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Editor

Prof. Jayanti Dora

Head, Department of History, Utkal University



DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
UTKAL UNIVERSITY, VANI VIHAR
BHUBANESWAR-751004, ODISHA, INDIA

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EDITORIAL

Welcome to the latest edition of the Utkal Historical Research Journal. “What is History? An echo of the past in the future, a reflex from the future on the past,” stated by Victor Hugo. History is not merely a recounting of past events; it is a tapestry woven from the threads of interpretation. As scholars, we are tasked not only with uncovering the facts of bygone eras but also with offering nuanced interpretations that breathe life into the narratives of history. Every discovery, every artifact and every archive hold within it a multitude of possible meanings, waiting to be teased out through careful analysis and critical inquiry. By interrogating the past through various lenses – social, cultural, political, and economic, we not only deepen our understanding of historical events but also challenge assumptions and narratives that have long shaped our collective consciousness. In the crucible of interpretation, history comes alive, revealing the rich complexities and contradictions of human experience. As we navigate the ever-shifting currents of historical discourse, let us remain steadfast in our commitment to rigorous scholarship and open-minded inquiry, recognizing that the true essence of history lies not in the recounting of facts, but in the endless pursuit of meaning and understanding. The latest edition of the Utkal Historical Research Journal for the year 2023 has been enriched by the scholarly contributions of academics hailing from diverse regions across the country and spanning a multitude of disciplines.

The research paper entitled “Ramadugu Sculptors: Their Professional Skills” by Nalla Mallaiah highlights a village named Ramadugu in Telangana famous for its sculptors. The place is known for its noted sculptors and sculptural art made out of local raw materials like stone and stick. The sculptures are of height ranging from half ft. to six fts. and possess international repute. The paper also analyzes the professionalism of these artisans along with their importance and the challenges that they are facing in present days. C. B. Kamati has done an intensive study on Pandyan rock-cut architectures in the research paper named “Rock-Cut Architecture of the Pandyas of Madurai: A Typical Deccan Model to Structural Architecture in Deep-South” that intends to explore the genesis of the Pandya rock-cut architecture under various sub-themes like impact of the Chalukya and Pallava Architectural Traditions, Schematic and Thematic Components, Stylistic and Structural Components, Ideological and Sculptural Innovations, Unique and Vital Pandya Remembrance-Kalugumalai Monolith and Transformation in the making towards Structural Architecture. The paper entitled “Mapping the Journey of Women’s Studies Centres: From Inception to the Current Status” by Anshu Srivastava and Ayana Pathak is a brief account of the women’s studies discipline within institutions of higher education in India. An attempt has been made to trace the genealogy of the discipline, from its inception to its current state of functioning. Supported by case studies the paper calls attention to their positive development along with challenges. Tirtharaj Bhoi has attracted everybody’s attention towards the archaeological site in western Odisha through the paper entitled “Historical Analysis of Early Medieval Sites of Western Part of Odisha, India”. The main objective of the paper

is to analyze the archaeological sites which mostly belonged to the early medieval period and their importance to reconstruct the history. The research also enables us to understand the evolution of history of a region, how it impacts and gets impacted by the historical changes. Sujata Behera delineates the importance of Patnagarh, a place in western part of Odisha from tourism point of view through the paper entitled “A Historical Tour to Patnagarh: Re-enacting the History of Western Odisha”. The paper furnishes the detailed information related to the political and religious history along with heritage sites of Patnagarh for the tourists for an effective historical tour to the destination. It also investigates the temples of Patnagarh, their architectural styles, time of construction and their religious importance. Pareswar Sahoo had intensively investigated the history of Vaishnavism in Medieval Odisha in the research paper entitled “Identifying Regional History of Odisha with Special Reference to Medieval Vaishnavism”. The paper contains a record of micro study conducted on the origin and evolution of Vaishnavism in pan Indian culture, its growth and development in medieval Odisha that is the regional history of Vaishnavism and the process of formation of Vaishnavism as a part of regional history. “Mapping the Changing Gaze of Community and Caste Dimension in Medieval Odia Society ” is a research paper by Pravakar Sethi which probes into the dimensional changes of communities and castes in medieval Odisha. The paper elucidates the process of Kshatriyaization and Peasantization, through which the rigid social hierarchy faded away and turned into a society with a proliferated caste system in medieval Odisha. It also investigates various political factors that are responsible for an upward mobility of the different castes that resulted in a progressive and dynamic society in medieval Odisha. Baira Ganjan Dash has focused on the confluence of humans and animals in his study. The article invites readers to reconsider Orissa's human past in terms of animals with the aid of a small number of secondary and primary sources. A few statistics have also been used to highlight the deaths of animals following natural disasters and challenge perceptions of the overall death toll. Mahitosh Gopal has focused on the “Hero stones in Kanjiagarh”. This study explores the nature of the recently found Hero Stones at Kanjiagarh, utilizing practical observations to gain an understanding of their historical context. The existence of these Hero Stones at one site, reveals a larger phenomenon that involves religious beliefs, social standards, the military, and politics. The article titled "Culture and Gender Inequality: In the Context of Tribes of Odisha" by Snigdharani Behera explores gender inequality in Odisha's tribal communities. It highlights that while some women enjoy more autonomy than in mainstream society, significant disparities persist in education, land ownership, and decision-making. Cultural practices often reinforce these inequalities, and government efforts to empower women face challenges from deep-rooted traditions. The article emphasizes the need for sustained interventions to promote gender equality Alakananda Gahir in her paper “Intangible Cultural Heritage of Kalahandi district” has mentioned that despite its fragility, intangible cultural heritage is vital to maintaining cultural diversity in the face of the growing impacts of globalization. The article aims to showcase the Kalahandi district's many folk dances, festivals, artwork, music, oral epics, cave paintings, etc. K.C.Lakshmi Devi highlights a very significant aspect of history entitled Review of TMT films as resourceful primary sources for revisiting the history of Goan liberation movement. This research investigates how the Goa Archives' TMT files might be creatively used to reconstruct the history of the Goan freedom movement and the Colonial Government's response to it. Miss Gouri Majhi has described the cultural

aspects of the Kisan tribe in Sambalpur district. With an emphasis on the necessity for preservation and appreciation in the face of changing social and educational settings, this article seeks to shed light on the complex dynamics of the cultural identity of the Kisan tribe. Maimuna Khatun has contributed a significant paper on the topic “The Famine of 1866 and shaping the modern mind of Odisha”. She mentioned that the shattered Odia nation was able to rebuild itself from the ashes of the Famine, and Odia civilization saw a total reconstruction. Following the Famine, which is appropriately considered to have been a turning point in the development of modern-day Odisha, the process of establishing the internal and physical structure of our state got off to a good start. Jayanti Dora and Swarnalata Mahari in their paper titled “The Maritime Trade and Ports of Medieval Odisha” mentions trade relations of Odisha with foreign lands along with important ports in Odisha. Projit Palit and Prasenjit Sarkar’s paper titled “Yaksma (Consumption/ Tuberculosis) Disease: A Study Of The Vedic Literature” highlights various types, including Ajnatayaksma and Rajayaksma. It delves into Vedic hymns that reference yaksma, explaining its mythological origins, particularly through the story of Soma (the Moon) and his excessive affection for Rohini, leading to diseases termed Rajayaksma, Papayaksma, and Jayanya. Sujit Kumar Chhatia's article explores the life and contributions of Sunaram Soren, a significant tribal leader in Mayurbhanj, Odisha. The article of Ataullah suggests the revival of scientific thought in eighteenth-century North India, highlighting contributions from figures like Sawai Jai Singh II. It argues against the perception of stagnation in scientific inquiry, showcasing a vibrant intellectual environment influenced by Indo-Persian culture across various disciplines, including astronomy and mathematics.

The contents of this volume are self-explanatory. Please note that the institution or Editorial Board cannot be held responsible for the opinions or ideas presented in this Journal. The Editorial Board wishes to express its gratitude to the esteemed contributors for their intellectual contributions to this volume.

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RAMADUGU SCULPTORS: THEIR PROFESSIONAL SKILLS

Dr. Nalla Mallaiah

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Abstract

Ramadugu is a traditional craftsman village in Telangana state, located in Ramadugu Mandal of Karimnagar District. This place is known for noted sculptors and elegant sculptural art. The large number of various sculptures ranging from half foot to six feet height are made here in consonance with Agama and Silpa Sastras. It is remarkable that the idols made by the sculptors here are called after the name of their town. Beautiful idols are made from locally available raw materials like stone and sticks and are also exported to foreign countries. This profession provides livelihood to many people. The sculptors earn their livelihood by carving idols of various deities using the amrita rock (Amrutha shila) found in Vengalaipet of Pegadapalli Mandal near Ramadugu. These sculptors, who were famous in the past, are living in despair due to the lack of proper patronage, the competition of machines, and the lack of raw material (stone) and lack of encouragement from the Government.

The main purpose of this article is to inform about the professionalism of these Ramadugu artisans and the importance and the challenges to their way of life. A field visit was conducted, and information was collected from the sculptors and others.

Keywords: *Ramadugu, Sculpture, Skills*

Introduction:

Ramadugu is a traditional craftsman village in Telangana state, located in Ramadugu Mandal of Karimnagar District. This place is known for noted sculptors and elegant sculptural art. The large number of various sculptures ranging from half foot to six foot height are made here in consonance with Agama and Silpa Sastras. It is remarkable that the idols made by the sculptors here are called after the name of their town. Beautiful idols are made from locally available raw materials like stone and sticks and are also exported to

foreign countries. This profession provides livelihood to many people. The sculptors earn their livelihood by carving idols of various deities using the amrita rock (Amrutha shila) found in Vengalaipet of Pegadapalli Mandal near Ramadugu. These sculptors, who were famous in the past, are living in despair due to the lack of proper patronage, the competition of machines, and the lack of raw material (stone) and also lack of encouragement from the Government.

The main purpose of this article is to inform about the professionalism of these Ramadugu artisans and the importance and the challenges to their way of life. A field visit was conducted and information was collected from the sculptors and others.

History of Ramadugu Village: This village is said to have got the name Ramadugu because of the imprint of Lord Rama's left foot was found at Bunga in Narsinga Rao pond adjacent to this village. It is known that this village was ruled by Satavahanas, Kakatiyas and Asafjahis. A large stone fort was built in this village by the Karanam Brahmins, who served as Deshmukhs during the last reign of the Asaf Jahis. Built with high walls and big gateways (*darwajas*), which attract many visitors. The fact that it remains intact even today can be attributed to the skill of the sculptors who built this fort.

History of Ramadugu sculptors: There is another story that sculptors moved to this Ramadugu village during the time of Satavahanas or 500 years ago¹. They came to build a fort and settled here. Initially three families came and settled there. They belong to Vishwa Brahmin caste. Vishwa Brahmins like Manu (Iron - Blacksmith) Maya (Wood-Carpenter), Trashta (Brass Carpenter), Shilpi (Shila), Brahmarishis (Gold-Goldsmiths) in which goldsmiths carved sculptures as sculptors. Among the goldsmiths are those with surnames of Kadari Pendota, Valluri, Katta, Kotagiri and Shekhila. Living as joint families, for example, they also do joint dining and used to live in joint- families. Vadluri Venkaiah's house had only one door. Eighteen people from twelve families used to live in it. All of them used to walk through this door. They used to take food with sorghum grits and rice.

Usually goldsmiths' profession is of making jewellery, but here they earn a living by making sculptures. There are twelve hundred and forty nine families in this village, out of which there are thirty goldsmith families. Only a few of these families are making sculptures.

Sculptures: Initially they were the builders of the fort walls. After that, they make a living by putting stone blocks and stones in the wells. Once they lived by mining. Later they started carving idols of gods, politicians and heroes. It is said that wherever a temple is built not only in the districts, but also in the state, there is a sculpture made by Ramadugu sculptors.

Idols of Gods: Idols found in Nagunur Shiva Temple were built about 500 years ago in Karimnagar Mandal². They built idols of god in Ramadugu Vikaleshwara Temple, Kondagattu Temple, Simhadwara, Venkateswara Temple in Mallapur Mandal Center, Sage Idols on Ancient Munishwara Gutta in Ramadugu Suburb, Korim Venkataswamy Temple in Boinipalli Mandal and idols built by them are also found in Gudem Satyanarayanawamy Temple in Adilabad District, Kotla Narsimhaswamy Temple in Godavarikhani, and in temples in Kodimiyala Mandal. The Narsimhaswamy temple in Nalgonda was also designed by Ramadugu artisans³.

Statues of Politicians: It is quite remarkable that they built Ambedkar statue Near Balagangadhar Tilak Ujjwala Park in Godavarikhani of Karimnagar District, Anabheri Prabhakar Rao statue in front of Karimnagar Venkateswara Temple etc.

Idols of Heroes: They also carved different types of idols from small to large sizes like the Veera Jawanu statue at the Karimnagar Police Head Quarters. In the past, after carving idols, stone plates were used to be made from the remaining stone. Rice, curry and hot soup cooked in these stone pans are very tasty. Now those pans are no more in use. So they are not making those pans now.

Anushtanas / Sanctity: Before making idols they would give utmost importance to sanctity. In order to preserve the traditions, the idols of the deities are carved according to the rules. Stone is taken from the mound only within days. They reach there four days before, select the right stone and bring the stone for carving.

Rocks Used: Types of Rocks: Amrita Shila is the only suitable stone for making idols with hand tools. This stone is currently available only in Vengalayapet, Pegadapalli Mandal, Karimnagar District. This stone has the ability to withstand any weather conditions. In Amrutha shila, sculptures are made from rose granite and granite stone. These stone quarries are located in government land. Explosives/ bulldozers are also used to extract this stone. As a result, the rock on the ground may go inland and cause shortages in the future.

Professional tools: Hand tools such as chisel, hammer, gun, leaf stone, box small churn, big churn, sander, hammer are used to measure and make marks. It has to be carved 6 or 7 times to get the shape of the idol. The idol is made smooth with a grinder stone. Hammer, Chisel, Grinder, Stone, Gun, Dabba small crusher, Dabba big Churnam and Sammeta which are found in the shops are used.

Professional tools -Rituals: During the festivals, they clean the professional equipments and perform worship. On the day of Ugadi festival, all the tools used in the profession are washed, cleaned and tied with the Bracelets are placed in front of Brahmangari's image and worshiped. They used to sing songs as a mark of beginning of New Year.

Daily life: These artisans, who considered their profession as divine and lived with strict rules, had a lot of respect in the society. When there is any work, to be done during the installation of an idol in a temple, the five castes (Vishva Brahmins) work together. There was unity among the sculptors and their

business continued well. If someone invites for dinner, they would take along with them their own plate and cup for the dining. They used to sit on mats and have meals in the plates made of leaves. Once after they installed the idols inside the temple they would not be allowed inside thereafter. Today, some sculptors set up a shop and naturally all the family members involve in making them together. Some are making the idols by engaging other laborers⁴.

Economic Burden: While working with the chisel and hammers, causing lot of sound, they were forced to rent a shop far away from residential areas. Shop rent and electricity bills together add up to the financial burden⁵. Even if the idols were not taken away due to reasons such as quarrels in the villages and not being liked, the financial burden also falls on them.

Sculptors - Other Professions: Sculptors choose other professions besides making idols. Some of the sculptors are professional Burrakatha story tellers. During the rule of the Nizams, the Qasim Razvi Burrakatha told by these sculptors were very popular⁶. Those who learned mantras in GuruVidya and used to conduct marriages as priests. Some are also working as government employees⁷.

Sculptors - Awards, Appreciation: They also received awards and appreciation from government officials for their idols they made. District Collector of Karimnagar (name not mentioned) once held a competition in idol making in which an idol of Rama, Lakshmana and Sita made by Vadluri Lakshminarasayya got the first prize⁸.

Conclusion:

They make idols only for six months of the year and the rest of the time they have to sit idle. Their children are turning away from professional work for manual labor and private jobs. They educate their children not to enter this profession⁹. While the older generation is doing it to protect their career, today's generation is giving priority to education. The profession is in danger of being wiped out(damaged) due to reasons such as lack of unity among the

sculptors or failure of cooperative societies, selling through middlemen and bringing in idols made of mission cutting¹⁰.

There may be a high demand for idols made and erected with investment and labour. If the government strengthens the co-operative society and provides tools and training and pays pension and salaries to the sculptors, there is a chance that this profession will continue like this. This great ancient profession needs to be protected and promoted. The government should recognize this and take initiatives towards protection and promotion of this ancient wonderful profession¹¹.

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**ROCK-CUT ARCHITECTURE OF THE PANDYAS OF
MADHURAI: A TYPICAL DECCAN MODEL TO STRUCTURAL
ARCHITECTURE IN DEEP-SOUTH**

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Abstract

The Pandya dynasty played pivotal role in creating marvelous rock-cut architecture. The Pandyas of Madhuraichiseled-out granite rock-cut architecture to the south of river Kaveri. Until this day , as many as sixty two Pandya cave architectural antiquities have been identified by Archaeological Survey of India. At this typical architectural zone, we also notice Pallava, Chera, Muttaraya, and Adiyaman rock-cut caves. This phase coincides with the formative stage in granite architecture of the Deep-South. This research paper intends to explore the genesis of the Pandya rock-cut architecture under the following interconnected sub-themes;(i) Impact of the Chalukya and Pallava Architectural Traditions; (ii) Schematic and Thematic Components; (iii) Stylistic and Structural Components; (iv) Ideological and Sculptural Innovations; (v) Unique and Vital Pandya Remembrance-Kulugumalai Monolith;(vi)Transformation in the making towards Structural Architecture.

Keywords:*Adiyamans, Madhyama Grama, Muttarayar, Panchama, Kashiwa*

The Pandya rule in the establishment of a prototype rock-cut architecture in Indian sub-continent has not been properly appreciated through most relevant historiographic approach. The early Pandyas of Madhurai played important role in introducing a finite rock-cut architecture in the entire Indian subcontinent. *'Their rock-cut architecture eventually led to an acclaimed structural phase in granite in the region south of river Kaveri. As many as sixty cave temples are enlisted here by the Archaeological Survey of India.'*(Longhurst A.H.,1982:35) It very well demonstrates superior

distinction with the Pallava craft guilds which switched over to sand stone structural architecture after graduating themselves in rock-cut initiative. The Pandya rock-cut architecture has amalgamated the Chalukya and Pallava art traditions in infinite divergently imaginative artistic and cult-centred prototypes. There are several records, and engraved archaeological evidences which assist the cause of drawing-up a chronological framework and evolution of sequential order of occurrence. The literary and archaeological evidences available at present, explicitly state that the Pandyan cave temples do not appear to have been much older than mid 7th century AD. The foremost period of the second half of the 6th CAD literally witnessed the inhabitation of the very interior hilly regions and rocky caverns by the saintly mendicants and ascetic votaries of Jainism. As a result, Hindu rock-cut caves could not come-up. On the other hand, certain earliest cave shelters appeared at the hillocks dedicated to Jainism. Thus, in course of long time, the Pandya mandalam emerged as single-most cultural hub under the Pandya rulers Sendan, Arikesari Parankusha Maravarman, and Konchadayan with variety of rock-cut caves. The Pandya rulers who consistently supported the cause of Pandya cave architecture and the eventual creations of the Pandya Cultural Complex with Kulugumalai as prime centre are mentioned below.

The Pandya Rulers	Approximate Chronological Point
Kadungon	610 AD
Avani Chudaman Maravarman	640 AD
Maran Sendan	700 AD
Arikesari Parankushan	730 AD
Maravarman Rajasimha I	760 AD
Parantaka Varaguna I	790 AD
Jatila	810 AD
Srimara Sri Vallabha	850 AD
Varaguna II	910 AD
Parantaka Veera Narayana	920 AD
Rajasimha II	940 AD
Maravarman	970 AD
Chola Annexation of the Pandya country	970 AD

'The Pandya Art and Architecture is evident across entire modern Tamil Nadu and Southern Andhra Pradesh.'(Ferguson James,1967:119-121) The vital and major centres of Pandya Art and Architecture are namely SriRangam, Tiruchirapalli, Nartamalai, Kodumbalur, Tiruppattur, Pukk otai, Tirumaaaayam, Anamalai, Tirukoshtiyur,Kunnakkudi,Madurai, Tirupparakunram, Chokkampatti,Tirumalapuram,Uttarakoshamangal, Kulugumalai,Tiruvalishvaram, Rasinalamper, Korkai, Tirunelveli, Sivalapperi, Vijaya Narayanam, Tirukkurungudi, Bhutapandi, Kanniyakumari.

Archaeological Evidences and Corroboration the PandyaArchitectural Excellence

'Certain major records vehemently corroborate the superiority of the Pandyan architectural excellence.'(Raman K.V.,1972:132-133) They are classified as below:

Pandya Patronage	Location of Rock-cut Pandya Architecture	Date
Sendyan Pandya	Vaigai Bedboulder, Vaigavi	762 AD
Sendyan Pandya	Rock-cut temple by a local chieftain, Malayadikurichchi	762 AD
Varaguna I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Annamalai Narasimha Cave Temple; Tirupparakunram Cave Temple 	773 AD
Varaguna I	Tirugokarnam Cave Temple (Modern Pudukkottai)	774 AD
SrimraSrivalabha	Kudimiyamalai and Sittanvassal Jaina Cave Temple	779AD
Varaguna II	Aivarmalai Cave Temple	784 AD

Similarly, there are certain concrete literary and evidences too about the Pandya rock-cut architecture.

Original Sources	Direct Cross References
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tirumagai Alvar Hymns Sinnamanuru 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> PeriyaTirumoli –Second Decade-9thTirumoli refers to major battles , namely,Karuvar, Mannai, Neduvayal,Nenmeli;

Plates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historiographic backbone to the art augment mentioned in Sinnamanuru Plates- while referring to the victories of Maravarman Rajasimha against Pallava NandiVarma II
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tiruchanapalli Cave Records 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mahendra Varma Pallava Cave refers <i>to kaveri-n-nayanabhiramamaduramarama-maaladhuram</i>- meaning kaveribasinas beaming with much religious structural activity. This is also corroborated by Anbil Plates of Sundara Chola.

The archaeologists have identified the deity placement within the Koshta Niches particularly in the rear wall of the rock-cut caves in general vogue in Pandimandalam under local patronage

Rock-cut caves	Deity Placement	Approximate Date
Kulugumalai	Vishnu	800 AD
Tirupottur	Vishnu	850 AD
Uttarakosamangal	Vishnu	875 AD
Tirualisvaram	Harihara	875 AD–900AD

- The Pandya rock-cut caves have certain embedded elements. They are identifiable with the Pallava rock-cut elements. The very artistic Pandya elements constitute unique schematic variant models. *‘The Tiruchcharapalli lower cave temples and very Tiruvellari unfinished cave situated in the outer prakara of Vishnu temple are among the earliest models. They reveal certain major Pandyan archetypal features.’* (Gravelly F.H. and Ramachandran T.N.:1954, 228)
- A spaciouly long hall with two shrines at either end against the middle of the width with or without a porched front within the excavation
- A series of a large wall panel carvings of standing divinities of lesser status forming the main nucleus of the Brahmanical pantheon of the age Shanmata or six-fold cult nexus comprising Skanda, Surya, Ganesha, and Durga

- The two specific end shrines are dedicated to Vishnu and Shiva. Shiva temple doesn't have the phallic emblem Linga. Here Shiva has been depicted in the subsequent Pandya cave art vogue.
- Out of this model, another model evolved comprising Pandya religious preconception as visible at Tirupparankunram. Here Varaguna I, apart from Shiva-Vishnu shrines, Ganesha, Durga, Kartikeya, also carved-out other sanctums for three female elements- Gajalakshmi, Jyestha, and Saraswati. This was wise amalgamation of indigenous and textual components.
- Rock-cut temple by a local chieftain at Malayadikurichchi was dedicated to Shavism as the Phallic emblem in the sanctum indicates.
- A Jain cave temple in all probability at Chokkampatti comprises elaborate Jaina carvings. It is infact an incomplete excavation.
- Hence, there are apparently two distinct phases in the Pandya rock-cut architecture: (i) Pre-brahmanical-essentially Jaina rock-cut architecture; (ii) Brahmanical rock-cut architecture.
- The Pandya cave architecture at its grooming Muttarayar tract and the four centres at Kudumiyamalai, Tirumayam, Malayakkoil, and Tirugokanram is revealed by the inscriptions at all these cave structures.
- The Kudumiyamalai inscription explains the typical special musical notations composed and organized in stringed and vocal music for local professionals. The entire musical notations were divided as seven musical tracts. Each musical tract was sub divide as several sub-sections, and every sub-section was categorized as sixteen sets of four svaras each.
- The aforementioned seven musical tracts were identifiable with the Pandya country as the Madhyama Grama, Sadja Grama, Sadaba Grama, Sadharita Grama, Panchama Grama, and Kaishika Madhyama Grama.
- Malakkoil record refers to Gunasana who systematized a vogue in favour of the Parivadini knowledge responsible for fine tuning of the ultimate musical notations as it meansin Sanskrit...*gunasenapramananjaida vidya parivadini karkappaduvadukan*.
- The code word *Parivadini* itself is found engraved upon the inner rectangular border spaces at Tirumayam, Malayakkoil, and Tirugokanram.

- The Kudumamilai cave temple quite clearly belongs to the Pandya dynasty. At Tirumayam, there are two Muttarayar cave temples. The third cave at the same spot has Parivadini label.
- The first cave temple is dedicated to Vishnu Anantasayi. Tirumayam Vishnu Anantashayi idol is the largest and most comprehensive one in the entire subcontinent. It is surrounded by dozens of subsidiary figures. Around the chief deity. Here Tirumalai Ayyangar had sung his hymns. The second cave is bestowed to Siva. It comprises Lingodbhava facing sanctum from the contrary mandapa wall well resembles Kailasanath temple at Kanchi.

The Pandya Rock-cut Architecture: An Assessment of Stylistic Impact

- The Pandya rock-cut architecture comprises large, medium, and small sized sturdy rock-cut temples. They introduced carvings of subsidiary shrine niches or regular cella on the outer rock wall adjacent to the main excavation.
- The Pandya rock-cut architecture places Ganesha-Jyestha niche at the exterior cave wall. It is indeed original Pandyan formula. This architecture has provided space at exterior walls to house Vishnu and Saptamatrika. The Ganesha-Jyestha deities were totally unknown to the Pallava cave architecture in Tondaimandalam.
- The Pandya rock-cut architecture depicts panel carvings on the walls of the mandapa of the cave excavation. It is basically a Chalukyan invention.
- The sanctums of the Pandya cave architecture have no Somaskanda panel at all. However, they have Lingapiths in square, octagonal and rectangular forms. They possess an invariable projection of the plinth and front wall corners of the sanctum. The projection of the under side of the cornice emphatically beyond the pillar projection and the depiction of additional carved Kodungai Valabhi features on to the inner face of the cornice are visible the Pandya rock-cut architecture.
- Exclusive cave temples for Subsidiary divinities like Kartikeya at Animal (Ladankoil), and Kulu gumalai (Kalugachalesvara cave temple) constitute a transformative cave temples group in the architectural history of the Pandyamandalam.

- Malayadikurichchi and Chokkampatti rock-cut architecture have been dedicated to Jainism. But Malayadikurichchi Jaina cave had been transformed as a Brahmanical cave. The cave architecture at Vadikkotaithough does not have any religious symbolism, depicts Brahmanical vogue in general. However, we find a portable Phallic emblem.
- The Pandya rock-cut architecture may be classified as...(i) cave temples with prolific usage of monolithic ‘Phallic Emblem at Altar’ in square, octagonal, and circular pitha varieties; and (ii)Divergent iconographic projections like Tandava Siva(Maru-kal and Chatura type),Upright Vishnu as Garudantika, Lingodbhava, Umasahita, Anantasayi, and Narasimha.
- The divergent forms of Siva, namely,-Ardhanari, Kalari, Tripuri too are visible. Lakulisha is quite well visible at Arittapatti, and Devaramalai. Dakshinamurty is found at Kulugumalai. And the same deity is projected in paint at Tirunandikara, and Irunilamcode.
- We observe small, medium, as well as large rock-cut temples. They inventively adopted carvings of subsidiary shrine niches or regular cella on the outer rock wall adjacent to the main excavation. This is normally visible in structured caves of the Pallavas other than the Dvarapalas excepting Vallam cave near Chingleput. Here Ganesha-Jyestha niche caves are carved-out just outside the main medium sized excavation. This in all probability a subsequential non-Pallava inductive element.Ganesha and Jyestha deities were at around this time totally unknown to Tondaimalam. The Pandya monuments demonstrate a wider range of suchoutdoorlocations for Vishnu, Saptamatrikas, Ganesha and Jyeshtha.
- The projection of the underside of the cornice emphatically beyond the pillar projection in the non-Pallava instances and the depiction of additional carved *Kodungal Valabhi* features on the inner face of the cornice are observable both in Pandya and Adiyaman examples.
- The Mukhamandapa and sometimes sanctum itself has screen wall separation on the sides following the Chalukyan traditions in Pandyan, Muttaraya, and Adiyaman monuments. This is visible at Anamalai Narasimha cave, MalayadipattiAnantashahi cave, and Namakkal caves respectively.

- Relatively taller in ceilings, the Pandyan caves, when juxtaposed with normal lower ceilings, indicates not merely a more confident granite cutting, but also a proximity with time to structural models. If the Pandyan cave temples are compared with the Pallava cave temples, we recognize that the Pallava cave temples are situated at all levels of a select hillock. However, the caves of the Pallavas except at the Orukkul mandapam cave at Tirukulukunram and the well-known Tiruchirapalli cave of Mahendra Pallava were confined to the foothill.
- The carved monolithic Nandi aligned to the main deity and located in the outer hall is totally absent among the Pallava cave temple. However, it is almost a familiar device amongst the Pandyas and the Muttarayars. In this context, Nandi often features in Somaskanda panel in the Pallava rock-cut art of the post-Mamalla period. This again brings-in those non-Pallava examples comprising Nandi in the outer hall nearer to the Agamic and structural phase.

Certain Overlapping between the Pandya Cave Architecture and Other Cave Architecture

Period	Locations of the Evident Monolithic Cave Temples of the Pandyas
800 AD	Exterior structure of the Kulugumaleshwara monolith, Kulugumalai
850 AD	Double storeyed Dravida Vimana with octagonal sikhara, Kulugumalai
675AD-850 AD	Aniconic or Rock-cut Phallic Emblem on square Pitha or with carved panels and stele in the sanctum at Tiruchirapalli lower cave
850 AD	Finite Evident Chalukyan Ganesha carvings, lower cave, Tiruchirapalli
850 AD	Saduram and Kattu knobs for massive pillars at Vijayawada, Mugalarajapuram, and Undavalli cave temples
850 AD	Finite Octagonal Phallic Emblem at Sanctum, Malayakoil

The Pandyas of Madhurai carved-out exclusive caves for subsidiary divinities- Kartikeya (Anamalai), and Kalugachaleshwara (Kalugumalai). This transitional cave architecture is visible essentially in the Pandya region alone.

Overall survey of the monuments of the Pandyas, we may conveniently classify them as below

Period	Venue
Earliest Period 7-8 CAD	Malayadikurucchi, Vadikottai, Chokkampatti, Tiruchirapalli, Tiruvellai,
Succeeding Period 8-9 CAD	Tirupparakunram, Kudumiyamalai, Maalayakoil, Tirugokarnam, Kunnattur

- Some among the earliest monuments as at Malayadikuruchi and Chokkampatti could have been dedicated to Jainism. They facilitate three facets of preservation of the socio-cultural tracts.
- In this view, Chokkampatti began early, but remained incomplete due to withdrawal of the Jaina Patronage.
- A preexisting Jaina cave temple at Malayadikuricchi had been modified to suit the desires of Brahmanical religion.
- Entirely complete Vadikkottai cave temple does not accommodate any carved monolithic object at the sanctum. However, it depicts the unhindered Brahmanical usage from the very commencement, and a portable phallic emblem as at Malayadikurichchi was the trend well applied.

Two-fold Contributions of the Pandyan Cave Architecture at a Glance

First-fold Contribution	Second-fold Contribution
Prolific usage of monolithic Phallus on altar in square, octagonal, and circular altars	Iconographic diversification projecting Tandava–Siva (almost invariably maru-kal and of chatura type; Standing Vishnu as Garudantika (There is a Pallava analogy on the north wall of Arjuna Ratha, Mahabalipuram), Lingodbhava, Umasamhita, Anantasayi, Narasimha

- Varaha and Trivikrama are not seen in the Pandya cave art. Lakulisha is present at Attirapatti and Devaramalai. Dakshinamurty is evident is Kalugumalai monolith. It is visible in frescoe at Tirunandikara cave

temple, and in panel sculpture at Irunilamcode in Kerala. It is visible in Harihara and Ardhanari too are present here.

- At Tirumalai, and Pannamalai, the cave shrines are without phallic emblem at sanctums. Both of them have Umasamhita Siva panel at the back wall of the sanctum. The pedestal for these cella images is plain, and non-descript in double step. However, the lower serves as the foot rest for the ardhaparyanka form of the God and consort. At Tirumalai, Siva holds the right hand of Uma (seated to his left) by his own left hand in *Panigraha mudra*.
- The Pandyan specimen implies Umasamhita Siva form popular as Minakshi-Sundareshwara. The cave temple depicts at the inner back-wall, the relief panel of standing Kartikeya with a gana holding a parasol over his head.
- The cave temple at Turukkalakudi with monolithic Nandi, Saptamatri, and Ganesha niches on the outer niches. A *makaratorana* is visible at lintel of the doorframe. Its prototype is visible at Kudimamilai. Its front court is at lower level. The double ripples of the *kapota* of the facade are truly unique. Its sculptures upon the side walls resemble similar sculptures at Kunnandarkoil and Kaviyur. This cave temple is datable to early 8th CAD.
- The cave temples dedicated to Lord Siva predominate the Pandya region. However, Vishnu cave shrines are only visible at Anamalai, Tiruttangal, Tirumayam, and Kunnandarakoil. There is an exclusive cave at Adiyas at Namakkal.
- Most famous Narasimha temple is historically acclaimed for its epigraphic notes about the patron *Uttaramantrin* of Pandya Varaguna I. As *Uttaramantrin* died quite early, the façade mandapa and consecration was completed by his brother. However, Marankari opines that *Uttaramantrin* was none else that the early Vaishnava saint Nammalvar, ‘who had become popular by nickname *Uttaramantrin*.’

Kalugumalai Monolithic Architecture

Vettuvankoil in Kalugumalai demonstrates typical regional architecture. ‘*Its mode of carving in hard granite is influenced much by Kailasanath cave at Ellora.*’ (Commiade L.A., 1930 :187-189) It is amalgamation of figure modeling of the Deccan and of an indigenous architectural idiom.

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Parameter	Art and Architectural Ingredients at Kulugumalai
Vettuvan Koil	A small town in Toothukudi district of TamilNadu state
Nomenclature	Kalugumalai Monolith (Finitely unfinished)
Deity	Vettuvan Koil (Siva)
Period	Circa 8 th CAD
Style	Dravidian Rock-cut Architecture in rectangular portion measuring 7.5 meters
Epigraphy	Inscriptions of Varaguna I in the group of Jaina relief carvings at the same hillface
Mukhamandapa	In its original form, the mukhamandapa appears in short recession
Plinth	Plinth and ground floor wall are entirely unfinished
Cornice	Bold and impressive cornice with scroll ornamentation in the central and corner zones
Nasika	It displays open kudu forms
Hara	Arpita type. Elongates over the Chalukyan front mandapa roof
Sukanasa	The typical sukanasa for the tower is absent
Kutas and Salas	Kutas and Salas are absent at the top of the tala
Sikhara	Octagonal Sikhara ; Nandi on the four corners of the Pidhariaphalaka
Vimana	The vimana deities show Dakshinamurthy on the south with rare Mridanga type Dakshinamurthy; Narasimha to the west; Brahma to the north; Uma sahita Siva to the east (Sivaramamurty C.,1960:186-187)
Influence	Chalukya-Rashtrakuta idioms

These Pandyan architectural variants with rock-art and monolithic traditions demonstrate a cultural common pool with the Pallava tradition. The Pandya rock-cut architecture gradually and steadily paved its way towards the structural architecture in the granite mode itself..It should be remembered that it was the first to apply its genius in granite towards the making the first ever structural stone edifice.

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**MAPPING THE JOURNEY OF WOMEN’S STUDIES CENTRES:
FROM INCEPTION TO THE CURRENT STATUS**

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Abstract

This paper is a brief account of the women’s studies discipline within institutions of higher education in India. An attempt has been made to trace the genealogy of the discipline, from its inception to its current state of functioning. Relying on several secondary literary works for the purpose of its background, this paper situates the discipline vis-à-vis the women’s movement. Currently the strength of WSCs have increased in number across the country, thereby showing a positive development in its growth. This is not without its fair share of challenges, which have also been a constraint in their effective functioning. As part of this study, two case studies acting as representative of the pan-Indian centres are incorporated, as part of the research done for this paper, to gain a clearer perspective on the current scenario of women’s studies centres.

Keywords: *women’s studies centres, women’s movement, higher education, knowledge building, marginalised women*

Introduction

“The lives of women form the subject of Women’s Studies” (12th Plan Guidelines, 2012-2017, Preamble). The initiation of bringing about the lives of women to the centre of research and academic discourse is to the credit of the women’s movement, which was instrumental in bringing about women’s

development cells (WDCs) in colleges and universities across the country. This trend culminated in the formal recognition of these cells by the UGC, ending up being a compulsory formal institution within all institutes of higher education. Subsequently, the lives of women, their lived experiences, as well as their voices and perspectives emerged as something that needed to be studied, thereby culminating in the development of women's studies as a discipline. Since its inception, its nature and spectrum have widely evolved, moving further to take into account the changing dynamics of gender as a broad category. It has also developed and diversified theoretically and taken a stronghold among other disciplines, thereby proving its engagement both necessary and crucial to academic discourses. While its initial conceptualisation relegated it to the domain of humanities and social sciences, its interventionist role has introduced the gender perspective in disciplines of the sciences, which were largely categorised as having gender biased outlooks.

The current body of work coming from the Women's Studies Centres, based on a robust theoretical foundation, has made it an extremely relevant field within academics, which hold potential for furthering knowledge as well as developing policy planning and programmes in resonance with the needs of Indian women. It is with its introduction into the National Policy of Education, 1986, that the discipline entered the university system and found its way across research institutes in the country. Against this context, the UGC introduced the scheme of women's studies centres as one of its public schemes, aimed at a move to evenly benefit stakeholders, with certain funds allocated to them. It is on the basis of the general situation of the intended beneficiary that the objectives of the scheme are prepared, along with differential levels of analyses to test its rate of success. The 12th five-year plan (2012-2017) took forward the establishment and expansion of the women's studies programmes with renewed vigour, along with a new set of developmental objectives in order to suit the changing climate and environment of gender dynamics in the country. The proposed approach targeted at various aspects which included within it; outreach programmes, to achieve access and expansion to multiple universities, including state universities and colleges, and covering not just the

social sciences division but also the physical and natural sciences; enabling equity and inclusion to both male and female students, as well as through a revised version of the curriculum; developing the substantive content of the discipline, thereby defining and placing it at a strong foothold, vis-à-vis other disciplines; strengthening the centres; consolidating quality and excellence; facilitating inclusion and higher representation of women in faculty and administrative positions in the higher education system; aiming at qualitative development by targeting women in order to make them capable administrators (Twelfth Plan Guidelines, 2012-2017).

Vision of the WSC

“Women’s studies’ does not mean merely focusing on women’s experience, problems, needs and perceptions in the context of development and social change with a view to integrating this neglected area within the scope of higher education. It has to be viewed as a critical instrument to improve our knowledge, which at present remains partial and biased, projecting a view of social reality derived from a male perspective” (Desai, Dube, Mazumdar, Sharma, & Kelkar, 1984, p. 2). As part of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) of promoting equality and empowerment of women, the development of women’s studies centres in Indian universities and colleges was developed as a scheme by the University Grants Commission (UGC). This identified various aspects of women’s development, which started with enabling communities, policies and programmes, to ensure women’s empowerment, as well as address their diverse needs. The special focus was on the marginalised/disadvantaged sections of women, including those from the scheduled castes and tribes, women with disabilities, women living in unsafe environments, exploited sex workers, women living in conflict areas, women in conflict with law, homeless, destitute and abandoned women, uneducated and unskilled single women, and the elderly and sick women. The women’s studies centres, while targeted at these groups of people, was envisioned to pursue a comprehensive, critical and balanced understanding of India’s socio-economic realities and governance, which included focus on women’s contribution to society and social processes; women’s perception of their own

lives, the broader social reality, and their struggles and aspirations. The overall vision was aimed at empowerment, to enable women to live a life of dignity, in order to enable their contribution to sustainable development of the self, their families and the nation. The mission was to support the efforts of the state to create an inclusive environment for women, one that is free from violence and discrimination, as well as one that promotes social and economic empowerment of women, by aiming at creating awareness amongst these women about their rights. This scheme was aimed at all government aided universities and colleges, recognised under section 2 (f) and 12 (b) of the UGC Act, 1956.

The draft guidelines for the development of women's studies centres in Indian universities and colleges lays out the main focus areas of the scheme, which include: building new knowledge on women in national and global perspectives; build curriculum in women's studies to meet the diverse needs of Indian women, with a focus on developing an inclusive society; suggesting methods to build a conducive environment for women to take up positions of leadership in diverse sectors; conduct evidence based research on 'women in Indian perspective' (to address current and future challenges); conduct research on women's contribution to science and technology, and suggest methods to enhance it; suggest methods to promote inclusion of women in development of all sectors including disadvantaged women, women with disabilities, and other vulnerable groups; measures to strengthen urban/rural linkages and slum development. "...in 1979, a group of women's studies scholars in their first discussions on the nature and scope of women's studies defined its objectives as 'transformations of spheres of knowledge production' with the 'new academic search to organise knowledge on various aspects of women's situation resulting in changes in perspectives about women's contribution to society and their needs and problems in the context of modernisation, development and social change'" (S & Swaminathan, 2006, p. 4445). The question of representation (of women) "...remains nevertheless a crucial one for feminism and for women's studies in particular..." (Rajan, 2008, p. 68).

With the above outlined objectives and focus areas, the scheme of women's studies centres needs to be analysed in the context of current literature and discourse surrounding its functioning, viability, and outreach. In this regard, an extensive review of existing literature, along with an assessment of the outcomes of these centres in line with the outlined objectives, form the basis for an analysis of the functioning of these centres.

History and Background

“Women's Studies (thus) can be seen as beginning with social action and ending in social action, with analysis, theory and prognosis mediating between the two sets of action” (Pandhe, 1988, p. 2049). Contrary to the popular notion that the women's studies centres developed as an immediate consequence of the women's movement, it is rather the women's studies movement, that facilitated the emergence and induction of women's studies as a discipline in academic circles (Pappu, 2002). There are several narratives as to the emergence of women's studies centre as a discipline, and its establishment, but the focus on literature tracing this development helps to frame a clearer picture of the journey. Towards Equality, a report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India (Guha, et al., 1974), marks a clear delineation of the time before and after, on the kind of studies on women that were undertaken. “The data provided by the CSWI lent legitimacy to the protests mounted by the women's movement...” (Phadke, 2003, p. 4567). It is with the publication of this report that issues of women, their simultaneous neglect and devaluation, “...(which) enabled the onset of the articulation of feminist politics in the contemporary period” (Pappu, 2002, p. 223).

Before the report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India, research issues centering around women focused on the need to highlight the traditional and cultural aspects of femininity and womanhood, in the face of a colonial threat. However, with the report of the committee, the actual situation of women's lived experiences and reality, in absolute terms, became the point of research (Mazumdar, 1994). This train of events was instrumental in facilitating the first unit of women's studies in India, “... in SNDT Women's University, Bombay, in 1974” (Pappu, 2002, p. 223). The role of the Indian

Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) is important to be highlighted in the context of the first women's studies unit being established. "(Neera Desai) co-authored a book, *Women and Society in India* (1988) with Maithreyi Krishnaraj that helped institutionalise women's studies in academia by providing a benchmark for curriculum development and textbook writing for teaching women's studies courses in sociology, economics, political science, languages and foundation course" (Patel, 2009, p. 11). The renewed focus on women's studies in terms of academic research, in turn facilitated the renewal of the women's movement. With the establishment of women's studies centres, the availability of a body of information on not just upper caste and upper-class women, but also women from the marginalised sections of society, armed the women's movement to increase the visibility of these women, and bring in their perspectives to the movement (Mazumdar, 1994). This went on to become a complementing arrangement, wherein the women's studies centre and the women's movement aided and facilitated the work done by one another, thereby pushing both forward to incorporate within its ambit larger issues relating to women from all groups of Indian society.

Reflections from the Women's Movement

An important challenge for the women's movement was its criticism as being Western centric, and insensitive to the local issues of the women in India. There was a critical need for the women's movement to refute this attack, and to contextualise in the case of historical and political climate of the country. The important thing to be highlighted is the difference in the nature of the movement, prior to 1975, and post, the shift from the social reform and pre-independence phase, to the one in which more contemporary issues of women were brought to the fore. It is the post 1975 movement, which is the one which has continued till date, and is commonly referred to as the contemporary women's movement. This part of the movement took within its ambit the wide variety of issues that were plaguing women in Indian society, including issues of rape, domestic violence, dowry, sex determination tests, sexual harassment, etc. The law was crucial in bringing about the required legal provisions, but this was only possible due to the pressure exerted by various sections of the

women's movement, and small victories paved the way for bringing about justice in the lives of these women. The role played by the media was also extremely pivotal, in creating awareness and raising collective outrage against the situation of women in the country.

Information about the women's movement, from various sources of information and literature produced by virtue of the women's studies units, depict the various challenges, as well as victories of the movement. From its initial stages, the movement was not always united across the country. The fragmentation of the movement did not help its cause, especially in gaining national legitimacy as a movement. There were certain events and cases in history which helped and aided in the coming together of women's voice, including the Mathura rape case in 1979-80, which "... finally brought together the various isolated protests across the country and women's groups began to speak in one voice" (Phadke, 2003, p. 4567).

Besides certain events that brought together the diverse sections of voices as part of the women's movement, there were also various issues that divided the opinion of the people within it, and this led to conflicts within the movement itself. This has been elaborated upon by Phadke (Phadke, 2003) in her analysis of the women's studies reflecting upon the women's movement. One major problem within the movement was its lack of intersectionality, that is, its inability to accommodate within it the interests of a very wide section of women, who were divided along the lines of class, caste and religion, and therefore, the interests largely differed. While the movement identified itself as secular, the lack of emphasis on the particular problems of religious divide made it less inclusionary in its approach. This was highlighted and reflected in the case of a few distinct events such as that of the Shah Bano case and the Roop Kanwar sati case, "which opened up a Pandora's box of divisiveness highlighting cultural, religious and communitarian identities" (Phadke, 2003, p. 4571).

It is in this context that the role of the women's studies centres comes in as the intellectual domain which is equipped with the sensitivity and body of knowledge to deal with contradictions within a movement. The scope of the

discipline incorporated within it, various aspects of the social sciences, which enabled it to take into account diversity of voices, and thereby analyse them with the help of methodological tools developed for the same. As a discipline which was not bounded within strong disciplinary boundaries, women's studies acted as an inter-disciplinary subject, which was the direction towards which all academic disciplines were aiming to reach. The idea of "...examining the social process as a complex mosaic in which several processes are intricately connected..." (Mazumdar, 1994, p. 44) was therefore aided by the women's studies department, derived from the lessons from the women's movement. "It also questioned the dependence of most social scientists in India on theories and methods developed in the West, applying them blindly to the Indian context, despite the latter's marked difference from the West in political economy, history and cultural plurality" (Mazumdar, 1994, p. 45). This too was developed from a criticism faced by the women's movement, which helped to facilitate and contextualise the domain of the scope of women's studies in India.

WSCs in the Current Scenario

The journey since inception to its current scenario has been quite an eventful one for the women's studies centres across the country. At present, there are about 159 centres across universities and colleges in India. Each of these centres are at different stages of development, identified as phases as per the 12th plan. Amongst all the centres all over the country, only one centre has developed into a department, which is the Women's Studies Department at Jawaharlal Nehru University. The other centres continue to function as a unit within colleges and universities, and thereby come to face a lot of challenges in terms of their effective functioning. For the purpose of understanding the efficacy and the reach of these centres, there were case studies undertaken, two of which are illustrated here.

Case Study 1: Lal Bahadur Shastri Sanskrit University

The Centre for Women's Studies at the Lal Bahadur Shastri Sanskrit University was established under the UGC scheme of X plan in 2005.

Members of faculty were appointed by March, 2006 and the Centre started its functioning by April 2006. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri National Sanskrit University has the privilege of being the only Sanskrit University with a Centre for Women's Studies.

In a traditional environment of Sanskrit University, Centre for Women's Studies has a special agenda. The objectives of the Centre are:

1. To revive the past glory and respect enjoyed by Indian Women.
2. To highlight the achievements and accomplishments of the women of the past as role models.
3. To interpret ancient classic texts with a women studies perspective

The proclaimed mission of the centre is to gender sensitize the various sections of the University members and to make aware and sensitize the students of the University by organizing different short-term courses (<https://www.slbsrsv.ac.in/>)

However, a focused group discussion with the Director and Associate Director of the centre in a field visit revealed several challenging aspects which begin from acceptance of concept of 'women studies centre' in a Sanskrit University. Several departments do not have a single woman as a faculty or a student e.g., Department of Paurohitya since traditionally women have been kept out of Paurohitya which then gets linked to employment opportunities. Despite this scenario, the education faculty introduced credit-based orientation gender sensitization programmes. The role of administration becomes critical here since a file noting was made in favour of such programmes to be extended to Sanskrit departments.

Akin to other WSCs, the issue of funding stalls the good intentions and actions of the centre. As a result of lack of funding the centre was shut down temporarily for a little over an year but the effort of the committed faculty it was revived. The faculty emphasized that there is a greater need to strengthen it vis -a vis other universities keeping in mind its specific objectives e.g., engage with women's studies from an Indian perspective. Some of the national

seminars on 'Contribution of Vidushi Vidyotamato in Kalidas's Greatness' in 2006 and 'Kalidas's Women Characters as Role Models of Women's Empowerment' in 2007 reflect the same. An overarching traditional environment in which women stand at a disadvantage is yet another critical reason to strengthen the centre to achieve the goals of gender inclusivity. A glaring example of this was a lopsided support for men's hostel in place of women's hostels pointing towards a structural and ideological support to a certain section of society.

Case Study 2: Utkal University

The Women's Studies Centre at Utkal University boasts of a vibrant centre, with multiple outreach programmes, and linkages with several NGOs and international and national institutions, which have facilitated the conduct of important projects and research. The graduate outcomes of the centre are promising, showing efficiency in the functioning of the centre and its academic activities. There have been several mentoring and counselling programmes which have been organised, as well as workshops and conferences aimed at gender sensitisation and awareness.

The challenges outlined by the head of the centre make some interesting revelations. Owing to a lack of prominent WSCs in other parts of the state of Orissa, the employment options for the ones looking for academic positions within the state are limited. A lack of women's studies centres or schemes in other colleges and universities within the state means lesser scope for the graduating academics from the centre to join as faculty, or lecturers. Moreover, the non-recognition of women's studies as a subject in the Orissa Public Service Commission (OPSC), is also a blow to the civil service aspirants within the department.

The grants provided by the UGC for the centre have been fully utilised, but the problem arises in the timely disbursement of grants. The funds are not released on time, and many of the reimbursement processes also take a long time, with the risk of spent money not being reimbursed by the UGC. This funding

situation, pertaining to grants and the timely release of it, pose significant barriers to the effective functioning of the centre.

Looking at the way forward, there were several effective recommendations given by the respondent. The first includes the prior need to convert the scheme to a department. Doing this will ensure the regularisation and legitimacy of Women's Studies Centres as departments within the university system, and thereby solve the majority of the problems surrounding graduate outcome programmes. The next thing is the expansion of the centres across the respective states and eventually, all over the nation. This will also facilitate and impact social change. Another important and significant point being highlighted is the need for exchange programmes to be initiated within Women's Studies Centres. This can be done at a pan-India level, and even across countries. Doing so will facilitate the opportunity for researchers and students at the centre to expand their horizons and widen their academic and research network. The major concern being highlighted was with that of funding, and an effective solution to this problem will facilitate a lot of interesting things that WSCs are capable of doing as part of women empowerment. The final point of recommendation is the fight for recognition of Women's Studies as a subject in the state public service exams, as in this case, the Orissa Public Service Commission (OPSC). This will lead to further employment chances of the students from the centre to be a part of the state civil services.

Concluding observations:

Women's Studies as a centre for research within colleges and universities in India have managed to carve of niche for itself, as a rich domain of research and knowledge on women and minority genders, and their lived experiences. While the women's movement was a crucial part of the intervention or development of the idea, it is largely to the credit of the report, Towards Equality which brought attention to the deplorable condition of women in the country, and the need for further research and development in that area. Simultaneously, with the help of certain institutions, such as the ICSSR, the WSCs in the form that we know today, came into being. Although the

institutionalism of these centres had been attained within the formal domain of academia, there is still a large degree of vagueness regarding its disciplinary boundaries. In the face of severe issues such as funds crunch, or the lack of formal recognition as a department, there are several challenges that hamper the effective functioning of these centres. What is crucial and noteworthy, however, is the recognition and acknowledgement of women's issues that these centres have successfully been able to bring to the fore of academic research. By virtue of producing a large section of knowledge on women and their lives, their experiences as a woman, and thereafter, that of gender as a broad category, women's studies have been successful in generating a discourse within the public domain. This can be seen as a small step towards the ultimate realisation of gender awareness and sensitivity as a goal, in an effort to improve the gendered experiences of gender minorities in India.

Based on the case studies conducted for the purpose of this paper, the intricacies within the day-to-day functioning of the centres come to light. There is a growing need for the regularisation of these centres within the university system, through their establishment as formal departments. This will help the discipline to set clear its disciplinary boundaries, as well as curriculum. The recommendations put forth suggest the need for recognition of this discipline as an option within the government and non-government jobs, so as to increase its appeal among students. The enrolment rate of students would be higher in such a scenario, if there are good graduate opportunities for students from these centres. By means of tracing the trajectory of women's studies centres, from its inception to the status, the pressure for formalisation can be stressed with renewed vigour, thereby cementing these centres as permanent departments within the scope of Indian academic research.

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**HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF EARLY MEDIEVAL SITES OF
WESTERN PART OF ODISHA, INDIA**

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Abstract

The western part of Odisha was an important political unit. For a long, the region like other hinterlands had not been the centre of any historical research, mainly due to the attraction towards focal areas. The present area of study is referred as western Odisha neither of which formed a historical region on its own. From centric approach, this region was seen either as a buffer zone or an extension of Odisha or as a site of contestation between various dynasties. The large number of archaeological sites has been explored and excavated in this region, mostly belonged to the early medieval establishment. The main objective of the paper is to analyze the archaeological site and its importance to re-construct the history. In this context, study of Regional history and sites from the structural point of view is of great importance. It helps us to know the history of a particular region at a particular point of time. It enables us to understand evolution of history of a region, how it impacts and get impacted by the historical changes.

Key Words: *Region, sculpture, temple, art, re-construction.*

Introduction:

The explorations of archaeological sites in western part of Odisha began soon after the formation of Archaeological Survey of India. J.D. Beglar, assistant of Alexander Cunningham surveyed the upper Mahanadi valley (both Odisha and Chhattisgarh region) and located sites likes Rajapadar (Belkhandi) in Kalahandi district, Ranipur-Jharial and Titilagarh in Bolangir district, Narsinghnath in Bargarh district and made mention about archaeological remains.¹ In the year 1943, Archaeology department was created in Kalahandi state and survey of ancient monuments of state brought into light many temple

ruins at Amath Ghat, Belkhnadi, Narla, Madanpur, Rampur, Mohangiri, Sankush, Deypur (Kalampur), Topigaon (Biswanathpur). From 1946, onwards excavation began at various sites which brought into light remains belonging to the temple of *SaptaMatrakas* as well as sculptors of Uma-Maheshvara, Lakshmi-Narayana, Ganesha, Mahisamardini Durga, *Naiyakas*, *Maithuna*, *Naga* pillars etc.² In December 1947, feudatory states of Odisha merged with the state of Odisha and for some time excavation and exploration activities did not carry out. It was only with the establishment of Sambalpur University archaeological activities again resumed. Under the guidance of N.K. Sahu, excavation at Asurgarh (Narla) in 1973, Ranipur-Jharialin 1975-1976, Ganiapali in 1978 and Manamunda in 1981 etc. were carried out.³

In 1998, Hermann Kulke, Martin Brandtner, Burkhan Schnepel in order to understand the role of western Odisha from the Iron age to the twentieth century began with the idea of Orissa Research Project and in the year 2000 this project began with the survey in middle Mahanadi Valley. This initiative brought into light certain important evidences in the form of fine quality of pottery, use of semi-precious beads, punch- marked coins, seals and inscriptions, proto-urban settlements which hint towards a well-established culture in western Odisha during early historic period.⁴ Many of these sites remained active even during early medieval period and many more came into light.

Adopted Methods:

The present study is based on both literary and archaeological data. Monuments are an important source of history and act an important tool in the reconstruction of the history of this region. The present work includes study of both explored and excavated sites. The interpretation of known data, the sites and the monuments of early medieval period is therefore the main function of this study. Thus, the technique of data collection is based on, review of known data, field observation, study of various monuments.

Study Area:

The geographical area covered in the present study includes modern day Sambalpur, Sundargarh, Bargarh, Bolangir, Boudh, Subarnapura, Nuapada and Kalahandi districts of Odisha.

The term “early medieval archaeology” is a latest fashion not only in the context of eastern Indian archaeology but also in that of Indian archaeology in general. Archaeological remains of early medieval period of this region can be broadly divided into religious structures like temples or monastic complexes and secular architecture, habitation zones or isolated remains which include sculptural pieces, pottery, seals, sealings etc.

Asurgarh (Narla), District-Kalahandi.

There are various sites with the name Asurgarh both in Chhottanagpur area as well as in western Odisha. In Chhottanagpur area such sites are mainly located in the Ranchi and Singhbhum districts whereas in western Odisha sites with the name Asurgarh are found near Manamunda in Boudh district, near Narla in Kalahandi, Badmal in Sambalpur, Rampur and Nayagarh in Subarnapur district and Barli and Adgaon in Bargarh district.⁵ Asurgarh (Narla) (20° 4' 40"N; 83° 21' 16" E) is located at a distance of about two kms from Narla village in Kalahandi district. It is located in the upper reaches of river Sandul which is branch of Utei and this river in turn is a tributary of Tel River. It is an important archaeological site which remained an important centre of human activities in western Odisha from fourth century B.C. onwards. ⁶ The forts bearing name of Asurgarh are found in different parts of Odisha but the fort of Asurgarh (Narla) is the largest one and holds importance.

In the year 1972, under the direction of N.K. Sahu, University of Sambalpur in collaboration with Department of Cultural Affairs of government of Odisha undertook excavation at Asurgarh.⁷ In his report, N.K. Sahu has described this site as an important centre of *Atavikas* and also identified it with capital of Mahakantara during Gupta period.⁸ To understand the cultural sequences two trenches were laid and excavation revealed black and red pottery in huge amount along with black polished pottery. An important finding from the layer is a piece of *chunar* sandstone having Mauryan polish.⁹ The second layer is assignable to period from first to the fourth century A.D. The interesting discoveries from the layer include a mould for the preparation of beads and ornaments and a copper coin of Kanishka in a worn-out condition. The uppermost layer revealed floors of houses cemented with brick bats along with it iron objects which includes axes, door hinges, hooks, beads of semi-precious stones, punch-marked coins and pottery also found from this

layer.¹⁰ In his preliminary report on the beads recovered from Asurgarh K.C. Sahu suggests that from the archaeological findings it appears that people living in this area used variety of precious and semi-precious beads but it is not clearly known that whether these beads were locally manufactured or imported.¹¹

In his article, “Asurgarh-An Early Urban Centre of Orissa” Prabhas Kumar Singh throws light on the unique water management system found at the site. The eastern side of the fort was marked by a lake and during the second half of the nineteenth century the lake was again repaired by Raja Udit Pratap Dev for the agricultural purposes.¹² It appears that due to its strategic location Asurgarh emerged as an important centre of political and commercial activities in the Tel basin and this has been proved by the antiquities found from here. Excavation at the site also brought into light a big hoard of 539 silver coins among which 69 coins is assignable to the pre-Mauryan period, 272 belongs to the Mauryan period and remaining 198 coins are ranging from post-Mauryan period to the Gupta period.¹³ The discovery of such large number of coins hints that may be there was a mint industry in the area of Asurgarh.

The similarity of some punch-marked coins of Asurgarh with those found at Bijnor and Paila near Kaushambi and resemblance of texture of fabric of some pottery types of Asurgarh with those at Ahicchatra indicates that during the Mauryan period Asurgarh had trade relations with towns like Kaushambi and Ahicchatra in north India which hints towards the active trading activities in Asurgarh (Narla).¹⁴ However, it seems that this site lost its importance and prosperity after fifth-sixth century A.D. as Xuan Zang travelled through this area but he did not made mention about this site. In (2018-2019) again excavation began here under the supervision of Dibishad Garnayak and this excavation established that this site is an early historic site which remained active up to the Kushana period. On the basis of archaeological findings we can say that it was an important site which played a significant role in the evolution of trading and cultural activities in the region of Dakshina Koshala. Also, there is need to address the issue, that in spite of having strong presence during early historic phase, why this site lost its importance by the time of early medieval period.

Asurgarh (Manamunda), District-Boudh.

Asurgarh Manamunda (20° 50' 00" N; 83° 56' 02"E) located on the right bank of river Mahanadi is an important fortified settlement spreads over an area of about 1.5 km x 0.5 km. This site was first explored by Post Graduate department of Sambalpur University. Suvarnapurathe metropolitan capital of Somavamshisis located on the other side of confluence just at a distance of three kms.¹⁵ Suvarnapura seems to have joined with Asurgarh site but subsequently the Asurgarh part got separated from Sonepur and a best part of Suvarnapura lay submerged in rivers because of which we are not able to trace various important monuments of Somavamshis.¹⁶ It is important to note that in the epigraphs of eleventh-twelfth century A.D. it is described as Lanka and rulers described themselves as *Lankadhipati*.¹⁷ Excavation at the site brought into light a silver punch- marked coin datable to third century B.C., some beads and a good number of iron objects like spearhead, dagger, knife, axe, nails etc. The ceramic findings include red ware, black and red ware, black slipped wares. Apart from this some structures in which burnt bricks were used also came into light during excavation.¹⁸ To the east of Manamunda at a distance of about 50 km lies Maryakud. It is an island in the Mahanadi River which along with Manamunda was positioned to the eastern frontier of Dakshina Koshala. From here exploration brought into light red slipped ware, black and red ware, black polished ware, pieces of iron slag, semi-precious stone beads.¹⁹

Nursimhanath, District-Bargarh.

The Nursimhanath is a temple site located in Bargarh district of Odisha. In 1991, the Post Graduate department of Sambalpur University under the guidance of S.C. Panda and S. Pradhan began excavation at Nursimhanath. Presently this site is adorned by a temple belongs to the medieval period and having a presiding Vaishnavite deity, *Marjara -Kesari* (Lion-Cat). This image is one of its kinds and is one of the forms of Vishnu. The excavation at the site reveals that this site holds importance even during early medieval period.²⁰ The excavation up to the depth of 1-25 metres yielded four layers and the antiquities recovered includes a burnt brick paved floor with post-holes, brick alignments of small chambers and a very delicately carved mutilated image of Vishnu. The image was carved in red sandstone and is devoid of head,

showing only a pair of right hand, right foot and left leg. The present image is carved with high artistic skill and based on its style it can be dated to the eighth-ninth centuries A.D. The discovery of a brick measuring 33 x 22 x7 cm with their alignments suggests the existence of either an earlier temple or of a monastery of much earlier period than that of the medieval period.²¹

The present temple of hismhanath is having a height of forty feet and is comprised of a *vimana* and *jagamohana*. The *vimana* includes the components like *bada*, *gandi* and *mastaka* whereas the *vimana* is representing the *pancharatha* plan and having a temporary niche. There is an image of Laxmi-Narayana in a temporary niche and a number of sculptures are carved on the rocks inside the temple.²² There is an inscription inscribed on a slab of a black stone inside the temple and the date of inscription is 17th March 1413.²³ This inscription is assigned to Vaijala Deva, the Chauhan *raja* of Patna and it is believed that during fifteenth century the present temple has been built by this ruler. This temple though belongs to the medieval period but evidences prove that even during early medieval period there was a temple at this site. The pillars within the *jagamohanacan* be ascribed to the ninth century A.D. as they are carved in the styles of the Panduvamshis whereas the terrazzo work around the base of the pillars and the tiled floor is a modern one.²⁴

During the excavation some sculptures has also been found and they make us to believe that, the first temple of Nursimhanath has been built during the eighth century A.D. by queen Vasata, mother of MahashivaguptaBalarjuna.²⁵ It is important to note that present site along with Vaishnavism holds importance for Buddhism as well. XuanZangin his work made mention about *Po-Mo-Lo-Ki-Li* or Parimalagiri and it has been identified with Gandhamardan hill. As per him during his visit to the site he witnessed double storied monasteries of monk Nagarjuna decked with some beautiful golden Buddhist images.²⁶

Ranipur-Jharial, District-Bolangir.

The Ranipur-Jharial is an important early medieval archaeological site falls in the Bolangir district of Odisha. It is located in the upland area of Tel basin. Earlier, Bolangir district was part of Patna state in western Odisha and was ruled by Chauhan rulers. In 1948, Chauhan rule came to an end and the state of

Patna merged with the Odisha. The Bolangir district comprised of various monuments and sites and Ranipur-Jharia is one among them.²⁷ Ranipur and Jharia are two adjacent villages known for their monumental temples. Archaeological significance of this place was first reported by J.D. Beglar who in his reports provides interesting account about this site. He made mention about one-twenty temples and ruins. However, at present there is existence of about fifty temples belonging to different periods and dynasties. Among these existing temples, three temples are prominent and they are Indralath temple, *Chausathi-Yogini* temple and Someshwara temple etc.²⁸

The present site has been visited by archaeologists like Kedar Nath Mahapatra, N.K. Sahu and they assigned it to the early medieval period but as per C.B. Patel the observation reveals that the site holds importance even during early historic period. The epigraph inscribed on the lintel of Someshwara temple described this site as *Somatirtha* and the reference of *Somatirtha* is found even in the *Puranas*. It is believed that during early historic period this site assumed the reputation of a Shiva *tirtha*. This is also supported by the recent archaeological excavation at Maraguda in Nuapada district where a Shiva *Vihara* belongs to the fourth-fifth century A.D. came into light. Again it has been indicated by the archaeological probe that many *Shaiva Viharas* had been destroyed and this probably has been done by staunch Vaishnavites.²⁹

Temple I: Indralath Temple

The Indralath temple is an important temple situated in Ranipur village. It is a brick temple as maximum part of the temple is made up of bricks except doorway, pillars and pilasters and *pista* as they are made of stone. The temple is facing east direction and is dedicated to Vishnu. This temple is sixty feet in height and it is argued that this temple has been named after Somavamshi king Indraratha, who built this temple during tenth-eleventh centuries A.D. It is believed that in the past this temple has been worshipped as *Hari-Hara* temple and this has been justified through its Shaivite and Vaishnavite sculptural embellishments in the outer walls.³⁰ The present temple is raised over a platform measuring 27 x 11 meter and having a height of about 1.5 meter. It is a *pancharatha* temple on plan comprises a sanctum, a vestibule and a *mandapa*. However, at present *mandapa* is not in existence but from the presence of vestibule one can assess that there was *mandapa* in the past. The

outer walls of the temple are decorated with sculptural images like Narasimha, *Nataraja*, *Nayika* etc along with architectural designs like *rekhaanga-sikhara*, *chaitya* medallion, *vajramundi* etc.

Within the *sanctum* of the temple there are some sculptures and it includes the sculpture of Kartikeya (1.05 x 0.60 x 0.34) metres, four armed Ganesha (0.75 x 0.40 x 0.20) metres, four armed Vishnu (0.62 x 0.35 x 0.20) metres. From the *antaralathe* movable collections that are found includes *Shaivacharya* (1.60 x 0.90 x 0.30) metres, broken bust portion of Uma-Maheswara, Vidhyadhara, bust portion of Vishnu etc.³¹ Presently, this temple is being maintained by Odisha State Archaeology department and is in use as people visit here to worship the *Shivalinga* inside the temple.

Temple II: Someshwara Temple

Another important temple in Ranipur-Jharial complex is Someshwara temple and it is dedicated to Shiva. The temple stands on a square platform of twelve feet two inches.³² The structure of present temple is entirely made of black stone ashlar masonry and having no decoration. At present, the temple is not in a good condition and needs attention. This temple is built over a raised stone platform and on plan consists of a *sanctum*, a pillared hall and a vestibule. Interior of *sanctum* is rectangular in shape and in the centre there is a *Shivalinga*. The vestibule of the temple is also internally rectangular measuring 1.68 x 0.84 metre and it leads to *mandapa*. Externally, *mandapa* measures 8.40 square meters whereas internally it measures 6.9 meter.³³

There is an inscription in the temple which reads as, “*Somasvami Siddhesvara, Laxminama Chaturthanam*”.³⁴ There is also an image of Durga, Vrisabha, a Nagi and a Dwarpala. One can see the image of Gaja-Lakshmi on the lintel of the entrance to the *garbhagriha*. The entrance wall of the temple contains the image of a diety in a *dhyana-mudra* form. According to the priest of the temple Jagman Tripathi, this is an image of Gaganshiva.³⁵ On roof of the temple Lakshmi *yantra* have been inscribed and as per priest during ancient period this place was the centre of *yantra, mantra and tantra*.³⁶ The present temple is still in use and in the *garbhagriha* of the temple there is a *Shivalinga* and sculpture of Hari and Gori. According to the priest of the temple it appears that there is some underground *surangas* the water that

people serve to *Shivalinga* where it goes no one knows. Near to the temple there is an old pond known as Somsagar.

Temple III: Hypaethral Sixty-four *Yogini* Temple.

The *Chausathi yogini* temple is one of the most unique monuments in the Ranipur-Jharial. It is a roofless temple which is dedicated to the sixty- four *yoginis*. This temple is a hypaethral temple with niches. Along with this temple there is another hypaethral temple in Odisha located in Hirapur, Puri district. The Hirapur monument is the work of Bhaumakaras (736 -940 A.D.) whereas the structure of Ranipur-Jharial is assigned to the Somavamshis period.³⁷ The hypaethral temple is unique in the sense that the structure of this temple is totally different from the general structure of temples. These hypaethral temples have no *vimana*, *mandapa* or *garbhagriha*, the sculptural ornamentation is also different from other traditional Odishan temples.³⁸

In terms of religion, rise of Tantricism is an important phenomenon of early medieval period and all-important sects came under its influence. The rise of the cult of sixty-four *yoginis* and the *katyayanaisis* an important reflection of impact of Tantricism on Shakta principle.³⁹ Matsyendranath of Kamarauipa in the eighth century A.D. was the main propagator of this philosophy. The region of Dakshina Koshala also became an important centre of this *yogini* cult under *Sadasivacarya* of Amardaka school and *Gaganasivacarya* of Mattamayura school during the rule of Somavamshis.⁴⁰ It is in *Kaulajnananirnayawhich* is a *Tantrik* text the philosophy and secret practice of sixty-four *yoginis* find references in a systematic manner. This secret practice was practiced in the company of women in a circle known as *yoginikaula*. This philosophical trend is getting reflected in the sculptural representation of Shiva and *yoginis* in the circular temple.⁴¹

The present temple in Ranipur-Jharial is circular in shape and contained sixty-five niches for holding images of sixty-four *yoginis*. This circular temple measures 16.6 metre externally and internally it is 13.6 meters. At the centre there is a roofed porch enshrining a six handed dancing Shiva. Out of the sixty-four images of *yoginis* now forty-nine images are available while others are found missing. These images are made of sand stone and most of these images of *yoginis* are represented by the heads of either animals or

human beings. One can easily be gauged from these images that they are performing a kind of divine dance encircling Shiva.⁴² Besides these main temples there are number of other small temples as well which were used for the purpose of meditation and prayers. Apart from this main site there are some other sites as well adjacent to Ranipur-Jharial like Mahagaon, Kansil and Khurdiamunda etc. One can easily locate the debris of star shaped temple in Mahagaon.⁴³ Kansil is a temple site having a star shaped temple. At the Khurdiamunda there are two stone temples similar to the shrines at Ranipur-Jharial.

Budhigarh, District-Kalahandi.

In terms of archaeological wealth, Madanpur-Rampur region is one of the richest zones in the Kalahandi district of Odisha. This area is situated between two rivers that is Utei and Rahul. There are various sites of archaeological importance close to Madanpur-Rampur and these sites are Budhigarh, twelve kms in north direction besides the main road, Mohangiri located thirty kms in the north-east direction, Shakushgarh lies at eighteen kms in east direction, Belkhandi is located at the confluence of river Tel and Utei etc. Among these sites Budhigarh holds importance. Budhigarh (20° 18'29"N; 83° 32' 09" E) is a fortified settlement located on the left bank of river Rahul. The mound of Budhigarh covers an area of 1000 x 500 metre.⁴⁴ During excavation various important antiquities which include ceramic wares of northern black polished ware, punch-marked silver coin, a gold coin at the surface, knobbed ware pottery, seals, beads of stones as well as semi-precious stones, ivory comb etc. were recovered. The finding of green glass beads of diamond shaped from the site hints that glass was used in Budhigarh. According to P. Yule the locally produced knobbed ware which is also found from Asurgarh (Manamunda) hints towards the presence of Buddhist monks in the area.⁴⁵

The two seals-cum-pendants found from Budhigarh also bear significance. Among these one contains two lines in *Kharosthi Brahmi* script deciphered as *janadhapeta or jayansthapayita* (deciphered as founder of sacrifice). The second seal is having two symbols on its reverse 'tree within railing' and a 'parasol'. Both these seals belong to one stock and are ascribed to the second century A.D.⁴⁶ On the basis of antiquities came into light from the site it appears that Budhigarh was an important commercial centre in the

Tel valley. The bricks of 45 x 30 x 6 cm dimension found from this site are also found from other early historic sites like, Kharligarh of Tel valley.⁴⁷

Binka, District-Subarnapur.

Binka (21⁰ 01'31.95"N; 83⁰ 48'41.07"E) is a notable site in the middle Mahanadi basin and falls in Subarnapur district. This site had its existence even during early historic but it became prominent during early medieval period. This is revealed from the inscriptions issued from here. During ninth-tenth centuries A.D. this site had been occupied by Somavamshi rulers and in their charters, it was referred as Vinitapura.⁴⁸ Mahasivagupta Yayati-I a Somavamshi ruler issued four copper plate inscriptions from Vinitapura.⁴⁹ Taraporegarh fort famous early historic site is located just two kms away from the south of Binika town. In spite of this closeness Taraporegarh did not reveal any early medieval remains however, an early medieval temple is reported from village Charda which is located at a distance of about four kilometres to the west of Binika town. It is believed that this temple was built by Ganga ruler Ananga Bhima Deva-II. This east facing temple is dedicated to Kapilesvara Shiva. This temple which is entirely made of sandstone ashlar masonry had undergone several renovations but still basic features from the viewpoint of art and architecture is intact.⁵⁰

Nehena, District-Nuapada.

Nehena (20⁰ 15'17"N; 82⁰ 46' 17" E) is located on the upper reaches of river Indra, which is left bank tributary of Tel River. In 1984-1985 Nehena was explored by Amarendra Nath, K.M. Suresh, R.C. Agarwal and B.K. Rath under the initiative of Bhubaneswar Circle of Survey and Department of Archaeology, Government of Odisha. During exploration they discovered few sherds of black and red ware in which one among them having paintings in white colour. Along with it, few sherds of early historical period also noticed.⁵¹ M. Brandtner carried out trial trench at the site and it exposed two cultural phases that is early historic and early medieval period. According to him the early historic pottery found on the surface has several comparisons with dated examples in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.⁵² The use of this site even during early medieval period is revealed by a plate inscription in which it is mentioned as *Navanaka*. According to Khariar charter, Sudevaraja -I of

Sarabhapuriyadynasty gave away the village *Navanakain* gift and this Navanaka is the present day Nehena.⁵³ From this site knobbed ware, beads, iron objects, polychrome glass bangles and four gold coins of Sarabhapuriya King Prasannamatra also have been found.⁵⁴

Maraguda Valley, District-Nuapada.

Maraguda valley (82° 28' E; 20° 43'N) is an important hub of historical activities and is located in the Nuapada district. This valley extends from the Kharaldhas to the Jonk irrigation dam. Godhas stream enters this Valley and meets Jonk river on its left bank and on the other hand small stream Giribara flowing from the east, falls into Jonk river on its right bank. This site is of great historical and archaeological importance as excavations at the site brought into light antiquities belongs to various cultural phases. Maraguda valley is comprised of massive archaeological wealth which include temples, sculptures, forts, palaces, watch tower, dwelling houses etc. The site has been identified by some scholars also with the capital of Dakshina Koshala. During early historic period, it appears that Maraguda was a small unfortified settlement. However, by the time of early medieval period it emerged as a major fortified urban centre.

This site comprised number of mounds locally known as *ghutki*. These mounds are full of important antiquities and sculptures ranging up to the fourteenth century A.D. In 1969, P.K. Deo visited this site and published his report. In his report he made mention about the existence of a number of images and monuments of historical importance which includes *Yogi Sunder (Naga)* image, an image of Jaina *tirthankara*, images of lady in penance, dancing girls, an image of Ganesha and two stone lions.⁵⁵ After him P.K. Ray, the Superintendent of Orissa State Archaeology conducted the first excavation at this site over three mounds. This excavation brought into light a big Rani Mahal (queen's palace) made of burnt bricks, structural remains of a Shiva temple, ruins of a temple and an image of Kartikeya made of red stone. In his report he concludes that these remains belonging to ninth and tenth centuries A.D. In the year 1982-1983 N.K. Sahu in order to understand the cultural sequences and its antiquities undertook excavation. Excavation at Mahal mound unearthed a double storied building having twelve rooms of different dimensions. It is believed that it was a court house which also comprised of a

dias which is designed in a weavy semicircular manner and is decorated with six marlon symbols. In front of a dias there is a rectangular hall measuring 6.10 x 4.60 and there is a big probability that it was used to hear the cases. Excavation also brought into light bronze anklets and definitely they were used for chaining the feet of culprits.⁵⁶

Excavation at Trishul mound site unearthed ruins of five-tier *Shaiva* complex of fifth century A.D. It proved to be a rare *Shaiva* monastery so far known in India. It comprised of temples, residential complexes, orchards and parks for recreation and meditation. A stone seal inscription unearthed from this place contained name of a *Shaivacharya*, Dharmatisvara and it is believed that he was the founder of this *Shaiva* Monastery. Excavations also exposed two temples one among them contained the image of a Shakti *peetha* without *Lingam*. To the left of the temple residential buildings were unearthed comprised of single bedded rooms around a big square hall. Interesting antiquities found from the chambers include ancient coins, one sword, precious stones, iron buckles for animals etc. From the *sanctum* of another temple an image of two-armed goddess has been found. On the pedestal there is an inscription in *Brahmi* script which reads *Mahesvari Bhavada*.⁵⁷ During this session, excavation was also carried at RaniMahal mound and it brought into light a huge hall measuring 15.25 x 12.20 metre. Adjacent to this hall there is another hall and it is believed that both these were assembly hall and were used for administrative purposes. Antiquities reveal that court building and these two halls belongs to the Kalachuri period (from middle of the ninth century to the end of the twelfth century A.D).⁵⁸

From the unearthing of fortification, magnificent Rani Mahal, unusual court hall, *Shaiva* monastery and huge residential complexes it seems that Maraguda valley was an important metropolis in the region of Dakshina Koshala during early medieval period. In 1991, again excavation resumed at this site under the supervision of C.B. Patel. In the first round, excavation began at Dhaniraja temple *ghutki* in Tikrapada, Baipari Mahal and at Gopal Mahal. From Dhaniraja mound a burnt brick temple of early Koshalan type came into light. It comprised of a *sanctum*, a *vestibule*, outer chamber and an entrance with a vertical plan. The BaipariMahal mound was eight feet in height and during excavation from here massive brick structure with watch

tower-cum-treasure house came into light. Along with this a *yonipitha in situ* at a depth of one metre also found during excavation.⁵⁹ In the second round of excavation work carried out in a big complex known as ChingraKachhar and it exposed a planned citadel area of Maraguda city. The ramparts and fortification walls were also exposed. In this phase of excavation, a large rectangular temple-cum-residential complex was unearthed at Chandan Mahal. In the Bag Kachhar area a single chambered temple built on a stone platform also came into light.⁶⁰

From the above findings we can conclude that Maraguda valley was an important centre of administrative and religious activities. The discovery of court hall from the site is very important as it point towards the consciousness among people for maintenance of law and order. The finding of *Shaiva* monastery from Maraguda valley makes it unique in the sense that such monastery is hardly found from elsewhere. This site holds importance in the religious history of Dakshina Koshala, so there is need for systematic analysis of archaeological and literary sources to have clearer picture.

Gandharadi, District-Boudh.

The present site is an important temple site located on the bank of river Mahanadi. This site is situated near to Jagati, which has been identified with the Yayatinagara, capital city of Somavamshirulers.⁶¹ It is an important temple site comprised of two temples dedicated to Siddhesvara (Shiva) and Nilamadhava (Vishnu). From the scattered architectural materials at the site, it can be easily presumed that besides these two temples there were many other temples.

Boudh, District-Boudh.

Boudh is located on the bank of river Mahanadi at a distance of twenty kms downstream from Gandharadi. It is a temple site having three-starshaped temples dedicated to Shiva. These three stellate temples are identical in plan, dimension, elevation and decoration. During early medieval period this area firstly was under the control of Bhanjas of *Khinjalimandala* and then it came under the control of Somavamshi dynasty who named it as *Odra desa*.⁶² Apart from the above-mentioned sites, Baidynathpura, Jamsheragarh in Sundargarh,

Huma in Sambalpur, Sonepur, Charda etc. are some other important early medieval sites in the western Odisha which mainly comprised of temples.

From the above discussion it appears that both Chhattisgarh and western Odisha are comprised of number of explored and excavated early medieval sites. Study reveals that most of these sites were located along the banks of rivers. The suitable location and availability of resources helps most of the early historical site to remain continued even during early medieval period. Among the early medieval sites, we have various types of sites like Tala and Ranipur-Jharial appears to be dominated by religious scenes. On the basis of archaeological findings, we can say that Sirpur was a multifunctional centre and this appears true for Rajim and Malhar as well. At sites like Rajim, Sirpur, Kharod, Tala etc in Chhattisgarh and at Budhikohmna, Ranipur-Jharial, Maraguda valley, Belkhandietc in western Odisha, we find evidence of brick temples. In order to reconstruct the early medieval history of Dakshina Koshala there is a need for holistic assessment of these sites like their interaction with each other, distribution of these sites, their socio-economic and political importance and more importantly the change and continuity of these sites from early historic to early medieval period.

Conclusion:

From the above discussion, it appears that western Odisha comprised of number of explored and excavated early medieval sites. Study reveals that most of these sites were located along the banks of rivers. The suitable location and availability of resources helps most of the early historical site to remain continued even during early medieval period. Among the early medieval sites, we have various types of sites like Tala and Ranipur-Jharial appears to be dominated by religious scenes. On the basis of archaeological findings we found evidences of lagre number of brick temples. In order to reconstruct the early medieval history of western part of Odisha, there is a need for holistic assessment of these sites like their interaction with each other, distribution of these sites, their socio-economic and political importance and more importantly the change and continuity of these sites from early historic to early medieval period.

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A HISTORICAL TOUR TO PATNAGARH: RE-ENACTING THE HISTORY OF WESTERN ODISHA

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Abstract

Patnagarh is a historical place in the district of Balangir in Odisha. It has witnessed many dynastic rules and served as the capital of these kingdoms. The most important one among the dynasties was the Chauhan dynasty who started their rule from Patna (modern Patnagarh) and stretched their territory to cover the whole of western part of Odisha. Patnagarh is a heritage place now because of its possession of many heritage sites like the Somesvara/Kosalesvara temple, Patnesvari temple, Samalesvari temple etc. These temples represent various types of temple architecture ranging from 12th century A.D. to the Chauhan rule. Thus, this place has become a destination for historical and religious tourism. Tourism in present day is the largest industry in the world. The place is also prospective for the research scholars to conduct deep investigation to bring valuable information to limelight, which will ultimately help the historians to fill the gap in the history of Odisha. Patnagarh is also famous as Kaunri Patna or Kuanri Patna for the practice of Tantricism at this place. The Seven Tantric Maidens or Sat Bhauni are quite famous among the local people in legends. The religious and historical background of this place have given this town a separate identity as a place of tourist attraction in the western part of Odisha.

Keywords- *Patnagarh, Chauhan, Patnesvari, Tourism, Historical, Tourist, Vimana, Jagamohana, Mandapa.*

Patnagarh, a place with historical and archaeological importance is located in the district of Balangir of Western Odisha at a distance of about 39 km from the district headquarter. Now it is the head quarter of a sub-division of

Balangir district. It is about 286 km away from Bhubaneswar the capital of Odisha. Patnagarh is a major town of Balangir district. It is well connected by road with nearby prominent towns like Balangir, Bargarh and Khariar etc. The condition of roads connecting Patnagarh with other places are quite good and useful in all weather.

Patnagarh is a place which is famous in the history of Western Odisha as the capital of many dynastic rules. The secure location of this place attracted the rulers to make it the capital. In the 12th century A.D. Patnagarh was known as Patna Dandapata and was under the rule of Telegu Chodas. The Patnagarh area was ruled by an oligarchical government before the Chauhans occupied it. The government was consisted of eight chieftains. In the middle of 14th century A.D. the Patna Chauhans were the rulers of this area and Patnagarh was their capital. The Patna kingdom or Patna Rajya got its name from Patnagarh. In the year 1872 the capital was shifted to Balangir. The geographical suitability was the prime cause behind being chosen as the capital of multiple ruling dynasties. The place is surrounded on 3 sides by the river Swarnarekha and its tributary Mayabati. Except the natural security the town of Patnagarh was highly fortified from all sides during the time of Chauhan rule. The fortified area was provided with watch towers, chain of big tanks outside and inside the fort for security. There was a moat with mud rampart and thick bamboo thickets for security. The township developed outside the ramparts, but inside them were the military establishments, the royal residence and the temples of Patnesvari, Samalesvari and of Somesvara Siva.¹

It is believed that Chauhans of Patna are the descendants of the Chauhan ruler Prithviraj Chauhan. A branch of the Chauhans known as Tak Chauhan were having sway over Asirgarh fort. The Tak Chauhans of Asirgarh were involved in the battles of Tarain in 1191 and 1192 A.D. against Mohammad of Ghore. After the defeat of Prithviraj Chauhan one branch of this family migrated to Mainpuri near Agra and established their principality there. One among the member was Alhanadeva who was the ancestor of Ramaideva. The tenth descendant of this Alhanadeva was Visaladeva who revolted against the Sultan of Delhi and was killed in the battle during first

quarter of 14th century.² His wife did not perform the rite of Satee and she fled from Mainpuri and took shelter at Patna of western Odisha. She was pregnant at that time. In subsequent time she gave birth to a son named Ramai Dev who is believed to have founded the Chauhan rule in Patna. Patnagrh was a part of the Gangas kingdom of Odissa at that time. One Kurttivasa was the Viceroy of Patnagarh, after whose death without any successor the territory was ruled by the Eight Mullicks. Ramaideva overthrew the oligarchy of the Mullicks and established the rule of his dynasty at Patnagarh. The Ganga kings were busy in war with the Muslims at that time, for which they could not notice the political twist in Patnagarh in western Odisha. Ramai Dev acknowledged the overlordship of the Gangas and if the Kosalananda Kavya be believed, he married a Ganga princess, the daughter of the Gajapati's brother.³

Patnagarh is also known as *Kaunri* or *Kuanri* or *Kumari Patna* named after the seven tantric maidens who were believed to be living in this town and practicing tantric rites. The maidens were popularly known by their assumed names Gangi Gauduni, Sua Teluni, Gyanadei Maluni, Netai Dhobani, Luhukuti Luhuruni, Sukuti Chamaruni and Patrapindhi Saharuni. A good number of folktales and stories can be heard in western Odisha related to these 7 maidens and their and tantric activities.⁴ As late as the 16th century A.D. the Patna kingdom was known as *Kaunri Patna* after the name of the head quarter town of that name, as known from the "*Nirguna Mahatmya*" of the poet Chaitanya Dasa. The town rapidly lost its importance after shifting of the head quarter to Balangir in 1872.

Legends:

Several legends prevail in western Odisha related to Patnagarh, Goddess Patnesvari, Samalesvari and *Tantric* practices of this area. One famous is related to a ruler of Patna most probably Ramai Dev. It is believed that the king was a great worshipper of Goddess Patnesvari and he had received many supernatural and miraculous powers from the Goddess. By using the power, the king was visiting the Puri Jagannath temple on daily basis and was returning. The king was going so fast that he could not be seen and

was seeming like a blow of wind. The priests of Puri Jagannath temple could realise somebody's visit and presence but were not able to catch him. Once some-how they caught the king and asked about him. The king answered that he was the king of Patna. The priests and the soldiers threatened him and said how would you fight with us alone and escape from here. The moment the king unsheathed his sword, all the spectator became astonished because automatically the length of the sword increased up to 12 fts. All present there could realise that the king was being blessed by the Goddess and nobody dared to fight with the king.

Another legend describes about the Kandara or Mahara (the basket weaver) king who was ruling over Patna. He was practicing *Tantricism* and was a powerful Tantric. He had received the Sanjeevani Vidya by which he could bring back the life of a dead. He was compared with the famous sages of Hinduism like Brihaspati and Sukracharya. He became the king of Patna after the death of an issueless king who was ruling over Patna. But after becoming a king also he did not give up weaving basket or he did not leave his profession. For this reason, some of the royal officers went against him and conspired to kill him. When the king came to know about this, he killed all of those royal officers by his Tantric power, by cutting a bamboo stick only. When the families of those deceased officers requested, the king brought them back to life by his *Sanjeevani Vidya*.

Beside the above legends there are innumerable stories about the Seven Tantric Maidens and their *Tantric* practices.

Monuments:

Patnagarh is famous not only for its glorious history but for its architectural and religious value also. The place developed a lot of religious faith among the people of the township which ultimately resulted in the construction of various religious shrines within its area. Notable among the fine temples are the temple of Somesvara built by king Somesvara II in 12th century A.D. and of Patnesvari temple built by Ramai Deo the first Chauhan

king belonging to the 14th century A.D. The Jagannath temple and Samalesvari temple of Patnagarh were built by later Chauhan rulers. Close to the temples of Somesvara and Patnesvari there is a raised platform with a flight of steps. It is believed that the throne of the rulers of Patna was being placed on this platform and it is known as *Simhasana Vedi*.⁵

Somesvara/Kosalesvara Siva Temple

Somesvara temple or Kosalesvara temple of Patnagarh is one of the oldest temples of not only Balangir but of Odisha also. The temple is comprised of a *vimana* and a *jagamohana*. There is a *nandimandapa* in front of the *jagamohana*. The outer walls of the *vimana* are devoid of ornamentation. The *jagamohana* or the assembly hall is rectangular in size. Four decorated pillars are provided to support the roof of the *nandimandapa*. The pillars have square bases with 3 mouldings in the body. The centre of each side of the square platform is carved with a *chaitya* motif. The octangular part is topped by a *ghata pallava* motif (a pot filled with water and leaves) and it is capped by an abacus. Designed eight petal flower is placed on the two projections of the abacus.

Pillars as the decorative elements are of 3 types in this temple. 1- plain pillars, 2- pillars with base relief and 3- pillars without base relief. The pillars are provided with niches that enshrined the *Parsvadevatas* like the figures of Ganesa, Kartikeya, *Mithuna* couple, *Lakulisa* and the scenes of *Krishna lila*, *Nagas* and Siva Parvati, Gouri etc. An image of Nandi is found in the *jagamohana*. At the entrance of the southern balcony there is a beautiful female figure found busy in removing her clothes. To the side is chiselled a parrot on a stand. It may be taken as a *suka sarika* maiden than a deity.⁶ The existence of an *ardhanarisvara* statue on the northern wall symbolise the prevalent tradition of worship of Lord Siva both in the form of Lingama as well as the supplementary form of Lord Siva and Goddess Parvati. The hands of the image are broken whereas the lower portion not available. The face of the statue is very much clear and the division of Lord Siva (right side) and Goddess Parvati (left side) can be clearly seen. Flying *gandharvas* are carved

at the top of the slab. Another female sculpture is there in the *jagamohana* which is life size (6 ft high) but the head portion is absent. Out of four hands two are not available and the other two are placed in front of her body. The statue is standing on one leg and female attendants are carved on the lower portion of both sides of the Goddess. The posture suggests as if the Goddess is busy in severe penance. Donaldson identifies the deity as Tapasvini Parvati.⁷ Behind the missing head, an elliptical halo radiating rays is carved. To the right side of the halo is found a lingam and to the left is noticed a four-armed Ganesa. At the top of the black slab 9 heads are found which is an unusual finding. The nine heads are taken to be representation of nine planets by Donaldsons.⁸ But P.K. Nayak has identified these heads as Nava Durga in “*Art and Archaeology of Orissa*” book edited by S. Pradhan. Another four-armed figure is kept within the *mandapa* of which the right leg and back arms are broken. There is a figure of four-handed Bhairava is placed in the niche of north wall of the temple. The image has attributes in its hand like *trisula* and rosary. The right hand of the normal pair displays the *varada* posture while on the left below is seen a dog sitting. A four-armed Siva can be found on the niche of west direction along with his vehicle Nandi. A male worshiper is carved below the image. A four-handed Ganesa statue is placed on the south niche.

The Saivite festivals like Shivaratri are being celebrated in the temple premises with great devotion.

Donaldson places the construction time of the temple to 9th/10th century A.D. But P. K. Nayak suggest the time to 11th/12th century A. D. on the basis of an inscription which is engraved on the step of a large platform near the temple. The inscription records that the village Ghasarani was donated for regular supply of flower to the lord Somesvara by the king Somesvara identified with the homonymous king of Teleguchoda dynasty who was ruling in 11th/12th century A.D. Date given to the construction of the temple by P.K. Nayak is more reasonable to accept.

Patnesvari Temple

Goddess Patnesvri is the presiding deity of Patnagarh. Patnesvari means the Goddess of Patna. According to local belief Goddess Durga had 7 incarnations to secure South Kosala or the western Odisha. They are Patnesvari, Samalesvari, Manikesvari, Suresvari, Metakani, Chandrahasini and Ghantesvari. All these Goddesses are known as 7 sisters, out of whom Patnesvari is regarded as the eldest.

The temple dedicated to Goddess Patnesvari is known as Patnesvari temple and it stands in the town as a mute witness of the rule of various dynasties, specially the Chauhans, during whose rule the town was the capital of their kingdom. The Patnesvari temple was built by the Chauhans in their fort area. It is believed that Ramai Deo the founder of Chauhan dynasty in Patnagarh fortified the capital town of Patna. Then he built the temple of Patnesvari in the fort and the Goddess became the tutelary deity of the Chauhans.

Facing the east the Patnesvari temple is consisted of a sanctum and a modern constructed *mandapa*. The temple is 45 fts high which rises from the ground and consisted of 3 parts, *bada*, *gandi* and *mastaka*. The *gandi* portion of the temple is surrounded by a number of horizontal mouldings like *bhumi varandikas*. The *mastaka* contains in succession the *beki*, *amalaka* and *kalasa*. At the top are the trident and *dhvaja*. The sanctum sanctorum is square in design where the life size image of an eight-armed Mahisamardini Durga is installed. The Goddess is believed to be a form of Vana Durga (Durga as the forest Goddess). The Goddess is found on her *vahana Simha* (lion) in standing position and killing Mahisasura the buffalo demon with his *vahana* buffalo. Below of the big statue there is a small image identified as a sculpture of Ramai Deo. So far as the modern constructed *mandapa* is concerned, except the front entrance, all other openings were blocked by iron railings. Although the temple has not been dated properly, it is believed that the first Chauhan

ruler Ramai Deo had constructed the temple in 14th century A.D. in the beginning of his rule in Patna.⁹

Being a Sakta temple, festivals related to Saktism are celebrated in the temple with great crowd. The important festivals are Navaratra, Durgapuja, Boil Jatra, Patakhanda Jatra, Danda Yatra etc.

Jagannath Temple

Jagannath temple is situated 3 km away from the main town at Brahmapura, an outlying area of Patnagarh. It was a Brahmin sasana.¹⁰ The presiding deities here in this temple are Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra. The Jagannath temple with a height of 40 fts has a *vimana* and a *jagamohana*. The *vimana* here is provided with *pista*, *bada*, *gandi* and *mastaka* with a *pancharatha* plan. As many as five mouldings can be noticed at the *baranda* portion of the temple. The *raha*, *anuratha* and *kanika pagas*, each are divided into a good number of horizontal mouldings. The *raha pagas* are provided with niches. The *jangha* part has 1 niche whereas the *gandi* part has two niches. The *mastaka* has a square *vedi*, the *beki*, an *amalaka*, the *khapuri*, a *kalasa*, *chakra* and *dhvaja* one over another. The *mandapa* is square one. This Jagannath temple dedicated to the Chauhan period, but the builder might be one among the later Chauhan rulers.

Samalesvari Temple

Besides the above temples another temple is there at Patnagarh dedicated Goddess Samaleswari. This temple is also believed to be constructed by one of the later Chauhan rulers. A *vimana* and a *mandapa* are the components of the temple, the *mandapa* being an open one. On a raised platform the temple stands. The heavily ornamented doorjamb is the centre of attraction here in this temple. The presiding deity Samalesvary here is being worshipped in the form of block of stone same as the presiding deity of the Samalesvari temple of Sambalpur.

Nearby Tourist places- As Patnagarh is situated in Balangir district, the other tourist places of the district can be attached to the tour by the tourists. Other places on interest of the district are Harishankar, Jal Mahadev, Ranipur-Jharial, Saintala and Titilagarh etc.

Accommodation Facility: There are both Govt. and private accommodation facility available at Patnagarh. But this much facility is not enough for a place like Patnagarh. Given below is a list of accommodation facility here.

1. PWD Bungalow

Address- Rail Line Para, Bungalow Chowk, Patnagarh

2. Guest House (Revenue Department)

Address- In front of Block, Barhampura, Patnagarh

3. Kalia Lodge

Address- Kadopara, Patnagarh

Beside these places there are 2 *Dharamsala* in the name of Marbari Dharamsala and Meher Dharamsala to provide accommodation facility to the tourists.

Medical Facility: There is a sub-divisional headquarter's Govt. Hospital at Patnagarh providing medical facility to people which can be approached by the tourists. Except that one private medical clinic is there in the town.

The place Patnagarh though is a small town, it is an important place of historical and religious importance. The geographical advantage to be a capital was the main factor that resulted in creating a glorious history and heritage sites in and around the town. Patnagarh contributed a lot to the history of Odisha by nurturing many dynastic rules in her lap the most important among them is the Chauhan rule. The place gave a secure and stable administrative location to the rulers who easily could divert their effort to other

developmental and constructive activities. The Chauhan rulers also strengthened their army, that later got success in establishing a vast kingdom by stretching its boundary up to Sambalpur. Establishment of Sambalpur Chauhan kingdom was an extension of Patna kingdom. Balaram Dev was the person who established the Sambalpur kingdom in around 1570 A.D. with the permission of Narasimha Dev who was the 12th ruler of Patna Chauhan dynasty. It shows a cordial relation of the Chauhan family of Patna and Sambalpur. The existence of Samalesvari temple at Patnagarh again supports the theory that the Chauhan rulers of Patna not only recognised the Sambalpur kingdom but recognised and respected their religious faith also. Similarly, at Sambalpur we can find a temple dedicated to Goddess Patnesvari which strengthens the above theory.

The people of western Odisha were having religious sectarian tolerance which is evident from the co-existence of temples of different sects like *Saivism*, *Vaishnavism*, *Saktism* and *Tantricism*. The Vajrayana Buddhism also flourished in Patnagarh which attracted the people without any caste and class bound. The Seven Tantric Maidens or Sata Bhauni are quite good examples of liberal social system in pursuing *Tantric* education. Challenging the Brahmanical supremacy the lower caste people and specially the females of the society also achieved *Tantric* powers. It suggests the liberal caste system and importance of women in the society of a remote area like western Odisha.

So far as Patnagarh is concerned in the course of time it lost its glory as a capital and now it is a heritage town standing as the silent witness of its past and being neglected at present. It needs the attention of the Govt. as well as the awareness of public to be popularised among other tourist destinations of Odisha. This place is a perfect destination for historical tourism and also for religious tourism. Multidimensional researches can be conducted on Patnagarh. The town is very prospective for archaeological excavation and deep research which can bring a lot of new information to limelight. The information can help the historians in filling the gap in Odisha history.

Patnagarh is connected with other places by road. In present time the place like Patnagarh should be provided with railway line to connect far and

near places to mobilise the tourists to this heritage place of western Odisha. Infrastructural development in this area is a necessity of present time to cater and accommodate the tourists visiting this place.

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**IDENTIFYING REGIONAL HISTORY OF ODISHA WITH
REFERENCE TO MEDIEVAL VAISHNAVISM**

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Abstract

There are manifold changes occurred in the writings of history of the events may large or small, monuments, socio-politico, and economic stigma of the people of Odisha and India in general. As a result in recent years scholars, researchers, historians, and the scholars of the recent trends are taking pen to write micro-history in form of regional history. As far as research is made many areas of Odishan history yet not traced out. Therefore, the author here has tried to highlight to identify the regional history of *vaishnavism* in medieval Odisha. Keeping in view of certain objectives the research paper has been developed with due care in its approach and interpretation. The prime objective is the genesis and evolution of *vaishnavism* in pan Indian culture. The second one deals with its growth and development of *vaishnavism* in medieval Odisha. The third one provides ample information how *vaishnavism* does forms the part of regional history.

Keywords: *Vaishnavism; Stigma; Genesis; Approach*

The element of *bhakti* in the form of *Vaishnavism* had become an integral part of early religious effloresce. This is quite unique, but it should be remembered that such an intellectual development was part of the *bhakti* movement in *Hinduism* during this period as indicated by the cult of Vasudeva Krishna culminating in the emergence of *Bhagavatism*. Viewed in this context Orissa's association with *Vaishnavism* and Vaishnava tourism in terms of its evolution, genesis, characteristics, and growth all become an interesting reading. But, before the emergence of *Vaishnavism* in Orissa it was developed in South India by the popular saint poets called

Alvars,¹ who belonged to a cross section of the society. Among them were the king of Malabar, and a famous woman Andal, for whom a magnificent temple was later built at latter's birthplace, Srivilli Puttur, by a low caste man who happened to be a repentant sinner. After Alvars, the Acharyas by uniting devotion with *karma* represented the rise of *Vaishnavism* through collective songs called *prabandhas*.² It led to a momentum better shaped after the 10th century, when as a philosophical and ideological movement it was led by the *Acharyas*³ like Ramanujam and others for the first time they put emphasis on purity of heart and mind, humanism and complete devotion through *bhajanas* and various personal efforts. The *bhajanas* were later on more propounded by Sri Krishna Chaitanya in the form of *Nama Sankirtan*⁴ with his Vaishnava consorts by uttering,

“*Hare Krishna Hare Krishna
Krishna Krishna Hare Hare
Hare Rama Hare Rama
Rama Rama Hare Hare.*”

The evolution of *Vaishnavism* in Orissa happens to be the earliest manifestation of the word Vishnu, which relates to the worship of Nilamadhav at Nilachala, before the emergence of the Jagannath trinity⁵ in the form of *Darubrahma* during the period of Indradyumna, the mythical king of the *puranas*. To corroborate the earliest manifestation of Vishnu, it is evident that Madhav carved out of black chlorite stone in the posture of holding *Vamshi* (Flute), is still found in different parts of Prachi valley in Orissa. It is the fact when *Vaishnavism* got its strong footing in the soil of Orissa. As such, almost all the Krishna images in Orissa can be dated to 10th century A.D.⁶ But the evolution of *Vaishnavism* in Orissa is found in the form of a legend which is mentioned in the *Purusottama Kshetra Mahatmya*, *Skandapurana*,⁷ *Musaliparva* of *Sarala Mahabharata*,⁸ *Deulatola*⁹ of Sisu Krishna Das and Nilambar Das. K. C. Das in his work, *Legend, History and Culture of India*, quotes both the accounts *Purusottam Kshetra Mahatmya* of *Skandapurana* and *Musaliparva* of *Sarala Mahabharat* identifying Nilagiri as the place of evolution of *Vaishnavism*. In the initial stage it happened to be a part of the Savarland under the tutelage of Viswavasu. A tribal religious centre was converted into a centre of Vishnu worship and *Vaishnavism* became an institutionalized religion as a living faith among most of the communities of Orissa. It supports this notion that

before the advent of SriKrishna Chaitanya, his movement and the new found *Gaudiya-Vaishnavism*, *Vaishnavism* in Orissa was assimilated with the cult of Jagannath worship.¹⁰ The sources like, the *Silpa texts*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Manusmriti*, and *the Ramayan* provide a long and colourful evidence in the above critic interpretation on the evolution of *Vaishnavism* and its manifold actions like how various beliefs and thoughts have contributed to its growth. The synthesis finally emerged in the religious system which was destined to play a dominant role in the socio- religious and cultural life of the people of Eastern India in general and Orissa in particular.¹¹

The historiography of *Vaishnavism* and the *Vaishnava* centres in Orissa begin with the rise of the Matharas in Kalinga (Orissa) in and around 4th – 5th century A.D.,¹² which marked the beginning of a glorious epoch in the history of *Vaishnavism*. The Gupta heritage and the contemporaries of Guptas culturally influenced the Matharas.

The Gupta monarchs, Samudragupta, Chandragupta–I, Chandragupta–II (Vikramaditya), and the Mathara kings were the worshippers of either Narayan or Vasudeva Krishna.¹³ In all their Copper Plate Charters they adopted the Vaishnavite titles like *Parama Bhagavata*, *Param-Daivata*, *Bhagavata Swami*, *Narayan Padanyudhata*, *Vishnuvarman*, *Keshab Dev*, *Haridutta*, *Vasudeva* which indicate the growing popularity of *Vaishnavism* during this period. But *Vaishnavism* as an idea and philosophy and its origin in India can be traced back roughly to the *Rigvedic* period.¹⁴ The *X mandal* of the *Rigveda* highlights the concept of Vishnu as the sublime creator and one of the manifestations of Sun.¹⁵ It was much later that *Vaishnavism* became a culmination of the rigid monotheism of Ramanujam, the monastic system of Ramananda and the luxurious love worship of Vallavacharya, all rolled into one.¹⁶ It forms one of the eight religious treatises which under the title of the *Puranas* are devoted to the mythology of the Hindus. Rightly it can be said that, the origin of *Vaishnavism* in Orissa is shrouded in obscurity. It is certainly difficult to access as to when and how *Vaishnavism* entered Orissa. As believed, the Pulindas and the Savaras, two ancient inhabitants of Orissa known as the aboriginal were directly or indirectly responsible for the existence of *Saivism* and *Vaishnavism* in Orissa respectively.¹⁷ The non-Aryans and the aboriginals like Gond, Kandha, Oran, Koya

communities etc., speak the Dravidian language and Savaras, speak the Mundari language and they are described as Pulindas in Sanskrit literature. Most of the anthropologists have tried to establish the fact that the tribals in the name of Pulindas of Orissa are *proto-Austroloid*, with the *Mediterranean* strain, who concentrated in the Vindhya ranges and Mahendragiri.¹⁸ Sir Robert an anthropologist prefers to call them Monglo-Dravidian. Simultaneously it is difficult to say that the Mongoloid racial elements, identified among the *Kirats* of ancient India by Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, are entirely absent in Orissa. In the first instance, the system of tree-worship was prevalent among the tribes, as tree-worshippers. The *Deulatola* of both Sisu Krishna Das and Nilambar Das also referred to the Pulindas and Savaras of Eastern India who were deeply motivated by the Brahminical form of *Hinduism* and its principles, faiths and beliefs. The Savaras being influenced by the acculturation of the Aryans began to worship the *Sthanu-Murti*¹⁹ (a log of God) in lieu of tree-worship. The Blue God in the form of Nilamadhab became known as the Purusottam-Vishnu.²⁰ Legend has it that Jara Savar salvaged the mortal remains of Lord Krishna from the ocean. There is also a legend referred to Savari-Narayan. The *Skanda Purana*, *Brahma Purana*, *Narada Purana* and *Padma Purana* are replete with the above accounts.²¹ The Savaras who worshipped the log of wood named this object as *Jaganta* or *Jaganallo*. It is believed that the non-Aryan Savaras who worshipped the wooden deity *Jaganta* in course of time accepted Purusottam-Vishnu as their god and began to worship Him. At present Sree Jagannatha generates a matrix of inter-group relation. The syncreticism is exemplary and can be perceived in multifarious ways, whether in philosophy or rituals. *Vaishnavism* like *Saivism* and other religions might have existed in Orissa from early times, but it can be connected to the archaeological monuments which came to light from the early medieval period as reflected on the temple walls belonging to 7th-8th centuries located at Bhubaneswar and other parts of Orissa.²² The different manifestations of Lord Vishnu like the four armed image posture holding *sankha*, *chakra*, *gada* and *padma*; the worship of Rama regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu; the worship of Surya Narayan holding a vase with two hands and a conch shell with the other two, the group of sapta-matrikas, where *Vaishnavism* makes its appearance with the distinctive attribute *Garuda* on the pedestal; Vishnu with folded hands

paying homage to Siva all point to one thing i.e., the existence of *Vaishnavism*. The *Brahmeswara Inscription* reveals an architectural fragment showing the child Krishna with *Kaliyadalana* scene. Besides Nanda, a bearded figure, sitting opposite to Yasoda, who is engaged in churning curd and the child Krishna as shown by the side of the vessel containing curd;²³ he beautifully carved figure of *Garuda; Godhana-Harana*²⁴ of Sri Krishna with the Gopis, in attendance the images of Rama, Laxman, Sita and Hanuman; the images of Lakshmi, and Saraswati, Buddha and Kalki, the last two incarnations of Vishnu, the image of Sun God known as Viranchi-Narayan appearing in the following temples of Orissa, i.e., Swarnajaleswar, Bharateswar, Parsurameswar, Vaital and Mukteswar temples located at Bhubaneswar; Sree Jagannatha temple at Puri, Viraja temple at Jajpur, Vishnu temple at Gandharadi located ten miles from Boudh in Phulbani district, Markandeswar temple, southern face of the *Vimana* of the Lingaraj temple, the temple at Jakula near Chhatia in Cuttack district, Megheswar temple, Ananta-Vasudeva temple, situated on the eastern bank of the *Vindu sarobara*, Laskhmi-Nrushingh temple, Sun temple at Konark in Puri district, and at Palia in Balesore district, Buguda in Ganjam district point to the prevalence of Vishnu and Saura monuments in Orissa. The colossal images of Padmanabha or Seshasayi Vishnu temple at Talcher in Dhenkanal district also point to a similar situation obtaining in Orissa.²⁵ *Vaishnavism* appeared with a new lease of life under the royal patronage of the Gangas and Suryavamsis. During the reign of Chodaganga Dev in 11th century A.D. *Vaishnavism* was not only predominated over the land but also it absorbed certain ideas from the existing schools of religious faiths in Orissa. However, the catholicity of spirit was a distinguishing feature of medieval *Vaishnavism* which decayed with the advent of Sri Chaitanya and his critic interpretation of *Gaudiya* philosophy.²⁶ This is the sporadic identification of *Vaishnavism* with *Kambukshetra* and the Prachi valley in Orissa with the cult of *Laxmi-Narayan, Durga Madhav, Krishna-Vishnu* assigned to circa 9th-10th century before Chaitanya's coming to Orissa.

The historiography of *Vaishnavism* and the miraculous activities of Sri Krishna Chaitanya can be found in both the Bengali and Oriya literatures. The scholars like M. Gupta and B. B. Majumdar provide a glimpse of the Chaitanya movement in medieval Orissa. The rise and

development of *Vaishnavism* and the Vaishnava institutions called *mathas* can be reconstructed with the knowledge of primary sources (epigraphic evidence) consisting of inscriptions, in the form of copper plate grants issued by the royal dynasties and their feudatories beginning from the Mathara rule in 4th – 5th century A.D. onwards composed in Sanskrit, Telgu and Oriya. The *Bhadrak Stone Inscription*²⁷ of Maharaja Gana of 3rd century A.D. provides ample information about the state of activities and the progress of *Vaishnavism* in Orissa. With the passage of time *Vaishnavism* received its momentum under the royal patronage, only after Samudra-gupta's invasion of Orissa specially treated the southern campaign. We form an idea from the *Nigodi Copper Plate Grant* that Prabhanjan Varma was the worshipper of Lord Narayan²⁸ (*Bhagavata swami Narayanpadanyadhata*), the *Chicakole Copper Plate* highlights Nanda Prabhanjan Varma declares himself as *Param Bhagabata*. And Chandra Varma describes himself as a staunch devotee of Lord Vishnu holding up *Sankha*, *Chakra*, *Gada* and *Padma* in his *Bobil Charter*.²⁹ The *Amarkosh Geeta* describes thirty nine name of Vishnu, which is rightly supported to the four handed Vishnu image concept in a meaningful manner. This is the pragmatic derivation of Vishnu, as the symbol of sound because of *Sankha* identifies with sound. That was prompted in the historic battle of *Mahabrata* by Sri Krishna with the help of *Panchajanya Sankha*; *Chakra* means *Kalachakra* (the wheel of time) so that Vishnu is to be considered as the Lord of time and space, *Gada* symbolizes the power and strength. So that Vishnu is to be admitted as an epitome of power and strength of all the creatures, last one is the *Padma*, symbolizes a kind heart. So, it may be stated that Lord Vishnu is considered as omniscient, omnipresent and omnipotent in the heart of the millions. In the first instance Orissan epigraph credits the frequent use of the term Madhav, indicates the popularity of Madhav cult in the region with full boom. The *Bhagavat* cult of *Vaishnavism* was initially concerned with the *Bhagavatas* worship³⁰ or the hero Vasudev.³¹ This is a theist cult which has been originated in several centuries before the Christian era. The *Bhagavat Geeta*, *Bhagavat Purana* and the *Vishnu Purana* considered as the main sources of *Bhagabata* cult of *Vaishnavism* in Orissa. The *Bhagavat* cult reached its climax during the 2nd century A.D. when it came to be generally known as the *Pancharatra Agama*;³² means 'five nights',

the adherence of the Rajput kings to *Bhagavatism*, further spread to the whole India. Its impact was more predominated in south India mostly in Tamil land largely by twelve *Alvars* (who had intuitive knowledge of God) in 8th and 9th century that cult of *Vaishnavism* in Eastern India, mostly in Orissa at South Kosala during the reign of Sarvapuriyas, regarded as the trademark in the history of *Vaishnavism* in Orissa. All the kings of Sarbhapuriyas were the ardent champion of *Vaishnavism* and adopted Vaishnavite epithet *Parama Bhagabata* in their *Copper Plate Charter*,³³ while discarding the Matharas views *Bhagavata Swami Narayan Padanyudhata*. Some scholars of Orissahave pointed out that *Vaishnavism* was passing through silently under the royal patronage of the Sailodbhavas, the Bhaumakaras and the Suryavamsis. But the historians like K.C. Panigrahi, through his monumental work the *History of Orissa* has rejected the above opinions and presented a very clear and an outstanding picture on the rapid development of *Vaishnavism* on the temple walls. Example lies, the Ananta-Vasudev temple situated at the eastern bank of the *Vindusarovar*, is a Vaishnava shrine, which had a commemorative inscription, now preserved in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, Ireland and London. It is stated in the epigraph, the temple was built for Sri Krishna and *Vala-vesa* (Valaram) on the bank of *Vindusarovara* by Chandrika Devi daughter of Anangabhima Dev III, in the saka year 1200, corresponding to A.D. 1275.³⁴ We have references that the Bhauma queen Tribhubana-Mahadevi-I, was greatly devoted to Vishnu which has already mentioned in her *Copper Plate Grant*.³⁵ The other sculptures of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple clearly show that ten incarnations of Vishnu were well known to the people of Orissa and all the incarnations identical with *Bhagavan* Vishnu. The historian like M. N. Das points out in this regard that *Saivism* thrived in Orissa alongside *Vaishnavism*. Jayadeva's *Geetagovinda*³⁶ composed in the 12th century, appears to have been responsible for popularizing the ten incarnations or *Bhagavat* schools of Vishnu. Jayadeva's innovations to them are the most melodious and beautiful songs and they have become classic and highly popular throughout the villages in Orissa. With this mission, before the advent of Sri Krishna Chaitanya, the *Bhagavat Tungis* and *Bhagavata Purana* (the religious discursion) has reached at prominence. Since the mode of Vishnu worshipping has been continuing by the village

people. Side by side they started to worship the *Bhagabata Pothis* with a great festive and devotion.

Besides the cult of *Bhagavatism*, *Vaishnavism* is also rightly influenced by another school of faith, i.e. *Vaikhanasa* cult. The sources like the *Vaikhanasa Sutra* dated 3rd century A.D.³⁷ reveals initially the cult formed part of the *Taitriya* School of the *Yajur Veda*, but later it became an orthodox *Vaishnava* cult. Here the cult of the Vedic solar Vishnu has coalesced with that of Narayan. It is believed that this theory of *Vaikhanasa*, is based on fivefold of conception of Vishnu³⁸ which is the rare interpretation by any scholars in the historiography of *Vaishnavism*. That Vishnu as Brahman (the supreme deity); as *Purusha*, as *Satya*, as *Achyuta* (the immutable) and as *Anirudha*³⁹ (the irreducible aspect) performing the fivefold ritual expiates evil and bestows happiness on everyone. From the end of the 10th century *Vaikhanasa* priests oversaw *Vaishnava* temples and mathas and shrines. Although somewhat assimilated with the Sri *Vaishnava* cult, the priests still perform rituals in the Sanskrit language at some temples including the Venkataswar temple at Tirupati.

Markand Das composed *Kesaba Koili*, based on an incident of Oriya *Bhagavata* as described by Jagannath Dasa where Sri Krishna Vasudeva had gone to Mathura by leaving behind his beloved mother Yasoda. Yasoda felt unhappy at the separation and poured out of grief addressing cuckoo.⁴⁰ Sarala Dasa known as Sidheswar Parida was able to tranquilize the original *Mahabharata* text in Oriya language, is considered as the mouthpiece of information on medieval *Vaishnavism*. The other two credits of his, *Vilanka Ramayan* and *Chandi Purana* respectively based on imagination. But in history imaginations or legends have taken as an account to the pocket to reconstruct the historical fact and subject matter and it leads to the further research. In this context, B.C. Majumdar narrates the book of Sarala Dasa as the popular theme but historically valued as Sakuni's dice-playing and subsequent humiliation of Draupadi. Her modesty was shared by Krishna with the companion of Rukmini and Satyabhama.⁴¹ But A. B. Mohanty has criticized the interpretation of the above-mentioned theory of B. C. Majumdar in the text of Sarala Dasa's *Vilanka Ramayan*, by putting his thought on Rama-Vibha (the marriage of Rama) and Rama's expiation for killing Ravana is at a variance with the

original text of *Ramayana*. The historians like Chaitanya Dasa have supported to the notion of A. B. Mahanty through his *Nirguna Mahatmya* and *Vishnugarbha Purana* to follow the literary works of Balaram Dasa in his *Lankakanda* of his *Ramayana*.⁴² The *Kalika Purana*⁴³(Ch.38/99ff) and the *Vishnu-Purana* (29,115)⁴⁴testifies the knowledge about the worship of Vishnu and his twenty incarnations. According to the above mentioned puranas, Vishnu established *Narak*⁴⁵ in this land for the sins and *swarga* for the virtuous people. As commemorating to the term *swarga*, at present on the bank of Bay of Bengal at Purusottam Kshetra, the *swargadwar* (way to heaven) is stood to carry its sacred testimony. The names of Vishnu, Devaki, Karana, Lokesa (Vishnu) Lakshmi, Balaram etc. found frequent mention in both *Kalika Purana* and *Vishnu Puran*, supported by the *Umachal Rock Inscription* of Surendra Varman of Asama to the prevalence of the Vaishnava cult of early as fifth century A.D.⁴⁶ This was happened in Orissa above the said mention under the royal patronage of the Mathara kings.

The *Kalika Purana* (Ch. 78/80, 88) describes in detail about the worship of Vishnu – Vasudev and mentions several important centres of Vishnu worship in Orissa. It is to be noted that the sakta elements were introduced in the worship of Vasudeva and on later period *Vaishnavism* has assimilated with *Saktism*, *Buddhism*, *Jainism* and *Saivism* in a large extent.

The sources like *Kalika Purana* and *Vishnu Purana* refer to the iconographical representations of Vishnu and the spread of *Vaishnavism*.⁴⁷The Oriya literature in medieval Orissa has supplemented our knowledge through the medieval Utkaliya, Vaishnavas, known as Panchasakha (five comrades) i.e., Balaram Dasa, Jagannath Dasa, Achyutananda Dasa, Yasovanta Dasa and Ananta Dasa, Achyutananda Dasa reveals that the Panchaskhas were highly associated with Sri Chaitanya and his philosophy of *Gaudiya vaishnavism* in Orissa in the form of *Nam Sankirtan*.⁴⁸In late sixteenth century A.D the *Gaudiya Vaishnavism* in Orissa could reach its high prominence mostly in the villages. Every morning a banner of Chaitanya *Panthi* has accompanied with musical instruments move around the village by reciting the *Prema Bhakti* of Chaitanya called the *Prabhat Pheri*. Such a practice now is prevailed eloquently in the month of *Kartik* in Oriya calendar. Its only mission was

to bring purity in mind, soul and heart of the millions of Orissa and being considered as the panacea of class rigidity, social inequality and dogmatic values. The *Jagamohan Ramayan* of Balaram Dasa has diversified the knowledge of Sree Jagannatha as *Purusha*,⁴⁹ who fascinate the world is beyond destruction and is formless. That concept like *Purusha* which is earlier interpreted by the *Vaikhanas* School of faith in *Vaishnavism* called Vishnu. So that it is the fact in *Adikanda*,⁵⁰ Vishnu alias Sree Jagannatha has been exalted as a king with Rukmini and Satyabhama as queen and Baladev as minister. The writings of N. N. Vasu is known as *Pranav Gupta Geeta*, contains the Hindu morality in the form of dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna for the establishment of *Dharma* in the world. The canto 33 of *Srimad Bhagavat*⁵¹ Chapter II, there has been mentioned the following concept of Krishna's *Jynayoga* as,

*Atha chetwamimamDharmyam
Sangramamnakarisyasi
Tatah swadharmamkirtim cha
Hitwapapambapsysi.*

(It is *swadharma*, which determines everything. If you do not fight the crusade, you will be a sinner by losing the *swadharma* and supreme fame.)

This philosophy found place in *Gaudiya Vaishnavism*, propounded by the miraculous activities of Sri Krishna Chaitanya in the form of *Bhakti*, which required that there must be complete surrender to Godhead without any complexity, ritualism, sex, creed and colour. This is possible when the *bhakta* or devotee realizes that God is omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient, all merciful. He takes refuge with unshakable faith in the Lord for attaining his goal. He discards the idea of I and mini and dedicates his heart and soul to the eternal service of the lord.⁵²

Further the monumental works of the medieval Panchasakhas like, *Virat Geeta*, *Amar kosa Geeta*, *Vaula Adhyaya*, *Sunya Samhita*, *Saptanga Yoga Sastra Tika*, *Bata Avakash*, *Bhaba Samudra*, *Mrugani Struti*, *Laxmi Puran*, *Brahmanda Bhugola*, *Artha Koili*, *Tulabhina*, *Kanta Koili*, *Sri Ram Koili*, *Harivamsa*, *Gopalanka Ogala*, *Garuda Geeta*, *Kaivarta Geeta*, *Kaliyuga Geeta*, *Anakara Samhita*, *Brahma Sanskruti*, *Tattwa Bodhini*, *Gobinda Chandra Tika*, *Prema Bhakti Brahma Geeta*, *Sunyanam Bheda*, *Hetu Udaya Bhagavata*, *Beda parikrama*, *Chandi*

Puran, Gaja Nistarana Geeta, Kaliya Dalana etc. have elaborated manifold activities of different forms of *Vaishnavism* including *Utkaliya Vaishnavism*. To see the philosophy of *Vaishnavism*, W. W. Hunter points out in his book *Orissa Vol.1*, that it was a Mass Movement,⁵³ while supporting by the views of J. Beams, A. Stirling and L.S.S.O' Malley. The said concept has taken care of by the nationalist scholars and the theory of the recent trends as a Popular Movement,⁵⁴ because of no banner of caste, prejudices, creed, colour, sex and strict rituals. All these sources are reflected on the concept of complete devotion, called *Prema Bhakti*⁵⁵ aims exclusively are this loving service of Krishna and Vishnu as the dearest and nearest one for his happiness only and not for anything else, but even for liberation from *maya*.⁵⁶ However, it can be noted that the thoughts, words and actions of human being can create bondage as well as liberation. By constant endeavour he can reach at the state of perfection. Another emerging concept of *Vaishnavism* what we find in the Oriya literary sources of the five well known apostles that discipline and self-effort which leads to the society, under the royal patronage of Prataprudra Deva inducted such a discipline, it reveals in *Jnanamishra Bhakti Suddha*.⁵⁷ But the yogic practices of *Bhakti* concept of *Prem* is contradict to the scholars like Jnana Mishra, propounded by Sri Krishna Chaitanya. It shows the irresistible influence on the history of the outstanding personality of Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, his divine frenzy and devotional ecstasy created a favourable atmosphere to keep the new light of thought of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Specially, *Sunya Samhita*⁵⁸ of Achyutananda Dasa has synthesized *Vaishnavism* with the views of —Buddha Jagannath that of Sri Krishna Chaitanya. According to him the master is the lord himself. He has appeared to redeem the sinners. That concept of Sree Jagannatha as of *Buddhist* origin was first started by Stevenson in a paper published in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain (Vol. VII – p.67) and was re-iterated by Mr. Laidlay in his English version of a *The Travels of Fa Hian*. The Bengal historian, R. L. Mitra in his literary work *Antiquities of Orissa Vol. II*, p.109, has pointed out —looking moreover to the history of *Buddhism* in other parts of India, and the way in which the Buddhist doctrine of the identity was appropriate by some of Vedantists, the Buddhist belief of the sanctity, of the *Bodhi* tree made a part of Hindu religion, the Buddhist repugnance to animal

sacrifice taken up by the *Vaishnavas* and the Buddhist emblems, Buddhist sacred places and Buddhist practices appropriated to Hindu usages. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that Puri like Gaya a place of Buddhist importance, gradually converted to *Hinduism*.⁵⁹ A place named ancient Kalinga became known and called as Dantapura,⁶⁰ the city of tooth. Some scholars have identified the place with Puri. According to scholars like H. K. Mahtab —some scholars think that a tooth of Lord Buddha is preserved in the image of Sree Jagannatha. This belief is based on an account given in *Datha Dhatu-Vamsa* by Dharmakirti. In the first instance, *Datha Dhatu-Vamsa* is not a historical record and secondly the story of the tooth relic does not fit with that of Sri Jagannath.

It might be the tooth relic was taken away for good to Cylone.⁶¹ In fact *Sunya Samhita* of Achyutananda Dasa has given an interpretation of Sri Krishna Chaitanya's association with the Panchasakhas of medieval Orissa. He indicated the participation of the Panchasakhas in the *Kirtan* procession of Sri Krishna Chaitanya. This procession mostly helped in socialization and moral as well as ethical upliftment of the millions with deep love and devotion to Godhead reflecting social egalitarianism⁶² and the philosophy of *Sunya* (void). Gradually the Vaishnava faith and doctrine became more eclectic and heterogeneous one because of the concept like *Sunya* (void) was personified in Sri Krishna.⁶³ The same thing also happened to the *Mahimadharmas*. The *Mahimapanthis* adopted the principle and rituals of *Sunya-Brahma* or *Alekh*.⁶⁴ Here, it can be said that the term *Vaishnavism* is assimilated with *Mahimadharmas* on the basis of *Sunya* or void concept. That concept was devolved by the philosopher the propounder of *Mahimadharmas*, Santha Bhima Bhoi in the form of poetic interpretation like.

Sunya Madire Vihar
Rupa Rekha Nahijara
Sunya madire Vihar
Akalanabaranithi Nama Mahima Agadha

The scholars like Iswar Das in his literary work: *Chaitanya Charitamrita* has supported the ideas and the critic interpretation of Achyutananda Dasa. By deviating the author of *Chaitanya Bhagavata* gives a blueprint on the contemporary history of *Vaishnavism* and allied sects in Orissa as primary source. For the establishment of the stronghold

interpretation the list of devotees who are not mentioned even in *Gaudiya* texts.⁶⁵ Thus one party of *Kirtan* procession was attended by Udatta Aditya, Vakreswara, Gauridas, Sundarananda and Gadadhar Dasa. In *Canto 46* of *Chaitanya Bhagavata* there has been mentioned Sri Chaitanya's journey to Orissa.

The *Canto 47* deals with Sri Krishna Chaitanya's first visit to the Vaishnava centre i.e., Sree Jagannatha temple accompanied with Aditya, Vasudeva, Sarbhabhauma and Rama Roy known as Ramananda. The term *ananda* (joy) was given by Sri Krishna Chaitanya at Navadipa.⁶⁶ With glimpse of the Sanskrit biographies, the contributions of Vrindaban Dasa, Murari Gupta, Kabi Karnapura, Jayanand, Lochan Das have given the high weightage as an original work on *Vaishnavism* and Vaishnava centres in Orissa and Vrindavan with its religious sanctity. The Sanskrit biographies like, *Chaitanya Bhagavata*, *Kadcha*, *Kavya*, *Drama*, *Chaitanya Mangala* and *Sri Chaitanya Mangala* have given a concrete description in the new light of Chaitanya faith, the dogmas which were described with precision. Events and happenings were, therefore, exaggerated for the glorification of the master and his sects.⁶⁷ The sixteenth century in medieval Orissa was witnessed with the contributions of the Sanskrit literature like, *Chaitanya Charitamrita Kavya*, *Chaitanya Chandrodaya*, *Drama* and *Gauranga Desa Dipika*, *Probadha Chandra Saraswati* in form of *Solkas* of 143 in numbers draw the attention of Chaitanya in ecstasy in a flower garden on the sea coast and of his *Darsan* of Sri Jagannath with a tearful eyes.⁶⁸ Unlike, the Sanskrit biographies and the medieval Oriya literature, which were developed by the Panchasakhas, the Bengali biographies were also embellished with an invented and supernatural history and its importance on the religious synthesis in the form of *padas*⁶⁹(devotional song). The historians of Bengal like, B. B.Majumdar, S.K. Dev, A. Lahiri, Murari Gupta, have described Sri Krishna Chaitanya's constant chanting of *Govinda* and *Krishna* as an ascetic left for Nilachal,⁷⁰ which was the seat of Sree Jagannatha, a magnificent vaishnava centre. During the reside of Sri Krishna Chaitanya in Orissa especially at Puri, a numerous Vaishnava mathas became inevitable in different parts of the state. At present all these *Mathas* are used for the religious tourists both for inland and outland and have

considered as the epicentre of religious tourists in the tourism map of India in general and Orissa in particular.

The *Chaitanya Bhagavata* is considered as one of the Bengali biographies of Sri Krishna Chaitanya written by Vrindavan Dasa. It deals with Hari (Viswambar) acted as *mlechhas*⁷¹ (muslims) during his *Kirtan* procession. The Bengali biographies are more controversial one in dealing with Sri Krishna Chaitanya's demise and birthplace. Jayananda's *Chaitanya Mangala* and Kaviraja Krishna Dasa's *Chaitanya Charitamrita* are the perennial source of information on Sri Chaitanya. The historians like P. Mukharjee in his Volume *The Chaitanya Faith in Orissa* has elaborated the depiction of *Gita-Gobinda* of Kabi Jayadeva in the form of Buddha, the ninth incarnation of Vishnu identified with Sri Krishna Chaitanya. Therefore, there is a linkage between Sri Krishna Chaitanya and Sree Jagannatha. Sri Krishna Chaitanya was the manifestation of Sree Jagannatha, because after gained the complete mission he totally absorbed within Sree Jagannatha inside the Gundicha Mandir. Lord Krishna told Sudama (who reborn as Achyutananda) that he would appear in his Buddha incarnation in *Kaliyuga*. My partial manifestation will appear at Navadwipa and him known as Sri Krishna Chaitanya.

B. B. Mishra in his work *Medieval Orissa and Cult of Jagannath* has held Sree Jagannatha as the supreme of the religious triad in the pantheon of *Orissan Vaishnavism*. He opines that *Vaishnavism* is a composite creed has represented in the cult of Jagannath⁷² H. C. Das through his literature highlights *Vaishnavism* as a religion is very old in style, can be traced back to Rigvedic period in supporting the existing, schools of faith like the *Vaikhanasa* and the *Panchasakhas*. R. L. Mitra, in his volume *Antiquities of Orissa Vol.I* also held his ideology on *Vaishnavism* in the form of a three-tier interpretation. Like Ancient form of *Vaishnavism*, where the cult hero Vishnu was worshipped, the medieval *Vaishnavism* where Sri Krishna Chaitanya was adored and the modern form of *Vaishnavism* called as *Neo-Vaishnavism*, with the congruence of Radha-Krishna cult. This concept is highly accepted by the scholars the term *Neo-Vaishnavism* which has emerged into a religious synthesis of *Pancharatra* and *Bhagavat* Schools. The followers of *Vaishnavism* known as Vaishnavas are instructed to perform of *Nama Samkirtan* during the time of *Badasinghar*⁷³. J. Beams has supplemented his ideas and

Philosophy in his volume *Outlines of Indian Philosophy 1867*, with regards to the catholic religious absorption, which made the Orissan *Vaishnavism* an eclectic one. This eclecticism is very well token in the pantheon of Sree Jagannatha as the epicentre of Vishnu worship. The critical interpretation is carried on the tradition of Sree Jagannatha in its ultimate phase, sought to synthesis not only *Vaishnavism*, *Saivism* and *Saktism*, representing Sree Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra, respectively but also the heterodox sects of *Jainism* and *Buddhism*.

This original thought was supported by other orientalist with regard to the iconographic representation of Krishna-Vishnu, Durga-Madhav and Hari-Hara, moreover, the concept of Radha-Krishna had obtained its footing in Orissa prior to Sri Chaitanya.⁷⁴ To support to the notion that the Orissan temples are reflected on decorative programme of religious synthesis i.e. in the form of Vishnu and his religious synthesis, shows the intellectual tradition of Orissa from the ancient time to modern period. W. W. Hunter lays emphasis on the glory of Orissan soil as the land of Hindus. Its date traced back to two thousand years. As a true and serious scholar on Indian history and culture, he highlighted his vision through the Orissan art architecture to language and literature. So the sacred land Orissa, one of the four dharmas is the land that taken away sin.⁷⁵ With the religious generosity a large scale of western scholars are influxed to Orissa to study different segments of the cultural history, geography, maritime trade and commerce with South-East Asian countries like Indonesia, Ceylon, Myanmar etc. W. W. Hunter through his historical monuments like *History of Orissa Vol -1 and Vol. II*⁷⁶ has given a descriptive analysis on the divergent religious interpretation but considered as a controversial one, with its growth, evolution and genesis in connection with the views, developed by the nationalist historians and the writings of recent trends. According to W. W. Hunter medieval *Vaishnavism* was an integral aspect of the cult of Jagannath, where the rigid monotheism of Ramanujam of the twelfth century, the monastic system of Ramananda of the fifteenth century, the mystic quiet is of Sri Krishna Chaitanya at the beginning of the 16th century and the luxurious love worship of Vallavacharya towards its close, mingle within the walls of Sree Jagannath at Puri. In this critic interpretation Sree Jagannath

is regarded as the incarnation of Vishnu in the entire sixteen digits. Historians believed that the identity of Brahmana of the Upanishadic philosophy and Vishnu worshiped by the earlier Vaishnavas the pancarsatras and Vaikhanasas was the later development. It was Madhavacharya in the 13th century, who while commenting on the Brahmasatras⁷⁷, equaled Vishnu with Brahman.

In the present Sree Jagannatha is worshipped as Lord Vishnu and Puri is rightly considered as the Vaishnava centre in Orissa, there are evidences to show that at the beginning he was Madhav then he was named Purusottam and now is called Sri Jagannath⁷⁸. All the names and qualities of Vishnu are now attributed to Sri Jagannath. Both *Purusasakta*, a Vedic hymn and the *Vishnu Sahasra-nama* i.e., 1000 sacred names of Vishnu, compiled in *Mahabharata* are applied in the case of Sree Jagannatha. So Sree Jagannatha tradition is all pervasive as is marked in the land of Orissa, depicting three colours – white, yellow and black⁷⁹. The three deities signify the approach of Oriyas that is universalism as a matter of principles of co-existence.

At the commencement of Sree Jagannatha worship at Puri the form of ritualism was that of Madhava worship mostly as believed. He was a solitary figure of Vishnu, holding the four usual attributes. At latter stage however, he was named Purusottam the figure of Laxmi was added to the existence image of Vishnu. Hunter was the only colonial historiographer, who comments the religious system of *Vaishnavism* evidently derives the cult hero Vishnu and agreed with the eastern scholar's interpretation. In the eleventh century A.D. the Vaishnavite doctrines were gathered in to great religious treaties. But *Vishnu Purana* dates about the year 1045 A.D. and probably represents the ancient forms of belief that had co-existed with *Buddhism* and *Saivism*. About the middle of the 12th century a tremendous ulster began to take place up to that time *Vaishnavism* had been the religion of the upper strata's. And it was soon to appeal to the internal instinct of human liberty, equality and fraternity⁸⁰. The three-tier principle of *Vaishnavism* had not only the religious impact on the society but also leads the social justice to the modern world. The above three pillar of principles were initiated by the preacher Ramanujam, who persecuted from place to place announced the unity and integrity of God under the title of Vishnu; the cause and creator

of the human civilization. Towards the end of the thirteenth century the great reformation, made Vishnu worship into a national religion of India. The monks of the *Vaishnavism*, who made it a national religion, are called as *Bairagis*.⁸¹ It is interesting to note that another form of *Debistan* mentions Kabir, Nanaka, Sri Krishna Chaitanya, all are *Bairagis* and considered as themselves the principle of unitarian liberated from both the basic principles of belief and practice.

The religious history of Orissa is cosmopolitan in nature; each cult preaches its own spirituality and superiority according to their respective preachers. In this context the medieval *Bhakti* Movement in Orissa was completely dominated by Sri Krishna Chaitanya and his philosophy based on equality or the concept of egalitarianism. He used the language of the people to propagate his ideals to all irrespective of caste, creed, sex and race. The last part of the life of Sri Chaitanya was mingled with the activities of the rural Oriyas who called the Vaishnava Bhaktas, can be known as devotional theism of religious pursuits. *Vaishnavism* shared with the *jogis*⁸² an inclination towards asceticism and an attitude of renunciation. That is the spiritual symbol of eastern India in general and Orissa in particular. The Chaitanya faith grew weary of in the minds of the *Utkaliyas* producing new thoughts and the lives of the people ceased to carry out new experiments. It is evident that the life in Orissa, during the medieval *Vaishnavism*, was reflected on the principles of no caste, creed, colour and race beyond the faint luster of salvation. He patronized that all men are alike capable of faith and that all cases by faith became equally pure. So that *Vaishnavism* in medieval Orissa was patronized as national religion; because obedience to the religious guide is the great typical thing of his sect; but Sri Krishan Chaitanya warned to his disciples to respect their teachers as second father and not as God. The great end of his system of practicing *Vaishnavism* is the whole form of Indian worship is the liberation of soul. According to him the liberation of soul does not merely mean the annihilation of separate existence at consists in nothing more than an entire freedom from the stains and frailties of the body.

Vaishnavism in the late sixteenth century took another shape in the history of culture and religion of Orissa when the image of Radha as a deity or consort of Sri Krishna was introduced. Regarding the concept of Radha there is scanty sources available in the vast Indian Sanskrit

literature except the single verse *Saptsati* of Hala⁸³. The addition of Radha image as a consort of Sri Krishna is a very debatable issue that when and under which circumstances she was appeared in Bengal, Orissa or any other part of India. The sources like the *History of Bengal: Hindu Period*⁸⁴ is stated that Radha was a Bengali innovation probably before the time of Jayadev. But Paramananda Acharya with his thought has argued that Radha originated in the land of Orissa. This view has been developed in an article *Radhakrishna Murtipujara Itihas*⁸⁵. By this article he has cited the fact remains that before sixteen century the image of Radha was not associated with Gopal or Sri Krishna to be found in the shrines of Orissa.

On the basis of archaeological evidence, it can be stated that even the shrines of Khirachora Gopinath at Remuna in the district of Balasore and of Sakhigopal in the district of Puri did not have originally the image of Radha associated with Gopinath. The same case also indicates the shrines of Gopinath or Gopal at Baliana in Khurdha district, Sarakana and Hirapur in Puri district, the Gopinatha image of Gopinathpur near Jajpur in the Jajpur district, Malatira near Agarpada of Bhadrak district had originally no Radha images with Gopinath. Again, the article of Paramananda Archarya discharges an ample knowledge regarding the transportation of the images of Sita, Radha and Rama to the other region of India like Vrindavan where Radha was associated with Sri Krishna. And as earlier Narahari Tirtha also took an image of Rama and Sita for his teacher from Orissa and presented to *Madhab Tirtha*. This deposition of the images may be assigned to the origin of this image in Orissa⁸⁶ Thus the entry of Radha into Orissan religion and culture thoroughly changed the original character and gave a different turn to her history from the sixteen century onwards⁸⁷. Though the mystic system of *Bhakti* was first promulgated in the *Bhagabat Geeta* as early as the time of *Mahabharat* period and fully developed in the *Sundilya Sutra* and the *Bhagavat Purana*, it does not seem to have affected from any material change in the current form of *Vaishnavism* in Orissa for a long time. Hermits and sages in their monastic seclusion, indulged in its mystic reveries, have established rituals, and satisfied their religious carving with the *Mantras* and *Sandhyas*⁸⁸. Nimbark alias Bhaskaracharya was the first who attempted to give a wide circulation to the mysticism of *Bhakti* and he was followed by Jayadev of Orissa and Ramanuja in south India both in

twelfth century. Then, Vallabhacharya, Mirabai, Madhabacharya and Sri Krishna Chaitanya appeared between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They gave a new turn to the character of *Vaishnavism*, songs, music and dancing replaced the *Mantras* the old Sanskrit prayers gave rise to vernacular ones and service to the image of Krishna in various form to establish rituals. Even the name of the followers of the new faith was changed from Vaishnavas to *Bhaktas* i.e., the followers of the *Bhakti* creed⁸⁹. This process is called an intellectual development in the history of *Vaishnavism* in Orissa. The entry of Radha into Orissan religion and culture thoroughly changed the original character and gave a different turn to her history from the sixteen century onwards⁸⁷. Though the mystic system of *Bhakti* was first promulgated in the *Bhagabat Geeta* as early as the time of *Mahabharat* period and fully developed in the *Sundilya Sutra* and the *Bhagavat Purana*, it does not seem to have affected from any material change in the current form of *Vaishnavism* in Orissa for a long time. Hermits and sages in their monastic seclusion, indulged in its mystic reveries, have established rituals and satisfied their religious carving with the *Mantras* and *Sandhyas*⁸⁸. Then, Vallabhacharya, Mirabai, Madhabacharya and Sri Krishna Chaitanya appeared between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They gave a new turn to the character of *Vaishnavism*, songs, music and dancing replaced the *Mantras* the old Sanskrit prayers gave rise to vernacular ones and service to the image of Krishna in various form to establish rituals. Even the name of the followers of the new faith was changed from Vaishnavas to *Bhaktas* i.e., the followers of the *Bhakti* creed⁸⁹. This process is called an intellectual development in the history of *Vaishnavism* in Orissa. Orissa is fortunate enough due to her abundant religious centres, historical monuments relating to *Vaishnavism*, *Buddhism*, *Jainism*, *Saktism*, and *Saivism*. In the process of long historical development of *Vaishnavism* at present we found a series of Vaishnava centres which once a time were highly associated with *Vaishnavism* and its manifold philosophies. Through which medieval Orissa was marked a period of socio religious movement. All these centres are assigned from 10th century to sixteen century A.D. in Orissan context.

Hence, *Prema bhakti* reveals the philosophical, spiritual, emotional, and social roles played *bhakti* in the emergence of *Vaishnavism*

as the religion in the regional setting of the masses in Orissa. *Premabhakti* which is a deep sense of devotion provides a social bond for social movement. As a result, in medieval Orissa under the leadership of Sri Krishna Chaitanya and the Panchasakhas a mass movement took place in name of socio-religious mobility. The close relationship between *bhakti* and *Atman* is reflected in *Vaishnavism* as seen in medieval Orissa. Therefore, *vaishnavism* has formed as one of the important areas of regional history of Orissa.

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**MAPPING THE CHANGING GAZE OF COMMUNITY AND CASTE
DIMENSION IN MEDIEVAL ODIA SOCIETY**

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Abstract

This paper seeks to probe into the dimensional changes of communities and castes in medieval Odisha. A distinctive characteristic of social structure of medieval Odisha was the existence of a number of castes and communities. The economic and cultural process in turn gave rise to the changes in the pattern of caste system. With the process of *Kshatriyaization* and *Peasantization*, rigid social hierarchy faded away and it turned into a society with proliferated caste system in medieval Odisha. Medieval land grants system and change of agrarian process led to the creation of an inter-dependent society during that time. The expansion of the political frontiers required a large number of officials which led to the appearance of new power groups in the society. As a result, there was mobility in the caste pattern that brought changes in the social stratification. These social changes through upward mobility made the medieval Odia society a progressive and dynamic one. In conclusion, this paper aims at examining the historical changes of medieval Odia society and the way the Odisha history was shaped.

Keywords: *Odia society, social relation, caste, community, and mobility.*

Introduction

Why is it important to study the Vedic originated caste system in present days? Because as looking into caste system in modern India is considerably different from its origin. Since ancient times, caste system has been deep-rooted and bears the testimony of Hindu society with distinct characteristic features. However, the caste dimension in Odishan context did not operate with the same intensity as in the Indo-Gangetic plains. It may be assumed an autochthonous and native form which seems like two-tiered social

fabric. Unlike other regions of India, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas as such were not prominently noticed in the society and the nature of varna society in medieval Odisha had certain discrepancies. The inscriptional and literary records reveal that, the so-called *Chaturvarna* system was crystallized into several sub castes and sub communities. This period was marked with significant development in the areas of social formations such as proliferations in caste, emergence of new social groups through the process of *Kshatriyaization & Sanskritization*, tribal assimilation and accommodation by the operation of *Peasantisation & Hindunisation*, agrarian expansion through land grant, promotion of Odia literature under the command of *Sudramunis* and the gradual extension & integration of state society.

It is found that since the time immemorial the people of 'Kalinga' 'Odra' and 'Utkal' were able to carve out areas of their own influence, they developed their own culture and traditions within their own geographical environment. A distinctive characteristic of social structure of medieval Odisha was the existence of innumerable castes and communities. R.S. Sharma¹, in his formulation of rise of feudalism put forward the theory of *The Kali Age Crisis* which perceives both vertical and horizontal movement of the society through time. The theory rightly placed medieval Odia society, which was marked by heart wrenching social conflict and crisis, weakening of traditional Brahminical order and social mobility through mixing of Varnas or *Varnasanskara*. It precipitated pace of transition from classical Varna type to modified Varna model with cutting across all the traditional practices. This perspective of changes in Odishan society can be noticed in the works of German historian and Indologist, Padma Shri H. Kulke and Indian historians to name a few like D. N. Jha, B. N. S. Yadav, B.P. Sahu, S. K. Panda and B. K. Mallik.

After a thorough traversing through the epigraphic and literary records it is ascertained that references regarding social formations in early Odisha is inadequate. It is difficult to find information about social formation in Kalinga during the reign of Ashoka because apart from the inscriptions we do not have any other evidence. The society was anything but homogeneous which can be

captured from the reference to 'Avijita Anta' in Jaugada inscription. It refers to unconquered autochthons in and around Kalinga. During the time of Kharavela, we also find a little pieces of evidence regarding the social formation. The *Udayagiri-Khandagiri* complex provide evidence of the copious sculptural representation of women in both private and public spaces. Women's visibility implies the absence of an entrenched Brahminical society based on Varnal caste ideology and gender hierarchy. It gives evidence that Vedic sacrifices and brahmanas where still not integral to the making of the strategies of domination.

Several decades of serious research into these aspects besides enormous archaeological findings have been failed to provide a definite perspective regarding the social formations in the early historical period. One general conclusion which have been invariably relied upon heavily by the scholars is that; "there was no caste proliferation in Odisha until 9th and 10th century A.D." and this was essentially due to the fact that there was preponderance of tribal population in the plains and lowland areas. It has been observed that the caste system took place quite late in Odisha with striking differences to Indo-Gangetic model.

Brahmanas

As following to the Hindu caste structure, it categorizes the society into four Varnas such as *Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras*. Among them Brahmins were the highest in the hereditary Hindu social classes and they were enjoying absolute privileges in medieval Odishan society. They were specialized in the theory of priesthood and responsible for spreading of Vedic-Sastric-Epic-Puranic ideas across generations. As discussed, they were the highest Varna in Vedic Hinduism and they devoted their time to studying, teaching, performing sacrifices and offering services. According to Veda, duties of Brahman was not determined by birth, but bought by virtue of the self-chosen profession (*Swadharna*). But during medieval times their *Swadharna* or profession faded away and many inscriptions refer that they got appointed as officials, cooks, and in other professions in the society. It happened due to royal patronage given to Brahmins by granting lands and

villages. Thus, the Ganga and the Gajapati periods marked the zenith in account of land grants to brahmanas.

As noted, these land grants led to proliferation in the Brahmana caste, which in turn created new professions. In medieval Odisha it is found that mainly three types of Brahmanas existed as follows.

Shrauta or Vedic Brahmanas:

They were the ancient Brahmanas who were interpreters, teachers of Vedas and authors of other Vedic religious books. They do *Jajna, Adhyayana, Daana and Pratigraha*. Only this groups of brahmanas have the right to conduct Jajnas. They were getting land grants for worshipping in various temples for the attainment of religious merits of the donors.² They had the surnames like *Dash, Acharya, Prahraj, Mishra, Kar and Sharma* etc.

Sevayata Brahmanas:

They were *Sevaka, Sarua, Purohita* or *Pushpalak* Brahmanas. They offered more priority to temple services and religious practices. Due to the construction of numerous temples in the Ganga period, they came into these professions. There is every possibility that with the introduction of *Sanskritization* and *Brahmanization* in the non-Brahmanical areas, that from non-Brahmanical castes people came into these categories, like the *Daitas* in Puri temple and the *Badus* in the Lingaraj temple.³ Presently, a considerable number of such sub-class of brahmins reside in Odisha as preeminent temple priests. Some of them have adopted trade and agriculture professions. They used titles such as *Badapanda, Pujapanda, Panda* and *Dash* in Odisha.

Halua Brahmins:

A couple of epigraphic records of the period shows that brahmanas were also engaged in lower professions like agriculture against the conduct mentioned for them in the *Dharma Shastras*. History says, Haluas were the village leaders and administrators of Brahmana ancestry. At times they revelled in the equal position as superior to brahmanas but with the passage of

time they adopted ancillary jobs for livelihood and switched over their sacred duty of *Shrauta and Smriti*. Some of them even were engaged in performing the rituals *Shraadh* and were connected to temple services and religious functions. *Halua Brahman* have surnames such as *Thakur, Naik, Gram Pradhan / Pradhan, Choudhury, Samantray, Sabat, Sahu* and *Adhikari* etc. We look at examples like *Sarala Dasa* in his *Mahabharata* says that Sureswara Panda was cultivating land by a daily labourer Tapati.⁴ Some of the brahmanas were personally digging the soil. *Jagamohan Ramayana* states that Santha Panda a Brahmana maintaining his family by gardening.⁵

In the medieval society, sometimes the brahmanas served as official rank on the royal patronage. Narahai Tritha, the Dvaita pontiff, who is known from the inscriptions at Simachalam and Sikakurmam served as a regent during the minority of king Bhanudeva I and later became his minister.⁶ The Gopinathpur inscription refers to a prominent minister Gopinath Mahapatra who served under King Kapilendradeva.⁷ Besides serving in the civil posts, they also served as the successful military officers. The Dirghasi inscription dated 1075 A.D. states that Banapati defeated the rulers of *Vergi, Utkal, Kimidi, Gidrisinghi* and one Daddarnava.⁸ He was the son of Gokarna, a Brahmana of *Atriya gotra*.

Some medieval inscriptions refer that, a group of brahmanas also adopted trade and business as their profession which was forbidden by Manu.⁹ Two inscription from Srikurman, one in Telugu and the other in Oriya dated 1402 A.D., refers to one Risidanayaka, son of Pragoda Upadhyaya and grandson of Visnudasa Upadhyay was a trader in horses (*Ghoda Vanijaha*) and a Kalinga Vyapari.¹⁰ These two inscriptions were clearly indicate about the creation of sub caste within the Brahman caste in medieval times.¹¹

With the process of *Kshatriyaization* in the tribal areas, some tribal heads came into the fore-fold of Vedic classes. They claimed and recognised as a local chief and connected their origins from mythological and fictitious genealogy. Somewhere they also adopted the Vedic rites and rituals. An example may be taken that some Bhum territories in Odisha brought their local chiefs in the fourfold of Kshatriyahood.¹²

So, there was a time when occupation was not hereditary. From there the subsequent development was that caste or sub-caste got linked with a particular occupation and thus, occupations became hereditary. They were allowed to live their own cultural life without any hindrances so far as they do not jeopardize others' survival. However, flourishing secularization and opening of new vistas of livelihood have greatly affected the changeover of vocation among the Brahmins.

Kshatriyas

Kshatriyas played vital role both in social and political sphere of medieval Odisha. They associated with the mainstream of political power and best known for martial arts, their warrior skills and valor. Kshatriya mainly consisted of two groups; *Khandayatas* and *Paika* in medieval Odishan society. Kshatriya model in Odisha did not take that much shape as in North India. Because they were semi-Kshatriyas. Historically, they belonged to the cultivating class and later claimed to be Kshatriyas. It is noted that, there are two meanings of the word 'Khandayata'. i) *Khanda* (a piece of land in Odia) + *Ayat* (ownership) i.e. land owner or the people who occupy the land. ii) *Khanda* (sword) + *Ayat* (mastery) i.e. a person who master on the sword.¹³ Such etymology strongly refers to their linkage with both military and agriculture.¹⁴

The highly complex phenomena of *Hinduization/Kshatriyaization* and *Oriyaization* can strongly implicated here. The process of *Kshatriyanization* started in Odisha as far back from Sailodbhava period and beyond.¹⁵ There are several records indicates that many local chiefs of Odisha later claim their origin from Kshatriya lineages, such as the Bhanjas and Tungas.¹⁶ Thus, it seems that many aboriginal chiefs came into the position of Kshatriyas due to the tendency of upward mobility in the caste system. The process of *Kshatriyaization* reached its zenith under the Gangas and Gajapatis.¹⁷ They were recruited in large number in the royal army because of the military nature of the medieval Odishan Kingdom. But those who became Paikas were not Kshatriya and Khandayatas, might be they were peasant community and *Chasas* and later they claimed an honoured as 'Khandayats'. Several

epigraphic records refer about the origin realities of the Gangas and Gajapatis. They were claimed from Kshatriyas genealogies and labelled themselves the lunar and solar origin.¹⁸

In the varna based society, the rise of peasant militias created social tension in the medieval society. Those came from peasant caste and later honoured as the status kshatriya. They were regarded as 'Sudra' by Brahmanas. Brahmanas hated them due to their physical labour in land and they claimed their profession was purest among all and which caused the social degradation of local common peasant warriors of Odisha. Show the peasant militias of Odisha have their peculiar regional social position, where their caste status just below the Brahmin.

It can be ruminated that interestingly; the Kshatriyas of medieval Odisha were responsible for both the rise of Odia Nationalism and the downfall of the Central Hindu dynasty in Odisha. H. Kulke rightly marks the process of *Kshatriyanization* in this context.¹⁹ The first ever Odia Nationalism born out of collective pride of indigenous people had matured enough to carb out a bigger and much safer empire under the indigenous leader, Kapilendradeva. Diplomatically, he was taking advantage of the emotions of Odia peoples against the Telugu ruler and as son of the soil had taken all opportunities to lead a powerful revolutionary Odia militarism. This kind of situation led to unpopularity of the later Gangas in Odia society and gradually resulted in the decline during medieval times.²⁰ These peasant militias championed this spirit in the making of Gajapati Empire in the 16th century and they upgraded their social and political status by being posted as military and civil officers. As a reference, Sarala Dasa says that king Daradasena maintained his army for 12 years by the support of agriculture.²¹

During the time of king Prataparudra deva, these peasant militias created humongous tensions for the central Odishan Kingdom. They were less capable, strong and ill-organised in front of mighty Islamic powers.²² The emotional 'Khandayats' became hopeless and continuous failures in military fields must have made them fatalists which caused for the lost glory and the decline of Gajapati kingdom in Odisha.²³ After the entry of Islamic rules into

Odisha in the 17th and 18th century the Khandayats solely became the cultivators and sometimes dacoits.²⁴

The Kshatriyas of Odisha were using different surnames such as *Gadanayak*, *Samantray*, *Champatiray*, *Sundaray*, *Mardaray/ Madraraj*, *Senapati*, *Routray* and *Dalabehera* etc.²⁵

Karanas/ Kayasthas

This article forecast period also marked for the emergence of Karana/ Kayastha class in the social fabric of Odisha. They exclusively served to the state as ministers, advisors, governors, army commanders, accountants, record keepers, diwans and scribes.²⁶ The medieval epigraphic records clearly marked that they belong to the same caste.²⁷ But some historian also view that the Karanas appear to have been originally an East Indian tribe and the gradually merged themselves in the community of scribe accountants.²⁸ These evidences may be enough to conclude that they were crystallized into a Hindu caste and claimed for higher positions in the administration of medieval Odisha.

The medieval records indicate that the Karanas were crystallized into a caste group as the same status of Kayasthas nearly 10th century A.D. and beyond. It may be noted that both the records like the Pettasara copperplate of Nattabhanja and Vejulvaka, copperplate of Silabhanja are forerunner in this account.²⁹

The Karanas/ Kayasthas were also being no exception with the process of *Kshatriyanization*. In the medieval records says that they claimed themselves as the same rank and status like Kshetriya and posting as a top administrative position. Evidences like; the Srikarana Mahananda Senapati, was the army general and provincial governor under the Ganga ruler Anangabhimadeva- III.³⁰ The inscription of the Ganga ruler Narasinghadeva- IV also refers to the appointment of Karan military commanders in his army.³¹ Their military surnames like *Mahasenapati*, *Vahinipati*, *Routray* and *Senanarendra*.³²

In the middle of 16th century, Karanas had created a chaotic situation in Odisha. Gobinda Vidyadhara Raya belonged to Karana had usurped the throne from the Gajapati Rulers to lay the foundation of Bhoi dynasty.³³ It may be noted that the occupation of Karana / Kayastha castes were not strictly bound in medieval times. Karanas not only served the state under the king, rather they also served the state as the king and Bhoi dynasty was the great example in this context.

Medieval period also marks the proliferation of Karana caste and the crystallization into many sub castes based on their occupations. They are surnames were *Srikaran, Mohanty, Das Mahapatra, Bakshi, Das* and many more.³⁴

Vaisyas

According to *Dharmashastra*, the Vaisyas are the lowest level of the “twice-born” (*dvijas*) and they have been involved in the roles other than their traditional pastoralism, trade and commerce. However, the evidences of early medieval period show that their presence in the Odia society was not very satisfactory. It may be presumed that the Vaisya varna did not arise in Odisha because during the period when Odisha experienced ‘*Brahminization*’ the distinction between the Vaisyas and Sudras had already got blurred on the confused Northern India.³⁵ *Dharmashastra* entrusts that Vaisyas served the society only with the agriculture and commercial activities³⁶ but the traditional theory became blurred in the medieval period in Odisha. Due to improvement in the economic and social status of Vaisyas, many of them left their traditional profession and engaged themselves in the civil and military post. And epigraphic record of Simachalam dated 1382 A.D. mentions Gurudasa of *Vaisyakula* serving as Mahasenapati.³⁷ In a charter of Ganga king Madhukamarnava, three villages were granted to one Erapa Nayak son of Mancu Nayak who was belongs to the Vaisya caste.³⁸ Due to no rigid polarisation in the medieval society, some Vaisyas were employed in religious institutions and also allowed to study *Dharmashastra* for religious purposes. The Ganga records reveal that some Ganga rulers donated *Agraharas* to the Vaisyas.³⁹ Vaisyas were very sound in their economic prosperity and got

achieved special status in the society by the patronised of medieval dynasties like Gangas and Gajapatis.⁴⁰

This said period also featured with the proliferation of Vaisya caste and many sub-castes were founds like *Gandika* (perfumer), *Sankhika* (Conchshells), *Svarnakara* (goldsmith) *Kamsayika* (braziers), *Chasa* (cultivators), *Badhai* (carpenters), *Gopal* (milkman), *Teli* (oil sellers) and *Darzi* (tailors).⁴¹

With the arrival of Telugu dynasty (Gangas) to Odisha, there were also a new social group entered into the Odia society. They were 'Komitis' but locally they were famous as 'Kumuti' or 'Kalinga Kumuti' in Odisha. They were traders by profession and mainly lived in and around Ganjam district of Odisha.⁴² During the Ganga's time, they emerged as prominent merchants in Odishan trade and sought to be considered as Vaisyas in society.⁴³ The temple inscription of Nagaresvaraswami also provides evidences about the presence of Komiti caste in the society in the times of Gajapatis.⁴⁴ E. Thurston mentioned in his book that they have forgotten their mother tongue due to practically adopting of Odia customs.⁴⁵ However, it is partial true because they used both Telugu and Oriya languages to speak. It means they acted like a bridge between Telugu and Odia culture.

Sudras

The important characteristic of medieval Odia society was the upper mobility of Sudra caste. The restrictive principles of the orthodox caste system had ended, and their rational thoughts gave an era of renaissance shape to the traditional society. The lower sections of the society were no longer servant of the upper classes and through their writings they started envisioning a liberal, classless, genderless, and civilized society. A Russian writer G.F Ilyin (1950), who on the basis of *Dharmashastra* evidence demonstrated that Sudras were not slave⁴⁶ and it was clearly reflected in the nature of medieval Odisha society. Due to improvement in the social and economic status, many Sudras were promoted to the Kshatriya status and many of them claimed the status of a Vaisya. The Arasavalli plates of Vajrahasta refer to a military officer

(*Nayaka*) who was Sudra.⁴⁷ Raja Ramachandra Deva, who belong to the late 16th century Odisha, has been described as *Sudra-nrupti* (Sudra king) in the Srijanga inscription.⁴⁸

According to traditional view, Sudras were unskilled, impure, untouchables and not allowed to touch the Vedic sacred books. Following the low graded profession of Sudras, they were also not allowed to enter the temple premises. However, a stone inscription of Govinda Senapati, provides solid evidence regarding the working of the low caste people in the temple premises.⁴⁹

Despite many restrictions imposed by the orthodox traditions, many of Sudras of the medieval Odisha had emerged as literary groups. Brahmins had a monopoly in the field of education through the ages but this faded away with the rise of *Sudramunis* in the society. In the first half of the 15th century a seed of cultural awakening planted by Sarala Dasa over the Odishan society. The seed turned into a banyan tree with emerged of *Panchasakhas* in the sphere of reading and writing.⁵⁰ It is in fact remarkable that through the sincere effort of the *Sudramunis* of medieval Odisha, the foundation stone of Oriya literature was laid down in the late 15th century.⁵¹ Interestingly, it was first of its kind in the Odisha history to challenge the orthodox tradition and prove that a lower caste people also can compile Epics and Puranas. These revolutionary writings created a social conflict and symbolised the social battle between orthodox groups and *Sudramunis* in medieval Odisha.

The said period is also marked for the proliferation of the Sudra caste and crystallization into as many sub castes. From the medieval sources we found a couple of social groups, viz, *Chasa (cultivator)*, *Rajaka (washerman)*, *Dombi (basket makers)*, *Kaivarta (fisherman)*, *Mali (gardener)*, *Kumbharas (potter)* and many others.⁵²

Position of Tribals

Odisha was a homeland of the aborigine and tribal peoples such as Sabaras and Mundas and a state of sixty-two tribes. Their living style, art, culture, festival, language, and food habit were remained same from millions

of years, but it was changed due to spread of Aryanisation in Odisha. The tribal group came into the mainstream of Vedic social structure with the process of *Kshatriyanization* and *Peasantisation*. Following this process many tribal ruling families converted into many big dynasties, viz: the Tungas, the Bhanjas, the Sailodbhavas and the Bhaumakars etc. in the early medieval times.⁵³ This fact influences the upward social mobility of tribes and entering the Hindu upper caste like kshatriya or Khandayat. The process of *Hindunization* in the tribal areas also played vital role for changing the status of tribes. In medieval times when the Gangas and Gajapati considered the tribal Deity as the state Deity, followed that many tribals rose to same status as brahmanas in the society.⁵⁴ No doubt, this fact clearly proves the existence of the *Daitas* in Puri temple and the *Badus* in the Lingaraj temple. With this analysis we may conclude that the social mobility also to had touched the purely tribal social life and they appear to have changed their profession accordingly.

Conclusion

From the above analysis and interpretations, it may be ascertained that the caste system might have been deeply rooted in Indian society, but it was not a complex phenomenon and such flexibility in occupation is reflected in the records of medieval Odishan society. In general, it provides a new characteristic in their nature of the then society. The rigidity in the concept of traditional orthodox society was blurred and led to the emergence of a numbers of new functional social groups, which helped in shaping of a new society. Conceptually, the society was separated into four varnas but practically it was the intermediary groups and lower sections of the society who enjoyed considerable positions in the society. As discussed earlier, the lower groups were no longer servants of the upper groups and many of them emerged as priests, civil and military officials, royal scribes, traders, peasants etc. and represented the backbone of the social structure. The process of *Sanskritization* and *Peasantization* made the medieval society an interdependent and inter-related society. Most underrated caste like Sudras & tribals became an integral

part of the society and their contribution in the socio-cultural sphere made the Odia society progressive and dynamic.

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**DOES HISTORY NEED ANIMALS?
RETHINKING ORISSA'S HUMAN PAST IN TERMS OF
ANIMAL**

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“The facts speak only when the historian calls on them; it is he who decides to which facts to give the floor, and in what order or context.”

- Edward Hallett Carr

Abstract

The paper delves into the intricate history of human animal interactions, highlighting the indispensable role animals have played in shaping societies. From the early days of agriculture, where animals were crucial for food production, to the symbolic significance of animal gifts during religious and military events, this journal explores the deep connection between humans and animals in Odia culture.

Keywords: *human animal interactions, agriculture, animal gifts, odia culture*

Since the beginning of human history, human and animal both existed side by side. Animals shaped human history even when they were not domesticated.¹ With the beginning of agriculture there began the new story of domestication and new history of intimacy between human and animals, we poked into their history and they into ours.² However, in India animals were anthropomorphized and were considered as product of nature and friends of human. As per the Buddhist tradition, Buddha had a very loveable horse called *Kanthaka*. Similarly, Rana Pratap, ruler of Chittor had a favorite horse *Chetaka*,³ and Akbar, the Mughal emperor had a favorite horse *Jahapanha*.⁴ Animals used to receive love and affection from their respective owners starting from rulers to peasants.

On the other hand, a traditional view held by the Europeans was that animal world is created for man to satisfy its needs.⁵ It shows a dominative behavior of the Western people which was a binary of Indian view. This further developed into a complex form during the period of military expansion and political colonization when lord and subordination relationship came between the British and animal. It was a time when animals used to decide the results of war and remained very vital and only alternative for transportation in pre-railway era.⁶ Simultaneously, the British showed here in India a functional relation with animal, where they used to give priority to a breed for a particular kind of work as civil and military officers used animal for communication and status. They attributed a power relation too, as they used to think that the Indian can be ruled from horse back. They used to deploy Indian animals forcefully from their owners in large number for their military wars throughout 18th and 19th century and animals were killed in large numbers.⁷

However, in the discourse of history, history of animal is a neglected aspect. This aspect has drawn a very little attention by historians in recent period. This was an aspect of study mostly by the environmentalists and animal lovers.

In case of India, little attention has been paid to this aspect of history by some of the environmental as well as social historians. Christine Brandon-Jones showed a narrative of animal trade of nineteenth century India and stated that animals of India had helped in the development of natural science of the then globe by supplying lively wild creatures to newly established natural museums of both Europe and American countries.⁸ The study of animal trade and the course of colonialism got a new bent with the intellectual contribution of Samiparna Samanta, who stated that the entire Eastern India was supplying meat to the colonialists for their need thereby supported the process of colonialism.⁹ The study was further extended by Sujit Sivasundaram with special emphasis on Elephant trade between India and England during eighteenth and nineteenth century who boldly argued that animal trade passed knowledge of animal capturing, anthropomorphising, nurturing, taming and use in army for better protection, from India to Europe. He pointed out that the knowledge of Elephant's anatomy went to England and strengthened the veterinary science of Europe. As per his views, during the progress of political

colonization, the British captured large number of animals engaged by Indian rulers in their army and sold them for capital and some extent used them in their own army.¹⁰ In this way he tried to show that both animal and colonialism went side by side. A direct attack on colonialism made by Laxman D. Satya in the opening of 21st century keeping cattle at the centre of his discussion. He held his view that colonial government failed to take any measures to safeguard the cattle from various diseases.¹¹

A completely new takeaway from the old-fashioned anti-colonial thesis came with Aishwary Kumar, who emphasized upon animals used by M. K. Gandhi after 1920 in several of his public talks during the national movement and thereby projected that animal remained an important aspect both in Gandhi's Satyagraha and national movement.¹² A new twist came with Mahesh Rangarajan, who vocalised that animal had rich histories and human history remains incomplete without animal¹³ and gave an indirect call to think of human history with animal. He stated, both in ancient and medieval period people were dealing with animal not much harsh manner, but during the phase of political colonisation animal destruction was very rapid. Further he criticised the hunting fun tradition of the British as well as the creamy layer people of the country.¹⁴

Coming to Orissa, the question of 'Does history need animals?' has not yet been addressed, even though it had a rich cultural past along with its strong agricultural and military base, where animals remained at the center. Historians like M. P. Dash, A. K. Sethi, J. Ray, K. Das, B. B. Bhatta and B. M. Mohanty have given less importance to animals putting them in a corner in their various studies.

However, with this background, in this paper an attempt has been made to create a picture of conjunction between men and animal. With the help of limited secondary and primary sources the paper seeks readers to rethink Orissa's human past in terms of animal. Some statistics also have been used to show the casualty of animal during natural calamities and rethink the picture of total casualty. Finally, it concludes that there can be a history of men and animal together in case of Orissa to have a clear picture of environmental changes.

Rethinking Orissa's past with animal: A new way of reading history

Orissa had a rich cultural past where men accepted animals as their friends and source of divinity. Animals were their lifeline as well as source of entertainment. One hand animal stood with men as protective wall against external aggression, on the other hand showed predatory nature to men. But still with the death of animals in several occasions of natural calamities, men got hurt because men loved and anthropomorphized them.

Let us discuss those paths through which Orissa's human history can be seen from an animal perspective.

A. Odia society and animal: Animal as ally, identity, and source of divinity

Odia society can't be imagined without animal. Animal husbandry was its lifeline as it was an agricultural zone. Animals particularly cattle were considered as friends as well as wealth of people. The tradition of anthropomorphism was there in Orissa and cattle were named like human being. The tradition is not a modern development rather a long-prevalled tradition continued till even today since long past. One of the 20th century Odia masterpieces titled '*Maguni ra Sagada*' (Bullock-Cart of *Maguni*) by late Godavarisha Mahapatra showed that there existed a deep sense of love between animal and human being even in colonial Odia society. This masterpiece showed bullock-cart was the main medium of transport and communication till the introduction of motor vehicle or railway during colonial period.¹⁵ With that horse-cart too was another medium of communication.¹⁶

In *Odia* society, with girl's marriage a cow was generally sent to her in-law's house as a kind of dowry to ensure milk supply to the new-born baby of the newly married couple.¹⁷ Cattle was so much so important in *Odia* society that many of the folklore says how to select a good bullock from many, signs of bad cattle, fodder of cattle, cow-shed construction methods for better care and sanitation of cattle. In this regard '*Khana Bachana*', '*Go Mahatmya*' of Gopabandhu Das and '*Krishi Parashara*' are very useful.¹⁸

Till even today animal totems among the tribal people still exists which shows the possibility of the earliest human association with various animals as having given rise to clan names among Tribal's. Mention may be made on some clans like *Hansda*, *Soren*, *Hemrom*, *Kisku*, *Bagh*, *Singh* and they are identified by animals such as duck, a type of fish, deer, fish, tiger, and lion respectively.¹⁹

Animal sacrifice was an important part of Odia culture. An eyewitness of Balesore mentioned in 1909 that animal sacrifice was a regular phenomenon in the temple of *Bhadrakali*, in Bhadrak.²⁰ In Athagarh, animal sacrifice continued till 1934²¹ and Jhankad Sarala²² and Salepur (Kshetrapala temple) continued till 1946.²³ There were too animal sacrifice practise in Angul till 1933²⁴ and Sonpur till 1946.²⁵ Animal sacrifice was widely practiced by the Khonds in order to please their Goddess.²⁶ Macpherson in his monograph, stressed for opening of roads through the tribal tracts and making possible for an interaction between the tribal and the surrounding Hindu population.²⁷

Orissa's rich cultural past had clubbed animals too. Since ancient past human being has been worshipping big, dangerous, needful and destructive animals and considering every animal as useful for their survival. For that reason, human being never undermines any animal, rather worships snail, fish, cat, cattle, snake and other animals too. The below mentioned some observations are part of that tradition.²⁸

Generally, in April the '*Akshaya Tritiya*', an agricultural festival is generally observed, which is a symbolic beginning of agriculture activity. In this occasion, the ceremonial beginning of the sowing of seeds in their paddy fields after ploughing along with bullock worship happens and peasants asks for the blessings of God for smooth agriculture work and better health of bullock.²⁹ Similarly, in August the '*Gamha Purnima*' is celebrated when cattle in general, bullocks in particular gets worshipped. On the very day, cattle sheds are generally cleaned and its walls gets decorated. Peasants do clean their bullocks, offer them *chandan* (sandal-wood paste), flower and new cloth and Brahmin pandits worship them with *Vedic mantras*. At the end of the ritual home-made pancakes are generally offered to the bullocks along with other cattle. It is done with an expectation that with the grace of God nothing

bad will happen to their cattle.³⁰ Similarly, in order to protect cattle from cattle plague in March (in *Odia Falguna*) on the day of 'Dola Purnima' there is tradition of smearing of colour powder in the body and worshipping of cattle. The smearing of colour was a kind of symbolic precaution for prevention of cattle diseases.³¹

In July, the *Chitalagi Amabasya* or *Gendeisuni Pooja* (Snail worship day) is celebrated by every Odia peasant. On this day children of peasant family serves home-made pancake to snail and asks for mercy on their family members to not to cut their family members feet.³²

In addition to that, in Orissa the worship of snake has taken a special social recognition.³³ The statue of snake-girl (*Naga-Kanya*), Snake shaped entrance (*Naga-Bandha*), snake shaped human (*Ardha-Naga*), snake cap shaped lord *Balram* is available in affluent manner. Epigraphical evidence says it was an ancient practice.³⁴ In several places like Balasore, Mayurbhanj (*Khiching*), Jajpur (in Goddess *Biraja* temple; Chatia), Sambalpur, Ganjam, Cuttack, Khorda (Banapur), Nayagarh (Ranapur) and Southern Orissa, several temples still exist with the name *Mani-Naga* or *Mani-Nageswara* or *Mani-Nageswari*. Several Jaina statues have been recovered from Balasore with snake headdress. One of the entrances of the Puri temple and many figures of the Konark temple are also having *Naga* representation. T. Motte, a sent agent by Lord Robert Clive to Sambalpur to write an account on the diamond trade of western Orissa, wrote that on 19th July of 1766, the local raja of Sambalpur went to worship a giant snake. The common mass as well as the diamond collectors too used to worship that snake and offer goat and fowl. The snake was residing in a big hole of a mountain. After 72 years in 1838 Lieutenant Kittoe confirmed the continuation of the same. But in 1864, V. Ball, another British officer confirmed that the snake was no more, but belief was still there.³⁵ This confirms the prevalence of *Shiva* and *Tantric* cult. The *Naga Chaturthi* is generally celebrated in November (in *Kartika*). On this day, an earthen or silver statue of *Naga* and *Naguni* (Male and female Cobra) generally worshipped with great devotion with proper methodology and Vedic Mantras. According to Pradyot K. Maity, Naga worship is an attempt to protect the cow from the attack of snakes.³⁶ Prafulla K. Mohanty, a Zoologist

stated snake is worshipped to safeguard snake community because snake saves crops from rat and squirrel and is used against some kinds of diseases like tumour and joint pain problem.³⁷

Similarly, in November (in *Kartika*) on the day of *Amla Navami*, dry-fish is generally worshipped. In the winter month it is generally advised to take this fish as this fish is rich with calcium and vitamins.³⁸ Likewise, in October (in *Aswina*) fox and kite gets worshipped.³⁹

In addition to this socially, use of horse was a matter of prestige for the British whereas, the use of elephant was a symbol of proud procession and ancestry for *Odia* rulers. Maintenance of elephant continued even till 1940s.⁴⁰

B. Animal as source of life and livelihood

The vital reason for the maintenance of cattle was to carry out agriculture. Dung used as manure and bullocks used as pillars to till the land. Pt. Gopabandhu Das had acknowledged cattle as the root of Orissa's economy.⁴¹ They were used as pack animal and medium of transportation. Horses too were used for transportation. Throughout seventeenth century horse was mostly used in army. Even till 1932, Puri district had a sizeable population of horses. During colonial period majority British administrators were using horse. But common people had the habit of domesticating sheep, goat, pig and poultry.⁴²

In addition to that, leather industry was another significant means of livelihood. Natural dead cattle leather was used for the preparation of drum and other items whereas, skin of goat was used mostly for sandal preparation.⁴³ But during colonial period poisoning of animal started taking place to meet the requirements of leather industries.⁴⁴

Similarly, food of *Odia* people can't be imagined without animal. The *Harijana* people used to have beef along with other kinds of fleshes. But with the influence of Harijana Movement of M. K. Gandhi somehow their consumption got reduced.⁴⁵ On the other hand milk of cow and buffalo was consumed by all people. The Jagannath temple *Prasad* manual mentioned the use of milk and preparation of several food items for lord Jagannath.⁴⁶ But during the colonial period there was a steady decline in the cattle wealth of the

province. In this context if, the pre-colonial picture related to cattle is to be taken into consideration, it would be easy to draw the conclusion that there was a big deterioration in the matter of rich cattle history as healthy livestock and extensive cattle breeding was the central of the socio-economic history of pre-colonial Orissa. Early 18th century contemporary observer observed that every *Odia* family used to bred cattle and run their livelihood by selling milk. Dairy industry was so strong during pre-colonial period that it used to produce surplus amount of milk and milk items and after local consumption people used to sell their surplus to outsiders. Its production was very much in places like Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Bhadrak, Rayepore (Koraput) and was less in price.⁴⁷

However, at present, despite lots of development in food production, people still depended on animal's food. The expectation for profit has brought industry at the cost of lives of animals.

From the small glimpse, here it can be assumed that the history of life and livelihood of Odia people can't be studied without animal.

C. Entertainment and animal

Animal hunting was a kind of fun for the creamy layer people as well as the British officers. It was a symbol of adulthood, manhood and power for royal families. Sometimes common people used to offer animals or animal hides, horns and so on to rulers as tribute. During colonial period, in princely states rulers used to enjoy full right in animal killing.⁴⁸ Travesty in the context of Orissa, this aspect has not yet been explored. Therefore, only some newspaper references have been used to show some glitch. References are there that the rulers of Athagarh,⁴⁹ Zamindar of Pipili,⁵⁰ Raja of Pchhikote of Jajpur⁵¹, Raja of Athamalik⁵² and other local rajas and Zamindars were involved in this hunting gam very much.

Sponsored hunting was a regular event during the colonial period. For killing animal, people or officers were given prize or money. For that sometimes advertisements were given in vernacular newspaper in order to draw more and more participants into that. One such advertisement was on 23-12-1936 on behalf of district board of Khorda where hunters were asked to kill tiger and in return, they were promised to given 25 rupees.⁵³ Similar kind of advertisement was given for the hunting program in Baripada, Mayurbhanj.⁵⁴

Sometimes colonial officers used to kill animals with the request of common mass of the locality. The British used to consider tiger as the carnivorous animals.. Hence killing tiger used to mean saving domestic animals and men,⁵⁵ therefore a kind of justification for colonialism.⁵⁶ Mention may be made on the killing of a tiger by a police officer in Baliapala region of Balesore⁵⁷ and killing of a tiger in Chandaka region by a head Constable.⁵⁸ With the implementation of forest acts, every animal of forests was considered as the property of the government. Thereafter killing of animal was restricted. Only British authorities and zamindars had the right to kill.⁵⁹ That was the reason why most of the cases of 20th century, people used to draw the attention of the district head or local authority to kill animal and save their crop, life and domesticated animals.

During agricultural fairs, elephant riding, horse riding and bullock-cart ridings were kept as part of entertainments.⁶⁰ Snake dancing was a medieval development in Orissa. People used to enjoy it very much.⁶¹ Tradition of keeping pet animals like cat, rabbit and bird was also there in Odia society.

D. Animal predation: Story of losses of people and domesticated animals

L. S. S. O'Malley, noted, "A traveller who visited Orissa in 1866 found himself in danger of wild beasts from the moment he entered the province. Between Balesore and Cuttack in a country now thickly populated and closely cultivated, he passed through a jungle abounding in tigers and required a guard of sepoy for the journey."⁶² From the above statement it is obvious to claim that there was a gradual decline of Orissa Forest. And this must have impacted on animals resided in the forest and domesticated in the nearby human settlements. It is too obvious to perceive that people must have witnessed animal predations. On the other hand, if the 'India's Wildlife History' of Mahesh Rangarajan has to be observed it would be obvious to arrive at the conclusion that there was a gradual increase in the number of hunted animals till modern period since ancient period. It was not only predators but also other animal preys like fowl, dear, wild buffalo and so on. This increase must have lowered the number of animal preys and created an ecological crisis. This process was also significantly substantiated by the population increase,

expansion of agriculture due to large scale deforestation and canal expansion and gradual increase in urban zones. As a result of that animal predation started becoming a regular phenomenon.

Before the beginning of modern journalism, the event of animal predation must have been remained in the people's memory. Lack of contemporary literary sources forces us to depend upon limited journalism. But with the beginning of reporting cult, animal predation started appearing. In the colonial Sambalpur district tiger attack,⁶³ and bear attack⁶⁴, in Balesore (Kandada,⁶⁵ Bhadrak),⁶⁶ Mayurbhanj,⁶⁷ Angul,⁶⁸ Cuttack (Madhupur),⁶⁹ Jagatsinghpur,⁷⁰ Jajpur⁷¹, Puri (Dharmasala,⁷² Biraramachandrapur,⁷³ Nimapara,⁷⁴ Satyabadi⁷⁵) tiger attacks, bear attack in Banapur⁷⁶ monkey attack in Cuttack municipality area⁷⁷, dog attack in Puri town⁷⁸ and Cuttack municipality,⁷⁹ and in Khorda tiger and elephant⁸⁰ attacks were very regular. This caused severe losses of both people and domesticated animals including cattle wealth. In 1949, 757 people and in 1950, 590 people were killed by tiger attack in Cuttack district.⁸¹ These above-mentioned anecdotes shows that animal predation was almost everywhere in Orissa but yet to be explored with the help of an introspective study.

E. Natural calamity and animal mortality

The history of natural calamity remains incomplete without the study of animal. During natural calamities animals were the worst sufferers. Travesty is that there are only scanty official statistics available in this regard. Animals are greatly affected by floods and famines, which are two natural disasters with a significant impact. Periodic outbreaks of flood and famines used to bring several diseases to domesticated animals, as a result of which animal population used to be swept out.⁸² From 1803 to 1900 there were around 20 famines and 60 floods and inundations. In the famine of 1866, animal mortality was 929,497⁸³ whereas in 1872, approximately 45,211 animals died including buffaloes, cows and bullocks, goats and sheep.⁸⁴ In Angul due to famines from 1883 to 1887, large numbers of cattle died due to small-pox.⁸⁵ In the cyclone of 1891, 3592 cattle died.⁸⁶ House fire was also another unwanted event that used to affect animals a lot.⁸⁷ From those above small statistics against few years it can be assumed again that animals must

have suffered severely and casualty must have been unimaginably high during all those natural calamity years but yet remained unexplored.

F. Animal in military power

Once again, the ancient, medieval and modern age defense of Orissa can't be imagined without animal. The elephants of Kalinga had its wide reputation across the earth. That was the reason why elephants were sold in different foreign lands. Defense used to represent animal power mostly war elephants and horses and success in the war was mostly determined by the size of military. Elephants were useful in crossing mountains, rivers, deep forests, breaking of forts and military designs (*Byuha*) and defense against weapons. The *Somavamsis*, used to pay special attention to trace elephant in deep forests and train them for war. Both the *Ganga* and *Suryavamsi* rulers adorned the royal title '*Gajapati*' (the Lord of Elephants), which denotes that elephant was very important for them. From Nuniz's record, it has been proved that during the occasion of fighting between Pratapa Rudradev and Krishnadeva Ray, the Gajapati ruler maintained a big army of 1300 elephantry.⁸⁸

Similarly in the medieval warfare policy, cavalry had a very special place. Horses were generally bought from other regions. The Ganga ruler Bhanudevahad only 500 war horses whereas its number increased bit to 20,000 during the time of Pratap Rudradeva which showed a growing importance.⁸⁹

Ancient Kalinga had maintained a '*Chaturanaga*' (four pillared) army consisted of two animal wings like *Aswarohi* (cavalry) and *Gajarohi* (elephantry) since 700 BCE. Since then the tradition continued till the political downfall of Orissa.⁹⁰ If Pliny's view to be considered, Kalinga had a big army consisted of 1000 cavalry and 700 war elephants. Admiring to the war elephants of Kalinga, Meghasthenis mentioned that its elephant force was a terror for enemies.⁹¹ He mentioned there were 1000 horses and 700 war horses and many hundred elephants in the army.⁹² Kautilya, the greatest diplomat in the Maurya court opinioned that the energy of Kalinga's elephants was greater than the whole of the elephant's energy of *Bharat*. From the account of Hiuen-Tsang, it has been confirmed that the black colored elephant born in the forest of Kalinga was having a special demand in the nearby neighboring states. Someswar, the *Chalukyan* king wrote elephants of Kalinga were best in

quality. Many external invasions took place during medieval period for elephants. Historian Afif mentioned, one of the objectives of Firozshah Tughlaq's invasion on Jajnagar was to get some elephants. Invasion of Hussain Ghori and Ulugh Khan had been backed by the same objective.⁹³

In every war with men, animals used to suffer a lot. One of the earliest occasions when animal loss happened was the Kalinga war. On the basis of the interpretation of the Rock Edict XIII of Asoka, D. C. Sircar stated, one hundred and fifty thousand men and animals were taken out from Kalinga by emperor Asoka.⁹⁴

Animal gift (mostly elephant and horse) was also a matter of prestige during ancient and medieval period. It was generally made during religious occasions, military promotions or out of pleasure after winning a military war.⁹⁵

G. Animals in art and architecture: A sign of closer involvement

Similarly the bond between people and animal can be traced from art. Animal figures were drawn or carved on stones intended to act as spells just like paintings. The decorative panels in Orissan temples were decorated with various animal scenes including taming of elephants, hunting of wild animals, lions, monkeys in jolly mood and many others. In erotic sculptures, the animals were also appeared during medieval period in various postures. In this regard Buddhist and Jain arts are also no way less important as they also showed animal motifs.⁹⁶In several temple's, lion was presented as guards. Elephant shaped doorways are also available.⁹⁷Because of the socio-religious and artistic significance fish representation too found in several sculptures. In tribal painting, folk paintings like *Chita* and *Jhoti, Muruja*, wall painting and classical paintings like mural, *Pata*, palm leaf and in paper fish representation is extensively available.⁹⁸

Conclusion:

To sum-up, in every aspect of human life animals were there. They were considered as ally, source of divinity, power and sustenance based on situations. During pre-railway period they were the medium of transportation. Socially animals had shaped human past. Several cultural observations have cemented the bond between animal and human. Their domestication, hunting and usages were part of amusement. Rich *Orissan* art and architectures are the

lively examples of their bond. But natural calamities sometimes proved fatal for them and brought sorrows for human being. Animals were so much so aligned with men that men even identified themselves as per their loved animal. On the other hand the economic and military importance of animals was so bold that special attention was paid to tame, domesticate and use them. Animals used to decide the fate of military wars during the age of military invasion. To conclude, animals shaped human history and human being theirs. Therefore, the study of Orissa's human past with animal is insightful and indispensable.

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HERO STONES IN KANJIAGARH

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Abstract

This paper delves into the nature of recently discovered Hero Stones in Kanjiagarh, seeking to understand their historical context through pragmatic observations. The presence of these memorial stones, featuring both votive temple and arch-like structures at a single location, unfolds a broader phenomenon encompassing religious values, societal norms, military aspects, and the political arena. While a significant concentration of Hero Stones is found near Prachi valley and Daya-Bhargavi valley, those in Kanjiagarh contribute a unique dimension to the diversity of Hero Stones in coastal Odisha. Given that Hero Stones serve as commemorative monuments for individuals who sacrificed their lives in battle, the paper explores potential architectural resemblances with the distinctive Kalinga style. This investigation aims to shed light on the artistic and cultural influences that shaped the construction of these memorial stones. Furthermore, the paper delves into the composition of the contemporary state's army, offering insights into the military practices and weaponry prevalent during the era when these Hero Stones were erected. This exploration provides a nuanced understanding of the historical and cultural context surrounding the military traditions of Odisha. As repositories of historical narratives, Hero Stones in Kanjiagarh offer a unique perspective on the region's valor, sacrifices, and the complex interplay of religious and martial traditions.

Keywords: *Hero Stones; Memorial stones; Kanjiagarh; Conservation*

Introduction

Standing like silent sentinels, Hero Stones, or memorial stones, tell the stories of fallen heroes. These individuals, etched in time, are remembered for their

selfless acts of courage in the face of danger, be it on the battlefield, against ferocious animals, or in the defense of others and their cherished possessions. These commemorative stones are recognized by diverse names such as natukals, vīrāgals, nadukkals, paliyās, stambhās, kīrtistambhās, gōvardhan, chhāyastambhās, and are distributed across various regions in India. In Odisha they commonly designated as Vira Shila. The largest concentration of memorial stones is in Karnataka. About 2,650 hero stones dated between the 5th and 13th centuries have been found here. Inscriptions on some of these give only a name, others offer details of the circumstances in which the person died¹. Evidence from Vedic texts supports the practice of erecting monuments in remembrance of deceased individuals. The Satapatha Brahmana, specifically mentions the method of installing memorial stones to honor clan leaders who have passed away. The Sangam literature (3rd century BCE – 3rd century CE), such as ‘Ahananuru’ and ‘Purananuru,’ refers to hero stones.² The above facts make the conjunction of erecting Hero Stone in memory of Dead. These stones are of more than archaeological interest since the concept underlying the monument not only relates to the changing perception of the death of a hero, but also indicates an important variant of what is generally described as "the Indian" view of death and the after-life.³ In the world view context the depiction of the Hare Stone, located on the Borough Moor of Edinburgh and immortalized in the lay of Marmion as the steadfast support of Scotland's royal banner, serves as a tangible example of this tradition. As described in the lay:

"The massive stone,

Which still in memory is shown."⁴

The location of the hero-stones is neither geographically uniform nor arbitrary. They are found in larger numbers in Odisha at various locations e.g. Puri, Khordha, Jajpur, Koraput, Kalahandi etc. Odisha has a glorious military tradition. There is limited research on Hero Stones in Odisha. During ancient and early medieval times, Odia soldiers displayed remarkable courage in battles against their adversaries. Numerous among them sacrificed their lives on the battlefield. This valorous legacy has been immortalized through

sculptural art. In Odisha, warriors are occasionally portrayed on temple walls, depicted in a standing posture, wielding a sword and shield. In some other instances, they are shown accompanied by a female figure as in the temples of the Rajarani at Bhubaneswar and Konark.⁵ Yet, their most striking representation is often seen in monolithic shafts, where the hero is depicted in an *alidha* pose, brandishing a sword in their raised right hand and holding a shield with their extended left hand.

Kanjiagarh

It is known from various sources that Odisha was once a fortress state. Those forts were used as the main center of defense of the state at that time. The forts were used as military centers. Surendra Moharana has situated the Kanjiagarh (a strong military base) in 5th Century CE surrounding Jagaddala-vihāra which was a famous place of Buddhist learning in Orissa. He further mentions Kanjiagarh is thickly populated by the people bearing typical military titles like Raṇaranka, Bāhuvaḷendra, Baliyarsingha, Olaṭasingha, Pālaṭasingha, Jhapaṭasingha, Pāhāḍasingha, Rayasingha, Uttarkavāṭa, Dakṣiṇakavāṭa, Vāhinipati, Viravara, Śatruśāla, Vairigañjana etc. They were known as paika-soldiers.⁶ Meanwhile, Mishra suggests the construction of Kanjiagarh can be traced back to the 16th century CE or even earlier.⁷

Kanjiagarh, located at 6 miles south of Khurda town, once played a dominant role under the Bhoi Gajapatis of Orissa.⁸ The temple of Barahi Thakurani or in localized version Baghei Thakurani, along with the sacred pool named Isanagadia adjacent to Atharabhaya, is located in the western part of Mahatpalla village, within the jurisdiction of Khurda police station in the Khordha district. It stands as a reverent preserver of the memories of Kanjiagarh. The name Kanjiagarh, though not presently a standalone location, is associated with regions in its vicinity. To the south are Gadasanaputa and Sadheigada, to the west are Tapangagada and Chatramagada, and to the north is Khordha gada. In the northern region of this area, there are temples dedicated to deities such as Uttara Nilakantheswar, Shaleshwar in the east, Nilakantheswar in the south, and Gadachandi Hashteshwari in the west.⁹ Atharabhaya (Lat 20.100026°, Long 85.61933°), as the locals used the

term to designate Eighteen Brothers, the prime location (see Fig.1) of Yesterday's Kanjiagarh has remains of nineteen Hero Stones which are made up of laterite stone, now in a very dilapidated state.

After visiting the location (see Fig.2), here are the specific details of all Hero Stones of which some lay on the ground and some stand upright flaunting the legacy of bygone Heroes. The hero-stones of Daya valley are generally in a single panel on a slab of a stone.¹⁰ All the Hero stones of Atharbhaya of Mahatapalla region are monolithic slabs with a single panel of sculpture.

Hero Stone No. 1

The Hero Stone measures around 4'x1'8''x7.5'' whereas the niche measures, 27''x16''. It resembles a miniature temple, featuring elements such as Beki, topped by an Amalaka, Karpara or Khapuri (without Kalasa), and a niche adorned with two figures of varying sizes(see Fig. 3). The large hero figure typically stands in an upright position, wielding weapons such as a sword in the right hand, and a shield in the left, adorned with a *karnakundala* and the hero's hair is braided into a *chignon* at the back, and depicted wearing wooden *sandals*. His stance is forward-facing, with the left leg slightly elevated. A parasol, or *chhatra* is elevated above the hero's head by an attendant (small figurine) positioned behind him as he engages in combat pose known as *alidha* pose. The military literature Paik Kheda lists 16 military costumes that include *ghantimala*, *ghagudi*, *olamala*, *ganthia*, *kavacha*, *kaling*, *bahuti*, *hoda*, *baghapati*, *valarupachandra*, *katha*, *rudhi mala*, *chakra*, *handiapati*, and *jhoba*.¹¹

Hero Stone No. 2

The Hero Stone has fractured along the middle, resulting in two pieces. When the two parts are combined, the dimensions of the complete stone would be 33''x19''x11''. Unlike a temple-like structure, the upper part exhibits a curvilinear design (see Fig.4) . Within the niche, there is a comparable depiction of the Hero alongside the attendant, akin to the details mentioned in Hero Stone No.1. Due to the stone's composition of laterite and prolonged exposure to the open environment, a significant portion of the sculptural elements has eroded over time.

Hero Stone No. 3

The Stone has broken into two sections. The lower panel clearly shows signs of stone erosion, while the upper panel, facing downwards on the ground, features a curvilinear structure along its upper edge. When the two parts are reunited, the combined dimensions will measure 27'' in height. But whatever the vestiges left, the stone that has been intact with ground shows the hero with the same *alidha* pose similar to above both stones.

Hero Stone No. 4

The Hero Stone has fractured into three segments: a 5'' base, a 29'' middle, and a 5'' upper section. When combined, the complete Hero Stone would measure 39'' in height (See Fig.5). The middle part features a niche with a depiction of the hero that bears a striking resemblance to Hero No.1 (See Fig.3), but it is clearer in comparison. The upper part is adorned with Beki and Amalaka, with a conical shape towards the top.

Hero Stone No. 5

The Stone has broken into two pieces. It is similar to a miniature temple. The niche portion has been eroded from laterite stone. When combined, the complete Hero Stone would measure 46'' in height.

Hero Stone No. 6

This particular stone differs slightly from others. A portion has been recovered, partially broken from the upper part (Amalaka) and towards the lower part on the right. The dimensions of this Hero Stone would be 38''x23'' from top to bottom, while the niche measures 25''x17''. The niche has remarkably withstood the ravages of time. The single Hero is depicted in a different pose compared to other Hero Stones found in the area (See Fig.6). It portrays a hero in a running stance on the battlefield, with the right leg in the air and the left leg on the ground, holding a sword in the right hand and a mace in the left. There is no trace of an attendant holding a parasol above the Hero's head.

Hero Stone No. 7

The Hero Stone measures 26''x18.5'' and is partially broken from the lower right. The niche with the Hero Stone is intact and partially clear for observation, featuring a slightly curved edge on the upper part. The Hero is depicted in a forward-facing stance, with the left leg slightly elevated (See Fig.7). In his right hand, he holds a sword, while the object in his left hand is unclear due to erosion. There is no depiction of an attendant behind the Hero.

Hero Stone No. 8

The Hero Stone, lying on the ground, measures 49''x23'', while the niche measures 30''x17''. It appears to be a complete structure with Beki and Amalaka. The large hero figure is depicted in an upright position, with the left leg slightly elevated. The hero wields weapons, including a sword in the right hand whereas the left hand is unclear, and his hair is braided into a chignon at the back (See Fig.8).

Hero Stone No. 9

The Hero Stone stands upright, similar to the Hero carved in the niche, with the left leg slightly elevated. The hero is depicted wielding a bow in the left hand and an arrow in the right hand. Notably, no other stone in the vicinity has a depiction of a bow and arrow (See Fig.9). The architectural style of the Hero Stone resembles the temple-like structure mentioned in Hero Stone No.1 and measures around 34''x14'' and its niche is 18''x12''.

Hero Stone No. 10

The Hero Stone measures 42''x 33.5'', while the niche measures 24''x20''. The depicted Hero Stone features a figure holding a sword in the right hand and a shield in the left, standing in an alidha posture. The principal figure has arranged his hair in a bun over his head (See Fig.10). This figure has a different style of clothing tucked in the waist than all previous Hero Stones.

Hero Stone No. 11

The Hero inside the niche bears a striking resemblance to Hero Stone No.10, with the only notable difference being in dimensions (See Fig.11). It measures 38''x25'', while the niche portion has dimensions of 19''x17''.

Hero Stone No. 12

It's interesting that the Hero Stone deviates from a typical temple structure, featuring Beki, Amalaka, and Kalasa while maintaining a rectangular shape (See Fig.12). The larger size and niche measurements of 25"x18" contribute to its distinct artistic features resembling Hero No.11. The overall dimensions of 40"x21" suggest a unique and substantial monument.

Hero Stone No. 13

A votive temple is different from a Hero Stone or memorial stone because the former is affiliated to religious values whereas later denotes sepulchral or secular in nature¹². The Hero Stone (39''x15'') is unique from all above-mentioned Stones as it portrays a one miniature *sikhara* having the depiction of a female devotee sitting on a throne shows worshipping a shiva lingam within the niche (See Fig.13). The hands of the devotee who braided its hair into a chignon in the back is obscure but looks like watering the shiva lingam carved inside the niche. The niche portion shows familiar characteristics with another Hero Stone worshipping shiva lingam found at Tipuri village near Kanas, Puri¹³ which is 20 km away from present day Mahatpalla village where these Hero Stones are being found. The Viraja and Trilochanesvara temple complexes, have two categories of stone slabs having religious affiliation, i) a *śikhara* type of stone with the depiction of gods/ goddesses/ liṅga and ii) a *śikhara* type of stone depicting a devotee/ ascetics in adoration to a god/ goddess/ liṅga¹⁴.

Hero Stone No. 14

The fractured Hero Stone, taller than Hero No.1, presents an intriguing parallel in artistic style and architecture. The lower segment measures 11.5"x19", while the upper segment, housing the niche at 36"x19" with a niche size of 23"x14" (See Fig. 14). Despite the fracture, it retains a similarity to Hero No.1 in

design and description.

Hero Stone No. 15

The Hero Stone, measuring 47"x16", takes on a shikhara-like appearance with obscured decoration in the Amalaka portion. The principal theme is rendered in a niche carved from the rāhā section of the śikhara. Despite erosion, the concealed niche (11"x8") on the Hero Stone may depict a female devotee in a side-profile view, with lowered head and hands in añjalimudrā. Her hair is tied in a knot, and the kneeling posture suggests a unique worship scene, possibly offering reverence to a Śiva liṅga on a yoni-paṭṭa (See Fig.15). This particular scene can be found in other Hero Stones found at Badabeguniapada situated in Delanga block of Puri¹⁵, Golabaisasan in Khurda district¹⁶, Trilochaneswar Temple complex in Jajpur district.¹⁷

Hero Stone No. 16

The squared niche carved out from bada portion of miniature temple structure has striking similarity with Hero Stone No. 13. The gandi portion is wider than No. 13. The Hero Stone measures 39"x20" whereas niche is squared with 14" (See Fig.16).

Hero Stone No. 17

The tallest structure among others on the spot, standing at 2 meters in height and 18 inches in width, looks like a miniature temple (See Fig.17). The presence of niche cut on rahapaga of gandi portion is rectangular in shape which is just above badasimilar to Kalingan style of temple architecture. However, the erosion or complete obscurity of carved details in the niche adds an element of mystery, making it challenging to decipher the original intricacies of the design. It connotes a miniature temple without pīṣṭha.

Hero Stone No. 18

The Hero Stone has broken into two pieces with two different sizes. The upper segment measures around 20"x18" and has beki and amalaka portions. The lower segment measures 16"x18". The niche portion is completely obscure

due to erosion.

Hero Stone No. 19

The Hero Stone closely resembles Hero Stone No. 17, featuring a rectangular and obscured niche. The entire structure, from the beki portion to the lower lining of the bada, maintains a rectangular shape. It incorporates elements such as Beki, Amalaka, Khapuri, and Kalasa of Mastak, following the architectural style of Kalinga. The dimensions are approximately 60 inches by 19 inches, with the niche portion specifically measuring 26 inches by 15 inches.

Hero Stones: Understanding Historical Context

Before delving into the details of Hero Stones, it is crucial to grasp the importance of the location Kanjiagarh in relation to the standing Hero Stones. Kanjiagarh is steeped in various legends, each intricately connected to the Hero Stones erected in the area.

The location is commonly referred to as Atharabhaya. Local accounts narrate that during the uprising against the British led by Bakshi Jagabandhu in 1817, the Paiks (militia) from Kanjiagarh joined him and valiantly perished in battle. These paiks were eighteen brothers residing in Kanjiagarh. Dr. Joshi notes that at the site where these eighteen brothers fought and lost their lives against the British, monuments were erected to honor them, with their nails and mustaches buried underneath.¹⁸ Bipra Madhusudan, in his palm leaf manuscript, mentions the revolt of Jayee Rajguru in 1804, Bakshi Jagabandhu in 1817 and Tapang Dalabehera in 1827 against the British. A poetic verse in the manuscript specifically references Kanjiagarh in connection with this uprising.

*“mithuna panchadina judhha anukul,
Kanjiagade agaru thile gorabala.”¹⁹*

Tradition has it that the sardar of Kanjiagarh had 18 sons, each exceeding the other in military powers. They attempted to disregard the authority of the Bhoi Gajapati for which he made a conspiracy against them and became successful in killing them. The hero memorial stones numbering 18 are identified as the

18 sons of the sardar who lost their lives in the fort. They are represented in warlike fashion displaying long swords and rectangular shields within niches of pidhamundis. The Paiks used to take a sacred dip in the tank referred to above before commencement of any war operation. They used to invoke the Baghei Thakurani through sacrificial offerings. The vast stretch of open land bearing the name Garh Tangi provided ideal facilities for assemblage of a large number of Paik soldiers at a time.²⁰

Satyanand Chamupatiray's book narrates that the king of Khurda vowed to crush the pride and bravery of eighteen brothers residing in Kanjiagarh. He placed a traditional bounty on the heads of these brothers. One of the paiks, named Paramanand from the nearby village Dihapur, had an ancestral rivalry with the eighteen brothers. In a treacherous manner, Paramanand's eight sons killed the brothers. As a reward, Paramanand received the title of Dalabehera from the king. Over time, the atrocities committed by Paramanand and his sons faded from memory, and instead, eighteen pillars were erected to serve as witnesses to the inhumane acts and to commemorate the valor and strength of the eighteen brothers.²¹

Dibyasingh Chamupati mentions that according to local tradition, there were 19 brothers in Kanjiagarh. They consistently opposed the rule of the monarchy. Under the sway of Gajapati, Nandapur Dalabehera, killed these unarmed brothers on the day of Dussehra. After the demise of these brothers, their successors left Kanjiagarh. The overthrow of Kanjiagarh was believed to have occurred during the rule of the Gajapatis of the Suryavanshi dynasty (1435-1533 CE). This historical event is speculated to have taken place prior to the British occupation of Odisha.²² Kanjiagarh was not a part of 71 forts under direct control of Khurda king holding 3500 Mansabs.²³

Chamupati's article from 2000 mentions 20 Hero Stones, including 12 upright and 8 broken ones, which were lying on the ground uncared for. However, as of 2023, only 19 Hero Stones are present, one of which may have been displaced from its original location, as all of them are now exposed to the open air. The historical context of these stones is a matter of debate among various

authors, as they have conflicting views on the location and the Hero Stones mentioned above. However, according to the findings, Dibyasingh Chamupati's interpretation comes closer to the truth. The laterite stones on which these Hero Stones are made up of can be assigned back to the period of 15th-16th century CE because of their stone structure and texture. None of them bear inscriptions with the name of the hero or his achievements, which could be used to assign a date based on palaeography. Another fact that cannot be refuted is that the Hero Stones found in Jajpur district are made up of Khondalite stones assigned back to the 10th-11th century CE²⁴, whereas the Hero Stones found at Tipuri in Kanas block of Puri²⁵ are Sandstone blocks that can be traced back to the late 14th or early 15th century based on the Hero Stone found at Suvadiah in Chandabali Tahasil of Bhadrak district²⁶. The Hero Stones in Kanjiagarh are made up of Laterite, a weathered rock whose longevity may depend on factors like climate and specific conditions such as exposure to water and human activities, which is clearly seen here in Kanjiagarh. In contrast, sandstone generally has good durability and can last for thousands of years, so also Khondalite being a metamorphic rock.

Hero Stone Observations & Discussions

The discussed collection is inherently intricate, featuring a diverse array of minor art forms carved in stone that depict both secular and religious activities as well as effuse military significance of Odisha.

- 1) Currently, there are nineteen visible Hero Stones at the location, positioned both upright and lying on the ground. They vary in condition, with some intact, some broken, and others partially obscured. There might have been more than nineteen Hero Stones in the past at this location, given the presence of small broken laterite stones scattered around. Dibyasingh reports a total of twenty Hero Stones, with 12 intact and 8 broken.²⁷ Notably, all Hero Stones face east, except for one facing north towards the current Maa Baghei Thakurani temple.
- 2) A pattern appears evident in the arrangement of erecting Hero Stones.

- Four Hero Stones stand aligned in a straight column from west to east, while three Hero Stones align in a straight row from south to north.
- 3) Each Hero Figure has braided their hair into chignons at the back, commonly known as Balaganthi. In contemporary society, a tradition required individuals to keep chignons at the back of their heads, providing protection against attacks from the rear with any weapons.²⁸
 - 4) There are various types of military weapons wielded by principal figures depicted in eleven Hero Stones such as sword and shield (Dhala-Tarabari), bow and arrow, mace. The Paiks were equipped with the weapons like nail, thunka, barudakumpa, jhuli kata, sagadinali, olatadhara khanda, khapur, dhal, kanda, katari, bank achuri, katidhal, katimala, rudhi and dhanu.²⁹ In general, an army comprised infantry, cavalry, elephantry and a host of archers. At this site, the depiction of infantry and archery is quite evident. Overall, it shows a great deal of military significance flourished in Odisha.
 - 5) Amongst nineteen Hero Stones, thirteen depicts miniature temple or votive temple structure alike sikhara. The pagas with miniature Rekha deula, are popularly known as Angasikhara in kalinga style of architecture. Mastak (literally the head of the temple) consists of several portions such as beki, amlaka, khapri, kalasa, aayudha (symbol of the deity) and dhawaja (flag).³⁰ The religious affiliation with Saivism is evident in the Hero Stones, particularly highlighted by the depictions on Stones 13, 16, and 14. Stone 13 and 16 portray a female devotee seated on a throne, demonstrating reverence to a Shiva Lingam. Additionally, Stone 14 depicts a distinctive worship scene with a kneeling posture, suggesting an act of reverence, possibly directed towards a Shiva Lingam placed on a yoni-patta. These representations further emphasize the Saivite religious influence in the context of the Hero Stones.
 - 6) The Hero Stones in question exhibit a distinct lack of inscriptions. Among them, four Hero Stones are notably obscured and partially broken. Additionally, another set of four Hero Stones feature a curvilinear upper edge, deviating from the typical miniature shikhara

- design. Furthermore, an additional set of four Hero Stones showcase two figures. In this depiction, an attendant stands behind the principal figure, adopting an alidha pose and wielding weapons, while also holding a parasol (chhatri) above the head of the principal figure. The depiction of attendants holding a chhatri (parasol) has also been discovered in the Viraja Temple Complex in Jajpur.³¹
- 7) The presence of nineteen Hero Stones at a singular site prompts inquiries into the significance of the location, the historical context, and the events surrounding them. Authors have offered diverse interpretations based on archaeological findings, local legends, and cultural traditions associated with both the site and the Hero Stones. Notably, the discrepancy arises in the name Atharabhaya, supposedly linked to the memorial stones of the Eighteen Brothers, while the actual count is nineteen as of now. Intriguingly, there is a lack of literary evidence in Odisha History supporting the name Atharabhaya, suggesting that it may be more a product of popular local tradition than a verifiable historical fact. It connotes these Hero Stones precede modern odisha context.
 - 8) The Hero stones in Kanjiagarh, crafted from laterite stones, stand out compared to others in the Prachi and Daya-Bhargavi Valley. During the rule of the independent Gangas and Gajapati, when the availability of stones was limited, intricately carved Hero Stones were brought from other places, typically made of black stone or granite, to honor those who sacrificed their lives for the state. Despite having a diverse collection of black granite stones, sandstones, and laterite stones, Kanjiagarh chose laterite which is cheaper than others for its Hero Stones, symbolizing a nation that, despite losing its independence, strives to preserve traditional values.³²
 - 9) The intricately crafted depictions of Heroes in various poses, armed with diverse weapons, and displaying reverence to the Siva Lingam, signify the coexistence of military significance and religious values in contemporary society. A meticulous analysis of the strategic placement of Hero Stones at the site reveals two key insights. Firstly, the scenes

depicting female devotees paying homage to the Lingam suggest a pre-battle ritual, aligning with the innate tradition in India where prayers for victory precede warfare. The diverse positions of Heroes—standing, running with bow and arrow, wielding sword and shield—vividly portray battlefield scenarios. Secondly, the hierarchical status of Heroes is evident in the arrangement, with infantry and archers positioned in front, accompanied by attendants holding parasols above their heads, indicating a higher rank within the army.

Conclusion

The above observations and interpretations are certainly at its preliminary stage of understanding but the fact which can't be eliminated is that the Hero Stones found in various parts of Odisha dates from 5th Century CE to 16th Century CE ranging various dynasties e.g. Somavamshis, Gangas, Suryavamshis as of now. The discovery of nineteen Hero Stones at a single spot with different features in a dilapidated state outline the need of preservation and conservation as any piece of past glorifying history of any region is worth remembering and deserves special attention cum treatment from their future generations. Further study of the place where the Hero Stones are erected can add much to the unknown History which historians are researching. These Hero Stones essentially are monuments erected for Heroes who died fighting in a battlefield. Hans Ruin describes, 'Monumental' history is the mode characteristic of one who approaches the past in search for ways of action and of exerting power and initiative, and thus for 'models and teachers'. The basic meaning of the Latin *monumentum* is that of a memorial or simply a tomb. It is a reminder of someone who existed and acted and thus of a mode of life that was once possible, and which can thus be seen as holding out a possibility of being repeated. In its positive sense, monumental history permits humans to grasp history as a model or pattern of action or of life. What has been accomplished is experienced as possible to achieve again.³³In Odisha Hero Stones are scattered at various places which can connect the dots of Political, Military, Social, Cultural at a given space and time.

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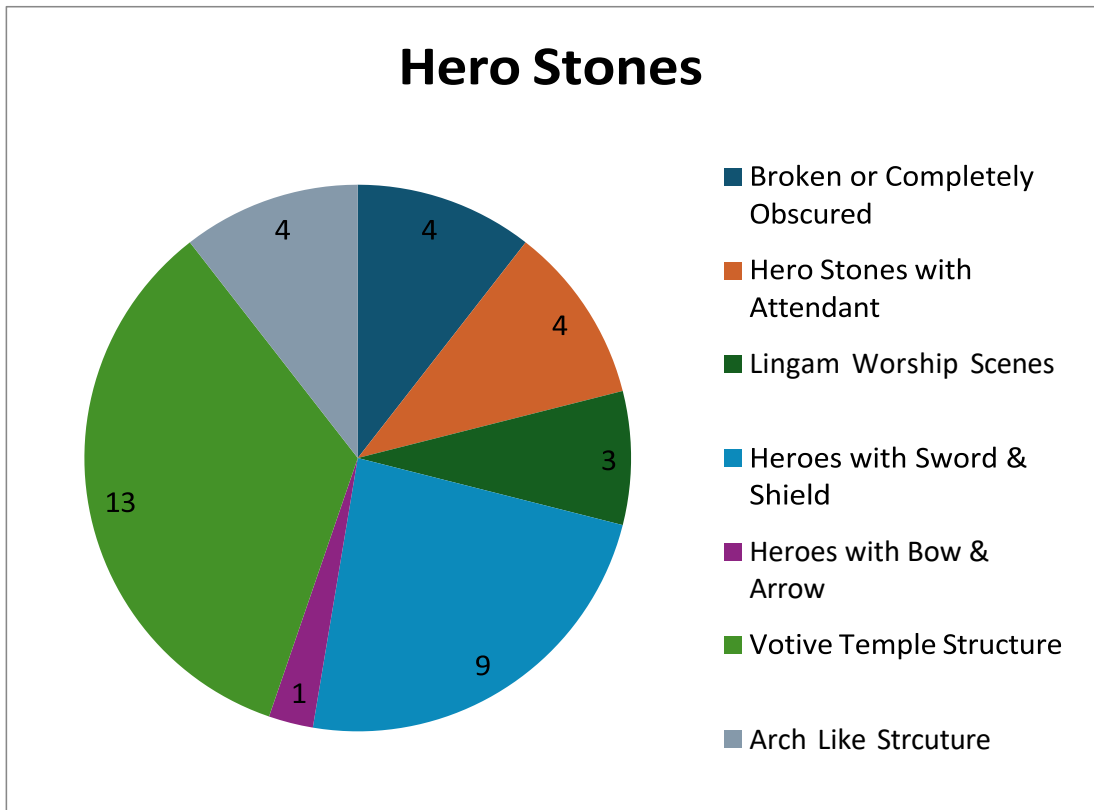


Chart (Description of Hero Stones in Kanjiagarh)



Fig. 1 (Google Satellite Image)



Fig. 2 Panoramic Image of Location



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17

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**CULTURE AND GENDER INEQUALITY: IN THE CONTEXT
OF TRIBES OF ODISHA**

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Abstract

The way people live, what they believe, and their traditions all shape a society's culture. Different regions have different cultures, and these cultures determine how men and women are supposed to behave and relate to each other. Gender, which is about the roles of men and women in work, family, and power, is a concept from the West. Unlike "sex," which is about biology, "gender" is more about social expectations. As cultures change over time, they have a big impact on how men and women are seen and treated. In India and also in Odisha where many tribal communities live, people commonly think that women in these communities have more freedom at work, in decisions making, and in feeling empowered compared to women in other social groups. However, gender roles and relationships are not the same everywhere among the tribal communities; they vary. Changes in their traditional culture and gender dynamics have happened because of processes like mainstreaming, displacement, and globalization. The customary laws are not mere symbolic expressions in perpetuating the gender asymmetry, but have become a powerful tool to patriarchal controls not only over women's education, health, properties and knowledge, but also over individual's choice, freedom, decision-making and sexuality. However, internal challenges are reported against customary laws and taboos, the fear of social ostracism, the obligation to restore the purity of cultural entity and anxiety reinforce people to be always submissive to those practices. Therefore, unless there is transformation along side their culture, it is fruitless to think of gender equality. The introduction of a modern economy has quickly hanged ideas about empowering women in tribal communities. Moving towards a market-oriented economy and a more industrialized society has greatly influenced the roles of tribal women, both at home and in the larger society. This paper aims to explain the changing

situation of culture and gender relationships among the tribal communities in the country. It focuses on how globalization and economic changes are affecting traditional ways and the empowerment of women in these communities.

Keywords: Culture, Gender Inequality, Tribes, Women, Empowerment

Introduction

Odisha, a state located in eastern India, is home to 62 different tribal communities, making up 22.85% of the state's population¹ (Census of India, 2011). These tribal groups have their own distinct cultural identities, practices, and socio-economic systems. Though many of these tribes are insulated from mainstream influences, gender inequality remains a pervasive issue within their social structures. While there are progressive aspects of tribal cultures that offer autonomy to women in certain spheres, traditional patriarchal norms often prevail, creating disparities in access to education, health, economic opportunities, and political participation.

This paper examines the intricate relationship between culture and gender inequality among the tribal communities of Odisha, with an emphasis on the socio-economic roles of women, the influence of cultural practices, and the governmental interventions aimed at addressing these inequalities.

The Role of Women in Tribal Societies of Odisha

Women in tribal communities in Odisha play crucial roles in both the household and economic domains. Many tribes, such as the Santals, Juangs, and Kondhs, involve women in agricultural work, which is often considered the primary economic activity in these communities. However, despite their significant contributions, women in tribal societies face systemic discrimination based on deep-seated cultural norms.

The cultural practices within tribes often relegate women to domestic roles, despite their economic participation. For instance, in many tribes, property inheritance is patrilineal, which limits women's control over economic resources. In societies like the Gond and Bonda tribes, though

women are often seen working alongside men in agriculture and manual labor, the ownership of land and decision-making authority remains firmly in male hands. This economic dependency exacerbates gender inequality, leaving women vulnerable to exploitation and marginalization.

In contrast, some tribal communities in Odisha offer women a comparatively higher degree of autonomy in personal decisions, such as choosing their spouses, which is a significant departure from many mainstream Indian societies. In the Kondh tribe, for instance, women have the right to divorce and remarry, which reflects a level of independence not commonly found in more rigid patriarchal systems. However, this relative independence does not entirely counteract the entrenched economic and social inequalities faced by women².

Cultural Practices and Gender Inequality

Many tribal customs and cultural practices in Odisha further deepen the gender divide. For instance, in some tribes, like the Dongria Kondh, women are prohibited from participating in key cultural and religious ceremonies, which are dominated by men. This exclusion from important socio-religious roles reflects their marginalization within the community's power structures. In contrast, in some matriarchal or matrilineal tribes, like the Khasi in Meghalaya, women hold significant social and economic power, but such examples are rare among Odisha's tribes.

Moreover, gender-based violence, including domestic abuse and sexual harassment, often goes unreported due to cultural taboos and fear of social ostracism. The patriarchal mindset within many tribal groups often normalizes violence against women, making it difficult for victims to seek justice or support. Social norms dictate that women should remain silent to maintain family honour, further entrenching their vulnerability.

Government Interventions and Progress

In recent years, both the Indian government and the state government of Odisha have implemented policies and programs aimed at addressing

gender inequality in tribal areas. Programs like the National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM) and Mission Shakti have been instrumental in providing economic opportunities for women by promoting self-help groups (SHGs) that encourage women to engage in income-generating activities such as handicrafts, poultry farming, and small-scale agriculture³.

Additionally, efforts to improve female literacy through initiatives like Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV) have had some positive impacts, though challenges remain in ensuring sustained enrolment and participation of tribal girls in education. The Odisha Tribal Empowerment & Livelihoods Programme (OTELP) is another initiative that seeks to empower tribal women through improved access to education, healthcare, and economic resources. However, despite these efforts, the deep-rooted cultural norms and traditions that perpetuate gender inequality require more extensive and sustained intervention.

Gender Inequality in Access to Education

Access to education remains a critical issue among tribal populations in Odisha, and this is particularly true for women. Literacy rates among tribal women are significantly lower than those of their male counterparts. According to the 2011 Census, the literacy rate among tribal women in Odisha is 41.20%, compared to 63.70% for tribal men. This disparity in education stems from cultural beliefs that prioritize male education, viewing it as an investment, while female education is often seen as unnecessary, given the expectation that women will primarily serve domestic roles.

Moreover, tribal families often rely on the labor of their daughters for household chores and agricultural work, further limiting their access to education. The opportunity costs of sending girls to school—such as the loss of labor at home or in the fields—often outweigh the perceived benefits of education. This imbalance leads to a cycle of illiteracy, unemployment, and poverty, which further entrenches gender inequality within these communities⁴.

Health and Gender Disparities

Gender disparities are also evident in the health sector among Odisha's tribal communities. Tribal women, especially in remote areas, have limited access to healthcare services, leading to high maternal mortality rates and poor overall health outcomes. Traditional norms regarding childbirth and menstrual health, as well as the practice of early marriage, exacerbate these health challenges. For example, tribes like the Kutia Kondh practice early marriage, with girls sometimes married off as young as 13 or 14 years old, leading to early pregnancies, which can have serious health repercussions⁵.

Additionally, due to socio-cultural stigmas, women are often excluded from decision-making processes related to their own health. As primary caregivers, tribal women are often burdened with caring for their families while neglecting their own health needs. This lack of autonomy and poor access to healthcare services perpetuate a cycle of poor health among tribal women in Odisha.

Conclusion

While tribal cultures in Odisha offer some areas of relative gender equality, especially in comparison to more rigidly patriarchal systems, gender inequality persists in various forms across different tribal communities. The economic, educational, and health disparities faced by women are compounded by cultural norms that limit their autonomy and opportunities. Addressing these inequalities requires a holistic approach that includes both economic empowerment and cultural shifts towards greater gender parity. Government policies and grassroots initiatives have shown promise, but the road to achieving true gender equality in Odisha's tribal society's remains long and complex.

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INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF KALAHANDI DISTRICT

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Abstract

Kalahandi is a rich tapestry of the intangible cultural heritage of Odisha. Cultural heritage encompasses wide range of monuments and collections of objects. It also includes customs or living expressions that have been passed down from our ancestors to our descendants, such as performing arts, oral traditions, social customs, rituals, celebrations, and knowledge etc. Intangible cultural legacy, however delicate, plays a crucial role in preserving cultural variation among the increasing effects of globalization. Mutual respect for diverse lifestyles and intercultural communication are fostered by an awareness of diverse communities' intangible cultural heritage. The abundance of information and abilities that are passed down through intangible cultural legacy from one generation to the next is what makes it significant, not the cultural manifestation itself. This research paper attempts to highlight the numerous folk dances, Festivals, artwork, oral epics, cave paintings etc. of Kalahandi district.

Keywords: *Intangible, heritage, folk dance, festivals*

Introduction:

Kalahandi is a rich tapestry of the intangible cultural heritage of Odisha. The history of Kalahandi dates back to a prehistoric era approximately 2000 years ago, when this geographical mass was inhabited by a highly civilized, urbanized, and cultural population. In Kalahandi, researchers have found the largest megalithic cemetery and the largest Stone Age celt¹ in the world. This demonstrates that the area had a sophisticated culture going back to the Paleolithic. Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar and Asurgarh² near Narla in

Kalahandi were the two earliest metropolises in Odisha. A few more historical forts in the region are from the medieval era at Dadpur-Jajjaldeypur, the ancient to medieval era at Belkhandi, the ancient era at Budhigarh, and the ancient era at Amthagarh.

Cultural Heritage

The term ‘cultural heritage’ has changed content considerably in recent decades, partially owing to the instruments developed by UNESCO. Cultural heritage³ encompasses wide range of monuments and collections of objects. It also includes customs or living expressions that have been passed down from our ancestors to our descendants, such as performing arts, oral traditions, social customs, rituals, celebrations, and knowledge and customs related to the natural world and the cosmos.

Intangible cultural legacy, however delicate, plays a crucial role in preserving cultural variation among the increasing effects of globalization. Mutual respect for diverse lifestyles and intercultural communication are fostered by an awareness of diverse communities' intangible cultural heritage. The abundance of information and abilities that are passed down through intangible cultural legacy from one generation to the next is what makes it significant, not the cultural manifestation itself. This information transfer has social and economic significance for both mainstream and minority social groups within a state, and it is crucial for developing as well as developed nations.

UNESCO’S Broader Outline for Intangible Cultural Heritage:

Conventional, modern, and alive at the same time: intangible cultural heritage encompasses both modern rural and urban customs that are practiced by a variety of cultural groups and inherited traditions from the past. Inclusive: we might exhibit intangible cultural heritage in ways that are comparable to those of other people. They all belong to intangible cultural heritage, regardless of whether they are from a nearby village, a city on the other side of the globe, or have been adapted by people who have moved and settled in a different region. They have been passed down from generation to generation,

have changed in response to their environments, and help to give us a sense of continuity and identity by serving as a link from our past. Community-based: Without the acknowledgement of the communities, groups, or individuals that produce, preserve, and disseminate the intangible cultural heritage, no one else has the authority to declare a particular expression or way of life to be part of their legacy.

This research paper attempts to highlight the numerous folk dances, festivals, oral epics, cave paintings etc. of Kalahandi district.

Fair and Festivals

Ratha Yatra

Every year, on "AshadhaSukla Dwitiya, in the month of June-July, Lord Jagannath's car festival takes place.⁴ This celebration is also called Ghosha Yatra, Gundicha Yatra, and Ratha Yatra.⁵ The gods are removed from the temple and put in their appropriate chariots, which are kept close to the Singhadwar, on the day of the Car Festival. In the customary ceremonial fashion, Sudarshana, Balabhadra, Subhadra, and Jagannath are the first to be taken to the chariots.⁶ The technique known as "Pahandi" causes Balabhadra and Jagannath to swing back and forth. Kalahandi's Kandel is well-known for the Ratha yatra.

The Chatar Yatra

The inhabitants of the Kalahandi District commemorate Chatar Jatra, also known as Chatar Yatra. It is observed, On the eighth day of Aswin, which falls in October. The event honors Maa Manikeswari, the family goddess of the Kalahandi King.⁷ During the festival's Bijaya Yatra, around 50,000 animals are sacrificed. The Maa Manikeswari procession draws in close to a lakh participants. After Sundhi Puja, the Goddess is carried in a procession from Jena Khal to bhawanipatna, accompanied by dancers performing Ghumra and the rhythmic beats of ghanta and nisan. In the hope that by offering animals as sacrifices, the Goddess will cure our illnesses and vices, devotees queue up along the road to catch a glimpse of her.⁸

Durga Puja

One of the largest celebrations in Kalahandi is Dusherra Durga Puja, which is also the most significant socio-cultural occasion in the community. The celebration honors culture, customs, life, and traditions. She is revered for having slain the formidable demon Mahisasur, also referred to as the Buffalo Demon. In addition, it commemorates her annual homecoming during the Bengali month of Aswin, honoring Lord Ram's request to Goddess Durga for her assistance in rescuing Sita from Ravana's grasp. The principal goddesses of Kalahandi, such as Manikeswari, Lankeswari, Denteswari, Khameswari, Bhandargharen, etc., are considered to be reflections of the goddess Durga. Dusra is a widely celebrated celebration in Kalahandi and holds great significance in the SkatiPitha.

Khandabasa

In the Lankeswari⁹ temple, the Khandabasa festival is held during Dasahara. On the day of Mahastami, the kings of Kalahandi used to travel to Junagarh to conduct the Puja. The king observes the day of fasting and, at an auspicious period determined by the astrologer, lays a sword before the goddess. The inhabitants in the area have a common belief that if the ruler's sword, which was set before the goddess, stays straight, the peasants will not experience natural disasters like epidemics or droughts. The sword portends ill luck for the State if it tilts to the right or left. A fair is held there to commemorate the occasion, and the holiday is observed for a day. In actuality, the congregation lasts for almost three days. Goats and buffaloes are offered as sacrifices to the goddess on the day of Mahastami. For the amusement of the public, folk performances such as Ramalila and Ghumura dance are typically scheduled for the evening.

Makara Mela

Makara Mela is celebrated at Kusurla village on the day of Makara Sankranti. This three-day event takes place next to the Nilakantheswar temple. Many people from the surrounding villages gather at Kusurla on this joyous occasion each year to worship the god Nilakantheswar (Siva). At the fair, businesspeople from Kalahandi and the nearby Balangir region do brisk

business. The items that are brought for sale are mostly dishes, clothes, ready-to-wear, toys, candies, etc. Kusurla has been celebrating this festival for the past fifteen years.

Puajiuntia and Bhaijiuntia

Aswina (September–October) is the month when the Puajiuntia ceremony is observed. Mothers everywhere observe a complete 24-hour fast and pay homage to the goddess Dutibahana on¹⁰ this auspicious occasion. Greetings of long life and wealth are intended for the sons at the event. In order to conceive a child—ideally a son—the infertile women likewise follow this ritual. September–October: Bhaijiuntia festival is commemorated on the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Aswina. For their brother's long and good life, the sisters honor the goddess Durga on this day. The brothers give their sisters sweet and brand-new clothing in return.

Rama Navami

The ninth day of the bright fortnight in the months of Chaitra (March–April) is Rama Navami, a celebration marking the birthdate of the beloved Ramayana hero. At Bhawanipatna, people celebrate it with great zeal.

Sivaratri

Sivaratri is celebrated in the month of Phalguna (February–march). A lamp known as the Maha Dipa is carried to the summit of the temple at midnight and burns all night long. Following their viewing of the Maha Dipa, the devotees break their fast. Dadpur, Belkhandi, Mohangiri, Deundi, and Jugsaipatna are among the Siva temples that celebrate this event with tremendous fanfare and magnificence.

Pousa Parba

Toki Mara Parba is another name for Pousa Parba. The tribal people living in the Kalahandi and Dharamgarh subdivisions observe it on Pousa Purnima¹¹ day. The tribal chief used to bury his own daughter's corpse in the fields after offering her as a sacrifice to their goddess. The villagers thought that by doing this, they would get a bountiful harvest. The sacrifice animal is brought to the

altar on Pousa Purnima day amid a boisterous crowd of people, accompanied by drumming and dancing.

Kalahandi Utsav

In Bhawanipatna and Dharamgarh of the Kalahandi District, the district administration co-hosts the annual exposition or celebration known as Kalahandi Mahotsav, also called Kalahandi Utsav Ghumara. The Kalahandi Utsav serves as a forum to promote, inspire, and display Odisha's artistic, cultural, musical, dramatic, literary, and handicraft endeavors around the world. Numerous folk singers and dance groups from throughout the State and beyond perform.

It is observed at Dharamgarh's Panchayat Playground and Bhawanipatna's Lal Bahadur Stadium. Both locations feature more than 300 stalls.

Jhanji Yatra

Jhanji Yatra is held at Kulerpada (hirapur), Jaipatna, Kalahandi, and is a village in Jayapatna Tehsil. It is situated 391 KM from the state capital Bhubaneswar, 79 KM south of the district headquarters.

Deepawali

Diel, sometimes called Deepawali or Diel, is a festival observed in Kalahandi. This is slowly making its way into the local community, but it is gaining popularity because of the immigrant business community, primarily from the Marwadi population.

Nuakhai:

Usually, this is a regional celebration celebrated in Kalahandi and other parts of Western Odisha. It originated in tribal culture and is reminiscent of the first harvesting of new crops. However, today everyone celebrates it, regardless of caste, creed, or religion. Around here, Nuakhai is celebrated by a large number of Christians who converted from tribal life. Tribal culture recognizes various varieties of Nuakhai, the most widely recognized being Dhan (Rice) Nuakhai.¹² Amnuan: This is Am's (mango) Nuakhai celebration. Kandulnuan: This celebration honors the Nuakhai (a type of lentil) of Kandul. Semnuan: This is a Nuakhai festival honoring Semi, a particular variety of

beans. Dumernuan: This Nuakhai bears a resemblance to the Dumer kind of forest fruit. Kendunuan: Kendu is another variety of forest fruit, and this Nuakhai is intended for it.

Budharaja Parba

The village of Ampani celebrates the Budharaja festival. The settlement is located on the main route that leads to Koraput, 96 kilometers from the district headquarters. Budha Raja is the temple's chief deity. It is a god of the tribe. Attendees of the festival come from all across the area as well as from nearby districts. On this occasion, around 5,000 people get together. Sheep, chickens, and goats are sacrificed. The celebration lasts for a single day, from dawn till dawn the next day. At night, contestants from neighboring villages compete in the Ghumura dance competition. In addition, there are various folk performances, such as Suanga and Ramalila. A small number of Janis (priestly households) look after the god. In certain villages, they serve as the deity's messengers while also worshipping him. They carry out religious ceremonies and provide the populace with health-related advice through the kalsi.

Folk dance

Kalahandi has a wide variety of dance forms comprising tribal and non-tribal. This district in Odisha boasts the most variety of dance forms among all the others. Generally, dancing and music are a part of Kalahandi culture. Certain dance forms present in Kalahandi, such as Rasarkeli, Dalkhai, Jaiphula, and Sajani, are comparable to those found in Sambalpur, Balangir, and other locations, whereas songs about nature, Sari songs, Pholia songs, and other dance forms are similar to those found in Koraput. But Kalahandi is home to most Boria songs, Nialimali, Kalakolik, etc. On the other side, songs can be made out of Kalahandi folk forms like Ghumura, Madali, Dandari, Dhab, Bajasalia, etc.

Dhap Dance

The musical instrument known as dhap¹³ which is shaped like a khanjani, is the source of the name of the Dhap dance. Using his right hand, the dancer beats the dhap with sticks while holding it in his left. Men and women both

join in this dance, which is performed by the Kandhas of the region. Typically, males from one village engage in singing and dancing with ladies from another village. Unmarried men and women participate actively in this dance under the guidance of seasoned performers. The Kandhas dance this Dhap for fun and on special occasions when they get married. The dancers don't wear any particular attire for the performance. The men and women dance in rows facing each other. They sing largely love songs while pacing back and forth. Because of the influence of contemporary society and shifts in people's perspectives, ladies today are reluctant to dance.

Madal Dance

The Gonds of the district execute the Madal dance. The participants, who are both male and female, alternate between sitting and dancing in circles. In this dance, one person sings while others play drums. The men dancers have peacock feathers tucked into their turbans. A ghagarla, or necklace of bells, is worn around their waists to provide a melodic sound when they dance.

Ghumra dance

Ghumura dance is the folk dance of Kalahandi. The Ghumura dress code makes it more like a tribal dance.¹⁴ However, newer studies contend that some of the dance patterns and mudras used in Ghumura are more similar to other Indian classical dance styles. It's unclear when the Ghumura dance originated. Numerous researchers assert that in ancient India, Ravana utilized it as a war dance in the Ramayana. The Sun Temple in Konark features a depiction of Ghumura dance, indicating that this dancing style dates back to the Middle Ages. From being a battle dance, Ghumura dance has developed into a dance style for social and cultural events.

In the modern era, dancing is linked to social pleasure, leisure, love, devotion, and amiable fraternity among all socio-economic groups, creeds, and religions. This dance has historically been connected to the Nuakhai and Dasahara festivities in Kalahandi and a sizable portion of southwest Odisha. The Kalahandi region has been instrumental in promoting and preserving the distinctive identity of Ghumura dance.

Ghumura was originally a tribal group dance performed by a group of dancers using various instruments, outfits, and more aesthetically pleasing costumes. It was a traditional dance. The Ghumura culture is still present among the tribal people in its separate locations and is linked to socio-religious functions. The Ghumura dance uses a clay pot, like a large, slackened "Dambaru," as its musical instrument.¹⁵ It is thatched with iguana skin, Nissan coated in cow skin, cymbals (Mrudanga, Tahia), clothing, and other items. The tribal communities of today still utilize and practice the same things that were employed in the past.¹⁶

Dandari dancing

The term "Danda," which means stick, is where the name of the traditional dance "Dandahulia" originates. In the performance, each dancer holds two sticks in their hands and keeps dancing while biting each other in different ways. The Gondabadi or Dandari dance of Kalahandi is remarkably similar to the traditional Dandahulia tribal dance of the Koraput and Nawarangpur districts. To improve the dancers' visual appeal, the Dandas, or dancing sticks, are painted in a linear design and are incredibly ornate. The traditional Dandahulia dance originated in these locations. Some scholars believe it has to do with the Dwapara Yuga, or the period when Lord Krishna spent his early years as a cowherd boy in Gopapura. Legends surrounding the Dandahulia dance claim that Lord Krishna performed this dance as a kind of recreation in the forest with his cowherd companions. During Dandahulia's performance, Lord Krishna himself practiced teaching his other performers how to defeat their adversaries by using these Dandas in times of peril or difficulty. The traditional Dandahulia dance can also be performed with the Danda acting as both an instrument and an item. Since then, the dance has been performed by a variety of individuals under a variety of titles in a variety of locales. In the regions of Nawarangpur and Koraput, it is known as Dandahulia. In the Baleswar district, a particular Gond community performs Loudi Dance.¹⁷

Paintings

Gudahandi is a prehistoric cave site in the Kalahandi area, often referred to as Gudahandi caves.¹⁸ The terms "guda" (raw sugar) and "handi" (clay pot) are the roots of the word "gudahandi." The hills seem like the old-fashioned sugar pots that were utilized in Odisha. The Gudahandi caverns have inscriptions, paintings, and pictographs carved into its stone walls dating back thousands of years. These caves were formed between 25,000 and 20,000 CE.¹⁹ Early historic period paintings in both monochrome and biochromatic styles are on display at the rock art shelter. The paintings on the rock art panel are preserved in a stylized red human figure, a deer, and various geometric patterns.

Traditional Healing Practices

There are also age-old healing customs in Kalahandi that have been handed down through the centuries. These customs, which have their roots in the cultural beliefs of the surrounding populations, frequently incorporate the use of plants, ceremonies, and indigenous knowledge systems.

Oral Tradition

Like many other regions in India, Kalahandi has a rich repository of oral traditions, including folk tales, myths, legends, and folklore. These narratives are often passed down orally from one generation to another generation.

Conclusion

The tribal population in Kalahandi makes up around 28% of the overall population, and their presence has a significant influence on the customs, culture, and traditions of the area. By adopting a holistic approach that combines documentation, community involvement, education, policy support, tourism development and international cooperation, the intangible cultural heritage of Kalahandi can be effectively conserved for future generation to appreciate and cherish.

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**REVIEW OF TMT FILES AS RESOURCEFUL PRIMARY
SOURCES FOR REVISITING THE HISTORY OF GOAN
LIBERATION MOVEMENT**

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Abstract

The present paper explores the resourcefulness of the TMT files preserved at the Goa Archives for the reconstruction of the history of Goan liberation movement and the Colonial Government's response to it. History of Goan Liberation Movement and its parallels with the Indian Independence Movement, history of Goan freedom fighters from the basic details like their native village to the more significant information such as their ideological leanings, political affiliations, their contribution towards the Goan liberation movement, the working of various wings of Colonial Government, administrative, judicial and police etc., that were active and profuse in the suppression of the movement for longer time, and the conditions of the subaltern natives under the Portuguese colonial rule are some of the many aspects of colonial history of Goa that can be re-viewed and reconstructed with the help of the TMT files.

Key Words: *Archival Sources, Trials of the Military Court, Goa's Struggle for Freedom, Subalterns against Colonialism*

Introduction:

Among the various sources available for the study of colonial history and of the freedom struggle of Goa, the TMT (Tribunal Military Territorial) files occupy the position of prominence as primary sources due to their authentic nature as official documents of the colonial Government at Goa. They not only present the official stand of the Portuguese regime regarding the question of Goa's liberty from colonial rule but also exhibit the voice of Goan resistance to the oppressive regime and against the curbs on their civil liberties. They have been well preserved and made available at the disposal of the researchers and historians by the Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum. Goa Gazetteer Department has published the translated versions of a few of these files which are very helpful for the scholars and readers who are not acquainted with the Portuguese language. Yet many of these files remain untranslated and under-explored, which makes them again an interesting treasure to

be utilised. These files shed light on the procedures of investigation, correspondence between the authorities of PEI and TMT, reports on the statements of the accused, witnesses and of the reporting police personnel, details of the sentences, applications for Amnesty, etc. As such, this collection of TMT proceedings forms the nucleus of academic research around which the supplementary evidence from the secondary sources could be weaved to reconstruct the past. The role of secondary sources assumes importance to eliminate the biased statements and monolithic narratives from being accepted at the face value. The present article attempts to explore these prized primary sources and a few secondary sources to relive few aspects of Goa's freedom struggle.

For the Reconstruction of Colonial History and Goan Liberation Movement:

The very fact that Goa was always part of India not only in the minds and hearts of the Goans but also of the Portuguese, can be seen in their addressing of their Goan and other possessions in India as *Estado da India* (State of India) and not as *Estado da Goa* (or *Estado da Portugal*) even though Goa was the administrative capital of Portugal's Indian possessions. They too knew that those possessions belonged to India, not just geographically but also because their nature and culture is essentially Indian.

Majority of the Goan freedom fighters visualised Goa as an integral part of India and for them freedom meant not just the end of colonial rule but also logical integration with the Mother Land, that is Bharat, Hindustan, or India, as variously called. The idea of Goa as part of Bharat can be seen taking the visual form in the actions and writings of the then ideologues and freedom fighters. While Ravindra Kelekar established an institute and founded a weekly too in the name of Gomant Bharati', Govind Pundalik Hegdo Desai founded a bi-lingual weekly called O Bharat'¹. Even after the colonization of 450 years, Goans were still emotionally, culturally connected with their mother land. If we have a look at the nationalist activities of that time, Pandurang Purushottam Shirodkar was active in National Congress of Goa (NC(G)) but helped procuring arms and ammunition for the radical freedom fighters in India². It is against the usual path of non-violence followed by the Indian National Congress. On the other hand, Purushottam Keshav Kakodkar also from the NC(G), was a Gandhian and staunch believer and follower of the path of non-violence³. in both cases one cannot un-notice the direct association, cooperation, and influence of Indian nationalists and the Goan nationalists on each other.

In every TMT file, Portuguese authorities have addressed their correspondence For Service of The Republic' and For the Welfare of the Nation'. The republic' being

served was the Portuguese Republic and the welfare being sought was that of Portugal Nation. But for the freedom fighters of Goa, the nation they belong is Indian nation with Goa as an integral part of it. In TMT files, only Portuguese language was used for official correspondence and as is evident from their suppression of native language and culture, the Portuguese government didn't include either Konkani or Marathi along with Portuguese to ease up the proceedings. But the freedom fighters of Goa used multiple languages in their correspondence with the natives and with the nationalists and citizens of India, through all the possible means of communication. One such correspondence found recorded in the TMT proceedings, titled, *Indian Citizenship is the birth right of Goans*', duly signed and released by Guilherme de Souza Ticlo. It is in Hindi, Roman Konkani, Marathi, Portuguese and English and strongly puts forward their views. A part of this correspondence is as follows:

—*We affirm that we are and have always been part of the Indian people and declare our resolve to become Indian citizens. While Goa shall be an integral part of Republic of Hindustan, the people of Goa shall on the basis of self-determination determine their status.*⁴l.

Thus, unlike the Portuguese authorities and the missionaries, for the Goan freedom fighters Hindustan is their Republic, not Portugal. It doesn't mean there weren't any voices with different opinions. As Parag D. Parobo says, —nationalism in Goa challenges the singularity of nationalist imaginations⁵. While T. B. Cunha, Guilherme de Souza Ticlo, Peter Alwares, James Fernandes, and several other Catholics too were single-minded about Goa's merger with India, post-freedom, J.I. de Loyola wanted Goa to have civil liberties and all other rights at par with any citizen of the Metro police, that is Portugal. He wanted it within the framework of Estado da India (Portuguese State of India). For him freedom was needed from colonization and that can be achieved by securing equal rights. He didn't foresee Goa as part of India⁶. But majority of the freedom fighters were certain that colonial regime can't bring equal rights. They have vehemently opposed the dictatorial regime of Salazar and his Colonial Act, Carta Organica, suppression of press and civil liberties. Through one document/leaflet titled *Victory to India*', they have envisaged that civil liberties should be enjoyed by all, farmers, outcastes, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, all alike⁷. Even the press during those days took cognizance of the fact that Goan Liberation Movement was running parallel with the Indian freedom struggle and their destination is one and same. On 10th August 1946, Blitz', an Indo-British journal while posting about Dr. Bhaskar Bhandare, Dr. Ramakrishna Hegde, Dr. J. Teles and others who were detained after the Panjim Hartal, captions this news as *Goa Joins "Quit India" Battle*'⁸. A few months before this, on 7th April 1946, T. B. Cunha at the Instituto Luso Indiano delivered a lecture on the condition of the *civil*

liberties in Goa' and reminded the Goan youth to remember the aim to attain Free Goa in a Free India'⁹. Later in 1954, the All-Goa Congress Committee meeting held at Belgaum, passed a resolution saying that the efforts and struggle of the Goans for liberation from the colonial rule are not going to be futile and that, it is the responsibility of all the Indians to stand with the Goans and support their cause¹⁰. Hundreds of Indian Satyagrahis entered Goa in support of the Goan freedom struggle and many had attained martyrdom due to the incessant firing by the Portuguese police.

T. B. Cunha expresses his disappointment and distress that even after spilling their blood, freedom was still a far cry. The reason he says for the ineffectiveness of their struggle on Portuguese regime was because they are not dealing with a normal democratic government' but with a fascist authoritarian regime' and that the polite diplomatic relations and correspondence, exchange of consulates isn't going to have any effect on an authoritarian regime¹¹. True to his opinion, Portuguese Government made no efforts to redress the grievances of the Goans, did not lift the curbs on their civil liberties, but instead transformed the Goa into a fascist military state. Culminating the fascist trend, Salazar's Government arrested the opposition leaders in Portugal, belonging to the National Democratic Movement, terming it illegal'¹².

After several years of imprisonment, Portuguese released some Indian Satyagrahis under Amnesty stating that Amnesty is granted to those Indian citizens whose crimes didn't involve any violence and didn't infringe the articles of the penal code.¹³. But the Goan Satyagrahis who were given Amnesty were deprived of their right to come back to Goa. P. K. Kakodkar, Rama Krishna Hegde and several others who were deported to Portugal and its African colonies were granted Amnesty and released from the jails. But were not allowed to leave Portugal and must visit every day at PIDE's office. On their refusal to oblige the same, both were rearrested and had to suffer further¹⁴.

The accusations levelled against the freedom fighters in the TMT files hint their active participation in the African freedom movements wherever Portuguese had deported the Goan freedom fighters after their trial. For example, in Angola, nationalist movement was said to be mentored' by P.P. Shirodkar¹⁵. In case of the Indian Satyagrahis, Portuguese had given Amnesty due to the international pressures and to promote its propaganda against India. But keeping the potential Goan Satyagrahis under surveillance even after granting' Amnesty was a strategy to suppress the ongoing Liberation movement. Antony John de Souza, a non-violent Satyagrahi was sentenced to 28 years of RI¹⁶. Though his activity doesn't involve any violence. This shows how TMT and PEI acted against the Goan natives and their

Indian supporters through harsh sentences, brutal treatment, criminal negligence, wanton harassment even after granting Amnesty.

For assessing the role of Portuguese Police and Soldiers during the Liberation Movement:

PIDE(*Policia Internacional para Defesa do Estado*) was the regressive police force created during the regime of Salazar in Portugal. In Estado da India, from the beginning of the colonial rule, the functions of the police were performed by the military personnel and on few occasions, police were imported from Portugal. *Corpe de Policia e Fiscalizacao da India* (CPFI) was formed in 1924. It was more like a wing of military but later replaced by the Civil Police as a separate body titled, *Policia do Estado da India* (P.E.I) (Police of the State of India) that was created in the year of 1946 by the Government of Portugal¹⁷. One official that was most notorious and cruel in the annals of colonial history in Goa was Agente Monteiro'. These —Agentes were part of a special cadre known as *Quadro Especial* and were trained with the sole objective of tracing the freedom fighters and to eliminate any resistance against the Portuguese rule¹⁸.

The renowned freedom fighter, Mohan Ranade in his *Struggle Unfinished* gave vivid details of the ill-treatment and the custodial torture freedom fighters had to undergo due to this Agente and his —special team¹⁹. Even women freedom fighters weren't spared from their ruthless thrashings. Sharada Savaikar had to face the brunt of their contempt for the freedom fighters²⁰. But the women freedom fighters were willing to give up their lives for the sake of freedom but enslavement to the alien rule was not acceptable for them. When Vatsala Kirtani was asked to stop chanting 'Jai Hind' by Police Commandant Figueiredo, she replied that *if Viva Salazar brought pride to the heart of the Commandant, Jai Hind gave her the spirit to fight for her freedom*²¹.

Mohan Ranade mentions one more blatant violator of civil rights called Romba. Romba was of the firm belief that every Satyagrahi must be shot dead' and used to reiterate the same in front of the freedom fighters in his custody²². His highhandedness met with a crushing humiliation at the hands of Indian Government as he was denied visa to cross the Indian territory to Goa in 1953. This happened when he entered Bombay without permission from Daman and on the way to Goa as if Bombay was still in possession of Portuguese monarchs²³. *Free Goa* published a poem in 1954 which equated him to a —*Scare crow dressed in Police uniform* and describes how he used to flaunt his revolver and chant —*Viva Salazar* often²⁴. Certainly the 'Jai Hind' gave a head-on collision with 'Viva Salazar', and it

didn't go well with the Portuguese administration which already curbed the civil rights, had even put the human rights in jeopardy.

Anything related to India that can influence Goans was being banned. According to a news report, more than fifty Indian newspapers were banned in Goa including the 'Organiser', 'Sunday Standard' and 'Loksatta'²⁵. Along with the newspapers even Indian flags were causing sour eyes to the Portuguese as Indian flag hoisting was becoming the order of the day. An incident of burning of the Indian flag by a Police Chief from the region of Sanguem shows the intolerance of the police state that Goa had become at that time²⁶. Another such incident happened at Savoi-Verem in Ponda Taluq resulted in the killing of Custodio Fernandez for burning the Indian flag that was hoisted by the freedom fighters²⁷. Possession of nationalist literature or photos of national leaders from India were also leading to imprisonments, and suspension of political rights. Suspending political rights and civil rights which were practically absent, was a cruel joke that was being repeated in almost every sentence by the TMT. The condition of the freedom fighters as political prisoners was pathetic. Lack of sufficient nutritious food and ill-treatment caused severe illness for many prisoners²⁸. Custodial deaths were the order of the day and no Portuguese official ever seem to be punished for this culpable homicide as scores of Goan freedom fighters and satyagrahis from India were subjected to brutal killings. Laxman Narayan Velingkar, Bala Raya Mapari, Krishna Vasudev Parab, Prabhakar Laxman Verenkar, Parshuram Srinivas Acharya, Bala Dhondu Parab, Krishna Vishnu Raikar were died while in the police custody at Panaji²⁹. Several others met with the fatal fate at the police stations of Bicholim, Daman, at the Diu jail and at the Aguada jail³⁰.

Among these horrific custodial deaths that shocked the civil society was the murder of Parshuram Srinivas Acharya that exposed the degenerated state of police system during the colonial rule. Acharya was the administrative head of a Hindu Math at Partagal in Canacona taluq. Jeronimo was a trouble for the locals since long and was involved in several incidents of abuse of the civilians and causing dishonour to the Samadhi of the previous Swami at Partagal Math by spitting on it. When this humiliating incident was reported to the higher authorities, an enquiry committee was formed with Jeronimo Barreto himself as part of it. This audacious act raised eyebrows and after further requests, a new enquiry by the Police Chief of Margao was ordered. While this enquiry was going on, Jeronimo Barreto was killed on 18th September 1956 by some who attacked his residence which resulted in the death of his father too. This followed by the arrest of Acharya and his custodial death due to torture. And the news of his death on 20th, September comes out the on next day³¹. So, it took less than three days for the Portuguese police to arrest and assassinate a harmless native Priest for a crime he never committed, but they could not punish

Jeronimo Barreto even after repeated instances of forceful entering and insulting the inmates, hurting the religious sentiments of the natives, even after two successive enquiries that lasted for more than three months. Portuguese Government adds another feather in its Dictatorial Cap by arresting 14 freedom fighters on the charges of murdering Jeronimo Barreto and his father. But the custodial death of Parshuram Srinivas Acharya was conveniently forgotten, only stoic silence prevailed in both the *Estado Novo* and *Estado da India*³².

Portuguese administrative machinery could serve only delays and injustice for the Goans, and their only duty was as though to suppress the natives fighting for civil liberties. It was a State against the citizens. Arresting without any evidence under suspicion was a new normal for the PEI. Prabhakar Naik was arrested during the time when Mohan Ranade was in the police custody. He recounts the horror as to how Prabhakar Naik was tortured to the extent to accept every false allegation against him and succumbed in police custody and Monteiro calls it —best news³³. Another freedom fighter Suresh Kanekar, in his *Goa's Liberation and Thereafter – Chronicles of a fragmented life*, informs how all the communications meant for the freedom fighters and political prisoners used to be censored³⁴. Kanekar in his account mentions a Sergeant named Kavlekar who was the in charge of the censorship of Marathi material and posted to fort Aguada to monitor the visits of the inmates, especially of the freedom fighters. But he was the source of information and some benevolence for them³⁵. There were instances where the natives among the police supported the freedom struggle secretly and were dismissed from the service on being found out. Uttam Vishnu Teli or Utomo Vishnum Telli was an Auxiliary guard of the PIE. He was accused of sharing classified information with an official of Indian Consulate at Panaji but was acquitted later because of lack of evidence³⁶.

Pundalik Sagun Naik was another Goan who left his occupation as Cabo de Policia (Police Patel) and joined the freedom struggle. He too was arrested by Agente Casimiro Monteiro and tried by the TMT that sentenced him to Five years of RI and suspension of civil rights for fifteen years³⁷. Free Goa highlighted many such instances where Goan police refused to obey the orders to flog the Satyagrahis and were even got arrested due to this defiance³⁸. When freedom fighters Gajanan Raikar and Shivaji Dessai escaped from the Mental Hospital Concentration Camp at Altinho in Panaji, the Goan guards on duty that day were arrested and replaced by the guards from Africa and Europe³⁹. Much before to this, in the year of 1943, a group of natives working in the Portuguese Army, emptied the magazines to equip the freedom fighters and successfully slipped into the mainland India except one of them who was arrested when Portuguese came to know about their activities, but he too escaped from their clutches soon⁴⁰.

Among the police, the Portuguese and their descendants made efforts to curb down the Liberation movement. When it comes to the native Catholics among the police, there were incidents of revolt or not obliging to their superiors, though majority were conforming. It is the Hindu sepoys in the army and police that became a trouble for the Portuguese as many used to quit the service voluntarily, leaving the colonial government in dire necessity of immediate recruitments. A village like Chinchinim had at one time a near about 40 African and European military personal to guard against any nationalist activities⁴¹. The TMT proceedings reveal that there were thousands of people used to attend the meetings organized by the freedom fighters and used to raise slogans —Jai Hindl and —Death to Portugall⁴². The Government was so irked with this and resorted to arrest the freedom fighters and put them through years of imprisonment and trials. And when could not find sufficient evidence against them, used to acquit them in the name of Amnesty⁴³.

On Colonial Government's attitude towards the Subaltern Sections:

The enquiry proceedings of the freedom fighter Upendra V. Sinai Talaulikar by TMT contain a startling statement about the people attended the meeting of the freedom fighters,

—...there were no persons who merited any consideration by their social position or standard of life having taken part in the meeting, since he saw (the declarant, Parish Administrator of Priol, Antonio Manuel Marques) at this place only *gaudes* and *begarins...*⁴⁴.

This statement is an open declaration of the hypocrisy of the Portuguese regime. While they didn't get tired of preaching oneness before the God, their attitude revealed their deep-rooted bias against the subaltern sections among the natives. For the Portuguese Government, the subaltern natives don't merit to be considered to have an opinion of their own, their presence was equal to their absence. But the important question that rises is, —If the colonial rule really nurtured the welfare of its citizens, why these communities remained in the margins of the society even after four centuries of civilizational drive' by both the Portuguese Government and the Religious Orders?||.

The proceedings of the trial of Laxmikant Venkatesh Prabhu Bhembre comprise his letter addressed to the Governor of Estado da India. In that letter he questions the Portuguese propaganda that they have abolished castes. He says, Portuguese have doubled the number of castes in Goa and created new and terrible ones than the existing ones as observed by Mahatma. According to him, among Catholics of Goa caste prejudices exist in a much stronger way than their Hindu counterparts⁴⁵. In the

same letter he exposes the hypocrisy of the colonial rulers who were much concerned about the caste inequalities among the Hindus but forget how they gave subaltern treatment to the non-Catholics. He reminds them how the Archbishop of Goa destroyed the temple of Damodar at Madgaon which forced the natives to move their deities to Zambaulim⁴⁶.

Yet another instance of colonial bias and their policy of divide and rule comes to the fore during the trial of P. K. Kakodkar. On 23rd June 1946, P. K. Kakodkar organised a meeting at Madgaon which was attended by more than thousand people. During this meet, a flag of Indian National Congress was hoisted on a mango tree in a square at the same time when Portuguese flag was being hoisted at the Government offices. This flag was seen carried throughout the procession by one Yedu Deuji Mirajkar, native of Mapusa and resident of Madgaon. He was a cobbler by profession⁴⁷. Shaik Caxim, a sepoy of Rural Police and Forestal Cadre, during investigation questions him about which class he belonged to and whether according to the customs of Hindus, was he permitted to share food with the Brahmins⁴⁸. Upon learning that he was a Harijan and that he can't take food along with Brahmins, he was questioned further whether other Harijans took part in the meeting. Yedu Deuji Mirajkar answer affirms the fears of the Portuguese and then he was asked as to why the flag of Indian National Congress was handed to him, a Harijan⁴⁹. This futile attempt of the Portuguese police by pointing to the socio-cultural differences between the Hindus of different castes, to divide and dilute the Liberation Movement didn't yield the desired results. Though the very question that 'Why was the flag of the INC was given to a Harijan?' was lingering in the minds of the Portuguese, the Goan freedom struggle was turning into a mass movement with the inclusion and active participation of the subaltern natives.

Though the Colonial Government and its propaganda apparatus was busy colouring this mass mobilization and the inclusive nature of this movement as the 'sporadic subversive events by the anti-nationals backed by the Indian Union', the Velips, Gaudes, Kunbis, Dhangars and other subaltern sections took this movement to every nook and corner of Goa. Whether it is Canacona in the South Goa or the Valpoi in the north Goa region, every village was immersed in the ideas of nationalism, national consciousness, and freedom from colonial rule. The subaltern sections have in fact internalized the nationalistic discourse, their community bonding has given roots to the Liberation Movement, which otherwise could have limited to the elite and educated classes of the urban areas.

The Velips of Canacona taluq were the major contributors for the Gaon freedom struggle. Particularly the Velips from the village of Poinguinim form the

crust of the resistance against the colonial rule. They were ideologically belonging to the different paths, some of them followed Gandhian values and offered Satyagraha, while others followed radical path and participated in underground activities. TMT sources reveal details about Babu Rama Velip and Yeshwant Govind Velip, who were tried under TMT and sentenced to eight years and ten years of RI respectively⁵⁰. And their crime that resulted in this rigorous imprisonment was their participation in Satyagraha' and chanting the slogans of Jai Hind', Jai Goa'. While being investigated about their intentions behind participating in the liberation movement, Eswant Govind Velip and Babu Rama Velip said that they have participated with the hope that liberation of Goa from the Portuguese will make their lives better.⁵¹ They can get wetlands for cultivation, bushes, cattle, seeds, and schools. They can have a better life by liberating Goa.

This statement is very important as it brings to light the aspirations of the Velip community into the fore and their conditions during the colonial rule. Velips, like many other tribal communities used to depend on surrounding forest areas for practicing kumeri form of cultivation and for collecting the forest products. The substantial decrease in the customary rights of the tribals over the forest areas and lack of any other means/access to the cultivable lands made their life difficult. With the liberation of Goa, they thought they will get the lands for cultivation, can afford seeds and cattle and a fair chance of education and employment might also be possible. And then we come across scores of such events where number of subaltern freedom fighters took part, and no prisons and punishments could stop their zeal to free Goa.

Conclusion: Thus, for the seamless journey into Goa's colonial past and the native response to it, the collection of TMT files carefully preserved at the Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum serve the purpose of a guiding light. Nationalism, as it was seen from the Coloniser's side and from the colonized natives' mind, can be best illustrated based on the recorded proceedings of these files as these files contain copies of the nationalist propaganda run by the Goan freedom fighters. They are also helpful in the reconstruction of subaltern nationalistic discourse as they reveal several names and deeds of subaltern freedom fighters and of the freedom fighters among women whose contribution towards the Goan freedom struggle largely gone unnoticed so far. Several booklets, pamphlets, posters, route maps, manifestos, notes, and letters issued by the freedom fighters and their organizations like NC(G), Azad Gomantak Dal, etc., are recorded in these files which are very beneficial for understanding and carrying out further research into the activities and ideologies of each of those organizations towards the Goan liberation movement. These proceedings are helpful to understand the matters of judiciary and jurisprudence, the

establishment, hierarchy, processes and procedures of the Police and Military under the Portuguese rule during the times of Goan Liberation movement. This rare archival corpus intrigues and incites the scholars towards exploring new dimensions of the known history.

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STUDY ON CULTURAL HERITAGE OF KISAN TRIBE OF SAMBALPUR DISTRICT OF ODISHA

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Abstract

The Kisan community, residing in the Sambalpur region of Odisha is a significant cultural entity among the 62 distinct scheduled tribes in the area. Renowned for their agricultural practices, the Kisan people have a rich cultural life shaped by traditions, morals, live performances, religions, and vibrant celebrations. Despite the younger, more educated generation experiencing a gradual erosion of traditional values, the Kisan community remains deeply rooted in their cultural heritage. This article delves into the cultural legacy of the Kisan tribe, exploring the impact of education, development interventions, Hinduization and modernization on their way of life. The Kisan community communicates in Sambalpuri, Odia, and Kisan, a dialect of Kurukh, highlighting the linguistic diversity within their cultural framework presents a nuanced understanding of the Kisan tribe's customs, rituals, and distinctive way of life. The shared cultural legacy of the Kisan people not only contributes to the local tapestry but also enriches the broader cultural heritage of the nation. This article aims to shed light on the intricate dynamics of the Kisan tribe's cultural identity, emphasizing the need for preservation and appreciation amidst evolving social and educational landscapes. The author has taken information from both the primary and secondary sources for writing of this paper.

Keywords: *Kisan, Myth, Ritual, Tribe, Karma, Sambalpur*

I- INTRODUCTION

The cultural heritage of the Kisan tribe reflects a rich tapestry of traditions, customs, and practices that have evolved over centuries, contributing to the unique identity of this community. Rooted in their historical experiences and interactions with the

environment, the Kisan tribe's cultural heritage encompasses various aspects, including language, folklore, rituals, art, and social organization. Language plays a crucial role in preserving the cultural identity of the Kisan tribe. Their unique dialect or language carries the nuances of their communication, passing down stories, wisdom, and a sense of belonging from one generation to another. Folklore and oral traditions are integral components of Kisan cultural heritage. Through myths, legends, and tales, the tribe imparts moral values, historical narratives, and a collective understanding of their place in the world. These stories often intertwine with their relationship with nature, spirituality, and community life. Rituals and ceremonies form a vital part of Kisan cultural expression. These events mark significant milestones in the life of individuals and the community, celebrating moments such as birth, coming of age, marriage, and death. The rituals are often accompanied by traditional music, dance, and art forms, adding vibrancy and symbolism to these occasions. Artistic expressions, including traditional crafts and visual arts, showcase the Kisan tribe's creativity and craftsmanship. These artistic endeavors not only serve functional purposes but also serve as a means of cultural expression, with patterns, symbols, and designs reflecting their worldview and values. Social organization within the Kisan tribe reflects a communal ethos, with a strong sense of collective responsibility and mutual support. The community structure, leadership roles, and governance mechanisms are designed to promote harmony, cooperation, and the preservation of cultural values.

II-METHODOLOGY

The article uses a critical analysis of the information collected, collecting from both primary and secondary sources. Gazetteers, folklore, folk tales, unpublished theses, and the principal author's practical observations and interviews performed during an experimental field survey are examples of primary data sources. The researchers performed personal interviews, on questionnaires scheduled of the field study. The survey's primary focus was on the cultural heritage of the Kisan tribe in the Odisha district of Sambalpur. Books, magazines, reviews, journals, proceedings, records and reports are examples of secondary data sources. In order to advance knowledge about the topic, the article compiles data from several sources.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To study the Cultural Heritage of Kisan Tribe of Sambalpur district
2. To know about some cultural heritage and their contributions
3. To understand the role of folklore in Kisan life

III- DISCUSSION AND RESULT ANALYSIS

CULTURAL HERITAGE OF KISAN TRIBE OF SAMBALPUR

LANGUAGE

To express oneself, communicate, and understand one another, members of the human community must use language. A specific geographic region's majority speaks the same language. In Odisha, almost 10 lakh Kisans speak a distinct language known as "Kisan *Bhasa*". Kisans spoke a language originally known as *Kisan Bhasa*, similar to how various ethnic communities speak their own languages.¹ The Kisan language belongs to the Dravidian language family and is specifically classified within the *Kurukh* linguistic family. This *Kurukh* family is considered a subset of the larger North Dravidian language family. Within the *Kurukh* dialect family, Kisan and Oraon are cited as two examples. This linguistic context indicates historical and cultural connections between Kisan and Oraon, placing them within the broader Dravidian language framework, distinct from languages like Kharia.²

FOLKLORE

Folklore is a collection up of unwritten storytelling that are transmitted verbally from one person or group to the next, such as traditional folktales or stories of bravery, rituals, and beliefs in a community. The phrase "folklore" refers to both folk and lore; folk refers to people, groups, or populations in general, while lore refers to the oral traditions or cultural knowledge of a particular area. The folklore of the Kisan tribe, who live in a remote area of Odisha, is a storehouse of their traditions, beliefs, and history and provides a glimpse into their distinct way of life.

MYTHS

A myth is a type of folklore made up mostly of stories that are important to a society, like origin myths or foundational tales. Myth, which is just an inaccurate representation of reality. Myths are strongly associated with religion or spirituality and are frequently supported by both secular and religious authority. Other myths describe the establishment and sanctification of a society's institutions, taboos, and practices.³

KARMA PARBA

In Kisan community, there is a ritual called '*Karma Parba*.' This festival used to be celebrated in the past. In earlier times, Oldman believed that by doing *Karma Parba*, a child is born. Mainly there are 2 types of *Karma Parba* – *Ekadasi Karma* and

Bhama Karma. *Ekadasi Karma* happens on *Ekadasi* of *Bhado* month. Those who do not have children perform this *Ekadasi karma*. The women of the village fasting on the day of *Karma Parba*. The worshipers of that village also fasting. Before sunset, devotees take vermilion, incense and lamps and go under the *Karma* tree. There the village God is worshipped. After that the *karma* branch is cut off at the once time. There another people bring this *Karma* branch. That branch is placed outside the house in the east direction. A hole is made in front of the planted branch. All the fast women and take bath before sunset. After this, wear new clothes and go to the *Karma Puja* place. Along with this, they also carry water, some live fish and worship items in a water vessel. They put water in the hole and leave the fish in the water. They perform the worship ritually and after the *puja*, if a woman has not had a child, she sits behind the saree skirt in front of the woman's hole. A fish jumps up the skirt of someone who is lucky enough to have a child. And my children catch the jumping fish by saying this. Sunned rice is offered in the skirt of the saree. Next day everyone takes bath and leaves the fish in the water. The rice found in alms is boiled and both are eaten by husband and wife. By doing this deed one hopes to have a child.⁴

Bhama Karma - There is *Bhama* worm in paddy during paddy inflorescence. *Bhama* worm sucks paddy. The old men of ancient times did not know which medicine was given in their paddy. Medicines were not available like today. To save Paddy from *Bhama* worm, he does *Bhama Karma*. By doing this work Insects get leave in paddy. Keeping this belief in mind, earlier the old man used to follow *Bhama Karma*. Used to clean the village street on the day of *Karma*. The worshipper of the village used to fast on that day. Before sunset, devotees take vermilion, incense and lamps and go under the *Karma* tree. There the village God is worshipped. After that the *Karma* branch is cut off at the once time. There another people bring this *Karma* branch. They carry along a *Simli* branch and a *Bhama* worm. *Karma* branch and *Simli* branch are planted in the east direction of the house. To *Bhama* worm they worship by giving vermilion, Kajal and incense. After the *puja*, they used to sing *Karma* songs and dance all night till the sun rises. Next day morning women give vermilion and Kajal in a plate and keep it on the *Karma* branch. There the worshiper worships again. Women make a plate out of leaves, after that they take *Karma* branch, *Simli* branch and *Bhama* worm and leave them in the pond or river. After that they drown once and come home facing the one side. By following this, the *Karma Parva* moves from paddy to *Bhama* worm.⁵

LEGENDS

The Kisan tribe, folk legends play a pivotal role by preserving and enhancing the tribe's myths. These legends not only convey mythical narratives but are also

grounded in historical evidence, serving to glorify the Kisan tribe. The legends encompass a range of themes, including the heroism of tribal individuals, tales of war or clan conflicts, narratives of adventurous exploration, and stories of medicine men with extraordinary healing abilities. Unlike mere myths, Kisan legends are rooted in factual events, providing a blend of historical authenticity and mythical elements. Through these legends, the Kisan tribe reinforces its cultural identity and commemorates remarkable events and individuals who have contributed to the tribe's legacy.⁶

LEGEND OF *KARMA PARAB*

Karma and Dharma were two brothers. They had no money. They went abroad to earn money. He earned a lot of money abroad. Many years have passed like this. He felt homesick and wanted to return home. After crossing the mountains, hills and rivers, he reached the village on *Bhadrab Ekadasi*. There was a belief of the Adivasis that they were not allowed to enter the village unless they worshiped the village deity after leaving the village. He had informed the house. Everyone in his house was busy in singing and dancing, so no one from home came to welcome them both. Karma sent Dharma home and he did not come. When Karma came home and saw, everyone was busy in song and dance. He became angry and threw away all the *puja* material. He picked up the *Karma* branch and threw it. After a few days, he became poor again as he was before. They did not get anything to eat. Both the husband and wife went to Dharma's house and did labour work. One day they do to paddy planting on the farm and finished it. After that it was given to eat. Karma got angry with them and uprooted the planting paddy and threw it away. The boundary line of the farm was broken. But after some time the paddy and farm boundary line became the same as before. At this time Karma stands scared. At this very moment a voice came from the sky - Karma, you had thrown away *Karma Puja* and *Karma* branch, the sin of this has been incurred. If you accept your sin and worship as per the rules then a happy day will come. From that day onwards worship as per the rules of *Karma Puja*. That day he became free from lack of opulence and wealth, and was living very happy.⁷

TALES

There are several names for Kisan Tales; they are brief moral tales that can be romantic, ghost, animal, puzzle, and many more. In a society that primarily inspires them, it justifies the education of the kids. Like –*Bhalumunda*, *Gaebalen* (Cow disease) ,*Karma Kathani* (*Karma* Story) ,*Karamsani* (*Karma* tree) ,*Jadu Bala* (Magic man) ,*Badamannu*(*Banian*) etc. *Bhalumunda* story is given below:

BHALUMUNDA

A traditional festival called *Nadu* where people used to gather for worship, sacrifice, and celebration. The festival involved the killing of 12 pairs of cocks as part of the worship ritual. Following the worship, both boys and girls would dance together, accompanied by the sounds of *Dhol* and *Mandal* (traditional Indian musical instruments). In one particular instance of *puja*, a person with pruritus (itchiness or irritation) arrived and expressed a desire to join the dance. However, he was not allowed to participate, leading to his frustration. In his anger, the person shouted, A "*Landa pahad*" is coming," suggesting that a mountain or hill was approaching. Strangely, a hill did indeed appear and covered the people gathered for the festival. The incident is said to have occurred in *Bhalumunda*, and the hill formed as a result of this event is still present to this day. The story combines elements of tradition, ritual, and a supernatural event, creating a unique and intriguing narrative associated with the festival.⁸

RITUALS

The way of life in issue relates to the norms and practices that prevail inside a particular organization and is contrasted with the civilizations of other institutions. Every tribe has a distinct culture, which can be used to understand tribal society via the prism of its structured epistemic and ethical attributes. Kisans, along with the Munda, Kharia, and Oraon, have a distinct culture.⁹ The lifestyle of the Kisans tribe evolves through key life events, encompassing the stages of conception, childhood, marriage, aging, and death. These events play a significant role in shaping the cultural and social fabric of the tribe, influencing the rites of passage and rituals associated with each life stage.¹⁰ Kisans tribe adhere to various social policies and regulations. These include *Chhutkia* rituals after six days of birth, a naming ceremony after twenty- one days, timely ear-boring, marriage ceremonies, and specific death rituals conducted after a person passes away. These social policies contribute to the cultural and communal practices that define the life stages within the Kisans tribe.¹¹

NAME GIVING CEREMONY

The naming ritual for a kid in the Kisan community takes place on the 21st day; however, the Kisan brothers are informed beforehand. It is sometimes noted that the name-giving ceremony usually occurs on the seventh day after birth, which is the day of the first purification. If funds are scarce, the ritual may instead be held on the twenty-first day.¹²

THREAD CEREMONY

In the Kisan tribe, the thread ceremony, also known as ear boring, is a significant celebration and marks the initiation into adulthood. This ceremony serves as the precursor to the first marriage in the tribe, with permission granted after the ear drilling ritual. The Kisan families celebrate this occasion lavishly, hosting feasts for invited guests. The festivities include the provision of "*Mada*" (alcohol) and "*Handia*" (rice beer or *Kusuna*). Once the thread ceremony is complete, the individual is recognized as having fulfilled an important cultural milestone within the community.

MARRIAGE

Marriage is considered sacred among the Kisans tribe, influenced by their diverse genesis myths. Kisans engage in both intra and inter-tribal marriages, valuing the sense of family within their clans. Intra-clan marriages are avoided, and remarriage is allowed for widows. However, brother-sister marriages are only permitted after the third generation. The Kisans practice a bride price, providing a modest payment to the bride's parents, but they do not have a dowry system. Divorce is uncommon within their cultural practices.¹³ The symbols of matrimony for ladies include toe rings, glass or lacquer bangles that serve as earrings, and *sindur*, or vermilion in the middle of a hair parting.¹⁴

DEATH

Death is either buried or burned, depending on the place, in Kisan civilization. Men are then sent to dig the grave after a spot for the burial has been decided upon. They are buried a little distance outside once the funeral rites are over.¹⁵ The death rituals of the Kisan tribe involve two sequential rites: the fundamental burial and the secondary burning ceremonies. Purification procedures accompany the main burial rites, culminating in the disposal of the deceased's bones. Additional ceremonies include a religious toss of the bones into the *Ganga ghat*, a water source. On the third day after cremation, body parts are collected and placed in a pot. And family members organise *Telghar* ceremony. The final purification rites occur on the eighth or twelfth day, involving house cleaning and clothing completion. Immersing the bones takes place eight or twelve days after the death ceremony is called *Kamghar*.¹⁶

MUSIC

Kisan songs can be about everything in life, such as planting, sowing, reaping, getting married, or passing away. People experience a range of emotions on a daily basis, including sorrow and anguish, joy and sorrow, achievements and failures, frustration

and aspiration. After a long day, the Kisans relax in the evenings with a tiny glass of rice beer, frequently followed by songs and dances that feature the *dhol* and *mandala*. The older generation, who have indulged in rice beer every night, especially enjoy the singing tradition. The songs are enhanced by the brief passages of other languages, even if Kisan is their main language. After a long day, the Kisans relax in the evenings with a tiny glass of rice beer, often joined by songs and dances that feature the *dhol* and *mandala*. The older generation, who have enjoyed in rice beer every night, especially cherish the singing tradition. Sambalpuri and Sadari are two more languages that are peppered throughout the songs to enhance their musical quality, even though Kisan is the primary language.¹⁷ Their marriage songs have an underpinning of tribal lyrical purity, perhaps too rich for some. The example of one of these is this:

Performed a song after Tumba Amu went away

- (1) Tum baboha lobha yare tum baboha lobha yare
Tumba bohey raja Kate dene ferabe(2)
- (2) Chi ayaingokunamandhi, chi ayaingobasi mandi
Nene ayesingo Belo variya Kahn
Epta di essera lungi di hachera
Nene ayagohareon Ka jitidon. (2)
- (3) Jitikan hale kiron am bahyabahrinneron
Harochakan hale sudosamudarneron.(2)

English

- (1) Brothers were either taken or transported by Tumba, and vice versa.
When will you return, Tumba, with the person or king?
- (2) My mother offers me kunha rice and water rice, or basi mandi.
I'm going to be travelling a long way, mom.
There are two types of sticks that are used for carrying goods: epta and broken lungi.
I'll win or lose, mother.
- (3) I'll see my brother and sister if I return after winning; if I lose, I'll see seven oceans.

DANCE

The Kisan tribe in Sambalpur places great importance on dance and music. Kisan men, women, and kids of all ages do, in fact, usually sing and dance collectively when they are happy, and their traditional songs and dances are strongly connected to their regional holidays and rituals. There are no specific rules governing the dancing performance's location or timing. Although there is no formal training involved, persons learn from society by being a part of it. The Kisan folk dancers do not, however, don any distinctive costumes for the purpose of dancing. It is not inherently original or inventive; people learn this dance technique from their ancestors. Kisan dance performances usually include flute playing and *Mandal* banging in addition to the traditional songs. Kisan dance is characterized by groups moving in graceful waves, their arms interlocked in various configurations, creating a visually stunning and culturally significant display. The *gini*, *dhol*, *tohne/singhamohuri*, and *sarangi* are common Kisan musical devices used while dance. Different types of Kisan dance like –*Karma* dance, Marriage *barat* procession, Bride welcoming, *Ghar dekha*, *Pindhani*, *Ekoesia*, *Baru*, *Nuakhai*, *Raja*, *gualpuja*, *puspuni*, *Rakhi puni*, Holi etc.

Ex. of *Nuakhai* dance of Kisan tribe - The Kisan tribe celebrates *Nuakhai*, an agricultural celebration, primarily. In the month of *Bhadrava*, it is observed on *Panchami Tithi* of the lunar fortnight. When fruits and other agricultural products are first eaten, men and women dress in new costumes and dance to the beat of different musical instruments. Both locally and domestically, *Nuakhai* is observed. The family's eldest member delivers *Nua* to other family members after offering it to the ruling deity. Following the *Nua*, all of the younger family members give their elders a hug and a blessing, as well as wishes for a long, happy, and prosperous life.

***Karma* Dance** - The *Karma* dance honours the "*Karamsani*" deity and is performed in remembrance of the group's good fortune by worshipping the *Karma* tree, also known as the sal tree, which is located in the middle of the hamlet. The worship of the Kisan tribe in the Sambalpur districts is preceded by a ritual dance that is executed by both genders.

ART & CRAFT

Even though they are observed creating a range of traditional arts and crafts, the Kisans are not deemed proficient artists. A limited quantity of products are made mainly for home usage.

Creating mats

In Kisan, the mat is called *Pitri*. In Kisan society, it is made of *Khijir/Khijur* and leaves from wild palms of date trees. Most women who sew mats do so for sitting and sleeping on them .¹⁸

Creating *Bindo*

The *Bindo*, a tiny circular cushion made of straw or palm date trees leaves, can be used to carry or set down water pots. The Kisans also use huge mats to properly store large grain bins below them.¹⁹

Manufacturing a chalki or broom

Kisan women collect broom grass from the wild to make sweeps for use in the home. Broom grass comes in two main varieties: the first grows naturally in low-lying or plains environments, and is highly common and numerous in woods.²⁰

Preparing the Plate/*Khali* and Cup/*Chakani*

Sal leaf plates and cups made by Kisan women in Odisha's Sambalpur district are sold informally. They stitch together two to three sal tree broad leaves using small, thin bamboo needles. These practical, reasonably priced, and hygienic cups and plates are quite popular in both tribal and non-tribal communities. They are available in a range of shapes and sizes .²¹

DRAWING

The Kisan farmers' passionate painting style is grounded in secular tradition. First, during religious festivals, they give thanks to God and the saints for ending crime. Thus, in the image, the endearing deity's have taken on bodily embodiment. A symbolic picture is formed by seven almost-long lines. However, it does not depict the saint's image. The seven monks who are worshipped before God in order to keep them safe from evil are mentioned in the phrase "Seven line." On the metaphorical ground are drawings of the Hindu gods of worship, Brahma, Vishnu, and Maheshwar. They print seven zeros on their wall in adoration of Goddess Durga. Drawing a lengthy line in a circle and notifying the gods is the symbol of Mahalakshmi *Puja*.²²

IV- CONCLUSION

The cultural heritage of the Kisan community, encompassing folklore, language, rituals, songs, dance, art, and crafts, plays a vital and multifaceted role in their lives. Folklore, including myths and oral traditions, serves as a means of preserving and

transmitting their cultural legacy, fostering a sense of continuity with the past and reinforcing a shared identity among community members. Through cultural heritage, social unity is promoted, and a strong sense of community is maintained. Various artistic forms, such as storytelling, music, dance, and other arts, serve as channels for community members to express emotions, convey history, and communicate cultural values. The Kisan community, in particular, has a rich collection of folktales with supernatural and spiritual themes. These myths not only contribute to understanding the spiritual dimensions of life but also reinforce beliefs in the paranormal. They often explain the origins of customs, festivals, and natural phenomena, providing a foundation for cultural practices. The Kisan community experiences tangible results from their belief in these cultural narratives.

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THE FAMINE OF 1866 AND SHAPING OF MODERN MIND OF ODISHA

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Abstract

The Odisha Famine of 1866 popularly known as the *Na'anikaDurvikshya* was a turning point in the history of modern Odisha. It brought innumerable death and devastation in this region due to the executive apathy and structural insufficiency of the British administration. The *Odia* society was backward and nearly closed to new ideas and trials going on in other parts of the country in the last part of nineteenth century. The devastations of the Famine injected a sense of guilt in the British Government and aroused its sleeping consciousness. The Government took steps for the development of the general conditions of the people by providing better communication, irrigation facilities and extensive educational system. The introduction of western education, patronage of *Odia* language and spread of Western liberal ideas laid the foundation of the political consciousness in the minds of *Odia* people. A new social awareness beyond the traditional boundaries came up to facilitate new changes. The post 1866 era in Odisha witnessed a strong current of national consciousness among the people. *Odia* intellectual giants like Fakir Mohan Senapati, Gouri Sankar Ray, Radhanath Ray, Gangadhar Meher, and others emerged during this crucial period and produced a vast ocean of *Odia* nationalist literature. So from the ashes of the Famine, the fragmented *Odia* nation could rise to establish its identity and the *Odia* society witnessed a complete reconstructed. The process for the establishment of the internal and physical shape of our state started in the right way after the Famine which is rightly regarded as a pivotal moment in the evolution of modern Odisha.

Keywords: *Famine, Nationalism, Political Identity, Odia, Intellectuals.*

Introduction:

The modern state of Odisha was formed solely on linguistic basis on 1 April 1936 by separating from Bihar province. Subsequently its boundary was extended by the amalgamation of feudatory estates (*Garjat Rajya*) with it. Odisha was ruled by the British in two phases: from 1803 to 1857 by the English East India Company, and from 1858 to 1947 by the British crown. The British Government established their administrative structure in Odisha. Ganjam and Koraput in the south were annexed with the Madras Presidency, while Sambalpur and some princely estates were annexed with the Central Province. Odisha was formed by the union of Balasore, Cuttack, Puri, and nineteen princely estates or the *Garajat Rajya* and became a division of the Bengal Presidency.¹ The province was administered by the English East India Company through Muslim and Bengali officers due to the lack of western education among the native *Odia* people. Despite the fact that the Company ruled the state for more than a half-century, it lagged behind Bengal in education, administration, and economy. The native people suffered greatly as a result of territorial dismemberment and foreign dominance. They became ethnic minorities and lost their administrative identity. The majority communities attempted to impose their language and culture on the *Odia* people in these areas.

Methodology:

The present article is analytical in nature .The study aims at analyzing the nature of the famine of 1866 and its role for the rise of intellectual development among the Odia people .It ultimately resulted in the creation of a separate home land for them. Informations are collected from the magazines, Non-Government reports, previous illustrious works, journals, books, newspapers, Government Reports, archival data from State Achieve of Odisha, Sahitya Academy, authorized websites like *Odia Bibhaba*, Digital library, etc. Finally the present research article is based on the data collected from original reports, documents and secondary sources.

Na'anka Durvikshya:

In 1866 the nation witnessed a most disastrous famine in the name of *Na'anka Durvikshya* as it passed in the ninth regnal year of the Gajapati King of Puri.² The failure of crops due to lack of rain in 1865, deficit of food grains, apathy of the landlords, and negligence of the British administration to handle the catastrophic effects of the Famine were the main cause of this man-made famine. The geographical isolation of Odisha multiplied the sufferings of its people and within a short period it turned into a crematorium. It was one of the most ill-managed holocausts in the Indian history. As per the records of the British Government, one – third of the entire population of Odisha died in starvation, and numerous suffered due to socio-economic turbulence created by the Famine.³ There was no newspaper which could alarm the Government about the graveness of neither the Famine nor any people's association to ventilate their grievances to the government. According to the Famine Commission of 1867, the Great Famine affected 12,000 square miles with a population of 40 million and taking a toll of ten million lives.

Responsibility of the British Administration:

The devastating Famine of 1866 was a landmark in the history of modern Odisha. It was partly a result of exploitative British economic policy. The impact of the British administration in Odisha brought her people to untold sufferings and miseries.⁴ The administrative control of the East India Company first demoralized the farmers and *Paikas* of Odisha. Whenever the *Odia* people revolted against the atrocities of the Company, it was suppressed ruthlessly. Such situation continues till the first quarter of nineteenth century and Odisha remained as a voiceless nation. The Britishers exercised monopoly in its economy and controlled the affairs of trade and commerce and gradually interfered in the socio-cultural life of the people. Their economic policy led to impoverishment of the Odisha's economy and their interference in the socio-cultural life resulted in dissatisfaction and discontent among its people. All the *Odia* speaking regions under Central Province were annexed with Bengal Presidency in 1905. A separate Bihar-Orissa province was created out of

Bengal Presidency in 1912.⁵ Orissa Division became an important part. By then entire Odisha except the south regions came under one political administration. Though the British undertook some reformative measures after the famine; those had a very little impact on the people. The socio-economic condition of Odisha under the colonial rule in fact represents a sorry state of affair. The colonial administrative and economic policies, new land revenue system led the impoverishment of the people.⁶ The fragmentation of *Odia* speaking regions added more miseries to them. As a result of being divided into three administrative units and the merger of each with a separate ethnic bloc, the identity of Odisha was completely lost. Its people were treated as minorities whose interests were ignored by the government. The step-motherly attitudes brought economic and cultural ruinous for the *Odia* nation. The Famine of 1866 was a wakeup call not only for the colonial Government but also for the *Odia* race. It raised nationalist sentiments within the *Odia* mind and brought numerous far-reaching socio-political and economic changes. The impact of Famine and the British administration after 1866 brought notable transformation in the history of Odisha. The introduction of western education, patronage of *Odia* language and spread of Western liberal ideas laid the foundation of the political consciousness in Orissa during the British rule. Growing poverty of *Odia* people became another major cause of rise of nationalism. This had a definite influence on the mental horizon of the people and generated social changes. A new social awareness beyond the traditional boundaries came up to facilitate new changes.

Famine and Evolution of Modern Odisha:

The *Na'anka Durvikshya* is regarded as a pivotal moment in the evolution of modern Odisha. The process for the establishment of the internal and physical shape of Odisha started in the right way after the Famine. The Colonial rulers took some serious steps to break the isolation of Odisha from the outside world. Communication links through waterways, roads and railways were constructed to connect the province internally and with other parts of the country.⁷ The political dismemberment of the region under the British rule though became a major threat for the *Odia* cultural homogeneity,

but it presented a socio-cultural unity in the entire *Odia* speaking tracts. The Government slowly began to realize the need for administrative reorganization for the cause of the *Odia* people. Sir Stafford Northcote, the Secretary of State for India had suggested in 1868 for a regrouping of *Odia* speaking regions as a measure for reducing the danger of administrative neglect of a country, regularly visited by natural calamities like flood and famine. H.G.Coole, the Commissioner of Odisha Division also suggested territorial adjustment to facilitate better administration. Thus, the British administration provided the nucleus for the growth of national consciousness among the *Odia* people which led to the demand for the creation of separate province of Odisha. The rise of first generation of educated class was a significant development in the post Famine period of Odisha history. Though in microscopic minority, this small group showed interest on the common social and political cause of the *Odia* people and *Odia* land. Initially they had faith on British sense of justice and fair-play and considered British rule beneficial for the wellbeing of the country. In course of time they understood the true character of colonial economic exploitation. They started criticising the British economic policies, deterioration of native industries and agriculture, heavy taxation and extreme poverty. By using modern vocabulary they actively participated in the political issues and set priorities for both people and ruling elites. Their reaction against the dangerous effects of British rule formed the backbone of the rise of national consciousness in Odisha in late nineteenth century. Their views were gradually popularised on a large scale through writings, pamphlets, speeches, newspapers, debates, etc. they analysed different aspects of colonial economy and focused on industrial development to save the unfortunate land from rapid impoverishment. The mobilization of public opinion on economic issues by these intellectuals led the rise of economic nationalism. This shifted the political control from the hands of traditional feudal lords to this middle class bourgeoisie class. This new nationalist intelligentsia undertook a number of programmes for national and social development of the *Odia* speaking regions. Though they had differences but had one common goal for the awakening of national consciousness and social reforms.

Early Odia Intellectuals:

Following the famine, the *Odia* intellectuals began to address both the people and the colonial administration. It led a new process of mobilization of people and of national awakening in Odisha. This new generation of intellectuals discovered the ignorance of the *Odia* people was the main sources of their political and social sufferings. They realized only the spread of education can help the *Odia* race for their upliftment. With this aim they setup many schools and helped the British Government in its educational programmes and persuaded the local rich classes, the feudal lords to take steps in this direction. Fakir Mohan Senapati in his autobiography "*Atmajivana*" wrote that he would motivate the village children to go to school and even can pay their fees and set up a school at Remuna. The famous historian Pyarimohan Acharya started the Cuttack Academy in 1870s which later on upgraded to a high school in 1879.⁸ The pioneer of *Odia* poetry Madhusudan Rao taught in Government schools and brought out a journal named "*Shikshabandhu*" for the motivation of teachers. Radhanath Ray who worked as an inspector of schools did his job with missionary zeal.

The *Odia* intellectuals were convinced that the vernacular language was the only medium that can inject a sense of national awareness. The first *Odia* newspaper *Utkal Deepika* wrote, "*the vernacular was the only means for influencing the people and reaching out to masses.*" In the words of Gangadhar Meher, a pioneer of modern *Odia* poetry, "*If one devoid of love for the motherland and mother tongue becomes wise who else could be called ignorant in the society?*" Fakir Mohan Senapati compared the nation with a river whose strength depends entirely on its mother tongue and not on flood waters that is foreign language. He blamed the so called educated *Babus* the carriers of imitation culture which brings disaster for their mother tongue. He also asked them to provide a single example of any developed nation that has ever neglected its vernacular language. However this intelligentsia did not discourage the fellow people for English education rather mainly critical towards the cultural imitation and negligence of their native culture. The development of vernacular education was given serious attention by the British

authorities in the post Famine period. This ultimately generated novelty in the social thinking of the *Odia* generation.

The intellectuals realized that the lack of proper communication between the British Government and the people was the main cause of the backwardness of Odia society. The effects of the Great Famine were largely aggravated because of this. Fakir Mohan Senapati stated that despite being noble hearted the local British officials could not be effective as they were not made aware of the severity of the calamity. Similarly, Gopal Chandra Praharaj had the opinion that Queen Victoria being the mother with her motherly love was eager to redress the grievances of the people but she was not communicated properly. So the growth of press gave a vent to the new awareness germinating in Odisha. The new class of educated elites came up to give leadership and face challenges of the time to establish identity of Odisha in a new form. Through literature and journalism, awareness was created in the grass root level of the society. Print media opened up an ocean of knowledge of various fields like politics, education, agriculture, medicines etc which brought a gradual change in the attitude of the Odia people .A new era of reformation came from within the Odia society. At this critical time, Gouri Shankar Ray formed the Cuttack Printing Company in 1866 and became the pioneer in publishing the famous *Utkal Deepika*. This news paper took the issues of the people of Odisha and published regular news exposing the evil intention of the conspirators. It regularly reported the social changes due to the famine, conspiracy of the Bengalis to abolish *Odia* language and need of establishment of vernacular educational institutions to educate the masses.

Role of Print Media:

The print media became very active during the language movement and played a very important role as a maker of Odia resurgence. Before the Famine of 1866, several news papers were published by the Christian missionaries. Among them “*Gyanaruna*” published by Charles Lessi in 1849, *Prabodh Chandrika* by William Lessi in 1856 ,“*Arunadwya*” by Christian Vernacular Literature Society 1861 was prominent.⁹ All these newspapers were published to propagate Christian values. When Kranti Lal

Bhattacharya, a teacher of Balasore School, wrote a book “*Odia not an independent language*” (*Odia eka swatantra bhasha naya*) and it originated from Bengali language, *Utkal Deepika* severely criticizes the book and the attempt of Kranti Lal and Rajendra Lal Mitra ,a noted archaeologist , who supported the views of the former . Rajendra Lal Mitra in one of his speeches in Cuttack as long as *Odia* language was not abolished; there would not be any progress of the land. He asserted that it would be unnecessary to maintain a separate language for Odisha having only twenty lakhs population. This speech began the *Odia-Bengali* agitation in the nineteenth century .In course of this agitation attempts were made to prove that *Odia* language did not have any separate identity and it was a dialect of the Bengali language. Many Bengali zamindars and their supporters made a signature campaign and sent it to the education department for introducing Bengali in the schools of Odisha. Some of the influential Bengalis put their argument on the introduction of Bengali language in the schools of Odisha taking the plea of the fewer number of books published annually in *Odia* in comparison to Bengali books published in Calcutta. In the periodical of the domiciled Bengalis *Utkala Hitaisini*, it was propagated that Odisha owed its religion, language and administration to Bengal.

Language Controversy:

In defence of the *Odia* language, Gourisankar Ray who was also a domiciled Bengali was the first to raise voice against these arguments. He strongly argued that the main cause of the miseries of the *Odia* people was the governments of Bengal Madras and Central Province. *Utkal Deepika* and *Sambad Bahika*, another newspaper published from Balasore became the mouthpiece of the *Odia* people and vehemently criticized this proposal. The enthusiastic *Odia* lovers were so happy that they called this publication of *Utkal Deepika* as the “Morning star of a new era” .Many people even term this as the “Fortune writer of Odisha”.¹⁰ The elites of Odisha however raised their voice of protest against the move of the Bengalis. The British Government did not agree to impose Bengali in the schools of Odisha and rejected the proposal of the Bengalis and declared that *Odia* should be the medium of instructions in

Odisha schools. Many writers came forward with their books and writings to strengthen Odia Language. John Beams , Goldsburry and the like minded English elites like L.S.S.O'Malley ,Medlicalf,R.N.Shore, did not accept the view of Rajendralal Mitra and supported the cause of *Odia* language. Fakir Mohan Senapati published *Bodhadayini O Balasore* , *Sambada Bahika* in 1868 at Balasore. Fakir Mohan Senapati ,Radhanath Ray , Jagan Mohan Lal, Pyari Mohan Acharya , Gopal Chandra Praharaj ,Madhu Sudan Rao in their writings not only gave new life to *Odia* language and literature but also paved the way for social reforms.

The language agitation opened a new chapter in the history of modern Odisha. Due to the beginning of linguistic nationalism, the educated people started exploring all the possibilities to spread the regional identity and ventilate their anger and frustration. The Odia nationalist intellectuals realized the importance of mass involvement, creation of awareness among the youth, making them conscious about the backwardness of their state, etc. This movement needed the apparent support of all sections of Odia society .The only way for the message to infiltrate was to create a new reading public as most of the communication was done by the print media. Periodicals and newspapers regularly featured news of Odisha .There was an exchange of important news clips by newspapers in Odia speaking tracts which led common masses to comprehend the problems of Odia people .It resulted in the emergence of a number of active press and formation of intellectual organizations. The periodicals which existed earlier to 1866 were *Jnanaruna* (1849), *Prabodha Chandrika* (1856) and *Arurnodaya* (1861).¹¹They were the voice of the Christian missionaries to spread their religion in this land and did not deal any social or political aspects. It was only *Utkal Dipika* of Gaurisankar Ray in 1866 became the mouthpiece of the *Odia* nation and served as a significant mark of enlightenment of the Oriya race. Bhagabatcharan Das published *Utkala Subhakari* and Fakir Mohan Senapati brought out monthly magazine named *Bodhadayini* from Balasore in 1866.Soon after it merged with *Sambad Bahika* which appeared as a fortnightly and subsequently as a weekly.¹² In the 19th century the cause of Odia language was taken up by *Utkal Dipika* and *Sambad Bahika* and

influenced the public opinion. There were many other newspapers and periodicals like Cuttack Chronicles, *Utkal Darpana*, *Utkala Putra*, *Utkala Sanskaraka*, *Prajabandhu*, *Sebaka*, etc either published from Cuttack or Balasore. Gradually a number of newspapers and journals were published in other districts and princely states. The Mayrubhanja Fortnightly from Baripada, *Purusottam Patrika* from Puri, *Sambalpur Hiteisini* from Sambalpur, The Ganjam News and the *Ganjam Odia Hitabadini* from Berhampur were the most prominent. *Sambalpur Hiteisini* patronized by the Bamanda chief Sudhala Dev in 1889 played a prominent role when the people of Sambalpur were fighting for identity of their language. Some other newspapers like *Utkala Hiteisini* or Orissa Patriot edited by Kalipada Bandopadhyaya and Utkal Star, an English Weekly took the lead to mobilize public opinion in favour of Bengali language and vehemently criticized the effort of *Utkal Deepika*. During the period from 1866 to 1890 as many as fifty *Odia* periodicals and newspapers were in circulations at different places dealing with news, literary activities, and social reforms, educational and economic problems. These newspapers and periodicals were the primary means through which people of various *Odia* speaking regions kept in touch and continue to wage their movement for unification. Vibrant forces were unleashed to bring up the resurgence of a strong and dynamic Odisha.¹³ The *Odia* society gradually opened up to the reformation and changes after the famine. The ideas and practices which had already entered into India influenced the *Odia* mind. The local publications in the regional language generated awareness and reformation in the society. Many more journals and newspapers were published in different parts of Odisha after the Famine that led the progressive changes in the politics and social life of Odisha. Here journalism became a means of national struggle rather than a lucrative job. Newspapers and journals were published as a public service and financed as an objective of philanthropy. The journalists called themselves as public teachers and their publications as a mission and service to *Utkala Janani* (Mother *Utkal*). In the struggle for freedom and social regeneration the early *Odia* newspapers were not considered themselves as rivals but as *Sahayogi* (companion) to one another.

The publication of numerous newspapers and journals was possible due to the establishment of printing press in different parts of Odisha after 1866. Earlier there was only one press named Cuttack Mission Press which was established in 1837. Soon after emerged Cuttack Company, Balasore Utkala Printing Company, Balasore De Press, *Utkala Hitaisini* Press, Puri Bhaktidayini Press, Ganjam Press, Mayurbhanja Press, Victoria Press, Jagannath Ballabha Press, Raya Press, Darpanaraja Press and Vinod press. The newspapers aroused the political awareness of the people of Odisha and drew their attention on various local and national issues. In addition the progressive western education widened their horizon of the people who came together for exchanging their ideologies. With the rapid growth of print media, the concept of forming societies, clubs and organizations emerged in Odisha after the Great Famine. The *Utkal Bhasa Unnati Bidhayini Sabha* (Balasore), Cuttack Society, Cutack Debeting Club, Cuttack Young Men's Association, *Utkala Ullasini Sabha*, *Siksha Bidhaika Sabha*, *Suhrud Samaj*, Temperance and Suppression of Bribery Association, Orissa Islamic Association were important. Thus, in a very small time Odisha was flooded with many associations and societies which played a significant role in injecting a sense of nationalism in the minds of Odia people in 19th century. All these societies and associations small and big having more or less the same objective in the 19th century Odisha. It led to the emergence of middle class elite and symbolized the spirit of enquiry as well as reassessment of moral values. A strong sense of patriotic pride prevailed among the members of this new social class who demanded greater share in government employment and spoke in terms of Odia language, Odia race and Odia country. It marked the beginning of a new kind of public domain distinct from the traditional communal gatherings, religious *mela*, festivals, etc.

Among all these societies the Orissa Association was most important to shape the *Odia* mind. It was the only organization with representation from all parts of *Odia* society and can truly be referred as the first *Odia* national organization. It attracted the educated people of Odisha and assumed great importance when Madhusudan Das, Chaudhry Kasinath Das and Gaurisankar Ray incorporated more constructive ideas into its

programmes. Madhusudan Das became the driving force for the formation of the Utkal Union Conference in 1903, the prime forum for expressing *Odia* aspirations and responsible for inculcating the spirit of nationalism in *Odia* intellectuals and students. When a gathering of private individuals takes together logically and critically to discuss issues of public importance, it is referred to as a public event or occasion. The Great Famine of 1866, linguistic tensions, demands for distinct linguistic and political identities, the expansion of vernacular education, the establishment of the press, the publication of vernacular newspapers and journals, the formation of various societies and organizations, etc., all contributed to new developments in *Odia* society that gradually paved the way for the emergence of the public sphere. This public sphere first appeared in Odisha after 1866 as a literary public sphere, which eventually evolved into a political sphere and advocated for nationalism. However, the public space that was formed was elitist in nature; *the Odia* educated people or the *Bhadraloka* were the main part of this space. Their debates and discussions hardly went beyond their closed circles. In spite of their shortcomings, the growth of this kind of forums marked the beginning of a new dawn in Odisha in which the new educated middle class intelligentsias raised the social and administrative issues. The realization that the social vulnerable to evil practices and its deplorable condition prompted them to initiate reforms at their own level. This sense of self-help as well as their efforts made them as the representative force of the local political and social scenario. This finally led the rise of nationalism in Odisha in nineteenth century.

Odia Cultural Integrity:

While the *Odia* people felt that their existence as a community with distinct cultural integrity, psychology, habits of life, and aspirations that they wanted to maintain as a political unit was threatened as a result of territorial dismemberment, the British Government found it difficult to retain *Odia* language in Government offices and courts of *Odia* speaking areas due to the reluctance of non-*Odia* officers and clerks to learn *Odia* language. As a result, the amalgamation of all *Odia*-speaking regions was required not only

for the *Odia* people but also for administration. That is why H.H.Risley , Secretary to the Government of India in his address to the Government of Bengal Presidency in 1903 explained , "*The Oriya-speaking group in any case emerges as a distinct and unmistakable factory with an identity and interests of its own* “.

The Bengal government accepted *Odia* as a separate language in 1872. Some prominent domiciled Bengali elites like Radhanath Ray, Pyari Mohan Acharya, Shankar Ray, Raja Baikuntha Nath, Nimai Vallabh Vidyasagar, etc enriched modern *Odia* literature by their prolific writings. *Odia* literature in late nineteenth century played a major role to arouse national consciousness in Odisha. Till the establishment of printing press, the *Odia* literature was mainly based on religious topics. To counter the undermining of cultural and linguistic greatness of their motherland the *Odia* intelligentsias shaped a glorious past that would sustain their regional identity. The literary creations of Fakir Mohan Senapati began the renaissance of *Odia* literature in 19th century. His translation of *Mahabharata and Ramayana, Utkala Bhramana* , *Bharata Itihasa* , patriotic songs such as “*Utkala Bhumi*”, *Janamabhumi* , *Utkala Jananira Ahwan* , *Chhinnabhinna Utkala* , *Matrubhumi* , *Utkala Sangita*, the social novels such as *Chhamana Athaguntha* , *Mamu*, *Lachhama*, *Pryaschitta* reflected the then socio-economic and political pictures of Odisha. It injected a sense of nationalism among the people of the land. In the poetry of Radhanath Ray such as *Chilika* , *Mahayatra and Darbara* , nature of Odisha spoke for the first time and became an integral part of Odisha’s national consciousness. His spiritual songs gave a picture of past greatness and present degradation of the land. His poems like *Janmabhumi and Pritivi Prati* were composed mainly to awaken the national spirit of the students. Fakir Mohan described the land of Utkala as the greatest in India as the *Swargadwara* or gateway to heaven existed here. He listed the major religious places or *pithas* in *Utkala* and concluded that the founders of different religious sects fighting among themselves for a little space in this sacred land of *Utkal*. In his numerous literary creations, Fakir Mohan Senapati made a concerted effort to reestablish the lost martial grandeur of the *Odia* race and highlighted the marine majesty of ancient Odisha. Radhanath Ray in

his famous epic *Mahayatra* made the *Pandavas* turn to the *Devobhoomi Utkal* in the course of their journey to heaven. He wrote if all the lands of the planet earth are the leaves, *Utkala* is the flower. Similarly Rama Sankar Ray recalled the greatness of medieval Odisha in his play *Kanchi Kaveri* in which the Gajapati King Purushottam Dev defeated the Vijayanarag king and annexed Kanchi with his empire. He told the amazing tale of this Odia king who with the divine assistance of Lord Jagannath defeated the king of Kanchi. Gopal Chandra Acharya wrote *Sri Jagannath O Chaitanya* and Jatindra M.Singh wrote the *Odisara Chitra* which glorifies the ancient Odisha and its culture. ¹⁴Parimohan Acharya wrote the first book on the History of Odisha in *Odia* language which became extremely popular and injected a sense of pride in past history and glorious past of their region within the Odia masses. All his literary creations were mainly focuses on elevating influence on the young minds of the land. This brought a new dawn of Odia Renaissance.

Beginning Of An Era Of Harmony And Progress in Odisha:

The social tension of the post famine period gave way to a new era of harmony and progress. It brought unity among the *Odia* intellectuals. The collaboration between the *Odia* and Bengali elites in the post 1866 era strengthened their unity. Chandra Mohan Moharana , Gauri Shankar Ray , Ganapati Das ,Mani Mohapatra ,Gopal Chandra praharaj ,Madhusudan Das , Nabakishore Das , Pyari Mohan Acharya, Ramshankar Roy ,Radhanath Ray, etc became the nucleus of new *Odia* intelligentsia whose contributions to the new Odisha was significant. ¹⁵The role of Madhusudan Das, basically a leader from Cuttack, was considered so important for the regional cause, the Sambalpur leaders unanimously nominated him to represent Odisha in the Central Legislative Council in 1896. Similarly *Utkal Deepika* and *Sambad Vahika* along with other newspapers and journals from Cuttack wholeheartedly worked for the Odia identity in the language agitation. All of them inspite of their regional differences began to talk of *Odia* as a race and *Odia* Culture and projected the same national consciousness in their writings. Nationalist leaders, poets, writers, journalists, almost all the group of *Odia* intellectuals started mobilizing the people for the purpose of amalgamation of *Odia*

speaking areas. Through their literary creations, journalism and historical interpretation of the lost glory of a proud Odia race, they projected the spirit of Odia nationalism,. Several forces and factors made determined efforts for the amalgamation of the Odia speaking areas lying scattered under Bengal and Madras Presidencies and Central Provinces which led to the formation of the province of Odisha based on language.¹⁶

This demonstrated the *Odia* regional identity on the linguistic basis. The leadership naturally fell on the English educated *Odia* intellectuals whose first priority to liberate the *Odia* society from the Bengali domination and then to unite the *Odia* speaking regions under a political unite. Opposing the British domination was not their priority at that time. Rather the leaders were aware of the fact that only the colonial authority could help them to achieve their aim of disassociating from the Bengalis and that to antagonize them would be foolish for the *Odia* cause. But this was changed with the formation of Indian National Congress in 1885. The demand of the *Odia* leaders in its original form did not fit well with the objectives of the Congress. They had an apprehension that if Odisha showed greater inclination for the national movement, their demand for a separate province of Odisha would become secondary. The *Odia* leaders comprised various ideological, political and social trends eventually got divided over this issue. Madhusudan Das and his followers who were the liberal nationalists thought unification of Odisha was their priority where as Gopabandhu Das and his colleagues (the moderate nationalists) were of the opinion that the separation of Odisha would follow once India got freedom from the colonial rule.¹⁷ The moderate nationalists gave equal priority to both the regional and the national causes. However, they did not came out from the parent boy of Odia identity movement, rather made consistent efforts to convert it into an integral part of the Congress, the main representative force of the national current. The Congress established its provincial unit in Odisha only thirty five years after its establishment in 1920.¹⁸ However, inspite its formal absence in the region the period from 1866 to 1920 was a significant phase in the freedom struggle of Odisha. Since 1866, the linguistic and cultural identity movement dominated the Odisha history. The moderate group of *Odia* intellectuals became the pioneer of this movement. Their constructive

interventions in politics, literature as well as social and religious issues gave the movement a better grounding to the *Odia* masses.

Conclusion:

The post Famine 1866 era was very crucial for Odisha in terms of political, social, economic and cultural development. This period witnessed a remarkable awakening among the *Odia* people. The campaign began to save *Odia* language and culture became the motto of *Odia* nationalism in search for political identity. In the long run the *Odia* nationalists have been successful in achieving their goal. Odisha was declared as a new province on 1 April, 1936 by the British Government. Their long struggle to achieve for themselves a separate identity and the formation of Odisha as a separate province on the basis of language is a very significant chapter of Modern Indian History.

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THE MARITIME TRADE AND PORTS OF MEDIEVAL ODISHA

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Abstract

The maritime trade and ports of medieval Odisha played a crucial role in shaping the cultural, economic, and commercial landscape of the region. Through the exploration of overseas colonies, Odisha established trade relations with various foreign lands, contributing to its prosperity. This paper delves into the historical evidence, including literary sources and archaeological remains, that highlight the significance of Odisha's maritime activities. The Kaibarta community, known for their involvement in fishing and sailing, played a pivotal role in the maritime traditions of Odisha. Festivals like Kartika Purnima and Baliyatra showcased the adventurous spirit of the Kalingans and their thriving trade networks. The export of goods such as silk cloths, elephants, gems, and the import of items like pearls, silver, and silk, underscored Odisha's vibrant trade relations with distant lands. The medium of exchange in medieval Odisha included various terms like madha, pala, and pana, reflecting the diverse economic transactions of the time. The present study on Odisha's maritime trade and ports has highlighted historical significance, commercial growth and cultural exchange in ancient and medieval Odisha through the maritime activities. With its strategic location, rich natural resources, and commitment to infrastructure development, the state is poised to enhance its role in maritime commerce. As Odisha navigates the challenges and opportunities of the global trade landscape, its ports are set to play a pivotal role in driving economic progress and regional development.

Keywords: *Medieval Odisha, Maritime Trade, Ports, Overseas Colonies, Kaibarta Community, Trade Relations, Kalingans.*

The medieval period created a golden chapter in the history of Odisha. It witnessed all round developments in various fields of art and architecture, religion, trade and commerce, science, language and literature etc. which secured the name in golden letters in the history of Odisha. The expansion of trade and commerce led to the growth of urbanisation. The maritime adventure and colonisation added a new dimension to the state economy. The present study on Odisha's maritime trade and ports has highlighted historical significance, commercial growth and cultural exchange in ancient and medieval Odisha through the maritime activities. With its strategic location, rich natural resources, and commitment to infrastructure development, the state is poised to enhance its role in maritime commerce. As Odisha navigates the challenges and opportunities of the global trade landscape, its ports are set to play a pivotal role in driving economic progress and regional development.

We find reliable evidence for the overseas colony of Odisha abroad through the *Jataka* stories, *Kathakosa*, *Bruhatkatha* of Buddhist literature and the great epics like *Ramayana* and *Mahabharat* etc. According to H.K Mahatab, —in the past through all its ages Odisha had been politically great, economically prosperous and culturally quite advanced¹.

The contemporary historical records made is sure that, the Odia script, traditions, religious belief, cultural heritage and adventurous activities were spread through the Odia merchants in foreign countries. In the view of R.D Banerjee, the *Kalingans* were the pioneers of Indian colonisation among the adventurous Indians in further India and Indian Archipelago. This view of R.D Banerjee was supported by the eminent scholars like, R.C Majumdar, M.M Ganguly, H.K Mahatab etc. *Kalingans* (people of Kalinga or Odisha), who colonised in Suvarnavipa²(Malaysia) showed their adventurous skill in initialising the maritime activities.

In medieval period, economic prosperity of Odisha played a vital role to encourage the people to started their trade and commercial relation with other countries. The fame of Odisha's maritime power had spread far and wide. The adventurous spirit of Odia people has been proved by the colonisation of South East Asian islands. The commercial and cultural relation was too potential between Kalinga and Far East islands of Java, Sumatra, Bali and Malayan peninsula, when they formed the Shailendra empire³.

The colonisation had reached the climax in 8th century A.D. Trade and commerce flourished extensively during the Ganga period. Ship building was much encouraged by the Ganga monarchs³. Each ship contained all types of facilities including a life boat for the protection of the passengers. Travelling on Sea was very difficult and risky due to pirates, cyclones etc. But when the mariner's compass was discovered by Chinese, the sea travelling became easy in the medieval age. The maritime trade formed a great part of Odisha commercial relation with outside world. In the early time Odisha had much commercial relation with foreign countries. The fame of Kalinga in the maritime power had spread far and wide. The great poet Kalidas described the king of Kalinga as *Mahodadhipati*⁴. Overseas trade is an important element of the Odishan traditional account. Maritime trade is the most significant aspect of the socio- economic history of Odisha, without which the study of socio-economic condition of Odisha during the medieval period, would not be fulfilled. The adventurous spirit of *Kalingans* has been proved by the colonisation of South East Asian islands.

The ancient customs about commercial significance are still continuing in Odisha to commemorate the voyages of their forefathers. The tradition of *Boitabandana*⁵ or worshipping the boats in *Kartika Purnima* clearly pictures the glory of the past events. The wind was favourable in the month of Asadha to Kartika for the voyage of the ships. The adventures *Kalingans* used to return in the month of Kartika. Thousands of people gather and worship the ships on the bank of the river to perform the festival of *Kartika Purnima*⁶. The women sing folk songs narrating the details of the voyage. Similarly, *Baliyatra* or voyage into the island of Bali is a famous festival of Odisha, which is celebrated with pomp and splendour on the bank of the river Mahanadi. These festivals show the adventurous spirit of *Kalingans* by maintaining excellent trade and commercial activities in aboard.

The archaeological remains as well as the literary sources provide the evidence regarding the spectacular maritime trade of Odisha. Numerous references to the maritime activities and sea voyage are available in the Odia stories and tales. The religious observances like *Khudurukuni Osha*, *Kartika Purnima*, painting of sailing ship with fine rice dust or *muruja* in the inner courtyard of the house in Diwali night etc. also throws adequate light on the maritime trade of ancient and medieval Odisha⁷.

The *Kaibartas* or the fisherman community of Odisha played an important role in the maritime trade and tradition of Odisha. They were the inhabitants of entire sea board from the river Suvarnarekha to the coastal belt of Puri. Their professions were fishing and sailing ships in the deep ocean. They used to return home from the sea voyage on the full moon of the month of Chaitra because that period is very dangerous for sea voyage. Hence all the sailing ships used to return home. The entire *Kaibarta* or fisherman community celebrated this day as *Chaitra Purnima* with pomp and show. On that auspicious day, they worshiped their *istadevi Baseli* and all the articles they used in fishing, such as net, baskets where he kept the fish, ship etc. The Odia poet Sarala Das, in the Sabha Parva section of his Mahabharata refers to *Kaibarta Nrupati* (chief of the *Kaibarta* or fisherman community) in connection with the making of Suvarna Boita⁸ (a ship made of gold). It indicates that in those days the ships were also built of metallic objects. In medieval Odisha ship building industries were found at different places⁹. The sea port areas from Tamralipti to Chilika, so many temples and shrines discovered those who have contain many traditional accounts relating to the sea faring enterprises. The Goddesses like Laxmi, Mangala, Harachandi, and Lanakeswari etc. were associated with the seafaring activities of Odisha.

Trade and commerce flourished extensively under the Ganga monarchs. The *Kalingans* established a healthy and prosperous commercial relation with the outside world. They had used a large number of boats for the internal and external trade. Reference is found in the Telegu literature regarding the use of various vessels like; *kappali, vali, valika, jangu* etc. in trade¹⁰. The boats were depicted at *Bhogamandapa* of Sri Jagannath temple, Puri and a panel showing transportation of elephants in the archaeological gallery of Odisha State Museum¹¹.

From the ancient period to the later part of Medieval period, Odisha witnessed a well-planned sea trade activities of her own. For such maritime trade and commerce of ancient and medieval Odisha, the major and prosperous port of Odisha played a very significant role. *Ptolemy's geography*¹² of ancient India and *Periplus of Erythraean Sea*¹³ gives us a vivid picture of the major and prosperous ports of Kalinga.

Among these ports, Tamralipti, Palur, Pithunda, Kalingapattanam and Che-li-ta-lo or Manikapatatna were noteworthy. These ports were linked with the main high roads of Kalinga¹⁴. Later in the 9th and 10th centuries, Arab sources mention Ganjam, Kalinganagar, Keylkan, Al-Lava and Nubin were very famous ports. On the basis of the location, there were two types of ports seen in Odisha. The first one was *Pattana* and the second was *Dronimukha*. Those ports were situated on the sea coast where cargos were loaded and unloaded was known as *Pattana* and those ports were situated near the confluence of the river and sea was known as *Dronomukha*.

According to P.P Mishra, —as far as Odisha's contact with South East Asia is concerned, its geographical location the Bay of Bengal provided scope for maritime trade with this region. Odisha had flourishing ports like; Tamralipti, Paloura, Che-li-ta-lo etc. providing excellent sea routes for external trade. Its people were expert in maritime activities and the art of navigation was in the curriculum of Kalingan princes. The glories of Odisha in ancient time were perhaps due to its maritime trade¹⁵.

ARTICLES OF IMPORT AND EXPORT

The chief exports were Silk cloths, elephants, gems, camphor, musk, rose water, sandal wood, aloe wood, ivory, drugs, pepper, betel nuts and salt etc. it is known from the inscription that, Kalinga was famous for elephants and the king of Ceylon received plenty of elephants from Kalinga. The elephants and diamonds were the main items of overseas trade¹⁶. The diamonds of Sambalpur were very valuable and found abundantly in Persia, Egypt and Greece¹⁷.

The figure of African Giraffe depicted among the sculpture of Konark temple throws adequate light on the trade relation of Odisha with the foreign countries. China imported many items such as ivory, pepper, drugs and fine fabric textiles from Odisha¹⁸. Bhutan imported musk from Odisha. Camphor, sandal wood, rose water and aloe woods were exported in large number to the island of Sumatra. Among the articles of import, pearl, silver, silk and fine spices were the chief items. Fa-Hien had noticed the pure and brilliant collection of pearls from the sea of Ceylon which might have formed one of the import items. Silver was imported to Odisha most probably from the Gupta period from Ceylon as Odisha had no silver mines.

The silk of China might have been imported to Odisha with which she remained culturally connected during the period under review. Since Odisha developed overseas commercial relation with Java, Sumatra and Malaya, the local products of these islands like cloves, spikenard and other fine species might have been coming to Odisha from these islands.

MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE

During the early medieval times in Odisha, the terms like *madha*, *pala*, *mada*, *pana*, *rupya*, *churni*, *mashaka*, *purana*, *gunja* along with *cowrie* occur in different inscriptions which formed the medium of exchange.

M.M Chakravarti remarks that *madha* was weight of forty *ratis*¹⁹. P. Mukharjee mentions that *madha* was a piece of gold weighting forty *ratis* and it was not a stamped coin²⁰. W.W Hunter takes it as one fourth of a tola²¹. D.C Sircar views that it was a coin weighting forty *ratis*²². It is really *Gandamadas* difficult to assign uniform weight to these coins.

The stone inscriptions of later Ganga dynasty mention difficult kinds of coins such as *Madas*, *Gangamadas*, *Chirugandamadas*, *kulottungamadas*, *Chinnams*, *Fanams*, *Gold Tankas*, *Silver Tankas*, *Sasukani Tankas*, *Padmanidhi Gandamadas*, *Mallamadas*, *Matsyamadas* etc. There were gold coins, silver coins, Gajapati Pagodas and Cowrie currencies prevailed in the society. Cowrie was frequently used as a medium of exchange. The earliest reference to the prevalence of cowrie currency derived from the account of Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang²³. The *copper plate grant* of the Bhoumakara king Subhakaradev II, reference to cowrie currency²⁴.

PORTS OF ODISHA

The maritime trade of Odisha in ancient and Medieval period became possible with the help of a number of ports, which were played the vital role for the sea trading activities. The coastline of Odisha was spotted with several sea ports, few of them were natural in nature. For maritime trade and commerce, ports were acted as the life line of the people of Odisha. It served as the medium of export and import. The contact between Odisha and foreign trade became possible due to the emergence of such ports²⁵.

The literary sources speak of number of ports of Odisha, some of which are difficult to identify. Ports like Puri, Kalingapatna, Chicacole and Banpur are mentioned in the early Bengali literature²⁶. Banpur and Chicacole are possibly new ports and we have no earlier references about these ports.

TAMRALIPTI

Tamralipti occupied a special place among the ports of Odisha during the period under review. It was the most important port of the entire east coast of India. It refers to the modern Tamluk in the Midnapur district of West Bengal. It is believed that the present name Tamluk has been derived from the name Tamalika. It was located at the confluence of the river Rupanarayana and the Bay of Bengal, Latitude 22° 17' N and longitude 87° 57' E has been identified as Tamralipti²⁷. This port was connected India with the foreign countries through the land as well as the water routes²⁸. This port town finds mention in ancient Indian, Chinese, Ceylonese and Greco Roman accounts as a great international emporium of trade. King Tisa of Ceylon had sent four envoys to the court of emperor Ashok who came and went through this port. It also known from the Buddhist text that, the Mouryan king Ashok sent his son Mahendra and daughter Sanghamitra to Ceylon from this port for propagation of Buddhism²⁹. The Mahavamsa³⁰ also throws adequate light on this famous port where from *Theri* Sanghamitra went to Ceylon with the sapling of *Bodhi tree* accompanied by a large follower. At this port, Fa-hien, the Chinese traveller boarded a large merchant vessel and reached Ceylon after fourteen days on his return journey to China. I-Tsing, another Chinese pilgrim reached the port of Tamralipti, after returning from Sumatra. It was the most popular port in the Bay of Bengal from which people travelled to China, Ceylon and South East Asia³¹. There was regular sailing of vessels from this port. It connected Bengal with Burma and made direct voyages to the Malaya peninsula. It was a gateway of the adventurous sailors and missionaries. It was famous for exporting cloth, Silk and copper in large quantity too far off countries like Ceylon and coast of Arabian Sea³².

PALUR

Palur was one of the important and flourishing ports of the ancient Odisha. Ptolemy, the Greek geographer has mentioned Palur as an international maritime emporium situated on the mouth of the river Rusikulya³³. This port was also finding mention as ‘palour’ in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea in the first century A.D. It has been identified as the modern village of Palur situated in the Chhatrapur sub division of Ganjam district of Odisha. He placed it at Lat. 19° 27’N and Long. 85° 11’E just above the mouth of river Rusikulya and close by Palur Bluff, on the coast of the Bay of Bengal³⁴.

The *Mahaparinirvana sutta* and *Dathavamsam*, a pali work by Dhammakirti of Ceylon states that Brahmadata, the king of Kalinga raised a stupa and, in this stupa, he kept the sacred tooth of Lord Buddha for the purpose of worshipping which was given to him by a Buddhist Arhat named Khemather. The place where the stupa was built came to be known as Dantapura. Besides Buddhist texts, Jaina texts also refer to Paloura-Dantapura as an important sea port of Odisha. On linguistic grounds, S. Levi³⁵ identifies Dantapura of the Buddhist literatures and Dantagula of Pliny with Palour of Ptolemy. Old traditions centring round the first lay disciple of Sakyamuni, Tapasu and Bhallika, two merchants coming from the coast of Burma and landing at the coast of Paloura. Hence, there is no doubt, Palur was a prominent flourishing port of the then Odisha³⁶.

CHE-LI-TA-LO

Che-li-ta-lo, as described by Hiuen Tsang³⁷, the Chinese traveller who visited India in 7th century C.E, was another port town situated on the coast of Wu-ta or Odradesa (North Odisha). From his account it is known that Che-li-ta-lo was not only a prosperous port but also a centre of Buddhism and it contain four Buddhist Stupas³⁸. Many historians had focused on different places to find out the exact place of Che-li-ta-lo, but somehow, Manikpatana has been resembled to the identification of Che-li-ta-lo. It was an important and urban trading centre. It situated on the bank of water connected the lake of Chilika

with the Bay of Bengal³⁹. According to Cunningham⁴⁰, Che-li-ta-lo is the other name of Charitrapura which he identified with Puri and most of the scholars accept this view. Now a days, attempts are being made by scholars to identify Che-li-ta-lo with Manikpatna near Chilika lake⁴¹. This assumption does not seem sound because the excavation conducted in that side has failed to project Buddhist monuments or remains which might have been found from that place as per the description of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang. According to the description of Sarala Das in his great literary work Mahabharata, scholars have identified Che-li-ta-lo with Chandrabhaga near Konark. However, to the present writer Che-li-ta-lo might be a place near Dimond Tringle, from Chandikhol towards Paradip port which was a Buddhist centre during time of Hiuen Tsang.

The recent excavation at Manikpatna near Chilika Lake in the Brahmagiri Tahasil of Puri district has archaeologically proved that, there is no doubt it was an international port. The discovery of rouletted ware, fragments of amphora etc. indicate its contact with the Roman empire and the discovery of Chinese copper coins, Chinese celadon ware and Chinese porcelain proved that it established the relation with China also. The trade relation with Burma is proved through the discovery of a brown glazed ware known as *Maratuan* wares after the name of the place located in Burma. A thin white glazed pottery and a thick chocolate glazed ware indicate its relation with the Arabian countries. The trade link with Srilanka and Indonesia also proved through the discovery of Sahasamalla's coin from these places along with Manikpatna, which testify to a maritime network within Coastal Odisha, Sri Lanka and Sumatra. A large number of notable things discovered from the archaeological excavation of Manikpatna⁴². These things are; a large number of beads terracotta, agate, soft stone and bone, iron implements such as harpoon, spearhead, sickle, fish hooks, boat nails, iron slags, varieties of Bangles in terracotta faience, glass and conch shell. From the above analysis and finding evidence, it is clear that, Manikpatna was an important port cum trading centre for the indigenous and foreign sailors and merchants⁴³.

PITHUNDA

Pithunda was another significant port of Kalinga in ancient times⁴⁴. The Jain text *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*⁴⁵ mentions that it was a famous centre during the days of Mahavira and merchants from Champa were coming to this place for trade. The Hatigumpha inscription⁴⁶ mentions Pithunda is the same Pithundra in the *Periplus* and *Geography of Ptolemy*⁴⁷. Sylvain Levi located Pithunda to the south of Palur near Chicacole and Kalingapattanam. Taking these views into consideration, the ancient Pithunda port could be located somewhere near Chicacole region of Modern Andhra Pradesh. Pithunda was not only a port flourished in ancient times but also a famous seat of Jainism.

KALINGAPATTANAM

Kalingapattanam port is located on the coast of Kalingapattanam, at a distance of 30km. from Srikakulam. It situated on the confluence of river Vamsadhara and Bay of Bengal. It served as an important port during the ancient period. In medieval period, it was famous for the ancient port city of Kalinga⁴⁸. Besides, being a port for quite some time, it was the capital city of Kalinga. With the passage of time, gradually the port has been sited up. European merchants disembarked the goods from the ship and made it their port. The Europeans resided here during East India Company regime. Through the archaeological excavation, so many things such as pottery, coins, large sized brick walls, glazed tiles etc discovered here. It was observed that, the site was a fortified city or a capital right from second century B.C. up to the early medieval times. The discovery of the Roman coins from the excavation of this site suggests the trade relation between Kalingapattanam and ancient Rome⁴⁹.

CHILIKA

Chilika was a big harbour to giving shelter and providing security for thousands of sea- going vessels. The name of this port is mentioned in *Brahmandapurana*⁵⁰. These ships sailed between Java, Malaya, Sumatra, Burma, Bali, Ganga Sagar, Thailand and other places. It was a meeting ground of merchants and sailors coming from eastern as well as western sea. Perhaps,

through this sea voyage, a strong relationship was established between Kalinga and Ceylon⁵¹.

Besides these ports, some other ancient ports such as *Nainagaina*, *Sonapur*, *Barua*, *Kannagar*, *Nubin* etc. were there. These ports were used for commercial intercourse.

THE SEA ROUTES

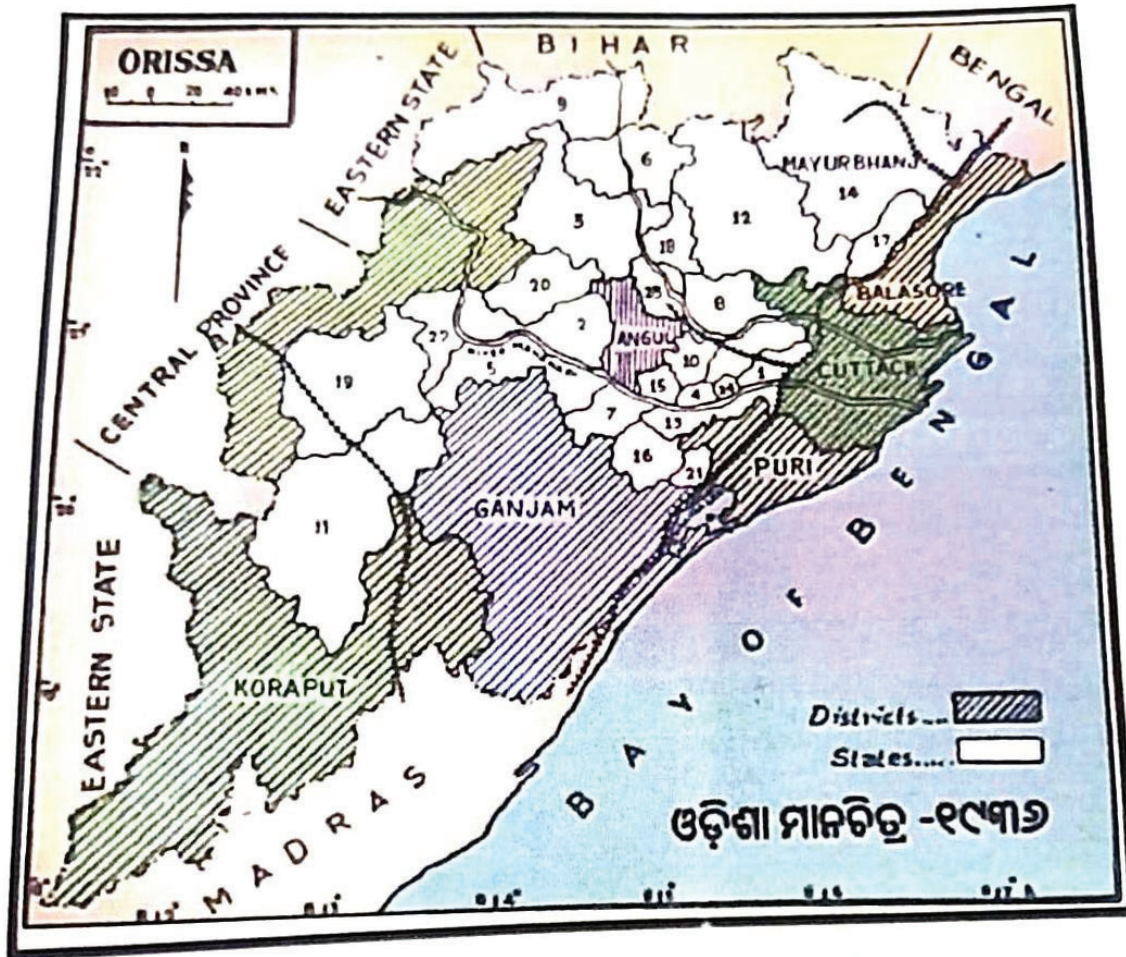
The sea routes were played very important role in Maritime trade of ancient and medieval Odisha. It is known from the Fahia's account that, he embarked on a large merchant vessel from the Tamralipti and went to Ceylon, from Ceylon to Java, and from Java to China. Hiuen Tsang, who visited India during the reign of Harshavardhana also provided the blue prints of sea routes through which he travelled to different places. Harshavardhana asked Hiuen Tsang that he would be provided with official attendants if he selected the sea route to China through Java. I-tsing, another traveller of China also visited India. He reached Tamralipti in 673 A.D. by the sea route from China⁵².

Further, Chao jukua's *Chu-fan-Chi*, reflects that during seventh century A.D, the sea route between India and China was exclusively used and Odisha must have maintained trade relation with China in this route. The merchants and traders of Odisha became able to carried out their business with the help of these sea routes. By using these routes, they established their trade relation with the far-off countries. Their overseas trade relation with Ceylon, Burma, Africa, Suvarnavdipa etc. became possible for these sea routes⁵³.

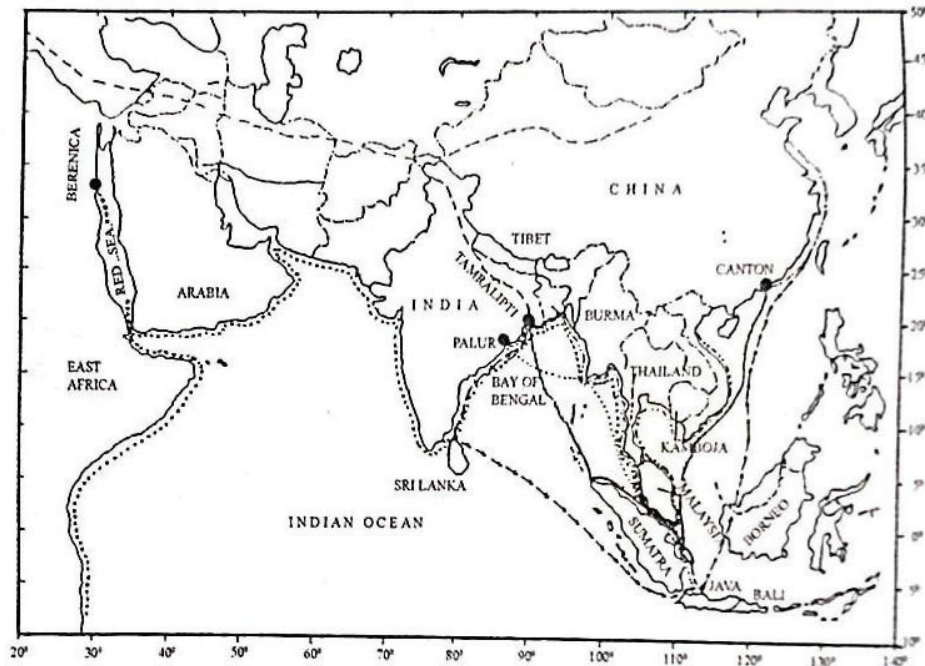
The sea routes were not free from dangers. So many obstacles were there. Though, the sea routes were not safety, the dangers like; pirates, hidden rocks, rough weather, wretched condition of boats etc. still, sea routes were preferred by merchants to carry on trade with overseas Islands⁵⁴. Ancient Kalinga or Odisha, with its strategic geographical location along the eastern coastline of India, has long been recognized for its significant contribution to maritime trade and ports development.

The state's vast coastline of approximately 500 kilometres, coupled with natural harbours and proximity to major shipping routes, positions it to play a pivotal role in regional and international trade. The evolution of Odisha's maritime trade, from ancient times to the modern era, underscores its importance in fostering economic growth, facilitating socio-cultural exchange, and enhancing global connectivity. Historically, Odisha has been a prominent centre for trade, with its ports serving as crucial hubs for the export of textiles, spices, and other goods. The ancient port city of Kalinga was known for its maritime prowess, facilitating trade with Southeast Asia and beyond. This legacy continues today, with contemporary ports like Paradip, Dhamra, and Gopalpur playing pivotal roles in the state's economy. Paradip, in particular, has emerged as one of the largest ports in India, handling a diverse range of cargo, including coal, iron ore, and agricultural products. The port's modernization and expansion activities have significantly enhanced its capacity, making it a key player in India's trade landscape.

Thus, the future of maritime trade and ports in Odisha is filled with promise, poised to play an increasingly vital role in the state's economic growth. By leveraging its historical legacy and strategic advantages, Odisha can emerge as a leading maritime hub in India. To fully realize this potential, it is crucial for stakeholders—including government bodies, industry leaders, and local communities—to collaborate on sustainable practices, infrastructural development, and workforce empowerment. By addressing existing challenges and harnessing opportunities, Odisha can not only enhance its trade capabilities but also contribute significantly to national and regional economic growth. The journey ahead is not without hurdles, but with a clear vision and concerted efforts, Odisha stands ready to navigate the waters of maritime trade toward a prosperous future.



(Sources :Map of 1937 ,Odisha State Archives)



OVERSEAS ROUTES OF ANCIENT ORISSA

- (i) (xxxxxxxxxxxxx) Coastal Route referred to by Periplus
- (ii) (.....) Route across the Bay of Bengal referred to by Ptolemy
- (iii) (-.-.-.-.-) Route followed by Hiuen Tsang
- (iv) (————) Route used by I-Tsing
- (v) (-----) Route along the Bengal, Burma coast the South East Asia.

Courtesy- Benudhar Patra

Table 1

Articles of Export

Agricultural	Industrial products	Forest products	Mines and sea products
Products			
Cotton	Cotton and silk fabrics	Elephant	Iron
Betel leaves	Salt	Ivory	Copper
Betel nuts	Earthen utensils	Spices	Jewels
Sugarcane	Sugar	Sandal wood	Touch stone (Precious stone)
Oil seeds	Ornaments		
Coconuts	Drugs	Pepper	
Rice	Wooden furniture	Timber	Diamond
Millet	Iron objects	Honey	Pearls
Pumpkins	Stone images	Bee wax	Conch-shells
Indigo	Ivory works of fine workmanship	Aloe wood	Rotang
	Perfumes	Tamarind	Fish
		Camphor mask	Lime
		Camphor	Corals

Table 2

Articles of Import

Agricultural	Industrial products	Forest products	Mines and sea products
Products			
	<i>Chitramsuka</i> (Chinese silk garments)	Spices	Pearls
	Chinese pottery	Cloves	Gold
	Roman pottery	Cardamom	Silver
	Coloured fabrics	<i>Aguru</i>	Copper
		Horses	

Courtesy- Benudhar Patra

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**YAKSMA (CONSUMPTION/ TUBERCULOSIS) DISEASE: A
STUDY OF THE VEDIC LITERATURE**

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Introduction

Disease and injury were a part of the life of the Vedic people as in the present day and their medical system reflects the progress of their civilization. Vedic literature deals with the concepts of birth, death, diseases and suffering in human civilization. The medical system of this period marks the beginning of the ayurvedic system of medicine. Vedic literature provides detailed accounts of long-standing medical practices and concepts. The principal diseases which occur in Vedic medical texts, more or less clearly discernible as to their nature and relation to those mentioned in subsequent classic tradition, are: fever (तक्मन्), diarrhoea (अस्रभ), cough (कासे), consumption (बलासं, यक्ष्मं), dropsy (जलोदरः), sores (अपचिता), abscess (*vidradha*), tumor (*aksata*), leprosy and skin diseases (कीलासं), inherited diseases (क्षेत्रियरोग), Jaundice (हरिमा) and seizures by various demons.¹ Apart from this, amulet, charms, chants of *tantra-mantras* to get rid of the above diseases are mentioned on one hand and on the other hand the proper application of herbs and medicinal plants are also mentioned. Among these diseases, the disease that used to strike terror in human life during the Vedic period was *yaksma* (consumption or tuberculosis).

Yaksma (tuberculosis or consumption) is an infectious disease caused by the bacterium *Mycobacterium tuberculosis*. The word consumption is related to the word *yaksma* (tuberculosis) because it causes patients to become very emaciated (diseased). The disease usually affects the lungs, but it

can affect other parts of the body, such as the brain, kidneys or spine. A person infected with tuberculosis can die if not treated in time. Commonly more than three weeks of cough, phlegm with cough and sometimes blood, loss of appetite, chest pain, feelings of sickness or weakness, fever, weight loss, night sweat etc. are the main symptoms of pulmonary tuberculosis. Tuberculosis germs spread through air. Through the sneezing or coughing of a person suffering from tuberculosis, the germs of the disease enter the air and cause the disease. When a person with a low immune system breathes in this contaminated air, that person can contract the disease.

The people of Vedic period recorded in Vedic literature all their experiences related to *yaksma*, its causes and the remedies they used to get rid of the disease. In Vedic period, there are descriptions of two types of physicians who played an effective role in combating this disease- *bhisaka* and priest-physician. *Bhisaka* used to rely on different types of herbs and medicinal plants to cure this disease. On the other hand, the priest-physician used to highlight to the society the worship of various deities, sacrifices, religious ceremony, offering oblation etc. as effective means of curing diseases.² In short, they depended on magico-religious systems to cure diseases. They attributed the origin of disease to sins committed by the patient or his parents. So they emphasized on getting rid of sin before getting rid of the disease of the patient. The Atharvaveda Samhita mentions that such priest-physicians used to recommend a large number of talismans, amulets, charms and incantations etc. to get relief from diseases. It is noteworthy that this Vedic magico-religious healing system is still practiced in many places in today's society.

The common people of the Vedic period about internal diseases had the idea that due to the entry of demonic entities into the body, diseases arise in the body. Kenneth G. Zysk included *yaksma* under the category of internal diseases.³ References to various hymns in the Atharvaveda suggest that it is a common internal disease observed in both humans and cattle. It enters different parts of the body and it spreads to different parts of the body. Most writers of Vedic literature believe that *yaksma* (tuberculosis) refers to a disease whose main feature was consumption. The reason for talking about

consumption is that the patients become very weak (diseased). *Yaksma* can occur in almost any organ. It enters the body and causes dismemberment of the limbs, fever in the limbs, pain in the heart and various parts of the body. It was most common in the lungs. Through the sneezing or coughing of a person suffering from *yaksma*, the germs of the disease mixed in the air and caused the disease. But according to R. Muller, in the eyes of the Vedic people, *yaksma* was simply a demonic or external force who, when entering the body caused malady.⁴

A hymn of the Rig Veda mentions *yaksma* in the human body. It is said in that hymn- ‘He who has *yaksma* in his heart (body).’⁵ This shows that the history of *yaksma* is very ancient. A verse of the Rig Veda mentions this saying that; *yaksma* may also be a disease-demon who can fly.⁶ A hymn of the Atahrvaveda suggests that *yaksma* used to affect some parts of the human body in those times. In this context, the names of organs like eyes, nostrils, ears, chin, brain, tongue, the fourteen small bones of the neck (*grivas*), nape (*usnihas*), vertebrae (*kikasa*), backbone, shoulders, fore-arms, heart, lung (*kloman*), *haliksna*, *matasnas*, spleen, liver, entrails, guts, rectum (*plasi*), belly paunches, navel, thighs, knees, heels, front feet, hips, fundament, bones, marrows, sinews, vessels, hands, fingers, nails, every limb, every hair, every joint, skin etc. are known.⁷

Yaksma was thought to be the cause of its origin it is sent by the gods as a punishment for man’s sin. Different types of *yaksmas* are described in Vedic literature. Different types of *yaksmas* mentioned are- *Ajnatayaksma* (unknown *yaksma*), *Rajayaksma* (*yaksma* of kings or royal *yaksma*). About hundred types of *yaksmas* are mentioned in Shukla Yajurveda. Its description is available from the following hymn-

नाशयित्री बलासस्यार्शस उपचितामसि ।

अथो शतस्य यक्ष्माणाम्पाकारोरसि नाशनी ॥⁸

The above verse states that-‘O medicine! You destroy the body’s weakness, haemorrhoids and other diseases. You destroy hundreds of *yaksmas* and indigestion’.

Solid *yaksma* was known as *rajyaksma*. Vedic people believed that the moon was suffering from Yaksma as there are many black spots on the chest of the moon. There is a beautiful and interesting description of moon's *yaksma* in Taittiriya Samhita.⁹ Prajapati Brahma is said to have had thirty-three daughters. He gave his daughters in marriage to king Soma (Chandra). King Soma became more attached to Prajapati's eldest daughter Rohini. The other thirty-two daughters went back to their father's house, greatly annoyed. Soma came to Prajapati Brahma's house and asked Brahma's permission to take the other girls back to his own house. Prajapati Brahma advised Soma to treat all daughters equally. Soma promised to take thirty-two daughters back to their homes. But breaking the promise, Soma continues to show excessive affection towards Prajapati's eldest daughter Rohini as before. Disappointed by Soma's broken promise, the remaining thirty-two daughters returned to their ancestral homes. Prajapati Brahma became very angry with Soma. Brahma's curse caused Soma to develop *yaksma*. Raja or king Soma first became diseased, hence it was called *Rajayaksma*. Sinful Soma later contracted the disease hence it became known as *Papayaksma* and king Soma suffered from it through excess in sexual indulgence in connection with his *jaya*- Rohini, so it is *jayanya* or *jayenya* and that was his king's disease- *Rajaroga*. Thus three types of *yaksma* arise. Another word mentioned in the Atharvaveda is *Jayanya* which is similar to consumption. *Yaksma* arising from wife is also mentioned in Atharvaveda. It is said there- 'we know the cause of *jayanya* arising from wife in your body.'¹⁰ From this Samhita it is known that this disease is caused by excessive sexual intercourse.¹¹ Germs of consumption arising from extra intercourse fly like birds and enter the human body. It is of two types- chronic and transient.¹²

विद्म वै ते जायान्यु जानुं यतो जायान्यु जयसे ।
 कथं ह तत्र त्वं हनो यस्य कृण्मो हविर्गृहे ॥¹³

This hymn is prayed to the God for the destruction of *jayanya* caused by constant conjugal intercourse.

Rajayaksma was known to invade the bones, erode the flesh of the body, and even spread to the upper part of the neck, debilitating the rest of the body.¹⁴ It was considered an incurable disease in those days. Not only that, it absorbed all the *dhatu*s (humours) in the body. Along with chanting and taking medicine, Agni and other gods were praised and prayed for the destruction of the disease. All men who indulged in excessive intercourse with women were mainly affected by *yaksma* called *jayanya*. The consumption caused by excessive intercourse with the *jaya* (i.e. woman) spreads everywhere like a bird, the disease pervades the body of the man. Sometimes the disease lasts a short time in the body, sometimes it lasts forever. The disease used to absorb all the *dhatu*s (humours) in the body and as a result the body gradually became fragile and the immune system weakened. Basically this disease was destroyed by the application of mantra.

The Taittiriya Samhita mentions another word called *jayenya*. The Taittiriya Samhita describes the word *jayenya* as a variety of *rajayaksma*-consumption and hence *jayanya* also means consumption caused by excessive sexual indulgence. *Papayaksma* and *Ajnyatayaksma* are also varieties of *Rajayaksma*.¹⁵ Taittiriya Samhita also mentions excessive sexual indulgence as one of the causes of consumption and as in the Atharvaveda traces its origin to the myth of the moon and his wives. This belief prevailed in the Vedic period that the disease (*jayanya*) flies from person to person. It is perhaps due to looking at disease as a spirit which temporarily inhabits the human body and leaves it when exorcised.¹⁶ *Kausika sutra* recommends the following practices for curing *jayanya* type of *yaksma*- it consists of tying on the patient an amulet of the string of a lute and using as amulet three fragments of *virina* plant that have fallen of their own accord.¹⁷

Yaksma treatment- The Vedic physicians relied on magico-religious ideologies to cure *yaksma*. To expel *yaksma* from the patient's body, use of recitation of spells and incantations, use of amulets and charms along with herbal medicinal therapy in the forms of drinks and ointment for application etc. were prevalent.

Virina, Pippali, Kushtakhya, Satavara, Varana, Anjana, Cipudru, Arundhati, Gulgulu etc. were commonly used in the Brahmanic period and their efficacy was known to the then society. Amulet made from the famous divine forest-tree called *Varana* was used to cure *Rajayaksma*.¹⁸ But how these medicinal plants work in the body, Vedic literatures do not give any detailed information. It simply mentions *Virina, Pippali, Kushtakhya, Satavara, Varana, Anjana, Cipudru, Arundhati, Gulgulu* etc. as medicinal plants. It is mentioned in the Atharvaveda Samhita that the plant *Varana* can cure *yaksma*. In the context of the description of this plant, it is said that the colour of this medicinal plant is mostly yellow-gold and it is known as thousand-eyed. Another characteristic of plant is that not only *yaksma*, this plant was used to prevent various diseases. The help of forest trees is invoked in the Atharvaveda to cure *rajayaksma*.¹⁹ Against *rajayaksma* the *Kausika sutra* (27.32-33) recommends the following practice: ‘the patient is given to eat porridge containing rotten fish. He is taken to the forest and at dawn he is sprinkled over with water which has been warmed by quenching in it the burning sesame, hemp, cow-dung, and sacred fire-wood, all of which are gathered in the forest.’ The practice is undertaken with the recitation of III.11.²⁰ The horn of the swift running gazelle’s (*harina*) head was used as an antidote by the application of which it was possible to destroy hereditary *yaksma*.²¹ Krishna Yajurveda mentions about removing *yaksma* along with other diseases. There it has been prayed that, ‘O *Rajyaksma*! You perish with phlegmatic, bilious and rheumatic diseases.’²²

From the Atharvaveda Samhita, a type of head disease is known, due to which *yaksma* was transmitted through the ears and mouth.²³ By chanting this following hymn various other diseases as well as various types of *yaksma* and the toxins produced in the body due to *yaksma* were removed from the body.²⁴

आसौ ब॒लासो॒ भव॑तु मू॒त्रं भव॑त्वा॒मय॑त् ।
यक्ष्मा॑णा॒ सर्वेषां॑ वि॒षं निर॑वोच॒महं॑ त्वत् ॥
ब॒हिर्बि॑लं निद्र॑वतु काहा॑बाहुं॒ तवो॑दरात् ।

यक्ष्माणा॑ सर्वेषां॑ विषं॑ निरवोचम॑हं त्वत्॥
 विस॑ल्पस्य॑ वद॒धस्य॑ वातीका॒रस्य॑ वाल॒जेः ।
 यक्ष्माणा॑ सर्वेषां॑ विषं॑ निरवोचम॑हं त्वत्॥

All the herbs that were used to cure *yaksma* were also used to flush out the toxins of *yaksma* from the body, thereby making the patient's body happy. By applying the above mantra, all types of poisons caused by *yaksma*s such as *vatikara*, *vidradha*, *visalpa*, *alaji* etc. were removed from the body. The mantra of this *sukta* was so powerful that this *sukta* was employed or used to cure not only *yaksma* but all kinds of ailments.

The herb called *anjana* cures all types of degenerative diseases separated from the body and destroyed it.²⁵ Regarding the description of *anjana* Atharvaveda says that originally the name of the mountain called Chitrakut is known as the source of this medicine. It was created by the gods for the benefit and protection of animals. The *anjana* herbs grown in the Chitrakut Mountains was considered superior to the *anjana* grown in the Himalayas, Vindhya and other mountains. This medicine was considered in the later Vedic period as the slayer of *yaksma*-causing demons and the destroyer of these diseases. Another medicine that was considered very important to get rid of *yaksma* was the powerful medicine called *Kushtakhya*.²⁶ The origin of this herb was the Himalayas. This herb was grown in large quantities on the northern side of the Himalayas. This medicine was administered and thrown into the patient's body to destroy *rajayaksma* by reciting the following hymns²⁷ -

उदङ्॑ जा॒तो हि॒मव॑तः स प्रा॒च्यां नी॑यसे॒ जन॑म् ।
 तत्र॑ कु॒ष्ठस्य॑ नामान्यु॒त्तमा॑नि॒ वि भै॑जिरे ॥
 उ॒त्तमो॑ नाम॑ कु॒ष्ठास्यु॒त्तमो॑ नाम॑ ते पि॒ता ।
 यक्ष्मा॑ च॒ सर्वं॑ ना॒शय॑ त्व॒त्मानं॑ चार॒सं कृ॑धि ॥

Apart from this, the *Cipudru* herb was able to destroy this disease. This herb helped in reducing *yaksma*.²⁸ Another herb *Arundhati* was also very effective in keeping people free from *yaksma*.²⁹ Pitcher water was also used in the

therapy.³⁰ Another hymn of the Atharvaveda states that water was considered to be the benefactor of human beings and the cure of *yaksma* and as a benefactor in the form of herbs.³¹ Water invoked by the chanting of hymn II.33 of the Atharvaveda is said to relieve the disease when thrown over the entire body of a person suffering from *yaksma*.³² Satapatha Brahmana also describes *yaksma* as a decaying disease.³³

Also from the Atharvaveda Samhita a type of medicine called *Pippali* is known. It was the only medicine capable of curing all diseases and giving life to living beings. This medicine was given such importance in those times. Not only that, the use of amulets is also mentioned in addition to medicine to prevent *yaksma*. The medicinal form of amulet called *Satavara* is capable of destroying *yaksma*. *Satavara* is an herb that was widely used medicinally in those days. It is said that if a man holds it in his arm, he will be able to destroy *yaksma*.³⁴ Not only this, this medicine is so powerful that it is possible to get hundreds of sons and destroy hundreds of types of *yaksmas*. Basically this name is not only because of the presence of hundreds of roots, but also because of the prevention of hundreds of diseases. An amulet of this plant kept in the body caused permanent destruction of *yaksma*.³⁵ Also all types of *yaksma* could be prevented by the stem i.e. the middle part of this medicinal plant. This medicine was used to kill all forms of *yaksma*, newly formed *yaksma*, fully grown *yaksma* and most of all the so-called incurable *yaksma*. People had strong faith in this medicine because it was capable of destroying hundreds of *yaksma* diseases.

Another verse mentions a medicine called *Gulgulu* plant to cure *yaksma*. It is said in that verse that a king, who takes the smell of *Gulgulu* does not suffer from *yaksma* and is not touched by the evil curse.³⁶ It is also known about this medicine that *yaksma* escapes from a person who takes the smell of *Gulgulu* as a medicine. However, if this medicine is indigenous or sea-derived, it is mentioned that it can be more effective in destroying *yaksma*. Elsewhere we know that a lead amulet is capable of removing *yaksma*.

The main cure for a person suffering from *yaksma* is the recitation of Vedic mantras, the most effective of which is the hymns of this verse-

अक्षीभ्यां॑ ते॒ नासिका॑भ्या॒ कर्णा॑भ्या॒ छुर्बुका॑दधि ।
यक्ष॑मं शी॒र्वण्य॑ म॒स्तिष्का॑ज्जिह॒वाया॑ वि वृ॒हामि॑ ते ॥
ग्री॒वाभ्य॑स्त उ॒ष्णहा॑भ्य॒ कीक॑साभ्यो॒ अनु॑क्यात् ।
यक्ष॑मं दो॒षण्य॑ ए॒मसा॑भ्यां॒ बा॒हुभ्या॑ वि वृ॒हामि॑ ते ॥
हृ॒दया॑त् ते॒ परि॑ क्लो॒म्नो ह॑नीक्षणात् पा॒र्श्वभ्या॑म् ।
यक्ष॑मं म॒तस्ना॑भ्यां॒ प्ला॒हवो॑ य॒क्नस्ते॑ वि वृ॒हामसि॑ ॥

This hymn in the Atharvaveda says- ‘remove *Yaksma* from the two eyes, two noses, two ears, brain, tongues and chin of a *Yaksma* patient.’ And also remove from neck, nape, vertebrae, backbone, shoulders and fore-arms. And also forth from the heart, lung, haliksna, sides matasnas, spleen, liver from a *yaksma* patient.³⁷ This hymn mentions the names of different parts of the body and details of which parts of the body *yaksma* attacked.

Priest-physicians did not rely only on the use of medicines, amulets, charms and incantations to get rid of *yaksma*; they repeatedly praised the gods and goddesses like Indra, Mitra, Varuna etc. and prayed for relief from this disease. Amulets were used along with medicines to get rid of this disease and even sacrifices were organized. Oblation was offered to gods like Indra and Agni in *yajna* (sacrifice). Several charms were devoted specially to the removal of *yaksma*. These are- II.33; XIX.36, 38; VI.85 etc. Since the *yaksma* is divinely sent, the gods also have the power to destroy the disease. The deities who help eradicate *yaksmas* are- *Agni, Savitr, Vayu* and *Aditya*. These deities are believed to be the most helpful deities for curing *yaksma*.

Another verse of the Atharvaveda Samhita reveals that water was also considered an important medicine in those times. It was even used to flush *yaksma* out of the body.³⁸ Another hymn states that *yaksma* was removed from any part of the body like eyes, heart, nostrils, bones, pulses etc. Not only that, but if the disease had possessed the mind of the patient, it would have been sent away from that place too.³⁹ Apart from medicine and incantations, the diseased person was also freed from *yaksma* by offering oblation. Oblation were offered to god Indra and Agni and invoked to free the diseased person

from *yaksma*. By the power of offering oblation, a diseased person could be brought back from death- this belief was very strongly prevalent in the society of that time.

That is, it can be seen through the study of Vedic literature, to prevent *yaksma*, the people of the Vedic period mainly depended on three types of remedies- use of medicinal plants materials, blessings of Gods and use of amulets, charms and incantations.

Role of Physicians- Treatment was a noteworthy profession in those days. But the physician was not looked upon with much respect. For the sake of the profession, the physician had to go to people of all classes of the society. But the upper castes of the society did not like it. Again it may be that the physicians were not always successful in curing this disease. Or because they took advantage of the helpless condition of the patients, the physicians were anathema to the common people.

The priest-physician played an important role in eradicating *yaksma* and making the patient completely healthy. He used to collect many branched, spreading, life-giving, divine medicines for the patients. He also performed various mantras, invoked medicine for the welfare of the patient. He used to inform the patient about the various aspects of the nectar form of the herbs and would make the patient drink the herbs and try to make the patient live a hundred years. He also prayed to various gods and goddesses to remove *yaksma* from humans and animals. During the treatment of *yaksma* he used to urge the patient to give up his fear, to keep him mentally strong and healthy. They saved patient's life, tried to discover new medicine, prolonged patient's life, tried to improve patient's life, and tried to completely eradicate this disease from the society. A physician in the Rigvedic period expected to receive a horse, cattle and clothes for his skill with his healing herbs.⁴⁰ He also expected to receive rich remuneration. The fee the physician expects was regarded as reciprocal to the effectiveness of the treatment and even as guaranteeing it. High fees invariably inspire confidence in the practitioner's skill and the efficacy of the medical tradition.⁴¹ It is known from a hymn of the Atharvaveda that not only the priest-physicians had an important role in curing

this disease, but also those who tied different types of amulets to the patient's body also had an important role. They also prayed to various deities for the recovery of the patient.

In those days it was believed that this disease was caused by sinful actions. Sin was considered to be the root of all diseases. As a result of doing bad deeds, diseases came into the body- such was the prevailing idea. Therefore, it was considered most necessary to be freed from sin before being freed from any disease. So before curing this disease, the patient was separated from sin. And the priest-physician played an important role in this work. Sacrificial ceremonies were performed under his presiding, worship of gods and offering oblation were arranged. And therefore the gods Indra, the Asvins and sometimes other gods were prayed to rid the patient of his sins. After turning away from sin, the patient was cured of *yaksma*. Then the priest tried to prolong the life of the patient through chanting the mantras.⁴² That is before the complete cure of *yaksma*, the patient was tried to be completely separated from sin. The III.31 *sukta* from the Atharvaveda Samhita was considered very effective in curing *yaksma* after first ridding the patient of his sins. They preached Brahmanical rites such as sacrifice, worships of gods, offering oblation etc. as effective cures for *yaksma*. They were able to inculcate the belief among the common people that by appeasing the respective deities, one could get rid of *yaksma*.

Effects on society- In that period, enemies were always considered to be a hindrance to human progress, human life was hindered in various ways by the harmful actions of enemies. So in those days prayers were always prayed to the gods so that diseases would be released from the afflicted person and reach his enemies. There was a clear understanding in the later Vedic period that *jayanya* originated from excessive sexual indulgence. However it has not been possible to prevent this disease. Therefore, it can be assumed that some people in the society showed excessive interest in additional female companionship, so this disease often arose. So this issue was not seen well in the society.

One wife to one man in the Vedic age- this was the custom of the day. But men sometimes had multiple marriages.⁴³ Not only this, their

secret love and illegitimate children are also mentioned in the Rig Veda.⁴⁴ In the later Vedic period the practice of polygamy became common. By taking more than one wife, they engaged in excessive sexual indulgence. As a result, their chances of getting infected with *jayanya* increased. Especially members of the royal family were affected by this disease as polygamy became very popular in the royal family. Usually a king had at least four queens such as *mahishi* (chief among queens), *babata* (husband's favourite), *parivrikti* (neglected wife) and *palagali*. We have to keep that in mind excessive sexual indulgence is not the only cause of *yaksma*, it is one of the causes.

Conclusion- A review of the Vedic literature reveals that the people of the Vedic period attributed the origin of *yaksma* to the wrath of the divinity and the influence of malefic agents. Vedic healers were also able to realize that there may be a link between malnutrition and dietary deficiency with the development of *yaksma* and other diseases. The social concern in this regard is clearly understood from a prayer mentioned in the Rig Veda- 'Give us food that will prevent *yaksma*'.⁴⁵ Some researchers have proved it through their research that food shortage was extensive in the Vedic society⁴⁶. It would not be unreasonable to assume that due to the dietary habits of the Vedic people the immune system was weakened and that people were susceptible to *yaksma*. Even in this era, people were afraid of losing their lives and they considered life as the highest value. So in order to save lives and to get rid of all worldly problems, they prayed God's blessing. Apart from this, a class of curious people were able to determine the healing power of various types of vines, shrubs, trees etc. Gradually the untiring efforts of a class of curious people succeeded in discovering the source of disease and the rational cause of its cure and with their efforts, the medical system gradually became scientific.

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SUNARAM SOREN: A MESSIANIC TRIBAL LEADER

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Out of the twenty six Odia speaking princely states Mayurbhanj was the largest and most populous. It was ruled by the famous Bhanja kings for over thousand years before her merger with Odisha. It had been a tribal area inhabited by various tribes.¹ The most important tribals being the Bathudis, Bhuyans, Bhumijas, Kharias, Lodhas, Santals, Kols, Koyas, karuas and the Hos.² The Bhanja rulers of this state have earned a proverbial reputation for their benevolence. Although the rulers were benevolent and generous, the system of administration being feudal and corrupt caused sufferings to the people.³ People were crushed by the heavy burden of fines exactions and forced labour which came in the form of *Bethi*, *Begari* (un paid forced labour), *Rasad* (compulsory contribution), *Bheti* (forced present), unlawful collection of money and various other monopolies traditionally enjoyed by the ruler.⁴ They were initially helpless to raise their voice against the Maharaja. Subsequently however the misrule of the Maharaja paved the path for the popular movement in Mayurbhanj state.⁵

In Mayurbhanj the *Praja Mandal* was established on 24th March 1939 under the leadership of Sarat Chandra Das. *Pragana Samities*, Village Organisation, as first step towards improvement of economic condition of the people were established. Village economic funds were created demanding legitimate civil and political rights. Elements of political agitation were slowly introduced in the state. To counteract the reactionary tempo of the Maharaja,

the *Praja Mandal* movement in Mayurbhanj ushered in a number of revolutionary measures. Hundreds of mass meetings were organised all over the state. The main aim of *Praja Mandal* was to transform the autocratic monarchy into a democratic polity.⁶ Betnoti become the nerve centre of the movement and agitational activities started in different places of Mayurbhanj, such as in Panchapir, Bamanaghati and Sadar sub-division.⁷ Mayurbhanj was mainly populated by Tribals and Backward classes. The women folk though hard working, were not liberated and *Parada* system was prevailed among the high caste Hindus. Under the circumstances, Sarat Chandra Das and his followers wanted to bring the women into the mainstream. The women attended the meetings held in village Madhunanda and Pratimadeipur.⁸ It was a novel effort at subaltern and gender participation in the movement to give it a comprehensive colour.

One third of the population of the Mayurbhanj were tribals. The tribals of Mayurbhanj were politically disorganised. The Mayurbhanj tribals despite their majority did not have a leader of their own and they were divided into number of ethnic groups. They were helpless since there was no organisation to help them to raise their voice against the *Sardars* and the ruling chief. Since the *Praja Mandal* was largely dominated by the non-tribals called —*Dikus*—. The vacuum of leadership shot into frame a young tribal lawyer of Bamanghati sub-division named Sunaram Soren. He was a lawyer, practising at Baripada Court and took the leadership of the Adibasi's and voiced their demands to maintain the independence and sovereignty of the state of Mayurbhanj, so that it would remain distinguished among the Indian states.

In 1946 Sunaram Soren organised the *Mayurbhanj Adibasi Sabha* which later was converted into the Jharkhand Party in Odisha. Sunaram Soren became the President of the *Mayurbhanj Adibasi Sabha*. His associates were- Mahendra Nath Murmu: the Vice- President, Shyam Charan Hansda: the General Secretary, Sundar Mohan Hembram: the Councillor and Ghasiram Sandyl: the Chief Commander. In each sub-division of Mayurbhanj local units were set up with identical office bearers. They were affiliated to the main unit of Rairangpur.⁹

Like *Praja Mandal*, *Mayurbhanj Adibasi Sabha* was also a political organisation which was started by the tribal leader Sunaram Soren. These two were the leading parties of the Mayurbhanj state. Besides these, there were also the *Kurmi Kshatriya Sabha*, *Bhanja Basi Party*, *Swadhin Dal* and *Mayurbhanj Socialist Party*. The *Adibasi Sabha* approved the green flag and green cap as their logo to be used by all the members and office bearers of the party. After the formation of the *Mayurbhanj Adibasi Sabha*, Sunaram Soren moved from village to village in the state with local leaders to swell the party membership. He soon emerged as the messiah of the *Adibasi* and their saviour drawing large crowds in every public meeting he held.

Mayurbhanj is basically a backward district. Among the various factors of its backwardness lack of education among the tribal population which constitutes the bulk of the district population and the lingering flavour of feudal heritage are the most prominent. This was realised by Mr Soren who was a genuine tribal leader dedicated to the cause of general upliftment of the tribals and who was selfless about his own political fortune. He was opposed to merger of Mayurbhanj with Odisha, apprehending that this would dilute and

relegate the tribal welfare issues of Mayurbhanj. So, he preferred to join the Jharkhand movement which was indigenously tribal movement and potentially integrating.

The *Mayurbhanj Adibasi Sabha* was not exclusively for the tribals, but for the non-tribals. Like the *Praja Mandal*, the aim of the *Adibasi Sabha* was to establish peaceful responsible government in the state and in running the administration, priority was given to the *Gram Panchayats*, *Pragana Panchayat*, *Praja Sabha* and *Kendra Parishad*.

Mayurbhanj was only princely states which established responsible government after the Independence of India. So, while other princely states signed the instrument of merger with the province of Odisha, Mayurbhanj remained an independent state.¹¹ Regarding the merger of Mayurbhanj there was a controversy among the leaders. The tribals of Mayurbhanj were instigated to start an agitation against merger with Odisha. Sunaram Soren repeatedly declared its intention of not joining any province, but to remain independent. Till then the tribals of Mayurbhanj could not remain unaffected by the Jharkhand movement and the tribal demand for a separate state of their own. The *Adibasi Sabha* carried the slogan, —*Bhanj Disam Heq Abawah, Akay Tulu Han Bab Misawa* (Mayurbhanj is ours; we will not merge with anybody).¹²

In response to the desire of the tribal, the Maharaja decided to include the Adibasi leaders in the proposed Constituent Assembly which was formed on 10th November 1947, in the *Kendra Parishad* Hall at Baripada. The Second session of the Constituent Assembly gathered to meet on 8th December 1947. In this session Sarat Chandra Das, the leader of *Praja Mandal* stated the

following resolution. (a) The Assembly should elect one member from among them whom the Maharaja should accept as Premier and invite him to form an Interim Government. (b) The *Kendra Parishad* should be dissolved, and till the formation of a new Legislative Assembly this Constituent Assembly should perform the function of the legislature and it be declared that the ministry so formed shall be responsible to the legislature. ¹³

On 9th December a proclamation was issued in which Maharaja accepted the resolution of the Constituent Assembly. To give effect to the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly the Maharaja proclaimed an Interim Constitution, which came into force with immediate effect. ¹⁴ The Interim Constitution provided that the fifty-one-member Constituent Assembly would serve as the legislature of the state. ¹⁵ Out of fifty-one twelve seats were given to the tribals. The proclamation of the ruler dated 9th December 1947 had instituted a council of ministers with Sarat Chandra Das as the Premier and Bidyadhar Mohapatra and Maheswar Naik as ministers. The inclusion of the name of Maheswar Naik, a Gond tribal in Ministry made the tribals very happy. The reforms proposed by the Maharaja added new dimension to the movement putting an emphasis on alleviation of tribal problems. Sunaram Soren also largely satisfied. ¹⁶

On 10th December, 1947, the ruler signed away the prerogatives of the princely house of Mayurbhanj and the same day he transferred all powers to the ministry. ¹⁷ This attainment of the *Praja Mandal* was the victory of the people in their struggle against a feudal social order and out-dated pattern of monarchical government. ¹⁸ The workers became very happy, because the

Praja Mandal at last achieved its long-cherished goal of farming a responsible government in the state.

The national leaders who were moulding the destinies of a resurrected India were not favourably disposed towards the continuance of small autonomous units like Mayurbhanj and they felt that —small units would rather create hindrance than help in the work of consolidation and progress which was so much necessary for the development of the nation.¹⁹ The individual Congressmen and the press demanded complete merger of the states with the Odisha province. The tribals of Mayurbhanj were instigated to start an agitation against merger with Odisha. A meeting was held on 25th December 1947 Presided over by Sunaram Soren.

Attempts were made to create schism between tribals and non-tribals. Sunaram felt convinced that if Mayurbhanj would cease to remain as a separate entity, its merger with Bihar would serve the cause of the tribal population better. And also, Mayurbhanj state is predominantly *Adibasi* and it is practically same with Chotnagpur Division and Santal Pragana district, ethnologically, geographically, linguistically, culturally, economically and in fact in every material respect. Sunaram's argument touched the tribals in every nook and corner of the state making their agitation more popular and vigorous.²⁰ Thus his revolt gained momentum especially in Bamanaghati sub- division which was adjacent to Bihar.

At that critical juncture the role played by Sunaram Soren gave the situation a new turn.²¹ The Congress Party in Mayurbhanj opposed this and began to articulate public opinion. They pointed out that there would be language problem because Bihar was a Hindi speaking province. Again Patna,

the capital of Bihar would be far away from Mayurbhanj and since there was no good system of communication, the tribals interest could not be served well and effectively. The Congress stressed that the integration with Odisha would be culturally, historically, economically and administratively convenient and compatible, but not with Bihar.²²

The attitude of state Congress was something different. They remained silent regarding the merger issue. But the *Adibasi Sabha* continued their resistance movement under the Sunaram Soren, demanding either autonomy of Mayurbhanj or merger with Bihar.²³

But on 16th October 1948 the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj signed the instrument of merger in New Delhi.²⁴ The Government of India took over the administration of Mayurbhanj on 9th November 1948 and it decided in favour of amalgamation of Mayurbhanj with Odisha.²⁵ In this transitional period the tribals of Bihar had become politically active and were demanding a tribal state of Jharkhand to assert their tribal identity under the leadership of Jaypal Singh.

The tribals of Mayurbhanj were dissatisfied with the decision of the Maharaja. The tribals under the leadership of Sunaram Soren with the help of Jaypal Singh started an agitation against the merger of Mayurbhanj with Odisha. He was the only emerging tribal leader during the Mayurbhanj's integration with Odisha.²⁶ His arguments appealed to the tribal in the every nook and corner of the state to mainly make their agitation more popular and vigorous. Thousands of Adibasi decanted into the Baripada town to hold meetings and demonstrations at the police parade ground. Sunaram issued orders to hold meetings and demonstration at the police parade ground.

Sunaram issued orders for the day from horse back and at his behest the slogan —we shall merge with Bihar, not with Odisha was repeatedly shouted. Firing had to be ordered at Kulidiha, Gurduria, Rairangpur and several other places.²⁷ V. P. Menon visited Baripada on 16th December, 1948 to announce before the Assembly about the momentous decision of the Government of India. Brushing aside the arguments of the Adibasi expressed in their memorandum submitted to the Government as highly unreasonable. Menon announced the Mayurbhanj would merge with Odisha on 1st January 1949, when it became a district of Odisha.²⁸

Towards the end of the year 1950, Mr Ranjit Singh Bariha and other Hon'ble ministers laid the foundation of *Nikhil Utkal Adibasi Congress* (All Orissa Adibasi Congress) a rival front to the Jharkhand. In this year, the *Adibasi Mahasabha* was wound up and in its place the Jharkhand Party came up. During 1952-53, Jaipal Singh and many Bihar-based leaders made a tour of Baripada and organised a rally at Madhuban. The people said that this rally was the genesis of Jharkhand movement which later spread over in the rural areas of Mayurbhanj. Except Sunaram Soren no other leader appeared to be of any importance. But when Sunaram Soren joined the Congress, the movement suffered a setback. After being elected in the first General Election in 1952, he left the Jharkhand Party and joined *Nikhil Utkal Adibasi Congress* and became a Cabinet Minister. In the year 1955, on the floor of the Assembly Jagabananda Murmu, Ghasiram Sandyl, Haradev Singh Tiriya, Surendra Singh raised the issue on the formation of Jharkhand state. Next year, at Rairangpur Harekrushna Mahatab inaugurated the Jharkhand Party. In the Second General Election to the State Assembly in 1957, five candidates of Jharkhand Party

were elected to the Assembly as independent candidates. Sunaram Soren was defeated and joined bar. The Congress formed Government with the support of these five Jharkhand members. In 1959, congress formed a coalition government with the *Ganatantra Parishad* when the five Jharkhand members withdrew their support and joined the opposition.

Sunaram Soren, as typical tribal leader, was by nature a straight forward and honest personality. As such he was new to the intricacies of politics. The ruling party wanted to isolate him from the Jharkhand movement and so it tempted him with the offer of the Cabinet post and full party support for his cause if he joined the Congress. Sunaram Soren failed prey to these temptations and though he became a Cabinet Minister he lost his credulity before his people against a background of their ruling party's independence to the incumbent need of tribal organisation and welfare in Mayurbhanj. No surprise, he failed to get himself re-elected to the Assembly and the tribal cause so ardently represented by him so far got diluted.

In the mid-term election 1961, Jharkhand Party failed to capture any seat in the Assembly. This time, members of Jharkhand party had contested election as independent candidates. The Odisha Jharkhand movement had its heyday during this time, but it was meant for a very short period of time, it appeared that, the leaders who supplied the spur to the movement were very few. Except Sunaram Soren no other leader appeared to be of any importance.²⁹ Now still Sunaram Soren is recognised by tribals as their guide and philosopher and leader. He was very popular among the tribals.

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SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT IN NORTH INDIA DURING
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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Abstract

The eighteenth century in North India witnessed a significant revival of scientific thought amidst political turmoil and cultural transitions. This paper explores the major developments along with important works that shaped the scientific landscape during the aforementioned period. The blend of Persian and Indian traditions, termed Indo-Persian culture, played a crucial role in influencing scientific discourse. Notable figures like Sawai Jai Singh II, the ruler of Amber, made significant contributions to astronomy and mathematics. Throughout the eighteenth century rulers as well as individuals engage in promoting intellectual exchanges and supporting research in diverse fields, including mathematics and astronomy. The scientific disciplines of astronomy, physics, agriculture, zoology, mathematics and encyclopedia thrived during this period, leaving a lasting legacy in North India's cultural heritage.

Keywords: *Science, Astronomy, Al-Riyadi, Zij-I Shahjahani, Raja Jai Singh Sawai.*

In conventional historiography, the 18th century is portrayed as a period of chaos, anarchy, and disorder. Given the predominance of this perception, it is generally believed that scientific thought, like all creative and intellectual activities, has come to a dead standstill. The revisionist school of 18th century India, in particular, C.A. Bayly¹ and Muzaffar Alam², among others³, has served to dispel such a perception of the period, pointing to evidence of socio-economic growth and the formation of new social communities, who were, as they show, participating in the shares in political power. What has not been studied is the developments in science and

scientific thought in the 18th century. If one carefully sifts through the contemporary evidence, one would see that the period was indeed marked by considerable expansion in scientific thought, which has largely escaped the notice of historians. The blending of Persian and Indian traditions, often referred to as Indo-Persian culture, significantly influenced the scientific discourse of the time. The patronage of scholars and intellectuals by the Mughal courts and regional rulers played a pivotal role in fostering scientific inquiry.

Astronomy held a prominent place in the scientific thought of eighteenth-century North India. In the field of astronomy, for example, Abul Khairullah⁴ wrote an important treatise, *Taqr but-Tahrir*, 1747. The work is actually an annotated translation of Nasiruddin Tusi's Arabic recension of Ptolemy's *Almagest*. He was appointed director of the observatory at Delhi by Emperor Muhammad Shah, where he wrote his astronomical observations and compiled his tables. He also wrote *Sharh-i Zij-i Muhammad Shahi*, in which he contradicted the prevailing theory regarding the orbit of the sun and its satellites, which he believed to be elliptic, not circular⁵.

Imaduddin Husain *Ar-Riyadi* was another important scientist who wrote many books on astronomy, mathematics, astrology, ethics, and bibliographies. There is an attempt in his work to modify the Graeco-Arabic sciences, and his astronomical calculations are actually based on intricate mathematical calculations⁶.

In order to compile the almanac, Jayavinodasari created an astronomical table to determine moon days. Tables for calculating *tithis*, *nakshataras*, and *yogas* are also included in his writings⁷.

M. Najmuddin wrote a short treatise on solar and lunar calendars and calculations of dates under the title, *RisalahdarTahqiq Sanah*⁸.

Similarly, Rashiduddin has also written a commentary on Bahauddin Amuli's work *Tashrihul-Aflak*, *Sharh Tashrihul Aflak*, and dedicated this work to Prince Rafiuddin Ali, grandson of Jahandar Shah⁹.

M. Zaman Fayyaz Salis, an astronomer-cum-mathematician, wrote *Hukmu'r Riyadi*, a commentary on Chaghmini's *sal-Mulakhkhas* and *Risalahdar Hai,,at* (a treatise on astronomy)¹⁰.

Qubul M. Ansari, who lived in the court of Nasiruddin Hyder, Nawab Wazir of Awadh (1727–37), compiled a treatise on the sphere and stars; horoscopes; fixation of dates of marriages, travels, etc. under the title of *Anwaru_n-Nujum* in 1785–86. The work is based on the Indian traditional system of astronomy. It also contains Sanskrit technical terms¹¹.

Rafiuddin Dehlavi, son of Shah Waliullah of Delhi, is the author of *Risalah fil-Mujmalati-t-Ta,,dil*, on the astronomical positions of the planets at different times¹².

The finest and best treatise on the motions of stars and planets, the measurement of time, and the current calendars were written by Raja Jai Singh Sawai in 1727, *Zij-i Jadid-Muhammad Shahi* on the pattern of *Zij-i Shahjahani*¹³. As suggested by the use of the word *jadid*, or modern, in the title of the book, the work makes a fresh departure from the prevailing Graeco-Arabic sciences. The work discusses in detail the motion of stars and planets and their positions from a certain longitude and latitude, based on the observations carried out at the observatory constructed by Raja Jai Singh Sawai at different places in North India. The study of the stars and planets also had practical applications in determining auspicious timings for religious rituals and agricultural practices¹⁴.

MATHEMATICS:

India is known for the development of mathematical sciences from ancient times, and among the well-known mathematicians of ancient India, one could easily point to Aryabhata (499 A.D.), Varahmira (505 A.D.), Brahmagupta (7th C.), Mahavira (9th C.), and Bhaskar (12th C.). During the 16th and 17th centuries, mathematics (*Riadi*) comprised of *Hisab* (arithmetic), *Hindsa* (geometry), and *Haiat* (astronomy).

Mathematics remained a key discipline of scientific thought. Scholars like Sawai Jai Singh II and others contributed to the understanding of trigonometry, accountancy, algebra, and geometry. These developments in mathematics had applications not only in astronomy but also in various architectural and engineering projects.

The works which received considerable notice and were often taught in the madrasas during the 16th and 17th centuries were those written by Bahauddin Amuli, Nasiruddin al-Tusi, Arraq, and Al-Kashi. Among them, the works of Amuli were the most famous and continued to retain their reputation in the 18th century, as well.

Abul Khair Khairullah's work *Taqriru't-Tahrir* or *Tarjumah-i-Tahrir-iUqlidas* (1731) is the translation of Nasiruddin Tusi's Arabic work, *Tahrirul-Uqlidas*, a commentary on the elements of Euclid¹⁵.

Dasturu'l-Amal, by Anand Ram Mukhlis¹⁶, chiefly deals with accountancy (*siyaq*). It also contains information regarding weights and measures, zodiac signs, Ragini Hindu science, and shastra, mostly in tabulated forms¹⁷.

Dabiruddaulah Kh. Fariduddin Ahmad Khan Bahadur was born in Delhi in the 18th century. He taught mathematical sciences at Lucknow and was also the author of *Dar San,,at-i Parkar Ma'' Fawaidul Afkar*, work on the geometrical compass. It is also reported that he had written a number of books pertaining to the mathematical sciences, but many of them were destroyed during the uprising of 1857 in Delhi¹⁸. Inderman, a native of Hissar, wrote a treatise on arithmetic (*Dastur-iHisab*) in 1767¹⁹.

M. Salauddin's *Kifayatul-Jabr* and M. Zaffar Fayyaz's *Sharh- I Khulasatul-Hisab* were both commentaries on the famous mathematical treatise of Bahauddin Amuli, *Khulasatul-Hisab*²⁰.

M. Zaman Fayyaz was a native of Ambala but adopted Delhi as his residence. He was the author of several books on mathematics and astronomy. His famous work, *Ilhamul-Ghayb* (1708), is about the distances of stars, and

his *Risalah-I Irtifaul Jibal* (1708), is about the heights of mountains. He also wrote a commentary on Bahauddin Amuli's mathematical work. His *Tahrirul-Ashkal li Hall-i Sharh-I Ashkalut-Ta'asis li-Tusi* is a super-commentary on the commentary by Tusi on the *Ashkalut-Tasis* of Shamsuddin Muhammad-a work on geometry²¹.

A short note on the rules of finding cubic roots was written by Qazi Najmuddin Khan Kakorwi in *Qaidah-i-Istikhraj-i Ka,,ab*²².

Roshan Ali of Jaunpur was associated for a long time with Calcutta Madrasah and, according to Rieu, wrote a number of books on mathematics. Among those, *Risalah-fi Jabrwa Muqablah* on algebra and *Sharh-I Khulasatul-Hisab*, a commentary on Amuli's work on arithmetic, are, perhaps, the most well-known²³.

PHYSICS:

There were noticeable developments in the knowledge of physics in the 18th century, as well. Abu Ali Aminuddin Hasan wrote a commentary on *Risalah al-Jawahir Wa'z-Zawahir*, which was a work that dealt with the properties of matter²⁴.

Al-Husaini wrote *Hashiyah ,,ala Sharh Hidayatul-Hikmat Mulla Sadra* (1760), a commentary on Mulla Sadra's²⁵ *Hidayatul-Hikmat*, a work on physics. On the same theme, in 1775, Mulla Hasan Ali of Lucknow wrote a similar work as well²⁶.

Maulvi Aminullah wrote an elementary book of general science in the Greek tradition under the title of *Maisarul-Wujuddar Sana''at* (1785–86). The author says in the introduction to the book that his book is divided into two broad categories: one section dealing with the matter and the other dealing with the spirit. In the former, he says he has discussed the elements ('Anasir'), i.e. smoke, air, thunder, lightning, rainbows, etc., whereas, in the second section of the book, he discusses attributes: attributes of vegetables, animals, and human beings, their natures and potentialities²⁷.

AGRICULTURE:

In the field of agricultural science, a treatise on the cultivation of various plants was written by Ahmad Ali under the title of *Nakhlbandiyah* (1790-91). *Kitab-I Falahat* is another general work on agriculture. *Risalahdar Zara''at* basically discusses agricultural seasons, the yearly calendar of cultivation, and various instructions concerning the technical aspects of cultivation²⁸.

ZOOLOGY:

Sheikh Ali Hazin²⁹ is the author of two important treatises, *Risalahdar Khawar-I Haiwan* (1734) and *Risalah-i Faras Namah* (1734). The former is a zoological work that deals with the precepts of hunting and slaying animals on land and sea. The lists are arranged in alphabetical order: the origin of animal life, the senses, and the faculties of animals. The latter work is an abridgment of the author's own treatise on farrier, dealing with the diets, maintenance, diseases, and cures of horses³⁰.

ENCYCLOPEDIA:

The eighteenth century is marked by the emergence of the scientific encyclopedia, a unique phenomenon for which, perhaps, there are no precedents in the earlier period. It is usually believed that encyclopedias were a European contribution to the world's heritage, but the extant encyclopedias of 18th-century India clearly show that this was certainly not the case.

Abdur Rahman, also known as Shahnawaz Khan Hashmi Dehlawi, wrote *Mir''at Aftab Numa* during the reign of Shah Alam. This is a general encyclopedia and deals with the creation of the universe, minerals, plants, the constitution of cities and countries, seas and oceans, and the description of Europe and America. The *Khatimah* (conclusion) deals with the wonders of the world³¹.

Sayyid M. Aslam Bengali Pandwa'i wrote an encyclopedia of philosophies and sciences under the title of *Mukhtasar-i Mufid* (1787). In this he describes the heavenly bodies: morning and twilight; phases of the moon;

date, year, and month and their divisions of day and hour; growth and decay; the four elements; man; faculties that are served; faculty of reasoning; fertilisation of sperm; anatomy; age; speculative philosophies and practical philosophy. In the preface, the author reveals that he collected the information from the works of Ali Qushji, Hamdullah Mutaufi, Qazwini, Tusi, M. Berari, Muslihuddin al Lari, and Ghulam Ali³².

Shakir Khan, the celebrated historian of Muhammad Shah's reign, wrote *Hadiqah-I Hadiq-I Ganjinah-i Sadiq* (1760–61). It is an encyclopedia discussing cosmography, anatomy, archery, sexual intercourse, medicine, veterinary science, surgery, etc³³.

I have barely scratched the surface, and I am sure if one were to make a concerted effort, the list of scientific works written in the 18th century would be quite considerable. The patronage of rulers along with the individual intellectual contributions fostered an environment of curiosity and exploration. Astronomy, physics, zoology, and mathematics were among the prominent scientific disciplines that flourished during this time. The legacy of these scientific endeavours continues to be celebrated and appreciated as an essential part of North India's cultural heritage. In an important article, M. Athar Ali³⁴ suggests that the intellectual efforts in India in the 18th century were marked by a lack of interest in science and technology. Our examinations of the extant evidence, however, suggest that his formulation, perhaps, is in need of some modification.

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9. *Ibid.*, p.328.
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11. *Ibid.*, p.346.
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15. *Ibid.*, , p.386.
16. Anand Ram Mukhlis was a well-known poet and writer of the Mughal period. He was born in late seventeenth century Delhi and was known for his proficiency in composing poetry in various languages, including Persian, Urdu, and Braj Bhasha. He served in the royal courts of Mughal emperors, and his talent earned him patronage from the nobility.
17. *Science and Technology in Medieval India*, Op. Cit., p.390.
18. *Ibid.*, p.393.
19. *Ibid.*, p.399.
20. *Ibid.*, p.408.
21. *Ibid.*,
22. *Ibid.*, p.415.
23. *Ibid.*, p.416.
24. *Ibid.*, p, 471.
25. Mulla Sadra, whose full name is Sadr al-Din Muhammad Shirazi, was a prominent Iranian Islamic philosopher and theologian. He was born in Shiraz, Iran, under the Safavid era, and he became one of the most significant personalities in Islamic philosophy, particularly within the Transcendental Theosophy (al-Hikmah al-Muta'aliyah) school of thought. Mulla Sadra's philosophical ideas were shaped by the prevailing intellectual currents of his time, which included the works of earlier Islamic philosophers like Avicenna (Ibn Sina) and Suhrawardi. He also drew on the teachings of al-Ghazali, the famous Islamic theologian and philosopher.
26. *Science and Technology in Medieval India*, Op. Cit., pp.490, 495.
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