

Emergence of Orissa as a Separate State and Contribution of Khallikote Raj Family

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The Khallikote Raj Family was the brain, heart and soul of the Oriya nationalist movement which aimed at linguistic, literary, cultural and territorial integration of Oriya-speaking people with a separate identity of their own. In 1901 four prominent persons of the time-Harihara Mardraj Dev-the Raja of Khallikote, Nilamani Vidyaratna-an eminent litterateur, Narasingh Das and Harihara Panda, the first Oriya pleader of Ganjam-met at the Rambha Palace of the Raja of Khallikote to discuss the future of the Oriyas under the leadership of Madhusudan Das. "It was in this conclave of secret deliberations that the foundation of the future of the race was laid", wrote L.M.Patnaik in his book "Resurrected Orissa".

In April 1903 the Ganjam National Conference held under the auspices of Ganjam Jatiya Samity. In this conference the Oriyas of Ganjam led by Harihara Mardraj, the Raja of Khallikote expressed their desire for a united Orissa. Madhusudan Das, who was present in the conference proposed to convene another conference on a much bigger scale to press the demand. Thus the Utkal Sammilani or Utkal Union Conference was born in December 1903 with the Utkal Sabha merging in it.

Sri Nilamani Vidyaratna, a prominent Oriya nationalist and journalist was working in the Badakhemundi Raj Darabar. On one occasion

he advised to Shri Sashibhusan Rath of Ganjam to publish an Oriya Weekly. Soon after, Sashibhusan Rath started his Oriya Weekly "Asha" which was published from Brahmapur. During that time Vidyaratna was very close to poet Radhanath Roy because earlier he was a Primary Teacher where Roy was the School Inspector. Roy introduced Nilamani Vidyaratna to the Raja of Bamanda, Sri Sudhala Dev for the purpose of publication of an Oriya journal. Raja of Bamanda started an Oriya Journal named "Sambalpur Hitaisini" and Vidyaratna was appointed as the editor. When Vidyaratna came to know about the nationalist movement and patriotic activities of Harihara Mardaraj he soon left Bamanda and joined hands with the Raja of Khallikote. Very soon Raja Harihara Mardaraj purchased a press and he started a weekly journal "Prajabandhu". Nilamani Vidyaratna took the editorship of that weekly. The press was set up at Rambha Palace and later on it was known as "Mardaraj Press". 'Prajabandhu' all through its career focused the grievances of the Oriyas. When the Oriya nationalist movement was taking boost, Raja Harihara Mardaraj met with untimely death on 20th July 1909. At the Prince Ramachandra Mardaraj was minor, the estate of Khallikote kept under the Madras Court of Wards. On Fourteenth of January, 1921 Raja Ramachandra Mardaraj Dev came to the throne.

Ramachandra Mardaraj Dev was nominated as the President of District Board of Ganjam by the Madras Government in 1922 and continued this position until 1937. He managed to hold this office unopposed in every successive term of three years. Ganjam district benefited a lot by the endeavour of his presidentship. A number of bridges were constructed throughout Ganjam district during his tenure. The major bridges over Rushikulya, Bahuda, Badanadi, Bansadhara and the Mahendratana were built because of his endless efforts. That's why the people of Ganjam popularly called him as the "Bridge President". Not only the bridges but also a huge number of Road networks and new Dak Bungalows were constructed during his tenure as the Ganjam District President.

In order to improve the agriculture production, he made available a number of irrigation projects in the district. Notable among them were the "Niraspalli Project" at Athagada, "Narendra Sankha" of Biridi, "Purnachandra Sagara" and "Mohan Sagar" at Khallikote. Because of his selfless service to the mankind he was honoured with the hereditary title of "Raja" in July 1927.

He earned good name and fame as a dynamic member of the Madras Legislative Council from 1923 to 1936 till the new province of Orissa was created. As a member he took active part in all important debates in the floor of the legislature and made marks. He always fought for the interest of Orissa. As a legislator he was principled, honest, sincere, dutiful and punctual. He fought for protecting the interests of the Oriyas. He demanded amalgamation of Oriya speaking areas into one common province.

Role of Ramachandra Dev for the formation of separate Orissa State is noteworthy. It was he who successfully convinced the Phillip-Duff-Committee, who visited Rambha and stayed

at Rambha palace from seventeenth December to twenty-first of December, 1924. He convinced the Commission giving all the logical arguments right from the birth of Utkal Sammilani and his father's sincere attempts for the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts.

The Viceroy appointed the three-member Orissa Boundary Committee with Samuel O'Donnell as the Chairman and H.M. Mehata and T. Phookan as members. The Committee was to go into the question of a separate administration for Orissa from financial and other angles and to make recommendations regarding adjustment of boundaries in the event of separation. The O'Donnell Committee visited Gopalpur-on-Sea on fifteenth of December, 1931. Ram Chandra Mardaraj helped the Committee in giving all the evidences for the amalgamation of the Oriya speaking tracts. Sashibhusan Rath, Niranjan Pattanayak, Shrikrushna Mahapatra, Laxmidhara Mahanty, Biswanath Mishra, Bhubanananda Das, Lingaraj Panigrahi, and Laxminarayan Pattanayak were the members of the Witness Committee. A huge gathering welcomed the Committee at the Brahmapur Railway Station. During this time the people of Ganjam were going to Rangoon for numeral works for livelihood. They were gathering at Gopalpur before one or two days for boarding the ship. The Raja of Khallikote Ramachandra Mardaraj motivated the members of the O'Donnell Committee to witness the people gathered for sea journey in nearby places. The Committee recommended that if the province of Orissa was to be created it should include the Orissa Division consisting of Cuttack, Puri, Baleswar and Sambalpur districts, Anugul, the Khariar Zamindari of Raipur district and the greater part of the Ganjam district and Vizagapatnam Agency Tracts.

The Third Round Table Conference was held in London in December, 1932. Ramachandra Mardaraj was invited to this

conference as a delegate. There he successfully presented the grievances of the Oriyas and played a prominent role in the deliberations regarding Indian Constitutional Reforms.

Ramachandra Mardaraj earned a good name in the Orissa Legislative Assembly both as a legislator and as a minister. He was a member of Indian Central Legislature from 1945 to 1951. After the new Constitution came into force he was elected twice to the Orissa Legislative Assembly in 1951 from Khallikote constituency and in 1957 from Kodala constituency.

After the formation of Orissa as a new province then came the general election to the 60-member State Assembly in January 1937-the first ever poll in the new-born province. For the Congress it was a great challenge. The very thought of fighting against the combined strength of the resourceful Zamidara sent shivers down the spine of many a Congress leaders. Mahatab retired to his Ashram at Agarapara practically boycotting the poll. Very few were optimistic of the party's success. The organization was so weak that it was difficult even to get persons brave enough to fight election on Congress ticket. The election took place in January 1937 on the basis of limited franchise. The Legislative Assembly consisted of 60 seats-of which 56 were open to contest and four were reserved for nominated representatives of backward tribes. The principal contestant parties, besides the Congress, were the National Party of the Maharaja of Parlakhemundi; The United Party of (Raja) S.N.Bhanja Deo of Kanika and the Independent Party of (Raja) Ramachandra Mardaraj Dev of Khallikote. The Congress Party successfully appealed to the rural masses in the magic name of Mahatma Gandhi. The short tour of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the second week of November 1937, immediately before the election, also exercised magnetic influence on the minds of the voters in favour of the Congress. The out-

come was a landslide victory for the Congress. Fresh hurdles stood in the way of the Orissa Congress Party. The Congress protested against the Governor's special powers of interference and declined to accept the office. In the circumstances the Governor of Orissa, J.A.Hubback invited the National Party leader, K.C. Gajapati Narayan Dev, the Maharaja of Parlakhemundi, to form the Ministry in 1937. The minority Ministry of Parlakhemundi was in an anomalous position. It would have been defeated had the legislature met. The three months that followed the constitutional crisis created by the Congress party's refusal to accept office, gave rise to much political excitement. Realizing the untenability of the situation the Viceroy made a statement in June 1937 clarifying the constitutional position virtually backing out of his earlier posture. The misgivings over, the Congress decided in July 1937 to accept office. The Maharaja of Parlakhemundi tendered his resignation. Biswanath Das came into power on July 19, 1937. But things inside the Congress were hardly looked up. Intra-party quarrel intensified instead of abating. The Ministry did not last beyond October 1939 when it had to resign in pursuance of the Congress resolution not to co-operate with the British war effort. Orissa came under the direct Governor's rule for the first time and the Assembly was kept inanimated suspension. Nilakantha Das and Godavarish Mishra, openly flouting the Congress directive, made a bid for an alternative Ministry under the leadership of Raja of Khallikote, Ramachandra Mardaraj Dev. But it was torpedoed by Mahatab, Biswanath Das and Nabakrushna Choudhary. Then a three-member Cabinet headed by Gajapati Narayan Dev and with Godavarish Mishra and Sobhan Khan as Ministers assumed office in November 1941. But the inner contradictions among the Coalition partners, which remained under the carpet during the Ministry-making exercise, were soon manifesting

over the share of spoils. The Raja of Khallikote, his aspirations for the office of the Chief Minister having been dashed, wanted to be the National War Front leader for Orissa, a prize post blessed by the British Rulers. The Raja was not only a very popular figure of Ganjam but was also in the good book of the British who naturally wanted him to adorn the post. But here also he had a formidable contestant in Nilakantha Das who had preferred the War Front Office to a ministerial berth for certain reasons. The Raja sought to prejudice the British Governor against Das kicking up a row over the publication of a book on Subhas Chandra Bose which came out from the printing press owned by Das and heavily subsidized by the Government. At the instance of Governor the press was searched and the book prescribed. But eventually, on the recommendation of the Ministry, Das was nominated by the Governor as the National War Front Leader. But the book episode cleft the tie between the two architects of the second Coalition Ministry-Nilakantha Das and the Raja of Kallikote.

As the leader of National War Front, he took extensive tour all over India particularly the military training camps, strategic points and manufacturing centres. The most important strategic points he visited were Quetta and Khyber Pass in the North West Frontier province. Everywhere Mardraj visited, he advised the government that the army of caste, creed or language should be amalgamated. He was in favour of christening the Indian Army accordingly by the name of a respective caste. He suggested for the abolition of the Auxiliary forces and reorganization of Indian Territorial Army. He also pleaded for the establishment of a military cantonment at Cuttack in the province of Orissa. He donated two thousand rupees for the benefit of Royal Indian Navy and it was he who gave valuable suggestions for its improvements. For his honest

work during the war, he was extremely admired by the British authorities.

After the release of arrested Congress leaders from jail following suspension of individual *Satyagraha* a move was made to pull down the minority Ministry of Gajapati through a vote of no-confidence during the budget session of the Assembly in 1942. Meanwhile Gandhiji gave his historic call for the "Quit-India" movement. And, shortly before the budget session, 18 Congress legislators including Biswanath Das, Nabakrushna Choudhury and Pranath Patnaik were arrested under the Defence of India Rules and were put behind bars for the entire period of the session. Yet, the Ministry was not free from threats: and the threat now came from within. The Maharaja of Kahallikote, Sri Ramachandra Mardaraj Dev, who was extremely unhappy about the Ministry, assumed the role of an Opposition Leader for all practical purposes.

In a remarkable speech, loaded with wit and sarcasm, delivered in the State Assembly on November 5, 1942 the Raja exposed the political game of the Ministers. "Congratulating" the Ministry "on the unexpected lease of life it has had on account of the present political situation" he said, "the miracle which has brought about this change is the fact that eighteen members of the House have been spirited away and shut up behind the prison bars. One can hardly find a paralleled to this state of affairs in the pages of constitutional functions or come across an instance where a minority is suddenly converted into a majority by the simple process of putting its opponents into jail".

Ramachandra Mardaraj brought serious allegations against the Ministers. "A handful of people who are responsible to nobody and do not know what they are about, so long as they stick to their place, whatever happens to the war, to the country and to the empire.....So far the

Ministry had failed to do anything in promoting war effort. Some of its doings in the normal working of the administration are such as to exasperate even those who mean well of the Ministry. The Ministry had attempted to divert the course of law and ordered withdrawal of cases and they are all serious accusations under the ordinary law of the land against persons who are connected with the Ministry in some way or the other”.

No doubt Khallikote Raja's voice was the voice of the British Government, but it underscored the inner contradiction in the ruling coalition government.

By that time most of the Congress Legislators were in jail. A few remained outside. The Ministry of Gajapati adopted all sorts of questionable methods to wean them away from the Congress in order to have a majority in the Assembly. And Godavarish Mishra masterminded this dirty political strategy. Punea Nayak was a Congress MLA from the double-member Aska-constituency in Ganjam district. At first Godavarish Mishra deputed a PWD officer to entice him away. The attempt having failed, Maharaja of Parlakhemundi (the Prime Minister) himself went there accompanied by Godavarish Mishra and others. Gajapati stayed in the Dak Bungalow at Aska while Godavarish Mishra and others went to the dilapidated cottage of Nayak. To tempt him Godavarish Mishra told Nayak that the Gajapati himself had come down to invite him to join the Cabinet. If he accepted the offer Gajapati would take him personally to the State Capital. He would no longer remain poor. But the Harijan legislator politely turned down the offer. Godavarish Mishra had carried with him Rs.10,000/- all in coins. Since the poor Harijan was eyeless they jingled the bagful of coins near his ears. Even this vulgar method failed to work. For a handful of silver he refused to leave the party.

A Harijan MLA from Baragarh Bishi Bihar's was yet another case of unfaltering party loyalty. Similar attempts on Krupasindhu Bhukta, another MLA from Anugul, also proved futile. The Ministry fell. Gajapati could not prove his majority.

In 1957 Ramachandra Mardaraj was elected from the Kodala constituency on Congress ticket and became a cabinet minister in the Nabakrushna Choudhary ministry. He was given the portfolio of River Valley development, Capital Construction, Vigilance, Administrative Tribunal and Rourkela Affairs.

He was an illustrious son not only of Ganjam but also of whole Orissa. He was a patriot, an educationist, a politician, a Raja and a social worker rolled into one. He was a great supporter of education. It was due to his upbeat endeavor the Khallikote College at Brahmapur was established. It was due to his sincere efforts that Science Colleges at Khallikote and Hinjilicut were established. He also founded a Girl's High school and a Boy's High School at Brahmapur. Hence he started an era of cultural and political renaissance in Orissa through the spread of education. He was a front ranking leader of Oriya Nationalism. The great soul of Orissa breathed his last in 1963.

The contribution of Harihara Mardraj and Ramachandra Mardaraj were remarkable for the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts. They devoted their entire life for the greater cause of Orissa and the Oriyas. The pioneer of the Orissa Movement, builders of separate Orissa Province, accomplishment towards formation of modern Orissa will be remembered forever. They have carved a niche for themselves in the annals of Orissa history.

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An Early Attempt for New Province of Odisha and Sir John Simon

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The Indian Statutory Commission was constituted by seven British members of the Parliament including Sir John Simon, the Chairman. The vital aims of such a Commission were to evaluate the working of the Government of India Act, 1919 with a view to determining the future course of constitutional development. The exclusion of Indians from a body, which was to recommend for future constitutional advancement of the Indian people, was so illegal that India sharply reacted to the declaration. Almost all the political parties and main leaders of India were unanimous in their decision to boycott the Commission. Never before such a strong wave of protest swept over India on a decision of the British Government. From the beginning of the Commission, Indians shouted down all over country with the slogans "Simon Go Back". In this time also people started their steps to make a Constitution for India under the leadership of Pt. Motilal Nehru. In 1928, people were irritated with the objectives of illegal declaration by the English Government. In a few moment people prepared to jump once again into another programme for the Independence of India.

The Oriya people showed two- fold reaction to the Simon Commission. The Congress members from Orissa shared the reaction of Indian National Congress. But many leading

citizens outside the national mainstream took it an opportunity to focuss the long-standing demand of the people of Orissa for the formation of a separate province by amalgamating the Oriya-speaking tracts. The two section of public demand in Orissa passed in two different ways. Two groups highlighted their views in the press and shouted in the Council Chamber. After the advent of Sir John Simon, he proposed to the Viceroy the making Committees of Regional Legislative Councils to assist with Statutory Commission. Then an official resolution was passed in the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa on 20th August 1928 by J.D.Sifton for making a Committee.¹ On 23rd August seven members were elected by the Council to co-operate the Simon Commission. Two members from Orissa, Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanj Deo and Laxmidhar Mohanty were included in that team of legislators which assisted the Commission to understand the Boundary problem of Orissa.² They arranged a delegation of Oriya gentlemen who met the Commission in Patna and pleaded for the formation of a separate state. Those leaders of Orissa explored all avenues to convince the British Government that the creation of separate state was an imperative necessity.

On the other hand, the Congress leaders of Orissa who completely boycotted the

Commission, wanted the problem to be given due recognition in the All-Parties Conference held at Lucknow to draft a Constitution for India. But unfortunately the problem was treated half-heartedly. It recommended that if Orissa could bear the coast, a separate state might be formed. Such a resolution created disappointment in the minds of the people.³ Naturally some Congressmen wanted to raise the issue in the Calcutta Convention. But it was disallowed. Consequently all Congressmen from Orissa left the Session in protest. They even arranged a big procession with the help of large number of Oriyas in Calcutta.⁴ A huge procession with symbolic placards of dismembered Orissa and territorial maps of natural Orissa were taken round the town in a procession. Enthusiasm of the crowd was at its height when Orissa's Grand Old Man, Madhu Sudan Das, joined it and led it to some distance. In fact, all shades of politicians and different sections of the population such as, liberals, loyalists, Zamindars, counselors, common men and Oriya officials joined in the procession. Rich and poor, literate and illiterate all mixed together to impress upon the British authorities the urgency of their demands. Even the provincial Congress leaders, who were lukewarm in their supports to the demand before the Simon Commission because of their party mandate, could not remain aloof on the matter long. The Simon Commission was convinced that it was "an urgent case for consideration and treatment."⁵ A Sub-Committee named Attle Sub-Committee was instituted with Major Attle as the Chairman to investigate the matter in details. The report of the Attle Sub-Committee gave much encouragement to the people of Orissa to pursue the matter at the highest level.

In the meanwhile, the Congressmen of Orissa took keen interest on the matter especially after the Gandhi-Irwin pact. In Karachi, Congress

held in March 1931, the delegates from Orissa brought the matter to the notice of Gandhi. The latter assured them of his full support on the issue and also agreed to place the matter before the Second Round Table Conference as a delegate of Utkal.⁶ The Utkal Provincial Congress Committee (UPCC), as its meeting held on 3rd May 1931, unanimously adopted a resolution moved by H.K. Mahatab which urged upon the Government to establish a separate Orissa province. In order to pursue the matter at all levels with or without co-operation of other bodies and institutions, a Committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Pandit Nilakantha Das. Other members of the Committee were Gopabandhu Choudhury, Lingaraj Panigrahi, Sashibhusan Rath, Niranjan Patanaik, Mukunda Prasad Das, Bichitrananda Das and Laxmi Narayan Mishra. The Committee was empowered even to co-operate with the British authorities on this matter without, of course, any deviation from the Congress principle.⁷ Thus, the Congress now gave its full support for early solution of the problem.

The Orissa Boundary Committee consisted of three members, Sir Samuel O' Donnel, H.M. Mehta and T.R. Phookan, but headed by Sir Samuel O' Donnel. After considering all aspects of the problem, recommended that the new province of Orissa should include the Orissa Division, Angul, the Khariar Zamindari of the Raipur District and the greater part of the Ganjam District and the Vizagapatnam Agency tracts.⁸ The O' Donnel Committee Report had a mixed reception in Orissa. The people believed that at last a separate province was being created to fulfill their long-standing demands. But the exclusion of certain Oriya-speaking territories from the jurisdiction of the new province evoked strong reaction.

A special session of the Utkal Union Conference was summoned to meet on 21st

August 1932 at Berhampur under the presidency of Laxmidhar Mohanty, the Deputy President of the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa. That conference, while urging upon the government to constitute the separate province at an early date, protected for the exclusion of the Oriya-speaking areas like Manjusa, Singhbhum, Phuljhar, South-West Midnapur etc. from the new province. It was also decided to send the Raja of Parlakhemidi to the Viceroy to acquaint him with the problem in its proper perspective.⁹ Soon after the conference, the matter was brought to the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa in the form of a resolution on 2nd September 1932. While deploring 'the unjust award' at the Orissa Boundary Committee, the members from Orissa emphasized the need for constituting a separate province immediately. The official members did not take part in the debate. Finally the resolution was adopted unanimously by the non-official members of the council. The resolution, moved by Laxmidhar Mahanty and amended by the Raja of Madhupur, stood as follow: "This council recommends to Government that they be pleased to move the Government of India to constitute immediately a separate Orissa province."¹⁰ After the conclusion of the Third Round Table Conference, Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India, declared on 24th December 1932 that a separate province of Orissa would be formed in the constitutional set-up for India. The White Paper, published in March 1933, mentioned Orissa as a governor's province along with ten other provinces of British India. The Boundary Committee had recommended an approximate area of 33,000 sq miles for new province. But the White Paper reduced it to 21,545sq miles by the exclusion of the Vizagpatanam Agency, Jalantar Malias and also of Parlakhemidi. White Paper Proposals for the new province were totally unacceptable and most

disappointing to ten millions of Oriyas. The White Paper proposals regarding the boundary of the new province of Orissa evoked so much criticism that the Secretary of State had to reopen the question once again."¹¹

In the meanwhile, the Government of India constituted a committee known as the Orissa Administrative Committee under the chairmanship of John Austin Hubback. The Committee was asked to investigate the administrative problems which would arise in case of the formation of a new province.¹² Besides, the Chairman, there were nine members in the Committee including Madhu Sudan Das. The Committee circulated a general questionnaire to selected officials, non-officials and public bodies and a special circular to the heads of departments and other special officials in Bihar. In October 1933, the Committee toured Orissa and examined a number of witnesses. Its reports, published on 20th December 1933, made important recommendations regarding administrative problems of Orissa. Madhu Sudan Das rendered valuable service to the Committee in the last phase of its proceedings and signed the document.

The Raja of Paralakhemidi, Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deb took the bold step in deciding to divide his estate. He proposed to bring a portion of it including the town of Paralakhemidi to the new province of Orissa. In his memorial to the Governor of Madras, conveyed his decision regarding the partition of his estate. However, Raja once again proceeded to London and placed before the Secretary his views on the matter. The Secretary once again wanted to ascertain the views of the Viceroy on the Southern boundary of Orissa.¹³ The Viceroy, however, was not prepared to change his views. The Madras Government was also obstinate on the matter and was not prepared to concede any

portion of its area to the new province beyond the White Paper proposals.

In spite of objections by the Government of India the insistent demands of the people of Orissa ably represented by Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati before the Secretary of State were finally crowned with success. The Joint Parliamentary Committee, in their report in November 1934, added to the new province of Orissa as defined in the White Paper, i.e. (i) that portion of the Jeypore Estate which the Orissa Boundary Committee of 1932 recommended for transfer to Orissa, (ii) Parla and Jalantar Maliahs; (iii) A small portion of the Parla Estate including Parla town. The total area of the new province of Orissa was now raised from 21,545 to 32,695 sq miles.¹⁴ Joint Parliamentary Committee gave the final shape to the new province which emerged as one of the 11 units of British India by the Act of 1935. The Order-in-Council regarding the formation of the province of Orissa was released both in England and in India on 21 January 1936. His Majesty issued the order on 3rd March 1936 which was entitled as "The Government of India (Constitution of Orissa) Order, 1936." The new province of Orissa was inaugurated on 1st April 1936 with Sir John Austin Hubback as its first Governor.

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Major Historical Events from Kalingan War Till Orissa Became a Separate Province

Tarakanta Mohanty

A saint poet of Orissa Bhaktakabi Madhusudan Rao has said “Mata matrubhumi matrubhasa tini-Swargu gariyasi choubarga dayini - Seba tanku bhaktibhare divasa rajani.”

Meaning - “Mother, Motherland and Mother tongue are superior to heaven and bestows four results like Dharma, Artha, Kama (Desire) and Mokshya (salvation). Serve them with utter devotion uninterruptedly day and night.”

This has the significance when we think of our glorious past. Orissa has a glorious past. The art and sculpture of Orissa are unique and unparalleled in history. ‘Odissi Dance’ and ‘Odissi Music’ have been acclaimed across the breadth and length of world.

To-day’s Orissa in the past was known as Kalinga, Utkala, Kosala and Kangoda. It has a glorious and rich maritime past as Oriya merchants popularly known as ‘Sadhaba Pua’ were sailing in their boats to far eastern countries like Java, Sumatra, Indonesia and Bali islands for merchandise purpose and made Orissa opulent.

Orissa witnessed great Kalingan War in which Oriya Paikas fought valiantly with the mighty forces of Magadha in 261 BC at Dhauli in the banks of river Daya in which it transformed ‘Ashoka the Black’ to ‘Ashoka the Beloved, and converted him into a Buddhist. This has been

inscribed in the rock edicts of Dhauli. Being inspired by this edicts the Japanese have built ‘Peace Pagoda’ which has created sensation among the Buddhists of remaining world. Orissa’s maritime glory reached its height when Emperor Maha Meghabahana Kharavela of first century A.D. extended his empire to far border of Kashmir. After many rise and fall this empire was ruled by different dynasties such as Shailodvaba, Bhoumakara, Somavamsi, Ganga and Suryavamsi rulers. Lingaraj temple of Bhubaneswar, Sun Temple of Konark and Shri Jagannath temple of Puri bear ample testimony.

Orissa which was considered in the past as a super martial nation, its independent Sun was set when in 1568 AD Afghans conquered Orissa. Again Mughals and Marahattas ruled Orissa successively. In the year 1803 the Britishers occupied Orissa. Although stiff resistance was shown by Jai Rajguru in between 1803 he was hanged in 1805. Later on Paika hero Buxi Jagabandhu Vidyadhara entered in a fierce battle in 1817. After that Veer Surendra Sai of Sambalpur waged a valiant war against Britishers. He continued his struggle till 1883 when he died in Asirgarh Jail of Central Provinces.

From 1803 to 1903 for about a century many illustrious sons of Orissa have made untiring efforts for the rise of Oriya nation. To make Orissa

a separate province and to give status to Oriya language they had fought incessantly. Among those illustrious sons were in the forefront Utkala Gouraba Madhusudan Das, Utkalmani Gopabandhu, Vyasakabi Fakir Mohan Senapati, Swavabakabi Gangadhar Meher, Kabibar Radhanath Ray, Shri Shashi Bhusan Rath, eloquent Biswanath Kar, linguist Gopala Chandra Praharaj, Krushna Chandra Gajapati Deb of Parala, Shri Ramachandra Bhanja Deo, Pandit Godabarish Mishra and firebrand critic Godabarish Mohapatra.

To enrich Oriya language Pandit Gopinath Nanda Sharma (1869 to 1924) had written 'Odiya Bhasa Tatwa, Gopala Chandra Praharaj (1864 to 1946) had written, 'Purnachandra Odiya Bhasa Kosha, the contribution to Oriya literature of Sambalpur was also important. Swavaba Kabi Gangadhar Meher (1862 to 1924) had written 'Tapaswini and Pranaya Ballari and other poems. He had said aptly to infuse grand Oriya feelings among the separatists that "*Matrubhumi Matrubhasara Mamata Ja Hrude Janami Nahin, Taku Jadi Gnyani Ganare Ganiba Agnyani Rahibe kahin.*" Meaning : In the hearts of those the love for motherland and mother tongue has not born, if we consider him among the wisemen, then where the foolish will remain. He also further said:- "*Ucha Heba Pain Kara Jebe Asha, Ucha Karaage Nija Matrubhasa.*" Meaning : If you want to become great in future make great your own mother tongue.

Raja Sudhala Dev of the then Bamanda State was patronising the paper titled 'Sambalpur Hiteishini' which was edited by Pandit Nilamani Vidyaratna (1867 to 1924) of Banki.

Kabibar Radhanath Ray (1848 to 1908) who was the author of poems like Chilka, Darabara, Mahayatra and Chandrabhaga had foreseen the prospects of Oriya literature and had

written '*Pahilani ghora tamasa rajani, phutiba Utkal bhasa kamalini.*' Meaning : The long mist night of Oriya language has seen its dawn and will blossom language lily.

Vyasakabi Fakir Mohan Senapati (1840-1918) exhausted his pen by writing four novels in Oriya language like Chhamana Athaguntha, Mamun, Prayaschita, Lachhman and had avid Oriya readers. Had he not exhausted his pen during that time Oriya language could not have prospered.

Karmaveera Gouri Shankar Ray was editing 'Utkal Dipika' from Cuttack and Shashibhusan Rath was editing 'Asha' daily from Berhampur which had impact on Oriya readers remaining separated.

Utkalmani Pandit Gopabandhu Das was editing daily 'Samaja' from Satyabadi. He had extensively toured, Chakradharpur, Chainbasa and Ranchi to unite Oriyas remaining in Bihar province.

He demanded to open more Oriya Schools and introducing Oriya language in the curriculum. He opened night schools in Chakradharpur and Chainbasa to teach Oriya language to the dwellers of these areas who were deprived of education in Oriya language.

Godavarish Mahapatra (1898 to 1965) had written many satire poems and generated Oriya patriotic spirit. His famous poem 'Utha Kankala', Arise Oh Skeleton contained the age old glory of Oriyas. In the first couplets he had written 'Utha Kankala' Jaga Kankala, Chhidu Srunkhala ... Uthu Hruta Gouraba Raji Mruta Gouraba Raji. Meaning - Oh Oriya skeletons you arise again, snatch and free the fetters, the lost glories may once again appear.

Kanta Kabi Laxmikanta (1888-1953) in his famous poem 'Bande Utkal Janani' glorified

the motherland Orissa and inspired Oriya readers to inculcate grave Oriya feelings.

Firebrand lady novelist Kuntala Kumari Sabat (1901-1938) in her book 'Sphulinga' generated the spirit of Oriyahood in the minds of Oriyas who were separated and divided and living in Bengal-Bihar, central provinces and Madras. For the protection of divided Utkal and its development an institution namely 'Utkal Sabha' was constituted in 1878. The patrons of this organisation were Karmaveera Gouri Shankar and Madhusudan Das. Its objective was to create a separate Orissa province and create new awakening. In its aftermath in 1903 'Utkal Sammilani' was established at Cuttack under the dynamic leadership of Utkal Gouraba Madhusudana Das for the protection of Oriya language and culture. Utkal Sammilani was wider than 'Utkal Sabha'. The sincere efforts of the members of Utkala Sammilani was to instal love for Oriyas in the hearts of the Oriyas and to awaken them from the deep slumber. In between 1903 to 1934 due to the sincere efforts of the members of Utkal Sammilani this was capable enough to instill Oriya spirit in the hearts of Oriyas and enkindled the national spirit of Oriyahood. Each year by calling annual conference of Utkal Sammilani in different parts of the State it was successful in defeating the vested interest of those who were involved in routing the Oriya language. It also prepared charters to putforth before the Britishers demand for creation of separate Oriya Province on the linguistic basis.

In the year 1919, Maharaja of Parala, Krushna Chandra Gajapati Dev (1892-1974) met Montague Chelmsford Committee to put forth the demand the facility to the Oriya residents in Madras to cast special voting rights. As a result the Oriya residents of Madras were capable enough in electing ten Oriya members to represent in Madras Assembly. But the Government of

Madras vehemently opposed the demand to bring Oriyas under one province.

In the year 1922, Utkal Gouraba Madhusudan Das (1848-1934) while he was a minister of Bihar-Orissa, a resolution was approved in Bihar-Orissa Provincial Council in favour of bringing Oriya language dominating area under one Province. So in the year 1924 the then Government of India had constituted a Committee named Phillip-Duff Committee comprising the then political agent of Orissa C.I. Phillip and A.C. Duff, the then Collector of Visakhapatanam. To bring under one province the Oriya speaking tracts it was rested in one Committee its possibility. The Committee was to review this work. This Committee toured extensively Visakhapatanam and Ganjam areas and met Maharaja of Parala Krushna Chandra Gajapati. Krushna Chandra Gajapati influenced them on the recommendations of Montague Chelmsford Committee to annex all Oriya speaking tracts in one Province. The kings of Jeypore, Manjusa, Tikali Kalantara were unanimous with Gajapati and demanded before Committee for annexation of all Oriya speaking tracts in one province. Realising its justification the Committee opined for annexation of Oriya speaking tracts under Madras province. This was the first Government recommendation of the Committee to bring all Oriya speaking tracts under one province.

In the month of February 1928, Simon Commission visited India. Utkal Gouraba Madhusudan met Commission at Patna and put forth the demand to bring all Oriya speaking tracts under one province. In the same year Parala Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati Dev made similar demands before Commission at Madras and gave a call to Oriyas of Oriya speaking tracts to fully co-operate with the Commission. As per the advice of Parala Maharaja, Shashibhusan Rath and Braja Sundar Das presented similar

memorandum before the Commission. The Commission after due scrutiny of the memoranda opined that the demand of the Oriyas to annex Oriya speaking areas under one special province is justified. It also opined that all the Zamindari and Princely States be annexed under proposed Orissa province.

In the year 1930, Bihar-Orissa Government nominated Parala Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati Dev to represent on behalf of Oriyas in the first Round Table Conference. Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati presented firmly the justified and genuine demands of Oriyas and read thought-provoking statements. As a result in the Second Round Table Conference held in 1931 the proposal to make Orissa a separate and special province was approved. The Government in order to determine the boundaries of Orissa had constituted 'Odennel Committee'. The Committee opined about the annexation of the areas of Cuttack, Sambalpur, Angul, Khariar, Ganjam and Visakhapatnam and favoured for formation of Orissa province. But from the White Paper published from India Office the Zamindaris of Jeypore and Paralakhemundi were excluded from the proposed, separate and special province. But owing to incessant and sincere efforts of Krushna Chandra Gajapati Dev, the Home Minister of Britain Samuel Hore realised the justification of Oriya movement, constituted Joint

Parliamentary Committee to reconsider the proposed formation of Orissa province. The Joint Committee opined that the separate Orissa province can be formed by annexing Jeypore Zamindari, the hilly areas of Paralakhemundi and Jalantara Zamindari. As a result the formation of separate Orissa province took the real shape. On January 21, 1936 by the orders of Government of India (for formation of Orissa Province) was presented before the British Parliament and was approved in both the Houses of Parliament. After its approval on 7th March 1936 it was presented before the emperor of Britain for its final approval. After the approval of order by Emperor this order was executed on 1st April 1936 and the separate Orissa province was formed. Separate Orissa State was carved out with the merger of Oriya speaking tracts of Madras, Central Province and Bihar. The districts which were merged are Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Sambalpur, Ganjam and Koraput to make Orissa the first state formed on linguistic basis.

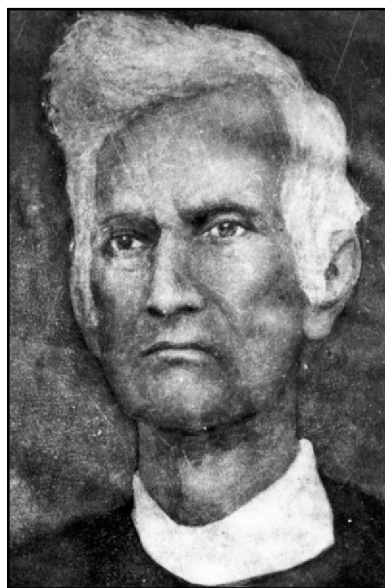
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Vyasakavi Fakirmohan Senapati : Leader of Odia Nationalist and Linguistic Movement

Ramakanta Rout

Fakirmohan Senapati (1843-1918) is the father of Oriya novel and short stories. He is the first Indian novelist, who used vernacular language and rustic characters and dialogues in the fiction. He, in his *Chha Mana Anthaguntha* (Six Acres and Half), gives a vivid and pathetic picture of rural poors oppressed by the Zamindars and upper class people. After forty years Premchand's *Godan* (Gift of the Cow) came out which is taken as a specimen of progressive novel. From this point of view Fakirmohan may be estimated as the first progressive writer in India, his fiction is forty years ahead of Premchand's *Godan*.

Fakirmohan's talents are not confined to the literary pursuits only. He is the saviour of our language and literature. There was a conspiracy to finish Oriya language. One Bengali named Kantilal Bhattacharya remarked, "Oriya is not a separate language." Vehement opposition was there among Odias. Fakirmohan stood in the front line. Radhanath Roy, Gangadhar Meher, Bhaktakavi Madhu Sudan Rao and Gauri Sankar Ray joined hands to save Oriya language and literature at this



critical time. Bengali text books were introduced in Orissa in schools. Fakirmohan, Radhanath and Madhusudan wrote textbooks in Oriya to protect Bengali access. Fakirmohan brought a Printing Press by bullock cart from Calcutta to Balasore

in 1868. He published 'Sambada Bahika' and 'Bodhadayini' at Balasore. He too organized public meetings and published articles in *Utkal Deepika* challenging the move for abolition of Odia, a rich and ancient language spoken by millions of people. He aroused public opinions to confront this conspiracy. John Beams, a British administrator, extended timely help and cooperation for preservation of Odia language. Gaurisankar Ray, though a Bengali by birth, worked as a strong fighter of this linguistic

battle to arouse nationalistic feelings among Odias.

Fakirmohan was born in a poor peasant family on 13th January 1843 in the village Malikashapur near Balasore town. So to say he was an orphan and brought up by his old grand mother Kochila Devi. He had not received more education, though, he had gathered ample

knowledge of Indian epics by hard labour and endeavour. He has translated the Mahabharat, the Geeta, the Ramayan and Boudhavatar Kavya into simple Odia Verse. He started his career as a teacher of Mission School at Balasore. During his stay in the school he built up his career by hard labour of reading various books. He was influenced by the new light and modern thinking of Western education spread in Bengal. Balasore is in the boarder of Bengal. It was reflected quickly to this area. In the second phase of his life Fakirmohan worked as Dewan in the princely states of Nilgiri, Dampada, Dhenkanal, Daspalla, Pallahada and Keonjhar. He came in direct contact with varieties of people and experienced their life style and problems, which enriched his fictions later as raw materials. As an administrator Fakirmohan was very efficient and successful. During Keonjhar Praja Meli (people's agitation) he escaped very cunningly writing a symbolic letter to the king.

The time to which Fakirmohan survived was the Dark Age in the history. The famous 'Na'anka Famine' occurred in 1866. It disordered and distorted the economic and social condition of Orissa. In 1803 Orissa was overcome by British and splited to segments which were kept under Madras, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal. The identity of Oriyas was almost finished. There was conspiracy among Bengalis to finish the language. They declared Odiya as a dialect of Bengali, not a separate language. Joha Beams, a British administrator also came to the rescue of Odias.

There was fast changing social and domestic orders in the country. The joint family system was breaking up rapidly. A conflict was entering into our traditional life and society and eastern culture and tradition were at a stake. It has been reflected in his stories, 'Dak Munshi' (The Post Master), Sabhya Zamindar (The Educated Fuedal Lord) and even in the fiction

Chhaman Atha guntha (Six Acres and Eight Gunthas).

Fakirmohan started writing only after obtaining maturity of mind and acquiring both knowledge and experiences over life and society. As a Dewan he visited different places and came in close contact with different people. He knew life and its problems which became the raw material for his fictions. Initially he gathered knowledge going through Indian classics and mythologies. He, too, translated major classics and was familiar with their themes and styles. All those have flourished his knowledge and sharpened his writings.

Fakirmohan is a reputed poet. He began his literary career as a poet. His poetical works include 'Puspamala', 'Upahar', 'Abasar Basare', 'Puja Phula' and 'Dhuli'. His poems are mostly biographical and full of pathos. There is lyrical appeal and literary values in his poems. These are simple, lucid and melodious, that touch the human heart.

Real talent of Fakirmohan lies in his prose writings. He is yet unsurpassable, so far as the Oriya fiction is concerned. Most of his short stories reflect the conflict between western and eastern culture and tradition. He has highlighted, too, the superstitious beliefs cherished by the rural people. 'Rebati' can be taken as an illustration. Its pathetic tone is beyond comparison. The grand old mother represents the old belief and tradition, whereas, the teacher Basu and Rebati represent modern generation. Gopal in 'Dak Munshi' represents new generation taught in western education. Fakirmohan has denounced the new educated youths vehemently, who blindly initiated the western lifestyle. Hari Singh is the true specimen of Indian life and culture, though his son Gopal, the so called affluent, a Babu, has been influenced by the English style.

His 'Patent Medicine' though sometimes treated as anti-Indian, is artistic and didactic. There is an attempt to bring a wine and drug addict husband to the true tract of life and morality. Of course Sulochana Devi, the heroine of the story, has gone to the extreme and using broomstick to a drunkard husband. But her repentance, penance and profused tears have wiped out the evil she has done to her husband. Her intention to bring a way-ward husband to the path of morality and to normal social being, is noble and righteous.

'Randipua Ananta' is a story of different taste. Ananta a very notorious wayward youth has ultimately been metamorphosed. While the flood water entered into the village through a hole of the river-embankment, Ananta pulled the wooden door of his house and covered the hole standing as the supporting pillar and asked villagers to pile soil onto it. Gradually his body was piled up and he was still shouting aloud to pile up. Ultimately he was buried and had a living tomb. He dedicated his life for the welfare of the villages. Ananta is a rare character in the Odia short story. His remarkable short stories are 'Sabhya Zamindar', 'Garudimantra', 'Adharma Bitta', 'Dhulia Baba', 'Patent Medicine', 'Dak Munshi', 'Randipua Ananta' and 'Rebati' etc. It is said that 'Lachhama' is his first story. But it is not traceable.

Fakirmohan's autobiography (Atmajivana Charita) is unique and novel. It gives a socio-cultural accounts of Odisha along with the related episode of his life spanning over half a century of the state. His autobiography, by far, is an exception of the type. Fakirmohan's fictions and short stories bear the theme of social realism, social reform, preservation of social values and social orders in the time of pastoral setting exposing the pathos, oppression and neglect to the rustics.

In addition to two volumes of short stories, Fakirmohan has left four novels entitled, 'Lachhama' (1901), 'Chha' man Athaguntha (1905) and 'Prayaschitt' (Expiation-1915). These are monumental works. Fakirmohan has given an eternal value to it. The oppression and exploitations onto poor have been displayed in an artistic way in 'Chha Man Athaguntha'. The weaver couple Bhagia and Saria, the kept Champa and Zamindar Ramachandra Mangaraj have no parallel in Indian literature. Along deep pathetic tone there is trenchant irony in the novel. Even the goddess and gods are not free from his sharp criticism. His novels are unique both in theme and style.

More or less 'Mamu' (maternal Uncle) bears the same theme, though bureaucratic and urban episodes are more in it. 'Lachhama' is on historical theme. It is on the attack of Marhattas, which created panic in Orissa. But the Prayaschitta has a different flavour. It is on the age long superstition of Brahministic exploitation in the name of expiation. Fakirmohan is a satirist. He has satirized both eastern and western traditions and beliefs with a view to reforming social order. His autobiography has highlighted historical facts. It is a rare work reflecting life and incidents of Orissa in the late nineteenth century.

Fakirmohan's treatment of villainous character is quite unconventional and unique. Villains like Ramchandra Mngaraj, Nazar Natabar Das, Champa, the grand mother have been transferred to tragic characters. Mangaraj has been bitten severely by Bhagichand in the jail and was bed ridden. No relation even his sons came to his rescue. Writing an agreement of his property to advocate Ram Ramlal he was brought back home by his servant on a bullock cart. He had a tragic death after a few days. Govinda killed Champa pathetically and drowned to the river,

where a crocodile killed him. Grandma of Rebati, who was a stumbling block to Rebati's education, ultimately became a miserable basic character losing all – his son, daughter-in-law and the grand daughter Rebati, whom, she all along, was scolding and cursing. She was left like Shakespearian hero, who has 'sitting like a monument / laughing at her own grief.' Those characters ruminate their past deeds, their sins are left for expiation and self analysis. Fakirmohan believed in poetic justice or crime and punishment, where a sinner is destined to be paid by his own coins. In other words, the sinner shall be punished and the pious to be rewarded. Mohini Mohan Senapati, the son of Fakirmohan, has differed from the theory and has argued: "Why the innocent weaver- couples suffered such innumerable pains and sufferings ?" there is no answer to such questions. Mohinimohan argues, nature does not consider these prophesies. It is just a process.

Fakirmohan is yet unsurpassable and commands the greatest rank among the authors. He is the national hero, the leader of linguistic battle and pioneer of our prose fiction, protector of our language and literature. In observation of Dr. J.V. Boulton the Oriya nationalist movement was language and literature based. Leaders were, at first, literally men like Gaurisankar Roy and Fakirmohan Senapati. He is sometimes called the Gorkay of Odisha. People call him the forerunner of Premchand and the first Indian author to deal with social realism through rustics and pastoral theme. Fakirmohan has contributed only four novels and twenty five stories which endowed him the title of Katha Samrat (Emperor of Fiction) of

the literature. He is a great genius, a versatile personality and an adent literary artist in true sense of the term. This great son of our soil breathed his last on June 14, 1918 at Balasore before Odisha had become a separate province.

Both in the novel and short Fakirmohan has applied novel treatment and typical character picked up from various social strata. He has used pure satire and trenchant irony. It is his unique instrumental technique in literary genre. He makes people laugh to their hearts content. Inside irony there is an implied sympathy and pathetic tone under the surface of attack to villains. So his fictions are ever fresh and rich in human episode.

Durbar of Damapada state conferred on him the enviable title Saraswati. Dr. Mayadhar Mansingh calls him 'Thomas Hardy of Orissa.' In the words of Dr. J.V. Boulton, 'Fakirmohan is the founder of the realistic social trend in modern fiction.' Apart from the intrinsic merit of his work, he probably owes his present position of the rise during the 20th century of a genuine Oriya middle class, who were attracted to his work for both aesthetic and pathetic reasons. Fakirmohan has realized very accurately the problems of middle class and foreseen their solutions. That is why his fictions are so accurate, realistic and lively and Fakirmohan is so popular among people.

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A Study of the Formation of the Separate Province of Orissa

Kailash Chandra Dash

I

Oriya quest for a separate province from the last phase of the 19th century till 1936 constitutes a significant aspect of the history of resurgent Orissa. This period witnessed a remarkable awakening among the Oriyas who constructed and articulated their identity by a plurality of ways. The print media became very active during this phase as a marker of Oriya resurgence. Many distinguished Oriyas in collaboration with some domiciled Bengalees and Telugus started the movement for the making of New Orissa. The social, cultural and economic spheres in Orissa during this phase got an extra-ordinary projection. Several forces and factors made determined efforts for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas lying scattered under four different provinces - Bengal, Bihar, Central Province and Madras, which led to the formation of the province of Orissa. This amalgamation was a prolonged process and it passed through many crucial phases. The amalgamation of the Oriya areas which resulted in the projection of Oriya regional identity on the linguistic basis is the major focus of this paper and it is based on reliable contemporary records.

II

The struggle of the Oriyas to achieve for themselves a political identity is an interesting reading in the context of Indian nationalism. (Mohanty 1982:15) The genesis of this movement was found in the letter of the Secretary of State

for India, Stafford Northcote to the Governor General in Council for India dated 25th July 1867 (Ibid : 18-19). His suggestions for making Orissa and other divisions as independent units in 1867 came as an administrative expert's advice, but it provided a beginning for Oriya movement for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas. The role of Utkala Sabha from 1882 in this respect was very significant. (Dash 2001 : 11-19). In the 20th century the demand for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas for a separate identity became more articulate. Raja Baikuntha Nath De Bahadur of Balasore in a memorial to Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India through Lieutenant Governor on 15th December 1902 presented significant points for unifying Oriya-speaking areas of different administrations into one administration. (Ray 1941 : 423-428) The formation of Utkala Sammilani in 1903 was definitely responsible for highlighting the necessity for this unification and the continual sessions of this Sammilani persistently demanded the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas for the manifestation of an identity. In 1903 a memorial was submitted on behalf of the people of Ganjam to the Viceroy of India for this unification. A general meeting was held under the presidentship of Madhusudan Das at Cuttack by the Utkala Sabha to deliberate on this issue of the memorial (Utkala Dipika, 25th April, 1903). It was attended by many elites including the students. In this meeting several resolutions were presented and passed by the members and the

central issue was the unification of the Oriya-speaking areas. The amalgamation of Sambalpur with Orissa Division was an important stage of this process. (Mohanty 1982: 28-39; Mishra 1979; 18-53; Patra 1979 : 108-139).

The demand for the unification was raised from different places of Orissa. In 1912 in Shergarh of Ganjam a great meeting for this union was held (Utkala Dipika, 9th March 1912). It was a large gathering of about 700 people from Ganjam, Cuttack, Puri and Baripada. The president of the meeting was the Raja of Chikiti. His presidential address was an articulation of Oriya identity. This meeting paved the way for the formation of Utkal Milan Samaj in Berhampur. For the success of this organization Rajas of Dharakot, Chikiti, Surangi, Shergarh, Bodarasinghi, Bada Khemundi and Manjusa; elites like Harihar Panda, Balakrishna Mohapatra, Mandhata Gorachand Pattnaik, Gopinath Gantayat, Nilamani Parija and many others formed a committee. They wanted this organisation to champion the movement for the unification of the Oriya speaking areas. In order to activate the organisation they were eager to publish a newspaper from Ganjam and to spread the movement for union by *Pracharakas*.

By 1916 there was an awakened consciousness of the Oriyas to their needs and wants (Utkala Dipika, 19th February, 1916). They needed consolidation as the surest means of national progress. By consolidation they mean the unification of all the areas lying in different regions under different political administrations, living under all sorts of difficulties. The Oriyas became disturbed and disjointed. Hence it was pleaded that absolute cohesion was the first and foremost question which required to be worked out. In 1920 the demand of the Oriyas for unification under one administration got its intensity. An interesting feature on this aspect of Oriya unification appeared in an issue of Utkala Dipika

(of May 8, 1920). According to that report - "The Oriyas have been crying hoarse over this subject for the last ten years and what is the result of their crying? They are told that the Government of the day has no positive knowledge that the Oriyas living in the outlying parts are really willing and anxious to be united to their country. We may as well ask Government whether it had any positive knowledge about the same matter when the Government of Lord Curzon proposed the same Oriya amalgamation in 1903. Fifteen years ago our Government did not think it necessary to sound the views of the people concerned. The thing is that we have not been as clamorous in our agitation as we should have been to attract the attention of Government. What prevents us from being more clamorous in our agitation? We take pride that we Oriyas are loyal and it is not in our nature to be offensively clamorous in political agitation. The Oriyas have been under British rule for the last 115 years. The Punjab, Oudh, Bihar, the Central Provinces and some other parts of India have come under British rule for the last 70 years or so. Have not the people of these parts made better political progress than the Oriyas? Are the Oriyas as a nation less intelligent than the people of the other parts of India? We do not think so. Why then have not the Oriyas been able to make better political progress? The real fact is that the British Government has not been as mindful of the interest of the Oriyas as it ought to have been because the Oriya country owing to its peculiar political division and its hilly physical features could not be as profitable to its alien master as the other parts of India. The hilly nature of the country points to its richness in mineral resources but these resources have not been developed yet, because the greater portion of Orissa has been under the rule of semi-independent petty native states which owing to their very smallness have been unable to develop their natural resources. No other province of India

is so peculiarly placed as the Oriya country. Assam is a small country like Orissa, but in order to make the province self-supporting two or three fertile and populous Bengal districts have been kept annexed to it where as natural Orissa in spite of her peculiar condition has been vivisected and placed under four different Governments. The benign British Government takes pride in raising fallen nationalities. Are the Oriyas the only nation under the British flag who are destined to remain for ever a fallen nation ? Do not the Oriyas deserve special consideration at the hands of their masters ? What prevents the mighty British Government to unite all the Oriya-speaking tracts under one administration or even adding the Chhatisgarh Division of the Central Provinces to Orissa in order to make the latter an altogether separate and self-supporting administration ? The greater portion of the Chhatisgarh Division is inhabited by people who belong to no particular nationality. The language used by the inhabitants of that division is Larhia which is a mixture of Hindi, Oriya and Bengali and it has no literature of its own. Before the opening of the B.N. Railway the agricultural products of Chhatisgarh Division used to pass down the Mahanadi to the Orissa ports. The construction of the Cuttack Sambalpur Railway would again turn the tide of the traffic to its former channel and the people of Chhatisgarh would be no loser in this arrangement. As for national affinity the Chhatisgadis will be found to have no better status than the Oriyas of Sambalpur which till 1903-04 formed one of the four districts of Chhatisgarh Division. Till now the Indian Empire was a commercial concern, so to say, but India has now been positively proclaimed to be really a part and parcel of the worldwide British empire and the people are on the eve of enjoying the blessings of actual responsible government. Are the Oriyas for their acknowledged loyalty to be deprived of this blessing ? For unless the Oriya speaking tracts are united under one

administration the advantages of responsible government will do them very little good. The question of forming Orissa into a separate administration is a problem which may not be taken into consideration at present, but there can be no reasonable and valid objection to the amalgamation of all the Oriya speaking tracts under the Bihar and Orissa administration." The potency of the argument of Dipika cannot be overlooked in this context.

The Raja Saheb of Kanika in the Central Council delivered an interesting talk on the unification of the Oriya speaking areas under one administration (Utkala Dipika, 6th March 1920). He strongly projected the demand by several congenit arguments. The dismemberment of Odisha, according to him, was responsible for the paralysis of the respectable race. He also pleaded for homogeneity. In Ganjam in the 1920s the Oriya demand for unification had gone to the greatest height. Dinabandhu Das in an interesting focus in the nationalist Oriya weekly *Asha* of 20th January 1920 stated that it was only a complete and united Orissa which could give satisfaction to the Oriyas who no longer had tolerated the inequities of the British Government who by keeping them mercilessly in four provinces had blocked the ways of their national progress. He strongly presented the legitimacy of the Oriya demands for the unification of the areas south of Berhampur with Orissa.

III

In the beginning of the 1920s due to the spread of Gandhian ideas of Swaraj the issue of the amalgamation of the Oriya areas under one administration leading to the formation of separate Oriya province was not given considerable attention by many important leaders. After the spread of the non-cooperation message by the Congress leaders and activists of Orissa the issue of Orissa union got secondary focus. But

nationalist newspapers like Asha and Utkala Dipika articulated the issue of the amalgamation of Oriya areas. Asha from Berhampur strongly denounced the Telugu ascendancy over Ganjam (Telugu Adhipatya o Upanibesa) and pleaded for the fulfilment of the Oriya demand for 'Odiyan Odisha.' The unification of the Oriya-speaking areas of Madras Presidency under Orissa administration became the main point of debate in 1924. A committee consisting of C.L. Philips, Political Agent and Commissioner, and A.C. Duff, Collector of Bellary district was appointed to consider the question of the amalgamation of the Oriya speaking tracts of the Madras Presidency with Orissa in 1924. During that time it was also widely felt that the amalgamation would give emphasis on the cultural unity of the Oriya people. Throughout the year 1924 there were large number of meetings for the amalgamation of Oriya speaking areas. Krupasindhu Hota, a noted Congress activist in an interesting article in Asha of 3rd November 1924 pleaded for the unification of the Oriya areas of Ganjam, Jaypore, Medinapur, Singhbhum, Phuljhar with Orissa for Odiya Mulaka. The Oriyas of Vizianagaram assembled in a public meeting held in the Annapurneswari Ayurvedic Medical Hall on 2nd November 1924 which passed resolutions under the presidency of Suryanarayana Pattnaik. The resolutions demanded that all the tracts inhabited by the Oriya-speaking people under four different governments should be placed under one government as early as possible for the moral, material and the intellectual improvement of all Oriyas. The Oriyas of Berhampur taluk presented a memorandum to the Oriya Amalgamation Enquiry Committee at a public meeting held on 29th November 1924 (Asha, 1st December 1924). That memorandum spells out, that "You are doubtlessly aware that the Oriyas, unlike their more advanced brethren of other provinces, are mostly a peace-loving and non-agitating people.

The bulk of the people are still politically unconscious and inarticulate. But if one thing more than another has agitated them during the past two decades and a half, it is their political dismemberment which has affected their interests most grievously. The severance of Ganjam from the body politics of Orissa and the political exigencies of the Madras Government have led to the influx of a large number of Andhras into this district who monopolise different branches of the administration, and form as it were, an intermediary ruling race. The natural consequence of such an anomaly is that in the struggle for existence the weaker Oriyas are displaced by their more aggressive competitors. But what is more deplorable is the artificial barrier that the Government has, unwittingly we hope, raised between the Oriyas of Ganjam and those of Orissa. Our language in this district is unconsciously mingled and mutilated owing to the impact of a Dravidian culture wholly alien to our race. Our Literature which could boast of a Gopal Krishna, of a Kavisurya and a galaxy of other equally eminent poets has been during the last century rendered barren. The holy temple of Jagannatha is ours by right and inheritance, but we are denied the right to call it ours owing to the provincial barriers. Our interests are woefully neglected, our vested rights usurped, and we are treated as Cinderellas in our land of birth. The desire for the union of the Oriyas of this Presidency with their brethren in Orissa has been for the past quarter of a century the only disturbing factor in an otherwise placid political life. The rich and the poor, the literate and the illiterate, the classes as well as the masses all have with avidity longed for the day of union. Those assembled here are drawn from all ranks in life and represent different political shades of opinion, and all of us with one voice request you to convey to the Government of India the strong desire of the Oriyas of this district for their union with Orissa."

This Address presents the fact of the Oriya mobilization for union and gives an articulation of Oriya identity and resurgence.

There was another great meeting in the Hanuman Temple premises in Berhampur on 24th October 1924 for the purpose of discussing the potent issue of Oriya mobilization for amalgamation. Over two thousand people had attended the meeting. Lingaraja Mishra, the Secretary of the Desha-mishrana Committee, described the necessity of the meeting. The Raja of Surangi was the president. The resolution passed in the meeting was for the unification of Oriya-speaking areas of Madras Presidency with Orissa for the formation of Orissa province.

In 1924 the number of Oriyas and Telugus in Ganjam Mal areas was presented in a list in Asha news weekly from Berhampur. The list is given below :

Area	Total	Oriya	Telugu	Tribes
population				
<u>Ganjam Mal Areas</u>				
Udayagiri	78013	16792	37	61189
Ramagiri	148957	53326	3341	92290
Baliguda	105928	37952	34	72942
Total	332898	103070	3407	226421
<u>Jeypore Mal Areas</u>				
Koraput	56548	36398	912	18038
Gunupur	120077	22304	35227	64746
Parua	100867	30841	43559	22467
Gudari	71779	113	21340	326
Nabarangpur	160492	140350	1291	20851
Bisamkatak	61844	20890	7310	33644
Malkangiri	53731	22932	3976	26823
Jaypur	162156	140879	3963	17314
Rayagarh	128997	18314	14845	95838
Putungi	80864	32808	5895	42161
Total	960355	473823	138314	348208

The Tribals of these areas could understand Oriya and speak corrupt Oriya (Asha, 3rd November 1924).

The Garjat Chiefs of Ganjam and many zamindars were eager for the unification of the Oriya speaking areas of Ganjam with Orissa. But there was considerable opposition to it in some areas of Ganjam from the side of the Telugu inhabitants. Ichhapur was the famous centre of such anti-amalgamation movement. A Telugu gentleman named P. Venkataramaya with the help of an Oriya named Brundaban Patra had distributed leaflets on the anti-unification issue. In Berhampur some Telugus had revived the old Gangam Defence League which was opposed to the unification process (Ibid : 10th November 1924). Even some Oriyas of Ganjam who were thoughtless and had lacked foresight collaborated with the Telugus for their self-interest. Their number was very small and they could not understand the national interest. In Ghumsar and Buguda there was powerful movement against the process of amalgamation on behalf of the Telugus. The Oriya weekly Asha then very emphatically demanded the formation of Orissa province on the basis of language which was supported in the past by the illustrious Viceroys like Lord Curzon, Lord Harding and others. In 1924 Bhubanananda Das, a noted Oriya nationalist, became a strong advocate of the issue of the amalgamation of the Oriya speaking areas for the formation of Orissa. Maharaja Vikrama Dev Verma of Jeypore and the Yubaraja of Tekkali were also great advocates of this issue. In a great meeting held in Berhampur in 1924 Vikrama Dev Verma as president strongly advocated for the amalgamation of the Oriya areas (Utkala Dipika, 22 March 1924). An English newspaper of Masulipatam called, *Janmabhumi* under the editorship of Pattabhi Sitarammaya was against the integration of the Oriya-speaking areas of Madras Presidency with Orissa (Ibid : November 15, 1924).

The Philip-Duff Enquiry began in October 1924 and was completed in December 1924. Many organisations and associations in favour

of union had interacted with this body. The Commission in its report stated that there was a genuine longstanding and deep-seated desire on the part of the educated Oriya-speaking tracts of Madras for amalgamation with Orissa for one administration (Mohanty 1982 : 136-138). The report had kindled hope in the Oriya hearts but no tangible result was achieved. In 1927, in the Central Council Nilakantha Das presented the proposal for the Union of the Oriya-speaking areas. He said that there would be no rest to the Oriyas till the achievement of the unification, and that they would launch widespread movement for that purpose. The united effort of the Oriyas, according to Das, was necessary for the formation of Orissa province (Utkala Dipika, 19th February 1927). Madhusudan Pattnaik, a noted Oriya nationalist, in 1927 strongly pleaded for the unification of the Oriya areas. He requested Lal Mohan Pattnaik, Lingaraj Panigrahi, Madhusudan Panigrahi, Brajasundar Das, Brajabandhu Das, Ramnarayan Mishra, Bhubananda Das, Nilakantha Das, Niranjan Pattnaik, Lakshmidhar Mohanty and other enthusiastic Oriya leaders to be united at that crucial phase for the unification process (Ibid : March 19, 1927). Thus there was a strong movement in every nook and corner of Orissa in the 1920s for the assertion of Oriya identity by the amalgamation of all Oriya-speaking areas.

The Simon Commission's Report in 1928 stressed the need for provincial redistribution. It stated "an urgent case for consideration and treatment was that of the Oriya-speaking people most but not all of whom are now included in Orissa, because we consider that so close a union as now exists between Orissa and Bihar is a glaring example of the artificial connection of areas which are not naturally related. We were so much impressed with this instance that we arranged, in co-operation with the Indian Central Committee to investigate it more in detail (Das 1931 : 6-8).

The Simon Commission's Report was an interesting step in the articulation of Oriya identity before the colonial masters. The Sub-Committee consisted of Suhrawardy of the Indian Central Committee, the Raja of Kanika and Lakshmidhar Mohanty of the Bihar Orissa Provincial Committee with Major Attlee as Chairman. According to its report Oriyas living in different zones are like this.

Distribution of the Oriyas

In Bihar and Orissa Province	-	4798768
Orissa Feudatory States	-	2440338
In Madras Presidency	-	1566966
In Central Provinces	-	190294
C.P. Feudatory States	-	58578
In Bengal Presidency	-	142107
Total	-	9697051

The Sub-Committee considered that the unification of Oriya speaking areas had deserved sympathy. It also recommended the union of Oriya areas except Singhbhum and parts of Ganjam. It was in favour of the creation of one province for the Oriyas.

IV

The 1930s witnessed the most remarkable phase of resurgent Orissa particularly due to the widespread Oriya movement for unification. Oriya nationalist papers like Asha and Nabeen from Berhampur, Utkala Dipika and Samaj from Cuttack presented the issues in a forceful manner. The Oriyas described it as life and death issue (Jibana Marana Samasya) in the 1930s (Utkala Dipika, 16th January 1930). The most remarkable achievement in this phase was the Memorial of Maharaja of Parlakhemundi Krushna Chandra Gajapati Dev presented in the Round Table Conference in 1930. The Memorial by the Rajasaheb described the need of the Oriyas for a

separate province. He spoke about the dismembered condition of the Oriyas and stated that the Oriyas had all along been expressing their desire to remain united. He presented the significance of the past of the Oriyas and their economic potency (*Nabeen*, January-March, 1931).

In 1931 there was great awakening in Medinipur, Singhbhum and Manbhum for the union of the Oriya-speaking areas with Orissa. Godabarish Mahapatra, an enthusiastic Oriya organiser in 1931 pleaded strongly for the unification of Medinipur with Orissa. *Medinibandhava*, the news weekly from Medinipur was pro-Oriya since 1915. From 1915 onwards Oriya advocates of Medinipur like Radhanath Pati, Sureswar Pati, Bhagabat Chandra Das, Shyamacharan Acharya and Hemachandra Tripathy had expressed great sympathy for the amalgamation movement. The Oriya zamindars of Baliyabedha, Basudebpur, Mohanpur, Pachetgarh and Khandabhui, belonging to Medinipur area also supported this amalgamation movement. Chaudhuri Krishnachandra Das Mahapatra (The Zamindar of Baliyabedha) was a strong advocate of this movement (*Utkala Dipika*, 21st August 1915). In February, 1931 Radhanath Pati, Lakshminarayan Sahu, Bhagabat Chandra Das, Bhuinya Kailash Chandra Ray Mahapatra, Bhubananda Das and Biswanath Kar in an appeal in *Utkala Dipika* stated that in the Census the Oriyas of Medinipur should identify themselves as the Oriya-speaking people and not as Bengalis. In another joint appeal in *Utkala Dipika* of March 1931, Hemachandra Tripathy from Dantun (Medinipur), Chaudhuri Ramachandra Saha, Dasarathi Pati Vidyavinod, Surendranath Mukhopadhyaya, Prabir Chandra Das, Bhuinya Mahesh Chandra Das Mohapatra, Satis Chandra Maity and Janakinath Das stated that Medinipur was an Oriya-speaking area and its union with

Orissa was their legitimate demand. In that appeal they sought to mobilize the Oriya-speaking people of Medinipur for amalgamation (*Ibid* : March 14, 1931). Godabarish Mahapatra in a long provoking article in *Asha* of 26th October 1931 stated that the Oriya brothers of Medinipur despite fierce Bengali influence did not lose their nationality. Mahapatra in Medinipur saw anti-Oriya attitude in a meeting at Nayabasana.

He stated that there were 12 lakh of Oriyas in Medinipur and for their self-revelation a great awakening among them was necessary. He was happy to get the support of Biswambhar Das Praharaj Mahapatra for the Oriya movement. Biswambhar during that curcial phase was ready to provide full support for the movement of the Oriya unification (*Ibid*). In 1930s there was great movement in Dhalbhum for union with Orissa. On 4th August 1931 at Gandhaliya (Dhalbhum) there was a great meeting under the presidentship of Purnachandra Das (*Asha*, 24th August 1931). About 1200 people attended the meeting. In that meeting Dhalbhum was considered as a secluded Oriya area and the members present there expressed their willingness to be a part of Orissa. Similar meetings were held at Malkudi and Narasimhagarh in 1931 for the purpose of the movement for amalgamation (*Ibid*). At Narasimhagarh the tribal people had an awakening for union with Orissa in 1931. In that meeting Julara Majhi, Ganesh Majhi, Kalicharan Ramdas Majhi, Ganesh Murmu, Gaurahari Sabat, Bhikhari Mandal and Chaitanya Majhi gave their speeches for union with Orissa. In the meeting a resolution was passed to support the decision of the meeting of the people at that place on 26th July 1931 under the presidentship of Pratap Chandra Dhabal Deb for the inclusion of Dhalbhum with Utkala (*Ibid* : 21st September 1931). In 1931 several Oriya leaders and activists visited the areas of Singhbhum, Medinipur and Ganjam for the movement of Oriya Union. Jadumani Mangaraja,

a noted Oriya organiser visited several areas of Singhbhum and Medinpur in October 1931 for the spread of Oriya movement. He stated that in Medinpur, Birendra Sasmal had spread anti-Oriya movement by publishing his provoking articles in several newspapers (Ibid : 5th October 1931). Bengali editors in Calcutta demanded the Motigunj area of Balasore as a part of Bengal (Ibid.). Mangaraj stated then that the Oriya everywhere could have an awakening by which they would carry on countrywide agitation for Orissa union.

Not only the leaders wanted to mobilize the people for the purpose of amalgamation of Oriya areas, many poets and writers started writing on the burning issue of Orissa Union which could provoke the people in many areas. Mayadhar Manasingh on behalf of Pragati Sangha composed a poem entitled Uttistha Utkala (Awaken O Utkala) which was published in *Asha* of 12th October 1931. A part of the poem has been quoted here ;

Uthare Supta Jati
Nidrabibhora dekhi pratibeshi
Nebeto anga kati
Uttare achhi Chatura Vanga
Dakshine rahichhi taki Telanga
Gudhra samana Katibe anga
Nebe anande banti.

Nilakantha Das from Nayabasana area wrote a letter to the editor of *Asha* on 26th November 1931 about the anti-Oriya feeling of Birendra Sasmal of Kanthi. He insisted on the merger of Medinpur with Orissa on linguistic and historical grounds. There was great protest against the anti-Oriya attitude of Birendra Sasmal in the nationalist newspaper *Asha*. In one meeting attended by Godabarish Mishra, Lalmohan Pattnaik and other Oriya leaders at Gopiballabhpur on November 21 of 1931 Sasmal did not hesitate to point out the necessity of the amalgamation of Medinpur with Bengal for

the lack of link with Orissa. He strongly protested that the Oriyas of Medinpur did not get any help from the Oriyas of Orissa in times of need. But in the last stage Godabarish stood to refute the arguments of Sasmal and convinced the people about the necessity of amalgamation of Oriya-speaking areas of Medinpur with Orissa (*Asha*, 25th November 1931). In 1931 there were meetings in Manjusha, Chikiti and Parala on the question of the amalgamation of the Oriya areas of Madras with Orissa.

The Government of British India decided to appoint a committee to examine and report on the administrative, financial and other consequences of setting up a separate administration for the Oriya-speaking people. The enquiry was entrusted to a small body under the chairmanship of Sir Samuel O' Donnell (Report of the Orissa Committee, Vol.I and II, 1932). The members of this committee were H.M. Mehta and T.R. Phookun. The associated members were Raja of Parlakhemundi, Satchindananda Sinha and C.V.S. Narasimha Raju. The terms of reference to the committee were -

I. If a separate province of Orissa were to be created -

- (i) What would be the boundaries of such a province ?
- (ii) What would be the administrative, financial and other consequences in such a province ?
- (iii) What would be the administrative, financial and other consequences in the adjoining territories of British India ?

The committee met for the first time at Patna on the 7th November 1931 and was anxious to enlist the assistance and co-operation of the public. It invited submission of written memoranda from public bodies, organised associations and leading members of the general

public. During that period the Utkala Union Conference and Orissa Congress unit were combined and called the United Orissa Conference. Nilakantha Das was the president of this body (Mohanty 1982 : 114-115). On behalf of the Conference the President presented a memorandum on the Utkala Province on November 8, 1931 to the O'Donnell Committee. The memorandum was a comprehensive document of both the Utkala Sammilani and Orissa Congress, and it expressed cogent arguments for the formation of a United Orissa. The memorandum suggested component parts of the Orissa Province which included the Orissa Division, the district of Singhbhum areas of Barabhum and Manbhum, sub-divisions of Contai and Jhargram, thanas of Kharagpur, Narayanagarh, Danton, Mohanpur, Kesiari of Medinipur district, thanas of Similiapal, Raipur and Khatra of Bankura district, Khariar, Phuljhar and Bindra Noagarh of Raipur district, Chandrapur, Padmapur, Malkhurda zamindaries and nine Jogni villages of the Bilaspur district, district of Ganjam and Vizagapatnam Agency. The memorandum stated that the creation of a separate province for the dismembered Oriyas would be a standing monument of the vindication of the British sense of Justice in righting a wrong committed and continued through indifference. The memoranda submitted by the people of South-West Medinipur, Singhbhum, Central Provinces, Ganjam, Parlakhemundi, Jeypore Amalgamation Committee and Utkala Union Committee indicated a clear articulation of Oriya identity in a phase of the great Indian nationalism.

While there was a strong movement for the creation of a separate province for the Oriyas, there was anti-amalgamation movement in Berhampur in May 1932 in the Andhra Bhasa Bibardhini Sabha Hall by some of the Telugu people (Asha, May 9, 1932). The resolutions of the meeting demanded to retain Ganjam within

Andhra and they began to oppose the Oriya movement for a separate province. The meeting decided to collect funds from the Rajas of Vijayanagara and Bobbili for the anti-Oriya movement in Ganjam and Madras. There was also another meeting at Sitaram Bilas Film Hall in Berhampur which was conducted by the Telugus of Ganjam and Vishakhapatnam under the Presidency of V. Ramdas Pantulu, an advocate from Madras. The resolutions of this meeting included the strong protest of the Telugus against the formation of Oriya Province on linguistic basis. The meeting also decided to observe Andhra-Vishakhapatnam protest day against the Oriya movement (Ibid; July 11, 1932). During this year there was great mobilization from the side of many Oriya leaders and activists against the anti-Oriya movement. Noted Oriyas like Lakshmi Narayan Sahu, Narasimha Panigrahi and Satyanarayan Rajaguru demanded in their articles the strong necessity of the formation of a separate province of Orissa. On the occasion of the *Odisa Pruthakikarana Dibasa* in October 1932 Satyanarayan Rajaguru in a meeting in Parlakhemundi welcomed the auspicious day of the New Orissa and appreciated the imperishable contribution of the Maharaja of Parlakhemundi (Asha, October 24, 1932).

The Federal Finance Committee in 1932 had given its report in favour of the formation of Orissa Province (Ibid : 26th December 1932). In the Third Round Table Conference the proposal for the formation of the separate province of Orissa was discussed and the chief of Khalikote had attended it. There was however no consideration for the merger of the Orissa Garjats with the proposed separate province (Ibid : 7th January 1933). A man from Saluru sarcastically commented on this important issue- 'the Garjat chiefs would remain as *Gothakhandia*' (disconnected from their group) (Ibid.). Despite the exclusion of Garjat areas the

formation of the separate province of Orissa was nearing completion in 1933. After the Third Round Table Conference the Home Government published the long awaited White Paper on 18th March 1933 containing proposals for consitutional reforms in India and the boundaries of the proposed Orissa province (Mishra 1979 :198-199). The White Paper set off a strong reaction in Orissa for it had excluded the estates of Jeypore and Parlakhemundi from the proposed province (Ibid). The Congress men of Orissa called for protests, demonstrations and even agitation against the arbitrary award of the Government (Ibid). The Rajas of Parlakhemundi and Khalikote and elites like Lingaraja Panigrahi, Bhubanananda Das and Shyamasundar Gantayat went to London to press the Home Government for a reconsideration of the boundary issue. They met Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State and forcefully argued their case (Ibid : 200). In the last stage the Joint Select Committee considered this problem and all hurdles for the creation of a separate province were cleared.

The total area of the new province was to be 32695 square miles with a population of 8043681 divided into six districts, viz., Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Sambalpur, Ganjam and Koraput. The old district of Angul was split up into two. For the Angul portion, the Collector of Cuttack became the ex-officio Deputy Commissioner and for the Khondmal portion, the Collector of Ganjam functioned as the Deputy Commissioner.

Thus almost after three decades of incessant trials and agitations of the great leaders like Madhusudan Das, Nilakantha Das, Bhubanananda Das, Krishna Chandra Gajapati Dev and others for the unification of the Oriya-speaking tracts, the New Orissa Province came into being in 1936. As stated by Dibakar Pattnaik, her dismembered condition was held primarily responsible not only for the loss of her identity as

a distinctly separate race among the races of the country, but also for the loss of her ancient glory in trade, commerce, industries, art and sculpture, so magnificently recorded in the history of the country (Nabeen, 1st April, 1936). The indomitable will, the spirit of self sacrifice, enormous zeal and unflinching devotion that the leaders had evinced from the beginning to the end of this long struggle make it an interesting chapter in the hisotry of pre-Independence Orissa.

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Origin and Evolution of the Name ODISA

C.B. Patel

The origin of the geographical name 'Odisha' is shrouded in mystery. In ancient time Orissa was more famous as Kalinga and Utkala. But surprisingly a lesser known geographical unit 'Odra', the home land of a tribe, called by the Greeks as Oretes i.e. Oriya has given the nomenclature of modern Orissa to the entire glorious tracts of Kalinga and Utkal country of hoary fame. In ancient India most of the countries (geographical units) have been named after the stock of tribes that inhabited the land or the ruler that ruled the state. In the Bhagavata Purana¹ it is stated that the progeny of Ila-Sudyumna, Dirghatamas and Sudesna had six sons namely Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra, Sumha and Odra. Orissa portion was ruled by their sixth son after whom the country was said to have been named as 'Odra'.

Medhatithi,² the commentator of Manu has described that 'Odras' were a tribe who flourished in various parts of Orissa. The country probably owes its origin to them. Rajendralal Mitra³ opined that 'Ods' were an agriculturist community. They lived in many parts of Orissa with concentration in the region around Khurdha. This race represents the original tribe of Orissa after whom the province has been named.

Extent of Odra

According to the Mahabharata⁴ traditions the territory of the Odras lies along with those of

Utkala, Mekala, Kalinga and Andhra. Manu on the other hand places the Odra people along with Pallavas, Kiratas, Chinas and Khasas etc. However, these statements do not specify the location and extent of the country. The 'Natural History' of Pliny mentions that Oretes as a race inhabited a country where mount Meleus is located. The Greek word Oretes is rendered in Sanskrit as Odras. The mount Meleus has been identified with Malayagiri near Pallahada, now situated in the district of Angul. Further, mount Meleus is associated with a people called Monedes and Sharis in the 'Natural History'. The Munda and Savara tribes have been identified with the Greek Monedes and Sharis by many scholars. This identification seems plausible because this region of Orissa is even now inhabited by the Mundas and Savaras.

The earliest epigraphic reference to Odras is found in the Soro copper plate grant of Somadatta from which it is clear that Uttara Tosali with its visaya 'Sarepahara' identified with Soro of Balasore district was part of Odra Visaya. The inscription is dated to 7th century A.D. Uttara Tosali then forming parts of modern Medinipur and Balasore districts was a part of Odra Visaya. This reference amply indicates that Odra was a big and powerful territorial unit.

Hieun Tsang⁵ who visited 'Wu-cha' i.e. Odra country in 636 A.D. has given a graphic

account of Odra which was very probably the Odra Visaya of Soro copper plate grant. He described the country as 7000 li in circuit with its capital city spreading over more than 20 li circuit area. N.K. Sahu⁶ writes that 7000 li of the Chinese pilgrim spreads over 1400 miles circuit area. Cunningham has located the country of Odradesa on the basis of Hieun Tsang's account in the whole of Mahanadi valley and the lower course of Subarnarekha river. N.K. Sahu⁸ has given a very precise extent of Odra country and has written that Odradesa during the period of circa 700-1100 A.D. was more or less bounded by the river Mahanadi in the north, Tosali (Dakhina Tosali) in the east, Kosala (Dakhina Kosala) in the west and extended to the south west in irregular lines as far as the modern Paralakhemundi region.

Muslim geographer's account of Odisha

Ibn Khurdadhbih in his 'Geography' of 846 A.D. has referred to Kudafarid, Kaylkan, Kanja, Samundar and Ursfin etc. Russian scholar V.Minorisky⁹ has identified Kudafarid with Godavari, Kaylkan with Kalinga, Kanja with Kangoda and Ursfin with Orissa or Odradesa. Dr. N.K. Sahu accepts this identification. In another Persian Geography of 10th century A.D. called 'Hudud al Alam' means 'Regions of the World' we find reference to Urshin which may be same as Ursfin, identified with Orissa or Odisha.

Muslim historian Alberuni (1025 A.D.) in his book 'India' has mentioned to a territory called 'Urdabishau' to have been situated 50 farsakhs (about 200 miles) towards the sea in the south from Prayag. This Urdabishau has been identified with Odda Visaya of Tirumalai Inscription of Rajendra Chola (1025 A.D.), because Alberuni has referred to 'jaur' country i.e. country of Cholas (of the time of Rajendra Chola) that started from the end of Urdabishau.

It is pertinent to mention that Chodagangadeva conquered Orissa and assumed the Sovereign title of 'Lord of sakala Utkala'. In his Vizag copper plate grant of 1126 A.D. it is mentioned that he unified Utkala, Kalinga and Odra. His capital was at Yayatinagar which has been identified with modern Jajpur. It is interesting to note that this Yayatinagar or Jajpur was famous as Jajnagar in the Muslim chronicles like Tabaquat-i-Nasiri, Tabaquat-i-Akbari, Riyadus Salatin and Tarkhi-Firuz Sahi etc. Perhaps Muslim historians named the country as Jajnagar after the name of its capital Yayatinagar even when the capital was shifted to Abhinava Baranasi Kataka (modern Cuttack) in 1212-1213 A.D. Blochmann has identified Jajnagar mentioned by Muslim historians to be Orissa H.C. Ravetry¹⁰ has defined the boundary of Jajnagar based on his study as spreading over a vast area, apparently over the vast territorial domain of Chodagangadeva and Anangabhimadeva during the period from 1112 to 1212 A.D. Often we find confusion in the accounts of Muslim historians when they mention Jajnagar and Udisa as separate territories. It appears to us that when the Ganga capital was initially shifted to Cuttack from Jajpur, the two regional units were palpably called as two separate geographical entities namely Odisha and Jajnagar. In course of time both the regions found to be mentioned as one geographical entity called 'Jajnagar-Udisa' in the accounts of Shams-i-Seraj-Afif by the end of 14th century A.D. It apparently meant the unified and consolidated Ganga kingdom under Anangabhim III with Varanasi Kataka i.e. modern Cuttack as the capital. Saraladasa in his Oriya Mahabharata has described Jajnagar as part of Odrarastra in the 15th century A.D.

The Evolution

The term 'Udisa' used by Shams-i-Seraj-Afif is an improved version of the word Wucha

of Hieun Tsang of 7th century A.D. Ursfin of Ibn Khurdadhbih of 9th century A.D. and Urshin of Hudud-al-Alam of 10th century A.D. The original name was Odra or Odradesa which found mention in ancient literature and mediaeval epigraphs. It was mentioned as Odra Visaya in the Soro copper plate grant of 7th century A.D. Alberuni described it as Urdabishau in 1025 A.D. In the Tirumalai Inscription of Rajendra Chola of circa 1025 A.D. the word Odda Visaya is met with. Further the term evolved into Odivisa or Udivisa in the accounts of Lama Taranath. In the tantric literature of late mediaeval period we find still slight variant of the term as 'Uddisa'. The 'Tantrasara' mentions God Jagannath as 'Uddisana' while 'Jnanarnaba' speaks of Uddisa as one of the Sakta pithas.

The Culmination

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that by 15th century A.D. the word Uddisa or Udisa has already evolved. For this, Saraladasa made Odrasrastra synonymous with Udisa or Odisha. His Odrasrastra Odisha found mention as Odisarajya in the royal proclamations of Gajapati king Kapilendradeva (1435-1467 A.D.). In the Jagannath Temple Inscription of Kapilendradeva dated 1443 A.D. we find conspicuous mention of Odisarajya. The Tarikh-i-Akbari of Nizammuddin exclusively mentions Odisha as a geographical entity. From this time onwards the geographical term Odisha stood for the entire Oriya speaking tract. Through ages the word has been used by various authors in ethnic, linguistic and

geographical paradigms. Phonetic evolution of the term from Greek Oretes i.e. Odra, through Odravisaya-Oddavisaya-Odivisa and Udisa, the term Odisha seems to have been finally culminated. Similarly through phonetic metamorphosis Odra became Odriya and finally Odia with the present anglicised form, Oriya.

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Pandit Nilakantha & Formation of Orissa Province

Dr. Shridhar Charan Sahoo

Time, personality and commitment are three important factors which determine a man's role in public life. When a country under bondage of foreign rule fights for its national freedom or when any proud and self-conscious nationality strives and struggles for its identity, it naturally attracts people with leadership qualities to its embrace. A man's personality and traits of his character also shape his role performance. A man with a thoroughly self-centric mind-set sans any social or public concern hardly develops the inward and the impelling urge to play any role in the public domain. Over and above, one's sense of commitment and dedication to some social or national purpose shapes his role in society or polity.

Issues & concerns of the time - A Backdrop

Pandit Nilakantha Das was born in the 19th century on August 5, 1884 in the district of Puri. It was a significant period of history when Europe, notwithstanding its distance, was transcending the spirit of forces of nationalism to

Asia and Africa. In India the English brought with them the enlightenment of the west and inspired the Indians to imbibe the spirit of nationalism. The formation of Indian National Congress in 1885 provided them a platform to mobilize their human resources and express their spirit of nationalism.¹



This "stream of nationalism" flowed to different parts of the country including Orissa through 'the channel of the Indian National Congress² and became a very powerful force when Mahatma Gandhi launched the national struggle for freedom through his strategy of non-violent non-cooperation (1920-1921).

Nilakantha's personality evolved and blossomed during this period of our freedom struggle when he was in his thirties.

In Orissa, this force of nationalism had its impact too where nationalism veered round the narrower circle of its own predicament - that of annihilation as a distinct linguistic group.³

In this context it may be noted that Orissa, which Nilakantha saw during his time under British rule, was a dismembered Orissa with Oriyas being scattered in four provinces - Bihar & Orissa, the Central Provinces, Bengal and Madras. As a result of this dismemberment, the Oriya-speaking territories virtually became appendages to these four provinces. The Oriyas were reduced to the status of linguistic minorities and felt neglected and dominated by the linguistic majorities of those provinces. They particularly felt distressed when an anti-Oriya brigade deliberately tried to abolish Oriya language and culture.⁴

In 1870, a theory was propagated by Kanti Chandra Bhattacharya (Bengali teacher of Balasore High School) that Oriya is not a distinct and separate language. In his view, Oriya was the daughter language of Bengali and as such Bengali be substituted for Oriya as the language of the people in all schools and courts and public documents.⁵

Rajendralal Mitra, a Bengali scholar also advocated another strange theory that Oriyas as a race were not different from Bengalis.⁶

This crisis of identity which Oriya language faced in 1860s and 1870s facilitated the growth of Oriya nationalism in the 19th century. Language is probably the strongest cementing force to unite a race; the crisis besetting the Oriya language served the purpose of motivation to generate the feelings of national unity. Starting as a cultural movement to protect Oriya language and culture and its distinct identity, it gradually became a political issue in the twentieth century. As the safest protection to their language and culture, the Oriya-speaking people demanded a separate political identity of their own⁷ or the formation of a separate province for Orissa.

Thus, amalgamation of Oriya-speaking tracts into one administrative unit and the formation

of a separate province for Orissa became the Central concern of Orissa politics apart from the question of Orissa's participation in the national struggle for freedom at the all India level. This was the scenario when Nilakantha's personality grew and evolved. Utkal Gaurav Madhusudan Das, the 'Father of Orissan Nationalism' and 'a great man who lived and died for Orissa', was the Chief Architect of amalgamation of various Oriya-speaking tracts and the people under one common administration, which partially came into being on 1st April 1936 when Orissa became a separate province.

Though Madhu Babu was the Prime-mover, many institutions and individuals in their own ways contributed to the amalgamation of Oriya-speaking tracts and the subsequent demand for the formation of Orissa as a separate province. One such outstanding personality was Pandit Nilakantha Das who apart from being a frontline freedom fighter played a prominent role in the formation of Orissa as a separate province.

As per the spirit of the time, Pandit Nilakanth's national idealism flowered up in two dimensions. The first and foremost of his national ideal, was his commitment to the cause of amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts lying scattered under four separate administrations and formation of Orissa as a separate province. The second area of his dedication was in the realm of India's freedom struggle in which his contribution was no less remarkable. As a patriot and as a freedom fighter, he suffered much for the liberation of his country. He identified himself with the 'fiery spirit' of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, and like him he was also restless for the freedom of the country.⁸

As regards Pandit Nilakantha's conceptualization of priority, it has been said that

he considered Utkal and Bharat as “Mata” and “Pitamahi” or as mother and grandmother (father’s mother). As ‘Pindadan’ or offering of worship to ancestors is first given to mother and then to the grandmother, like-wise his first and foremost dedication was to mother Orissa to the cause of amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts and formation of Orissa as a separate province. It needs to be said in this connection that many in the Congress hierarchy of Indian National Congress could not see eye to eye or savour of his prioritization of Orissa and its cause. But, even then, he did not budge from his conceptualized and decided ideal.⁹

Impact of Pandit Gopabandhu and Madhu Babu

Persons and personalities with whom one comes across and interacts in life determine one’s life - goal and injects a definite direction. Nilakantha who joined the Puri Zilla School in 1899, came in close contact of Pandit Gopabandhu, who was a great patriot and ‘one of the makers of modern Odisha’. Pandit Gopabandhu’s personality greatly influenced him and shaped and moulded his subsequent life in the public domain. As it were, sitting on the bank of river Bhargavi, he along with ‘Acharya Harihar Das and Pracharak Ananta Mishra’ took a solemn vow under the inspiration of Pandit Gopabandhu. As per their vow, they decided ‘not to enter any Government service after their education and to do something for the country. They were determined to see that their country becomes better at the time of their death than what they had seen during their birth.’¹⁰ Here was born the patriot of the future determined to do something for his people, for his country and to see it better before death.

It virtually laid the foundation stone of his patriotism and foreshadowed his role both in the

freedom struggle and in the cause of amalgamation of Oriya- speaking tracts and formation of Orissa as a separate province.

Nilakantha’s association with Utkal Sammilani and Madhu Babu

Mr. M. S. Das, the architect of the Oriya nationalist movement in the 20th century formed ‘The Utkal Union Conference’ or the ‘Utkal Sammilani’ in 1903. This institution devoted itself to the problem of amalgamation of all Oriya-speaking regions under one administration. Its activities in that direction resulted in the creation of a separate province of Orissa in April 1936.¹¹ This institution was the brain child of Madhu Babu and was born out of his belief that only a well organized joint endeavour with a greater thrust could carry the aspirations of the Oriya people to fulfillment.¹²

Nilakantha was associated with the Utkal Sammilani right from the time of his student days in Puri Zilla School. He attended the first session of the Sammilani held at Cuttack in December 1903 as ‘a spectator’. As per his own admission, he was greatly inspired by the goal and objective of the Sammilani. It is evident from his graphic and minute description of the first session of the Sammilani in his autobiography. Recalling back with nostalgia, this first conference of Utkal Sammilani in December 1903, he says : “In this first session of the Utkal Sammilani, the famous and reputed Maharaja of Mayurbhanj Sriramchandra Bhanj presided. I was a mere spectator. Even to-day the eminent personalities (Ram Narayan Mishra of Sambalpur, Jugal Kishore Tripathy of Singhbhum, Fakir Mohan Senapati of Balasore, Gouri Shankar Ray of Cuttack, Kanika Raja Sri Rajendra Narayan Bhanjdev etc.) who adorned the pandal appear vividly before by minds’ eye. I can not just express how I was emotionally moved by Madhu Babu’s

up and going movement and by the grave and gracious vibration of Sri Ramchandra's voice. It is not possible for me to describe in words the experience of that vivid memory.¹³

Another incident of early 1904 exercised an impact on his soul and strengthened his commitment to work under Madhu Babu's leadership and realize the goal and objective of Utkal Sammilani.

In Nilakantha's own words : I met him (Madhu Babu) early in 1904 in a huge meeting in Jagannath Ballabh (Puri). Here for the first time, I had occasion to hear him at close quarters and his appeal touched my soul. Mr. M.S. Das appealed for the use of Swadeshi and he wanted us to take a vow saying "The hide and skin, the real wealth of Orissa, is being carried by foreigners abroad, made into shoes and slippers there and is sent back to fall on our gentlemanly backs again not to give us comfort, but to take our money, the money which should have otherwise gone to our poor shoe-makers and other workmen." It was more than a year before the Swadeshi movement came as a protest against the partition of Bengal.¹⁴

In connection with Madhu Babu's appeal of Swadeshi what deserves mention is that Pandit Nilakantha was one of pioneers to sign the vow of Swadeshi in the register which was circulated in the meeting. It was of course an outstanding act of courage on the part of student Nilakantha to come forward and sign the Swadeshi vow in the presence of a strong contingent of red-turbaned police force. As it were, it was the heyday of British rule in India and even the advocates and lawyers present in the meeting were afraid to sign on the Swadeshi register.

Hereafter, Nilakantha became a convinced and dedicated follower of Madhu Babu

and it foreshadowed his subsequent steps in the cause of amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts and formation of Orissa as a separate province.

In 1917 Pandit Nilakantha presided over the Manjusha session of Utkal Sammilani and helped in strengthening the demand for amalgamation of scattered Oriya-speaking tracts under different administrations. Though he was the Headmaster of the Stayavadi School at the time, he virtually extended all-out help to the Utkal Sammilani in all its activities including the work for amalgamation.¹⁵

The Satyavadi School of Gopabandhu and Nilakantha which was designed by them to be a 'man-making' factory to produce patriots and nationalists was closely associated with the work of Utkal Sammilani. It acted as 'a feeder of the Sammilani' and year after year it sent teachers of the school as delegates and students as volunteers. In 1918, there was a session of the Utkal Union Conference at Cuttack, and Gopabandhu joined it with a few teachers and forty student volunteers. Pandit Nilakantha Das along with Godavarish were members of the subject committee and they together with Gopabandhu impressed the audience by their eloquence'.¹⁶

Pandit Nilakantha efficiently organized the aforesaid conference of Utkal Sammilani at Cuttack. The student volunteers of Satyavadi under his leadership and direction proved to be obedient and loyal soldiers of the Sammilani showing an exemplary sense of discipline. As dedicated advocates of an exemplary sense of discipline, they did not even spare Godavarish Babu and Sri Gangadhar Meher a free entry to the conference without ensuring and confirming their identity as per procedure and rules. The great Madhusudan of legendary repute and fame ungrudgingly admired Nilakantha and his students when he said : "Nilakantha, your boys are fine"¹⁷

This efficient management of Utkal Sammilani Conference with all discipline and decorum under Nilakanth's leadership greatly impressed Madhu Babu.

In 1919, the Utkal Union Conference passed a memorable resolution which went beyond the demand of amalgamation of Oriya-speaking tracts under one common administration to be tagged to some other province. On the other hand it explicitly demanded a separate province for Orissa. It said 'the Conference desires to place on record its conviction that unless a separate province under a Governor-in- Council and Legislative Assembly with an elected non-official majority be given to the united Oriya-speaking tracts, the proper solution of the question can not be satisfactorily reached, and the legitimate aspirations of the people concerned can not be fulfilled.'¹⁸

This gave rise to a new sense of advanced and progressive awakening. As it were, the people were no more satisfied with the desire of only amalgamating together and being tagged to another province.... Newspapers started expressing the desire for a separate administration for the Oriyas.¹⁹

However, the Government was not very much convinced by the Oriya demand for a separate province. On 25 November 1921, when a discussion about it was raised in the Bihar-Orissa Legislative Council, the Governor - in Council pointed out that there was no unanimity among the Oriyas about this claim. Some asked for a separate province of their own, while others would prefer amalgamation of Oriya-speaking tracts under one Government. While giving evidence before the Philip-Duff Committee in 1924, many of the local chiefs in Ganjam who were great protagonists of the Oriya cause expressed their desire for amalgamation but

showed apprehension about the financial feasibility of having a separate administration.²⁰

Looking to the realities of the situation on the issue, the newspaper forward in Calcutta, 'remarked with irony that the young men in Orissa were satisfied with so little'.²¹

Resolution in Central Assembly for Formation of a Separate Oriya Province

In this encircling gloom of a sense diffidence, Pandit Nilakantha held out a powerful ray of hope and confidence that Orissa could be made a separate province. Nilakantha not only held a confident view as regards the formation of Orissa as a separate province; he wanted to do something definite in that direction on the floor of the Central Assembly when he became its member in 1924.

In this connection, 8th February 1927 is a memorable day for the people of Orissa. It was on that day Nilakantha Das moved a resolution in the Central Assembly for formation of a separate province of Orissa. That resolution said : "This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to be pleased to take immediate steps to put, or publish the schemes of putting all Oriya- speaking tracts under one local administration". He unequivocally stated that nothing less than a separate province of their own would satisfy the Oriyas and that if they were merely attached to one existing local government the agitation would continue.²²

In this respect, it has been rightly said :

"In the prolonged course for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking regions, he played a prominent role and it was he who first moved a resolution in the Central Assembly in 1927 for a separate Oriya province."²³

Nilakantha advanced strong and solid arguments in favour of his resolution for a separate

province of Orissa. Even after that he did not sit quite and sought to build up strong public opinion in its favour. In fact, he got many articles published in the newspapers and journals of Bombay, Delhi and Madras to exercise pressure on the British administration to accede to the Oriya demand.

Pandit Gopabandhu Das acclaimed and admired this significant step of Nilakantha with a sense of reasonable pride. He was so happy and so much excited that he 'started dancing',²⁴ and moved from place to place in Cuttack City showing an article published in the Statesman of Calcutta on Nilakantha's motion.

Though the idea of a separate administration or province for Orissa was rejected by the Home member, 'as a matter of practical politics', Nilakantha's move did not go in-vain. As it were it 'created a stir' in Orissa. Immediately after this the movement for a separate province for Orissa assumed intensity. Samaj pointed out that a separate province for Orissa was 'the highest aim of the Oriya amalgamation movement'.²⁵

This claim for a separate Oriya province 'got a fillip when the Simon Commission (1927-28) began its enquiry'. By the beginning of thirties when Simon Commission report was published, it became clear 'that the government had agreed to the Oriya demand for separation' though it excluded many Oriya regions which according to them were not justifiable.

Following the publication of the Simon Commission Report an Oriya All Parties Conference was held on 22 May 1931. Here Nilakantha reiterated his stand and commitment for a separate Oriya province without any ifs and buts. He pointed out that the two issues of Oriya movement; amalgamation and separation should not be confused. Even he went further and stated

that amalgamation was not needed without separation.²⁶

Impact of Nilakantha on Indian National Congress

Nilakantha's uninterrupted effort for the formation of a separate province for Orissa became evident again in 1928. During that year the Congress had appointed a committee under Motilal Nehru which took up the question of a separate province for Orissa. It was recommended that Orissa may be made a separate province only if it can have enough funds or if it could be economically viable. This recommendation of the Congress Committee which was given to Govt. in the month of December 1928 disappointed Oriyas.²⁷

This provision of economic viability as a condition precedent for formation of Orissa as a separate province was vehemently objected to by Pandit Nilakantha. He argued that Orissa being often subjected to floods droughts and famines, there should be no conditional support from the Congress on this issue. It is said : "He tried to bring an amendment in the Calcutta session of the Congress The President Pandit Motilal Nehru ruled it out. Nilakantha staged a walk out along with all the delegates from Orissa and brought out a procession in the Calcutta streets next day. Gandhiji intervened. Motilal expressed regret. Later the Congress agreed that Orissa would be the first province to be formed on linguistic basis. Not a small achievement for Nilakantha and his leadership."²⁸

O' Donnel Boundary Commission & Pandit Nilakantha

As a result of all this, the question of a separate province for Orissa was considered in the cabinet of Government of India and led to the formation of O' Donnel Boundary Commission

in 1931. As the President of the Provincial Congress Committee, he gave a long memorandum to the Commission. But unfortunately he could not give evidence before it due the orders of Rajendra Prasad, the Zonal Congress head who instructed him to boycott the Commission as the local Congress President.

It has been said that Nilakantha's failure to give evidence before the O'Donnell Committee Boundary Commission led to the non-inclusion of Oriya speaking areas of Singhbhum and Midnapore in Orissa when it was made a separate province on 1st April, 1936. May be, his convincing and irrefutable arguments would have influenced the members of the Commission whereby Orissa would not have lost those areas for ever.²⁹

In this connection what deserves mention is that Nilakantha Das along with Godavaris Mishra, Niranjan Patnaik, L.N. Sahu and Jadumani Mangaraj had extensively campaigned in Midnapore. They conducted meetings, formed associations and toured extensively asking the Oriyas to join their nationalist movement for amalgamating Midnapore with Orissa.³⁰ Pandit Nilakantha along with Sashibhusan Rath also had taken up the case of Singhbhum. They moved in the area in May 1931 addressing the people and impressing upon them to amalgamate with Orissa.

As regards Pandit Nilakantha's work in Singhbhum it is said : "The famous Congress leader of Bihar Dr. Rajendra Prasad was not happy about Nilakantha's frantic efforts to amalgamate Singhbhum in Orissa. In spite of his attitude, Nilakantha never showed any trace of cowardice like many other Oriya leaders. He also never relaxed his demand. Subsequently even though Orissa became a separate province, Kharasuan and Sadheikala got excluded from Orissa due to some selfish Oriya leaders."³¹

British proposal of a sub-province for Orissa & Nilakantha

During this time, the British colonial administration mooted the lesser idea of a sub-province for Orissa after amalgamating Oriya-speaking tracts. On behalf of the Government of India, the Finance Secretary Muddyman persuaded Nilakantha to agree to this proposal. Even he came down to his residence and had several rounds of discussions. However, when Nilakantha did not budge from his dedication for a separate full-fledged province for Orissa, Muddyman Saheb held out the temptation of conferring him the title of 'Sir' in case he agreed to the sub-province proposal. Pandit Nilakantha was however not the man to surrender himself and sacrifice the cause for which he and his people worked so assiduously over the years. He showed his strength of character and courage of convictions when he said in no uncertain terms "you have come to a wrong door".³²

Hereafter, the British design of making Orissa a sub-province failed and government was virtually forced to declare for Oriyas a separate province. It was certainly an achievement of Pandit Nilakantha Das, whose personality foiled this British design to hoodwink the Oriyas by giving them the lollipop of a sub-province.

Referring to this sub-province idea and the subsequent developments which culminated in the formation of Orissa as a separate province on 1st of April 1936, Pandit Nilakantha has written in his autobiography "Possibly in 1929, Muddiman Saheb made correspondence with me regarding the idea of a sub-province for Orissa after consideration in the cabinet. Following discussion on it, the Finance Minister of Government of India persuaded me to accept the proposal of making Orissa a province with a Central grant of Rupees Forty lakhs. I insisted on 80 lakhs to be given for

Orissa's progress and development. However, I was pressurized by Bhubanananda Babu to accept this condition in the assembly. I accepted the condition almost as a matter of compulsion. This was the incident of 1933-34. As per the O' Donnel committee Report the British Government decided to form the province of Orissa comprising Puri, Cuttack, Balasore, Sambalpur and Ganjam with Jeypore. It was carried out on 1st April 1936".³³

After the formation of Orissa as a separate province, Nilakantha mooted the idea of establishing a University in Orissa. While demanding a separate province for Orissa in the Central Assembly he had said "we want a full-fledged province, we need a separate university and a separate High Court". He was determined to see it established. For that, he countered the inhibiting factor of financial constraints raised by the Government of Maharaja of Parala through his convincing and powerful arguments. He convinced the government about the rationality and feasibility of the proposal. At the end, he got the Utkal University established in 1943 through Godavarish Mishra, the then Education Minister of Orissa.

Conclusion

To sum up Pandit Nilakantha Das was greatly inspired by Utkal Gaurav Madhusudan Das and the goal and objectives of the Utkal Sammilani. He showed an exemplary sense of dedication to the cause of amalgamation of Oriya-speaking tracts lying scattered under different provinces and worked uninterruptedly for the formation of Orissa as a separate province. He demanded for the first time a separate province for Orissa on the floor of the Central Assembly on February 8, 1927. In a way, this move of Pandit Nilakantha facilitated the formation of a separate Oriya province. Under its impact, the

struggle for a separate province for Orissa assumed greater intensity and vigour.

He was uncompromising in his opposition to make economic viability a condition precedent for formation of Orissa as a separate province and crossed swords with Motilal Nehru. He tried to move the Congress in favour of his demand at the Calcutta session of Indian National Congress in 1928. He succeeded and later the Congress agreed that Orissa would be the first province, to be formed on linguistic basis'. He was a proud Oriya with a self-confident personality. It is his strong personality and character which foiled the British design to hoodwink Oriyas by giving the lollipop of a sub-province. His dream and sustained efforts to bring under Orissa Oriya-speaking tracts like Midnapore and Singhbhum remained unfulfilled due to a multiplicity of factors and constraints beyond his control. But he tried well and did his best. Madhu Babu chose him as his heir in Orissa. But he was not there in life to see the formation of a separate province on 1st April 1936 nor was Gopabandhu there having been dead since long. Pandit Nilakantha honoured the other prominent maker of Orissa Sri Krushna Chandra Gajapati, the Maharaja of Parala by installing him as Chief Minister of Orissa and Pandit Godabarish as Education Minister in 1943. Along with those great and patriotic leaders, Pandit Nilakantha Das will be ever remembered and respected by the Oriya people as one of the makers of Orissa.

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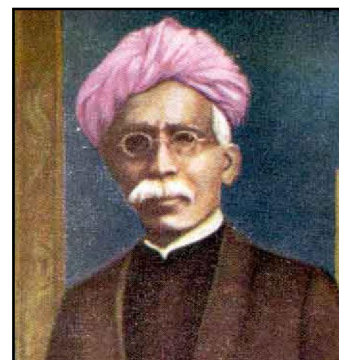
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Madhusudan's Paradigm on Nationalism in a Regional Setting

Dr. Atul Chandra Pradhan



Madhusudan's paradigm on nationalism can be understood with reference to his participation in the Indian National Congress, his role as the father figure of Oriya movement or Utkal Sammilani (Utkal Union Conference), his perception of the public life under colonial rule, and his prescriptions for the uplift of nation.

In an age of poverty and ignorance, Madhusudan emerged as one of the rarest intellectuals of Orissa with firm commitment to public life. After his return from Calcutta as an M.A. B.L., he associated himself with *Utkal Sabha* of Cuttack, an association which was formed in the year 1882, to carry on movement for the introduction of elective local self-government, as envisaged by the Viceroy Lord Ripon. In December, 1886 he attended the second session of Indian National Congress, held in Calcutta, as one of the representatives of *Utkal Sabha*.¹ In December 1887 Madhusudan Das and Gauri Shankar Roy attended the third session of Indian National Congress, held in Madras as the representatives of the same *Utkal Sabha*. In this session, while addressing the audience, he described himself and other representatives from Orissa as "formally accredited representatives of hundreds and thousands of people who elected us to speak for them and who take an active and keen interest in this great and growing national movement".² On return from Madras,

Madhusudan and Gauri Shankar were accorded warm ovation in a public meeting of 500 people, held at Cuttack, which included a varied cross sections of people from among Hindus, Musalmans, Christians, Marwaris, Madrasis, Government servants, Zamindars, Merchants and Englishmen, held in the premises of Cuttack Printing Company. In this meeting Madhusudan delivered a fiery and fluent speech in English for an hour and a half.³ On 16 February 1888 Madhusudan addressed another large meeting at Cuttack, which was attended by similar cross sections of the population. He addressed this gathering in Oriya, though, he was not quite proficient in speaking Oriya. In his speech he stressed the need for inculcation of fraternal feelings among the people of India, who constituted a nation, and removal of distinction between the rich and the poor, and pleaded for the reduction of salt tax, the rate of which, according to him, was higher than the same in Great Britain.⁴ After this meeting, he went to Kendrapada where he addressed a public meeting and exhorted the people to join the Congress. In December 1901 Madhusudan Das, Jagan Mohan Lala, Ram Shankar Roy, Nimai Charan Mitra and Janaki Nath Bose (from *Utkal Sabha*), Bhagaban Chandra Das, Upendra Chandra Roy, Lalit Mohan Sarkar and Birendra Kumar Mandal (from Balasore National Society) and

Bidhubhusan Bannerjee (from Conservator Committee, Puri) attended the annual session of the Congress, held at Calcutta.⁵

The early sessions of Indian National Congress were generally attended by representatives from three associations of Orissa - *Utkal Sabha* of Cuttack, National Society of Balasore and Utkal Hitaisini Samaj of Parlakhemundi. The Oriya representatives also attended the annual sessions of Bengal Provincial Conference, held from 1888 onwards. As there was a growing demand for the merger of Oriya-speaking tracts, scattered in Bengal, Madras and Central Provinces, Madhusudan wanted to raise the question of merger of Oriya-speaking tracts in the forum of Congress and Bengal Provincial Conference but failed to do so. In 1895, when the Central Provinces Government imposed Hindi on the Sambalpur people there were strong protests. According to Sailabala Das, Madhusudan's adopted daughter, in 1902 he had a discussion with Surendra Nath Bannerji, the Bengali moderate leader, at Calcutta in which he proposed to raise the question of merger of Oriya-speaking tracts in the forum of National Congress. Surendra Nath objected to this on the ground that it was a provincial question.⁶ The failure to raise Orissa question in Congress, the growing Oriya movement in Ganjam and Sambalpur, and Lord Curzon's plan in 1903 (known as Risley Circular) to unite all Oriya-speaking tracts under one common administration finally prompted Madhusudan to start Utkal Sammilani (Utkal Union Conference) at Cuttack in December 1903. After the formation of Utkal Union Conference, Madhusudan concentrated on Oriya movement and became almost dissociated from the National Congress. From 1903 to 1920 Utkal Union Conference engaged the attention and energies of the Oriya intelligentsia, and in 1920, when Mahatma Gandhi started the Non-cooperation movement, there was virtually no Congress organization in Orissa.⁷

Madhusudan conceived the Utkal Union Conference as a national conference of the Oriyas who, according to him, had a distinct cultural identity of their own. He described the Utkal Union Conference as a sea, containing, the life drops of a crore of Oriyas and sought to derive inspiration for this body from the history and culture of Orissa.⁸ Madhusudan professed firm belief in the distinctiveness of Oriya culture, the originality of Oriya art and architecture, and the powerful hold of Oriya language on the Oriya-speaking tracts, included in other provinces and tribals of Orissa living in hilly tracts." Regarding the Oriyas of Midnapur district in Bengal he held that though these people had accepted Bengali script under compulsion, they were still speaking Oriya.¹⁰

The basic objective of Utkal Union Conference was the merger of Oriya-speaking tracts. This objective was thus defined in the proceedings of the first session, held at Cuttack in December 1903: 'This Conference is called Utkal Sammilani (Utkal Union Conference). This conference will adopt and implement measures for the welfare of all Oriya.-speaking tracts. The boundary of Orissa has been greatly reduced under the present Government. It is found that predominantly Oriya-inhabited areas like Sambalpur, Chhota Nagpur, Medinipur, Ganjam etc., are outside Orissa. Therefore all Oriya-speaking tracts have been designated as 'Utkal' and this conference has been called Utkal Union Conference. Now Utkal Union Conference has been founded for the welfare of Oriyas".¹¹

In the same proceedings, the Oriyas were defined as a separate nation in the following words: "Those who have become permanent inhabitants of Orissa, i.e., those who have made Utkal their home are to be treated as Oriyas even if they belong to different nationalities. We give the name 'Oriya' to those who have migrated to

Orissa long before, adopted and acknowledged Orissa as their motherland and consider it a national duty to promote the welfare of Oriyas".¹²

While defining Oriyas, Madhusudan observed : "Oriya nation means those who call themselves the children of Utkal, feel proud of the past glory of Orissa and yearn for its glory in future".¹³ He further observed, "Those who are born in the land of Utkal, and wish their bodies to take rest in the lap of mother Utkal after death, whether they are Bengalis or Musalmans or Brahmins or Karanas or Punjabis, are the children of Utkal".¹⁴ Those who spoke Oriya as their mother tongue whether they lived in Orissa or outside Orissa, and those who had adopted Orissa as their motherland coming from outside Orissa were treated as Oriyas Utkal Union Conference. No distinction of nationality, religion or caste was recognised in the forum of Utkal Union Conference. Madhusudan observed: "The conference has been set up for the union of Oriyas and awakening of national consciousness among all Oriyas. It has not been set up for the welfare of any community. In this conference such matters will be discussed by which the welfare of all Oriyas can be promoted".¹⁵

Madhusudan took due note of the fact that in spite of the differences in religion and nationality those who were the inhabitants of Orissa spoke Oriya, and that there were many domiciled Bengalis who had identified themselves with Orissa, and that some of them like Gauri Shankar Roy, Ram Shankar Roy, Pyari Mohan Acharya and Radhanath Roy had rendered services for the uplift of Oriya language and literature. Madhusudan intended Utkal Union Conference to be a national body in a regional setting. He observed in its second session, "In this conference representatives of various nationalities, such as Oriyas, Bengalis, Telgus, Rajputs and Marwaris are present. If this is not

to be treated as an all-India body, Congress (National Congress) cannot also be called a national body".¹⁶ Utkal Conference was the product of "the fertile genius" of Madhusudan who, by the force of his personality, could bring together the Princes, Zamindars, gentry and the poor, and different communities such as Hindus, Musalmans and Christians".¹⁷

The very first session of Utkal Union Conference began with a note of harmony. At the beginning of the session, Oriya, Bengali, Urdu and Sanskrit songs were sung. The Sanskrit song, specially composed for the Utkal Union Conference by poet Radhanath Roy, emphasized its commitment to the welfare of India. It was as follows :

This India, the mother of all of us is the land that fulfills all our human desires.

Hence it behoves all her beloved children to work for her welfare as much as in our power lies.

I

She whose brow is crowned with the Himalayas and is served on all sides by the seas, the ancient home of Vedas and sages has not only given us birth but unstintingly provides us with all sustenance.

II

Creator of light and joy all around and the source of all that is excellent in the world. It is for the good of such an India that we are all gathered here in a new spirit of oneness.

III

The Oriyas, the Bengalis, the Andhras who are in this assembly and those who are from other states, to all of us India is our home.

IV

To work for the good of India should unceasingly be our dearest objective in life, and resolve we must here that nothing unrelated to India's welfare shall ever be undertaken by us.

V

India is our refuge: there is none other. Hence, before proceedings of the Assembly start, we bow to Mother India, to Mother India alone.

(Translated by Mayadhar Mansingh)

Though dominated by the elite and intelligentsia, the Utkal Union Conference was intended to be an association of all Oriyas rich and poor. About its character, the authors of Oriya Movement observed in 1919 : "The prospect which the Utkal Union Conference offers as the embodiment of the national will is certainly not discouraging. It is already representative in its character, as the lowest individual has a voice in it's deliberations. The attendance which it secures and the enthusiasm, however imperfect, that it generates in men of dissimilar temperament ensures to it the character of popularity, as is also evidenced by the fact that proceedings are conducted in the language of the people. It needs hardly be said that it focuses the needs of the people and embodies in a concrete form their feelings and aspirations. But to render it an effective medium of service, it is necessary that more systematic and continued work should be... its records, while a still more extensive popular participation is certainly also necessary. Thirdly, not being of an all-India character it has disadvantage of being misrepresented as to its aims or ideals, however justifiable, it might be to retain a somewhat provincial character, especially under the peculiar circumstances of the case. No doubt, the unique fact that the nature of the problem presented by it is singular in all India makes it in this sense a question of all-India importance and hence of the first magnitude".¹⁸

Madhusudan considered Oriyas to be a nation like any other nation in the world. He held that being geographically marked out as a separate region by the sea, mountains and jungles, Orissa could not establish easy communication with other areas of India and therefore Oriyas became self-dependent and developed a civilization which they could claim as their own.¹⁹ Prior to the formation of Utkal Union Conference, in a meeting held at Kanika palace at Cuttack on 25 October 1903, Madhusudan observed. "The people of various provinces of India are distinct from each other in the same manner as the European nations. Therefore the concept of Indian nationalism had a special connotation".²⁰ Madhusudan viewed India as a multi-national entity or a nation of nations. He was firmly rooted in the Hindu cultural tradition of Orissa, even though he had accepted Christianity. His attachment to Orissan culture is very well reflected in his poems. He fought the legal battle with the British Government against the takeover of management of Jagannath temple by the Government.

In spite of all his attachment to Orissa, emphasis on Oriya identity and awareness about the plurality of Indian society, Madhusudan did not develop a separatist or parochial outlook. He could not conceive of the existence of Orissa outside Indian mainstream. In spite of his petition and prayer to the British authorities' for the cause of Oriya movement he did not adopt an anti-Congress stand. He did not intend to use Utkal Union Conference against the Congress. The purpose of the Utkal Union Conference was to unite Oriyas and promote all-round development of Orissa so that Orissa could contribute to the development of India as a whole. If Indian nationalism or Indian National Congress aimed at the even and harmonious development of all parts or sections of India, then special efforts like Utkal Union Conference were necessary for the

uplift of Oriyas who were scattered as minorities in different provinces and therefore neglected. Utkal Union Conference not only aimed at the merger of Oriya tracts but also sought to work out a programme of all-round development which included items like industrialization, agricultural development, spread of education, establishment of University, social reform, uplift of women, etc. Though a sense of unjust discrimination that Oriyas as a minority felt in Bengal presidency, Madras presidency and Central Provinces was at the background of the formation of Utkal Union Conference, yet Utkal Union Conference did not indulge in preaching ill feelings against non-Oriyas. Madhusudan, time and again, made it clear in his public utterances that there was no contradiction between loyalty to Orissa and loyalty to India, that the two were complementary, and that Utkal Union Conference was a regional manifestation of national consciousness and development, an Oriya replica of Indian National Congress. While addressing the second session of Utkal Union Conference, held at Idgah ground, Cuttack on 28 December, 1904 Madhusudan observed: "Mother Utkal is not distinct from mother India, nor she is the rival co-wife or enemy of the latter".²¹ In the same meeting he gave a metaphorical description of Utkal Union Conference in the following words: "Mother Utkal is today present before us like an image of an affectionate mother suckling her child. That image is an image of mother India. It is an incarnation of mother India. Therefore mother Utkal is not a rival co-wife of mother India".²² In the fifth session of Utkal Union Conference, held at Puri in 1908, he pointed out: "There is no difference between mother Utkal and mother India. If there is pain in any limb of the body, that limb has to be treated. That treatment would strengthen the whole body. The purpose of treatment of Utkal is India's amelioration".²³

Madhusudan started Utkal Union Conference at a time when Bengalis were heading towards the Swadeshi movement over the question of partition of Bengal. The Swadeshi movement of 1905 gave a militant orientation to the growing national consciousness in India and had an all-India impact. In such a situation Madhusudan's methods of prayer and petition to colonial authorities for the merger of Oriya-speaking tracts under one common administration were considered by Aurobindo Ghosh, the extremist leader of Bengal as "mistaken", although the latter, without mentioning the name of Madhusudan Das, appreciated his Oriya movement in the following words: "It is for instance a cause of gratification that Orissa is beginning to feel its separate consciousness and to attempt to grow into an organised life under a capable and high-spirited leader".²⁴ Aurobindo felt that backward provinces, like backward communities, should awake and "must take their place in the advancing surge of Indian political life" and "must prepare themselves for a high rank in the future federated strength of India".²⁵ Aurobindo, critical and suspicious as he was of the character of colonial rule, predicted that Madhusudan "is laying up for himself bitter disappointment and disillusionment in the future" and that "when the inevitable disappointment and disillusionment come, then will the new political consciousness, the new organised life of Orissa become an immense addition of strength to the forces of National consciousness".²⁶ That 'disappointment' and 'disillusionment' came twice - in 1911, when the truncated Orissa was tacked to Bihar in the province of Bihar and Orissa and in 1918, when Montford reforms recommended a sub-province for Oriyas. Though Utkal Union Conference had not been successful in achieving the goal of merger of Oriya tracts by 1918, it had prepared the ground for the emergence of national consciousness in Orissa. It was from the forum

of Utkal Union Conference that Gopabandhu Das emerged as the organiser of Gandhian Congress movement in Orissa in 1920. In the fourteenth session of the Utkal Union Conference, held at Cuttack in April 1919. Gopabandhu remarked in his presidential speech "The Conference is a part of India's national movement."²⁷ At his instance, in the Chakradharpur session of Utkal Union Conference, held immediately after the Nagpur session of Indian National Congress, the Utkal Union Conference accepted the objectives of Indian National Congress.

Madhusudan was a moderate statesman. He believed in cooperation with the British Government. He sought to achieve his goal of merger of Oriya tracts through petition and prayer which yielded results after long delay in 1936. As nationalism became militant, particularly after the outbreak of the First World War, Madhusudan's moderate leadership became unacceptable to the younger generation. His acceptance of the office of minister in Bihar and Orissa Government under the Government of India Act, 1919 was vehemently criticised by the younger generation of militant nationalists.

Madhusudan did not equate nationalism with anti-foreignism. He wanted to add a positive dimension to nationalism by insisting upon inculcation of commitment to public life, economic self-dependence, dignity of labour, straightforwardness, love of truth and national self-respect. He felt that under the colonial rule the people of Orissa had become oblivious of their past glory and valour and that being selfish they had no concern for public life and were eager to attain selfish ends by taking resort to flattery, falsehood and bribery- In the economic sphere he found poverty and stagnation because of absence of indigenous industries and dependence on foreign goods; lack of dignity of labour, and lack of coordination between physical labour and mental labour. In the forum of Utkal Union

Conference, Madhusudan appealed to the people to give up selfishness and flattery and develop selflessness and commitment to public life and straightforwardness. He wrote-

*Give up flattery,
Give up selfishness,
Follow the path of truth,
After two days you can
Attain your well-being as a free nation.*

The chariot of nation cannot move, if selfishness becomes the charioteer²⁸ Madhusudan observed that every human being has two types of existence, one is personal or selfish, and the other is social or nātiona²⁹. He held that selfishness was the lowest stage of self- development and that for higher development one should transfer one's loyalty to society or nation. He pointed out that improvement of national life was impossible without the awakening of national consciousness or Commitment to public life.³⁰ Deploring the lack of national consciousness in Orissa Madhusudan observed "If prominent persons among the Oriyas become conscious of their social responsibility, and mindful in the work of Utkal Union Conference, the resolutions of the Conference would not have been fruitless."³¹ If national consciousness or public spirit is roused to the fullest extent, he pointed out, then there would be no hesitation to make sacrifice for the nation. He used to cite the example of the Japanese in regard. In the second session of Utkal Union Conference he observed: "What is the motto of the Japanese nation ? Every Japanese thinks: 'for the honour of Japanese nation not only my life but also a lakh others may be'sacrificed'. Due to this attitude the Japanese nation is today honoured all over the world."³²

Madhusudan was the pioneer of industrialization and economic nationalism in Orissa. In 1897 he founded Orissa Art Ware

Works, and in 1905 he established Utkal Tannery. He viewed development of indigenous industries as the key to economic regeneration and real self-rule. He observed : “We have expressed our desire for Home Rule, but we do not realize to what extent we depend on other nations. It should be understood that a country which supplies raw materials to other countries for production of industrial goods is industrially very backward. We cover our bodies with clothes, produced in other countries. The luxuries and necessities which we need everyday are supplied by other countries. Still, we want self rule. What is the meaning and purpose of this self rule?” Madhusudan promptly responded to the Swadeshi agitation of Bengal in 1905. He addressed the Swadeshi meeting, held at Cuttack on 20 August 1905 under the chairmanship of Janakinath Bose. While asking the people to use Swadeshi goods he cited two examples, one of General Togo of Japan who used shoes, made only in Japan, and the other was of an Englishman buying English shoes at a higher cost instead of buying German shoes.³⁴ He addressed Swadeshi meetings in other places, asking people to boycott foreign goods, specially Manchester cloth and Liverpool salt.

Madhusudan ‘wrote a number of articles on industrialization and economic regeneration such as “Industrial Development”, “Industrial Awakening”, “War is Business and Business is war”, and “Freedom from Industrial Captivity” which were published in his English mouth piece ‘The Oriya’. Regarding the commercial exploitation of India by England. Madhusudan observed in his presidential speech in Utkal Union Conference, held in 1913: “When the English nation first came to India for trade in Bengal and Orissa, Pipili and Balasore were the centres of their trading activities. At that time, they were importing from Orissa and India, goods manufactured by indigenous artisans. As a result, sufficient wealth was flowing to this country. Now

the situation is just the reverse. If you go to the drawing room of any well-educated person, you will find that almost all the articles kept there are foreign”.³⁵

He held that as a result of export of raw materials from India and import of Industrial goods from England, the Indian producers of raw materials were getting the low wage of unskilled labourers or coolies, whereas the British producers of industrial goods were getting the higher wages of trained artisans. He described it as an economic slavery which the Indians had accepted of their own accord.³⁶

Madhusudan observed that absence of dignity of labour and contempt for manual work were posing obstacles to economic development. On 17 February 1924 he delivered a speech on dignity of labour at Patna, which was highly appreciated. He held that unless due importance was given to manual labour and proper coordination was established between mental work and manual work, the wealth of nation could not be augmented. He pleaded for the raising of social status of artisans and removal of contempt for manual work among the educated. He said: “The hand work of the artisan finds place in the drawing room of king or Raja or Maharaja, whereas the artisan himself is not allowed to go there”.³⁷ He pointed out that for even economic development, proper coordination between industry and agriculture was necessary, because it was agriculture which provided raw materials to the industry.

Madhusudan aimed at the merger of Oriya tracts through Utkal Union Conference. He carried on his nation-building activities within a regional framework and pleaded for harmony among the various communities and linguistic groups and loyalty to mother India. He virtually dissociated himself from the Congress after the formation of Utkal Union Conference. When

Gandhi started the Non-cooperation movement, Madhusudan was neither in Utkal Union Conference nor in Congress. But the Gandhian Congress movement proceeded by accepting two important aspects of Madhusudan's Paradigm on nationalism - (1) the various provincial nationalities or linguistic groups were given due weightage and allowed to form provincial Congress committees on linguistic basis. (As for example Orissa, though not a separate province in 1920-21, was allowed to form a provincial Congress committee) and (2) a constructive programme was adopted by the Congress to add a positive dimension to anti-colonial movement.

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Merger of Princely States in Orissa

Dr. Saroj Kumar Panda

With the establishment of newly constituted Congress Government in the province of Orissa in April 1946 Harekrushna Mahatab, the new Congress premier, made serious attempts to solve the problems of feudatory states of Orissa. He met the members of the Cabinet Mission on April 6, 1946 and placed a memorandum before them in which he pleaded strongly for amalgamation of the *Garjats* with the province.¹ As the Cabinet Mission was busy to finalize other important matters it could not look into this specific problem of Orissa. However, in the statement issued by the Cabinet Mission on May 16, 1946, it was contemplated that a satisfactory solution to the problem of the Indian states would be achieved by mutual negotiations. Mahatab wrote letters to all the rulers of the princely states of Orissa on May 10, 1946 and again on June 29, 1946, in order to convince them about the benefits of mutual cooperation. He appealed to the rulers that in the interest of the states, "it will be best thing to join with the province and bring about a common administration."²

In the meantime, there was a lot of discussion in the press about the amalgamation of Princely States with the province, which made the rulers uneasy and nervous.³ In fact, the rulers did not show any interest to join with the province rather they took a very hostile attitude to the whole issue. In July 1946, the rulers met in a conference held at Alipore and decided to form a federal union of the Chhatisgarh and Orissa states. The Maharaja of Patna, Rajendra Narayan Singh Deo

supported the view. The British Resident of the Eastern State Agency who was present in the conference encouraged such a move. A committee was also formed for the purpose.

Mahatab did not give up the hope of some understanding with the ruling chiefs. On October 16, 1946, he met some of them at Sambalpur in the presence of the Political Agent and tried to convince them about the necessity of one administration for both the states and the province. This meeting proved a failure, because the rulers opposed Mahatab's proposal for joint planning and administration. They expressed their commitment to the proposed Eastern States Union and held Mahatab responsible for agitation in the states. Mahatab's failure to get favorable response from the rulers and the formation of Eastern States Union by the rulers were due to the support they got from the Political Department. While the rulers tried to evade integration by forming the Eastern States Union, there was persistent demand from the prajamandal groups for introduction of responsible Government as well as integration with the province of Orissa.⁴ Sarangadhar Das, the main prajamandal leader and member of Orissa Legislative Assembly was playing an active role in rousing public opinion in the states for this purpose.⁵

Thirty-nine states of Orissa and Chhatisgarh, which formed the Eastern States Union started functioning from August 1, 1947. It had an elaborate constitution and a secretariate. The constituent states made financial contributions to

maintain the administrative machinery of the Union.⁶ With the dawn of independence, the situation changed rapidly. Celebration of Independence Day in the Princely States received heart throbbing response from the people, and the princes were forced to come in terms with the political developments. They celebrated the day by hoisting the 'National Flag' along with their dynastic flags, released political prisoners and even some of them declared administrative reforms. The Raja of Nayagarh declared the nomination of three-man cabinet including his brother Captain B. C. Singh to head the popular Government from August 15, 1947.⁷

In the meanwhile, the state ministry under Sardar Patel was compelled by the force of circumstances to take necessary steps to arrest the process of 'balkanization' of India. In Orissa, the process of integration of native states began with the assumption of the administration of Nilagiri state by the Dominion Government. It was taken over on November 14, 1947. After that, the states ministry took the initiative to resolve the problems of all other Orissa states. On November 16, 1947, invitations were sent to all 'B' and 'C' class rulers to attend a conference on December 14, 1947 at the Government House, Cuttack regarding merger of their states. Similarly 'A' class rulers of Orissa were invited to a separate conference at the same place on the same date in the afternoon. Arrangements of accommodation for their stay at Cuttack were also made. The Regional Commissioner of Orissa States were asked to bring with him the Sanads of Orissa Feudatory States,⁸ which might be required for the purpose.

In a high level meeting of the ministry on November 20, 1947, in which Mahatab was present, it was decided not to recognize the Eastern States Union as it was formed "in utter disregard of linguistic, economic and social considerations". In order to explore the possibilities of associating the states with the

provincial administration for common interest, it was finally settled to meet the rulers in a conference in Orissa as soon as possible. Accordingly Sardar Patel, V. P. Menon and other officials of the states ministry⁹ arrived at Cuttack on December 13, 1947.

On December 14, 1947 at 10.00 a.m. Sardar Patel inaugurated the Conference with a most persuasive speech. The conference which was attended by twelve 'B' and 'C' class rulers included Raja Bahadur Kishore Chandra Deo Bhanja of Daspalla, Raja Harihar Singh Mardaraj Bhramarbar Ray of Khandapara and Raja Brajendra Narendra Mahapatra with his mother Basanta Manjari Devi, the *Rajmata* of Ranpur.¹⁰ At the outset, Patel stated that the reasons for inviting the rulers of Orissa state was the growing discontentment among the people, which had created a pressing problem demanding immediate solution for the safety of the rulers and the people at large.

Patel anticipated that some rulers might try to evade merger on the plea of having introduced responsible Government and that some might claim autonomous status. "Responsible Government in petty states, he said, had no meaning".¹¹ He also pointed out that "the states could not afford to have institutions like High Court, Hospitals, Educational Institutions and other modern facilities. He guaranteed them in perpetuity privy purse, dynastic succession, privileges and dignities." "As a member of a family trying to solve a family problem", Patel advised the rulers to get rid of disturbances in states by divesting themselves of all power and authority.¹² While giving friendly advice, Patel warned the rulers against the consequences, which might follow in the events of non-merger. He told that if his advice was not listened to the princes would soon have to come to Delhi after being chased by their people and that he might then not be in a position to help them as things might have gone too far.¹³ Sardar Patel then asked the rulers to

suggest any alternative, which would be acceptable, and if they had none, the rulers should accept his advice.

The Ruler of Ranpur, the minor Raja Brajendra Narayan stated that he had granted responsible Government in his state and if his state was merged in Orissa his people might say that the ruler had betrayed the people and sold them to Orissa Government. He expressed that there could be an alternative to merger which would be a union of states. If there was merger he felt that the people might later stop the Privy Purse as there would be no use left for the Ruler.¹⁴

The Deputy Prime Minister pointed out that Ranpur was so small and the people so turbulent that they had once gone to the extent of murdering a political officer like Bezelgette and that the conclusion to be drawn was that the people would not allow the ruler to continue administration in his state. Further to give responsible Government in Ranpur would be a mockery and the answer, therefore, was to entrust the responsibility to one who could discharge it and the Orissa Government was ready and competent to do so. The young ruler of Ranpur wanted to know if he would be entitled to stand for the Cuttack Legislature. The Deputy Prime Minister replied that certainly as citizen of Orissa he would be blessed with that right.¹⁵

The afternoon session started after lunch at 2.30 PM to which the 'A' class rulers were invited. Sardar Patel presided over the meeting. Eleven 'A' class rulers attended the meeting including the brother of the ruler of Nayagarh Capt. B. C. Singh. The entire proceedings of the meeting revolved around dynastic succession, privy purse, privileges and dignities. The merger agreement was signed by the princes after the assurance of Sardar Patel for the perpetual guarantee of privy purse, privileges, dynastic succession and dignities and their incorporation in the future constitution of India.¹⁶

On December 15, 1947, out of 15 'B' and 'C' class rulers 12 signed the merger agreement while three others (Bonai, Athamalik and Tigiria) signed later as they did not attend the conference at Cuttack. "A" class rulers had a hard bargain and they signed the merger document at the last moment when Patel was about to leave Cuttack by special train for boarding the plane at Bhubaneswar. During his stay at Cuttack, Patel had no talks with prajamandal leaders.¹⁷ The merger of 25 states except Mayurbhanj became effective from January 1, 1948. This was achieved through the initiative and persistent efforts of H. K. Mahatab, the Prime Minister of Orissa, under the bold and decisive leadership of Patel at the Centre, supported by Menon's dexterity in negotiation and bargain.

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The Making of the Province of Orissa

Surasinha Patnaik

“Orissa has had the distinction of many firsts to its credit. It was the first state in our country to have been created on the basis of language. It constituted the fruition of long cherished dream of our nationalist leaders for linguistic reorganization of states.

March 28, 2002

New Delhi

K.R. Narayanan

President of India

(The message of K.R.Narayanan, Former President of India on the occasion of the Orissa day 2002)

This significant and proverbial message of K.R.Narayanan, the former President of India throws light on the most splendid achievements of the Oriya people in its entire existence for last 500 years. Degeneration started and the mighty empire of Orissa started tumbling down and ultimately, Orissa lost its freedom in the year 1568 soon after the ignominious and treacherous defeat of the legendary King Mukunda Deb. The period followed an account of desperation, subjugation and exploitation. The illustrious Oriya race had lost its identity and was practically on the verge of being erased out from the pages of history. During British rule in the 19th century, Orissa lay shattered and dismembered and the Oriya speaking territories were placed as the forlorn and dejected appendages to the four provinces of Bengal, Madras, Central Province and Bihar.

The perilous femine of the year 1866 had practically removed one third of the population from the Oriya mainland. Being placed in the valley of deapair, shadow and frustration, the Oriya

identity was crushed to the point of extinction and obliteration. But, the severe jolt of the heart rendering pathos of untold miserable accounts of privation and degradation of the devastating famine,aroused a sense of concern. A search for the identity of Oriya race soon began in the form of agitation followed by spiraling unrests. By the year 1866 Orissa was the 12th southern most neglected Division of the gigantic Bengal Presidency. The total geographical area of Orissa Division consisting of the districts of Cuttack, Puri, Balasore and Angul covered an area of 9098 sq. miles whereas the total geographical area of wide spreading Bengal Presidency was 1,84,717 sq. miles. How insignificant was the size of Orissa division compared to the mighty Bengal Presidency. Being grappled with debilitating disabilities and stung by grievous wounds of maladministration, Orissa lay neglected in the administrative set up of Bengal Presidency. Practically out of the ashes of frustration, the struggle for resurrection began from the year

1866, which continued unabated without respite covering nearly a period of 70 years and at last, the long cherished dream of the creation of the province of Orissa became a reality on 1st April 1936 being acknowledged and acclaimed as the first linguistic state in the entire country.

But, when we study the actual situation of linguistic scenario in the year 1936 we were taken aback by astonishment and surprise, when we comprehend stupendous and glorious achievement accomplished by the Oriya people being placed numerically as the 9th linguistic group of people in number in the entire country. According to the figures of Census of 1931 the total number of Oriya population came hardly around 1.11 crores. The eight top most language speaking people were as follows:

Hindi 41.41 crores, Bengali 5.34 crores, Telugu 2.63 crores, Maharastrian 2.08 crores, Tamil 2.04 crores, Panjabi 1.58 crores, Kannada 1.12 crores and Oriya 1.11 crores.

Really we were astonished to find out that out of an infinitesimal beginning in the year 1866, Orissa acquired the status of the province in the year 1936. By the year 1895 Orissa was the tenth southern most division covering an area of 9098 sq. miles in the mighty Bengal Presidency which was covering an area of 1,33,597 sq. miles. The Orissa Division was constituted with four districts of Cuttack, Puri, Balasore and Angul covering an area of 9098 sq. miles as detailed below

Name of the District	Area in sq. miles
Cuttack	3633
Puri	2499
Balasore	2085
Angul	881
Total	9098

Besides these four districts, seventeen feudatory states were also attached to Orissa Division covering an area of 14,387 sq. miles with a population of 25,76,978. The seventeen feudatory states were; Athgarh, Baramba, Dhenkanal, Hindol, Khandpara, Narsingpur, Nayagarh, Nilgiri, Ranpur, Talcher, Tigiria, Baud, Daspalla, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Athmallik, Pal Lahara.

Like a bolt from the blue, in the year 1896 Hindi was introduced in the Oriya speaking district of Sambalpur as a part of Chattisgarh Division of Central Province in lieu of Oriya as the court and administrative language. This created anguished frustrations among the people which had resulted in creation of agitative fervour in the entire Western Orissa. In the turbulent period of turmoil and agitation, the movement for the restoration of Oriya language was championed by Dharanidhar Mishra and other stalwarts and duly steered by Madhusudan Das. The momentous eventful meeting of Madhusudan Das with Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India during the third week of October 1900 at Simla brought deep and stirring changes in the map of Orissa. The Risley Circular issued by Lord Curzon on 3rd December 1903 contained a well conceived concrete proposal for the amalgamation of disjointed and vivisected Oriya-speaking territories. As a part of implementation of this circular, the district of Sambalpur covering an area of 3724 sq. miles was merged with the Orissa Division and with this merger of Sambalpur the total geographic area of Orissa Division was increased by 13659 sq. miles with a population of nearly 12,25,593 as detailed below on the historic and red lettered day of 16th October. This brought a sigh of relief among the disgruntled Oriya people.

Name of the feudatory states	Area in sq. miles	Population (Census 1911)
Kalahandi	3745	3,50,529
Patna	2399	2,77,748
Sonepur	906	1,69,877
Rairakhal	833	26,888
Bamra	1988	1,23,378
Gangpur	2492	2,38,896
Bonai	1296	38,2777
Total	13659	12,25,593

Against the loud voiced proclamations made in the Risley Circular propounding the amalgamation of dismembered and dissected Oriya speaking territories under a single administrative control, the eagerly awaited solution to Oriya problems was crushed down to the point of insignificance, when the Orissa Division with its infinitesimal size was tagged to the wide stretching Bihar in the year 1912 to make the composite province of Bihar-Orissa. Orissa was fifth southern most dejected division of the state was having geographical area of 12,822 sq. miles whereas the rest of the four divisions of Bihar namely Tirhut, Bhagalpur, Patna and Chottnagpur constituted an area of 42,360 sq. miles. The other provinces to which Oriya speaking territories were tagged as the degrading appendages, were of gigantic proportions in size as detailed below.

Sl. No.	Name of the provinces	Area in sq. miles
1.	Central Province & Berar	99,970
2.	Madras	1,42,277
3.	Bengal	77,521
4.	Bihar	55,182

In these provinces, the voice of the minority group of Oriya people was submerged and practically lost its relevance and propriety. Even in Bihar-Orissa province, the fate of the Oriya people was doomed as the preponderant voice of the people were reduced to apartheid minority of insignificance.

As a gust of fresh air, Mahatma Gandhi appeared in the Indian political scene in the year 1920. A message was sent to Mahatma Gandhi by Madhusudan Das during the month of February 1920 through the top ranking Oriya leader Brajasundar Das attracting his benign attention to the intricate problem of vivisection of Oriya speaking territories and to the dismemberment of Oriya people, forming infinitesimal minority in different states and a question was raised before him as to whether the modern India would be built on the ashes of the disintegrating mighty Oriya race. Mahatma Gandhi soon responded by declaring his unequivocal decision regarding the formation of provinces on the linguistic basis. In spite of the bountiful sympathies showered and meaningful assurances made by Mahatma Gandhi, the remorseful apathetic attitudes shown by the other national leaders led to utter frustration and dismay among the Oriya people.

Madhusudan Das had raised before the Butler Committee on 15.4.1928 at Bombay the issue of the amalgamation of Oriya feudatory states of Saraikela and Kharswan lying in the remote corner of Chottnagpur region of Bihar-Orissa Province. As per the favourable recommendations of the Lothian Committee constituted for this purpose these two feudatory states were annexed to the Orissa Division in the year 1933 as detailed below.

Name of the feudatory states	Area in sq. miles (census 1931)	Population in lakhs	Name of the province	Area in sq. miles	Population
Saraikela	449	1.29	Madras (approx)	17,400	25,52,874
Kharswan	153	0.43	Central Province	1589	1,84,665
Total	602	1.72	Bihar & Orissa	13,706	53,06,142
			Total	32,695	80,43,681

In spite of the periodical recessions and setbacks, the struggle for the creation of the separate provinces of Orissa was fought with an unquenchable flame of resolution. A new hope was kindled with the setting up of Statutory Commission headed by John Simon. A wind of change was blowing vigorously. The struggle which was almost ground to a halt, soon acquired momentum when a delegation of Oriya representatives deputed by Madhusudan Das welcomed Simon Commission at Patna railway station on 12.12.1928 and submitted the memorial on 14.12.1928. A new leaf was turned in the history of the making of the formation of province of Orissa. Soon the entire process was seized by the forces of change when the matter was taken up in right earnest in the First and Third Round Table Conferences at London, followed by serious deliberations in the Joint Parliamentary Committee meetings. Maharaja Krushnachandra Gajapati, Raja Ramachandra Mardraj Deo, Bhubanananda das and others who actively participated in these proceedings did a praiseworthy and commendable job against the onslaught of series of the intricate problems looming large at different point of time. With a strong determination of unfaltering trust they sincerely resolved the formidable problems and fulfilled the mission. Ultimately the formation of the province of Orissa became a reality on 1st April 1936 with the amalgamation of following areas.

The struggle for the formation of the province of Orissa continued nearly for 70 years without respite. The battle was fought with great deal of sagacity and fortitude against the fierce and biting opposition by the representatives of the neighbouring provinces. The creation of the province of Orissa as the first linguistic province in the entire country, aroused igniting aspirations and enduring sentiments among the other linguistic groups of people. In fact, during the last week of April 1938 a resolution was adopted in the Madras Legislative Assembly for creation of four new provinces of Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala out of the old presidency of Madras. But the proposal met with a premature and untimely death when it was turned down by the British Parliament.

Soon after the independence of the country, a pattern was laid down for reorganization of the states on linguistic basis, as per the glorious tradition set by Orissa as the forerunner in the field. But the monumental history relating to the legendary creation of the province of Orissa has not yet been compiled. We are immensely grateful to the celebrated historians who had made initial ventures in this direction. But when we glaze through the pages of Utkal Dipika, Sambalpur Hitaisini, Asha (Weekly) and Sambad Vahika, we come across with vast amount of materials of references and information which have not yet formed the part of the Orissan history. This should be given rightful and justified place of recognition and acceptance in the annals

of the Orissan history. It is sincerely felt that the fully compiled exhaustive history of the making of the province of Orissa would continue to inspire the people of the country for centuries to come and infuse in them a strong patriotic feeling inspiring them for laying down their career for the cause of the country.

We would implore the Government of Orissa to draw out a well conceived comprehensive scheme for the compilation of all these materials from the journals of Utkal Dipika, Sambalpur Hiteisini, Asha (Weekly) and Sambad Vahika to prepare volumes of comprehensive history on the making of the Province of Orissa. Old copies of these journals are readily available in the Orissa State Archives and also in the library attached to Utkal Sahitya Samaj, Cuttack.

A country is known from the comprehensive accounts of its historical references. A well documented monumental history is certainly the proud possession of a nation.

APPENDIX

Sl. No	Name of the State	Area in sq. miles	Population (census 1911)
1.	Athagada	168	43784
2.	Athmallik	730	40753
3.	Bamra	1988	123378
4.	Baramba	134	38260
5.	Baud	1264	88250
6.	Bonai	1296	38277
7.	Daspalla	568	51987
8.	Dhenkanal	1463	273662
9.	Gangpur	2492	238896
10.	Hindol	312	47180
11.	Kalahandi	3745	350529

12.	Keonjhar	3096	285758
13.	Khandapara	244	69450
14.	Mayurbhanj	4243	610383
15.	Narasinghpur	199	39613
16.	Nayagarh	588	140799
17.	Nilgiri	278	66460
18.	Pal Lahara	452	22351
19.	Patna	2399	277748
20.	Rairakhol	833	26888
21.	Ranpur	203	46075
22.	Sonepur	906	169877
23.	Talcher	399	60432
24.	Tigiria	46	22628
25.	Saraikala	449	109794
26.	Kharaswan	153	38852

Total	28,648	39,45,209
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Role of Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayana Dev in Formation of Separate State of Orissa

Smt. Chhabi Mohanty

Oriyas owe in an incalculable magnitude the contribution of Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayana Dev for his outstanding contribution to the formation of separate State of Orissa.

On 26th April 1892 Shri Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Dev one of the illustrious sons of Orissa was born at Paralakhemundi town, the district headquarters of present Gajapati district of Orissa. Shri Goura Chandra Gajapati was his father and Smt. Radhamani Devi was his mother. After completing his primary education he went to Madras for his higher education. While prosecuting his studies at Madras his father Goura Chandra Gajapati Dev left for his heavenly abode. After completing his studies at Madras he returned to Paralakhemundi and in the year 1913 married to princess of Kharasuan State and in the very year held the reign of the State on 26th April, 1913.

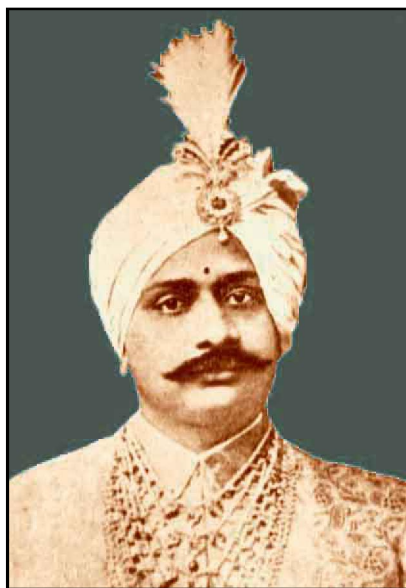
The tenth session of 'Utkala Sammilani' was held at Paralakhemundi. In this conference

Shri Vikram Dev Burma, the King of Jeypore and the uncle of Krushna Chandra Gajapati had presided. In the initial stage of the conference, Shri Krushna Chandra Gajapati had firmly said and submitted the proposal that it is not wise to

demand only that all Oriya speaking people should be brought under one rule but to unite all Oriya speaking people and to demand for separate state of Orissa.

His strong and irrefutable argument had not only astonished the leaders of the conference but this thundering declaration got support and admiration of Gopabandhu Das, Fakirmohan Senapati, Shashi Bhusana Rath and Madhu Babu. It was approved as the proposal for formation of separate of Orissa in Utkala Sammilani. In the year 1917 the

Montagu-Chelmsford Committee had opined in favour of formation of separate state on linguistic basis. As a member of Utkal Sammilani Krushna Chandra met Montagu. In the Bihar-Orissa Legislative Assembly a special proposal was approved for amalgamation of Oriya speaking



areas. While touring Visakhapatnam and Ganjam Shri Krushna Chandra Gajapati Dev met Philip - Duff Committee. For administrative reform the British Government had appointed Simon Commission. While the entire nation opposed Simon Commission, Shri Krushna Chandra Gajapati came forward for dialogue with Simon Commission, as a result of which a sub-committee was constituted under the chairmanship of Attlee to consider about Orissa and the said committee gave a favourable opinion on formation of Orissa. The First Round Table Conference was held in London but there was no agenda to consider about fate of Orissa. On behalf of Bihar-Orissa Government Shri Krushna Chandra Gajapati was nominated and participated in the said conference and drew the attention of British Government by his historic speech which stunned them. The speech was "We want formation of a state on linguistic basis. You can not make new administrative reform by not allowing one crore Oriyas for formation of a separate State, which is Oriya's legitimate demand.

The British Government in the year 1931 instituted Odonel Committee and one of the aspect of the Committee was to assess the boundaries for the state of Orissa. The report of Odonel Committee was published in the year 1932. After obtaining the approval of Phillip Duff Committee this was published in a white paper in the year 1933. The white paper was discouraging,

because Paralakhemundi and Jaipur Zamindaries were omitted. Later on by influencing Lord Willingdon he was successful in persuading for inclusion of Paralakhemundi and Jeypore zamindaries in Orissa. Orissa got the status of a state in the political and geographical map of India having, six districts, namely Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Sambalpur, Ganjam and Koraput.

After one year completion of the separate state in the year 1st April 1937, the first Governor of Orissa, Sir John Austin Hubbak invited Krushna Chandra Gajapati Dev to form the cabinet. The members of the cabinet were Gorachand Pattnaik and Latifur Rehman. He was the first Prime Minister of Orissa from 1st April 1937 to 18th July 1937. Later on he was Prime Minister of Orissa for the second time from 24th November 1941 to 30th June 1944. His dexterity as prime Minister of Orissa was par excellence. He left for his heavenly abode on 25th May 1974.

His indimitable spirit of endeavour and perseverance to make Orissa a separate state is unparalleled and will remain as a golden chapter in the history of modern Orissa.

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Memories of My Father Padmashree Dr. Satya Narayan Rajguru

Sitakanta Rajguru

I have very strong, fond memories of my father late Padmashree Dr. Satya Narayan Rajguru with whom I shared a very intimate relationship, both as a son and as a ready helping hand in his scholastic and research matters. The second was more so when he was too old to physically visit places to check inscriptions for himself. I am trying to relive here some anecdotes relating to my father upon the insistence of the District Information and Public Relations Officer, Gajapati for the information of all.

My father was born on 19th of August in 1903 in the Rajguru clan of the Ganga dynasty in Paralakhemundi. It was a 10 '0 clock in the morning of *Kalia dalan Ekadashi* Wednesday, to be precise. His mother, Sunamani Devi died within a week of his birth. His father— my grandfather Harikrushna Rajguru allowed his infant son to be carried by a domestic help to the home of a *Kamma Brahmin* who was working as an employee in the royal court to be breast fed by his wife who had also borne a male child then. The family lived at the *Jangam Street* of Paralakhemundi which was not very far away from our home. The infant Satya Narayana was used to be taken care of by this great woman who had played the role of a stand-in mother to him. Her own son, who grew up to be a Professor of Botany, was to become a very close friend to

my father later on. His name was Narsimha Rao, who had become a professor of Botany, and had become famous as *Gora Sahib*; he later joined Mahatma Gandhi's non-cooperation movement, leaving his plum job of professorship.

In 1945, my father took our family along with his mother in law and my uncle to Rajmahendri in Andhra Pradesh to take a dip in the *holy river Godavari*. After taking holy dips in the *Godavari*, we went to visit *Drakhyaaaram of Padua*, *Sarpa Bhimaram* and *Kotapalli* along with the delta region of the Godavari River. We were very happy to relish in huge quantity *guavas* of enormous sizes, *bananas*, *custard apples*, *drakhya* etc which were immensely delicious. During the reign of the Ganga dynasty, *Rajmahendri* region was known as *Kalinga*. This I remember as my father telling me after he had deciphered the inscriptions of the Ganga Rulers.

During the World War-II, while travelling in a train along with our father, I have heart-wrenching memories of having seen wounded army men being carried in special military trains to different hospitals. These soldiers were said to have been wounded in bombardment in Burma by Japan. Once when we had gone to Kakinada from Rajmahendri, my father wanted the family to stay at a charitable guest house that was owned

by his friend Gora Sahib. Its caretakers, who actually were a *Telegu couple*, refused us permission on the ground that we Oriya were fond of eating fishes. Of course we were allowed inside after Gora Sahib intervened at my father's behest. We had our dinner at Durga Bai Deshmukh's home upon being requested to do so by Professor Gora. Durga Bai was much interested to know about the heroic exploits of the rulers of Kalinga from my father. After dinner, we returned the same night to Kakinada railway station. During those days, a narrow gauge train used to run between Kakinada and Sambarlakota. The train arrived at 2 AM. As there was too much military movement there, the station master had told us take rest in the waiting room after locking it from outside.

Professor Gora was a true follower of Mahatma Gandhi. Despite being a high caste Hindu, upon being inspired by Gandhiji's social movement to eradicate untouchability, he had his two sons and a daughter get married to harijans. There is a *Patamatta Ashram* in a *Harijan Basti* of Vijayawada that belonged to him. When he got his two sons Arun and Varun married to harijan girls, his angry parents used to write letters to my father expressing their dissent at their son's social reforms. I had the privilege to play host to Professor Gora who had visited our home in Paralakhemundi in 1954 for a second time. He had taken pains to visit Paralakehmundi to see my father. He was a tall, fair man with exuberant glow on his face. When I offered to wash his Khadi clothes for him near the well in our home, he refused saying that he loved to do his own work. Now that was Gandhiji's inspiration. I helped him with a bucket of water which I had drawn from the well. When the water did not produce much foam even after half of the soap was wasted rubbing on the clothes, he told me that the water of our well was in fact 'hard water'.

He was disappointed to learn that my father was then living in Bhubaneswar. He said he wanted to take help of my father in translating *Acharya Binoba Bhabhe's* and his speech in Hindi into Oriya in a meeting to be held in Bhubaneswar.

My father always wanted to keep me with him. In 1946-47, a research institute was formed with the collective efforts of my father and the kings of Balangir and Kalahandi. The fund was made available jointly by the above royal heads. This was before the princely states had been annexed into the Indian Union. Once my father Satya Narayan Rajguru and Sri Kedarnath Mahapatra were riding on the back of an elephant of the Maharaja of Kalahandi, named *Bir Bahadur* to the *Gudahandi Mountain* to do some heliography research there. When they were passing through the dense forest, they noticed a Red Indian tiger following the trails of the elephant. The elephant was aware of this, so it was expressing its concern by raising its trunk and blowing trumpet every once and the while. After some time, suddenly the tiger overtook the elephant and jump crossed the road in front of it. My father had a narrow escape from a tiger. On another occasion when he was returning with the Maharaja of Kalahandi from his guest house after meeting a Caucasian gentleman. He gave a reason for this frequent face to face encounter with the beast as fate's way of paving out success after turbulent trials.

My father always went to retrieve inscriptions engraved on stone or metals whenever and wherever he heard of them being found at various places. He would decipher them and read the text and get them published in Journals published by Bihar Orissa Historical Research Society, Andhra Historical Research Society and Kalinga Historical research Society. All the above research works published by him then have found

place in *Bibliotheca Indica* of Holland. It was him who had stressed upon the need for *Asuragada* excavation.

Similarly it was my father who had written to the then chief minister of Orissa Sri Nityananda Kanungo that the state must have its own museum in its capital Bhubaneswar that would help historical research. This was in 1948 when Sardar Ballabh Bhai Patel had already annexed the princely states into Indian Union. In 1950, a meeting was held at *Balangirpatana* under the chairmanship of a great scholar and indologist Prof. Reverend Horace of Pune's Xavier University. That meeting was attended by the chief minister of Orissa Sri Harekrushna Mahatab, the speaker of Orissa Legislative Assembly Sri Nilakantha Das, Maharaja of Patana Sri Rajendra Narayana Singhdeo, Maharaja of Kalahandi Sri Pratap Keshari Deo and Prof. Sarbeswar Das among others who participated in the discussion to set up a State Museum in Bhubaneswar. Prof. Reverend Horace expressed his desire to stay in Orissa and do his research on India under the guidance of my father Satya Narayana Rajguru. My father told him that Orissa's history was still lying in the thick of darkness, hence he must first write the history of Orissa. As such, the State Museum was first set up in 1950 and it ran from a rented building in the old town of Bhubaneswar. My father and I lived in a thatched house near the Lingaraj Temple. Visitors would come and visit the temple during the daytime and those who intended to stay would stay at the *Doodwala Dharamshala* there. Once the evening sets in, the whole area surrounding the Lingaraj Temple would wear a deserted look and complete silence. The capital was then witnessing construction of a few buildings for office and residential purposes. I was then studying at B.M. High school there.

Once, I along with my cousins accompanied my father to the freshly excavated

site at *Sishupalagada* by Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi. We saw shielding water canals of Gangua River surrounding the *Sisupalagada*. We entered the fort through the passage and saw the existence of a small hamlet inside it. I was very excited. Upon seeing a stone carving of Goddess Durga there, I climbed up to the heap of dug out earth and started collecting terracotta jewellery from inside the earth. I discovered a terracotta seal at the site which I handed over to my father. One line of letters was legible enough to read. My father read that inscription in *Pali* script and said that it read as "Amandas, Sapa, Sanaka", which must have remained the name of one individual. This seal was used to allow entry into the fort. My father gave away this seal to the state museum. It is kept there. In a little distance from here, there stands the majestic *Dhauili Hill* which has the *River Daya* flowing nearby. The *Asokan Inscription* there and the inscriptions in *Palli* in *Khandagiri* and *Udayagiri* caves done by *Kharvela* were read by him, which he would elaborately discuss with me.

I would like to narrate some of his descriptions of those inscriptions below.

Nobody knows who ruled over Kalinga when it was attacked by Emperor Asoka. In 1977 when my father was in *Parlakhemundi*, he was despatched three photocopies of copper plate inscriptions from the state museum in Hyderabad. These inscriptions were found from under the earth near *Sirakhandi* village which is a few miles away on the other side of the River *Mahendratana* from *Paralakhemundi* when road work was being undertaken there. As this area fell under the territorial limits of *Andhra Pradesh*, the Collector of *Srikakulam* sent them to the museum at Hyderabad. The photocopies of them had been sent to my father with request to read the inscriptions as nobody had been able to decipher

them there. He had to work hard for nearly seven months to decipher those inscriptions. He found that the said inscriptions were written in Proto-Oriya script of ancient times.

From these inscriptions it was found that the King of Kalinga who belonged to *Chaita* dynasty and had the name Suratha came to far off South riding a horse along with a merchant and performed a *yajna* with the '*hring*' mantra. This is mentioned in the *Sapta Sata Chandi Purana* also. He established his small kingdom from Gangabada to Agrabada. His successor invaded Magadha twice and defeated it. He was the famous king Kharavela. Thus these inscriptions proved that it was King Suratha of Kalinga who had fought the famous Kalinga War with Emperor Asoka. Emperor Asoka had failed many times before when he had attempted to invade Kalinga. He had learnt diplomacy and warfare from the Greeks and had planned his invasion of Kalinga eight years in advance. The inscriptions tell that it was for the first time during the Kalinga War that battles were fought even after sunset till midnight. King Suratha was caught napping when Asoka had invaded Kalinga. After his defeat, he had run to the Deep South.

My father Satya Narayana Rajguru was a dedicated research scholar. When at work, he was in the habit of withdrawing from the outer world completely. He would usually begin his day with a cup of tea and start his studies and research work. Similarly he would retire to his bed much late in the night with a cup of tea. He was a living bibliography. While writing the *History of the Gangas* at the behest of Maharaja of Parlakhemundi, he had gone to the Canberra Library in Madras and National Library in Calcutta. He was also very fond of agriculture. He used to walk some three kilometers to *Badakhinga* village where we have some agricultural land. At the time of reaping and

harvesting, he would spend his time there and write pages of History of Orissa there.

Interestingly, my father was asked to contest elections by Maharaja Pratap Keshari Deo of Kalahandi in 1957, and he had contested elections for Parlakhemundi Constituencies the same year from the Democratic Party which he had lost. As there was no epigraphist available at that time, my father was appointed a Curator on contract basis in Orissa State Museum. It was during these times that he wrote three parts of the book 'Inscriptions of Orissa-V volume' which were published by the Museum authority. The volumes I to IV of the same book had been published previously by it. Only the two parts of the IIIrd volume of the book 'Inscriptions of Orissa' were published by the Orissa Sahitya Academy; the latter had also published my father's drama book *Chandrakala Natika* in English and Sanskrit. *The Cultural History of Orissa* (III and IV), *Upabhasa*, *Kalingara Atmakatha*, *Odia Lipira Krama Bikash*, *Odia Lipi O Bhasa*, *Sri Purusottama* and *Sri Mandir* etc had been published and sold. Apart from this, some 1500 articles of my father had been published in different journals and magazines which include Orissa Historical Research Journal, Konark, Utakal Prasanga, Orissa Review, Sahakar, Asanta Kali, Jhankar, Sankha, Rupayana, Samaja etc. Besides, my father was a regular contributor from 1989 to 1997 to magazines called *Nirmalya* and *Niladri* which were published by the Jagannath Sanskrit University of Puri.

My father and I later joined as honorary research associates for the ongoing research project being carried out at the Jagannath Sanskrit University. Excavations were being carried out at Puri Jagannath Temple, Nrusingha temple, Pataleshwar temple of Puri. Other areas in Puri where excavations were being done were Punjama, Charchika, Kuanri Kamakhya of

Gobindpur of Puri district. Many Jain idols were recovered from under the earth at the Bhabani Shankar Temple near the Mahtab School in Bindu Sagar Tank area. An ascetic had recovered these Jain idols. We came to know from inscriptions there that Bhubaneswar was earlier called as Sudhachal. Similarly, from the inscriptions found at Boitalu Temple, we learnt that the goddess worshipped there was Lankeswari. There are some 71 stone inscriptions in the Lingaraj Temple. Some of them are in North Indian Scripts while others are in the South Indian Scripts. Inscriptions on Jaydev and Bira Choda have been found in the Lingaraja Temple. Bira Choda was said to be an uncle of King Chodaganga Dev. My father has published his reading of these inscriptions in the volume I & II of Inscription of Puri Temple Sri Purshottam Jagannath published by the above university.

Once when my father slipped and had fractured his leg at our residence in Parlakhemundi, I had to live in Puri to collect the estampage of inscriptions from various temple ruins in Puri district. I found inscriptions relating to Kapilendra Dev in the dilapidated Kedareswar temple. I received a telegram from home that my father was being treated in Berhampur Medical College after being hit in a road accident. My father was 90 years' old then. The doctors had advised against surgery due to his ripe age, he was given traction instead. From there, he preferred to go to Puri to continue writing his history of Orissa rather than going to Parlakhemundi for rest.

My father was awarded a degree in Sanskrit and Odia, besides in Indology from Visakhapatnam University in Andhra Pradesh in 1930. During his incumbency in State Museum, his other published works included *Radhaviseka Nataka*, *Janani Utkal Khanda Kavya*, *Gajapati Nataka*, *Januaryra Sodasa Ratri*, *Sri Jaydeva*, *Gita Gobinda* plays etc. Amongst his

unpublished plays are *Kharvela*, *Dharmavatar*, *Sita*, *Kalinga Vijaya*, *Asoka* etc. The second part of the *History of Naga* and Manorama Kavya could not be published. The Volume III of the Invocatory Verses from Inscriptions has not been printed yet.

My father was conferred with the prestigious *Padmashree* award in 1974. The Berhampur University awarded a D.Litt to him in 1975. He received *Orissa Sahitya Academy Award*, the *Kendriya Sahitya Academy Award*, *Sarala Samman*, felicitations from Orissa History Congress, *Utkal Ratna* and many others.

In 1974, my father had been to the Manuscript Library in Madras to study Mackenzie's original 18th century research papers on various kings of Orissa. When he met the superintendent of the museum Dr. T. Ramchandran there, the latter requested him to read a stone inscription kept there which he said could not have been read by anyone there. My father went to the place where it was kept on a high dais. He had brought it down with the help of a peon for a closer inspection. My father had never seen a strange script like this before. He doubted the positioning of the inscription and had it placed upside down. It was readable now. His reading of it revealed that it was inscribed by King Mukunda Dev-II. During the time of Ram Chandra Dev, he had its estampage taken from Puri. Once when he was engrossed in his reading of the same, my mother had left my elder brother, who was a kid then, in the same room as my father's, because she was too busy in cooking to look after him. The kid had soon messed with all his research papers, having attended to nature's call a repeated times. When the stink of it disturbed my father's engrossed reading, he was upset enough to throw all his papers into the dustbin. When he went to Puri again to get the estampage of the same inscription for a fresh

reading, it was found to have been moved to elsewhere. It is worth mentioning here that the same inscription had been found from the goddess Bimala's well there when it was being cleaned. When he finally located the inscription in the Madras Museum again, his joy knew no bounds.

In the sweltering heat of April summer in Madras, he spent two weeks there translating the 18th century rare book, *Jaganath sthala brutanta* from Telegu into English. One day, the superintendent of the museum asked him not to touch the pages of the book with his sweating hand fearing it might be soiled and damaged. One of his men had been asked to turn over the pages of the book as my father would read it for research and translation. He had even put restrictions on the use of ceiling fan during these reading and writing sessions. As a result of this, my father had to make frequent break-ups to go outside to get relief from the sweltering, sweating heat.

My father Dr. Satya Narayana Rajguru had also played an important role in the movement for formation of the Orissa State. Upon being directed by Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati Dev, he had been to Gopalpur to present a memorandum before the O'Donnell committee. He had testified before the same commission in 1930. Similarly, in the year 1958, when he was working with the Orissa State Museum, his office was shifted to Paralakhemundi for two months to enable him submit a memorandum and testify before the SRS Commission that was set up after the Andhra Pradesh government demanded the region of Paralakhemundi as its part. He had submitted a memorandum on behalf of the Orissa government to the Panicker and Kunjuru Committee and also testified as a witness before it. This had taken place in the present Circuit House building in Paralakhemundi. On this day, the ex-chief minister of Orissa Shri Biswanath

Dash, Maharaja of Patana Shri Rajendra Narayan Singhdeo, Maharaja of Kalahandi Sri Pratap Keshari Deo, advocate general of Orissa Sri Rama Chandra Mishra among others had also testified before the above committee. I was busy making all arrangements for their royal meal, which was catered in accordance to a befitting royal menu. As they were having their meals in a house adjacent to our home in Paralakhemundi, I had the privilege of hearing them say that Rajguru's efforts had borne true rewards, and that it had prevented the second division of Orissa.

At times, many foreigners used to visit Dr. Satya Narayana Rajguru both at Bhubaneswar and Paralakhemundi. Once three American ladies by the names, Magdalene, Joan Williams and Linda Mary had visited Paralakhemundi to meet him. They proposed to visit the Mahendragiri hills with him. My father was 82 then. We arranged a vehicle with the help of the TDCC manager and along with the vehicle, in which these foreigners had come, went to Mahendragiri. My father was initially in doubt if he could climb up the height of 4,900 feet at that age of his. As I had been to Mahendragiri twice before, I described the possible difficulties which we might face there, and told him how one could experience there in a single day all the seasons of the earth. Though the pain taken to climb the mountain was breathtaking, yet once one was in the middle of mountain ranges, the panoramic view and the suave touch of descending clouds on one's body would have a very soothing, spiritual effect on him. We all together, along with my two sons, Raghuraj and Ram Shankar, started to climb up the mountain on foot. It was the sweltering hot day of March. We had taken sufficient *green coconuts* and *Sapota* fruits with us. But while climbing the mountain, we did not feel like eating them, we wished we had rather brought biscuits and breads to eat.

My father looked all around when he had reached the summit and opined that it must have remained a mountain fort at some point of time. He collected a few samples of stones and terracotta. Upon finding the statue of Lord Vishnu in a dilapidated temple and a stone inscription there, we collected the estampage of the inscription. Similarly he also found an inscription at the *Yudhishtir Temple* there which later turned out to be carved by King Rajendra Chola of the famous Chola dynasty. There was backdoor at the Bhima Temple in Mahendragiri which was four feet by height and one foot by width. Tradition has it that only a saintly man could enter through that passage. The sinners would not be able to manage to enter through that gate. I could manage to get through that passage. We went to the Gokarneswar or Kunti temple where we found a fair skinned Sadhu sitting in meditation in white clothes, wearing a *tilak* mark on his forehead. Some of the thatched cottages, made of creepers by traders to do some business during the festival of Shiv Ratri had been demolished by a herd of four elephants. But the cottage that belonged to the Sadhu had been miraculously spared by the pachyderms. The area was littered with the elephants' stools. I drew some water from the well there with the help of a rope made from the thin tree bark. The Sadhu happily accepted the fruits which we gave him. Out of curiosity I asked him what was he feeding himself with at that lonely mountain top. In reply, he said that his opium smoke and a handful of rice were enough for him. He also informed us that he had come to live there since *Sankanti* when he was not allowed to join a group of sanyasis in Rishikesh. He was from Berhampur and his name was Baishnab Mahapatra. When

we returned to the foot of the mountain, at the Burkhat, which is a tribal settlement there, some tribal asked me if I had seen someone up there. When I told them about the Sadhu there, they were apprehensive that he must have been none other than the Lord Parsuram himself.

In conclusion, I must say that from 1945 to 1997 June 11th, from my birth to the time when he died, I have cherished the company of my father. I have memories of my father who had actively lived his life as a true servant of the nation, social reformer, poet, litterateur, historiographer, scholar and politician. My mother Taramani Devi breathed her last in the Jagannath Sanskrit University premises in Puri in the month of June in 1996 and I performed all funeral rites as per our tradition. One day my father told me, "Your mother used to say that we were not saving anything for our old age. But with the blessing of Lord Jagannath, we got many awards that helped a lot in our old age." He was very active till the end of his life. In 1997, some time before his death, he recorded his interview with the All India Radio for eight hours continuously without taking a break in between. This interview was recorded in eight cassettes. In the end, the director of AIR thanked him, saying that to be able to record continuously for eight hours at such a ripe age is very tasking—a show of utmost humility, patience and perseverance which is rarely found.

Sitakanta Rajguru lives at Chitrakar Sahi, Paralakhemundi, Gajapati.

The Vision for Renewable Energy

Gurukalyan Mohapatra

Orissa is now facing power shortage like many other states in India. In Orissa as against the peak demand of 2,500 MW, the State generates 2,050 MW. Our young Energy Minister Mr. Atanu Sabyasachi Nayak on 11 March (2010) replied in the Assembly that the Thirteenth Finance Commission (TFC) recommended only Rs.500 crore as against state's demand of Rs.5,000 crore.

Orissa as contemplated, would have been a power surplus state. Unfortunately, it could not be due to several factors which I do not want to describe. Of course our State Government is handling the situation of power crisis very carefully in a better way.

I want to highlight simply a few lines on the opportunities in India's renewable energy sector.

Blessed with an abundance of non-depleting and environment friendly renewable

energy resources like sun, water, wind and biomass, India's vigorous efforts for last two decades have been praiseworthy. India also offers a plethora of untapped opportunities in the renewable energy sector.



The Ministry of New and Renewable Energy (MNRE), India in its Report of 2008 revealed that we have achieved a spectacular level of 12.6 GW of power from renewable sources. The Ministry was optimistic to achieve its vision of 2020 for getting 20% of India's total energy, through renewable resources.

The demand for more energy and rising the energy prices are major problems and our Government may think of a new energy policy for industrial as well as domestic consumption with alternative and renewable energy sources.

In the current Union Budget of 2010-11 Solar Energy has been given importance. The Jawaharlal Nehru National Solar Mission

envisages establishing India as a global leader in the area of solar energy. An ambitious target of 20,000 MW. solar power by the year 2022 has been set under the mission. The Union Finance Minister Mr. Pranab Mukherjee in his last budget speech proposed to increase the plan outlay for the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy by 61 percent from Rs.620 Crore in 2009-10 to Rs.1,000 crore in 2010-11.

In the current budget i.e. Vote on Account of our State Government (for the financial year 2010-2011) the provision for Remote village electrification through non-conventional sources of energy was Rs.8 crores and 67 lakhs.

The use of renewable energy sources during the past decade has shown that they can make a significant contribution towards solving our energy problems.

Time has come now to think about the energy and its crisis. Energy could be saved in many ways in many places. According to the International Energy Agency, Germany and Japan now top the list of the industrial states that generate a large economic product with relatively low energy input. This, really, has been possible because of the advanced expertise in the field of energy efficiency.

It is also learnt that Germany has become the international leader in research, development and practical applications for renewable energy technologies. German industries are now applying state of the art technology for more efficient use of energy and renewable energy sources.

Securing reliable energy supplies for the future is one of the biggest challenges faced by all. It is known that, globally, sustainable energy is being led by wind power. The wind is rapidly developing into a mainstream power in several

countries and is playing a key role in meeting the energy challenges that the world is facing today.

The Global Wind Energy Council (GWEC) in its Wind Force 12, forecast estimates, that by 2020 (after ten years) wind would become US\$ 67 billion business in annual terms. The global installed capacity could increase to 135,000 MW by 2010, meeting 12% of the worlds' electricity requirements.

According to the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy (MNER) India's potential wind power is estimated at 45.195 MW. Our country is endowed with a large viable and economically exploitable wind power potential.

Most parts of our country have 300 to 330 sunny days in a year which is equivalent to over 5000 trillion KWh per year - more than India's total energy consumption per year. The potential of the solar thermal sector in most of the parts of our country also remains untapped.

Besides this, Indian climatic conditions offer an ideal environment for biomass productions. The Agriculture Ministry has drawn large scale plans to plant Jatropha accross the country to produce bio-diesel. The Forest Development Corporation of Orissa has been producing bio-diesel from Jatropha now, but not in a big way.

With a new vision, our Union Government should take the States into confidence and march ahead with energy security and sustainable developmental policies for tapping energy from renewable sources.

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Divinities Bringing Social Harmony : A Case of Budha Dangar Jatra

Dr. Chitrasen Pasayat

All the time, there is attraction about wandering all through the research work. It is more alluring in the undulating terrain and hilly areas. It is more fascinating in the tribal areas. The researchers may have a fixed programme of visiting places. But the free air of the forest, profound stillness of mountains, attractiveness of landscape, pleasing sound of stream and *jor* (Small River) make the researcher thinks to go out of his scheduled plan.

Visit to the village Arda during Budha-dangar *jatra* was such an unexpected and surprising incident. I arrived at Arda to observe the Budha-dangar *jatra* during my research work on Patakhanda *jatra* in Jarasingha area.

The word Budha-Dangar is derived from two words namely 'budha' and 'dangar'. 'Budha' means 'an old man' and 'dangar' means 'a small hill'. Here, 'budha' refers to the deity and 'budha dangar' refers to 'the deity residing in the hill'. Budha-dangar *jatra* is a ritual folk festival observed in honour of the deity called Budha-dangar. The deity is a tribal deity. The ritual practices connected with the *jatra* are shared and owned by the

villagers. Hence, it is a collective enterprise. Though tribal in origin, the deity is also worshipped by the non-tribal people of this area. This indicates 'tribal – non-tribal interaction'. This suggests peaceful coexistence of tribal and non-tribal people in this area as well. Without any hesitation it may be said that, Budha-Dangar *devta* is the mark of unity and integration.



Common people believe that, Budha-dangar *devta* cures the mentally retarded persons and blesses the issueless couples to have children. Just like Pata-Khanda *devta*, this *devta* also symbolizes "growth". In the first case, it means growth of mind as well as intellect.

In the second case, it denotes growth of society. It is also believed that, when a person under the influence of any *dahani*, *bhuta* and *preta* comes in touch with the iron *sikuli* i.e. chain and the kurda or *chabuka* (made up of grass) of the deity, he becomes free from all these evil influences. Budha Dangar *devta* tries to express in his own way, for which a medium i.e. a *barua* is required so that the message of the deity is given an intelligible

form. It has taken hundreds and thousands of years for the people of Arda and this region to establish a communication system between human being and power superior to the human being.

Budha-Dangar *devta* is so accepted and admired in this area that, he generates a center of attention. The deity draws people from the neighbouring villages and towns. Even people from the adjacent Chhattisgarh state visit this place on this occasion. Remarkably, this is also the time of Patakhanda *jatra* in the nearby Jarasingha village. The word Patakhanda is derived from two words namely 'pata' and 'khand'. 'Pata' means 'chief' or 'main' and 'khand' means 'sword'. Here, Pata-khand refers to a deity. Consequently, people in general come with twin objectives to have a *darsan* of Patakhand *devta* in Jarasingha village as well as Budha-Dangar *devta* in Arda village. However, this *jatra* is a bright example of tribal-non-tribal interaction in this part of West Odisha. It is a case in point to establish and show the social interaction and social integration.

Budha-Dangar *jatra* is an annual festival observed in the village Arda, which is under Deogaon Block in Bolangir district. Arda is situated five kilometers on Bolangir-Bandhpada road. There is a *dangar* i.e. a small hill named *Budha-dangar* near the village Arda. The literary meaning of *budha* is 'old man' and *dangar* refers to 'a small hill'. The deity of this *dangar* is also known as Budha Dangar. Probably, the *dangar* is named after the deity, who is worshipped by the common people of this area. Previously, the annual festival of the deity was celebrated under the aid and patronage of the Jarasingha Zamindar. At the present time, it is celebrated by the villagers of the villages namely Arda, Kudasingha, Sirish and Kuturla on *Aswina Purnami* night i.e. at night of full moon day in the Hindu month of *Aswina* (September-October).

The image of the deity is a big stone, which points toward nature worship of the people of this area. Anthropologist and Sociologist may term it 'animism' and 'Naturism'. The stone like image of the deity is situated near the foothill. For caste Hindus, it represents Lord Siva. Thus, the deity is sanskritised. It was essential because without which the caste Hindus would have not accepted the deity. It was also essential to maintain social harmony among them in order to avoid any kind of instability in the society on the ground of communal feelings. Jadha-jadhen, Kandhen-budhi, Jangal-chaprasi, Gram-devi and Mauli are the subsidiary or subordinate deities worshipped here. The deities are worshipped as per the Saiva and Sakta rituals. Budha Dangar is regarded as Lord Siva and he is offered *bela-patra*, *sindura*, flower, *duba*, *dayanamala*, *mandara* flower, milk and coconut. Besides, he is also offered cake prepared by the *dehelia* i.e. *sevayat* or *sevaka* of the deity.

Among the subsidiary deities, Kandhen-budhi is offered animal sacrifice like *kukuda*, *hansa*, *chheli*, *podh* and *para*. Jadha-Jadhen also receives animal sacrifice like *podh*. It may be noted here that, the image of the deity Jadha-Jadhen is made up of Sal tree. Besides these two deities, the *Chaurasi puja* of the other subsidiary deities is performed under the nearby *sahada* tree. There is something about the silence of tribal and hilly areas. One does not wish to upset this atmosphere with any unpleasant sound like shouting or chattering without purpose. But music seems acceptable during Budha-dangar *jatra*. On this occasion, a number of traditional musical instruments are played. These are *dhol*, *nisan*, *muhuri*, *bir-kahali*, and *ghanti*. These instruments are played by specified caste people traditionally meant for this purpose. These castes were considered among the outcastes living outside the frame of the Varna system.

Traditionally, they are treated as *panchama varna* or untouchables.

There is a myth associated with the origin of Budha-dangar *devta*. As per the oral tradition, there was a fight between Bastar and Patnagarh. Deities like Pata-Khanda, Biru-pani, Jena-budha, Dangar-budha etc participated in this war against Bastar to support the Patnagarh. Finally, Patnagarh won the battle. Budha-dangar was returning to Patnagarh carrying the *Pata-Khanda* (sword) on his shoulder. Since Budha-dangar was very old, it was difficult on his part to carry the Pata-khanda (sword) for such a long distance. So, he handed over the Pata-Khanda (sword) to the Pata-Khanda *devta*, who carried the sword to Jarasingha Zamindari. Thereafter, Budha-Dangar deity remained at a distance at a solitary place on the foothill of Budha-Dangar and guarded the *fasal* i.e. crops and jungles of this area.

In this context, it may be said that, a similar myth is narrated in the chapter Pata-Khanda *jatra*. Also, it is evident that, this myth-narrative is shared and owned by the villagers of Arda and nearby villages and hence it is a collective activity. Since, such myth-narrative is a collective device it is anonymous. It is orally transmitted and passed on from one generation to the other. Its author or original narrator is unknown. Perhaps this is why; this myth-narrative has lived beyond a single life time and is inherited as a traditional narrative. This myth-narrative is, thus, an end product but also a part of complex cultural process that are reflected in their

expression. The community internalizes such narrative and it becomes a device to symbolically represent the community that owns it.

In this perspective, we may add one more point. Though the myth of Budha-dangar and Pata-khanda are similar to some extent, the myth of Budha-dangar has something of its own. It is

similar in the sense that, both refer to the same historical war between Patna and Bastar. But, participation of local and indigenous deities like Pata-khanda, Biru-pani, Jena-budha, Dangar-budha in the battle is an added attraction of the myth associated with Budha-dangar. It may be said that, folk narrative

like myth acquires two basic features namely 'version' and 'variation'. Version is repeated retelling of an oral narrative or text. Due to repeated retelling in different times and different places and by different persons, automatically it creates variations in the text. It reflects the milieu under which the text is shaped, transmitted and accepted.

Alexander Cunningham (1884:64) has also mentioned about such an anecdote as follows. "The states of Patna and Bastar being coterminous, their chiefs were on hostile terms. Balram Deo, one of the Patna chiefs, having laid siege to the fort of Bastar, found that he was unable to take it. In this dilemma the chief began to worship Mauli, the tutelary goddess of the fort, who became propitiated, and said to the Raja that she would ensure his success if he would take her to Patna and worship her. The Raja agreed, and shortly after took to the fort. On his way



home, he established images of the goddess at various places. As she was brought from Bastar, the goddess is now generally known in Patna by the name of Bastarin Mauli". Nevertheless, the war between Bastar and Patnagarh is a historical event.

Budha-dangar guards the *fasal* i.e. crops and jungles of this area as per the oral narrative narrated above. It means that, Dangar-budha is meant to maintain a harmony between the animal, forest and climate of the region. Such scientific knowledge is woven in Budha-dangar *jatra*. Perhaps this *jatra*, besides being providing amusement, has been used by the religious heads to spread this message. But this *jatra* has failed to convey such a noble message. So, Budha-dangar *jatra* has to re-orient itself essentially to educate the common people about this aspect of life. Thus, Jungle and climate have though played a significant role in settling the pattern of religious life of the people in this rural and tribal area and accordingly, there are fairs and festivals all round the year, people are unaware of this noble and scientific aspect of life. We cannot ignore the fact that, Budha-dangar *jatra* is an effective media of communication.

During such occasions, people sing and dance and celebrate their joys in different ways. Dangar-budha is such a traditional ritual festival which besides providing entertainment, has been used to spread religious message and message of harmony between the society and environment. It is woven in the lives of people in this part of West Odisha like the wraps and wools in a cloth. It may be noted here that, rising temperature and deforestation in the vast region threatens to destroy and imperil the livelihoods of tribal and rural people depending on jungles, forcing many to move from jungle to town. This *jatra* alone cannot save the forests. If we do not do anything,

then the forests are going to be gone by the end of next decade and the impact of food security and livelihoods will be very significant.

There is a beautiful myth regarding emergence of Budha-dangar deity and origin of Budha-dangar *jatra* in Arda village. Previously, Arda area was full of jungles and wild animals. It was under the Jarasingha Zamindari and was within the jurisdiction of Patna kingdom. Pataneswari was the reigning deity of this kingdom. Budha-dangar was the *samanta* deity of Pataneswari. When Pata-khanda deity came to Jarasingha from San-Khemundi and wanted to settle there, then Patakhanda *devta* first served Pataneswari Devi and pleased her. After that, he requested Pataneswari Devi to give him a piece of jungle in Jarasingha to live. Also, he asked her for *pata-sindura* and *sri-pata*. Pataneswari *devi* fulfilled his demands. Since then, *sindura* of the Pataneswari *devi* of Patnagarh and *sri-pata* or *pata-kana* of Samaleswari *devi* of Patnagarh are brought to Jarasingha village to mark the beginning of *jatra* of Patakhanda *devta*. After the completion of Pata-khanda *jatra* before the departure of Pata-Khanda *devta* to his abode at *de-jhar*, *pata* and *sindura* come for Budha-Dangar *jatra*. These are carefully kept in the Patakhanda temple of Kudasingha village. In the evening, these are brought to the village Sirish and finally taken to the 'Pitha' of the deity near the Budha-dangar hill.

This reveals how local traditions are blended with each other. In fact, the local rulers and religious leaders have brought these two local traditions of Arda and Jarasingha together and united them which otherwise reflect the coexistence of two traditions and two communities in a larger society.

It is a tribal festival of Kandha people. The Kandha priest is known as *dehelia*. This is a

one night festival observed at night of Aswina *purnami* as discussed earlier. Before completion of this festival, *pata-sindura* is taken to the village Antarla where Kandul-budha *jatra* is observed. Thus, one finds a religious connection among the Pataneswari *jatra* of Patnagarh, Pata-khanda *jatra* of Jarasingha, Budha-dangar *jatra* of Arda and Kandul *jatra* of Antarla. *Pata-sindura* of Pataneswari *devi* travels from Patnagarh to Jarasingha via Kudasingha, Sirish and Deogaon. This is an important characteristic of folk festival in West Odisha. Different deities and *pithas* are associated on such occasions. This helps peoples of different villages to have social and cultural

interaction. This provides a common platform to diverse caste and tribal people, which fosters social interaction and social integration among them.

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SUCCESS STORY

Attitudinal changes of the community

Tuman is a village, which comes under one of the Micro watersheds area of OTELP, Nuagada Block, Gajapati. The village has 48 households with 297 population. All are scheduled tribe; the entire community mostly depends on padar land cultivation as primary source of income and livestock act as major source of their livelihood. The pattern of cultivation of these people is traditional. Under the capacity building training programme, people were imparted training on livestock management in collaboration with the concerned departments. It is welcome move that people of Tuman village have changed their old attitude and have taken unanimous decision in the VDA meeting to purchase a HYBRID BULL from Purushottampur of Ganjam district for breeding. For this innovative purpose, they have formed a purchase committee by taking the people of three MWSs and purchased the bull on 15.05.08 at a cost of Rs. 9000/- out of livestock and aquaculture component fund. The main motive of the community is to create more effective and energetic bulls and cows. These bulls will be used for better cultivation and cows will give more milk as a result of which the economic condition of the people will improve. Further they have castrated all the scrub bulls of their locality with the help of the veterinary volunteer who has been trained many times through OTELP. One of the villagers, named Suresh Raita has been given the charge of maintaining the bull. The cost will be met out of the amount collected from each household @ Re.1/- per week. Now the community is happy to move towards a better living.



Source : DIPRO, Gajapati

Aswamedha Episode and Jaimini Bharata in the Tradition of Mahabharata : Bengali, Assamese and Oriya Version

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As the ancient tradition / heritage of **Mahabharata** shows, there is a special attraction for the *Aswamedha canto* (the chapter dealing with the ritual done with great fan-fare and the concomitant show- down of valour and strength in the great Indian Epic) across the entire stretch of Eastern India. Apart from the **Mahabharata** being compared in different regional languages of India, a plethora of precious creative pieces have come up in Assamese, Oriya, Bengali and Manipuri especially on the theme of *Aswamedha Yajna*. It is greatly interesting to observe that the entire medieval royal culture and court tradition was incomplete without this *Aswamedha canto* being recited in the open Parliament to the king, the courtiers and the public. The reason is obvious. This chapter or canto of the **Mahabharata** gives an exhaustive account of the tragic aftermath of the Great War and the noble intention of the virtuous Pandavas to atone for the loss of lives in the process of the war before restoring normalcy in society.

Apart from the fact that the **Mahabharata** war (or any other war for that matter) involved mass killings, it witnessed the brutal killing of one's own kith and kin, first cousins, nephews, mentors and friends. Hence, the *Pandavas* were declared victorious at the end of the day though, they were heavily shocked with grief and remorse and found it difficult to get over them. As a matter of fact, even as wise and as

balanced a character as *Dharmaraj Yudhisthira* was in no better frame of mind. Gloom and dejection hit one and all. Each of the *Pandavas* was down with utter confusion and self-pity and saw no way to come to terms with reality. At moments they thought of renouncing the world or even committing suicide. It was a state of terrible crisis for the whole nation when it was barely out of a disastrous war and with no one around in a sound frame of mind to lead the country out of turmoil. When the crisis deepened day by day and there was no sign of improvement, both great *Iyasadev* and *Narada* came to the rescue of *Dharmaraj Yudhisthira*. As per their advice and counseling the *Pandavas* organized the grand ritual of the *Aswamedha Yajna* to spiritually counter-act the nagging remorse and gloom. And indeed, they could fight out their dejection and disillusionment at last.

On the other hand, the *Aswamedha Parva* of the great Indian epic gives an elaborate account of the political situation of India during the period immediately following the **Mahabharata** war, the alignment of the royal houses, their powers and, above all, their attitude to the new order under the leadership of the *Pandavas*. The war-sick and the war-ravaged medieval kings of the Indian sub-continent thus found this chapter greatly soothing and entertaining. Even the non-Hindu, foreign invaders like the Mughals patronized the poets to write on

this theme of Aswamedha Yajna. This precisely explains why the Aswamedha Parva proved itself as the most recited, discussed and sought-after part of the great Indian epic which passed through innumerable poetic hands and appeared in innumerable creative forms. It drew the attention and fired the imagination of both the sovereigns and the common; the old and the young; the Hindus and the non-Hindus; the natives and the foreigners.

The earliest account of Aswamedha ritual we get from the Sanskrit **Mahabharata** composed by Vyasadeva. Later Rishi Jaimini, a student of Vyasa, composed a long narrative called **Jaimini Bharata** in which we find the ritual of Aswamedha yajna receiving the prime focus and all possible grandeur and significance. Next follows a phase of history when the great Indian epic takes multiple regional forms, each varying from the Sanskrit source and from each other as well in their thrust and approach. An interesting pattern, however, emerges in all their differences and varieties. Across Eastern India, the earliest attempt is found to be made to compose the **Mahabharata** in the regional language. And curiously, all these poets focus on the Aswamedha Parva primarily to entertain the kings and chieftains who mostly patronized such talents.

Let us first examine this great event as it is portrayed in the Sanskrit version of the epic. As the events proceed in the Sanskrit **Mahabharata**, after the disastrous war and the pyrrhic victory of the Pandavas in the great war Vyasadeva proposed king-designate Dharmaraj Yudhisthir to organize the Aswamedha Yajna (primarily to counter-act the deep-seated gloom and dejection from their mind) with two horses, one white the other dark. Arjun rode the white one following the dark one on its trail. First, the dark steed got into the territory of Trigarta and its king Suryavarma held up the horse. As a result, Arjun had a fight with king Suryavarma and his two brothers, Ketuvarma and Dhritavarma, in

which the three brothers were defeated. The next point that the dark horse found itself on its journey was the Sindhu province which was being ruled by Suratha, the able son of the deceased king Jayadratha. Both Suratha, the young king and his mother, the widow of king Jayadratha (who happened to be the sister of Duryodhana), got panicked and sought shelter with Arjun. From the Sindhu province the horse proceeded to the North-east province Manipur. Incidentally Manipur was being ruled by Babruvahana, the son of Arjun and princess Chitrangada, which Arjun himself wasn't aware of. Although Babruvahana accorded the best of reception and honour to Arjun the latter looked at such hospitality as a mark of cowardice and unheroic disposition. Arjun was really harsh and offensive to Babruvahana and in fact provoked him to a fight. This tense situation was further aggravated by Ullupi, the Nagakanya (snake-princess) from the nether-world. Then a terrible fight ensued between Arjun and Babruvahana in which the latter killed the former. After Arjun got killed both Ullupi and Chitrangada arrived on the spot. Chitrangada was crest-fallen to see Arjun dead and appealed to Ullupi to bring him back to life. On the other hand, Babruvahana (who too had lost his senses) on his recovery felt miserable and was filled with a terrible sense of guilt and remorse for being the cause of his own father's death. However, Ullupi, on the pitiful persuasion of Chitrangada, used *Sanjeevani* to bring the dead Arjun back to life. After this high drama was over Ullupi revealed the whole mystery how Arjun was cursed by the Astavasus for his unethical act of putting Shikhandi on the front and killing Bhishma who was without arm. The Astavasus had got the approval of mother Ganga before cursing Arjun. Somehow the Naga-princess Ullupi could know this well in advance and had approached her father, the king of the Nagas (Cobras), Ananta. The Naga king Ananta, however, had fervently requested the Astavasus to call back the curse they had inflicted upon Arjun. The Vasus had

complied with Nagaraj's request in a way by designing the killing of Arjun by his own son (Babruvahana) at Manipur and again getting back to life after his liberation from the impact of the curse. This whole trend and mystery was wonderfully narrated by Ullupi to Arjun which made him feel so happy. Then Arjun embraced and caressed his son Babruvahana and invited him to come to Hastinapur with both his mothers, Chitrangada and Ullupi.

After this high drama in Manipur the sacred horse entered the territory of Magadha where Arjun defeated the young king Meghasandhi, the grandson of Jarasandha. In the south Arjun defeated Sharabha, the son of Shisupal, in Shaktipur of the Chedis. In the same row Arjun went on defeating the Mlechha kings of Banga, Pundra and Koshala. Similarly, along the Coromandal and the Kankon coast Arjun fought and defeated the Dravidas, the Andhra, the Mahashika and the Kollwapineyas. Of course, there were many (such as Saurashtra, Gokarnadesha, Dwaravati Nagari, Panchanada Pradesh and Gandhara desha) who humbly accepted the sovereignty of the Pandavas and were invited to the Aswamedha Yajna. As the holy horse returned to Hastinapur after its long and eventful journey the Yajna was formally treated as over and then preparation was in full swing for the journey of the Pandavas to the Heaven (Swargarohana)(1).

In Sanskrit **Mahabharata** the love episode of Chitrangada and Arjun, their marriage and the birth of their son Babrunbahana, figure in the Adi Parva(2). Further, in the course of the Rajasuya Yajna Arjuna's reunion with Chitrangada in Manipur again and the former's invitation to Babruvahana to the Yajna is elaborately portrayed in the Sanskrit **Mahabharata**(3). Yet another relevant point mentioned in the Adi Parva of the Sanskrit **Mahabharata** is that Chitrabahana, the king of Manipur, had kept a condition before he agreed on the issue of Arjun-Chitrangada marriage

that the son of the couple would succeed to the throne of Manipur, not Hastinapur. As per this condition Babrunvahana became the king of Manipur and Chitrangada stayed back in Manipur to aid and advise her son like a regent(4). In the course of the Aswamedha yajna after the fight between Arjun and Babruvahana and the former's defeat and death and again his getting back to life and his reunion with his son and two wives (Chitrangada and Ullupi) Arjun directed Babruvahana to go to Hastinapur with his two mothers. As the Sanskrit **Mahabharata** further mentions, while Babruvahana finally leaves Hastinapur after his sojourn king Yudhisthira gives him a lot of wealth and gifts.(5)

In the Ashramika Parva of the Sanskrit **Mahabharata** it figures that while Gandhari with all the Kuru widows were leaving Hastinapur on their Vanaprastha (retirement to forest, the last phase of Vedic life) Chitrangada was very much present there.(6)

As such, in view of the above discussion we reasonably assume that Vyasadev has given special attention and importance to the entire Aswamedha parva in general and to Arjun-Chitrangada affair in particular. The histrionics of the situation and the excitement of winning war might have impressed the later kings and emperors who might be drawing ample vicarious pleasure from the fast-track dramatic sequence of events of the Aswamedha Parva. That partly explains why Jaimini Rishi claimed himself as a disciple of Vyasadev and composed **Jaimini Bharata** in the style of the Aswamedha Parva of Vyasa's Sanskrit **Mahabharata**. In the entire stretch of Eastern India **Jaimini Bharata** became greatly popular especially in the courts of kings and chieftains.

On closer examination we notice a few deviations in **Jaimini Bharata** from Vyasa's Sanskrit **Mahabharata**. For example, Vyasa mentions two holy horses (one white, the other dark) while Jaimini has only one white horse in his story. Further, as per the latter, this holy white

horse was recovered by Bhimasen defeating king Juvanaswa of Bhadravatipur (7).

Again, on the advice of Vyasadev Yudhisthir sent Bhimasen to invite and bring forth Sri Krsna and all his *Astapatavansis*. Sri Krsna's presence at Hastinapur made the Yajna smooth and easy (8).

Another deviation from **Jaimini Bharata** is the abduction of the holy horse by Anuswala, demon Salwa's brother, at the time of the initial ritual (*Vandapana*) before releasing the animal.

A new addition to the story-line by Jaimini is Sri Krsna's fight with the abductor Anuswala and His deliberate act of getting defeated and losing His senses. When Anuswala was begging apology for his insolence at the feet of Sri Krsna the latter revealed His Chaturdha Murati and Anuswala gave the holy Yajna horse back and sought shelter at His feet (9).

In the sequence of events as we see in **Jaimini Bharata**, the holy horse first enters the territory of king Neeladhwaja of Mahesmatipur. On the wise counsel of Agni, the son-in-law of king Neela Dhwaja, his son Pravira honorably returned the holy horse to the Pandavas as they were the committed followers of Bhagawan Sri Krsna. A series of interesting, yet complex chain of events are mentioned here in **Jaimini Mahabharata** how the daughter of king Neeladhwaja and Queen Jwalavati were getting married to Agni, his wife getting turned into a piece of stone being cursed by a Rishi along the Ganga, the holy Yajna horse getting stuck to that stone, on the touch of Arjun the horse being free and the cursed character (Chandi was her name) getting liberated simultaneously and so on and so forth. Next, the horse enters the Champak province. Here we get the story of Indumati and Sudhanwa. Sudhanwa got a protective ring (Kavacha) from Ganga with the help of Indumati. Finally, at the direction of Sri Krsna Arjun applied his Baishnavi

power and made Sudhanwa free. Suratha too was killed by a salvo from Arjun. At last, Hansadhwaja escorted the holy horse back to Hastinapur (10).

After this dramatic journey the Yajna horse enters the Pramila kingdom. That is a cursed land. It was Goddess Parvati who had crused her to be deprived of male companionship. The moment they saw Nara Narayan Arjun she was free from the curse instantly. On the counselling of Sri Krsna Arjun sent Pramila away to Hastinapur with his promise to marry her (11).

Then the horse gets into the land of the terrible demon (Ugra Rakshas). That is a strange country where human beings appear like fruits on trees in the noon hours and the carnivorous demons eat them. By the grace of Goddess Saraswati Arjun was successful in killing that terrible demon and could make the horse free (12).

Yet again, as **Jaimini Bharata** has it, on getting the news that the yajna horse has entered the borders of Manipur Babruvahana seeks the advice of his mother Chitrangada. As she suggests Babruvahana advances to receive his father (Arjun) with a rich array of gifts along with the holy horse. But Arjun offends Babruvahana calling him "the son of a harlot" that provokes the latter to go for a fight. As Jaimini relates, at the command of Sri Krsna, mother Ganga sits at the throat of Arjun and prevents him from recognizing his own son. Again, the same mother Ganga prevails upon Chitrangada that enrages her and becomes revengeful against her husband Arjun. Moreover, she blesses her son Babruvahana that turns his body as strong as thunder. On the other hand, Sri Krsna eludes Arjun whenever he tries to remember him before paying his obeisance to mother Ganga. As a result, Babruvahana, on the advice of Ullipi, begs the "power" from mother Ganga and with that kills Arjun. Then both Ullupi and Chitrangada arrive on the spot that gives a turn to the tragic sequence. Ullupi somehow realizes the blunder and sends Babruvahana to the nether- world where he had to fight and defeat

Dhrutarashtra (the minister of Nagaraj Ananta) and got the *Sanjeevani*.

Sri Krsna too arrives just on time. He comes with the severed head of Arjun which is stolen away by Dhritarashtra (Nagaraj Ananta's Minister), and with the touch of the *Sanjeevani* Arjun gets back his life. Brother Bhimasen and mother Kunti too arrive there. This part of the story is not there in Vyasa's Sanskrit **Mahabharata**. It is a wonderful family reunion. Both Ullipi and Chitrangada are cordially invited to Hastinapur. As the mystery slowly unfolds itself, all such complications and tragedy happen due to mother Ganga's curse. This secret was known to Ullipi alone. Hence she had advised Babruvahana to worship mother Ganga and seek her favour.

The holy horse of the Pandavas got into the city of Kantavati in the country of Shubhravativan on the borders of Manipur. The righteous king of that country Sikhidhwaja had in his life-time already performed seven Aswamedha Yajnas. Tamradhwaja was his eldest son. Both the father and son were committed/ avowed Vaisnavas. In the fight Tamradhwaja had defeated both Sri Krsna and Arjun and was carrying them on his shoulders to his father when both feigned unconscious. And both Sri Krsna and Arjun got into disguise and approached king Sikhidhwaja as two Brahmins. Sri Krsna, finally, was merciful enough to reveal Himself (in his Chaturdha Murati) before king Sikhidhwaja. After this obviously, the king and his retinue fell prostrate at the feet of the lord and returned the holy horse with profuse apology(14).

The next destination of the Yajna horse was Ratnapur which was being ruled by an able king Vira Varma. The five able sons of the king (Sulola, Suloka, Neela, Nakula etc.) launched an attack on Arjun and his army. Arjun, however, could make them flat and unconscious. After this Arjun had a fierce fight with the king's son-in-law Yamaraj. The latter too collapsed unconscious.

But when Arjun failed to defeat the king Vira Varma, Sri Krsna despatched Hanuman to tackle the situation. At last, the king took shelter at the feet of Sri Krsna and the lord was pleased to reveal His original form (Chaturdha Murati) to king Vira Varma. The high drama ended peacefully as the king returned the Yajna horse and accepted the lord's sovereignty(15).

The Yajna horse entered king Chandrahasa's territory of Kontala. He was the worthy son of king Sudhanya, His father had a notorious minister called Dhritabuddhi who had killed the king and forcibly occupied the throne. He too had tortured the prince and the king apparent, Chandrahasa. But at every point of his crisis Sri Krsna had come to his rescue. At last both Sri Krsna and Arjun were bound by a lasting friendship with Chandrahasa instead of fighting over the yajna horse. King Chandrahasa rather took it as a great privilege to hand over the holy animal to the Pandavas and got the rare favour of lord Sri Krsna's darshan and blessings(16).

In the course of its long journey the yajna horse reached the holy ashram of Rishi Bakadanta in an oceanic island. Both Sri Krsna and Arjun had given their darshan to Rishi Bakadanta earlier. In the next leg of the horse's journey, it entered Sindhu Desa where Suratha, the son of Jayadratha and his mother Dushila (Jayadratha's widow and the sister of Duryodhan), surrendered gracefully at the feet of Sri Krsna and Arjun(17). Then the great ritual of Aswamedha yajna came to an end and the Pandavas set out on their journey to the Heaven (Swargarohana) entrusting the throne to Parikshit.

The **Mahabharata** in Bengali shows many a deviation both from Vyasadev's Sanskrit **Mahabharata** and **Jaimini Bharata** as well. Let us briefly examine the highlights of the Aswamedha Parva of the Bengali **Mahabharata** with its similarities and departures.

As we go along the Aswamedha Yajna episode in the Bengali **Mahabharata** we observe

a striking similarity with the account given in **Jaimini Bharata**. The only remarkable difference is found in the complexion of the holy horse. The horse in Bengali **Mahabharata** is dark and its tail yellow(18).

While retrieving the yajna horse from Yuvanashwari, its king was defeated who handed over the horse at Hastinapur where he availed himself the darshan of Sri Krsna. On his return to his kingdom the king proposed his old mother to avail the rare opportunity of the darshan of Sri Krsna which she turned down. Her son, the king (as the Bengali **Mahabharata** portrays), forcibly put her in the chariot and took her to Hastinapur for a darshan of Sri Krsna which comes rarely in a life-time. This anecdote is the only deviation in the Bengali **Mahabharata** from the **Jaimini Bharata**. The rest remains largely same, identical(19).

According to the Bengali **Mahabharata** only three persons (Sri Krsna, Uddhava and Krita Varma) had come from Dwarakapur in response to the invitation of king Yudhishthira to attend the Aswamedha Yajna(20). Whereas in **Jaimini Bharata** Sri Balaram and Sri Vasudeva too were in the company of Sri Krsna and others who came to Hastinapur.

As **Jaimini Bharata** puts it Anushwari had abducted the Yajna horse only to get the darshan of Sri Krsna while fighting with him. This is well in consonance with the attitude and approach of the demons in Hindu myths and scriptures. They believe more in challenges than surrender even if it involves their matter of spiritual liberation.

Whereas in Bengali **Mahabharata** we get some other explanation. As it goes, Sri Krsna was under moral pressure and duress (as he was cursed by Garga Muni) to go for a fight with Anushwari and to court defeat (21).

Both the Bengali **Mahabharata** and **Jaimini Bharata** mention that the holy horse first

entered Maheswatipur, the territory of king Neeladhwa. The only point both the accounts differ is on the name of the queen (Neeladhwa's). While the Bengali **Mahabharata** calls her *Janaa Jaimini Bharata* calls her as *Jwala* (22). Similarly, in Bengali **Mahabharata** the name of the queen of prince Pravira is Madana Manjari(23); whereas in **Jaimini Bharata** it is Prabhavati(24).

The wedding of the daughter of king Neeladhwa and queen Jwala receives different illustration in both the texts. In Bengali **Mahabharata** we get an elaborate account of the background and mystery of the wedding of Princess Swaha (the daughter of king Neeladhwa) with Agni. It depicts the fascinating account of how mother Vasumati felt jealous of Laxmi as all the time she was sitting on the lap of Sri Narayana. That enraged the latter who cursed Vasumati to take her birth as a mortal on earth. In turn Vasumati too cursed Laxmi for which Sri Narayan was forced to take incarnations on earth. This anecdote is only found in the Aswamedha Parva of the Bengali **Mahabharata**(25).

Both the texts, however, give an identical approach to the holy horse's entry into the Champak province of Karnataka. The only variation is marked on the matter of Indumati-Sudhanya affair which Bengali **Mahabharata** doesn't have (26). As **Jaimini Bharata** narrates, Surasen, the king of Karnataka, had a beautiful daughter called Indumati. She worshipped lord Viswanath with faith and devotion to get a very good husband. By the grace of lord Viswanath Indumati, on her way back from the temple, saw Sudhanya, the handsome and virtuous son of king Hansadhwa. At first sight Indumati was drawn to him and courted the Prince as her desired person. As Sudhanya was already married he turned down the offer but Indumati was committed to him all her life by not marrying any one else and keeping herself by Sudhanya's side on the war field assisting and encouraging

her lover all the while. At last Indumati felt completely overwhelmed when she saw Bhagawan Sri Krsna with her lover Sudhanya (27).

Next, the Yajna horse entered the territory of Pramila (a land of women only). There was not a single male in the country. And the land was ruled by the female ruler called Pramila. Arjun considered it both delicate and embarrassing to fight with a woman. So he prayed Sri Krsna. As a result Pramila got infatuated with Arjun and wished to marry him. On Sri Krsna's advice Arjun married Pramila in accordance with the Gandharva ritual and sent her to Hastinapur. She was accompanied by other women to Hastinapur too (28). Each woman of this Pramila kingdom was a cursed one (by Parvati) and was forbidden to meet any male companion. Arjun, being verily a Nara Narayana (God in mortal form), liberated them from their state of curse and despondency (29).

The same Pramila anecdote appears in the Bengali **Mahabharata** in a slightly different manner. As it puts it, Pramila was drawn to Arjun as he was accompanied by *Kamadev* or *Cupid*, the God of love. All those cursed women were, in their previous life, the children of king Dilip. Parvati's curse sent them down as women. When Arjun asked Pramila she gave him the entire account. She entreated the former to marry her. Arjun promised her to marry and left for Hastinapur (30).

Then the holy horse entered the Ugra province. It was a forbidden land of deadly demons surrounded by tall mountains and deep forest. There was a strange country where human beings appeared on trees like fruits which the ferocious cannibals ate. Arjun, however, could kill those demons and retrieve the horse (31). While in **Jaimini Bharata** it is mentioned that those demons were patronized by the demon-king Sadasiva; in Bengali **Mahabharata** they had the blessing and support of both Shiva and

Parvati (Hara-Gouri). Similarly, in **Jaimini Bharata** the land of the demons is called Ugra Desha while in Bengali **Mahabharata** it is called Vrukshadesha (32). The rest, however, remains same.

According to Bengali **Mahabharata** when Babruvahana had been to the Nether world to get the *Sanjeevani*, Dhrutarashtra (the minister of Naga king Ananta) refused to give him. It was because he happened to be a good friend of blind king Dhrutarashtra of Hastinapur. In **Jaimini Bharata**, on the other hand, it is mentioned that in the great fire of *Khandava* all the kith and kin of Dhrutarashtra (a cobra) were killed for which he wanted to take revenge on Arjun. So he refused to give the *Amritamani* or *Sanjeevani* whatsoever. Apart from this minor variation both the Bengali **Mahabharata** and the **Jaimini Bharata** are nearly identical in their approach and presentation (33).

Again, while in **Jaimini Bharata** the city of Sikhidhwaja king is mentioned as Kantavatipur, in Bengali **Mahabharata** it is named as Ratnavatipur. Further, the Brahmin (in disguise) refused to take the sacrifice from the king as tears rolled down his left eye when he gave away his right limbs. As the **Jaimini Bharata** narrates, queen Kumudavati made humble request to the Brahmin-in-disguise to accept the dana (sacrifice); whereas in the Bengali **Mahabharata** it is mentioned that the Brahmin-in-disguise was humbly requested to accept the half-detached head of king Sikhidhwaja as sacrifice (34). The rest of the narration remains mostly identical in theme and approach.

The entry of the yajna horse in Ratnapur and the capture of the same by Vir Varma remain same both in the Bengali **Mahabharata** and the **Jaimini Bharata** though, they only differ in the name of the Rishi concerned. While the former calls the Rishi Vakadalavya, the latter calls him Vakadanta (35).

The Bengali **Mahabharata** mentions the holy horse entering Sindhudesha which was being ruled by the son of Jayadratha and his widow Dushila (Duryodhan's sister). It further mentions the name of their son as Manibhadra. But this son's name doesn't figure in **Jaimini Bharata**. And as per the account of **Jaimini Bharata** the King Manibhadra died of shock when he heard the coming of Arjun. But in Bengali **Mahabharata** it is mentioned that king Manibhadra ran away when he heard that Arjun was approaching. The rest, however, remains same (36). Then the Yajna came to an end and the Pandavas set out on their journey to Heaven (Swargarohana).

Towards the end of 13th century, a poet called Hari Hara Bipra wrote a book entitled Babruvahana Yuddha (in the shadow of **Jaimini Bharata**) under the patronage of King Durlava Narayana in Assam. This book had six hundred couplets(37). According to this book (of poet Hari Hara) the Yajna Horse first entered the territory of Mainpur. When Babruvahana, the king of Manipur, knew from his mother that Arjun was his own father he wanted to return the horse with gifts and apology. But, ironically, Arjun had completely forgotten about his marriage with Princess Chitrangada. So he was harsh and offensive to Babruvahana and also cast aspersions on his mother's (Chitrangada's) character. Thus provoked Babrubahana, under the circumstances, was compelled to fight. And the fight was disastrous as Arjun got killed. Here lord Krsna Himself came to the spot and gave life to Arjun and reminded him that he had married princess Chitrangada in the course of his tour across Manipur. Then followed the exciting reunion of Arjun with his son Babruvahana and wife Chitrangada (38). This episode with the emotion-packed reunion of the father and son duo (Arjun and Babruvahana) is elaborately drawn in the Aswamedha parva of the Assamese **Mahabharata** (39). The Assamese version of the great Indian Epic is not a literal translation of the Sanskrit **Mahabharata**. Though the main story line and the basic structure is maintained,

there have been changes and variations now and then in the Assamese version. The original composition of poet Rama Saraswati's was later re-composed by three poets (Ganga Dasa, Subuddhi Ray and Bhabani Dasa) on a collaborative basis. They have mainly focused on the Aswamedha parva and achieved their imaginative and stylistic excellence(40).

The ancient long narrative called **Lang Goi Sagol Thaba** that exists in Manipuri literature focuses on a horse that is meant to be sacrificed in a ritual (Aswamedha). That was composed in the manner of the Bengali **Mahabharata** written by poet Gangadas Sen, especially its fourth chapter narrating the Aswamedha Yajna. In Manipuri dialect, the Aswamedha parva was composed in 1724 by Langjam Prasuram's son Langjam Chandrashyam and his disciples(41). In this Manipuri version, we find the entire focus on the fight between Arjun and Babruvahana. When son Babruvahana comes with gifts and the yajna horse to receive his father Arjun, the latter turns harsh to him and abuses him calling him the son of a harlot. Babruvahana swallows everything as a son, but such horrific aspersion on his mother (Chitrangada) brings him to his elements who challenges Arjun and beheads him at the end. Babruvahana's step-mother Ullupi, the daughter of the snake-king Ananta, had sent Pundariksha to the nether-world to fetch the life-giving GEM. While the snake-king Ananta was too willing to part with the GEM for the sake of his son-in-law (Arjun), his own minister and people were opposed to it. Incidentally, Babruvahana launched an offensive on the Nether-world and realized the GEM. But in the meantime yet another conspiracy was hatched by the minister of snake-king Ananta. He had stolen the severed head of Arjun without which the revival of life was not possible. However, the crisis was soon resolved as Bhagawan Sri Krsna arrived on the wings of Garuda over there in Manipur and the high drama ended with Arjun getting back to life and united with his son(42).

This text, however, makes a point that mother Chitrangada was quite unhappy with her son Babruvahana's impulsive decision to fight with his father Arjun without consulting her. At the happy ending and reunion of Arjun with his heroic son Babruvahana and both his loyal and committed wives (Chitrangada and Ullupi) he made a fervent request to both Chitrangada and Ullupi to spend the rest of their lives at Hastinapur.

In the Bengali **Mahabharata** there is a minor variation of the story which mentions that Bhima, Kunti, Yashoda and Devaki too had accompanied Sri Krsna to Manipur when Arjun was reported lying dead over there. The Manipuri version of the Aswamedha Parva, however, mentions about Sri Krsna going alone to Manipur on the wings of Garuda. Sarala **Mahabharata** in Oriya simply mentions Sri Krsna's act of reviving Arjun from death. In the **Jaimini Mahabharata** there are elaborate accounts of Babruvahana's offensive in the Naga Loka (Nether-world) the possession of the life-giving GEM from there and finally bringing Arjun back to life. As we see, the Aswamedha Parva of the Bengali, Manipuri and the Assamese **Mahabharata** was largely influenced by the **Jaimini Mahabharata**. In the Bengali version of the epic composed by poet Parameswar Das (under the patronage of Pargal Khan) there is a brief description of the Aswamedha Parva(43). Here we notice a perceptible influence of the Sanskrit **Mahabharata**. On the other hand, poet Srikar Nandy's Bengali version was heavily influenced by the Sanskrit **Jaimini Bharata**. Similarly, poet Kasiram Das's **Mahabharata** (the Aswamedha Parva in particular) was composed visibly in the shadow of the Sanskrit **Jaimini Bharata**(44). In the Oriya **Mahabharata** of Sarala Dasa, however, there is only a passing reference to the Aswamedha Parva. While in all other versions of the great Indian epic across the eastern and north-eastern Indian peninsula we notice a massive thrust on the Aswamedha Parva, Sarala Dasa doesn't seem to subscribe to it. This is yet another original deviation of this great genius.

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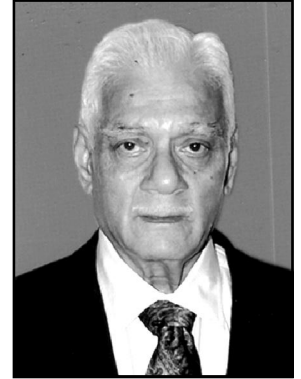
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Message of
Shri Murlidhar Chandrakant Bhandare
His Excellency the Governor of Orissa
On the Occasion of Utkal Divas-2010



My dear sisters and brothers of Orissa,

1st April is indeed a historic day for all of us. On this auspicious day in the year 1936, Orissa emerged as a separate State. We were reorganized on the basis of Language which gave us a distinct identity. On this occasion, I have great pleasure in extending my warm greetings and best wishes to the people of Orissa.

Orissa owes its formation to a unique language movement. Many worthy daughters and sons of Orissa put their relentless efforts to make it possible. We are indeed indebted to them for their signal contributions. Stalwarts like Utkal Gourav Madhusudan Das, Utkalmani Gopabandhu Das, Vyasakabi Fakir Mohan Senapati, Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Dev, Swabhab Kabi Gangadhar Meher, Karma Veer Gouri Sankar Ray, Kabibar Radhanath Ray, Raja Harihar Mardaraj, Pandit Godavarish Mishra, Pandit Nilkantha Das and many others played pivotal role to realize our dreams. We sincerely offer our tributes to those pioneers.

Orissa is the land of many splendours with a rich cultural heritage and glorious history. The transformation of Ashoka in the historic Kalinga War in 261 B.C. from Chandashoka to Dharmashoka changed the course of history with the propagation of Buddhism across the globe.

Orissa has been a repository of many faiths. The essence of Jainism, Buddhism, Saivism and Vaishnavism has been assimilated in the cult of Lord Jagannath. The State has exhibited exemplary conduct in religious tolerance and cultural amalgamation.

Orissa's maritime relations with South-East Asia in the past have been inscribed in golden letters in history. Orissa's sea-faring merchants sailed across the seas to the distant lands of Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Bali as early as the 4th and 5th century B.C. The contact with the people of these distant lands not only brought wealth and prosperity, but also helped to spread our culture in those countries. Emperor Kharavela's era is marked by conquests of vast territories and great artistic glory. The inscription of Hati Gumpha provides information that the kingdom of Kalinga reached the zenith of glory during that period. With the successive arrivals of Muslims, Moghuls, Marathas and the British, the land of Orissa was turned to be a repository of varied experiences that culminated in the spirit of tolerance, universal brotherhood and peaceful co-existence based on secular credentials.

My Government is consistently implementing policies and programmes for building a new and prosperous Orissa amalgamating economic growth with people's welfare to drive away poverty. The State Government has set up a State Farmers' Commission to address the problems of farmers and work out a comprehensive strategy for achieving sustainable and equitable agricultural development. With a view to accelerating the development process and expediting poverty reduction in Kandhamal and Gajapati districts, the State Government has launched a new scheme called "Biju Kandhamal O Gajapati Yojana" in the line of Biju KBK Yojana. The Scheme focuses on Bijli, Sadak, Pani, Livelihood initiatives and Social Safety net programmes. Biju KBK Yojana is being implemented for the development of KBK region. Gopabandhu Grameen Yojana is being implemented for providing power, connectivity and water in rural areas. As many as 23,714 Private Lift-Irrigation Points have been set up during this financial year under 'Jalanidhi' scheme. The initiatives in industries sector have resulted in an encouraging outcome. As many as 29 Companies have started partial production providing direct and indirect employment to 19,669 and 51,076 persons respectively. The Government is also focusing on small and medium industries sector by setting up of industrial parks at different locations which have the potential of providing huge employment to our youth. The State of Orissa is considered as a front runner in making e-governance applications. The Government has started several e-solution applications for better Government-to-citizen service delivery mechanism.

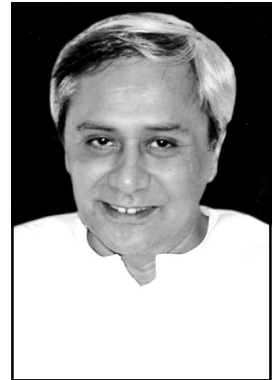
Welfare schemes for the people are accorded top priority by the Government. Provisions like Mo Kudia for the homeless people, Madhu Babu Pension Yojana for poor senior citizens and the Rs.2-a-Kg. rice scheme have been able to provide relief to the poor and weaker sections of the society. The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme ensuring wage employment to the poor is also being implemented with priority. The Government has also put emphasis on the development of the tribal people of our State. For establishing the rights of tribal people over forest land, the Government is providing land Pattas to them. Education of tribal students is a top priority of my Government. One thousand hostels have been constructed for one lakh tribal girls and plans are afoot to construct 5000 such hostels to provide education facilities to 5 lakh tribal girls.

We are committed to transforming Orissa into a prosperous State. I humbly solicit your support and cooperation to fulfill this objective.

Vande Utkal Janani,

Jai Hind.

Message of
Shri Naveen Patnaik
Hon'ble Chief Minister
on the occasion of Orissa Day - 2010



To-day is Orissa Day. It is a day of pride for the Oriya race. On this occasion, I extend my felicitations and good wishes to my dear brothers and sisters of Orissa.

Separate province of Orissa was a dream for innumerable Oriyas. I offer my tributes to those great sons of Orissa, whose dedicated efforts made this dream a reality. The Oriya race will never forget the significant contribution of Utkal Gourav Madhusudan Das, Utkalmani Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Parala Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Dev, Vyasa Kabi Fakirmohan Senapati, Swabhaba Kabi Gangadhar Meher, Pandit Godavarish Mishra, the king of Khallikote Harihar Mardaraj Dev etc. in the formation of separate Orissa Province.

Orissa has glorious history. The expeditions of Emperor Kharavela and Emperor Kapilendra Dev and the maritime expedition of the Oriya Sadhavas to Java, Sumatra and Bali bear testimony to the heroism and courage of the Oriyas. The British could not conquer Orissa for a long time due to the strategy of the Oriya Paikas. Orissa has played a significant role right from the Paika rebellion to different phases of our freedom struggle.

Orissa has separate identity in art, literature, dance and music etc. The temples of Puri, Konark and Bhubaneswar bear testimony to the dexterity of our sculptors. Our handloom products have brought glory for us throughout the country. The books in Oriya language have enriched the literary treasure of India.

Orissa is a State of glorious history and tradition. Orissa is full of resources. There are enormous opportunities in Orissa for development in all spheres from Agriculture to Industry. We have taken up many steps to transform Orissa to a prosperous State by utilising these opportunities.

Agriculture is the mainstay of our livelihood. Therefore, our efforts continue to strengthen our economy through development of agriculture. The main objective of our agricultural development programme is to make Orissa self-dependent in agriculture sector and enhance the income of our farmers. We are laying emphasis on expansion of irrigation network for development of agriculture. It is our purpose to provide irrigation facility to more and more land. We have taken steps to dig 5 lakh Farm Ponds in the land of small farmers during the next five years. We have also decided to build 400 Check Dams on the different rivers of our State by the coming June. The results of agricultural development programme should percolate to our small farmers.

In order to bring improvement in the rural economy through agricultural development, a new era of rural development has commenced with excellent rural connectivity. Mission Shakti Programme has created opportunity to develop the talent in women. They are able to earn themselves participating in developmental Programmes. Keeping in view the efficiency and success of women, we have decided to enhance reservation for women in Panchayati Raj institutions to 50 %.

Human resource is a great resource of our nation. Therefore, development of this resource assumes great significance. Our youth should get ready for future right from now. A revolution has set in in the field of technical education in our State. Prestigious institutions like IIT, IIIT and NISER along with many Engineering, Medical, Management Colleges have created opportunities for higher education for our children. Opportunity is being created to enhance the efficiency of our children through Employment Mission to ensure their self-employment.

Orissa occupies a distinct place in the field of industrial sector. Now Orissa is a front-ranking State in investment in whole of the country. We are emphasizing on small industries alongside mega industries. This will enable our children to successfully participate in our industrial development Programme by setting up their own industries. Our youth should come forward to use the opportunity available in the State to set up agro-based and food processing industries.

Orissa is a land of peace and non-violence. Violence will never be tolerated in Orissa. People creating terror will be strongly dealt with.

To make the tribals free from exploitation, protect their interest and spread education among them is our important Programme. We have started Programme to issue Pattas to the people who are settled in the forest land. So far more than a lakh tribal brothers and sisters have been issued land Pattas. Hostels for one lakh tribal girls have been completed and steps have been taken to construct more hostels for five lakh tribal girls.

State economy has shown remarkable improvement. We are taking up Programmes from our own resources for development of our State and welfare of poor people. To ensure development of backward areas, Programmes like Biju KBK Yojana and Biju Kondhamal O Gajapati Yojana are being implemented. More funds have been allocated to Western Orissa Development Council. The growth rate of Orissa is more than that of national average. Because of our success in various spheres, Orissa occupies a respectable position in whole of the country. To maintain this process of development, your cooperation is needed. Let us put our best efforts to bring an excellence in our own sphere to enhance the glory of Orissa.

Vande Utkal Janani.

Message of
Shri Prafulla Samal
Minister, Panchayati Raj,
Information & Public Relations
on the occasion of Orissa Day - 2010



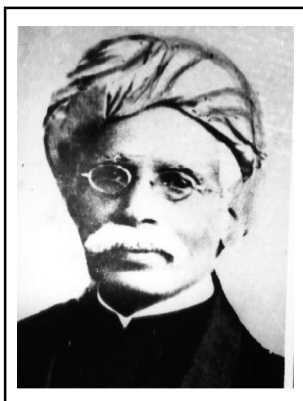
I convey my heartiest greetings and good wishes to the sisters and brothers of Orissa on the auspicious occasion of celebration of Orissa Day.

On the 1st April, 1936 separate Orissa State was formed on the basis of language. This day is a day of great significance for the people of Orissa. We remember the great sons and daughters of Orissa whose struggle and endeavour realised a long cherished dream of the Oriyas.

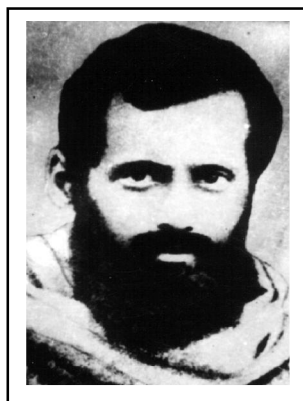
The art, architecture, sculpture, culture and tradition of Orissa are unique. Our State is marching ahead in all fields especially in Industry, Agriculture, Education, Health and Tourism. On this auspicious occasion, let us redeem our pledge to build a prosperous Orissa.

Vande Utkal Janani.

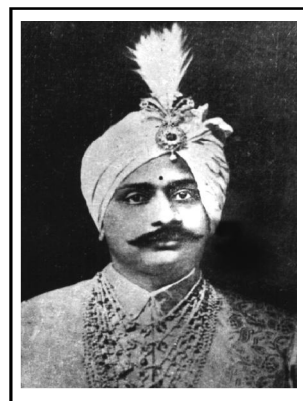
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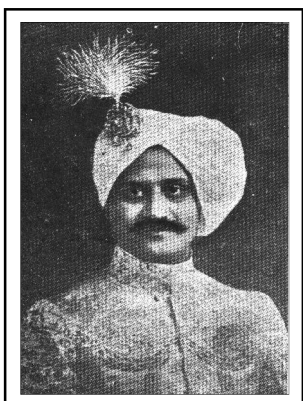
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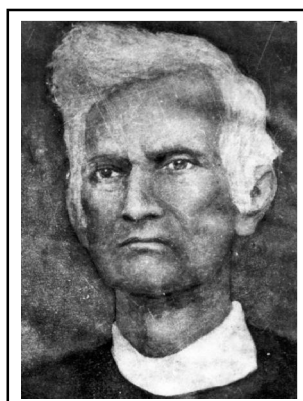
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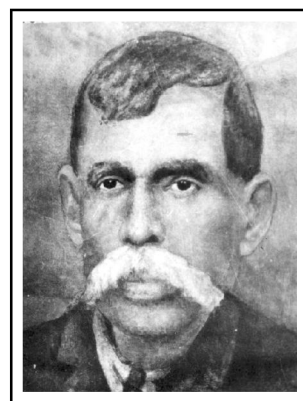
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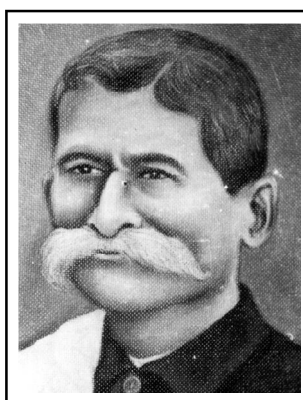
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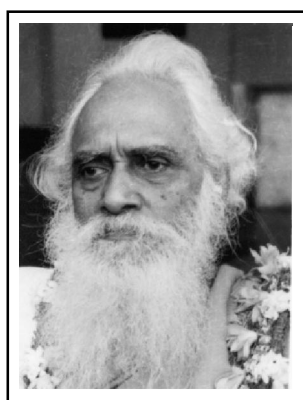
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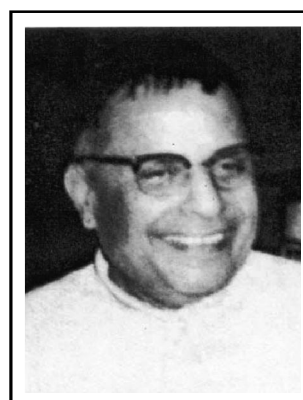
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