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Former Head, Department of History, Utkal University



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EDITORIAL

J.B. Bury astutely observed that history is a discipline that possesses the characteristics of science, neither more nor less. It means history is not typically classified as a pure science, it shares similarities with science in its utilization of data and evidence to reconstruct events and facts from the past. Similar to scientists, historians also engage in the critical examination of material, applying methods such as observation and classification to uncover the truth. Nevertheless, it is important to note that historical research goes beyond the mere accumulation of factual information for exhibition. Instead, it requires a rigorous approach that involves the identification of causation, thorough study, historical imagination, and empirical interpretation. Historian Robert Winks asserts that while the past possesses inherent reality, the concept of truth is subject to relativity. In order to ascertain the veracity of historical events, historians should prioritize the adoption of a holistic approach. This entails considering all relevant facets of the subject matter as a unified whole, and analyzing their interconnections in order to get a reasoned and informed conclusion. The current issue of the Utkal Historical Research Journal for the year 2022 has been enhanced by the scholarly contributions made by academics from various regions of the country as well as disciplines.

The propagation of the Buddhism was significantly undertaken by Emperor Ashoka, commencing in the year 261 BC. The subject of interest was clearly found in the Edicts, which were inscribed in local languages, depicting significant aspects. The inscriptions hold importance of the study of Buddhism, particularly in relation to its transformation into a global religion under the royal patronage of Ashoka. In her discourse, Vijaya Laxmi Singh has examined the significant contributions of Emperor Ashoka in dissemination of Buddhism within and outside India. The individual in question has undertaken the task of examining and emphasizing various elements of Buddhist culture, such as inscriptions, stupas, monasteries, sculptures, paintings, and artifacts, with the intention of gaining a deeper understanding of the religious practices and beliefs that emerged in the period following the life of the Buddha. In their scholarly study, Sarita Mishra and Susmit Prasad Pani has been highlighted a comprehensive analysis of the Gandhian Model of Extension Education. It constitutes an essential component of educational frameworks. Extension education encompasses dissemination of valuable information, knowledge, and skills beyond the confines of traditional educational institutions such as schools and classrooms. Extension education is a process that facilitate and disseminate knowledge and skills from research laboratories to practitioners. Alakananda Gahir and Jayanti Dora have contributed a scholarly paper on the regional history that has exerted a substantial influence on the reconstruction of the early history of Odisha. In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the historical significance of Kalahandi district, it is essential to usage the deciphered inscriptions and coins. This study endeavors to examine the socio-economic, political circumstances, and religious affiliations within the Kalahandi region by analyzing inscriptions and coins. Binod Bihari Satpathy has made a significant contribution through his article entitled "Religious Element in the Ideology of Kingship: Epigraphic Evidence of the Nalas, Tungas and Bhanjas of Early Medieval Odisha." The early medieval period in Odisha was characterized by the development of various tribal families as governing dynasties in hinterland like the forest and hilly areas. The copper plate grants issued by the ruling dynasties provide valuable insights into the economic, social, religious, and political aspects of ancient Odisha. There are many copper plates charter which highlight the significant presence of religious components within the idea of kingship embraced by the aforementioned reigning lineages.

In his scholarly article, Brundaban Mishra explores the method in which the tribal population in the kingdom of Sambalpur, located in early modern Odisha, communicated, bargained, and asserted themselves against the authority of the state and caste Hindus. The research delves into the reasons behind these actions, shedding light on the dynamics of power and resistance within this historical context. In her work titled “Bondage, Liberation and Well-being: The Jain Perspective,” Kalyani Sarangi emphasizes the role of acquiring knowledge in enabling individuals to transcend their self-centeredness and undergo personal transformation, leading to enhance moral and ethical development. Bidintha Narzary and Oinam Ranjit Singh conducted an ethno-historical investigation on the traditional healing practices and indigenous medicine of the Bodo community. The Bodo community has been noted to attribute high importance to traditional healing practices. The focus of this approach extends beyond the treatment of a particular illness or disease, encompassing comprehensive counseling for the individual. Religion and belief constitute the primary and significant facets of the traditional healing practices observed by the Bodo community. The environment has also been recognized as a pertinent factor in the development of healing process. Besides it highlights the disconnectedness and balance between humans and their surroundings. Devotions and tributes were ceremoniously bestowed onto the natural elements, such as the forest and river. In addition, the collection of resources from the forest was undertaken for the purpose of producing medicinal substances.

In their article, Siriman and Kolloju provide a historical analysis of the anti-social exclusion movement in South India, specifically focusing on the region of Telangana. Social exclusion manifests itself in diverse forms, as indicated by scholarly sources. Social exclusion refers to the act of deliberately excluding specific groups of individuals who share common identities, such as race, gender, caste, or class, from accessing opportunities and rights. It can also be seen as the denial of economic possibilities to specific communities. Social exclusion in India is manifested through the systems of caste and untouchability. This research paper examines the concept of social exclusion from both economic and sociological perspectives. It also explores the prominent anti-social exclusion movements that have occurred in the regions like Andhra Pradesh, which is now part of the state of Telangana. Ganeswar Nayak has made a significant scholarly contribution with his study entitled “Railways’ Development in Colonial India: A Study of Problems in the Formative Phase of Construction.”

The research article of Raghmani Naik entitled “Education in Proselytised undivided Koraput District” provides a comprehensive analysis of the progress of education in the undivided Koraput district. As a result of this neglect, the local people have suffered from lack of knowledge, low literacy rates, and socio-economic hardship. Access to education for women and individuals from lower castes was a distant and cherished aspiration. This study aims to shed light on the underlying motives of the missionaries in implementing initiatives for the impoverished tribal and dalit communities residing in the Koraput area. These marginalized groups are neglected, suppressed, and oppressed by the treatment from both the upper castes and the ruling authorities. In her scholarly publication titled “Reconstructing the History of Preliterate Societies through Oral Tradition and Archaeology,” Aokumla Walling asserts that oral tradition have emerged as a significant subject of investigation across various academic fields, including archaeology. The phenomenon in question assumes a crucial function in shaping the collective awareness of a given society, particularly in cases when the availability of written documentation pertaining to its historical trajectory is limited. In this study, the author has undertaken an examination of correlation between oral tradition and archaeology. The author critically examines the influence of oral tradition on archaeological investigation and delves into the significance of memory within the profession. The present research study examines the life and contributions of Harekrushna Mahtab, particularly on his internment years as panromas mentioned by Kerkar Devika Arun. The scholar has provided a concise overview of Mahtab’s ascent as a prominent figure in the

national scene/level. This occurred subsequent to his historic inclusion as the first individual from Odisha to join the Congress Working Committee. Additionally, the scholar has outlined the series of events that preceded and ultimately resulted in Mahtab's incarceration in August 1942. Pramod Kumar Mohanty conducted a comprehensive analysis of a significant subject titled "Mapping the Socio-Cultural Encounters: The Places, Forms, and Practices of Religious Worship during the Colonial Period." This study provides a critical analysis of the locations, manifestations, and rituals associated with religious worship in colonial Cuttack. It explores how these practices were influenced by the city's multicultural population, encompassing many religious beliefs, sects, and castes. Furthermore, it examines the amalgamation of traditional and contemporary elements within these religious activities. This study also investigates the process of social contact and cultural exchanges that occurred among various groups in colonial Cuttack

The scholarly work of S. Prema and Dr. A. Thennarasu shed much light on a highly significant subject pertaining to women in the field of pharmacy. Specifically, they delve into the position of women in this profession and the various health challenges they encounter. The examination of the correlation between the lifestyle paradigm adopted by professional women and their overall health has been the subject of extensive research conducted worldwide. Women experience significant strain due to unsatisfactory working circumstances, high workloads, and the additional burden of conventional household responsibilities in the workplace. It is crucial to emphasize the significance of women to uphold a healthy lifestyle by means of personal endeavors and a shift towards health consciousness.

Vijayanagara Imperial Ideology As Gleaned from the Inscriptions of T. Divya is a very interesting as well as important paper. She has depicted the history of Vijayanagara since 1900. Scholar specializing in historical research have employed diverse methodologies to examine the history of the Vijayanagara Empire. The contemporary methodology employed in the examination of Vijayanagara involves an interdisciplinary approach that seeks to establish connections between archaeological evidences and the reconstruction of the material culture during that historical period. This paper examines the imperial philosophy of the Vijayanagara empire through the analysis of epigraphical data. Ratnakara Mahapatra has discussed on some minor temples of Purusottama Kshetra popularly known as Puri, which are famous in Odisha as well as India. The art and architecture of temples of Puri town are the fascinating aspects of the research on art heritage in Eastern India. In their key study titled "History of The Press in Odisha from Its Origin to the 21st Century: An inter-regional analysis," Dr. Pradosh Kumar Rath and his colleagues conduct a historical analysis of the history of print media in Odisha. The paper has presented that the press in Odisha has a rich historical legacy. However, a notable issue pertaining to the Odia Press is its prime focus on the capital city and its surrounding areas, rather than ensuring an equitable distribution of coverage across the entire State.

The articles contained in this volume are self-explanatory, and it should be noted that the institution or the Editorial Board cannot be held accountable for the opinions or ideas expressed in this Journal. The Editorial Board would like to extend its gratitude to the esteemed contributors for their intellectual contributions to commemorate the volume.

PROF. JAYANTI DORA

Editor

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

1. **Prof. Vijaya Laxmi Singh**, Department of History, University of Delhi
2. **Dr Sarita Mishra**, Assistant Professor, P.G. Department of Home Science
Rama Devi Women's University, Bhubaneswar, Odisha
3. **Prof. Susmit Prasad Pani**, Executive Member, Odisha State Higher Education
Council, Department of Higher Education, Government of Odisha
4. **Alakananda Gahir**, RUSA Fellow and Ph.D Research Scholar, Dept. of History, Utal Univ.
5. **Prof.(Dr) Jayanti Dora**, Profesor and Head, P.G.Department of History, Utkal University, Vani
Vihar, Bhubaneswar.
6. **Dr. Binod Bihari Satpathy**, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Bharathidasan Govt.
College for Women, Puduchery
7. **Dr. Brundaban Mishra**, Associate Profesor, School of Libera Arts and Humanities, Woxsen
University
8. **Dr. Kalyani Sarangi**, Asst. Professor, Department of Philosophy, Rama Devi Women's
University, Bhubaneswar
9. **Dr Raghumani Naik**, P.G. Department of History, NSCB Govt. College, Sambalpur
10. **Bidinha Narzary and Dr.Oinam Ranjit Singh**(Corresponding Author), Head, Department
of Ancient History and Archaeology, Manipur University
11. **Dr. Naveen Siriman**, Assistant Professor, School of Liberal Arts and Humanities,
Woxsen University, Hyderabad
12. **Dr. Naveen Kolloju**, Associate Professor, School of Liberal Arts and Humanities, Woxsen
University, Hyderabad
13. **Dr. Ganeswar Nayak**, Reader in History, F M Autonomous College, Balasore, Odisha
14. **Dr. Aokumla Walling**, Asst. Professor, Dept. History and Archaeology,
Nagaland University
15. **Kerkar Devika Arun**, CHS, JNU
16. **Dr. Pramod Kumar Mohanty**, Plot No. 102, Surya Nagar, Bhubaneswar-751003, Odisha,
India
17. **Dr. Divya T**, Assistant Professor of History, Government Victoria College, Palakkad, Kerala,
sandesh.divya@gmail.com
18. **S. Prema**, Assistant Professor, Dept of History, Govt. Arts College (A), Salem-7
19. **Dr.A.Thennarasu**, Associate Professor & Head, Dept of History, Govt. Arts College (A),
Salem-7
20. **Dr. Ratnakar Mohapatra**, Associate Professor, Department of History, KISS, Deemed to be
University, Bhubaneswar, PIN-751024, Odisha, India
21. **Dr. Pradosh Kumar Rath**, Assistant Professor, Department of Journalism and Mass
Communication Central University of Odisha, Koraput, E-mail: pkrath@cuo.ac.in
22. **Dr. Mohammad Aamir Pasha**, Assistant Professor, Jagran School of Journalism and
Communication, Jagran Lakecity University Bhopal Madhya Pradesh India,
E-mail: pasha722@gmail.com
23. **Alekha Sachidananda Nayak**, Assistant Professor, DJMC, Central University of Haryana.
E-mail alekhasnayak@gmail.com
24. **Telaram Meher**, Faculty, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication Central
University of Odisha, Koraput. E-mail: telaram@gmail.com

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LINES ON STONES : REVISITING ASHOKAN EDICTS AND BUDDHISM

Prof. Vijaya Laxmi Singh

Department of History,

University of Delhi

Abstract

India has always been religiously and culturally diverse. Scholars say Buddhism is accretive, not syncretic. Buddhist inscriptions, stupas, monasteries, pictures, and artefacts appeared 200–300 years after Buddha. Emperor Ashoka popularised Buddhism around 300 BC. His conversion strengthened Buddhism politically. Ashoka adopted Buddhism after the Kalinga war, ending subcontinental violence. Through in his inscriptions Emperor Ashoka propagated the ideas of Buddhism before his subjects, his Edicts engraved in local languages of different region attracted the attention of his subjects. Ashoka's subjects obeyed. The inscriptions are especially important for studying Buddhism, which became a global religion after Ashoka's royal backing.

Keyword: Inscriptions, Buddhism, Edicts, accretive, not syncretic.

India since antiquity is pronounced as land of diverse religious and cultural society. The roots and customs of Brahmanical religions were dominant since 4000 years. Buddhism followed Brahmanism and it exists since 2600 years and it not only prospered in India but it spread throughout the South and South Eastern Asia. Scholars argued about Buddhism wherever practiced in Asia, although sometimes seen as syncretic, it is rather defined as accretive, meaning it can coexist with other religious systems.¹

The physical manifestation of Buddhism in archaeological record appeared 200-300 years after Buddha in form of inscriptions, stupas, monasteries, images and other objects of worship. The development and spread of early Buddhism from the third century BC has been intrinsically linked with the Mauryan Emperor Ashoka, and is consequently reliant on identification of the Mauryan remains in the archaeological record.² In South Asia, the first stone inscription occurred in third century BC, and that was Ashokan Inscription. The Ashokan Pillars are also landmark in Indian architecture and show characteristic of Mauryan school or art. Ashoka's conversion to Buddhism was a major milestone for political patronage to Buddhist religion. Ashoka after devastating experience in the Kalinga war decided to follow the teachings of Buddha, which was signal to end of warfare in the subcontinent.

Despite the unification of the greater part of Indian subcontinent under the Mauryan rulers, its political boundary remained uncertain. The Ashokan inscriptions³ which were the most significant source of Mauryan Empire mapped the geography of the Indian subcontinent and beyond. These inscriptions also marked the beginning of epigraphy and element of literacy in ancient India. These inscriptions were written for administrative purposes and through these inscriptions Ashoka issued instructions directly to his subjects. These inscriptions consists repetitive copies of the texts on the edicts.

These inscriptions are divided into different categories and are known as minor and major rock and Pillar Edicts. Major Rock Edicts were fourteen in number and were found in the following places, i.e. Shahbazgarhi (Peshawar district), Mansera (Hazra district), Kalsi (Dehradun), Girnar (near Junagarh), Sopara (Thane district), Dhauli in Khordha district, Jaugarah in Ganjam district and Iragarhi (in Karnal). Kalinga Rock Edicts were two separate rock Edicts. The Major Pillar Edicts were seven in number. There was Minor pillar edict, Rock edict from Bairat (Modern Virat Nagar, Rajasthan), two minor Pillar Inscriptions and also inscription from Barbara hills (Gaya), all constituting major impact on the spread of teaching of Buddhism in the Indian subcontinent as well as outside the subcontinent.⁴ In Edict VIII Ashoka declares that the conquest of Law of Piety... has been won by His Sacred Majesty... aiming all his neighbours as far as six hundred leagues, where the king of the Greeks named Antiochos dwells, and beyond (the realm of Antiochos (where dwell) the four kings (rajano) severally Ptolemy (Turamayo), Antigonos (Amtekina), Magas (Maga or Maca), and Alexander (Alikasidaro)... Likewise in the South (micha), the Cholas and the Pandyas as far as Tambapamni... , even where the envoys (duta) of his sacred majesty do not penetrate, those people too hearing his sacred majesty's ordinance based upon Law of Piety".⁵ Though the Greeks did not follow it for long and after Ashoka they followed their expansionist policy through war in Kabul valley, the Punjab and the Madhyadesa. Ashoka's southern missions were more successful. The texts mention Ashokan mission being sent to Ceylon led by prince Mahindra and Suvarnabhumi, i.e. lower Burma and Sumatra, but we do not find direct reference to Suvarnabhumi in Ashokan edicts so far.

It is clear that the Buddha's message to his mendicant disciples to work for "the welfare of many and happiness of many" had within a few centuries of his nirvana reached the royal court of Ashoka who clearly saw his royal duty as meritorious, bringing happiness to his subjects and aiding their rebirth in heaven hereafter, as he states in one of his inscriptions (Rock Edict VIII) "I have ordered thus, I am never completely satisfied with my work of wakefulness or dispatch of business. I consider that I must work for the welfare of the people (sava-lokhite)... there is no other work for me (more important) than doing what is good for the well being of all the people."⁶

Another inscription of Ashoka conveys Buddhist message: meritorious is obedience to father and mother. Meritorious is generosity to friends, acquaintances, relatives, brahmanas

and shramanas. Meritorious is abstention from slaughter of animals, meritorious is minimizing of expenditure and possessions accumulated. ⁷ According to Rock Edict I, Ashoka prohibits not only the sacrificial slaughter of animals but also he took offence of certain samajas or festive gatherings, which was often practiced in the state. ⁸ There were two kinds of Samaja-popular samaja accompanied by heavy drinking and feasting (with meat) and animal fights. The other was semireligious theoretical performance for pleasure and leisure which was not so offensive. ⁹ Ashoka's disapproval to the samaja was sought to improve the moral and material condition of the people and realise "association of God with men". Ashoka initiated the doctrine of Paternalism through Dhauili Inscription-"All men are my children" and addressed his officers posted at Tosali to look for the welfare and happiness of the people of Kalinga. In the antiquity of Tosali metropolis Dhauili is the earliest inscriptional evidence.

The fourteen Major Rock edicts and the Major Pillar edicts discuss code of conduct code i.e. Dhamma. Buddhist text Dipavamsa associates the name "Piyadasi" with Ashoka. We have reference to devanampiya ("beloved of the gods") in few minor rock edicts. The only inscription talking about the Mauryan Queen is the edict of Ashoka on public benefaction of Queen Kauravaki's Ashokan Pillar Inscription at Allahabad, it is famously known as Queen's Pillar edict. ¹⁰ This inscription is command of the king to his Mahamatras, who were also asked to record the donations made by the queen. ¹¹ The Ashokan Pillar Inscription at Allahabad is the first inscription recording the name of the Buddhist women/queen. Topra (a village in Ambala district) Pillar inscription of Ashoka now placed in the Firoz Shah Kotla complex in Delhi bears seven edicts of Ashoka. The seventh Edict explains welfare measure taken by Ashoka for his subjects and throws light on propagation of Dhamma. These inscriptions consist repetitive copies of the texts.

Rock edict from Bairat (52 miles from Jaipur on Jaipur Delhi route) establishes this place as earliest Buddhist site. Along with the remnants of Ashokan Pillars the site includes a circular temple and monastery. ¹² It appears that Rajasthan did not remain untouched with the influence of Buddhism and it had royal patronage of Ashoka. The presence of Northern Black Polished Ware pottery in Bairat is indicative of its association with Magadhan Empire. There are evidence of renovation of pottery with copper rivets, fillets and pins to protect it from damage. It seems the monks considered it precious to preserve the damaged potteries with copper wires. ¹³ The Bhabru inscription of Ashoka which opens with an expression of his faith in the Buddha's Dhamma and Samgha and also he declared that the preaching of Buddha are gospel truth. It's addressed to the sangha or the Buddhist monks is the clear indicator of presence of Buddhist monks in Bairat. The archaeological excavations at Bairat ¹⁴, Bijak hills indicate the presence of Buddhist pilgrimage at the time of Ashoka who is believed to have constructed stupa and rock-cut shelters. ¹⁵ The quantitative lack of archaeological evidence does not defy the presence and persistence of Buddhism in Rajasthan as Rajasthan was very much part of the Mauryan rule of Ashoka, the great patron of Buddhism.

There were seven Rock edicts of Ashoka which were written in two non-Indian scripts and languages, namely Aramaic (a west Asian language and script) and Greek (one was pure Greek and the other is Greco Aramaic edict). Out of these seven edicts one comes from Taxila and rest from different parts of Afghanistan.¹⁶ There are two more inscriptions which on the basis of Brahmi script of 3rd century B.C. are ascribed to Ashokan period one from a major excavated site Mahasthan (Bagura-present Bangladesh) and the other from Sohagaura (Gorakhpur district, UP). The date, content and the ideas in the records indicate that it was issued by the powerful ruling Maurya king Ashoka. All the edicts indicate Ashoka's personal leaning to the Buddhism.

They were not ordinary inscriptions hence they were known as edicts. The language of most of the inscriptions were Prakrit with two scripts: Brahmi in greater part of Indian subcontinent and Kharosthi in north western part of the subcontinent. Asoka called his inscriptions Dharmalipi as Pillar Edict VI states that Ashoka began to the cause of writing of Dhammalipis after twelve years of his consecration.¹⁷ The Ashokan inscriptions enlighten us of the ways in which the emperor made effort to reach out to common people. The rock edicts are placed near the frontiers of the empire, the pillar inscriptions are located in the ambit of metropolitan state in northern India. The minor rock edicts are concentrated in the South. Locational analysis of the Ashokan edicts, show that it were first stone inscriptions known from the subcontinent and it constitutes the first durable statements of Buddhist inspired beliefs.¹⁸ In the third century B.C Buddhism was probably regarded as esoteric ritual practice, given that some of its most distinctive iconography, such as the representation of Buddha in human form, had not yet been developed¹⁹. The first stone inscriptions occurred in 3rd century BC during Ashoka's rule and these inscriptions are termed as Major and Minor Edicts. Stone inscriptions were potent form of political display, with leaders in many ancient cultures using them to make political or religious proclamations through the use of writings as a technology of the state.²⁰ These inscriptions were spread out all over the Indian subcontinent constructing the territorial extent of Mauryan state.

Inscriptions of Ashoka are significant for the study of Buddhism. The minor pillar inscriptions located on Ashokan pillars at Sarnath, Sanchi, Allahabad (initially located at Kausambi) Rumendei and Nigali Sagar. The language of the Inscription is Prakrit and the script is Brahmi. Lion capital mounted on the pillars of Sarnath²¹ and Sanchi are finely made. Other than these two places the lion capital mounted pillars are also found from Bakhira, Lauaiya Nandangarh, Rampurva and Masadh village in Arrah, Bihar. Besides this it is referred that Allahabad pillar was also surmounted by Lion capital which may have disappeared and when pillar was erected by Jahangir, top was crowned by globe²². Agrawal describes 'the depth of the meaning which goes with the symbolism of these lion capitals is unique in the entire field of Indian art activity and to which there is hardly parallel in the world art²³. The standing pillars with animal capitals constitute the major corpus of the Mauryan Buddhist art²⁴.

According to Theravada tradition, third Buddhist council was held in Pataliputra, the capital of the Mauryan Empire and was associated with Mauryan king Ashoka in 250 BC. Here we see clear link between the Samgha and political authority. The famous edict of Ashoka calls for expulsion of dissident monks and nuns²⁵. The schism in the Theravada doctrine was recognised. The majority of the monks came to be called Mahasanghikas, and the minority largely the elders were called the Sthaviravada/Theravada. Since the record of the council comes only from Theravada tradition, it has been seen as possible attempt to legitimize the priority and authority given to the Theravada teachings in the texts²⁶. The Theravada tradition claims strength in Magadha during Ashoka time from where it had sent missionaries for propagation of Buddhism not only in different parts of the Indian subcontinent but also to Sri Lanka and to the Hellenistic world as is also evident from the inscriptional record of Ashokan period. Crystallization of the idea about the constituent elements of Dhamma is evident from several edicts. Dhamma is clearly defined in Pillar edict II as consisting of 'freedom from sins (apasonave), many virtuous deeds (vahukayane), compassion (daya). Liberality (or making gifts) (dane), truthfulness (sache) and Purity of mind (sochye)'. To these qualities, Pillar edict VII adds 'gentleness (sadhave)²⁷'. Ashoka's visit to Sambodhi (Bodh Gaya) marked the beginning of Dhammayatra (tour for preaching the law of Dhamma). There is story in Divyavadana about Ashoka's wish to build 84000 stupas²⁸. Hiuen Tsang on his visit to India, referred to great number of stupas attributed to Ashoka²⁹. It is evident that Ashoka had also entered Samgha and sangha was instrumental in making Ashoka a zealous Buddhist. His visit to Mahabodhi and his constant interaction with sanghas in and around Pataliputra caused him to feel more deeply about his new religion³⁰. The textual references to Sangha (monastic establishment) define sangha space as an exclusive area for the pursuit of the religious life. Both the Greek and Aramaic inscriptions explicitly state that Ashoka proclaimed his Dhamma after the tenth year. It appears that Ashoka had waged war in eight year and was converted to Buddhism proclaimed the doctrine of Dhamma in tenth year and visited Sambodhi and initiated Dhammayatras and began to issue Dhammalipis in 12th year of his consecration. He had declared in his Pillar Edict IV, 'where ever pillars of stone or slabs of stone exist, this dhammalipi should be engraved so that it may have long duration'. This indicates that large number of persons may have been employed to do this work. The edicts were engraved on rocks and pillars to have it as permanent record and the predecessors may follow the practice of Dhamma and undertake welfare works and the people might obey the instruction given in the Dhammalipi i.e. Rock edicts IV and VI; Pillar edicts I and VII.³¹ Some historians relate Ashoka's proclamation of Dhamma with his political ideals and rationale indicating disassociation personal belief of the ruler and his public proclamation.³² This minimizes the Buddhist element in Ashoka's proclaimed Dhamma. Thapar is of the opinion that Ashoka used Dhamma as an ideological tool to consolidate his empire. Due to lack of support in the his early years of his reign, he sought the support of non orthodox elements and saw the practical advantage of adopting and propagating Dhamma, which was basically an ethical concept that focused on relationship between the individual

and society. However it failed as an unifying strategy³³. Buddhist elements in Ashoka Dhamma is pertinent despite the absence of certain key ideas associated with Buddhism such as eightfold path, nibbana, doctrine of dukha etc. Inscriptions repeatedly emphasizes about ahimsa which is core to the Buddhist principles. The Mauryan text Arthashastra also talks about Ahimsa and welfare of animals³⁴. As a ruler of the subcontinent Ashoka projected himself as a teacher, proclaimer and propagator of Dhamma, as it is clear from his inscriptions. Rummendei and Nigali Sagar inscriptions discuss Ashoka's visit to Lumbini which is clear evidence of Ashoka's personal faith in religion. Historians often raise the issue of conversion of Ashoka to Buddhist faith as a philosophy of dissent against the Brahmanical religion which may not be true. Ashoka says, "that he who does reverence of his own sect while disparaging the sects of others wholly from the attachment to his own, with intent to enhance the splendour of his own sect, in reality by such conduct inflicts the severest injury on his own sect"³⁵. Concord (samavayo) is praised by him as meritorious (samavayoeva sadhu)³⁶. Ashoka is irresistible historical subject who appears in the range of texts though not contemporary, viz. Sanskrit text Ashokavadana (second century CE), Dipvamsa and Mahavamsa (fifth century CE Sri Lankan chronicles)." These biographical texts written long after his death helped in understanding the Ashoka's life his conversion to Buddhism and also propagation of Buddhism. The reliability of the texts are tested by juxtaposing the texts with archaeological evidences. The colonial scholar Vincent Smith wrote Ashoka- The Buddhist Emperor of India. He had based his study on epigraphical sources. Another author D.R. Bhandarkar had written 'Ashoka' (published by University of Calcutta, 1925) two decades after Smith, where he dedicated space for Ashoka and Buddhism. Radha Kumud Mukherji's Ashoka (Macmillan & Co., 1928), B.M. Barua's Ashoka and his Inscriptions, two volumes (Calcutta, 1946), all these texts used epigraphic records and weaved them around the texts. The lines on stone in the form of inscriptions of Ashoka allows us to peep in the life of unforgettable monarch Ashoka and his Buddhist religion.

Thus the inscriptions are significant for the study of Buddhism, which is today a global religious tradition but was a small and relatively unknown sect prior to the royal support that it received from Ashoka.

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GANDHIAN MODEL OF EXTENSION EDUCATION

Dr. Sarita Mishra

Assistant Professor
P.G. Department of Home Science
Rama Devi Women's University
Bhubaneswar, Odisha

Prof. Susmit Prasad Pani

Executive Member
Odisha State Higher Education Council
Department of Higher Education
Government of Odisha

Abstract

Extension Education is an important dimension of education. It is an integral part of any educational system. Extension education broadly refers to extending to spreading, to disseminating useful information, knowledge and skills outside the organized schools and class rooms. It is predominantly associated with agriculture and family welfare in Indian context. Extension education approach includes activities related to continuing education and helps in up gradation of skill. Extension education involves transfer of knowledge and skill from the laboratories to the practitioners. It involves democratization of educational opportunities and social changes. In this contemporary society the role of extension needs to be redefined in the context of Gandhian ideals. This article tries to find out how these get reflected in Mahatma Gandhi's concepts and ideas on education. Though education was not the primary focus of Gandhi's life, yet, his ideas on education are quiet well defined. It is argued here that his ideas on education have enriched the concept and practice of extension education in Indian context.

Keywords: Extension Education, Gandhi, Knowledge

Extension Education is an important dimension of education. It is an integral part of any educational system. Extension education broadly refers to extending to spreading, to disseminating useful information, knowledge and skills outside the organized schools and class rooms. It is predominantly associated with agriculture and family welfare in Indian context. All out-reach actions including distance and continuing education are also treated as part of extension education, Lifelong education and education for all, the two international motto of education can be achieved only through extension education. It is considered to be an important tool to bring attitudinal change such as-love for girl child, greater tolerance,

growth of respect for other religions, growth of scientific temperament and increased agricultural prosperity. Extension education approach also includes activities related to continuing education and helps in up gradation of skill. It includes activities where even the best of the educated adults go back to schools and colleges to apply the knowledge. Extension education also includes activities related with transferring the fruits of research to the actual users. The findings of the agricultural research should be transferred to the farmers. Similarly, research in medicine and surgery has to reach medical practitioners and they must apply it. Extension education thus involves transfer of knowledge and skill from the laboratories to the practitioners. It involves democratization of educational opportunities and social changes.¹ The field research and transferring the knowledge from lab to field can only possible through extension education. In this contemporary society the role of extension needs to be redefined in the context of Gandhian ideals. This article tries to find out how these get reflected in Mahatma Gandhi's concepts and ideas on education. Though education was not the primary focus of Gandhi's life, yet, his ideas on education are quiet well defined. It is argued here that his ideas on education have enriched the concept and practice of extension education in Indian context.

Mahatma Gandhi's ideals and his experiments are the real founding stone for understanding education from social point of view. Mahatma Gandhi believed that the activities outside the regular classroom and outside the syllabi to be of greater importance. This is the fundamental premises on which the scholar links Gandhi with extension education. Gandhi's experimentation was not limited to his life and thought, it extended to dietary habits, education and even medical treatment. Gandhi's experimentations were not necessarily based on new ideas, he drew his concepts from a number of sources. His attempt to translate great ideas into practices. In his biographical sketch, Gandhi drew heavily from writings of Thoreau, Ruskin and Tolstoy and from books like Bible and Gita etc. He had a vision for a India which was largely village based, a India which was caste ridden and where women were delegated to a lower status. He also aspired to create a patriotic India, he did not want merely sup-plantation of the British culture, he wanted sup-plantation of industrial capital driven economy with an Indian economy sensitive to its needs and to its population. Gandhi dreamt of a need based economy which can only be possible through enriching the village economy, community based life and bringing self reliance through indigenous technology. Gandhi's educational thinking and his ideals are analyzed and how Gandhi's ideas enriched extension education. It is proposed to deal the theme in two parts. In the first part a selective summary of extracts and views from Gandhi's writings is being presented, as a base for the theories of extension education. In the second part an analysis of experiments at Tolstoy firm carried out by Gandhi and his followers on extension is being dealt.

India education has been based on values, virtues and rituals associated with a predominant agrarian society. The foundation and strength of our education system also lies in the traditional "Guru Kula Ashrams" culture which Gandhi advocated from the very beginning

of his career and in his attempts for upliftment of Indian society. Gandhi always believed that disciplined way of life, community based living and learning by doing can bring change in the behaviors and also develop the overall personality of ashram inmates. So disciplined life , community based living and learning by doing was the basic principles adopted by Gandhi for his ashram inmates. Gandhi spent more than two decades at South Africa and he was drawn to establishing communities, more specially ashrams. In South Africa the vast numbers of indentured labourers were mostly illiterate, Gandhi felt the need of educating them about of political and human rights He thought that the Indian model of guru living in his ashram in the company of his disciples would be the best approach of creating learning environment. Gandhi adopted this social transformation through building of ashram schools. He was using a the ideal ashram community, the teacher was expected to set an example of the life worth living and from this high pedestal of daily existence he was permitted to demand any conceivable form of sacrifice from the students. His educational model created to place modern concept of education and pedagogy within of saints away from villages and cities. Traditionally in India education was imparted in ashrams or hermitages teachers² In this case the learning atmosphere was informal, the students were self reliant, they were expected to work as a team, they were expected to participate in all subsequently, Gandhi established numerous communities or ashrams in India, Sabarmati worldly activities associated with the family of the teacher, it involved learning by doing. and Wardha became the most famous all over India. One of the foremost concern of Gandhi was to develop an awareness of dignity of labour and a new attitude to work through the ashram concept of education with a free environment, disciplined way of life and learning through work. The ashram established by Gandhi worked as labs which brought all transformation in learning , behaviour and character building. They were like labs of extension education.

Gandhian ideals of need-based education brought a significant transformation to the Indian condition during freedom struggle. The education which Gandhi-conceived for the agrarian India was need based. The time demanded employment for the hands, food for hungry stomach and knowledge for illiterate. These three requirement in mind Gandhi had planned for need based education which would be a help to the rural Indians . He felt if employment opportunities are not created in each of the villages, we will soon face a situation, where over crowded and polluted cities would swell with more crime, more slums and more filth. Such cities Gandhi felt would breed revolutionaries and promote violence. “We should learn enough lessons from three of the recent developments, when the truck owners, milk suppliers and vegetable suppliers and vegetable growers in the neighboring states of Delhi went on strike pressing their demands on different occasions. Life almost came to a stand still . It is a fact that the cities do not produce any of the essential items of food, they depend on villages and when those items produced in the villages do not reach the urban centers, both the urban and the rural centres suffer. India has not improved even after 75 years of Independence, it has only shrunk because of malnutrition and lack of attention. Unemployment is still a challenge. Gandhian approach was to provide education to rural

people on agriculture , village industries and solving the rural problems through literacy³. The need based principle of extension education and grass root organization of extension was the key ideals initiated by Mahatma Gandhi.

Gandhi argued that the textbooks did not provide need based learning. He thought they were not harmful they were hardly useful. Most of the books were written by English men who did not care to reflect the Indian environment. Though they were good for children of England, they were not necessarily relevant for Indians. Gandhi argued that the Indian society is too varied to have a uniform set of textbooks. "For instance, want of Harijan children are, in the beginning stages at least, different from those of the others". He advocated that teachers require the books more than the students. The teachers utilizing the books have to prepare learning material for his students as per requirement. Most of the textbooks Gandhi felt were dead weight on the children. The teachers and managers of education have a great responsibility in India to develop instructional material suitable to our needs. He always addressed the issue of vernacular medium of education."The primary aim of all education is or should be the moulding character of pupils" He tried to implement the need based education such as, handicraft training, agriculture practices, dairy and animal husbandry and kitchen gardening etc, which would help them to earn and educate them about the resources of the country.

Skills based syllabi for different artisans are the Gandhian extension education approach.. He wanted skills to be transferred and learned by each and every member of the society. He felt this will help in changing the socio-economic status of the rural India . He realized that these skill oriented training can only be possible through the free educational atmosphere which is an important aspect of extension education. According to Gandhi "The salvation of India and Indians lay in education. The education of the masses will bring them steps nearer to freedom and it would also lighten up their minds". He was also convinced that the British system of education was not a good system and it suffered from many defects, it was costly, bookish, anti India, examination ridden, so on and so forth, which resulted in imbibing 'babu' type mentality. It was also beyond the reach of average Indians." He says "the introduction of manual training will serve a double purpose in a poor country like ours. It will pay for the education of our children and teach them an occupation on which they can fall back in adult life, they can choose the craft for earning a livelihood. Such a system must make our children self reliant. Nothing will demoralize so much as that we should learn to despise labour .⁴ He argued, if these millions produced some products, they can put their product in market and add wealth to their own and to the nation. A starving man will be glad to earn an honest anna during his spare time. Thus in this way Gandhi had visualized the need for implementation of skill oriented training in villages. This could be achieved only through extension education approach. Gandhi wanted to develop a system of education universally acceptable to India and a system based on the needs of Indians. His

conception of education aimed to reach each and every person of the society as well as the whole family.

Self-sufficiency aspect took a core place in Gandhian extension ideal. To him, “Indian villages were capable of becoming such communities, indeed he believed that Indian villages were historically self-reliant and the great task now was to restore their autonomy and to create the conditions necessary for economic self-sufficiency and political dignity in villages”. He had given emphasis on the earning capacity through training and on purposeful industrialization which meant, protecting the right of villagers. Basic Education could enhance the productive capacities of village children under such a plan’. Self-sufficiency aspect of training was highly praiseworthy. This provided knowledge and skill for earning ability and productive capacity building. These vital conceptions of extension training programmes fitted suitably to the agrarian India. He noted “it is my firm belief that if Naye Talim cannot become self-supporting, then the teachers do not understand what it is. In my view, amongst other characteristics, self-reliance is the most important characteristic of Naye Talim. If this is so, for the education of boys and girls, then adult education must also be self-supporting. If we believe that it is difficult to convince adults about the value of education, then I have to say that this is nothing but an old illusion. And the teaching of the 3R’s in adult education is not part of our Naye Talim.⁵ The meaning of adult education is that we will give them, through their own language, all-round education of a pure and socially useful life. And if they do not easily become self-supporting in my view there is some serious defect in that education. We should also forget that complete cooperation should be the basis from the very beginning. Thus Gandhian principle of self-sufficiency through extension education addressed the problems of rural mass, it guided them, it inspired them to work vigorously towards fulfillment of their wants and desires

Village and agriculture became two pillars of Gandhian extension theory. He wanted that training should be conducted in the villages so as to act as a demonstration for the farmers and artisans. He felt “the poverty of Indian villages was being aggravated by development of modern industry. Not only cotton mills, but rice mills, flour mills, oil mills and sugar factories were leading to the decay of traditional village industries and creating wide spread rural un-employment. Therefore, creating wide spread rural employment through revival of village industries and handicrafts, Gandhi hoped, would meet the needs of people by their own labour. Instead of being robbed of employment and earnings by the encroachments of modern industry, he sought to promote not only hand spinning, hand weaving and handicrafts of all kinds but also hand pounding of rice, hand made gur in place of factory made sugar.”⁶ The real problem and solution of the country grinding of corn, oil pressing in the traditional village ghani and production of village lies in the heart i.e. the villages, We must gradually return to the old simplicity. He believed that multiplication of wants and machinery constrained reaching our goals. For him India’s salvation consisted in unlearning what she had learnt in the last fifty years. The railways, telegraphs, hospitals,

lawyers, doctors and such like all have to go and the so called upper classes have to learn consciously, religiously and deliberately the simple peasant life, knowing it to be a life giving true happiness... you can not build non-violence on factory civilization, but you can build it on self contained villages”

Agriculture should use such techniques which will not deplete the soil and pollute the environment. For this farmers should use eco-friendly production technique by using lesser and lesser amount of fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides. He preferred well irrigation instead of large hydro-electric projects since this lead to exploitation”⁷ Agricultural sector alone can not solve the problem of rural poverty and unemployment. That is why Gandhi stressed the growth of rural industries like khadi, handlooms, sericulture and handicrafts”. He argued that large scale industries make people lazy and help concentration of wealth in the hands of few. On the contrary, rural industries are based on family labour and required less capital.

Adult education has a central place in extension education. For adult learners, the village itself is the class room. Gandhi realized that the adult education is the only tool through which the village people can learn at their door step. He opined “If I had charge of adult education, I should begin with opening the minds of the adult pupils to a greatness and the vastness of their country”. The villager of India is contained in his village. Hindustan is for him a geographical term. Gandhi observed that the villagers were ignorant of the evils of foreign rule. He said “My adult education means therefore first true political education of the adult by word of mouth. Gandhi wanted “adult education should include the education of everybody at every stage of life. Further he states that “I must have my eye on the children right from their birth. I will go a step further and say that the work of educationist begins even before that. For instance, if a woman becomes pregnant, Ashadevi will go to her and tell her “I am a mother as you will be. I can tell you from my experience what you should do to ensure the health of your unborn baby and your own. She will tell the husband what his duty towards his wife is and about his share in the care of their expected baby”⁸. Thus the basic school teacher will cover the entire span of life. Naturally, his activity will cover adult education. He says “Adult education of my conception must make men and women better citizens all round. Agriculture will play an important part in adult education under the basic scheme. Literary instruction must be there. Much information will be given orally. There will be books more for the teachers than for the taught. His conception of adult education not only aims at educating the rural mass but to develop attitudinal change among them.

Gandhi’s concept of education was also culture based. Gandhi viewed that freedom and upliftment of the people lie in its own culture. He was not exclusive. He did not denounce other cultures. He favoured appreciation and understanding of our own culture as the first step, it can be followed up with appreciation and assimilation of other cultures. Gandhi sadly observed that the existing official system of education not only promoted western culture, which had no connection with the surrounding of the students, but went further in

denouncing India's culture. Gandhi did not stop at making students learn about our culture. For him culture involved refinement of feelings, attitudes and behaviour, culture is a matter of practice. Mere academic knowledge about culture was not enough. Culture must get reflected in our life. One may be cultured without any literary education. Gandhi found that in India culture and education are divorced from each other. Gandhi was advocating a cardinal principle of extension education i.e. extension should link education with culture of the people".⁹

Gandhi's theories of extension education and his experiments are the practical approach of extension education. It is evident that Gandhi was both a theoretician and a practitioner. Education for him meant the education of the entire nation and mankind. Education started for him even before a child is born and continues till the death; Education meant not only good, ethical, democratic, scientific, humanitarian and other high principles but also practicing all these. Gandhian model of extension education is the real solace to the contemporary Indian to address the issues of unemployability, skill gap, use of indigenous and sustainable technology and to bring self reliance. The need based principles of extension will be create self support society with skilled manpower and human resource to contribute to village, society and nation at large.

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**REFLECTION OF SOCIO-POLITICAL CONDITION OF KALAHANDI
REGION OF ODISHA THROUGH INSCRIPTIONS AND COINS**

Alakananda Gahir

RUSA Fellow
and Ph.D Research Scholar
Utkal University, Bhubaneswar

&

Prof.(Dr) Jayanti Dora

Profesor and Head
P.G. Department of History
Utkal University, Bhubaneswar

Abstract

Regional history plays a significant role in the reconstruction of the early history and culture of Odisha. To encompass the history and culture of Kalahandi district, it is imperative study to decipher inscriptions and coins of the region. Various sources are available which enable the historians to study and analyze the contemporary socio-political and economic conditions of the region. Among these, inscriptions form an important component, especially when we study the history of ancient and early medieval period. Inscriptions are considered most reliable and primary source of ancient history as they are generally devoid of myths and narrate the facts. Although we have huge number of literally sources, they are mostly religious in them a ties and suffer from chronological problems. It attempts to record the voice of history engraved on slabs of stone or pieces of metal. It presents interpretation of inscriptions of Kalahandi throwing a flood of light on the political, social, cultural and economic life under the different dynasties. The evidence gained from these epigraphs relates to the history or the structure as well as the political or social status of its builder, the provincial governor and the reigning of king. In some cases, they are the only source to supply the missing links in the political hierarchy or chronology, ignored in historical works. Coins gives valuable data about the genealogical history along with that religious affiliation, language etc. This paper attempts to analyze the socio-economic, political condition and religious affiliation through inscriptions and coins of Kalahandi region.

Keywords: inscription, coin, political and socio-economic conditions, chronology,

History is an attempt made by man through centuries to reconstruct, describe and interpret the human Past. To study and analyze the contemporary political and socio-economic conditions various literary and archaeological sources are taken care off. Amongst these, inscriptions constitute an important component, especially when we reconstruct the history of ancient and early medieval period. Inscriptions are considered most authentic source of

ancient history as they are generally devoid of myths and narrate the facts. Although we have huge number of literally sources, they are mostly religious in nature and suffer from chronological problem.

The study of inscriptions is known as Epigraphy. An inscription is anything written or engraved on stone, wood, metal, ivory plaques, bronze statues, bricks, clay, shells pottery etc. Epigraphy includes deciphering the text of inscriptions and analyzing the information they contain. It also includes paleography that is the study of ancient writing. Writing is one of the prominent aspects of culture which distinguishes human civilization from the animal world. Inscriptions are writing which are usually inscribed on metal or hard-stone. The study of ancient Indian inscription plays pivotal role for the study of ancient Indian history. Inscriptions have advantage of durability as compared to manuscript of texts. It supplies the most authentic data, and is more reliable than tradition and literature. Selected epigraphic records discovered from Kalahandi district are *Seal, Copper plates and Stone inscriptions*. The present research paper aims to highlight the regional history of Kalahandi district through inscription and coins. On the basis of deciphered inscriptions and coins a fresh interpretation has been given.

Seal Matrix of Budhigarh

A Seal-cum Pendant of Red Jasper stone recovered from *Budhigarh* site of Kalahandi district. It is a polished seal, bearing a floral motif. It is palaeographically datable to 2nd century A.D. The legend depicted on the reverse side. The legend is engraved in mixed script, *Kharoshti-Brahmi* and it contains *Prakrit* language. Epigraphist B.N. Mukherjee¹, deciphering this two-lined inscription and put his views that it is written in Prakrit as “*Jana dhapeta*”. Its sanskrit translation is “*Yajna Sthapeyita*” or in English founder or establisher of sacrifices. Pradeep Mohanty and Baba Mishra, the discoverers of this Red Jasper seal of Budhigarh think that it belonged to a person who was probably a patron of Brahmanic sacrifices. This clearly speaks about the socio-religious life of the Kalahandi region.

Teresingha Copper Plate Grant of Maharaja Tustikara

The Tersinga Copper plate Grant of Maharaja Tustikara consists of three plates. There is mention of two places of issue, viz., *Parvatadvaraka* and *Tarabhramaraka*- the former is found on the outer side of the first plate and the latter on the first side of the second plate. Both these grants have been engraved by two different writers as the letters are of two different types. The first grant was made by Shri Sobhini, the queen mother, while the second grant was made by Maharaja Tustikara who was a devotee of the goddess Stambheswari. The donee of both the grants was Dronaswami of *Kasyapa gotra*. The record belongs to the 5th century CE.

S.N.Rajguru, the editor of the inscription of Odisha has observed : Palaeographically the inscription belongs to 5th century C.E. The scripts, used on the obverse of the first plate differ from those of the reverse and also from the subsequent plates. The former characters seem to be earlier than second type of writing, although both refer to one and same grant

including the name of the donee. In fact, the inscription is a peculiar one. Against the usual practice of inscribing four sides the inner sides of the first and third and both sides of the middle- both the sides of all the three plates are inscribed. Secondly, only one line containing the name of the place of issue and the deity is found on the outer side of the third plate. About the inscription, S.N. Rajguru has said: we have neither any account at our disposal to trace the royal family to which he (Tucmikara) belonged, nor the period when he ruled although paleographically he may assigned to the 5th -6th century A.D. Further, it is not known whether he was a king of Mahakantara which name occurred only in the *Allahabad Prasasti*. It might or might not be that Maharaja *Tucmikara* belonged to the family of *Vyaghraraja*, but his capitals were at *Parvatadvaraka* and *Tarabhramaraka*. The latter is identified with the modern village Talabhamara, near the ancient site of *Belkhandi (Rajapadar)*. A large number of monuments of about the 7th century A.D. have been discovered from there. A place named *Amathaga a* is situated very close to Belkhandi where Terasingha plates of Tucmikara was discovered. It is, therefore, plausible that *Belkhandi* and *Amamhaga a* possessed of antiquarian value pointing to as far back as the 5th -6th century A.D. These places are located on the banks of the Tel river, a tributary of the Mahanadi.

It is an unique inscription, so far as it records two donations in the same charter. The record of the first donation is on the first side of the first plate and the second donation is on the second side of the same first plate, both with similar beginning *Svasti*. The place of issue was *Parvatadvaraka* in the case of first donation. Then the sectarian epithet *Stmbhesvaryâ-pâdabhakta* (of the king Tucmikara) is written. It is followed by the mention of sri sobhini, the Queenmother's daha-jvara² (burning-fever) (for the recovery of which) Debhoga kceetra is donated to BrahmaGa DroGasvami of Kasyapa gotra for as long as the moon and the sun endure. *Tarabhramaraka* was the place of issue in the case of second donation which is recorded on the reverse side of the first plate. Here the donor-king was described as *Stambhesvari Padabhakta* (devotee at the feet of *Stabmhesvari*) mata-pit[padanudhyata (devotee at the feet of parents) sri Maharaja Tucmikara in the second side. He addressed the assembled family-holders, the natives of the gift village Prastaravamaka about the establishment (or conversion) of the village into rent free village (praticmha-agrahara k[tva) and its donation to the same BrahmaGa DroGasvami for the increase of his religious merit, longevity and fame.

Pipalpadar Copper plate Grant of Nandarajadeva

A set of plate containing three pieces was recovered from Baradipada of Narla Block. The language of the plate is Sanskrit prose and the script is that of eastern variety of northern alphabet. Palaeographically, it is dated to 5th century A.D. The record was issued by King Sri *Nandaraja Deva* from *Parvatadwaraka*³. The locality called *Prajnatapadraka* was granted to three Brahmanas named *Bhanusarman*, *Saurisarman* and *Matraasarman* of various Gotra, carana and pravaras.

Mohangiri Stone inscription

The noted epigraphist Pandit Satyanarayan Rajaguru visited *Mohangiri* in the district of Kalahandi in 1948 and deciphered the two-lined inscription found on a stone pillar inside the Siva temple at Mohangiri. The temple on the Mohangiri contains two small inscriptions, one of *Sphitachandra of Mudgalakula* and the other mentions the name of the deity *Vyuha Bhairava*.⁴ Palaeographically the short inscription belongs to 6th century A.D.

Belkhandi Stone Inscription

A stone slab having a three-lined short inscription has been shifted from the archaeological site of Belkhandi in Kalahandi district and at present kept in Bhawanipatna Museum. It has been deciphered as (1st line) Pratyanta Purusa, (2nd line) Sri Vikara deva, (3rd line) ha by the epigraphist of Orissa State Museum Miss Bharati Pal. She is of the view that palaeographically the scripts of this inscription can be dated to circa 8th century A.D. She has deciphered another short two lined fragmentary inscription from Belkhandi, now in the Bhawanipatna Museum as (1st line) tavadaksana (2nd line) Sri Canda and dates it to the 9th century AD. It seems it to the 9th century A.D. Belkhandi site was already famous for the Saptamatrika temple and another temple dedicated to Uma Mahesvara, as evidenced from the archaeological finding. In 1946-47, S.N.Rajaguru examined yet another broken stone inscription, found that Belkhandi by Kedar Nath Mahapatra during excavation and come to know from the reading of the said inscription that the locality was called “*Gouraveni*⁵ - *Tata Visaya*”. From this he understands that the ancient name of the river Utei was Gouraveni.

Another stone Block encountered within the Belkhandi temple complex contains two Lines on either side of the boulder. Script on the front thus reads *Valmikagriva* and another line on the back is deciphered as *Veeradhamachhata*. Paleographically, it is assigned to the 7th century CE.

A three-lined inscription is found inscribed on a huge stone beam, at present lying on the ground near the Siva temple at Deypur (Kalampur) in Kalahandi district. This inscription has been deciphered as (1st line)...d Dharmmadhirasya (2nd line)... sa....bhumi (mi) - gra.....ca...(3rd line)sa (or na) (devayatana) parikrama” by the learned epigraphist Dr.(Smt.) Snigdha Tripathy⁶, who thinks that it is written in the nail-headed characters of the 8th-9th century A.D.

Stone Inscriptions at Manikyapuri Museum, Bhawanipatna

The monolithic stone pillar brought from *Amath* contains two lines of script. The first line reads—*Pratyanta Purusa* and the second one is—*Sri Vikaradeva*. Palaeographically it has been placed in the 8th century CE. Next inscription is found on another monolithic pillar recovered from Amath and preserved in the Manikyapuri Museum, Bhawanipatna. It reads—*Dhykula Prabha* and is assigned to 8th century CE. Lack of proper preservation has led to the damage of stone inscriptions found at the temple sites of Kalahandi. Two such

abraded inscriptions are documented. These, two line scripts are found on the pedestal of the Bhairava image at the back of the Junagarh Block office. Another damaged three lines script is found on the granite beam of the Siva temple of Deypur (Kalampur).⁷

Teresingha Copper Plate grant of Maharaja Sri Dakarisvara Deva, (NO.II)

The second set of copper plate was obtained from the same site Terasingha in 1990. Palaeographically it is assigned to the later part of the 8th century CE or the early part of the 9th century CE. It spoke about the land donation by the queen mother Vallini within the Tel river valley during the reign of her son *Sri Dakarisvara Deva* of the Rastrakuta family.

Teresingha Copper plate grant of Maharaja Bhanudeva(NO.III)

Another set of copper plate was found from the deserted settlement of Terasingha. Thus, this set of copper plate may be placed in the serial order no–III. There are altogether three plates tied by a ring, which is further secured by the circular seal of 3cm. The seal contain the figure of Garuda on the top, below of which runs the legend Sri Dakarisvara deva. Nonetheless the donor of the land was mentioned as Bhanudeva. The donated lands are Tilasringa Vataka and Kaniyaralla. And the donee was Brahmana Narayanadeva of Kausika gotra and Vajasenaya carana.⁸ It is also dated to the 8th century CE paleographically. The donor has been identified as no other than Sri Dakarisvara Deva of the Rastrakuta family.

Both the inscriptions begin with *Siddham Svasti* in maEgalacaraGam, followed by the place of issue *Udayapura*, identified with present village Udepur near Titilagarh of Bolangir district. It is a place of some archaeological antiquities of 8th -9th century A.D. Then in the description of the king, such epithets as *Parama-Mahesvara*, *Pit[u-mat]-padanudhyata* have been used. 17 copper-plate grant inscriptions issued by the Sarabhapuriya have been discovered. 11 of these inscriptions were issued from Sarabhapura, whose location is uncertain. The vast majority of the records have been found in present-day chattisgarh. The inscriptions record land grants made to Brahmins for the merit of the donor and his parents.⁹ All the inscriptions record grants, and comprise three rectangular copper-plates. The inscriptions are tied together by a ring, whose ends are joined by a circular seal. The outer sides of the first and third copper plates are blank in the early inscriptions, presumably as a safeguard against weathering from exposure. However, in several of the later records, the outer side of the third copper plate is inscribed, presumably to accommodate the large amount of text.¹⁰ All the inscriptions written in the so-called “*box-headed*” script. The tops of the characters appear to be small square-shaped boxes, resulting in this nomenclature. These characters are similar to the ones occurring in the Vakataka records. The language used in the inscriptions is Sanskrit, which appears to have been the dynasty’s official language. Prakrit influence can be noticed in some stray cases. The inscriptions begin with a symbol representing the word *siddham* (translated as “success” or “hail!”), followed by the word *svasti*. Next, the

records mention the place of issue, the ruling monarch and the land grant order. Finally, the inscription exhorts the future kings to uphold the grant, followed by imprecatory verses (to curse those who dishonour the grant) and benedictory verses (to bless those who honour the grant). The inscriptions end with the date and the name of the scribe.¹¹ The grants are dated in the regnal years of the ruling king. The date is mentioned in form of the regnal year, followed by the month and then the day. The days are numbered 1–30, and there is no mention of a fortnight. It is not clear if the month starts from the full moon day (*purnimanta*) or from the new moon day (*amanta*). The panduvamshi who succeeded the sarabapuriyas and adopted their style of inscriptions, followed the *purnimanta* system. Therefore, it is very likely that the months mentioned in the Sarabhapuriya inscriptions also followed the *purnimanta* system.

Narla Siva Temple Inscription

It was recorded by King Madana Mahadeva, a ruler of Kamala Mandala in Rama Vanan Rudra Samvatsara.¹² The date appears to be 1153 Saka era or 1231 CE. It is known from this record that the Kalahandi region was called Kamala Mandala in the 13th century CE.

Ichhapur Copper Plate of the Nagavamsi king Jugasai Deo–IV

The copper plate supports the donation of the village Karli to Gangadhar Raiguru for religious merit by Maharaja Jugasai Deo IV.¹³ The copper plate has been dated to 27th August 1823. The language of the plate belongs to early Odia prose style. Other peculiar characteristic of the writing is that some Odia alphabets and spellings used in the Odia Palm leaf manuscripts of the 18th / 19th century CE, is found frequent expression in this epigraphic record.

Kalahandi Darbar Copper Plate Inscription of Maharaja Jugasai Deo

It records that Maharaja Kumar Shri Kasai Singh, the Zamindar of Thuamal and Depur under Kalahandi, fought against the father of Buddha Biswambhara Deo and installed Biswambhara Deo on the throne of Jeypore, as a result of which Biswambhara Deo gave four Garhs, namely, Kashipur, Chadragiri, Bissamgiri and Mahulpatna to Maharaja Jugsai Deo of Kalahandi, who in his turn, granted these four Garhs to Kasai Singh who was to pay Rs. 700 as Malguzari per annum including Rs. 300 for the two garhs of Thuamal and Depur. The grant was issued on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of Magha in Samvat 1769, i.e., 1712 CE.¹⁴

Junagarh Dadhivamana Temple Inscription (Unpublished)

It was issued by Maharaja Juga Shah Deo from Kalahandi nagara, his capital granting some concession to the Brahman organization (Brahmapura). The record is dated in the Yuga era, 4819, i.e., 1718 CE. It may be noted that the name Kalahandi occurs for the first time in this record. The modern Junagarh was then known as *Kalahandi Nagara*.¹⁵

Coins

Coins, when corroborated with other evidences coming out from literay and epigraphic sources, confirms the fact concerning political economic and religious aspects of history. The entire series of coins found in any region of India, can be classified in two categories.¹⁶

1. Coins which are current in a particular area and which were the issues of local king or people.
2. Coins which were issued by kings or authorities of another region and which had travelled to the place of find through military inroads or trade and commerce or with the pilgrims.

The importance of coins in reconstructing the early Indian history of a country like ours, where no regular historical chronicles of the early periods are available, need emphasis. Numismatics, the study of coins and further it can be defined as medals, tokens or objects closely resembling them in purpose or from the Archaeological and Historical standpoint. It helps us to construct History and does not merely corroborate it. It throw very valuable light on different aspects of ancient Indian life, connected with Politics, Administration, Society, Economy, Religion, Art and Culture. But unfortunately, Numismatics has remained a neglected subject of study and research in Odisha. The Early History of Odisha has been more or less dealt with by a number of scholars such as A. Sterling, W.W. Hunter, R.L. Mitra¹⁷ and others since the 19th century and mainly based on the art and literature.

In 1966, a hoard of 539 silver punch marked coins (hoard no.8) was recovered from old and ruined fort *Asurgarh- Narla*.¹⁸ Out of 539 specimens of Asurgarh hoard, 69 belong to pre Mauryan period, 272 to the period of the Maurya Rule and the remaining 198 to the post-Maurya period. According to the information furnished by the local people one huge earthen pot, broken into pieces, was found on a small mound at the fort, after a heavy rainfall, with a large quantity of silver coins scattered besides the vessel. People of that locality collected these coins in baskets and sold them to the local merchants. The maharaja of Kalahandi, P.K. DEO, in 1969 handed over these coins, along with 13 other of same type to the Odisha State Museum. In course of the excavation of Asurgarh in 1973 as many as 50 punch marked coins were obtained out of which about a dozen are copper coins. Copper punch marked coins are rarely found in Odisha. A number of unfinished coins indicate that there was probably a mint for fabrication of punch marked coins at Asurgarh. During the excavation of Asurgarh a copper coin of Kanishka in worn out condition was unearthed at the level attributed to the 1st century CE. The coin contains the portrait of Kanishka in the obverse and the figure of the god MAO on the reverse. The imperial Kushan coin in association with Kushan pottery is a significant find at Asurgarh.

In recent time, Budhigarh or Budigarh Archaeological site has revealed four silver punch-marked coins. They are rectangular in size having thin to thick fabric. On the obverse of two coins, the punching of Sun and Six Wheels or Sada chakra and Taurin are marked. Bull motif is punched on the reverse of one coin. The reverse of another coin bears testing mark of trader or Guild. Some of the motifs on the obverse are abraded considerably. Yet, invariably these four coins carry five punching marks on the obverse. Except one coin, other reverses are left blank. One of these coins having thin fabric can be assigned to the Maurya period and the rest seems to belong to Post – Maurya period.

In the sphere of Indian numismatics of the sixth century A.D. the coinage of the Sarabhapuriyas occupies a place of regional importance. It not only throws definite light on the genealogy of the Sarabhapuriyas but also helps us to study the cultural and economic condition of south Kosala in the period under review. The strong Gupta influence over the same with its emblems of Eamkha, Chakra and Garuda is a positive proof of the expansion of Gupta culture over the length and breadth of the territory of Sarabhapura.

The Nalas who ruled over South Kosala in the pre-sarabhapuriya period, had also minted gold coins which have been found at Edenga in the Bastar district and at Kulia in the Durg district of Madhya Pradesh. ‘Varaharaja, Bhavadatta and Arthapati¹⁹ of the Nala family issued the same and all of them were Saivites, as indicated by the emblem of the bull on their coins. In the fifth century A.D. they started a process of minting which was followed by Mahendraditya and Prasannamatra in the succeeding century. Average weight of their coins was about 1% grams, four more gold coins of the Nalas are deposited in the Lucknow Museum. obverse of their coins they depicted a circle of dots on the circumference. Reverse of the Nala coins is always blank. Average length of the diameter of the coins is about 20 mm. The Nalas, who had inflicted defeat on the Vakatakas and spread their suzerainty influence as far as Prayaga, circulated these gold coins in south Kosala in the fifth century A.D.

Maharaja Narendra, the second ruler of the Sarabhapuriya dynasty, who is known to us from his Pipardula, Kurud and Rawan copper plates, expanded the territory of Sarabhapura. But he is not known to have minted coins in his own name. His Kurud plates indicate that he was still owing nominal allegiance to the Gupta overlord (*Parama Bhattaraka*). Sarabhapuriya charters reveal that Prasanna, father of Jayaraja alias Manamatra, was die next great ruler of the family. But the relation between Narendra and Prasanna is not known. Apparently there is a gap in the genealogy between Narendra and Prasanna. This gap can be filled with the help of numismatic sources. a good number of gold coins bearing the name of *Mahendraditya* has been found in different parts of Madhya Pradesh and Odisha. Around 130 gold coins of Mahendraditya have been found in the region of south Kosala. On the obverse of these coins inside the circle of dots along the edge there is the figure of Garuda standing on a horizontal line with wings spread out; to its upper

right are the crescent moon with a round dot above and a wheel (Chakra) encircled by dots; and to its proper left are the so called Sun symbol and a Counc (Sankha) with its opening to the right. Below the horizontal line is the legend “*Sri Mahendraditya*” in the box head variety of the Brahmi script of the southern class.

A close and comparative study of the coins of the Nalas, ‘*Mahendraditya and Prasannamatra*’ reveals that all of them were struck by the same device and in the same design. The only difference between the coins of the Nalas and those of Mahendraditya and Prasannamatra is that while Bull is embossed on the obverse of the Nala coins Garuda, flanked by counc and wheel, features on the coins of Mahendraditya and Prasannamatra. Varaharaja, Bhavadatta. and Arthapati were Saivite rulers who embossed the emblem of bull and crescent on their coins. But Mahendraditya and Prasannamatra were Vaisnavite²¹ rulers who embossed the emblems of Garuda, Sankha and Chakra on their coins. Mahendraditya and Prasannamatra, however, retained the emblem of crescent; probably as a relic of the Nalas, in their own coins.

Rise of Mahendraditya seems to have brought about a period of boom, in the economic history of South Kosala. Maharaja Narendra’ s policy of territorial expansion was followed by a period of economic prosperity indicated by the gold coins of Mahendraditya. This period of boom, in the economic history of Sarabhapura reached its zenith in the time of Prasannamatra²² who is referred to simply as Prasanna in the seals of the Sarabhapuriya charters.

In British Museum catalogue No.32 of the Battle axe type coin of Samudragupta, for example, shows 72.5 percent of pure gold. The gold coins of Prasannamatra are found scattered in various parts of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Berhampur in the Cuttack district, Nehena in the Kalahandi district, Bhandara in the Chanda district mark the provenance of the gold coins of Prasannamatra. The coins of Mahendraditya and Prasannamatra not only indicate the high economic standard of the kingdom of Sarabhapura. The find spot of these coins in the district of Cuttack also reveals that in course of trade the merchants of South Kosala carried those coins to the coastal tract of Utkala. The representation of Garuda/ Sankha and Chakra on them also reveals that the Sarabhapuriya²³ kings like most of the great Gupta kings embraced Vaisnavism, probably under the influence of the teachers of the Pancharatha school. Thus, the Sarabhapuriyan coins throw light on the economic condition range of political supremacy and the religious faith of the royal house of South Kosala in the sixth century of the Christian era.

Gangavamsi monarchs of Odisha circulated gold coin. Two other repouse gold coins were found at Junagarh in the preceding years. They bear the characteristic features of the same type of coins issued by the Sarabhapuriya kings like Gajalaxmi motif, and circle of dots around the border. In recent time, the early medieval Fort site of Dadpur–Jaggaldepur has revealed six such gold coins. Two such Gold coins are also recovered from Junagarh.

Gangavamsi gold coins are usually label Ganga-Fanam or Panam in Odisha. On the basis of their shape, size and fabric these gold coins are classified under three types. Type-1 looks like a bringal seed. It weight ½ rati equivalent to 0.92 grains. In type – 2, coins having 1 rati in weight or 1.83 grains are also included. In type – 3 coins having 2 rati in weight or 3.66 grains are grouped. All these coins are die–struck. They are thin to thick fabric and spherical and oblong in shape. They all carry motifs on the obverse. The motifs are animal, mace, crescent moon, bull, kuthara, inverted triangle and running rabbit etc. type –2 obverses carries a prominent Navagungara²⁴ portrait, which is a unique finding in the cultural history of Odisha. On some of the coin’s reverse, horizontal Odia Sa letter flanked by either dots or numeral are marked. Silver and Copper coins of Sultanate of Delhi and Silver coins of British period are abundantly found across Kalahandi.

Conclusion

The above discussion shows that though different standards of coinage were in circulation under different dynasties, gold and silver constituted the most popular currency and were used along with metallic coins as media of exchange during early medieval period. It had been noticed that most of the inscription began with Svastik symbol, which might be considered as auspicious one. Sanskrit and Prakrit mostly used, which shows the commonness with north Indian script and language with that of Odisha. The coin also shows the religious affiliation of the king with different sects such as the Sarabapuriya king devoted towards Vaishnavism. They have used different symbol and weights and motifs such as animal, mace, bull, crescent moon etc. we can have an idea about the territorial expansion through the circulation of coins. we have seen that land donation also made by the queen in 8th century, which was a significant aspect in early medieval Odisha. Thus the inscriptions and coins of the Kalahandi region reflect the socio-economic and political life of this region in particular and state of Odisha at large.

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**RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN THE IDEOLOGY OF KINGSHIP :
Epigraphic Evidence of the Nalas, Tunga and Bhanjas of
Early Medieval Odisha**

Binod Bihari Satpathy

Assistant Professor

Department of History

Bharathidasan Govt. College for Women,

Puducherry

Abstract

The early medieval Odisha witnessed emergence of several tribal family as ruling dynasties in its hinterland forest and mountainous tracts. Among many the Nala, Bhanja and the Tunga ruled for centuries and contributed immensely for the growth of culture and history of Odisha. The royal grants of the Nalas, Tungas and Bhanjas are rich source of information for their history. Copper plate grants of these ruling dynasties inform us about the economy, society, religion and polity. One of the important aspects found expressed in the copper plate charter is the religious elements in the ideology of kingship of the above-mentioned ruling families. This essay is an attempt to understand the religious element in the ideology of kingship of the Nala, Tunga and the Bhanja dynasty.

Key Word: Copper Plate, Tribal, Religious, Puranic.

In the hinterland region of Odisha, the early medieval time witnessed emergence of few ruling tribal families, who later claimed the status of the kshatriyas, established kingdom and ruled for long time. Prominent among many of those ruling families were the Nalas, the Tungas and the Bhanjas. The copper plate charters of these tribal royal houses inform us the rich contribution they made towards the development of Odia culture and society.

The Nalas emerges in the political horizon of eastern India towards the later half of 5th century C.E. The Nala dominion flourished in the extreme down south west of Odisha. They ruled from their headquarters at Pushkari in the modern Umerkote tahsil of Nabrangpur district in Odisha. The Nalas, claimed their descent from the Nisada king Nala of the epic fame. Inscriptional and numismatic evidence inform us about rulers such as Arthapati, Bhavadatta, Skandavarman, Varaharaja, Nandanaraja, and Stambha. Some rulers of this dynasty issued gold coins with the dynastic emblem of bull-and-crescent. The Brahmanical system thrived during the rule of the Nala kings, who patronized Shaivism, Vaishnavism, and Shaktism. The Nalas were probably supplanted by the Panduvamshi and the Sharabhapuriya. Later a Branch of this dynasty known to have ruled a small area in present-day Chhattisgarh in the 7th or 8th century C.E.

In the 7th-8th century C.E, the middle Brahmani valley witnessed the rise of the Tungas and the principalities of Yamagartta mandala. Yamagartta mandala comprised a territory covering Pallahara, Talcher and Angul sub-division of Angul district, Hindol sub-division of Dhenkanal district and parts of Keonjhar district. The Tungas were feudatory rulers of the Bhaumakaras. Copper plate grants discovered from Talcher and Bonai are the primary sources of information for the Tunga family. Some important rulers of this family are Khadgatunga, Vinitatunga, Salanatunga and Gayadatunga. The Tungas had assumed the epithet *Ashtadasha-Gondra-Madhipati*. Scholar opined that the Gondrama comprised the eighteen tracts of land which seemed to be the same as Astadasa-atavi-rajya (Eighteen forest chiefdoms). The Tungas called themselves, the masters of Gondramas and assumed the honorary title of “Gondramadhipati”. Adoption of epithet like Paramamahesvara and donation of land grant to Brahmins attested the fact that the Tungas were patrons of Brahmanical religion.

The Bhanja Kings of Odisha ruled from two separate territories namely Khinjali-mandala and Khijjinga Kotta. Both the historical territory falls in the modern Keonjhar, Mayurbhanja and Baudh area. The common origin of the rulers of these two kingdoms is not yet satisfactorily proved. Copper plates issued by the rulers of all the branch of Bhanja family reveal their history up to 12th century C.E.

Several epigraphic and archaeological evidence of these ruling families are recovered from the area of their hegemony. Interestingly, the seals, invocations, and the eulogistic introduction (*prasasti*) of the royal grants of the Nalas, Tungas and Bhanjas are rich source of information for their history. There is unanimous opinion among historians that the Nalas, Tunga and Bhanjas are of tribal origin. Through the process of legitimation, appropriation, and patronization these ruling families established, expanded and governed their dominion for centuries. Religious affiliation, society, economic activities, and other aspects of these ruling family and their times are visible in their sources.

The Nalas: There are no seals on the Nala copperplate grants. In the Kesaribeda plates, Arthapati is referred to as “Mahesvara-Mahasen-Stisrsta-rajya-vibhavah”¹. This epithet may be understood to signify “one upon whom Mahesvara (Siva) and Mahasena (Skandakarttikeya) have bestowed the glory of royalty.” It might also mean that the king dedicated his wealth and realm to these deities.²

The later Nala kings Skandavarman and Vilasatunga were Vaisnavas, whilst the early Nala rulers were Saivas. The Podagadh stone inscription of Skandavarman begins with a eulogy of Hari (Visnu), describing him as the subject to be conquered, the victor, and victory itself. It records the construction of a temple (pada-mula) for Visnu, the distribution of a sizable sum of money to officiating priests, and the gift of a holding (pura) for Purusa.³ An imprecatory verse in the inscription is against any transgression of the king’s order and states that he who conforms to the good path followed by kings will find refuge with the god Vasudeva⁴. Skandavarman is credited in the Padagarh inscription with driving his adversaries back with bravery and populating

the abandoned town of Puskari⁵. It is possible to hypothesise that the Vaishnava conversion, the building of a Vishnu shrine in the Nalas' former capital city, and the gifting of land for this shrine were all connected to the pivotal political events mentioned in the Podagardh inscription.

The first five verses praise and invoke the blessings of Hari (Visnu) in Vilasatunga's Rajim stone inscription. The first verse is almost completely destroyed; the second verse portrays Visnu's churning of the ocean of milk; the fourth verse takes the form of a dialogue between Hari and his spouse (Laksmi); and the fifth verse describes Visnu as a dwarf. The king Nala is described in the verse as having lotus-like feet that were kissed by the bee-like crest jewels of a group of hostile monarchs who submitted to him, surpassing Smara, the god of love, in the splendour of his form. Prithiviraja is said to have been created by the creator after he saw the globe tarnished by the Kali age's misdeeds in verses 8 and 9. The subsequent verses eulogize Prithiviraja's son Virarupa, and refer to Vilasatunga, probably a son of Virarupa. The Rajim inscription, like the Podagadh inscription, records the erection of a Visnu temple.

The Bhanjas of Khinjali-mandala: The couchant bull symbol and the king's name in the genitive case are consistently present on the seals affixed to the copperplate grants of the Bhanjas of Khinjalimandala. The crescent moon, the crescent moon and sun/star, and the lotus are additional symbols that can be seen. The Kumurukela plates of Satrubhanja open with a verse that invokes Visnu, the deity whose chest is held by his consort Laksmi⁶, then another lyric that invokes Siva in his dreadful form as Bhairava, the terrible destroyer who destroyed the demon Andhaka⁷. The grant itself is said to have been made in the name of the lord Visnu (Visnu-bhattarakam=uddisya)⁸. The subsequent grants of the Bhanjas of Khinjali-mandala invoke Siva as Bhairava (in the same manner as in the Kumurukelaplates). The Singhara plates of Ranabhanja, however, state that the gift recorded therein was made in the name of the lord Narayana (Sri-Narayana-bhattarakam-uddisya).⁹

Early Khinjali-mandala Bhanjas asserted that they belonged to the egg-born lineage (andaja-vamsa-prabhavah). These inscriptions refer to Satrubhanja of the Kumurukela and Sonpur plates as a parama-vaisava in terms of the regal epithets. These two sets of plates make reference to the several Bhanja monarchs whose authority resulted from their association with Laksmi¹⁰. Ranabhanja, the son and successor of Satrubhanja, is referred to as a parama-mahesvara in his copperplates¹¹. Further, the grants issued by this ruler so long as he bore the title of ranaka and the epithet samadhigata-panca-mahäsabda describe him as having obtained the favour of the goddess Stambhesvari (Stambhesvari-labdha vara-prasida)¹². The reference to Stambhesvari is conspicuous by its absence in the Baudh plates of Ranabhanja¹³, dated in his fifty-fourth and fifty-eighth year, wherein Ranabhanja is given the title maharaja.

Satrubhanja and Rapabhanja are described in their inscriptions as delighting their people by their munificence¹⁴. Satrubhanja is compared with Brhaspati in the Sonpur plates¹⁵ while Ranabhanja's inscriptions compare him with Svayambhu¹⁶.

For any motif or tale to be seen, several of the seals affixed to the copperplate grants of the later Bhanjas of Khinjali-mandala are too weathered. Where the impressions are still distinct, the lion pattern is present, along with the king's name in the genitive case. The grants of this set of kings begin with an invocation to Hara (Siva), honouring his dazzling third eye that extinguished the god of love, and to the Surasarita (Ganga) streams that descended from Siva's locks¹⁷.

He is referred to as a parama mähesvara in the grants of Nettabhanja Kalyanakalasa. A parama-mahesvara as well was Silabhanja Tribhuvanakalasa. In his inscriptions, Vidyadharabhanja Amoghakalasa is not given any sectarian titles. Netabhanja Prthivkalasaa, Vidyadharabhanja's son and successor, as well as Satrubhanja Tribhuvanakalasa and Netabhan Tribhuvanakalasa, are all referred to as parama-vaisnavas. The title parama-mähesvara is bestowed upon Satrubhanja Mangalaraja. The later Bhajas of Khinjali-mandala are described in all of their inscriptions as having extinguished the Kali era's impurity or stain (nirdhuta-kali-kalusha, nirdhuta-kali-kalusa-kalamasah).

The seals attached to the copperplates of the Adi-Bhanjas of Khijjingakotta usually bear the name of the king in the genitive case and the motifs of the couchant bull (described as a humped bull in the two Adipur plates of Narendrabhanja). Other motifs that make their appearance are the lotus, crescent moon, conch, and trident. The copper medallion attached to the Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhaja has been described as bearing in bas-relief svastika, a bull, and a goddess. The invocation in all the copper plate grants of the Adi-Bhanas (except the Adipur plate of Durjayabhanja, which does not contain any invocation) is to Bhava (Siva), consort of Bhavnvi, the omniscient lord of all the worlds, the destroyer of the fear of rebirth, who knows the various techniques of meditation. One of the Adipur plates of Narendrabhana prefixes this invocation with the mangala "Om namo Avighnesvaraya"¹⁸. The Khichhing plate of Madhavabhanjadeva describes the grants as having been made in the name of the lord Sankara (Sankara-bhattarakam-uddisya),¹⁹ The Kesari plate of Satrubhanja makes a similar statement (bhagavad-bhattaraka-Sankaram samuddisya)²⁰. The Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhanja states that the grant it records was made in the name of the lord Mahadeva, ie. Siva (bhagavantam Mahadeva-bhattarakam-uddisya).²¹

One of the Adipur copperplates of Narendrabhanja describes this king as one whose sins have been removed through his worship of the feet of Hara (Hara-carana-aradhana-ksapita-papah),²². The other Adipur plate refers to him as a bee at the lotus feet of Siva (Siva-carana-saroja-satpadah),²³". Narendrabhanja's prasasti compares him with Smara (the god of love) in appearance and with Yudhisthira in his protection of the earth.²⁴ "The Bamanghati plate of Ranabhanja, the Bamanghati plate of Rajabhanja, the Khichhing plate of Mahanmadahavabhanjadeva, and the Ukhunda plate of Prthvibhanja describe these kings as ones whose sins were destroyed by their worship of the feet of Hara, ie. Siva (Hara-carana-ardhana-ksayita-papah),²⁵ and the Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhanj contains the same epithet with a minor variation (Hara-carana- Aradhana-ksapita-papah)²⁶. The comparisons with Smara

and Yudhisthira occur in the Bamanghati plate of Ranabhanja, the Bamanghati plate of Rajabhanja, the Khichhing grant of Mahanmadahavabhanja, and the Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhanja. The Kesari plate of Satrubhanja contains no sectarian epithet, but does refer to Satrubhanja's father Ranabhanja's intent on the worship of the feet of Hara (Hara-caran-aradhana-tatparab)²⁷ Satrubhanja is compared with Yudhisthira in his being intent on the protection of his people.²⁸

The founder of the Adi-Bhanja line, Ganadandla Viabhadra, is claimed to have miraculously sprung from the egg of a pea-ben at the ancient hermitage of Kotyakrama, where he was raised by the sage Vasistha²⁹, according to the Adipur plates of Narendrabhanja. Except for the Adipur plate of Durjayabhanja, this story appears in all of the Adi-Bhanja inscriptions. A different version of the Adi-Bhanja dynasty's history may be found on Satrubhanja's Kesari plate. It alludes to the 88,000 sons of Virabhadra, who were safeguarded by Ramadeva and elevated to the position of Lord of 88,000 villages as a result of their prayers³⁰.

The Jurada plates of Nettabhanja's seal depicts an amrita-kalasa, or jug of nectar. The inscription requests the help of Lord Narayana, the deity who is Sri's favourite, destroys the Daityas, and grants his followers the blessing of deliverance (*moksa*). The magnificent discus (*cakra*), mace (*gada*), sword (*asi*), conch (*sankha*), and bow (*dhanus*) of the deity are mentioned, as well as his steed, the Garuda. Narayana is also referred to as the kula-devata-tutelary deity of the kings born in the distinguished Bhanja lineage. In his prasasti, Nettabhanja identifies as a parama-vaisnava³¹.

The seal on the Baud plates from Salonabhanja depicts a vase in relief; in contrast, the seal on the plates from Kanakabhanja is only shaped like a lotus. Unlike Kanakabhanja, whose inscription does not begin with an invocation to the god Narayana ('Om namo Narayanaya'), Salonabhanja's does. In his copperplate grant, Salonabhanja is referred to as a parama-vaisnava and praised for giving away land, cows, God, and gain as well as for having built numerous lakes and embankments³². No sectarian slurs are attached to Kanakabhanja. In his Baud plates, he is compared to Visnu, Rudra, Sunasira (Indra), Soma, Marut, Dhanada, Madana, the sun, the earth, and Dhisana (Brhaspati), and it is believed that he embodies the traits of all the Gods³³. Kanakabhanja is, further, described as the great-grandson of Salonabhanja, who is praised for his good works including making provisions for food and water for travellers, laying pleasure gardens, and digging water channels. He is said to have performed severe austerities, after which he retired to Varanasi, entrusting the affairs of state to his competent ministers.³⁴ The inscription eulogizes the kings of the Bhanja family for their munificence in making grants of land.³⁵ The Baud plates of Salonabhanja and Kanakabhanja trace the ancestry of the Bhanja lineage to the sage (muni) Kasyapa.³⁶

There is no seal on the Yasabhanja Antirigam plates. The name of the king is inscribed on a chunk of copper that is found on the Jayabhanja Antirigam plates. There is no prayer to a god on either set of plates. In his inscription, Yasabhanja is not given any sectarian titles. He is defined as a devotee of Rakesa (Siva) and the many twice-born, as well as someone who is constantly

working to uphold the dharma³⁷. The gift of Jayabhanjadeva mentions him as a worshipper of Si and Visnu as well as a follower of Sankara (Sri-Sankara-bhaktiman)³⁸. Rayabhanja, the father of Jayabhanja, is compared to Sakra in bravery and is characterised as being deeply involved in the worship of the gods and the twice born (dvija-deva-pujana-rajah)³⁹. Jayabhanja is compared in this inscription with Madana (in beauty), Kama (in munificence), Suyodhana (in pride), and Sakra (in bravery).⁴⁰

The Tungas: Most Tunga copperplate grants have a seal with the king's name in the nominative or genitive case. The seals feature a variety of motifs, including the sun, moon, a bull confronting a tree, and a couchant deer facing a tree. One of the Talcher plates of Gayadatunga (no. 1), which begins with an invocation to Somardhadharin (the deity weaning the half-moon, i.e. Siva), the god who is omniscient, the manifestation of knowledge, who possesses divine vision, and who is the means for achieving excellence, is the only Tunga inscription to contain an invocation.⁴¹ All the Tunga inscriptions endow these kings with the epithet parama-mahesvara. Mahaparvata, the place of issue of three of the Tunga grants (nos. 2,3, 4), is described in the inscriptions as being purified by the sound of the Rig, Sama, and Yajur Vedas and by the smoke of sacrificial fires, and as a place where the abodes of the *risis* were made joyous by the accumulation of smoke arising from the oblations being incessantly made by the twice born⁴².

Conclusion

The bravery and military prowess of monarchs, their physical attractiveness, and the other beautiful traits with which their personalities were blessed are recurring themes in the prasastis of the Nalas, Bhanja, and Tunga kings of early mediaeval Odisha. Yudhisthira in particular, as well as other mythical kings like Puru, Dilipa, Prthu, Nala, Nahusa, Mandhata, Bharata, and Bhagiratha, are frequently compared to the Mahabharata heroes. The Kali era is one of the topics that appears frequently in the prasastis of the kings of ancient and early mediaeval Odisha. The monarch may be praised for being the one who removed the Kali era's stain (or something similar), therefore battling the forces of degeneration.

A few inscriptions praise the king as the defender of his subjects and upholder of dharma. Some monarchs' inscriptions list the gifts they gave, which included land, gold, food, cows, and elephants. With references to the Mahabharata, the Dharmasastras, the Manu Smṛti, and the ancient seers (*risis*), the land gift documents always include a sequence of benedictory and imprecatory passages extolling the act of granting land to Brahmanas. The Russelkonda plates of Nettbhanja give the king the epithet of parama-brahmanya (greatly devoted to the Brahmanas). Apart from the references in the royal *prasastis*, the evidence of several hundred records of royal grants indicates that throughout the period under review, ritual giving (*dana*), particularly the giving of land (*bhumi-dana*) to Brahmanas and religious establishments, was the pious activity par excellence for kings. A modest number of inscriptions mention the rulers' construction of temples. While the other alludes to the king's building of embankments and lakes (Baud plates of Salonabhanja). Most of the kings of these dynasties claimed to be Saivites or Vaisnavites. The

goddess Stambhevari, who is mentioned in the Terasingha plates of Tustikara, and some of the grants of the early Bhajas of Khinjali-mandala are two notable examples of autochthonous deities that are mentioned. Although she is no longer usually symbolised by a post, this goddess' cult is an example of the Hinduization of an indigenous deity, and it is still widely practiced in western Odisha.

Around the fifth century C.E., the monarchs of Odisha made the first use of special Vaisnava or Saiva sectarian epithets, and soon after, this practice spread widely. It should be observed that while parama-mahesvara, the typical Saiva epithet for kings, exists in the inscriptions, parama-vaisnava supplanted parama-bhāgavata at the beginning of the period under consideration.

Some of the royal inscriptions' links with particular sects are inclusive rather than exclusive. As a result, the Kumurukela plates of Satrubhanja, one of the earliest Bhanjas of Khinjali-mandala, begin with an invocation to both Visnu and Bhairava, allude to the king as a parama-vaisnava, and state that the grant was made in the name of the Lord Visnu. The Ranabhanja's Singhar plates begin with a Bhairava invocation, refer to the king as a parama-mahesara, and say that the grant was made in the name of the Lord Narayana. This king is described as a devotee of Sankara as well as of Sri and Visnu in the Antirigam plates of Jayabhanja, one of the Bhanjas of Kolada.

Among the more notable dynasties of early mediaeval Odisha, the Adi-Bhanjas and Tungas exhibit a continuity in sectarian affiliation. It should be emphasised that all of these rulers identified as Saiva. Narayana is mentioned as the kula-devata of this particular branch of the Bhanja family in Netabhanja's Jurada grant. The sectarian epithets adopted by the various kings of a particular dynasty are not consistently used in many instances, and the epithets parama-mahesvara and parama-vaisnava appear to alternate without apparent cause other than possibly reflecting the shifting personal preferences of the kings who bore them.

However, in other cases, shifts in the monarchs of a particular dynasty's sectarian affiliation may be connected to specific political developments. Referring to certain political events, such as the restoration of Nala power following a string of military setbacks, possibly at the hands of the Vakatakas or the Chalukyas, it is possible to discuss the political background of the Nala rulers' switch from Vaisnava to Saiva affiliations.

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**COMMUNICATION, NEGOTIATION AND ASSERTION OF THE
TRIBAL IN THE KINGDOM OF SAMBALPUR IN EARLY
MODERN WESTERN ODISHA**

Dr. Brundaban Mishra

Associate Profesor
School of Libera Arts and Humanities
Woxsen University
Hyderabad

Abstract

The aim of the paper to discuss ‘why [reason] and how [manner]’ did the tribal communicate, negotiate and assert themselves against the authority of state and caste Hindu in the kingdom of Sambalpur in the early modern Orissa. The state and her caste Hindu agents interfere over the socio-economic-cultural domain of the tribal in early modern western Orissa. Consequently the tribal asserted politically, socially and culturally themselves to preserve their as old distinct character. The finding of the studies suggest that, as a homogeneous unites, these tribal were politically challenging the authority of state, socially claimed themselves at par with the contemporary high caste Hindu Varna society and culturally denounce the influence of the Brahmanism and Hinduism.

Key Words: Sambalpur, Chauhan, Orissa, Hinduism, Vaishnavism

Introduction

Akio Tanabe in his recent book argued that, early modern India is characterised by the ‘deepening and expansion of marketisation, the penetration of state power into localities, greater connectivity in socio- cultural–economic life and increasing utilisation of natural resources’¹. While the colonial state involved in conquest of the Kondh Tribes of Orissa a senior administrator favoured the promotion of market and narrated “...to promote their intercourse with us and by giving them new tastes and new wants²[which] will, in time, afford us the best hold we can have on their fidelity as subject, by rendering them depend on us for what will, in time, became necessity of life”³ what Flexi Padel called the ‘conquest over their minds’⁴ Bishwamaya Pati⁵, Jayanta Sengupta, Ranjana Padhi⁶ and Priti Puspa Mishra⁷ are also in their work narrating the dominance of the State over the personal space of the tribal in Orissa during the modern period. A brief survey of their works suggested that the State in a way or around intervene in the jurisdiction of the tribal people of Orissa in the domain of economy, culture, language and politics and so on and so forth. Who were

those tribal people? Why did the pre modern State always wanted to conquer the cultural domain of the tribal? Did the tribal have had any voice to resist the penetration of the State power in their hegemonic domain?

The colonial officer H. H. Risley states

A tribe as we find in India is a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name which as a rule does not denote any specific occupation; generally claiming common descent from a mythical or historical ancestor and occasionally from an animal, but in some parts of the country held together by obligations of blood-feud than by the tradition of kinship; usually speaking the same language and occupying, professing, or claiming to occupy a definite tract of country. A tribe is not necessarily endogamous⁸ While Sumit Guha quoted Morton Fried, who pointed out that 'the numerous communities described as tribes could not be defined independently of the state systems with which they were associated. He also went on to demonstrate that attempts to classify them as primordial communities would not stand up to critical scrutiny⁹. Frederik Barth suggested that ethnicity was one of the ordering principles of pre-modern societies, that it served to organise day-to-day interaction and political relations. His study of Swat (north-west Pakistan) showed how this might operate, and result in a 'caste-like' ranking of communities quite independent of Brahmanical principles of purity and pollution. It offers us therefore some idea of how relations might be organised by communities peripheral, by chance or choice, to the Brahmanical world.¹⁰ While accessing the contradictions Tribes and State in the case of Sardar Sarvor Project the Report of the Independent Review states that, 'great length of time during which tribe and non-tribe . . . coexisted on the Indian subcontinent. Archaeological evidence indicates that it was at least 2,000 years ago when the Aryan 'newcomers' began to invade from the north. It is in relation to them that the adivasis, the original dwellers, constitute an aboriginal or tribal population. The adivasis resisted integration; they moved across large geographical area a result of economic, administrative and military upheavals, in a web of change that spread over centuries¹¹. Orissa is home to 62 tribes, officially referred to as Scheduled Tribes (STs), having distinct languages, customs and practices. They constitute 22.8 per cent of the population and form a major social group in a number of districts.¹² The region of Sambalpur constituted 4919.9 square miles of British India out of which Bargarh Tahsil constitute 832.8 square miles and Sambalpur 749.8 square miles, Chandrapur-Pandampur zamindari 293.5 square miles, Malkhroad zamindari, 29.1 square miles, other seventeenth Zamindari of Sambalpur 2659.7 square miles and government forest 355.0 square miles and the total population of Sambalpur Zamindar was 3,95,023.¹³ Different tribal groups used to inhabit the region of Sambalpur. The tribes mostly inhabited were the Savaras, Munda, Jhara, Gonds, Binjhals, Kondh, Bhuiya, Kuda, Kurmi, Kishan and Oraon. Among those tribal the Binjhals, Gonds, Savaras, Kondh and Bhuiya were the five dominant tribal groups who were extensively spread over five different geographical zones in the Chauhan kingdom of Sambalpur. The Binjhals, Gonds and Sahara were mainly dominated across the border area

of the Chauhan territories that were adjacent to Chhattisgarh in the vicinity of Patnagarh. The Kondh and the Bhuiya were inhabitants of the northern and western part of Chauhan territory adjacent to the feudatory states of Boudh and Bamara respectively.

Establishment of the Kingdom of Sambalpur

The present modern Odisha was earlier known as various names- Kaling, Utkala, Ordra, Koshal.. Historical political development of Orissa was characterized by the gradual integration of varied scattered nuclear areas under the control of single dynasty through 'concentric integration' as rightly pointed by Prof. H. Kule¹⁴. From 4th c to 12th c different states were formed by various dynasties like Mathara- Saindobha- Bhuakara- Somavamsin and Ganga in the transregional region of Orissa. With the establishment of the Gang dynasties in 12th the 'first stage' of state formation came to an end. However in middle of the 16th c the second stage of state formation began in the coastal and western Orissa. The Chauhan of Sambalpur and Bhoi of Khurda formed their respective states in two different geographical locations of Orissa. It was during the middle of the sixteenth century that the Chauhan power of Patnagarh in western Orissa was divided into two groups with the older one moving to Sambalpur to establish a kingdom there.

Geographically the kingdom of Sambalpur was situated in the upper lands of Orissa and ethnically it was represented by different tribal groups such as the Binjhals, Gonds, Sahara, and Kondh etc. In order to establish over the region the state developed a relationship of 'incorporation without hegemony' with the majority of tribal groups. The state incorporated them through matrimonial alliance as well as accepting their gods and goddesses as tutelary deities. In return the state gained military help, economic support and political loyalty from the tribal. Apparently over the region in a natural process some element of 'Kshatriyaization' and 'Rajputnization' has also occurred in the caste Hindu central state and tribal principality respectively. However the tribal only accepted the authority of the state in a nominal form and they never succumbed to Brahminical authority and formal administrative hierarchical system of the kingdom.

The whole kingdom can be divided into two layers. The outer layer that includes a cluster of eighteen feudatory states and were geographically represented over the region of modern eastern Chhattisgarh and western Orissa. The inner layer which was further divided into eighteen chieftains were geographically represented the undivided modern district of Sambalpur of Orissa. The outer layer was further divided into two groups comprised of small principalities. The Patna state was the first principality included Khariar, Sonpur, Bindranagarh, Phuljhar or Deuri, Borasambar, Boudh and Athamallik. The second group comprised of Sambalpur state, which included Bamanda, Bunnaee, Gangapur, Sarguja, Raigarh, Bargarh, Reharcole, Sarangarh, Chundurpoor and Sakti. These states were under the control of tribal groups like Gond and Bhijhal caste groups and some of them were under the Rajput¹⁵. These states were nominally paying small tributes called 'takoli' [tribute] at the time of peace and supply army in the time of war to the Chauhan authority.¹⁶

Like the out layer the inner layer too represented a clusters of eighteen small heterogeneous principalities. Out of the eighteen chiefs, twelve's were belonged to Gond tribe [Kolabira, Malkharoda, Mochida, Kodabaga, Laira, Loisingh, Phuljhar, Kharsal, Phar Sirgida, Bhidan, Patkalunda and Mandomahal], two chiefs were of Binjhal tribal background [Bora Sambar and Ghes], two chiefs were of Chauhan Rajput lineage, [Rajpur and Barpali] offshoot of the royal family, one by a Rajput family [Rampur], one by a Kulta [Bijepur]. As a matter of fact there were three kinds of principalities found within the inner layer, 1) The first category was ruled by the heterogeneous groups or the tribal principality, 2) The second category was directly ruled by the Chauhan proper at Sambalpur or the royal territories and 3) the third categories was governed by Chauhan prince at Barpali and Rajpur or prince domains. On the basic of their geo-political distribution and socio-religious practise these heterogeneous groups could be divided into two broader categories; tribal communities and nontribal communities. While the tribal communities represented a considerable part of the Chauhan territories the immigrated non-tribal limited to the directly control royal territories. Within the two classified communities one could find a substantial presence of different clan groups. The state appropriately comprehends the social complexity and cultural intricacy of the two communities. In sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the tribal were freely enjoying their cultural autonomy over the tribal principality of the Chauhan. The state did not interfere in the social and cultural dynamism of the tribal community rather accepted some cultural norm and religious regulation. Their god and goddess were institutionalized over the royal territories. The state identified herself with their regional cult of Saktism of western Orissa. The state constructed many temples for the local mother goddess.¹⁷ On the other hand the local tribal communities were economically self sufficient and culturally independent from the influence of the Chauhan authority. They have had their own set of social rule and regulation. They distinguished themselves from the yoke of the Hindu caste communities of the royal territories. They were mostly followed non- Brahmanical egalitarian religious system and interest in mystery control of natural power. In the eighteenth century when the state as well as the non-tribal cast Hindu communities interfered over the political-cultural autonomy and economic base of the tribal communities they vociferously resisted. They poetically- socially- culturally asserted themselves against the state and the caste Hindu. They politically took an arm arms against caste Hindu, socially began projecting themselves at par with the ruling dynasties and culturally never accepted the influence of Brahmanism. These tribal groups were never inclined to Brahmanism but accepted some influences from certain aspects of Hinduism, especially Vaishnavism. They believed upon the concept of egalitarianism of Vaishnavism that very much suit to their interest. They do not believed upon the hierarchical priest hood system of Hinduism. They had their own community priest who was a believer of Vaishnavism. One of the dominant tribal groups such as Binjhals obtained KARNA MANTRA [religious initiation] from a Bairagi or Vaishnava saint from their own community.

Tribal and Non tribal Communication and Negotiation

The kingdom of Sambalpur was mostly inhabited by different tribal groups such as the Savaras, Munda, Jhara, Gonds, Binjhals, Kondh, Bhuiya, Kuda, Kurmi, Kishan and Oraon. The Binjhals and Khonds inhabited mainly the south-west, the Gonds were prominent over the Bargarh plain and the Munda tribes such as Kols, Kuras, Kisans and Khariars were confined to the east of the Mahanadi of the kingdom. According to the 1891 census report these tribals represented thirty five percent of the total population of Sambalpur district¹⁸. They served as ruling chiefs in Sambalpur. Out of the eighteen chiefs, twelve's were belonged to Gond [Kolabira, Malkharoda, Mochida, Kodabaga, Laira, Loisingh, Phuljhar, Kharsal, Phar Sirgida, Bhidan, Patkalunda and Mandomahal], two were Binjhal [Bora Sambar and Ghes], two were Chauhan Rajput, [Rajpur and Barpali] offshoot for the royal family, one by a Rajput family [Rampur], one by a Kulta [Bijepur]. These tribals had been provided their military support to the Chauhan over the region. They were enjoying high position in society and were economically prosperous. They played dominant position in the social set up and adopted different profession for their livelihood. While some of them were mainly engaged in agricultural activities as well as statecraft, others officiated as priests of temples. Most of them hold small portion of land in the broader part of the Sambalpur kingdom. During 17th century the state did not interfere over the political and cultural domain of the tribal. Rather the state encompasses their culture by making matrimonial alliance, sharing space in the royal coronation and adopting their god and goddess as tutelary deity. The tribal people like the Gonds, Binjhal, Kondh, were accepted as priests in different religious institutions over the royal territories. The tribal gods like Lingo and Burha Deo of the Gonds were worshiped by non tribal. The Gonds and Binjhals served as the *Jhankar*, the village priest and watchmen of the village and the Sahara served as the priest of local goddess. The tribal people also received fair treatment in the royal coronation by the Chauhan kings¹⁹. Their daughters were accepted as wife by the ruling Chauhan monarch. All the matrimonial alliances that the Chauhan developed during their rule either the bride belonged to the Gonds or the Binjhals or the Kondh communities, the dominated castes of western Orissa or the ruling feudatory chiefs²⁰.

There was migration of caste Hindu communities like Kulta and Agrahia and Brahman to the kingdom of the Sambalpur during 17th century. They were mainly settled down in and around the capital town of Sambalpur. A process of tribal and non-tribal cultural communication seen over the royal territories. Though there were no empirical evidence about the movement of the caste Hindu to the different part of the Chauhan territories yet depending upon the British land revenue settlement report of 19th century that is discussed somewhere in the body of the text it is safely assumed that there was a gradual process of penetration of the caste Hindu people towards the tribal domain of the Chauhan started during 18th century. The state implicitly supported the penetration of caste Hindu over the region. In 18th and 19th centuries the state face the invasion of Maratha followed by the

British. There was internal struggle among the different section of the royal house and also state official for the throne of Sambalpur. Thus the state became weak and fragmented. Different sections of the state worked to score political mileage out of the crisis.²¹ The caste Hindu who had already been started penetrates over the tribal domain implicitly supported by the fragmented section of the state. When Rani Mohan Kumari Dei, who succeeded in 1827 'to quell rebellion and to reward her adherents she alienated much of the land to revenue of the State, and in excessive piety also parted with much land to priests and temples'.²²

The penetration of caste Hindu brought some socio-economic-cultural changes over the tribal principalities of the Chauhan. While on the one hand the tribal were economically colonized by the caste Hindu on the other the caste Hindu culturally colonized by tribal. Thus a more intense interaction took place between the caste Hindu and tribal of the region that produces a distinct culture in the subsequent century. Various tribal festival and religious practice were adopted by the immigrated caste Hindu of the region. One of them was the festival of *Nuakhai* or the eating of new rice that adopted by the caste Hindu from the majoritarian tribes of the region.²³ The festival of *Nuakhai* presently represented as an integral part of social-cultural life of the caste Hindu of the region. They identified themselves with this tribal festival rather than any other so called caste Hindu Oriya festival of coastal Orissa like *Raja* [A four day celebration in the month of June for the mother goddess who undergoes menstruation]. Similarly the caste Hindu who settled over the region as an agriculturist also adopted the tribal festival of *Pus Purnima* or the full moon day in the month of December-January.²⁴ Apart from the cultural adoption the caste Hindu too adopted some tribal religious ritual in there life. The influence of tribal black magic in the life of the caste Hindu people of Sambalpur was clearly narrated by T. Motte as follows:

The common disease of the country is a violent fever, the first symptom of which is being light-headed. The doctor first enjoins the patient to vow a sacrifice to Sumbhute, the deity of the place, to expiate her wrath. He then proceeds to exercise the patient gently if his fever be mild, but with greater violence if he be light-headed. They then employ five or six men to hold the patient in a sitting posture, while the doctor jabbars over a form of words, blowing in his face at each period. This form of words, blowing in his face at each period. This provokes him very much: he swears, abuses, and curses horridly; this is all placed to account of the devil in him. They aggravate his rage by holding a burning horse's hoof, so that all the smoke goes up his nostrils. He grow outrageous, till, quite exhausted by the struggles he makes to extricate himself from those that hold him, he falls down almost insensible; and a profuse perspiration succeeding, they cover him close to encourage it, which carries off the fever. He sleeps usually twelve hours, and awakes so much emaciated as is surprising. Thus he is cured of his madness, by means which drive a same man out of his senses. If his patience is so much exhausted that he cannot struggle, the doctor pronounces the devil to be too much for him.²⁵

From the above evidence and by looking the present social-cultural practice like, fair, festival and marriage ritual of the caste Hindu of the region it would be safely presumed that there was an inter-cultural communication between the caste Hindu and tribal. The caste Hindu did not try to put forward their own culture over the tribal rather assimilated them with the tribal culture. It was because of the interaction of two communities a distinct culture developed over the region that was proportionately different from the culture of coastal Orissa.

Tribal Assertion

Free from the political authority of the Chauhan and cultural chauvinism of caste Hindu, the dominant tribal groups were rejoicing for their old culture. They distinguished themselves from the caste Hindu material culture of the royal territories. They very much identified themselves with the colorfulness of nature and primitive religion of the region. These tribes were worshipping their respective mother goddess. For instance the Binjhals worship Bindubasini in Borasambar, Gond, Burha Deo in Sambalpur tract and the Dimal, Stambeswari in Sonpur. The British account of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provides some interesting accounts on their marriage.²⁶ The marriage of the Binjhals was somehow different from that of the Gonds. They usually avoided marriages during the four months of the rainy season, *Chait* (March) because it is inauspicious, *Jeth* (May) because it is too hot and *Pusha* (December) because it is the last month of the year.²⁷ They generally avoid marriage between spouses having blood relationship. However they were allowed for remarriage of widows and divorced wives²⁸. Among the Konds the girls had the right to choose her own husband and it was commonly practiced in Sambalpur²⁹. They were enjoying their leisure with various dances with indigenous musical instrument such as *Dhol*, *Nisan* and *Tamki*. Most of their dances were connected with the worship of deity such as Karma in the honor of Karamsane. Some of the other dance such as Sua where young Binjhals girls move from village to village singing and dancing with drummers; Dalkhai celebrated during the time of Dashara where young girls of Binjhal, Saura, Kuda and Mirdha tribes stand in a line or in a semicircular pattern and sing songs; Koisabadi performed by only the male of Gond tribes³⁰. Thus the tribal of the region had an own cultural identity.

The state started interfering over the politico-economic and social-cultural domain of the tribal in the latter half of the 18th century and first half of the 19th century. The tribal slowly faced economic suffocation in the hand of the state agent like caste Hindu Gontia. For instance at the time of internal struggle for the throne of Sambalpur against Rani Mohan Kumari [1827-1833] the chief supporter of discontented pretenders were always Gond, Binjhal and Kondh Zamindars who found their privilege treated and their land encroached by caste Hindu favorites of the queen³¹. It is said locally in the Sambalpur district that the Jhankar, a member of the aboriginal tribes is looked on as the descendant of the founder of the village and the representative of the old owners who were ousted by the Hindus immigrant.

He worships on their ancestral behalf the indigenous deities with whom he naturally possesses a more intimate acquaintance than later Hindu immigrant.³² The Brahman who was brought by the Chauhan king from the coastal part of Orissa and the two prominent agriculturists groups Kulta and Agrahia migrated from Patnagarh and Chhattisgarh respectively penetrated over the tribal territory.³³ These non-tribal groups gradually started controlling over the economic independency of the tribal. The Hindu cultivators caste group like Kulta and Teli of Bargarh tehsil of royal territories started moving to the adjacent tribal Zamindari of Borasamber.³⁴ They slowly but steadily had driven out the Binjhal who were the principal inhabitant in over the Anga basin of Borasamber Zamindari. The Kulta and Teli groups further even move to the western part of the Borasamber Zamindari. According to Lieut Kittoe who visited Sambalpur in 1837 “. . . the Brahmins possess the best land, and obtain his section to all kinds of extortion; as a specimen which , I am informed that Zamindari leases are renewed every years, and on these renewals or on the occasions of lands being transferred to another, the party favored has to be given a “*Salami*” or fee, and nothing short of gold is accepted; the farmer in their tern grind their royts; the effects of such an unjust and oppressive system are very well apparent.”³⁵ According to land revenue settlement report of Sambalpur district 1906, most of the number of Gointia in Bargarh tehsil were caste Hindu such as Kulta [236] and Sambalpur tehsil was Brahman [376], Agharia [34], Teli [30], Mali [17] where as the number of tribal Gointia were Gond [26], Sawar [16], Binjhal[10], Kandh [4]³⁶. Nevertheless between 1817 to 1849 the royal family of Sambalpur donated enormous number of religious and service grants to their priest and adherents over the kingdom³⁷. Accordingly to land revenue settlement report of 1906, most of the manager of individual village both in Khalsa [royal territories] and seventeen Zamindaris were now Hindus: Kultas [691], Brahmas [575], Agharias[241], Teli [156], Malis [69], Binjhals [275], Gound [386], Gandat [12], other castes [318].³⁸ Thus the tribal gradually loss the ownership of land in the hand of caste Hindu immigrant probably in 19th century though the process of acquisition could be trace back to 18th century.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century the authority of the Chauhan of Sambalpur was challenged by their own Diwan on the one hand and the Marathas on the other. In the subsequently century there was an internal struggle for the throne of Sambalpur by royal dissident. Nevertheless in the beginning of 19th century the British gradually penetrating over Sambalpur. On the other hand because of those crises there was an increased of autonomy of the tribal. With the increased of the autonomy of the tribal and facing the difficulties of penetration of the caste Hindu agent to their area side by side the opportunity of the Chauhan losing their power, the tribal, started revolting against the state in general and the caste Hindu agent particular in 19th century. They capitalized their as old military strength, economic independency and reach cultural base against the state.³⁹ These tribal were well known for there as old guerrilla warfare and acquainted with local topography.⁴⁰ They primarily confronted with caste Hindu who had been ousted them from their village. They organised

their tribal militia in the remote part of the land against the economically prosperous caste Hindu communities such as Kulta and Brahman. The Gonds Zamindar of Bargarh rose against Narain Sing [1833-1849] of Sambalpur who had been ousted in 1821 in favor of a Kulta.⁴¹ Subsequently Balabhadra Deo, the Gond Zamindar of Lakshanpur organized his brethren and revolted against Narain Sing of Sambalpur. He killed Balukeswara Dash one prominent Brahman Gointia of Katapali near Baragah⁴² Lieut Kittoee who visited Sambalpur in 1837 in his travel accounts mention such kind of revolt led by one of the Kondh Zamindar “ . . . a large village called Kundeswari belonging to Chudaro Beearer, a Kund chief who holds the adjacent hill lands (more by might than right) from the Baumurra Raja; this man has few followers, who, united in one interests, set all the neighboring Zamindars at defiance, and mark frequent plundering excursion into the plains; he is much dreaded by all. The Kunds are however industrious, and if treated kindly, peaceable; but such is the dislike the Ooreyas [*cast Hindu immigrant*] entertain towards them and the consequent annoyances and tyranny they exercise over them when they perchance fall into their power, that they are obliged to retaliate in self-defence; this is the case throughout the tributary mehaults in which there are Kund village” .⁴³ When Surendara Sai (1809- 1884) one descendent of old Chauhan house started revolt against the central authority of Sambalpur and assure not to interfere over the political and cultural domain of the tribal, they were join hand with him to retain their as old political and cultural autonomy⁴⁴. The British who suppressed the revolt of Surendra Sai in 1862 comprehended the grievance of tribal. They were left free by the British to enjoy their as old autonomy in return of some periodical tribute. ⁴⁵

Apart from the politically resistance to state the tribal of Sambalpur asserted themselves socially and culturally against the caste Hindu. ⁴⁶ They culturally and religiously delighted for their tribal status and denounce the authority of Brahmanism and Hinduism. They socially projected themselves that they were not inferior to their contemporary caste Hindu groups of the locality. They claimed to stand at par with their contemporary high class Hindu Varna society. Some of the tribal ruling chief like Binjhal declared socially themselves at par with the ruling Rajput chiefs of Chauhan. Unlike central India they did not take the help of any Brahman community for their social stratification. For instance, Rajendra Singh Bariha, the Binjhal Zamindar of Borasamber in his twenty-century work *Nrusingha Mahatmya* claimed the Rajput origin of his tribes.⁴⁷ Even sometimes they claimed that the Brahmans were inferior to them and they performed their own rituals independent of them. The Raja Gonds started to ware the sacred thread and continued to perform rituals for themselves. Similarly the Binjhals performed their religious ceremony independently.⁴⁸ Even some of them was not took food from the hand of the highest clan of Brahman. ⁴⁹ Thus their assertion could be considered as a social and cultural reaction to the caste Hindu groups of the locality who usually perceived that socially they were inferior to ruling Chauhan house and culturally inferior to Hinduism. Nevertheless they had also antagonised Hinduism. However they accepted some influences from certain aspects of Hinduism, especially Vaishnavism.

The dominant tribal groups such, Gonds, Binjhal and Savara were accepted one Vaishnava or Bairagi who belonged to their tribal groups as their religious head. They were deeply inclined to non-Brahmanical Hindu religious practice like Tantricism and animism. The 1881 census report of Sambalpur shows a considerable chunk of tribal populous of Gond, Khond, Binjhal, Khura, Kol and Savara were animists.⁵⁰ The Binjhal believe firmly in spirits of the dead and his influence over their life. To eradicate the influence of spirits they took the help of a gunia or black magician. Contemporary work like *Shashisena Kavyam* talks about the predominance of Tantricism over the region. The Kavya shows how Madana (Jyana Devi) a tribal women abducted Ahimanikya, the prince [caste Hindu] by turning him into a ram in the day and man in the night by her tantric power (*Jânadei Malugi Kariachi Mota Bandhi, Kalameg a Kari Gambhirîre Achi Bândhi Ye, Râtra Paharake Gale Karai Manuc,,ya . . . Puc,,pa Gom,,ie Ghenilâ Hastara Nâke SuE,,ghâi Khosilâ Mathâra Deba ÚuG,,imâhe MeGâ Hoilâ Kumara Ye.*)⁵¹ The story suggested that the tribal were more influential and by their mysterious control of power they succumb caste Hindu. Similarly this incident irrevocably shows a cultural supremacy of the tribal over the caste Hindu.

Conclusion

The above discussion throws adequate light on the tribal volte-face from co-operation to assertion in the kingdom of Sambalpur. It was true that they played prominent role over the region and were the major political components under whose edifices the kingdom nurtures. The state precisely estimates their presence over the region and did not interfere over their socio-cultural-religious domain in 17th century. Rather the state incorporated them by making matrimonial alliance, sharing space in the royal coronation and adopting their god and goddess as tutelary deity. When the state implicitly started interfering over their politico-socio-religious domain they asserted themselves. Apparently the newly caste Hindu agriculturist immigrant such as Kulta and Agriha of the royal territories acted as an agent of the state to gradually controlled over the economic as well as cultural base of the tribal. Thus the tribal started revolting against the political authority of the state in general and cultural chauvinism of the caste Hindu immigrant particular. They politically emerged as a reactionary centre that supports the discontent voice against the state. Socially they started to project themselves at par with the contemporary high caste Hindu Varna society. Culturally they denounce the influence of Brahmanism and Hinduism. However they accepted some influences from certain aspects of Hinduism, especially Vaishnavism. They very much followed non-Brahmanical religious practise like Tantricism and animism. Thus the assertion of tribal could be considered as a social and cultural reaction to the caste Hindu groups of the locality who usually perceived that socially they were inferior to ruling Chauhan house and culturally inferior to caste Hindu religion.

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11. Sardar Sarovar: *Report of the Independent Review* (Chairperson: Bradford H. Morse) (Bombay: Narmada Bachao Andolan, n.d.), p. 63
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14. Hermann Kulke(ed.), State in India, 100-1700, ' *The Early and Imperial Kingdom: A Processural Model of Integrative State Formation in Early Medieval India* ', Oxford, 1995.
15. The Gond represented Bindranugarh, Phuljhar or Deuri, Sarguja, Raigarh, Bargarh, Sarangarh and Sakti. The Bhinjhal represented Borasambar and the Chauhan represented Khariar, Bamanda, Sonpur.
16. L.S.S. O,Malley, Reprint 2007, *Bengal District Gazetteer*, Sambalpur, New Delhi, p.169. In the year 1867 the 'Takoli' of the feudatory states of Sambalpur were as follow, Patna: Rs 562,

- Sonepur: Rs. 7300, Bamara: Rs. 340, Raighar: Rs 530, Sarangarh Rs: 1312. *The Patna State Gazette*, January 1935, Vol-1, Issue-1, Balangir, p. 4.
17. Following are the different deities which were adopted by different Chauhan rulers in western Orissa as their state deities: Patameswari of Patnagarh, Samalaiswari of Sambalpur, Sureswari of Sonpur, Manikeswari of Kalahandi and Rakta Mauli of Khariar.
 18. F. Dewar, *Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Sambalpur District 1906*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1908, P.8.
 19. The Binjhals Zamindar of Borasambar used to perform the tika ceremony on the occasion of the accession of the Chauhan king of Patnagarh the dependency state of Sambalpur.
 20. Balabhadra Deva 1561-1591 married the daughter of Gangapur, Bamanda, and Banai who belonged to the Gond or Binjhal community.
 21. Chhatra Sai (1657-1695) was succeeded by his son Ajita Sing (1695-1767) whose period witnessed the active involvement of the Diwan in the state policy on the one hand and Maratha inroads on the other. For more detail see Motte T., "A Narrative of a journey to the Diamond Mines at Sambalpur in the Province of Orissa", Asiatic Annual Register, L.S.S O Malley, Reprintin 2007, Bengal District Gazetteer Sambalpur, New Delhi, pp.42-43.
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 26. For more detail see R.V. Russell and Hira Lal, *The Tribes and Castes of Central Province of India*. London, 1916,
 27. R.V. Russell and Hira Lal, *The Tribes and Castes of Central Province of India, Vol. II*, London, 1916, p. 332.
 28. A widow said to be marry the younger brother of the deceased husband, the elder brother considered as father-in-law. "She is not compelled to marry the younger brother, but she is often induced to do so, if the deceased has left any real property and no male issue; for a son by such a second marriage succeeds to the property left by the first husband. If, however, she does not

- consent, she is at liberty to marry some other person.” L.S.S. O Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers, Sambalpur*, New Delhi, Reprinted 2007 p.79.
29. R.V. Russell and Hira Lal, *The Tribes and Castes of Central Province of India, Vol. IV*, London, 1916,p.468.
 30. N. Senapati and B. Mahanty, *Orissa District Gazetteers: Sambalpur*; Orissa Government Press, Cuttack, 1971, pp. 128-130.
 31. According to settlement report of Sambalpur “ From 1817 to 1849 the throne of Sambalpur was held by three king and a queen. Throughout this period although British influence prevented Mahratta aggression, there was constant internecine strife between the Recognized rulers and pretenders to the Raj. These disturbance were at their worst under the Rani Mohan Kumari Dei, who succeeded in 1827. To quell rebellion and to reward her adherents she alienated much of the land to revenue of the State, and in excessive piety also parted with much land to priests and temples. Religious grants had been common enough before her, but they were never before so lavish.” Dewar, F., Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Sambalpur District, 1906 (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1908) P.7.
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 33. The royal territories of kingdom of Sambalpur could be divided into two parts the Bargarh tehsil and Sambalpur tehsil.
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 37. According to land revenue settlement report of Sambalpur 1926, “ it was found that in many zamindari village in possession of thikadars the latter had made grants of land as dan-muafi or naukri muafi to Brahmans and other.” Hamid, Khan Bahadur Muhammad, 1926, Final Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Sambalpur Districts, Government Printing, Patna, p.74.
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rites for agriculture and other economic pursuits. The Binjhals know for their slash cultivation . Majority of them in the jungle trace are proprietors of village and independent cultivators. Their religious believes is primitive. They worship arrows, swords and spears and Dungan Deveta [Mountain Goddess].

40. During 19th century the tribal insurgents of Sambalpur operated their guerrilla warfare against the British. Captain Leigh succumbed to their guerrilla warfare in December 1857. N. Senapati and B. Mahanty, Orissa District Gazetteers: Sambalpur, Orissa Government Press, Cuttack, 1971, P. 75.
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42. S. P. Das, 1962, *Sambalpur Itihasa*, (in Oriya), Sambalpur, p. 337.
43. Kittoe Lieut. M. “Account of A Journey From Calcutta Via Cuttack And Pooree To Sambalpur, And From Thence to Medinipur Through The Forest of Orissa”, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 8, May 1839, p. 380.
44. After the death of Maharaj Sai in 1827 the British allowed his widow Mohan Kumari to succeed him. Thus there were was an integral struggle started among the different claimants for the throne. One among them was Surendra Sai who belonged to the old Chauhan house of Khinda. The policy of queen towards the tribal was regressive and she distributed land to priest and temple. Apparently Surendra Sai explores the situation and assures the tribal to provide as old politico-cultural independency. When the Mutiny took place in 1857 ten Zamindar (Kolabira, Kodabaga, Ghes, Paharsirgida, Patkulunda, Rampur, Bheden, Khursal, Mundo-Mohaul and Machida) joined hand with him against the British in Sambalpur between 1857-1862. Sir Bampfylde Fuller, Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Sambalpur District of the Central Province (1885-1889), (Bombay: Education Society Stem Press, 1893) p.21.
45. The tribal Zamindar of Phuljhar pay Rs 1000, Borasambar Rs 650, Ghees Rs 50, Kolabira Rs.100, Loisingh Rs. 100, Kodabag Rs. 40, Machid Rs. 10 and Rampur Rs. 150 as annual tribute to the British authority. Sir Bampfylde Fuller, Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Sambalpur District of the Central Province (1885-1889), (Bombay: Education Society Stem Press, 1893) p.55.
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47. Rajendra Singh Bariha, the Binjhal Zamindar of Borasamber in his twenty-century work Nrusingha Mahatmya claimed the Rajput origin of his tribes. Narayan Pruseth (ed.), Nrushimha Charita (in Oriya), Padampur, 1982.
48. The Binjhals did not employ the Brahman in any of their religious ceremonies. L.S.S. O Malley, Bengal District Gazetteers, Sambalpur, New Delhi, Reprinted 2007, p.77.

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50. According to the 1881 census report of Sambalpur the follower of animists constitute 46,652 in number. L.S.S. O Malley, Bengal District Gazetteers, Sambalpur, New Delhi, Reprinted 2007 p.64.
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BONDAGE, LIBERATION AND WELL-BEING: THE JAIN PERSPECTIVE

Dr. Kalyani Sarangi

Asst. Professor
Department of Philosophy,
Rama Devi Women's University,

Abstract

The very concept of liberation presupposes its logical correlative, i.e. bondage. Bondage means the chain of repeated births and deaths and the consequent sufferings. However, human being finds himself in the worldly turmoils and finally obtains the supreme spiritual state of liberation. Bondage is due to *karma* which unites the soul with matter. *Jainism* maintains a rigid ethical code of conduct to follow which gives importance on the practice of *panchabratas*. Along with this, the practice of *tattvatraya*, *guptis* and *samittis* pave the path for peaceful and blissful state of liberation. When the last particle of *karma* is exhausted, both soul and matter dissolved and the soul regains its own potentiality. Well-being follows as a logical corollary of liberation. Right knowledge helps one to transcend the self-centeredness and transforms into a better human being. But if we interpret liberation as something religious and well-being as social then, it is open for debate. The convergence is possible if there will be a paradigm shift from social order to a moral one which believes in harmonious coexistence.

Key words- *Ajiva*, Bondage, *Jiva*, Liberation, Well-being

Background

Religious and cultural pluralism thy name is India. Unity and difference is the quintessence of her religious and cultural pluralism. In Indian religious tradition, both orthodox and heterodox systems co-exist side by side. As we have the orthodox systems like *Samkhya*, *Yoga*, *Nyaya*, *Vaisesika*, *Mimansa* and *Vedanta*, similarly we have also the heterodox systems like *Carvaka*, *Buddhism* and *Jainism*. *Jainism* emerged as a manifestation of an 'Ilextraordinary development of thought and belief because of the transactions of different views of life and doctrine professed by different people. *Jainism*, being realistic and relativistic pluralism, believes in the objective classification of things of the universe that comes under two broad categories, namely, *jiva* and *ajiva*. *Jiva* is a philosophical term used within *Jainism* to identify the soul.

Nature of Jiva

Jiva is conscious and living whereas *ajiva* is non-living and non-conscious. It is similar to *Atman* or *Purusa* of other schools of Indian philosophy. “What knows and perceives, various objects, desires pleasure and dreads pain, acts beneficially or harmfully and experiences the fruit thereof, that is *jiva*.¹ On the other hand, *ajiva* is devoid of all kinds of consciousness. It is the object.² Cognition, feeling and conation are the qualities of *jiva*. It is the knower, enjoyer and the agent. It can freely do right or wrong actions and acquire merit or demerit. It is the master of its own destiny. It freely enters into bondage and freely obtains liberation. The Jaina philosophy believes in qualitative monism and quantitative pluralism regarding *jiva*. As all the *jivas* are essentially alike, therefore, qualitative monism becomes inevitable. Consciousness constitutes the very essence of *jiva* (*chetanalaksanojivah*)³ and the entire universe is filled with them. The innate nature of the soul consists of Infinite Faith (*ananta darshana*), Infinite Knowledge (*ananta jnana*), Infinite Power (*ananta virya*) and Infinite Bliss (*ananta sukha*) which are called as *anantah chatustaya*. This innate nature of *jiva* is never destroyed but it gets obscured by external causes. The soul is always found to be coextensive with the body it occupies. It contracts and expands according to the dimensions of the body. The *Jivas* are divided according to the number of sense organs they possess. The peculiar feature of Jainism is that everything, i.e. starting from the solar system to the dewdrop to the inorganic objects like metals and stones possesses soul. Further, Jainism believes in infinite number of *jivas*, which are of three kinds⁴.

- 1) *Nityasiddha* (Ever perfect)
- 2) *Mukta* (Liberated)
- 3) *Baddha* (Bound)

No Indian philosophical system has any issue regarding the first two categories of *jivas*. The perfect and freed souls are beyond the perils of birth and death. These souls are absolutely pure and have nothing to do with the worldly affairs. Now the moot questions here are: how the soul which is originally ever pure becomes impure? How the soul gets into bondage? How can one get liberation? And, what is the means of liberation? The bound souls are otherwise named as *sopadhijivas*.^{5, 6} They are different from *nirupadhijivas*⁷ and subject to illusion, wandering in the circle of existence through repeated births and deaths. Because of ignorance, the *jiva* wrongly identifies itself with *ajiva* or matter, which obscures the characteristic essence of the soul.

Karma as the link

Karma, according to *Jainism*, is said to be the link between the soul and not-soul. Here, *karma* is to be understood as some form of impurity because of its material nature and not in the sense of *karma* doctrine.” Whatever is perceived by the senses, the sense

organs, the various kinds of *sariras*, the physical mind, the karmas etc are *murta* or figured objects. These are all *pudgala*.⁸ *Karma* is due to passions, and passions (*Lobha*, *Krodha*, *Mana* and *Moha*) are due to ignorance. These *karmas* are subtle matters, infra-atomic particles and imperceptible. When karmic particles penetrate the soul, these are transformed into both the destructive (*ghatiya*) and the non-destructive (*aghatiya*)⁹ *karmas* which build up a special body called *karmansarira*¹⁰ and it does not leave the soul until its final emancipation. They obscure the innate blissful nature of the soul. It is the *karma* that works in such a way that every change must leave an impression which is retained to serve as the foundation for future action. The ignorance of truth and four passions i.e. *lobha*, *krodha*, *mana* and *moha*, which are sticky substances, where karmic particles stick, attract them towards the soul.

Bondage and Liberation

Bondage not only means the union of the soul with the not-soul but also the dominance of not-soul over the soul. When there is the actual flow of karmic particles towards the soul, the state is called as *Asrava*. *Bandha* is what binds the soul to the body. It may be caused by passions, carelessness, attachment, false belief, unbridled thoughts, words and deeds. The highest ideal can be realized only by stopping the flow of the karmic particles. This state is called as *Samvara*. It is the state of blocking the channels. No doubt, fresh karmic particles are blocked or not allowed to enter into the soul, but what's about the already accumulated karmas? *Nirjara* is the state, where the accumulated karmic particles, entirely wears out and it is followed by the complete freedom or absolute liberation of *jiva* from *ajiva*. When all the obstacles that stand on the way are removed, the soul shines in its pristine nature.¹¹ This is the highest state, which is known as *moksa*. Throughout, we have the distinction of *bhava* and *dravya* changes. The thoughts determine *karma*.¹² In the final state of *moksa*, the soul regains its own potency.

Jainism makes it clear, that the practical key to the highest state, is only through self-effort. It opposes to the fatalist theory that all things are fixed by nature. But Indian ethics and value systems believe that the individual can make or unmake himself in the world and the soul also maintains its own identity even in highest condition. Here, self effort is to be understood as freedom and freedom presupposes self determination. Self effort consists of the practice of *tattva trayas* (*Samyak darshan*, *samyak jnana*, *samyak charitra*), *panchavratas* (*Satya*, *Asteya*, *Ahimsa*, *Aparigraha* and *Brahmacharya*), *Guptis* (*Kayo*, *Mano* and *Vakya*), *Samittis* and ten *dharma*s. Here, *dharma* is to be understood in the sense of virtue. There is no opposition between the three jewels rather one gets its fruition in the other. Right faith paves the path for right knowledge and both of them culminates in right conduct. *Panchavratas* refer to the cardinal values of any sound ethical system. *Ahimsa* is the central teaching of the ethics of Jains. How violence only multiplies violence; which we see from the war between Russia and Ukraine. Nonviolence in its gross form indicates

abstinence from physical hurt or damage. It in its subtler form is expressed in having no intention of harming any life form knowingly or unknowingly. It makes room for animal rights and environmental ethics too. Ahimsa in its subtlest form is best expressed in living harmoniously with whatever life brings to us. “*Ahimsa param tapah, ahimsa parama dharma*”. It has the positive implication of love and care. The value of truth is to be practiced in terms of ahimsa. Truth is to be told or practiced by keeping the spirit of the principles at one hand and the situations on the other hand. It also maintained a safe distance from untruth and bitter truth (*apriyasatya*). The practice of *asteya* and *aparigraha* make Jainism more accommodating and allow others to live and grow. Live and let live becomes the credo. Besides this, we have to have control over our actions, thoughts and words. Further, through careful attitude, we can exhibit respect, mutuality, coexistence and ten virtues like compassion, sacrifice, softness, forgiveness and so on.

Liberation and Well-being

The problem is to find out a balance between two contradicting but interlinked value-orientations; liberation and well-being. However both of these value-orientations can be described as ‘Jain values’ whose main proposition is that, for Jainas the pursuit of well-being is a legitimate religious goal in its own right and not merely a deviation from the soteriological path. It is argued that, the path of liberation (*Moksa-Marga*) which is often presented as the core or essence of Jainism, and well-being, do not represent specifically mendicant and lay values but universal value orientation within Jainism, which are found among both.^{13,14}

Well-being designate states of one’s material embodiment. It is marked by health, wealth, mental peace, emotional contentment and satisfaction is one’s worldly endeavors in consonance with the members of the society. Cort¹⁵ characterizes the relationship between these terms as family resemblances.¹⁶ These group of words have a shared feature. The polytheistic nature is an indicator for the proper understanding of the concept.

The value of well-being may not be found in textual form as a consciously formulated ideology but merely as a value; it may be indirectly expressed in religious practices. Liberation is the highest value of ‘religion’ where as well-being is the value of ‘society’. Max Weber views that, there is only one absolute value in Jainism, i.e. liberation, which acts as an obstruction to economic well-being. But it is also argued that, the accumulation of material wealth is indirectly recognized as a value in Jainism, because it is seen as the fruit of good *karmas* (*Punya*). Merits can be acquired only through morality. However, accumulation can be related dynamically to renunciation in a single life just like the constant movement of the pendulum. This is how the doctrine of karma helps one to transform the socio-economic order to a moral one. Hence, well-being primarily is socio-moral rather than material. But in practice both liberation and well-being are complementary to each other. Following the practices of liberation, we can proceed towards well-being and the pursuit of well-being

helps one to be nearer to liberation. Well-being is a state of harmony, a state in which one's social, moral, spiritual interactions and responsibilities are properly balanced.

Hence, well-being is not only a symbolically expressed value, rather a consciously expressed ideology (like liberation). Jain laity wants to achieve a balance between this worldly and the other worldly. Just as without well-being there would be no *moksamarga*; similarly without *moksamarga* there would be no well-being either. Though this seems overly idealistic even from a *Jain* point of view, there is no doubt that, the wealth of new ideas offered in the NEP-2020 provides the deepest insights into the Contemporary India in particular and the world in general.

Conclusion

Jaina conception of bondage and liberation give us a humanistic and holistic view of life. In whatever position we may be situated in the society, by the practice of self-efforts (*swa-prayatna*), self-restraint (*swa-samyama*) and self-discipline (*swa-anusasana*) not only the individuals grow into excellence but also the society evolves into par excellence. Good life and good society are not far away. Therefore, let us experience the life beyond body-mind-intellect in the boundless existence of pure self.

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**EDUCATION IN PROSELYTISED UNDIVIDED
KORAPUT DISTRICT**

Dr. Raghmani Naik

P.G. Department of History
NSCB Govt. College, Sambalpur

Abstract

Education plays a vital role in determining the development of human personality. However, this important branch was neglected in the undivided Koraput district for a long period of time and consequently the people remained ignorant, illiterate and backward. Education for women and lower caste was a reverie. It was the missionaries who for the first time took keen interest to literate them and established number of educational institutions. This paper intended to enlighten the hidden intention of the missionaries to introduce such marvelous steps for the poor tribals and dalit people of undivided Koraput district who were neglected, suppressed and oppressed by the upper caste and the royal officials. Based on a descriptive and analytical methods and library documentation, this essay found that the missionaries were able to set up 48 no. of missionary schools. Besides they established theological seminary, training school, hostels, boarding homes, adult education, Sunday schools, night schools, and bible classes for the eradication of illiteracy. Introduction of female education in the neglected, isolated and inaccessible hilly area was one of the outstanding contributions of missionaries.

Keywords: Tribals, Dalits, illiteracy, missionaries, Schools.

Introduction

Education modernizes human behavior and it plays a vital role in determining the Socio - economic development of the society. But this important department had been totally neglected in this undivided Koraput District for a long period of time. This district was completely isolated from mainstream since time immemorial and could not see the light of modern world due to its inaccessible and hilly tracts and remained backward and undeveloped. The lower caste people were illiterate, ignorant, indigent and superstitious. They were spiritually captivated and blind and considered untouchable and uncivilized. Their life was miserable and deplorable. There was prevalent of rigidity of caste system in the society. Virtues like fraternity and fellow feeling was alien to the society. So, there was no congenial atmosphere in the society. Therefore, prior to the advent of missionaries in this district, it was passing through a dark age.

There were only Chatchalis (village schools) and Abadhanas (Acharyas) that played a prominent role in educating the children of higher caste people. Guru, who earned his livelihood by teaching held a piece of wood used for writing at the top and wrote 'Shree' (Agreement favour). Then the pupils who wished to learn had also to hold the piece of wood and write 'Shree'. This was a way of recognizing the teacher as such. Then the student put a piece of clothing and food items for the teacher in a special plate. In those days, the teacher payment was known as 'Khodi Chhuani Dino' (beginning of schooling day).¹

With the March of time, the village Chiefs and the Zamindars of different parts of the district established schools for high caste students only. There was no question of education for lower caste people. Therefore, they remained undeveloped and uneducated. Practically, there was no female education in this region. The general feeling was that, it was "unbecoming of the modesty of the women" to attend schools. So, they were prohibited from attending educational institutions. The women's activities were confined to hearths and homes and they were totally isolated from the outside world. Besides that, superstitions was an impediment to the tribal education. The tribals developed a strong sense of prejudice that, by learning, their eyes would drop out and their heads burst into thousand pieces and their health would deteriorate.² Such superstitious beliefs discouraged the aboriginals to allow their children to attend schools. Above all, the unhealthy climate coupled with existence of vast areas of inaccessible forest belts kept this district out of the light of modern civilization for longtime. The education of Dalit or untouchables was totally naught. They were considered outcaste by the high caste people and prohibited from attending any Government or private run educational institutions. Besides this, they were economically very poor and earning their livelihood by doing small business, craftworks, carpentry, music and manual work. So, due to their impoverishment and social rigidity they were not sending their children to the then available educational institutions. Therefore, they remained gross illiterate and superstitious.

Until 1866 A.D there was not a single school in the Koraput - Jeypore agency tract. The Administrative Report from 1880 - 81 A.D. of Andhra Pradesh does not make mention of any School in Jeypore Estate. The argument put forward in the Government Report of 1882 A.D, states that whilst schools in Koraput, Jeypore and Kotpad were very desirable it was not set up due to lack of financial means.³

It is in this juncture that missionaries⁴ came to Koraput district on 15th May, 1882 A.D. and heralded a new epoch in the field of education. They were the first people to understand and realize the difficulties and sufferings of these people and tried to eradicate illiteracy by establishing missionary schools.

The missionaries realised that without providing education, their mission of God wouldn't be fulfilled and Gospel of God wouldn't be disseminated among the people to Propagate and popularise Christianity because most of the people who became Christians during that time were illiterate. The converted Christians also did not want to go to Hindu

schools and study general syllables. Rather, they demanded separate schools for them. Therefore, the missionaries decided to set up mission schools in this hilly region. The main aim of establishing Christian schools was, according to Anthon Asha, “to teach the students simple Bible stories, Christian Hymns, Catechism and prayers. Thus, this type of education would help the pupil to grow - in biblical knowledge and faith in God”.

Research Method

Descriptive and Library documentation method have been adopted with analytical and historical perspective for the present study. The archival materials like the then journals, newspapers; letters, books, articles and internet archives and e-books etc. are considered for the present study. Through this method information about condition of undivided Koraput District, status of education and role of Christian missionaries to develop missionary education have been collected for this research work.

Results

By the incessant efforts and dedication, the missionaries were able to spread the Gospel of God through the weapons of missionary education. The missionaries set up 34 primary Schools, 05 Middle English schools, 05 High schools, 01 Theological seminary, 01 training school, 02 Girls schools, 01 Hostels and 10 Boarding Homes. Besides, they introduced adult education, Sunday schools, Night schools and Bible classes for the eradication of illiteracy. Introduction of female education in this neglected, isolated and inaccessible hilly area was one of the outstanding contributions of missionaries. The missionaries also adopted new techniques of Zenana and Deaconesses systems for the development of education among the people. The tribals and Dalit people were spontaneously dragged towards Christianity and thereafter a mass conversion took place in this district in the year 1934. Now, more than 20 percent population of this district is Christians.

Discussion

For the eradication of illiteracy and spreading of Gospel of God among the people the missionary decided to introduce a number of educational institutions nook and corner of the district. Let us discuss briefly below;

On 30th January 1888 A.D, the first mission school was opened by Harless in Koraput. It began with 40 children. Out of them 17 children belonged to Odia speaking families and 23 to Telugu-speaking families. Thereafter a number of schools were established all over the district. They set up mission school at Kotpad on 2nd April 1891 A.D., mission School at Jeypore in 1892 A.D and mission school at Nabarangpur in 1892-93 A.D. Mission schools were also established at Kumzoro, Ghatguda, Kholiguda, Dhodra, Budisorgi, jamboguda, Dengaguda, Kamtagaon, Turinji, Kurmuti, Nishahandi, Chopia, Karlahandi, Khondi Baghodhori Pirinji and Ontalguda etc. In these schools Bible Stories, catechism and also reading and writing in Oriya were taught.

By the year 1905 A.D, 14 small schools had cropped up within the jurisdiction of Nabarangpur mission station. Schools were established in each village where a catechist, a teacher and a helper Guru (Preacher) lived. Besides old mission stations, schools were also set up on the newly founded stations such as Gunupur (1904/05) A.D, Nandapur (1909/10) A.D Bissam Cuttak (1909/10) A.D, Doliambo (1910/11) A.D, and Lakshmipur (1910/11) A.D.⁵

The following table - (I) shows the school statistics of number of pupils in the left-hand columns and number of schools in the right-hand columns.⁶

Years	1902	1907	1912	1914	1902	1907	1912	1914
Jeypore	46	81	218	209	04	03	10	10
N.pur	91	130	298	309	03	08	12	20
Gunupur		03	07	29		01	01	01
Nandapur			34	131			17	15
B.Cuttack			07				01	
Doliambo			64	42			01	01
Lakshmipur			20	88			01	01

The missionaries ran 4 types of schools.

- a) **The Boys Schools** - Which taught a basic curriculum of English, Odia, Arithmetic, History, Geography, the Bible and other scriptures. In some village schools, religious instructions were imparted in the vernacular language and promising students from those schools used to go to the mission school in the town.
- b) The **orphanages and destitute boarding Homes** where there were provisions for shelter and free education for the poor students of the locality.
- c) **Girls schools** - They began as orphanages or as schools for the daughters of the converts as well as of the lower caste people. Female education was restricted to primary level and the rudiments of domestic science.
- d) The **missionaries had mixed schools**. In boys' school education was also imparted to girls. But they were very few. In those institutions they received instructions in their native languages.⁷

In order to fulfill their main objectives, the missionaries concentrated on establishing the 4th type of schools, which were intended to teach local non-Christian boys and girls in rural areas.

The missionaries took various more steps for improvement of education. They had opened Industrial schools to impart training to the students to fit for employment. They started adult education and night schools for the illiterate and ignorant adults. Sunday schools were organized. Bible classes were taken by educated women. Mrs. of missionaries took the onus to literate the rural uneducated women and non-Christian women by introducing zenana system⁸ through door to door campaign.

The Aim and Objective of Missionary Education

1. Christian or non-Christian would be provided some basic education in order to enable to achieve independence and self-sufficiency in their daily lives.
2. The main emphasis was without doubt, on the schooling of Christian Children. Christians were to be enabled to read the Bible, the catechism, the Hymnal Book and other Christian writings themselves. They should be given the opportunity to become responsible Christians.
3. Third main emphasis was on supporting education for girls. As the statistics above shows, good results were achieved in this direction for that time. The success in educating girls, many of whom later on married church workers cannot be valued highly enough in its importance for the congregations.
4. However, schools were not only intended to pass on knowledge, but above all also to influence the lives of young Christians. A Christian way of life was to be demonstrated and encouraged through the way of life practised in the schools. The mission stations with their combination of schools and boarding homes offered especially good opportunities for this.
5. Schools were important for achieving the declared mission aims, the Christianization of the nation and the formation of a National church.
6. The schools and the education were particularly important in order to prepare Christians who were to be in the service of church and mission. This preparation, through a wide general education, was not only necessary for the catechists, congregational teachers, and school teachers, but above all also for the future pastors.

Boarding Homes - A centre of learning for the poor, destitute and orphans

Boarding Homes or orphanages were the principal centre for educational activities. The mission started boarding homes and hostels in all its mission stations from the very beginning. The poor, orphan and helpless children were picked and accommodated in those hostels to provide free lodging and education. In 1888/89 A.D, a boys boarding home was started at Koraput only with one boy but the number suddenly jumped to 58 boys and 27 girls. Mrs. Timmcke was house mother in this boarding home from 1899 A.D to 1914 A.D. In 1891 A.D, another boarding home was started at Kotpad with 7 children and it increased

to 13 in 1896 – 97 A.D. This was called **Boarding and Care School**. In this way, the missionaries established 10 Boarding Homes and Hostels in Koraput District like.⁹

1. Jeypore - in 1903 and again on 25th October, 1942 (Boys).
2. Nabarangpur - on 30th March, 1944.
3. Kotpad - (Boys and Girls) in 1891 and again on 25th April, 1946.
4. Koraput - Koraput in 1888.
5. Kalahandi.
6. Doliambo - (Boys and Girls).
7. Laxmipur - (Boys and Girls).
8. Gunupur.
9. Lamtaput.
10. Rayagada

There were two quite convincing reasons for establishing boarding home institutions. Firstly, it was to rehabilitate orphan children, and secondly, it was to take children from rural areas, where there were no educational opportunities. Apart from boarding homes, the Missionaries were running the **Day boarding** in all small stations and in mission villages. The students were imparted secular education, spiritual guidance and also vocational training in these boarding homes. In India they were known as boarding but in the mission Reports these were called **Kosthauser**.¹⁰

Girls' Schools and Hostels – A unique step to literate the Girls students

There was no school exclusively for girls nor were there any mixed schools for them. After 1871 A.D, a noticeable change was found in the development of education in the Southern Odisha. Up to the year 1873 - 74 A.D, no girls were receiving instructions in this school. The social system had prevented them female section from their right to education.

It was the Missionaries who took keen interest to literate the girls and set up not only schools for them but also establish hostels and boarding homes for accommodations. They realized that without girls being literate their message could not reach to any household. Hence was the importance of Girls education in the region. For the purpose a hostel was started in 1901 A.D at Kotpad with 16 girls by Mrs. Timm. In 1904 A.D a girls' school was set up just outside the hostel wall. There were 100 girls in 1906 A.D and 125 girls in 1913 A.D.¹¹ So, the missionaries provided Hostel facilities in every mission station for the accommodation of the Girls. Special care was taken for hostel students both in studies and in their pursuit of biblical knowledge. A primary school for the girls was established at Kotpad and further the Girls Upper School at Kotpad was upgraded to Middle English School.

The **table-II**, below shows the number of girls attending school from 1932 A.D to 1937 A.D.¹²

Year	No. of Students
1932	367
1933	533
1934	441
1937	353

The message in the percentage of girls' pupils' attendance was due to incessant work of American missionary Agatha Tatge at Kotpad girls' school. This enabled the two Deaconesses Otty Jessen and Mathilde Jespersen to take up where she had left off. After the two Deaconesses had left India on account of differences of opinion with the Missionaries and the Mission Boards, the station Missionaries Rev. Gloyer, Rev. Meyer and Rev. R. Speck took the responsibility of this school.¹³

Besides that, for the development of female education, the missionaries took various steps in this region. The wife of Johannes Timm was teaching Bible stories to women as early as 1893 A.D. It was observed that, women were very much interested to learn from the missionaries. The wives of Rev. Timm and Rev. Gloyer were teaching some girls and women in their respective places. Those who were qualified to read and write were given special training in the seminary for the future ministry of the Church. The missionaries suggested the authorities of the SHEL Mission regarding their special ministry among the women of the Jeypore Estate to send some women missionaries for guiding the women. So, the authorities were very much satisfied with such activities and sent first two Deaconesses¹⁴ in 1905 A.D. and later two deaconesses in 1909 A.D. to Koraput District for carrying out women work vigorously and more efficiently. One of the deaconesses was in charge of the Christian hospital at Nabarangpur and another was in charge of girls' boarding school and training of Women in Bible. The third supervised the work of the women in the villages. The three were stationed at Kotpad. The fourth took up zenana work in the town of Jeypore.¹⁵ Mrs. Speck was young but experienced enough in Oriya language to teach the Seminary students; Mrs. Gloyer was in charge of instructing the women. The wives of the missionaries were also joining their husbands in preaching camps. The missionaries were preaching to men and at the same time their wives were preaching to women.

This kind of combined preaching was fruitful for the extension of the Gospel. Mrs. Leuckfeld was always with her husband during his camp and was teaching among the women. The sister of Rev. W. Ahrens had opportunity to keep relationship with the Muslim women and had a dialogue with them about Lord Jesus Christ. So, many non-Christian families were converted to Christianity through this kind of personal contact.

Certain steps were taken by the Church Council and the Synod to prepare women for the future Ministry of the Church. It was realized that, women could serve as the best mediation to approach the non-Christian women.

Theological Seminary - An Institution for Spiritual Development and Training Centre for future Pastors

For popularization of Christianity, the missionaries felt the great need of the theological education in the church. They wanted the people who accepted Christ to be properly nurtured and deeply rooted in Christian faith. So, they decided to provide theological knowledge, to the students of Christian schools, youth, adults, women, pastors, preachers and elders. As the number of converts kept increasing, it was not possible for the limited number of missionaries to teach the whole mass. Therefore, they planned to produce trained people to look after the spiritual development of the congregations.

That’s why; Rev. E.Gloyer had drawn the attention of the Home Board authorities to the necessity for “Theological education” in the church and to prepare the national workers. This request was gladly accepted by the authorities of the Home Board and as a result of this a ‘**Theological institution or a seminary**’ for teachers was founded at Kotpad on 2nd February 1896.¹⁶ Rev. E. Gloyer says “Kotpad Seminary is the gold mine of mission work and pillar of all mission work”. The seminary was formerly known as SHEL Seminary. But later on it was named as “**Jensen Theological College and Bible School**”. This theological seminary had been started with “6 Boarding Boys” named Eliya, Michael, Ruben, Eliazar, Isaac and Krupa.¹⁷

Rev. Von Frieling and Rev. Wohlenberg used to take the classes. The seminary was started when there were only 292 Christians in this area.¹⁸ From the statement of Rev. Tauscher; it is known that, Rev. Timm was the first Director till 1900 A.D

In the beginning elementary subjects such as dictation, writing practices, geography and arithmetic were taught to the students. To them were added biblical history, reading the Bible, catechism and hymns. Later on Church history, mission history, Hinduism, the art of preaching and lessons on health and hygiene were included. Preparatory classes called “**Advanced Catechist Course**” for pastors were opened in 1910 A.D. and only selected students were admitted there. But the First World War interrupted the whole theological programme of the Church because all the German missionaries were interned and their mission stations were vacated. However, the whole charge of the mission was handed over to the American Lutheran Mission.

The **table –III**, below shows the number of Seminary students varied with a growing tendency.¹⁹

Year	No. of students
1897	06

(1898-1899)	12
1900	33
1904	38
1905	47
1906	40
1907	60
1908	32
1909	22
1913	62

Now this seminary has been shifted to Gopalpur (Berhampur University) on 27.4.1993 A.D which is in Ganjam District. Presently it is known as **Odisha Christian Theological College, OCTC**.

Besides that, for the vigorous propagation of Christianity, the missionaries published a monthly magazine named ‘**Christian Mitra**’ (Christian friend) in 1911 A.D. and carbon copies of it were circulated among the converted and non – converted people. This magazine was started by **Rev. Larsen**.²⁰ It helped the Christians to get information from both inside and outside the church. A printing press was set up in 1931 A.D. and it was declared as **Jeypore Evangelical Lutheran Church Press** in 1974 A.D. By this press various articles were published and printing materials were circulated among the literate people who helped immensely in propagating and popularizing Christianity in this hilly and inaccessible region.

Conclusion

The missionaries brought tremendous impact on the society introducing missionary education and preaching the Gospel of God in the name of fatherhood of God and brotherhood of Mankind. The converted Christians and literate people were engaged in various economic activities and got employment opportunities in various public and private sectors and now they are well-off. They are no more considered untouchables, uncultured, uncivilized and backwards. Superstitions and blind faith is now outdated for them. Due to development of education social mobility is being seen in the society and rigidity of caste system fell like a Berlin wall. Whatever might be the missionaries’ motive behind such campaigns, introduction of education in this area but their marvelous jobs was really an avant-garde transmutation in the caste ridden society that cannot be overlooked.

References :

1. B.C.Padhi., *Socio-Economic Conditions of Tribal under the British Rule, (1803-1936)*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1992, p.166.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Bhaskar Das., *Social and Economic life of South Orissa*, Punthi pustak Cuttack, p. 155-157, *Letters from H. Harkness, secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction to P.R.Cazalet and J.W. Monk, Esq. at Ganjam dated 24.6.1826*, Vol.39, Ganjam District, Record T.N.A.M), 1985, p.156.
4. Missionary is a member of a religious group sent into an area to do evangelism or ministries of service, such as education, literacy, social justice, health care and economic development. The word “mission” originates from 1598 when the Jesuits sent members abroad, derived from the Latin *missionem* (nom. *missio*), meaning “act of sending” or *mittere*, meaning “to send”. The word was used in light of its biblical usage; In the Latin translation of the Bible, Christ uses the word when sending the disciples to preach in his name. The term is most commonly used for Christian missions, but can be used for any creed or ideology. The missionaries of Koraput District were the missionaries of Breklum mission of West Germany, who came to this district on 15th May, 1882 A.D.
5. Otto Waack., *Church and Mission in India (The History of the Jeypore Church and the Breklum Mission (1876-1914)*, Vol.I, ISPCK Delhi, 1997, p.508.
6. R.C.S. Bell., *Orissa District Gazetteer, Koraput*, 1945, pp.155-157
7. *Ibid.*
8. The Zenana system of education along with day schools and orphanages was the third most significant form of education which the Christian Missionaries promoted in all the presidencies. This kind of education was meant for the upper caste women who due to social customs could not receive formal schooling. It was also meant for Muslim girls and women who had no formal schooling. Rudimentary education and learning western manners which their husbands wanted was done in the Zenana or the women’s apartment. This kind of education became very successful in the 18th and 19th centuries. Gradually regular examination was held behind the purdah. It was the Zenana education which made women conscious of medical and other professional education.
9. *Proceeding of the Madras Government*, Dated 19.3.1867, p.63
10. *The Journal of Education*, Madras, Vol. XXXVI, 1896, p-3
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Administrative Report 1883-84*, pp. 8-9
13. *Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1887-88*, part-II, Ch-I, pp. 8-9 (A.P.S.A, Hyderabad)
14. Deaconess is a non-clerical order in some Christian denominations which sees to the care of women in the community. That word comes from a Greek word *diakonos* as well as deacon, which means a servant or helper and occurs frequently in the Christian New Testament of the Bible. Deaconesses trace their roots to the time of Jesus Christ in the 13th century. Deaconesses

existed from the early through the middle Byzantine periods in Constantinople and Jerusalem; although the office may not have been in existence throughout the European churches. The female diaconate in the Byzantine Church of the early and middle Byzantine periods was recognized as one of the major orders of clergy. A modern resurgence of the office began in the early nineteenth century in both Europe and North America. Deaconesses are service in many Christian denominations at the present time.

15. B.C. Padhi, *op.cit.*, p.177.
16. Anthon Asha., *Church History from Breklum to Koraput*, 1982, p. 97.
17. Otto Waack, *op.cit.*, p.510.
18. *Ibid.*, p.511.
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ETHNO-HISTORICAL STUDY ON THE TRADITIONAL HEALING AND FOLK MEDICINE OF THE BODOS

Bidantha Narzary

Dr. Oinam Ranjit Singh

(Corresponding Author)

Head, Department of Ancient History
and Archaeology,
Manipur University

Abstract

The traditional healing played a dynamic role among the Bodo community, it is not just emphasized on healing the person from specific illness or disease but it also aimed at counseling the person as a whole. Religion and belief are the two main important aspect of traditional healing of the Bodos. Environment also has played a key role in the healing traditions which discloses the harmony between man and environment. Prayers and offerings were dedicated to the elements of nature like forest and river. Besides, the resources were also collected from the forest to make medicines.

Keywords: *oja*, beliefs, *mwntwr*, *kasini*, herbs, environment.

Introduction

The Bodos are mainly inhabited in the North Eastern part of India particularly in the Brahmaputra valley. Agriculture and animal husbandry has been the chief occupation of the people. Besides, they also indulged in other activities like silk rearing, weaving and other kinds of craft making which were made in an indigenous way with locally available resources. The traditional medicinal system was also another important practice which became part of the socio-cultural practices where the Oja played the key role in healing the patient.

Traditional healing has played a crucial role in ancient times before the advent of modern medicine. It is a rudimentary nature of human being to get himself treated from any kind of ailments and diseases. As there was advancement in the society they developed their own version of healing. The healing treatment of the Bodos has been basically governed by religious beliefs which are spiritual in nature. They have relied on herbal healing as well. The common people were all aware of the medicinal benefits of the herbs available to them. The traditional healing of the Bodos has a set of cultural values and belief system attached to it. It does not just reveal about the healing during the early times but it also discloses about the culture of the particular society. The healing practices impart an idea about the early society, beliefs and social norms. Besides, it also discloses about the cultural and religious

aspects of the community associated to healing. The traditional healing was more or less governed by the cultural and religious ideologies. It is evident in the rituals and practices that are still practiced today. The prayers recited and the *mwntwr* (mantra) discloses about the belief related to healing practice. The healing practice comprised of diagnosis, prevention and elimination of mental or physical afflictions. The healing rituals was presided by the traditional healer who is commonly referred as *Oja*. The diagnosis and treatment could be done by the means of ritualistic practices or by the herbal medicine provided by the *Oja*. The traditional healing practice is still evident in the Bodo society where large number of people still goes to *Oja* for healing purpose despite having the advantage of modern medicine. The cultural and religious aspect of healing seems to work as a mechanism in driving people towards them. Socially established belief became responsible in influencing people towards *Oja*.

The *Oja* dealt with spiritual healing and provided herbal medicines as well. The *Oja* treated the patient by organizing rituals followed by counseling and provided the medicines which were made of various herbs. The *Oja* gathered the necessary herbs from forest required to make medicines. They were expert in making specialized medicine for malaria, jaundice, flu, fever etc. The medicines prepared were prescribed and provided according to the symptoms of the patient. The Tibetan literature of medicine that mentioned about the two broad laws kept in mind while collecting herbs, i.e., Doctrine of contraries and Doctrine of signature.¹ The Doctrine of contraries sought to balance by countering one quality that it opposes like; usage of herbs with cooling properties in order to treat fever. The Doctrine of signatures stated that plants resembling various parts of the body could be used to treat the ailment of that particular part like; pilewort plant which resembled piles was believed to treat them effectively.² Though the folk medicinal practices of the Bodos did not follow any particular law, similar procedure was practiced by the community to collect the herbs. During the ritualistic performance, some *Ojas* who went to the state of trance instructed the patient or his family member to get particular kind of herbs with particular shape, size or colour to treat the ailment.³ The Tibetan healing also mentions about such shamanistic nature of treating the disease where the shamans during mystical trance is believed to be instructed by the spirit of forest on the herbs that are supposed to be used to treat the disease.⁴ However, some *Ojas* discovered the medicinal herbs by observing the sick animals and keeping a track on what they ate to heal themselves.

The Traditional Knowledge of the Community

In ancient times the Bodos had managed to treat themselves from various kinds of ailments and diseases. They were aware about the medicinal benefits of various plant sources and herbs. The *Sushruta Samhita* mentioned that cowherds, hunters and forest dwellers are considered as the resource persons regarding the medicinal plant as they gather a lot of information while collecting foods from the forest.⁵ It has been recorded in *Charaka Samhita* that “Goatherds, Shepherds, cowherds and other forest dwellers know medicinal plants by

their name and form. No one can know the principles governing the right way to use medicinal plants merely by knowing the names and morphology of plants. Even though a physician is ignorant of their form, if he is acquainted with the principles of the correct use of medicinal plants, he is a real master of the true principles of medicine; obviously, the one who knows all aspects of medicinal substances is even better. One who knows the principles of their correct application in consonance with the place, time and individual variation, should be regarded as the best among physicians.”⁶ The Bodos consumed the foods collected from the forest around them where they gathered various plant sources like roots, herbs, leaves, flowers etc. The community did not usually suffer from any nutrition related diseases. It was a rare problem as they consumed the nutritious rich foods which were available to them because they were backed by good geographical background. The section of Ayurveda also mentioned about the influence of the plants and food sources, on the human body and metabolism.⁷ The local people were all aware of the herbs, plants and their different parts, taste and properties. It could be possible that they got the idea from the animals of selecting plants for food and medicinal purpose. The history of medicine in Egypt suggest that the process of venesection was learnt from Hippopotamus where it gets its leg stricken on a pointed reed in order to control the stroke against the vein.⁸ The cure for snake bite was discovered by observing the plants consumed by lizards to heal the wounds they got after fighting with each other.⁹ The Vedic text like Atharva Veda also considers animal as the teacher who is believed to have taught about the usage of medicinal plants.¹⁰ also mentions about a prayer which reveals about the wild bear finding a cure for *takman*.¹¹

Bodos were mostly scattered around forest, relying on it for their everyday requirements like food, fire-woods and wood to build shelter, etc. It basically shows their adaptation to the climatic conditions as well as the consequences of the seasonal changes. There are many factors that cause disease. Geographical settlement is also sometimes responsible for causing disease. The community who settled in tropical climate faced the sudden rise and fall in temperature which caused diseases like malaria, typhoid, dengue etc. The Vedas also mention about the types of *takman* (fever)- one is seasonal and another is continual which lasted for the whole year.¹² The Bodos treated the minor ailments like fever by following the basic home remedies and taking care of their diet. In case, the ailment did not get treated, the patient was taken to *Oja* and provided medicine looking at the symptom and performed rituals if necessary. If the fever continues further, the *Oja* advised for ritual and offering to *mwdai* (spirit) as it was suspected to be caused by the maleficent spirit. During the Vedic period it was believed that tropical disease like malaria, high fever etc. were caused by demon *takman*, who took in the form of thundering, lightning and monsoon rain to attack the person.¹³ Such believe are still prevalent among the community especially in the villages where the belief and socially established norms govern them. Besides, the *Oja* were also depended for other physical issues like broken bones, joint displacement and for mental affliction as well. The healing also includes counseling where the *Oja* counsels the

people rather than just focusing on particular treatment. The Sanskrit word “*Swastha*” which connotes healthy state of body and mind, i.e., one is believed to be healthy when he is on his natural state without any deprivation on nutrition, physical and material factors.¹⁴ Thus, the healers emphasized on healing the person working on his physical, mental and spiritual well-being based on cultural determination of health. The elderly women of the village were expert midwives who looked after pregnant woman and children. Along with diet the midwives suggested the expecting mother with things they are supposed to follow during pregnancy and warn them about restrictions as well. Foods cooked of various kinds of plant and animal sources in order to strengthen the reproductive health like *thilir mwikhun* (banana flower), *dudali mwigong*, *adumbra piphang ni bijou*, *pharoukhia* etc. Fish and meat usually chicken, especially the flesh are boiled with the vegetables and herbs, and served to the mother. After the delivery, the mother is usually given boiled food without putting any spices on it. However, there is some kind of restriction on the pregnant women like going to cremation ground with the belief that the spirits cause harms the fetus.¹⁵

The *Oja* was available in every village who claimed that they could treat any kind of problem of people belonging to any age group. They had remedies for every problems starting from minor ailments like cold and cough to fixing broken bones. However, the methods of treating the problem varied to certain extent from one *Oja* to another but its nature remained the same. The nature of the healing practice was almost similar in all the spiritual healers. However, the methods varied to some extent especially, the formulas and the mantras recited by the *Ojas*. The ingredients used by the herbal practitioners to make medicines, tablets and ointments have been found common. However, besides depending on the forest for medicinal purpose, the Bodos also relied on forest resources for their day to day life starting from firewood to food for consumption. Their foods consisted of herbs, roots, stem of wild plants etc., which have been collected and gathered from the forest. The forest products are still consumed by the Bodos as a food item and for medicinal purposes. However, some plants are not in available because of the encroachment of the forest as well as populated in forest area which leads to deforestation as well as unavailable of the herbs and plants that were used as food and medicines in the past.¹⁶ In fact, everyone in the Bodo household is aware about the medicinal value of the local herbs and vegetables. The medicines provided by the *Oja* included tablets, juice extracted from fruits, leaves and even bark of the trees. There were also medicines for external application especially in case of wounds or skin disease. Some *Ojas* also provided medicines that contained aromatic properties which were filled in the silk cocoon and were supposed to be worn around neck or wrist.¹⁷ In order to ward off the evil spirits and negativity the *Oja* also provided *kasini* to the patient which was supposed to be worn in the wrist.

The *Oja* almost used every part of the plant like the roots, leaves, stem, bark etc. depending on its medicinal value. Various parts from single plant are used by the *Oja* for the preparation of different medicines. The herbs, grass, the required plant and tree sources are

pounded together and mixed with liquids like oil, *endi thou*, sometimes the lava of the insects or even their excreta.¹⁸ The medicines are also prepared in advanced and kept in hand to meet at a time of the emergency but generally medicines are made only when it is required. The tablets for cold and cough and the extracted juice for jaundice from different herbs and roots are made for the treatment of the concerned diseases. The *Kasini*, a thread which are worn on the wrist has also practices with the belief to ward off the evil spirit. The *Astanga Samgraha* of Vagbhata talks about two kinds of medicines- one that gives strength and the other that removes disease.¹⁹ The medicine provided by the *Oja* have similar traits where some medicines improved the immunity and metabolism of the patient and some completely helped in treating the ailments and wounds.

Malaria, dengue, flu etc. are the common diseases to the people. One of the reasons being the tropical climate can lead to such seasonal diseases. The Vedic literature pointed out two kind of fever- *prakrta* (natural) which has been caused by seasonal *dosas* and *vaikrta* (unnatural) which is unseasonal and that comes at other time.²⁰ It is stated in Atharva Veda that *takman* which is identified as *jvara* (fever) is one of the most dreadful disease.²¹ *Ojas* would be consulted by the patient to treat the fever. One of the most common remedy for fever was the tablet pounded by *Oja*, which was a mixture of *neem bilai* (*azedarachta indica*), *sirta* (*andrograp hispaniculata*), *gilo* (*tinospora cordifolia*), *nisinda bilai* (*Vitexnigundo*) and *bhel bilai* (*aeglemarmelos*). The *Oja* measured the quantity of the ingredients for making the medicines. The quantity of the ingredients for making the medicines was based according to the requirement and conditions of the patients. The dosage of the tablets was mainly depended on the intensity of the disease. If the patient was not serious generally two tablets were prescribed to consume in a day. Sometimes the *Ojas* advised to take more dosage or increase dosage of the medicine based on the severe condition of the patient.

Different *Oja* adopted different methods and techniques while making medicines. *Bhel bilai* (*aeglemarmelos*), *tulsi bilai* (*ocimumtenui florum*) and *beremwdwi* (honey) as a composition of the medicine to treat flues and fevers were used extensively. Flu is a common viral infection with persistent sneeze, cold and cough which could be risky sometimes. However, every people in the past and even today in the remote area had the remedies to counteract those diseases. Sometimes they could even cure some diseases without taking medicines only with the change of food habits, diets and lifestyles. *Sambamgufur* or garlic (*Allium Satium*) is believed to be very effective for common flu. They are the most active ingredient and put almost in every curry prepared by Bodos. According to the Tibetan healing, garlic helped to contract energy channels which are beneficial for *tripa* (lung) and *bekan* (phlegm) conditions.²² Further, mustard oil is heated with two or three cloves of garlic added on it and applied on the chest. The infants are sometimes even made to wear cloves of garlic around their neck with the belief that the aroma of the garlic contained therapeutic power to treat common cold, flu and cough. *Haiseng* or ginger (*Zinziber*

Officinale) is another important spice which also used to treat flu and cough. Ginger would be cut to slices, mixed with honey, heat it and put three or four *tulsi bilai* (holy basil) into it and have it twice during the day. These practices treat as a legacy to today's generation, when they suffer from common cold and cough, they often make use such home remedies. They basically made the remedies with the materials that were available to them while they maintained certain rules to intake it like, facing towards East while consuming it. The Atharva Veda also mentions that the patient suffering from cough was made to take a step forward facing to the East, worship the sun and drink the medicinal concoction given by the healer²³

People complaint of suffering from *Amai Mwnai* (drowsiness) is also often referred to as Jaundice. The symptoms consisted of drowsiness, excessive tiredness, abnormal function of liver resulting to yellow urine and yellow eyes. Jaundice could be caused due to several reasons like liver cancer.²⁴ Another important reason could be excessive intake of alcohol. Social ceremonies and functions of the Bodos incorporate enjoyment which involved drinking. This practice somewhere encourages people to drinking extensively without considering about the health which led to health deterioration in the health affecting their digestive system even suffering from serious diseases like cancer. However, the *Oja* provided the remedies and treated such diseases with the performance of rituals and spells. Putting *bori* on the head shaving off a little part of the hair from it and placing it on the scalp are also included in course of treatment. *Oja* chanted some spells and tied *kashini* on the wrist, left hand in case of woman and on the right in case of man to drive away the evil spirit. Wearing of *endi pitwb* (silk cocoon) around the neck of the patient is also another way for treating the jaundice patient.²⁵ Besides, herbal healing is also given importance and emphasis also laid on consuming healthy foods for certain illness. *Oja* often advised to consume foods cooked with *Kamrenga* (*Averrhoa Carambola* Linn) and *Karokandai bibar* (*Oroxylum indicum*). The roots of *laigangsw* (*ophioglossumgramineum*) *Atiathalir* (*musasapentium*) and *gongarthaisib* (*rubus fruticosus*) are collected and tied them together and wear it either on neck or wrist of the patient to cure the jaundice. A string of *Fenel khuga*, a climber is also made to wear it, either on the wrist or waist.²⁶ It is believed that as in when the string dried up the nauseous feeling disappeared and the patients became normal.

It is general conception of the people that ill-health caused disorder in sleep which often leads to nightmares. However, in the olden days the Bodos believed that dreams were indicative to something that was going to take place. The people during the ancient time believed that dream was a medium of communication between the reality and mystic powers where the soul leaves for the other world to meet the spirits.²⁷ The *Oja* would prepare amulets or *kashini* for such situations as it was believed to be caused by malignant spirit. The amulet or *kashini* was believed to drive away the evil spirits and protect from them. The *Oja* gave the patient the root of *gogondo gufur* which were made to wear either in the wrist or around the neck. The amulet were prepared by making a paste out of several herbs, roots, barks and leaves and filled in the *endi pitwb* (Silk cocoon). The bark of the *sirish*

tree along with its leaves and flower, the flower and leaf of *kipibendwng*, *mwiprai* leaf, were mixed together and put some drops of mustard oil and heated. The released vapor had some therapeutic effect for the treatment of those persons who have the sleeping disorders and nightmares.

Mental instability or insanity was another affliction that affected the family along with the patient. The patient was often trouble the family with his activities creating havoc in the family. Such problems were often believed to be result of the practice of sorcery which was caused by the evil spirit under the influence of witch or wizard. The Atharvaveda mentioned about insanity and madness of two types i.e., *Unmadita and unmatta*. *Unmadita* has caused by breaking certain socially constructed religious law or taboos and *Unmatta*, caused by demonic possession.²⁸ In such situation the healer made offerings to the god in order to appease them. They also prepared medicines for the patients and did some rituals to drive away the evil spirits.²⁹ The Bodos also have similar belief with regard to mental illness. They performed rituals in order to drive away the evil spirit which believed to cause the illness. Anxiety and hysteria are common signs of mental illness where the patient turned into abnormal. The remedies for it included aroma therapy, herbal healing, proper diet and performance of certain related rituals. The patient has given bath with the holy water (*dwi gwthar*) and prepared for the rituals by the *Oja* where he chants mantra (*mwntwr*) and strokes the patient with wild fern (*sal daukhumwi*) to ward off the evil spirit. In certain cases sacrificial rituals are also made where the *Oja*, offers castrated cock and chicken of particular colour. Atharvaveda mentioned about sacrifice and religious rituals where the *bhisaj* prays to *Agni* to cure the ailing person from insanity while assuring him to make offerings when the patient is cured. Aroma therapy is also another important kind of treatment where the patient is made to inhale mustard oil or sometime sesame oil heated with garlic. It is for the improvement of the mental function. The *Oja* also encouraged the importance of diet where the patients are often prescribed to take lighter foods and discouraged them from having the kind of food that triggered anxiety. The *Oja* advised to take green vegetables, honey (*bere mwdwi*) mixed with the seeds of wax guard (*khumbra begor*), the juice of gooseberry (*amlai*) with the honey (*bere mwdwi*) for two months.

The belief that diseases were caused by god and goddesses prevailed among the Bodo community as well. It is a common belief among the people that if anyone committed any sin or violated any rules against the socially established norms that person is put through pain and suffering which is often referred as *bad bis*. The Atharva Veda talks about similar skin disease which is referred as *kustha* which arose from within the body caused due to curse.³⁰ The person goes through problems like skin irritation, redness of skin, discoloration, nerve problems and severe pain in joints. People suffering from such disease had to consult an *Oja* where he treated the patient by applying various traditional methods. There were several methods of treating the patient like *kasini ganhwnai*, *jharinai* and *thau nanai*. *Kasini*, a small piece of thread while reciting the incantation was tied around the wrist or the

neck of the patient in order to ward off the negativity towards him. Another process was *Jharinai*, in which the Oja removed the disease by reciting *mwntwr* and slightly stroking off the patient with *sal daukhumwi* (wild fern). The other process included *thau nanai*, where the Oja massaged the patient with oils in the affected part. *Endi thau* (castor oil) was believed to be the most effective oil that healed joint problems. There were other alternative ways as well to treat the disease which was recommended by Oja like changes in food habits and practicing certain diets recommended by him. *Haldwi gwthang ni ros*, the juice extracted from raw turmeric was advised to take early in the morning in empty stomach. The curry made with *khipi bendwng* (skunk vine) was advised to be eaten often and the paste made out of it could also be applied in the affected part. In case of severe pain in the joint the juice of *kerela* (bitter guard) was also used to massage it. The bark of the banyan tree was boiled along with hot water and the patient was made to bath with it. The paste of neem leaves and raw turmeric were also used to apply on the patient's body.

The Rig Veda and Atharva Veda also mentioned about the female *raksas* (demon) named *amiva* who is responsible for the cause of disease.³¹ It has been mentioned that *amiva* mostly attacked a person from within leading a person to lose his nourishment or eating the unborn child, causing its death.³² During the ancient times in New Zealand, similar concept of a flesh eater demon called *Atua* prevailed that caused the person to fall sick.³³ The Bodo society also witnessed similar belief where the malevolent gods attacked to person which was known as *Khetra Hamnai*.³⁴ It is believed that the malevolent gods mostly attacked the pregnant women or the babies, where the victim became bloodless, eventually leading to their death. The victim approached to the *Oja* and the Oja arranged a ritual in order to remove the *khetra* by the way of propitiating. In some cases, the new born child also cries without rest and cease to take mother's milk which is referred as *suthi nangnai*. The *Oja* removed the evil by chanting *mwntwr* and tied a *kasini* around his wrist with *cowrie* (shell) with the believed to ward off the evil spirit.³⁵ The Vedic treatment was also of same nature where the healer provided *sankha* (shell) and amulet made with the claws and teeth of the tiger to dispell the *amiva*.³⁶ Besides, the child is also fed holy water every morning i.e., water mixed with pasteurized milk and a bud of *tulsi* (holy basil) put on it.³⁷

The belief persisted among the people that nature has played an influential role in causing the disease as well as treating them. It has been indicated in several instances that various diseases were caused by nature when they were provoked by certain human activities. The reference of appeasement to *dwini mwdai*, *gamini mwdai* and *hagrani mwdai* gives an idea on how nature were shown respect and acknowledged for treating the people.³⁸ This could be concluded that in order to safeguard oneself from the natural calamities and problems caused by the nature, one should remain in harmony without creating any trouble to nature. A belief is existed among the people that when people suffered from stye, an eye disease which is called *ajinai* in Bodo, the person is supposed to do a ritual call *bilw gw khanai*. It is a ritual where the person suffering from *ajinai* is knotted in the relation of

friendship, where the person is made friends with the *ajinai piping* (monochoria hastata).³⁹ The *ajinai* is then believed to disappear after the ritual is done. The Vedas also mentioned about *Utsangapitaka*, an eye disease for pustules or stye which was treated by putting moistened cloth dipped in warm water and scratching it with a leaf or knife.⁴⁰ The alternative method of treating pustules is by rubbing the rough side of the leaf of *bwigri* (Indian Jujube) on the pustules facing towards the east early in the morning during sun rise.⁴¹

As the Bodos have been intermingling with other communities, they tend to learn some curative measures for certain diseases from others in addition to their ancestors. Interaction with the immigrant healers like *baid*, *hakims* etc led to development of new innovative medicines and the circulation of medicinal knowledge. They have learnt to cure piles from the *hakims* who visited their places.⁴² The Bodos were fortunate enough with the natural resources which used for the treatment of piles. Some of the important materials consisted of *mani muni*, *jaba bibar*, *askhok bibar*, *swima lundun pitay*, *lwkhwna topinay bilay gurlwi*, *sal daukhumwi*, *daosa makreb*, *kanchinsa bijou*, *pad gOja bilay*.⁴³ For the treatment of piles the medicine which consisted of the ingredient of jelly texture for applying in the wound has been prescribed.⁴⁴ They basically used the ingredient with similar properties in case the recommended ingredient was not found and managed to treat themselves with the resource available to them.

Conclusion

The traditional healing practice is still relevant especially in the rural areas. One of the reason being, the cultural bound therapy which emphasizes on treating the patient on the basis of their indigenous religion which is responsible for drawing people towards them. Belief plays an important role in such healing as the effect of health and its treatment are intertwined with the cultural thoughts. Another reason for their relevance in today's time is that they are cost effective and easily accessible. Many people cannot afford the cost of modern medicine and their treatment so people tend to rely on the *Oja*. Many villages lack of primary healthcare facilities so they prefer *Oja* over traveling miles for hospitals. Also, many people believe in the deep-rooted cultural beliefs and practices so they choose to it over modern medication. Protection and promotion of this indigenous healing could help the people with an alternative medicine facility. However, there needs to be check on the preservation of certain herbs as they are its way to extinction. This environmental degradation led to challenges on the indigenous medicinal practice as some of the medicinal plants are very difficult to be found in the present days. Environmental resources, socio-religious practices and belief play an important part in traditional healing. The traditional healing and folk medicine have given a depth insight on the health care system of the Bodo as well as on the harmonious relation between man and environment. In fact the traditional healing has completely relied on the natural resources which serve as the main source of the healing. Some of the resources even act as a unique identity to the tribe. For example, *Sal Daukhumwi* is used by the *Oja*

for the purpose of stroking the patient during the ritual practices. It is also used widely by the community as insecticide and pesticide.

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**A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON ANTI- SOCIAL EXCLUSION
MOVEMENT IN SOUTH INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
TELANGANA.**

Dr. Naveen Siriman

Assistant Professor,
School of Liberal Arts and Humanities,
Woxsen University, Hyderabad
&

Dr. Naveen Kolloju

Associate Professor,
School of Liberal Arts and Humanities,
Woxsen University, Hyderabad

Abstract

Social Exclusion can be witnessed in various forms, generally Social Exclusion is that excluding certain group of people or sects or people with similar identities from the opportunities and rights because of their identity such as Race, Gender, Caste, Class and also can be understood as deprivation of economics opportunities. In India, Social Exclusion happens through the Caste and Untouchability. In hierarchical caste system top caste on the hierarchy enjoys the opportunities and rights at the expense of bottom caste by excluding them from the different fields such Politics, Social, Economic, Health, Education and Culture, etc. It predetermines the occupations of the bottom castes, made the Shudras (Dalits) servants of the other castes in India. This paper addresses the following research questions: How do we understand social exclusion interns of economic and social point of view and what are the key anti-social exclusion movements that have been witnessed in the then Andhra Pradesh, at present belonged to Telangana state.

Key words: Social Exclusion, Anti-social Exclusion, Caste System, Dalits, Telangana.

Introduction to the concept of Social Exclusion

The term 'social exclusion' is a relatively recent phenomenon in the realm of academics, first coined by Rene Lenoir, a French scholar in 1974. Since then, this idea has become increasingly prevalent in discussions and writings about poverty and deprivation¹. The term 'excluded' was initially coined to denote the acute unemployment that was prevailed during the late 60s and early 70s in Europe, particularly in France². It implied that unemployment had become a grave concern for individuals to attain their freedoms; on the contrary, the welfare state had failed to protect and promote the interests of those who were affected by this social disaster. This unemployment had not only thrown the people into the

poverty trap but had also virtually crippled the other socio-economic activities of society. It was these factors, which propelled Lenoir to coin the term 'social exclusion'³. Later on, this concept has come to encapsulate multi-dimensional perspective on socio-economic problems⁴.

Being socially excluded means not being able to participate to the same extent that the majority of society does. Thus, it could be seen as an intricate, multifaceted, multilayered, and dynamic idea. According to Sen.A⁵, the process of social exclusion eliminates people's participation in all socio-economic and political spheres of society. It also perpetuates the disadvantages and deprivations of the people. As a corollary, he argues that when affected by social exclusion, people fail to avail the benefits provided by the government as well as the society. In a similar vein, silver claims that social exclusion prevents individuals from fully participating in a particular society. It limits access to knowledge, resources, sociability, recognition, and identity, undermining one's sense of self and limiting one's capacity to accomplish personal objectives.

European Commission's definition of social exclusion is as follows:

"Social exclusion is a process whereby certain individuals are pushed to the edge of society and prevented from participating fully by virtue of their poverty, or lack of basic competencies and lifelong learning opportunities, or as a result of discrimination. This distances them from job, income and education and training opportunities, as well as social and community networks and activities. They have little access to power and decision-making bodies and thus feel powerless and unable to take control over the decisions that affect their day to day lives"⁶.

In accordance with the definition, the process of social exclusion does have debilitating effects on the deprived groups of society by relegating them to the backseat. Moreover, the vicious circle of poverty coupled with the existing deprivations scuttles the life chances of the poor. Thus, the marginalized cannot become active participants in society and cannot tap their potential to the optimum level. Given these limitations and constraints, the disadvantaged sections are also politically excluded. They are rendered powerless and are deprived of political participation thus hindering political decision-making capabilities in their daily lives.

Methodology

The main goal of this study is to understand social exclusion interns of economic and social point of view and what are the key anti-social exclusion movements that have been witnessed in the then Andhra Pradesh, at present belonged to Telangana state. The study is descriptive in nature and is based on secondary data analysis. Various published sources, including those from the scholars like Omvedt. G, Amarthya Sen, David O'Brien, K.Y. Ratnam, Kancha Ilaiah and reports from European Commission etc. were used extensively in the study to gather the literature.

Limitations of the study

The study's main limitations are (i) that no primary data or surveys were used; and (ii) it only covers the historical trajectory of anti-social exclusion movement in Telangana.

Organization of the study

The study consists of eight sections. The first section brings out the context of the study and discusses the theoretical framework of social exclusion; and also discusses the methodology and limitations of the study. The second section analysis the correlation between poverty and social exclusion. The third section represents the early phase of Dalit movement in Telangana. The fourth section discusses the critical narration of anti-social exclusion movement led by Bhagaya Reddy Verma. The fifth section highlights the contribution of Arigay Ramaswamy to the anti-social exclusion movement. The sixth section highlights the anti-social exclusion movement of Rettamma. The seventh section provides a critical perspective from Communist Party of India point of view and its contribution to the anti-social exclusion movement. While doing so, it also throws light of the contributions of Kanshi Ram and R. Krishnaih vis-à-vis anti-social exclusion movement. The final section provides concluding remarks of the study.

Poverty and Social Exclusion: Understanding the Correlation

It is essential to understand the correlation between poverty and social exclusion. Sliver and Miller emphasize that the term "exclusion" is more inclusive than just "poverty." Similarly, Haan (1997) makes it clear that while being socially excluded does not necessarily mean being poor, all those who are poor are socially excluded⁷. However, Walker and Walker make a distinction between the concept of social exclusion and the related idea of poverty, and they give the concept of social exclusion a comprehensive definition.. In their words:

"Poverty as a lack of the material resources, especially income, necessary to participate, and social exclusion as a more comprehensive formulation which refers to the dynamic process of being shout out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic or cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society. Social exclusion, therefore, be seen as the denial of the civil, political and social rights of citizenship".

Similar to this, according to the Department for International Development (DFID), some people's poverty is a result of social exclusion. According to the report, social exclusion limits their access to basic services and pushes them to the periphery of society where they have limited access due to their low income. By excluding them from community life, it can also cause emotional harm to the victim. People who are socially marginalized frequently aren't given the same opportunities as others to work harder on their own behalf to improve their financial situation and get out of poverty. As a result, even if the economy expands and average income levels increase, excluded groups are likely to be left behind and could make

up a growing share of those who continue to live in poverty. Policies to reduce poverty frequently fall short of doing so unless they are specifically intended to do so.

The Early Phase of Dalit Movement in Telangana

The Dalit movement in Telangana, a part of the country in southern India, began during British colonial control in the 1920s and 1930s. The movement sought to end caste-based discrimination and subjugation against Dalits, who were thought to be at the bottom of the Hindu social order⁸. In the Telugu-speaking regions of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh, the Dalit movement has deep roots, paralleling India's liberal parliamentary democratic transition from a caste-based to a feudal-colonial state⁹. The complex power dynamics between caste-based Indian feudalism and British imperial colonialism are reflected in this lengthy allegory of the democratic transition. The arrangement of local upper caste feudalists maintaining perpetual control over the poor Dalits is a political expression of the essence of that deliberate unity. The subaltern Dalits were further marginalised as a result of this shrewd bargain between their caste-centered feudal and British colonial overlords, despite the fact that the colonial modernising effort, which included relations reconfiguration to accommodate locals, reflected the political interests of dominating upper caste Hindu landlords¹⁰.

The Satya Shodhak Samaj movement of Mahatma Jyotiba Phule, Ambedkar's anti-caste and anti-untouchability campaign, Periyar Ramaswami Naicker's non-Brahmin movement in Tamil Nadu, Sri Narayana Guru and Sri Ayyan Kali's social reform struggles in Kerala, as well as other movements, have all served as inspiration. Thus, the multifaceted lower caste struggles were essentially both against the colonial collusive power structure and the feudal and brahminical social order¹¹.

Telangana's agricultural land and wealth were concentrated in the hands of a small number of Jagirs and Deshmukhs under the Jagirdari system. Peasants and artisan castes, as well as the majority of poor Dalits, made up the main source of income¹². The Jajmani system of caste-based extra-economic coercive exploitation was essentially a form of capitalism where lower castes had no obligations or duties other than to provide gratuitous services known as Vetti or Vettichakiri. In the cities, particularly in Hyderabad and Secundrabad, some Dalits who managed to elude the jajmani system in the villages relocated, educated themselves, and expanded their spheres of economic activity. These Dalits with urban education went on to lead caste- and untouchability-related campaigns. The "Adi-Andhra" self-respect campaign was started by Dalits in Telangana. The "Great Trinity" of the movement consisted of B.S. Venkat Rao, Arigay Ramaswamy, and Madari Bhagaiah, also known as Bhagya Reddy Verma. These leaders put in a lot of effort to inform the Dalits about who they were and what their situation was.

Anti- social exclusion movement: Bhagya Reddy Varma

The Jagan Mita Mandali was established in 1906 by Bhagya Reddy Verma, who may have been the first Dalit to lead a well-known group in Andhra Pradesh. A new awakening

among the Dalits was sparked by the Mandali, a political and cultural propaganda tool that was used to educate the Dalits through popular folklore. Later in life, Bhagya Reddy Verma converted to Ambedkarism and promoted the idea of Dalit separate electoral districts. He started commemorating Buddha Jayanti in 1913 after becoming intrigued by Lord Buddha's teachings. Additionally, he started the Telugu weekly Bhagyanagar, later known as Adi-Hindu. The Adi-Hindu Social Service League was established in 1921 by Bhagya Reddy Verma, who also founded the Manya Sangham in 1911. The League sought to end the social practises of Hinduism that were imposed on Dalits. Under the auspices of the League, another nonprofit organisation, Swastik Dala Yuvajana Sangham, was also established. IS. Mathaiah was the editor of Panchama, the league's English monthly¹³.

Bhagya Reddy Verma had a lifelong commitment to the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which made him a natural advocate for Dalits. "Our Struggle for Emancipation," a book by P.R. Venkatasamy, chronicled the history of the poor's tenacious fight for social justice and their legal rights in Hyderabad's Nizam state. The "Adi-Hindus" of Hyderabad State were coerced into performing bonded labour, including vetti, leather work, and scavenging. Untouchables were made socially aware by the "Adi-Hindu" social reform movement's forerunners, and a number of social and political organisations were established to address issues like child marriage and devadasi or jogini (the dedication of young Dalit females to the temple)¹⁴.

Anti- social exclusion movement: Arigay Ramaswamy

In order to address the regional concerns of Adi-Hindus from Madigas and Malas , Arigay Ramaswamy founded the Adi-Hindu Jatiyonnati Sabha and Sabhari Sangham in 1922. For the Madigas, whose interests were neglected and placed them in a worse position than the Malas, Ramaswamy, on the other hand, founded a new organisation called Arundatiya Yuvajana Sangham. With the establishment of the Hyderabad Dalit Jatiya Sangham, the term "Dalit" was first used in Nizam State, which is a significant event in this context¹⁵. These organisations worked harder to advance distributive policies for the political and educational advantages of the Depressed Classes despite their internal conflicts and dilemmas. A portion of its leadership could have been integrated thanks to the Dalits' political system. B.S. Venkat Rao, known as "Hyderabad Ambedkar," served as the education minister in Hyderabad state under the Nizam. Venkat Rao played a key role in getting Dalits important lower-level jobs in the Nizam administration, particularly in the public works, revenue, railroads, defence, and education departments. Additionally, he played a key role in getting the Nizam government to approve a sizeable budget of Rs. 1 crore (10 million rupees) for the construction of schools and hostels for the underprivileged classes¹⁶.

Anti-social exclusion movement: Rettamma (also known as Ammaiyappan)

Before independence, there was a long-standing Dalit movement in Telangana. Hyderabad State is now known as Telangana, a state in southern India. Early in the 20th

century, a group of leaders emerged in Telangana to fight for the social, economic, and political marginalisation of Dalits in the area. This movement is known as the Dalit movement. One of the first Dalit leaders in Telangana was Rettamma, a Madiga caste member also known as Ammaiappan¹⁷.

She started a campaign against discrimination and untouchability, and it was thanks in large part to her efforts that the Depressed Classes Association was founded in Hyderabad in 1917. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, a number of additional Dalit leaders emerged in Telangana, including N. Keshava Rao, P. Sundarayya, and K. Jayashankar. To fight for Dalit rights, they founded the Hyderabad State Harijan Sevak Sangh¹⁸.

Anti-social exclusion movement: communist party of India

In the 1940s, the Dalit agitation in Telangana was actively supported by the Communist Party of India (CPI). For the purpose of overthrowing the oppressive feudal system in the area, the party organised Dalits and other marginalised groups. The Dalit movement was significantly impacted by the CPI-led Telangana Armed Struggle, which gave Dalits a platform to fight for their rights and overthrow the established social order. Dalits and Telangana Peasants' Armed Conflict A revolutionary movement to protect the rights of landless agricultural labourers, primarily from the Dalit, Adivasi, and Dalit Bahujan communities, emerged after the Telangana Dalit movement fell apart. The Telangana Peasants' Armed Struggle was a peasant uprising against the feudal lords of the Telangana region, and ultimately the princely State of Hyderabad, between 1946 and 1951¹⁹. Agrarian interactions were formally categorised by the Ryotwari and Jagirdari systems. In the Ryotwari system, landholders were referred to as pattadars (registered occupants), not as owners. As the demand for land increased, subleasing became common, and some people who took the land on a sublease went on to become actual farmers²⁰. While some Jagirs were primarily feudal tenures, the majority were Sarf-e-Khas, or royal estates, and served as the Nizam's private property. The community was ruled by a landed gentry elite known as Dora, which included Hindu Deshmukhs from the Reddy, Velama, and Brahmin castes and Muslim Jagirdars. Due to their prominence in politics and the economy, they could easily use the vetti system to impose extra-economic coercion on the poor peasantry²¹. The first casualties of the vettisystem were agricultural labourers and impoverished peasants from the Mala and Madiga caste groups. Another practise was the Jogini system, in which Dalit women are sexually exploited in the name of tradition. They served as the landlords' concubines and were slaves in their homes²².

K. Mallaiiah was another essential figure in Telangana's early Dalit movement. He founded the Dalit Maha Sabha in 1930. The group made an effort to break down caste oppression and promote Dalit unity. They also focused on issues like untouchability eradication and land reform. The early Dalit movement in Telangana paved the way for succeeding generations of Dalit leaders and activists who fought for the rights and dignity of marginalised

people. The Dalit movement is currently a strong force for social justice and equality in Telangana and all of India. The harsh caste system in the area prompted the Dalit movement in Telangana, also known as the Telangana Dalit movement, to start at the turn of the 20th century. In order to address the social, economic, and political issues facing the local Dalit community, the movement was primarily led by Dalit academics and activists²³.

Furthermore, there were two other sizable anti-social exclusion movements. One of the first Dalit leaders in the state was Kashi Ram, who founded the All India Backward and Minority Communities Employees Federation in Hyderabad in 1971. Kashi Ram played a key role in organising the Telangana Dalit community and bringing attention to their rights and difficulties. R. Krishnaiah, who founded the Andhra Pradesh Dalit Welfare Association in 1980, was a notable Dalit leader in Telangana. The group played a significant role in advocating for the rights of Dalits in the area and battling caste-based prejudice that still exists in society²⁴.

Conclusion

In Telangana, the Dalit movement has been instrumental in opposing the region's restrictive caste system and promoting the rights and empowerment of the Dalit people. The movement has been spearheaded by well-known Dalit leaders and activists who have devoted countless hours to raising awareness of the problems Dalits confront and enlisting their support for political and social reform. The Dalit movement in Telangana through numerous historical phases over a century starting from its early emergence (1906–2006). Early on, urban, progressive youth launched a self-respect movement that laid out a comprehensive reformist agenda for the underclasses. This movement served as the communists' focal point as they constructed a revolutionary mass movement in Telangana. The Dalit agenda was included in the left-wing political agenda in both the Telangana Peasant Armed Struggles of the 1940s and the Peasant Movements beginning in the early 1970s. Later on, caste was completely disregarded in left-wing politics, where Dalit identity was completely integrated. Caste issues are sidelined, and the Left-wing parties place more priority on class. As a result, Telangana's residents no longer even remember the century-old autonomous Dalit movement.

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**DEVELOPMENT OF RAILWAYS IN COLONIAL INDIA :
A STUDY OF PROBLEMS IN THE FORMATIVE PHASE OF
CONSTRUCTION**

Dr. Ganeswar Nayak
Reader in History
F M Autonomous College,
Balasore, Odisha

Abstract

The railway construction was one of the greatest accomplishments of British Raj in India. In spite of availability of technology, finance, and superb manpower, the colonial government faced a number of complex problems during the decisive phase of construction. According to agreement of the East India Company with several railway companies, land was freely available to the company. But cultural and feudal background did not allow people to freely transfer land to the railways. The problem of woods, India's strange geography also gave challenge to the railway company. Preparation of bricks, problem of health and non availability of manpower also created problem for the railway company.

Key Words- Great Indian Peninsular Railway, East Indian Railway, Guaranteed Railways, East India Company, Thal and Bhor Ghat Railway.

Introduction

The railway construction was one of the marvels of British Colonialism in India. It first started from Bombay to Thane in 1853. It was extended to Kalyan in 1854. In 1854 East India railway also constructed railway line from Howrah to Hooghly. South India's first passenger train ran from Royapuram-Veyasarapady (Madras) to Wallajah Road in Arcot, a distance of 60 miles (97 km), on July 1856. In 1856 Bombay to Thane line was further extended to Khopoli. Between 1845 to 1875, 95 \$ million was invested in Indian Railway¹ By the year 1908, Britain had invested \$274 million capital in railway making, it was the largest single investment program undertaken by British Government in India.²

In addition to huge investment, there was rapid march railway construction in the country. In 1860, there were 1349 km of track, but by 1870 there were 7,678 km, by 1890, 25,945 km, by 1920-21, 56,980 km, and by 1946-47, 65,247 km constructed in India.

These railways in India encountered a number of problems in the seminal phase of its construction. These problems were land acquisition, the Mutiny of 1857, question of railway finance, problem of geography, occurrence of disease, import of stores, availability

of bricks ,work of railway contractors, problem of territory , problem of wood etc ,created serious obstacles for smooth construction of railways.

Recent historiography has not given serious attention to the problem of railway during the early phase of construction. Ganeswar Nayak, in his work *Railways in Colonial South Asia, A Study of Economy, Ecology and Culture*, has not given sufficient attention to this problem. ³ Prof I. J Kerr , in his book *Engine of Change, The railroads That Made India*, has only outlined only mutiny and Bhor Ghat as the main obstacle of railway construction. ⁴ G.S Khosala in his book *A History of Indian Railways* has also outlined some of the crucial problems faced by railway during the first phase. ⁵ In this work a comprehensive analysis has been made to discuss and study the problems of Indian Railway during the initial phase of its construction.

Problem of Land Acquisition

The acquisition of land for railway was most complicated problem faced by railways. An agreement was signed between the British government and the railways company to provide land free of cost to the to the railway companies. Therefore, the government enacted an Act XLII of 1850 under which it could immediately acquire any land which was required for railways. ⁶ Once this was done, government acquired land rapidly. But Smriti Kumar Sarkar states that during the formative period of railway construction, there were number of problems faced by the railway companies. Here he examines the legal and social issues involved in acquiring land for public works. The feudal social structure influences the land transfer to the railway companies. There was tribal notion that clearing of forest for the railways companies would infuriate the ancestors who were buried under forest land. The tribal people fear that instead of rain, fireball would drop from heaven. In different cultural tradition of Bengal, living in the west bank of River Ganga was considered similar to residing in the divine city of Benaras. Hence the Bengal folk saying: *Gangar Pascimakul, Benaras Samtul*. ⁷ When East Indian Railway, passed through this area, severest opposition to the land acquisition came from this area. So , feudal social base in Bengal opposed the authority to occupy and transfer land to the railway authority.

Problem of Transport from London

The first agreements between East India Company and East Indian Railway and Great Indian Peninsular Railway were signed in August, 1849. According to Agreement, EIR was to build railway from Calcutta to Raniganj. It would soon connect to Delhi via Mirzapur. All the railway equipment and building materials including fish plates were shipped from England to Calcutta via the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa because Suez Canal was opened for traffic in 1869. ⁸ This created additional problems for the railway companies to construct railway in India. Because ships carrying goods came through Cape of Good hope instead through Suez Canal. Coming through Cape of Good Hope, ships travelled 7000 km more in Atlantic and Indian Ocean to reach India.

Import of Railway Stores from Britain

Several plans were arranged and finalised for import of goods and stores from London. Details plans were made well in advance to work out the quantities and specifications of rail, ties, sleeper, signals, locomotives, passenger coaches, goods, wagons and many other inputs. Company orders were placed for their manufacturers with factories in England. Similarly, shipment schedules were arranged with ocean lines to meet certain targets for opening the lines as fixed by the board of directors located in distant lands⁹

Extreme care and vigil was maintained on the procurement, despatch and receipt of stores and materials at both ends, i.e. by the railway company in England and by their Agents in India. Again The East Indian Railway had built first 38 miles railway from Howrah to Pundooah. The ships carrying first models of railway carriages *HMS Goodwin* sank at Sandheads. The first locomotives meant for line was misdirected to Australia. Mr. John Hodgson, the East India Railway's Locomotives Engineer, finding that carriage models had lost, set about building carriage locally. This was done by Calcutta coach building firm of Messrs Steward and Company and Seton and Company. The Locomotives reached Calcutta via Australia by *HMS Dekagree* in 1854. And soon afterwards on 28 June was taken on a trial trip by Mr Hodgson from Howrah to Pundooah. The railway was opened as for as Hooghly, a distance of 24 mile(38.64 km)s, on 15 Aug and up to Pundooah on 1st September 1854.¹⁰

Problem of Manpower

During the time of railway construction a large number of manpower were required to execute varieties of works. These manpower were supervisor, engineer, traffic managers and locomotives supervenient. But these manpower were not available in India. All these personnel were coming from Great Britain. They were highly paid men, at double the rates they would have received in their own country plus generous allowance. For, example, a resident engineer would receive a salary of Rs 600 per month plus a horse allowance of Rs 105. The artisans, carpenters and ironsmiths and station masters, pointsmen and gangmen were locally recruited. A station master was paid Rs 25 per month and pointsmen was about half of that sum. The wages of masons and carpenters were similar, 10 to 15 rupees a month. Excessive heat, humidity and mosquitoes claimed many victims. Typical is the case of F. W. Simm.¹¹ He was first consulting Engineer of Railway to the Government of India. In 1850, he was ordered by the Government of India to go to Madras and Bombay to gain first-hand knowledge for the information for the construction of railways lines in the two presidencies. But Simms expressed his inability to visit these two presidencies due to exposure to sun or continued mental exertion. There were voluminous correspondences between Governor General and Court of Directors and at last, Simms left India in the spring of 1850.

The turnover of expatriate staff described by Westwood as "hardworking, hard drinking and reckless, was high, death and incapacitating sickness, alone removing five per

cent of every year .In 1853 Lord Dalhousie expressed great concern over this situation. In this situation, it was not surprising that at one stage the Consulting Engineer stated that his views respecting the employment of educated young men either born in India or experienced to the climate, to appoint in these senior posts. The proposal received the approval of Governor General in Council . But this good proposals were not executed. ¹²

Problem of Finance

Financing the railway construction posed another problem for Govern of India. India was a poor country. Similarly, country was frequently attacked by famine, disease and flood. So private railways companies apprehended the success of railway in India. The British government in order to attract private capital guaranteed a sum of money to the railway companies. In 1849 GOI reluctantly, agreed to guarantee after effort to attract in unaided private capital had failed. ¹³ However, a guarantee arrangement was quite common place in the mid and late nineteenth century, as it was adopted in Argentina, Brazil, France, and Russia. With the government guaranteeing the returns, British investors liberally funded India's railway projects. India's guaranteed railway absorbed between 13 and 17 percent of British portfolio foreign investment between 1850 and 1870 and less than 1 percent of the capital came from indigenous sources. All the railway companies constructed railway by the guaranteed railways. However, for Government of India and Indian taxpayers, pioneers lines were proved financial millstones. William Thornton described it as "heads you win, tail I loss". The promoters of the pioneers EIR and GIPR lines envisaged their lines being laid for between Rs 5000 and Rs 8000 per mile. But the actual outturn exceeded Rs 20,000. This was double the coast of railway constructed in Australia and Canada. In spite of all these miscalculations, the guarantee system helped the govt of India to attract foreign capital; to invest money in Indian Railway network. ¹⁴

Selection of Wooden Sleepers for Railways

The Military Board stated that India possessed inexhaustible supply of timber to carry out most wide-ranging railway system. However the main question developed over the question on the application of timber or iron for railway sleepers, especially when timber was available at a price lower than iron .Berkley, gave following estimate to show the financial advantage of using wooden sleepers instead of using iron sleepers. ¹⁵ The estimated cost of iron sleepers road for 1 mi of double line was 2,145.7 pounds. ¹⁶ On the other hand, cost wooden sleepers for the same was 1,408.18 pounds. The iron sleepers would cost the company 745.9 pound per mile more than the wooden sleepers road laid with the 84 lbs rail and 4ft bearings. This would amount upon the Bombay and Thane section, including stations and siding to sum of 1,63,199 pounds. The availability of timber in India and cost factor played a vital role in deciding in favour of wooden sleepers. This necessitated exploring the forest in search of timber for which forests were explored and surveyed.

The Mutiny of 1857

The Mutiny of 1857 gave a temporary setback to the progress of railway construction. Two developments significantly affected the railroads. The first was the abolition of the East India company founded in 1600 as a royally chartered joint stock company engaged in trade, it eventually became a quasi-private organisation with governmental responsibilities. The Crown took direct control of India in 1858, with the Governor, now styled as Viceroy, as the legate of the British monarch, reporting directly to the Secretary of State for India. The crown assumed the right and responsibility set forth in the contracts between EIC and the railroad companies but relationship were now clearer. The EIC as an intermediary company with rights and interest of its own had gone.

The second effect was realised on the ground. The railroad construction in northern India was came to a halt. Partially completed works were devastated and workers were dispersed.¹⁷ British engineers and field staff came to the point of refugee. Many railway workers were killed. Construction plan greatly disturbed. Several construction companies revised their time schedule and financial budget. The mutiny of 1857, further convinced the British authority military justification of railway for India. The authority had seen how the lines that were open had facilitated troops movements, and they recognised that if there had been more lines available, the 1857 mutinies and civil disturbances might have been more quickly suppressed.¹⁸

Problem of Geography

The railway engineers, contractors and workers faced formidable challenges to construct railways in India due to uneven landscape in India. Moreover, generally mountains and deeply incised hilly areas, deserts, extensive jungle tract, great rivers prone to widespread flooding, and the lush complexities of southern and eastern India's paddy field dotted terrain taxed the skill of the then surveyors and builders.¹⁹

A particularly difficult problem was faced by the railroad builders near Bombay. The Western Ghat mountain range, that run parallel to the India's coast at a distance roughly 2,000 feet to the crest in the areas east of Bombay and somewhat higher further south, but they do rise abruptly and rugged beyond the narrow coastal lowlands.

It required of laborious surveying before construction of railroad that began at the Thal and Bhor Ghatt..Moreover mountains and deeply incised hilly areas, deserts, great, extensive forests areas, great rivers which were prone to heavy flooding during rainy season and were great problems to the railway surveyors. Location of long paddy fields in northern and southern India was another challenge to the railways.²⁰

Burning of Bricks

Bridges, great and small, culverts, station buildings and workshops required an astronomical number of bricks. In the 17 miles of the Hullohar divisions of the EIR in the last

half of 1858, 2000,000 bricks were burnt, 4,500,000 were in the kilns ready for firing, and another 7,000,000 were moulded but not kiln loaded due to lack of labour. Some of the first bricks had been used to reconstruct 50 bricks kilns and lime kilns ²¹

The heavy demand for good bricks stimulated and rationalised brick- making in India. Traditionally Indian process tended to run out bricks that were badly tempered, badly shaped and often cracked, thus forcing the railway engineers to ensure not only their manufacturer but also the quality of large number of bricks.

The Indian labourers takes any clay that happens to be near at hand, digs it up, wets it, kneads it with his feet for a short time, and then moulds the bricks on the ground, and leaves them to dry in the hot sun and wind. Bricks so made were badly tempered, badly burnt. For the large bridges over Adjai, Mor and the Soane, the engineers had to establish their own brickfield. At the Soane Bridge, especially, bricks of a superior quality. ²²

A similar amount of care had to be given to the manufacturer of the mortar which was used to lay the bricks. Poor mortar was the cause for many failures of bricks and masonry work on the GIPR in the 1860. Detailed instructions for the bricks and mortars making were provided to the engineers and overseers of the BB& CIR in 1858. Appropriate deposits of clay and supplies of water first had been located near to which two acres had to be obtained a brickyard capable of turning out 20,000 bricks a day. ²³ Two pug mills driven by bullocks, in which the clay was mixed with water and kneaded to a dough like consistency, and ahead of some 12,000 square feet for the moulders, had to be established. Three kilns, each with a capacity of 10,000 square feet for the moulders, had to be established. These kilns, each with a capacity of 1000,000 bricks, were needed for brickyard of this size.

The Burning of Bricks was one of the early occupations of railway engineers in India. Strong stones are not available in several parts of India. Bricks available in Indian market were not in good quality. So several railway company engineers organised their own bricks work. In December 1857, there was exchange of lengthy correspondence on the subject of coal for brick- burning for construction in Beerbhoom District of East India railway among the Agent of EIR (Edward Palmer), the Chief Engineer of EIR, and (George Turnbull), for urgent supply of coal for burning of Bricks. On 16 December 1857 again Perry wrote to Turnbull from Rampur "it would be desirable if we could get any (coal) from Raneeganj. This indicates importance of coal for preparation of bricks. ²⁴

Again, in 1860 the Court of Directors pointed out that East India Railway had reported that the progress of bridge construction was impeded over the Jamuna at Allahabad for want of bricks.

On the Sindia- Neemuch Railway, the progress of railway construction was slowed down owing to earth suitable for brick- burning not being available anywhere along the line

from Neemuch to Mhow. In this area good quality stone was not available for railway construction. So due to masonry work the cost of the line went high, Rs 87,500 per mile. So, brick making and its availability was an important pre-condition for railway construction.²⁵

Problem of Health

The problem of health was another issue which checked the construction of railway. Due to railway construction malarial, small pox, typhoid, pneumonia, dysentery, diarrhoea, ulcers spread in the country.²⁶

The techniques of railway construction, the pattern of worker recruitment and the living conditions at work sites increased the possibility of outbreaks of certain kinds of disease. The construction techniques provided favourable conditions for the breeding of malaria-carrying mosquitoes. Earth for railway embankments often was dug from burrow pits along the line of works. These pits filled with water and vegetation, and became mosquitoes' hatching grounds, as did the water impounded by the embankments whose inexorable progress across the country so often interfered with natural lines of drainage, created ponds and raised subsoil water level.²⁷

The railway lines were laid on that often interfered with the natural lines of drainage and created unwanted ponds and waterholes that became breeding ground for malaria vectors. A British medical agent who studied malaria in India in 1927 came to the conclusion that railways were major causes of malaria in India

The pattern of railway recruitment also contributed to the spread of several diseases. Locally recruited workers returned to their villages on daily or weekly basis and carried disease back and forth between working sites and villages. The living conditions at the work sites brought these dangerous combinations to their culminations in the repeated outbreaks of cholera, malaria and pneumonia that killed many railway construction workers. Life at work sites was grim and hard for the poverty-stricken, malnourished, weakened, diseased susceptible men, women and child labourers. What the epidemiologist came to call large aggregations of tropical labourers lived in crowded, unsanitary conditions that virtually guaranteed a rapid spread of disease.²⁸

The inhabitants of Adamwahan construction colony, next to the Empress bridge (built across Sutlej) were affected by fever and thousands of labourers believed to have died of pneumonia.²⁹ Similarly, Bhor Ghat, with its immense concentration of labourers, was a site of frequent outbreak of cholera in 1860. Similarly, despite reasonable sanitary arrangements which kept cholera in check on the Chaman Extension (1887-91) of the Indus valley line, 800 people died in the winter of 1890-91 from typhus fever brought to the camp by the workmen from Kandahar.³⁰

Supplementary Problems

There were also other problems which confronted railways. On East India Railways, a section passed through the French territory of Chandernagor. The Consulting Engineer to Government recommended in April 1853 a temporary settlement with French authorities for completion of the direct Chandernagore line. Six week later, the Consulting Engineer, having learnt demi-officially from the Foreign Department that the land required for original direct course of the Railway near Chandernagore had been ceded by the French Government, instructed the railway agent to resume work on the portion of the line between Chandernagore and Howrah.

Sometimes wild animals obstruct the railway construction works. The EIR main line from Burdwan to Patna passed through desolate and hilly country with a worrying tiger population Elephants were in the habit of uprooting telegraph poles and rings of iron spikes to be fitted round them as a protection. The Company engineers exposed to dangers from animals as they had to move about on horseback for supervision of construction works.

The main supply routes of imported equipment and materials were through ports, but many sections were built inland, which had no continues rail connections with ports .The means used for transport, were, therefore, country cart and river boats, which were both slow and costly. It was EIR's experience that boat ran around in the Ganga and work was often held up. The railway had eventually to acquire its own fleet to transport ironwork. Timely completion of construction was another challenge to the railway companies. To achieve the target, the Government of India, the P3esidency administration and the Agents of the railway companies watched the work of the contractors with hawk's eye and gave them no quarter for delay or tardiness .So, several, companies adopt three pattern of execution in the early stages of railway construction in India. The first was that of entrusting small sections of the line to local contractors. The East India Railway followed this method on the hope that small local contractors would be able to cope better with Indian conditions. The Great Indian Peninsular Railway and Eastern Bengal Railway chose the give large contracts to well established English firms. While that was the second pattern, the Madras Railway adopted a third pattern and entrusted the entire construction work to its railway Engineers. Of these three works, the second adopted by GIPR and East Bengal Railway produced the best results .Many East Indian Railway contractors found their work beyond their financial means and managerial skill .So, they fell heavily behind the schedule. Attempt to goad them beyond for better performance by holding cash advances only led to a worsening of the situation and in the end East Indian Railway's own Engineers had to take over many sections.

Conclusions

Indian Railway faced a number problems during the early phase of construction. These problems obstructed the railway constriction in India. In Railway a new technology was in traduced in India. So geography posed major challenge to the railway construction.

Secondly, manpower, raw material gave another problem to the railways company. For construction of railway, manpower was also brought from England. Entire railway s was financed by the British Companies .So Company provided guarantee system to attract private capital from London.

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RECONSTRUCTING THE HISTORY OF PRELITERATE SOCIETIES THROUGH ORAL TRADITION AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Dr. Aokumla Walling

Asst. Professor,
Dept. History and Archaeology,
Nagaland University

Abstract

Oral tradition has become a prolific area of enquiry in many disciplines, including archaeology. It plays a key role in the production of historical consciousness in a society where there are less written records of its past history. Archaeological remains play an important role in the production of these oral narratives and on the other hand the oral traditions can also be involved in the production of a sense of place. The current work explores the relationship between oral tradition and archaeology, interrogates the impact of oral tradition on archaeological enquiry and the role memory plays in the discipline. Secondly, examples are drawn from the ancestral sites in Nagaland which has rich oral narratives and where archaeological approaches are applied to reconstruct the unknown history of the past.

Keywords: oral traditions, archaeology, interdisciplinary, history, preliterate, reconstruct

Introduction

Oral traditions are exceptionally rich source of knowledge among the Nagas. Nagas like the rest of the tribal communities of the northeastern region share a common feature of having only the spoken language with no script of their own. It was only from 19th century, when the region was annexed and brought into the fold of the colonial rule that the local languages began to transcribe using the Roman script¹. What was before is just the word of mouth, passed on from one generation to another. These oral narratives constituted the history of the Nagas. To better represent the Nagas' pre-colonial past, it is imperative for any researcher to uncover through such local historical sources. Therefore it becomes necessary to decoding the past by innovating an unconventional method: the use of oral sources. Jan Vansina's text, *Oral traditions: a study in historical methodology*² is a crucial methodological intervention of how oral traditions can be an aided source in reconstructing a society with scarce written evidence. Vansina argues for the equal value of oral source of history with the written records. Naga tribes during the pre colonial period had multiple social and cultural interactions, which are intertwined in diverse sources. These records which are reposed in the material, oral and written text, must be studied conjunctively and comparatively to gain a more complete understanding of the past of Nagas.

Engaging oral sources became synonymous with writing a new kind of history. Oral traditions provide an emic perspective, an insider's view, which, although subject to alteration through generational transmission, still offers a self-portrait of a society's history³ Thus, for the societies with no written records, and whose past is interwoven in its oral traditions, the incorporation of such narratives be considered together with archaeological, historical and other pertinent available evidence and the full weighing of all this evidence must establish that it tends to favour or disfavour a cultural affiliation.

Oral traditions are verbal memories that firsthand observers have passed along to others. These are actually historical accounts that are transmitted from one generation to the next through word of mouth. They can be in the form of praise poems and songs telling of the heroic deeds of an ancestor, a clan or a whole community of people. These oral accounts open up an important window onto the past and as noted by Schapera⁴ it even contain much details that may not be found in written record. Oral sources inform ones understanding of the past in myriad ways. It can provide formative lessons in history, society, as well as cultural and religious practices. The details they shared on geography and spatial terminology can draw attention to environmental, political and economic landscapes, and gives data on genealogies, migrations and trading patterns which could not have been obtained from any other source. In the view of Vansina, "*Oral traditions constitute important primary hypothesis that have to be confirmed by independent evidence such as that uncovered by documentary or archaeological research.*"⁵

However, one can argue that the investigation of oral tradition that relates ancient settings lacks a strong disciplinary infrastructure, and the historical veracity in oral traditions has been argued. Ronald Mason (Mason 2000) advocates for archaeology as a science and insists that if the oral traditions/ histories of indigenous societies are not testable in the manner of archaeological hypothesis, they should be rejected. Mason citing Lenclud⁶ states that "*...societies that do not write their history produce narratives about the past that are exempt from critical scrutiny,these narratives cannot [Therefore] assume the function of reflexivity that are associated with historical consciousness. In this sense, their history is tradition not because it is oral or undeveloped, but because it is shut off inside a lived relationship to the past and consequently to itself*"⁷. On the other end, it favors a more humanities like archaeology as cultural history, arguing for the inclusion of indigenous accounts of the past.⁸

We cannot totally deny or accept oral tradition as an aid for archaeological reconstruct but, as Whitely⁹ commented towards a more thoughtful position we can come to "*a middle ground that retain epistemological rigor and the capacity for analytical judgment, while being open to enhancement by legitimate oral tradition, considered as a fund of additional evidence and explanation. Over- emphasis on hard science risk neglecting vital evidence that might greatly enhance explanation of the past. But*

free for all relativism, where each account is as good as any other and is only accountable to criteria of judgment". These oral traditions if treated seriously may yield a whole new area of inquiry, which supported by known ethnographic facts, could be the impetus for a different kind of culturally focused archaeological research and in the process, entirely new, and explanatorily rich line of archaeological research may emerge.¹⁰

Use of Oral Tradition in Archaeological Research - a Global Perspective

By far the greatest amount of work linking oral testimony to the archaeological record has taken place in the New World, particularly America and Australia¹¹. Legislation to protect Native American and Aboriginal sites from destruction or plunder has led to a greater level of dialogue between indigenous peoples and archaeologists, and attempts at reconciliation and mutual understanding. One of the central parts of this strategy is the appreciation of indigenous oral traditions as historical sources of value in the interpretation of past landscapes, environments and events^{12&13}.

The first archaeologists to work in the American Southwest had a keen interest in the relationship between Native American oral traditions and the archaeological record. Archaeologists such as Victor Mindeleff, Frank Hamilton Cushing and Jesse Walter Fewkes, by the end of 19th century, routinely collected information about Native American oral traditions and used it in their research to help interpret the chronology, function, and cultural affiliation of the archaeological sites they investigated. However, in the early 20th century many cultural anthropologists like Kroeber¹⁴ Lowie¹⁵ began to discount the historical value of Native American oral traditions. Archaeologists were influenced by the attitudes of cultural anthropologists, and for many decades, oral traditions were generally ignored in archaeological research¹⁶.

The final decade of the last century, however saw a dramatic increase in interest among scholars in exploring oral literatures for information about ancient events. Renewal of interest in the historicity of Native American oral traditions grew with the works of e.g. Wiget¹⁷ Teague¹⁸ Bahr et al¹⁹. Indicative of this work is Teague's analysis of the oral traditions of the O'Odham and Hopi, oriented toward increasing our understanding of the cultural events and processes of the period before documentary history in southern Arizona. Teague²⁰ concluded that, "*oral histories can be shown to conform to...archaeological evidence to an extent not easily attributed to the construction of an after-the-fact explanation for the presence of numerous ruins throughout the region. These histories reflect direct knowledge of events in prehistoric Arizona.*" Her article represents the renewed respect archaeologists are beginning to afford native accounts of traditional history. Such publications integrate knowledge derived from archaeology with knowledge from oral traditions, revealing in some cases, vastly richer depictions of human history that can be uncovered through the archaeological record alone or oral traditions alone²¹.

The use of oral traditions as part of the direct historical approach in African archaeology has become a popular method. Schmidt²² has reasoned three folds for the usage of oral tradition in African archaeology. Firstly, on the cultural change of the society only during the last century, thus more intact historical systems of thought than many other areas of the world which have a longer history. Secondly, as the society began to become literate towards the beginning of 20th century, the African archaeologist had to look at the indigenous history primarily coming from oral accounts recorded by educated elites, missionaries, travellers and administrators. Thirdly, the richness of oral traditions about specific places and events in history has inevitably enticed historical archaeologist to use such sources in locating and in explicating the function and meaning of sites. All these make a congenial environment for the use of oral traditions in African studies.

The 1960's and 1970's were marked by great optimism for the potential integration of archaeology and history. This could partly be attributed to significant advances in the study of African oral traditions, mainly by Jan Vansina's work *Oral tradition: A study in historical Methodology*²³ David's *Oral historiography*²⁴ and Joseph Miller's *The African past speaks: Essays on Oral tradition and history*²⁵.

Vansina²⁶ formulated an interdisciplinary approach that used archaeology, oral traditions, historical linguistics and other ethnographic data in African history and unquestionably provided the earliest, best reasoned justification for the use of oral traditions with archaeology. Location of sites on the landscape²⁷ is one of the earliest examples through the use of oral traditions. In the recent years a great deal of messages about African values, value systems and history was conveyed using proper usage of oral traditions. Ogundele's *Settlement Archaeology*²⁸, Andah's *Oral Traditions and West African Culture History*²⁹, Law's *Traditional History*³⁰, Afigbo's *Oral Tradition and The Political Process In Pre-colonial Nigeri*, Trigger's *Beyond History: The Methods of History*³¹, are some indispensable examples highlighting the value of oral traditions in the reconstruction of African History.

There is no doubt that a real history is embedded in oral traditions, and that this is the same history that archaeologists study. Oral traditions contain cultural information about the past carefully preserved and handed down from generation to generation within a tribe. The archaeological record contains material remains of past human behavior that provide physical evidence for many of the same events and processes referred to in oral traditions. Since oral traditions and archaeology have inherent limitations, combining them in research can create knowledge that goes beyond what is possible using either source by itself.

Significance of oral tradition in archaeological research in Nagaland

Chungliyimti is an ancestral site, where pioneering archaeological works in the region was carried out. Chungliyimit is situated at Chare Village, under Tuensang district. The Ao Naga associates its ancestral village to Chungliyimti which is interlinked with the myth of

Longterok. Ao Nagas talks of “*Longterok*” (‘long’- stone, ‘*terok*’- six, ‘*otsu*’- story, Aos are believed to have originated from the six stones) an oral tradition of how they came into being. The oral narrative of “*longterok*” is so significant to the Ao world-view that in Ao folklore, songs, narratives and all other customary practices are traced to Longterok. The oral narrative of *Longterok* and Chungliyimti among the Aos tells of the segmentation of the society into clans and kinship groups, origin of village polity, cultural and social customs and beliefs, warfare and the details of the migrations of the Aos ^{32, 33, 34 & 35}.

One of the earliest documented ethnographic records of Chungliyimti is the work of J H Hutton in his *Diaries of Two Tours in Unadministered Area East of the Naga Hills*³⁶ where he pointed out its archaeological potential. What followed much later was the archaeological exploration carried out at Chungliyimti by V. Nienu ³⁷ reporting the evidence of stone, bowls, pestles, stone ball, hammer stone, querns, mullers, whorls, scrapers, cores, flakes, terracotta and stone smoking pipes. Later in the year 1992, under the guidance of T C Sharma and M Alemchiba, the Dept. of History and Archaeology, North East Hills University, Kohima Campus and the Directorate of Art and Culture, Govt. of Nagaland, undertook archaeological study of the site, which reported evidence of grinding stones, spindle whorls, pottery vessels, beads of rear stones and earrings ³⁸. In the year 2008 a major research program was initiated jointly by the Anthropological Society of Nagaland and the Directorate of Art & Culture, Govt. of Nagaland where archaeological excavation was carried out at Chungliyimti, under the guidance of Tiatoshi Jamir³⁹.

The excavation revealed a settlement that was inhabited from ancient up to modern times. The tool assemblage from a stratified context is predominantly lithic with being iron rarely used. Evidence of a few unfinished stone celts (both sandstone and phyllite), it would appear that the technique of tool grinding was known to the early inhabitants of Chungliyimti. Beads made from glass, tile, jade, agate, amethyst, carnelian and poshan, spillite celts and iron tools were also reported.

Pottery evidence indicates a complex of traditions ranging from coarse, simple and twisted cord marked wares, basket impressed and geometric and paddle impressed design as well as some wheel made pottery. Besides the wheel-made variety, trading in hand-made pottery is further known by the presence of a few uncommon pottery types such as the perforated ware, the ‘wash’ type, and the appliqué and punctated types. Evidence from flotation samples revealed charred remains of both wild *Oryza* sp (cf. *nivara*); *Oryza* sp (cf. *rufipogon*) and cultivated rice (*Oryza sativa*) and millet (*Setaria* sp.). In addition there was also presence of introduced cereals such as wheat (*Triticum aestivum*) and barley (*Hordeum vulgare*). Radio carbon dating of the site was carried out from the charcoal sample, assigning a date of 980-1061 A.D ^{40, 41, & 42}.

During the 17th Century, the Ahom kingdom expanded from the east to the west ⁴³. This westward expansion went on gradually till the time of Gadadhar Singha (1681- 96 A.D.), which brought the Ahoms into contact with the Ao and Lotha Nagas, living between

the river Dikhow and the Dayang. An Ao Naga village, Nokpu, which borders Assam (today), has rich oral sources regarding contact with the Ahoms during its rule in the Brahmaputra Valley. The oral narrative of Nokpu village talks about a relationship with the Ahom king Godapani known as Gadadhar Singha (1681- 1696), who married the daughter of one of the Nokpu villagers, Assiring. Their oral narrative gives a glimpse of the nature of the Naga-Ahom relationship, where even a Duar was named in honor of that marriage- Assiring Duar.

Seeing the potential of Nokpu, in the year 2015, trial excavations were carried out under the present author⁴⁴ to trace the material culture sequence and put a chronological time frame for the Naga Ahom contact. Against this backdrop, four trenches were laid in different areas a few meters away at Nokpu. These areas are undisturbed by any agricultural activities. The excavation revealed a settlement that was inhabited from ancient to modern times. Features of post holes were evident from almost all the trenches, which suggest that it was most probably a residential area where the post holes were used for the wood and bamboo to support the house as the present villagers still practice it. The antiquities retrieved from the site include objects made of iron, terracotta smoking pipes and stone, and beads made of terracotta, glass, and semi-precious stones like crystal and carnelian.

Nokpu yielded a good amount of both handmade and wheel-made potsherds. The handmade wares consist of both paddled and plain wares of Red and Grey wares. The texture of the handmade sherds is medium, with the absence of coarse wares. The dominating designs are mostly herringbone, broad horizontal bands, thin horizontal bands, vertical lines, varied diamond shapes, and vertical and horizontal lines with midribs. No full pot was recovered, but based on the collected rim sherds, the vessels are spherical and medium-sized, indicating that they were primarily valuable vessels. The overall preservation condition of the sherds is poor based on the findings of sherds that are heavily weathered. The wheel-made wares can be classified into fine, medium, and coarse wares. The colors are grey, pink, cream, and orange, either plain or painted in red and black. The paintings are executed on the outer surface and are represented by a combination of horizontal bands and short vertical lines or strokes. Sand rustication has been done on some of the pots, with some showing signs of being used in a fire. This technique is found mainly on the basins. Some base sherds recovered show flat bases. Different types of rims show that the pots' shape and size would have varied from small to medium to large vessels. The overall condition of the sherds is much better than the handmade sherds. The fabric of the ware is fine to medium coarse material, medium to well fired, with or without a slip, and some with the content of fine sand granules. The preservation of the wheel-made sherds is much better than the handmade potsherds. The standard shapes of the wheel-made pots are globular pots (with or without carination), basins, convex-sided bowls, carinated bowls, and plates with flat bases. Most of the animal skeletal materials were in a state of breakage and decay that some could not be identified. Almost all the animals identified belonged to the domesticated variety, which includes cattle, pigs, and deer (Dr. Tetso, personal communication). Botanical evidence

from the site consists of the presence and use of rice, both wild *Oryza* sp (cf. *nivara*?); *Oryza* sp (cf. *rufipogon*), and cultivated rice (*Oryza Officinalis*) and millet (*Setaria* sp.).

The radio carbon date of 1140± 120 years AD, from the site Nokpu from layer 3 reveals the earliest inhibition of the site. All the layers, shows the presence of both the hand and the wheel made pottery. However, it is at layer 2 that we get the maximum presence of a variety of wheel made pottery along with the handmade pottery. This may reveal that the peak time of contact of the hill people with the Ahoms can be a little later after its settlement at the village, which also coincides with the establishment of Ahom ascendancy in the Brahmaputra valley from 1228- 1826 AD. Also with the presence of wheel made pottery throughout the layers, we can also further argue and stretch the history of Naga’s contact with the plains. Since the radiocarbon date- 1140± 120 years AD from Nokpu, is little earlier to the Ahom ascendancy in the Brahmaputra valley, we can presume that the Naga had contact with the plains before the Ahoms. The question lies with whom and how was the contact.

Besides Chungliyimti and Nokpu there are various ancestral settlement sites in Nagaland which have been indentified and studies through the application of oral tradition in archaeological reconstruction- Khusomi⁴⁵, Khezakeno⁴⁶, Phor (Old Phor)⁴⁷ New Phor⁴⁸, Laratvu^{49,50} Movolomi^{51,52} Wui⁵³.

Location	Site	Radiocarbon Age (BP)	Calibrated Age (BC/AD)
Tuensang District	Chungliyimti	460± 170	AD 1493 ± 154
		480± 70	AD 1429 ± 70
		910± 70	AD1118 ± 71
		1020± 80	AD 1018 ± 98
Mokokchung District	Kübok		AD 1265 - 1300
			AD 1370- 1380
Phek District	Khusomi	310± 60530± 40	AD 1480–1650 AD1400–1430
Phek District	Khezakeno	500± 50	AD 1410–1440
Phek District	Phor	230± 60	AD 1640–1680
Phek District	New Phor (Burakha)	1980± 40	BC 900- 420;30 BC–AD 60
Phek District	Lüratvü(Laruri)	1170± 60	AD780-900
Phek District	Movolomi	410± 60	AD1420-1640
Mokokchung District	Nokpu	810± 30	AD 1140 ±120
Noklak District	Wui		BC 800-753
			AD980-1035

Table 1: Some important Radio-Carbon dates of Ancestral Sites in Nagaland identified through the application of Oral Tradition

CONCLUSION

Oral narratives gives details of geographical markers, place names, genealogy, contacts, exchanges and names of persons, giving testimony of historical events which were hitherto not known. It helps us in understanding the early settlement pattern and the driving forces behind the selecting and settling in an area as well as the reason of abandoning them (in some cases). Whenever settlement is made, it involves involvement of people and the clans, adaptable environment and landscape for economic practices, availability of water resources, capacity of the land to hold the population and defense. While studying the pre colonial history of the Nagas, it is important, as Sharma ⁵⁴ has pointed out the need to develop a concept of history which goes beyond information and description and tries to analyze the existing data on economy and society in a manner which reflects upon stages of development and socio-economic formations.

The historical validity of such events of migration and settlements of village sites, dispersal of different groups, its settlements and abandonments of sites, the contacts and interactions within and outside the region of the Nagas and such other events, as recorded in the oral tradition are referred to as legitimate oral documents by the Nagas in reconstructing their past history and in justifying various social and cultural practices. Such narratives are continuously scrutinized and in the event of any disagreements, validation and verification of the story is sought from the relevant village⁵⁵. These oral narratives of the Nagas are subject to verification by the community, whose history unfolds through a narrative. This work supports the use of oral tradition by linking it to a shared past, and supports the argument by Aier ⁵⁶ that they are not totally ‘*shut within a lived past and to itself*’ but continuing to have a relevance even in the present.

Oral traditions incorporate the cultural knowledge of many ancestors at multiple levels of signification. Similarly, archaeological sites incorporate a complex record of past human behavior embedded in artifacts and archaeological deposits. Both oral traditions and archaeology thus constitute sources of knowledge that have intricate structures that must be systematically and carefully analyzed in terms of their own internal logic in order to use them in scholarly research.

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB: THE INTERNMENT YEARS

Kerkar Devika Arun
CHS, JNU

Abstract

In 1931, Gandhi wrote to Narandas Gandhi introducing him to “a rich gentleman of Orissa” who had “given up that life” and come into “close contact with Bhai Jivaram.” He now wished to spend some time at Gandhi’s Ashram and thereafter open his own Ashram in Orissa.¹ This gentleman was Harekrushna Mahtab (1899-1987) and he was already making great strides in his home province. In the words of his biographer, Soma Chand, the thirties had constituted “a big leap from adolescence to youth” for Mahtab as he “insisted on staging Salt Satyagraha in Balasore itself, instead of paying lip service at Dandi.”² In 1938, Mahtab made history as the first person from Orissa to become a member of the Congress Working Committee. Using Mahtab’s historic membership as a starting point, this paper traces his participation in various events, including the Quit India Resolution. But it is Mahtab’s internment at the Ahmednagar Fort (1942-1945) that forms the main focus of this paper. These years spent at the Ahmednagar Fort enabled Mahtab to come in close contact with the leading Congress leaders despite his comparatively young age. The paper aims to highlight the various ways in which Mahtab was influenced by and in turn, influenced his fellow inmates.

Keywords: Harekrushna Mahtab, Orissa, Quit India Movement, Congress Working Committee, Ahmednagar Fort.

According to Mufti (2007) : “The internment of the members of the All-India Working Committee of the Indian National Congress after their passage of the so-called Quit India Resolution is the subject of legend in the culture of the nationalist movement.”³ However, not everyone imprisoned at the Ahmednagar Fort happened to be a member of the Working Committee. As attested by Nehru in his prison diary, while ten were members of the Working Committee, two - Narendra Deva and Harekrushna Mahtab were invitees to it. The sentence served by these men in Ahmednagar was also the longest for most of them. Yet, given the stature occupied by them in the history of modern India, this phase in their lives is often overshadowed by other important events.⁴ This paper is an attempt to re-visit the said period, with a particular emphasis on the life of Harekrushna Mahtab. Popularly known as Utkal Keshari, back in 1942, Mahtab was the youngest Congress leader to be interned at the Ahmednagar Fort. In this paper, I have briefly traced Mahtab’s rise as an all India figure

after becoming the first person from Orissa to be a part of the Congress Working Committee, along with the events preceding and leading to his imprisonment in August 1942. Detained on 9 August 1942, Mahtab was released on 1 May 1945. I have studied this period through sources accessed at the National Archives of India, Maharashtra State archives, newspaper records, assembly debates, along with accounts by Mahtab and his fellow prisoners.

An All India Figure

Mahtab first became a member of the Congress Working Committee in 1938, which was announced by the Congress President Subhas Chandra Bose.⁵ He was described in the pages of the *Bombay Chronicle* as a comparative newcomer “though he has done good work in his province of Orissa.”⁶ Mahtab’s inclusion in the Working Committee found a mention in the Orissa Government official E. R. Wood’s fortnightly report, whereby he stated that the election was welcome in Orissa “as being the first occasion on which a Congressman of this province had been elected to that Committee.” According to Wood, the election also “roused the jealousy of some of his opponents in the Congress circle.”⁷ On his part, Mahtab acknowledged Bose’s role in making him “an all-India figure.”⁸ During this time, while there were differences among members of the Congress Working Committee, Mahtab stated he did not belong to any group and lend his support on the basis of merit. More than anyone he identified with Gandhi.⁹ But things came to a head when Bose sought to be re-elected as President in 1939 and emerged victorious. In Orissa, out of the total 143 votes cast, Bose secured 44 votes to the 99 votes secured by Pattabhi Sitaramayya.¹⁰ Mahtab was among those who voted for Bose,¹¹ despite Gandhi being against the latter’s re-election and terming Pattabhi’s defeat as his own.¹² However, ultimately, Mahtab chose to go with the Gandhi.¹³ Thus on 22 February 1939, he along with twelve other members of the Working Committee resigned.¹⁴ Following Bose’s resignation and Rajendra Prasad’s election as President, Mahtab was once again announced as a member of the Congress Working Committee.¹⁵ However, he was not included in the Working Committee announced by the Congress President Abul Kalam Azad in March 1940.¹⁶ He continued being a member of the A.I.C.C., as he was elected as a delegate from Orissa in February.¹⁷

In and Out of Jail

Despite not being a member of the Congress Working Committee, Mahtab continued to attend its deliberations by special invitation. For instance, he was invited to the meeting of the Congress Working Committee, along with Pattabhi Sitaramayya, T. Prakasam, Achut Patwardhan and Vijyalaxmi Pandit.¹⁸ In 1940, even before the commencement of the Individual Satyagraha, his name was included in a list of Congressmen from Orissa who were likely to be imprisoned.¹⁹ In keeping with this “prophecy” Mahtab was arrested on 1 December, at Remuna village, about seven miles from Balasore, for offering Satyagraha by shouting anti-war slogans.²⁰ Commenting on Mahtab’s arrest was J. Bowstead, an official of the Government of Orissa, who disparagingly remarked : “He made an anti-war speech by way

of satyagraha which is reported to have fallen very flat and, to his disappointment, he was not arrested then and there, but on his return to the Congress office.”²¹ Mahtab was subsequently tried by the Defence Magistrate at his bungalow and sentenced to one year’s simple imprisonment.²² The District Magistrate had been directed by the Government of Orissa to try “persons of importance offering satyagraha themselves, so that the odium which may attach to the trial of such persons shall not fall on Deputy Magistrates and make them apprehend possible victimization in future.”²³

Towards Quit India

At the beginning of 1942, Mahtab released a statement criticising the Orissa Government for its preconceived plan of arresting the Congress Members of Legislative Assembly (MLAs) in order to gain majority in the Assembly on the eve of its first sitting which was scheduled for next month. He accused the Government of arresting prominent Congressmen for speeches “delivered long ago” which were now suddenly found to be objectionable. On 7 February, he was arrested from the Swaraj Ashram under Section 38 (5) of the Defence of India Rules, in connection with his statement.²⁴ The following day he was produced before the Court and remanded to jail custody till 10 February. His bail petition was also postponed till then.²⁵ Commenting on Mahtab’s arrest in a press release, Gandhi stated it was preposterous that Mahtab’s bail application was refused when he wanted to be bailed out, and expressed hope that the matter would be taken to the High Court. He also found the action to be mean and vindictive, if it turned out to be true that the Orissa Ministry had effected arrests of Mahtab and other Congress workers in order to stall a no confidence motion from being carried at the forth coming meeting of the Orissa Legislature.²⁶ Mahtab was convicted on 11 March²⁷ and sentenced to a fine of Rs. 100 in default ‘R.I.’ for 4 months. The nature of offence was “unauthorised communication of prejudicial reports.”²⁸ Later, Mahtab was Gandhi’s primary companion when he embarked on a tour of Orissa in May 1942. They toured through villages, put up “in peasants’ little homes”, had public and private meetings in big towns and interviews and discussions with “government officials of all grades from the Chief Secretary to village clerks.”²⁹

In August 1942, Mahtab attended the deliberations of the Working Committee by special invitation.³⁰ The Working Committee passed a resolution demanding the withdrawal of British power.³¹ On 8 August, at its historical session in Bombay, the All India Congress Committee (AICC) passed the official resolution demanding that the British quit India and contemplating a mass struggle otherwise.³² Nehru emphasised that the resolution was not a threat but an offer of co-operation on condition of Indian independence, but on any other terms “our resolution promises only conflict and struggle.”³³ However, before the resolution could be implemented, the Government resorted to severe repression. The Congress Working Committee, the AICC along with some provincial congress committees were declared unlawful. Early next morning, Congress leaders, including Gandhi and the members of the

Congress Committee were arrested between five and six a.m. and taken by a special train. Mahtab and Govind Ballabh Pant were guests at Raja Shivial Govindlal's place at Dabholkar Road. When the Police arrived to arrest them, Pant refused to get up so early and got another two hours' sleep.³⁴ Thus the two were left behind. They were kept in Bombay's Arthur Road jail for a day, and then driven from Poona to Ahmednagar in a car.³⁵ In an official report by the Deputy Inspector, Mahtab was incorrectly identified "Jayramdas Daulatram."³⁶

Life at Ahmednagar Fort

Gandhi and Sarojini Naidu, Miraben and Mahadev Desai were detained at Chinchwad station near Poona. Thereafter, the train carrying the members of the Congress Committee was said to have left for an unknown destination. This destination, as the leaders learnt, turned out to be the Ahmednagar Fort. As stated before, Mahtab and Pant joined the others later. One of the detained leaders Abul Kalam Azad, stated they were taken inside the Fort and "brought to a building which looked like a military barrack. There was an open courtyard about 200 feet long with rooms all around."³⁷ According to Mahtab, a big hall was partitioned into rooms. The size of the room determined whether they were occupied by two people or a single person. Thus, Shankarrao Deo and P.C. Ghosh shared a room, and Mahtab lived alone in a room. His neighbour Narendra Deva lived alone as well.³⁸ Major M. Sendak belonging to the Indian Medical Service was put in charge of the Fort. But as the leaders did not know his name, Azad suggested that they call him Cheeta Khan. He claimed that when Chand Bibi detained at the same fort she had an Abyssinian jailer by that name. The suggestion was readily accepted and Major Sendak became Cheeta Khan to the leaders.³⁹

While the detained leaders were aware of the location of their incarceration, it continued to be an unknown destination for their friends and well-wishers. The Government deemed the restrictions with regard to their contact with the outer world necessary as it felt that the "preventive character of its action would be entirely defeated if such contacts were allowed." Finally on 20 August, it decided to allow the detained leaders to receive and send letters to their family members on purely personal and domestic matters. As Class I security prisoners, they were allowed to write 4 letters and receive 8 letters per week. All correspondence was subjected to censorship and came through the Home Secretary. The leaders were also allowed access to some newspapers, including past issues since their arrest.⁴⁰ A convict was first appointed as a cook, but after complaints from the detained leaders he was replaced by a cook from the outside. However, he soon left owing restrictions placed on his movements and the Government increasingly found it difficult to hire a replacement.⁴¹ When the leaders request to be allowed to arrange for a cook on their by own was denied, they took it upon themselves to give the hired cooks a helping hand, with Kripalani in particular taking the reins of the kitchen.⁴²

Nehru found his eleven companions to be “an interesting cross-section of India” and felt they represented “not only politics but Indian scholarship, old and new, and various aspects of present-day India.” Similarly, he stated: “Nearly all the principal living Indian languages, as well as the classical languages which have powerfully influenced India in the past and present” were represented.⁴³ However, this enforced proximity was not without its tensions. As Nehru’s biographer S. Gopal stated: “Forced into close companionship, these Congress leaders, who had in common only dedication to a common cause and acceptance of Gandhi’s leadership, frequently found themselves in heated discussion, and by the time of their release were hardly on speaking terms.”⁴⁴ In fact, not all were on the same page about Gandhi. For instance, Mahtab recalled Azad flaring up whenever Deo talked about Gandhian philosophy. At 67 Patel was the oldest, while the 42 year old Mahtab was the youngest incarcerated member. Kripalani described him as “a hefty young man.”⁴⁵ Mahtab felt his companions had converted the Jail “into an institution for refresher course” and compared the routine followed by them in the jail to hostel’s routine. He also found the detention personally very pleasant and referred to it as “a sort of researcher course”, as he became “research minded” thanks to his neighbour Narendra Deva. Being the youngest and in keeping with his temperament, Mahtab refused to take sides. This was also true in the case of discussions. For instance, when discussions between Kripalani and Nehru took place, Mahtab found these to be very lively but preferred to remain silent.⁴⁶

Through various accounts, we know that the detained leaders played badminton and bridge. It was while speaking about badminton and bridge that Mahtab offered some opinions regarding his companions. He stated that while Nehru was a zealous badminton player, he would blame his partner for every failure. Kripalani would manage to beat him using his trick and Nehru would insist that something was wrong with the team. It was on this issue that Mahtab had a friendly quarrel with Nehru. Similarly, Patel, a brilliant bridge player would blame his partner for any loss, even if it was his own mistake. Also, while he did not find Patel’s “bent of mind” of the scholarly type, and he found him very sharp and energetic. Nehru was declared to be “fond of flowers but not interested in gardening,” and his main interests were listed as reading and particularly writing. Azad was described as “highly cultured and scholarly person” who gave them talks on “Arabic history, ancient history and the difference between Arabic and Indian culture.” In fact, it was Azad who showed him the word Balasore in one history book “which was set as Bala-e-sor - meaning a town on the sea. Bala-e-sor, which Mahtab now came to know, was the seaport of the Mughals. Azad also told him that it was a combination of Persian words. Kripalani was described as a voracious reader who was also very fond of cooking.”⁴⁷

Given the indefinite nature of their sentence, the Congress leaders took various activities. Two well known books written at the Fort were Nehru’s *Discovery of India* and Azad’s *Ghubar-e-Khatir*. Personally, Mahtab felt that period helped him a great deal in developing his “intellectual activities.”⁴⁸ Over a period of two years, he compiled the

History of Orissa, for which he approached the Government for materials and was supplied with official records. Thereafter, he started compiling “a dictionary from English to Oriya.” This was to be a time consuming task and Mahtab collected a number of dictionaries to compile it. But the task could not be completed following his release from prison.⁴⁹ He also studied Urdu alongside with Pattabhi and Ghosh from Asaf Ali, and managed to read and understand it. During this period, Mahtab also recalled his special interests to be reading, writing and games. Sometimes Patel would engage him in watering trees “here and there.” As someone who knew something about book binding, he was also put in charge of binding and repairing the large number of books that came to the prisoners.⁵⁰

Apart from his own recollections, there are some specific entries related to Mahtab in the diaries of his colleagues. Thus, in his diary entry dated, 16 November, Pattabhi noted Mahtab ordered a “*bansi*.” Two lutes arrived in the camp, one made of bamboo and another made of metal. As one prisoner named Gulab got the metal flute, Mahtab must have got the bamboo made flute.⁵¹ While contending that Mahtab “has how own moods” Pattabhi described him as “tall well-built, brought in opulence with the enjoyment of early honours in the membership of the Behar Legislative Assembly, Presidentship of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee and membership of the W.C. in 1938-39, he carries his frame with becoming dignity as well as grace.” Mahtab was also reported to have quietly stopped going to the Badminton court where he played quite well owing to his height, but got tired of learning “service.”⁵² And, on the occasion of Nehru’s fifty-third birthday, Mahtab was said to have composed an Oriya poem in his honour.⁵³

When it came to availing the permission granted by the Government for writing and receiving letters, Mahtab’s primary correspondent was his brother Gopinath Das. But as Mahtab himself stated, he received about 3 letters from him. However, Gopinath also wrote to the Government mainly to send reading material to his brother. For instance, on 12 November, a letter from Das to the Government of Bombay stated: “I have the honour to say that my brother Sree Harekrishna Mahatab, the Congress leader of Orissa and the member of the Working Committee is detained under Rule 26 D.I.R. somewhere in your province.” Since Mahtab was not getting any news from Orissa, Das subscribed to the daily *Samaj* and requested that it be delivered to him. He testified that the said paper was recognised by the Provincial Government of Orissa and was given to all the security prisoners.⁵⁴ Ten days later, Das requested that copies of the Bengali magazine *Prabasi* send by him be forwarded to his brother.⁵⁵ The Bombay Government referred the matter to the Government of India. On 12 December the Additional Secretary to the Government of India wrote to his Bombay counterpart stating that they were informed about *Prabasi* being an extremist nationalist paper and not among the newspapers sanctioned by the Bengal Government. Therefore, it was deemed unsuitable to be supplied to Mahtab.⁵⁶ And it was only on 27 January 1943 that they approved of the newspaper *Samaj* being send to him.⁵⁷

The most important event of 1943 was without doubt Gandhi's fast. In February that year, hurt and angered by the "false and malicious allegations" contained in the Government published pamphlet, *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*, Gandhi undertook a twenty-one day fast.⁵⁸ The news of Gandhi's deteriorating health during the fast greatly alarmed his colleagues incarcerated at the Ahmednagar Fort. According to Kripalani, they were in a pitiable condition as they had to depend upon the meagre reports published in *The Times of India*, and deal with rumours that the Government had begun preparation for his cremation.⁵⁹ Fortunately, Gandhi survived the fast and the detained leaders at the Fort got much needed relief. Accounts about Mahtab's life in 1943 are difficult to trace. On 9 February, Patabhi recorded that Mahtab had written several novels and dramas in Uriya [sic]. He was also hailed for making three beautifully decorated calendars with scraps of coloured paper, with the help of one of the convicts.⁶⁰ Entries related to him in his colleagues' diaries also paint a picture of a young man who wanted to maintain his good health. Thus, on 2 April, Nehru noted he was doing best from health point of view, followed by Mahtab and Profulla Ghosh.⁶¹ On 9 August 1943, Patabhi wrote that Mahtab "is afraid of relapsing by his old weight and is hard put to it to keep it down." Sometime during Mahtab's incarceration, the revision petition filed by his lawyer Harihar Mahapatra against the verdict delivered against him March 1942 came up for hearing in the High Court. The case came up in the court of Judge Meredith of the Patna High Court in the Cuttack Circuit. According Mahapatra, the case was filed against Mahtab for describing the Government of India "as a quisling in a press statement." So now he argued that Mahtab had called the spies quislings. Eventually, Mahtab was acquitted of all charges.

1944 is the most well documented year among all the years Mahtab spent at the Ahmednagar fort. The year began, by bringing news of deaths to the detained leaders. Ranjit Pandit, passed away in January followed by Azad's wife in April. In August the members suffered owing to breach of trust from one among them. On 19 August 1944, Syed Mahmud wrote a very contentious letter to the Private Secretary of the Viceroy claiming he had never supported the Quit India Resolution and had voted against it at the A.I.C.C. meeting held on 8 August 1942.⁶² Even the British officials were not convinced about Mahmud's claims. But some of them recognised the damage the letter could do. Thus, when it reached Richard Tottenham, the Additional Secretary to the Government of India, he felt it "might be positively advantageous for us" if Mahmud's release was accompanied by a statement that "he had now revealed for the first time that he all along been opposed to the Resolution."⁶³ Another official called the letter "an amazing production."⁶⁴ Mahmud was released on 6 October 1944.⁶⁵ In his book, Mahtab remarked on the release by simply stating "but curiously enough he was released much earlier for reasons which none of us could know."⁶⁶ The reason behind Mahmud's release soon became clear when his letter was released in the Press. This was also how his former fellow inmates came to know about the circumstances surrounding his release. Commenting on the same in an interview, Mahtab

admitted that he and the others were very pained to know that Mahmud “either expressed regret or he wrote something damaging about the Congress which secured his release.”

Meanwhile, following Mahmud’s release, it was reported that the Congress Working Committee members detained in Ahmednagar were now permitted to interview their near relatives once a fortnight on purely domestic and personal matters.⁶⁷ Thus, on 17 October, Mahtab’s brother, Gopinath Das sought permission from the Government of Bombay to meet him as: “I am his only nearest relative and am in sole charge of management of his estate and household affairs.” He also asked if “if I can talk to him in my native Oriya as I am ignorant of English.” In case the same was not granted, Gopinath Das sought permission to take along an English interpreter.⁶⁸ While Gopinath waited for the Government’s reply, the Government of India was thinking in terms of getting “some positive advantage in order to reduce the effect of some spectacular delivery later on” when it came to gradual release of “those members of the Working Committee who are either believed not have been in favour of the August Resolution or who could be counted upon not to have any effective influence on the political situation if they were free.” The Government put Mahtab, Asaf Ali, P.C. Ghosh and Jairamdas Daulatram under this category, and sought the opinion of the respective Provincial Governments regarding the proposed release.⁶⁹ Their description of Mahtab was as follows:

Hari Krishna Mehtab is little more than a figure-head. Although he was admitted to the Working Committee in 1938, he dropped out in the following year and it was not until 1942 just before the Bombay meeting that he was re-nominated to take the place of Rajagopalachariar. In fact, he played a very minor part in the deliberations of the Working Committee.

When the matter was referred to the Government of Orissa, its Chief Secretary countered the Government of India’s assessment of Mahtab by opposing his release and by referring to him as the most important Congressmen from the province. He also declared that the Government would prefer that “he should be one of the prisoners to be released last.”⁷⁰

As the topic of Mahtab’s release was closed, another issue had already taken centre stage. On 7 November, the Government replied to Gopinath’s letter, asking him to bring an interpreter knowing English “as you will not be allowed to converse in Oriya language with Mr. Mehtab.”⁷¹ But even before the Government responded, members of the Working Committee had refused to avail of the Government permission granting them interviews. For instance, in a letter to a relative Nehru cited “the conditions under which interviews are likely to take place” not fitting his “conception of dignity or the dignity of my dear ones” as the reason for his refusal.⁷² The matter reached the Central Assembly where Francis Mudie declared that he believed the Congress Working Committee Members had refused interviews with their relatives as they felt they had

been deprived of it for so long. The same was refuted by Azad in a letter written to the Viceroy in January 1945. He ascribed the refusal to members not being permitted to speak in their own language and cited Government's letter to Gopinath Das as evidence.⁷³ The same point was reiterated by Ghosh upon his release. He challenged Mudie to make his correspondence with Azad public and again emphasised on Government's letter to Gopinath.⁷⁴

On 19 February 1945, T.S. Avinashilingam Chettiar, raised the issue of Mahtab's brother being asked to bring an interpreter along with him and Mahtab refusing the interview as he would not be allowed to talk in his own language. In response, Francis Mudie stated he did not have necessary papers with him on that day.⁷⁵ The question was again raised in the Assembly, this time by Abdul Qaiyum, who also demanded to know the reasons for the ban on individual's right to speak in his mother tongue. In reply Mudie incorrectly identified Gopinath as Mahtab's brother in law and stated he had applied by letter for an interview with Mahtab, asking if he would be allowed to speak in Oriya or whether he should bring an interpreter as he did not know English, and was subsequently asked to bring an interpreter. Mudie stated the said interview never took place and declared that it was the intention of the Bombay Government that the visitor should speak to interpreter in Oriya, who would then translate into English what he had said, within hearing distance of the Camp Superintendent. Thereafter, the prisoner would have to reply in English, which would be then translated by the interpreter into Oriya. Mudie claimed it was considered necessary that part of the conversation be in English as interpreter was not an official person, but a person chosen by the visitor.⁷⁶

During this period, Mahtab who had maintained his good health, developed a few health issues and injuries. Right before Mahmud's release, Mahtab and the other prisoners had been weighed. They were weighed for the first time in January. Back then, at 198 lbs, Pant had weighed the most and Ghosh the lowest at 103 lbs. Mahtab weighed 165 lbs which was the second highest. By October, all except Ghosh, Sitaramayya and Mahmud had managed to gain weight. In the case of Ghosh the weight loss was drastic, as he lost 9 lbs.⁷⁷ However, on 14 November, Mahtab injured his left hand while playing volleyball. In his prison diary, Nehru stated "Mahtab signalled my birthday by breaking the little finger - a fracture - in playing volleyball!"⁷⁸ Patabhi recorded about the fracture as well. According to him, Mahtab sustained the injury while playing Volley Ball along with the sepoy and common prisoners.⁷⁹ A day later Mahtab was taken to the military hospital for an X-ray examination,⁸⁰ which confirmed "a simple comminuted fracture of the proximal phalanx of the left little finger." After a plaster was applied by the military surgical specialist, Mahtab was taken back.⁸¹ On 8 December, he was again taken to the military hospital for a X-ray examination, which showed "that the union of the fracture was proceeding satisfactory," and so treatment was continued.⁸² A week later the condition of the fractured finger was reported to be satisfactory and the progress was said to be steady.⁸³ By next week, the "strapping applied" was removed.⁸⁴

In the second week of the new year, Mahtab had a very mild attack of lumbago.⁸⁵ This had “apparently completely cleared up” by 20 January and his general condition was reported to be good and weight “slightly higher than at the time of his arrest in August 1942.”⁸⁶ He had gained 4 lbs as he had gone from weighing 166 lbs on 9 August 1942 to 169 lbs on 30 January 1945. Only Kripalani and Narendra Deva were the other two who had managed to gain weight. Patel and Deo had neither gained or lost weight, but Azad, Pant, Ali and Sitaramayya had all lost weight.⁸⁷

At the end of January, a fresh case of plague occurred in Ahmednagar. As Azad, Nehru, Ali and Mahtab had agreed to be inoculated if there were signs of spread of the diseases, they were given anti-plague inoculations on 1 February. The other six members refused to be inoculated against strong advise. Based on the suggestion of the Director of Public Health, arrangements were made to fumigate all essential foodstuff such as wheat, rice after they were brought to the Camp from the City.⁸⁸ According to Nehru, “Instead of taking the full injection of 2cc at one time, it was considered to be better to have two injections of 1 cc each at an interval of a week.”⁸⁹ Azad, Nehru, Ali and Mahtab were given their second anti-plague inoculations and had slight reactions. As a temporary measure, the families of the guarding staff were transferred from the city to quarters in the cantonment early in the week.⁹⁰

Meanwhile, in the midst of Assembly debates and health scares, the Government was contemplating transferring the leaders to prisons in their respective provinces. On 7 March 1945, the Government of Orissa accepted the proposal to transfer Mehtab to the province. On 16 March, F.G. Cracknell, the Deputy Secretary, Home Department, Government of India wrote to the Chief Secretary, Home Department (Special), Government of Orissa, expressing gratitude for acceptance of the proposed transfer.⁹¹ However, the transfer took some time to take place. This is reflected in Nehru’s diary entry for 27 March, wherein he noted that Kripalani left the camp with a Sind police escort, while “Mahtab is hanging on here still and his date of departure is not certain yet.”⁹² On 28 March, Nehru stated that Mahtab would leave the following day.⁹³ Accordingly on 29 March 1945, Mahtab left the camp. This was after Kripalani, Nehru, Pant and Narendra Deva, even when he was given the earliest notice. Patabhi found the escort befitting “a Bridal ceremony.” Mahtab boarded the train at Aramgaon, a wayside station.⁹⁴

News pertaining to Mahtab’s departure for Orissa was reported differently in different newspapers. *The Bombay Chronicle* and *Amrita Bazar Patrika* reported that Mahtab had arrived in Sambalpur late night on 31 March and thereafter was taken to Sambalpur district jail where he was lodged.⁹⁵ But the *Times of India* and the *Indian Express* carried reports going back to 1 April stating he “will be brought to Sambalpur District jail within a day or two, and arrangements are being made accordingly.”⁹⁶ Ultimately the report carried in the *Bombay Chronicle* and *Amrita Bazar Patrika* proved to be accurate as the official

records state that Mahtab was imprisoned at the Sambalpur jail from 1 April and was visited by the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur.⁹⁷ His weight on transfer from Ahmednagar and upon arrival at the Sambalpur Jail remained the same at 168 lbs. But, owing to heat exhaustion, he complained “of a slight attack of fever.” He was given the necessary treatment and by 3 April had already gained 1 lbs.⁹⁸

Soon after Mahtab’s arrival, the Government of Orissa sent a telegram to the Home Department in New Delhi informing them that he had been lodged at Sambalpur Jail. While arrangements had been made “for present accommodation” the Provincial Government did not consider it to be “a suitable place for prolonged detention.” Citing improved situation, the Government of Orissa finally opined that Mahtab “can now safely be set at liberty without restrictions” and sought the Government of India’s approval. The Government of India referred back to its own proposal from last October regarding the proposed release of Jaimramdas, Mahtab, P.C. Ghosh and Asaf Ali. As Jaimradas and Ghosh had already been released and in view of Azad’s revelation that Mahtab was not a member of the Working Committee, the Government of India communicated on 8 April, that it had no objection to his release.⁹⁹ However, it was keen not to imply that the Working Committee Members would be released one after the other upon returning to their province. Therefore, it was decided that the release should be delayed for a fortnight.¹⁰⁰

Accordingly, Mahtab was unconditionally released on 1 May 1945,¹⁰¹ one month after he was lodged inside the Sambalpur jail. The announcement to this effect was made by the Government of Orissa in a Press Note, in consultation with the Government of India.¹⁰² Mahtab himself found the news of his release very sudden. He had a very difficult time packing up everything, especially letters, books and manuscripts, and therefore needed assistance. With regard to the day he was released, Mahtab recalled being taken in a car which left him at Cuttack.¹⁰³ Despite the short duration of his imprisonment at the Sambalpur Jail, the Government of Orissa stated it had incurred an expenditure of Rs. 208/8/- on Mahtab’s detention.¹⁰⁴ The Government of India agreed to reimburse the amount, and asked the Government of Orissa to include it “in the revised estimate for 1945-46” in under sub-head “F. Payments to Provinces for war expenditure incurred by them” which was under the head “64-Miscellaneous expenditure connected with the war.”¹⁰⁵ While the Government was busy figuring out the logistics, Mahtab had already embarked on a tour of the districts of Balasore, Cuttack, Koraput, Ganjam and thereafter proceeded to meet Gandhi.¹⁰⁶

Conclusion

Harekrushna Mahtab’s incarceration at the Ahmednagar Fort was owing to an error made by the Government. He and Narendra Deva, attended the deliberations of the Congress Working Committee by special invitation, but were taken to be members of the Committee by the Government. The Government of India committed another error by regarding Mahtab as “little more than a figure-head.” The mistake was promptly corrected by the Government

of Orissa which informed the Centre that Mahtab was in fact the most important leader from that province. From 1942 to 1945, this important leader from Orissa got the unique opportunity of living in close contact with some of the most important Congress leaders of the time.

Mahtab had already made history in 1938 as the first member of the Congress Working Committee from Orissa. He would now be permanently associated with an important chapter of Indian History. The Government's refusal to allow his brother Gopinath to converse with him in Odia, was repeatedly a topic of debate in the Legislative Assembly and at the heart of the decision of his fellow prisoners' decision to refuse interviews. Mahtab also had the good fortune of having age on his side. As far as health was concerned, most of the incarcerated leaders, to quote Kripalani, "were damaged goods, being past middle age and having gone to jail many times and for long periods."¹⁰⁷ At 42 Mahtab was the youngest incarcerated leader. Barring a few health issues in 1944, he was able to maintain his health through his sentence. Thus, it is no surprise that he referred to his detention period as very pleasant.

A few years after the end of his incarceration, his fellow prisoner Vallabhbhai Patel described Mahtab as follows:

A true patriot in that he loves Orissa, but loves India more, a practical statesman and a born leader of men, Mahtab has carved out for himself a name which will live in Orissa's History.¹⁰⁸

It is this description rather the incorrect one offered by the Government of India, which has withstood the test of time.

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**MAPPING THE SOCIO-CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS: THE PLACES,
FORMS AND PRACTICES OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP
AT COLONIAL CUTTACK**

Dr. Pramod Kumar Mohanty

Plot No. 102, Surya Nagar,
Bhubaneswar-751003, Odisha, India

Abstract

This research paper examines the places, forms and the practices of religious worships at colonial Cuttack that reflected its multicultural population professing different religions and belonging to different sects and castes, which were a composite of both old and new practices. It elucidates the larger historical context of such cultural encounters between Europeans and the natives (Oriya), between Oriya and Bengali, between Oriya and the other non-Oriya peoples during the period. Since the cultural elements are considered as part of a complex than in isolation, it tries to map the many social encounters that took place in the realms of places, forms and practices of religious worships experienced in the city. In tune with the larger definition of culture, the study enquires how the process of social encounter and cultural exchanges took place among such groups within such domains at colonial Cuttack.

Key Words: Colonial Cuttack, cultural encounter, neo-religious movements, forms and places of worship

Culture was an important site of colonial hegemony. Cultural encounter in colonial India is a complex phenomenon.¹ Colonialism represents a systematic attempt to transform the culture of the subject nation by transforming latter's customs, traditions and social organizations, and by introducing new boundaries between peoples and erasing others through the institutionalization of racism and the creation of new ethnicities. Thus, colonial encounter remains one of the most contested terrains in human history, more so in Indian context of cultural diversity, and the uneven pace of colonising that varied from region to region and locality to locality, and even within the locality. Cities and towns were the points of intense cultural interaction and served as the principal nodes of introducing alien colonial culture into colonised society. They became the cultural crucibles and the major transformative agents in their regions, since new beliefs and practices frequently emerged from such centres and diffused outwards.

The paper examines the places, forms and the practices of religious worships at colonial Cuttack that reflected its multicultural population professing different religions and belonging to different sects and castes, which were a composite of both old and new practices.

In the process it elucidates the larger historical context that framed and shaped neo-forms, practices and places of religious worships engendered at Cuttack during the period.

Historiographical Tradition

Colonialism, apart from being a political, was a cultural² encounter as well, between the colonising and colonized. The culture is used in this study neither as an unimportant adjunct of the material transformation of cities nor a purely symbolic realm for differentiating social roles. Culture used here is both dependent and variable having significant material consequences. In tune with the fashion of the cultural historians it mainly concerns itself with values and symbols, wherever these are found in the everyday life of ordinary people.³

Places, Forms & Practices of Religious Worship at Colonial Cuttack

Places, forms and the practices of religious worships at colonial Cuttack reflected its multicultural population professing different religions and belonging to different sects and castes, which were a composite of both old and new practices. Its pantheon of gods and goddesses, and the rituals involving them were drawn from several sources: tribal, folk, Sanskritic, Saivite, Vaisnavite, Sakti, Jain, Buddhist, Sikh, Christian, Oriya, Tamil, Telugu, Bengali, etc. The worship of Nataraja, Narasimha, Naga, etc., pointed to its South Indian origin; and the Vedic gods to North India. The mysterious Sakti worship was a typical representative of East Indian variety. Names of different localities and the rituals specific to them were also reminiscent of the leading persons who founded them and the ways of life associated with people living there as well as the changes they have undergone in the course of their passage in history. Several legends & folk tales are associated with them, which probably carry the silent voices that need to be vocalised. Thus, Jhanjirimangala reminds us of the Sanskritisation of a tribal deity into the Hindu pantheon as the Sakti Goddess Sitala with all such ritual changes in the process.⁴ Likewise, Meriabazar, going by its nomenclature, either points to an uncertain pedigree of the erstwhile practice of human sacrifice by the Kandh tribes who probably resided here in the ancient past, when it was full of jungles or to Mahurias, a lower caste people earning their livelihood by blowing *mahuri* (a kind of instrument blown with mouth) on auspicious occasions, as Ainslie's report of 1814 mentions a place called Mahooreabazar that in due course in all likelihood became Meriabazar. Thoriasahi probably reminds us of the packed bullocks used by the itinerant traders of the yore to carry their merchandise. Likewise, the stone embankment at Cuttack (now buried under ring road) carries legends romanticizing immortal acts of not only the royalty but also the common men in the city to protect it from the recurrent threats of the riverine floods.⁵ The dam was not only a marvelous piece of engineering feat of the natives but also was an ideal platform of the popular culture, as the site was being daily frequented by people of different hues for chit-chat, gossip, conviviality, relishing the delicacies from the swarming hawker/vendors (Cuttack was/is famous for such hawkers in umpteen numbers) as well as for solemn meditative and the creative literary thoughts. The place Ranihat was either a

traditional *hat/bazaar* meant for queen's shopping or under the patronage of queen king during the royal days or was associated with the origin of a style of Odissi *Kirtan* (a chorous laity gathering), called Reniti/Ranihati.⁶ Along with neighbouring Mangalabag, it was the centre of horn-works craft in the city and produced a wide range of products like comb, birds, konark wheel, hand stick, etc.; which had achieved wide popularity both within and outside Orissa. Trading importance of the place is evident from the fact that the Marwari trading communities mostly belonging to Digambar and Terapanthi sects of Jainism have had been living there and at the contiguous College Square. Deolasahi has been conjectured as the possible site of the famed (Purusottam) temple in past that was built by Anangabhima III and destroyed by Feroz Shah Tughluq, but no traces of it are found—a mystery that needs to be resolved. At present it houses Nrusinghanath Raghunath Jew Mandir. Gangamandir celebrates the worship of nature in the form of river by incarnating her as Goddess Gangamata (named after the sacred river the Ganga) in the Hindu pantheon and its association with the tradition of fishermen; who seemed to be along with milkmen, potter, carpenter, weaver and occasionally barber and washermen; the original inhabitants of Cuttack in the Mahanadi delta given its riverine topography that was dotted with numerous ponds and swamps swarming with fishes and crabs.⁷ Many neighbourhoods in the city are named after such castes like Kumbharsahi, Tantisahi, Bhandarisahi, etc. Later with modern professions evolving; many doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers, administrators et. al., started coming to and settling down in the city. Killahpadia valorizes a rich cultural space with elements rooted in both royal and commoner, and secular and the religious traditions. It has had been the site of *Baliyatra* festival celebrating Chaitanya's association with the place and the maritime tradition of Orissa, as it was the point of arrival and departure of merchant ships in hoary past. As a site of popular culture, it was a site akin to a traditional periodic religious festivity centre combining elements of market (merchandise included a variety both native & foreign), merrymaking & enjoyment (watching *jatras*, *palas*, *baunsarani*, etc), thrills of shopping from clothing to daily utilities, (including such items as *sukhua* - dried fish), eating testy food items (like *bada/dahibada* – *aludam*, *alu-gobi*, etc), sermonising, chanting *mantras* and organizing *kirtans*, etc. Jobra, apart from pointing to its tribal linkages, signifies its importance as the site of commerce and the modern industry and transport—the site of East India Irrigation & Canal Company (founded in 1869) and the hub of steamer transport. Barabatti fort, although dilapidated by the vandalism of the colonisers and had ceased to be a military and political power centre, came to acquire cultural power as a symbol of the glorious royal and military tradition of Orissa, as it was appropriated as one of the icons by the advocates of rising Oriya identity vis-a-vis the hegemony both colonisers and their cohorts. Places like Bakharabad, Buxibazar, Alamchandbazar, Dewanbazar (named after Mughal Dewan, Mirza Zafar), Azamkhanbazar, Darghabazar, Kazibazar (named after *Kazi/Qazi*, who lived there), Lalbag, Chandinichowk, Mansinghpatana (named after the famous general of Akbar who defeated the Afghan rulers at Cuttack), etc., owe their origin to Muslim rule and retain distinct traces of the Islamic heritage and culture in the forms of monuments and their

nomenclature. Chandinichowk in particular was the integral part of the Mughal Township, where the citizens used to gather to have a royal glimpse, marketing, merrymaking & socializing. In colonial times it served the purposes of a mall road found in a typical colonial township. Subsequent town growth, however, radically restructured the physical and social demography of such places. A new composite culture in due course evolved in which the people of diverse religious, social, linguistic and economic background lived in harmony. Muslims coexisted with Hindus & Jains, a living example of which was the *satyapir* cult, jointly worshiped by both Hindus and Muslims. There were exchanges of titles like Buxi, used both by Hindus and Muslims. Religious precincts like Qadam-i-rasul at Darghabazar and other such sites associated with *sufis* were (are) worshiped by both Muslims and Hindus. The city represented a unique Hindu-Muslim cultural synthesis, which singled out it as the only place that witnessed no bloodshed and riot during the heyday of the communal frenzy in Indian subcontinent during the last days of freedom struggle in India. Telengabazar (ironically there is hardly a Telugu population at present), as per the oral tradition, reminds of the long association of the Telugu people with the place (from Bahumakara days onwards, according to some); who came as soldiers, domestic servants, craftsmen (weavers, carpenters, barbers, ship builders, temple building masons et. al.), metal workers (gold, silver and copper), traders, intellectuals & administrators during pre-colonial period; and as traders and as both skilled & unskilled labourers during the colonial period.⁸ It housed the Raghunathjew temple, where people used to gather for listening to *Ramcharitamans* daily. Choudhurybazar (named after one Manjunath Choudhury who had come from Nagpur during Maratha rule), apart from being the main trade center in Orissa, also celebrates the cultural synthesis having deities of several religions and sects. Located here were the temples, *maths* (monasteries like Gopaljew) and *mandaps* (podiums where Durga idols were kept) of the Hindu deities like Gopal, Sriradha and Durga, the images of the Jain saints in a Jain temple (jointly worshiped by Hindus and Jains) and a beautiful temple nearby belonging to the Nanakpanthis. Tulsipur alludes to its association with Hindu tradition and housed many *maths* and *ashrams* of the monks like Garib Das, Chaitanya, Maunibaba, Mastarambaba et. al. Kaligali, apart from being the residence of native notables, was also associated with tradition of Sakti worship in the form of ferocious looking Goddess Kali. Starting from this place the worship of Kali has become a mass festival in city. Chandichack likewise celebrates the Sakti tradition in the form of Chandi worship, to whom people resort as their ultimate savour. In due course, it evolved as a prime centre of worship and community life among the Hindus, who gathered their daily for getting assurances and enter into new relationships. Satichoura reminiscences its association with the Hindu practices of *sati* of the yore. Dagarpara in particular reminds of the days of royalty in the hoary past as being the residence of kingly messengers, which subsequently acquired fame as the residence of craftsmen producing exquisite gold and silvery jewellery, and the world famous silver filigree works. Oriyabazar probably carries the memories of Oriya weavers who lived there in hoary past, but its social demography have been radically changed owing to arrival of people from other communities like Muslims

(predominantly) and Bengalis during the subsequent times. Kaflabazar (*kafila* in Arabic means pilgrim troupe) reminds of convergence of the troupes of pilgrims en route to Jagannath Puri via Cuttack from the days of yore. So also was the Purighat through which pilgrims used to ferry in and out of Cuttack on its southern (Puri) side. Gadagadiaghat reminisces its association with Saivism in the form of the worship of Gadgadeswar Mahadev, Vaisnavism in the way of Chatanya's visit to the city and the hoary maritime tradition of Orissa. The places like Firingibazar, Christiansahi, Societypur, Mission Road, Paetonsahi, Cantonment (the camp of British soldiers), Chakrachandbazar (present Station Bazaar and College Square area)/ Chakrachandmaidan (now the campus of Ravenshaw University) carry the Western names that speak eloquently of their European origin and carry its cultural vestiges.⁹ Chakrachandmaidan or the associated bazaar came up to cater to the entertaining needs of the colonizers, who used to conduct horse races (particularly on special occasions like Christmas, new year, *darbar*, etc.) there frequently with collections both from them and the natives. It was a lush green grass field looked pleasing to eyes where thousands gathered to watch the pageantry of the horse race with riders putting on colourful dresses and with a hundred of police being deployed to keep the discipline. On signal the horse riders rode with the pace of wind. The horse that reached the specified spot in the circular field won the award to the restiveness of spectators who enjoyed every moment of that with cheer and eagerly cherished to watch the event again. Initially an all European affair, it came to involve the natives like *rajās* and *zamindars* from different regions in Orissa.¹⁰ Kaliaboda connects the city to Sikh tradition, as the place was consecrated by Nanak and his father who halted there en route to Puri. The gurdarwara, Dantansaheb, stands there celebrating such memory. Some connect Kaliaboda etymologically to Kalu Bedi, the father of Nanak. Dolamundai smacks of its association with the worship of Radha-Krushna of Vaisnavite tradition. It was probably a site of *holi* celebration, where at present stands a Jagannath temple. Localities like Alamchandbazar, Azamkhanbazar, Tarachandpatana, Manisahuchhak, Madhupatana, Madhusudan Nagar, etc., were reminiscent of the leading personalities in different fields who flocked to the city. They either lived or had their concerns located at such places, i.e., the industrial estate, Madhupatana that was so named after the pioneer modern industry in Orissa, M. S. Das. Likewise, the name Madhusudan Nagar was given to the locality that house M. S. Das' tomb (at the Christian Cemetery, called Gorakabar), his statue, a library and a cultural institution named after him.

In the city as a whole there were practitioners of Vaisnavism, Saivism, Saktism, Mahima Dharma, local cults of different hues, remnants of the ancient animistic and magical practices, Sikhism, Jainism (of its sects like Svetambar, Digambar, Sthanikvadi, Terapanthi), Christianity, and Islam with its different sects like Sunni (predominantly), Shia (small in number) and the Sufis. People although subscribed to different religious practices hardly cherished a rancor against one another. Generally, a spirit of bonhomie and fellow-feeling undergirded their religious experiences. Thus, during the visit of a religious teacher (saint/*acharya*/dervish)

the cross sections of people performed their rites and rituals with unfettered gaiety and in a spirit of bonhomie.¹¹ The worship of *Satya Pir* was one more bright example of such spirit, in which not only both Hindus and Muslims performed the rituals and gave offerings of banana, coconut, sugar, etc., but the language involved in such supplications were also drawn from both Hinduism and Islam.¹² Overarching nature of the *sahi* (neighbourhood culture)/ *bhaichara* (fraternal bond across the communities) had the enough sanitizing impact of hammering out a shared religious culture unique to Cuttack, where the religious celebrations had ceased to be an exclusive communitarian affair and had become a collective one involving people across the communities for a large part of the colonial rule. On its social side the special features of the *bhaichara* were to help both old and indigent *sahi* residents, carry the kids and the elders to hospital, lend a helping hand in marriage ceremonies, carry the dead bodies to cemeteries, assimilate a stranger to *sahi* community, enable the communities collectively enjoy the cultural events like *melody* (musical concerts) and *quuwalli/mushahirra*, encourage the communities to organise and learn together in the institutions of learning, inspire the communities and castes together elect their joint representatives to the ruling bodies, exemplary respect and protection provided to womenfolk, Muslims/Christians having expertise in Hindu scriptures and composing /singing devotional songs on Hindu deities and the vice versa, etc. Even the cemeteries in and around Cuttack reflect(ed) its cultural bonhomie and syncretism. There were several of them specific to communities and those shared by several communities.¹³ They have had a unique place in culture as a place for cremating dead, a place for performing purifying rituals, remembering and paying homage to dead and respectful, and a place of pilgrimage as being the sites of sages and hermits, and the great men of culture. They had a great sanitising impact on society by being the place for disposal of dead and harmful, and maintained moral order in the society as an abode of ancestral spirits and the dreadful gods and goddesses like Siva & Kali, who took active interest in seeing that moral order prevailed in the society otherwise they would physically intervene by purging the evils by even violent means. The youth cultural associations like Young Men's Christian Association, Muslim Youth Cultural Club and Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, even though propelled by separate ideals and working for specific communities, never opposed one another. It was the high profile communal politics of the 30s & 40s of twentieth century that tried to impinge markedly on the shared communitarian bond. But the *sahi/bhai cahara* culture ultimately triumphed in creating a livable bond across the communities and castes that preempted any religious and caste riots unlike in other cities in India.¹⁴

The encounter of eastern and western cultures that characterized the new age led to a new thinking in religion that threw up many new religious practices like *Brahmodharma* of Brahma Samaj, *Vedantism* of Arya Samaj, Vedantic Socialism of Ramkrishna Mission, Mahima Dharma, etc. All of which talked of the value of wisdom and the worship of truth/*brahma/sunya* (void) by shedding all exterior religious formalities and rituals, and the caste and idolatry. By advocating unity and love for the whole humanity, they put emphasis on

developing human character by renouncing selfishness and cultivating love, purity and kindness. They were imbued with the nationalistic and patriotic spirit, and advocated pursuit of spirituality by eliminating self-interests. All these reflected the renaissance spirit and an urge on the part of people to create a more egalitarian social order. Such neo-religious practices became particularly fashionable with the educated class at Cuttack, as it became the central to such neo-religious movements in Orissa. *Brahmo* movement was the earliest of such movements, which came to symbolize the collective identity of the English educated neo-rich, and became a passport to power, influence and the jobs. The movement was first brought to Cuttack by *Munsif* Mahendra Ray in 1849. Devendranath Tagore's visit to the city in 1850 led to founding of a branch of Adi-Brahmo Samaj in the house of Dy. Magistrate Jagamohan Ray at Oriyabazar with the assistance of city's notables, which in due course contributed to the growth of its membership and the spread of its ideals in Orissa. The movement was subsequently carried forward by the Utkal Brahmo Samaj that was founded at Cuttack on 1st July 1869 by its Zillah School headmaster, Harnath Bhattacharya. He was instrumental to bring two most prominent members of the movement: M.S Rao and P.M. Acharya. It was situated on an acre of land the west side of the Gangamandir Pond with "*om bhamo krupa hi kevalam*," inscribed on it, where religious discourses used to take place every Sunday. The Samaj used to celebrate its establishment day on 24th January annually that coincided with the birth day of its founder, Raja Rammohan Roy. The celebration was accompanied by the house decorations, feasting, *kirtan* procession on the streets and the religious discourses for two days. Soon the Samaj had its newspaper, *Utkal Subhakari*, founded by one Bhagabati Charan Das.¹⁵ The movement later drew a number of notable persons in the city, as it became the symbol of elite status and provided leverage to power and pelf.¹⁶ A *Brahmo Mandir* (temple) was built in the centre of city at Oriyabazar in 1871 with donations raised by Jagamohan Lala and the financial assistance from Devendranath Tagore. The division of Brahmo Samaj into Adi Brahmo Samaj under Devendranath Tagore and Bharatiya Brahmo Samaj under Keshav Ch. Sen soon had its repercussions at Cuttack. The members of Adi Brahmo Samaj located at Oriyabazar used to congregate at the temple every Wednesday and those of Utkal Brahmo Samaj (a wing of Bharatiya Brahmo Samaj) every Sunday, when several devotional songs composed by M.S. Rao were caroled. Many leading persons from Bengal like Devendra Nath Tagore, Kesav Ch. Sen, Sivanath Sastri, Devi Prasanna Choudhury et. al., used to come to Cuttack, delivered speeches, practiced its rites and organised religious discourses; which used to have significant impact at Cuttack.¹⁷ The Samaj provided a useful forum where people from across the religious and social status used to congregate and interact, which included such native colonial officials like K.G. Gupta (Commissioner at Cuttack), B. L. Gupta (judge), S.C Sen (judge) and their family members. The wives of such officials had established a Mahila Samaj at Lalbag, the residence of Commissioner. It subsequently ran for sometime at Kaligali, where Reba Roy, the pioneer of women's progress movement in Orissa, had established under its aegis a Woman's School and a Sunday school for the Brahmo boys, which ran for sometime before getting closed

down. The Samaj rendered a yeomen's service to the cause of neo-synthetic culture of modern Orissa in the fields of the spread of education, women's education and liberation, publication of news journals, enrichment of literature and fighting for the eradication of social evils. Its impact reverberated in the sociocultural life of then Orissa. Madhusudan Rao's Victoria School and Pyarimohan Acharya's Cuttack Academy were the two pillars of education in Orissa. The noted leader of freedom struggle, Bipan Chandra Pal, was for sometime the headmaster of the Academy, and was Pyarimohan's disciple. Madhusudan Rao's writings in different fields of Oriya literature were its gems like *Barnabodha*, *Sahitya Prasanga*, *Sahitya Kusuma*, etc. His paper *Nava Sambad* enriched the cultural life of Orissa by its publications on politics, literature and social reforms. Pyarimoha Acharya was the pioneering historian and a leading social reformer of Orissa who founded Cuttack Youngmen's Literary Association. As a journalist he edited a weekly paper, *Utkal Putra*, which used to expose and criticise corruption in public places. He was a fire brand speaker both in Oriya and Bengali, and could speak on anything from Oriya literature to corruption in public life and drug addiction. People used to be spellbound people through his speech. But because of his impetuous nature he often landed himself in controversy.¹⁸ Biswanath Kar was famed for his oratory, and was a leading literary critic and an essayist; who founded the famed literary Oriya Journal, *Utkal Sahitya*, which became the leading literary mouthpiece in contemporary Orissa.¹⁹ The movement also spread its ideals in the Christian missionary ways like denouncing idolatry among Hindus and undertaking religious discourses at public spaces like *hat/bazaars*. It adopted such techniques deliberately, as it was a social movement meant to attack the prejudicial social practices not meant to be practiced in private or in temples. Thus, it needed to blow its ideals at public spaces. The Christian missionaries also took satisfaction at the fact that the *Brahmos* by demolishing idolatry prepared ground for the spread of Christianity in Orissa that they considered as the 'garden of idolatry and superstitions.' It raised apprehensions and oppositions among the orthodox sections of people, who perceived acquiescence between two, although in reality there was antipathy between the two. The movement, however, declined in due course owing to a combination of factors, the most important being the internal schism and the opposition of conservative forces within the Hindu society.²⁰

Like *Brahmo* movement, the *Vedantism* of Dyananda Saraswati also rested itself on the wisdom, knowledge and reason by denouncing casteism, idolatry, obscurantist ritualism and the superstitious practices that had crept into Hinduism by giving a call to go back to the Vedas. It soon developed a following for itself at Cuttack, particularly among the educated elite. Ramkrishna Mission carried such trends to still larger domains of nationalism and state building by advocating a socialism that sought to address the problems of the poor. There were also certain religious movements, which unlike those mentioned above came from below and outside the city confines, like the Mahima Dharma, which even though had rural beginning came to have roots at urban centres like Cuttack during the early part of twentieth

century. The followers of the sect were of two types: the dedicated sannyasis and the *grihastas* who lived with their families. Popularly the Mahima Dharma followers were called the *Kumbhi Patias*. They hailed from diverse background: rich and poor, upper and lower castes; but the lower castes and class predominated among them. The founder of the sect was, as believed by its followers, was one mysterious Mahima Swami who had supernatural power. It was Bhima Bhoi (the prodigious blind poet) who fused a protean folk-tribal tradition into popular a sectarian practice through his enthralling devotional poetical compositions.²¹ The order was further consolidated by Viswanath Baba, a much revered saint of the order. Despite opposition by the brahminical elements and the progress of scientism that characterized the epoch, the folk-sprung religious form came to have a significant following event at Cuttack city, to which, it is believed, Mahima Gosain himself visited two times: once in 1838 and once more afterwards in order to preach his doctrine. Its simplicity, catholicity, genuineness and newness appealed the people most. Although it operated within the Hindu fold yet like the aforesaid neo-religious movements it opposed the idol worship and the ritualism of Brahminical religion and sought to set up a true Sanatana Dharma by a mix of mysticism, humanism and social activism. It venerated emptiness and an inseparable *prurusha* (primeval man), and advocated welfare of all. It emphasized bhakti, *prema* (love), sacrifice, proper karma and *niti niyama* (daily actions). Its followers were sworn by truth, submitted to the direction of a guru, renounced luxury, forsook any medicine, were devoid of desire and attachment, stayed cool in all circumstances, remained unclean and ate only during the day. They were advised to lead a chaste life by shunning the company of kings, brahmins, *bhandaries* (barbers), *majhies* (fishermen) and *daries* (women) in order to achieve the ultimate principle, called '*brahma prapti*' in their parlance. In ideological terms the Mahima Dharma not only represented a lower class/caste revolt against the rigid, oppressive and offending caste rules and the ritualism of the brahminical religion but also a sharp reaction against the motivated campaign of the Christian missionaries. It sought to redeem downtrodden by vocalizing them and establish a genuine egalitarian social order. In order to achieve that some fanatical elements of the sect attacked the Jagannath temple to break the idols of Jagannath, as they thought once that was achieved Hindus would be converted to Mahima Dharma. Because of such offensive behavior on the parts of some of its fanatical followers and its unconventional ways, many conservative people became apprehensive that the sect was out to destroy traditional religious beliefs and the social order based on caste.²² In 19th century, it became quite popular (particularly) in Orissa, as evident in mushrooming growth it's associated institutions. Even at Cuttack, it had several *tungis*/Ashrams (houses of religious discourse, many of which were built during the post-independent period) such as at Chandinichowk, Alishahabazar, Chauliganj, Machhuabazar, Khatbinsahi (1937), Kaflabazar, Biranasi (1925, the oldest), Chataghat, Nuabazar, Khanagar (1947), Darjisahi, Badambadi and Jobra; with that at Chandinichowk being the chief and the holiest *gadi* (podium)/ *tungi* built during the early part of 20th century, as it was supposed to be visited by Mahima Gosain himself and the sect's chief pontiff Viswanath Baba was involved in its rebuilt after it

was burnt by the miscreants. It was also the richest of the *tungis* in the city owing to hefty donations it received from its devotees. It was also on the efforts of Viswanath Baba that Mahaima Dharma assumed a significant following at Cuttack among the cross sections of society irrespective of caste, creed and status. Those *tungies* were frequently visited by the monks of Mahima Order and people used to throng such places to partake in the religious gathering that was characterized by the religious discourses, burning of lamps and the singing of *bhajans* (chorous devotional songs) to the accompaniment of musical instruments like *khanjini* and *jhanja*. With the evening fall the ambience of the ‘rur-ban’ Cuttack was filled with the musical tones emanating from the *tungis* dotting the city landscape. *Magha Purnima* was the main festival of the followers of the sect that they celebrated with much gala. Such *tungis* have had played the vital role in the spread and the continued popularity of Mahima Dharma, and also in maintaining peace and social harmony in the city and the state of Orissa as people from all the ages, gender, levels, ranks, status, educational and professional achievents joined its ranks with equality and fellow feeling. Apart from such popular side of the Mahima Dharma, it had an intellectual side as well, as it in due course received patronage from the elites and intellectuals of the city, who were meeting frequently and discoursing on its tenets, thereby, further contributed to its growth and popularity. Their writing being published in the printing press accelerated the pace of its popularity and it came to occupy a special place in the society at Cuttack in particular and Orissa in general.²³ But owing to lack of proper publicity it could not be as popular as other religious reform movements in contemporary India; even though it had potential to be so.²⁴ All such neo-religious movements, except the Mahima Dharma, remained essentially confined to the urban elites and could not spread beyond the urban confines owing to their discourses being in elitist languages like English, Bengali or at best literary Oriya. Deification of their preachers also contributed to their decline, as they came to indulge in practices condemned by them. The forms that continued to exist were their vestigial relics in the form of a few followers, a few places of worship and a few book collections on such practices. They were both scions and pioneers of cultural renaissance and transformation in modern Orissa.

To conclude, the colonial Cuttack was the point of intense cultural interaction and served as the principal node of introducing alien colonial culture into contemporary Orissan society. It became a cultural crucible and the major transformative agent in the region, since new beliefs and practices frequently emerged from it and diffused outwards. The cultural encounter that raged there took rich and varied forms enveloping all the aspects of people’s life and experience, including myriad forms and places of worship. Many new vistas of human experience were explored in all the aforesaid spheres that had lasting impact on the posterity. Places, forms and the practices of religious worships at colonial Cuttack reflected its multicultural population professing different religions and belonging to different sects and castes, which were a composite of both old and new practices. Its pantheon of gods and goddesses, and the rituals involving them were drawn from several sources: tribal, folk,

Sanskritic, Saivite, Vaisnavite, Sakti, Jain, Buddhist, Sikh, Christian, Oriya, Tamil, Telugu, Bengali, etc. The encounter of eastern and western cultures that characterized the new age led to a new thinking in religion that threw up many new religious practices like *Brahmodharma* of Brahma Samaj, *Vedantism* of Arya Samaj, Vedantic Socialism of Ramkrishna Mission, Mahima Dharma, etc. All of which talked of the value of wisdom and the worship of truth/*brahma/sunya* (void) by shedding all exterior religious formalities and rituals, and the caste and idolatry. By advocating unity and love for the whole humanity, they put emphasis on developing human character by renouncing selfishness and cultivating love, purity and kindness. They were imbued with the nationalistic and patriotic spirit, and advocated pursuit of spirituality by eliminating self-interests. All these reflected the renaissance spirit and an urge on the part of people to create a more egalitarian social order. Such neo-religious practices became particularly fashionable with the educated. All such neo-religious movements, except the Mahima Dharma, remained essentially confined to the urban elites and could not spread beyond the urban confines owing to their discourses being in elitist languages like English, Bengali or at best literary Oriya. But they were both scions and pioneers of cultural renaissance and transformation in modern Orissa. In due course, it was the overarching nature of the *sahi* (neighbourhood culture)/ *bhaichara* (fraternal bond across the communities) of Cuttack city that led the religious celebrations to become a collective one involving people across the communities for a large part of the colonial rule. Generally, a spirit of bonhomie and fellow-feeling undergirded their religious experiences as the syncretic culture of the city became triumphant.

References :

1. Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India*. Chatterji, *The Colonial Staged: Theatre in Colonial Calcutta*.
2. The term culture has been taken here in the anthropological sense of it, meaning the attributes and products of human society in all their plurality and diversity, and the values and symbolism they encode. Gold, & Gold, 'Culture and the City', pp. 182-184.
3. Barker, 'On the problem of the Ideological Origins of the French Revolution', p. 197.
4. Dhar, *Kataka Nagar*, p. 2. Ratha, *Cuttack Darshan*, p. 28. Das, *Kataka Nagar*, p. 91.
5. Ref to Baimundi legend. Baimundi, who eked out a living by stone cutting, donated his savings to the King Marakat Kesari at Cuttack to build a stone embankment in order to protect the city from foods fury. The king appreciated the concern of Baimundi and built a stone embankment accordingly. There is another legend on its construction that it was built on donation of ill-gotten money by one Siddeswara Raut. The veracity of both the legends is doubtful. The embankment once built became the protecting shield of the city that was taken care by all the subsequent governments, including the British. Common people also contributed their mite by putting their labour and constantly invigilating on its safety during the floods and cyclones, as happened during the extremely high floods of 1855. Das, *Unnabinsa*, p. 64.
6. There are three styles of Odissi *kirtans* in Orissa: Manoharsahi, Ranihati and Garanahati. Dhar, *Kataka Nagar*, p. 14. Das, *Kataka Nagar*, p. 94.
7. Pattanaik, 'Katak Nagar Barasha Hazar', pp. vii-viii.

8. There were some 2500 Telugus at colonial Cuttack, according to some estimates, many of whom used to migrate to Cuttack city with their families in search of employment, i.e., used to work with the Irrigation Company. Das, *Unnabinsa Satabdira*, p.72. Das, *Desha Kala Patra*, p. 63.
9. Dhar, *Katak Nagar*, p. 82. Das, *Kataka Nagar*, p. 84.
10. *Utkal Dipika*, 01-01-1869 & 04-09-1869. Ratha, *Cuttack Darshan*, p. 26-27.
11. On the occasion of the visit of Sankaracharya of Sringeri, people at Cuttack irrespective of caste, class and creed performed *puja, homa* (burning of sacrificial fire), etc. *Utkal Dipika*, 29-01-1903.
12. Important *Satya Pir/Sufi* centres at Cuttack, where both Hindus and Muslims congregate(d) for worship, were (are) the graves of Bukhari Shah at Barabti Fort, Malang Shah at Buxibazar and Bibi Alam at Firingibazar, etc. *Satya Pir* worship probably started during the *subedarship* of Dewan Alam Chand under the Nazim rule. Das, *Kataka Nagar*, p. 41, 85.
13. Notable such cemeteries were Sati Chaura, Kaliaboda (shows etymological association with Sikhs), Khannagar (shows etymological association with Muslims), Gora Kabar (of the Christians), etc.
14. Doctor Masud in a Muslim conference held at Syed Seminary at Cuttack in 1933 was stressing the need for communal harmony at Cuttack. *Utkal Dipika*, 18-02-1933.
15. *Utkal Dipika*, 05-06-1869. Mukherji, *History of Orissa*, p. 466. Das, *Desha Kala Patra*, p. 376. Mohapatra, 'Katakare Brahmo Samaj', pp. 467-70.
16. The city notables who joined the *Brahmo* movement were Jagamohan Ray, Jagamohan Lala, Gourisankar Ray, Madhusudan Rao etlal; who carried it to other parts of Orissa, including *Garjats*. One unique trait of the Brahmo followers of the period was that they used to converse and exchange letters in Bengali, including M.S. Das, as that was considered to be language of elite of the city dominated by Bengalis. Not only that many of the Brahmo followers who were in critical sectors in government gave preference to Brahmo followers in recruitment to several jobs. Das, *Desha Kala Patra*, pp. 282-3, 307, 379, 387.
17. Devi Prasanna Choudhury's long speech at Cuttack on 5th March 1889 on the character of *Brahmhodharma* had notable influence at Cuttack. *Utkal Dipika*, 10-03-1889.
18. One controversy was his severe criticism of the eroticism in the writings of Upendra Bhanja, a great poet of Orissa. Another was his denunciation of superstitions in Hinduism. Owing to his *Brahmo* leanings he was misconstrued as anti-Hindu. Still another was his views on the desecration of the idols of Jagannath by Kalapahara in his textbook on History of Orissa in Oriya language. He was misunderstood as one denigrating the status of Jagannath as the supreme divine deity of Orissa. But many of such controversies were raised by the vested interests at the behest of textbook publishers at Calcutta. Das, *Desha Kala Patra*, pp. 313-5.
19. Another side of coin was that the newspapers became carriers of traditional religious and superstitious practices by taking up staple stories on the talismanic activities of saintly persons, and the rumors on their *mahatmya* (divine glory) and their patron deities like Vishnu, Shiva, et. al., including their local manifestations. *Utkal Dipika*, 19-06-1869 & 29-05-1869.
20. A conservative Hindu association, called Bhagabat Bhakti Pradayani Sabha, protested strongly at the Brahmo activities of trying to convert the susceptible youth studying at educational institutions to the Brahmo ideals, which put the Hindu society and religion in jeopardy. They took strong umbrage to the involvement of government officials and teachers in such matter. It resolved to bring the attention of colonial government to such affairs. The lead in such matter was taken by the leaders like Ramsankar Ray, Govind Rath, Kapileswar Nandasarma, et. al. Das, *Desha Kala Patra*, pp. 376-9. *Utkal Dipika*, 18-12-1869. Mohapatra, 'Katakare Brahmo Samaj', p. 470.

21. Bhima Bhoi's notable devotional compositions were: *Srutichintamani*, *Bhajan Mala*, *Brahma Nirupan Gita*, *Ashok Vihari Gita*, *Chautisa Grantha Mala*, etc. Besides such texts and the oral tradition on that, there was no authentic text that existed on the sect. Therefore, an effort was made by the devotees at Chandinichowk Ashram to compile an authentic history of the sect. Viswanath Baba was given charge of it, who compiled it with the assistance of others like Ananta Baba, Pitambar Baba, Keshav Ch. Das et. al. Mohapatra, 'Katakare Mahima Dharma', p.435,443.
22. Opposition of people to Mahima Dharma was evident from the prevalent popular saying: '*kuadu asile kumbhi patia, stri purushanku kale bayia*'. Some opponents also took such outrageous step as burying the *tungis* of Mahima Dharma such as that at Chandinichowk in Cuttack city. Ibid. p.435.
23. The leading figures of Cuttack who were associated with the Mahima movement were: Narayan Ray, Laxminarayan Sahu, Bichhanda Ch. Pattnaik, Braj Kishore Das, Ghansyam Das, Sashibhusan Ray, Nabakrushan Choudhury, Lingaraj Mishra, Pranakrushna Parija, Arta Ballbh Mohanty, Mayadhar Mansingh, Vinod Kanungo, et. al. They used to meet frequently at different venues and were discoursing on the tenets and the social dimension of the Dharma. A Satya Mahima Dharma Samiti was also formed to propagate the principle of Mahima Dharma. Viswanath Baba. Ibid. pp. 443-6.
24. M.S. Das disagreed with the opinion of others like G.S. Ray that Mahima followers were the disturbing elements and committed the act of treason. Rather he argued that had such a movement took place in states like Maharashtra, Bengal or Punjab; its founder Mahima Gosain would have been as popular as the Dayananda Saraswati and Ramohan Ray. Das, *Desha Kala Patra*, p.306.



VIJAYANAGARA IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY AS GLEANED FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS

Dr. Divya T

Assistant Professor of History
Government Victoria College
Palakkad, Kerala

Abstract

History of Vijayanagara has been a fascinating subject to the historians since 1900. Historians have analyzed Vijayanagara history using various approaches. The recent approach towards the study of Vijayanagara is the one using an interdisciplinary method of correlating the archaeological remains or data with the reconstruction of the material culture of the period. The ruins of the city of Hampi afford a wealth of data to the historians who look at Vijayanagara from an interdisciplinary perspective comprising of the multifaceted aspects of the empire such as art, history, religion, society, economy, archaeology, anthropology and so on in understanding the questions concerning the empire. Scholars like George Mitchell, John Fritz, Vasundhara Filliozat, Carla Sinopoli, Kathleen Morrison and Anila Verghese have raised questions which are not discussed in the written sources such as the construction of ritual and cultural space and the kinds of activities that took place in these spatial zones such as the legitimization of power, the elaboration of an imperial ideology, the articulation of belief practices, rituals and expression of art, architecture, craft production and courtly styles. This paper focusses on the imperial ideology of Vijayanagara empire in the light of epigraphical evidence.

Keyword: Epigraphy, Empire, Ideology, Temple

All empires need a justification for exercising power. In the case of Vijayanagara, it made certain claims to justify its imperial status. One is that they have freed South India from the invasion of Turks whom they call as Turushka. Secondly, they have restored the purvamarayadai or the ancient order of things i.e. a language of restoration not of revolution. Thirdly on the political front they claim that they are sthapanacharyas who restored many of the ancient cultures and reestablished ancient kingdoms like Chera, Chola and Pandya. Thus, they make a bundle of claims that justify their imperial power. If we look at the inscriptions of Vijayanagara, the idea of restoration of an ancient culture is what manifested itself in their public acts. Another important realm in which the Vijayanagara imperial ideology reflected is its architecture. Incorporative attitude of the rulers was yet another means of legitimization of power by the Vijayanagara rulers which is also reflected in its architecture¹. Vijayanagara existed in a complex network of competing empires and states that vied for

territorial and political power across peninsular India. These included the Islamic Bahmani Sultanates in the Deccan and the Gajapati rulers of Orissa in the East. Though there were conflicts between Vijayanagara and these polities, it did not preclude other forms of interactions with both ideological and economic consequences. Recent studies on Vijayanagara Empire have reassessed the role of ideology in the establishment of the last medieval polity in Peninsular India. Robert Sewell argued that Vijayanagara stood as a bulwark against the expansion of Islam. The geo political rivalry between the two Deccan based states/polities were transformed into an ideological and cultural struggle, a sort of late medieval clash of civilization in the writings of several Vijayanagara historians. Burton Stein has pointed out that Vijayanagara was engaged in far greater struggles with the Gajapati kingdom of Orissa than with the Bahmani Sultanates and the fact is revealed through the inscriptions².

If the term 'ideology' is defined in pragmatic statements relating to worship and the claims for legitimacy, Vijayanagara experience of statecraft depicts a large variety of ideological statements and pre-suppositions. The term *Purvamaryadai* or restoration of ancient order of things has figured in the early Vijayanagara inscriptions especially with reference to the Turkish invasions. In the case of the famous Srirangam temple the inscription of Kumara Kampana describes the restoration of worship and the appointment of priests and ritual specialists. The bonds established in the fourteenth century were further strengthened in the sixteenth when the Srivaishnava Tatacharya became influential in the empire particularly during the reign of Krishnadevaraya³.

The references to Turushka or Turks in the inscriptions of Vijayanagara has made some historians think of the process of state formation essentially in terms of religious identity. Cynthia Talbot has suggested that the category of Turushka represented the civilizational 'other', the 'mlecha' of Sanskrit sources⁴. This interpretation overlooks the specific historical events and particularly inscriptional evidence which speaks of forty years of anarchy in the context of Vijayanagara intervention of temple affairs such as the instance of the Srirangam temple. The reconstruction of Vijayanagara imperial ideology in post colonial intellectual strategy of mere rhetorical creation as suggested by Cynthia Tolbot ignores the concrete and specific historical situation which was encountered by the Vijayanagara state. As suggested by Professor Venkata Raghotham, the interpretation did not take in to consideration the specific trope of civilizational disorder engendered by the politico-military conflicts with the Sultanates⁵. The Proleya Nayaka's Grant of 1336 A.D is one of the earliest inscriptions which refer to the civilizational disjunction caused by the raids of the Khalji Sultanate⁶. As the inscription says "when the sun viz. Prataparudra set, the world was enveloped in the Turushka darkness. The evil Adharma which he had up to that time kept under check, flourished under them as the conditions were very favorable for its growth"⁷. The historical Mahakavya, Prataparudra Charitamu, based on the life of the Kakatiya king Prataparudradeva

too places the historical situation relating to the end of the Kakatiya dynasty in the same format.

The reference in the inscriptions to Turushka or Turks suggests that the identity was based on ethnicity rather than religion. The term Turushka and claim of the defeat of the Turushka as an imperial claim is found in several Vijayanagara inscriptions. A Vijayanagara copper plate record states:-

“Having conquered Chera, Chola and Pandya together with the lord of Madhura, whose honor was his ornament, the fierce Turushka, King Gajapati and others – he imposed his commands on the heads of all the famous kings from the banks of the Ganges to Lanka and from the rising East to the setting West⁸.

Phillip Wagoner has argued that the title Hinduraya Suratrana or the Sultan among Hindu Kings⁹ which make appearance in several Vijayanagara royal inscriptions is yet another metaphor in which the royal imperial ideology is embedded¹⁰. The word appears in a long Sanskrit inscription found at Hampi dated 1344 A.D¹¹. An inscription of Aravidu dynasty belonging to Tirumala I dated 1570 A.D mentions Urigola Suratrana meaning Suratrana of Warrangal which Wagoner translated as Sultan of Warrangal¹². Rather than viewing the politics of Vijayanagara in exclusively religious terms, the title Hinduraya Suratrana suggests a harmonious blending of Islamic and Hindu ideas.

Temple Construction and Renovation

The construction and renovation of temples marked the symbol of imperial power of the Vijayanagara. The temple architecture at Hampi especially the royal shrines constructed under the patronage of the rayas reflected the imperial vision and ideology of the state in several ways. Purva Paschima Samudradhipathi¹³, lord of the Eastern and Western Seas, Chera Chola Pandya Sthapanacharya itself suggest that Vijayanagara imperial self image was predicated upon the implied continuity with the earlier historical dynasties of the region. These titles were adopted by the rulers to project the legitimacy of imperial state¹⁴. Secondly at the level of monumental architecture the rayas deliberately adopted the Chola and Pandya paradigm of architecture. I quote Sister Anila Verghese here. “The Vijayanagara polity by adopting the Chola Pandya paradigm as the imperial idiom of temple architecture revived the gopura structure after a hundred year gap in its construction and made it a pan-South Indian feature of temple architecture spreading across the whole of Tamilnadu and much of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka”¹⁵.

The construction of gopura in major temple cities replicating the pattern inherited from the Chola tradition became an aspect of the imperial ideology of Vijayanagara particularly during the early Tuluva period. Three storey gopuras were frequently experimented with at Hampi. These structures include the Ramachandra temple, the Virupaksha temple and the celebrated Vithala temple. Further multi storeyed gopuras were constructed at Srirangam,

Kalahasti, Chidambaram, Ahobilam, Kanchipuram, Melukote and Tirupati. The construction of gopuras along with the elaborate hundred pillared mandapas was architectural expression of royal power.

Royal Donations

Another way in which regal wealth was displayed was making donations to a temple deity. Dr Alexandra Mack has argued that during the Tuluva period there was a substantial increase in the flow of endowments to important shrines such as Tirupati temple¹⁶. Gifts of money, land or income from land were invested by the temple to provide a continuous source of income. Probably the most enduring evidence of such gift giving is seen in the construction of temple throughout the empire, these monuments often recorded their donors in stone inscriptions. Particularly impressive were the towered gateways and associated high enclosure walls erected by the Vijayanagara kings throughout the empire. The temples like Kanchipuram, Tirupati, Srirangam are examples. By constructing such features kings in essence reconstituted entire temple complexes as their gifts. Equally important were the royal donations to temples to support various rituals and festivals which involved thousands of Brahmins who have to be fed and sheltered. For example, donations were made to Vithala temple at Hampi by Krishnadevaraya and epigraphs record that various religious rituals and festival in the temple were sponsored by him. The temple contains twenty four inscriptions out of which two belong to the reign of Krishnadevaraya¹⁷. The importance attached to these donations made by the king is attested to by the fact that multiple versions of these inscriptions were engraved. The text of all the inscriptions is identical. While there are some discrepancies with regard to the date, there is virtually no confusion with regard to the fact that they record transactions that took place in the reign of Krishnadevaraya in 1513 A.D. The inscription records the grant of three villages- Hariharapura, Virupapura and Gopisettyahalli- along with specified lands together with the income accruing from various taxes for offerings to the deity of Vithaladeva¹⁸. In another inscription dated 1516-17 the king is said to have a hundred pillared Mantapa constructed. The mantapa is referred to as nurrukkal mantapa¹⁹. The Vithala temple bears on its South wall an important epigraph which offers testimony to the presence of Vyasatirtha an important secatarian leader of the Madhvas in Hampi. The inscription records the gift of six hamlets, a village with its canals and the taxes paid by the ferrymen who carried their trade across Tungabhadra to the god Vithala. The taxes which were payable in cash kind and paddy were made over to the temple. Out of the food offerings made to the temple, three shares were assigned to Vyasatirtha who is referred to as 'our Guru' – in the inscription. This is the earliest inscription which refers to Vyasatirtha and the one in which the king establishes personal rapport with him²⁰. According to the tradition, Vyasa reached Hampi during the reign of Saluva Narasimha. However all inscriptions which refer to him came from the period of Krishnadevaraya. These inscriptions show the primacy accorded to the worship of Vithala and the close linkages between the Vijayanagara royalty and the cult of Vithala²¹. This is only one example from

Hampi, there are inscriptions from the temples at Tirupati, Kanchipuram, Srirangam, Kalahasti and many other temples.

Temple Urbanization

All the major temples in those days were focus of a new process of religious and economic significance i.e. temple urbanization. This urbanization process with temple as its base was a result of the economic policies followed by the warrior elites. To attain self sufficiency in the artisan products they took an important step by attracting artisans from other places. P Shanmugham in his study based on Vijayanagara epigraphs has shown clearly that artisans like weavers, potters, blacksmiths and carpenters were settled in villages so that the manufactured output could be taxed²². Further merchants particularly Baliya, Setti and Komati merchants were encouraged to settle in Nayaka territories. In the seventeenth century, participation in international trade gave such groups opportunities to carry on their activities in concert with the European companies²³. The Komati merchants of Andhra region who rose to the status of powerful regional merchants followed to all parts of South India. These merchants appear in the inscriptions of Vijayanagara especially from the Vithala shrine at Govindaraja temple at Tirupati constructed during the reign of Krishnadevaraya²⁴. The temple inscriptions of Vijayanagara trace the emergence of new influential social groups such as the warrior nayakas, merchant class and agriculturalists of the region serviced by the temple and its functionaries.

The Concept of Pampakshetra

The imperial ideology centered around the city of Vijayanagara utilized a variety of local myths and legends. A number of important local cults and practices crystallized to create an imperial ideological carapace for the Vijayanagara empire. The most ancient religious tradition within the city is that of Pampa Devi- with whom is associated the concept of Pampakshetra. Identified with the city of Hampi- the concept of Pampakshetra created during the Sangama period helped to fashion a mystique for the royal city. There is an early Vijayanagara inscription dated 1385 A.D belonging to the reign of Harihara II which states that a grant was made in the presence of 'Tunga, Pampa and Virupaksha'²⁵. One of the gates of the fortification of the city was named after Pampa Devi- another indication of the importance of the myth in the royal city. Pampakshetra as the domain of god Virupaksha is mentioned in another inscription belonging to the reign of Devaraya I dated 1406 A.D²⁶. There is a copper plate record which bears the date A.D 1386 which states that Harihara, the ruling maharaya of Vijayanagara established an agrahara and named it Vidyaranyapura, evidently after the sage Vidyaranya. The gift is said to have been made in the presence of Virupaksha at Pampakshetra²⁷. These inscriptions demonstrate the existence of Pampakshetra myth, which was invoked to bolster the legitimacy of the early Sangama dynasty. Anila Verghese has argued that the Pampa myth probably represented a local cult patronized by the pastoral communities which was sanskritized through the creation of a matrimonial alliance

between Virupaksha, a form of Siva worshipped at Hampi and the river goddess Pampa. The fact that only one shrine is found in Hampi deicated to Pampa reveals that the cult was completely subsumed under Vijayanagara imperial ideology. The rulers of Vijayanagara deployed these local myths and legends skillfully to underpin the legitimacy of the imperial state.

This paper has discussed various aspects of Vijayanagara imperial ideology as gleaned from the inscriptions. It has been argued that all political formations, particularly those whose self-image was that of an empire, fashioned ideologies that provided a framework of legitimacy for their claims of rule, hegemony and dominance. Complex strands that constituted the imperial ideology of Vijayanagara have been explored through the inscriptions that throw light on the plural and cosmopolitan nature of the Vijayanagara political authority.

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WOMEN IN PHARMACY - STATUS AND HEALTH ISSUES

S. Prema

Assistant Professor, Dept of History,
Govt. Arts College (A), Salem-7

&

Dr. A. Thennarasu

Associate Professor & Head, Dept of History,
Govt. Arts College (A), Salem-7.

Abstract

The relationship between the paradigm of lifestyle existing by professional women and their health has been researched across the globe, including in developing countries. The women who practice pharmacist profession are facing enormous challenges. The unfavorable working conditions and excessive work at the workplace coupled with traditional household responsibilities put immense pressure on women. This bivalent pressure reiterated the consequence of socio-cultural constraints arising from the existing power structure; professional women do not exercise, skip meals and consume junk food. As the result it swivel to stress and health issues such as obesity and cardiovascular diseases among professional women. It is imperative that women must be discerned the importance of maintaining a healthy lifestyle through personal efforts and a change in health conscious.

Key words: Role of Women in Pharmacy Profession, Family Care Job Tension, Health Problems.

Introduction

“Pharmacists are liable for preventive, curative and rehabilitative services”.

The word “Women” includes physical, psychological and behavioral characteristics. She will rightly call as ‘better half’; means coexisted with men in a relationship. But she hasn’t scruples in evolving a society because of the male domination. The status of women must be understood before attempting to develop an overall strategy for their empowerment. She has ties with emotional, customs of family norms, ethics, and good manners etc in silenced way. Mostly her inability as a non-economic entity stems as the main cause of several of her problems in life. But aftermath, the economic imbalance came into existence she come forward to uplift the scarcity and helping hand to the men to maintain a balanced economy. It results the women workers in the form of industrialist, professionalist, and socialist are dazzling in the world.

Women astounding many fields in the professional work, particularly in medicine like physician, nurses, pharmacists are tackling with responsive moment. The profession like pharmacist frequently copes by men, but nowadays women occupy this profession more than 55% in our country. This paper deals about the role of women pharmacist by profession and responsibility in their family and health issues.

Historical background of Pharmacy

Pharmacy is one of the apparatuses to organizing and dispensing medications and providing drug-related information to the public. It is concerned with reading of prescriptions, compounding, packing in suitable/appropriate container, labeling and dispensing of drugs. The mission of pharmacy is to serve mankind and society. “*pharmacy*” the phrase was coined from the Greek word “*pharmakon*” denote “*medicine*” or “*drug* “. Therefore, a pharmacist is a “*medicine or drug man* “. While the classes of professionals legally permitted to prescribe medications are physicians, dentists, veterinary doctors and senior registered nurses, pharmacists are required by law to be experts in the preparation, preservation, distribution, and handling of drugs.

As far back as Sumerian times, around 2,000 to 1,500 BC, from which cuneiform tablets have been preserved recording prescribed medications. In which had list of animal, vegetable and mineral origin that were used in the management of diseases and prescriptions with details of the ingredients used in their compounding. Sumerians pharmacists were also priests who worked and practiced in the temples. They recognized and documented pharmacy one of the parts of medical practice.

The first pharmacy scope was opened in a Baghdad in 770 under Caliph Al- Mansoor. Pharmacists don't have much that time knowledge of drug this situation was changed by Al Mamoon who ruled Baghdad from 813 to 833 and pharmacist started acquiring professional education. The profession of pharmacy was honorable called as Sayadilah (Arabic) and Sandaliin (Latin). They also pharmacy as pharmaceutical armamentarium, the Arabs and the Mohammedans met each other on their pilgrimage to Mecca, for the exchange of ideas as well as of goods between people from India, China and Spain that introduced many new drugs in the field of medicine. Arabs develop number of new drug delivery forms such as syrups, pellets, preserves, confections, marmalades.

In 17th century, the Arabians manipulate public pharmacies embark on European countries. In 1231 Frederic II made constitution with legal norms in relation to medicine which had been established by the Arabs. He divided medicine into dogmatic medicine (diagnoses), manual medicine (surgical intervention) and pharmaceutical medicine (collects mixes and conserve medicines). In 1240 the Emperor blazoned the proclamation for the regulation of medicine.

The Indians art of healing is almost as old as the religion of Hinduism itself. Aurveda attained a state of reverence and is classified as one of the Upa Vedas a subsection attached

to the Atharva Veda, it also deals with the diseases, injuries, fertility, sanity and health. The main principle behind life or essence of all life forms was five elements of creation the pancha-maha-bhuta namely the earth, water, fire, air and ether form the basis. Out of these arise the three doshas namely Vata, pitta and kahpa. These three doshas unfortunately have been crudely translated as air, bile and phlegm. The Ayurveda incorporates all forms of lifestyle in therapy. Thus yoga, aroma, mediation, gems, amulets, herbs, diets, astrology, color and surgery etc. are used in a comprehensive manner in treating patients. The important contribution was by Charaka Samhita, Sushruta Samhita, Vaghbata. Pharmacy practice includes traditional practice of compounding and dispensing of medications.

Pharmacy profession in India from past to present

In India the source of drugs was of vegetables, animal and mineral origin. They were prepared empirically by few experienced persons. Knowledge of that medical system was usually kept secret within a family. There were no scientific methods of standardization of drugs. The Ayurveda work on internal medicine whereas Sushrute-Samhita deals with surgical medicine. Charaka and Sushruta were physicians and pharmacists who studied more than 1000 herbs.

After the ancient period growth of pharmacy continued with the advent of Mughals in India with the Hakims and even after the British arrival it was on its way of evolution. In fact the current state of pharmacy and medical sciences is because of the efforts done by British rule to avoid epidemics and improving healthcare and other basic requisites of life.

In Tamil Nadu during 900 AD discovered organized practice of hospital activity for the treatment of patients with diseases. India, being rich in flora and fauna, wide variety of herb was mainly used to treat disease like jaundice, hemorrhage etc. In 1563 Portuguese practitioner Garcia-de-Orta reported use of Indian herbs in this treatise. In 15th century the British traders brought the practice of allopathic system to India. In the year 1870 the Madras Medical College were first to train the students to gain skills in pharmacy practice.

Women in Pharmacist profession

Elizabeth Gooking Greenleaf (1681–1762) who was recognized as the first female pharmacist in America, Elizabeth Greenleaf is listed among the 32 apothecaries in New England during the late 1600s and early 1700s. She was the wife of Daniel Greenleaf, a minister, physician and apothecary. She owned an apothecary shop in Boston in the year 1727. In India, Subhadra Kumar Patni became the first Pharmacy Graduate in the year 1940. She founded the Formation of Pharmacy and Allied Manufacturers & Distributors Association Ltd. (PAMDAL) head quartered at Mumbai.

Role of Women in Pharmacy profession

Pharmacy has been advertising as a friendly profession for female. Two “feminized niches” have presented pharmacy opportunities that appealed to women¹ the first was a

growing hospital sector, where female pharmacists have outnumbered male pharmacists for nearly 50 years. In the year 2009, there were more than 76% of women pharmacists working in the hospital. The pharmacy in hospital afforded the opportunity to provide patient care to the pharmacists where “women” attributes such as communication and empathy were useful skills. The second was the emergence of the staff pharmacist, this position more commonly held by women than by men. In the pharmacist’s profession, the credit of females was increased because of their hardworking, achieved the target, patently speech etc.² The increasing number of chain pharmacies created an opportunity for female pharmacists to work in a retail setting with flexible scheduling options. With staff pharmacist positions readily available, women could leave the profession during their child bearing years and return to work part-time. At the same time, it has been suggested that men, being more likely to choose pharmacy for its entrepreneurial opportunities, became more reluctant to enter pharmacy as prospects for ownership declined with the advent of chain pharmacies; as men have left the profession, women have stepped in to fill the gap.³

The notable presence of women in pharmacy has reinforced the portico of pharmacy as a profession that has successfully integrated women into a previously male dominated work force. Yet, this obvious demographic change masks a more delicate but persistent gender disparity in the profession.⁴ The women pharmacists tend to occupy low income, and even in the status also not high than male pharmacists: She faced many restrictions to higher status positions, such as inflexible or antisocial working hours, family responsibilities and limited geographic mobility, have a greater impact on women compared with men. Rather than being fully integrated into the profession, female pharmacists have been segregated into these “feminized niches.”⁵ Women are currently underrepresented in pharmacy management and ownership positions.

Job tension and family role

Men and women do not have equal opportunities to further their careers. Women are less often included in mentoring and networking relationships and report lower levels of co-worker support compared with men. These play an important role in career advancement.⁶ Women who choose to temporarily leave in this profession or reduce their hours during the childbearing years gave a result in the form of salary gap.⁷ She was also responsible in the position to balance the economy of her family. This pathetic condition she was in the choice of either extra working hours or could not utilise any personal responsibilities like childbearing etc.⁸

In the part of her family role, she has to develop a structured approach, requiring her to refocus and to priorities her dual responsibilities.⁹ When she unplanned in her family duties like less focus on her children, spouse and in-laws, it will echo a crucial block came into her life and impact negatively on her work.¹⁰ So very carefully she maintains her dual role. She plans social events to include families with children of the same age, which allows both adult

interaction and children's satisfaction.¹¹ Hence the dual responsibilities do not allow quality time or satisfaction.

Health problems

Hence, due to the role conflict, women pharmacist is suffering from many problems predominantly health issues. She can't give enough attention and care to their children and husband and look after their elders. They have to reserve and maintain their time to their office work as well as family work. While performing her duties in office, she faces many of the problems including work over load, stress, anxiety, burn out, and fatigue, etc. Most of the pharmacist suffered the varicose veins problems because they always in the standing and moving position.¹²

She faced her biological weakness; it gave psychological problems also and even physical health problems due to work over load. Further, during pregnancy and child birth, it is must for every woman to take adequate rest, free from worries, nutritious food, etc., but due to their dual role, working women can't even give enough attention to their health.

Present scenario

The 20th century saw many spectacular and innovative changes in the profession of pharmacy. There had been a shift from industrialized manufacturing of pharmaceutical dosage forms to the clinical pharmacy movement. A third major trend in pharmacy was the rapid growth in the numbers of women entering the pharmacy profession. It was observed that more than 40% of girls are studying in the pharmacy institutions across the country. Time has come for the women to realize their potential and make the most of their skills and experiences to serve the noble profession i.e. healthcare. Women should think big and aim for the leadership positions in order to further contribute to the society. In Pharmacy profession, we can count very few of women pharmacists like, Dr.Mrs. Manjusree Pal, Dr. Mrs. Malati R Baichwal, Prof. M. Vimala Devi, Prof.. S.R. Jain, Dr. Archana Mudgal. They are deliberately with malice aforethought to involve in this field. Many Women contribute at various platforms from policy making to the ground root reality of the country. It appears that much more work is being done by them than it is truly represented at all levels and sectors of pharmacy. They need support when they have children. With determination and confidence, as demonstrated by many achievers, women can advance within pharmacy and make a difference in the profession.

Women were the successful administrators and good organizers. They were bring a diversity of skills with them, all gained through their daily life. They have tremendous qualities to balance household work as well as the office without expecting any gains wherever they are working. Women view problems in a different way from men as a part of their nature. Women may be more focused on the whole picture rather than each individual element. They have particular qualities that make them valuable employees in all sectors of pharmacy. They are often good spectators, collaborative, and seekers of common ground with others.

Women are undoubtedly rousing transformation and revolutionizing pharmacy at all levels and across all sectors. The day has come to motivate and promote more women by celebrating the achievements of those women who are making a difference to the profession. Increasingly more women are being promoted into top leadership positions within pharmacy but overall, they are still under-represented. This condition exists in academics as well as in industry. Women should come forward by overcoming the problems of the patriarchal society and work shoulder to shoulder with men to develop the profession and take it to the greater heights.

Conclusion

in India the potential of pharmacists in community, hospital and government practice settings is not fully utilized. The professional role of pharmacist is not projected in Government's health and pharmaceutical policies. The worst part is that a majority of women suffering from such ailments do not get to visit the doctor and take self-medicine for temporary solution. Because the main reason she was vary from a busy schedule to staying in denial mode.

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STUDY ON ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF SOME LESSER KNOWN TEMPLES OF PURUSOTTAMA KSHETRA (PURI) IN ODISHA

Dr. Ratnakar Mohapatra

Associate Professor, Department of History,
KISS, Deemed to be University,
Bhubaneswar, PIN-751024, Odisha, India

Abstract

Purusottama kshetra popularly known as Puri, is famous in Odisha as well as India for its Hindu monuments. The art and architecture of some Hindu temples of Puri town are the fascinating aspects of the Odishan Hindu temple art in Eastern India. All the extant temples of Puri town belong to the Kalinga style temple architecture of Odisha. As per the artistic and religious points of view, some extant minor temples of Puri town attract scholars and art historians to undertake research works. Most of the notable Hindu temples of Puri town have been covered by the earlier scholars, but they have not dealt seriously with all the minor and medium size temples existed in the *kshetra* of Lord Jagannatha. Hence, six minor temples of the Puri town have been taken here for the scholarly discussion. These temples are 1. Bata-Lokanatha temple, 2. Nilakantheshvara temple at Gopinathpur, 3, Hara Chandi temple, 4. Marchika temple, 5. Bedi-Hanumana or Daria Mahavir temple, and 6. Chandan Sarovara temple. The aim of this article is to focus on artistic designs, architectural features along with the religious significance of the above six temples of Purusottama Kshetra (Puri town) of Odisha in Eastern India. Methodologically, both the primary and secondary sources have been used in this article by the author.

Keywords: Purusottama Kshetra, temples, art, architecture, Puri town, Odisha.

Intriduction

Purusottama Kshetra commonly known as Puri, is well-known for its historic Hindu monuments of Odisha in Eastern India. It is situated (Latitude 19° 47' 55" North and Longitude 85° 49' 5" East) on the shore of the Bay of Bengal in the state of Odisha.¹ The town of Puri is located about 59 kms to the south-east of Bhubaneswar.² Being Lord Purusottama is the presiding deity of the *kshetra*, this place came to be known as Purusottama kshetra. This kshetra is famous throughout the world for the celebrated temple of Lord Jagannatha, which stands on a prominent place near the sea-shore. Besides the Jagannatha temple, there are also a good number of temples of smaller and medium sizes noticed in the different parts of the kshetra. The study of art and architecture of the other extant temples of Puri town is a fascinating aspect of the Odishan temple art. The Puri town is an important

center of temple building activities of Odisha in Eastern India. This kshetra is a chief religious center of Odisha and it is also well known throughout India as a place of pilgrimage from the time of Yore.³ The sacredness of the place of Puri exists from the prehistoric period, where the tradition cannot reach.⁴ In fact, the place of Puri town is the most sacred place of pilgrimage in India.⁵ This kshetra is a coordinating place where all the Hindu gods and goddesses are found to be worshipped. E. Hein remarks that Purusottama kshetra, the abode (site) of Lord Purusottama (Jagannatha) at the coast of Bay of Bengal in Odisha as one of the most prominent centers of Hindu pilgrimage.⁶ Being an important cultural site as well as the political headquarters, the native rulers tried to develop the religious tradition through the construction of temples in all parts of the kshetra. All the extant temples of Puri town possess the Kalinga style of temple architecture of Odisha, which appears to have been a product of the Nagara Style temple architecture of North India.⁷ But it has also some distinctive characteristics of its own. In fact, Odishan temples form one of the most compact and homogeneous architectural groups in India.⁸ Odishan temple architecture by reason of its distinguishing peculiarities and a long history of evolution, soon came to acquire for itself a distinct nomenclature viz the Kalinga style, and was included in the other types of temples, Nagara, Dravida and Veshara rising their number to four.⁹ According to Bhubana Pradipa, a treatise on temple architecture, the temples of Odisha have been classified into three orders viz rekha, pidha and khakhara.¹⁰ In Odishan temple architecture, each temple type and each individual member, thereof, however small, has been given a distinctive name and the measurements of the components, invariably operating under the precise laws of proportions laid down, though in cryptic terms.¹¹ The Odishan temples are noteworthy for the profusion of sculptures. Here, Stella Kramrisch aptly remarks that “Architecture in Odishan temples is but sculptures on a gigantic scale”.¹² The extant temples of Puri town are found to be dedicated to the different deities such as Shiva, Vishnu, Krishna, Shakta, Surya, Hanumana, Ganesha, etc. On the basis of available temples of various sects of Hinduism in the Puri town, Surya Narayana Das aptly remarks that the place of Puri town can be rightly said as the Mandiramalini kshetra of India.¹³ Most of the minor temples of Puri town have not been dealt by the art historians for scholarly works in detail. Hence, the present article attempts to highlight the arts and architectures along with the religious significance of six minor Hindu temples of Puri town of Odisha in Eastern India.

Art and Architecture of Six Temples of Purusottama Kshetra (Puri town)

Besides the temple of Lord Jagannatha, some minor temples of Puri town are also found to be erected by the native rulers of Puri. These minor temples are significant both from the artistic and religious points of view. Among these, six surveyed minor temples of Puri town have to be discussed here are viz; 1. Bata-Lokanatha temple, 2. Nilakantheshvara temple at Gopinathpur, 3. Hara Chandi temple, 4. Marchika temple, 5. Bedi-Hanumana or Daria Mahavir temple, and 6. Chandan Sarovara temple. The descriptions of different aspects

like art, architecture, religious sanctity, etc. of the above six extant minor temples of Purusottama kshetra (Puri town) are briefly discussed below.

Bata-Lokanatha Temple of Puri

The temple of Bata-Lokanatha is situated ½ km to the southern side of the Jagannatha Temple of Puri. It is dedicated to Lord Shiva. Being situated on the way of Svargadvara road, it is called as Bata-Lokanatha.¹⁴ This temple consists of three structures such as *vimana*, *jagamohana* and *natamandapa*. The temple is built in sandstones, which locally is called as Baulamala patharas. It faces to east. The *vimana* of the Bata-Lokanatha temple is a *rekhaddeula* and its height is about 24 feet from the road level.¹⁵ It has four fold vertical divisions such as *pista*, *bada*, *gandi* and *mastaka*. The structure of the *vimana* is erected on the platform of 2 feet high. The *bada* of the *vimana* is *panchanga* type i.e. having five fold divisions such as *pabhaga*, *tala jangha*, *bandhana*, upper *jangha* and *baranda*.¹⁶ All the elements of the *bada* are devoid of decorative ornamentation. The central niches of the three sides of the *bada*¹⁷ of *vimana* are housed with *parshvadevata* images of Ganesha, Kartikeya and Shiva-Parvati. The image of Ganesha is the *parshvadevata* of the southern side. The four handed image of Ganesha has been installed on the lotus pedestal. He holds broken tusk in upper right hand, *varada mudra* in lower right hand, a pot of *ladus* in upper left hand and *parashu* (hatchet) in lower left hand respectively.¹⁸ Mouse, the traditional mount of the deity has been installed on the right of the pedestal. The four handed image of Kartikeya is the *parshvadevata* of the western side. This image has been installed on the single lotus pedestal. He displays *dambaru* in upper right hand, *varada mudra* in lower right hand, trident in upper left hand and rooster cock in left lower hand.¹⁹ There is a standing female figure (*Devasena*) who is lifting the legs of rooster cock carved on the left side of the deity (Kartikaya). Peacock, the traditional mount of the deity is found in the right of the pedestal. The images of Shiva-Parvati are the *parshvadevata* of the northern side. The image of Shiva displays *dambaru* in upper right hand, *abhaya mudra* in lower right hand, trident in upper left hand and the lower left hand lies upon the shoulder of devi Parvati.²⁰ Here devi Parvati is in standing posture and she holds lotus flower in left hand and her right hand lies upon the shoulder of Lord Shiva. Both lion and bull have been installed on either side of the deities as the conventional mounts of Shiva and devi Parvati respectively. The background slab of these deities is decorated with trefoil *makara* headed arch surmounted by lotus shaped vase in which trident is inserted. Two female figures are flanked on either side of the trefoil arch. There is a recumbent bull installed in front of the Shiva-Parvati (*yugala*) image. The bull has been kept on the square sized pedestal of 3 feet high. All the three *parshvadevatas* are covered by the nisha-shrine of flat roof. All the side deities possess the artistic features of the Odishan classical art of the late medieval period.

The curvilinear superstructure is surmounted on the *bada* of the *vimana* and it displays nine-rathas or pagas. All the pagas or pilasters are thickly plastered with lime mortar. The *jhapa* simhas are projected on the northern, western and southern sides middle *raha-pagas*

of the *gandi* respectively. All the pedestals of the projecting lions are carved with amorous couples. The base of the eastern or front *rahapaga* contains an *angashikhara*, which is surmounted by the *gajakranta* (lion on elephant) motif. *Dopichha* lions are aptly fixed on the top of *kanika-pagas* of the *gandi*. The figures of *Garuda* are inserted in the four cardinal directions of the *beki* above *rahas*. The *mastaka* of the vimana consists of *beki*, *amalaka shila*²¹, *khapuri*, *kalasa*, *ayudha* (trident) and *dhvaja*.

The sanctum of the vimana preserves *Shivalingam* within *Shaktipitha* as the presiding deity of the temple. The floor of the sanctum is about 10 feet below the road surface (level). The backside wall of the sanctum contains the images of Shiva and Parvati. They are kept there as the *Calantipratima* (representative deity) of the presiding deity. These two deities are made of brass.²² There is a painting of Hari-Hara in the backside wall of the presiding deity. The sanctum has one doorway towards the *jagamohana*. The doorjambs of the sanctum are completely undecorated. The image of *Gaja-Laksmi* is finely carved on the centre of the doorway lintel.

The *jagamohana* of the *Bata-Lokanatha* temple is a *pidhadeula*²³ and its height is about 28 feet from the surface of the temple complex.²⁴ The structure of the *jagamohana* is also thickly plastered with lime mortar. It is erected on the platform of two feet high. The bada is *panchanga* type i.e. having five-fold divisions such as *pabhaga*, *tala jangha*, *bandhana*, upper *jangha* and *baranda*. All the component parts of the bada are completely undecorated. The pyramidal superstructure is surmounted on the bada of the *jagamohana*. The *gandi* consists of five *pidhas*. The *jhapa-simha* has been projected on each side middle portion of the *gandi*. *Dopichha* lions are projected on the top of the *kanika pagas* of the *gandi*. *Deula Charini* figures are also inserted in the four cardinal directions of the *beki* above *rahas*. They are acting as the supporting elements to the *amalakashila* of *mastaka*. The *mastaka* of the *jagamohana* consists of *beki*, *ghanta* above which there is another *beki*, *amalaka shila*, *khapuri*, *kalasa*, *ayudha* (trident) and *dhvaja*. Bull, the conventional mount of Shiva is installed on the pedestal of 2 feet high. It is noticed in the middle portion floor of the *jagamohana*. The structure of the *jagamohana* has four doorways, one on each side. The figures of Nandi and Bhrungi are finely kept in the left and right sides of the western wall of the *jagamohana* respectively. The doorjambs of the eastern side of the *mukhashala* are mostly undecorated. The figures of Nandi and Bhrungi are elegantly carved on the middle portion of the either side doorjamb of the eastern doorway. The *navagrahas* are finely carved on the architrave above the doorway lintel. They are all in seated postures with respective attributes in hands. There is an additional doorjamb of the *mukhashala* found in the eastern side. The doorjambs of the new one are also relieved with *dvarapala* figures of Nandi and Bhrungi. The upper part of the doorway is surmounted by the trefoil arch; *makara* head at the base and the *kirtimukha* motif at the apex. Other doorways of the *jagamohana* are completely plain. The northern side inner wall of the *jagamohana* contains a stone slab of Astika-Jaratkaru, which is locally worshipped as

Savitri and Satyavana. This Savitri and Satyavana panel has been installed on the decorative pedestal. Besides these images, all parts of the inner walls are covered with glazed tiles. The left side door jamb wall contains an image of Hara-Parvati while the right side doorjamb wall contains an image of *Hanumana*.

There are some separate sculptures are finely preserved in the southern side *sandhisthala* portion between *mukhashala* and *natamandapa*. Those are Ganesha (two), Varaha, Kartikeya, Satya-Narayana, Vamana and Maha-Laksmi. All the images were earlier lying on the ground of the temple complex. After recovery of these images, they have been kept in that place.

The *natamandapa* of the Bata-Lokanatha temple is a *pidhadeula* and its height is about 20 feet from the road level. The base of the structure is rectangular and it measures approximately 30 feet in length and 15 feet in width. The *bada* is *panchanga* type i.e. having five parts viz- *pabhaga*, *tala jangha*, *bandhana*, upper *jangha* and *baranda*. Two caitya arch shaped designs are found in the eastern side of the *bada*. There is no figure in its niches. The *bada* of the *natamandapa* is mostly undecorated. The pyramidal superstructure is surmounted on the *bada* of the *natamandapa*. It consists of four *pidhas* and each *pidha* is decorated with tankus in all sides. There are three *mastakas* found from the top of the upper *pidha*. These *mastakas* consist of *kalasa* and *ayudha* (trident) only. Two lions have been projected on the northern and southern sides of each *kalasa* respectively. The inner walls of the *natamandapa* are covered with China plates. The *natamandapa* has four doorways; one on the east, two on the west and another one on the north. The doorjambs of the eastern side of the *natamandapa* are lavishly decorated with dancing female figures, *nagabandhas*, flowers with creepers and flower medallions. The base of the doorjambs is decorated with *pidha mundi*²⁵ niches, which contain figures of Nandi and Bhrungi on either side of the doorway. The image of Gaja-Laksmi is carved on the centre of the doorway lintel. The navagrahas are finely carved on the architrave above the doorway lintel. They are all in seated postures with respective attributes in hands. Two *jhapa simhas* are finely installed on either side of the main entrance of the *natamandapa*. At the time of survey, the structure of the *natamandapa* was being repaired by the priest community. The surface of the temple complex is about 10 feet below the road level.

Both the structures of *vimana* and *jagamohana* require complete renovation, because these two structures are now in dilapidated condition. The temple is enclosed by a compound wall of 9 feet high. It is covered only in the southern side of the temple complex.

Date of the Temple

The old priests of the temple opine that this temple is not older than 400 years. B.K. Ratha has stated that the Bata-Lokanatha temple was constructed in the early twentieth century.²⁶ On the basis of architectural features; the construction period of the temple can be tentatively assigned to the 2nd half of the 17th century A.D.²⁷ Probably, it was built by the

native King of Puri. The Svatriya Brahmin community of Puri town is managing this temple at present.

Nilakantheshvara Temple of Gopinathpur, Puri

The temple of Nilakantheshvara is situated at Gopinathpur village near *Atharanala* bridge of Puri town. This temple is dedicated to Lord Shiva. It consists of two structures such as *vimana* and *jagamohana*. This temple is built in sand stones and bricks. It faces to east. The *vimana* of the temple is a *pancharatha*²⁸ rekha deula and its height is about 30 feet from the ground.²⁹ The base of the structure is square of about 15 feet on each side. The *bada* of the temple is *panchanga* type i.e. having five fold divisions such as *pabhaga*, *talajangha*, *bandhana*, upper *jangha* and *baranda*. All the component parts of the *bada* are completely undecorated. The central niches of the three sides of the *bada* of *vimana* are housed with *parshvadevata* images of Ganesha, Kartikeya and Parvati. Ganesha is the *parshvadevata* of the southern side. The four handed image of Ganesha is carved in seated posture on the mounted on a mouse, the conventional vehicle of deity. He displays *ankusa* in upper right hand, broken tusk in lower right hand, snake in upper left hand and a pot of *ladus* in lower left hand. The slab of deity is about 2 ½ feet in height and it is made of black chlorite. Kartikeya is the *parshvadevata* of the western or backside. The four handed image of Kartikeya has been installed on a plain pedestal. He holds a trident in upper right hand, *dambaru* in left upper hand, a rooster cock in lower left hand and the lower right hand is touching the mouth of a peacock. In the left side of deity, Devasena is carved in standing posture with lifting the legs of the rooster cock towards the hands of deity (Kartikeya). Peacock, the conventional mount of deity noticed on the right of the pedestal. The two armed devi Parvati is the *parshvadevata* of the northern side. She has been installed on a plain pedestal. Her right hand displays *abhaya mudra* and the left hand holds trident. Lion, the traditional mount of devi is carved on the pedestal. There is a lion pillar of 2 ½ feet high noticed in front of the devi Parvati.



The *gandi* of the *vimana* is a curvilinear superstructure and it displays five *pagas*. The entire *bada* and *gandi* of the *vimana* are thickly plastered with lime mortar. So the architectural designs of the *vimana* are not visible. The middle of the *rahapaga* of the *gandi* contains *jhapasimha* on each side. *Dopichha* lions are fixed on the top of *kanika pagas* of the *gandi*. *Deula Charini* figures are also inserted in the four cardinal directions of *beki* above *rahas*. These figures are supporting to the *amalaka shila* of the *mastaka*. The *mastaka* of the *vimana* consists of *beki*, *amalaka shila*, *khapuri*, *kalasa*³⁰, *ayudha* (trident) and *dhvaja*.

The sanctum preserves Shivalingam within Shaktipitha as the presiding deity of the temple. The backside wall of the sanctum is depicted with the painting of Hari-Hara. This composite painting displays trident in upper right hand, *dambaru* in lower right hand, conch in upper left hand and *chakra* in lower left hand respectively. Here the picture is portrayed in meditating posture. The sanctum has one doorway towards the *jagamohana*. The doorjambes of the sanctum are devoid of decorative ornamentations. The centre of the doorway lintel contains a Rahu head. The *navagraha* figures are carved on the architrave above the doorway lintel. They are all in *padmasana* posture with usual attributes in their hands. The figures of Nandi and Bhrunji are carved on both sides of the jambes of the doorway. They are acting as the traditional *dvarapalas* of Shiva temple.

The *jagamohana* of the temple is an open *pidha deula* and its height is about 15 feet from the surface of the temple complex. The *gandi* of the *jagamohana* is a pyramidal superstructure³¹, which is supported by eight square sized pillars. The *gandi* consists of three *pidhas*, which are flat shaped. There is only *kalasa* installed on the top of the upper *pidha*. Two lions are projected on the northern and southern sides of *kalasa* respectively. The *ayudha* and *dhvaja* are completely absent in their respective places. There is a bull pillar of 3 feet high noticed in the floor of the *jagamohana*. A recumbent bull is kept on the top of the pillar. This temple is completely a renovated temple.

Date of the temple

On the basis of the architectural features, the construction period of the Nilakantheshvara temple can be tentatively assigned to the 2nd half of the 18th century A.D. It is being managed by the village committee.

Hara Chandi Temple of Puri

The temple of Hara Chandi is situated at a distance of 1 ½ kms to the south-west corner of the Jagannatha temple in the Hara Chandi sahi of Puri town. Skanda Purana made a reference to Hara Chandi as one of the Shakti (goddess) among eight Shaktis who are engaged to protect *Ratnavedi*. The temple of Hara Chandi is a small *deula* and it consists of two structures viz *vimana* and *jagamohana*. It faces to north.

The *vimana* of the temple is a *pancharatha pidha deula* and its height is about 20 feet from the surface of the temple complex.³² The structure of the *vimana* has four parts

such as *pista*, *bada*, *gandi* and *mastaka*. The *pista* is about 1 ½ feet in height and it is completely undecorated. The *bada* of the *vimana* is *panchanga* type i.e. having five fold divisions such as *pabhaga*, *tala jangha*, *bandhana*, upper *jangha* and *baranda*. All the component parts of the *bada* are devoid of decorative ornamentations. The central niches of the three sides of the *bada* are housed with *parshvadevata* images of devi Narayani, Varahi and Ugra Tara. The four armed devi Narayani is the *parshvadevata* of the eastern side. It has been installed on the plain pedestal. Here devi is carved in padmasana posture. She displays *chakra* in upper right hand, *gada* in lower right hand, *conch* in upper left hand and *padma* in left lower hand. The image of Narayani is about 1 foot high. The four armed devi Varahi is the *parshvadevata* of the southern side. She has been installed on the plain pedestal. The image is also carved in padmasana posture. She displays *khadga* in upper right hand, *varada mudra* in lower right hand, *pana patra* in upper left hand and the lower left hand holds a baby.³³ The image of devi *Varahi* is about one foot in height. The four armed image of Ugra-Tara is the *parshvadevata* of the western side. She has been installed on the prostrate body of male figure. Devi Ugra-Tara displays *khadga* in upper right hand, *pana patra* in left upper hand, cutting head in lower left hand and the attributes in upper left hand is not clearly visible. She wears a garland of skulls in her body, which lies towards her feet. All the side deities in the *bada* of *vimana* are made of chlorite. The *bada* of the *vimana* is surmounted by the pyramidal superstructure, which consists of five flat shaped *pidhas*. The base of the *gandi* continues the *pancharatha* plan of the *bada*. *Jhapa* *simhas* are projected on the middle portion of each side of the *gandi*. *Dopichha* lions are not found from their respective places. Deula Charini figures are inserted in the four cardinal directions of the *beki* above *rahas*. The *mastaka* of the *vimana* consists of as usual components of Odishan *pidha deula*. Here the *ayudha* is *chakra*.

The sanctum preserves the image of ten-armed goddess Hara Chandi as the presiding deity of the temple. The devi is in the form of Mahisamardini Durga. She possesses as usual attributes in hands. Due to strict restriction and covering of clothes, the detail iconography of the presiding deity could not be possible on the part of present author. There is another slab containing an image of same Chandi installed on the left side of the presiding deity.³⁴ According to tradition, the additional image of devi Hara Chandi was brought from the tank of Shvetaganga. A brass image of eight armed Chandi is also worshipped in the sanctum. Inner walls of the sanctum are covered with glazed tiles and the ground floor is covered by marbles. The sanctum has one doorway towards the *jagamohana*. The entire doorway is covered with glazed tiles. The lintel portion is depicted with paintings of Ganesha, Gaja-Laksmi and Sarashvati. Navagrahas are finely carved on the architrave above the doorway lintel. Figures of *Vyaghra mukhi* and *Simhamukhi* are depicted on either side jamb of the doorway. The diminutive *jhapa simhas* are carved on the both sides base of the doorjamb. The left side wall of the doorway contains an image of Kartikeya in its niche. While the right side wall

niche of the doorway contains an image of Ganesha. There is a small shrine of Shiva closely attached to the right side wall of the doorway.

The *jagamohana* of the temple has a flat roof and it is built in 1980's by local people. Inner side western wall is depicted with a painting of *astabhuja* Mahisamardini Durga. She displays trident, *chakra*, arrow and *khadga* in right side hands while the left four hands hold conch, bow, snake and knife respectively. Lion, the conventional mount of devi is noticed in the floor of the *jagamohana*. Two lions are projected on the both sides of the entrance of *jagamohana*.

Date of the temple

According to priests of the temple, this temple is not older than 300 years. B. K. Ratha has referred that the temple of Hara Chandi was constructed in the 17th century A.D.³⁵ The construction period of the Hara Chandi temple can be tentatively assigned to the second half of the 17th century A.D. on the consideration of its building style.

Marchika Temple of Puri

The temple of Marchika is situated near Marchika chhak in the Grand road of Puri town. Skanda Purana has made reference to Marchika as a goddess who is in charge of guarding *Ratnavedi* by sitting in the eastern side of the Jagannatha temple. The temple of goddess Marchika consists of three structures such as *vimana*, *mukhashala* and *natamandapa*. This temple is built in laterite, which locally called as *Mankada pathara*. It is a small temple and faces to west towards the *Bada danda*.

The *vimana* of the temple is a *pidha deula* and its height is about 20 feet from the surface of the temple complex.³⁶ The base of the *vimana* is *panchanga* type i.e. having five fold divisions such as *pabhaga*, *tala jangha*, *bandhana*, upper *jangha* and *baranda*. All the elements of *bada* are bereft of decorative ornamentation. The central niches of the three sides of the *bada* are remained vacant. So the side deities are not found from their respective places. The *bada* of the *vimana* is surmounted by the pyramidal superstructure, which consists of three flat shaped *pidhas*. *Jhapa* simhas are projected on the four sides of the *shikhara*. *Dopichha* lions are fixed on the top of *kanika pagas* of the *gandi*. *Deuala Charini* figures are inserted in the four cardinal directions of the *beki* above *rahas*. The *mastaka* of the *vimana* consists of usual elements of Odishan *pidha deula*. Here the *ayudha* of *mastaka* is *chakra*.

The sanctum preserves the image of goddess Marchika as the presiding deity of the temple. The eight armed devi has been installed on a corpse, which lies on the *simhasana* of 1 foot high. The image is about 2 feet in height and it is made of black chlorite. Her right four hands display *khadga*, *chakra*, *pana patra* and *varada mudra* while the left four arms possess conch, lotus (flower), *gada* and *abhaya mudra*.³⁷ Two female attendant figures

holding with *chamara* and fly whisk are standing on either side of the presiding deity. The backside of the head of goddess is decorated with trefoil arch; *makara* head at the base and *kirtimukha* motif at the apex. Inner walls of the sanctum are recently covered by marbles. The doorway of the sanctum is completely plain.

The *jagamohana* of the temple is a small *pidha deula* and its height is about 12 feet from the temple surface. The *bada* of the *jagamohana* is completely plain and it is surmounted by the pyramidal superstructure, which consists of three *pidhas*. There is a *kalasa* installed on the top of the upper *pidha* as the element of the *mastaka*. Two lions are projected on the northern and southern sides of the *kalasa*. The doorways of the *jagamohana* are completely undecorated. The *natamandapa* of the temple is a flat roof structure and its height is about 11 feet. The roof is supported by four circular pillars. The paintings of Dasamahavidya figures are depicted in the ceiling of the *natamandapa*.

The entrance porch of the temple complex is covered by a flat-roof and its height is about 15 feet. Two huge lions are installed on the both sides of the main gate. All the structures of the temple are thickly plastered with lime mortar.

Date of the temple

An old priest of that temple says that the main temple of goddess Marchika was constructed before 300 years. B.K. Ratha has inferred that the temple was constructed in the early twentieth century A.D.³⁸ The architectural features of the main temple (*vimana*) indicates that it was constructed in the 19th century A.D. Other structures of temple are constructed in later period.

Bedi-Hanumana or Daria Mahavir Temple of Puri

The temple of *Bedi-Hanumana* is situated on the *Chakra-Tirtha* area near sea shore of the Puri town. Legend says that during the ancient period, the sea used to wash away the *kshetra*. People of the *kshetra* brought this to the notice of Lord Jagannatha. After that Lord ordered Hanumana to protect the overflow water of sea towards the *kshetra*.³⁹ Being Mahavira *Hanumana* is a real devotee of Shri Rama, once he left for Ayodhya. In his absence the sea again washed away the *kshetra*.⁴⁰ Lord Jagannatha from that day tied up Hanumana in a chain so that he can not leave the place further and continue to watch the sea (not to flow towards the town). Hanumana tied at this place is known as Bedi-Hanumana.⁴¹ This Hanumana is very famous in the *kshetra*. The local people say it as Dariya Mahavir. The temple of Bedi-Hanumana consists of two structures such as *vimana* and *jagamohana*. It is built in both sand stones and bricks. Both these structures are erected on the circular platform of 4 feet high. From the architectural point of view, this temple is not so important. The temple faces to east. The *vimana* of the temple is a ⁴² and its height is about 25 feet from the surface of the road level. The base of the *bada* is square of 12 ½ feet. The *bada* of the *vimana* is *panchanga* type i.e. having five fold divisions such as *pabhaga*, *tala jangha*,

bandhana, upper *jangha* and *baranda*. All the component parts of the *bada* are completely undecorated. The central niches of the three sides of the *bada* are housed with *parshvadevata* images of Ganesha, devi Anjana and Arnapurna. Ganesha is the *parshvadevata* of the southern side. The two handed image of Ganesha has been installed on the plain pedestal. He displays *abhaya mudra* in right hand and a pot containing *ladus* in left hand.⁴³ Devi Anjana is the *parshvadevata* of the western side. The two armed devi Anjana has been installed on the plain pedestal. She possesses usual attributes in her hands. Devi Arnapurna is the *parshvadevata* of the northern side. The two armed image of devi Arnapurna has been installed on the plain pedestal. She displays *abhaya mudra* in right hand and *varada mudra* in left hand. The background slab of devi is decorated with trefoil arch.



The *bada* of the *vimana* is surmounted by the pyramidal superstructure, which consists of three flat shaped *pidhas* and each *pidha* is decorated with tankus in all sides. *Dopichha* lions and *Deula Charini* figures are completely absent in their respective places. The *mastaka* of the *vimana* consists of usual elements of Odishan *pidha deula*. Here the *ayudha* is *chakra*.

The sanctum preserves image of Bedi-Hanumana as the presiding deity of the temple. The deity is about 6 feet in height. The two handed image of Hanumana is installed on the double petalled lotus pedestal. He holds *gada* (mace) in right hand and huge rock i.e. ‘Gandhamardana parvata’ in left hand respectively. Two diminutive images of Hanumana are also worshipped on the both sides of the presiding deity (Bedi-Hanumana).

The sanctum has one doorway towards the *jagamohana*. The doorway of the sanctum is devoid of decorative ornamentations.

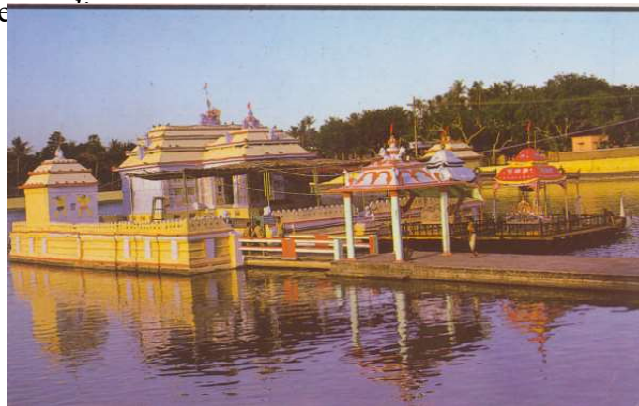
The *jagamohana* of the temple is an open flat roof structure and its height is about 18 feet from the surface of the road. Shani and Gopala images are installed in the northern

side inner wall niches of the *jagamohana*. A flight of ascending steps are provided in the eastern and southern sides for approach towards the raised platform as well as the *jagamohana* hall.

On the basis of the architectural features, the construction period of the temple can be tentatively assigned to the 17th century A.D. This temple is being managed by a local committee.

Chandan Sarovara Temple of Puri

The Chandan Sarovara Temple is situated about 1 km north-east of the Jagannatha temple. The exact location of the temple is inside the Narendra tank in Dandimala sahi of Puri town.⁴⁴ The temple consists of two structures such as *vimana* and *jagamohana*. Both the structures are thickly plastered with lime mortar. This temple is built in both laterite and sand stones. The temple is dedicated to Piusima of Lord Jagannatha and it faces to south. The *vimana* of the temple is a *pidha deula* and its height is about 20 feet from the platform of the temple. The temple stands on the platform of 10 feet, which visible from the water level of tank. This temple has four vertical parts such as *pista*, *bada*, *gandi* or *shikhara* and *mastaka*. The base of the *pista* is rectangular and it measures 32 feet in length and 16 feet in width. Both the *pista* and *bada* are devoid of decorative ornamentations. The central niche of the southern side of the *bada* is fixed with a balustraded window, which is decorated with dancing female figures and figure of Lord Krishna in its balusters. The *bada* of the *vimana* is surmounted by the pyramidal superstructure, which consists of four flat shaped *pidhas*. The corners of the intervening recesses between the *pidhas* of *gandi* are fixed with small *dopichha* lions. The centre of the middle *pidha* is projected with *gaja-simha* or *gaja-kranta* motifs in all sides. *Jhapa simhas* is also projected on the centre of the upper *pidha* in each side of the



There is only *kalasa* installed on the top of the upper *pidha* as the elements of the *mastaka*. *Ayudha* (chakra) is inserted in the *kalasa*. Two *jhapa simhas* are projected on the both eastern and western sides of the *kalasa*.

Piusima of Lord Jagannatha is being worshipped in the sanctum as the presiding deity of the temple. She is depicted in sitting posture. Her right hand displays *abhaya mudra* and left hand exhibits *varada mudra* respectively. *Daru* images of Lord Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra are also being worshipped in its sanctum. The Jagannatha trinity are placed on the *simhasana* of 2 feet high and they are kept below the Piusima image. All these deities are facing to east. In the opposite side wall of the presiding deity is installed with an image of goddess Lakshmi. She has been kept on the plain pedestal of about 2 feet high. Her right hand displays *abhaya mudra* and the left hand shows *varada mudra* respectively.⁴⁵ Small image of Lord Rama has also been installed on the left side of devi Lakshmi.

The *vimana* has two doorways; one on northern and another on the southern side. Inner walls of the sanctum are completely plain. The doorways are bereft of decorative elements. Figures of Jaya and Vijaya are installed on the both sides of the doorway of south.

The *jagamohana* of the Chandan Sarovara temple is a *pidha deula* and its height is about 20 feet from the surface of the temple complex. The base of the *bada* is square of 15 feet on each side. The *bada* of the *jagamohana* is fully plain and it is surmounted by the pyramidal roof, which consists of three flat shaped *pidhas*. *Jhapa simhas* are projected on each side of the *gandi*. The upper *pidha* of the *gandi* contains a *mastaka*, which consists of *kalasa* and *chakra* only.

Inner walls and ceiling of the *mukhashala* are depicted with paintings of Krishna with gopis, Vishnu, Garuda figure, Mahavira (Hanumana) and creepers with flowers. The *jagamohana* has four open doorways; one on each side.

There is a small *pidha* shrine erected in the north-west corner of the temple complex. It is dedicated to Panca-pandava Mahadevas such as Yudhisthira, Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva. Shivalinga within *shaktipitha* is also worshipped in its sanctum.

In the north-east corner of the temple complex, there is another small shrine, which is dedicated to Lord Jai-Gopala. Another small shrine is located in the south-east corner of the temple complex and it is enshrined by Lord Shani. The two handed image of Shani is installed on the plain *simhasana*. He displays *khadga* in right hand and *kalasa* in left hand respectively. Ladu-Gopala is also worshipped in the right side of the Shani Mahaprabhu.

In the southern side of the temple, a passage of 10 feet in width is paved to the road. By means of which devotees easily go to the temple complex. Two lions are installed on the both sides main gate of the south.

Date of the Temple

According to Madalapanji Narendra tank is said to have been dug by one Narendra Mahapatra, the minister of Ganga king Narasimha Deva.⁴⁶ The temple priests say that this temple was constructed in 1635 A.D. by Puri king. R.C. Mishra has said that Maharaja Narendra Deva has excavated the Narendra tank by spending all his sources what he had

earned during the life time.⁴⁷ On the basis of the architectural pattern, the temple might have been constructed in the seventeenth century A.D.

Conclusion

We can conclude from the discussion that the above minor temples are important from both the religious and artistic points of view. All the minor temples of Puri town discussed above are found to be renovated in the twentieth century. Some of the uniqueness and peculiarities are noticed in the said temples. The sanctum of the Bata-Lokanatha temple preserves Shivalingam within Shaktipitha as the presiding deity, which is about 10 feet below from the road level. The Shiva-Parvati images of the northern side *parshvadevata* of the Bata-Lokanatha temple is very significance from the artistic point of view. All the side deities of the Bata-Lokanatha temple represent the iconographic features of the Odishan classical art of the late medieval period. The architectural features indicate that the Bata-Lokanatha temple might have been built in the 2nd half of the 17th century A.D. The central niches of the three sides of the *bada* of *vimana* of the Nilakantheshvara temple are housed with *parshvadevata* images of Ganesha, Kartikeya and Parvati. Iconographic features of these side deities indicate the Odishan classical art of the early modern period. On the basis of the architectural pattern, the construction period of the Nilakantheshvara temple may be assignable to the 2nd half of the 18th century A.D. The three sides central niches of the *bada* of the *vimana* of Hara Chandi temple are housed with *parshvadevata* images of devi Narayani, Varahi and Ugra Tara. These *parshvadevata* images possess the artistic features of the Odishan classical art of the late medieval period. The sanctum preserves the image of ten-armed goddess Hara Chandi as the presiding deity of the temple. Here the goddess is in the form of Mahisamardini Durga. Considering the architectural style and iconographic features of the *parshvadevata* images, the earlier Hara Chandi temple may be dated to the second half of the 17th century A.D. The presiding deity i.e. the eight armed goddess Marchika of the Marchika temple represents a masterpiece sculpture of Odisha by considering its iconographic features. The Chandan Sarovara temple inside the Narendra tank is a unique shrine of Puri town of Odisha by considering its location and religious sanctity. In which, Piusima of Lord Jagannatha is being worshipped in the sanctum as the presiding deity. The Jagannatha trinity images are kept below the Piusima image. Small image of Lord Rama has also been installed on the left side. On the basis of the architectural pattern, the Chandan Sarovara temple of Puri town might have been constructed in the seventeenth century A.D. In fact, the six minor temples of the Puri town discussed in the subject exhibit the Kalinga style temple architecture of Odisha. Similarly, the sculptures of the said temples were certainly made by the Kalingan School of artists. On the whole, the artistic designs and architectural patterns of the above minor temples of the Purusottama kshetra possess an important place in the history of Odishan temple art in Eastern India.

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HISTORY OF THE PRESS IN ODISHA FROM ITS ORIGIN TO 21ST CENTURY: AN INTER-REGIONAL ANALYSIS

Dr. Pradosh Kumar Rath
Dr. Mohammad Aamir Pasha
Alekha Sachidananda Nayak
Telaram Meher

Abstract

The press in Odisha had a glorious past so far as the development of Odia literature and formation of the Odisha Province are concerned. Starting from the publication of the *Kujibara Patra* to the emergence of new media technology, the State has gone through many phases of trials, tribulations, joys and jublations. But the problem with the Odia Press is that it has concentrated in and around the capital city rather than spreading throughout the State equally. In this context, a focus on the growth of the press in the different regions of the State and its comparative analysis has its own importance. Various factors, dimensions and issues of the press in the State have been in this study.

Key Words: History of Odia Press, Odia Journalism.

Introduction

The state of Odisha had always been regarded as one of the socio-cultural hubs of the nation. Starting from the 6th Century B.C., the state produced a number of elites including litterateurs, singers, poets, artistes and sculptors. The kings ruled the state were also lovers of the art. The Jagannath Temple of Puri, the Lingaraj temple, the Konark temple and other Buddhist Sculptures are the mute spectators of the rich culture of the state. It is needless to say that literature also grew in the state in the line of cultural growth. In the state, literature and journalism always grew hand in hand; rather journalism was regarded as part of literature. Odisha also witnessed the chequered history of journalism parallel to the history of Indian journalism. As Indian newspapers vied for independence the Odia newspapers struggled for keeping saving their language from the grip of some external forces.

In the prospective of political, economic, cultural and publication scope some distinguished town or city appears as a more influencing hub or center among its nearby territory or districts in development of art and literature. Also, these trends can be clearly distinguished if one looks at the origin, growth and deep-rooted practice of journalism in some specific sites. Cities like Balasore, Mayurbhanj, Brahmapur, Bhubaneswar, Cuttack, Rourkela and Sambalpur become renowned location for their long publication history. For the smooth understanding and to develop a detail classified view here the history of Odisha

journalism can be discussed in four separate segments. They are In South Brahmapur and nearby areas, Western zone with Rourkela and Sambalpur with their related tertiary, Balasore and Mayurbhanj is coming under northern zone and in East Odisha Puri along with the most influential twin city one is the new and another is old capital city of Odisha i.e., Bhubaneswar and Cuttack. Practically there may or may not be any such zone-based division in the journalism practices but for the better understanding history of Odisha journalism is described in four separate zones.

Now let us focus on various notable movement of Odisha journalism history in different time period. We also discuss how in different Zone (east, west, north and south Odisha) publisher and journalist were struggled for their own existence and effort to serve their own territory along with the interests of state and nation.

Here we will observe journalism history of different zone and draw a comparative analysis between them in each 50 years.

History of the Press in Odisha from Its Origin To 1900

From 1837 to 1900, fifteen presses were started in Odisha. However, most of them closed soon due to paucity of funds. Establishment of presses served as a prelude for the publication of a number of journals and newspaper. During this period literary giants like Fakir Mohan Senapati. Radhanath Ray, Madhusudan Das, Gourishankar Ray emerged, who took resort to newspaper which served as an easy means of publishing their literary works and later they started publishing their literary work in book form along with textbooks.

East Zone (Puri, Bhubaneswar and Cuttack)

Kujibar Patra- The Pioneer Journal

The history of journalism in Odisha dates back to Maratha rule in Odisha (1751-1803). Odisha had the manuscript journals during that period. The whole Odisha heralded a new era of journalism with the introduction of a handwritten newspaper called '*Kujibar Patra*' edited by Sadhu Sunder Das, a social reformer of that time in 1769¹. Although printing press was not there in Odisha during the Maratha period this handwritten paper "*Kujibar Patra*" was published from village Kujibar of Cuttack district by Sadhu Sundar Das². Sadhu Sundar was the founder, publisher and editor of the first Odia weekly newspaper as evident from the seventh volume of the "*Kujibar Patra*". He was assisted by Gangadhar and Ramachandra.

The paper dealt with health, education, industry, agriculture, commerce, animal husbandry, music philosophy, religion etc." *Haritali*" paper was used for this weekly. This was circulated in fairs. The paper came to an end with the death of Sadhu Sundar in 1838. His writings found place in Britain's Baptist journals. Important portions were sent to London for publication. Some other hand-written papers were also circulated during Maratha period,

although the names of those papers are not known for certain. These papers were short-lived.

Table 1: East Zone (Puri, Bhubaneswar and Cuttack)

S.No.	Name of Press	Year	Periodicity	Founder/ Editor / Prominent Person / Press
1.	Kujibar Patra	1769	Weekly	Sadhu Sunder Das
2.	Haritali	-	-	Sadhu Sunder Das
3.	The Cuttack Mission Press	1837	-	Christian Missionaries
4.	Gnyanaruna	1849	-	Charles Lacie
5.	Utkal Government Gazette	1851	Weekly	Charles Lacie
6.	Prabodha Chandrika	1856	Monthly	Missionaries
7.	Arunodaya	1861	Monthly	Christian Missionaries
8.	Prabha	-	-	Christian Missionaries
9.	Christraya	-	-	Christian Missionaries
10.	Dharmabodhini	-	-	Christian Missionaries
11.	Taraka	-	-	Christian Missionaries
12.	Christian Mitra	-	-	Christian Missionaries
13.	Utkal Hitaisini	1869	Weekly	Utkal Hitaisini Press Cuttack - KalipadaBandopadhyaya
14.	Victoria Press Cuttack	1885	-	Jagannath Rao
15.	Bideshi	1880	-	Dinanath Banerjee
16.	Utkal Deepika	1866	Weekly	Gourisankar Ray
17.	Cuttack Star,	1869	Weekly	-
18.	Cuttack Argus	1869	Weekly	-
19.	Cuttack Standard	1869	Weekly	-
20.	Cuttack Chronicle	1871	Weekly	-
21.	Odisha Patriot	1873	-	Kalipada Banerjee
22.	Odisha student	-	English Weekly	Lakshminarayan Dasgupta

British Rule and Missionary Impact on Journals

In the early half of 19th century mostly missionary efforts were clearly visible in scene of the Odia publication history. This stage of development in the history of Odia journalism took place with the British Congress of Odisha in 1803 after the Treaty of Deogan between English and Marathas was signed. The Christian missionaries were the pioneers in the field of Odia press and journalism.

In 1837 Reverend Charles Lacie brought a hand managed press from Britain to Odisha. 'The Christian Missionaries, in their attempt to propagate the Christian religion also established a press in Cuttack known as *'The Cuttack Mission Press'* in 1837'³. It was the first printing press in Odisha. The missionaries first started a monthly Odia newspaper named "*Gnyanaruna*" in 1849. Its first editor was Reverend Charles Lacie. But it couldn't continue for a long time.

Odisha Press post 1850

In 1851 the "*Utkal Government Gazette*" was published, and Charles Lacie took over the charge of editing it. The *Gazette* continued to exist up to the end of 19th century but was not much popular as it was patronized by the Government. The *Gazette*, a weekly then, used to provide information on government legislation, public notice, and court decisions. However, it was short lived.

In 1856, "*Prabodha Chandrika*", a monthly literary journal by the missionaries was published. The cost of each copy was priced at ten paisa and the annual subscription was Rs. 1.50. The paper was the size of a small book with twenty-two pages. The journal covered different aspects like mythology, science, social reforms etc. The paper closed down in 1858.

In 1861, another monthly paper named "*Arunodaya*" was published by the Christian Vernacular Literature Society, which lived for about three years. Some other papers such as '*Prabha*', '*Christraya*', '*Dharmabodhini*', '*Taraka*' and '*Christian Mitra*' were also started by the missionaries.

The newspaper started by missionaries could not survive long. People were suspicious about these papers because of the Christian dogmatism and missionary zeal. However, because of the growth of a neo-elite literary camp in the State, an imperative for an indigenous press remained long felt.

Early Effort to Establish Press by Odia People (After 1850)

The newspapers and journals published by the Christian missionaries had no importance, but they had brought a slow change in the mind of educated people to take interest in public affairs. In the meantime, several religious and literary associations like *Utkal Kallolini Sabha*, *Cuttack Debating Society* and *Vidyadhyaini Sabha* had come into

existence and their activities had to be given publicity in the newspapers. The ideologies of certain socio-religious sects like the *Brahma Samaj* and the newly emerging *Mahima* cult were highlighted through these newspapers. Moreover, at that time some Bengali newspapers like “*Sambad Kaumudi*”, ‘*Samachar Darpan*’ etc. had been drawing attention of the government towards their problems.

The lamp of Odia journal fired by Gauri Sankar Ray, who ‘took the initiative in establishing the Cuttack Printing Press. Patronized by the Commissioners, T.E. Ravenshaw, and subscribed by the Rajas of Talcher, Badamba, Nayagarh, Dhenkanal, Athagarh and Narasinghpur etc.’⁴. Due to the efforts of T.E. Ravenshaw, the Cuttack Printing Press took its birth in 1866.

In 1873 *Utkal Hitaisini Press Cuttack* was established by Kalipada Bandopadhyaya for the publication of ‘*Utkal Hitaisini*’ ‘(the well-wisher of Odisha)’⁵. Before installation of own press weekly magazine ‘*Utkal Hitaisini*’ was used to printed in Cuttack printing company form 1869⁶. ‘Victoria Press Cuttack founded in 1885’ by Jagannath Rao in Cuttack. In 1880, Dinanath Banerjee edited a journal named *Bideshi*⁷.

The Emergence of the Utkal Deepika

The first Odia weekly newspaper *Utkal Deepika* came up to mould public opinion and ventilate the repressed mass ire. After 1857 mutiny it appears as a one of the most important vernacular presses in Odisha. ‘*The Utkal Deepika*’ made its appearance in early 1866 under the able editorship of late Gourisankar Ray with the patronizing helps of late Bichitrananda Das who was the *Seristadar* of then Revenue Commissioner, T.E. Ravenshaw.

Odisha was struck with ‘the great famine of 1866, known as Na’anka Durvikhya, so named because it happened in the ninth regnal year of the then Gajapati king of Puri. Thousands of people died of starvation’⁸. During the famine, Babu Bichitrananda Das and Gouri Shankar Roy decided to publish a magazine in Odia language. The first issue of ‘*Utakala Deepika*’ appeared on 4 August 1866 from the newly Cuttack Printing Press. It dealt with issue of famine⁹. The journal survived till 1936, the longest period for any journal published in 19th century. It was Gouri Shankar Ray who founded this newspaper on 4th August 1866. He was assisted by Bichitranand Das and Jagmohan Roy. He continued to edit the journal till his death in 1917. “*Utkal Deepika*” dawned a new era in the history of Odia journalism¹⁰. Being objective in its approach, it marked the beginning of the people of Odisha taking to print journalism. It was fearless in exposing the lapses of the authority.

The size of ‘*Utkal Deepika*’ was 12.5" x 9.6" and originally it had two columns of 3.5" wide. Later it developed three columns to each page, each column of 2.5" width. By 1900, it was publishing four pages with three 2.5" wide columns to each page and its size was 14.5" x 9.5". News without datelines continued from one column to other. There were no headlines. Editorials were introduced later. Pieces of news were collected from honorary

correspondents from different parts of Odisha. News from outside Odisha including foreign news, were being translated from other papers. Advertisements appeared on any page and at any place in Odia, English or Bengali. The weekly was priced four *annas* per copy. The advertisement rates in 1866 were two *annas* per line, 12 *annas* for half a page and one rupee for a full page. ‘*Utkal Dipika*’ became a daily for some days in 1936 before its death¹¹.

After 1866 some English publications appear in Cuttack. ‘In 1869, the short-lived English weekly’s, ‘*Cuttack Star*’, ‘*Cuttack Argus*’ and ‘*Cuttack Standard*’ came out. In 1871, ‘*Cuttack Chronicle*’ was published. In 1873 Kalipada Banerjee started Odisha Patriot. Lakshminarayan Dasgupta edited an English weekly named Odisha student which was published from Kendrapara’¹².

South Zone (Brahmapur)

After 1850 when in east Odisha news and publication practice tighten its own gripe by publishing paper like ‘*Utkal Dipika*’ in other hand in south Odisha a government supported weekly appeared in readers hand i.e., ‘*Ganjam Gazette*’.

The ‘*Ganjam Gazette*’, a weekly, also started in 1858. It was edited by K. VeeraswamyPeddar and printed at Ganjam Collectorate Press. It carried government notices, advertisements and reports from ‘*Rajmundry Gazette*’, *Madras Postal advertisements* etc.¹³

‘A press established in Ganjam in 1875 by the Nisha Nisedhini Samaj’¹⁴. This is known as Ganjam Nisha Neshdhini Samaj Press (1875)¹⁵.

Some other notable weekly magazine published from south Odisha were ‘*The Swadeshi*’ (1877) from Berhampur, ‘*The Ganjam News*’ (1896) from Parlakhemundi, ‘*The Ganjam Odia Hitabadini*’ (1899) from Berhampur¹⁶.

Table 2: South Zone (Brahmapur)

S. No.	Name of Press / Newspaper	Year	Periodicity	Founder/ Editor / Prominent Person / Press
1.	Ganjam Gazette’	1858	Weekly	K. VeeraswamyPeddar / Ganjam Collectorate Press
2.	Ganjam Nisha Neshdhini Samaj Press	1875	Weekly	Nisha Nisedhini Samaj
3.	The Swadeshi	1877	Weekly	-
4.	The Ganjam News	1896	Weekly	-
5.	Ganjam Odia Hitabadini	1899	Weekly	-

Western Zone (Rourkela and Sambalpur)

While east and south Odisha able to establish firmly them as ground for print and publication during second half of 19th century, west Odisha took little more time to stand in its own leg.

In 1885 Bamanda Press was established in the Sambalpur district by Raja Basudev Sudhal Dev. A weekly magazine “*The Sambalpur Hitaisini*” started its publication in 1889 from Bamanda¹⁷. This Odia periodical “*Sambalpur Hitaisini*” was published in Bamanda Press.

Table 3: Western Zone (Rourkela and Sambalpur)

S. No.	Name of Press / Newspaper	Year	Periodicity	Founder/ Editor / Prominent Person / Press
1.	Bamanda	1885	-	Raja BasudevSudhal Dev
2.	The Sambalpur Hitaisini	1889	-	Bamanda Press

Northern Zone (Balasore,Mayurbhanj)

As east Odisha and south Odisha north Odisha was also progressing with an appreciate able rhythm of acceleration in the aspect of publication.

Fakir Mohan Senapati and some of his colleagues put their primary effort to establish printing press in Balasore. An amount of Rs.800/- was borrowed from Babu Kishorimohan Das the younger brother of the Zamindar Babu Madan Mohan Das and a new Super Royal Columbian Press was purchased from Calcutta and brought to Balasore by bullock-cart owing to the stoppage of navigation in the rainy season¹⁸.

The third printing press in Odisha was established at Baleswar in 1868 by the untiring efforts of Fakir Mohan Senapati. After five years (1873), the fourth press was established also at Baleswar by a local Zamindar¹⁹.

Fakir Mohan brought out a periodical called ‘*Bodhdayini O BalaswarSambadbahika*’.

It had two parts. The ‘*Bodhdayini*’ part contained literary writings while the otherpart captioned ‘*Balaswar Sambadbahika*’ contained news items²⁰. This was the second journal sponsored by Odisha from Balasore, which continued as a monthly from July 1868 to June 1871. It was converted to a fortnightly from July 1871 and became a weekly from Jan 3, 1878. Like *Deepika*, ‘*The Bahika*’ defended the Odia language and pleaded for expansion of education in Odisha. It was also bold in its comments and did not spare high officials. ‘*The Bahika*’ continued for over 56 years up to 1923. By 1915, it reached its full-fledged four-page form.

In 1879 an Odia fortnightly newspaper called “*Mayurbhanj PakshikaPatrika*” was published from Baripada being edited by Haraprasad Das with the financial help of Maharaja Krushna Chandra Bhanja Deo. In April 1891 a literary magazine titled ‘*Utkal Prabha*’ was published from Baripada with the financial help of Maharaja Sri Ramachandra Bhanja Deo²¹.

Table 4: Northern Zone (Balasore, Mayurbhanj)

S. No.	Name of Press / Newspaper	Year	Periodicity	Founder/ Editor / Prominent Person / Press
1.	Balasore Press (Third Printing Press in Odisha)	1868	-	Fakir Mohan Senapati
2.	Baleswar (Fourth Press in Odisha)	1873	-	Local Zamidar
3.	Bodhdayini O Balaswar Sambad	1868 / 1871 / 1878	Monthly / Fortnightly / Weekly	Fakir Mohan Senapati
4.	Bahika	1868	Weekly	Fakir Mohan Senapati
5.	Mayurbhanj PakshikaPatrika	1879	Fortnightly	Haraprasad Das (from Baripada)
6.	Utkal Prabha	1891	-	Financial help of Maharaja Sri Ramachandra Bhanja Deo.

Analysis

After discussing four zonal historical data on journalistic practice in Odisha now it's time for draw an analytical sketch on it. In early half of 19th century missionary effort visible as an initial publication trend seating agent. After famine of 1966 government supported to establish printing press at different zones of Odisha. Government supported to printing press to full fill their own print needs like print any govt. notice or record along with this govt. also want to gain public support. Some art and literature lover Zamindar and local King and self-motivated people open their hands for the establishment of printing press.

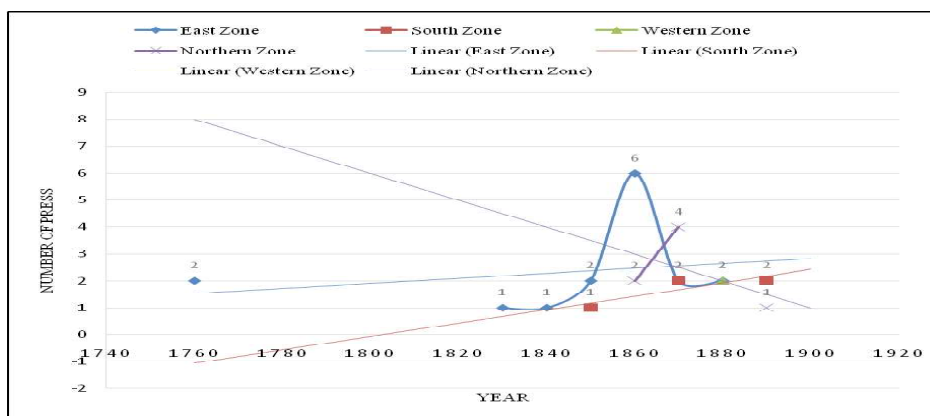


Figure 1: Growth of Odisha Press from 1700 to 1800 AD Zone Wise.

This graph shows how ups and down occurred in the history of the press in Odisha. Most of the newspaper was comes from the east zone (see Table 1) and we can see in a graphical representation that graph is slightly downfall because of the Britisher's policies

after 1857 most of the newspapers were the victim of Britisher's oppressive policies. After the 1857 Britisher's was started stricter laws to close newspapers like Gagging Act and Vernacular Newspaper Act.

Inter zonal analysis

When the Puri and Cuttack based East Zone was marching bravely in the era of publication, in South Zone (Brahmapur) and North Zone (Balasore, Mayurbhanj) were its forerunner but the western Zone was a little behind in the race. But this race is not ended here. A wonderful bright future came in the upcoming century with the promise of possibility hope of a separate language-based state and independent nation, inspiration of freedom of speech and expression with free practice of journalism.

History of the Press in Odisha During First Half of 19th Century

After the end of 19th century when the nationalistic movement was gaining momentum and a strong nationalism was binding the people of the country, Odisha was never far behind.

As the twentieth century dawned in Odisha, the newspapers were busy with the language problem in Sambalpur but had given a firm foundation for development of Odia as a modern language. Odia literature had begun to blossom in almost all its aspects, namely novels, short-stories, criticism, drama and poems. Politically, while congress was building up a national movement against the colonial rule in Odisha, the educated were more concerned with the unification of Odia speaking areas. Madhusudan Das who wanted to move a resolution in Ahmedabad session of Congress in 1902 for the unification of Odia speaking areas, was not allowed to do so. Curzon had also proposed to join Odia speaking areas including Ganjam and Agency areas of Vishakhapatnam from Madras with Bengal, which was also opposed by the Congress.

The newspaper / periodicals published during the first decade of the 20th century included 'Alochana' (1900), 'Prajabandhu' (1902), 'Nilachal Samachar' (1903), 'Prajamitra' (1904), 'Mukur' (1905), 'Star of Utkal' (1905), 'Ganjam Guna Darpan' (1907), and 'The Odia' (1910)²².

The advent of language newspapers in Odisha in the twentieth century can be characterized as precarious, informal and uneven publication cycles. On the very threshold of the century, there emerged many Odia newspapers (mostly in bulletin form). Starting from 'Prathamik Sikshya', 'Nabajyoti' (1913), 'Vishal Andhrabanee' and 'Pada Samrajya Bodhinee' (1914). It paved the way for modern newspaper printing and technology.

East Zone (Puri, Bhubaneswar and Cuttack)

In the first half of the 20th century Eastern Zone got some of its historical and most influential newspapers in its own territory. Most important among them was the brainchild of Utkalamani Pandit Gopabandhu Das 'The Samaj' which is also able to survive its practice

and credibility now in 21st century. Now let's discuss some notable event and journalistic practice during this period.

The '*Nilachala Samachar*' was published in 1903 from Puri. It was four pages weekly with four columns per page edited by Baidyanath Sinha. The size was 16.5" x 12.5" and its annual price was Rs. 2/-. The name itself indicated that it was dealing with the news of Puri, its temple, and monasteries.

A monthly literary magazine, '*The Mukura*', was started in 1905 being edited by Braja Sundar Das²³. He was a printer of repute, a popular journalist, poet and a statesman devoted to unification of Odia speaking areas. '*Mukura*' was first printed in Mission Press. In 1910, Braja Sundar purchased a press from Puri and began a type of foundry. The lead type in Odia was more attractive and considered the best in Odisha. In fact, Braja Sundar belonged to a family of printers as his grandfather Harekrushna Das with his brother Bichitrananda Das was associated with Cuttack Printing Company. Braja Sundar himself was the director of the company for a long period.

Thanks to the selfless efforts of Utkalamani Pandit Gopabandhu Das for his monthly '*Satyabadee*' (1913). It made a humble beginning from Satyabadi in Puri district. Other papers that followed suit were '*The Puribasee*' (1914), a four-page weekly in Odia and English from Puri published by Purusottam Printing and Publishing Company; '*The Purusotham Patrika*' and the '*Jagadeesh Samachar*' all published from Puri.

Close to the year, the '*Gadajat Basinee*' and '*Sakti*', both weeklies (1922) from Talcher were sponsored by the Raja, Kishore Chandra Birbara Harichandan.

The city of Cuttack has always remained the hub of literary and journalistic activities of the State ever since the emergence of newspapers in the State. '*Deshakatha*' (1930) from Cuttack,²⁴ An Odia daily was just the beginning to be followed suit by eminent papers like '*Swarajya*' (1930) first published as a weekly newspaper. For its championing the cause of independence, soon it gained immense popularity among the masses.

In the same chronicle of events, '*Lokamata*' (1935), a weekly newspaper, had gained popularity as the mouthpiece of Congress and was an influential one. Similarly, though considered as lesser-known papers among the Odia vernacular press, '*Krushaka*' (1938) a weekly newspaper was prominent for its championing the cause of the peasant movement.

Another lesser-known papers '*Satya Samachar*' (1931) a weekly and '*Baikuntha Bhikhari*' from Puri was contemporaneous with '*Swarajya*'. 'Gopal Chandra Praharaj edited "Satya Samachar", Utkal Gourab Madhu Sudan edited '*The Odia*' and Dibyaprasanna Roy Choudhury edited '*Navya Bharat*' from Cuttack. Another weekly '*Swaraj*' which became a daily in 1932 was also published in 1921-22 from Cuttack²⁵.

'*Nirvika Deshakatha*' and '*Harijan*' (1933), both were edited and published by Lokanath Mishra from Puri in 1933.

In 1905 Babu Khired Ray Choudhury published an English newspaper named "*Star of Utkal*" from Cuttack. At first it was published as a weekly newspaper in English, later brought out twice a week. It voiced national feelings and sentiments, and the government came hard on it. This was stopped after the death of its editor in 1916. It was again revived in 1924 by Laxmi Narayan Sahu but was finally closed down in 1930. English weekly, '*The Odia*', was published from Cuttack in 1910 under the editorship of Madhusudan Das. This was the mouthpiece of '*Utkal Sammilani*'. Later, Braja Sundar Das became its editor. During the same period late Gopal Chandra Praharaj edited '*Satya Samachar*', Utkal Gourab Madhu Sudan edited '*The Odia*' and Dibyaprasanna Roy Choudhury edited '*Navya Bharat*' from Cuttack. During 1917 Cuttack district also witnessed the rise of the '*Samaja Mitra*'²⁶. It was proscribed by the British Government for its publication of an article under the caption '*Hindu Dharmara Gourab*' in which he strongly criticized certain disparaging remarks of some foreign Christian missionaries against Hindu scriptures and the Hindu deities²⁷.

A new era in the journalism history of Odisha started with the publication of two newspapers, namely, '*The Asha*' and '*The Samaj*'²⁸.

The Samaj

On 4th October 1919, '*The Samaj*' resumed its first publication from Satyabadi with the sincere efforts of the well-known freedom fighter late Pandit Gopabandhu Das.

The emergence of '*The Samaj*' as a weekly from Satyabadi, dawned a new era of literary and political journalism in Odisha. This was shifted to Puri on January 3, 1925, and was finally shifted to Cuttack in June 1927. It was converted to a daily on 6th April 1930. The hardships of the paper in the face of the Imperial Government's strong ban on the *Salt Satyagraha* and other such national movements were many. However, despite of the Government's repression measures it was able to swim afloat on the hard waters publishing regularly from 1931. As per the will of Gopabandhu Das, after his death on 27th June 1928 the ownership of the newspaper was transferred to the "*Servants of the People Society*" founded by Lala Lajpat Ray. Later Dr. Radhanath Rath joined as its first manager in 1919 and became the Editor and the Chairman of the Servants of the People's Society. '*The Samaja*', is owned and managed by 'Servants of the People Society' (Lok Sevak Mandal), New Delhi, a trust founded by all-time legend Punjab Keshri Lala Lajpat Rai.

Today, '*The Samaj*' owns the credit of having Satyabadi Press, Gopabandhu. From a humble affordable cost of one paise in 1931 and two paise in 1941, this daily newspaper is widely recognised in the nook and corner both within and outside Odisha. Keeping abreast of the times, and latest technological developments it first procured high speed rotary machines and Odia monotypes, and later changed to off-set printing.

'The Samaj' on own official web site claimed that now it has a readership of around Sixteen lakh having a daily circulation of nearing three lakh fifty thousand and publishing from eight places having live editions as Bhubaneswar, Berhampur, Balasore, Cuttack, Kolkata, Rourkela, Sambalpur and Vizag spreading across three States - Odisha, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal.

Prajatantra

As a landmark event in the history of Odisha's vernacular press, '*The Prajatantra*' marked a revolutionary phase of Journalism in Odisha's history. '*The Prajatantra*' in 1932 established and edited by Late HarekrushnaMahatab had tremendously influenced the literary and social lives of Odia people.

Published from Cuttack by HarekrushnaMahtab and printed at Mukura Press of Cuttack and later shifted to Balasore, it was converted to a daily in 1930. Under Press Ordinance of British Government, it stopped on 28th December 1930 only to revive after stop gap of 17 years, on August 8, 1947. As a literary supplement, a political chronicle, and journalism forerunner the paper keeps a special niche among the Odia newspapers on the vanguard. It has created writers, journalists, artists and politicians as well. The annals of '*The Prajatantra*' are replete with distinct social and public leaders like Bhairab Ch. Mohanty, Chintamani Panigrahi, NilamaniRoutray, Shreeharsha Mishra, Janaki BallavPattnaik, Chandrasekhar Mohapatra, who have worked as editors in this paper. Yet, it gave a different shape to Odia journalism. It introduced a Sunday Supplement, *Meenabazar* for children, *Narijagat* for women, separate columns for drama and film, agriculture, youth and *Managahana* like psychological writings. All these were embellished by the wise editorials of Dr.Mahatab, a popular feature being "*Gaon Majlish*". Today, '*ThePrajatantra*' boasts of modern communication system and high-end printing technology.

'*The Prajatantra*' is a widely circulated Odia daily with a circulation of above one-lakh copies per day, according to the latest circulation figure²⁹, certified by Audit Bureau of Circulation. The circulation of The Saptahiki is 1,05,000 copies per week.

Chief among the papers that supported the 'PrajaAndolana' movement of Dhenkanal were '*Sarathi*', 1938 a weekly newspaper, was edited by Naba Krushna Choudhury. 'Naba babu came to Tarikund after being released from Hazaribag Jail. He created a small group within the Congress and began editing and publishing a journal named '*Sarathi*'. 'For meeting the recurring costs of '*Sarathi*', Malati Devi sold her ornaments. '*Sarathi*' was the mouthpiece of small farmers and laborers.

Among the most astringent of the writings directed against the Government were papers like the '*Satakatha*', a weekly newspaper published in 1939 from Cuttack. It published in a humorous, though critical fashion, the lapses at various levels of government including those of public functionaries.

Other such papers that directed their ire towards the Government machinery were 'Janata' (1940) published as a daily newspaper by Pandit Godabarisha Mishra³⁰. It was very critical of National Congress and its activities. It was the first morning daily in the history of Odia daily newspapers. Surendra Mohanty was its editor for some time during 1945³¹.

The post-independence phase of Odia journalism begins with the advent of the 'Matrubhumi' (1947) that started first as a bi-weekly and later a weekly and subsequently, to a daily newspaper in 1951. During 'First General Election in 1952 the financial help received from Maharaja of Balangir Patna.

Unrestrained and unbridled by the yokes of dogmatism, the paper, as it had followed in the fifties, still asserts and maintains its boldness, and is popular among the masses of Odisha.

Table 5: East Zone (Puri, Bhubaneswar and Cuttack)

S. No.	Name of Press / Newspaper	Year	Periodicity	Founder/ Editor / Prominent Person / Press
1.	Prabandhu	1902	-	-
2.	Nilachal Samachar	1903	-	-
3.	Prajamitra	1904	-	-
4.	Mukur	1905	-	-
5.	Star of Utkal	1905 / 1924	Weekly	Babu Khirod Ray Choudhury / Laxmi Narayan Sahu
6.	Ganjam Guna Darpan	1907	-	-
7.	The Odia	1910	Weekly	Madhusudan Das
8.	PrathamikSikshya	1913	-	-
9.	Nabajyoti	1913	-	-
10.	Vishal Andhrabanee	1914	-	-
11.	Pada SamrajyaBodhinee	1914	-	-
12.	The Samaj	1919	Weekly / Daily	Gopabandhu Das
13.	Nilachala Samachar	1903	Weekly	Baidyanath Sinha
14.	Mukura	1905	Monthly	Braja Sundar Das
15.	Satyabadee	1913	Monthly	Gopabandhu Das
16.	The Puribasee	1914	Weekly	Purushottam Printing and Publishing Company
17.	PurushothamPatrika	-	-	-
18.	Jagadeesh Samachar	-	-	-
19.	GadajatBasinee	1922	Weekly	Raja, Kishore Chandra BirbaraHarichandan
20.	Sakti	1922	Weekly	Raja, Kishore Chandra BirbaraHarichandan

21.	Deshakatha	1930	Daily	-
22.	Swarajya	1930	Weekly	-
23.	Lokamata	1935	Weekly	-
24.	Krushaka	1938	Weekly	-
25.	Satya Samachar	1931	Weekly	Gopal Chandra Praharaj
26.	Swrajya	1931	Weekly	-
27.	BaikunthaBhikhari	1931	Weekly	-
28.	Navya Bharat		Weekly	Dibyaprasanna Roy Choudhury
29.	Swaraj	1932	Weekly	-
30.	NircvikaDeshakatha	1933	-	Lokanath Mishra
31.	Harijan	1933		Lokanath Mishra
32.	Samaja Mitra	1917	-	-
33.	The Asha	-	-	-
34.	The Prajatantra	1932	Daily	HarekrushnaMahatab, Bhairab Ch. Mohanty, Chintamani Panigrahi, NilamaniRoutray, Shreeharsha Mishra, Janaki BallavPattnaik, Chandrasekhar Mohapatra
35.	Sarathi	1938	Weekly	Naba Krushna Choudhury, Malati Devi,
36.	Satakatha	1939	Weekly	
37.	Janata	1940	Weekly	Pandit Godabarisha Mishra
38.	Matrubhumi	1947	Bi-weekly / Weekly	-

South Zone (Brahmapur)

Raja Harihar Mardaraj of Khallikote published '*Prajabandhu*' under the editorship of Nilamoni Bidyaratna in June 1902 from Rambha. Nilamoni utilized the paper as a move to include Ganjam district from the then in Madras Presidency into Odisha.

'*Prajamitra*' was published from Aska (Ganjam) in 1904. Bhagirathi Das was the editor. Wide coverage was given to the news relating to unification of Odisha.

'*Ganjam Guna Darpan*' was brought out by the financial assistance of Raja Krupamaya Dev from Badakhemundi of Ganjam in 1907. This motivated the movement of unification of Odisha. Meanwhile, this stir in the Southern district of Ganjam resulted in the publication of a newspaper called '*Sambad Patra*' (1917) from Dharakote under the editorship of Kashinath Rajguru.

The Asha

'*The Asha*', a weekly published in 1913 by Shashibushan Rath, brought about a revolution in journalism in Odisha. The paper was started on the 13.4.1913. It was named

'*The Asha*' after his daughter Ashalata. It was popular in Ganjam, *Garjat* and even in Burma. Pandit Gopabandhu Das wrote editorials for two and half years. All the grievances published in the *Asha* from various villages of Ganjam were being enquired and steps taken to meet them. '*Asha*' was made a daily from April 13, 1928, named as the '*Dainik Asha*'. The Odia Daily '*Dainik Asha*' started from Berhampur on the Odia New Year's Day (Mesha Sankranti).

Through the efforts of *Asha*, Odia was made a court language in the civil courts in Aska and Ghumusura. In 1931, Shashibhusan stopped the sacrifice of goats to Goddess Taratarini by carrying out a *Satyagraha* and offering his head along with the goat meant for sacrifice.

He also started the '*New Odisha*', the first English daily of Odisha which started on May 5, 1933³².

Rath secured the services of M.V. Sharma from '*The Swarajya*' of Madras to write editorial for the *New Odisha*. As Sharma left the paper after three years, Narsimha Acham, Manager of '*Dainik Asha*' wrote the editorial V.G. Madhav Rao the then Principal of Khallikote College, Berhampur was also helpful in publication and editorial of the paper. Shashibhusan gave up the editorship of '*Dainik Asha*' on April 18, 1936, and his brother Sharat Chandra became the editor.

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Odisha persuaded Rath to shift the dailies to Cuttack. The Government was prepared to pay Rs. 4000/- for transport and provide Rs.3000/- monthly to run the paper in supporting war efforts. Politically frustrated, financially and physically weak Rath consented and by Oct 1939 the paper came out from Cuttack. It proved to be a wrong decision. Rath's failing health did not permit him to stay at Cuttack. He returned to Berhampur to bring out the weekly '*Asha*' with Chandrasekhar Mahapatra as publisher. Rath however died on May 18, 1943.

Both the dailies and weekly at Berhampur were than taken over by Dr. Balabhadra Mishra. He sold it to Madanlal who also gave it up in 1951. The '*Dainik Asha*' was revived in 1982 by the popular leader Brundaban Nayak. Shreeharsh Mishra became its editor, but after his death Chandrasekhar Mohapatra was the editor for some time. Now the editor is Pramod Kumar Panda. It was printed in letter press with the evening edition only from Berhampur in Ganjam district. Later it shifted to the off-set printing.

Although '*The Asha*' was the first printed daily in Odia, the first lithographed daily was the '*Gandhi Samachar*' brought out by Niranjana Patnaik from Berhampur. However, it was actually a news bulletin that came up in a cyclostyled form and as such cannot be called newspaper.

Though short-lived, yet another weekly newspaper '*The Sambada*' and a literary magazine '*Nabeen*' (1924) were published from Berhampur by Krupasindhu Narendra

Deb. 'Pravat' (1930), a daily newspaper was a later addition of newspapers published from Berhampur. The weekly 'Nabeen' still continues uninterrupted from Berhampur under the editorship of Rabi Rath.

'Naba Bharata' (1934), a monthly magazine, later converted into a daily (1941) supported the Second World War and published news in support of the government and the War. Due to financial and other administration problems, it was closed down after being published for 18 months as a daily. During 1933 'Dharmadoota' from Ganjam were other minor daily newspapers.

Table 6: South Zone (Brahmapur)

S. No.	Name of Press / Newspaper	Year	Periodicity	Founder/ Editor / Prominent Person / Press
1.	Prajabandhu	1902	-	Raja Harihar Mardaraj, Nilamoni Bidyaratna
2.	Prajamitra	1904	-	Bhagirathi Das
3.	Ganjam Guna Darpan	1907	-	Raja Krupamaya Dev
4.	Sambad Patra	1917	-	Kashinath Rajguru
5.	The Asha, Dainik Asha	1913	Weekly /Daily	Shashibushan Rath, Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Narsimha Acham, Shashibhusan, Sharat Chandra
6.	New Odisha	1933	Daily	Shashibushan Rath, M.V. Sharma,
7.	Gandhi Samachar	-	-	Niranjan Patnaik
8.	The Sambada	1924	Weekly	Krupasindhu Narendra Deb
9.	Nabeen	1924	-	Krupasindhu Narendra Deb, Rabi Rath
10.	Pravat'	1930	Daily	Krupasindhu Narendra Deb
11.	Naba Bharata	1934 / 1941	Monthly/ Daily	-
12.	Dharmadoota	1933	Daily	-

Western Zone (Rourkela and Sambalpur)

A few landmark events in the history of journalism in the western district are chronicled in this section.

As early as 1936, the year of formation of 'Swatantra' Odisha Pradesh, 'Hirakhanda Samachar', a weekly was published from Bolangir. The Rajas of Bolangir had an active role in giving impetus to language journalism in this region. 'Ganatantra', the mouthpiece of Ganatantra Parishad was published as a weekly from Bolangir in 1947 by

R.N.Singh Deo, the former Chief Minister of Odisha. It was converted to a daily newspaper in 1956. Published from Cuttack under the editorship of the renowned writer Surendra Mohanty. It was one of the pioneering papers in this region. In 1956 Odia Daily ‘*Ganatantra*’ owing its political allegiance to the opposition “Ganatantra Parishad” of the ex-Garhjat rulers of Odisha was published by the Gana Prakasani Trust Board. This paper continued for about five years.

Table 7: Western Zone (Rourkela and Sambalpur)

S. No.	Name of Press / Newspaper	Year	Periodicity	Founder/ Editor / Prominent Person / Press
1.	Hirakhanda Samachar	1936	Weekly	Rajas of Bolangir
2.	Ganatantra	1947 / 1956	Weekly / Daily	R.N.Singh Deo, Surendra Mohanty

Northern Zone (Balasore, Mayurbhanj)

In the northern region some of the pioneering papers also published during this time period. Paper like ‘*Monorama*’, ‘*Mayurbhanja Gazetteer*’ played a vital role in this pre independence period. Weekly Manorama – 1905 from Baripada, ‘*Mayurbhanja Gazetteer*’ in Odia and English from the Baripada Printing Press, ‘*Calcutta Bhanja Pradip*’ in October 1934, ‘*Mayurbhanja Chronicle*’ in October 1935 were also published. The Mayurbhanj State Gazetteer in January 1936 speaks of the big role played by this state for the promotion and development of journalistic activities in Odisha³³.

Table 8: Northern Zone (Balasore, Mayurbhanj)

S. No.	Name of Press / Newspaper	Year	Periodicity	Founder/ Editor / Prominent Person / Press
1.	Monorama	1905	Weekly	Baripada Printing Press
2.	Mayurbhanja Gazetteer	1905	Weekly	Baripada Printing Press
3.	Calcutta Bhanja Pradip	1934	-	-
4.	Mayurbhanja Chronicle	1935	-	-

Analysis

During this period when the East zone was predominating with papers like ‘*The Samaj*’, ‘*The Odia*’ by Utkal Gourab Madhu Sudan Das, ‘*The Prajatantra*’ by DR. Harekrushna Mahatab the South Odisha was also in a noticeable influence of ‘*The Asha*’ by Shashibushan Rath in Brahmapur. Whereas in the west ‘*Hirakhanda Samachar*’ and from Bolangir took an unforgettable active part in both Swatanra Odisha Pradesh and freedom movement in Odisha. If one compares these Zones during in this pre independence period

one can see the influential practice of journalism in the East Zone. Also, in south paper like 'The Asha' played a significant role to connect the mass in the freedom struggle and regional political and cultural needs. In west and north some freedom fighter and literature lovers also put their own effort to take the help of newspaper for their region but in comparison to the east and south zones these two zones may be considered as little week.

The language crisis of the 1860s and 1870s provided congenial atmosphere for the growth of Odia nationalism in the nineteenth century. Language was probably the strongest cementing force to unite a race. It began as a cultural movement and gradually became a political issue in the 20th century for uniting all Odia-speaking areas under one administration and one University. This led to the publication of a large number of Odia newspapers in consonance with the new, literary trend, socio-economic and cultural problems.

The growth of vernacular Press was a sure indication of corresponding increase in the number of writers and readers. They highlighted the administrative apathy, socio-economic backwardness of the Odia Community, their demand for general and technical education and above all for the necessity to amalgamate the scattered Odia-speaking areas.

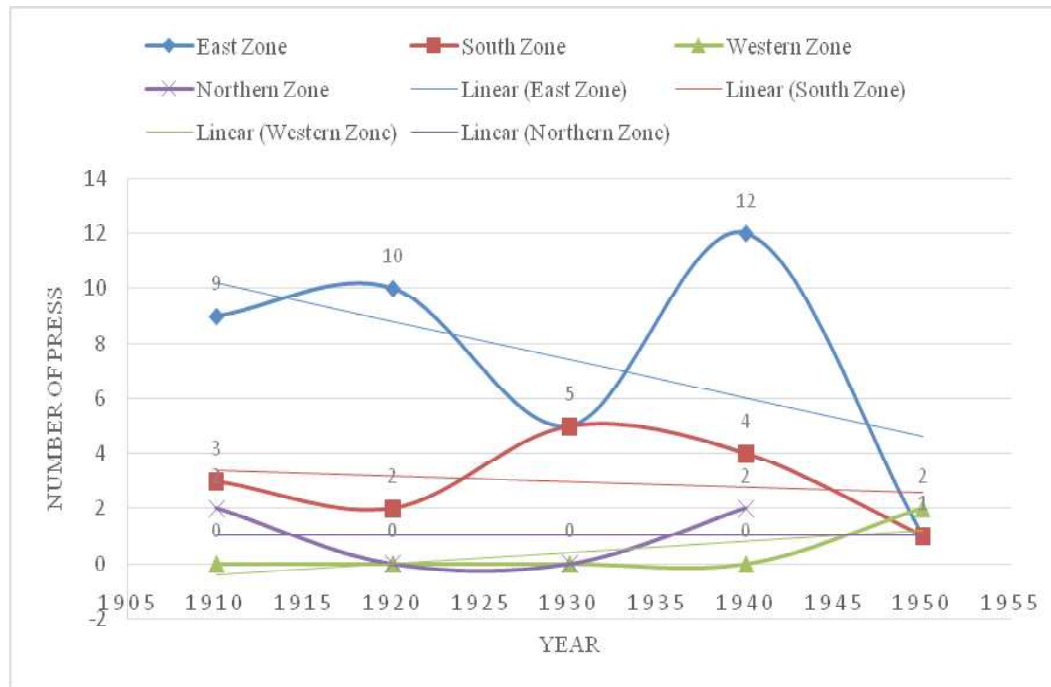


Figure 2 Growth of Odisha Press from 1900 to 1950 AD Zone Wise.

History of the Press in Odisha from 1950 To 2000

This phase of newspaper journalism in Odisha, was, however much influenced by the radicalism of the political parties that patronised the papers from time to time and believed to persist on the very content of Odia newspaper till today.

'*Nyayabati*' as a weekly newspaper (1978), and later a daily newspaper (1994); and '*Pratikar*' (1977) had the distinction of having the morning edition in the tabloid size. '*Lokachar*' (1977), and '*Dahan*' (1978), first weekly newspapers and later dailies were among the lesser-known papers in Odia journalism. Another paper that made its appearance but a short-lived one was '*KhabarKagaz*' (1983).

East Zone (Puri, Bhubaneswar and Cuttack)

Under the piloting of Biju Pattnaik, '*Kalinga*' (1960) also gained popularity not only in Odisha but also outside Odisha, such as Calcutta, Jamshedpur, Sadheikala etc. Biju Pattnaik encouraged professional journalism and advocated that journalist should be paid well. '*The Swarajya*' (1966) from Bhubaneswar under the patronage of R. N. Singh Deo also made a humble appearance under the aegis of Swatantra Party. The advent of '*Pragativadi*' as a weekly (1972), and later a daily (1979) also owed its allegiance to P. K. Bal, former Member of Parliament, who was also the Chief Editor of the paper.

'*Kurukshetra*' (1973), a weekly newspaper from Puri and later a daily newspaper published from both Rourkela and Cuttack under the editorship of Chittaranjan Mishra was also popular among the readers for its impartial news, views and criticism, political and socio-economic events. The period also witnessed the appearance of the '*Utkal Samaj*' (1972), a monthly from Puri.

Dharitri

The Odia daily '*Dharitri*' was started on November 24, 1974, by the Samajbadi Society from Bhubaneswar. It has gained immense popularity over the years. Under the able leadership of Kalindi Charan Panigrahi, father of the former Chief Minister of Odisha Smt. Nandini Satpathy. '*Dharitri*' reigned the forefront of Odia journalism and continues to be leading Odia newspaper until today.

Sambad

At a time when newspaper industry was experiencing tough trial under the technological breakthrough and trying to come out its feudal cocoon and still stuck with its internal media rivalries, a premiere newspaper called '*Sambad*' was merged. It started its publication as a daily newspaper on 4th October 1984 under the aegis of the Eastern Media Pvt. Ltd. from Bhubaneswar. Today, '*Sambad*' is the first newspaper to publish multiple editions from eight different parts of Odisha namely Bhubaneswar, Berhampur, Balasore, Rourkela, Sambalpur, Cuttack, Angul and Jeypore. Prior to the publication of '*Sambad*',

the Odia daily newspapers were published as evening editions. ‘*Sambad*’ started as a morning paper, creating a new era in Odia journalism. It also created new concept of feature journalism providing opportunities to the young and talented journalists. Special supplements started printing in tabloid size on each day on different subjects such as women, children, youth, literature, stories, and education, in addition to the original paper of eight pages. The dynamism and growth of the paper is further marked in its sharing of social responsibility. The Sambad-Ama Odisha Charitable Trust (a Public Welfare Trust) and The Sambad School of Media and Culture bears testimony to the dynamic culture of language journalism in Odisha. As a forerunner of the technical advancements in the newspaper printing the paper not only made a breakthrough, but also paved way for other language papers to adapt to the novelties of the day. Several media research groups including the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) and the Indian Readership Survey (IRS) testify to Sambad’s No 1 status.

‘*Trisakti*’ (1985), ‘*Janabhasa*’ (1985), ‘*Kalinga Mail*’ (1985), ‘*Sasana Khabara*’ (1989), ‘*Matrubhasa*’ (1989), ‘*Mukta Mandap*’ (1990), ‘*Bartaman Parikrama*’ (1990) ‘*Press News of India*’ (1991), ‘*Aneka Suchana*’ (1992) ‘*Paryabekshak*’ (1994), ‘*Bartaman Samachar*’ (1994) and ‘*Nua Kagaja*’ (1999), were other such papers that had emergence in the Eastern districts, especially in the undivided Cuttack and Puri districts of Odisha during 1985-2000.

Samaya

A new epoch in Odia vernacular journalism was yet to begin with the advent of the ‘*Samaya*’ (1996)³⁴ a daily newspaper by Ashribad Prakashan Pvt. Ltd. from Bhubaneswar. This had the patronage of Basanta Biswal, the then Deputy Chief Minister of Odisha. With eminent literary personality Satakadi Hota worked as its Editor. With the latest and modern communication and printing technologies of the *Samaya* made a deep impact in newspaper printing and publication. In fact, it set an example for other Odia dailies, as it printed the pages in colour.

‘**The Dinalipi**’ was first published in the year 1981. The daily Odia newspaper is owned by *Suryo Media* a private company that was started by Mr. Amarendra Dash.

Table 9: East Zone (Puri, Bhubaneswar and Cuttack)

S. No.	Name of Press / Newspaper	Year	Periodicity	Founder/ Editor / Prominent Person / Press
1.	Nyayabati	1978 / 1994	Weekly / Daily	-
2.	Pratikar	1977	Weekly	-
3.	Lokachar	1977	-	-
4.	Dahan	1978	-	-

5.	Khabar Kagaz	1983	-	-
6.	Kalinga	1960	-	Biju Pattnaik
7.	Swarajya	1966	-	R. N. Singh De
8.	Pragativadi	1972 / 1979	Weekly / Daily	P. K. Bal
9.	Kurukshetra	1973	Weekly / Daily	Chittaranjan Mishra
10.	Utkal Samaj	1972	-	-
11.	Dharitri	1974	Daily	KalindiCharanPanigrahi
12.	Sambad	1984	Daily	The Eastern Media Pvt. Ltd. Bhubaneswar
13.	Trisakti	1985	Daily	-
14.	Janabhasa	1985	Daily	-
15.	Kalinga Mail	1985	Daily	-
16.	SasanaKhabara	1989	Daily	-
17.	Matrubhasa	1989	Daily	-
18.	Mukta Mandap	1990	Daily	-
19.	Bartaman Parikrama	1990	Daily	-
20.	Press News of India	1991	Daily	-
21.	Aneka Suchana	1992	Daily	-
22.	Paryabekshak	1994	Daily	-
23.	Bartaman Samachar	1994	Daily	-
24.	Nua Kagaja	1999	Daily	-
25.	Samaya	1996	Daily	Basanta Biswal
26.	The Dinalipi	1981	Daily	-
27.	Suryo Media	1981	Daily	Mr. Amarendra Dash

South Zone (Brahmapur)

The contributions of Ganjam district in the Southern part of the State is also no less significant as this region has always remained a melting pot of varied cultures and dialects and contributed, though scantily, to the journalistic heritage of the State. Prior to independence it had remained a laboratory of language papers in Odisha, the prominent among them being

'*The Asha*', '*Nabin*', '*Ganjam Odia Hitabadinee*' and the '*Ganjam News*'. All these were pre-independent events. However, the post-independence phase in Ganjam is marked with a dearth of such journalistic entrepreneurship. Only a few papers like '*Hutasana*' (1965) a weekly newspaper, from Berhampur, and '*The Taruna*' (1949) by P.C. Mishra can be regarded to have contributed to this journalistic spate in the State. The eighties, however, saw a better prospect for the district. With the revival of '*The Dainik Asha*' (1982), the entire district of Ganjam again went agog and the paper attained wide circulation in the district. The nineties, however, saw a rich bloom of journalistic entrepreneurship in the language papers of the State. The '*Anupam Bharat*' started as a daily newspaper from Berhampur, in the southern part of Odisha in 1996 and with this the journalistic entrepreneurship in the district was fertile again. It is noteworthy; that this paper has till today remained as one of the leading newspapers of Southern Odisha.

Table 10: South Zone (Brahmapur)

S. No.	Name of Press / Newspaper	Year	Periodicity	Founder/ Editor / Prominent Person / Press
1.	Hutasana	1965	Weekly	From Berhampur
2.	The Taruna	1949	-	P.C. Mishra
3.	Dainik Asha	1982	Daily	Shashibushan Rath, Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Narsimha Acham, Shashibhusan, Sharat Chandra
4.	Anupam Bharat	1996	Daily	-

Western Zone (Rourkela and Sambalpur)

From Sambalpur on 1968 *Agnisikha* started its publication by D.P.Nayak and A.R.Panda worked as editor in this paper. It is an important newspaper, which started as a fortnightly and later converted to a weekly and subsequently to a daily newspaper on 15th August 1980. However, '*Kosala*' (1970) under the editorship of Tribikram Tripathy is claimed to be the first Odia daily newspaper of Western Odisha.

The 80's were significant in that, it gave rise to a number of literary newspapers in this region, the prominent among them being *Yugabarta* (1976) that later became a daily in 1981. '*Gana Istahar*' (1981) and '*Light*' (1981), '*Tuesday*' (1981) all weekly newspapers; and '*Hirakhanda*' (1981), '*NavPravat*' (1981) all dailies were the offshoot of the media expansion during this phase. All the papers placed in their content's views, literature, sports, science, fine art, culture and astrology in their papers. The emergence of '*Dinalipi*' (1981) under Jana Seva Trust also caused a significant stir for some time.

'Lokakatha' (1983), 'Dakara' (1984), 'Janamukha' (1988), a weekly later changed to daily (1993) and 'Swadhikar', (1988) heralded yet another avenue for the prosperity of language journalism in Odisha. When the western region was effusive with the journalistic upsurge, the tribal district of the undivided Phulbani district in this region also showed no lesser vibe in publishing a daily newspaper 'Kholadwar' (1992). However, after few months it was shifted to Bhubaneswar. 'Sweekar' (1992), a weekly and 'Bharat Darshan' (1995), 'Eswar' (1996) from Rourkela, both dailies, also significantly contributed to the growth of language journalism in the western part.

'In 1990, 'Alochana' was published from Bamra' (Choudhury, 2013). 'Alochana', a monthly edited by Jogesh Chandra Das was brought out from Deogarh in Bamra, with 24 pages. It carried essays and criticism.

Table 11: Western Zone (Rourkela and Sambalpur)

S. No.	Name of Press / Newspaper	Year	Periodicity	Founder/ Editor / Prominent Person / Press
1.	Agnisikha	1968 /	Weekly/ 1980	D. P. Nayak and A. R. Panda Daily
2.	Kosala	1970	Daily	Tribikram Tripathy
3.	Yugabarta	1976/ 1981		Weekly/ Daily -
4.	GanaIstahar	1981	Weekly	-
5.	Light	1981	Weekly	-
6.	Tuesday	1981	Weekly	-
7.	Hirakhanda	1981	Daily	-
8.	Nav Pravat	1981	Daily	-
9.	Dinalipi	1981	Daily	Jana Seva Trust
10.	Lokakatha	1983	Weekly/ Daily	-
11.	Dakara	1984	Weekly/ Daily	-
12.	Janamukha	1988	Weekly/ Daily	-
13.	Swadhikar	1988	Daily	-
14.	Kholadwar	1992	Daily	-
15.	Sweekar	1992	Weekly	-
16.	Bharat Darshan	1995	Daily	-
17.	Eswar	1996	Daily	-
18.	Alochana	1990	Monthly	Jogesh Chandra Das

Northern Zone (Balasore)

The district of Balasore, the birthplace of *Vyasakabi* Fakir Mohan Senapati has also remained as one of the fertile fields of journalistic spawning both during the pre-independence

and post-independence phase of language newspapers in the State. In regard to the later phase of journalistic growth, as early as 1972 ‘*Rastradoot*’ was published from Balasore as a weekly. Later it was converted to a daily newspaper in 1976. ‘*Ajikali*’ (1986), ‘*Nutan Barta*’ (1988), ‘*Utkal Mail*’, ‘*DhwaniPratidhwani*’, (1991), ‘*Kalantara*’ (1996), and ‘*Sakala*’ (1996) were the few illustrated dailies that mark the journalistic enrichment in the State during the post-independence phase.

Table 12: Northern Zone (Balasore)

S. No.	Name of Press / Newspaper	Year	Periodicity	Founder/ Editor / Prominent Person / Press
1.	Rastradoot	1972 / 1976	Weekly/ Daily	-
2.	Ajikali	1986	Daily	-
3.	NutanBarta	1988	Daily	-
4.	Utkal Mail	1991	Daily	-
5.	DhwaniPratidhwani	1991	Daily	-
6.	Kalantara	1996	Daily	-
7.	Sakala	1996	Daily	-

Analysis

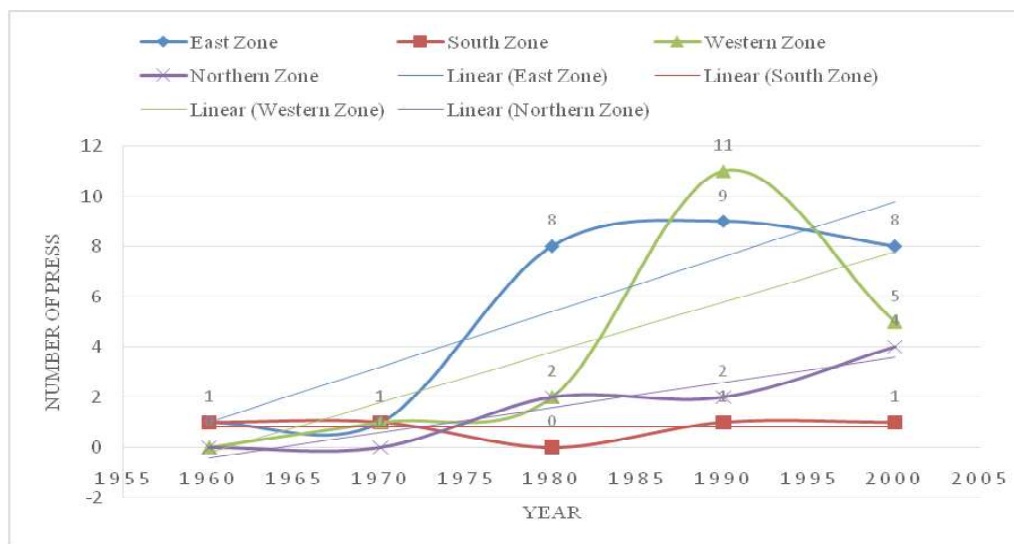


Figure 3 Growth of Odisha Press from 1950 to 2000 AD Zone Wise.

Whereas the eastern districts of Odisha saw a rich burgeoning of vernacular press in Odisha, the story was different for the western and southern districts. The newspapers published from this hilly terrain regions have always suffered in the quantum growth. Despite the scanty publications, this region has made some rich journalistic contributions since the pre-independence days.

From 2000 to 2015

In the last 200-year Odia newspaper industry has seen so many faces of newspaper and periodicals. After so many hardships of political and economic struggle some of them are able to survive as fittest ones to serve the people of Odisha. Now some new faces are also appearing in this new millennium with the promise of new technology and faithful journalistic practice. All those who survived, and newly emerging media house try to march with the new technology like web publication and multi edition practice. More than nine newspapers have their presence both in printed circulation and online. Here some of these newspaper with their web link they are such as: Sambad (<http://www.Odishasambad.com/>), Samaja (<http://www.thesamaja.com/home.php>), Dharitri (<http://www.dharitri.com/>), Pragativadi (<http://pragativadi.com/>), Dinalipi (<http://www.dinalipi.com/>), Odishabhaskar (<http://www.odishabhaskar.com/>), Prameya News (<http://www.prameyanews.com/>), Anupam Bharat (<http://www.anupambharatonline.com/>), English dally Odisha Post (<http://www.Odishapost.com/>) and E-news portal E-odishasamachar (<http://www.eodishasamachar.com/>). According to the Registrar of Newspapers of India (RNI) figures 2007-08 there were 1032 publications in Odia including 107 dailies and 247 weeklies.

Conclusions

From the discussions made above it can be averred that Odia language newspaper made a humble beginning at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The ebullience of the language journalism in Odisha during the pre-independence phase can be rightly attributed to the nationalistic movement. Since most of the papers were hurriedly set to face up with the nationalistic struggle, they lacked coherence. As such most of the papers were unstructured, erratically published and many of them were published in a sneaky manner to escape from the Government wrath. Rather than placing emphasis on the contents most of the contents of these papers were emotional overtones to awaken the public awareness, and hence it was natural that they were literary in their very spirit and content. This was the reason most of the newspapers were closed. Because of the amorphousness of these papers, most daily newspapers during this phase were started as monthly and weekly papers in the beginning.

During the post-independence phase, as most of the newspapers started gaining public demand, there were many of them published from various parts of the State. They were now content oriented in news and views rather than literary in nature.

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