanj	4.70%	7
8	Bargarh	3.60%	8
9	Sambalpur	2.60%	9
10	Angul	2.50%	10
11	Bolangir	1.80%	11
12	Deogarh	1.60%	12

The governance in fair sharing process of revenue from the extractives is not proper as per the rank shown the analysis for the tribal communities. It should be as per the rank taking into the priority percentage placed in the above Table No 3.

Decision Matrix

The resulting weights are based on the principal eigenvector of the decision matrix

Number of comparisons = 66, Consistency Ratio CR = 9.7%, Principal Eigen value = 13.632

Eigenvector solution: 7 iterations, delta = 1.1E-8

1	1	1.00	1.00	0.20	0.14	0.12	1.00	1.00	0.11	0.12	1.00	1.00
2	1.00	1	0.25	0.25	0.20	0.14	0.20	0.25	0.20	0.12	1.00	1.00
3	1.00	4.00	1	0.25	0.20	0.25	0.20	0.33	0.33	0.17	4.00	3.00
4	5.00	4.00	4.00	1	0.33	0.25	0.50	4.00	0.33	0.25	4.00	4.00
5	7.00	5.00	5.00	3.00	1	1.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	0.33	6.00	6.00
6	8.00	7.00	4.00	4.00	1.00	1	4.00	4.00	4.00	0.50	7.00	7.00
7	1.00	5.00	5.00	2.00	0.33	0.25	1	3.00	0.33	0.25	5.00	5.00
8	1.00	4.00	3.00	0.25	0.33	0.25	0.33	1	0.33	0.20	4.00	4.00
9	9.00	5.00	3.00	3.00	0.50	0.25	3.00	3.00	1	0.20	6.00	6.00
10	8.00	8.00	6.00	4.00	3.00	2.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	1	9.00	9.00
11	1.00	1.00	0.25	0.25	0.17	0.14	0.20	0.25	0.17	0.11	1	9.00
12	1.00	1.00	0.33	0.25	0.17	0.14	0.20	0.25	0.17	0.11	0.11	1

Decision Matrix

The resulting weights are based on the principal eigenvector of the decision matrix

Table No. 4. (District wise ranking)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	1	2.00	4.00	5.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	5.00	7.00	4.00	5.00	6.00
2	0.50	1	1.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	6.00	4.00	8.00
3	0.25	1.00	1	2.00	1.00	1.00	7.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	6.00	5.00
4	0.20	0.33	0.50	1	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	4.00	4.00	3.00	4.00
5	0.25	1.00	1.00	1.00	1	1.00	6.00	4.00	5.00	4.00	5.00	5.00
6	0.25	1.00	1.00	0.50	1.00	1	4.00	5.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	6.00
7	0.25	1.00	0.14	0.50	0.17	0.25	1	1.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	3.00
8	0.20	0.25	0.17	0.20	0.25	0.20	1.00	1	1.00	3.00	5.00	5.00
9	0.14	0.33	0.17	0.25	0.20	1.00	0.33	1.00	1	2.00	5.00	3.00
10	0.25	0.17	0.14	0.25	0.25	0.33	0.25	0.33	0.50	1	1.00	3.00
11	0.20	0.25	0.17	0.33	0.20	0.25	0.33	0.20	0.20	1.00	1	3.00
12	0.17	0.12	0.20	0.25	0.20	0.17	0.33	0.20	0.33	0.33	0.33	1

Category	Priority	Rank
1 Irrigation	7.3%	5
2 Environment Preservation and Pollution Control	18.9%	2
3 Physical Infrastructure	21.3%	1
4 Drinking Water Supply	17.4%	3
5 Health Care	12.5%	4
6 Skill Development	3.6%	8
7 Energy	5.8%	6
8 Sanitation	1.9%	10
9 Women and Children Welfare	4.3%	7
10 Education	1.7%	12
11 Other Social Development Activities	2.4%	9
12 Afforestation	1.1%	13
13 Housing	1.8%	11

Number of comparisons = 66, Consistency Ratio CR = 9.7%, Principal eigen value = 13.632

Eigenvector solution: 7 iterations, delta = 1.1E-8

Category Wise ranking

The different category of areas in the governance chain are based on priority and also ranked in the below analysis to find out the gap in the structure and the process.

Priorities - These are the resulting weights for the criteria based on pairwise comparisons

Table No. 6. (Category wise ranking)

Category	Percentage	Rank
Physical Infrastructure	21.30%	1
Environment Preservation and Pollution Control	18.90%	2
Drinking Water Supply	17.40%	3
Health Care	12.50%	4
Irrigation	7.30%	5
Energy	5.80%	6
Women and Children Welfare	4.30%	7
Skill Development	3.60%	8
Other Social Development Activities	2.40%	9
Sanitation	1.90%	10
Housing	1.80%	11
Education	1.70%	12
Afforestation	1.10%	13

Decision Matrix

The resulting weights are based on the principal eigenvector of the decision matrix to present the ranking and indexing of the category wise fund collected and allocated by DMF

Table No. 7. (Decision Matrix)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	1	0.33	0.17	0.25	0.50	1.00	1.00	6.00	1.00	8.00	7.00	9.00	8.00
2	3.00	1	1.00	2.00	2.00	7.00	8.00	7.00	5.00	9.00	5.00	8.00	8.00
3	6.00	1.00	1	2.00	2.00	7.00	9.00	6.00	7.00	9.00	7.00	8.00	6.00
4	4.00	0.50	0.50	1	2.00	8.00	7.00	8.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	8.00
5	2.00	0.50	0.50	0.50	1	9.00	2.00	6.00	5.00	9.00	8.00	7.00	5.00
6	1.00	0.14	0.14	0.12	0.11	1	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	8.00	2.00
7	1.00	0.12	0.11	0.14	0.50	1.00	1	6.00	2.00	6.00	1.00	6.00	9.00
8	0.17	0.14	0.17	0.12	0.17	0.50	0.17	1	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	1.00
9	1.00	0.20	0.14	0.14	0.20	1.00	0.50	1.00	1	8.00	2.00	9.00	2.00
10	0.12	0.11	0.11	0.14	0.11	1.00	0.17	1.00	0.12	1	1.00	2.00	1.00
11	0.14	0.20	0.14	0.14	0.12	0.50	1.00	1.00	0.50	1.00	1	6.00	1.00
12	0.11	0.12	0.12	0.14	0.14	0.12	0.17	0.50	0.11	0.50	0.17	1	0.33
13	0.12	0.12	0.17	0.12	0.20	0.50	0.11	1.00	0.50	1.00	1.00	3.00	1

Number of comparisons = 78, Consistency Ratio CR = 9.5%, Principal eigen value = 14.767 Eigenvector solution: 6 iterations, delta = 3.6E-8

Major Issues

1.1 Institutional Structure: DCs are highly burdened with responsibilities

The MMDRA (2015) says that either the District Collector (DC) or the Revenue Divisional Commissioner (RDC) will chair the DMF Trustees Board. However, in the present administrative set up the DCs invariable head all committees at the district level. They are

arguably the most overburdened officers. Bigger districts have even higher work burden on the DCs. The work burden keeps increasing with ever rising welfare programmes and development works undertaken by the state and central governments. Chairing the DMF trust only entails an added responsibility for the DCs who reportedly find it difficult to execute the works smoothly and effectively. In addition, the DC features on the DMF's Board of Trustees as well as its Executive Committee. This creates conflict of interest between the implementing and monitoring functions. Further, the institutional structure entirely relegates public participation and local knowledge as elements central to building an effective DMF. The only consolation the rules offer is the provision of *Gram Sabha* approval for decisions of the DMF in scheduled areas. On the other hand, the government officials dominate the DMF's Board of Trustees, and constitute the entirety of its Executive Committee.

1.2 Lacks Participatory Approach in framing of DMF rules

The entire institutional framework lacks participatory approach. For example, the Govt. of Odisha framed the Odisha District Mineral Foundations Rules (ODMFR), 2016 to regulate the composition, functions and manner of working of the DMFs. But the rules were neither preceded by any larger consultation exercise with different stakeholders, nor were a draft version of the rules issued to integrate public feedback and review.

1.3 Perspective Planning required at the district and state level

The modus operandi of the planning process is missing. For example, how to identify the works to be taken up under DMF? Many argue that it should be based on what the local community desires? But lack of necessary capability on the part of the local people coupled with information asymmetry may restrict the affected community to take a judicious decision. The objective of DMF as outlined primarily focuses on fund utilization but does not elaborate on what, where and how the fund will be utilized.

1.4 Identification of Priority Sectors: limited to fulfill mandates of the PMKKKY

The funds of the DMF Trust will be utilized for implementing *Pradhan Mantri Khanij Kshetra Kalyan Yojana* (PMKKKY). But the high priority sectors have been identified by the state in isolation from the various other stakeholders. On the other hand, involvement of many stakeholders increases the possibility of heterogeneity in their preferences leading to a spectrum of priority sectors. Thus, a detailed listing of priority sectors, though essential, becomes a critical task. Further, mandatory provision of 60 percent and 40 percent expenditure of the DMF fund on services and infrastructure respectively is questionable in case of affected regions which may not need expenses on such heads altogether.

1.5 Monitoring the Foundation: needs to involve people

In order to check blatant pilferage and corruption, it is essential to evaluate the utilization of the DMF and perform social auditing. ODMFR, 2016 states that monitoring the day to day management and supervision of the activities of the DMF Trust will be performed by the Executive Board under the overall supervision and control of the Board of Trustees, both of which majorly comprises government officials. On the other hand, the rules also state that the works undertaken by the Trust shall be executed only through Government Departments, agencies and public sector undertakings as far as possible. Such a scenario there is an incentive to undermine the monitoring of the Trust and indulge in collusive practices and rent-seeking.

1.6 Sustainability and Intergenerational Equity

As per Section 8A (2) of the Act, all mining leases granted after the commencement of the MMDRA, 2015 shall be granted for a period of 50 years. The lease period has been increased from 20 years to 50 years which is a huge time period. While the extension has been provided to ensure regular supply of raw material to the industry, it raises serious questions on the sustainability of the mining-based development process. The MMDRA, 2015 is also silent on whether and how intergenerational equity should be ensured while sharing the benefits of mining.

1.7 Overlapping of Provisions

The DMF funds are being used to implement the works undertaken by PMKKKY. But the activities specified by PMKKKY wholly coincide with those included for the corporate social responsibility (CSR) under the Companies Act, 2013. Thus, the DMF fund (through PMKKKY works) is only complementing the existing activities taken up under the CSR which is a dangerous sign.

1.8 Illegal Mining

Illegal mining economy is generally understated but keeps revolving around 90,000 cases annually. There is no differentiation between minor and major mineral (illegal mining) but rather more denotification of major minerals to minor minerals. Further, it is estimated that the amount of fine imposed on the unscrupulous miners is not commensurate with the money earned by them through illegal mining.

1.9 Mining Closure

Lack of responsible bureaucratic and political class facilitates improper and unsafe mining closures. Lack of improved design for closure strategy also jeopardizes a better assurance for restoring ecosystems to productive life cycles.

Conclusion and Recommendations

To sum up, DMF looks like a progressive action by the current Union Government which ensures share of the affected and tribal communities in the mineral income. This amount is great support for the mineral rich and poverty stricken states to formulate appropriate actions for the development of the affected communities. Yet, this has not caught the attention of the development practitioners, experts as well as media and members of the legislative body to have informed debate around the gaps in the governance and planning mechanism lies

- *Developing a strong knowledge base on mining resource and DMF:* There was string need felt among the participants to strengthen the knowledge base on the DMF. This will generate wider quality discourse in the mineral mearing states in India.
- *Operationalise the Tribal Acts:* Although the Act says that the DMF should be guided by the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act (PESA), 1996, and the Forest Rights Act, 2006, Odisha is yet to operationalize them.
- *Create Awareness:* It is imperative to create awareness (legal, scientific, etc.) about the provisions, opportunities and limitations of concerned sections of the Act in the society, including calculation of royalty amount, to overcome problems of asymmetry information and moral hazards.
- *Generate Integrated Resource Mapping:* The *Gram Sabhas* and *Palli Sabhas* are to be educated with the knowledge of local resource base. Combination of resource maps at village, Panchayat, and block levels will generate an integrated resource map. This will align resources and policies in relation to specific goals, strategies, and expected outcomes.
- *Empower Local Institutions and Communities:* The Zilla Parishad should be entrusted with the governing responsibilities which are presently assigned to the DC. The PRIs should be given a larger role in the planning and execution of works taken up under DMF. The public role for local communities needs to be expanded. Affected communities or their representatives should be a part of the Board of Trustees and Executive Committee. A bottom-up perspective planning should be in place involving the *Gram Sabhas* and *Palli Sabhas*.
- *Prioritize Agriculture and Skill Development Sectors:* There is no provision of providing alternative livelihood opportunities for the people affected by mining. In this context, agriculture and skill development sectors need to be prioritized for providing immediate livelihoods opportunities.
- *Ensure Intergenerational Equity:* The state should come up with ways to ensure sustainable mining practices and sharing the wealth such that intergenerational equity is ensured.

- *Punitive Action*: Strong criminal proceedings should be carried against the illegal miners and erring officials.

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NON-JUDGEMENTAL AWARENESS IN CONTEMPLATING HISTORIC BUDDHIST ANICCĀ: ITS RELEVANCE TO MENTAL HAPPINESS

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Abstract

In Buddhism, true happiness is when the mind is free from attachments and aversions. A mind that does not dwell on those mental defilements is a non-judgemental mind. Attachments and aversions arise because we make judgements like liking or disliking etc. These mental defilements go so long as there is ignorance of the impermanent nature of things. The Buddha has given the Eightfold Path to attain the truth, mindfulness being one important step. Cultivating non-judgemental awareness helps one look at things without any attachment to self or "I" and hence knows the non-substantial nature of self and worldly phenomena. This paper is a humble attempt to analyse how contemplating historic Buddhist aniccā (impermanence) through non-judgemental awareness helps one attain happiness. With this intent, discussions have been made on suffering, suffering and impermanence, and finally, non-judgemental awareness through which one can look at things as they are and thus attain happiness.

Keywords: *Suffering, impermanence, non-self, non-judgemental awareness, happiness*

Introduction

If we trace back to the origin of Buddhism, we'll find human suffering at its root. Prince Siddhartha's disquiet at the disturbing sight of the three inevitable events of human life led him to look for the truth of life. In his six years of deep meditation for a spiritual quest, he found the great four Noble Truths and the causal formula of dependent arising regarding human existence. He gained a thorough knowledge of suffering and the twelve causal links of samsāra chakra in the second (Buddhacarita, Canto, XIV: 7-48)¹ and third (Buddhacarita, Canto, XIV: 49-83)² watches³ respectively during his post-enlightenment meditation. The causal links explain that the whole nexus of human life from birth to death is sustained by several factors which are impermanent (aniccā) yet dependently arising. There is no substantial

soul behind them. Now attaching them to an abiding self leads to suffering. Because they disappear and do not stay as one wishes them to. Hence ignorance of the real nature of phenomena is the root cause of suffering according to the Buddha. And the way to a blissful state is the complete absence of ignorance (Buddhacarita, Canto, XIV: 83). The Buddha put forward an Eightfold Path⁴ as a way to acquire wisdom.

“The best of men saw no self anywhere from the summit of existence downwards and came to tranquillity, like a fire whose fuel is burnt out, by the eightfold path of supreme insight, which starts forth and quickly reaches the desired point” (Buddhacarita, Canto, XIV: 84).⁵

In this eightfold path, mindfulness is the basis for all of the other components. For, the right view and the rest of the six components are impossible if one is not mindful. The Buddha used meditation as a practice to develop mindfulness, thereby permitting progress on the path and finally attaining the blissful state of enlightenment. The Buddha said that one who devotedly practices meditation and takes delight in the calmness of the mind is loved by the gods.⁶

I. Understanding suffering in the context of Buddhism

Suffering (dukkha) is recognised as one of the three marks of existence in the Buddhist basic description of reality. The other two are impermanence (aniccâ) and non-self (anâtta). Again, there are three basic patterns of suffering (Samyukta Nikaya 38:14)⁷ in human lives: the suffering of suffering (dukkha-dukkhatâ); the suffering of change (viparinâma-dukkhatâ); and the suffering of conditioned existence or all-pervasive suffering (sankhârâ-dukkhatâ).⁸ The suffering of suffering is gross level suffering that becomes unavoidable at times. They are the pain of birth, old age, sickness, and death. The suffering of change follows from the principle that nothing in this world is permanent. It occurs when we cling to pleasurable experiences in the hope that they will never change. Thus, this suffering is when happy experiences change into unpleasant ones as the causes and conditions that produce the pleasant experiences cease. The suffering of conditioned existence is the basis of the previous two patterns of suffering. We often do not recognise this type of suffering, but it is instructive of the principle that any phenomena that come into being are subject to the laws of karma and dependent origination. The Dhammapada says,

“Sabbe sa
Ekhârâ aniccâ ti
yadâ paññâya
passati,

atha nibbindati
dukkhe;
esa maggo
visuddhiyâ.”⁹

Meaning, “All conditioned things are impermanent”— when one sees this with wisdom one turns away from suffering. This is the path to purification.

II. Aniccâ (impermanence) and dukkha (suffering)

The two terms, aniccâ and dukkha are, in fact, pre-Buddhist concepts. They came down from the Upanisadic teachings. Radhakrishnan said, “The fundamental proposition of the system that life is sorrow is dogmatically accepted from the Upanisads”.¹⁰ Also, the view that suffering is an essential fact of life on earth is admitted by almost all the schools of Indian thought.¹¹ Generally, impermanence is viewed by the Vedic philosophy as implying impermanence of all things against the Self or Âtman, which is permanent, eternal, unchanging, and absolute. The realization of the Âtman brings about absolute and eternal bliss. The Buddha sailed along with the two concepts, but with a different paradigm of meaning. Let’s look at impermanence a bit differently. If it was held by the Buddha that all things are impermanent and therefore bring about suffering and sorrow, and hence abstained from including a third into the formula by way of anâtâtâ, a way out of suffering would not have been possible according to the Buddha’s way. The Second Noble Truth tells us that suffering stems from desire. Then the question bounds, why do we have the desire? It is because of our love for self. We have taken the bundle of five aggregates¹² as “I”. This is where anâtâtâ comes to the fore.

It is undisputed that all conditioned things are impermanent and therefore they are the cause of the arising of suffering.¹³ However, it cannot be equally claimed that all impermanent things lead to miseries. For example, if my headache is not impermanent, I would lose all hopes of a cure and dash my future happiness by the expectation that the headache is impermanent and pass away in time. This shows that it is not due to the impermanence of the external world that suffering is caused. Rather it is due to our incapability to hold anything to our satisfaction. The Buddha’s chief concern was human suffering and hence his impermanence theory was associated with human existence. The extension of the impermanence view to include other beings is the addition of later thinkers on Buddhism. For, according to the Buddha, the concept of impermanence and its understanding is more important in moral life than any metaphysical discussion about worldly phenomena. And the principle of morality applies to human life only. Impermanence has a deep connection to human desire and suffering when it comes to the attainment of happiness. As we desire, we want to hold on to the desired thing permanently for the self or “I”. For we believe self to be eternal and want to own the desired things for it being ignorant of the fact that whatever we

believe as ours including the concept of “I” is not permanent. As Dalai Lama¹⁴ said that clinging to the self is mainly an attempt to fulfil desires. The perceptions change. What we think is good now may become not so good in a little while. Now, this is deeper than a mere superficial view of the nature of reality. The suffering, whatever the cause may be, is because of our belief that they are happening to us. One must not be led to believe that impermanence is not a cause of suffering, but it must be viewed with what it is for us or me.

Anâttâ LakkhaGa Sutta (Samyukta Nikaya, 22:59) offers a more precise view of what Buddha meant when he talks about impermanence,

“.....

So, bhikkhus any kind of form whatever, whether past, future or presently arisen, whether gross or subtle, whether in oneself or external, whether inferior or superior, whether far or near, must with right understanding how it is, be regarded thus: ‘This is not mine, this is not I, this is not myself’.

“Any kind of feeling whatever...

“Any kind of perception whatever...

“Any kind of determination whatever...

“Any kind of consciousness whatever, whether past, future or presently arisen, whether gross or subtle, whether in oneself or external, whether inferior or superior, whether far or near must, with right understanding how it is, be regarded thus: ‘This is not mine, this is not I, this is not myself’.”¹⁵

This clarifies our mind as to what was in the Buddha’s mind when he referred to impermanence. Being an ethical and psychological teacher, his main concern was not to explain the external world in itself but the world relating to us, human beings. The problem of suffering ensues when we are unable to cultivate a non-possessive attitude toward worldly phenomena. It thus tells us that holding on to the view that “This is mine, this is I, this is myself” leads to the nature of suffering afflicting us throughout the journey of saAsâra.

We also find the reference to impermanence in Mahâ Parinibbâna Sutta (Dîghâ Nikâya,16:1-6). This verse was uttered by Sakka, the King of the *Devas*, just after the passing away (Parinibbâna) of the Buddha.

Aniccâ vata
saEkh^{âra}16Uppâda
vaya dhammino

Uppajjivâ
nirujhanti

TesaC vûpa
samo sukho

Means, transient are all compounded things, subject to arise and vanish; having come into existence they pass away; good is the peace when they forever cease. The Aniccâ Sutta (36:9) states, “The three kinds of feelings, O monks, are impermanent, compounded, dependently arisen, liable to destruction, to evanescence, to fading away, to cessation — namely, pleasant feeling, painful feeling, and neutral feeling”.¹⁷

Many suttas in the Canon describe impermanence. But, the Buddha, in essence, was not primarily concerned with the impermanence of the world as such. Rather his teachings converge on the impermanence of the Self, that we hold to be “I”, “me” or “mine” and that he expected us to be realized. All things are not self¹⁸. Once this truth is realized, any impermanence of the external world matters not to the enlightened being. Aniccâ or impermanence is the inability to hold anything to our satisfaction.

III. Non-judgemental awareness in mindfulness and focusing the mind on impermanence

All beings— humans, and others— have evolved in a specific way. They have a dependency on the external world to survive and continue in this saAsâra (field of experience). The western concept of evolution is mostly, though not always, based on the Darwinian theory of evolution. Darwin’s theory is purely mechanical¹⁹ necessitated by natural selection, chance, and random mutations, but Darwin failed to provide any acceptable reasons for randomness. Life was an accident to him that only happened once in the history of the Universe. Darwin fails to tell us about the origin of life but restricted himself to a theory of the origin of species. He confessed that he did not know how life began. Nor was he aware of the role of the mind, or according to their understanding, a consciousness. Buddhist theory of evolution is a psycho-physical combinatorial theory of evolution. In the Aggana Sutta (Dîghâ Nikaya, 27), the Buddha describes how beings born from Abhassara Brahma world²⁰ evolve both physically and mentally, and how greed and hatred were established among beings with changing living circumstances and environmental strains.

The beginning of this cyclic journey of the world cannot be envisaged, and the Buddha did not engage himself with theories of speculation for good reasons. In his enlightenment, what he saw was how desire and aversion compounded by ignorance keep fuelling the round of becoming, and how by eliminating desire and other contributory factors, one can bring about an end to this repetition of becoming inherent suffering therein. His method involves introspection, and perception of the roots of existence. The beginning of introspection

requires a calming of the mind to a degree where new mental impressions are avoided and the internal disturbances due to memory-based conceptual turbulences are held in check. This method necessarily requires a non-judgemental approach to mental phenomena from the beginning. It is the mindfulness practice of paying attention to whatever arises in the present moment non-judgmentally. The term mindfulness is derived from the Pali word *sati* which derives from a root meaning “to remember”.²¹ As a mental factor, Bhikkhu Bodhi says, “it signifies the presence of mind, attentiveness to the present, rather than the faculty of memory regarding the past”.²² Mindfulness is paying attention to the sensations from the external world and from within the body to the fleeting thoughts of the mind, and to the moment-to-moment awareness itself. It is, thus, defined as “moment-by-moment awareness”²³. In addition, it is intentional paying attention and witness what is emerging in the present moment without judgment, without consideration of its goodness or badness, rightness or wrongness, pleasantness or unpleasantness. Here the practitioner steps back and looks at the happenings within and around as if he is simply an observer. Hence it is a non-conceptual awareness, pure awareness of now, without any processing of the information whatsoever. Describing the Mindfulness-based Stress Reduction project, Jon Kabat-Zinn said, “This ‘work’ involves above all the regular, disciplined practice of moment-to-moment awareness or *mindfulness*, the complete ‘owning’ of each moment of your experience, good, bad, or ugly. This is the essence of full catastrophic living”.²⁴ Our normal daily life involves judgements, construction of concepts and assigning preferences, likes or dislikes, etc that are needed for the operation of the mind. This very same natural requirement makes it difficult to build a balanced mind that is required to understand the nature of the mind.

The best example we can draw from the canon in this regard is the Bâhiya Sutta (Udana, 1:10). Here the Buddha instructs the Brahmin Bâhiya as follows,

“Herein, Bâhiya, you should train yourself thus: ‘In the seen will be merely what is seen; in the heard will be merely what is heard; in the sensed will be merely what is sensed; in the cognized will be merely what is cognized.’ In this way, you should train yourself, Bâhiya.

“When, Bâhiya, for you in the seen is merely what is seen... in the cognized is merely what is cognized, then, Bâhiya, you will not be ‘with that’. When, Bâhiya, you are not ‘with that’, then, Bâhiya, you will not be ‘in that’. When, Bâhiya, you are not ‘in that’, then, Bâhiya, you will be neither here nor beyond nor in between the two. Just this is the end of suffering.”²⁵

This set of instructions found in the scripture constitutes the very essence of a non-judgemental approach to contemplation. “In the seen is merely what is seen,” tells us not to go any further than what is felt by the senses. These sensory inputs, no doubt will make their way to the brain to be processed and offered to the mind to be read and either accepted

with desire or rejected with aversion. The Buddha's advice is, when they are received by the mind, not to assign any value either by way of attraction or repulsion but merely maintain neutrality. A well-developed mind trained this way will eventually reach maturity to liberate the mind from defilements finally leading to enlightenment. This discourse, unlike many other suttas where long instructions are given on mindfulness, as in the Satipammhâna Sutta, does not surprisingly offer any complicated guidelines as to how one should endeavour to achieve enlightenment. Instead, a few simple steps on how one should train his mind on the present moment or awareness as just as seen, heard or cognized. There is no mention of the Four Noble Truths, no Eightfold Path, and no Paticcasamuppâda but a simple set of instructions based on an empirical vision of no significance in what is seen, heard or felt, etc. This I think would construct the foundation for non-judgemental awareness in meditation or contemplation. Even upekkhâ meditation, one of the four Brahmavihâra meditations, will lead one towards non-judgemental awareness finally leading to awakening. True happiness, during the early stages of practice, comes from the feeling that one is no longer subject to unwarranted suffering arising as a result of paying heed to sensations. The final liberation is liberation from suffering, creating thereby lasting happiness.

Conclusion

In Buddhism, human suffering is not caused by external things. It arises from within. It is when we do not know the real nature of things. That is when we fail to know the ephemeral nature of things and thus attach ourselves to them. The theory of Paticcasamuppâda, which states that everything arises depending upon the preceding cause and condition, questions this belief in the substantiality of everything. Substantiality cannot go with the causal formula of 'this being, that arises'. As His Holiness Dalai Lamasays²⁶, the notion of intrinsic, independent existence is incompatible with causation. For causation means contingency and dependence, and anything that is independently existent would be absolute and self-enclosed. Now from the psychological point of view, understanding impermanence is a way toward the attainment of happiness. Trying to own something permanently that is transitory leads one to sorrow and misery. Here, the non-judgemental mindfulness practice is a tool to train the mind to accept the momentary nature of things by not dwelling much upon them. Repeated practice of it will help the mind see things as they are and thus get rid of pains and miseries that generally arise due to our wish to get things as we like. The more we acquire the skill of accepting things as they are, the more we understand that they are not permanent objects of our satisfaction. This also works in maintaining relationships, as many meditation teachers would say. Thus if allaying suffering/attaining happiness is the goal of the Buddha, then understanding impermanence may be said to be the path, and non-judgemental awareness practices the tool.

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1. Johnston, E. H., (translated from original Sanskrit), *The Buddhacarita*, Kolkata: Baptist Mission Press, 1936, pp. 204-208.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-213.
3. As the legend goes, after the attainment of enlightenment, the Buddha kept meditating to obtain the exact knowledge of ultimate reality. As he mastered all sorts of meditation, in the first watch he remembered his previous births. In the second watch, he had a thorough observation of the births, sufferings, rebirths, and the law of action. In the third watch, he explored the twelve causal links of samsara cakra. In the fourth watch, he attained the ultimate truth.
4. Dhammapada (14:190-191) states that the Noble Eightfold Path leads to the cessation of suffering. Buddharakkhita, Acharya, *The Dhammapada*, Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 2016.
5. Johnston, E. H., *The Buddhacarita*, p.213.
6. Dhammapada (14:181) puts, “Those wise ones who are devoted to meditation and who delight in the calm of renunciation— such mindful ones, Supreme Buddhas, even the gods hold dear”.
7. Bhikkhu Thanissaro, trans. Dukkha Sutta: Stress, <https://www.accesstoinsight.org/tipitaka/sn/sn38/sn38.014.than.html>, (accessed December 15, 2021).
8. In the Samkhya philosophy also, suffering has been treated as an important concept. Radhakrishnan said that the Samkhya starts with the idea of the universality of suffering, which is of three kinds: adhyatmika, i.e., arising from the psychological nature of man; adhibhautika, i.e., arising from the external world; and the adhidaivika, i.e., arising from the supernatural agencies. Radhakrishnan, S., *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 2, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996, p.307.
9. Dhammapada, 20:277.
10. Radhakrishnan, S., *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 1, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996, p.366.
11. *Ibid.*, p.366.
12. In Buddhism, five aggregates (panca khandha) refer to the five groups into which the Buddha analyses the living being. They are material form, feeling, perception, mental formations, and consciousness. These aggregates are insubstantial and are not subject to one’s control. In Dhammapada (14:202), it is said “There is no ill like the aggregates, no bliss higher than the peace (of Nibbana)”.
13. Sabbe saEkhârâ dukkhâ ti (Dhammapada 20:278), meaning, all conditioned things are unsatisfactory.
14. Dalai Lama. 1995. *The Path to Enlightenment*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion. [Google Scholar].

15. Nanamoli Thera, Anâttâ-lakkhana Sutta: The Discourse on the Not-self Characteristic, <https://www.accesstoinight.org/tipitaka/sn/sn22/sn22.059.nymo.html>, (accessed December 21, 2021).
16. The term saEkhârâ is the combination of two words, ‘sam’ and ‘kara’. ‘Sam’ means together and ‘kara’ means doing. Hence, it means co-doings, that is, the things that work in harmony with other things. Though different English terms have been used for saEkhârâ by different Buddhist thinkers, the commonly used term/phrase is formations or volitional formations. Prof. Homes (August 17, 2018) beautifully explains the conditioned nature of everything with the example of a mango plant. Though the main cause of a mango plant is the mango seed, to grow up, it requires other things like soil, water, sunshine, etc. Since the mango plant grows because of a host of causes and conditions, it is called conditioned phenomena or saEkhârâ. Likewise, an individual is an aggregate of specific conditions. He goes with the conditioned formations. When these conditions disappear, he ceases to exist. There is only one unconditioned Dhamma. It is Nibbana or the final liberation from all conditioned formations. Homes, D. D., Anicca Vata Sankhara: Concerning Conditioned Phenomena, <https://www.buddhistdoor.net/features/anicca-vata-sankhara-concerning-conditioned-phenomena/>, August 7, 2018, (accessed December 21, 2021).
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POLITICAL BEHAVIOR: A DETERMINANT OF HISTORY
A Brief Sketch of The Behavioral Approach in
The Writing of History

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Abstract

In the various theories of history various determinants of history are discussed since early times. The Mesopotamians, Egyptians as well as the classical Greeks and Roman considered the divine force as the driving force of events and events makes history. In the modern time various other aspects such as great man, everyman, ideas, geography, human nature, economy, human psychology, etc were considered as determinants of history by various philosophers and historians. Since the beginning of 20th century however, another aspect is being considered by historian as a determinant of history that is political behaviors of man. According to the proponent of this determinant, the political behavior of the individual or nation has always played a great role in moving the wheels of history. Since political behavior is one of the natural and inherent traits of man, its attributes influence the course of history very strongly and sharply like the role of materialism or idealism. This essay is an attempt to elaborate this concept of political behavior as a determinant of history.

Keywords: *Political, Idea, Determinant, Historiography*

Introduction

History amplifies that the political behavior of the people or nation largely determines the course of their history. In the absence of the political behavior of man, the earth would have remained a mere geographical setting. The exclusive characteristics of mankind like

'governance' and organization changed the earth into an ever-interested political setting. This paper intended to draw the fact that the political behavior played an optimum level in determining the journey of human history and to advertent the behavioral approach in the writing of history with the conviction that would bring the historian and history very nigh to accuracy and objectivity.

Determinants portrayed in the existing theories of history

Divine-A Determinant of History: There are various determinants of history portrayed in the theories of history since the historic period such as the Mesopotamians, Egyptians adopted the idea that 'will', 'passion', 'plans of god' were the ultimate course of events. Greeks and Romans considered the divine force as the driving force of events. This theological version of history asserted that divine being directed human affairs together with the rest of the cosmos. All the individual men are merely tools in the hand of inescapable destiny whatever they may do the outcome of their actions most necessarily fit into the preordained plan of the providence. The cyclical theory of history was developed by Herodotus and Thucydides. They visualized time as recurring cyclically, the process in which men were unable to control¹. This idea was presented in the Israelite scriptures and later it was taken over by the Christians. The linear concept of St. Augustine saw history as being the unfolding plan of Gods, a process that would end in the final judgment.

An Extraordinary man- a determinant of History: Fetishistic worship of great man ranged from the divine monarch, the tyrant, the lawgiver, the military conqueror, the dictator, the hero of emancipation, and the religious reformer were considered as prime movers of history. The most celebrated later day expounder of this viewpoint was Thomas Carlyle who wrote "Universal History of what man has accomplished in this world is at bottom of the history of the greatmen who have worked here". History is the record of the deeds of great people².

Ideas - a determinant of history: The history is drawn forward or driven ahead by some ideas or intellectual forces. Idealists are considering that ideas as the creative factor of history. Aristotle held that the prime mover of the universe is the great mind. Hegel was the modern exponent of this theory, considered, that progress of mankind is in the working out and consummation of an idea. He said, "Spirit or mind is the only motive principle of history". He believed that brilliant intellects or mental genius supply the mainspring of human advancement³. He pictured history as the product of abstract principles which represented differing degrees of the ceaseless contest between servitude and freedom. Man's freedom was gradually realized through the dialectical development of the absolute idea. The 18th-century rationalists too believed that opinion governs mankind.

Economy a determinant of History: The economic theory of history sees economic factors as the most important and dominant determinant of history. Economic transactions are the foundations of all socio-political structures and processes. Karl Marx is the chief exponent of this theory. He disagreed with Hegel by saying that it was not ideas that created material conditions, but material conditions that causes for the birth of ideas. The French historian of the early 19th century acquired deeper insight into the economic conditioning of the historical process through their studies of the English and French Revolutions. The complete cycle of the French Revolution witnessed a series of class struggle one after another. This started with the overthrow of the absolute Monarchy, passed through the revolutionary regime of Robespierre and the bourgeois military dictatorship of Napoleon, and ended in the Bourbon Restoration⁴. In the light of these vicissitudes, they learned the crucial role of class struggle in pushing history forward and pointed to sweeping shifts in property ownership as the prime cause of social overthrows. But they remained unable to uncover the fundamental determinants which led to the reconstruction and replacement of property relations as well as political forms. In the introduction to the English edition of socialism Utopian and scientific Engels defined historical materialism as “that view of the course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all historic events in the economic development of society, in the changes in the modes of production and exchange in the consequent division of society into distinct classes, and the struggles of these classes against one another”⁵. The final word of the economic interpretation of history is that the economic factor is the foundation for the superstructure of culture and polity.

The Best people a determinant of history: This theory says that the best people or race make history. The Old Testament is very much assertive in making the Israelites were the ‘chosen people’. The Greeks regarded themselves as the refine of culture, letter in all respects as the barbarian. Plato and Aristotle looked upon the slave-holding aristocracy as naturally superior to the lower orders. The best people are the contributors to the history of mankind⁶.

Everyman-a determinant of History: The advocate of this view of history is William E.B. Du-Bois⁷. Their argument is that history as being a record of the collective experience of the ordinary man. Du-Bouis in his histories, ‘Black Reconstruction in America, Crisis and Souls of Black Folk rejected the idea of history as the record of Western European Events and advanced a view of history as a record of the lives of ordinary subjects. Marxism too builds the insight to this theory that history is the result of the collective action of multitudes of mass efforts. It is not elites but the many member bodies of the people who have sustained history switched it in a new direction at critical turning points, and lifted humanity upward step by step with their organization of labor.

Geography - a determinant of history: Geography and chronology are considered as the two eyes of history since, behind every historical event powerful geographic factor are at work. History always takes place in a particular space and every space has its history, space and time form complementary basic axes and supply the fundamental parameters for a closer determination of the relationship of ancient history and geography⁸. Montesquieu regarded geography and government as the twin principal determinant of history and society⁹. The physical factor was the most influential in the earlier and more primitive stages of human existence although its operation never seemed; the political factor became dominant as civilization advanced.

The Human Nature- a determinant of history: This view of history argues that the last analysis in history has been determined by the qualities of human nature. Human Nature was regarded as unchanging. E.B. Taylor, the founder of British Anthropology, wrote in 1889 “Human Institutions like stratified rocks, succeeded each other in series substantially uniform over the globe, independent of what seems comparatively superficial differences of race and language, but shaped by similar human nature”¹⁰. Here the historian’s task was to discover the unchanging nature of human nature to find out the invariant traits of the human constitution and character and to examine the course of history that exemplified them and how the society was molded or had to be remodeled in accordance. Human nature was set as a resort to explaining the social and historical phenomenon.

Other determinants: Besides the above said major determinants, there is a number of other determinants propounded by the scholars to explain history. There is the notion that the reason is the motive force for history and others suggests the ‘wars’ determine history still others suggest that religion, race, or climate determine the course of history.

All the different types of historical explanation cast up in the evolution of man’s thought survive today. Not one has been permanently buried, no matter how outmoded, inadequate, or scientifically incorrect it is¹¹. Even the oldest interpretation can be revived and reappear in modern dress. And also new perceptions, and findings would emerge with the expansion in the thought processing and the deepening of insight towards the subject. When the theories of history are making variant determinants to history through ages based on the demand of the situation, contexts, and events. Here this paper is trying to justify the political behavior of the people as a determinant of history. The influence of psychology on history since the 20th century and the emergence of behavioralism during the postwar period together gave way for this perception to conclude political behavior a determinant of history.

Influence of Psychology on History: Since history was recognized as a university discipline in the last half of the 19th-century historians have often looked after two other fields and new perspectives. The Annales school historian Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, Fernand

Braudel, and Ernest Labrousse wanted to integrate insights and methodologies from anthropology, geography, sociology economics, and psychology. Bloch and Lucien Febvre believed that the Political narratives and constitutional histories are inadequate and incomplete to understand the holistic part of humanity and thus profoundly felt the need of other social sciences, even that it comprehended them¹². Because, it signifies the cognition of human emotions, motivations, ideas, judgments of value, and violation. It is a faculty indispensable to everybody in the conduct of daily affairs and less indispensable to the authors of literature and novels as well as to historians. Early traditional historians till the 19th century ignored psychology in their search on the past and this negligence is considered as a problem of historical thought by 20th-century historians like Freud. Freud, in his various works, tried to show the relevance of psychoanalysis for understanding both general problems and individual figures in history. Lucien Febvre urged historians and psychologists to collaborate in a sustained fashion. He advocated the study of sensibility, emotion, and expression of the individual as well as society. He insisted that without it there will be no real history possible. He encouraged his fellow historians to investigate the history of love, the history of death, and the history of cruelty¹³. March Bloch too studies a phenomenon called, 'collective illusion' in his work 'Royal Touch' was rendering scope for the development of psychological history and he partly applies Durkheim's idea on collective beliefs and mentalities¹⁴.

Annals school's importance to the psychological history and 'mentalities' are noteworthy to add strength for the argument of this paper. It directly speaks of the mind and behavior of human beings. Asther Marwick very strongly stated in his nature of history that history certainly deals with human behavior, human institution, and human values. This approach of Annals school might have been suitable for the type of problem which were existed during the post-war period. To confirm this argument behavioralist approach has become familiar during the post-war period in the realm of the study of political science too. The German historian Wilhelm Windelband insisted that collective psychology is the basis for discovering the general laws in history¹⁵. The collective psychology is identified as one of the forces, carrying history. The reflection of the same is an indispensable part of the course of history. Lucien Febvre and Bloch were interested in 'Collective Psychology' and argued that in the due course of time 'behavior' of the mob played a greater role in determining the history of a nation. *Rois et Serfs Un Chapitre d' Histoire Capetienne* (1920) of Bloch shows clearly the manners in which Bloch viewed feudal society from the standpoint of the peasants rather than that of the Lords and Kings. *Les Coracteres Originaux de I historic Rurale Fremacaise* (1931) turned firmly away from the historian's traditional pre-occupation with legal and administrative institutions. George le Lucien Febvre, who from the severe disciplines of Langlois and Seignobs evolved a quantitative and finally a quasi-psychological approach to history, his book *La Grande Peur de 1789* took him into the realms of social

psychology¹⁶. The writings of Hippolyte Taine and Gustave Le Bon are crowd psychologists who argued that the individual in a crowd suffers a kind of hypnosis in which his brain is paralyzed and he loses his willpower. Taine described the crowd in the French Revolution of 1789 as savage and primitive, drunken, enraged, lustful and bloodthirsty. He believed that even the most law-abiding citizen turned into a “grinning blood thirsty and lustful baboon” when he joined a crowd¹⁷. The writings of Taine established a link between historical psychology and right-wing politics. LeBon believed that crowd psychology explained the ‘pathologies’ of Modern society such as workers, stricken and riots, and especially socialism¹⁸. The Crowd psychologist’s support for a racist, and feminist and anti-socialist positions made it attractive to the extreme right. Mussolini claimed to have read Le Bon’s book several times and Hitler may have used it as a source for Mein Kampf.

Psycho-History: Freud was the person who attempted to write psycho-history. In his work, he tried to bring the relevance of the psychoanalysis for understanding both general problems and individual figures in history. Although a few scholars tried to follow Freud’s lead in the 1910’s and 1920’s by writing psycho biographies of famous historical figure¹⁹. Historians remained largely immune to psychoanalytic influence until after World War II. The rise of Hitler and National Socialism made explanations that emphasized irrational forces seem more compelling and the author of a psycho-biographical study of Hitler, William L. Langer, devoted his Presidential address at the meeting of the American Historical Association in 1957 to urging historians to use the insights of depth psychology²⁰. The next year Frick H. Erickson published his widely reviewed Psycho-analysis and History 1958. Books articles and dissertations in the field multiplied in the 1960’s and 1970’s. By early 1970 the journal of psychohistory had been founded and a few history departments began to offer psychohistory as a field for doctoral study. In this way, interest is developed to incorporate psychology into history research writing²¹.

Bruce Mazlish argued that all historians should undergo a training in psychology before embarking on their researches. Erickson’s study is a triumphant signal indicating the area of applicability of psycho-analysis to history²².

The inevitable integration of history and psychology made human behavior as the basic determinant of history. And thus, history is the reflection of human behavior in the past. The influence of Freudian in the post-war period becomes inevitable and the introduction of ‘behavioralism’ in the study of political science further directing the student of history to understand the neglected element of historical writing is the ‘behavior’ come into the light. It is scientific as well as philosophical. If it is biographical history it determines by the individual behavior, social history by social behavior, political history the political behavior. This paper gives attention to study how does political behavior determines the course of history.

Nature of Man: Anthropologically, man is biological, social, economic, psychological, spiritual, and political and these components together make the man a complete being. Deficit if any one of these would cost perfection. The Marxian ideology (or) materialism emphasizes the biological aspects of man in the determination of history while the contractualist insist the socialist nature of man in the determination of history. Furthermore, Aristotle, the father of political science rightly asserted that man, by nature is a political animal and he, who by nature, and not by mere accident without a state, is either above humanity or below it²³. In other words, “he who is unable to live in a society or who has no need because he is sufficient for himself, must be either a beast or God”. So naturally, man is political as he is social spiritual and biological²⁴. This natural inherent attribute of man could be seen very clearly in his behavior. The behavior of any human being naturally reflects his political character in his day-to-day activities in one way or another. He doesn't need to have an involvement in active politics of the state or any governing body. And thus, man's political involvement is spontaneous.

The signs of political Behavior in Man:

The Desire for Governance: The desire for governance is the dream of almost every man. The governance could be upon a family or tribe or an institution or a state. Aspiration for leadership for every human being is unique. The stature of the individuality of an individual is expressed commonly in aspiring leadership. Right to aspire the leadership always comes first whereas criteria for leadership and competency are secondary. Individualism stirs the individuality of many and makes them great leaders. Interest in decision-making, all men invariably show interest and haste to decide on their own whatever the subject is, personal or public, big or small despite knowing the caution behind them. They always feel happy if their decisions are decided for action. Thirst for Sovereignty, despite knowing his limitations, man has the desire to be sovereign. Austen's theory of sovereignty puts a check on all human states in realizing sovereignty. The attributes of sovereignty such as permanence, exclusive men, all comprehensiveness, inalienability, indivisibility, unity, imprescriptibly, individuality, unlimitedness, absoluteness, and originality are not practically possible to be acquired by any of the human superior or state²⁵. But the interest exists in men of all ages. The limited man is trying to exercise sovereignty in the name of the limitless God or constitution or people. The British King James I said “Kings are the breathing images of God upon the earth”²⁶. Manusmiriti too states that the king is God in the shape of a man. A step ahead, Arthasasthra stated that the king is equal to Indra and Yama²⁷. In the Republican states, constitutional sovereignty is exercised by human authorities. So, man's thirst for sovereignty is quenched by various means in all ages in all forms of governances.

Resistance to Authority and Insubordination: Man by nature tends to resist authority. The general nature of man is that he wants to be a master and never likes to be under the authority of someone. ‘Obedience’ is a virtue taught from childhood but never learned fully by man till his old age. But the irony is that the state system requires subordination of the subjects towards the sovereign. To extract implicit obedience, the rulers of the ancient states used religion as a weapon. Disobeying the king is equal to disobeying God is the essence of the Divine Right theory. Even the contract Theory of Thomas Hobbes states that disobeying the king would cause degeneration²⁸. But in democracy, peaceful resistance is recognized and it is also considered as an important political exercise of the people²⁹. Whereas in Monarchy or Autocracy resistance is countered by force. Suppression of revolts and refusing to pay tribute are other follow-ups of insubordination.

An Attitude of Subjugation: The attitude of subjugating others is a special area of interest to the common man. The exponents of force theory like Oppenheim who was the author of the book ‘state’ hold the view that the state originated and developed by the use of naked force by the strong over the weak and their consequent subjugation³⁰. The immediate demand of subjugation is again demanding subordination from the counterpart. The political behavior of the suppressed is naturally resistant to subordination.

Longing for power: Power is a covetous temptation for power is highly irresistible. Power-grabbing is habitual to man. Aurobindo assumed that the three things irresistible to the man is power along with money and sex. This inherent attribute of man on power certifies the presence of political behavior in men of all ages.

Desire for Logics: Man is rational and his rationality seeks logic in all his attitudes and activities. His mind is comfortable only in proper conviction in any matter that he involves. He is also capable to develop logic through his thought processes and experiences. The Hegelian dialectic also expresses this view as the evolution of logic in the thought process of man through the union of two opposites. Naturally, man has an aversion towards all illogical thoughts³¹.

Satisfaction in Organization: Man generally hates ill-organization because it causes confusion and lawlessness. It results in restlessness and dissatisfaction. But man is satisfied and pleased with schemes, schedules, patterns, systems, arrangements, orders, and methods these are the basics of a state system.

Ability in Management: From the beginning man leads his life amidst many odds and obstacles. Odd situations and obstacles posed the requirement of management³². So naturally, he was forced to develop the skill of management. For example, if cultivation is the occupation, then irrigation is the management. Marriage is an institution in which the

family is the Management. Mines are resources in which factories are the management. People in a group form the society, where the governance is the management. The biggest Managing body is the state.

Love for Liberation: The story of civilization is nothing but the march of liberation. It may be economic liberation of social liberation or political liberation or ultimate liberation. In all these above-said areas, a man was directed to achieve liberation by self-realization³³. This way, in recent years most of the nations of the world have realized democracy (or) self-government from the regime of tyrannical or oligarchical nature of governance of the past³⁴.

The Consciousness of Justice: One of the uniqueness of man is his discerning capacity to distinguish justice from injustice. This assessment is tried in his conscience and his whole person is comfortable with justice otherwise he would suffer from guilt. So naturally, man likes to do justice and is also much conscious of justice. Execution of justice is one of the chief activities of any polity of any nation.

Passion for Popularity: Passion for recognition and reputation is many a time the driving forces of men to do constructive deeds. The appraisal is his chief expectation to go ahead. The Chinese philosophy says “if a man does not seek reputation, he is free from all sufferings³⁵. But actually, man wants to earn fame more than gold and silver. So he is struggling to become extra-ordinary. This nature of man is widely entertained in politics more than in any other field.

Finding Means by strategies: Man is a designer of devices. To make his work easier and faster he applies many strategies cleverly. This attitude is also one of the direct expressions of his political behavior. Arthasathra teaches political strategies in relevance with administration and state system³⁶. Diplomacy is considered an important tool in the international dealings of a modern state.

Knowledge to apply Force: Man is wrestling for his sustainable development and also for his very survival. Wrestling demands force and the want of force makes him to learn and apply force as and when it is required. He requires physical as well as an intellectual force. The exponents of the Force Theory firmly believe that the state developed only based on force³⁷. For example, Alexandar, Changezkhan, Akbar, Aurangzeb, Nadir Shah, Hitler, and Napoleon built and expanded their state by applying force. Even in the present age of international goodwill and co-operation, no nation is free from the maintenance of weapons.

Appetite for Land Acquisition: Down from an ordinary man to an ascetic, all have the appetite for acquisition of land. Land acquisition started in the beginning in the name of the settlement but later it evolved up to the level of Empires. The colonization of

Asia,scramble for Africa and the partition of America are few examples of this nature of man. Moreover, land is one of the essential constituent elements in the formation of the state. Blunschli says that the people do not become/form a state until they have acquired a territory³⁸.

All these above said natural and habitual inbuilt mechanism of man makes him a political being and his political behavior so far has played a greater role in determining the course of history irrespective of time and place.

Factors determining the political Behavior of Man:

The Natural inbuilt political instinct of man is shaped and determined further by some of the outside factors. The physical, social, economic, spiritual and intellectual, and his psychological environment influence his natural political instinct and determine his political behavior. This political behavior sets the trends for history and directs the course of history. The following are the few such determining factors.

Ethnicity: Ethnical affinity is the strongest bond of cohesion. People belonging to the same ethnic stock are naturally more united than those who belong to different races³⁹. This can be illustrated from many examples. The rivalry between Austria and Serbia was one of the immediate and major causes of the First World War. Serbia was working for the Union of all southern Slavs under one flag with the support of Russian Slavs. This fact is interestingly proved at the trial of the Sarajevo assassin in October 1914, the one, who threw the bomb, frankly declared “I am not at all sorry that I cleared an obstacle out of our path”. He was a German and enemy of the south Slavs⁴⁰. Treitschke openly said, “just as the greatness of Germany is to be found in the predominance of all German culture of the German mind in a word of the German Character”. The same had reflected later in the regime or Nazi. This factor applies to many political movements and state creations. The age-old clashes between Semites and non-Semites will also come under this head.

Geography: The influence of geography is not only influencing history directly but also determining political behavior. A population in a common territory naturally possesses the uniformity of culture and civilization. By living together people start sharing a common language, customs, the standard of living, etiquettes, joys and sorrows, interest, history, and literature⁴¹. The Pan American movements, Pan African, Pan Asian Movements, the regional alliances like NATO, SETO, and CENTO are classical evidence to understand how did geography has played a greater role in determining the political behavior of the people and political administration of that region.

Religion: Another vibrant factor that determines the political behavior of man is religion. From ancient to the present policy, religion is used for political solidarity. The

introduction of National Gods in ancient Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, and Rome are exemplary examples to understand the vitality of religion in nourishing the political behavior of the people⁴². The crusades of Medieval Europe, Jihadis of Islam, partition of India and many more are there to prove the strength of religion in determining the political behavior of the people of a state.

Ideas: Rationality and discernment make man an intellectual and ideological being. According to Hegel “each event of history embodies an idea and each state embodies a particular phase in the Universal idea”⁴³. In history, the idea upholds in various phases of time and the dominant phase of any epoch is embodied in the dominant people. The succession of these phases constitutes the world history⁴⁴. History is not governed by a chance of blind fate but by eternal reason the idea itself. History amplifies many examples. The First World War was not waged by armies, navies, and warplanes but by the whole people of the world for their ideals. Moreover, the division of Europe into two armed camps as triple alliance and triple entente was purely ideological⁴⁵. Indeed, it was the war between the ideology of autocracy and democracy. Here, ideology decides the political behavior of the respective states and subjects. ‘Nationalism’, another ideology that causes war. The aggressive rationale generates the feeling of national superiority among the people and politicians. Kaiser William II carried with the false hope of crushing the British and installing the German hegemony in Europe first and unto the world thereafter. This idea and the behavior of the head of the state caused the emergence of war psychoses in Germany.

Illustration from History: The political sobriety of the Harrapan was chiefly responsible for the penetration of the Aryans into India and Indian Polity. Subsequently, the formation of the dynastic kingdom and escalating the same to the level of empires and their experiments with republic and autocracy became a part of the history of India because of the vigorous political attitude of the Aryans. The political behavior of the European traders made them the master of Afro-Asian countries during the 18th and 19th centuries. Similarly, the changed political attitude of these people caused the blossoming of democracy in the world countries. The political behavior of the people of France during the late 18th century brought forth a revolutionary change in the course of the history of France and also upon the other European States. The political urge of the people of Russia under the Tsarist regime transformed its history and polity in 1917. In democratic countries, the Electoral behavior of the people determined the polity of the state for the next tour of five years. The undaunted political behavior of the Jewish people made them realize their homeland in 1948 nearly after 1178 years since their dispersal in 70 A.D. by the Ceaser Tites. They had been scattered nearly in hundred and twenty states into the uttermost part of the earth, keeping the memory of their home land rather involving in the polity of the host nations for asserting governance

either by riot or by diplomacy. Therefore, man is indeed a political animal as being biological and social. The political quest of a race or a nation determines the course of this history of the nation largely.

Behavioral Approach in the writing of History:

Behavioralism, which is considered a modern approach to study political science by David Butler, the author of the book, “The study of Political Behavior” says that the study of politics that cannot be usefully studied except in the light of actual behavior. In 1937, Herbert Tingston wrote the book entitled ‘Political Behavior’ which studies the behavior of the American Electorate⁴⁶. This new analysis rejects political institutions as the Behavior of individuals in a political situation as the basic unit of analysis. This empirical method makes the subject more scientific and the essence of realism can be achieved easily. This revolutionary methodology in the study of political science gives a wide scope for accuracy in the study of history. As a theory History amplifies that the political behavior of the individual or nation has played a great role in moving the wheels of history. Since political behavior is one of the natural inherent traits of man, its attributes influence the course of history very strongly and sharply like the role of materialism or idealism.

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ICONOGRAPHY OF SIVA: A CASE STUDY ON THE TEMPLES OF BHUBANESWAR

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Abstract

Siva is one of the influential gods of the Hindu Pantheon. The most sacred and ancient work of the Hindus, Rig-Veda evokes its presence in its hymns. The Vedic myths, rituals etc, testify the existence of Lord Siva from the dawn of time. He is specially associated with the act of Samhara (destruction) or Pralaya (absorption) in the concept of Hindu Trinity. He is also associated with Sristi (creation) and Sthiti (Preservation), which are generally attributed to Brahma and Visnu respectively. He is also endowed with the act of Anugraha or Prasad (Conferment of Grace) and Tirobhava (Powers of Concealment). In the early and medieval Brahmanical text, he is described as the originator and best exponent of various art and accomplishments i.e. Yoga, Vyakhyana, Sastras, Music, dancing etc. Bhubaneswar, the city of temples is one of the five sacred Kshetras occupies an important place in the Saiva art traditions of Odisha. The Siva icons are profusely, found in the temples of Bhubaneswar, i.e. in the temples of Satrugnesvara, Parsuramesvara, Svarnjalesvara, Sisiresvara, Vaitala, Muktesvara, Brahmesvara, Rajarani, Markandayesvara, Lingaraja etc.

Keywords : *Samhara (destruction), Pralaya (absorption), Sristi (creation), Sisthi (preservation), Anugraha (cofersment of grace), Tirobhava (powers of concealment)*

Introduction :

Siva is one of the influential gods of the Hindu Pantheon¹. The most sacred and ancient work of the Hindus, Rig-Veda evokes its presence in its hymns. The Vedic myths, rituals etc, testify the existence of Lord Siva from the dawn of time. He is specially associated with the act of *Samhara* (destruction) or *Pralaya* (absorption) in the concept of Hindu Trinity. He is also associated with *Sristi* (creation) and *Sthiti* (Preservation), which are generally attributed to Brahma and Visnu respectively. He is also endowed with the act of *Anugraha* or *Prasad* (Conferment of Grace) and *Tirobhava* (Powers of Concealment)². Siva is also conceived as the creator of all beings and often described as *Pasupati*, *Bhutapati* and *Bhutanath*. He also conceived as the God of all Gods (Mahadeva or Mahesvara) and

is said to have been by a thousand names *Sivasahasranama*, which is mentioned in the Mahabharata³. In the early and medieval Brahmanical text, he is described as the originator and best exponent of various art and accomplishments i.e. *Yoga, Vyakhyana, Sastras, Mugic*, dancing etc.

Siva the most ancient and popular god received homage and worship in the distant past. Scholars have considered him as the pre-Vedic god or the Indus civilization⁴. Siva is generally worshipped in the form of Phallus (Linga) and this cult has been traced to very ancient times, through its origins is being still in mystery. And the *Phallic* emblem is the popular and universal adored deity of Hindu Trinity.

According to Rig-Veda, the *Vajasaneyi Samhita* of *Yajru-Veda*⁵ and the *Atharav-Veda*⁶, the word Siva, means the auspicious, occurs as an epithet of *Rudra*⁷, who was the Vedic counterpart of Siva and this name continued to be one of the principal names, which is mentioned in the Epics and *Puranas*⁸. The *Svetasvatara Upanishad*⁹ denotes the name Siva as one of the various names of Rudra. Siva is also called *tryambaka*¹⁰ or the son of three mother i.e. *Earth, Atmosphere* and *Heaven*. His wife is Ambika. He is also identified with Agni. The *Vajasaneyi Samhita*¹¹ mentions that *Agni, Asani, Pasupati, Bhava, Sarva, Isana, Mahadeva Ugradeva* are the various names of the same god.

During the time of *Vedic literature*¹² the smritis and the Dharmasastra (6th Cen B.C.) mention Rudra as a terrible god. He was the inhabitant of the cemeteries, who applied ashes in his naked body, covered only by a deer-skin and ornamented with a garland of skulls, wandered about the jungles, carrying an alms-bowl made of human skull and accompanied by dogs.

According to *Siva Purana*, Siva is considered as the creator, protector and destroyer of the existing world. The *Satpatha Brahmana*¹³ tells the story of a Vedic gods birth Rudra and he is considered the son of *Prahapati* and *Usas*. In the *Satarudriya* text, he is called the dweller of the mountains (Girisa). He roams the forests and is lord of the medicinal herbs. He is the divine physician. He is also considered as the lord of the cattle, called *Pasupata*. The *Atharava Veda*¹⁴ also makes Rudra, the ruler of all beings. He is thousand-eyed, i.e. *All-seeing*. He is every where in the *earth, the sky, the atmosphere* i.e. He is omnipresent. With the development of devotional worship, Siva was considered as an auspicious god and came to be regarded as the one and only god *Svara*.

Now-a-days Saivism has become very popular, for which a large number of temples are dedicated to the Lord Siva. The Saiva faith has large number of followers and they are divided into a large number of sects, viz-*Saiva, Pasupata, Kapaliks, Kalamukha, Lakulisa, Vira Saiva* etc.

Generally Siva is worshipped in the form of *Phallus*, that is *Linga*, which is fixed on a pedestal. The chief image in the central shrine of a Siva temple is '*Linga*' and very rarely represented in anthropomorphic image of Siva. The worship of creative energy of God, interpreted by the sense perception of man and represented by the symbol of *Yoni* and *Linga* in union, has the closest possible approximation to the cosmic Purusa. References of *Linga* worship are found in very early times. Sir Jhon Marshall¹⁵ has discovered numerous lingas and *Yonis* in the Indus Civilization. In Rig-Veda the phallus is called *Sisnadevata* and in the Svetasvatara Upanishad it is called god Isana¹⁶. In puranas, there are many references regarding the concept yoni and Linga. The *Skanda Purana*¹⁷ mentions that the sky as the shaft and the earth its Pedestal the *Markandeya Purana*¹⁸ says that *Rudra* and *Visnu* are the creator of the Universe and they from the *Ardhanarisvara* aspect of former Siva. The *Phallus*, symbolic of generative power, is considered as the cause of creation, animate and inanimate. So when Siva came to be regarded as the cause of causes the *linga* became his mark¹⁹.

Though the land Odisha has the existence of innumerable Siva temples, the Saiva Kshetra (Ekamrakshetra) of Bhubaneswar played an important part in the temple building activities. The existing Saiva temples constitute a major part of the architectural wealth of Odisha. From the 7th century to the 13th Century A.D. many Saiva temples were erected in Odisha and it has been truly observed that 'there are perhaps more temple' now in Odisha that in all the rest of Hindustan put together as described by James Fergusson²⁰. About the Saiva images, the iconographical evidence trace the tradition of Siva back to the 4th century A.D. the discovered Saiva image as Asanpata²¹ in the Keonjhor district is the earliest evidence of Saiva worship in Odisha. The image in Nataraja inform, having eight hands, of which two are engaged in playing *Vina* across the chest and on the upper two hand holding a snake over his head. Of the other hands, one displays *varada mudra* while the other three holds the trisula, *akshamala* and *damaru*. The image is in *urdhalinga* form performing tandav. This Asanpata image is one of the beautiful specimens of Odisha Art²².

Bhubaneswar²³ (20° 15' North Latitude, 85° 5' East Longitude) the city of temples, is one of the five sacred Kshetras and occupies an important place in the Saiva art traditions of Odisha. The Siva icons are profusely, found in the temples of Bhubaneswar, that is *Satrughnesvara group*, *Parsuramesvara*, *Svarnjalesvara*, *Sisiresvara*, *Vaitala*, *Muktesvara*, *Brahmesvara*, *Rajarani*, *Markandayesvara*, *Lingaraja* etc. So far as the Siva images are concerned *Lakulisa* is the earliest icon found in the temple art of this land. *Lakulisa* is regarded as the 28th incarnation of Siva, which is mentioned in the *Vayu*²⁴ and *Linga Purana*²⁵.

Lakulisa :

The icons of Lakulisa are plentifully found in the early temple of Bhubaneswar²⁶ and testify the popularity of pasupat sect. The images appears in the *Chaitya medallions* of *Parsuramesvara*, *Vaitala*, *Sisiresvara* temples etc. Iconographically²⁷ Lakulisa is divided into two broad groups based on the number of arms either two or four, with variations of pose, on which side he holds his Lakuta and whether or not he is accompanied by his disciples. Generally two armed images belongs to the earlier group of which the major right hand shows the form *Dharmachakr-Pravatanamudra*, where as the left hand cradling the Lakuta against the shoulder. Two Lakulisa images are found on the front face of the Jagamohana of the Parsuramesvara²⁸ temple and the temple is assigned to the 7th Century. The two images holds a club (*staff*) against the left arm and sits in *Yogasana* with *Vyakhana-mudra*. The image of Lakulisa is flanked by four small members two on each side, holding a pustaka (book) on the left hand and the right hand seen in *abhayamudra*. All the figures are seated on lotus medallions. The central image Lakulisa holds a lakuta against the right arm and the hands are in *Vyakhana-mudra*. The association of four male figures with Lakulisa, represents the four disciples of Lakulisa. According to K.C. Panigrahi²⁹, the image and the temple vaital belongs to 8th Century A.D.

Mahesa :

Mahesa³⁰ is one of the manifestation of Lord Siva. He is the cause of *Srsti* (creation), *Palana* (protection) and *Samhara* (destruction), which is mentioned in the *Saivagamas*³¹ the *Visnudharmottara*³² and the *Suprabhedagama*³³. Most of the Mahesa murtis are found in the chaitya medallions. The Mahesa murti found at the *rahapaga* of Parsuramesvara is three headed figures, seated in *Padmasana*.

Bhairava :

Bhairava is an ugra form of Siva. It plays an important role in the iconographic programme of Odishan Temple³⁴. The description of the form of Bhairava is found in the text like *Visnudharmottara*³⁵, *Rupamandana*³⁶ etc.

Bhairava has many important forms i.e. Vakutabhairava, Svaranakarsharabhairava, Aja-Ekapada, Bamadeva and others. In Odishan temples Bhairava images are found as *aavaranadevata*. In the earlier group Bhairava is in four hands and stands with his legs spread. The right knee is bent on a prostrate corpse. He usually holds a *Kapala* in his major left hand while the right hand holds a *trident*. His lower left hand holds a *served head*, while the lower right hand holds a *sword*. But in the later form Bhairava is depicted in the dancing form. He has either four or six arms and dances in the *Lalita* mode above a prostrate corpse. He holds a *Kapala*, *trident*, *Kartri*, *damaru*, *served head*, *rosary* in his hand. In

this dancing form he wears a garland of Skull and is frequently flanked by emancipated dancing attendants. There are other forms of Bhairava images, riding on a horse, and the image is locally known as *Kshetrapala*. At Bhubaneswar, the Bhairava image are found in the sanctum of *Vaitala, avaranadevata of Brahmesvara, Markandeyasvar* etc.

Nataraja :

Siva is the great master of yoga, music, dancing and other sciences³⁷. He is a great master of art of dancing. The Bharata-Natyasastra mentions 108 different kinds of dance poses and the Sivagamas, states that Siva danced in 108 postures.

The image of Nataraja, of Siva as the lord of dancers, occurs in the temple building activity of Odisha from the earliest times. By their prolific appearance, artistic excellence and several significant and well marked varieties, the Nataraja images constitute a remarkable series on the temple art of Bhubaneswar. Numerous images found on the temple art of Bhubaneswar³⁸ have a snake as its attribute and major images hold it on the upper-most two hands. Several Nataraja images are to be found on the temples of *Parsuramesvara, Sisiresvara, Vaitala, Muktesvara* etc. Iconographically, the images vary from time to time. The number of arms also vary from four to fourteen. Besides serpent, the main attributes of Nataraja images are *Kapala, Parsu, trident, lotus, rosary, damaru, Kartri* and head. Siva is generally *urdhva-linga* and wears a tiger skin and on the later images garland is added to his body ornamentations.

Bhiksatana Murti :

Bhiksatana Murti³⁹, is one of the manifestations of Siva. Majority of these images are found in South India, but there are representations of it in the early temples of Odisha. Iconographically, the number of arms are two, the right hand placed near the hip and holds either a trident or an umbrella and the left hand holds a *Kapal* (for begging purposes). He stands in *tribhanga* with one leg slightly bent, which denotes that he is walking. The earliest representation of this image, is found in the *rahapaga* of the southern gandi of Parsuramesvara temple at Bhubaneswar.

Gangadhara Murti :

The images of Gangadhara murti⁴⁰ is described in the *amsumabhedagama*⁴¹ the *Kamikagama* and the *Karnagam*. It is a later representation of Odishan temple art. He is depicted as *urdhvalinga* and usually wears a tiger skin. The image appears as a *parsvadevata* of the Markandeyasvar temple at Bhubaneswar. Here the image is of 4 hands i.e. the major right hand in *Varada mudra* and the other three hands are now broken. The crescent appears in his *jatamukuta*. And the river goddess stands on the lower left corner. This is the earliest depiction of Gangadhara Murti at Bhubaneswar.

Ardhanarisvara :

The composite image of Ardhanarisvara is described in the *Silparatnakosa* and *Saivite Agama texts*. The image representing Siva and Sakti merged into one body i.e. One half male and the other half female. The puranas like the *Kalika Purana*⁴², the *Siva Purana*⁴³, the *Mastya Purana* vividly described about the story why Siva and Gouri merged themselves in one body. There are numerous representation of Ardhanarisvara images in the temple art of Bhubaneswar⁴⁵. The images can be seen in the *Satrughnesvara*, *Parsuramesvara*, *Vaitala*, *Brahmesvara*, *Lingaraj*, *Meghesvara* etc. Iconographically the arms vary from two to eight. The division of the deity into male and female is clearly rendered by the body ornament and sexual characteristics with the right half generally being urdhalinga and on the left side having a prominent female breast.

The attributes vary from image to image. In the first variety the deity stands near the bull shown behind him and has in the main hands a *Japamala* and *Vijapuraka*. One of the female hand hangs down gracefully by the side, while the other holds a mirror. This form occurs in the *Vaitala*, *Talesvara* and *Markandeyasvara* temple at Bhubaneswar. The second variety of the deity is found at *Brahmesvara*. It has four hands out of this the lower left hand is broken. The upper two hands move in an upwardly direction, and the lower right hand holds a *skull*. The female part is ornamented with jewellery and garments and has a prominent breast, while the male part shows a garland of *Skull* and is urdhalinga in character.

Hari-Hars :

Iconographically, Hari-Har⁴⁶ represents Visnu and Siva, emphasises the reconciliation between the two major cults Vaisnavism and Saivism. The texts like *Mastya purana*⁴⁷, *Visnudharmottara*⁴⁸ and *Vananapurana*⁴⁹ gives us the descriptions of Hari-Hara images. In Hari-Hara images the uplifted right hand holds a *trident* of a *rosary*, the main left hand is frequently placed on the hip of holds a *gada* and the uplifted left hand holds a lotus or a *chakra*, in the early images and conch on the later images. The right half of the image is generally urdalinga and wears body ornaments, while the left half displays the same characteristics of Visnu. Harihara in *Satrughnesvara* and *Lingaraj* (on the side of the Kitchen) are the earlier and later, images in the temple art Bhubaneswar.

Uma-Mahesvara :

Uma-Mahesvara⁵⁰ sculptures come under the category of sukhasana murti of Siva and Parvati and it is a composite form, which prevailed throughout India from the early medieval period. The worship of Uma-Mahesvara is known from the Epic period. The *Agamas*⁵¹ and the iconographic texts⁵² referred to this type of sculpture by the name of *Uma-alingana Uma-Sahita Chandra Sekhara*, *Somaskanda* etc. The *Visnudharmottara*

Purana, the *Mastya purana*, states that the images of Siva and Parvati as Uma-Mahesvara should be seated in the Sukhasana posture on a high pedestal or seat embracing each other. Most of the Uma-Mahesvara images are found in the temples of *Parsuramesvara*, *Vaitala*, *Brahmesvara Lingaraj* etc. Basically, Uma-Mahesvar⁵³ images are used for *avaranadevata*, *parsdevata* and *presiding* deity. At Parsuramesvara, Uma-Mahesvara are seen as *avaranadevata*. Iconographically, Mahesvaras is in udhalinga. He has four hand the upper right hand holding a *trident*, lower right hand in *abhayamudra* and on the upper left hand touching Umas chest, lower left hand is not seen. He is seated in *lalitasana*. On the sculptural edifices Bull and Lion are depicted as the mount of Mahesvara and Uma and Ganesa is also depicted in between the two animal figure.

Andhakasura-Vadha Murti :

The most popular destructive form of Siva is the Andhakasura-Vadha-Murti⁵⁴, in which Siva is depicted piercing the demon Andhaka. This type of motifs appears in the *vajramastaka* designs on the *gandi*, in *paga* niches as *avaranadevata* and in the *raha* niches of the *upper Jangha*. The Andhakasuravadha murti is reflected in the Brahmesvara temple at Bhubaneswar. The image has four hand. The upper right and upper left hand holding the *trident* which is places the body of the demon Andhakasura and the lower right hand holds a *Skull*. In this ugra form of Siva, he wears a tiger skin and puts a garland of *skull* on his body and stands in *tribhanga* in Samhara form.

Ravananugaraha Murti :

The earliest example of ravananugraha image is found in the chaitya window of *Satrughnesvara* temple at Bhubaneswar⁵⁵. The image is of ten hands and five heads. The upper two hands are uplifted and holds mount Kailash, where Siva and Parvati are embracing each other. Another image of Ravananugraha murti is also found in the Parsuramesvara temple⁵⁶.

During 4th, 5th Century A.D. Saiva Cult got its in footing in the soil of Odisha. The epigraphical records indicate that the king of ancient and early mediaval times became the devotees of Siva and Mahesvara who were considered as the bestower of their kingdom. So this idea served as a cytalist and Saiva art tradition had a propelling effect in the 5th Century A.D. and this continued up to 11th -12th century. When we see the great Lingaraja was built has been considered as the holiest of the holies in the east. Thus Bhubaneswar became a great centre of Saivism or *Saiva Kshetra* whaeas Puri became the *Visnu Kshetra*, Jajpur became the *Sakti Kshetra* and Konark became the *Arka kshetra*. Even today people of different part of India and world do visit the holy land of *Ekamrakshetra* with gaitly and interest. The numerous Siva temples and Saiva sculptures at Bhubaneswar,

iconographically have supported Saivism and its cult, which has touched the very core of the researchers, readers not only of Odisha and India but also of the whole World.

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**Fig.1 Image Lakulisa,
Sisireswara Temple**



Fig.2 Mahesamurti, Swarnajaleswara Temple



**Fig.3Sahasralinga,
Parsurameswar Temple**



Fig.4 Linga Worship, Mukteswara Temple



Fig.5 Uma- Maheswara, Vaitala Temple



Fig.6 Bhikshatanamurti, Parsurameswara Temple



Fig.7 Kalyanasundaramurti, Satruganeswara Temple



Fig.8 Kalyanasundaramurti, Parsurameswara Temple



**Fig.9 Andhakasuravadhamurti ,
Brahmeswara Temple**



**Fig.10 Ajaekapada Bhairava,
Brahmeswara Temple**



**Fig.11 Vinadharamurti,
Brahmeswara Temple**



**Fig.12 Dancing Vamadeva,
Brahmeswara Temple**

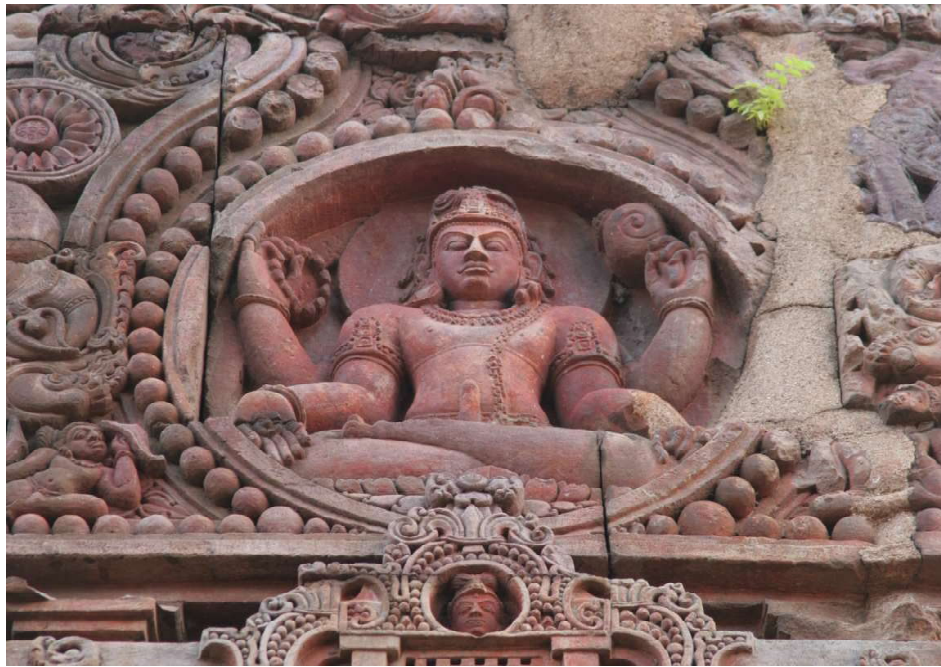


Fig.13 Harihara, Vaitala Temple



Fig.14 Gangadharamurti, Markandeswara Temple

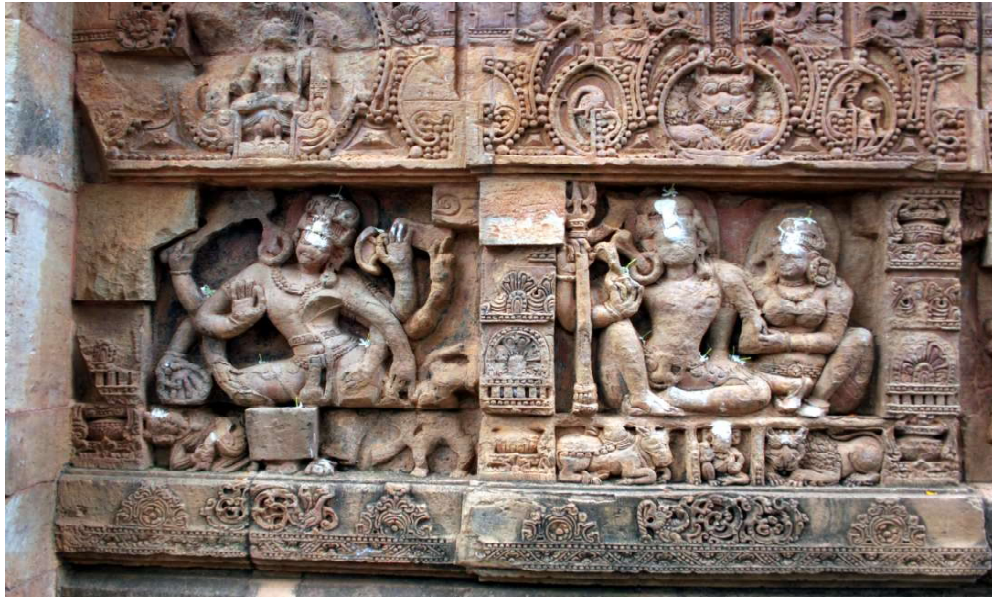


Fig.15 Nataraja and Uma- Maheswara, Parsurameswara Temple



Fig.16. Nataraja , Parsurameswara Temple

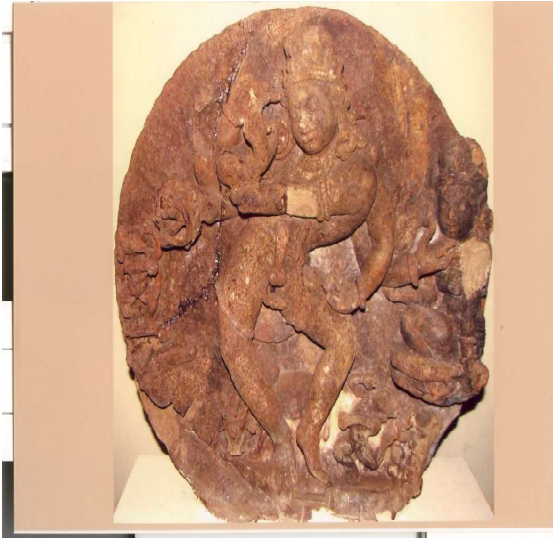


Fig.17. Nataraja, Odisha State Museum



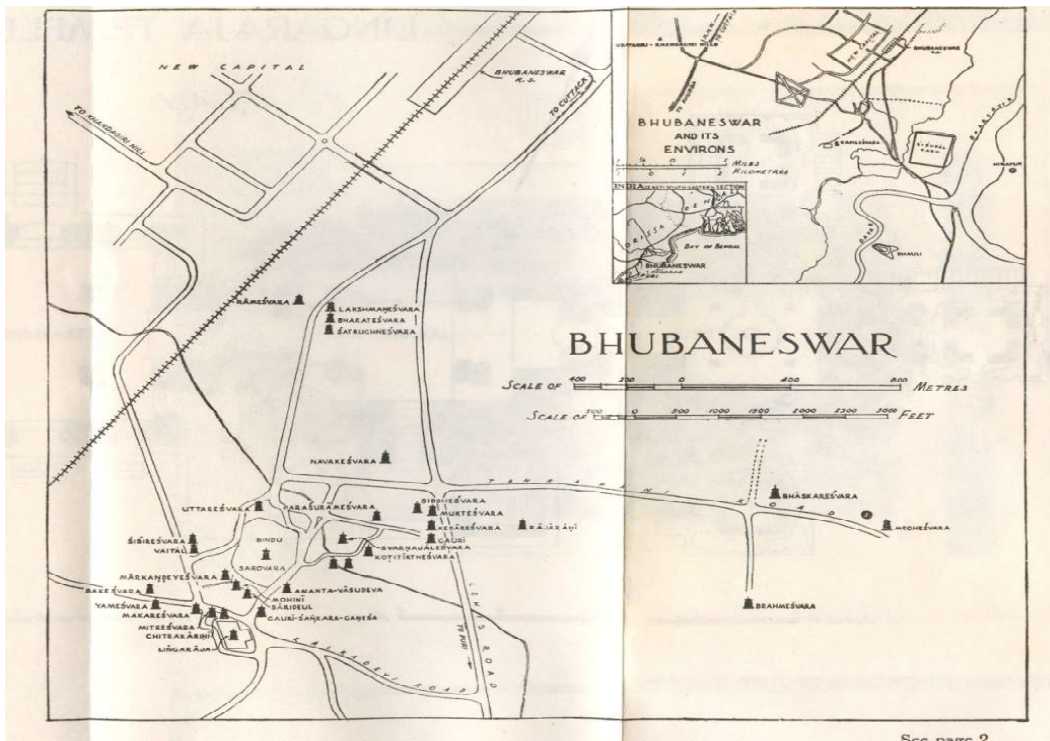
Fig.18. Bhairava, Odisha State Museum



Fig.19. Bhairava, Odisha State Museum



Fig.20 Dikpala Ishana, Rajarani Temple



Map Showing Temples of Bhubaneswar (After D.Mitra)

LESSER-KNOWN WOMEN FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF COLONIAL GANJAM

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Abstract

Women in Odisha as elsewhere in India had been subject to many restrictions and impositions, they had not been able to come out of their seclusion for a long time. This was because of the slow progress of women's education and intense conservatism of the people. However, the period from end of nineteenth century saw rapid growth of socio-political consciousness among the women of Orissa as well as Ganjam. The history of Indian Struggle would be incomplete without mentioning the contributions of Ganjam women. The Sacrifice made by the women of Ganjam will occupy the foremost place. They fought with true spirit and unafraid courage and faced various tortures, exploitations, and hardships to earn us freedom. The list of great women Freedom fighter of Ganjam, whose names have gone down in history for their dedication and undying devotion to the service of India is a long one. This paper is an humble effort to highlight about the women freedom fighter of Ganjam, whose strength and valour, the undaunted spirit to fight, the untold sufferings and self-sacrifice to liberate Mother India from the British yoke are not yet received proper recognition.

Keywords: *Women, Ganjam, Freedom Fighter, Movement and Sacrifice.*

Introduction

Women in Odisha as elsewhere in India had been subject to many restrictions and impositions, they had not been able to come out of their seclusion for a long time. This was because of the slow progress of women's education and intense conservatism of the people. However, the period from end of nineteenth century saw rapid growth of socio-political consciousness among the women of Orissa as well as Ganjam. The factors which created political awakening among the Ganjam women were spread of modern education, impact of social reformation, role of the press and vernacular literature and role of associations. In addition the political-conscious men provided encouragement to women to work for the

all-round development of Orissa. However, instantly strong current of nationalist sentiment began due to the influence of Gandhiji, which inspired them to come out of their confinement and took active part in the freedom struggle¹.

The present study aims to analyse the complexities of an emerging feminist consciousness among women of Colonial Ganjam. It also traces the growth of feminist consciousness within a patriarchy society. This paper is an humble effort to highlight about the women in margin whose strength and valour, the undaunted spirit to fight, the untold sufferings and self-sacrifice to liberate Mother India from the British yoke are not yet received proper recognition. Till now, history ignores to make their names as household words. Finally, yet importantly, it also aims to highlights the women participation in freedom struggle of colonial Odisha along with Indian point of view

The history of Indian Struggle would be incomplete without mentioning the contributions of Ganjam's women. The Sacrifice made by the women of Ganjam will occupy the foremost place. They fought with true spirit and unafraid courage and faced various tortures, exploitations and hardships to achieve freedom. When most of the men freedom fighters were in prison, the women came forward and took charge of the struggle.

A. Laxmi Bai

Women of the district who played a heroic role in the freedom struggle, among them Adruti Laxmi Bai was special one. She was the daughter of V.V. Jogesh and Smt. V. Subhadramma. Laxmi Bai was born at Berhmapur of Ganjam on 12th Oct 1899. She was sister of V.V. Giri, who was a brighter star in the freedom struggle period and the former president of India². She had received motivation and inspiration from her family. Because Giri family was hub of freedom fighters in Ganjam district and Odisha in general. National leaders like Mahantma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Baba Rajendra Prasad, Meeraben during their visit to the district used to stay at the residence of Giri. Therefore, as a family member Laxmi Bai got ample opportunity to serve these leaders, which help to her made a true freedom fighter³.

She was one of the leading freedom fighter of Ganjam, Who took active role in freedom movement of India. On 20th June 1921, Gandhi addressed a large gathering at the Barrack ground at Berhmapur. At the clarion call of Gandhiji, Smt. Laxmi Bai along with other Satyagrahis started picketing before the local liquor shops as a part of national resistance to British rule. In fact, picketing before the foreign liquor and cloth and shops was successful to a large extent⁴.

A. Laxmi Bai had served as the Vice-President and President of Ganjam District Congress Committee and was the member of A.I.C.C. from 1930 to 1940. She was elected to Orissa Assembly in 1937 and was the member of the assembly for two terms⁵.

During the time of Civil Disobedience Movement, the salt Satyagraha in Ganjam took the shape of a mass upsurge and women leaders were played an outstanding role⁶. Leaving the age-old seclusion inside their home, she and her supporter picketed before the shops selling foreign goods and liquor. In 1932, A. Laxmi Bai and other leader like Biswanath Das, Dibakar Pattnaik took part in the individual Satyagraha programme amidst police action. For such types of anti-government activities, the British government arrested all these women and congress leaders and put them into jail⁷.

At the call of Quit India Movement by Gandhiji, She took active part again in this movement. She carried out Khadi Movement and distributed Khadis free of cost to the poor people⁸. She was selected in the post of President of Ryots Mahasabha of Ganjam district. Laxmi Bai dedicated her whole life to serve the nation and India got independent when she was in Cuttack jail⁹. She breathed her last on 27 Jan 1986 leaving behind the legacy of a brave women freedom fighter who devoted the whole of her life for the cause of her motherland.

Sobhabati Panda:

She was the first women from the district of Ganjam, who joined the freedom struggle. She was born in 1931, at Digapahandi in Ganjam district. She was the wife of Antaryami Panda, who also a prominent freedom struggle hero in Ganjam. She had received her initial training of a Satyagrahi, in the Alakashram in Bari of Jagadsinghpur.

Gandhiji's very first visit to Berhampur in March 1921 gave a tremendous impetus to freedom movement of Odisha. Sobhabati Panda along with her husband Antaryami Panda attended the first public meeting of Gandhiji in Berhampur on 1921. Gandhiji's speech and her husband's idea had profound impact on her, for which she had soundly participated in the freedom movement against colonial rule. After that, she took part in Hindustani Sevadal Training in Alaka Ashram at Jagatsinghpur¹¹. In this Ashram she closely interact with great women leader of Odisha, like Malati Chaudhury, Annapurna Maharana which shaped her mind.

In 1931, She participated in Salt Satyagraha, and played active role along with the village women. They prepared salt at Humma, a costal place in Ganjam. They violated the salt law and got arrested¹².

During the time of Civil Disobedience Movement Smt. Panda also took part in it, with the great women leader Kundalata Devi and Malati Devi. She had visited every nook and corner of Ganjam district to motivate common people largely to join the freedom movement¹³. For their anti-government activity, she and almost all the leaders of the Congress organization were taken into custody and their activities were suspended for a long period¹⁴. Her absolute dedication to the cause of the nation set the paradigm for others to be followed.

Prior to this, she was released from the jail and involved herself in the constructive activities in Ganjam. Deeply influenced by ideology of Gandhiji she had dedicated herself for the society and joined Charakha and Harijan Movement¹⁵. After that, She established 'Sebashram' at Subarnapur to create awareness among the women of both urban and rural belt¹⁶.

Champa Devi:

In Ganjam district the women leadership was provided by many well known personalities, among those Champa Devi of Berhmapur is one. She was a sufferer of Child Marriage and widow remarriage. However, by her conjugal life she decided to become a social activist and serve her motherland by eradicating child marriage and strongly encourage widow remarriage¹⁷.

She took part in the freedom struggle with influenced by Rama Devi, Sarala Devi, Kuntala Devi and other women leaders of Odisha¹⁸. She started social service with influenced by Bairagi Mishra of Cuttack, who fought against social inequalities and intangibility in the society.

In 1932 she founded an Ashram at Ichhapur to serve the helpless women in the society¹⁹. Besides these, she jumped into national freedom movement and took active participation in Quit India Movement against British government.

With call of Quit India Movement by Gandhiji, in 1942 an anti-government meeting was organized at Russalkanda, where she had delivered an impressive speech, which enthused the people against the British government. For her anti-government explosive speech, she was arrested and sent to Russelkonda jail for six months²⁰.

After India got independence she totally dedicated her life for constructive work in the society and selected Phulbani as her work field and established an Ashram to serve to orphan. Her remarkable career came to close when she died of cancer on 3rd march 1975²¹.

Surjamma Devi

Surjamma Devi was an outstanding freedom fighter of Ganjam district. She was the wife of a notable freedom fighter master Sannaya of Berhmapur. Smt. Surjamma joined each and every Gandhian Movements of freedom struggle. In 1920, Gandhiji called Non-Cooperation movement in all over India, and Surjamma actively joined in the wave of freedom struggle with influenced by her husband ideology. She was involved in picketing before the foreign liquor and cloth shops and collected common peoples and women masses to give strength to this anti-government movements²².

With Gandhiji's decision to break the salt law stirred the congress leaders of Odisha and Utkal Provincial Congress Committee resolved on 28th Feb 1930 to make arrangements for civil Disobedience movement in some particular province of Odisha²³. Some women volunteers from undivided Ganjam joined with then on the way P. Tamma and Surjamma were the among leader in the team. They led massive women processions singing patriotic songs and addressed public meetings against the government in different areas of Ganjam²⁴. She was arrested along with other congress leaders and put in jail.

The Quit India Movement took a vigorous shape all over India along with Ganjam. The women of the undivided Ganjam also took active participation in the August Revolution of 1942. Smt. Surjamma along with her husband jumped into the movement and participated in Hartal at Berhmapur, for which she was imprisoned in the Berhmapur Central jail²⁵.

Her role in freedom struggle period was remarkable in Odishan History as well as Indian history. Above these, she was well known in Ganjam as a social activist, because she take care of Harijan people. It is said by local people that, Smt. Sujamma closed her eyes on 13th Jan 1948, when she heard the unwanted news of assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

Kishoremani Devi

Another prominent women stalwart in freedom struggle movement was Smt. Kishoremani Devi. She was the wife of well known freedom fighter Shri Niranjan Patnaik of Aska²⁶. At the call of Gandhiji, in 1930 prominent leaders and educated women of high families came out of their homes to join congress demonstrations and in manufacture of salt. In the mass civil disobedience movement organized at Ganjam in May 1930 at least one thousand women participated. Among them the most prominent were Kundalata Devi and Kishoremani Devi. She moved to every nook and corner of Ganjam District to popularize the congress ideals²⁷. Along with hundreds of women volunteers she break salt law by collecting salt and later on all of them imprisoned by British government by disobeying civil law.

In fact, she set up "Pragati Ashrama" at Berhmapur for purpose of providing training and orientation to the young Satyagrahis. Kishoremani Devi led Satyagrah processions and addressed the public meetings and rallies in support of universal demand for national independence. With moral support of her husband, she played active role in spreading the message of the freedom movement all over Odisha and thus, she left a lasting imprint as a great women fighter in the history.

Kundalata Devi

Kundalata Devi was another notable freedom fighter of undivided Ganjam district. She was the wife of great freedom fighter Banchhanidhi Patnaik of Ghumusar region. With

impact of Gandhian ideology and influenced by her husband she joined with freedom struggle movement²⁸.

During the time of Civil Disobedience Movement, Kundalata Devi actively participated as a Satyagrahi and donated all her personal ornaments to the Tilak Swaraj Fund at a meeting at Gobara. With popularized movement, an Udyoga Mandira had been opened at Berhmapur. The purpose of opening the mandira were to better organization of salt satyagraha, to give training to new Satyagrahis and spread nationalism from urban to village areas of Ganjam district. Kundalata Devi was in-charge of Udyoga Mandira at that time. For these anti-Government work she with her Husband, Sarala Devi and Niranjan Pattnaik were sentenced to jail by British Government²⁹.

She also took active participation in Quit India Movement of 1942 and arranged Hartal against British Government in Ganjam alongwith Seva Dal training center.

P. Tamma

P. Tamma was a another freedom fighter of undivided Ganjam and born on 27th May 1900. She took an active role in politics and the freedom movement of Ganjam with inspired by her father P. Satyanarayana.

During the time of Civil Disobedience Movement or Salt Satyagraha, Gandhiji's call created unprecedented enthusiasm among the masses of Ganjam. Some women leaders joined this movement, among them P. Tamma was a special one. She took present at the time of production of salt at Humma.

The Individual Satyagraha was a Gandhian strategy to prepare the people for the ensuing Quit India Struggle³⁰. Beside male leaders, the women leaders of this region like Laxmi Bai, Champa Devi, and P. Tamma were also active during this period³¹. They joined the Individual Satyagraha and courted arrest³².

At the time in August revolution of 1942, In Parlakhemundi P. Tamma took an active part in the movement and was imprisoned for two years and six months³³.

J.V. Narayanna

J.V. Narayanna was a unsung women freedom fighter of Ganjam district. The Salt Satyagraha marked the beginning of a true political career for Oriya women and in 1930 some women threaded to picket liquor shops in Berhmapur town under the leadership of Mrs. J.V. Narayanna. The women Satyagrahi's under the leadership of J.V. Narayanna attempted to picket in front of liquor shops in Berhmapur town³⁴ and when she was arrested other volunteers and women leaders led massive women processions in the town singing patriotic songs and addressed public meeting against the government in district. The next

day district Magistrate and superintendent of police passed an order prohibiting meeting and procession. But when situation got out of control, the police finally dispersed the Satyagrahis and the assembled crowd by Lathi charge.

When all of them were arrested and by the end of June peace returned to the town³⁵. Overall, J.V. Narayanna's care towards her motherland and the people and her struggle to make India free as one are never forgotten.

Tumulu Arahalu

T. Arahalu was another prominent freedom fighter of Ganjam District. She was born on 11th July 1915 at Nuapada in Ganjam. Her husband T. Krishna Murti, was the predominant freedom fighter in the Ganjam district freedom struggle³⁶. She played a remarkable role at the time of Salt Satyagrah at Humma in Ganjam.

Sitadevi Khudanga

During freedom struggle period, Sitadevi Khudanga was a great patriotic literary personality in Ganjam district. She was born in 1920 at Aska. She was a poet, essayist, story writer, novelist, biographer, translator and dramatist. Her poems and essays stirred patriotic and nationalistic fervor among her countrymen to go ahead in the path of struggle for archiving national freedom. She had composed numbers of work such as 'Poshyaputra', 'Naree', 'Nispati', 'Naishitika' and many others³⁷.

Laxmi Panda

Laxmi Indira Panda was an Indian Revolutionary and one of the youngest members of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's INA³⁸. Captain Laxmi Panda was the only Odia women to serve in the INA³⁹.

Captain Panda, was born in 1930 at Rangoon, where her parents were engaged in the railways being laid in Burma but her parents original identity belongs from Ganjam. After, Great Famine of Odisha, the British were taking many indentured laborers from Ganjam to the rubber plantations and railways being made in Burma. Her parents were among those laborers shifted to Burma by British Government⁴⁰. While still a teen, her parents were killed by bombardment in Burma. After that she and her younger brother struggled for their life.

At the age of fourteen she joined Netaji's INA in Burma. She was inducted in the Rani Jhansi Regiment under Captain Laxmi Sehgal. It is said that Netaji personally gave her a new name, 'Indira' to avoid confusing her name with far more famous Captain Laxmi Sehgal⁴¹.

She was often sent across enemy lines for collection of intelligence, because she is well-versed in the Burmese Language. Her six months intensive arms training in Burma shaped Laxmi into battle readiness for the onward march to the battlefield on the India-Burma border. Laxmi was right by the side of Netaji up till he gave the call for disbandment of the INA. After the surrender of Singapore, all of INA members were arrested by British Government, but due to young age of Laxmi Panda was set free. She was came to her motherland Berhmapur with help of other INA member of Netaji and married to Khageswar Panda, an I.N.A member of Netaji. Her troubles began after her husband died in 1976⁴².

With lots of struggle, finally she was felicitated by the President of India which conferred the Rastriya Swantantra Sainik Samman, the highest title conferred on a freedom fighter in India on 25 Oct 2008⁴³.

Captain Panda died on 7th Oct 2008, at the AIIMS, Delhi after a prolonged illness and she was cremated with full state honors. Laxmi Panda's life story proved that the women of Ganjam does not lack behind and history will remember in its golden the valour and sacrifice of Laxmi Indira Panda for all times to come.

Conclusion

In the Ganjam district of South Odisha, the mass Indian freedom movement was successful as far as the involvements and mobilization of masses were concerned. Participation of large number of people irrespective of caste, creed and sex indicated the fact that, Gandhi's aims, objectives and ideas were well-accepted by the people.

There were several other women freedom fighters of Ganjam district who played a heroic role during the national movement including Santi Sahu of Kajendri, Hemalata Devi of Khallikote, Apurba Devi of Kodala who deserved special places in the history of freedom struggle. The name of some other brave women were Smt. Masti Kastani, Subarnna, Satnak, Anyati, Kumari Jhara, Smt. Jamuna Jani Kumari Tandra and Kumari Draupadi⁴⁴. These ladies worked for the freedom of India and dedicated their life to serve the Nation.

However, in this work we may speak that the women Satyagrahis also helped their male counterparts to participate in the independence movements of India. The role played by women of Ganjam in the freedom struggle form a brighter chapter in the history of the freedom movements in the country. The women freedom fighters of the region readily responded to the congress call for Non-Cooperation movement of 1920, Salt Satyagrah of 1930, Individual Satyagraha in 1940-41 and the Quit India Movement in 1942. The British Government for some times was thrown out of gear. Beside they carried out the Gandhian constructive programmes in every nook and corner of the district. Finally with the achievement

of the Indian Independence on 15th Aug 1947 the long drawn-out struggle of the people of the region came to an happy end.

The struggle and sacrifice made by the illiterate aborigines defies history and baffles historians of India. They left but not before leaving their names in golden letters in the pages of history.

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GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF RAILWAYS IN COLONIAL ODISHA

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Abstract

The introduction of railways was revolutionized the socio-economic status of the people of India as a whole and Odisha in particular. Initially the British authority did not pay attention towards the growth of railways in Odisha. But the famine of 1866 exposed the unpreparedness of communication system which killed one third population of the state. This failure earned massive response from the intellectuals of Odisha against the lack of communication system. The big guns were started pressurizing the British authority to accelerate the communication system by introducing railway lines in Odisha. All the attempts earned a positive result when a select parliamentary committee of 1884 recommended for rapid extension of railways which could be a sanjibni against famine and natural disaster. Railway tracts reached coastal Odisha just before the turn of the century but major parts of the regions remain aloof from the facilities till India's independence.

Key Words: Famine, Socio-economic status, Intellectual currents, natural disaster

Introduction

The introduction of Railways revolutionized the means of transportation and communication. It is regarded as the best ways for transportation and communication. Before the advent of railways India was a country of isolated but self sufficient villages. Indian railways played a vital role in the economic development and national integration of our country.¹ It has brought about remarkable changes in the economic, social, political and cultural life of the country. The Indian railway system is the largest state owned enterprise in Asia and the third largest state owned railway system in the world. The introduction of railways, which is one of the legacies of the British rule in India, has not only caused remarkable increase in the quick communication between different parts of India but also brought about profound changes in the habits and outlook of the people.

From 1757 AD onwards the English East India Company consolidated its possessions in India and our country experienced the bitterness of Colonialism is understood

as a social formation, which contained control over a number of modes of production and forms of exploitation. Britain had acquired colonies in the non-European world first for trade in exotic luxury goods, missionary activities, for the glory of their country and also satisfies their adventure, later on with the raise of capitalism, greed for profit making characterized these outward expansions.

Reasons for the construction of railways in India

The political condition and economic trend of 19th Century India induced the British to construct railways all over India. Railway, it was believed, would assist the economic development of India and provide both a market for British goods and a source of raw materials. It would also be helpful in the administration and protection of India by facilitating the movement of troops within the sub-continent.

The British commercial Interest

Till the last decade of the 18th Century India had been a source of luxury trade goods for Britain.² But by the 19th Century the situation was completely reversed. The rapid industrialization and the introduction of factory system in Europe compelled the British to find market for their finished products. They also wanted to get an uninterrupted supply of raw materials for their factories.³ So they penetrated to the Indian life through infrastructural developments, which were meant only to the sub serve their interest. India became a source of raw materials for the British textile industries and profitable market for their factory goods.⁴ The importance of Railways over other means of transport from the economic point of view came to be realized during the middle of the 19th Century. Their main objectives were exploitation of the natural resources in India and the consolidation of the British Empire.⁵ Certain kinds of goods like salt and sugar could not be carried in west seasons because of the inconvenience of transport. Considering the greatest extent of India's vast plains, the value of land, cheapness of labour and general facilities for producing buildings, the railway promoters in England brought political and economic pressures on the East India Company to introduce railways in India.⁶

Military Motives

The early rail road policy of the British seems to have been largely dictated by military needs.⁷ The need for railway system felt because of the need for the improvement in commerce and troop movements, which was of primary concern to the British government in India. Lord Dalhousie pointed out the importance of railways both for maintaining internal order and for defense against external aggression. Being an imperialist he rightly wanted to perpetuate the British domination over India.

Capital Investment Interest

The railway was one of the protected monopolies sponsored by the British mostly to provide scope for the fruitful investment of their capital in India. The successful running of the first train in England and the opportunities and profits which accompanied it attracted the attention of the capitalist and moneyed men who were searching for new areas for investments.

Political Interest

The British realized the importance of cheap means of transport for the progress of the country materially and for the efficiency of the administration. The administration both of the East India Company and of the Crown was subjected to continuous pressure to extend and multiply railway lines in India.⁸ The central elements of Dalhousie's planned Railway lines in India were the Trunk lines connecting the major administrative centers of the presidencies and provinces. At a later stage the government was compelled to seek financial assistance of the Indian princes in the construction of railways within their territories.

Introduction of Railways in India

The railway promoters in England, who were quite assured of the possibilities and potentialities of the general facilities of India pressurized the East India Company to introduce Railways in India in 1843. George Clark, the chief engineer of the Bombay Government gave the idea of rail to connect Bombay with Thane.⁹ A meeting of the prominent citizens was later held at Bombay on 13 July 1844. There was also considerable demand in Bengal for Railway construction. However the initiative for railway construction came from the top, the Government and not from below. The people like George Clark, in the meantime had prepared detailed plans for a line from Kurla to Thana. A committee headed by the chief Secretary Henry Conybeare.

Promoters like R.M. Stephenson, J. Chapman and W.P. Andrews were the railway enthusiasts keen on seeing the spread of railways. Their consistent efforts with the support of merchants, succeeded in the establishment of private railway companies, like the East Indian Railway company, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, the Madras Railway Company and the Bombay-Boroda and Central Railway Company.¹⁰

Growth of Indian Railways

The first railway line opened in the world in the Great Britain carrying out public passengers in 1825. The earliest proposal to start railways in India seems to have been made in 1831-32.¹¹ Joseph Locke in 1841 discussed the prospects of railways from Calcutta to Delhi, on the plea of population, pilgrims, traffic in goods, transmission of troops and overall to overcome the difficulties of communication. The first railway line running from

Bombay to Thana was opened to traffic on 16th April 1853, the first part of the East Indian Railway Calcutta to Raniganj was completed in 1858 and the line from Madras to Arkonam in 1856.¹² By the end of the year 1869, railway lines had 4,255 miles worth of Rs. 80 crores.

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Introduction of Railways in Odisha

The introduction of railways in Odisha accelerated the means of transportation and communication. Odisha was very unfortunate in this consideration to develop in the path of railway line building. Unfortunate in the sense that the railway development of this region was very slow as compared to other regions particularly the border state of Odisha. In 1866, Odisha was visited a famine of most intense and desolating character. Its severity was so terrible that about a third of population died. The transport and efficient means of communication was regarded as the best ways for prevention of famines. In these methods were adopted in haste and hence proved unfruitful. The old means of communication through canals, rivers and muddy roads were given paramount importance in Odisha. The impact of western civilization and fruits of Industrial Revolution such as Railways and modern science did not reach at the people of Orissa compared to other states of India.¹⁴ The Government of Bengal was not in favour to construct railway in Odisha. Appeals by the people for railways in 1878 was turned down by Lt. Governor with the plea of costly ventures (20 lakhs of rupees) and heavy bridge works would involve huge cost; that's why railways was not possible in Orissa. The Utkal Sabha under the leadership of Late M.S. Das and Late G.S. Ray, Editor of Utkal Dipika mobilized Public opinion in favour of construction of railway lines in Orissa.¹⁵

It has been decided during 1870's not to proceed with railways in Odisha. The commissioner of the division, T.E. Ravenshaw was more inclined towards canals than the railways.¹⁶ In his opinion canals were more suited to Odisha than the railways. The Bengal Government was also not in favour of the construction of the railways. It was believed that, heavy bridge works would involve huge cost and railways would not be remunerative. There was another reason too. After having spent much in the Odisha canals, the Government was not prepared to incur huge additional expenditure on railways. The Lieutenant Governor Sir Richard Temple during his visit to Odisha in 1874 had been appealed by the people for the construction of railways but in vain.¹⁷ A similar appeal had been made to Sir Ashley Eden, the Lieutenant-Governor in March 1878 during his visit to the province. But Eden considered it more worthwhile to proceed with canals than railways in Odisha.¹⁸ It would have been better had the Government decided to push further the original schemes of canals like Patamundai and High level which would have connected Calcutta with Puri along the

important places of Orissa. This was in fact pressed for by the Commissioners T.E. Ravenshaw in 1878. Sir Ashley Eden on the other hand, planned for the Coast Canal which was though would cost only Rs.36 lakhs and it would secure the country against famine, while the railways would cost not less than Rs.20 crores owing to the necessity of heavy bridging.¹⁹ Even a great champion of the railway in Bengal during his administration was too rapid.²⁰ Yet the proposal for Orissa did not commend itself to him.

A select parliamentary committee of 1884 recommended for rapid extension of railways on the plea that they would give protection against famine, stimulate, internal trade, open up, fertile, tract and coal fields and in generally improve the economic condition of people.²¹ In 1896, Lord Elgin the governor of Bengal confidently declared that construction of railways was the method by which we can materially improve the condition of the vast population depended upon agriculture most surely and most steady and expressed the hope that the great railway system in India could made an all powerful agent in the promotion of the material and social advancement and political tranquility of the people.²² The primary motive behind under taking the construction of railways in Odisha was to connect with the major ports like Madras, Bombay and Kolkata. In due course, the existence of plenty of natural resources in Odisha attracted the attention of the British as well as of Indian capitalist. Hence, the construction of railways was consider essential to undertake the exploitation of natural resources on excavate scale.

Railway tracks reached coastal Odisha, as late as the turn of the century when the other major regions of eastern India had been linked to the railway system for up to four decades.²³ Before that Odisha did not have any railway line within its territory for transportation and communication. In Cuttack, Puri, and Balasore the committees were formed to regenerate the Government for railway lines in Odisha. The proposals were also placed before the Government for the construction of railway line. The Committees also suggested that new railway line should stretch from Raniganj to Puri when the Government was thinking to stretch it from Sambalpur to Cuttack.²⁴ The Government decision was criticized by the people for its silence on many occasions.²⁵ The government clearly declared that irrigational canals were suited to Odisha than railways.²⁶ However, with much controversy the Government had finally decided to open the railway lines from Howrah to Puri.

The Bengal-Nagpur railway company which was entrusted with the task of construction of railways in Odisha was formed in 1887 under the supervision and with the secretary of state for India for the purpose of carrying out a contract, by which company was taken over the existing Nagpur-Chhattisgarh railway from Nagpur to Raj Nandagaon 149 miles.²⁷ The Indian railway network had a direct and on mediated impact on the regions circulatory regime ever since the main line of the Bengal Nagpur railways 1897. A real

revolution in the field of communication came with the opening of the Bengal Nagpur railways during the closing year of 19th century.²⁸ It ran through Odisha 239 miles from north to south, by supplying direct communication between Calcutta and Madras. In march 31, 1900 the Kuakhai bridge was completed which started from December 26, 1876 at a cost of Rs 14,51,000. A cost of Rs 26, 88,200 was spent for the construction of the Mahanadi bridge which was completed within two years. Before the inauguration of the line the East Coast Railway line linked in Odisha with March in the year 1897. The East Coast Railways connects Calcutta and Madras via Balasore and Cuttack which greatly facilitated rice trade between Odisha and Madras. Thus construction of railway line provided a link between Odisha and other states which was the long awaited claim of the people of Odisha. If it was constructed before 30 years ago, the famine of 1866 and other natural calamities would not have claimed deaths in lakhs owing to lack of transport and communication. The rail road constituted a second and shorter rail link between Calcutta and Bombay, which passed the coal fields of Chhota Nagpur, skirted and partly traverse the north western margin of Odisha on its way to Raipur and Nagpur.²⁹ This resulted in a shift in the structure of interregional transport costs implying that the Mahanadi routes attraction as channel of central Indians trains regional trade was further diminished.³⁰ However, when the Bengal Nagpur main line was complemented by the East Coast Railway in 1899-1900, the enormous detour over Calcutta turned into a shortcut in terms of travel time, while the much more direct Mahanadi routes lost its attraction to many peoples and businessman for transport and communication purpose.

Bengal Nagpur Railway

From	To	Total Distance
Howrah	Bhubaneswar	271 ^{1/4}
	Khorda road	283
	Cahhatrapur	288 ^{3/4}
	Tapanga	294
	Nirakarpur	299
	Bhusandpur	303 ^{3/4}
	Kaliperghat	310
	Kuhuri	314
	Pranadeipur	321 ^{1/2}
	Balugaon	327
	Delanga	292 ^{1/2}
	Sakhigopal	300
	Malatipatpur	305 ^{1/2}
	Puri	310

Puri District Gazetteers

The Bengal Nagpur railway connected the north western Garhjat to Calcutta and contributed to their reorientation towards the imperial capital. Sambalpur always a sub-regional space between central India and Odisha, was linked up to the BNR by a branch line in 1893, which induced a rapid commercialization of agriculture, benefiting local dominate land owners and immigrant traders, by further accentuating its sites with the central provinces as well as with Calcutta. The Jharsuguda-Sambalpur Branch Railway changed the run of trade and doubled the price of rice. This diversion was not lost on contemporary and officially acknowledged in the 1909 district gazetteers was formerly the main outlet for the trade of the district, and boat transport is still carried on to Sonpur ; but since the opening of the railway, river borne trade with Cuttack has greatly diminished. In 1885 the government projected one line connected Sambalpur with coastal districts of Odisha. The survey was in the motion during the last decade of the 19th Century. In earlier Government estimated 2.27 lakh for railway line between Sambalpur and Khordha. But the project only could be possible after the independence.

Railway Line Connecting Garhjat State

As per the extension of railway to the Odisha plains, we have seen that the idea of connecting the two presidency town of Calcutta and Madras along the coast of the Bay of Bengal dated back to satisfactions 1845 plan for the Indian railway network. But only after the establishment of Balaswar railway committee in 1881 which comprised much of northern Odisha's high society including maharaja Krushnachandra of Maurbhanja with Baikuntha Nath De , an influential zamindar, as its honorary secretary. The committee sent a carefully prepare memorial to the government of Bengal calling for the construction of a direct rail link between Calcutta and Madras through the Odisha coastal plains and of a branch line to Puri. This railway, they argued, would not only provide a faster and safer means of transport to Jagannath pilgrims, but would also reduce incidence of cholera epidemics by improving the pilgrim's passage which could prove as a famine protection line.

From the early 1880's these arguments were repeated time to time in Odia news paper. The colonial government was urged to introduce railway line to Cuttack and Puri either from Varanasi via Chhotnagpur in the Garhjat states of Odisha or from Calcutta across the coastal plains. An analyses of official summary of relevant articles reveals a growing sense of exasperation among the largely loyalist correspondents: intervenes icons from a newly emerging Indian public sphere were clearly not appreciated and usually ignored by the British administration. The point was not that Odisha's colonial administrators were totally adverse for construction of a railway line at that time. In fact, they argued on similar

lines as the Indian notable deed. Yet the commissioner of Cuttack plainly refused to cooperate with the Balasware Railway Committee.

A comprehensive view of the railway debates of the late 1890 discloses that the colonial administration pondered over to alternative of connecting Odisha to the Indian railway network. Both alternatives-the coastal line from Medinapur to Cuttack and Mahanadi line from Sambalpur to Khurda were almost equal with regard to length (193 and 190 miles respectively) and estimated cost (Rs 22 and 23 million respectively). Both alternative were to be constructed by the BNR company which had secured a 4% guarantee for their shareholder in 1887. This implied an equal financial commitment on the part of the government of India in each case, especially since both line had estimated to be productive. Even if a greater productivity may have been expected from the East Coast Railway in terms of traffic receipts purely financial consideration might still have recommended the Sambalpur-Cuttack line. For the construction of the east coast railway dispelled any hope of recovering an appreciable of the large state investment in navigable canals along the NE-SW axis. Moreover the availability of these canals and other means of circulation along these axis also suggest that the discussion for the coastal railway was no un mitigated response to a supposedly “objective” regional demand for transport infrastructure. It reflected rather a pattern in the public works policy of the powerful pattern resonating with the interest dominating a colonial economy with the socio-spatial dynamics of an age of imperialism.

Mayurbhanja state Railway

The opening of the narrow gauge railway line between Rupsa and Baripada was praise worthy event (the principal town of the tributary state of Mayurbhanja). This was constructed by the Maharaja Ramachandra Bhanja Deo of Mayurbhanja. The total capital expenditure on this line was 17.14 lakh and the line was opened in the year 1904-05.³¹ After the First World War, the Government decided to explore coalfield of Talcher. The Bengal-Nagpur railway acquired the mining right over 1000 acres of Talcher coal field areas and commenced the construction of a rail line connecting Talacher with Cuttack-Kharagpur railway line at Nirgundia.³² This line was opened for traffic on 20 January 1947.³³ In 1911 the Government initiated to build a 40 miles branch line from Tatanagar to Gurumahisari where plenty of iron ores were available.

Paralakhemundi Light Railway

Paralakhemundi estate was largest permanently settled estate in modern Gajapati district. The raja of Paralakhemundi made attempt to construct railway line in to his own territory. East Coast Railway brought its rail line to Nuapada. The raja approached the Government to connect that line with the Paralakhemundi for better communication of that

region. The Government promptly granted on 1.4.1990 for this railway line.³⁴ The rail line was built with utmost economy, sixty miles of rail line had cost about Rs. 7,00,000. In 1929-30 the raja decided further extension of railway. The total capital outlay stood up from 7 lakh to 25 lakh.

Nilagiri Light Railway

This railway line had been repeatedly demanded by some wealthy Bengali people. At first the project decided to construct a short 2'6 gauge railway from the mines to Balasore station on the Bengal-Nagpur railway, a distance of 13 miles. The project aimed for transportation of granite. It was further decided to extend the line to the heart of Odisha and convert the line for passenger and goods traffic.³⁵ But the decision of the government did not materialize and one of the beautiful projects faced a premature death.

The length of the railway lines in Odisha in 1899-1900 was 230 miles. In 1930-31 was 836 miles and in 1947 there were 1472 kms of railways in Odisha. It seems good but if you compare with India as a whole then that gives a clear picture. In august 1947 about 33,985 miles railway line were built.

The inauguration of railway system in Odisha opened the dawn of communication revolution in Odisha. Before that the people of Odisha largely depended upon waterways and unmetalled roadways. The opening of Bengal-Nagpur railway was a revolution in the field of communication system in Odisha. This provided direct communication with Bengal. The opening of railway contributed many aspects of the Odishan people. It had wide range of impact throughout this region which is clearly described in my concluding observation.

Date of Opening of Different Railways

Lines	Date of Openings	Mileage
Cuttack to Bhubaneswar	01.02.1987	10.32
Bhubaneswar to Khurda Road	20.07.1896	11.76
Khurda Road to Rambha	01.03.1896	61.54
Rambha to Berhampur-Ganjam	01.09.1895	29.56
Berhampur-Janjam to Palasa	01.04.1855	45.76
Palasa to ParalaKhemundi	17.12.1894	33.11
ParalaKhemundi to Vijayanagaram	20.07.1894	55.20
Vijayanagaram to Waltair	15.07.1893	37.50
Total		284.75

(2) East Coast Railways – Branches.

Lines	Date of Openings	Mileage
Khurda Road to Puri	01.02.1897	27.18
Waltair – Visakhapatanam		
Wharf and Swamp Lines	01.10.1894	4.97
Nuapada Salt Factory Lines	1900	2.61

(3) Bengal – Nagpur Railways – Kharagapur to Cuttack

Lines	Date of Openings	Mileage
Kharagapur to Balasore	17.12.1898	71.75
Balasore to Cuttack	10.01.1899	116.75
Total		188.50

(4) Date of Opening of Mayurbhanj state Railways.

Sanction of Railway	Date of Opening	Miles
Rupsa to Baripada	20.10.1905	32.41
Baripada to Talabandh	15.07.1920	38.69

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EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE TRIBAL COMMUNITIES OF NUAPADA DISTRICT OF ODISHA: A RECENT STUDY

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Abstract

The study of the education of tribal communities of Nuapada district is an important aspect of the tribal educational system of Odisha in India. Education is necessary for the general human development of civilization. The economic, social, and cultural success of a country is determined by the educational development of its people. India is a pluralistic country with a diversified ethnic population representing a wide range of cultures, beliefs, and languages. However, there is a huge gap in the socio-economic parameters of the country's diverse groups/communities. Some ethnic groups, particularly the Scheduled Tribes, have long been marginalized and economically disadvantaged compared to the rest of the population. The most valuable weapon for their empowerment is educational development, which can help the poor and underprivileged escape poverty and achieve parity with the rest of society. Human development and lifestyle enrichment are built on the foundation of education. It has the power to rebuild social balance, eliminate superstitions, and economic status, strengthen custom, and promote humanity. Every human community has to be made aware of such power. The tribal people have a rich cultural heritage and artistic and craft skills, but they are still marginalized in higher education and other areas of life.

Keywords: *Scheduled Tribes, economic parameters, marginalized, empowerment, ethnic*

The study of the education of tribal communities of Nuapada district is an important aspect of the tribal educational system of Odisha in India. Education is necessary for the general human development of civilization. The economic, social, and cultural success of a country is determined by the educational development of its people. India is a pluralistic

country with a diversified ethnic population representing a wide range of cultures, beliefs, and languages.¹ However, there is a huge gap in the socio-economic parameters of the country's diverse groups/communities. Some ethnic groups, particularly the Scheduled Tribes, have long been marginalized and economically disadvantaged compared to the rest of the population. The most valuable weapon for their empowerment is educational development, which can help the poor and underprivileged escape poverty and achieve parity with the rest of society.² Human development and lifestyle enrichment are built on the foundation of education. It has the power to rebuild social balance, eliminate superstitions, and economic status, strengthen custom, and promote humanity. Every human community has to be made aware of such power. The tribal people have a rich cultural heritage and artistic and craft skills, but they are still marginalized in higher education and other areas of life. Tribal refers to indigenous peoples of the country's original occupants. The tribals have been relegated to low status and are frequently physically as well as socially separated from the mainstream of society.³ Education is important for the nation's personal, social, and economic development. It is critical to living a happy and prosperous life. Education gives kids the ability to imagine well-thought-out concepts and to analyse situations when making life decisions. Everyone benefits from a good education. Life is important because it broadens our knowledge and talents, transforms our minds and personalities, and helps us to cultivate positive attitudes.⁴ Scheduled tribes for various provisions provided by the Ministry of tribal Affairs and the Ministry of Human Resources Development, Government of India. Education deficiency of tribal children can be alleviated by making better provisions for the arrangement of opening residential schools such as Ashram Schools, Kasturaba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya, Ekalavya Model Residential Schools, and Vocational Training Centres in the tribal areas of India including Nuapada district of Odisha.

There are 62 Scheduled Tribes in Odisha, 13 of which are Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs). The indigenous tribes' low literacy as well as educational backwardness can be linked to a variety of issues centre on chronic poverty. The state of Odisha's Scheduled Tribe (ST) population is 8,145,081, according to the 2001 Census. This accounts for 22.1 per cent of the state's overall population and 9.7% of the country's total tribal population. In terms of ST population and proportion of ST population to the total population, the state ranks third and eleventh among States/UTs, respectively.⁵ On 1st April 1993 Nuapada sub-division of Kalahandi district was transformed into a separate district assuming the nomenclature of Nuapada district. The birth, evolution and journey of Nawapara to Nuapada have a long social, political, historical, administrative and linguistic history.⁶ At last on the 1st of April 1993 Nawapara sub-division was sculpted out of Kalahandi to become a separate new district of Odisha with its Odia pronunciation Nuapada instead of Chhattisgarhi pronunciation Nawapara. Nawa in Chhattisgarhi and Nua in Odia language

mean new and Para in Chhattisgarhi and pada in Odia means settlement. Therefore, Nawapara in Chhattisgarhi and Nuapada in Odia means new settlement. It is believed that Khariar zamindar Bir Bikram Deo, while coming back from Delhi Durbar in 1911 stayed for a few days in a camp near Tan note. Latter a new settlement came up here and was named as Nawapara Tan note. The birth and journey of Nawapara from a new settlement in 1911 to a new district Nuapada in 1993 have a significant chequered history.⁷ Nuapada is one of the west-located districts in Odisha. It lies between 82° 20' to 82° 40' East longitude and between 20° 0' to 21° 5' North latitude.⁸ It is bordered by the Bargarh district in the north, Kalahandi district in the south, Bolangir in the east and Chhattisgarh state in the west. It ranks 19th among the districts concerning size i.e. 2.47 per cent of the landed area of Odisha. Dropout is a major problem that hinders the progress of tribal education in the Nuapada district. It is a matter of concern and needs serious attention. Due to financial constraints, most indigenous parents in the Nuapada district do not want to send their children to school, and they regard their children as an economic asset. For the improvement of tribal communities of Nuapada district in the aspect of education, some adequate steps have been taken by the government. To know the educational status of the children of tribal communities of Nuapada district is very interesting and curiosity among scholars, for which an attempt has been made in this article by the present scholars to highlight the different aspects of the educational system of the tribal communities of Nuapada district of Odisha.

II. Methodology

The present article has been written using both primary and secondary sources. During the experimental field survey, primary sources were gathered via gazetteers, texts, unpublished thesis, practical observation, public opinion, hearsay testimonies, and interview methods. The scholar has collected data on the system of Education in the Tribal area of the Nuapada District for this work. Secondary data were collected by consulting some relevant available books, journals, articles, papers, etc. In the collection of primary data relating to the present article, the empirical method has been adopted by the scholar. The informants were chosen and interacted with from 5 blocks of the Nuapada district. The selection criteria for informants were based on accumulated experiences and the consent of the participants. In this case, mostly elders are an important source of data and were selected through purposeful (judgmental), snowball and availability way of approaches to picking key informants. At the time of the empirical study, some of the elder/senior informants consulted were 1.Haldhar Majhi (Jambahali), 2.Padman Majhi (Hatisara), 3.Hari Banjara (Darlipada), 4.Khrushna Ch.Barsha (Lakhana), 5.Ghanashyam Sabar(Tukla), 6.Sombaru Jhankar (Sunabeda), Kailash Majhi (Madhupur), 8.Chintamani Sabar (Banjibahal), 9.Kamal Mirdha (Maniguda) and 10.Sukamati Dal (Khudapeja). They are the resource primary

data relating to the present article. The scholars have focused on the descriptive or quality research analysis of the previous illustrious literature, some different Govt. and Non-govt. reports, and finally the present piece of work is based on related sources collected from both the secondary sources and original reports, documents or data of primary sources.

III. Discussion and Result Analysis

3. Education System of the Tribal Communities of Nuapada District

Before going to the facts of the subject, first, we have to discuss on the area of the study, demographic profile, languages and surroundings of the tribal people of the Nuapada district of Odisha. The central focus of this study is five blocks of the Nuapada district, found in western parts of the state of Odisha. Tribal people have been living in the Nuapada district more than other districts of western Odisha. The five blocks of the Nuapada district taken here for the scholarly work are viz-Komna, Nuapada, Boden, Sinapali and Khariar. According to the population census-2011, the total population of Nuapada district is 6, 10, 382 out of which 3, 01, 962 are male and 3, 08,420 female. The percentage of the population of males is 49.47 per cent against 50.53 per cent of females. The demographic indexes indicate females outnumber males. The district comprises one Subdivision, 5 CD blocks and 3 NAC. Nuapada district is the 19th district in terms of size and As per the 2011 census, the Schedule tribe population of the district is 2,06,327 (1,00,469 male and 1,05,858 female). This constitutes 33.8 per cent of the total population of the Nuapada district. Among the scheduled tribes more than 99 per cent lives in rural areas and less than 1 cent in urban areas of the Nuapada district. Komna block has the highest tribal population, i.e. 55,608. The major tribes found in Nuapada district are Gond, Bhunjia, Saora, Sabar, Banjara, Binjhal, Dal, Kandha, Mirdha, Munda, Paraja and Bhattoda. The majority of tribes found in Nuapada district are Gond (66.56%) Sabar(12.30%) Saora(5.82%) and other communities (15.20%) The tribal-dominated villages are situated in the remote forest area of Nuapada district.⁹ All the tribal people of Nuapada still speak their traditional dialect in different places. But its degree of knowledge and use varies from one section to the other section. However, nowhere they have completely forgotten their dialect. According to Brierson (1911), due to its geographical situation, the dialect of the people of Nuapada district is an admixture of Odia, Hindi, Gondi, Banjara, Sambalpuri and Chhattisgarhi, despite the dominance of the dialect in the areas of verbal communication, people of the district write in Odia but speak a mixed dialect.¹⁰

Some of the problems confronted/faced by the tribal children of the Nuapada includes 1. Nature of habitat,2. Economic reasons,3. The problem of language,4. Lack of hostel facilities for all tribal children, 5. Mental attitudes of students, 6. Superstition and prejudice,7.

Location of the village, 8. Lack of *suitable teachers*, 9. Socio-cultural factors, 10. The attitude of tribal students, 11. Different causes for dropout of tribal girls, 12. Causes of low enrolments of tribal girls, 13. The apathy of parents of children, 14. Religious factor, 15. Poor infrastructure, 16. Medium of Instruction, etc. The above factors reflect the backwardness of the surroundings of the tribal communities of Nuapada district in the aspect of education. The bulk of Nuapada's school-aged children are not mentally prepared to attend school, and their mental attitudes are always inclined toward traditional cultural activities. Even the children chip in a percentage of the family's income. In tribal areas, informal education for illiterate parents is critical to addressing this issue. The tribal people of Nuapada mostly depend on their indigenous practices of agriculture for their livelihood.¹¹ They educate their children regarding their livelihood practices and rules of division of labour prevalent in society. During agriculture and harvesting seasons the parents take their young son to the fields with them for work and the young girls are engaged to watch home caring for the siblings and attending to other household chores. Consequently, the tribal parents of the Nuapada district consider their children as economic assets.¹² Dropout is the most critical problem for the progress of tribal education in Nuapada. Due to financial constraints, most indigenous parents in the Nuapada district do not want to send their children to school. The first scholar had met with a tribal boy who was supporting their parent's work in the brick kilns noticed at Darlipada, Nuapada district. Because of their illiteracy, the tribal people of Nuapada do not know the value of education for their children. Some of the noble steps were taken by Government to make awareness for education among the tribal people of the Nuapada district.

3.1. Educational Development Schemes for the Tribal Children of Nuapada District

Education is critical to improving one's quality of life. It plays a vital and wonderful function in the social change and betterment of human existence, as well as social mobility in social life and future precise change. Education is universally acknowledged as a motivating and necessary tool for achieving development goals, culminating in political consciousness, consciousness of the nation's rights and responsibilities.¹³ "The mark of an educated person is the willingness to apply his knowledge and talents to address the problems of society," Plato began in the Republic. Real education trains students to live creatively, responsibly, and peacefully in society, and has evolved into a career of social change, influencing and guiding human behaviour and action in everyday life. The process of thinking, knowing, or comprehending other people's sentiments is referred to as value. Educational values such as truth, happiness, and peace are always among society's most desirable characteristics.¹⁴ According to Mahatma Gandhi, the father of nation considers education is a means to develop man. He also said, "By education, we mean an all-round drawing out of the best in

child and man body, mind and spirits.” Aristotle defines “Education as the creation of a sound mind in a sound body”.¹⁵

There was not much progress in the extent of education in the countryside /tribal areas in the pre-merger period. Thus, the pre-independence period depicts a regretful picture of the spread of education among the Adivasi and backward classes living in the rural areas of the Nuapada district. The hilly areas of the Nuapada district with no adequate means of communication, schools as well as lack of awareness among other backward castes, Scheduled tribes, and the Scheduled castes were chief causes which acted against the spread of education. The spread of education among the backward class people has made much headway in recent years. Before independence, there were 22 schools in Nuapada district such as High school Khariar 01, Middle English School 05 (Khariar, Bhela, Nuapada, Komna, Sinapali), L.P Schools 10, U.P School 06 respectively. The pre-independence schools mentioned above were insufficient to promote education among the indigenous communities of Nuapada as well as the Kalahandi district.¹⁶

Some developmental schemes have been introduced for the spread of education among the tribal children of Nuapada District. The post-independence ushered in new promises to SC/ST people. The government of Odisha took initiation in several ways for the development of educational institutions and education was opened for all. Simultaneously steps were taken in the opening but the post-independence ushered in new promises to SC/ST people. Then establishing special schools like Sevashram and Ashram Schools in thickly SC/ST populated areas in the Nuapada district. The government opened some residential schools for the children of the SC/ST community. The government provides food and study material to the students free of cost. Also, the students of the SC/ST community who are getting schooling in other institutions receive stipends from the government.¹⁷

A flagship initiative was launched to achieve universal primary education. Recognizing the importance of education, the Indian government has been working to ensure that all people have access to it, particularly those who are economically disadvantaged. Immediately after independence, our country developed systematic and constitutional provisions for free and organised efforts in our country, obligatory education for children up to the age of 14 years, to meet the national pledge. Efforts were made for incorporation in article 45 of the Constitution through successive five-year plans to reach the goal of 100 per cent literacy through compulsory and free education for children aged 14 and up. For the fulfilment of the Universal Elementary Education aims, the National Policies on Education 1986 and 1992 are given top priority (UEE). Various programmes and incentives were launched in India to universalize and reorganize the quality of primary education.¹⁸ Despite seventy-three years of independence, the goal of universalizing and restructuring the quality of primary

education remains the same. Universal primary education is still a long way off. Due to several factors like as poverty and lack of access to schools, about ten million girls of school-going age do not attend elementary schools. The Indian government launched a programme known as Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA). The Government of Odisha created some schools in various locations under this scheme, one of which was an Upper Primary School in Kothenchuan village in the Nuapada block in the years 2001-2002 with the help of the local self-governments. It is a large and comprehensive effort of the Indian government to attain universal elementary education across the country under a mission form.¹⁹

The main objectives of the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan scheme: Enrolment of all children in school, Education guarantee centre, Alternate schools, and Back-to-school camp by 2003; All children will complete five years of learning in primary school in 2007, All children will complete eight years of elementary school learning by 2010, Focus on elementary education of satisfying quality with significance on education for life, To connection all gender and social category interval at primary level by 2007 and at elementary education level by 2010; Universal retention by 2010. Other than this, the government of India started many other encouragement schemes to maintain the children in the schools which are given below: (1) Free textbooks, stationary, school bags, etc; (2) Free uniforms, (3) Mid-day meal scheme, (4) Attendance scholarship for girls etc. The PESA (The Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 has made it mandatory for the States having scheduled areas to make special provisions for giving broad powers to the tribals on the matters relating to decision-making and development of their community.²⁰ A centrally-sponsored government program of ashram schools exclusively for ST children from elementary to higher secondary levels was started in the 1970s. But the poor quality of education in ashram schools, despite has undermined confidence in education as a vehicle for social mobility. The Janshala Programme is an associate endeavour of the Government of India (GOI) and five UN Agencies –UNDP, UNICEF, UNESCO, ILO and UNFPA - a community-based primary education program, goal to make primary education more accessible and efficacious, especially for girls and children in underprivileged communities, marginalized groups, scheduled tribes / scheduled caste /minorities, children with specific needs²¹

The central and state governments have initiated various education-supportive measures like the establishment of Ashram Schools, Ekalavya Model Residential schools and Pre matric, Post matric scholarships, etc. If these facilities will be fully available to the needy tribal students of Nuapada, then there will be an increase in the educational status of tribal children, which was launched to achieve universal elementary education in a time-bound manner. Many provisions in the act prohibit corporal punishment, detention and expulsion which need to be forefronted in SSA interventions to ensure that we move towards

a system that provides a warm, welcoming and encouraging approach for tribal children to learn.²²

Some necessary initiatives have been taken with both the central as well as state governments for the educational development of tribal children based on the aforesaid principles of Odisha as well as the Nuapada district. Ordinarily, schooling children is expensive since it involves payment of tuition fees, purchase of study materials, uniforms, transport costs, etc. This keeps a large chunk of children of different strata of society to remain away from schooling. It is a very popular dialogue among the tribals of Nuapada, a hungry child can never attend school unless his hunger is satisfied. Most of the tribals of Nuapada are very poor and not in a position to provide sufficient food to their children, many of the tribal children suffer from malnutrition there intending to combat the severe situation, materials / school dress, stipends and extra coaching facilities for higher education. The government made several provisions and protected their children through various policies for enhancing the enrolment level among the tribal children at school. The government has made provision Mid Day Meals, which were distributed among the students at different places like Kothenchuan, Pagarpani, Godaphula, Limdihi, etc. of the Nuapada block, upper primary schools students were also exempted from tuition fees, supplying study materials. During recent years, the provision of MDM has extended up to class VIII. The students at higher class IX and class X, are taking meals twice a day which is not sufficient.²³

For the upliftment of tribal children/ students, some Ashram schools were established in different tribal areas of the Nuapada district. The present scholar has noticed a girls' residential Ashram school at Kampur in the Sinapali block of Nuapada district for the overall development of tribal students, with a focus on vocational education that will prepare them to stand on their own two feet and become idealistic and unselfish citizens of the country. Because the schools are residential, it can reduce student absenteeism, increase the quality of instruction at the primary school level, and relieve parents of the financial burden of paying for their children's education. The government has offered different amenities like as school buildings, playgrounds, free kitchens, gender teaching materials, equipment, dresses, books, and economic resources to encourage tribal children and their parents to attend school.²⁴ They will undoubtedly benefit from being in the Ashram school during the important years of schooling from the ages of five to sixteen. Continue their studies in school instead of quitting in the middle.²⁵

Despite the sincere and concerted efforts made by the government for the overall development of education of the tribal communities of Nuapada district, the tribal children of that reason are still far behind in almost all the standard parameters of development. They are not able to participate in the process of development, as they are not aware of

most of the programmes and policies made for their upliftment. This is mainly due to the high incidence of illiteracy and the very low level of education among the tribal people of Nuapada. Hence, for the upliftment of the educational status of the tribal people of Nuapada, the role of governance in this direction is highly essential. It is well known that the educational background of tribal is very discouraging as compared to the rest of the population. Therefore, education is an important avenue for upgrading the economic and social conditions of the scheduled tribes.²⁶

On 04.08.2009, the Right to Education (RTE) of children to free and compulsory education was adopted, which explains the necessity of free and obligatory education for children aged 6 to 14. The RTE Act guarantees children's right to free and obligatory elementary school entrance, attendance, and completion.²⁷ As a result, issues that prohibit children from poorer sections and disadvantaged groups, as well as girls, from completing basic school, must be considered. Second, the Act guarantees a child's right to an education free of fear, stress, or anxiety. The Act has various restrictions, such as prohibitions on corporal punishment, imprisonment, and exclusion, that must be addressed in SSA interventions to ensure that we move toward a system that is warm, accepting, and encouraging for children to learn.²⁸ The Ministry of HRD is mandated to support education in the disadvantaged category have taken steps to promote them across the country.²⁹ Making better provisions, relaxing norms for opening primary schools in tribal areas, establishing residential facilities, opening Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBVs), Ashram Schools, Ekalavya Model Residential Schools, and Vocational Training Centres for promoting higher learning, and providing financial incentives in the form of scholarships like Pre Matric Scholarship, Post Matric Scholarship (PMS), Scholastic Scholarship, and Vocational Training Centres can all help to promote higher learning.³⁰ Both the Central and State governments have been especially focusing on the particularly tribals in the Indian context or Odishan context owing to their development of health and education being very low level such as sundry. They are living in dissimilar geophysical surroundings inside the forest.³¹ They may languish in very insubstantial circumstances of backwardness and dispossession and their old-fashioned means of sustenance slowly weaken susceptible to food uncertainty, healthiness trouble and malnourishment, health and educational level are most of inferior quality than other people. Their requirements and teething troubles were dissimilar from other tribes. Considering the above facts, the State as well as Central Government is taking an effective attempt. So, the people of tribal communities of Nuapada and other districts are now improved in the aspects of education. Through the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP), both the Central as well as State Government has undertaken certain steps to recognize the tribal people in the whole parts of India including Nuapada and execute

different schemes as well as a developmental programme for their changes in social and economic lifestyle.³²

The central and state governments have launched several educational initiatives, including Ashram Schools, Ekalavya Model Residential Schools, Kasturaba Gandhi Vidyalaya for girls, and Pre matric and Post matric scholarships, among others. The scholastic standing of tribal children will improve if these amenities are adequately offered to needy tribal youngsters. A movement was launched to achieve universal elementary education in a time-bound manner. Many sections of the act prohibit corporal punishment, imprisonment, and expulsion, all of which must be addressed in SSA interventions if we are to progress toward a warm system, accepting, and encouraging children to learn tribal students receive many perks from the Ministry of Tribal Affairs and the Ministry of Human Resources Development. Children from Scheduled Tribes can benefit from better provisions, reduced requirements for opening primary schools in tribal communities, and the establishment of residential schools such as Ashram Schools, Kasturaba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya, Ekalavya Model Residential Schools, and Vocational Training Centres. In addition, Pre-Matric and Post-Matric scholarships for top-notch education, such as the Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship, are awarded to tribal youth.³³

The Nuapada district is part of the Modified Area Development Agency programme. The Odisha department of ST & ST development is in charge of this project. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs provides different benefits to Scheduled Tribes. The state government has taken various measures such as providing free education, scholarships, Hostel facilities, free distribution of textbooks, garments, and special coaching to prepare them for state and all India services as well as seeking admission, to increase enrolment and reduce the dropout rate at the primary school level, a mid-day meal scheme has been implemented.³⁴ Under Odisha's SC/ST development department, there are currently seven residential high schools and 39 residential Sevashram schools in operation (Economic Survey of Odisha 2006). One Ekalavya Model Residential School (EMRS) is a higher secondary school in the Nuapada district that provides superior education to ST kids. There are 8,999 boarding ST students and 4,088-day scholars ST students.

One Micro project (Chukutia Bhunjia Development Agency) was established at Salepada (Sunabeda) in the year 1993-94 by the Government of Odisha with financial assistance from the Ministry of Tribal Affairs GOI, New Delhi for the total development of Chukutia Bhunjia a (PVTG) Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group and conversion of the forest resources to a wildlife sanctuary for the preservation of wild lives in the plateau have brought forth changes into the lifestyle of Chukutia Bhunjia, the development interventions like construction village roads, installation of tube wells and digging of a sanitary well, irrigation

tanks, etc. Educational development programmes for the Chukutia Bhunjia children have been a priority of the CBDA. It has made special efforts towards the promotion of pre-primary education for the preschool children at village Salepada, Sunabeda, Nuapada. This has been helping the Chukutia children in enrolment at residential Ashram schools for education, especially the establishment of a residential complex at Salepada and functioning in the year 2008 by engaging the Chukutia Bhunjia HSC passed youth as contract teachers and non-teaching staff now 460 Bhunjia children studying in this institution Pre-matric scholarship is granted to boys and girls boarders for pursuing their studies from class I to XII in the schools/hostels run by ST&SC Development Agency at Rs 600 and Rs 630 per month for ten months each year. In addition, 142 day scholars are paid Rs 100 per month for boys and Rs 150 per month for girls. From the current academic session forward, children in grades I to VIII will get two sets of free school uniforms, as well as a free bicycle for both boys and girls in the ST category as an incentive to continue their studies in higher grades.³⁵

Before independence, there were 10 primary schools in the Nuapada district. During the first and the second five-year plan periods spread of primary education was given top priority and the number of primary schools in Nuapada went on increasing from year to year. But in course of time and implementation of SSA, DPEP, EFA, UEE and RTE primary education became important for the reason that every child must be reading in primary school. The student and teacher ratio in the district is 27:01.

Till 1947 there were only 5 Middle English at Khariar, Bhela, Nuapada, Sinapali and Komna in the Nuapada district in due course, people established several private Middle English schools. Most of existing The Odisha government elevated primary schools to upper primary schools. Enrollment of students of number up upper primary schools increases over the past few years. Some factors like awareness, campaigns, distribution of free study materials and school uniforms and provision for mid-day meals have given impetus to primary education. The District Gazetteers of Nuapada records the total number of Upper Primary schools-482, the number of students -38509 with a teacher ratio of 22.1 and the number of High Schools -150 (12 schools for girls).³⁶

There are two Government Jr. Science Colleges, one at Nuapada and the other at Dharambandha, 20 junior colleges in the district, 8 Degree colleges and one autonomous college imparting higher education to the student in Arts, Science, and Commerce streams.

In the recent past 12 English medium public schools, 4-Aurobind integral education centres 24-Saraswati Shishu Mandir /Vidya Mandir have been established in the district, besides 2-Kendriya Vidyalayas, one Novadaya Vidyalaya(Tarbod), 5-Adarsha Vidyalaya and one Ekalavya schools further there are schools meant for physically handicapped, mental, retarded and blind, deaf and dumb children.³⁷

During princely rule and the pre-independence period woman's education was in a regretful state in the Nuapada district. There was only one Lower Primary school at Khariar meant for girls in the whole of Khariar ex-Zamindari and subsequently, after independence, this girls 'Lower Primary School was upgraded to Girls UGME School, Khariar. After independence, several steps were taken to promote women's education. To attract girl students to school lady teachers were appointed and additional facilities like- mid-day-meal, a supply of free school dress, free study materials, exemption of school fees, hostel facilities, etc. were given to them. Thereby considerable progress has been marked in women's education in Nuapada. The establishment of Girls 'High School, Khariar; Girls 'High School, Nuapada, Girls' High School, Khariar Road and Kanyashram exclusively meant for girls are indicative of this. In addition to these institutions, Kasturaba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas have also been established at Khariar and Nuapada.³⁸ ST & ST Developments Minorities and backward classes Welfare Department of the Government of Odisha has established Kasturaba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya at Komna, Block, Komna Nuapada for tribal girl education. In another scheme like ANWESHA, ST children of local/urban areas are given priority to admission into the Jyana Jyoti School of Khariaroad, Nuapada Block.

3.2. Role of KISS for the Education of Tribal Children of Nuapada

Education, in essence, is a process by which pupils can learn something new. It is organized into three parts: primary or elementary, secondary and higher education, and post-secondary education. Formal, non-formal, vocational, adult and other phases are all linked with the term education. Indigenous education is similar to the term "tribal education" that we use. The National Policy on Education (NPE) has placed a strong emphasis on the establishment of primary schools in tribal communities, with a focus on long-term livelihood, education, and opportunities for all-around development.³⁹ For the social and educational development of the tribal children of the Nuapada district; the Kalinga Institute of Social Sciences(KISS) offers a variety of education/opportunities. Since 1993, the Kalinga Institute of Social Sciences has given facilities for tribal youngsters to complete their studies from Kindergarten to Ph. D. (KG to PhD). Year after year, youngsters taking the High School certificate exams come out with a 100% pass rate, compared to the state average of 54%. In reality, KISS has successfully halted the dropout problem without even a single case being reported thus far. Despite the government's pragmatic policies, tribal children have lagged behind the average. The tribal children of Nuapada district have been allowed into the KISS, Bhubaneswar.⁴⁰ The KISS was created with the primary goal of empowering indigenous children via free, holistic, and high-quality education. KISS has a slew of grandiose ambitions up its sleeve. The KISS has already made a modest effort to provide a level

playing field for the tribal children. The KISS team's tireless efforts will succeed in raising awareness among all stakeholders and civil society about the situation of tribals and working to empower them via education. KISS's indigenous children have achieved scholastic and vocational success, as well as international distinction in sports. Dr. (Professor) Achyuta Samanta, the Honorable Founder of KISS believes that educating tribal youngsters is akin to giving a visually impaired person vision. It is, without a doubt, the ideal view of a good patron.⁴¹ Near about 900 tribal children of Nuapada district are taking education from KG to Ph.D. at KISS, Bhubaneswar. The first scholar/author of this article is also belonging to the tribal community of the Nuapada district of Odisha.

3.3. Literacy Status of Nuapada District

Year	Total	Male	Female	ST
1991	27.52	42.31	12.78	18.49
2001	42.00	58.46	25.79	33.12
2011	57.03	70.03	44.08	51.09

The literacy rate of Nuapada district became doubled in the last two decades. As per the 1991 census literacy rate was 27.52 but in the last census 2011, it became 57.3 per cent the literacy rate of the district is far behind the state literacy rate. The male literacy is more than female literacy rate in all the censuses.⁴²

IV. Conclusion

Given the above discussion, we can conclude that the educational system of the tribals of Nuapada was not satisfactory in the past, but in the present situation, some of the improvements are noticed due to the different developmental schemes introduced by the central and state government. In the past, dropout is the most important problem for the progress of education among the tribal communities of the Nuapada district. Owing to financial constraints, most of the parents of tribal communities of the Nuapada district did not want to send their children to school. Now, some of the tribal people of Nuapada are interested to educate their children through government schools as well as a non-government schools like KISS Bhubaneswar. The different developmental schemes of governments for the spread of education among the tribal communities of Nuapada are discussed in the facts of the subject. Children from Scheduled Tribes of Nuapada district can get benefit from better provisions, reduced requirements for opening primary schools in tribal communities, and the establishment of residential schools such as Ashram Schools, Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas, Ekalavya Model Residential Schools, and Vocational Training Centres. In addition, Pre-Matric and Post-Matric scholarships for top-quality education, and the

Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship, are awarded to tribal youth. In the sphere of education, the Kalinga Institute of Social Sciences (KISS) of Bhubaneswar offers much educational potential for the social and educational development of tribal children of Odisha and other Indian states. This institute is committed to providing tribal students with the best possible chances to thrive in their talents through education, further training, and a variety of vocational training courses, such as food preparation, tailoring, fishing, and handicrafts. KISS is currently attempting to establish itself as a role model for the people of tribal communities. KISS became a one-of-a-kind institution in India by keeping the children in natural settings and providing them with opportunities to interact with nature. Whether it's gardening, cultivating vegetables, or any other type of vocational training for long-term work, KISS students excel at different events. KISS has a dual purpose in that it keeps youngsters linked to nature and the environment while also instilling confidence in them through vocational training. KISS is unusual because of its new system for getting rewarded for labour, which is similar to "earning while still learning." On the whole, due to the introduction of various Government and Non-government developmental schemes, the educational status of the children of different tribal communities of the Nuapada district of Odisha is found to be improved in comparison to the earlier period.

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SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS OF TRADITIONAL YOUTH DORMITORY SYSTEM OF LIANGMAI AND JUANG TRIBES

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Abstract

A youth dormitory system is an important social institution among the tribal population of India. This paper examines the significance of traditional youth dormitory system of two distinct tribes of India; Liangmai and Juang. Liangmai is a Scheduled Tribes of Manipur while Juang is one of the PVTGs of Odisha. Linguistically and racially these two tribes are very different, however one common cultural aspect is the practice of the youth dormitory system. This paper attempts to highlight the significance and role of youth dormitory among these two tribes. Similarities and dissimilarities in its practice are examined. While this traditional institution of the Juang is said to be in decline, the dormitory practice among the Liangmai has been totally disintegrated.

Keywords: Youth Dormitory, Tribe, Tradition, Culture, Liangmai, Juang

Introduction

Youth dormitory is a well-organized cultural and traditional institution among several tribal communities of the world, including the various tribes of India. The earliest accounts of this institution among the Indian hill-tribes include works by Butler (1847), Peal (1883, 1892), Dalton (1872), Sherring (1905-1907), Pant (1935), Fürer-Haimendorf (1938, 1950), Elwin (1947, 1948) and so on. These works highlighted the dormitory system practiced by various tribes in the Northeastern, Central and Southern India and other parts of the world.

It brought to light the common cultural element between distinct cultural, racial and linguistic groups. Considering this institution as ‘barracks for the unmarried’, Peal stated that such social custom among different races makes it ‘doubly noteworthy, first as evidence of former racial affinity; second, as an important factor in social evolution generally’ (1892: 228). Ever since the earliest accounts of the Muria’s Ghotul, Nagas’ great bachelors’ halls and the Oraons’ youth dormitories, scholars from various disciplines have shown great interest to this traditional practice. Besides the communities described in the mentioned works, the existence of such institution is widespread among other tribal groups, especially among the Northeastern tribes of India. However, many of them are not well-documented and they are in a dilapidated condition. In such a context, we attempt to describe and draw comparison between the dormitory institutions of Liangmai, a Naga tribe, and Juang, a Mundari tribe. Notwithstanding the great distance separating these two groups of people, the existence of this cultural parallel triggers our interest in studying corresponding resemblances and differences in the sphere of social structure. We will highlight the constitution and function of this corresponding institution of Northeast India and Middle East India.

With the advent of modern education, shift in religious belief and other modern development, this cultural practice has been neglected or even discarded by the tribes today. The dormitory system of the Liangmai has not been properly documented and it has today lost all practical importance in everyday life. Similarly, this traditional institution of the Juang is also said to be in decline due to the onslaught of modern civilization. The term *morung* is commonly used in the literature to refer to the Nagas’ youth dormitory. However, there are different equivalent names for this term in various tribal languages, including Liangmai and Juang, and we will use those terms rather than *morung* in this study.

Data and Methodology

The data for the Liangmai was gathered during a fieldtrip by one of the authors to Manipur in October – November, 2021. We selected two male informants, one in his sixties and the other in his seventies. They belong to different Liangmai villages. Liangmai villages in Manipur no longer practice the dormitory system. However, both the informants had the opportunity to experience dormitory system in their respective villages when they were young. Data was collected through interview and personal conversation. Set of questions in regard to origin, admission, function, etc. of the youth dormitory was asked to them. The Juang data was collected during a field trip to Guptaganga village, Gonasika, Keonjhar district, Odisha in December 2022. We selected a 27-year-old male informant who is class tenth passed and could communicate in both Odia and Hindi. We also referred to existing corpus on the Juang youth dormitory system by scholars like Elwin (1947, 1948), Rout (1963-64, 2015), Mohanty (2015), Patnaik & Mohanty (2004, 2015), Ota et al (2018) and others.

Ethnographic Landscape

Liangmai

Liangmai is one of the Naga tribes of Manipur and Nagaland. The people belong to Mongoloid racial stock. In Manipur, they are largely concentrated in the district of Tamenglong followed by the adjoining districts of Senapati and Kangpokpi. In Nagaland, they are found in Peren district. In fact, their habitat is a continuous belt extending from the hills in the north of Tamenglong to the hill ranges in south Peren and further to the adjoining valley of Kangpokpi in the east. Tamenglong is located in the western part of Manipur between 24.59 degree North longitude and 93.30 degree East latitude with an area of 4391 sq km.

There are approximately 100 Liangmai villages, most of which falls in the state of Manipur. Many of these villages are a segment of an original mother village and just a handful of them crosses one hundred households. The total Liangmai population according the census of India 2011 is 49,811. The Liangmai people were previously known by an incorrect ethnonym, and till recent the name 'Kacha Naga' was used to refer to Liangmai, along with the Zeme, in Manipur. This misnomer, however, was officially rectified with the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order (Amendment) Act, 2011. The Act officially recognized Liangmai as a separate and distinct tribe in Manipur. In Nagaland, the term 'Zeliang' is used to refer to Liangmai along with Zeme.

The language of the Liangmai belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language group. In the classification of the Tibeto-Burman languages by Bradley (1997), Liangmai was placed under the Zeliangrong group, which falls under the Southern Naga of the Kuki-Chin-Naga. In a more recent publication, Burling (2003) grouped Liangmai under the Zeme group, which was again referred to as Western Naga in Post and Burling (2017). They have no script of their own and they use modified Roman Script for writing. The people are mostly bilingual or multilingual, speaking their mother tongue and other dominant neighboring languages like Rongmei, Zeme, Meiteilon, Nagamese, etc.

Juang

Juang is one of the Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) of Odisha. The tribe belongs to proto-Australoid racial stock (Patnaik and Mohanty, 2004 & 2015). They are concentrated in Kendujhar/Keonjhar district as well as the adjoining districts of Dhenkanal and Angul. The people consider Juang Pirh in Keonjhar district as their original homeland. Keonjhar district is located in the northern part of Odisha and lies between 21.1 degree North latitude and 85.11 degree East longitude with an area of 8330.7 sq km.

The Juangs broadly classified themselves into two groups, namely the Thaniya, also known as Hill Juang, and Bhagudia, also known as Plain Juang. The Thaniyas are the ones

living in and around their original homeland, Juang Pirh, located in Gonasika hills. They consider themselves as the native or original settlers. Whereas, the Bhagudias are those who have migrated to the plains of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal districts (Ota et al. 2018, Mohanty 2015, Patniak and Mohanty 2004 & 2015). The total population of Juang according to the census of India 2011 is 47095.

The language of the Juang belongs to the Munda subgroup of the western Austroasiatic language family. Zide (1969) and Anderson (2001) paired Juang with Kharia to form the South Munda language subgroup. The language has no script of its own and when written, uses the Oriya script. As a result of prolonged contact with Oriya speaking people; they have become bilingual, speaking both Juang and Oriya.

***Khangchiu* and *Majang*: The Traditional Youth Dormitories of the Liangmai and the Juang**

The male youth dormitory of the Liangmai is known as *khangchiu*. This is a multi-functional institution. Besides housing the male youths, who formed the work force and defense system of the village, it also serves as center for learning various art and crafts, oral literatures and other cultural activities. *Khangchiu* played a very important role in the Liangmai socio-economic-political and cultural context. There is a separate female youth dormitory known as *liuchiu*, which is usually paired with a *khangchiu*.

The dormitory of the Juang's bachelor is called *majang* (Rout: 1963-64, 2015). It was referred to as *darbar* or *mandaghar* by Elwin (1947, 1948). Besides being the traditional youth dormitory, it also serves the community as 'court house for the elders – *barabhai*, guest house for visitors, cooperative store for storage of common grains, place for keeping musical instruments, a venue for communal rituals, cultural centre for dance and music and a museum of Juang art and craft' (Ota et al. 2018: 191-192). Its members are called *kangerki*. The girls, known as *selanki*, have separate dormitory called *dhangri-basa* near by the bachelor's dormitory (Elwin: 1947, 1948). In the account of Elwin, a bachelor who sleeps in *darbar* is known as *bhendia* while unmarried girls are called *dhangri*.

The role of male dormitory seems to be much more significant than the female one in the socio-political construct of these two tribes and we primarily base our paper in the male dormitory system and the role it played in these two communities.

Origin of the Youth Dormitory

There is no well-defined story regarding the origin of *khangchiu* among the Liangmai. Traditionally, the people consider it inappropriate for boys and girls to sleep under their parental roof once they attained the age of seven or eight. They believed that if children stay with their parents for longer period, they do not develop sense of responsibility and are

dependent on parents. A child sleeping in their parental house after attaining the age of seven or eight was regarded as something undignified. Parents also encourage their children to be with their friends and peers. A common advice or warning parents gave while encouraging their children to join their friends was *nakamai sai sui tang lak de* 'you won't be able to keep up with your friends'. It implies that staying at home for longer period will lessen a child's ability.

The Liangmai culture recognizes adolescent as an important stage of development. This is the period children start contributing to the family and community or village. Boys and girls leave their parents as early as age seven or eight and starts forming groups and stays together learning art and craft, and learning how to contribute to the welfare of the village. The group will also sleep together at a particular house. Group of boys staying together is called *chungkhangna*, while the girls' group is called *chungkina*. This organization is some sort of junior dormitory and form a transition stage before joining the *khangchiu* and *liuchiu*. Boys and girls stay with their *chungkhangna* and *chungkina* till the age of thirteen or fourteen and will ultimately go to their designated *khangchiu* and *liuchiu*. *Chungkhangna* and *chungkina* has no affiliation to any *khangchiu* or *liuchiu*. Boys in same *chungkhangna* may go to different *khangchiu* when they reach the right age. This organization is not mandatory in some Liangmai villages. Our informant from Chiang village points out that such practice is not known in his village. Boys and girls straightaway join their *khangchiu* and *liuchiu* at around eight or nine of age in his village. The youth dormitory system among Liangmai seems to have originated as an establishment to groom boys and girls to become an able-bodied adult citizen. It was an institution that imparts skills and knowledge.

On the other hand, the origin of the Juang youth dormitory has link to their mythology. The origin story of *majang* as described by Elwin (1947, 1948) tells that Rusi (a saint) and his wife, Rusini, had twelve sons and twelve daughters. They were dressed in leaves. As they grew up, Rusi thought it was indecent to sleep with the grown up children under one roof. So, he built a separate house for the children. But it is so happened that frequently the children came crying to their parents at night. This disturbed the parents' sleep and to overcome this problem Rusi made a plan. He thought of making a musical instrument called *changu* and invented a dance. He taught the children this new game. Every night the children started to dance till they were exhausted and then they fell asleep quietly in their dormitory house. From that day onwards, the institution of the dormitory came into existence. The above myth implies that the dormitory house was instituted to prevent grown up children from sharing the same room with their parents and to prevent them from witnessing the physical intimacy of their parents.

Structure and Location

There is no separate house built as *khangchiu* among the Liangmai, but it is attached to one of the houses in the village. A person who is wealthy usually volunteered to host a *khangchiu*. At other times the elders of the village would hold a meeting and choose a person who is wealthy, honorable and prominent in the village to host one. The family which hosts a *khangchiu* is called *aziki*. One important reason for choosing a wealthy person to host a *khangchiu* is that in times of emergency, the host would have no problem in providing food and wine to the *khangchiu* members. In case of any eventuality the *khangchiu* members would eat from host's house and rush off to their duty. The number of *khangchiu* in Liangmai villages may vary. In villages like Tharon and Chiang, the villages which our informants belong to, there are four *khangchiu* respectively. For each *khangchiu* there is an equivalent *liuchiu*, a female dormitory. Depending on the village, the names of *khangchiu* also differ. The name given to a *khangchiu* is related to its location in the village.

The person who volunteered or was chosen to host a *khangchiu* would build a house larger than the ordinary ones. Such house has two parts. The first part is called *akhangki* 'bachelors' room'. This *akhangki* is built to accommodate forty to fifty or even one hundred members. The second part of the house consisted of normal housing rooms like kitchen, bedroom, etc. of *aziki* 'host's family'. *Akhangki*, which is lodged at the front portion of the house constitute almost half the size of the entire building. Next to *akhangki* is *kabum*, the cooking and dining area of the host family. Adjacent to *kabum* is the bedroom, storeroom, etc. of the host family. Inside the *khangchiu* or *akhangki*, there is a huge fireplace called *mang* or *kamang* where a big fire is burned for lighting purpose as well as to keep the occupant warm. People to these days use metaphorical expression like *khangchiu mang kum da* 'like a *khangchiu* hearth', when one sees a blazing fire in a hearth.

It was a common practice among the Nagas to preserve the skulls of game meat. The Liangmai follows the same practice. The outer wall near the entrance of a *khangchiu* is adorned with skulls of different animals, claws and feather of birds the *khangchiu* members have killed. This wall is called *kalian*. The adorned *kalian* is the pride of a *khangchiu*. Near the entrance and *kalian* there is an open gallery or porch with a roof over it. This porch, which serves as a verandah is called *kahui*. *Kahui* is also a workout place for the members of *khangchiu*. A bull's skull with horns is hung from railing of the roof which is as high as 20-25 feet. The empty space in front of the house is known as *kama* and this space is used for activities like high jump, long jump, shot put, dancing and so on.

The *majang*, built in rectangular shape, is situated at the center of the village and is usually bigger in size than other ordinary houses. It 'is often an imposing building with carved beams and pillars' (Elwin 1948: 73). Elwin (1947) further described that the dormitory is

open all along one side, with a high verandah. There is often a small room at the back of the house where animals like goats are kept for sacrifice or an enclosure for the village gods. On a platform are great bins for collection of tax-grain. In the middle of the room is a fire kept always burning.

The account by Patnaik and Mohanty (2015) gives similar description of the *majang*. However, they added more details on the structure of the house. They stated that the roof of the dormitory is supported by carved posts. The wooden pillar, which form the central point of the house is intensively carved representing the deity of the *majang*. The wooden beams are also carved with images of different animals, and images depicting activities like hunting and dancing. They mentioned that these carved pillars and beams are now replaced by simple plain posts. Out of six villages they visited, only one village had carved pillar and beams. On the walls of the dormitory house at several points are fixed stags of antlers, which are male symbolism and from these *changu* drums are hanged. They also noted about the sacred fire known as *rusi dhuni* which is kept burning all the time. There is no hearth but several smoldering logs are kept burning. This sacred fire is used to burn the felled trees and dried bushes when the burning operation starts in the swiddens. At present, the fire sometimes is allowed to go out, to be rekindled when required due to shortage of wood and restriction imposed on the use of forest products. There is an open space in front of the dormitory which is used for dancing on occasion of rituals and visits of the young people from *bandhu* villages.

During the field trip to Guptaganga, we noticed the *majang* is still well preserved in the village. However, beside curved wooden pillars, there are cemented pillars to support the structure. The outside wall of *majang* has paintings of birds, trees, animals, human figure and so on. There are few drawings on the inside wall as well but not as decorated as the outside wall. Drums of various types are hung on the inside wall of the *majang*. There are big pots and other instruments in one corner which are used for community purposes. There was no fire burning but a few short firewood is laying in the middle of *majang*. Our informant admitted that the fire is burned only during occasions these days. Nevertheless, the *majang* is still grand compared to other houses of the village.

Membership of the Dormitory

In Liangmai community, membership to a *khangchuu* is decided on the day a child is born. When a child is born, the midwife claims the child for a certain *khangchuu*, usually the one she belongs to. She then informs the *khangchuu* 'a child is born and I have claimed it to be a member of your *khangchuu*; take a *teibung* (food pack) to the family'. Eventually, the members of the *khangchuu* go to the family where the child is born with rice and portion of meat and claim him as the member of their *khangchuu*. In some cases, when the news of

a new born baby in the village is heard, the gender of the baby is enquired. After learning the gender of the baby, members of different *khangchiu* rushes to that house to claim membership to their respective *khangchiu*. They come bearing gifts like hen, portion of meat or at the least an egg. Merely claiming membership without gift is not valid. It is the gift that seals the deal. Whoever comes with a gift and claims first will have the new member. So, a person becomes a member of *khangchiu/liuchiu* on the day he/she was born.

Membership of a *khangchiu* is for a lifetime. Till the day he dies, he remains the member of the *khangchiu* who came with *teibung* on the day he was born. Each member also dearly cares for their respective *khangchiu* throughout their life. Change of membership is not known. Disassociation or ex-communication of a *khangchiu* member must have been rare as my informants put it. A person continues to sleep in his *khangchiu* even after his marriage. 'I remember my father going to his *khangchiu* to sleep when I was a small boy' recollects one of our informants. There is no set age to stop one from sleeping in *khangchiu*. However, as new members come the married members vacate their places to accommodate younger members. They remain as member of their respective *khangchiu* even after they stopped sleeping in their *khangchiu*. On the demise of a member of *khangchiu*, it is the responsibility and duty of other members to dig his grave and make other necessary arrangements for his funeral.

Generally, the *majang* is the institution of the unmarried youths, both young and old. Two important factors for admission into *majang* organization are sex and age: one has to be male and the boy must reach a proper age. A boy can become the member of *majang* from the age as young as eight. However, to become a full-fledged member, known as *kangerki* or *kangerki*, a boy must cross puberty and should undergo an initiation ceremony. It may be noted here that membership to *majang* is not compulsory with the Juang. The question of wealth is one important factor that determines membership to *majang*. In order to become a full-fledged member, a boy's family should be wealthy enough to pay for the cost of initiation rituals and ceremony as well as to contribute to the common fund of the *kangerki*. So, a boy who has attained proper age may not be a member of *majang* if he is incapable to pay for such rite and common funds. There is an exception in the case of widows and widowers, who have no inclination to remarry. They are considered as informal members of *kangerki* and *selanki*. The widowers always sleep in *majang* with bachelors while one or two widow sleeps in *selanki*. They also take active part in the group activities of the youth.

Admission to the Dormitory

When a boy has reached the right age, his *khangchiu* members comes to his house and inform the family that the time has come for him to join the *khangchiu*. On the day the

parents give the boy a ‘man’s haircut’, take a jar of rice beer and see him off to his *khangchiu*. They entrust the boy to the *khangchiu* saying ‘from this day teach him and take care of him’. There is also another rite called *akhang ni thuikhaibo* meaning ‘wearing of man’s pant (traditional kilt)’. This ritual is done by elders of the *khangchiu* declaring ‘Hey! *Thaiso soza ata haise to akhang ni thuikhaibo de, khangchiu chak za maiphian-mairian za, maisai sui tang za, makhap-marap za lung so lo*’ (free translation: Hey! From this day onwards my ward is dressed as man. As he joins *khangchiu* let him be in equal with his peers). Then the rice beer brought by the new member’s family is drunk by *khangbuanmai*, elders who have ceased to sleep in *khangchiu*, and bless the kid.

Admission into the *majang* is a serious matter in Juang society. One has to undergo series of rituals to become the full-fledged member of *majang*. This initiation rite is usually performed during *Am Nua*, the ritual of first mango eating. *Am Nua* is observed in the month of February-March when mango is ceremonially offered to the village deities and ancestors before the villagers eat the fruit. Rout gives an account of this rite:

‘The *Kangerki* play special roles in this ritual. They worship their *changu* and drums and offer shares of chicken and rice piles to *changu* gods. On this day fresh candidates are admitted into the *Majang*. A new candidate contributes some rice and a chicken for the ritual. The old members of the *Majang* cook food near the stream. The new candidate offers shares of cooked rice to the ancestors in a kneeling posture keeping one of his legs on a pole spread horizontally over two forked pillars of 4 to 5 feet high. The elderly members throw hot water at his pelvis and private parts and the boy has to face the ordeal boldly without complain. A torn piece of mat is tied around his head and a bell hung at his waist. He runs around the *Majang* seven times with other members of the *Majang* accompanied by a small boy beating *changu* with a stick in front. While the boys keep running around the *Majang* the older people shout loudly and throw ashes at them from inside the *Majang*. After this the boy is formally admitted into the dormitory and becomes a full-fledged *Kanger*. The significance of tying a mat around the head of the new *Kanger* is not known, but tying bell signifies some use. It rings when the boy runs and by hearing the sound the villagers come to know about his admission into the dormitory. Running seven times around the common house signifies that his life is formally attached to the association and the activities concerning the dormitory’ (2015: 467).

Role of the members

Roles and responsibilities of *khangchiu* members are based on age group. There are set of unwritten rules that the *khangchiu* members follow. The youngest members are obliged to sweep and clean the *khangchiu* and its surroundings. They also collect firewood to be used in *khangchiu*. It is also the duty of these young boys to look after the *khangchiu*

during daytime when its older members are away in the field or engaged with some other outdoor works. They have to keep things in order in the *khangchuu*. They also serve as errand boys for older *khangchuu* members. Being obedient to older members is a requisite quality for younger members. They can be punished in case of disobedience. Parents cannot object such disciplinary actions in *khangchuu*.

The older members look after the affairs of the village. It is their responsibility to maintain good roads and bridges for the villagers. They repair village gate, walls and fences. They help the poor and needy with food items and free labor when necessary. They also help each other out in daily affairs. Special attention is given to the condition of water source of the village. They make it sure that the villagers always have clean drinking water. Maintaining the village wall is another duty of the bachelors. They made stone walls and fences of wood and bamboo. They are the village manpower and defense mechanism. They take necessary decisions for the betterment of *khangchuu* and the village in general.

Khangting, the commander of the *khangchuu*, is the oldest member who resides or sleeps in *khangchuu*. He commands absolute authority. It is told that whenever he arrives in *khangchuu* other members rise to their feet in act of respect and offer their seat to him. No member can disobey his order. It is his role to maintain rules and discipline in *khangchuu*. The role of *khangting* also extends to the counting of dates and seasons. People follow the lunar cycle to keep track of time. Besides *khangting*, *chawang* ‘king’ and *singku* ‘priest’ also keep their count of dates. These three come together to see whether their count is in align with each other for any event or festival in the village. If there is disparity, mistake will be rectified after consulting each other.

Khangbuanmai, though they have stopped sleeping in *khangchuu*, holds certain power in decision making of *khangchuu* by virtue of being its member. *Khangchuu* cannot perform an activity which is not approved by *khangbuanmai*. For instance, if a *khangchuu* wanted to host a festival, the members will go to *khangbuanmai* with a pot of rice beer to get their permission. It is also their duty to formally welcome new members into *khangchuu*.

Similarly, with the Juang, age of member plays an important role in classification of privileges and responsibilities in *majang*. Rout (2015) gives a nine-fold classification of age group in Juang social life. The groups that have major role in functioning of *majang* are highlighted here. The *sana kanger* or boys ranging from 8 – 15 years of age assist the senior *kangerki* in running errands. Their service is used by *majang* members whenever needed. Though not a formal member of the dormitory, these junior *kanger* collect wood for *majang* fire, they fetch water to be use in *majang* and perform tasks asked by the senior *kanger*.

The *kangerki*, the formal members of the dormitory, maintains and runs the *majang*. They construct the *majang* as well as do the repairing whenever necessary. It is their duty to

erect stone emblem for *Gram Siri*, the deity of the *majang*. They make *changu* and drums and also play these instruments in rituals, festivals, weddings, and so on. When the village has visitors or guests, it is their duty to attend to them. In case of dead in the village the *kangerki* assist in the funeral arrangement. In events like marriages and festivals, they help in cooking and fetching water, as well as dancing in these events. Those in need of help called on the *kangerki* for their assistance. They may also be used as hired hands by other villagers. The leader of the bachelors in dormitory is known as *murobhendia*.

The boys also choose a sponsor known as *tandakar* for their *majang*. The *tandakar* performs the role of a guardian or moral advisor to the dormitory members. He takes care of *majang* and its members by helping them in the time of their need, usually by providing them money, rice and animals for feast. He is also given the authority to discipline the boys and can punish those who break rules and neglect duty. Failure to perform duty and lack of discipline may result expulsion from the *majang*.

Function of the Dormitory: *Khangchiu*

One of the most important functions of *khangchiu* is providing security to the village. The members of *khangchiu* guard the village. The mode of guarding is not similar with the present-day military system where soldiers are posted in designated position or location. The *khangchiu* members rather stay awake in their respective *khangchiu* to be aware of their surroundings and be prepared to spring to action in case of any untoward incident. When evening falls and the night has set in, the younger members will stay awake till midnight keeping close attention to sounds and events in the village. After midnight the older members will rise and take over the watch. There is no set routine but the members follow this system with understanding. In the event of inter village feud or raids, the warriors set out to the mission from *khangchiu*. So, in a way it serves as a barrack.

A person gravely injured in raids or other events is brought to his *khangchiu* rather than his house. The other members attend to him. 'My grandfather was shot (by accident)' recalls one of our informants, 'and he was taken to his *khangchiu*. He has wife and children to care for him but his peers claimed he should be brought to the *khangchiu* and they will attend to him. He later succumbed to his injury'. Even sick members are brought to their respective *khangchiu* to be attended by his fellow members. It serves as an infirmary.

Members of *khangchiu* may stop sleeping in *khangchiu* after getting married. However, during the time of *Chaga Ngee*, which is a purification festival, all members, young and old go to their respective *khangchiu*. From the first day of *chaga*, after *chami malapbo*, a fire-making ritual, they stay in their *khangchiu*. *Chaga ngee* usually lasted for five to seven days, and during this period it is a taboo for men to sleep with their wives and

to eat food cooked by women folks. This signifies purification of their body. In Liangmai culture, laying with opposite sex is considered impure. So, in times of war, men will not go to war from their homes. They believed that if a man goes to war from his house, he might be injured or even killed because he is impure. *Khangchiu* signifies purity and serves as purification center.

Another important purpose of *khangchiu* is to transmit basic knowledge of art and craft. One learned how to make things of daily use, namely *kakhaa*, *kaluang*, *tamthiu*, *mariu*, etc. all traditional basket of different shape and size. Learning such craft begins as early as when one was in *chungkhangna*, but such skills are enhanced while at *khangchiu*. A man who does not know how to make *kakhaa-kaluang* for his sister is considered *miu*, meaning 'wanting' or 'imperfect'. Such person is considered inferior, lacking quality to be called a man. Such art and craft were taught to young man in *khangchiu* so that one becomes a competent citizen and contribute to the community. Similarly, girls learned their crafts like weaving, stitching, etc. while at *liuchiu*. So *khangchiu/liuchiu* serves the purpose of basic training institute.

Khangchiu is an institution that inculcates discipline to its members. Young people were taught never to be disrespectful to elders. There was a popular metaphorical expression while referring to a wayward, indiscipline person, *khangchiu chak khai mak za de* which means '(he) didn't sleep in *khangchiu*'. It implies that the person lacks knowledge and discipline taught in a *khangchiu* as he did not sleep in a *khangchiu*. Counter expression like *khangchiu chak khaibo na si len taro* 'he who attended/sleep in *khangchiu*' was used to refer to a well-mannered and disciplined person, implying he was taught well in *khangchiu*. Another quality inculcated in *khangchiu* is selflessness and being helpful to others. People try their best to do good and earned good names. Doing good things and earning praises from others was one of the main motivations for younger people.

The older members, after doing their daily work in field, come to *khangchiu* to sleep and teach the younger members. Besides teaching art and craft, they narrate folk tales and sing folk songs which the younger members pick up. So *khangchiu* is an educational institution.

Majang

Elwin commented that 'the Juang dormitory may be considered under several aspects; it is the centre of the male social and economic life of the village; it is an organization of the youth of the tribe; it is a school of dancing; it is an expression of the communal art of the people' (1948: 73). Patnaik and Mohanty (2004, 2015) listed various functions of *majang* which were divided into socio-religious functions, educative functions and other functions.

We have summarized those functions as follows. The dormitory serves as community center for the youth as well as the elders of the tribe. They gather here for formal as well as informal talks. It is a court house where feuds are settled and a communication center where all news from other villages is conveyed. Community properties, artifacts and musical instruments are stored in the dormitory. This institution is also sacred to the people of Juang. Rituals and religious ceremonies commenced from this place. It is also used as a rest house for the guests and visitors.

As an educational institution, the boys learn about their responsibilities and duties towards their community members. The senior members teach and train the younger members discipline and obligation required of them. Various arts and crafts are taught to boys and girls in this institution. Dance and songs of different types beating of *changu* are practice and learn in this place. Folktales, folklores and myths relating to their people and community are learned while staying at the *majang*. This dormitory also serves as a recreational center to the members of the tribe, especially the youths.

Discussion and Conclusion

The corresponding youth dormitories of Liangmai and Juang highlight cultural parallels between these two distinct tribes. The establishment, roles and functions of this institution represents one of the traditional aspects of their culture. It is central to their activities relating to social, religious, economic and cultural spheres. Some similarities and dissimilarities between *khangchuu* and *majang* are briefly discussed below.

While the Juang have a myth related to the origin of *majang*, the Liangmai lacks such story on the origin of *khangchuu*. According to Juang myth, Rusi and his wife set up the *majang* institution so that their grown-up children would sleep in it and avoid witnessing intimacies of marital life of their parents. Youth dormitories ‘was instituted to save children from witnessing primal scene’ or ‘designed to prevent incest’ are some common interpretations. We, however, argue that such may not be the case for Liangmai *khangchuu*. The reason being: (a) traditionally, the Liangmai built houses with multiple rooms. So, the grown-up children and parents sleep separately and have their own privacy. (b) Liangmai does not built separate house as *khangchuu* but it is attached to one family in the village, known as *aziki*. This *aziki* conduct its family business without difficulty despite the presence of *khangchuu*. We are of the view that the prevailing Naga culture of frequent raids, feuds and head-hunting in olden days induced the necessity for the people to prepare male children as semi-soldier for community protection early on. They must have set up the dormitory system to provide training to young male and make them war-ready. The primary concern of the parents when their grown-up child sleeps with them under same roof he will not be able

to keep up with his peers. Whatever the reason for the origin of dormitory maybe, this institution also serves as the center of social, economic, religious and cultural life for both Liangmai and Juang.

Though *khangchui* is not built separately, the host built his house keeping in mind the youth dormitory. The *aziki* will build a capacious house. Both *khangchui* and *majang* are more spectacled than other houses in the village. The fire of *khangchui*, however, is not ritually as significant as the *majang* fire. Juang villages have single *majang* whereas Liangmai villages have multiple *khangchui*.

For the Liangmai, membership to a *khangchui* is mandatory and a child becomes a member of one on the day he or she was born. And this membership is for lifetime. In the case of Juang membership to *majang* is not mandatory. Rout (2015) mentioned of an unmarried boy of twenty years in Phulbadi who was not a formal *kangerki*. Three reasons why he did not become a full-fledged *majang* member was (a) his inability to contribute money and grains to the common *kangerki* fund and for undergoing the initiation ceremony which involved feeding the members of the *majang*. (b) His incapability to beat *changu* and (c) for not sleeping in the *majang*. We believe the second and third reason was the consequence of not being able to fulfill the first reason. The economic burden on the individual and his family determines one's admission to *majang* for the Juang. The Liangmai, on the other hand does not face such economic obligation. Rather it is the *khangchui* members that come bearing gifts to claim the membership of a child. The boy's family have to provide a pot of rice beer on the day he formally joins the *khangchui* which is not a big burden to the family.

After marriage one can resign from the membership of *majang* which again involves economic transaction and feeding the other *kangerki*. While membership to *khangchui* cannot be revoke. His involvement with *khangchui* may decrease after marriage but he will still be considered as the member of *khangchui*. Formally joining a *khangchui* seem more like a normal social norm for the Liangmai. There is no strict ritual and ceremony associated. It is more like a transition or a passage. On the other hand, an initiation rite is taken very seriously by the Juang. It requires series of rituals.

Role of the members of both *khangchui* and *majang* is based on age-grade hierarchy. Elders are highly regarded and respected by both the communities. The educative nature of the dormitory is a common feature of *khangchui* and *majang*. Life in dormitory is associated with traditional learning. The members of youth dormitory often assist in various communal endeavors. It is an important training center for young men of their social duties and responsibilities.

The *khangchiu* is thus an institution as important in Liangmai as is the *majang* among the Juang. While in some respect both fulfill similar functions, the *khangchiu* is distinguished from *majang* for being a barrack-like institution. The *majang* is fundamentally a men's clubhouse as well as the community recreational center. The question of providing security and keeping the members as semi-warrior seem to be absent among the Juang. While the *khangchiu*, besides its other functions like educational, cultural, social, and so on, its most important function is providing security to the village. The Liangmai *khangchiu* and Juang *majang* may have certain common roots but they have developed on independent lines according to the influence of two different cultures.

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THE ETERNITY OF BHIMA BHOI'S BHAJANAS

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Abstract

Leading Mahima Dharma luminary Bhima Bhoi, appeared in nineteenth-century Odisha during a challenging socio-political and theological time. The populace, trapped in the cloud, was confused by the pandemonium. Mahima Swami offered Mahimaism to the oppressed, deprived, negligent, and gullible on the boulevard. He ordained several followers and despatched them to different locations to teach the new cult's Mahima. At the same time, he saw the importance of literary communication, which might spread the faith in the backwoods, and through his intuition, he chose a master communicator in Bhima Bhoi, beatified him with wisdom and gumption, and asked him to write in Mahima's name. The worthy disciple of a worthy Guru dived into the altar of the new mission to fulfil the Guru's mandate. His devotion to the Guru shows his sincerity. His modest existence, high thought, and insatiable yearning for liberty, equality, and fraternity made him famous. The missionary stayed the course.

Keywords: *Mahima, Dharma, Desire, Bhajanas*

Bhima Bhoi, the foremost luminary of Mahima Dharma appeared on the scene of the nineteenth century Odisha which was passing through a period of precarious socio-political and religious developments. The imbroglios of the time created shambolic conditions which caused a lot of bewilderment in the society and stupefied the populace who were in veritable quandary searching for an alternative to steer clear from the nebulous state. And at that moment Mahima Swami emerged on the boulevard to provide that alternative to the oppressed, deprived, negligent, gullible masses by raising the banner of Mahimaism. He ordained a number of followers, deputed them in different direction to preach the Mahima of the nascent cult and himself peregrinated to a number of places with the same intent and purpose. At the same time he realized the importance of literary communication which could be of great merit in spreading the message of the faith in the backwoods and for that matter

through his intuition chosen a communicator par excellence in the person of Bhima Bhoi, beatified him with knowledge and gumption and asked him to compose literature in the name of Mahima. The latter as the worthy disciple of a worthy Guru with candour and sensitivity, virtue and tenacity of purpose, eagerness and zealousness, courage and resoluteness, outspokenness and savoir faire plunged himself into the altar of the new assignment to live up to the Guru's command. His dedicated life in the service of the Guru and his faith in him is proof of his resolution and sincerity. His ravenous appetite for the cherished values of liberty, equality and fraternity made him a legendary figure who of late has been recognized by all and sundry for his simple living and high thinking. The man with the mission proceeded on the thorny path unfazed and with single minded devotion and dedication.

The atmosphere was enlivened by Bhima Bhoi who with the deep-rooted essence of a religion, opened up a new vista for the gullible and depressed masses. Neither he was influenced by nor his compositions were in any way relative to the writings of his contemporaries and earlier poets both in style and creativity. He equipped with the divine powers had created his literary marvels on his own. By the grace of his Guru, he was able to compose stutis and jananas. It is evident from his writings-

Sri Guru Krupare mora go kabi pana

Bâlaka bayasa buddhi mo nâhin jnana¹

(All my poetical powers are due to the grace of Sri Guru. I am a youth without any intelligence)

Bâluta bayasa chitta mo bibhalita

Dosa deba nâhin mote he sadhu santha²

(As I am a youth my mind is unstable, Do not impute me O! saints)

Janama kâlaru murukha mun hoithili

Sola barasa ke kavi mun krutya kali³

(I was illiterate from my birth, At the age of sixteen I composed poems)

Bhima Bhoi's scriptural creations are basically Mahimâ Dharma oriented. "Though these are expressed in the colloquial, unpolished speech of the illiterate mass they lift the audience to a high stratum where one breathes the air of purity, holiness and unadulterated truth. They are not denominational, though the post was the very mouth piece of the Alekha cult. Truly inspired poet as he was, Bhima's outpourings are not the dogmatic propaganda of

a sectarian tenet, but a telling record of his own souls, his own spiritual agonies and his own vision. Their universal appeal comes out of the deep personal passions of an unsophisticated genius”⁴

All his bhajanas are a repertoire of a self-realised kavi’s pragmatism, his sâttwik thoughts, his longing for the emancipation of the world – animate and inanimate – from the age-old socio-cultural, political bondage. These compositions prove that he was a poet of the people who always fought for a social cause with a reformist zeal fulfilling the very responsibility of a literati i.e., to inform and educate the populace and expose the prejudice, parochialism and other vices of the society. He was a master in this art and therefore, rightly fit into the term of a saint par-excellence. He was a maverick composer whose intrepidity, resoluteness, savoir faire are amply reflected in his works. A necroscopic study can prove his poetic genius, the lucidity in his analytical representations of various aspects of the Mahimâ cult and societal configurations, his clairvoyant and apocalyptic proclamations and foresightedness and his logical and altruistic interpretations.

Among others, the outstanding compositions of the poet are his “Bhajana Mâlâ” or the “Collection of prayers”. His bhajans are perpetual and eternal. They are remarkable for their lucidity, exposition of ideas and sentiments. The substance is, in fact, immersed in the feeling and tone and the musical content in the prayers becomes more impressive. These bhajans in traditional and customary manner brought to fore the different aspects such as ascertaining of the identity of Param Brahma, offering of devotional prayers to Mahimâ Swâmi, the elaboration of the rules and regulation of Mahimâ Dharma, the Mahimâ concept of evolution and other Mahima religion-oriented ideologies.

“It is said that Bhima used to compose four prayer songs or bhanjas in one râga at a time. He would first give out the reference line of each of these four to the four scribes and then sing each of the bhajanas. From his Bhajana Mâlâ it is apparent that they were composed in groups of four”.⁵

Bhajans form a distinct part of and occupy a prominent place in Oriya literature. “They have generally been classified into two groups, saguna and nirguna. In the first category the devotee sings panegyrics of a particular god or goddess to whom he is devoted to express his inner cravings and seeks blessings in this world and hereafter. In the second category of bhajans no particular desires either for salvation here or hereafter is expressed by the devotee. In Bhima Bhoi’s compositions we can notice both the types of bhajans. This is perhaps because Bhima Bhoi had a duality in his life and in his general approach to social problems. He was at times intensely concerned with the group, the community and also at times intensely individualistic. The language of these bhajans is often symbolic which sometimes

boarders on technical religious jargon and esotericism but by and large they are less obscure and drawn from the metaphysical ideas on body and soul, on life and the world.”⁶

His bhajanas could be regarded as an act of communication i.e. a means to inform God about the world. The importance of prayers in the spread and propagation of the Dharma and its feasibility in creating spiritual revolution is well understood by the bhaktakavi. In the field of lyrical poetry, he had established himself as an acclaimed and adored poet of repute. He was a poet with a single-minded devotion to God. All his writings in the Bhajana Mâlâ have been emanated from his grief-stricken mind, which was due to the widespread savagery, unholy practices, customs and depravity. In his bhajanas the customs, traditions, principles, behavioural practices, opinions and ideologies of the Mahimâ Dharma to be assumed and followed can be seen. Almost all his bhajanas had been composed by taking into account the monotheism and the concept of void.

The protestant and reformist attitude of the poet can be gleaned from these bhajanas which also depicted a vivid picture of the prevalent societal conditions. Every successful writer and poet is a social reformer whose pen is always ready to build a society free from disgrace and anarchy for which they are always restive. Bhima Bhoi was no exception to this in whose bhajanas such concerns have found ample expression. To remove the misrule, misconduct and wide-ranging oppression he made a vociferous cry and wrote –

Belu bela mahi utapâta hoi pâpa hoilâni pruthvi,

Mada mânsa khâi mahâsukha pâi na jânile kehu divasa râti. ⁷

(The world is getting sinful day by day with increasing mischief and wanton behaviour; But no one realise it by indulging in merrymaking and seeking great pleasure in wine and meat.)

Then who will deliver this sinful world? And also, will establish truth, righteousness and justice on this earth? Therefore, he appealed to all to keep wholehearted, unwavering faith in Alekh Parambrahma. In his words –

Dharma ku sthâpana kara sarvajana satya juge je riti,

E pinda brahmânda je kale nirmâna se ekâ rakhibe e naba khiti. ⁸

(Let all the people establish justice as is the custom in the satya j(y)uga; Who has built the cosmos, He alone will protect the new world.)

When man becomes sensual, he could not distinguish between good and bad. Like an intoxicated person he remains engrossed in violence, rivalry, chicanery, deceit, perfidy, malevolence. By resorting to falsehood, he vitiates the entire society and its well-established machinery. Being worried for such degeneration the bhaktakavi would say –

Kâma krodha lova moha
Chhanda bâda himsâ droha
Âyatta karâi rakha jnâna tattwaru,
Khacha michha kathâ chhâda nirvedare kara drudha
Sevâ jâgi sudhâ pâna kara payaru. ⁹
(Keep in control desire, anger, greed, attachment
Trickery, enmity, violence, hatred through the conception of knowledge.
Leave falsehood, slander establish firm faith in nirveda,
By invoking sense of service drink the nectar from the feet of Sriguru.)

Again, he says –

Dharma dhârane dharati rahichhi chârîjugare
Sânta sila dayâ kshyamâ ehâ pâlibe je jana
Âtmâ chinhi anna dâna dele basa heba târe
Nâmare sarana jâa jiba pare dayâbaha
E dharma ru sâra âu nâhin nâ e samsâre .¹⁰

The above stanzas reflected the poet's sentimental appeal. What else is a more virtuous deed than offering food to the hungry? In his opinion humanity blooms in ministering to the people with a benevolent and philanthropic intention and also in expressing piety for the living being with a penchant for love, compassion and fellow feeling. The mark of a real human being can be found in these worthy deeds. This was the ultimate goal of a humanist poet with a fathomless perplexity for the upliftment of the society.

Human life is rare and valuable as such man is the beloved of the Supreme Being. He in a way is meant for the welfare of the society. But by falling prey to the stupefying illusion of the world this pure soul becomes aimless and being oblivious of his divine existence he is overwhelmed by the tamasik (impure) desires. In his effort to make people vigilant about this purposeless life he wrote –

Kara satya âchâra
Chhedi hoijiba pâtaaka bhâra
Durlabha janama dele nârâyana heuchhi nârakhâra.
Mâyâ mohe padi kriyâ karme jadi

Hoileni sarve dusta asura. ¹¹

(Practice truth, the burden of sin will be cut short. God has conferred life to the human beings which is valuable and rare, but man is ruining it. By falling in to the clutches of illusion and indulging in worldly attachment are becoming noxious and wicked as demons.)

His ultimate and chief desire was to die in truth and save himself through truth. His devotional poems and bhajanas were basically aimed to bring the wayward commonality on to the right path. And in that he was the path finder and the beacon light for them whose poetic expositions were proved as a valuable source for rejuvenating their moral consciousness.

He would sing in one of his bhajanas-

“Samsâra matare nuhan bâi,
Sabukathâ thâa dehe sahi;
E jagata loka sarbe abibeka,
Bighna karuchhanti jenhe singha;

Sriguru charana hrude rati,
Etebele kara sadhu gosthi;
Kahe Bhoi Bhima,
Na chhuinba Jama,
Dharithâa nâba âga manga.” ¹²

(Do not sway away by the worldly opinions and endure everything within you. The people of this world are imprudent and are creating obstacles like lion. Repeat the words of Sriguru in the heart and make virtuous association. Then J(Y)ama will not touch, so says Bhoi Bhima, hold on the prow of the boat.)

Born and brought up in extreme penury he toiled a lot throughout his life. He suffered many trials and tribulations, deprecations, insult during the propagation of his dharma. But he remained phlegmatic and stoic and endured all the tirades of the debilitating forces working against him with rare courage, strength and ocean like calmness.

To abuse, harass and humiliate others without verifying the truth is a heinous offence and, in its wake, man destroys himself. He cautioned the revilers as well as advised them to become tolerant and with virtuous association beseech at the feet of Sri guru wholeheartedly.

The Bhajana literature of Bhima Bhoi is incomparable and it is a class of its own. It abounds in love, devotion, faith, deep concern for the living beings and optimisms of the poet. A hallow of splendor can be found in it which depicts his splendid spiritual, emotional and devotional sublimity.

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SOCIO-CULTURAL REFLECTION IN FAIR AND FESTIVALS OF WESTERN ODISHA

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Abstract

Odisha an eastern Indian state on the Bay of Bengal is known for its tribal cultures and its many ancient Hindu temples. The capital Bhubaneswar is the home to numerous of temples. The language of Odisha is Odia, which is one of the Classical Languages of India. The west Odishan topography consists of rolling uplands dense with forest and mountains. The natural climate and the geographic location have developed a unique type of culture in the western part of Odisha. The centre of attraction of this culture is the socio-economic reflection in its cultural aspects. Amid numerous cultural aspects the fair and festivals play a special role in the lives of the people of every part of the world. So is here in Western Odisha, whose culture is being charmed by the colourful fair and festivals, celebrated throughout the calendar with great energy and vigour. The Fairs and Festivals organised or instituted in this region has unique references to daily life and activity along with the social, agricultural and religious blending.

Keywords: *Topography, classical language, natural climate, fair and festival, culture*

Odisha an eastern Indian state on the Bay of Bengal is known for its tribal cultures and its many ancient Hindu temples. The capital Bhubaneswar is the home to numerous temples. The language of Odisha is Odia, which is one of the Classical Languages of India. The west Odishan topography consists of rolling uplands, dense with forest and mountains. The natural climate and the geographic location have developed a unique type of culture in the western part of Odisha. The centre of attraction of this culture is the socio-economic reflection in its cultural aspects. Amid numerous cultural aspects the fair and festivals play a special role in the lives of the people of every part of the world. So is here in Western Odisha, whose culture is being charmed by the colourful fair and festivals, celebrated throughout the calendar with great energy and vigour. The Fairs and Festivals organised or instituted in this region has unique references to daily life and activity along with the social, agricultural and religious blending.

The study here pertains to Western Odisha that has a unique culture but lacked in getting exposures to the other parts of the country as well as world because of its confinement in mountain and jungle locked up area. Govt. of Odisha has special drive to enhance the capability through various plans and projects. The Western Odisha Development Council (WODC) Act, 2000 as amended vide Orissa Act 8 and 14 of 2001 & 2003 respectively provides for the establishment of the council with the prime objective to accelerated development and advancement of the people residing within 10 districts and one sub-division of Angul district of Western Odisha. The act empowers the Council for the socio-economic, educational, cultural advancement and development of the people residing within the WODC area. The WODC comprises off 10 districts i.e. Bargarh, Bolangir, Boudh, Deogarh, Jharsuguda, Kalahandi, Nuapada, Sambalpur, Subarnapur, Sundargarh and Athmallik sub-division of Angul district.¹

Festivals in Western Odisha are an integral part of local peoples' life and characterized by colour, gaiety, enthusiasm, prayers, regional customs and rituals. Each festival, portray the rich cultural heritage of the area. The numerous and varied festivals that are held throughout the year offer a unique way of seeing west Odishan culture at its best. As agriculture is the prime source of livelihood of the people of this region, so the festivals of Western Odisha are blended and interleaved with seasonal agricultural operations coupled with religious tones and characters, befitting local traditions. Hence, important mile stones of cultivation process, like pudding, harvesting and ploughing etc. chart calendar for maximum numbers of festivals during this period.

The festivals like *Nuakhai*, *Baliyatra*, *Kado Yatra*, *Maden Yatra*, *Garbhana Sankranti*, *Akshya Tiritiya* etc. are all closely related to agriculture and termed as festivals. It is believed that the fruits and roots those which are harvested for livelihood must be offered to God or local deity to sanctify the same before being used as foods. Hence sanctifying festivals are observed by the tribal when items like til, bean, mango, *mahua*, *kendu*, *dumber* etc. are available. For example in the month of *Bhadrava* newly grown paddy is offered to the deity and the festival takes place in the name of *Nuakhai* or *Navanna*. The same as on *Dola Purnima* mango blossom is offered and then eaten by people. In addition, there are also many other festivals pertaining to Gods and Goddesses relating to their birth, marriage or on occasions of killing of demons by them. There is a local saying that "*Bara Mase Tera Parva*", means 13 festivals performed in 12 months, in other words no month escape without any festivals and ceremonies.

Here is a spectrum of West Odishan festivals/fairs and their significance which will provide with a truly guide to the Tourists.

Nuakhai or Navanna

Every area or region has a different living style, either on the basis of the clothes that they wear or the food that they eat. The differences sustained for generations because of lack of proper communication between peoples living on either sides of particular region. From the ancient India, rich reverence is paid to the food that we eat, which keeps us alive and energetic. In Western Odisha, *Nuakhai* or *Nabanna* is celebrated on the of arrival new paddy. Anna or food has been glorified in our ancient *Vedas* and *Upanisada* as life itself, and for that matter, as Brahma, the supreme being,² this festival connected with the new harvest must have come into vogue even in earlier times in some remote pre-Aryan villages like Mohenjodaro or Harappa in the valley of the Sindhu river, the relics of which provide ample evidence of the practice of agriculture.³ *Nuakhai* is one of the major festivals that are being celebrated in Western Odisha, in the districts of Sambalpur, Bargarh, Balangir, Sonepur, Jharsuguda, Sundargarh, Kalahandi and Nuapada.

Nuakhai is observed on the *Panchami Tithi* (fifth day) of the lunar fortnight of *Bhadra* month of Hindu calendar year. In other words, it is celebrated on the day, following *Ganesh Chaturthy*. There is no recorded history about its origin, but princely state of Bolangir is pioneer in its celebration and their records have official reference of it. The Maharaja of Bolangir used to promulgate the date for celebration, which generally falls during the month of August or September. Though it is basically a festival of the farmers, but gradually adopted by one and all of the region.

An auspicious moment is set on this day called '*Lagan*' to perform the *puja*. "*Nua* meaning new" is prepared by extracting the new rice (in the raw state) from paddy and is mixed with milk, *nadia-kura* (crushed coconut), *rasi* (til) and honey. *Nua* is equally distributed on *Kurei leaf danas* (handmade leaf-bowls), and offered during worship. In each home, the women folk worship their family *istha-devata*. On this day, special dishes like *Kakra*, *Arisha*, *Mandapitha* and *Khiri* etc. are prepared and offered to *istha-deva*. On the day of *Nuakhai*, the farmers go to the *khet-khala* or firm land to worship the crops. They tie sacred thread or *rakhi* to the rice plants, while offering milk to the cultivated land. Simultaneously, Cows and Bullocks are worshipped by tying *rakhis* on their horns and given jaggery to eat, as sign of gratefulness to them, as they give milk and till the land for harvest. When the worship finishes, all the members of the family sit together to have *Nua* or the *Prasada* from the hand of the head of the family. Afterwards the youngsters pay their respects to the elders as *Nuakhai Juhar* by folding their hands, while leaning down their heads. On the other end, the women folk do *mudia* to the elders, by leaning down their body at ankle, while touching their head on the ground. While the day hours of *Nuakhai* are pre-occupied with the family celebration, the evening hours are contributed for social

celebrations called *Nuakhai Bhetghat*. The day following *Nuakhai* is called *Basi*. In Oriya language *Basi* means old. While the *Nuakhai* is a day to observe *satwik* or vegetarian food, *Basi* is observed to have *tamasic* food of non-vegetarians. This day is celebrated with much fanfare.

It is the day of gathering in the Family and all members make it a point to be present, even away from village, come to witness the event. The kith and kin of each family returns home, let where ever they reside on this earth. The animosity between families are set aside and re-united on this auspicious day to celebrate *Nuakhai* jointly.

Push Puni

Push Puni is an annual festival, one out of the many agricultural festivals, celebrated in Western Odisha on full moon day of *Pousha* month. The festival signifies important events auspicious for the farming community and the agreement for the labourer supply is executed on this day:

- a) The end day of the annual contract of farm labour between the land lord and the labourer. All payments due to the labourer are released by the landowners and the labourer is relieved of his contractual obligation, he is free to renew his agreement on new terms or quit the job as he likes. Also lump sum amount and gifts in the shape of clothes are presented by the Landowner to the labourer as annual bonus for the services rendered during the last 12 months.
- b) The fresh annual contracts for labourer are framed for the coming year, ensuring job to the labourer.

Jubilant boys and girls in groups, of the locality, collect funds for feasts named as '*chher chhera*' from the families in the village by moving from door to door, pleasing them with their dance and music. Sometimes, mock quarrels between angry old grandmothers and naughty children are arranged to appease the audiences. In some parts of Western Odisha, on *Pusha Puni* day, animals sacrificed by the tribals to their goddess for the welfare of the Family as well as for good harvest in the forth coming season. Also the ongoing *Dhanu yatra* comes to the end on the *Push Puni* day.

Akshya Tritiya or Akhi Trutiya

Akshya Tritiya or *Akhi Trutiya* is an agricultural festival observed by the farmers to sow the seeds with a hope and prayer for a good harvesting. In this festival the farmer family prepare for the worship one day before. They keep before the deity at home 7 hands full of paddy seeds in a pot in the previous evening of *Akshya Tritiya* and bring *kalasa* (water pitcher) full of water from pond or river. When they bring the *Kalasa*, they don't talk

to anybody or don't turn to back. Then they put the *Kalasa* before their deity. The next day, from early morning the farmers go to their agricultural field or farm land with the seeds and water in *Kalasa*. There they worship the earth and deities of land and sow the seven hands full of seeds and pray for a good harvest. The whole day people eat vegetarian foods and sweet dishes.

Durga Puja

The tribals of Western Odisha worship power of *sakti* in various names. They have their own tutelary deities. But the important among all form of Goddesses is Goddess Durga. *Durga Puja* is celebrated with lots of joy in the whole Western Odisha. It is a special religious occasion observed in the bright fortnight in the month of *Aswina* or *Dusahara*. Of the all festivals connected with religion, the most important is *Durga Puja* including *Mahastami* and *Dusahara* when the Goddess Durga or the deity of power killed the evil power of demon *Mahisasura*. This festival is celebrated by the tribals as well as the non-tribals. But the way of celebration is little different. The nontribals celebrate it by worshiping Goddess Durga at home, temples and on central places, where decorated pendals are made for the Goddess. The tribals also join these placers but their won worship of the Goddess in their own loyalty, which ordinarily includes sacrifice of goats and fowls, eating and drinking followed by long dance, has a character of its own. The prevailing belief is that the Goddess thus worshipped would bring them plenty of harvest and protect them from diseases and wild beasts.⁴ Other attractions on this occasion are the *Lathi Khel* (gymnastic performance with bamboo sticks) and *Ravanpodi* (burning of the idol of Ravana with crackers). This worship takes place in different parts of Western Odisha with different tribal names and style. For example, at Ampani in the Kalahandi district the fair held in connection with *Budharajayatra*⁵ close before evening as the belief prevails the tiger of the God would visit the spot to partake of the *Prasada* and hence staying there after midnight fall would be dangerous. Some other examples are *Khandabasa Yatra* of Goddess Lankesvari in Junagarh, *Bali Yatra* of Goddess Suresvari of Sonapur, *Patkhanda Yatra* of Jarasingha, *Sulia Yatra* of Bolangir district, the *Chhatra Yatra* of goddess Manikesvari of Bhawanipatna in Kalahandi etc. which are observed with huge gathering. This festival is observed in all districts of Western Odisha.

Bhai Jiuntia

The festival is called *Bhai Jiuntia*, in Sambalpuri language represent expression of seamless bond of love and affection, between sister and brother, celebrated in traditional ritual. *Bhai* means brother and *Jiuntia* is a holy thread which reflects binding of the relation very rigidly. On this auspicious day, sisters pray to god for the protection of their brother

from all evils. Meanwhile, brothers make promise to their sisters to protect them from all harms and troubles.

During the *Navaratri* in the month of *Dusahara*, on the eight day or on *Mahastami* of fortnight, *Bhai Jiuntia* festival is observed by the sisters. On that day, they hold full day fast without taking a single drop of water and in the evening devotees offer their prayers to goddess Durga. Offering seven types of flowers and fruits, one hundred and eight holy grass called *Durva* and rice, coconut etc, they light lamp and started mass worship. Next day early morning, the sisters tie the thread called *Jiuntia* on their brother's hand and while praying for their well-being, try to remove all evils by touching on their head, the holy bunch of *Durva*. In order to enable sisters to perform their aspirations, the married sisters visit their parental house during this period carry on the above rituals, who are presented with new clothes and gifts make events more memorable.

Pua Jiuntia

Puajiuntia is another festival having similarities with the rituals of *Bhaijiuntia*. It is observed by the mother community of Western Odisha for the long life and all over goodness of their sons. *Dutibahana* or *Dharma Niranjana* is the worshiping deity of this festival. Mothers of Western Odisha keep fast for the whole day and night up to the next morning without food and water. The main worship is observed in the evening of the fasting day. The women of the area gather in a particular place where they arrange for the *puja*. A square channel is dug around the place with full of water where small fishes are dropped into the water during the worship and women having fast sit around the channel. It is believed that if the fishes jump to any of the seated women, she may be blessed with a son in near future. Like this the way of the worship is unique in comparison to other parts of Odisha. Worship go on by offering of bunches of *Durva*, flower, coconut, fruits and vegetables etc. to the God. The next morning women again worship near ponds or rivers, after having bath in it and offer the *Durva* bunch to the son and pray for his long life, good health and over all prosperity. Both mother and son wear new clothes on the day. This *Brata* is also observed by the barren women in the hope to have son. The rituals and customs of this *Brata* are unique and can't be found elsewhere in Odisha.

Dhanu Yatra

Western Odisha is famous internationally for the celebration of *Dhanuyatra* which is observed in a dramatic way. Bargarh, the head quarter of Bargarh district is the seat of this festival. It is celebrated for the whole bright fortnight in the month of *Pausa* or *Pusha*. Previously it was celebrated for a long one month. The last day of the festival is the full moon day or the *Purnima* in the month of *Pausa*. The festival is all about the visit of Lord Krishna

from Gopa to Mathura Nagari which ends with the death of Kansa the cruel king of Mathura. The whole town of Bargarh is decorated as Mathura Nagari and Ambapali a nearby village to Bargarh is decorated as Gopapura. The mythological story of *Krishnalila* (the childhood activities of Lord Krishna) to *Kansa Badha* (the killing of Kansa) is presented in the dramatic way in different pendals made for the particular activity. *Bal-lila*, killing of demons by Krishna during childhood, *Rasalila* etc. are performed at Ambapali, on the other hand at Bargarh pendals are made for Kansa as *Rangmahal* and *Rajdarbar* for Kansa's acting. At last Lord Krishna kills Kansa and gives freedom to the subjects of Mathura. Large numbers of people from all over the world pay visit to Bargarh to enjoy the festival. Exhibitions are held for local art and crafts item, agricultural items, wooden work, medicines, textile, metal craft, stone items, paintings, preserved food, spices, terracotta etc. in the *Mela* ground. Large *Meena Bazars* or the mobile market having varieties of stationary articles and amusement park equipments can be found here. People from far and near spend their time here to watch the drama, dance and also spend money in purchasing of articles from exhibitions and market. Thus *Dhanuyatra* is the world's largest pandal for open drama, earning worldwide reputation. Now *Dhanuyatra* is celebrated in many places in Western Odisha like Bandhabahal in Jharsuguda.

Sital Sasthi

Lord Shiva after the death of Goddess Sati was practicing intense austerity and was no longer interested in family life. Taking this as an opportunity, demon Tadaka prayed to Lord Brahma and obtained the boon that he will only be killed by a son of Lord Shiva. After obtaining the boon demon Tadaka created havoc on earth, heaven and hell and he drove out the 'devas' from the heaven. Having badly driven out of Heaven, *Devas* approached Lord Vishnu, but he expressed His inability by apprising them about the boon and advised them to approach Mother *Shakti* to resolve difficulties. *Shakti* consented to take rebirth as Parvati and also to marry Shiva. But Shiva continued with his intense austerities. Parvati who was born as the daughter of king of Himalaya only had Shiva in her mind and wanted to marry him. But Shiva was not willing to take her as his wife. *Devas* tried several methods but could not succeed in changing the mind of Shiva. Finally, Parvati started intense meditation to please Shiva who finally oblige. On *Jyeshtha Shukla Panchami*, the divine couple got married and Kartikeya was born who later annihilated demon Tadaka.

The *Sital Sasthi Yatra* festival held annually, at Sambalpur in Western Odisha, celebrates the divine wedding of Lord Shiva and Goddess Parvathi, as part of *Shakti* worship. The five-day long festival begins with the '*Patra pendi*' ritual in the hot summer month, i.e. end of May or beginning of June, just prior to the arrival of monsoon. This is one of the major festivals held in this region and never fails to generate enthusiasms among local folk.

The intense austerity performed by Shiva is symbolically represented, as the intense heat during summer season. Parvathi is the monsoon showers, which calm Shiva with rain shower. Farmers thus celebrate the arrival of monsoon with this divine wedding. During the festival, a family is identified in the region and adorns the role of the Parents of Parvati who offers her in marriage to Shiva. On *Patra Pendi* day, i.e. the first day of the festival, the identified family adopts Parvati as their daughter. Two days later Goddess Parvati (idol from the temple) arrives at the home of her adopted Parents. From her adopted home, the bride is taken in a grand procession for the marriage ceremony, which takes place generally after sun set to avoid scorching heat at day time. Similarly, Lord Shiva, the bridegroom, arrives for the marriage ceremony along with other Gods and Goddesses. All the rituals that are part of normal marriage ceremony in Western Odisha are adhered to while executing the divine wedding. Next evening the divine couple undertakes a journey to the town known as *Nagar Parikrama* and this journey is known as '*Shital Sasthi Yatra*.'

Another feature of the festival is the arrival of large number of Eunuchs for the wedding. They claim that they are here to celebrate the wedding of Shiva who is *ardhanarishwara* – half man half woman.

Sri Ram Navami

Sri Ram Navami is a festival observed massively almost all parts of Western Odisha in all *Vaishnavite* temples. Lord Ram's birth day is celebrated as *Ram Navami* or *Sri Ram Navami* in the month of *Chaitra*. Singing and acting of *Ramlila* continues through tout the *yatra*. A mass *Yatra* on this occasion takes place at Bargaon in the undivided district of Sundargarh. The whole of Ramayana is sung and important episodes such as Sita's marriage, Lanka on fire, killing of Ravana and *Ramabhishek* are enacted, masks and gorgeous robes are objects of great attraction for the simple village folk mainly tribal from the surrounding areas.

Sivaratri

Sivaratri is the most important among all *saivite* festivals. It is celebrated with lots of joy everywhere in India. So it is not peculiar or not a tribal festival. But still it is observed with great devotions all over in western Odisha. It is observed in the month of *Phalgun*, where devotees fast and worship Lord Siva. The centre of attraction of the festival is the "*Mahajagaran*". Devotees fast for the whole day and at night all of them awake throughout the night by lighting lamps inside the temples. In Western Odisha famous places of observation of *Sivaratri* are Titilagarh, Huma, Ranipur-Jharial, Harishankar etc. where large *Melas* take place for long 5 to 7 days. These places attract people from various parts of Odisha.

Conclusion

Fair and festivals are integral parts of the cultural life of the people of any region. Festivals are joyous feasting based on religious beliefs and rituals. It is a collective performance especially during worship to a particular deity on a pre-planned date with assigned responsibility to the individuals in a community festival. The people assemble and participate in the ritualistic ceremony to worship the deity faithfully. As the years elapsed, such ceremony took the form of fairs (*Melas*) and continued to do so in tradition to date due to its popularity. The commonness in all the celebration is that it celebrates humanity. Some of the common rituals, which are practice in most of these festivals, are procession in the streets, decoration of homes and sacred places such as temples and traditional folk songs and dance performances. Further these festivals are marked by the warmth of participation.

As the Western Odisha is situated in the midst of mountain, forest and homes to mostly tribes staying for generations they were cut off from modern civilisation for hundreds of years as there was no proper connectivity by roads or other means of transport. The tribes were confined to surroundings with which they have to adopt themselves or to make it part of their life. The immediate surroundings forced them to develop their culture by the fusion the natural properties like forest, mountains, water bodies and also the various seasons in its extreme forms too. It is apparent that fertile land, sufficient water bodies or rain, agriculture friendly climate are the main aspects in the making of a flourished civilisation. But Western Odisha has a dearth of these elements. In spite of that the people of Western Odisha could succeed in developing an idiosyncratic culture by moulding the adverse natural elements. It made the culture indigenous that now a day is attracting people from around the globe to the western part of Odisha. The uncongenial atmosphere was a part and parcel in various occasions for merry making and entertainment through fair and festivals.

Thus the people of Western Odisha celebrate a good deal of festivals throughout the year despite their poverty and the all day hard work. Except the major fair and festivals many other festivals are also celebrated, like *Ganesh Puja, Saraswati Puja, Laxmi Puja, Kali Puja, Holi, Ratha Yatra, Janmastami, Viswakarma Puja, Diwali* and *Makaraskranti*. Some other agricultural festivals are *Kado Yatra, Maden Yatra, Nangal Dhua; Pura Uans* etc. celebrated with great devotion in the Western part of Odisha.

Being a part of cultural tourism local indigenous fair and festivals gathers crowd of tourists who spend time to observe its peculiarity. So much more steps should be taken for the popularisation of west Odishan tribal fair and festivals along with the infrastructural development to cater the tourists visiting this area. It will result in more gathering of people from every corners of the world which ultimately will make this region a popular seat of culture in the world context. With the increasing number of tourists, the economic standard

of the masses of the region will also be enhanced. The more time they will stay here, the more benefit the local people will get.

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Photos



Dhanu Yatra, Bargarh



Dhanu Yatra, Bargarh



Sital Sasthi at Sambalpur



Nuakhai – Dish prepared from new paddy crop for worship called as “Nua”



Sisters worshipping Goddess Durga on the occasion of Bhai Jiuntia

RAMACHANDI AS A FORM OF SHAKTI CULT IN ODISHA: A STUDY IN BARGARH DISTRICT

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Abstract

Shakti, the supreme power is behind the beautiful creation. Mother goddess has been regarded as a divine power since civilisation began. All Indian tribes and Aryans practice shakti worship. Again shakti is worshipped under many names. Chandi is also Shakti. Chandi comes from the fiery Sanskrit word Chand. Durga rages as Chandi. It's divided into two broad categories. Purna Chandi has Durga's complete strength, while Laghu Chandi has Laxmi, Mahakali, and Saraswati's. According to Shakta literature, Chandi, the fiery form of goddess Durga who destroys evil, has various subforms. Chandi's origin in tribal faith suggests that each has a special purpose. Chandi has changed through time. The change made Ramachandi a deity. Tribal faith transformed. Its socio-cultural impact on mediaeval Odisha is significant. Ramachandi is now the tutelary deity of Kulita, a well-established farming community in Western Odisha. Bargarh district in Odisha, an epi centre of this society with a pitha (seat) of goddess with new identity Raneswar Ramachandi, is under the study. This paper has three sections. Section one is literature review describes the study's purpose and methodology. The second segment covers Ramachandi and Kulita community's origin. The third portion covers major observations. Summary and conclusion.

Keywords : *Shakti, Chandi, tribal, pitha, Râmachandi.*

Introduction

The word Râmachandi is a combination of two words i.e. Rama and Chandi. This may be interpreted in two ways. Firstly Râmachandi as the supreme divine power of lord Rama. And secondly Chandi being worshipped by Rama or being honoured by giving his name. In Odisha we can find the worship of goddess Râmachandi in many places. Among

these Gadamanatir (Khurda), Ganjam port, Konark, Koshala(Angul), Sarsara and Jagati(Boudh),Jharsuguda, Mura(Sambalpur),Kamgaon(Bargarh) are famous pithas of the goddess.

Nobody can deny the influence of supreme power that is shakti. History is filled with lots of references about the role of goddess in consolidation of political power of dynasties. Equally the socio cultural aspect of mother goddess is also a matter of study. In this context Goddess Râmachandi is being worshipped in many parts of Odisha as the guardian deity. But in the process of transformation we can find several changes in this form of goddess Chandi in relation to mode of worship. Again in western Odisha, the treatment of the goddess as the tutelary deity of a particular community, that is Kulita is an interesting one to be studied. In this context Bargarh district is the field of the study as this is the epic centre of that community where they have settled earlier than any other region. Here Râmchandi along with lord Shiva is together called as Raneswar Râmachandi also considered as the member of Kulitâ, the leading agricultural community. Lord Shiva as the 1st member of the bisâ sahe Kulitâ(120 category of the caste) and Râmachandi as the tutelary deity has unified this community till date. This is a matter of study how a goddess has an impact on the life of a community and how she is attached to that community as a common member acting as guardian.

SECTION-I

Review of literature:

Shaktism is an interesting topic to be studied as it absorbs the vastness of religious and spiritual faith of mother goddess prevalent in both tribal and non tribal society. Shakti cult has several forms irrespective of literary and regional basis. Although several research studies have been made on Shaktism till then some aspects have not been paid due attention. Among these Râmachandi cult is one. Some scholarly works have been made on Chandi form starting from its tribal origin and its spread in Bengal region during muslim invasion. In odishan context a few study have been made on the origin of the goddess Ramachandi which is not been referred in the text related to shaktism in particular. Some of the literature may be presented as follows.

Chhotray P.K., (2009) explored about Ramachandi as the guardian deity of Ganjam port. In his study he has tried to establish a south Indian connection of Shakti. Again he has also tried to establish a theory tantricism as prevalent both in Hinduism and Buddhism. The trinity concept of Goddess Harachandi, Ramachandi and Jaya Chandi has been tried to be presented with triratna concept of Buddhism and also with the goddess of Buddhism. Here the author has presented the goddess as the guardian deity of Ganjam port which is attached to maritime trade lead to the prosperity of Odishan kingdom.

Paikray Braja, (2009) in his paper presented a tribal origin of goddess Ramachandi. Further he has also highlighted the transformation of the tribal deity towards royal patronage in the process of arayanisation. Besides the author has studied on the festivals of the goddess. Here also we can find the goddess as guardian deity of a fort.

Chakravarty Soumitra ,(2009) explained the concept of mother goddess in context of feminism. He has referred about the literature related to Chandi that is Mangala chandi Devi Matmya. According to this study Shakti is universal and in every sphere this supreme power has helped the trideva in creation, protection and destruction. In spite of various name and form of mother goddess all are absorbed in a supreme divine. Shakti is Mahisamardini Durga, the demon slayer, the protector of lord Krishna in the name of Jogamaya. She is also Krishna bhagini Shubhadra. The power of the goddess has been explained in literary context.

Tonabee, A.(1996) in his study has presented a clear view about the tribal origin of goddess Ramchandi as Sthambeswari cult. Further he has presented about the process of arayanisation under which Ramachandi got royal patronage in Khurda. The authors has established the role of local goddess in the process of consolidation of power as in case of Ramachandi in the establishment of Khurda kingdom. Here also we get reference about the role of tribal priest and the concept of kalâsi (where spirit of goddess enter the body of a human being for a particular period), the animal sacrifice and the relation of the goddess with the raja. In this study we have also reference about the rituals where the kondh, Saora and the kshatriya have to perform their role. We may draw conclusion that this cult is an example of assimilation of tribal and non tribal culture.

Objectives:

The study attempts to explore the following aspects that I have found in Bargarh district in comparison to other parts of Odisha particularly coastal region.

- 1) The origin of goddess Ramachandi in relation to the oral tradition prevalent in Odisha.
- 2) The transformation of the goddess from tribal to guardian deity and then to the community deity of Kulita
- 3) The mode of worship and rituals related to goddess Ramachandi
- 4) The motivating and unifying power for the social religious and economic transformation

Methodology:

Bargarh district is well known for agriculture .And the role of a particular community that is Kulitâ is significant .Goddess Râmachandi worshipped as Raneswar Râmachandi is famous as a the tutelary deity of the community. To collect data for my study I have visited the Ramachandi temple several times. Being a member of the community I have collected data from the literature of Kulita Caste in the form of jati grantha and magazine. I have also visited other sites of the cult like Koshala in Angul. I have studied books and research works

based on Shaktism. Again I have collected informations from the priestly section of the community. And locally published magazines are also helpful to collect data about the traditions. Both primary and secondary data have been collected, analysed and then arranged to prepare this paper to justify the objective of the study.

SECTION-II

Origin and history of Ramachandi:

Several traditions available about the origin of goddess Ramachandi. Though we can't find literary reference about goddess Ramachandi till then all over Odisha, oral traditions are found about the goddess. Accordingly Chandi concept has occurred from tribal origin. In Bengal region this has got popularly during medieval period. Accordingly several forms of goddess Chandi was being worshipped in Bengal as guardian deity. This concept is also found in Odisha.

As written by A. Tonabee we find that kondh tribe worshipped Kurei Chandi in hilly tract of Khurda. During 14 years of exile Lord Rama reached here and worshipped the goddess. Onwards she was called as Ramachandi. Very soon in the process of aryanisation Ramachandi became the deity of the region. This region was dominated by the Kshatriyas. It is said that the descendent of Gadamanitir has received the post only because of the blessing of goddess Ramachandi who instructed her to meet the raja. And he won this area for the raja who in returned given him the charge of this fort. Soon this fort became the backbone of Khurda kingdom. Raja Purusottama Deva had escaped here and stayed for some time during in Circa 1617. As mentioned in Madalapanji the brahma from Puri have been also brought here by Narashimha Deva to hide from muslim. Here a jagannath temple was constructed. At the same time an image of Durga was also being installed in Ramachandi temple constructed by the raja. But the original pitha of the goddess is on the hill. Ramachandi in the form of granite rock pillar (about 100" high) is still a symbol of faith. Here goddess Ramachandi received royal patronage and became a hindu goddess. The paika the traditional soldier of raja of khurdha who were both performing the duty of kshyatriya and Vaisya(cultivator) had migrated in group to other parts of Odisha. Accordingly we can find the movement of Ramachandi cult to Dhenkanal, Angul, Boud, and rest of western Odisha.

In Ganjam we can find goddess Ramachandi in another form. Here three forms are being worshipped i.e. Hara Chandi, Rama Chandi and Jaya Chandi representing goddess Mahakali, Maha Laxmi and Saraswati. This is a laghu form of Chandi. The Ramachandi temple of Konark is well known for Kalapahad episode. But no evidence is available about its historicity.

In Koshala, of Angul district oral tradition is found about goddess Ramachandi emerged in stambeswari form. Here also lord Shiva is in this form. But later on the image of Durga was being installed in newly constructed temple. At present she is the goddess of the region.

In western Odisha at present we can find pitha of Ramachandi in Jharsuguda and Bargarh. The oldest one that was in Mura village of Sambalpur was emersed inside the Hirakud dam. In Jharsuguda also the oral tradition is found about the origin of goddess Ramachandi that Kurei Chandi had the evil intention to kill Lord Rama. So Lord Rama took his bow and arrow and attempted to shoot her. But the goddess begged pardon. So Lord Ram pardoned her and blessed her giving a new name called Ramachandi. Lord Ram changed the target towards earth where a hole was created and Lord Shiva emerged in linga form. Onwards Raneswar Ramachandi concept developed.

In Bargarh as stated by Laxmi Narayan Debta the origin of Ramachandi is related to Devi Sita who had adopted the Chandi form to protect the son of Laxman from the anger of Lord Ram. According to this tradition Rishi Gautam had a daughter borned from yajna kunda. The son of Laxman, Kirtichandra had protected her from the evil intention of Chitraketu the son of Kumbhakarna. And later he took her to the palace. But Chitraketu had misleded rishi Gautam about Kirtichandra. So rishi Gautam complained before Ram and demanded to beheaded Kirtichandra. To protect his son Devi Sita transformed into furious form and defeated all. When truth revealed Lord Ram honoured this form as Ramachandi.

In Kamgâon a village of Bargarh district which is also the pitha of goddess Ramachandi we can find the friend or mitra of the goddess Ramachandi named as Kamgein. Here we can find the trinity concept of Raneswar , Râmachandi and Kamgein.

Kulitâ community:

Bargarh well known for Dhâna and Dhanu (paddy cultivation and Dhanuyatra.) is the main centre of Kulitâ caste with Raneswar Râmachandi as the tutelary deity. It is said that Kulita has migrated from Ayodhya to Boud region during the 14 years of exile of Lord Rama and settled here. As mentioned by Cobden Ramsay Kulita worshipped Ramachandi with Sarsara as the principal center of the goddess. During medieval period the raja of Boud had sent a group of Kulita and Dumal to Patnagarh kingdom to make them learnt about cultivation. Some are of the opinion that they were sent as a gift for marriage relation between Boud and Patnagarh royal family. Further the Kulita migrated to Gaisima crossing the river Ang. As per tradition one gauntia had escaped at night to Gaisima from Patnagarh as a noble with close bondage with royal family wanted to marry the daughter of the gauntia. At night goddess instructed him in dream to settle there as much as covered by the cattle resting there. So this place was called as Gaisima (Gai means cow). According to some scholar migration of Kulita community has made during the rule of Balarama Deva. Accordingly Kamgaon a village about 22 kms from Bargarh is the epic centre of Kulita. As per tradition the village was originally called as Charupalli filled with dense forest. But it has been changed to Kamgaon only after goddess Kamgein who has come here from Boud area being attracted by the devotion of the people who once visited there to see the Bael yatra. Another tradition prevalent here about goddess Ramachandi. It is the horse of Chauhan ruler couldn't move

ahead of a place in Kamgaon which is at present famous as Veer Mati(place of hero). So the king was forced to stay at night. At night goddess Ramachandi instructed to install her in Kamgaon. At present we can find the temple of Ramachandi and Lord Shiva standing side by side while the temple of Goddess Kamgein is at the middle of the village. But the original seat of Kamgein is called as Jharigudi at the entrance place to the village. As stated by the local people the Chauhan king also donated about 126 acres of land for the deity. The migration of the community continued even after Balaram dev and during 17th century Kulita has spreaded all over western Odisha. Till Kamgaon as epic centre of Kulita community has the pitha of Ramachandi the tutelary deity is the carrier of social economic as well religious development of Bargarh district.

SECTION-III

Iconography:

While talking about the iconography we can find that a black granite image of 4 handed Mahisamardini Durga is installed in the pitha of Kamgaon in Bargarh district. As stated by the worshipper Ramachandi is a furious deity. She can't tolerate evil. To make her calm and quiet goddess Kali is here. And Ramachandi is being worshipped symbolically.

Mode of worship:

The mode of worship in this region is totally different. No special Brahmin priest is being appointed for the worship of the goddess. But people of Kulita caste the Bhoi Padhan group or the head of Caste worships the goddess. No specific mantra is available to worship the goddess. People worship as per their knowledge. This shows that bhaba or devotion is important. On special occasion of Dasahara puja where Chandi maha yajna is organized a Brahmin priest is engaged for that period. During the Chandi patha organized during Dasahara 108 numbers of bilwaptra is offered.

Every day Ramachandi is offerd jaau(rice cooked with jiggery) and pitha(made from wheat flour and jiggery) as bhoga. The priest at first make the goddess a bath, change the saree wash it, leave it for dry to be wear for next day as in case a common lady does. After that he started cooking in bell metal pot. Rice brought is divided for puja offering and cooking as well. After preparing the food the goddess is offered it in the cooking pot. No separate plate is being used to served. That is why the bhoga is called as abadha.(that is not served separately). In the evening the goddess is offered uncooked food. On the ocasion of Dasahara puja a special food called sarsatia pitha(prepared from a wild plant ganjer, rice powder, sugar and ghee)is offered to the goddess. Again in Durgastami animal sacrifice is being arranged. But as stated by Shree Bhagabana Pradhan, a member of Bhoi pradhan states that it is Matangi who receive the sacrifice in the name of Ramachandi.

Earlier the goddess also passed through menstruation cycle like common lady. Later on it was decided by the Mahasabha in the year 1921 to make a request to the deity to stop

this. Accordingly Chandi Maha yajna was organized for 11 days. From that time the menstruation of the deity stopped.

Besides the above goddess Ramachandi is worshipped in every house of the community. She is in hidden form in the kitchen and also in cattle shed protecting the property of the community.

Relationship with Kamgein and Maitra bhet(Meeting with friend):

Ramchandi and Kamgein are said to be mitra or friend. During durgastami(8th day of suklapaksha in aswina) goddess Kamgein enter into the body of a human and go in a procession to meet Ramchandi. Goddess Kamgein stand in front of the Ramachandi temple to have a look at Ramachandi. Then the goddess receives a bali(animal sacrifice). The head of the animal is offered in yajna. Then Kamgein enter into the sanctum and meet Ramachandi in closed room. No one is allowed to be present there. This tradition of Maitra bhet or meeting the friend is found nowhere.

Ramchandi as unifying spirit:

Raneswar Ramachandi is the tutelary deity of Kulita. Lord Shiva or Raneswar is the 1st member of Bisa sahe kulita (120th categories of Kulita). Again Ramachandi is the mother, the protector as well as the destroyer of the evils. That is why the whole community is being unified in the name of the goddess. It is the Kulita who took the charge of water conservation by digging pond. As a result Bargarh became economically strong. The Raja of Kalahandi had also invited them to teach the people the art of cultivation. They migrated to Kalahandi about the year 1867 to participate in agricultural development during the rule of Raja Udit Pratap Deo. And it is because of this unity they could contribute in the development of agriculture in western Odisha.

Ramachandi and social discipline:

At present also the goddess is the factor to maintain social discipline in the caste. Whenever any member violate the social norm of the caste or commit any work which is against the code of conduct then he has to move to the pitha of Kamgaon to be cured. Otherwise he is to be driven out of the community. Again anyone who lies standing before the goddess has suffered from leprocy. As the process of suddhikaran (purification) is expensive and complex the member of the community try to follow the code of conduct. In order to reorganize the community because of the challenges of present days several temples of the goddess have been constructed in Bargarh.

SECTION-III

Summary and Conclusion:

In Bargarh Ramachandi cult has a unique identity. Here both Lord Shiva and Devi Ramachandi are combinedly called as Raneswar Ramachandi. The line Om Shree Shree

Raneswar Ramachandi Namaha is meant to address the goddess. Again here we can find that Shiba and Shakti are inseparable. Devotion is the base of getting closer to the supreme power. Further transformation is the ultimate truth that is why a warrior deity, a fort deity is now the tutelary deity of an agricultural community. This also indicates the change in varna system as kshatriya adopted cultivation. The transformation of Ramachandi cult has also several other aspect like about the political situation in medieval period that forced the adoption of tribal deity as royal deity, the migration of people in between 13th-17th century A.D., the development of agriculture and trade and commerce and a particular deity as the guardian deity in both field. Further studied is required to explore the hidden aspect of this cult.

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**DISCOURSE ON GENDER IN INDIA-A HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF
NATION BUILDING
(Reference to Indian Cinema-An Assessment)**

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Abstract

*The paper tries to understand the evolution of patriarchy in Indian society with its historical aspects– in the form of **Old and New Patriarchy**. The focus of the debate here is **Indian cinema (Hindi Cinema)** and its narration of gender issues such as the deconstruction of gender in cinema. This paper examines and suggests that to change the difficult relations between women and men, we must examine them and challenge the inequalities and subordination in human societies. Besides, we need to consider the organization of work, the effects of modern life and work on the environment with the notion of **development**. The paper explores some of these issues in-depth. It introduces some of the theories and approaches developed to understand the aspects of gender cinematic discourse with the element of nation-building. The paper also tries to assess the cinematic deconstruction of gender roles.*

Keywords: *Patriarchy, Gender, Development, Empowerment, Deconstruction*

Firstly, **what is gender?** For many people, the terms ‘gender’ and ‘sex’ are interchangeable. This idea has become so common, particularly in western societies, that it is rarely questioned. We are born, assigned a gender, and sent out into the world. For many people, this fact is cause for little, if any dissonance. Yet biological sex and gender are different; gender is not inherently nor solely connected to one’s physical anatomy. It is somewhat ironic that the term ‘**gender**’ which was first coined by psychologists and then used by feminists to get away from the biological referent of the word sex is now virtually synonymous with the latter word. Yet by using gender we are using a shorthand term that encodes a very crucial point: that our basic social identities as men and women are socially constructed rather than based on fixed biological characteristics. In this sense, we can talk about societies in which there are more than two genders (and in the anthropological record

there are several such societies), as well as the historical differences in masculinity-femininity in each society.¹

Before undertaking a gender analysis and other aspects, it is important to understand the concept of ‘**gender**’. According to the World Development Report (WDR) 2012, gender is defined as socially constructed norms and ideologies which determine the behaviour and actions of men and women. Understanding these gender relations and the power dynamics behind them is a prerequisite for understanding individuals’ access to and distribution of resources, the ability to make decisions and the way women and men, boys and girls are affected by political processes and social development.

Why gender equality? UNICEF says gender equality “means that women and men, and girls and boys, enjoy the same rights, resources, opportunities and protections. It does not require that girls and boys, or women and men, be the same, or that they be treated exactly alike. Gender equality is the goal, while gender neutrality and gender equity are practices and ways of thinking that help in achieving the goal. Gender parity, which is used to measure gender balance in a given situation, can aid in achieving gender equality but is not the goal in and of it. Gender equality is more than equal representation; it is strongly tied to **women’s rights**, and often requires policy changes. As of 2017, the global movement for gender equality has not incorporated the proposition of genders besides women and men, or gender identities outside of the gender binary.

Compared with men, women control fewer political and economic resources, including land, employment and traditional positions of authority. Acknowledging and incorporating these gender inequalities into programmes and analyses is therefore extremely important, both from a human rights perspective and to maximise impact and socioeconomic development. The WDR 2012 highlights the importance of directly targeting the persistent constraints and obstacles to women’s equality (especially in areas of economic empowerment, educational gaps, household/societal voice, and violence against women) in order to enhance productivity and improve longer-term development outcomes. **Gender equality** is also important for **sustainable development** and peace, and there is a growing body of empirical evidence suggesting that a higher level of gender inequality is associated with higher risks of internal conflict.

In its more recent use **gender** has come to be used, like **class and ethnicity or race** to designate an analytical social category, one that interacts with other social factors in influencing the life experiences of groups and individuals. Since that time this concept has gained widespread acceptance in a range of groups and often for different reasons. Some of these reasons are as follows:

Today, however, two types of critiques have emerged to the concept of **gender**. One of these comes from a movement perspective. As noted by Joan W. Scott, gender has become a useful and almost inescapable concept in **women's studies and feminist theory**.² Many people in the women's movement fear, however, that this is leading to a situation in which women are once more invisible. They note that the fields of Women in Development (WID), Gender and Development (GAD), gender concerns in development (GCID), feminist theory, and women's studies all owe their origins to the women's movement and the struggles of women in the streets, towns, villages, and academies. Yet, today, with the growing acceptance of academic women's studies and gender specialists, the concern with the day-to-day problems and struggles of women and the movement is being marginalized and, indeed, no longer even acknowledged.

The other critique comes from a theoretical perspective. It is now being found that the divisions between male and female are not as fixed and clear cut as once thought — the male-female dichotomy is seen as being just as problematic as other dichotomies in Western thought; and it is not so simple to extricate what is “sex” from what is “gender,” as these two phenomena, as described, intertwine. Although the concept of gender can never substitute for that of woman, it has added to our understanding of the complexities of human social relations in numerous ways. It is a concept that is here to stay.

The paper argues that portrayal of women and men relationship in **Indian Hindi Cinema** reflect the subordinate status of women in India and it is imperative to look at the status of women in India through a historical lens. It is said that “*sometimes a woman's life also tells the story of a nation*”.³ Throughout India's history, women have been subject to violence, harmful practices and rarely considered an independent individual. Taking in to account the psycho-socio-politico-economic-cultural history of India, Jugal Kishore Misra (2006) states that, “*denied of her own ontology/autonomy, being and becoming, she is at best a shadow, an image of domestic doulas, a prisoner of the comfortable concentration camp, in other words of the 'house'*.”⁴ An Indian woman, her role and status in the society, is defined by her bodily functions of providing sexual satisfaction to men and reproduction, bearing the man's offspring.⁵ Simply put, an Indian woman is not equal to an Indian man.

In most Indian families, as Kanchan Mathur (2008) argues, daughters are considered inferior, compared to their brothers and other male members of the family. Sons, on the other hand, are celebrated and idolised; ‘*may you be the mother of a hundred sons*’ is a common Hindu wedding blessing.⁶ Mathur explains that **virginity and chastity** are virtues, which are at heart of the pattern of the socialisation of young girls. Where the notions of bravery and ‘macho’ are entrenched in the upbringing of the son as the right to inflict violence,

on the other hand, daughters are expected to be at the receiving end of the violence, be chaste, obedient and 'good'.⁷ Being a 'good woman' entails upholding the honour of the family, maintaining the 'culture of silence', and last but not least, be obedient and sacrificing.⁸ Throughout the upbringing of the girl child, she is to follow certain norms of behaviour which include, "*how to speak, how to dress, or for whom to dress up, how to sit and behave in the presence of males, her mobility is restricted to the extent that very often movement outside the home has to be with prior permission.*"⁹ Mathur adds that, women, consciously and/or unconsciously, are socialised and discipline themselves to be the bearers of familial and social honour - a symbol of tradition.¹⁰

The origin and/or cause of the **patriarchal perception** of women in India can be traced back to a number of factors and different eras ranging from Hindu mythology, medieval India to colonial and post-colonial India.¹¹ Judith E. Walsh (2004) views the status of women in India in two different eras, **pre-colonial** and **nineteenth century India, which she terms 'old patriarchy'**, and colonial and post-colonial era, which she terms '**new patriarchy**'.¹² The difference in the status of women between these eras, and the journey from old to new patriarchy, is essential in comprehending the current perception of women in India, and is therefore, of relevance to the thesis.

Old patriarchy- Many regard medieval India as a period of "**Dark Ages**" for Indian women.¹³ In history, India was subject to numerous foreign invasions, and consequently foreign cultures, which had a negative impact on the status of women.¹⁴ As an effect of such invasions, a protective attitude towards Indian women was developed by Indian men, giving rise to new evils such as child marriage, sati (immolation of a widow on her husband's funeral pyre), and banning of education.¹⁵ These practices were seen as a way of implementing sanctity. However, these practices and customs were not solely the result of foreign invasions. This traditional Hindu view on women's roles and relationships was also based on legends and law codes of Sanskrit literature.¹⁶ Sanskrit literature such as, "*Laws of Manu*", forefather of humanity in some Hindu traditions, as well as customary traditions were informed by a male perspective. These scriptures and customary traditions defined a woman's purpose in life as one of child-bearer, and constrained her by a dharma that required her obedience within her own, or her husband's family; as this verse from "*Laws of Manu*" states, "*her father guards her in childhood, her husband guards her in youth, and her son guards her in old age. A woman is not fit for independence.*"¹⁷ Apart from being confined to the home, custom decreed the restriction of women to learn to read and write, for doing so would bring death upon their husbands.¹⁸ Husbands were given the status of god, and it was imperative for the wife to be absolutely devoted to him; as stated in this verse from "*Laws of Manu*", "*a virtuous wife should constantly serve her husband like God, even if he behaves badly, freely indulges his lust and is devoid of any good qualities.*"¹⁹

However, upon the descent of colonialism in India, this traditional and customary setup came under scrutiny.²⁰ This can be seen in the justification of colonising India by the British. British rule in India began through East India Company (EIC), which was purely an economic venture; however, in 1858, EIC's rule was replaced by the Crown as the legal sovereign.²¹ This change in colonial rule, and the overall colonial authority throughout the Victorian period, was premised on an ideology of “**civilising mission**”.²² In India, the colonial rule gained legitimacy through its mission of defeating and replacing the Mughal rulers, while legitimacy for the population back home was gained “*through the self-proclaimed role of ‘civilising’ the natives*”, by initiating reforms which were a representation of the enlightenment spirit of the British - the forerunner of progress and modernity.²³ This brought upon the era of social reform in India, where women's question began to receive attention.²⁴ This is the beginning of what Walsh, refers to as, ‘**new patriarchy**’.

New patriarchy- In response to the British's focus on the status of Indian women, Hindu nationalists –male elite - made use of India's glorious past to dissuade the civilising mission of the British. They implied that the mission was a way of depriving Indian men of their male role, and identity, by “*asserting that they were not capable of taking care of their own women.*”²⁵ The abolishment of the lower status of women, an important component the Indian culture, would mean cultural defeat of Indian masses by colonial powers.²⁶ This, therefore, became an issue of cultural pride for the Hindu nationalists. In abide to protect women from the modernising forces; anti-colonial nationalists replaced older patriarchal traditions with new patriarchy created by them.²⁷ The concessions made through the new patriarchy freed women of only a few older patriarchal traditions. The ‘new woman’ constructed by the nationalists could move outside her home, and be educated.²⁸ Although this new patriarchy allowed for women's reform through education, they were still defined as different as men.²⁹ Furthermore, gaining education was only possible, as long as their place at home was not jeopardized in the process.³⁰

The British colonial rule over India has been widely criticised, and is blamed for the emergence of the new patriarchy by several feminist historians. The British provided sufficient space for traditional and religious laws of the religious communities, within their efforts to enlighten and ‘secularise’ Indian society.³¹ Many argue that this distance from the domestic domain, by honoring the local customs, the colonial state constituted a domestic domain that “*Indian nationalists later cherished as free from colonial interference.*”³² In the British's defence, some argue that the colonial authorities were simply unable to carry out positive gender reform. However, in this regard, the nineteenth century laws against female infanticide, which saw a successful monitoring of family records of half a million people, shows that

*“when the colonial state had the will, enforcement of laws affecting the personal domain was not only possible but also effective.”*³³

This change from ‘old patriarchy’ to the ‘new patriarchy’ is evidence that, although the British civilising mission, which sought to bring Western enlightenment to the native Indian family by abolishing harmful customary and traditional practices that were oppressive towards women, was unsuccessful, not because the British were incapable of bringing constructive change, but rather they were unwilling to do so. This is contradictory because the derogatory and inferior status of women in India was the justification of the British colonial mission, and the reason behind their presence in India. The subordinate status of women in India, especially the ‘harmful traditional practices’, were seen with British eyes, and “*were exaggerated constructs that never represented true Indian family relations.*”³⁴ The British colonial officers, and the entire colonial setup, were deeply patriarchal. The slogan of ‘liberating women’ was merely a dress up of their power projects of colonialism. Liberating Indian women, while women in the UK did not have the right to vote, is evidence of this.

India’s colonial past has shaped its present, especially, in terms of the status and perception of women. The reinterpretation of ‘traditional’ and ‘national’ in post-colonial India was guided by its colonial history.³⁵ One of the legacies of colonialism is that, in today’s India the secular laws for women are either protectionist and patriarchal, or otherwise, modern Indian women are not in a position or are unable to exercise their legal rights in meaningful ways.³⁶ The reason behind this is that, as noted in the theorisation of the **portrayal of women and men in Hindi cinema, the nationalist project is patriarchal in nature.** The ‘**new patriarchy**’ constituted in the colonial era, it is argued, is still prevalent in India today, which perceive women as symbol of culture, purity and nation. What causes the unequal power relation between men and women? Why are women’s identities limited to their sexuality?

Many in their search for an answer for these questions focus on the historical and cultural perspectives of the Indian society. While it is true that family values, norms and traditions, religion and culture have played a role in creating this ‘second-class citizen’ status of women in the society, however, what this paper aims to illuminate is a part of the Indian society which until recently only a few had researched: the Indian film industry, specifically Mumbai-based film industry. **The Indian film industry** has seen exceptional growth over the decades. Bollywood, a name derived by its American counterpart Hollywood, is a part of the Indian film industry.³⁷ It is based in Mumbai and produces films in Hindi language. A major centre of film production, it was granted an “industry status” by the government of India in 1998, and has since then expanded globally.³⁸ An estimated 200 Bollywood films are produced annually, with an audience not restricted to India, but expanding to the South

Asian subcontinent, Africa, South America, Eastern Europe and Russia.³⁹ Bollywood is the most popular part of the Indian film industry due to its broad-based language appeal, Hindi, which is understood in the neighboring Pakistan and other South Asian countries.⁴⁰

There are different genres of Indian cinema but at a basic level, almost every **Hindi movie revolves around a boy-meets-girl storyline consisting of a hero and heroine, and a villain who serves as an opposition to their romance.** What has caught scholars and activists' attention the most is the portrayal of women in Indian cinema. The portrayal of women in majority of Indian films is highly stereotypical. **Women are portrayed as either homemakers, cares of the family, dependent on men, or as objects of male attention.** Many claim that the objectification of women in Indian films contributes to the increasing **sexual violence against women in India**, by **constructing gender** roles and misrepresenting gender relations. These claims can be backed by the so-called item songs, or item numbers, in Indian Hindi films. An increasing number of films feature item songs, a song and dance number, featuring scantily clad actresses, dancing explicitly to indecent lyrics. While some actresses see the songs as the way forward, feminists and social activists are critical of them. Many hold the view that, the **stereotypical portrayal** of women in Indian films, and the objectification of women in item songs not only demeans women, but also makes it okay for men to eve-tease and harass women, among others.

It is argued that Hindi films are a reflection of the Indian society. It is true in a sense that the audience makes or breaks a film. Out of the 200 films produced annually, only 20 per cent is a box-office hit.⁴¹ In this regard, the producers of the films are catering to the audience's demand. Therefore, if a film with an item song is a hit, it is because the content of the film is appreciated by the masses. The portrayal of women be it through the storyline or item songs, creates gender roles determining how women and men should carry themselves, how they should act, think, dress and speak. How are gender roles portrayed in Hindi cinema? How are these gender roles perceived? These questions are the foundation of the paper.

It is important, however, to acknowledge and clarify the assumptions of the main argument of the paper. Firstly, the main argument's focus on Indian Cinema might indicate that the stereotypical portrayal of women is a trait of films alone. This is not entirely true, as **literature used in the paper indicates**; it is also a trend visible in the Western film industry of Hollywood.⁴² The focus on Indian Cinema and India derives from my personal background, as I have been acquainted to and watched Indian films since childhood. Secondly, as mentioned above, not *all* women have a subordinate status in India. Due to India's considerable size, women's status differs from state to state, religion to religion, and urban to rural areas. Last, but not the least, Hindi Cinema is only a part of the broader Indian film industry, and has several genres. Thus, not *all* portrayals of women are stereotypical.

Indian Cinema and nation-building

There have been countless debates surrounding Indian cinema role as a medium and an institution. While on one hand, some argue that the content of Hindi films reflects reality, on the other hand, **Indian cinema** construct reality is a popular view among many. There are also some who believe that Indian films are defined by neither of the above beliefs, rather they tend to lean on the more economic side of the film industry, in that they believe that it is influenced, merely and solely, by the factors of demand and supply; thus, comprising a view that cinema is a product of capitalism.⁴³ However, the debate which is most interesting and relevant to the paper is that Indian cinema do not only reflect society, but also construct it. Hindi films are described as a “*cultural and ideological force*” which “*do not merely reflect social reality but also construct it*”.⁴⁴ According to Ravinder Kaur (2007), popular cinema consists of narratives emerging from socio-political transformations.⁵⁸ She argues that the relationship between the cinema and society is reciprocal. Where the content of popular cinema reflects and influences the society, the society in return “*presents the raw stock to be woven into film narratives*”.⁴⁵ This raw stock entails the history and beliefs of a nation. Kaur argues that although film technology was developed in the West and imported to India in the colonial times, it quickly became a “**Swadeshi (homegrown) project**”, consisting of Indian images and narratives.⁴⁶ Post-independence, the portrayal of traditional Indian women and values in Bollywood films was post-colonialist in nature. The emphasis on Indian tradition and family values was a way of restoring pride in the motherland, and promoting and constructing nationalism.⁴⁷

In this sense, it is argued that the depiction of women as ‘traditional’, embodying Indian norms and family values, was a national project and strategy endorsed and mapped out by the Indian state.⁴⁸ Indian Hindi cinema was conceived as an “*ideological apparatus*”, means to formalise national identity, and create influential paradigms with the notion of “Indianness” at its centre.⁴⁹ This gives rise to an important question. If Bollywood was perceived as an ideological apparatus to shape and create national identity, through its portrayal of women and men, in the light of “Indianness”, what does “Indianness” entail?

In the view of what Asha Kasbekar (2001) refers to as, “*the nationalist project*”, portrayal of women as “*muse*” rather than an erotic object, was encouraged by the new leaders of post-independence India.⁵⁰ This nationalist project, according to Sanjay Srivastava (2006), is a masculine construction of the nation.⁵¹ The notion of “*ideal Indian woman*” was promoted, which perceived an Indian woman as “*someone who was chaste, modest, submissive, self-sacrificing, and virtuous*”.⁵² Not much has changed in terms of portrayal of women from post-independence.

India to modern India: As noted by Guha-Thakurta, “*In the new urban art forms of modern India, the woman’s form had undergone a striking metamorphosis, posing a new configuration of the ‘modern’ and the ‘traditional’*. While its form was ‘modernized’, the concepts and ideals it signified always harked back to ‘tradition’ - to [...] Indian values and ethics.”⁵³ Interesting in this regard, is the perception of the woman’s body. In relation to traditions, women were not only considered to be the “*carrier of tradition*”, but women’s bodies became “*the site on which tradition was seen to be*”, thus becoming the tradition itself.⁵⁴ This is a characteristic of a masculine nation.

In contrast with the portrayal of women, portrayal of men as, “*the angry young man*”, fighting against social inequities, and showing resistance against colonialism, was the common depiction of men in cinema in post-independence India.⁵⁵ This was followed by a nation-building approach with the portrayal of men as, what Nitin Deckha (2007) refers to as, the “*Five Year Plan*” hero of Indian Hindi cinema, depicted usually as an “*engineer, doctor, scientist, and bureaucrat*.”⁵⁶ Srivastava, in his analysis of the portrayal of men in Bollywood films, agrees with Deckha’s analysis, and argues that the male identity on screen was linked to the economic development philosophy, as part of the “*formulation and implementation of the Five-Year-Plans*”.⁵⁷ The emergence of the FYP hero saw a shift in the Indian masculinity portrayed in films, which attached manliness to “*bodily representations or aggressive behaviour, but, rather, to being ‘scientific’ and ‘rational’*.”⁵⁸

However, Deckha argues that there persists demand of the traditional Indian masculinity in popular culture in modern India.⁷³ The reason he cites is that as a result of **globalisation**, a time where “*more and more work is being feminized*”, a crisis of male identity and patriarchy, and a real and imagined loss of male power has occurred.⁵⁹ Due to increasing visibility of women in public spaces, male bodies and muscular male bodies become a symbol, and represent masculinity in the age of globalization; as Deckha states, “*as male spectators and consumers seek grounds to assert their manhood and masculinity, society (including Bollywood) tells them to turn to their bodies*”.⁶⁰

Through the theorising of portrayal of women and men in Indian cinema over the years, one can argue that throughout history, portrayal of women and men have reflected and implemented the **development discourses**, from the **development discourse of nation-building** in post-independence India, to FYP hero in the age of globalization prevalent in India. In this sense, surely reflection and implementation of **women empowerment development** discourse should also be visible in current Indian Hindi films? In the light of the recent releases of female-centric films, one can argue that this argument does hold to be true.

However, this theorization has brought to fore an interesting trend, which needs to be illuminated. As time and development discourses change, so does the men's portrayal from 'angry young man' to more 'rational and scientific' - the FYP hero. However, this is not true for the portrayal of women. Changes in development discourses do translate in to the portrayal of women on screen, in that they are depicted as modern, but they remain traditional in their values, as noted by Guha-Thakur above. It goes to show that it is **more important to depict women as 'traditional', then men.**

Moreover, it is important to explore the **development discourse**, and the 'Indianness' of the female characters over the years. As examined above, women's portrayal in Indian Hindi films is that of a chaste, virtuous and submissive woman, who is traditional in her values. Therefore, a film with a female character in the lead might on the surface reflect and implement the **empowerment development discourse**, but to determine whether she is truly empowered, it becomes necessary to look minutely at the depiction of women. Are they portrayed as modern but traditional? How are they traditional? How are women's bodies, as mentioned by Srivastava above, epitomize Indian tradition? In search for answers to these questions, it is useful to turn to feminist film theory, and apply it to Indian cinema's context.

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KANDHA TRIBE- IN THE PAST AND PRESENT: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF KANDHA OF KANDHAMAL, ODISHA

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Abstract

Kandha has always been of interest to the state regardless of whether they were under the Kandha chiefs or the princely state or the colonial state, or the modern state. The relationship is quite dynamic and interesting which leads to many questions in the present study. Evolved from the independent chieftainship to dependent citizenship the Kandha have a deep and comprehensive knowledge of their history to speak about. This present paper makes an attempt to understand the relationship of the Kandha with the 'state' from the pre-colonial era to the modern-day. The paper is divided into various sections that present the Kandhas role and importance in a period and link the relationship with the state in the next section. The paper is based on historical data as well as empirical data collected from the archives and fieldwork.

Keywords: kandha, state, history, power, relations.

Kandha Tribe and It's relations with Chieftain

Prior to being conquered, Kandha claimed themselves as kings saying “*ame raja loka*”, that means we are the kings of the region. It was a time where the Kandhas enjoyed autonomy and freedom and lived their lives according to their customs and traditions. Initially the Kandha led nomadic life, but when they became sedentary collectivities emerged along with powerful leadership and administrated themselves to live happily the way they wanted¹. The chieftainship in the society was so strong they say that the period of Kandha chieftainship was the best period for the Kandha, where all brothers from same clan used to regulate themselves. The clan elders advised the people on how to live a better life. If there were disputes at home, they collectively resolved them. Before the colonial government, the inhabitants of a small village were homogenous, people generally belonging to the same tribal community. For a smooth social organization they grouped themselves into different *muthas*, under the leadership of a hereditary authority, headman called *mutha mallick*. As mentioned, the *mutha* was a patrilineal exogamous group^{2,3}. But over the passage of time

this homogenous group turned into heterogeneous, it includes several other families belonging to different clans including the dependents non-tribal Pano each of the *mutha* was a clan-based organization, having its own hamlets, clearly separated from the other *muthas*. All disputes of the *mutha* members were settled within the community by the community elders and *mutha mallick*. The *mutha* also controlled the natural resources in its territory⁴. The tribal families that immigrated to the village of another *mutha* for whatever reason, have no right over the natural resources of the *mutha* nor do they complain if they felt any injustice done. For this reason one does not under normal circumstances leaves the village his clan or *mutha* to which he belongs to by descent. The resources are enjoyed in the community under the supervision of *mutha mallick*. The community shares the land available; it is a communal property. He is the one who assigns land for residence and cultivation and in return he receives *mutha* tribute. However each family possesses buffalos, hens, goats and other animals. Family affairs are controlled by the head of the family while all other affairs fall under the general supervision of the *mutha mallick*. The *mutha mallick*, along with other *mutha mallick's* of the neighboring region judges inter-*mutha* disputes. He was the one who imposes fines and punishment after taking decision along with the village elders in the respective *mutha* and village. He also conducts various religious and other ceremonies on behalf of the *mutha*.

The selection of *mutha* head is based on mutual understanding within the Kandha villages of the *mutha*. If the *mutha* head died, the next *mutha* head is oldest son. If he did not have children, the priority is given to his younger brother's son. The hereditary chieftain continues to rule over his people, according to their own law and customs.⁵ The Kandha have no idea about the number of *muthas* that exist now or before. However, they know that a *mutha mallick* rules over ten to twelve *mutha* in the region. Earlier Ghumusar kings exercise their authority through the *mutha mallicks* and the *Muthari* System⁶. The tribal solidarity and unity was maintained under the tribal chieftainship, language, customs and tradition, and common cultural background. They could defend the community pressure coming from the outside world by the strength arising out the solidarity of Kandha. The hierarchy in the Kandha society was based according to the purification and the gradation defined under the *meriah* Sacrifices. As earlier there are priests in different rituals including *meriah*, who are belongs to a clan group that is superior for the society. There are other group who assist the priests comes in the gradation after the priest, for Kandha the mentioned Kandha group for their close contact with the land goddess called more purified as compare to others in the society. Next to them there are others like *mutha mallick* and other who engaged in the political organization of Kandha administration follows the position one by one in the society. So we can say that, the administrative power could be reflected from these rituals. While starting from the arrangement to the end of ritual different people are participated in it. The judiciary system was fundamentally strong and equal treatment was

given to everybody of the *mutha* or village. If there was adultery, damage of poverty, theft, judgement was passed through the chief and settled by the victim and perpetrator. These cases were settled in the village meetings in the presence of all the members of the community where attendance of every member of the *mutha* was mandatory.

Kandha tribe and It's relation with King and Kingdom

The relationship between the Kandha and the state relationships shall be examined in this section in two periods. The first period belonged to the princely state, Ghumusar king before colonial government and the second period is the colonial period. The Kandha of the Balliguda region were the citizens of Ghumusar Bhanja King. While some part of the Balliguda also came under the princely states of Kalahandi and Boudh, the area covered for the present study was under Ghumusar King. They very clearly articulated that their ancestors had no knowledge of any king before the arrival of Patras in their region. The contact with the Patras led them to knowledge about kings. Later and gradually the Patra of the region became little kings or territorial kings under the royal authority of Bhanja kings of the Ghumusar Kingdom. They realized that the king owned the land and every one of the tribe acknowledged his sovereignty. The Patras represented the Ghumusar king at *mutha* as well as village level. In this way, the influence of the Patra was spread over different regions within the Balliguda sub-division. The simple Kandha, accepted the Patras as 'king or god' for their appearance and cleanliness and became subjects to him. The Kandha region, therefore, defined as a group of people under Patra's authority occupying a common territory. It is said after the takeover of *mutha* administration by Patra, they became lazy and irregular in their administrative work. Patras learned the Kui language of Kandha and understood their manners and customs to exercise judiciary, administrative and legislative powers over Kandha tribe and their dependants Pano. The Patra, Kshatriya in the Hindu *Varna* order, regulated ceremonies and customs, cultures and tradition of Kandha according to Hindu practices to change the Kandha practices under their supervision.

The king of Ghumusar had no direct contact with the Kandha. The king lived in the different areas in the plains while Kandha lived in the hilly tracts. The Kandha were very strong, loyal and disciplined in cultivating their land and worshipping the goddess. The Patra, who was very strong in military powers, were sent by the king to control and collect taxes from the Kandha. However, the Patra did not rely on their military skill to conquer the Kandha but exploited the religiosity of the Kandha by worshipping their gods. There was a big harvest when Patra worshipped their goddess, thus the Kandha believed that the earth goddess is fully satisfied by the service of Patra, so they made them their masters and priests. And through this, Patras became leaders for organizing rituals, festivals and heads of administration of Kandha society.

Ultimately with the entry of Patra into the Kandha society, the king was accepted the supreme authority or overlord who was entitled to ceremonial greetings, honours and respect, and the Patra and Kandha obtained a prestigious position in the king's court and palaces. Through gifts, commitment and talent, the Kandha found place for themselves as employees of the king in his palaces. It is evident that kings of Ghumusar worshipped the Baraladevi, offered Bagh Devi Puja at Balskumpa, Kalingia and received temple hours by Kandha and Patra chiefs. The Hinduization of Kandha society had occurred strongly through the construction of temples and imparting the knowledge of the Hindu Vedas and Shastra under the patronage of kings and Patras⁷. However, the Kandha continued their traditional rituals and customs while following the traditions of caste fellows like Pano, Kumbara, Gauda and Patra⁸.

The community life followed by the Kandha remained changeless in this period as well as subjects of the king and citizens of Ghumusar kingdom. The, *muthari* System continued in the areas, and Patras was appointed as the head *mutha* for all *muthas* in the region. The Kandha paid tributes in the form of rice, cattle, buffalos, hen, and goat etc., to the Patra the little king. The Patras transferred a part of the tribute to the king of Ghumusar. Since there is no evidence any case of Kandha was taken to the king for settlement, Patra became a centralized authority in the local areas. The Kandha were undoubtedly loyal to the king but they got all disputes and fights with reference to marriage, divorce, drunkenness etc. resolved by the Patra himself. The matters relating to the development of the society were discussed in the village council under Patra as the chairperson while the *mutha mallick* assisted him. It is said that the Patras of Pusangia and Mahasing *muthas* used to investigate the hilly tracts to detect the distilleries of *mahua* liquor in order to stop them and imposed huge fine on those who engaged in this as the drinking became real problem in the Kandha villages⁹.

This intimacy between the Patra chief, *mutha* and his people was very strong in the early days when Patras entered the region, this was largely possible because there were no hierarchical relations. Patra, Kandha and Pano treated each other like brothers, despite having many contestations and problems in the society, they in fact established fictive kinship and called themselves brothers. But as time passed, conflicts emerged when the rule of reservation was implemented in the country and land ownership came in favour of Kandha with the introduction of the 5th Schedule.¹⁰

According to the Patra women, Kandha men were like their younger brothers-in-law, and Kandha also feel the same. There was no barrier in exchanging any kind of attributes among them. In between Kandha and their little king Patra wealth was not a major issue for their peaceful coexistence and it followed the same in case of relationships with other caste groups. It was the faith in one with others, respect to the god, respect to the tradition,

custom, they living in. There was freedom for everybody to speak and to come to a consensus over arguments.

The Kandhas claim of local kings was more a metaphor than real as wealth had little meaning before the arrival of Panos. The green landscape, cattle, buffalos and agricultural lands did have much value. These properties and activities integrated the people and they were instrumental for their inter-dependency. Though plenty of land was available and people could cultivate more than their need, the land did not lead the Kandha into a hierarchical society on the basis of possessing land. However in this period land rent or tax over other resources was felt nominal and this helped accruing savings that resulted in more development of the tribe. The land wealth did not have much value, therefore it was given to the dependent Panos who called Kandha as their kings. Even during the reign of the Ghumusar kings, the Kandha were very independent and all were organized and controlled by the king under his gaze from distance. Half of the time they used to involve in cooking and drinking liquor, merrymaking and worship the nature personified as gods and goddess¹¹. However, over a period of time the immigrant Patras became richer than the tribe and dominated the Kanda in all means. Gradually the king's authority was felt more and more, the administrative and power of the judiciary became stronger and rigid for them. But this significant period of princely state came to an end in the region¹². The British government and Queen's rule affected all the kings and their control over their subjects. The important change among the Kandha was that they involved in the business with their peaceful environment.

Kandha tribe relation and It's relation with colonial government

In 1766-67, the East India Company took over the rule of Ghumusar kingdom. In this short period of time, the kings started collecting more taxes from the people¹³. In the initial period of the British rule, there were rebellions, where the Kandha tribe played an important role. After the entry of the British, different policies such as the policy of isolation, assimilation and integration, were implemented in this area at different times. The Kandhas were not allocated any particular region by the British government and so they spread over the whole of Ghumsar area. Policies were undertaken to control and include these regions by protecting a number of revolts and movements which were launched during the colonial period¹⁴. They implemented different policies to the tribal areas of Ghumusar in Madras Presidency. The colonial government was well aware about the rich resources from jungle products, so they imposed different policies in order to address the tribe and resources availed by its people.

The British interfered with the autonomy and independence of Kandha through the Hill Agency and Meriah Agency¹⁵. They tried to suppress the inhuman practices of Kandha for reforming the society unlike the previous regime of Ghumusar¹⁶. The oppressive attitude of the British gave rise to many Kandha Meli in the region to protect against the British by

accusing that, the British wanted to eradicate their tradition and customs by imposing new rules in the area. So they strongly protest with the British to get away from their areas.

When the Kandha finally had to surrender and accept the British rule, the British imposed a heavy tax, rent over the natural resources, and land. The arrival of British changed the situation dramatically: position of the king and local chief and, the political structure of Kandha lost the original significance. Some of these changes are due to the introduction of new authorities to the area with a new perspective. The Government officials – collectors, tehsildars, police -, missionaries, and other non-tribal caste groups replaced the traditional Kandha pattern of administration.

The areas of the Ghumusar kingdom was divided into different districts, sub-divisions, and Tehsils, and under this the *Muthari* system came into existence. So in accordance to this new system of administration the district officials engaged in providing better administration. Similarly, the chiefs became the government servants who bound to obey the orders of the government according to the new rules formulated by the government. Thus, the formal and impersonal relations had replaced the informal and patronized personal relations between the Kandha and the administrative agency and personnel. When Christianity arrived in the area, many of the Pano and few Kandha changed their religious belief accepting Christian faith. Due to the influence of Christian missionaries, Pano religious rituals slowly disappeared. The Christian Pano did not participate in the Kandha rituals and ceremonial processes. In the latter half of 19th century when British government placed these tribals under Christian missionaries to modify the rigid and inhumane practice of the Kandha, the society fell into trouble as it affected the structure of society rather than the social organization¹⁷. The intimate relationship between the Kandha and Pano came under threat. Earlier the arrival of Patra and the introduction of Hinduism did not affect the affective relations between two communities, but the Christian missionaries disrupted the fabric of affective relations. The Pano who faced issues with shelter and discrimination from the Kandha chose to seek help from the missionaries. The Pano made a conscious choice of accepting the course of change and development offered by the government and the missionaries. It could be said that, to remain safe from the inhuman (i.e. working like a middleman for Kandha) works, Pano came closer to the Christian Missionary and they were enjoying the maximum benefits. The Kandha strongly felt that when the British government introduced monetized economic life the traditional economic system was badly affected. Hence, the clan and kinship relation and relationship with other caste groups through exchanging goods were affected in the society. The Pano community came forward to accept the educational facilities extended by the missionaries. The number of Pano students increased day by day in the schools. By 1883, Panos from Daringbadi, Katingia and G.Udaygiri regions came to Balliguda to study in the mission schools¹⁸. Not only in this area had the missionaries extended their area of operations

with the help of Christian Pano of Balliguda to the neighboring areas of Ganjam and Nayagargh. The role and status of Pano also changed in this regard, and they could overcome the earlier hurdles for changes in their life in securing government jobs and wealth. So ultimately the relationship between two groups became sour day by day and gradually entered into conflicts. The expectation of the British government in this regard came to true. “As mentioned earlier in 1812, the missionary appealed to the British administration to work in Odisha. The British government rejected their appeal on the apprehension that radical missionary attacks on the traditional socio-religious institutions may provide a spark for widespread political disturbance. In 1813 with a change in British government policy permission was given”.

The relationships among Kandha, Patra and Pano which had been very critical changed dramatically with the presence of British. These greatly strained wherein Kandha and Patra became one block pitted against the Pano. For Kandha, the Christianity was associated with the British power. They did not want either the government or the missionaries to destroy their culture in the name of changing their “bad habits”. On the one hand, Panos were ready to depart from the association of the Kandha and Patra leaving their eternal religion and came close to the British government by accepting the religion and British culture. They breathed a life of joy with equal status and position among the Christians. It can be also witnessed from the study that, the Christian Pano and Kandha of the area are still continuing their traditional Kandha festivals in spite of them being adhering to Christianity. So it can be said that the Kandha and Pano who accepted Christianity are still showing their emotions towards the traditional customs and rituals.

The Kandha developed relations of conflict with British by making use of their resource, but the tribal political organization and social organization of the society was not so strong. Nevertheless, they were able to organize themselves by organizing “Kandha Meli” to protect their interests. The other caste groups who also lost their identity and hegemony over the lower Hindu caste group joined many “Kandha Meli” to protest and hinder the development work initiated in the areas by the British government¹⁹. During the period 1755-56 the British government started establishing school in this region of Balliguda but it was objected by Kandha because the medium of learning was English. Kandhas considered it was a sin and an insult to the motherland and mother language to learn in a foreign language, i.e., English. It was also felt by the Kandha it was not easy to get admitted in these schools for the British government charged huge amounts as school fee. However the Pano and other caste groups had no problem to get admitted in the government schools. While Pano and other higher caste people who availed British education system and secured higher and better paid jobs, the Kandha could get low jobs. The Kandha got the jobs of Policeman whose duty was to investigate the crimes in villages of the hilly tracts. The Kandha had to pay the revenue tax of three *anna* for ae for plough, and those who did not have land were exempted from tax.

From the above discussion it is clear that the intimate relationships between the tribe and caste groups got deteriorated during the colonial period. Only a few Kandha retained their traditional customs and practices in association with the Pano. This period had witnessed caste-tribe conflicts, feeling of jealousy, kidnapping, bribery, raping, cheating on one another in the society.

Kandha tribe and It's relation with other caste groups

In the political arena, the power of Chief *mutha*, Patra was changed dramatically. Those who were very close and loyal for the Kandha tribe became economically sound while educating themselves under British. The Kandha did not know the classical Hindu caste system, but under the guidance of Patras they treated the caste people as lower or higher, after living with them. Although they were assigned lower Hindu status, they accepted foods from Brahmins and other Oriya speaking upper castes, they refused to accept water from the hands of Pano, Hadi (drummers), Sundi (distillers), and Dhoba (washermen) whom they consider as untouchables. "In this regard, a Kandha expected respect from inferior caste groups, which is still continuing in Pusangia and other villages. Kandhamal, the northern promontory of the Eastern Ghats, has been the stronghold of the Kandha. It was surrounded on almost all sides by a number of Oriya Kingdom which were classified until 1948 as the feudatory of tributary states of Orissa."²⁰

In the process of colonialization and struggle for power, many Odias entered in hill areas which were Kandha lands. And due to the diplomatic ideas and tactics that they had become dominant over the majority Kandha. While the Kandha got less chance to engage themselves in power and administration. In case of Pano, those who were dependent on the tribe got educated themselves and availed themselves government employment opportunities. They purchased the Kandha lands cultivated and through business earned more from the diversified economy than the Kandha. And this made Kandha beggars in their own kingdom, they became landless, many of them engaged themselves in the wage and agriculture laborer. The relationship which was construed as brotherhood became topsy-turvy.

Kandha tribe and It's relation with modern State

In 1947 when the Indian got independence, the fighter Kandha got relaxed with the hope that they would have the life that they enjoyed before the British entered their area. They were happy with the government's initiatives for tribal development and plans for the betterment of the tribal socio-economic conditions and provisions made as constitutional safeguards. The reservation system shouted knocking the doors tribes guaranteeing development but not in the same way that the British has followed but with a change. Kandha felt that they now have become independent in their own country (hilly tract); an undone action of the British. The British brought the Kandhamal under Anugul district during 1904

and 1936 in Phulbani sub-division. When a new state was carved out the Baliguda and the Phulbani subdivisions were brought under Ganjam district with its headquarter at Bhanjanagar between 1936 and 1944. Then in 1948 some areas of Boud and some areas of Kandhamal became a new district called Boud-Phulbani.

The battle for Identity

Although many “Kandha Meli” were organized to reclaim or retain the traditional customs and practices and demands made for rights over land and resource no serious issue concerning their identity was ever discussed²¹. According to Manoj Kumar Mallick (President, Kui Kula Samiti) problems started among the two groups Kandha and Pano when they were listed under Schedule Tribe (ST) and Schedule Caste (SC). He states in his comment “The problem is deep-rooted in the socio-demographic history of the district and 1940s when new district comes to merge”. Though there is no ethnographic writing about Kandha and Pano or Kandhamal, the history and other sources reveal the fact that Pano are not the original inhabitants of the region. The community migrated from the Ghumusar area. And also in the comment on their migration. Mallick states “the Pano, these Dalits, are criminal by nature. Initially, they helped the tribals. But when the number of Pano started increased, they began to cheat us.” But during that period, Pano were the closest community to the tribe Kandha, who not only provided all the services to Kandha (i.e., in economic, and socio-cultural practices). As mentioned the relationship between Kandha and Pano was extremely friendly. But the problems started when other caste groups entered the Kandha for doing business and try to mobilize them. And this contradiction reached to peak level when Pano converted to Christianity and became religiously different from Kandha. Some say that Kandha who were totally illiterate had no thinking capacity of their own, they were not able of doing anything. When the Pano left the business the Kandha were greatly hurt. As a result, they wanted the Pano to remain in subordinate relationship in which Kandha as ‘kings’²².

The separation of Pano from Kandhas on religious ground left them alone, scared to lose their identity. Nobody from other caste group came forward to help replacing or substituting the Pano to do the nasty and horrible works for the Kandha. A Christian teacher said in this context, “in the British period not only Pano converted to the Christianity others including some Kandha also converted, but problem of Kandha lies with Pano community”. The Kandha could not digest losing their grip over the Pano. The upper caste group felt jealous about the Panos development in every way of life. According to his, they do not want anybody get educated and leave the boundary of illiteracy, whom they can treat as pet dogs. He again argued “we are not unhappy with our brothers Kandha because they do not know what they are doing, they are actually tutored and (mis) guided by the upper caste people only”. On this note, when inquiries were made with several teachers of Kandha community, the opinion is, “we do not have problem with the fellow friends Pano (Hindu

Pano), and we have problems with the Christian Pano. Who adapted Christianity and started respecting other's culture by destroying our own. While we respect the cow as our mother goddess, Christians are killing and eating it in front of us". From this it is clearly visible the impact of Swami Laxamanananda Saraswati and Vishwa Hindu Parishad ideology. One wonders what is the difference between cow and buffalo when it comes eating them? The Kandha happily eat buffalo considering it not sacred compared to cow even though buffalo was a deity.

The above problem led to major dispute and violence among the Kandha and Pano in the region. In 1994 when some Hindu Pano were not allowed to enter the Temple treating them untouchable, the problem started all over again in the region Fighting took place between Kandha and Pano²³. The aggressive Kandha with their traditional weapon rushed into the Pano villages and killed many leaders of Pano by accusing them for their illegal settlement in their region. But this was a well-planned execution by Hindu caste group on the basis of Hindu identity for the Kandha. Swamiji who was the well-known figure in the region from 1979 was a provoking leader according to the Christians and even by some Hindu youth. In his Ashram schools the students are taught 'Sanskrit' and 'Shakha', for guiding the tribal students for conversion from tribalism to Hinduism. Even some of the Christians said Swamiji mission is 'conversion of king'²⁴. It is clear that, after the establishment of Ashram school in the region, the disputes between Hindu and Christian Pano, and between Pano and Kandha increased gradually. Many Kandha youth are politically and religiously charged to join groups like Bajrang Dal, Vishwa Hindu Parishad etc., that are inclined to indulge in violence against the Christians and to preserve the traditional identity.

Today 'Kui Samaj Samanvaya Samiti/ Kui Samiti', or just 'Samiti', is one of among all organizations of Kandhas that has been run aggressively against the Panos. It has its root in 'Nikhil Utkal Kui Samaj Union' formed in 1926. The aim of the union was to protect the dignity of the Kui community. Then the 'Kui' was a notion to include all Kui people of Balliguda, not specific unit where both Pano and Kandha were included. Opposing Pano from the Kandha tribe, an organization called 'Kui Seva Samiti' was founded in 1945 at Phulbani and in 1986 at Baliguda. In which only Kandha could be members. Later the 'Kui Samaj Samanvaya Samiti' was formed in 1998 to coordinate the activities of these organizations. The Kui Seva Samiti was renamed as "Kui Kula Samiti" in Balliguda.

Kui Kula Samiti and Kandha identity

This organization is totally based on the Hinduization process. This organization is purely for Kandha, no other can be part of this by any means. It is registered under the society Registration Act-XXX-1880, Reg. No. 12-8-81/82 Several branches of this Samithi are established in Baliguda sub-division and also Nuagaon, Daringbadi, Tumidibanda and Kotagada Blocks. The ultimate aim of the organization was to protect the identity. This

organization is giving reference to the Tahasildar to approve 'Tribe-Certificate' to the respective region. The activists of the organization also conduct different types of meetings to educate the youth or to teach them about the identity. So it has become now a strong ethnic organization based on the language. This organization is very vigilant about the Kandha identity if they come to know anything going to affect discussions are held at high level to take a necessary steps prevent such happenings.

This organization was based to language identity as Kui-speaking people. It did distinguish the tribe or non-tribe till recently. But today it has excluded Kui-speaking Pano from the group.

The aims of Kui Kula Samiti are the following²⁵:

- To eradicate the offensive traditions and blind beliefs and superstitions from the society.
- To bring change in marriage, and other social institutions in accordance with modern society.
- To discourage the practice of inking tattoos in the faces of girl.
- To develop the Kui language.
- To discourage drinking alcohol.
- To create an environment so that the Kandha join the mainstream of Indian society.

The committee under Manoj Kumar Mallick's tenure brought some changes like the death rituals are fixed for some days and if somebody is going beyond this will have to pay Rs. 25. The feast of the death ritual should be vegetarian for which the Samiti would contribute Rs.100. The Samiti was to stop Dhangidi Dance, and discontinue the practice of 'youth dormitory'. So from the above it is clear that the Kandha devoted and committed to become Hindu by slowly getting weaned off the traditional ritual practices or getting replaced by the Hindu traditions. The consequence of this is that, they become jealous of the native Pano Christians and try to physically dominate them with violence.

Kandha and violence

The conservative Kandha feel that they are blessed with abundant natural resources, and unique language, cultural traditions and identity. They feel the state has not given due recognition, and the non-tribal immigrants in their hill tracts who are being supported by the state are polluting the tribal culture and identity. So they determined to fight against the modern state for protecting their unique identity. With the demise of the Colonialism, the Kandha expected full freedom and absolute right over their lands after independence but it

did not happen so. The Kandha community got spread in different districts such as Ganjam, Gajati, Koraput, Rayagada, Kalahandi, Malkangiri, Boud, Kandhamal etc., therefore they felt that their identity and presence in the hills has not been recognized by the state, and they felt that they lost their identity in the midst of non-tribes. So Kandha started agitation and mass protest since 1994 arriving at the road demanding the government should recognize their legitimate right to be natives of the hills. It was during the time of Biju Patnaik's tenure as Chief Minister of Odisha a decision was taken at the State Council to declare Phulbani district as Kandhamal on 6th June of 1994.

This achievement has encouraged the Kandha to find out the ways to reconstitute their unique identity by redefining their culture, traditions and practices. They say that the Pano caste has already developed when compared to Kandha. This could happen with their migration to the place plundering the native Kandha. It is believed that a separate the district gives them identity, control over the land help their development. Behind this there is a thought also to hinder the growth of the Christian population in the area due conversion of either Pano or Kandha to Christianity. The government of Odisha and the government of India gave full support for the development of the tribal population and providing a separate identity to them. Several are of the view that the outcomes of it are the riots like Kandha-Pano Ralli of 1997-98 and Hindu-Christian Conflicts of the 2007- 08.

Land Fraud in the area

The illegal work in Baliguda is one of the causes the conflict between these two communities, besides the fact that Christian Pano have been able to obtain false tribal certificates as revealed in the investigation of the sub-collector, Baliguda. The SubCollector commented that after investigating all the land records, the Kandhas sold their lands to the tribes, and Pano were responsible for this. Several Kandha allege that the Pano falsely identified themselves as Kandha and sold away which led to the KandhaPano Ralli²⁶ in 1998.

Kandha-Pano Ralli of Kandhamal, 1997-1998

After the formation of Kandhamal district the Kandha became strong and the existing organizations like Vanavasi Kalyan Parishad, Kui kula Samiti started showing their importance. Laxmanananda Saraswati played important role, through his Ashram, and people not only engaged in Hinduism pitting themselves against Christians. He got them to Hinduism through cashing upon the sentiment of the Kandha for of their motherland and language. He strongly advocated that the Kandha should get back their lands from the non-tribes i.e., Pano. As a result in the year 1997 Kandha from different interior parts of the district to which there is not even road connection joined the villagers of Pusangia and Mahasing stood on the road

and at Pano villages shouted a slogan *Chadijao ama matiku, Chhadidia ama jamiku* along with the violent slogan *Pano, batre dekhile chute hana* which means Pano cheaters should leave our land and go otherwise we will kill you. It is said many of the Pano land owners were killed on this event, many of the villages burnt by the Kandha youth. Finally the event came to an end when the administration was able to take stern action of the perpetrators of violence and crimes.

Problem of Kui-speaking People and Kandha

It seems to the fact that the Pano who spoke the Kui language fluently demanded the same tribal identity which the Kandha are enjoying, but the organizations which are engaged in protecting their identity were firm on their stand that since the Pano are listed under the Schedule Caste (SC) category according to Indian Constitution they cannot be given the tribal status simply because they speak the tribal language, Kui. According to the Kandha, the Pano did not stop their nefarious activity of criminal manipulation of land records claiming tribal but they demanded Tahasildar to issue tribal certificate in the name of Kandha because they have land and they can speak Kui language. Then, this led to another conflict drawing religion into the scene Hindu-Christian Conflict of 2007-08.

Hindu-Christian Conflicts (Kandhamal riot), 2007-08

In this year, only the name changed to Hindu-Christian, however the major event was the killing of Swamiji. The majority of the Kandha who participated in the event said “Panos are cheaters. They took our lands first and then they took things from the missionaries. Now they want to become tribals and want to take away our jobs as well.” So in the year 2007-08 people in Kandhamal and all over Odisha started crying for protecting their religion. The Kandhas cried not only for religion but also for their identity.

Conclusion

From the conflicts and other issues of Kandhamal, in the modern era, it is really contradicting to understand the Kandha and state relationship, Kandha and the non-tribal relationship. In most of the cases, the study came across the conflict between two caste and tribe Kandha and Pano, who have been the sufferer in asserting their identity, language, religion, land etc. The modern governmental policies are confusing for the region which has always been a threat to one another. It is very difficult for one to consider and understand the structure of the tribe and caste of Kandhamal district. The area seems very peaceful to the outsider, the natural beauty of the region augments it further. But, relations among people and state have not been considered by the government. The Kandhas after getting independence are not able to settle the issues which are still hanging in the midst of confusion, contradictions, disputes with the neighbours.

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