

JOHN BEAMES AND ORISSA



Pragati Utkal Sangha

**JOHN BEAMES
AND
ORISSA**

Compiled and Edited by :

Dr. Lalatendu Das Mohapatra

**Pragati Utkal Sangha
Rourkela**

John Beames and Orissa
*[A Compilation of his works on Orissa with
an introductory essay and editorial notes]*

Compiled and Edited by

Dr. Lalatendu Das Mohapatra
Archivist, National Archives of India,
Record Centre (Eastern Zone)
Bhubaneswar

Published by

Pragati Utkal Sangha
Sector-7, Rourkela-769 003

Printed at

Optima Offset Prints
Sutahat, Cuttack-753 001.

Distributed by

Grantha Mandira
Binod Behari, Cuttack-753 002

First Edition 2007

Price Rs 300 00 (Rupees Three Hundred Only)

Preface

My interest in John Beames' essays and his activities in Orissa grew out of my study relating to the identity movement of the Oriyas in the nineteenth century. But the idea of a separate book on them never occurred to me. About three years ago, Shri Debendra Kumar Dash, an eminent literary critic and a serious scholar on the field asked me to assist Pragati Utkal Sangha of Rourkela in a project which intended to collect, collate and edit all the essays and writings of Beames on Orissa. Since last thirty years this organization has been taking many such pioneering steps of collecting the writings and speeches of the eminent personalities of Orissa of the nineteenth century from archives, old journals and newspapers and compiling them in books. Inspite of my other engagements it was impossible for me to decline the request of an endearing friend like Shri Dash whom I consider as one of my mentors concerning my research works.

John Beames has written sixteen essays and notes relating to literature, history, language, people, geography and archaeology of Orissa which were published between 1870 and 1896. But except "Notes on the History of Orissa under the Mahomedan, Maratha and English Rule" no effort was made to reproduce his other essays for the benefit of the scholars or general readers. As Suniti Kumar Chatterji rightly says about him ". . . he may be looked upon as one of the great personalities in the study of Indian culture and the Indian mind through language". Today even after more than hundred years, his essays perhaps have lost little relevance for the historians, philologists and anthropologists. Fortunately for me, except one or two I had collected all the essays and notes of Beames pertaining to Orissa from the library of Asiatic Society, Kolkata in course of my earlier research work. As a first step of compilation, a souvenir containing all these essays except "Subahs and the Ain-i-Akbari, Orissa" was released by Pragati Utkal Sangha under the present editor. Thereafter Beames' last essay, three essays on medieval Vaishnavite Bengali poets and additional informations about him from contemporary newspapers and official

records were collected from National Library and Orissa State Archives for the present piece of work. I express my sincere thanks to the staff of these institutions for their help and cooperation.

Though recently a book entitled, *JOHN BEAMES-Essays on Orissan History and Literature* has been released with all the essays of Beames on Orissa, it still appears to have fallen far short of the serious reader's expectation of a proper understanding of Beames and his perception about Orissa through his writings. The sub-title of the book does not appear to have done proper justice to the contribution of Beames to Orissa as his writings also cover wider aspects like language, archaeology, culture and the people. The compiler of the book has done another injustice to him by labelling him as "lesser known Orientalist" which cannot be accepted. In respect to the essay, "The Notes on the History of Orissa Under the Mahomedan, Maratha and English Rule", the compiler places before the readers the essay in its original form written by Beames, but in respect of its footnotes 1 and 2 he seems to have borrowed the views of N. K. Sahu. But he claims them to be his own by mentioning his own abbreviated name in the right. (Vide p 42). Interestingly in this process he has also repeated the mistake of N.K. Sahu in footnote 1 by writing "Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal" instead of "The Asiatic Society of Bengal". In 1877 when Blochmann was the Secretary to the Society it was then known as "The Asiatic Society of Bengal". The nomenclature of the organisation was changed in 1936 when it was named as "The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal" after obtaining a royal charter. But in 1951 it was named as "The Asiatic Society" and it still continues to be known by that name. While editing his *The History of Orissa, Vol-II* (Calcutta, 1956), N.K. Sahu was perhaps not aware of this change. Besides, the compilation also misses the abstract of the critique "The Notes on the History of Orissa Under the Mahomedan, Maratha and English Rule" by Rajendra Lal Mitra as a result of which the readers do not get the complete version of the debate. I have endeavoured in my introductory essay to focus on Beames' perception of Orissa and her people, culture and language through his writings. All these have been discussed in the introduction with

a historical background and circumstances under which he wrote them.

The entire book has been planned into four sections. The first section besides introduction, has appended two obituaries on the demise of Beames published in *Baleswar Sambad Bahika* and *Utkal Dipika* and a chapter from Phakirmohan Senapati's autobiography applauding the role of Beames and Ravenshaw to save the Oriya language when it was in crisis. The second section contains all the essays of Beames relating to Orissa along with two critiques by Rajendra Lal Mitra and three essays of Beames on medieval Vaishnavite Bengali poems, which will help the readers to understand Beames' observation about the old Bengali language and its position vis-a-vis Oriya. When arranging the essays, the pattern followed is in chronological order of their publication. The third section contains the relevant extracts on Orissa and Oriya language from various books of Beames including his *Comparative Grammar* and autobiography. It has also appended the introduction chapter of Rev E. C. B. Hallam's *Oriya Grammar for English Students*(Calcutta, 1874) in which the author acknowledges the help of Beames, Phakirmohan Senapati and Govinda Chandra Pattanayak in writing his book. The last section contains official reports, correspondences, notifications and newspaper reports etc from records in Orissa State Archives and contemporary periodicals etc. All the essays, reports and extracts etc have been placed before the readers in their original form. In few cases where additional informations, notes and comments have been appended by me, they have been indicated with my abbreviated name L. D. M to the right.

But the writings of Beames on Orissa are much more than this compilation introduces to the readers. His "Manual of the District of Balasore" containing the history, geography, land tenure, caste system and people of the district is lost for ever as it could not be published except its second chapter on history. But there is still a possibility of retrieving his essays on the peasantry and the zemindars of Balasore from *Indian Observer* published anonymously between 1872 and 1873. For want of time and

opportunity, I could not retrieve them for this work but hope to locate them in future.

My endeavour would not have been successful without the help and encouragement from friends and well-wishers. Shri Debendra Kumar Dash not only inspired me throughout my work, but also threw open to me his personal library and collections, which helped me to gather many additional informations. He read the first draft of the introduction and made invaluable suggestions which helped me to improve my discourse. His contribution is immense to raise the book above banality. In this connection the inspiration and encouragement received from Sri Bharat Bhushan Mohanty, Dr. Sricharan Mohanty, Shri Birupaksha Padhi and Sri Radhashyam Nayak, all members of Pragati Utkal Sangha strengthened my motivation.

I also owe a debt to Prof. Gaganendra Nath Dash, a scholar of rare distinction and merit, for the conversation with him has widened my views on the subject. He also very kindly went through the first draft of the introduction and offered critical comments. I am also indebted to Dr. Kailash Chandra Dash, another eminent scholar in the field who drew my attention to few data in the archives. The encouragement received from Prof. Jatindra Mohan Mohanty and Dr. Fanindra Bhushan Nanda is no less worth mentioning. I would also be failing in my duty if I do not express my special thanks to three of my friends, Dr. Smaran Kumar Nayak, Dr Dipti Ranjan Pattnaik and Shri Sudhansu Mohanty who have helped me in many ways. I am also grateful to Shri Tapan Kumar Mohapatra of Grantha Mandira for taking up the responsibility of printing this book.

Last but not the least, my family members always stand by me whenever I remain engaged in my study. My father, Shri Bhupen Mohapatra, the short-story writer and columnist has always been a source of inspiration for me. My wife, Kala shouldered most of my domestic responsibilities, without which perhaps it could not have been easy for me to concentrate on my job.

CONTENTS

Preface ----- i

Section-A

Introduction -----	1
Appendix-I -----	74
Obituary	
Appendix-II -----	75
Oriya Not An Independent Language	

Section-B

Essays, Notes and Replies

On the Relation of the Uriya to the other Modern Aryan Languages -----	79
The Ruins at Kopari, Balasore District -----	90
More Buddhist Remains in Orissa -----	94
Mode of Dating in Orissa -----	96
The Jungle Forts of Northern Orissa -----	97
The Indigenous Literature of Orissa-----	111
Folklore of Orissa -----	117
On Mastan Brahmans-----	126
Notes on the Rasakallola, An ancient Oriya Poem -----	127
On a Copper-plate Grant from Balasore (A.D. 1483) -----	140
On the Sub-Divisions of the Brahman Caste in Northern Orissa -----	147
The Alti Hills in Cuttack -----	151
Notes on the History of Orissa Under the Mahomedan, Maratha and English Rule -----	161
Notes on the History of Orissa Under the Muhammadan, Maratha and English Rules – Reply -----	200
Subahs and the Ain-i-Akbari, Orissa -----	202

Appendix-I

(Critique by R.L. Mitra)

Notes on the Relation of the Uriyá to the other Modern Aryan Languages -----	221
Notes on the History of Orissa Under Muhammadian, Maratha and English Rules -----	237

Appendix-II

(Beames' Essays on Bengali Literature)

Kirtans, Or Hymns from the Earliest Bengali Poets -----	241
The Early Vaishnava Poets of Bengal -----	252
Chaitanya and the Vaishnava Poets of Bengal -----	275

Section-C

Relevant extracts from various books of
Beames pertaining to Orissa and Oriya

Outlines of Indian Philology and other Philological Papers, Calcutta, 1971 -----	290
A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India -----	291
Memoirs of A Bengal Civilian -----	309
Appendix -----	413
[Extracts from ECB Hallam's Oriya Grammar]	

Section-D

Reports, Correspondences and Notes -----	416
Administrative Reports -----	419
Report about Radhanath Ray -----	426
Official Correspondences with Radhanath Ray -----	427
Correspondences Relating to Balasore Raj Family -----	440
D.O. Letter to Phakirmohan Senapati in Oriya -----	443
Notifications -----	445
Extracts from Contemporary Periodicals -----	460
Preface of the Book Grammar of the Bengali Language-----	466
BIBLIOGRAPHY -----	466

Section–A

INTRODUCTION

John Beames, the nineteenth century oriental scholar and philologist, is a familiar name for the students of modern Orissan history and Oriya literature. For them his name is synonymous with the resurrection of Oriya language, which once faced the threat of extinction from its own province. This was because of a perception by a group of Bengali intelligentia that it was not an independent language but a regional dialect of Bengali.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the degeneration of the Oriya nation, which had started at least three hundred years earlier after her loss of independence to the Afghans and the Mughals, was at its lowest ebb. The passivity of her people increased with the gradual fragmentation of her territories among adjoining provinces around this time. This was perhaps the main reason for the relative timidity and sluggishness of her people, who during the British rule were considered as a nation inferior in many respects. After Orissa's annexation to the Mughal empire, her people were rather slow in responding to the Mughal system of governance and functioning, which to some extent deprived them of many job opportunities. One of the requisites for this was the knowledge of Persian language, which many Oriyas did not have. As a result, many petty jobs were filled in by the Bengali *amias*. But just when the people were gradually beginning to adapt themselves to this system, Orissa was captured by the British in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Hereafter, it was knowledge in English which was essential for filling up the petty posts in government departments. These had to be filled up by the Bengalis again, who by virtue of their earlier contact with the English East India Company, had the advantage of modern education and familiarity with the English language. Thus the Bengalis were again the true favourite of the government while administering a backward province like Orissa. It was not only this logic which

necessitated the large-scale Bengali influx to Orissa in the nineteenth century; they also took over many zemindary estates in Orissa by fair means or foul. This created deep animosity in the minds of the Oriya people which fuelled the Paik Rebellion in 1817. The Paik Rebellion was the last of its kind when the Oriyas in a massive scale displayed some valour against the mighty British nation. After this rebellion was suppressed ruthlessly by the government, the Oriyas were slowly plunged into a state of passivity and sluggishness under the firm grip of the British government.

Thus by mid-nineteenth century, when the Oriyas had lost all their valour, fighting capability and power to protest, their fate in the administrative apparatus was mostly decided by the petty Bengali *babus* whose recommendation to government very often formed the basis of formulation of many official policies. These English educated *babus* were mostly the upper caste Bengalis, who being influenced by the British colonial structure had acquired the tendency to compensate their subordinate position vis-a-vis the British by demonstrating arrogant behaviour towards other backward communities like Oriyas, Assamese and Biharis. Orissa's cultural affinity with Bengal had enabled many upper caste Bengali bureaucrats and elites to get assimilated into the Oriya society and language in pre-British period who came to Orissa since her annexation with the Mughal empire. However the English educated neo Bengali elites were entirely different from them. They not only refused to amalgamate themselves with the Oriya society, but also looked upon themselves as superior to an ordinary Oriya and treated him with utmost contempt. Some of these instances have been narrated by Phakirmohan Senapati and Madhusudan Das in their autobiographies. Such was the sense of superiority and animosity of these group that in Balasore in 1873 they, in a meeting decided to maintain their separate identity by not learning and speaking Oriya and by maintaining a complete distance from the Oriyas. If any Bengali refused to abide by this decision, he was ex-communicated from their group. The local newspaper *Baleswar Sambad Bahika* condemns such arrogance and parochial attitude in its issue of 1 June, 1873¹. In fact "this cultural cannibalism towards the 'other'

was one of the traits of the Bengalis residing in Orissa in the 19th century”².

Bengal in mid-nineteenth century was far ahead of Orissa so far as acquisition and cultivation of modern education, outlook and civilization are concerned. A lot of historical factors are responsible for such dichotomy between these two neighbouring states. While in the eighteenth century the emerging port town Calcutta rapidly grew under the care of English East India Company and the private British traders, the traditional port town of Orissa Balasore gradually declined which forced many European Companies and Indian businessmen to abandon the latter. During the growing period of Calcutta in the first half of the eighteenth century, the modern ideas and outlooks which the British imported to India was first disseminated in the Bengali society. A large section of the Bengali Hindu business community who flocked to Calcutta as trade partner of the Company and the private British traders, were the first beneficiaries of these imported ideas. Much before the establishment of modern English schools in Bengal this community had developed a passion for learning English to communicate directly with their English trade partner.³ After the Company's occupation of Bengal, its growing business and the establishment of the Supreme Court in 1774, it made the middle-class Bengalees even more eager to learn the languages of their rulers. During this time a number of schools for teaching English to the Bengalis were started by the individual efforts of both Bengalis and Europeans. In fact in 1789 in an advertisement in the press some Bengalis wanted the publication of a Bengali Grammar and Dictionary in which all the common Bengal country words would be made into English.⁴ Thus a desire to acquire some knowledge in English was visibly growing among the Bengalis much before the introduction of official education policy of the British government. By 1820s many vernacular schools also came into existence in Calcutta, Chinsura, Howrah and other suburbs around Calcutta with the efforts of the Christian Missionaries. By that time some very high profile Bengali intellectuals like Ram Mohan Roy, Radhakanta Dev and Dwarkanath Tagore, being influenced by the modern western ideas vigorously campaigned for modern education

in Bengal. Their efforts in 1817, was boosted by the establishment of Hindu College, the predecessor of Presidency College, which became the nucleus of higher education in Bengal Presidency. During the same period Calcutta School Book Society was established to publish more text books in English, Bengali, Hindi and Persian languages.

Thus long before the announcement of Macaulay's Education Minute an intellectual environment for acceptance of modern education in Bengal was conspicuously strong, which created and groomed many middle class educated Bengali elites who later on filled up many petty posts in government departments in other states. If the establishment of Hindu College in 1817 was the fruition of middle class Bengali's readiness to accept modern scientific education based on western ideas, the same cannot be said about the traditional Oriya elites. Being annexed into the British empire in 1803 Orissa was hardly reconciled with British administration. During this time many traditional zemindars lost their estates to the Bengali zemindars because of the fraudulent means adopted by the latter. The material condition of the people gradually deteriorated following faulty economic policy of the Company's administration which resulted in Paika Rebellion of 1817. Thus at a time when the Bengali middle classes looked upon British rule as a great opportunity for their own intellectual cultivation and social and economic elevation, the Oriyas unlike their Bengali neighbours, set out to offer a fight against the British government to liberate the state. After the suppression of this rebellion Oriyas were reduced to a position which in the words of John Beames "effeminate and apathetic". Thus the wide gap between a Bengali and Oriya in those days was quite understandable. By mid-nineteenth century, the Oriyas were at least two generations behind the Bengalis so far as education and enlightenment are concerned. If the Bengalis were the most advanced nation in India, their neighbour Oriyas were one of the most backward communities in the country.

In pursuance of the education policy of Macaulay when the British government started establishing schools in three coastal districts of Orissa to impart modern education, the teaching staff had to be naturally imported from Bengal for want of sufficient teachers

in Orissa. Prof Natabar Samantaray has given a list of eight teachers in Balasore district drawing a monthly salary of Rs. 15/- in 1860, among whom six were Bengalis and only two were Oriyas. For other schools in Orissa he has listed the name of nineteen Bengali teachers and only five Oriya teachers.⁵ There were also very little printed books and literatures in Oriya available then which could be used as standard text books in schools for Oriya students. The pioneering effort in this field was made by some Christian missionaries, but unfortunately their works contained many jargons.⁶ Thus lack of sufficient number of Oriya teachers and standard text books in Oriya were the serious constraints for the education of an Oriya child in the mid-nineteenth century. On the other hand, by this time, Bengal had already witnessed a spate of published materials in Bengali language, which stimulated a sense of regional identity among the modern educated Bengalis. But this resurgent Bengali identity at this juncture gradually took a different turn that intended to expand at the expense of other regional identities like Oriya and Assamese. It may also be stated that the Bengalis had inherited the Western notion of a homogeneous culture after they came into contact with the English. Many educated Bengalis had clamoured for English as lingua franca to the total exclusion of Bengali language and literature in the first half of the nineteenth century⁷. But with the growing number of educated Bengalis and printed literatures in that language, the focus was gradually shifted to Bengali. They also felt that Bengali should expand at least in eastern India ostensibly for the benefit of the Oriyas and Assamese, though the actual motive was to put the latter in a disadvantageous position in their attainment of education and as a consequence their exclusion from jobs. R. N. Shore, then Commissioner of Orissa Division had realized it very well in the early 60s, and resisted a proposal of W. S. Atkinson, the Director of Education to scrap Oriya as secondary language in higher classes and making Bengali compulsory for all students. He stated in a report "the students from Orissa shall be subjected to the disadvantage of being required to pass in two foreign languages while all other candidates are examined only in one. . . The proposal will, however, if carried out, have one tangible effect, viz. to close the university to

all but the sons of Bengali parents".⁸ Of course, Atkinson's proposal was not prompted with any deliberate bias against Oriya language, but basically due to non-availability of suitable text books in Oriya, resulting in improper conducting of examination in this language.⁹

After 1865, a spate of Oriya literatures however started to flourish, thanks to widespread setting up of modern press facilitating easy publication of text-books, journals and newspapers for students and the public. It was during this time that the upper caste Oriyas in the three coastal districts of Orissa began to awaken themselves by virtue of their contact with the educated Bengalis and European Missionaries. Being profoundly impressed by the development of Bengali literatures, press and the level of their enlightenment and intellectual standard the Oriya elites felt that modern but mass education coupled with the development of Oriya language with more printing works was necessary for the all round development of the Oriyas. They therefore set out to provide leadership to their own people in this direction. Phakirmohan Senapaty, Govinda Chandra Pattanayak, Damodar Prasad Das, Bichitrananda Das, Gourishankar Ray and Bichhanda Charan Pattanayak were the most notable Oriya intellectuals of this time who became the role model for the later generations in resurrecting the Oriya identity. With their singular effort not only printing presses were established in Balasore and Cuttack, but also two leading newspapers *Utkal Dipika* in Cuttack and *Bodhadayini* and *Baleswar Sambad Bahika* in Balsore started to be published. The main objective of these two newspapers was to highlight the problems and plight of the people of the state and arouse a sense of identity amongst its people. This they did by repeatedly demanding the government to introduce Oriya in the schools. They encouraged the educated Oriya youths for creative writings by sparing few columns for them in their newspapers to give a boost to modern Oriya literature. Besides many Oriya text books pertaining to Grammar, History, Geography and Mathematics, Oriya manual on court procedures were also written and published by them during this time giving an encouraging boost to the Oriya publishing industry. Bansidhar Mohanty has prepared a list of 23 books and journals which were published between 1865 and 1867, though many of them were

translated works¹⁰ Hence this period may be said to be the time of sowing for the growth of Oriya nationalism among the educated Oriyas. This process was further boosted by the coming of T. E. Ravenshaw to Orissa Division as Commissioner who had not only an inborn sympathy for the Oriyas but also a sincere desire for their all round development and upliftment.

In the early years of vernacular schools in Orissa, it was natural for an Oriya school child to be taught in Bengali by the Bengali teachers, for the obvious reason of non-availability of sufficient text-books and teachers in Oriya. But after 1865, when the situation became more ripe as a result of publication of some standard text-books in the language, there was hardly any necessity for them to be taught in Bengali. In 1868, Ravenshaw in an annual function in Cuttack High School, said that there was no point for the Oriya students to learn Bengali and that they should instead be imparted education in their mother tongue. In the same year, he recommended to Bengal government for the introduction of Oriya in all schools of Orissa, 'and leaving Bengali as an extra language if preferred, to be taken up in addition to Oriya but not in supercession of it.' The recommendation of Ravenshaw, got the approval of the Bengal government who in its letter dated 8 November, 1869 asked the Director of Education to introduce Oriya in the schools of Orissa, though Bengali at the same time continued to be taught as optional subject in High Schools and Middle Vernacular Schools. In lower vernacular schools the entire teaching was to be carried out in Oriya.¹¹

The above decision of the Bengal government and Commissioner of Orissa was a great disappointment for the neo Bengali elites in Orissa who mostly held the petty posts in government departments. The introduction of Oriya in place of Bengali meant not only a blow to the prestige of the latter and its people who always assumed a superior position vis-a-vis the Oriyas, but an end to their aspiration of perpetuating the petty government jobs in Orissa for their children, who could now face competition from the Oriya children by virtue of their being placed in an equally advantageous position with the former. Nor all the Bengali teachers could learn Oriya overnight to teach in that language. Phakirmohan Senapati in his

autobiography has narrated the pitiable condition of a Bengali teacher, Kantichandra Bhattacharya of Balasore District School, who on his transfer to Balasore from Bengal thought that teaching in Oriya would not be difficult for him. But when his peculiar accent was greeted with laughter by his Oriya pupils in the class, he in a huff exclaimed that there was no need to study Oriya as it was not a separate language but a mere corruption of Bengali.¹² Unfortunately since the sixties of this century, a conviction had been growing among this section of Bengalis that Oriya was not a separate language because of its close affinity with the Bengali and to justify the continuance of Bengali in Orissa they propounded a notion that the real progress of Orissa would be attained with the acceptance of Bengali language by her people. One of the earliest proponents of this view was Siba Chandra Som, an eminent educationist of Balasore, who made this suggestion in his Bengali text book *Udisyar Itihash*.¹³

But perhaps this view of Som, then had little reason to create reaction among the Oriya intelligentia, as it was a mere suggestion instead of an aggressive propagation of a view. By giving this suggestion Som had no intention of offending the native sentiment. Such types of suggestions were nothing new, as there were already proposals in the Government Department to replace Oriya with Bengali on the pretext of availability of fewer number of text books. Before 1865 there may also could be some justification for consideration of this proposal. As a school child in the fifties of this century, Phakirmohan himself had his early education in Bengali as there was no Oriya book available then. But when the situation in 1869 had already changed, any such proposal for education in Bengali may be seen as out of tune prompted by vested interest groups with ulterior motives.

Being disgusted by the decision of the government and finding themselves among a resurgent Oriya nationalist group, these Bengalis decided to make an aggressive campaign against Oriya by questioning its separate identity as a language and the prudence of introducing it in schools and courts. Such mischievous campaign would have been lost into oblivion, had it been confined to only ordinary section of Bengali *babus*. But unfortunately it was spearheaded by none other

than a man like Rajendra Lal Mitra, the eminent archaeologist and historian of his time, who in the history of Oriya literature has earned the sobriquet of the worst enemy of Oriya language. In 1868, Rajendra Lal Mitra came to Orissa for an on the spot survey and study of her archaeological remnants for his monumental work *Antiquities of Orissa* in two volumes. In December that year, participating in a debate on 'patriotism' in Cuttack Debating Club, he kicked up a controversy by viewing that false patriotism or an insensate love for everything 'that was national' caused harmful effects to the nation. Citing the example of resurgent Oriya nationalism of that time, he pointed out that the Oriyas by their attachment to a provincial patois, which they wished to exalt into a distinct language, caused injury to themselves. The real progress of Orissa lay with its people's acceptance of Bengali language, in which plenty of books were available. Quoting the report of Famine Commission he said that, as per the Commission's report, the population of Orissa was only 2 millions, from whom if women and children were excluded, then only 10 or 12 lakhs of them would be able to read and write. Such smaller number of people could never be able to sustain their language by patronising books and literatures in that language. The real well wishers of Orissa were those who would favour a total replacement of their language by Bengali in schools and courts¹⁴.

Had Rajendra Lal's view been confined to an academic platform like Cuttack Debating Club, it would not have invited much criticism and reaction from the local intelligentsia. But the immediate fall out of this debate was that a group of Bengalies, being enthused by the public statement of Rajendra Lal, began an aggressive campaign against the Oriya language by questioning its separate identity. Labelling Oriya as a 'patois' he either betrayed his own ignorance of the difference between a language and a patois or made a deliberate attempt to refuse to recognise the independence of the language which it deserved. But most probably it was a combination of these two possibilities and the notion that Bengali would bring about actual progress to the Oriya people was only a pretentious view. The timing of this public statement may be well understood as it was made in the wake of a growing movement for

resurrection of Oriya language, activly supported by the Commissioner Ravenshaw and Bengal Government and an increasing concern of a group of Bengali babus in Orissa for possible replacement of Bengali by Oriya in courts and schools. Certainly his statement was made out of context as he was on a different mission to Orissa. Obviously the address was intended to encourage the Bengalis in Orissa to launch a counter movement against the introduction of Oriya. It was a morale booster for them and immediately after this event, they began an aggressive campaign against Oriya by questioning its separate identity through press and books. Attempts were made to allude various superfluous arguments as for instance for everything in history Orissa owed a great deal to Bengal and acceptance of Bengali would bring about progress in Orissa. In Cuttack, under the editorship of Kalipada Bandopadhyay, two newspapers were started one in Oriya and the other in English to propagate these views and counter both *Utkala Dipika* and *Baleswar Sambad Bahika*, which were in the forefront of arousing Oriya opinion for the introduction of Oriya. In 16 February 1869, *Utkala Hiteswini* (Orissa Patriot) and in 22 February 1869, *Cuttack Star* in English came out under his editorship. The name " Utkala Hiteswini" or " Orissa Patriot" was chosen ostensibly to make people believe that it would render good to the cause of Orissa through its views in its columns but which were mostly used for the propagation of acceptance of Bengali. The English newspaper, *Cuttack Star*, was meant for moulding the opinion of administration and English bureaucrats.¹⁵ Thus both the newspapers in Oriya and English were necessary to confuse the public opinion among the Oriyas and official European circles in favour of Bengali. *Utkal Hiteswini* in one of its issues even went to the extent of writing that "when Bengali becomes corrupt, it becomes Uriya". In July, 1869 Umacharan Haldar, the Deputy Inspector of School, suggested in *Cuttack Star* to write Oriya in Bengali script with a ridiculous view that Bengali script looked more beautiful than Oriya. The obvious intention behind this suggestion was to gradually acclimatize the Oriyas with Bengali language. Thereafter, this obnoxious campaign through the press, did not remain confine to Orissa, it began in Calcutta. *The Indian Mirror* in its

issue of 17 September wrote an editorial in which it expressed the opinion that due to close affinity between Bengalis and Oriyas, the latter would no doubt, willingly accept Bengali. It even claimed that the consideration of the government of Bengal to introduce Oriya in place of Bengali had created resentment in many Oriyas in their state. This claim was made on the basis of a petition in Bengali allegedly signed by some Oriyas. Thereafter a series of such petitions were discovered in Calcutta, which according to *Utkala Dipika*, had been signed by the poor and ignorant Oriya peasants and labourers who were forced to do so by the Bengali zemindars and contractors, working under them. Criticising such obnoxious move, *Utkala Dipika* said no sensible Oriya would write any derogatory remark against his own mother tongue on a representation. When the Bengalis failed in their attempt in Orissa, they indulged in such forceful signature campaign from peasants and coolies in the application which was drafted in Bengali.¹⁶ When this move was exposed, *Utkala Hiteswini* in April 1870, in an editorial comment, in the pretext of showing the age-old amity between the Oriyas and Bengalis wrote that Bengali had a deep influence on Oriya and Orissa since the last seven hundred years. Whether in the field of religion, administration or language Orissa owed a great deal to Bengal. Regarding Oriya language, the newspaper even claimed that there was no written work in Oriya before the advent of Chaitanya in Orissa. As Sarala Das was a Vaishnavite and a disciple of Chaitanya, he felt the necessity of writing Mahabharata in Oriya to spread the gospel of Chaitanya. The subsequent poets Upendra Bhanja, Dinakrishna Das and Abhimanyu Samanta Singhara were Vaishnavites and their works were reflective of Vaishnavite philosophy. The editorial then concluded with the view that whatever progress in Orissa had been possible, all were due to the efforts of Bengali zemindars and other Bengali residents of Orissa.

Obviously the entire editorial views either betrayed the ignorance of the editor about the medieval Oriya poets or a deliberate distortion of the fact to mislead Oriya opinion. Sarala Das had preceded much before Chaitanya. Even the greatest medieval Oriya poet Upendra Bhanja was not an ardent Vaishnavite to have been influenced by Chaitanya or his teachings. The editor of *Utkala*

Dipika, Gourishankar Ray, who himself was a Bengali by birth, ridiculing the above views of *Utkala Hiteswini* wrote a sarcastical remark, "Oh, the people of Utkal, if you have not heard all these before, listen at least once with patience, how your well-wisher Hiteswini has discovered all these facts with great toil and investigation."¹⁷

But neither these vexatious views or moves of the Bengali *babus* nor the public statement of Rajendra Lal could reverse Bengal government's decision to introduce Oriya in the schools of Orissa, the order for which was issued on 8 November, 1869. As said earlier, this order of the government must have caused a real disappointment to these Bengalis, who were not prepared to accord recognition to the independence of Oriya language. Just two months after this order Pandit Kantichandra Bhattacharya of Balasor District school, who was earlier annoyed with the students for being laughed at for his peculiar accent, came out with a pamphlet *Uriya Swatantra Bhasa nain* (Oriya is not a separate language). The centrality of the argument of this pamphlet was that as both Bengali and Oriya were alike and mutually intelligible to both the communities, the latter was nothing but a regional dialect of Bengali. To substantiate his views he listed some words which were current in both the languages. In the grammatical apparatus of Oriya, its declensions, gender, number, case and conjugation were not different from Bengali. Thus to the pandit, as there were many similitudes between these two languages, notwithstanding the phonetic differences, Oriya should not be accorded the status of an independent language.

The views expressed in the pamphlet, undoubtedly were very superfluous and lacked any scholarly interpretation. The introduction of the book speaks itself the ulterior motive of the author and reflective frustration of a Bengali *babu*, who was disgusted with the government's decision to introduce Oriya. It begins:¹⁸

"Bengali is no more being used in Orissa. Everywhere, whether in schools or courts, Oriya is being written and spoken. Secondly, since the establishment of government schools here, Bengali had been in use. But at present by the order of the Honourable Commissioner Saheb, Bengali has been replaced by Oriya. Mr.

Commissioner and few missionaries think that Oriya is an independent language. When they have already decided for it and abolished all Bengali text-books from the schools of Orissa, many people think that perhaps Oriya has been introduced in Orissa. But my humble intelligence does not subscribe to the view that Oriya is an independent language. The more I enquire on this subject, the stronger becomes my conviction. I do not want that truth should be suppressed. Therefore I produced this pamphlet with painstaking effort. All noble minded theoreticians may please read this pamphlet from the beginning to the end. They will realize that Oriya is not an independent language; it is Bengali. If they agree with this view, I will consider my labour rewarding."

The book was, no doubt intended to mislead the European opinion and government. As said earlier, the modern printed works in Oriya before 1860s were largely the work of Christian European missionaries, who in course of their missionary activities, published some Oriya books. Many of them were used as text-books earlier, though these works were not free from jargon and artificial sentences. These works of missionaries and modern education policy of the government boosted and enriched the Oriya language and literature reinforcing a sense of separate identity among the educated Oriyas. It was therefore no wonder that Kantichandra's anger, like many Bengali *babus*, was directed mainly against the missionaries and the British government for whom Oriya language was resurrected and accorded the recognition of a distinct language.

This book was dedicated to Rajendra Lal Mitra. In the conclusion of its preface Kantichandra writes, "I express my gratitude to Srijukta Babu Rajendra Lal Mitra, the eminent scholar on ancient history, who has read the entire manuscript and has suggested few changes. As he has endorsed the views, I came out for its publication for the people".¹⁹

The above disclosure of Kantichandra and the dedication of his book to Rajendra Lal Mitra, clearly indicates how this obnoxious campaign of the Bengali *babus* was not only restricted to them. It was instigated by a very high profile intellectual like Rajendra Lal Mitra who actively encouraged the publication of such mediocre

pamphlet to arouse public opinion among this section of the Bengalis, so that they would be encouraged to launch a counter movement against the resurgent Oriya nationalists as well as against the Bengal government. As said earlier, had Rajendra Lal's view been restricted to academic platform only no one would have taken his view seriously. Rather he would have been venareted in Orissa for his monumental work on Orissan antiquities. But instead of distancing himself from those petty Bengali *babus*, he regrettably identified himself with them, whose basic intention was more political than rationale. This is enough to earn him the sobriquet of worst ever enemy of Oriya language by the present scholars of Orissa.

Commenting on this book, one of the modern oriental English scholars John Boulton says, "As a scholarly work on comparative philology, Kantichandra Bhattacharya's pamphlet is of no importance. Its importance is entirly political. Though couched in the form of a philological discussion of Bengali and Oriya, it was an attempt to suppress the Oriya language and deprive it of significant status. Because of its form, however, its opponents had no option but to refute it in philological term, but for the purposes of this paper it is important that the pamphlet should be seen in economic terms, as Phakirmohana saw it. It epitomized Bengali aspirations for the aggrandizement of Bengal. It envisaged the whole of the region that now comprises Assam, West Bengal, Bangladesh and Orissa as one geographic, cultural, linguistic and ethnic area; that is the Bengali language area. It was assumed that Assam was universally recognized as part of Bengal, and Assamese was a dialect of Bengali. In consequence, Assam was frequently referred to under the blanket-term in the East. . . Bhattacharya made similar assumptions about Orissa, to which he referred as "in the South", meaning in South Bengal. . .

Such arrogant prejudice dressed up as scholarship could appeal to no one but the bigoted. It alienated everyone else. It attributed the differences between Oriya and Bengali to the former's contact with uncivilized tribes. The implication that standard Oriya approximated to the speech of the uneducated, lower castes of Bengal could hardly have been expected to win support for Kantichandra's thesis from

Oriyas; and his attacks on the missionaries for trying to reflect the actual pronunciation of Assamese and Oriyas in dictionaries and textbooks on the grounds that they were deliberately "corrupting pure Bengali forms must also have aroused antagonism. . . In short, it was a tactless book from start to finish and deserved the almost universal condemnation it received."²⁰

The pamphlet as expected evoked sharp reaction in Balasore and Cuttack, but the Bengalics, as informed to us by Phakirmohan Senapaty, being overjoyed began to press for the abolition of Oriya in all schools. The Bengali Headmaster of Balasore District School submitted a report in this regard along with a copy of the book to the European Inspector for schools, R. L. Martin, whose headquarter was in Midnapore. This report was endorsed by the Deputy Inspector of School of Orissa, Shvdas Bhattacharya. If Phakirmohan's version is believed, then the local Bengalics, on the basis of this book definitely managed to secure an order from the office of the Inspector of Schools for teaching of only Sanskrit and Bengali in the District School of Balasore. Thereafter the people of Balasore under the leadership of Phakirmohan Senapati submitted a petition to the District Collector for the transfer of Shvdas Bhattacharya, the Deputy Inspector for his mischievous effort to replace Oriya by Bengali.²¹

But as the government's decision for teaching of Oriya was already issued on 8 November, 1869, it was perhaps not easy to reverse the entire decision. But as told to us by Phakirmohan, "There was not at that time a single high ranking Oriya Officer in any of the Departments of Government, let alone the schools. All the Bengalics endorsed the same view. All of them were against the use of Oriya language and disparaged of it. And now there was a surge of elation amongst them." The morale-boosting factor for them was that Kanntichandra's view was endorsed by Rajendra Lal Mitra, who was venerated both by the Indians and the Europeans, as a scholar above the ordinary. Hence, inspite of Government's decision for the introduction of Oriya, there was also no reason to completely overlook this new threat from the Bengalics. But at that time, when the Oriyas were struggling for petty jobs in Government Departments and ordinary schools, it was hardly expected of them to counter all

such aggressions in any academic platform or book. It was at this juncture that young civilian John Beames, the new collector of Balasore, who had already famed himself both in the official circle and scholarly world as an eminent philologist with proficiency in more than a dozen of languages, came forward to defend the separateness of Oriya.

II

John Beames was born in Greenwich on 21 June 1837 in a lower middle class but illustrious family. The most remarkable coincidence of his birth was the coronation of Princess Victoria at a very young age after the demise of William IV. He lived during the reign of the Queen and passed away in 1902, just one year after her demise.

His early life passed through deep hardship as his father Rev Thomas Beames had to support his family with a meagre income of £100 per annum. Though Thomas had enough paternal property, his father gave him only £100 of his total share as he earned his displeasure for his marriage with a girl which he did not approve of. Though Thomas could augment his income considerably after some years it fell far short of his increasing family requirements which included the educational expenses of his five children. The chronic poverty very often led to quarrels between his parents. The entire family members for many years had to live on very little diet. When Beames was only ten years old, often he had to remain in hunger in school. But inspite of this he showed signs of brilliance, diligence and inquisitiveness at a very tender age. From that age he developed reading habit and used to read many of the books collected by his father and grandfather. Rev Thomas Beames about whom his son John had great admiration was according to him a 'muscular Christianity', an incessant talker and an omnivorous reader. His conversation, as Beames mentions "was full of interest, as from his well-stored mind he would pour out floods of information of all sorts." He was also an eloquent and impressive speaker. But at the same time was very hot-tempered, though easily pacified and very outspoken and straightforward. Fortunately or unfortunately Beames inherited all these traits of his father. Inspite of the fact that he was

venerated as an extraordinarily learned person in official circles and English educated Indians, he could win little appreciation from them for his straight forwardness, outspokenness and hot temperament. His father had a special interest in many European languages, apart from English. Beames also inherited this trait and in a very early age of ten taught himself Latin, Greek, French and Hebrew. He had a special interest in French in which he composed few poems. Another trait of his father was his interest and sympathy for the poor and working classes who appeared to have been influenced by the Socialist ideas and thoughts. As a child, John Beames had accompanied him to the places of their works and lodgings and used to listen to his speech meant for them. After studying their problems, Thomas wrote a book *Rookeries of London* to show how such human beings in London were herded together like cattle with no regard to health and decency. This appeared to have a bearing on Beames' character and mind as many of his actions and steps as civilian in India were pro-poor and for the down-trodden.

Thus an illustrious person like Thomas was very much responsible for shaping of the character of Beames who in his company started developing the appetite for learning in an early age. From that age he became impatient at the narrow limits of his school education and took interest in the discussion of his father with others and him on a variety of issues. As he says, "The teachings I got from my father at home, and the knowledge I was picking up from my private reading, carried out under his supervision, introduced me into a larger and more real world than was ever dreamt of in the narrow limit of school-work. At night my father often gathered round him men of note and learning. I sat listening eagerly while they talked history, ancient and modern, politics, religion, art, manners and customs, society-everything one would possibly imagine."

Beames had his early education in Streatham Academy and Merchant Taylors Schools. By the time he became seventeen he had already learnt many major European languages like Latin, Greek, French, Hebrew, Italian and German. In 1856 after passing out from Merchant Taylor, he was advised to join Haileybury College for a career as civil servant under East India Company's administration in

India. His was the last Haileyburian batch of recruits under the patronage system after which the ICSs were selected through a competitive examination which was also eventually opened to the Indians. Haileybury in those days however offered little to its students to know much about India, the country where they would rule. Nor there was much academic pressure on students. Here however Beames in his initial stage had some difficulties in adjusting to the situation because of his shyness and poverty. But very soon he overcame these hiccups and started enjoying the friendship with students. It was here that he met Fredrick Eden Elliot, who became his most intimate friend for the rest of his life. As his was the last batch of selection for the civilians, the Company decided to offer special award to meritorious students. He therefore took his study very seriously. Here, for the first time he was introduced with oriental languages like Persian, Hindi and Sanskrit. He came with flying colours in all of them alongwith classic, law and Political Economy except mathematics for which he had developed his distaste since his days in Stretham. He secured a gold medal in Persian and award or second position in Sanskrit and classic. This shows his interest in oriental languages. Overall he secured fourth position out of thirty-two of his batch. If he had done well in Mathematics he would have secured first position.

In 1858 he came to India. First he was in Calcutta as a probationer. In 1859 he was posted as Assistant Commissioner in Gujrat in Western Punjab, a relatively peaceful district. In 1860 he married to his fiancee Elen and in 1861 was transferred to Ambala following his differences with Lieutenant Paske, the Deputy Commissioner of the district. After four months in Ambala he was transferred to Ludhiana on request because of its indifferent climate. But the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab Province Montgomery discovered in him a character too insubordinate and independent for the military civilians of his province for which he recommended for his transfer to Bengal province. As a result Beames was transferred to Arrah of Shahabad district in Bihar as Joint Magistrate in 1861. In 1862, he was transferred to Purnia as Acting Magistrate and Collector. After four successful years in Purnia he was transferred to

Champaran, where however he landed in a scrape. He criticised Viceroy Lord Lawrence's Nepal policy and he earned his displeasure. Then he was suspended on charge of arresting and keeping a zemindar undertrial for long on the allegation of robbery. But his explanation was accepted and in 1869 was promoted to the rank of first class collector and Magistrate and posted in Balasore. In 1873 he was transferred to Cuttack and in 1877 became the Acting Commissioner of Orissa in the absence of Ravenshaw. In 1878 however much to his disappointment, was transferred to Cittagong as Commissioner and Judge where he stayed for nearly two years. Then he was transferred to Burdwan as Commissioner. Thereafter he became the Member of Board of Revenue. But in 1887 following an attack on him by a group of Indian newspapers he was reverted to the rank of Commissioner and posted in Bhagalpur. In 1889 he returned back to Board of Revenue and towards the last part of his career he was the Commissioner of Presidency Division, Calcutta where he retired in 1893. Thereafter he returned back to England and died in a comparatively early age of 65 in 1902.²²

Beames is more remembered in India for his contribution to oriental languages than as a civil servant. Before he came to India he had already mastered Persian, Sanskrit and Hindi for which he had won laurel in Hailibury. In India he served in Punjab, Bihar, Orissa and Bengal in different capacities which offered him a readymade opportunity to learn the languages of these provinces in which he could speak, read and write. In his time there were no standard books in Oriya, Bhojpuri, Maithili and Punjabi. But as Beames says, he could learn these languages more from the lip of the peasants in the field than from any dictionary or grammar. His official position rather helped him paradoxically to learn the languages thoroughly from the people with whom he interacted frequently. Besides, he also learnt Marathi, Gujarati and Sindhi from books and correspondences. Thus his official preoccupation never stood on his way to academic pursuit. Rather researches and study on different languages which was his prime interest from his childhood was a form of amusement to him at his leisure. When he developed his interest on Indian philology, it was then not very much popular in

India and the" civilians who were collecting information about languages of the country were apt to be looked down as shirking their legitimate duties" . But nothing could be said against him who was as efficient as an administrator as a philologist.

He was in Champaran when his first book *Outlines of Indian Philology* was published in 1867. Almost in the same year he started preparing for his *A Comparative Grammar of Modern Aryan Languages of India*. Though by that time he did not know Oriya but he had already accorded recognition to it as a distinct language of the Indo-Aryan family in his first book which according to him, "extends along the seacoast from the Subarnarikha to near Ganjam. . . meets gradually into the Khond and other rude hill dialects and coexists with them" .²³ This work which introduced Beames as an philologist was the first scientific attempt in the direction of preparation of an overview of all the languages then known to have been spoken in India. Naturally as pioneering work in the field, it was inescapable for all those who were working on Indian languages. Interestingly Kantichandra Bhattacharya in the preface of his pamphlet *Uriya Swatantra Bhasa Nain* makes a pretentious claim of borrowing heavily from the views of Beames from his book on philology, though Beames himself dismissed this pamphlet as " destitute of philological argument". Obviously, Kantichandra used Beames' name to impress upon the readers that the basic views expressed by him was not inconsistent with the latter's. But as already has been said, the pamphlet had no importance as scholarly work in comparative philology. Nor Kantichandra Bhattacharya, who was merely a Sanskrit Pandit in Balasore District School, was known to be a philologist of eminence. But inspite of this Beames wrote a critique of his work and presented it for the debate in the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The most important factor which probably prompted him to do so was the open endorsement of Kantichandra's views by Rajendra Lal Mitra for whom Beames, himself had immense respect as an outstanding scholar. Secondly, as Beames himself has said in reply to this pamphlet, 'the local excitement on the subject' had led him to look into the question more closely than before, though in the course of reading for his "Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan

Languages' he had already made up his mind long before to the right of Oriya to be considered as a language per se. By local excitement he obviously means the sharp reaction expressed by Phakirmohan Senapati and Govinda Chandra Pattanayak, against the book, whose close association with him might have inspired him to take up the matter. These two were the most vocal crusaders in Balasore against the Bengali chauvinists for which Phakirmohan earned the sobriquet '*beta* ring leader' by them. When Beames came to Balasore in 1869, he was already working for his monumental work, "A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages". Through Rev. E. C. B. Hallam, the Secretary of Balasore Mission School, he came into contact with Phakirmohan Senapati who was then the headmaster of Mission School and a close friend of Rev. Hallam. To assist him for his comparative grammar, Beames wanted the assistance of an Indian scholar who should be well versed in Oriya, Bengali and Sanskrit. As Phakirmohan notes in his autobiography, when Hallam introduced him to Beames, on the first meeting he asked Phakirmohan few questions on Sanskrit word formation and particles, the answers of which accorded to his satisfaction and he incorporated them in his book²⁴. Phakirmohan, since then became a close associate of Beames till his next nine years in Orissa. He asked him to meet him at least once in a week. In case he was delayed by a day or two the moment Phakirmohan met him, Beames used to ask, " Babu, why did you delay so much in meeting me," writes Phakirmohan. Their discussions were invariably linguistic, though ranging over many wider topics like Sanskrit couplets, Bengali prose, Oriya *Rasa-Kallola* and snake and witches' charms.²⁵

Kantichandra's book appeared in January 1870 and Beames' critique to his work "On the Relation of the Uriya to the other Modern Aryan Languages" was accepted by Asiatic Society of Bengal for presentation on 6 April, 1870. Thus, just after a year of his collectorship in Balasore he was able to master Oriya language and write a rejoinder to prove its independent character. This shows his keen interest in the language and also the deep influence Phakirmohan had over him, to whom Beames regarded as a " patriotic scholar." In all probability Phakirmohan, Govinda Chandra Pattanayak and

Rev. Hallam had provided him necessary inputs for this paper. While Kantichandra's argument was based on the central theme of similitudes between Bengali and Oriya, which according to him, rendered the latter a regional dialect of Bengali, Beames' argument was based on philological ground. If Oriya had any similitude with Bengali, so also Marathi had with Oriya, largely because these three languages shared many Tatsama words which their Pandits deliberately used to prove the pure character of their languages. To him, "a book may be written in Bengali, Oriya and Marathi, with the same proportion of identical words, and yet no argument could be thence derived for or against the connection of the languages!" Inspite of the similitude one should not lose sight off the natural differences between the languages which were spoken by their people i. e spontaneous use of Tadbhava words which "are the real living words of the language, the words that have worn into their present shape by long use in the mouths of the people." Citing the example of a *chasa* of Ghumsur and a *chasa* of Dacca, he says none could understand each other's language. In grammatical structure, Oriya had also many things of its own to justify its position as "a perfectly self-contained and independent member of the Indo-Aryan language family. Citing the example of six declensions of the nouns in seven Indo-Aryan languages, he shows how Oriya has little common with six others. One feature of its superiority over Bengali was its preservation of many Prakrit and Sanskrit forms, wheres Bengali has gone many steps further down the ladder of corruption. It has also more perfect conditional verbs than Bengali. In phonetic, Oriya unlike Bengali uses *guna* vowels, matching in the camp of Gujarati and Marathi, whereas Bengali alongwith three other languages use the pure vowels. In conclusion, emphasizing for philological discussion on any such theme on Aryan languages, Beames says, "no researches into any one of the seven languages can be considered complete or satisfactory which do not embrace the whole seven, because they all so closely connected, and mutually shed such light on each other that the reasons for their development and for the forms they exhibit in modern times, depend upon laws, whose operation is universal, cannot be traced in one member only of the

group.²⁶ Thus Beames' reply to Kantichandra's book was purly philological on the basis of which, he assessed the position of Oriya vis-a-vis other six Aryan languages. He of course did not take into consideration its literatures and script which he reserved for the subsequent discussions. These appeared later on.

As expected, Kantichandra's book ws defended by Rajendra Lal Mitra. Interestingly he was of the view that though the Pandit was not familiar with the modern European works on philology, "he has displayed considerable tact and talent" in dealing with the subject. To him the differences between the two languages was not so wide as it was in the case of other languages, though modern Bengalis had given up many words, which were retained by the Oriya language. The old Bengali literatures shed light of close similitudes between the two languages many centuries ago, though the two had been separated. Moreover If a *chasa* of Dacca would not understand the language of the *chasa* of Ghumusur so also the *chasas* of Comilla, Cooch-behar and Sylhet or the cockney and the farm labourer in Yorkshire would hardly understand each other. One should therefore agree with the view that the peculiarity of local pronounciations did not constitute any language. Taking all these views into consideration the relationship between Bengali and Oriya, was that of mother and daughter and not two sisters, as the latter was also a local dialect.

This view of Rajendra Lal will definitely disappoint a student of modern philology, who may find it painful to hear such improvised argument from a very prolific and highly rated scholar and literateur of all the times like him. Instead of arguing the matter in purely philological context he also toed the same line with Kantichandra, as to make the assertion that Oriya was a regional dialect of Bengali. In this process Rajendra Lal's paper suffers from the same lacunae which Kantichandra's suffers from. Both of them, without discussing the main question as to, what constitutes a language and a regional dialect, hasten to reach the conclusion which hardly satisfies the reader. Obviously Rajendra Lal himself had no answer to this pertinent question. One is really confused of the notion how Bengali becomes the mother of Oriya if the former discards many such forms of similitude which the latter retains in its present form. Rajendra Lal

himself was aware of many such limitations of his views, who in course of his reply tends in one instance to concede that the exact relationship between these two languages may be reversed. But at the same time he also asserts emphatically that 'the pandit has very good reasons to take it to be a daughter and not a sister of the vernacular of this province'. He considers Beames' comparison of modern Bengali with Oriya a mistake, like that of Kantichandra's assumption of Calcutta vernacular as purest form of Bengali and any differences with it, a result of corruption. To him these two notions vitiate the entire course of their arguments. But perhaps he himself was not aware of a gross mistake in his essay, which equates the district level dialects of Comilla, Cooch-behar and Sylhet districts of Bengal, or the regional dialect of Yorkshire in England with Oriya. He compared these dialects with a language which had its own written character and mines of classical literatures. This presumption hardly buttresses the centrality of his stand.

Thus both Rajendra Lal and Kantichandra, by presenting their arguments in an improvised form could not garner any support from either Europeans or other Bengali scholars. Perhaps the most rational criticism of Kantichandra's book appeared in *Education Gazette* from the pen of Bhudev Mukhopadhyay, the eminent educationist of Bengal, who himself was versed in Oriya and an ardent admirer of Oriya language and its old literatures. Writing on Kantichandra's prejudice against Oriya he says, "In our opinion the yardstick which he applies to prove that Oriya is not a separate language, if applied to other languages, not only Oriya, but also Hindi cannot be an independent language. There are same degrees of similitude between Bengali and Hindi as much between Oriya and Bengali. . . wherever Bengali and Oriya are alike, he calls both Bengali, but where they differ, he calls Oriya a corruption of Bengali. Is it a fair judgement? If there is any dissimilarity, in that case, why does not Bengali become a corruption of Oriya? Bengali and Oriya have been originated from the same root. . . Any forcible merger between these two branches would be a futile attempt. If there was any scope of merger between these two languages, it would have taken place in their infancy. Since both are now matured and capable of existing independently, any

effort to replace one with the other forcibly in the court and school, will not produce any desired result, but the decayance of the language imposed upon. ”²⁷

The above criticism in *Education Gazette* appeared before the debate of Beames and Rajendra Lal in Asiatic Society, which the latter would not have missed. But unfortunately his reply misses all these pertinent questions raised by Bhudev Mukhopadhyay which weakens the centrality of Rajendra Lal's argument. As has been said, he himself was aware of the limitations and irrationality of his view. To justify his basic position he added social and economic grounds for the acceptance of Bengali by the Oriyas, some of which were also twisted and logically far from convincing. They also further betrayed his ignorance and prejudice against the Oriyas and Orissa. In the debating club at Cuttack in December, 1868, he said that the total population of Orissa was only two millions, out of which if the male population of ten to twelve lakhs could read and write, such small number could not sustain a separate literature, by patronising books and journals in that language. When Rajendra Lal's view came under heavy scrutiny and fire by *Utkala Dipika* for his ignorance about Orissa, as he included only the population of Orissa Division of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore districts and excluded the Oriya-speaking tracts of Princely States, Sambalpur and Ganjam districts, later realizing his mistake, in his reply to Beames, he estimates the population in entire area as three millions. But to him half million out of three were Bengalis, Madrasis, Muslims, foreigners and Kyans "who want not and care not for the Uriya language" and it would be very difficult for the government to create a distinct literature for only 2. 5 million population. In the Orissa Division, most of the zemindars were non-resident Bengalis who accounted for a considerable sum of the revenue of the division. They were "not likely to offer any especial encouragement to the Oriya language." In such circumstances, the publication industry in Orissa could not thrive without government aid. Hence if the Government would introduce the Bengali language in the schools of Orissa, the Oriyas instead of seeking grants-in-aid from government and private individuals for occassionally bringing out solitary new books, would have the whole of their Bengali

publications at their disposal without any cost, and would be united with a race of thirty millions, with which they have so many things in common. Further, Rajendra Lal also said that the fusion between the two languages was not impracticable. Citing the example of Midnapore he says, "some twenty years ago when the district of Midnapore was transferred from the commissionership of Cuttack to that of Burdwan, the language of the courts there and of the people was Uriya. The new commissioner, for the sake of uniformity in all his districts or some other cause, suppressed Uriya, and introduced the Bengali language, and nearly the whole of Midnapore is now become a Bengali speaking district and men there often feel offended if they are called Uriyas. That similar measures in Balasore, Cuttack and Puri would effect a similar change, I have no reason to doubt. "²⁸

A cursory glance of the above views of Rajendra Lal shows how unconvincing was his arguments, which he improvised to vindicate his stand. His assertion that half million population of Orissa like Bengalis, Madrasis, Muslims and foreigners etc. were not likely to care not for the Oriya language" if held true, then would they also willingly accept Bengali except the Bengali population ? It means for a small fraction of Bengali population, the rest of the people in Orissa would have to learn Bengali. Secondly his estimated Oriya population of two and half million in entire Orissa may be again disputed as they were not based on any verifiable fact. Rather John Beames' estimated population of five millions in coastal Orissa was more reliable, during whose time the census operation in Orissa began in 1871, and as an official he should have access to reliable data. Clearly, Rajendra Lal had under-sized the Oriya-speaking population to twist his argument. Thirdly, his view on Midnapore was again misleading and ridiculous. The fact was that Midnapore, during Murshid Quli Khan's administration was brought under the direct control of the *subehdar* of Bengal for accommodating more *jagirdars* in its unclutivated portion of land infested with jungle. Since then this district has started accommodating Bengali population with large scale inflow of Bengalis from Bengal proper. In 1751, Aliwardy Khan, conceded to the Marathas the entire territory south of river Subarnarekha i. e. the southern boundary of Midnapore district.

Midnapore since then had easy linguistic and cultural contact with Bengal and slowly started to be Bengalised, though after British occupation of Orissa, it for sometimes was under the commissionership of Orissa division. This was the historical background and process of the slow and steady diffusion of people of Midnapore with Bengali language. But Rajendra Lal's claim of transformation of the entire Oriya population of that district into Bengali society as a result of twenty-years of Bengali education and the people being felt offended if they were called Oriya was again ridiculous and an exaggerated view. If it had been the fact, the census of 1891, could not have shown the Oriya-speaking population in that district more than half million.²⁹ Thus Rajendra Lal's education policy in Orissa was based on the view that it should be mainly patronised by the rich zemindars as the government was not in a position to finance the entire education in its vernacular language. It was again based on the notion that since the bulk of the estates in the states were under the non-resident Bengali zemindars who were not likely to extend any patronage to Oriya language and literatures, the qualitative education in Orissa could be possible if her people would accept education in Bengali language.

As said earlier had a high-profile scholar like Rajendra Lal not sided with this obnoxious campaign, perhaps there would not have been so much reaction among the Oriyas or it would not have perhaps provoked Beames to write a critique to the work of Kantichandra in Asiatic Society. Needless to say an independent language apart from having its own script, is also the proud repository of vast literary works for a large mass of readers. The number and quality of literary works are reflective of the richness of a language. Was it the fact that the man who had made an exhaustive study on Orissa's history and archaeology for his monumental work *Antiquities of Orissa*, was totally ignorant about the rich literary heritage of Oriya ? It is of course true that an average Bengali might mistake either Oriya or Assamese as corruption of Bengali because of similitudes between them. This misconception may also be strengthened from the fact that both Orissa and Assam were parts of Bengal province. But what they failed to visualise was this artificial

political union was the creation of British administration. It was not a natural union. Politically Orissa and Bengal were never one province till the later Mughals when they placed three provinces Bengal, Bihar and Orissa under one *subehdar* or *naib-nazim* for administrative convenience. When the Hindu rulers of Bengal lost their independence to the Turks in the twelfth century, Orissa was blooming with a distinct culture and language under independent Hindu rulers. It was during this time that the development of her language took place with proliferation of numerous literary works with an independent script. Even though Orissa's contact with Bengal may be dated back to antiquity, it started in a massive scale after the advent of Chaitanya in the first half of the sixteenth century. During the Mughal period many upper caste Bengalis migrated to Orissa to permanently settle here. Though these people had brought with them their own culture and language they were happily assimilated with the Oriyas in due course. Had Oriya any scope of being merged with Bengali it would have been possible during the formative stage of both the languages, as rightly opined by Bhudev Mukhopadhyay. But the assimilation of these early domiciled Bengalis with local community speaks itself of the little scope of merger of Oriya with Bengali at any time in the past notwithstanding the close affinity between these two languages and close people to people contact between them. Nor in the history of Orissa there was any such instance of ethnic intolerance between these two communities. But this ethnic intolerance began only in the second half of the nineteenth century with the deliberate attempt made by some English educated Bengalis to replace Oriya by Bengali. But any such imagination of willfull acceptance of Bengali by the Oriyas, was either an over expectation or an impression of too much stupidity and passivity of its people who had no sense of identity amongst themselves. Rajendra Lal himself was not free from such prejudice against the Oriyas which is reflected in his contemptuous remark against the Oriyas of Midnapore that " men there often feel offended if they are called Uriya". Unfortunately such prejudiced views about the Oriyas prevailed among many such English educated Bengali *babus* who had no idea about Orissa's rich literary heritage and they always perceived that Orissa owed many things to Bengal.

with regard to the development of its culture, literature, and language. Very few non-resident Bengalis like Bhudev Mukhopadhyā and Rangolal Bandopadhyā were aware about her rich literary heritages which were available then in every corner of the province in the form of palm-leaf manuscripts. Rangolal was such a patron of Oriya language that when he was the Deputy Magistrate in Cuttack, he became the first president of *Utkal Bhasoddipani Sabha* in 1867, whose objective was to print all old Oriya literatures. In the journal *Rahasya Sandarva* in Bengali, edited by Rajendra Lal Mitra himself, Rangolal in 1863 and 1864 published two articles on Oriya poems and their poets. In one of his essays he says, ". . . much before the composition of Bengali poems, poems in Oriya language had been composed. Oriya poems are in no way inferior to the Bengali poems, rather in many respects their poets have shown excellence. Many of their poets have composed about 30 to 40 poems." Regarding Upendra Bhanja he says that he has composed 52 poems.³⁰ Though Rajendra Lal himself was not proficient in Oriya, he must not have missed all these essays of Rangolal in his own journal which had given due respect to Oriya language for its literary tradition. But his reply to Beames also missed this vital aspect. Nor has he said anything about Oriya script. These lacunae have weakened his argument.

Similarly, his comparison of Oriya with the local dialects of Dacca, Comilla, Sylhet and Coochbehar of Bengal or various regional dialects of France, Prussia or England was very much unfair and did little justice to his level of scholarship. Oriya language was groomed and developed with its own literature and script under an independent political entity for five hundred years uninfluenced by outsiders. They were composed in a script totally unknown to entire Bengali community or people of Dacca, Comilla, Coochbehar or Sylhet. How many literatures in their own dialects with a script different from Bengali were then produced to justify their own identity? If those people accepted Bengali, it was because their regional dialect was not developed like that of Bengali or Oriya. Needless to say that many Oriya inscriptions were inscribed even outside modern Orissa in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries indicating the length of its influence.

Clearly the salient points of Rajendra Lal's reply to Beames was full of twist and improvisation which is hardly convincing even

to an average scholar of philology. He was neither successful in his argument that Bengali was the mother of Oriya nor his justification for acceptance of Bengali by the Oriyas on social and economic ground was convincing at all. For example his preference for higher education at the cost of elementary mass education in Orissa was also equally confusing. What way it would have rendered good to the Oriyas if only one out of every hundred excelled himself by virtue of higher education when the rest or lesser intelligence remained dolt without elementary education ?Can higher education be conceivable without elementary education?If higher education for Oriyas was desirable for the reasons stated by him, how and to what extent Bengali would have provided the right solution instead of English?

Needless to mention that his competence to take up this issue may also be questioned. Rajendra Lal had no doubt mastered many languages like English, Bengali Hindi, Persian, Urdu, Sanskrit, German and French. But his knowledge in Oriya can be said to be very inadequate and superfluous which is evident from the examples of sentences he used in his paper. For example to prove that Oriya plural is not different from Bengali plural he uses two Oriya sentences i. e. *gachha saba kati phelila* and *loka saba thila* which are clearly wrong Oriya. Their correct forms should be *gachha sabu kati pakeila/gachha sabu kati phopadila* and *loka sabu thile*.

Rajendra Lal was isolated by both European and other Bengali scholars for his views as we know that none of his contemporary pandits ever were known to have supported him on this issue. Now the question before us is why an eminent and dignified scholar like him involved himself in such a controversy which was started by the petty Bengali Babus in Orissa to safeguard and perpetuate their own interest ?Had he fallen himself into their hands so easily to represent their views ?It is of course difficult to believe that a man like him could have fallen into their hands so easily or he was simply used as a mouthpiece for them to add credence to their campaign. Then, was there any noble intention behind this view of Rajendra Lal ?But if he had any such, then instead of identifying himself in this campaign he could have aired his views independently. Being an eminent scholar, his views

would have been given due weightage if he had raised them separately with the government. We have already cited the views of Shiba Chandra Som, a patron of education in Balasore, who was also a benefactor of Phakirmohan. Phakirmohan, to whom many Bengali Babus in Balasore despised for his crusade against the abolition of Oriya language had however deep respect for Som, who appointed him as a teacher in his own school. Much before this controversy began, he in his book *Udisyar Itihas* opined that after Orissa's annexation with the Company's empire in Bengal in 1803, Bengali should have been introduced here for the benefit of its people. But unlike those Bengalis including Rajendra Lal, he had not questioned the separate identity of Oriya language nor does he appear to have taken part in this aggressive campaign which was full of scorn against the Oriyas. That is perhaps the reason why Phakirmohan had respect for him. The petty Bengali babus in Orissa when, they failed to resist the government's decision to introduce Oriya in place of Bengali, made a desperate attempt to influence both public and government opinion by questioning the separateness of Oriya language.

Interestingly, few months before Rajendra Lal's controversial debate on patriotism in Cuttack he in a long note to A. Smith, Magistrate of 24 Parganas, Alipore expressed his reservation against Rev James Long's views on compulsory mass education in vernacular language in Bengal. Stating the reason he said that as long as caste system "exerted its potent influence on the social life, it was futile to expect that the people of lower castes would avail themselves of education howsoever cheap it might be. The great majority of the cultivators were generally very poor and they found it more useful to engage their children in the field or in any other household duties, instead of sending them to free schools". Hence ruling out free education in vernacular language for the masses in Bengal, he emphasised the need for learning the language of the rulers by the subject race for better coordination between the rulers and the ruled.³¹ Obviously he was consistent in his views with regard to Orissa so far as higher education was concerned. But if for better coordination and governance the language of the rulers was necessary for the ruled why a different standard was applied to the Oriyas ?For Bengalis it was English, but for the Oriyas it was

Bengali ! Obviously, Rajendra Lal's intention was far from noble. It was of course true that the English educated Bengalis in those days found Orissa an easy hunting ground for petty employment in Government Departments and schools in the absence of adequate number of local English educated youngmen. Hence it was natural for them to expect that Bengali should be continued to be used at the expense of Oriya. But if a scholar like Rajendra Lal had no such personal intention, in what way he could have gained himself by this campaign? A modern scholar on the field, Prof G. N. Dash after carefully examining his motive has tried to find out some answers to this question. According to him Rajendra Lal was not only an eminent scholar in history and archaeology who had produced numerous papers and monographs. He was also a successful text-book writer in Bengali whose *Prakritika Bhugol* (1854), *Byakarama Prabesh* (1862), *Manachitra* (1850-68) and *Patra Koumudi* (1873) were accepted in schools for the students. These books apparently fetched him handsome money. Hence, with the introduction of Bengali in the schools of Orissa, it was natural for many Bengali text book writers including Rajendra Lal to expect new market for their text books which would accrue them handsome royalty. Dash has framed his views on the basis of some of the lines in Rajendra Lal's essay where he says "I prepared a map of India in Bengali and it brought me a profit within one year of over six thousand rupees. The same map was subsequently translated into Oriya, but even the School Book Society could not venture to undertake it on their own account, and the Government at last had to advance, I think, some two or three thousand rupees, to help the publication. The map, however, fell still-born from the press, and almost the whole edition is, I believe, now rotting in the godowns of its publisher. Let but Government introduce the Bengali language in the schools of Orissa, and the Uriyas, instead of seeking grants-in-aid from Government and private individuals for occasionally bringing out solitary new books, will have the whole of our Bengali publication at their disposal without any cost. . ."¹²

According to Dash Rajendra Lal's actual intention was perhaps hidden in these few lines for which he did not hesitate to find common cause with these petty Bengali babus in Orissa, who became increasingly concerned with the growing resurgence of Oriya

nationalism and Bengal government's readiness to accept the recommendation of Commissioner of Orissa for introduction of Oriya in the schools, offices and courts. But as it was not easy to resist this decision, they began to question the identity of Oriya language quite aggressively both with the intention of influencing European opinion as well as demoralising the Oriya nationalists, an attempt instigated by Rajendra Lal himself. That's why he labelled the growing Oriya nationalism as false patriotism or "an insensate love for everything that is national". By opposing Oriya in Orissa he only shared the concern of those babus who feared the end of their own and their children's career in Orissa which she easily provided to them so far. By insisting Bengali for the Oriyas in education he tried to project himself as a real well-wisher of the Oriyas, though he himself had no faith in vernacular education for the Bengalis in Bengal. Nor had he faith in mass education, which could ameliorate the material condition of the people. It is really surprising how he could conceive the idea of higher education in Orissa to produce few qualitative Oriya intellectuals at the cost of mass elementary education.³³ Obviously political motive was predominant in such ideas. Phakirmohan Senapati in his autobiography has mentioned how the Bengali *amias* and officers in Balasore under the leadership of Kantichandra began to defy a circular of Lt. Governor George Campbell, which favoured mass elementary education in vernacular language at the expense of English schools. Countering Phakirmohan's views on mass education face to face in a hotly contested debate in Balasore, Kanichandra openly said that they would be the looser, if mass education was introduced in place of higher education.³⁴ Surely without morale support from Rajendra Lal, Kantichandra would not have dared to defy this decision of the government. Thus according to Dash, though Rajendra Lal was a great scholar, he was not necessarily a very noble man to favour the introduction of Oriya in Orissa, as with this move he perceived the end of the chance of further sale of his own text books³⁵. Obviously he was not free from that attitude of the neo English educated Bengalis who inherited the British colonial instinct of expansion at the cost of weaker nation. It may be mentioned in this connection that text books in the nineteenth century fetched such

profit to the writers that even the Oriya text book writers did not hesitate to indulge themselves in petty politics to press the government to accept their own books instead of others.

Since Rajendra Lal's reply to Beames was not based on philological argument, Beames therefore perhaps chose not to give any direct reply to him in this regard. There was also probably other reasons for which he avoided direct collision with Rajendra Lal. He had tremendous personal regard for him as a scholar to whom he referred on many occasions in his papers. But in course of his subsequent researches, his conviction became stronger that, Orissa during the course of history had been able to preserve many of its own culture, uninfluenced by outside world. This he has frequently referred to in his few subsequent papers on Orissan history, archaeology, literatures and his Comparative Grammar on modern Aryan languages all of which were published between 1871 and 1873, a period when Oriya language stood a real test. Replying to Rajendra Lal's most of the views in his Comparative Grammar he says, "... the Bengalis assert the Oriya is merely a dialect of Bengali, and has no claim to be considered an independent language, and they mix up with this assertion a second to the effect that if it is not it ought to be, mainly because they wish it was, and secondly because the population of Orissa is so small as compared with that of Bengal that they think it useless to keep up a separate language and written character for so small a province. They further urge that the maintenance of a separate language prevents the Oriyas from learning Bengali and profiting by the vast stores of valuable literature which they consider the latter to contain. Much of this chain of arguments is purely political, and may therefore be very briefly dismissed by the following remarks. If Oriya is to be suppressed because it is only spoken by a few millions of people, it might also be urged that Dutch, or Danish, or Portuguese, should be obliterated also. . . when the case of Oriya comes to be considered, it must be remembered that it is spoken not only by five million in the settled and civilized districts of the sea-coast, but by an uncounted and widely dispersed mass of wild tribes inland and extends as far west as Nagpore and as far south as Telingana. In these regions it is rapidly supplanting the old

non-Aryan dialects; and from its having absorbed into itself much of the non-Aryan element, it affords a far better medium of civilization than Bengali. Moreover, it is far beyond the power of the handful of English and Bengalis settled in Orissa to stamp out the mother-tongue of all these is no doubt that Oriya has ample proof of its individuality. The poems of Upendra Bhanj and his contemporaries are written in a language which hardly differs in a single word or inflection from the vernacular of today, and every word of which is distinctly intelligible to the meanest labourer. . . It retains unchanged forms which are older than the oldest Bengali or Hindi, and others which can only be compared with Bengali forms of three centuries ago, but which have long since died out from that language. . . At a period when Oriya was already a fixed and settled language Bengali did not exist; the inhabitants of Bengal spoke a vast variety of corrupt forms of eastern Hindi. "³⁶

Whether Beames views on the history of Bengali and Oriya language are acceptable to modern philologists in *toto* or not is a different question. But one of the celebrated philologists of modern times Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, inspite of his bias in favour of Bengali language, also believes that of the three speeches- Oriya, Bengali and Assamse, Oriya has preserved great many archaic features in both grammar and pronunciation. It is therefore not wrong to say that "Oriya is the eldest of the three sisters, when we consider the archaic character of the language. "³⁷ Thus to Chatterji the relationship between Bengali and Oriya are two sisters, not mother and daughter.

About the written character of Oriya, Beames says, "whether the Oriyas received the art of writing from Bengal or from Central India is a question still under dispute. The probabilities are stongly in favour of the latter supposition. In the flourishing times of the monarchy of Orissa, the intercourse with central and Southern India was frequent and intimate. Raja Churanga (or Saranga) Deva, the founder of the Ganga dynasty, which ruled from A. D. 1131 to 1451, came from the south, and was said in native legends to be a son of the lesser Ganges (Godavari). . . In fact, the early annals of Orissa are full of allusions to the central and southern Indian States, while Bengal

is scarcely ever mentioned. Indeed, the Oriya monarchs at one time did not bear sway beyond the Kansbans, a river to the south of Baleswar (Balasore) and there was thus between them and Bengal a wide tract of hill and forest. . . ." Further to him the Oriya characters in their present form present a marked similarity to those employed by the non-Aryan nations like Telugu, Malayalam, Tamil, Singhalese and Burmese, whose chief peculiarity consists in their spreading out the ancient Indian letters" into elaborate mazes of circular and curling form." The reason of its being so round and curling is to be found in the materials of palm-leaf and iron style which they use for writing. They show signs of having arisen from a form of the Kutila character prevalent in central India.³⁸ This view was based on the written character of the copper-plate grant to Poteswar Bhatta, the ancestor of the Zemindars of Garhpada by king Purusottam Deva in the sixteenth century. About its written character he says that the archaic form of the letters renders it very valuable as showing the gradual development of the modern Oriya alphabet from a southern variety of the Kutila type.³⁹

His strong conviction that Orissa, before Chaitanya had hardly any interaction with Bengal for which there was little possibility of them being influenced by the Bengali's either linguistically or culturally was based on an assumption that between river Kansabansa in the south of Balasore and Ganga river there was vast tract of forest which kept apart the people from both sides. This assumption was based both on philological and topographical study. In his first paper "On the Relation of the Uriya to the other Modern Aryan Languages" he suggested that the Oriyas came to Orissa through Bengal. But later in his comparative Gammar he revised his view and opined, "We know from history that the Oriya race did not enter Orissa from the north, through Bengal, but from the west, across the mountains which separate it from the southern limits of Bihar. Many of the words of the language have the Bihar type of Hindi, and resemble Bengali only in those respects in which Bengali itself resembles Hindi."⁴⁰ The theory of a jungle separating between Orissa and Bengal in the early part has been found in at least three of his papers written around 1872. In his "The Jungle Forts of Northern Orissa" (Indian

Antiquary, February 2, March 1 1872) he says that the isolation of northern Orissa from both Orissa and Bengal was due to the area being covered "With dense jungle, which extended apparently with hardly any break to the banks of the Hooghly." He visited Raibania near Jaleswar to view the ruinious forts of that area, which even in the seventies of the nineteenth century was an obscure village. After visiting the area and examining the ruinous fort he thought that those were built by Mukunda Deva, the last independent king of Orissa around 1550 A. D. In his time Orissa faced repeated Afghan invasions from Bengal. Hence to guard the enemy he felt the necessity of constructing a fort in the jungle of northern Orissa. The Gangas who came from the south were great builders whose temples, palaces and tanks according to him, still adorned the southern part of the province. Hence it was possible that, they would not have been contented with so comparatively a clumsy and inartistic forts as Raibania. The density of forests in those areas was also proved by the frequency of names of places in which the word *ban* occurs as *Banchas*, *Banahar*, *Banpada* and *Bankati*.⁴¹ In his "The History of Orissa under the Mahomedan, Maratha and English Rule," though published in 1883, but written around 1872, the same view has been elaborated. To him the name "Baleswar" has been derived from Baneshwara, the forest-lord in which name a Shiva temple, existed then in the old Balasore. The existence of Balasore town before Mughal period has not been proved in history, but its development owed a great deal to European activities only in the time of Muslim period, when its road with Bengal was also opened up. Again according to him between Kansabansa and the frontier of Bengal there was no vestige of a single fort, temple, palace or bridge "that can be traced or attributed to any older period than the sixteenth century. It is hardly possible that if this part of the country had been inhabited, the kings and rich men who so lavishly spent their wealth in the rest of the province on temples and forts, should not have erected a single stone building in a place where stone abounds." Also to supplement his views he has cited the example of numerous tenures of a kind originally granted for the purpose of clearing and settling forest land. Those tenures, so numerous in northern Balasore,

were hardly known in the south of the Kansabans except in the hills. One example of such land grants, is already cited was the copper-plate grant to Poteswar Bhatt. The grant of 1408 *batis* or 28, 160 acres, so vast a land to a single Brahman, suggests the native tradition that Garhpada and the adjacent country was at that time uninhabited, or at least sparsely peopled.⁴²

This jungle theory of Beames separating Orissa from Bengal, however again as expected, came under fire from Rajendra Lal Mitra, to whom any notion attributing the growth and formulation of Oriya language and culture without the influence of Bengal was not acceptable. To him *Bana* in India means a grove, a park or tope- as well as the forest. Even if Baleswar was derived from the word Baneswar, implying forest land, it was only the town, but not necessarily the entire district. To him though philological argument of Beames suggests the migration of Oriya people to Orissa from Magadh through Central India as Balasore was not approachable, many recorded events in the history of Orissa suggested her intercourse with Magadh which could be possible through Bengal. He also cites the example of a Buddhist legend to suggest that direct contact with Bengal from Orissa was possible in the early days.⁴³ Giving however a mild and polite reply to Rajendra Lal, Beames said that after he came into contact with Midnaore district in his capacity as the Commissioner of Burdwan Division⁴⁴, it confirmed his opinion that Orissa was colonised from Bihar and not from Bengal, and Oriya is a more archaic form of Magadhi Parakrit than an offshoot of Bengali.⁴⁵

About her indigeneous literatures, folklore and social system, he says that Orissa preserved many things of its own, totally uninflunced by outside India. Observing the caste system in northern Orissa, he in "On the sub-divisions of the Brahman caste in Northern Orissa" says, some of the typical Bengali surnames like Ghosh and Bose (Basu) in Balasore belonged to low caste Hindus like Raju and Gokhas in contrast to Bengal where they were respectable Kayasta caste. Secondly, the gotra names of the Brahmins were for the "most part patronymics from well-known Rishis, and are identical with many of those still in use in the North-Western Provinces." This circumstance

seems to add confirmation to the legend of origin or migration of ten thousand Brahmins from Kanauj to Orissa.⁴⁶ This legend again supplements his earlier stand that a principal section of Oriya community were of northern origin but not the offshoot of Bengalis. In his small note on "Mode of Dating in Orissa" he observes the prevalence of a curious custom in Orissa where in all zemindary accounts, receipts, leases and other documents the Indian months were denoted by the sign of the zodiac, instead of by the familiar names of asterisms used by the whole Aryan race in India.⁴⁷ In the paper on "Folklore of Orissa", observing some interesting superstitions among the peasantry of Orissa he thinks, these were due to the isolation of the state for a longtime, for which their peasantry were still able to retain them in a greater extent than any other Aryan people of India.⁴⁸ In "On a copper-plate Grant from Balasore," Beames citing the example of *Di 10 am* and *ba 1408 ti* as inscribed on the copper plate, he shows this was the typical Oriya fashion of expressing any amount, figure or quantity of an article in written form. This practice still continued in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. When they used to express any quantum or number of unit of an article they divided the two lettered Oriya word of that unit of measurement and the first and the last letters were prefixed and suffixed with the number. Thus "they would write 10 rupees or 10 tanka as *ta 10 nka* 5 maunds would be *ma 5 han*, 30 years as *ba 30 rsa*, and so on."⁴⁹

Understandably about the modern Oriya literature, Beames had no admirable opinion, as his was the formative stage of modern Oriya works. As he said only few prose works were of considerable merit, but no originality, being either translations or adaptations from the English and Bengali. But that was the period of awakening for the Oriyas about whom he says "The Oriyas are beginning to wake up but none of them have yet received sufficient cultivation to make them really good authors."⁵⁰ But it was her medieval literatures, which had won his appreciation about whom he wrote two articles. In "The Indigenous literature of Orissa" he said if Oriya held a low place in its group of Aryan languages, it was owing to its obscurity. But in many respects, this was one of the most interesting languages of the Aryan group as "Owing to its long isolation from the rest, it

has preserved words and forms which have perished from them, and exhibits at times very singular developments of its own." He has appended eighty-two medieval epics which were available then in the form of palm-leaf in the coastal districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri. To him *Rasakallola* of Dinakrishna Das, composed in the early part of the sixteenth century, was the most celebrated Oriya poem, which were even frequently heard at village meetings and most educated Oriyas knew whole cantos by heart. The chief merit of the poem is its versification, being fluent and graceful.⁵¹ Writing an essay separately on it, he says, the songs which were sung by the peasantry in every part of the country, many of its lines have passed into proverbs, and have become "household words," with all classes. The main cause of its popularity was its comparative freedom from long Sanskrit words, being for the most part, except when the poet soared into the higher style, written in the purest and simplest Oriya vernacular. Comparing the language of its second canto with the language of medieval Bengali poet Vidyapati, he said at the time Dinakrishna wrote this epic, the Bengali language did not exist in its modern form. Vidyapati's language was merely a dialect of Eastern Hindi, which was sufficient to refute Bengalis' pretensions that Oriya was merely a dialect of their own. Another merit of this poem, unlike oldest Hindi and Gujrati, was its readiness with which the poet's native language lent itself to the metres which he employed. In the latter class of poems one was not sure that the languages of the poets were actually spoken by the contemporary people, but in *Rasakallola*, except an occasional dialresis, the language was the same as that in which the gentle and refined Oriya clodhopper fondly cursed his wife or his bullocks, or grumbled over his daily pill of adulterated opium, what Beames observed in Orissa.⁵² To substantiate his views that, the Bengali in its modern form did not exist, when Oriya was an established language, he in the same year in 1873, elaborating in a separate discussion of the works of Vidyapati and Chandi Das in two essays, he concludes that the language used by these two poets may more properly be called old Maithili than Bengali, which is nearly identical with the language spoken in Tirhut, Munger and Bhagalpur. "As the Aryan race grew and multiplied it naturally poured out its

surplus population in Bengal and it is not only philologically obvious that Bengali is nothing more than a further, and very modern development of the extreme eastern dialect of Hindi. ”⁵³

Of course Beames’ comparison of Dinakrishna Das’ *Rasakallola* with Vidyapati and Chandi Das’ works may not be fair, as modern scholars place Dinakrishna in early seventeenth century. But this does not necessarily detract him from the centrality of his argument that, Bengali in its modern form did not exist at a time when Oriya became a full-fledged language. The language used by Sarala Das in his *Mahabharata*, who definitely belonged to the first half of the fifteenth century, rarely differs from the language spoken by the people in the nineteenth century. He wrote the *Mahabharata* in the time of Gajapati Kapilendra Deva (1436-1466) about whom he mentions in his epic. Since he belonged to Jhankad of modern Jagatshinghpur district, the language used by him was spoken in that area, which is said to be one of the purest specimen of Oriya. The *Bhagabata* in Oriya, composed by Jagannath Das during the reign of Prataparudra Deva, the grandson of Kapilaendra Deva, was accepted by the later Oriya poets as standard language. Many manuscripts of these two poets are still being collected from almost every corner of the state including Midnapore in West Bengal, showing immense popularity of these literatures among the masses. Till the first half of the twentieth century *Bhagabata Tungi* had been a very common culture in majority of the villages in Orissa, where every evening Jagannath Das’ *Bhagabata* used to be recited among large gathering of audiences which comprised all sections of people. However, these two poets had not been adequately canonised by the literary critics of Orissa until the last part of the nineteenth century. Since Dinakrishna Das belonged to Jaleswar of Balasore district, his *Rasakallola* was very popular in Balasore, for which it was introduced to Beames by the local scholars like Phakirmohan and Gobinda Chandra Pattanayak. Had he taken into discussion the *Mahabharata* of Sarala Das and *Bhagabata* of Jagannatha Das, they would have lent much more credence to his views.

Apart from "The Jungle Forts of Northern Orissa", Beames had also three papers on Orissan archaeology. Having viewed the

remains in Kopari in Balasore district and Chhatia in Cuttack district he came to the conclusion that both the Buddhist shrines have been later converted into Hindu shrines. Hence some of the displacement and destruction of the Buddha images were intentional, though some were also accidental.⁵⁴ He wrote a paper on the remains of Alti and Udaygiri hills near Dharmasala. But it was only a narrative paper.⁵⁵

Beames' last paper on Orissa was on the political geography of Orissa as described by Abul Fazl in *Ain-i-Akbari* published in 1896 in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*. This was of course not a separate paper on Orissa but part of a series on the geography of Mughal India as depicted in the *Ain*, which were published in two volumes in the *Journal of Asiatic Society* in 1884 and 1885 under the caption 'On the Geography of India in the Reign of Akbar'. In these volumes he had covered Avadh and Bihar. The Bengal portion of *Ain* was discussed in the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* in 1896 under the caption 'Subahs and the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Bengal and Orissa' in which Orissa has been dealt with in the second section. *Ain-i-Akbari* has always been a very resourceful materials for the historians for constructing an objective history of Mughal India during Akbar. It drew the frequent attention of the early British officials for knowing in detail about the nature of revenue system and land-holdings in pre-British period on the basis of settlement made by Raja Todar Mal in 1582 in each Mughal province. In view of this its translation from Persian to English was essential for the English civilians. The Asiatic Society of Bengal which in its repository had a manuscript of *Ain*, entrusted this work to Prof Blochmann who published an article on Bengal as depicted in *Ain* under the caption "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal" in the *Journal of Asiatic Society*. But after his early demise the work was entrusted to Colonel Jarret who completed it successfully. But what prompted Beames to reconstruct the geography of Mughal India especially of Bengal, Bihar and Avadh was that neither Blochmann nor Jarret were personally familiar with the places mentioned in *Ain* inspite of their indepth knowledge in Persian. Many names found in different manuscripts of *Ain* are either confusing or misleading as Persian words are easily distinguishable by small dots. Moreover Todar Mal's

settlement in Bengal and Orissa, which was made in 1582 cannot be said to have given the complete scenario as these two provinces were then not effectively subdued by the Mughals. As for example with regard to Orissa he says, Todar Mal's lists "are very imperfect, and cannot be taken as covering the whole territory of Orissa". A very large number of undoubtedly ancient and important estates are omitted, and the revenue assigned to others bear no proportion to their known extent. Andrew Stirling, who was intimately acquainted with the province in the early days of British rule, asserts that a measurement of the lands was made, and that the accounts still preserved in the offices of the Sadr Kanungos, or Keepers of the Revenue Accounts, are founded on that measurement. But he could not find any evidence or information as to the means by which the determination of the rents and revenues was arrived at. It was therefore highly probable that the measurement dragged on over many years, and the assessment of revenue was not finally made till long after Todar Mal's time. Of course Beames' intention was to make a correct identification of the places as mentioned in *Ain* of Bengal, Orissa and Bihar, which he claims to have become possible by his acquaintance with these places in his capacity as civilians there in different times. Hence this work of Beames, perhaps has not lost its relevance even today to the students of history who may use it as good supplement to the translations of Blochmann and Jarret.

Obviously, Beames cannot be rated as a historian of the same stature as W. W. Hunter. His main interest being primarily language, history was only secondary. Except his "Notes on the History of Orissa under the Mahomedan, Maratha and English Rule" and "Notes on Akbar's Subahs, with reference to the *Ain-i-Akbari*", he is not known to have written any other paper exclusively on any theme of history. The writing of the former was necessitated for his proposed "Manual of the District of Balasore" in which it was the second chapter. Unfortunately, the manual remained unpublished, as Sir Richard Temple, the Lieutenant Governor did not approve it because of his personal disliking for Beames. Had it been published, some of his precious observations about Balasore district would have come to light. In this paper on the history of Orissa, he had gone through few official

records pertaining to Maratha and British period. Though the work was more narrative, than analytical, it was a comprehensive history of Orissa pertaining to Mughal, Maratha and British period which was a good supplement to the works of Stirling and Hunter. But inspite of his limited access to historical data, some of the conclusions which he arrived at on the basis of philological study was surprisingly in consistent with the views of later scholars who disagreed with many of the views expressed by Hunter. Beames had not consulted *Madalapanji*, a chronicle on Jagannath temple at Puri. But relying on the views of A. Stirling whose history of Orissa was considerably based on *Madalapanji*, he successfully traced the southern origin of the Ganga kings of Orissa, which was not in consistent with the views expressed by Elphinstone and Hunter. Though like Stirling, Hunter also heavily relied on *Madalapanji* for his history of Orissa, he deliberately seems to have chosen a vaguely expressed view of Elphinstone, attributing the Bengali origin of the Ganga king. To him the bank of the Ganges near Tamluk was the original homeland of the Gangas. But this view of Hunter was again self-contradictory to whom Tamluk in Midnapore district was a regular part of Orissa. By attributing the Bengali origin of the Ganga kings, he sided with the Bengali elites in the latters "campaign against the separate identity of the Oriyas". About the art of Konark temple he views them as climax of the Bengal art. All these views encouraged the later Bengali intellectuals and historians like Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Nagendra Nath Basu, Manmohan Ganguly and Bijay Chandra Majumdar to expand their views in some aspects or others in which they made a link to the Bengali origin of the Oriya people.⁵⁶

His greatest contribution to Orissan historiography was that his was the first micro-level study on any single aspect of Orissan history, archaeology and literatures many of which perhaps have not lost their relevance even today. He did not label Oriya as a great nation, but he definitely appreciated them for preserving many of their originalities in culture, literature and language which provided a boost to the morale of the educated Oriyas to rediscover themselves in a period when the inferiority complexion of the nation was at its lowest ebb. His views on the archaic nature of the Oriya language

later provided the impetus to scholars like R. N. Cust and Manmohan Chakravarti to make more independent enquiry on the subject and arrive at a definite conclusion. It was Man Mohan Chakravarti in 1897, who further elaborated this discourse in an insightful paper by citing a number of reasons that Oriya is a descendant of Magadhi Prakrit which has been significantly influenced by the Brahmins and Karans castes of the state who migrated here from the region in northeren India where Prakrit was used to be spoken. Among other factors Buddhism and Jainism which were once the religions of the state and whose scriptures were written in Magadhi and ardha Magadhi respectively might have also influenced the language as well as the kings of Magadha and the Guptas often conquered Orissa. On the basis of the accounts of Huein Tsang he also firmly believes that by seventh century A. D. this has become a distinct language. Further, on the basis of the inscriptions of the Ganga king Narasingha Deva II and the copper plate-inscriptions of Narasingha Deva IV he says by their time the language was fully developed and little different from the modern language either in spelling or grammar. " This fixity of the language five to six hundred years back presupposes a tolerably high antiquity for its origin, and thus corroborates the remarks of the observant and careful Hiuen Thsang. " Thus to him " philologically as well as historically the Oriya language might fairly be considered as an off-shoot of the Magadhi, and as a sister to the Bengali and the Eastern Hindi. " He also goes a step further by placing the origin of the Oriya language to fifth or sixth century A. D. Regarding the written character of the Oriya Manmohan also supports Beames's views that the nature of the materials used for writing the *pothis*(palm-leaf manuscripts) make the character round shaped.⁵⁷

Whatever may be the correctness of the views of Beames on Orissa and Oriya, his writings could not have come in a much more appropriate time than in the early seventies of the nineteenth century, when the existence of the Oriya language was in serious danger on the question of its identity. As Beames himself says about the book of Kanti Chandra, " Much more may, of course be said on this subject, in fact a tolerably large book might be written by a resident of the province as no respectable grammar or dictionary of the

language has yet been published and as there are few persons in Orissa who are competent to take up the enquiry and work it out fully, we can not expect to see a good answer to Babu Kanti Chandra's book yet awhile". But in the absence of any such native scholars who could write a befitting reply to Kanti Chandra's work or match the debating skill of Rajendra Lal, the advent of John Beames in Orissa may be said to be an act of providence for the Oriyas who came as their saviour. It is of course true that before Kanti Chandra's booklet was published, the Government of Bengal had already accepted the recommendation of the Commissioner of Orissa to introduce Oriya in Orissa. But inspite of this, to resist the aggression of Rajendra Lal perhaps no one could have been a better match to counter him than a philologist like John Beames. His comparative Grammar which had earned him international fame then, was published during his collectorship in Balasore in 1872, a time when he was also studying this controversy seriously. In 1873, the government decided to abolish Bengali completely from the schools of Orissa as the students were to be taught in Oriya only. By then though there was no more threat to Oriya language of its extinction from schools and courts, nevertheless Rajendra Lal stuck to his view and did not hesitate to make it public again. In the same year in Calcutta, participating in a debate on philology in the Bethune Society of India, he said that though there were differences of opinion regarding diversity of languages in India these differences were not so wide as perceived by Education Department without understanding the reality. Stating the example of Bengali, Oriya and Assamese he said that they, in reality were one language, though appeared to be different. As Bengalis were numerically superior they could save their language. But Oriya and Assamese being numerically inferior, would not be able to sustain their languages. If they would accept Bengali then they would be united with one fraternity group and enjoy all the fruits of development which Bengal enjoyed. Of course his view was not supported by others, who were present in the debate. Stating this report, *Utkal Dipika* in a sarcastical remark says what Rajendra Babu says only suits him as he has already been isolated on this issue.⁵⁸ Again he raised this issue out of context in a colloquium.

Though at that time there was no educated Oriya to counter him, but the educated youngmen of later generation never forgave him for his views. Attending the second session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in 1886, Madhusudan Das, the father of modern Oriya nationalism publicly made a sarcastical question to Rajendra Lal, the Chairman of the Reception Committe, whether the artisans who constructed the Orissan monuments, were Oriya or not. Das's reference was on the antiquities of Orissa about which Rajendra Lal made an extensive study. Needless to mention, he was very much embarrassed by this question and remained silent.⁵⁹

Though by that time the controversy had completely died down nevertheless Rajendra Lal was able to prevail over many Bengali intellectuals of subsequent years, with regard to oneness of these three languages. Rabindra Nath Tagore who himself was inspired by many of Rajendra Lal's views on philology and Bengali language was inclined to believe that had Bangali been a spoken and written language in Assam and Orissa it would have rendered not only immense good to that literature but also to both these provinces. Referring to a grammar book on Assamese language written by Dr. Brown, he criticised those English scholars who tried to prove the independence of the 'regional dialects of Bengali language'. This view of Rabindra Nath was perhaps an indication of the frustrated reaction of those Bengali intelligentia, who were once inspired by the views of Rajendra Lal, who perhaps himself was disgusted with the European scholars for rejecting his views on the oneness of Bengali, Oriya and Assamese languages. Even long after the demise of this controversy many Bengali intellectuals like Rabindranath firmly believed that both Oriya and Assamese were the regional dialects of Bengali.⁶⁰ Unfortunately unlike the European missionaries or English scholars like Beames, Sutton or Brown neither Rajendra Lal nor Rabindra Nath were known to have learnt either Oriya or Assamese sufficiently to make themselves competent for such discourse. Rather they viewed the interpretation of the European scholars as a move to divide the "Bengalis" of Eastern India.

Perhaps an indirect contribution which Beames made to Oriya literature was the free use of *Tatbhava* and *Desaja* words in his

short-stories and novels by Phakirmohan Senapati. Though many eminent critics of Phakirmohan like Sarbeswar Das, Surendra Mohanty, Natabar Samantaray and John V. Boulton have made significant discourses on Phakirmohan's prose style none of them however could arrive at a definite conclusion on the question, how and why he used the languages of the common men in his short stories and novels and what prompted him to focuss on social realism in contrast to many writers of his time in Orissa and other Indian languages. G. N. Dash however thinks that the main motivating factor behind Phakirmohan's prose style was John Beames. To him though Phakirmohan had emotional attachment with Beames for whom he showers so much praise in his autobiography, his intellectual vision was also broadened after he came into contact with him. When Beames was writing his Comparative Grammar in Balasore he was exchanging views with Phakirmohan, Govinda Chandra and Rev E. C. B. Hallam. Both Beames and Hallam have emphasized for the inclusion of people's language in the literature. In his Comparative Grammar criticising the pandits of both Oriya and Bengali for using excessive *Tatsama* words Beames says "The excessive number of *Tatsamas* in Bengali and Oriya, so far from indicating a high standard of preservation, points rather to great poverty in the language". Phakirmohan, for whom Beames was an intellectual and academic icon must have been influenced by this view with whom he would have enough discourse on the subject. Beames himself has written in the preface of his book that he has learnt the language much more from the lips of the peasants than any standard book on the subject. This criticism of Beames must have a powerful bearing on Phakirmohan who after the retirement from his job, when started writing novels and short-stories, discarded *Tatsama* words and heavily used *Tatbhavas* and *Desajas* except in few cases. Not only he used these words but also considered very rightly that without the selection of those characters who were the real users of these words, perhaps the aestheticity of his writings would be incomplete. This was the reason why he always chose commonfolks like peasants, weavers and lower middle class people etc. as the central character of his short-stories and novels.⁶¹

Though Phakirmohan's prose style was his own and has no parallel so far in the annals of Oriya literature, the views of Beames definitely had powerful impact on him which inspired him to write in the language which the people spoke. But he applied them in such a fashion that it was only unique to his style . Not only did he choose the common folks and their language in his prose fiction, but also selected the plot which these people faced in those days in their day-to-day life. The drive which Beames took in Balasore against the oppressive zemindars who fraudulenly extracted many illegal dues from the peasants and his pro-poor attidue, which Phakirmohan closely observed, could have also powerful bearing on his mind for which we find the characters of Ramachandra Mangaraj, the oppressive zemindar and the poor innocent weaver couple Bhagia and Saria, the victim of fraudulent extraction by Mangaraj in *Chha man Athaguntha*, the most celebrated novel of Phakirmohan. It was therefore no wonder that when Beames' anti -zemindari drive was severely criticised by many newspapers in Orissa and Bengal, he was supported by Phakirmohan's *Baleswar Sambad Bahika*. Thus proper use of people's language and successful projection of their day -to-day life and problem which are the main characteriscs of Phakirmohan's prose fiction, makes him even today as the unrivalled short-story writer and novelist in Oriya literature for which the indirect contribution of Beames cannot be denied. Though Beames had other intimate friends like Radhanath Ray, the father of modern Oriya poem, his relation with him appears to be only personal and Radhanath does not appear to have been influenced by Beames' concept. Since Radhanath's emphasis was romanticism, his poems do not appeal to the people to the same extent as Phakirmohan's prose style.

G. N. Dash also observes the impact of another essay of Beames " The Jungle Forts of Northern Orissa" on Phakirmohan's writings. As already discussed this is an essay on the fort of Raibania, then an obscure village in northern Balasore which was published in February and March, 1872 of *Indian Antiquary* . Though no documentation about this fort to provide any clue to the historian is available so far, Beames conjectures it to have been built by Mukunda Deva around 1550 A. D. This fort was the focus in one of the poems

"Utkalara Bigata Gouraba" of Phakirmohan which was published in *Mukura* in 1907. The poem is based on a historical incident, narrated in *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* about the war between the Rai of Jajnagar and Tughril Tughan Khan of Bengal in 1244 A. D. In this poem Phakirmohan gives prominence to the fort of Raibania whose few Oriya army inflicted a crushing defeat on the army of Tughan Khan, though in the original text the name of the place is mentioned as Katasin, a frontier between Rai's territory of Jajnagar and Bengal nawab's territory of Lakhnauti. In *Madalapanji*, we find the name of Kotisami, which K. C. Panigrahi identifies with Koti Simul of Hooghly district on the bank of the river Damodar which perhaps then was a part of Orissa. This incident occurred during the reign of Languda Narasigha Deva. Interestingly, ignoring Beames' opinion of construction of the Raibania fort in the sixteenth century, though Phakirmohan situates it in the thirteenth century in his poem, in a footnote in the same poem he however says that it was constructed by Langudia Mukunda Deva. Mukunda Dev was always known as Telenga Mukunda Dev due to his Telugu origin which Beames in his paper has also written. But instead of "Telenga", he has been referred to as "Langudia", by Phakirmohan, a sobriquet which is used for Narashingha Dev II. This contradiction in the same poem, according to Dash, may be due to the impact of Beames' views on Raibania, which according to him was built by Mukunda Dev. Phakirmohan has also been influenced by Beames' other view that Raibania on river Subarnarekha formed the regular boundary between Bengal and Orissa for which he situates Katasin of *Tabaqat-i-Nasirif* in Raibania. Raibania also finds prominence as an important post between Bengal and Orissa in another famous novel *Lachhama* of Phakirmohan.⁶² Though Phakirmohan might have seen this fort earlier his interest in it might have grown after his interaction with Beames.

Phakirmohan's another celebrated epic "Boudhabatara Kabya" may also be a by product of his association with Beames. Based on the lifehistory of Buddha, the basic text which Phakirmohan had relied on for this epic was "Lalita Bistara" in Pali language and few secondary sources in Bengali. His interest in Buddhism grew after he had few discourses from Beames on this subject when he

was the collector of Balasore. Presiding over the fourth session of the "Forum for Discussion" in Ravenshaw Collegiate School in 1912, Phakirmohan said that forty years before John Beames had told him very often that Buddhism was the best religion in the world. It was essential to study Buddhist philosophical scriptures if one was really interested to know about the essence of true religion. After hearing this he developed his interest in Buddhism and read "Lalita Bistara" and few other Buddhist scriptures. Beames' two papers on the Buddhist monuments in Kopari and Dharmasala were published in two issues of *Indian Antiquary* in 1872. His subsequent essay about Alti hill was published in 1875. Obviously Beames' interest on the Buddhist monuments in Orissa had a powerful bearing on his mind with whom very often he held discussion. Phakirmohan writes in the preface of "Boudhabatara Kabya that" though Buddhism once prevailed over Orissa whose testimony is borne by numerous rock edicts and sculptures, there is not a single book in Oriya about them. This prompted him to write the epic.⁶³

III

Much of John Beame's fame and reputation as an eminent oriental scholar and philologist and a competent and popular civil servant were however obliterated at the end of his service career for a multiplicity of reasons. His despise for certain European officers superior to him is well-known to the readers of his autobiography. He very often ran into trouble because "he made explicit the assumed doctrine of bureaucratic equalitarianism for all Europeans". Sir Richard Temple's ego-building measure at his expense and overbearing attitude of Lieutenant Paske in Gujrat found himself transferred to Ambala and then Ludhiana. Montgomery, the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, who found young Beames far too independent and insubordinate for Punjab, however sent him to Bengal province. In Champaran inspite of his support to the ryots against the indigo planters he was suspended from the service more because of his criticisim of Viceroy John Lawrence's frontier policy. He had only respect for Lieutenant Governor George Cambell, whose innovative reforming zeal had inspired him. As Collector in Cuttack

district he was at loggerhead with relatively soft spoken Ravenshaw, the Commissioner who once showered his praise for Beames when he was the Collector of Balasore. Of course he had no ill feeling for Ravenshaw inspite of his reservation against his competence. But his antagonism against him was intensified when he had to vacate the post of the officiating Commissionership, after Ravenshaw's return from Board of Revenue where he was deputed temporarily as Member. He earned the displeasure of Sir Ashley Eden, the new Lieutenant Governer of Bengal who succeeded Temple and transferred him to Chittagong as Commissioner and Judge which was a penal posting. For eighteen months he was in Chittagong which he dreaded most. But his autobiography abruptly ends in Chittagong.

Beames dared to confront with his superiors which he has proudly recorded in his autobiography. But these hiccups had not subdued him completely, though very often he found himself at the receiving end. But the worst phase of his service career came at its fag end, when he had to confront with the educated Indians especially the Bengalis on a number of issues. In the beginning of the eighties of the nineteenth century, when Ilbert Bill was tabled, like many Europeans he opposed the bill tooth and nail whose objective was too much for them to accept. In the words of Beames "it is intensely distasteful and humiliating to all Europeans and that it will tend seriously to impair the prestige of British rule in India. In fact, under a very simple and insignificant form, it conceals the elements of a revolution which may long prove the ruin of this empire".⁶⁴ This attitude of Beames definitely earned him the anathema of the educated Indian nationalists which eventually gave birth to Indian National Congress. Thereafter he embroiled himself in the case of succession of the zemindary estate of Bardhaman to such an extent that the English pleader of the estate openly questioned his impartiality. The year 1887 was perhaps the saddest and most disgraceful phase of his service career. He again earned the disaffection of the Indians when he gave evidence before Public Service Commission on 22 February 1887.

As he himself recorded in his diary by giving evidence "I cut my own throat without being aware of it". Just after two months of this incident a section of press in Calcutta spearheaded by *Amrita*

Bazar Patrika brought a serious allegation against him which thoroughly questioned his integrity as civilian. The allegation was his indebtedness to a number of Indian zemindars and money lenders under his jurisdiction from whom he borrowed money without informing about it to the government. Of course such allegation against a British Civilian was nothing new, but what really strikes was, the tone of attack on him was very much severe and quite repugnant to his image as scholar. This was brought at a time when the antagonism of the educated Indians against Beames after the presentation of his evidence before Public Service Commission was at its maximum. While presenting his views against Ilbert Bill in 1883, Beames said about the educated Bengali youths that those who were not successful in getting higher employment they "become naturally discontented and outwardly at least disloyal. It is men of this already numerous class who take to writing in the native newspapers in the tone of disaffection to Government which is partly nothing more than the jaundiced view of life held by all disappointed and unsuccessful men. . . If the editor of the most seditious paper in Bengal were to get a well paid appointment tomorrow, he would assert that the British rule in India was the pattern of excellence, justice and enlightenment. . . By the mass of their countrymen, these people are regarded as aliens, as more than half English and are looked on by the orthodox class with positive dislike as people who have forsaken the faith of their fathers. "⁶⁵

Though this recorded statement would not have been made public then, but such prejudice and partial view against the educated Bengali youths would not have been unknown to them especially those who were familiar with Beames' attitude towards Indians. Hence the very same newspapers run by those educated Bengali youths, to whom Beames held such partial views and despised them most, exposed him after he became too overbearing for them. What was also remarkable the views of these Calcutta based newspapers was echoed with same tone by *Utkala Dipika* and *Nabasambad* in Orissa. *The Daily News* and *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta and *Utkala Dipika* published few specific cases which stated that Beames had borrowed money from certain zemindars and money

lenders in Orissa about ten years before when he was the Collector and Commissioner in Cuttack. This he did without informing the government thus violating code of conduct imposed upon the civilians. In such cases, the money-lenders supposedly secured many unfair advantages from him.⁶⁶

These allegations are perhaps sufficient to expose the depravity of an officer who has misused the power conferred on him for his personal gain. Though his action was certainly deprecatory, was his fault so heinous as condemned in the press ? He has made no secret of his borrowing habit to his readers in his autobiography. As he says when he became the Acting Commissioner in 1877, his annual salary rose to £3, 000. But this brought him only partial relief as he had to finance his eight children in England and wife who was also for sometimes in England to take care of the children. The cost of the education of his three sons began to weigh heavily as it increased from £100 to £ 200 a year. As Commissioner he was obliged to entertain a good deal, and was expected to subscribe more than others to all kinds of objects. Besides the expenses of his children and wife, he had incurred heavy debts which he had to pay. Hence this income as he says "did not do more than meet the demands upon me."⁶⁷

In strict sense though borrowing of money is not a crime, Beames appears to have misused his official position by borrowing from the people in his jurisdiction without informing the government. By resorting to this practice, he either knowingly or unknowingly might have given unfair advantages to certain category of people. Without naming him *Daily News* wrote that Orissa was a hunting ground for the civilians for this practice, which it apparently meant to Beames.⁶⁸ If the newspaper report is believed, Beames might have been a regular borrower in Orissa. Accusing him, *Utkala Dipika* writes he forced the money lenders to lend him money without any interest or very little interest. Sometimes he also secured *rasad* and horse from the merchants.⁶⁹

The Viceroy of course took a lenient view to all these charges. In his explanation Beames stated that the money from whom he borrowed when he was in Champaran and Cuttack, were not the money-lenders under his jurisdiction and he borrowed from them not

clandestinely and with good intention. Though, Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy was satisfied with his reply, he reverted him to the post of Commissioner from Member, Board of Revenue, and posted him in Bhagalpur.

All these charges notwithstanding, it should not detract his contribution to Orissa for which he earned the love and affection of her people. Perhaps the tone of all these allegations was much more severe than the intended fault of the person. These offences are still minor if compared with misappropriation of government money. Besides few cases of exaggeration and some hypothetical conclusion of unfair advantages to the money-lenders by the newspapers may not be completely ruled out. But if one goes back to his track record as Collector of Balasore, one cannot but appreciate many of his administrative measures.

Beames, being a product of Haileybury perfectly suited himself to "platonic model of guardians". As a ruler he liked to be the lord and master in his jurisdiction where he ruled and brooked no opposition. His vigorous zeal for reform and innovation sometimes found himself not in ease with many orders or decision issued from the secretariat. But visionary as he was he brought into many innovations and novelty as Collector and Magistrate of Balasore. When he came to Balasore he found himself in the company of a group of youngmen who shared many of his visions and dynamism with whose assistance he introduced some reforms. His collectorship in Balasore was coincided with the Lt. Governorship of George Cambell, whose ceaseless efforts of bringing about a structural changes in entire administrative set up coupled with the vigorous zeal of making innovation inspired Beames, who also set out to implement many of his directives in his small district, Balasore. A significant innovation undertaken by him was to publish all important notifications of government in vernacular newspaper for the awareness of the people and inviting criticisms and suggestions from them. When he came to Balsore in 1869, the local fortnightly, *Bodhadayini and Baleswar Sambad Bahika* ran by Phakirmohan Senapati and Govinda Chandra Pattanayk, just managed to survive and perhaps counted the number of days for want of adequate number

of subscribers. As Phakirmohan himself noted in his autobiography, though there were forty to fifty subscribers of the journal, only eight to ten paid the subscription regularly.⁷⁰ But it was by the intervention of Beames, the journal not only escaped from extinction, but the press where it was printed received many work orders from the government for which it could run the newspaper out of its profit. Both he and Ravenshaw recommended to the Lt. Governor for an annual grant of one hundred rupees each for *Baleswar Sambad Bahika* and *Utkal Dipika*, so that through them, the message of the government could reach the people. Hereafter *Baleswar Sambad Bahika* became a weekly newspaper in which from July 1872, we find a series of notifications by the Collector. The first notification published on 1 July, 1872 explains the motive behind the publication of such notifications in following words,⁷¹

" If the government frames new law, whatever may be its impact it has no other intention than the welfare of its people and removal of their difficulties. We of course do not deny that all the laws have only good effects without any bad impact. But the government is not omniscient. Its thought and imagination is no different from the people. However, the government can also do nothing if the people remain silent. It is also true that, it is not easy for the people to understand the objectives of all the legislations without examining it. Therefore it appears that they have many wrong impressions about the legislations. . . If the proper reason for framing of any such laws benefiting the people are published, the people can understand them well. In reality, this newspaper will serve as communicator between the Magistrate and the people. "

In the same notification he further states, "Since we came to this province though we came to know many important matters through our interaction with the people of all walks of life, still many things remain unknown to us, we feel. Though we have proficiency in Oriya language, we lack competence for its practical use. Our improper pronunciation is its chief barrier. Inspite of the expertise of the Europeans of the languages of this country, the natives cannot understand them easily because of their unnatural pronunciation. Again there is no such way in this country to explain the theme of an

act to the people, nor we can do it. Hence all remarks will be published in Oriya language in that newspaper."

To what extent Beames was successful in his above objectives, was a different matter, but by initiating such steps, he definitely proved himself to be much ahead of his time. From July 1872 to July 1873, we see a number of notifications on many important issues concerning the government and the people in *Baleswar Sambad Bahika*. But after he left Balasore in August 1873, such notifications are found no more, which means his successor had no interest in it. On few occasions Beames himself issued reply to many opinions expressed in *Baleswar Sambad Bahika*. About this newspaper and *Utkala Dipika*, the Lieutenant Governor's report says, "It seems that though the newspapers in Orissa have little influence, they are actuated on the whole by a healthy feeling, and their publication may be taken as an evidence of the awakening intelligence of the Oriyas, when it is recollect that in many other and richer districts there are no newspapers at all."⁷² And in Balasore, Beames was definitely a torch-bearer for this awakening intelligentsia. He not only extended patronage to the newspaper on behalf of the government, but also encouraged and advised many educated youths like Radhanath Ray to contribute article to it.⁷³

A significant drive which Beames launched in Balasore was to protect the ryots from the oppressive exactions of the zemindars. The ignorant ryots did not exactly know what he had to pay to the government. But the zemindars extracted so many dues from them in the name of *tikkus* (tax) like levy on telegraph line, *Magana* for the marriage of son and daughter, for giving feast to Brahman on the occasion of any religious festival, pilgrimage to Jagannath and repairing his house etc. Beames after coming to know all these from his Deputy Magistrate Fiddian, reported the matter to the Commissioner and Bengal government. Though he could not secure the support of the Government of India with regard to any legislation declaring these abuses of the zemindars illegal, he himself with the assistance of Fiddian set out to stop the practice in his own distict, by personally contacting the ryots and the zemindars and telling them which taxes were illegal. As he claims, "In this way we succeeded in opening

their eyes, and stirring them up to resist illegal demands. For a time there was much confusion, underhand attempts at extortion by the zemindars, forcibly resisted by the peasants, in a few cases rioting and broken heads. But by degrees the strife ceased; most of the zemindars gave up their exactions finding they could not enforce them, and though with so timid a peasantry, so masterful a proprietary body, and so wily a crowd of agents, we could never be sure that extrotions were not practised, we soon had abundant proof that they had everywhere very much diminished, and in most places entirely ceased.⁷⁴ Complimenting this efforts of Beames the Lieutenant Governer's report of 1872-73 says, "His Honor, however, is rejoiced to see that even already, independently of the measures which may eventually be adopted, much good has been effected by the exertions of Messrs. Beames, Fiddian, and of the Commissioner himself, and the way in which these officers have brought abuses to light entitles them to the highest credit. If their work is adequately followed up, the Government may hope that much will be done to stop abuses, and put the relations between the zemindars and the inferior holders in Orissa on a sounder footing, and are more consonant with the terms and condition of the existing settlement."⁷⁵

The above measures of Beames was hailed by *Baleswar Sambad Bahika*. In a letter to the editor some ryots state that, for this the people under their zemindar suffered many oppressions like slave, but were never able to protest. But hereafter they narrated many of thier sufferings to Hon'ble Mr. W. V. Fiddian, the Assistant Magistrate. It also reports many counter reactions from the zemindars like preventing the ryots from taking water from the ponds, grazing the cows in zemindary lands or asking the priests not to attend any of their religious ceremonies. They also forcibly plundered many trees, broken by the cyclone of 1872 in the premises of the ryots. They also registered many criminal cases against them. Though it was not easy by the District Magistrate to stop many such conducts and abuses of the zemindars, Beames at least set an example himself by allowing the ryots of the government land to take the trees in their premises which were broken by the cyclone.⁷⁶

Another pro-poor measure of Beames was his intervention in

the matter of illegal arrest by police of small salt manufactures near the sea coast who made salt for their own consumption. Since salt trade was a monopoly of the government, its smuggling was quite rampant in Balasore. But the police instead of nabbing the professional smugglers always got hold of the poor people who manufactured small quantity of salt for their own consumption. The police used to arrest them easily and brought them to the Magistrate to claim the reward which was announced for nabbing the smuggler. Beames at first refused to punish them for which he had to face the outrage of the Board of Revenue. But at last he succeeded in securing the right of the inhabitants of the sailferous tract and its neighbourhood to make small quantities of salt for their own use, but not for sale. This put a stop to the petty acts of oppression to the poor rural population.⁷⁷

One of Beames' ardent critics of recent times, Barun De however does not accord any such compliment to Beames for such pro-poor attitude as to him such sympathy had been felt for rural workers, by many despots in previous centuries- including Aurangzeb, the much-maligned. In fact, to him, he was not so much pro-raiyat, as anti-government by anybody except himself and he was a "failure in so far as he aspired to be a despot but lacked the authority to be one in practice."⁷⁸ But such remarks of De does not do proper justice to the sincerity of a colonial bureaucrat who fought against his superior authority for restoration of the just right of the poor or tried to save them from the oppression of those people who were protected under colonial system of administration, conceding the fact that he lacked the authority in practice to be a despot. Theoretically the Mughal government was also not oppressive and whenever any *sanad* or land grant was issued to any zemindar, he was asked to increase the cultivation of the land by not oppressing or squeezing the ryots, but by keeping them happy. The Indian rulers possessed absolute and unquestioned power by means of which they could protect the ryots against the oppression of the zemindars. But Beames' sincere efforts to protect the poor indigo cultivator in Champaran against the British planters or his drive against the zemindars of Balasore for their illegal collection and checking the abuse of the police by arresting the poor salt manufacturer under

colonial set up and regulation was no less praiseworthy. It is therefore understandable why he aspired to be a despot when his way of functioning did not receive the appreciation of the secretariat staff or his superior officers except George Cambell. Moreover in another incident when his efforts of sending the cheap rice to Bengal from Orissa at the time of famine in that place was frustrated by a vested interest group in Bengal Secretariat, who wanted the supply of costlier Burmese rice to favour a group of contractors, any dislike for the regulation or order from the secretariat or the superior officers who were unaware of such mischievous intention was understandable from an officer whose sincerity was not questionable. Such was the faith on the report of Beames on his district that, Cambell accepted them as true. Accepting his report of 1872-73 about the material conditions of the people of Balsore and progress made in education there, Cambell expressing his satisfaction over Beames wrote, "Perhaps there is no officer in Orissa so well qualified to give an opinion, or so observant of the people as Mr. Beames; and though great prominence has been given to missionary work and Government orphanages in promoting material improvement of the people, I feel satisfied that it is an influence for good which cannot be over-estimated, and I believe that the seeds of organization, education, morality, and program, sown in the orphanages supported by government, will yet bear good and useful fruit." ⁷⁹

In fact, for his reformist zeal Cambell not only won admiration from Beames, but also from the educated people of Balasore. About him Phakirmohan writes, "we have never seen such extraordinary work-minded and energetic Lt. Governor like him. In every Department of government he has introduced reform in place of old way of disposing of works. Every day the waver Hakim of every moffussil waited for the mail- Whether any new administrative order and code would arrive. In reality everyday the new directive and law used to be received. . . It was mandatory for the Deputies and Sub-Deputies to learn horse riding and survey-works- such practices were introduced by Cambell." ⁸⁰

It was therefore no wonder that only an energetic, spirited, dynamic and disciplined bureaucrat like Beames could properly

reciprocate the reforming zeal and expectation of Cambell. In August 1873, When Beames became the officiating Commissioner of Orissa, he found lot of pending works in Cuttack collectorate, which to him were not due to the unmethodical way of functioning of previous collectors, but "in a great degree to the slowness and dishonesty of the native ministerial staff." The heads of most of the departments were old men deeply rooted in old-fashioned ways and gooves, each of them had an army of dependents and filled all vacant posts with his relations, who with one accord strenuously resisted improvements and changes of all sorts. Thus "A strong hand, an inflexible will, and rigid method and punctuality were required to restore order" in the collectorate. Beames, therefore had to dismiss many of these staff and replaced them with young blood. Apart from his duty in the office of the Commissioner, he strictly supervised the work in Cuttack collectorate and was successful.

In his book *The Men who ruled India*, Phillip Mason categorised Beames as the "clodhopping collector" a sobriquet, which he chose for him after reading his memoir. But because of his rigorous discipline in office, strictness to erratic officers and zemindars and strong committment to works, he earned the sobriquet *Bhima Saheb* by the people of Orissa in those days.⁵¹ This is an indication of his image in Orissa then, who became an icon for his efficiency and competence in the eyes of the people though he had never been rewarded or had won any appreciation from government. Because of his outspokenness, arrogance, extreme confidence in his own ability and too few respect for the efficiency and style of functioning of his superior officers starting from Richard Temple to T. E. Ravenshaw, he earned their annoyance for which he had to pay the heavy price. Even his firm critic Gourishankar Ray, the editor of *Utkal Dipika* after his demise in 1902 in an obituary wrote, though he was an extremely intelligent and knowledgeable person, his hot-tempered but easily pacified feudal attitude could not earn him the right praise which he deserved in the official circle.⁵² Though very often he was hasty and harsh in his decision, sometimes it paid up. One such example may be his order for deposition of Raja Chaitanya Bhanjadeo, the king of Dasapalla. Though the king was a dolt and eccentric his

notoriety for his oppression was well known to the British rulers then. He forcibly abducted the wife of one of his subjects and confined her in his palace, for which Beames in his capacity as officiating Commissioner deposed him. Though, his move was not supported by the government including Ravenshaw, it had the desired result as the Raja freed the woman, though at first he denied the allegation. The Raja was in the habit of constantly flouting the order of the government against his misconduct and misrule. But he was never treated in such harsh manner by Ravenshaw who was always soft to the native kings. *Utkal Dipika*, which for his anti-zemindar attitude in Balasore earlier used to criticise Beames, also supported this move and wrote, "In reality what we have heard against the Raja, it may be said without doubt that, the action taken by Beames Saheb is the least he deserves." But this harsh attitude sometimes hedged his judgement. Making few remarks about his anti-zemindar attitude in Balasore, *Utkal Dipika* wrote in one of its issues that those were based on incomplete enquiries which might create more rift between the people and the zemindars. *Hindu Patriot* also remarked that the way Beames treated the zemindars, he seemed to become the zemindar himself of the entire Balasore district.⁸³

But starting from his anti-zemindar drive in Balasore to introduction of reform in Cuttack collectorate, he had the approval of George Cambell. Criticising both Cambell and Beames for their intrasigence, stubbornness and little respect for the rules of the land, *Utkal Dipika* while observing the confrontation with the zemindars of Balasore in 1872 said, it was no wonder that the district of Balasore would be ruined very soon. But such apprehension was baseless if examined in the light of the results it yielded. But after George Cambell, Beames perhaps never got a superior officer like him, to have faith in his sincerity and reforming zeal so that he would get a free hand to work. Nor Beames' dynamism and vision appear to have been shared by any other Commissioner or Lieutenant Governor under whom he worked for the rest of his service career. For such energetic and dynamic men like Beames or Cambell, the British system of administration under which they had to function was not enough for their style of functioning. For this reason it was no wonder that,

Beames had little respect for his superiors or any order from the secretariat, though some of his arrogances were also no less responsible for his sufferings in the later period of his service career. His firm critic Barun De's remark about him "not so much pro-ryot, as anti-government" is also perhaps not a fair judgement, who fails to visualise some of the reasons for his anti-government stand. As far as his sincerity to protect the poor and down-trodden is concerned, there should not be any doubt about it. Even one of his close friends in Orissa and his all time admirer, Phakirmohan Senapati while praising for his benevolence to the tenants and the poor (parent to the poor), criticises him for one of his faults that, "right or wrong, once he had issued his instructions, he would never retract them,"⁴⁴ It means Phakirmohan was also not happy with his intransigence inspite of his highest regards for him. When Beames was the Collector of Cuttack, he appointed his old friend Phakirmohan as Dewan of Dompara in 1876 to resolve a five-year imbroglio arising due to the conflict between its Raja and the people on the issue of increase of rent. When Phakirmohan came to Dompara he after assessing the situation found that between the last assessment made twenty years before and then, there was a considerable increase in the size of many cultivable lands. Hence, a slight increase in the rent as desired by the Raja was justified. But the tenants and the middle men or rent collectors totally opposed any such move and raised into revolt. Though Phakirmohan did his best to convince Beames the justification of the Raja's decision of increasing the rent, Beames did not approve of it as he was already committed to the people for not doing so. Instead he asked Phakirmohan to solve the imbroglio by hook or crook without increasing the rent. It was here that Phakirmohan had to trap both Beames and some ringleaders of the revolt to his diplomacy and chicanery to quench the revolt and at the same time making both agreed for the increase of the rent.⁴⁵

Though for his own arrogance, Beames created few foes in Orissa, he was certainly not unpopular among the people. He was the benefactor of both Phakirmohan and Radhanath, who were considered fathers of modern Oriya prose and poetry respectively. As Phakirmohan says about him, "that magnanimous man was the

taproot of all my wordly success. I shall remember his sacred name to the last moment of my life. " Phakirmohan has also stated few other traits in his character for which he was so popular in Orissa. "As Beames Saheb was a well-wisher of Orissa, he was particularly very much sympathetic to the Oriyas. It was painful for the Saheb if the established families of Orissa were ruined in litigation. In such cases, he himself intervened in the matter in his personal capacity and made out of court settlement. If anybody of a good social position landed in any scrape and sought his help, he did his utmost to rescue him. The oppressive zemindars were his enemies. It is the misfortune of Orissa that until now, not a Commissioner like magnanimous Ravenshaw or Beames came to Orissa. "⁸⁶ Such was the feeling of gratitude of Phakirmohan to Beames that, he dedicated the *Bala Kanda* (Child Canto) of his Oriya Ramayan to him "for the intelligent and heart-felt interest" he has "evinced in the improvement of the Oriya language and in the welfare of her people. " Durga Charan Ray, the biographer and grand son-in-law of Radhanath Ray, says about Beames that he was a person of very noble heart. In Balasore he was known for his personal interest in the welfare of his own staff and servants. If any one of them fell ill, he himself used to visit his residence and arranged medical treatment from his own money. Everyday by riding on horse, he used to contact the people and listened to their grievances. If any child of a zemindar became deviant, he used to summon him personally and brought him to right path by giving advice. If there was any litigation between the zemindars, he preferred out of court settlement for them. " Not only Beames had deep affection for Radhanath, but also he was a sincere well-wisher of his family. He loved Radhanath's father, Sundar Narayan, a petty *amla* in Balasore court to such an extent that, when he expired, he declared the closer of the court on that day.⁸⁷ As a civil servant he was definitely an icon, so far as his sincerity and commitment to the people were concerned. That's why as collector, he was very popular in Orissa and perhaps at the height of his popularity of his entire service career when he became the Commissioner of Orissa. Even though, Gourishankar Ray severely criticised him for his harshness to the zemindars in Balasore, he equally praised him the way he

handled the flood and cyclone situation there. In one of its issues in 1872, he writes, "He visited to the people from village to village and distributed the relief of the values from four *annas* to four rupees depending upon the magnitude of loss they sustained."⁸⁸ When he was Commissioner in 1877, *Utkal Dipika* writes in one of its issues, he was such a kind hearted person that, whenever any person requested him for a job, he felt pain to refuse. As district collector and commissioner, he met many aspirants (for job) and after hearing their sufferings he used to be very much moved and tried to accommodate them to the best of his ability. The aspirants surrounded him day and night and never allowed to rest him in peace. Whenever people visited him in the afternoon they used to implore him for some favour either for themselves or for any member of their families.⁸⁹

He not only protected the poor from injustice on many occasions, but also took many welfare measures for them in his official capacity. In October 1877, there was a very high inflation in Orissa, following scarcity of foodgrains. In such circumstances when Beames' recommendation for an increase in the dearness allowance of the petty staff was turned down, he imported rice from Dhenkanal and sold them to the petty government staff and poor people of Cuttack in a very cheap price. Commenting on this, *Utkal Dipika* writes, "In such crisis, whoever renders good to the poor, God definitely blesses him." Similarly, he sent nearly two or three thousand rupees value of paddy to Khurda, which was severely affected by the drought. Showering its praise on Beames, *Utkal Dipika* writes, this shows Saheb's sympathy for the poors and those who were suffering.⁹⁰

Thus all these show beyond doubt that inspite of his arrogance and some overbearing attitudes these silver lines in his character should not be lost sight off. That's why he has been rightly called by Phakirmohan as "father and mother, of the poor". He was only harsh to the oppressive zemindars, Rajas and "bigoted" Brahmins. He believed that Orissa was a land of "bigoted" Brahmins, who exploited the common and innocent Hindus and lived on their income.

Beames' tenure as Commissioner was less than a year. This is too short a period to asses him or compare him with Ravenshaw

who was undoubtedly the most popular civilian of Orissa during the British period. Beames himself wrote about him, "he was a kindly, patriarchal sort of old man" who knew his Orissa and Oriyas thoroughly. But the main differences between Beames and Ravenshaw was that while the former was extremely energetic and competent, the latter lacked firmness for which he could not enjoy the respect of Beames. The views of Beames about his administrative competence is not necessarily an exaggeration if the severity of the famine of 1866 is attributed to the short-sightedness of Ravenshaw who was basically guided by the *amlas*. In contrast to Beames, Ravenshaw was perfectly matched to the mindset and style of functioning of Oriya *babus* in the Kutchery and Commisioner's office in Cuttack. It was for this reason that Beames had to dismiss many *amlas* in Cuttack, when he became the officiating Commissioner for the first time in 1873, for which though he had the nod from Cambell, but earned the displeasure of Ravenshaw. Even *Utkal Dipika* had also no admiration for Ravenshaw's administrative ability.⁹¹ Beames' harsh treatment annoyed the oppressive zemindars, and Rajas, but Ravenshaw always had a soft corner for them. Because of these differences of temperament, both were at loggerhead. But while Beames' door was always open for the common men especially those who were aspirants for government job, Ravenshaw had made it a condition not to approach him for any job.⁹² In view of this there was no reason to believe that, Beames was not popular in Orissa.

He was certainly more popular in Balasore where he could win the heart of all sections of people except perhaps the traditional zemindars. Because of his support for the cause of Oriya language he was not necessarily unpopular among the local Bengalis there as was evident the way he was greeted and shown hospitality by the Bengali zemindar Brundaban Mandal in 1877 on his second visit to Balasore when he was the Acting Commissioner. He was so overwhelmed by the reception of the people there that in a meeting organised in his honour he said, " I had left Balasore four years before. During my tenure here though I had done my best for the welfare of the people both in my official and personal capacity, still they were not so profound for which I deserve such memorable

reception from the people. . . whether I remain in this province or not I can never forget Balasore and her people." ⁹³

His transfer to Chittagong in February 1878 was a blow to him, when he had already set his heart to become the permanent Commissioner of Orissa. The people bade farewell to him in Jobra with tearful eyes which he reciprocated in same fashion. Just after two months of his departure from Orissa, he in a letter to Radhanath Ray wrote, "I am always glad to turn my thoughts to the happy days I spent in dear old Orissa and look back with much pleasure to the kind and amiable people of that province." In his next letter he asked him to remember him (Beames) to all old friends in Orissa. Even after two years when he came to Hooghly and Chinsura, he was also ready to accept Orissa if he was offered it, as he wrote to Radhanath. These are reflective of his deep sense of attachment and love for Orissa and her people. It was a double blow to him when he was denied the commissionership of Orissa after the departure of Ravenshaw, which eventually went to A. Smith. The reason for this, as he wrote to Radhanath was that, on the occasion of Sir A. Eden, the Lieutenant Governor's visit to Orissa some one told him that, he was not popular in Orissa. But considering his track records and many newspaper reports, it is difficult to believe that his popularity was in question in Orissa inspite of his arrogance. Perhaps a lobby worked against him, which was also encouraged by Ravenshaw. The conflict between him and Ravenshaw was intensified after Ravenshaw all of a sudden returned from Board of Revenue to resume his post as Commissioner in November, 1877. This conflict proved costly for him.

But inspite of his transfer from Orissa, it appears that for many years he had personal contact with many of his Oriya friends. But the events in 1887, especially the malicious attack in some newspapers in Calcutta and Cuttack disheartened him to such an extent that, he even refused to meet Chaturbhuj Pattnaik, an educated youngman who went to meet him in Calcutta. When Chaturbhuj Pattnaik sent his slip, it was returned with the remark "I don't like to meet any Indian." ⁹⁴ This attitude of Beames surprised and disappointed many people of Orissa then. Perhaps *Utkal Dipika* and *Nabasambada's*

remark deeply disappointed and saddened him, which he least expected from the newspapers in Orissa.

This may be perhaps one of the reasons why his memoir misses the names of all Oriyas including Phakirmohan, Radhanath and Govinda Chandra, though he has devoted considerable number of pages about his eight years stay in Orissa. But another reason may be that he took the people of Orissa as most inconsequential. Not only in memoir but also in many of his papers on Orissa for which both Phakirmohan and Govinda Chandra provided him necessary inputs, had been left out without being acknowledged. But in his article on "Kirtans, or Hymns from the Earliest Bengali poets", he has duly acknowledged Babu Jagadishnath Rai, the Bengali bureaucrat working under him in Balasore, for supplying him some Bengali hymns and assisting him in translating and making notes on them.⁹³ Surely, Beames could not have written at least papers like "Rasakallola", "Indigenous literatures of Orissa" and "Folklores of Orissa" without the assistance of any local scholars. But the acknowledgement to Phakirmohan and Govind Pattanayak was not considered probably because of their humble position and submissive attitude to him. Similarly, though Dompara affair was successfully settled by Phakirmohan, Beames by giving an incomplete version of the episode, grabs the entire credit himself and does not even mention about his second visit to that place in February, 1877 when his trusted friend Phakirmohan was the Dewan there, who settled the issue.⁹⁴

In spite of all these Beames will always be remembered in Orissa for his contributions to Oriya language and sympathetic attitude to Oriya people. Perhaps the least Orissa can do to honour him posthumously is to name any street or lane either in Balasore or Cuttack in his name.

REFERENCES

1. *Baleswar Sambad Bahika*, 1 June, 1873, P 173
2. Debendra Kumar Dash & Dipti Ranjan Pattanaik, "Late 19th Century Literary Discourse and Oriya Identity" in *Utkal Historical Research Journal*, Vol XVII, 2004, P. 110.

3. Amitava Mukherjee, *Reform and Regeneration in Bengal, 1774-1823*, Calcutta, 1968, p 15.
4. ibid, p 17.
5. Natabar Samantaray, *Adhunika Oriya Sahityara Bhittibhumi*, Cuttack, 1964, pp 8-9.
6. Rev Sutton's Oriya Grammar is a specimen of many such jargons, strange words and sentences. Gaganendranath Dash (Hereafter cited G. N. Dash in all references), *Oriya Bhasa Charchara Parampara*, Cuttack, 1983, p 40.
7. Dash & Pattnaik, op cit, p 110
8. Quoted by Gaganendranath Dash, *Oriya-Bhasa Suraksha Andolana*, Cuttack, 1993, p 4.
9. Ibid.
10. Bansidhar Mohanty, *Oriya Bhasa Andolana*, Cuttack, 1989, pp 55-56.
11. G. N. Dash, *Oriya Bhasa Shurakshya* . . . , pp 14-15.
12. Phakirmohan Senapati, 'Atmacharita' in *Phakirmohan Granthabali*, Vol II, Cuttack, 2002, ed Debandra Kumar Dash, p 104.
13. Shiba Chandra Som, *Udisyar Itihas-Prachinkal Theke Bartaman Samaya Paryanta*, Calcutta, 1867, p 109.
14. *Utkal Dipika*, March, 1869, p 53; *Proceedings of Journal of Asiatic Society*, June, 1869, pp 201-02.
15. G. N. Dash, *Oriya Bhasa Suraksha* . . . p 9.
16. "Utkal Dipika", April, 1870, pp 53-55 in Bansidhar Mohanty, *Oriya Bhasa Andolana* . . . pp 254-56; G. N. Dash, *Bhasa Suraksha Andolana* . . . , p 13.
17. "Utkal Dipika", 5/16, April 1870, p 62, Bansidhar Mohanty, op cit, p 257.
18. Kantichandra Bhattacharya, 'Uriya Swatantra Bhasa Nain', translated into Oriya by Bansidhar Mohanty, *op cit*, p 151.
19. Ibid, p 152.
20. John Boulton, "Nationalism and Tradition in Orissa, with special reference to the works of Phakirmohan Senapati" in *Fakir Mohan Senapati Perspectives on his fiction* ed. Jatindra Kumar Nayak, Kolkata, 2004, pp 27-28.

21. Phakir Mohan Senapati, op cit, pp 104; " Utkal Dipika" 5/13 March, 1870, p 31 in B. Mohanty, *Oriya Bhasa Suraksha Andolana*. . . p 253.
22. The entire biographical sketch is based on Beames' memoir, *Memoir of a Bengal Civilian*, New Delhi, 1984 with a new introduction by Peter Penner.
23. John Beames, *Outlines of Indian Philology and Other Philological Papers*, Kolkata, reprint edition, 1971, p 28.
24. " Atmacharita" Op cit, p 79.
25. Ibid.
26. John Beames "On the Relation of the Uriya to the other Modern Aryan Languages, *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society* June, 1870, p 201.
27. " Utkal Dipika" , 30. 4. 1970 in B. Mohanty, Op cit pp 35-36.
28. Reply of Rajendra Lal Mitra, *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society*, June, 1870, pp 210-12
29. L. S. S. O' Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteer-Midnapore*, Reprint edition, Calcutta, 1995, p 65.
30. For an indepth discussion about the views of Rajendra Lal on Oriya Language and his actual intention behind these views see G. N. Dash, *Oriya Bhasa Suraksha*. . . , pp 38-46.
31. Amalendu De, *Roots of Separatism in Nineteenth Century Bengal*, Calcutta, 1974, pp 55-56; *Bangali Buddhijibi O Bichhinnatabad*. Calcutta, 1987, pp 139-40.
32. *Proceedings of Asiatic Society*, June 1870, pp 211-212:G. N. Dash, *Oriya Bhasa Suraksha*. . . pp 44-46.
33. *Proceedings of Asiatic Society*, June 1870, p 209.
34. " Atmacharita" op cit, pp 106-07.
35. G. N. Dash, *Oriya Bhasa Suraksha*. . . p 46; G. N. Dash, " Fakir Mohan Senapati's Discovery from Below-Decolonisation and the Search for Linguistic Authenticity" , *Economic and Political Weekly*, November 18, 2006, pp 4801-4802.
36. John Beames. *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, second Indian reprint edition, New Delhi, 1970, pp 117-19.
37. " Indian Historical Quarterly" , Vol-XXIII, 1947, p 337, quoted by B. Mohanty, Op cit, p 43.

38. John Beames, *A Comparative Grammar*. . . op cit, pp 63-65.
39. John Beames, "On a Copper Plate Grant from Balasore A. D 1483" *Indian Antiquary*, December 6, 1872, p 356.
40. John Beames, *A Comparative Grammar*. . . op cit Vol II, p 230; G. N. Dash, "History of Oriya Language upto (1500 A. D.), *Comprehensive History and Culture of Orissa*, Vol 1, Part II, ed, P. K. Mishra, New Delhi, 1997, pp 565-66.
41. John Beames, "The Jungle Forts of Northern Orissa", *Indian Antiquary*, February 2 1872, p 35 March 1 1872, p 75.
42. John Beames " Notes on the History of Orissa Under the Mahomedan, Maratha and English Rule," *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1883, p 231; *Indian Antiquary*, Dec 6, 1872, p 356.
43. R. L. Mitra, " Notes on the History of Orissa Under Muhammadan, Maratha and English Rules, " – A Critique 1883, *Proceedings of Asiatic Society*, March, pp 69-70.
44. In 1883 Beames was the Commissioner of Burdwan Division in which Midnapore was a part.
45. John Beames, " Notes on the History of Orissa Under Muhammadan Maratha and english Rules, " *Proceedings of Asiatic Society* 1883-Reply to R. L. Mitra.
46. *The Indian Antiquary*, March 1873, pp 68-69.
47. *The Indian Antiquary*, February 2, 1872, p 64.
48. *The Indian Antiquary*, June 7, 1872, p 168.
49. *The Indian Antiquary*, December 6, 1872, p 356.
50. John Beames, *A Comparative Grammar*. . . op cit, p 89.
51. *The Indian Antiquary*, March 1, 1872, p 80; *A Comparative Grammar*. . . p 88.
52. " Notes on the Rasakallola, An Ancient Poem, " *Indian Antiquary*, July 5, 1872, pp 215, 217.
53. *Indian Antiquary*; October, 4 1872, p 293.
54. John Beames, " The Ruins at Kopari, Balasore District" *Journals of Letters of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1871, pp 217-50; " More Buddhist Remains in Orissa", *Journals of Letters of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1872, pp 7-8.
55. John Beames, " The Alti Hills in Cuttack" , *Journal of Letters of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1875, pp 19-23.

56. L. K. Mishra & S. K. Mishra, *Historians and Historiography of Orissa*, New Delhi, 2005, p 163, pp 163-65.
57. Man Mohan Chakravarti, " Notes on the language and literatures of Orissa" , Parts I & II, *Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol LXVI, Part I, Nos 1-4, 1897, pp 317-319. About the trend set by Beames in his discourse and its impact on scholars of next generations like Curst, Chakravarti and Grierson see G. N. Dash's *Odiya Bhasa charcha*. . . pp 76-78. For a detail discourse on Man Mohan, as the first scholar to write history of Oriya literature, see Debendra Kumar Dash, "Oriya Sahityara Itihash-rachana O Man Mohan Chakrabarti" , Eshana, Vol-20, June, 1990, pp 166-186.
58. *Utkal Dipika*, 8/9, March, 1873, p 34.
59. Surya Narayan Dash, *Desaprana Madhusudan*, Cuttack, 1988, p 474.
60. G. N. Dash, *Odiya Bhasa charcha*. . . pp 90-91.
61. For a detail discourse on the subject see G. N. Dash, *Economic and Political Weekly*, op cit, pp 4804-4805; " G. N Dash, Phakirmohan nka Gadyariti o Odia Bhasa-Suraksha Andolana" , *Saraswati Phakirmohan : Sahitya O Byaktitwa*, Cuttack, 2006, pp 20-47.
62. G. N Dash, " Lachhama o Lachhamania" , ibid, pp 66-69; Phakirmohan Senapaty, " Utkalara Bigata Gauraba" , *Phakirmohan Granthabali*, Vol I, ed, Shrinivas Mishra, Cuttack, 1963, pp 631-632.
63. Phakirmohan Senapaty, " Sabhapati Abhibhasana" , Fourth Annual Session of 'Forum for Discussion' in Phakirmohan Granthabali, Vol II, ed, Shrinivas Mishra, Cuttack, 1963, p 729; " Boudhabatara Kabya" *Phakirmohan Granthabali*, Vol 1, op cit.
64. Barun De, " Brajendranath De and John Beames – A Study in the Relation of Patriotism and Paternalism in the I. C. S. at the time of Ilbert Bill" , *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol Lxxxi(151) 1962, p 19.
65. Ibid, p 18.
66. *Utkal Dipika*, 6 May 1877, p 314.

67. John Beames, *Memoirs*, op cit, p 259.
68. Quoted by *Utkal Dipika*, 6 May 1877, op cit, p 314.
69. *Utkala Dipika*, 6 May 1887, p 147.
70. Phakirmohan Senapati, "Atmacharita", op cit, p 102.
71. *Baleswar Sambad Bahika*, 1 July, 1872, p 6.
72. *Annual Report on the Administration of the Bengal Presidency for the years, 1872-73*, pp 55-56.
73. Durgacharan Ray, *Radhanath Jibani*, Cuttack, 1998, p 52.
74. Beames, *Memoir*, pp 213-14.
75. Annual Report, op cit, p 54.
76. *Baleswar Sambad Bahika*, 1 August, 1872, p 23, 1.10.1872, p 52.
77. Beames, *Memoir*, p 212.
78. Barun De, Op cit, pp 4-5.
79. Annual Report, 1872-73, p 474.
80. Phakirmohan Senapati, "Atmacharita" op cit, p 106.
81. Mritinjay Rath "Swargata Phakirmohan" in 'Utkal Sahitya 22(5)', reproduced in *Saraswata Parikrama*, Berhampur, 2001, p 10.
82. *Utkal Dipika*, 7 June 1902, p 174.
83. *Utkal Dipika*, 18 May, 1872, p 77; 13 July, 1872, p 110.
84. Phakirmohan Senapati, "Atmacharita" op cit, p 121.
85. Ibid, pp 118-135.
86. Ibid, 138.
87. Durga Charan Ray, Op cit, pp 78.
88. *Utkal Dipika*, 20 July, 1872, p 116.
89. *Utkal Dipika*, 2 June, 1877, p 86.
90. Ibid, 3 November, 1877, p 171; 10 November, 1877, p 175.
91. Ibid, 24 March, 1877, p 46.
92. Ibid, 2 June, 1877, p 86.
93. Ibid, 23 June, 1877, p 98
94. Ibid, 15 October, 1887, p 314.
95. Beames, *Indian Antiquary*, November, 1872, p 326.
96. See the autobiography of Phakirmohan Senapati, "Atmacharita" op cit, pp 117-23.

[Appendix-I]

OBITUARY

(John Beames died in a comparatively early age of 65 in Somerset in England on 24 May 1902. The news of his demise was published in all local newspapers in Orissa. The news published in Utkal Dipika and Baleswar Sambad Bahika are reproduced here.)

Utkal Dipika, 7 June 1902

We are overwhelmed with a deep sense of grief on learning the news of the passing away of Mr John Beames Saheb. After being selected as a civilian, Beames Saheb came to Punjab in 1858 where after serving for three years, was transferred to Bengal Presidency. As Commissioner he was in Bardhaman in 1881 and thereafter in Bhagalpur. At last he was the Commissioner of Presidency Division and went back to England after retiring in 1893. He was 68. He was well-known to the people of Orissa during his tenure as collector in both Balasore and Cuttack and for sometimes as acting commissioner of the province from 1876 to 1878. He was a very sharp and knowledgeable person whose few books are still available. But because of his feudalistic temperament of blowing hot and cold, he could not earn much appreciation from the government circle inspite of his extraordinary ability. The Municipal market of this town is his principal contribution.

Baleswar Sambad Bahika, 12 June 1902

Our well-known retired civilian Beames Saheb has passed away. He came to India in 1858 and as Commissioner of Bardhaman, Bhagalpur and Presidency Divisions earned praise. For many days he was the magistrate in Balasore and Cuttack and for sometimes served as acting commissioner of Orissa. When this magnanimous man was the magistrate in Balasore he had learnt Oriya from Babu Phakirmohan Senapati and Babu Govinda Chandra Pattanayak, the ex-editors of this newspaper. He took interest in the welfare of his people. If the zemindars were against their subjects, he used to warn

them. He did not hesitate to punish those zemindars if their unfairness to their subjects were proved to him. He was always treating the people of Orissa with affection and has written many books on philology.

[Appendix-II]

ORIYA IS NOT AN INDEPENDENT LANGUAGE

Extracts from a portion of the autobiography of Phakirmohan Senapati published in *Satyabadi*, 2 (8-12) 1917.

Pandit Sadashiva Nanda, a resident of Soro of Balasore district was in the post of Oriya teacher in Balasore Government school. His job was to teach Oriya and Sanskrit there. After Nanda took his pension, his post was filled up by Kantichandra Bhattacharya of Bengal. From the very beginning perhaps he thought that it would not be difficult for him to teach Oriya. After toiling for four to six months he could read all the printed books in Oriya. But his main difficulty was proper pronunciation of words. With so much effort neither could he speak Oriya correctly nor could he comprehend consonants, 'la'(k) and 'na'(ନ୍ୟ). By that time Bhattacharya was nearly fifty-five. Was it easy to pronounce unaccustomed letters in his old stiff tongue ? He pronounced 'ra'(μb) for 'la'(kb) and 'no'($\sigma \frac{1}{2} b \frac{1}{4}$) for 'na'(\bar{E}). For example his address to the students 'Hey Badaka Gano'(Oh Boys) - amused them, who greeted him with outburst of laugh. How could the great pandit tolerate such insult ? But difficulties sharpen wits. Once Bhattacharya exclaimed in the school -

"Oh, Oriya is not a separate language. It is a mere corruption of Bengali. There is no need to study Oriya." Of course I would not have been surprised if the students were overjoyed themselves and wished a long life to the pandit. Because at that time study of Oriya was troublesome for them. Unlike now, Oriya then was not a compulsory second language. Only those who wanted it, would study. But if one skipped it, there was no harm. This was the position with the students then. On the other hand all the positions of teachers from top to bottom were filled up by the Bengalis. There was no one to speak a word for the Oriyas. So the pandit now had the trump card.

'Oriya is not a separate language'. It would not suffice to utter these few words in mouth only. One has to prove it. Now the pandit set to write a booklet. Its title was 'Uriya Swatantra Bhasa Nain' (Oriya is not a separate language). The booklet came out in print. The Bengali Headmaster sent a report to the Inspector of the schools alongwith a copy of the booklet. At that time R. L. Martin was the Inspector of schools whose headquarter was in Midnapore. All his staff were Bengalis. The report of the headmaster being endorsed by the Bengali Deputy Inspector of Schools of Balasore reached the office of the Inspector of schools. Now an order came to the headmaster of Balasore that only Sanskrit and Bengali would be taught in Balasore Government school.

At that time not only in schools but also in government offices there was not a single highly placed Oriya officer. All the Bengalis had the same opinion. All were equally disparaged of Oriya. Now they were all overjoyed. Kantichandra was dancing on the air, thinking himself to have created a record in Orissa.

Not only in English schools. But also proposal started to be mooted for the abolition of Oriya in aided schools. The Bengali zemindar Mandal Babu set up a school exclusively for teaching Bengali in his country estate. It was not only the opinion of Bengali officials in Balasore. But all the Bengali officials in Orissa then had the same opinion and suggestion that Oriya should be replaced by Bengali. There was terrible bitterness between Bengalis and Oriyas in the entire state then. Now one group was jubilant with impending victory whilst the other group was calm and demoralised. It was like hundred thunderbolts on our head. The jubilation and sarcasm of the enemies shot deep into our hearts. " Ah ! What it has happened. Can we no more study our mother tongue ? We convened a meeting of our small and weak committee. Day and night we planned - 'what is the remedy ? 'We moved from door to door of the prominent people of the town from early evening to late in the night. We assembled all the amalas of the court and prayed them to find out a solution. But all of them replied " Oh Babu ! This is a decision of the government. Whatever the government decides our children will abide by it. Should we invite trouble ourselves by defying government's decision ? "

Hearing the opinion of the amlas, all the zemindars and money lenders of the town refused to listen to us. Some gave us straight reply " Where the amlas do not consider it safe, why should we meddle in the affair and pay penalty for it ?" We bowed down hundred thousand times our heads with reverence for Babu Gourishankar Ray for his cogent articles every week in *Utkal Dipika* in support of Oriya language. We also used to write few lines in our newly launched *Baleswar Sambad Bahika*.

But we did not refrain from our efforts. Everyday and each moment we were looking for a solution. One day after the katchery hour, we assembled all the amlas and addressed them whose salient points are as follows :

" Oh Sirs ! This is not the order of the government to replace Oriya by Bengali in schools. This is the conspiracy of the Bengalis who were successful in influencing the Inspector of the schools. In a few days they will also abolish Oriya from the kachery. Do you not understand why they do all these ? The Bengalis have captured all the clerical and high-salaried posts. All of you are competent in Persian language like a Maulavi. But when the Persian was abolished in courts the Bengalis captured all clerical posts and all your knowledge were mingled with dust. After the abolition of Oriya the sons, brothers and relations of these Bengalis will capture all clerical posts. Then not only all of you will be dismissed, but also your sons and grandsons will no more be able to secure government jobs. "

There was an uproar after our address. All of them shouted and said, " Oh ! No, no, we will never allow it to happen. Our children will study Oriya in schools. " All of them asked us, " find out some solution". We replied, " Very simple, send petition to the government praying for teaching of Oriya in schools. Then no Bengali can become a clerk". Therafter they brooked no delay and asked us to prepare the petition soon.

There should not be any delay for any auspicious cause. We worked day and night to prepare the petition. We got it signed by nearly five hundred people and presented it to the collector.² For many reasons all the English officials and missionaries in Balasore

were supporting us at that time. All of them also extended their support to us on our prayer.

Then Collector of Balasore John Beames Saheb was well known as a philologist in government circles. He forwarded our petition to the Commissioner by giving favourable remark on it. Oriya is a separate and very ancient language which should be taught widely in the state. Based on this view he wrote a book in English and sent it to the government.³

T. E. Ravenshaw, the then Commissioner of Orissa was a great friend of Orissa. He also echoed the same view in the report sent to him by the collector and forwarded it to the government. The order came from the government that " Bengali be abolished from all the schools in Orissa and more schools should be established in all places for the wide diffusion of Oriya language. " By the grace of merciful God let the justiciary British government's administration prevail over Orissa for ever.

The people of Orissa will remember for ever the great service rendered to them by both the magnanimous British officers John Beames, the Collector and T. E. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner.

The observations contained in the footnotes are my own. LDM

1. Brundaban Chandra Mandal originally was a resident of Chinsura, but held zemindary estate in Balasore.
2. We are also informed by *Utkala Dipika* that the people of Balasore in March 1870 submitted a petition to the Collector of Balasore to transfer Sib Das Bhattacharya, the Deputy Inspector of School for his anti-Oriya step. *Utkala Dipika*, 21 March, 1870
3. It is not clear about which book Phakirmohan refers. But possibly he refers to *An Outline of Indian Philology* published in 1867 in which Beames had already accorded Oriya the status of an independent language,

Section-B

ESSAYS, NOTES AND REPLIES

ON THE RELATION OF THE URIYA TO THE OTHER MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES

A book has recently been published by Bâbû Kântichandra Bhattachâryya, a Pandit in the Government School at Balasore, under the title ଉରିୟା ବାହୁଦ୍ରା ଭାଷା ନାହେ "Uriyá not an independent language." This little work, though profoundly destitute of philological arguments, has created some stir among the natives of the province, who are somewhat disgusted at finding their native language treated as a mere corruption of Bengali. The local excitement on the subject, has led me to look into the question more closely than I had before, though in the course of reading for my "Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages" I had come upon many peculiarities, both of phonetics and inflection, which had caused me long ago to make up my mind as to the right of the Uriya to be considered a language *per se*. It may not be uninteresting to others to see an attempt made to analyze the structure of this little known form of speech; and at the risk of anticipating statements which would give to my grammar an air of greater novelty, I venture to put down a very brief outline of my views.

At whatever period in the history of the world the Aryan race entered Orissa, it must be admitted as highly probable that those who did so, formed the vanguard of the immigration. Improbable as it seems to one who looks on the effeminate and apathetic Uriya of to-day, his ancestors must necessarily have been the pioneers of their race. In folk-wanderings, however, it is not the hardiest or most enterprizing race that moves first. On the contrary, when the ancestral home got too full of people to be able to support them all, and it

became evident that some must go elsewhere, the difficulty would be to determine who should be the victims; and that difficulty would naturally be solved by kicking out the weakest first. They being pressed on from behind by continually fresh-issuing swarms from the parent hive, would in the end be driven further and further, till they reached the extreme limits of the habitable area at their disposal. This is the history of the Celts in Europe and the Uriyas in India. Having reached the head of the Bay of Bengal, and being driven on constantly by Bengalis in their rear, finding the eastern regions closed to them by fierce non-Aryan tribes, it must have been to them a great relief to find on the south that long narrow strip between the Hills and the Sea which they reached across the forests of Midnapore and Hijli. This land they named the "outlying strip" (उत्तरू, कल a strip¹), or उत्कल देश. If the above suppositions be admitted, as I think they will readily be, it follows that the Uriyas could not have, as our Pandit assumes, borrowed their language from Bengali, because at the time they passed through Bengal, it was uninhabited, at least by Aryans; and the Bengalis were behind them, and did not come into Bengal till the Uriyas had left it. It is certain that as early as the 8th century, Hemachandra knew the *Utkali* or *Odra* to be a separate form of Prakrit from the *Gauri* or Bengali; and we need not at present seek a higher antiquity than this to establish an independent language.

I am not, however, desirous of laying much stress on the historical side of the argument; that derived from the internal structure of the language seems to me conclusive.

In the first place to mention is to refute the argument that because in any modern printed work in Uriya sixty words out of a hundred are identical with Bengali, therefore they are not two, but one language. The same argument might with equal justice be applied to Marathi.

That unnecessary parade of learning which goes among us by the name of "pedantry", has never struck the Indian mind as offensive or objectionable. On the contrary, the more long and learned words an author can cram into his work, the greater his reputation. In the search for these *sesquipedalia verba*, the seven

nations of the Aryans have divided into two camps. In the one camp are to be found those who draw from Sanskrit, in the other those who have recourse to Arabic and Persian. The former are the Bengali, Uriya, and Maráthi; the latter the Hindi,² Panjábi and Sindhi. Gujarati hovers between the two. It is possible to construct a long sentence, nay to write a book even, in Hindi, Persian, Arabic, and Turkish, in which sixty per-cent of the words used should be identical, because, borrowed from Arabic; yet no one would conclude that these languages were connected. Similarly a book may be written in Bengali, Uriya, and Marathi, with the same proportion of identical words, and yet no argument could be thence derived for or against the connection of the languages.

The fact is that the Sanskrit word so largely employed by pandits in Bengal and Orissa, are not living words at all, they are dead, dead ages ago, and only now galvanized into the semblance of life; they form no part of the real working stock of words of the language. When they died ages ago, their sons inherited their place, and now their grandsons or great-grandsons hold it. In plain English, such Sanskrit words as were used by the Uriyas and Bengalis twenty-five centuries ago, have since then undergone the usual fate of words, and have been corrupted, abraded, and distorted, till they often bear no resemblance at all to the original word. And it is these corrupted, or as they are called *Tadbhava* words, that are the real living words of the language, the words that have worn into their present shape by long use in the mouths of the people. These words our fastidious writers reject, and when by going back to the Sanskrit for their words, they have composed a work to their taste, lo ! they say Uriya and Bengali are one language; for proof, read such and such works. I would suggest rather, let them take a *chasá* of Dacca and a *chasá* of Gumsar, and see how much they understand of one another's talk.

In the grammatical structure of the Uriya language, we see traces of a very well defined Prakrit with features peculiar to itself. I begin with the verb as the simplest part of the language, (in this case at least).

There is first a present participle in *u*, as *chalu*, and a past participle in *i*, as *chali*; by means of these two a whole string of compound tenses are formed, thus—

I.	<i>chalu</i>	{	achhi	I am going
			thili	I was going
			hebi	I shall be going
II.	<i>chali</i>	{	achhi	I have gone
			thili	I had gone
			hebi	I shall have gone.

Then there is a series of three simple tenses (which ought perhaps to have been put first).

- I. *mu dekhi, etc.*, I see
- II. *mu dekhili*, I saw
- III. *mu dekhibi*, I shall see.

The habit of using the plural in speaking respectfully to others, and of one self, has become so inveterate that the original proper singular of the verb and pronoun has been rejected from the high-polite style, and only holds its own among the common people, that is to say, the three millions of uneducated folk, who know no better than to speak their mother-tongue as they find it. In literary compositions, the plural *amhe*, *tumhe*, *semane* with the plural verbs as *karun*, *kara*, *karanti*, are used for both singular and plural, and in the grammars hitherto published, these forms are given in the text, and the unfortunate singular *karain*, *karu*, *karai* is banished to a note as "the inferior style !!" It is to be hoped that this truly pre-scientific treatment of the language will not be perpetuated in any future grammar.

The infinitive ends in *iba*, as *ásibá* to come, and is declined like a noun, just as the Hindi, and all other infinitives in the seven languages.

It has also a good strong form for the conditional. Thus —

Singular.	Plural.
-----------	---------

<i>Mu dekhi thánti</i>	<i>Amhe dekhi thántu</i>
<i>Tu dekhi thántu</i>	<i>Tumhe dekhi thánta</i>
<i>Se dekhi thántá</i>	<i>Semáne dekhi thánte</i>

In which, as in the Bengali *dekhitam*, we recognize the verb स्था *sthá*, but in the Uriya in a more perfect form than in the Bengali.

As another instance of the superiority of Uriya in the matter of preservation of the Prakrit and Sanskrit forms, I will put side by side the simple present of the substantive verb.

Uriya	Bengali
Sing. Mu achhaïn (<i>vulgo achhi</i>)	Mui áchhi
Tu achhă	Tui áchhis
Se achhaï	Se áchhe
Pl. Amhe achhun	Ami áchhi
Túmhe achhă	Tumi áchhă
Semáne achhanti	Tini áchhen

I suppose the Bengali pandits will deny my right to put down the first three forms *áchi*, *áchhis* and *áchhe* as real singulars, but my time for fighting them on that point has not yet come; any how, it is easy to see that in *achhai*, *achhanti*, respectively we have pure Prakrit and Sanskrit forms in perfect preservation, whereas the Bengali has in its *áchhe* and *áchhen* gone many steps further down the ladder of corruption. In the Uriya forms *achhaïn*, and *achhun* we have better representatives of the quasi-Sanskrit forms *acchámi* and *achhámah* (for the classical *asmi* and *asmah*) than in the Bengali, which has only an ill-defined feebly terminated *achhi* for both singular and plural. In fact Bengali is singularly behind all the other six languages in its verbal terminations, which are not sufficiently definite or clearly marked, and rejoice in short indistinct vowels.

The Uriya verb in its general scheme approaches more closely to the Hindi, and holds a respectable place among its sister-languages, not being too luxuriant like the Gujarati, nor too scanty like the Panjabi; and with a regular system of terminations, in which respect it is superior to the Marathi and Sindhi, in neither of which do any two tenses exactly harmonize, and in which the troublesome and unnecessary element of gender is introduced. As might be expected from the comparative peace that Orissa has enjoyed, and its long immunity from foreign aggression, the verb

has preserved tones and traces of much greater antiquity than any other language of the group.

This air of antiquity which is so striking and pleasing a feature of the language, is well illustrated by the pronouns which may be compared to advantage with any of the others. Thus *amhe* is pure Prakrit, and retains the *h*, which has been dropped in Bengali. The Hindi here inverts the position of the *h*, and drops the final *e*. Marathi, though retaining the *h*, lengthens the first vowels and changes the *e* to *i*, giving *ámhi*. Gujarati *ame*, or *hame*, is intermediate between Uriya and Hindi; Panjabi and Sindhi *asin* though older, inasmuch as they retain the *h* of Skr. *asmah*, yet are less perfect, in as much as they drop them *m*.

Without going through the whole line of pronouns which would take too much space, I would here merely call attention to the facts that of all these forms, Uriya is not more closely allied to Bengali than to any of the other sister languages; that the Uriya form is quite as genuine a descendant of the Sanskrit as any of them; and lastly that the Uriya form having retained elements which the Bengali has lost, it is absurd to say that the former is derived from the latter. I merely give the second person as an illustration without comment.

	n.	g.	acc.		n.	g.
Uriya Sing.	tu,	tor,	tote, etc.	Pl.	tumhe, tumhār, &c.	
Hindi	tu,	tera,	tujh, etc.	Pl.	tum, tumhárá &c.	
Bengali	tui,	tor,	toke	Pl.	tumi, tomár &c.	
Marathi	tún,	tujhá,	tuj	Pl.	tuhmi, tumehá &c.	
Punjabi	tún,	terá,	tainún,	Pl.	tusin, tusádhá &c.	
Sindhi	tún,	tumhujo,	tokhe,	Pl.	taváiñ ³ , tahvanjo &c.	
Gujarati	tun,	taro,	tune,	Pl.	tame, tamáro, &c.	

In the noun, we observe the usual transition from the synthetical to the analytical formation. Here too there is considerable approximation to Bengali in some respects, though it will be seen that there is equally close approximation to the other languages.

The accusative proposition *ku* is nearer to Hindi *ko* than to Bengali *ke*; and the likeness is strengthened by the fact that, as in Hindi, *ku* does duty for the dative as well.

The instrumental exists only with a periphrastic form *dwárá*, and the system of *prayogas* or constructions has not here received that full and perplexing elaboration that constitutes the difficulty of Hindi, and in a still greater degree of Marathi.

The ablative is formed by the postposition *tháru* (*sthán ru*) or simply *ru* "from," which is evidently connected with the sign of the locative *tháre* or *re* "in;" and has nothing at all resembling it in the other tongues, unless we adduce the Bengali *re* of the dative, which, however, is probably a relic of the Sanskrit genitive *asya*, like the Marathi dative in *ás*, and dates from the Prakrit which habitually confuses the two cases. I think it probable that in the Uriya *ru*, we have the Sanskrit ablative *át*, which becomes in Prakrit *ádo*, and *ádu*. It appears to have been cerebralized into *adu*, whence *ru*. The locative *re* may be a corruption of the Prakrit termination *sī*, where the *s* has been changed to *r* as in Bengali, but this I do not feel sure about.

The genitive ends in *ar* after a consonant, or *r* after a vowel and closely corresponds to the Bengali in this, its only truly inflectional case.

The plural is formed by the added syllable *mán*, or *máne*, (*i.e.* "number"), just as in Hindi *log* or in Bengali *gan*. Here the genitive comes out in greater clearness as *mánangkár*, where the syllable *ang* (*a* with *anuswára* originally, though now written मानङ्कर) is the sign of the neuter of a Prakrit form मानं; this shews us that the sign of the genitive is properly *kar*. And this leads to a curious and unsuspected connection. In an article on the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi,⁴ I shewed that there was reason to believe that the *ka* of the Hindi genitive was corrupted from a form कर, or perhaps क, that the loss of the त gave us the Hindi form, while on the other hand, the rejection of the क gave us the Marwari ऐ, त, ई and the Panjabi दा, दे, दी, both the *k* and the *r* are found in the Bhojpuri pronominal genitive करा, as in *ikará okerá* (*iská, uská*). Now here again we

have from the other side of India, a genitive plural in *kar*, the *k* of which is rejected in the singular, but retained in the plural. We must thus again dissociate Uriya from its neighbour Bengali, and tighten the links which connect it with its western congeners, leaving Bengali, till further research shall have been made, as the solitary instance of an inflectional genitive.

There is thus on the whole very little in the declension of the noun in common between the Uriya and its fellows. It may be interesting to give here in one view all the seven declensions. It will then be seen that Uriya is a perfectly self-contained and independent member of the family.

Hindi	Pan-jabi	Sindhi.	Gujrati.	Marathi.	Uriya.	Bengali.
Genitive, ká,ke kí	dá, de di,dián	jo, je ja ji,je,ji já,jún jyún,jini etc.	no,ni,nún	chá,chi, chen.	{ar {r	{er {r
Dative, ko	nun	khe	[mate,ar- the sárú]	{-á,-ás -álá.	ku	-ere -re
Accusa- tive,	ko	khe	ne	-	ku	-ke
Instrum- ental	ne	nai	-á	-e	{nen,-en, sin.	[dwárá] -te
Ablative, se, par	te		{khán, te, thí, thakí aun,etc.	hún-ûn	{tháru, háite {ru	
Locative, men	vich	men.	man	-an -in	tháre, re }	te

All the genitives, except Uriya and Bengali, are declined to agree with the governed noun, in Sindhi, the number of forms arises from a desire to enable the governing noun to agree with each case and gender of the governed; which is not thought necessary in the other languages.

If we pass on to the question of the phonetics of the language, we find some more curious particulars.

Geographical position seems to have some influence here. While Panjabi and Sindhi in the extreme west exhibit a tendency to employ always short vowels and closed syllables, Bengali in the extreme east prefers long vowels and open syllables, while Hindi in the centre holds a middle place, neither too prone to lengthen nor to shorten; and this is a standard by which to measure the other languages. Marathi again, which lies due south of Hindi, and is also somewhat central, being neither very far to the west, nor to the east, exhibits the same centrality as Hindi with which it generally agrees in the quantity of its vowels. Gujarati is more prone to shorten than Marathi, and less so than Sindhi. Thus we get in fact a regular gradation from west to east. The more westerly a language is in situation, the greater its tendency to short vowels and closed syllables, and as you go further east by degrees, the long vowel and the open syllable become more and more prominent, till they reach their extreme development in Bengali. Now in this scheme, Uriya holds exactly the place we should expect. Lying in the same parallel of longitude as Behar, its phonetic system precisely corresponds with that of eastern Hindi, and is consequently less prone to long vowels than Bengali. North and south have no influence in this matter, it is only west and east that we have to consider, and Orissa though south is also entirely west of the Bengali area. A few examples may be given :

Skr. भद्र, good, becomes in all the languages भल, as in H.P.M. and S. भला G. भलो, लो, लु, but B भाल. Here U. has भल as in H and the rest.

Skr. तुभुस्यु hungry. Here as compensation for the loss of the ष, the क is aspirated to ख, and the preceding vowel lengthened into *u* in all the languages except P. and S., which exhibit भुखा and बुख्यो respectively. Uriya here has a guna form भोक, concerning which I shall speak below.

Skr. दंश to sting. All the other languages retain the short vowel, though they cerebralize the initial द, Bengali alone lengthens it to डांस. Uriya in दंशन retains the vowel in its proper quantity.

If we pass on to the question of the phonetics of the language, we find some more curious particulars.

Geographical position seems to have some influence here. While Panjabi and Sindhi in the extreme west exhibit a tendency to employ always short vowels and closed syllables, Bengali in the extreme east prefers long vowels and open syllables, while Hindi in the centre holds a middle place, neither too prone to lengthen nor to shorten; and this is a standard by which to measure the other languages. Marathi again, which lies due south of Hindi, and is also somewhat central, being neither very far to the west, nor to the east, exhibits the same centrality as Hindi with which it generally agrees in the quantity of its vowels. Gujarati is more prone to shorten than Marathi, and less so than Sindhi. Thus we get in fact a regular gradation from west to east. The more westerly a language is in situation, the greater its tendency to short vowels and closed syllables, and as you go further east by degrees, the long vowel and the open syllable become more and more prominent, till they reach their extreme development in Bengali. Now in this scheme, Uriya holds exactly the place we should expect. Lying in the same parallel of longitude as Behar, its phonetic system precisely corresponds with that of eastern Hindi, and is consequently less prone to long vowels than Bengali. North and south have no influence in this matter, it is only west and east that we have to consider, and Orissa though south is also entirely west of the Bengali area. A few examples may be given :

Skr. भद्र, good, becomes in all the languages भल, as in H.P.M. and S. भला G. भलो, लो, लु, but B भाल. Here U. has भल as in H and the rest.

Skr. तुभुस्यु hungry. Here as compensation for the loss of the ष, the क is aspirated to ख, and the preceding vowel lengthened into *u* in all the languages except P. and S., which exhibit भुखा and बुख्यो respectively. Uriya here has a guna form भोक, concerning which I shall speak below.

Skr. दंश to sting. All the other languages retain the short vowel, though they cerebralize the initial द, Bengali alone lengthens it to डांस. Uriya in दंशन retains the vowel in its proper quantity.

Skr. सप्र, Prakr. सत्ते; as compensation for rejecting one त, the other languages lengthen the vowel and have सात P. and S. stick to the short vowel and have सत.

So in तम्बू a tent, the derivation of which is obscure, Bengali alone has ताम्बू. Uriya agrees with the others in retaining the short vowel.

तीक्ष्ण bitter, becomes in all तीखा except P.S. and G. which have तीक्ष्या तिखो and तिखु respectively.

In another point, Uriya is in a different camp from Bengali. The three southern languages Gujarati, Marathi and Uriya delight in guna vowels, in places where the other languages use the pure vowels.

Again the Uriya agrees with Marathi in preferring a dental to a cerebral, whereas the western languages and peculiarly Sindhi cerebralize the Sanskrit dental unnecessarily. This peculiarity rests upon very deep bases and would take a long time to work out. Thus U.G. and M. have थण्डा cold, where the other language have ठण्डा, and Bengali as usual a ठाण्डा (the derivation is not certain, but it is probably from an old part pass of स्थल to be firm, meaning congealed us ice or contracted by cold as the human body).

I have done here little more than point out the line of argument which should, in my opinion, be followed in cases of this sort. I wish particularly to urge that no researches into any one of the seven languages can be considered complete or satisfactory which do not embrace the whole seven, because they are so closely connected, and mutually shed such light on each other, that the reasons for their development and for the forms they exhibit in modern times, depend upon laws, whose operation is universal, cannot be traced in one member only of the group.

Much more may, of course, be said on this subject; in fact a tolerably large book might be written on it. Unfortunately such a book could only be written by a resident of the province, as no respectable grammar or dictionary of the language has yet been published; and as there are few persons in Orissa who are

competent to take up the enquiry and work it out fully, we cannot expect to see a good answer to Babu Kanti Chandra's book yet awhile.



[*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society*, June, 1870, pp.192-201.]

-
1. In classical Sanskrit we have only कला fem; but the masculine must also have been in use, as is shown by numerous forms in the modern languages.
 2. I use the word Hindi advisedly, to signify that great language which, when borrowing largely from Arabic is called also Urdu, which some misguided people would wish to regard as a separate language.
 3. Also tahin, avhin, ánin' & c. The want of a good literary standard of spelling is felt very strongly in all the seven languages, notably so in Sindhi.
 4. Journal R.A.S. Vol.III, p.483.

THE RUINS AT KOPARI, BALASORE DISTRICT

Two years ago I found at Kopari a small image with an inscription on the back, a copy of which I sent to the Society. The people worshipped the image as Lakshmi, but Babu Rajendralal having pronounced it to be Maya Devi, the mother of Buddha, they have now come to the conclusion that the "deo" has gone out of it, and made no objection to my removing it, which I have done on the occasion of my recent visit to the place.

On this visit I have been able to make a more minute inspection of the ruins and the surrounding country, and send you the following notes, with a few rough sketches and plans.

The place is interesting not only from its singular physical appearance, but as being the only place in northern Orissa where distinct traces of Buddhism are still observable. It is situated in lat. $20^{\circ} 19'$, long. $86^{\circ} 30'$; 42 miles south-west of the town of Balasore and close to the point where the three native tributary States of Moharbhanj, Nilgiri, and Keonjhar meet. It is a level plain surrounded on three sides by low rocky hills. The soil is sterile and in many places consists of nothing but large slabs of laterite rock, as flat and regular as a London street pavement, having, however, the colour and general appearance of rusty iron boiler plates. This formation is not, of course, continuous; there occur large spaces where the laterite is covered with more or less depth of earth, and on such spots are rice fields, tanks and houses and large mango and pipal trees. The ruins stand on the north side of the village, the more important and better preserved portion is situated in the very middle of the flat laterite surface, but other parts are found in the softer soil among trees. The plan of them is given below.—

Before proceeding to describe the details, it will be as well to make some introductory remarks. These ruins exhibit the traces

of an ancient Buddhist temple, and *vihāra* or monastery, with a pleasure ground or grove intervening. The Buddhist temple appears to have been destroyed and its materials used to erect a Brahmanical temple dedicated to Shiva whose emblems in a later style of art, some in fact comparatively modern, are found in abundance. Later than these supervened the present Vishnu worship, now the prevailing type of Hinduism in Orissa, so that a considerable amount of wilful, and some also accidental, displacement and destruction has taken place.

The Shiva and Vishnu buildings are rude in the extreme, and are composed of stones evidently taken from some earlier fabric, as the architectural design and sculptures are entirely disconnected, a stone with a bold moulding being placed upon a perfectly plain one and *vice versa*, and one edifice in particular being crowned, instead of a pinnacle or spire, by a capital exactly agreeing with those of the pillars still remaining *in situ* on the earlier building.

Of this earlier building I can give no plan. It stands about 200 yards to the east of the building marked A, and consists of a confused mass of laterite hewn stones of very great size, but no outlines can be traced without digging, for which I had no time. I would hazard the conjecture, however, that it was a square of about 38 feet in length on each side. In what seems to have been the centre, is a huge square mass of laterite like an altar, about four feet high, and at each corner a small niche in one of which was the image of Mayadevi above mentioned. One of the other niches has been removed to a distance of about half a mile, and set up on the edge of a tank, probably for purposes of Brahmanical worship; the other two niches are overgrown with trees, an ancient tamarind in one, and a still more ancient pipal in the other have twisted their roots and stems in and out of the stones so as to render restoration impossible. This building I suppose to have been the original Buddhist temple, and the altar probably sustained an image of Buddha of gigantic size, the mutilated remains of which have been set up in the village temple and are now worshipped as Baladeva. From this ruin stretches a grove of trees on a long ridge, formed evidently artificially, by heaping earth on

the laterite rock to a height of four or five feet. On the northern edge of the grove is an old square stone well hewn through the rock and lined with huge cut stones. In the middle of the grove is the building marked A, an oblong platform of hewn stone, with the capitals of some large pillars lying on and around it. Going still westwards over a space encumbered by half-buried debris, we come to B, the best preserved portion of the whole. I give a sketch of this building from the south.

It is a long narrow hall with a sort of propylaeum on the eastern side, surrounded by pillars, most of which are still standing, though battered and worn by rain so much that their original design is almost untraceable. It can be seen, however, that they were octagonal, with a capital consisting of a double round beaded fillet as in the marginal illustration.

To the north of this is a small nearly square tank with steps leading down to it, the whole hewn with immense labour through the solid rock to a depth of 6 feet, and always full of water even in the driest seasons. To the west of the hall just mentioned is a scarcely distinguishable small building marked C, whereon are a few fallen pillars and capitals.

The inscription on the back of the image of Mayadevi would refer the building in which it was found to the tenth century A.D., unless, as is highly probable, the image was dedicated after the erection of the temple. The huge size of the stones, some four feet long by two or three deep, and the general rudeness of the architecture, would incline me to place the date of its construction much earlier. The grove leading to A, B, and C, with its artificial soil and ancient well, was probably the garden; and the three buildings themselves, the cells of the vihára, or monastery, for the use of whose inhabitants the tank was apparently dug.

Building A now presents the appearance of a ruined Siva temple, at *a* is a large *linga* of chlorite, still worshipped; a smaller *linga* lies close to it. At *b* is a large well-carved statue of Durga and another of Nandi on the top of Durgá slab. Both are comparatively new and in good preservation. At *e* comes in the newer Vishnu worship in the shape of a statue which, though

defaced, is considered by natives to be Lakshmi, though some considered it to be Bhaváni. At *a* is a *rath*, which is still used on the Rath Jatra. These last objects are quite modern and connected with Baladeva's temple in the village, to whom, in the opinion of the present inhabitants, the whole of the ruins are sacred, in spite of the lingas and statue of Purgá.

At the foot of the hills close by are the remains of a large fort of mud, and on the hill side high up is a cave temple called that of Bharua Debi, a name probably corrupted from Bháirava, as that of an adjoining cave, Basudi, is probably from Básuki. I could not visit these temples on account of the dense jungle, but the sculptures and statues which have been brought from them, to adorn the village shrine at the foot of the hills, are a strange medley, comprising one or two Durgás, a Narsingha avatár, and several minor idols.



[*Journals of Letters of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, No.3, 1871,
pp.247-250]

MORE BUDDHIST REMAINS IN ORISSA

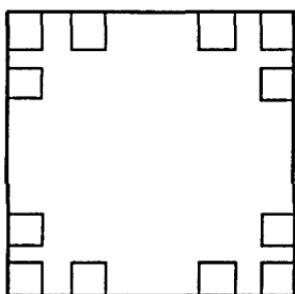
In continuation of the note on the Buddhist remains at Kopari recently contributed by me, I wish to record the existence of some more structures in other parts of Orissa, whose exact similarity to those at Kopari affords a confirmation of the theories suggested by that place.

On my way back from Katak, where I had been to attend the Durbar, which was not held owing to the melancholy incident which has spread such a gloom over all India, I pitched my tents at the village of Chhatiá (छतिए) sixteen miles north of the town of Katak. In the evening as I was taking a stroll along a village road, west of the encampment, I came to a flat surface of laterite closely resembling that at Kopari. At the foot of a small hill was a square platform, about 40 feet square, of hewn laterite stones, from which rose twelve pillars, octagonal and with rounded capitals, but much worn by the action of the elements, and covered with grey lichen. To the west of this was a rude square building composed of the same stones, roughly put together without mortar. This had evidently been constructed from the stones of the older structure, as there were pieces of mouldings, capitals of pillars and sculptured stones, some upside down, and all evidently out of place. Inside, smeared with vermillion and turmeric, were numerous portions of statues, heads, arms, a mutilated trunk or two, few of which bore any resemblance to the traditional figures of Hindu mythology.

The images unfortunately are so smeared with vermillion and oil, that it is difficult to make out all the details. There seems to be a serpent's hood over the head of one, but it is too much worn to admit of any certainty.

The next day the camp was at Dharmasala on the Bráhmani river, 31 miles north of Katak. One mile to the west of the road, at the foot of a little hill, on a small promontory jutting out into

the river, stands a temple of Siva, under the name of Gokarneswara Mahádeva, or as the peasants call it, Gok'ns'r Mahádeb. This is one of the usual Siva temples of the melon or ninepin shape, so common in Orissa. It faces the east, and in front of it is a square platform of laterite stones, surrounded by pillars exactly similar in design to the Kopari ones, they are twelve in number, three at each corner of the platform thus :-



The Mahádeb temple has been built of stones taken from some part of this ancient structure, though the fact is concealed by its being entirely covered with a smooth coating of plaster. The Hindú statues of late date surrounding this temple are of remarkable beauty and fineness. The principal figure is called by the people Saraswati, and represents a smiling woman with four arms holding a conch and lotus, with many female attendants with laughing faces grouped round the principal which is not in relief, but has the stone cut away at the back of the figure.

This image was found in the river some years ago, and the others were found in the jungle close by, or as attendant Bráhman states, suddenly appeared out of the rock, and ordered themselves to be worshipped !



QUERIES

MODE OF DATING IN ORISSA

2. In Orissa, it is the custom in all Zemindary accounts, receipts, leases, and other documents to denote the month by the sign of the Zodiac, instead of by the familiar names of asterisms used by the whole Aryan race in India. Thus—

Baisâkh	is called	ମେଘ Mesha	Aries.
Jesht	.	ବୃଷ Vrîsha	Taurus.
Ashârh	.	ମିଥୁନ Mithuna	Gemini.
Shraban	.	କକାଡ଼ା Kakada	Cancer.
Bhâdrab	.	ସିଂହ Sinha	Leo.
Asin	.	କନ୍ୟା Kanyâ	Virgo.
Kârtik	.	ତୁଳ Tula	Libra.
Mârgsir (Agrahan)	(....)	ବିଛା Bichhâ	Scorpio.
Paush (Pûs.)	.	ଧନୁ Dhanu	Sagittarius.
Mâgh	.	ମକାର Makara	Capricornus.
Phâgun	.	କୁନ୍ଭ Kumbha	Aquarius.
Chaitra	.	ମୀନ Mîna	Pisces.

I should be glad to know if this curious custom prevails in any other part of India. The singular thing is that the months are lunar, although thus indicated by solar names. Weber, in a valuable essay on the Vedic Nakshatras, reprinted from the Journal of the Berlin Scientific Society, points out the existence of several systems of names for the months, which I have hitherto believed to be obsolete. It may be, however, that some of them are still preserved in remote corners of India. Chand, in one of his earlier chapters, speaks of the month of Sahas (ସହସ), which I believe to be Kârtik. As I am writing from camp I cannot give the reference either to Chand or Weber.



THE JUNGLE FORTS OF NORTHERN ORISSA

I

NORTHERN ORISSA is, considering its situation within 150 miles of Calcutta, very isolated and little known. There is however a good historical reason for this. The Kings of Orissa fixed their capital always in the southern part of the province, and the long narrow strip of country between the hills and the sea was only at times, and never for long periods, under their sway. It was covered with dense jungle, which extended apparently with hardly any break to the banks of the Hooghly.¹ The Kings of Bengal, on the other hand, held their fort either at Gaur, or some other place far to the north, and the lower Gangetic delta was to them also almost a *terra incognita*. The English settlement of Calcutta pushed out feelers along the course of the Ganges, and the wave of conquest and commerce followed the same path, leaving Midnapore and Balasore comparatively unheeded and unexplored. In the present day the great Imperial high road from Calcutta to Madras has opened up a portion of this country, and is much frequented, especially by the thousands and tens of thousands of pilgrims who annually visit the great shrine of Jagannath at Puri. But the line of traffic, and the road of invading armies in former times, did not follow the course of the present great avenue of communication, and it is not therefore along the Madras and Calcutta road that we must look for relics of past times.

One hundred and fifteen miles S.W. of Calcutta, at the town of Jellasore (Jaleshwar) the road crosses the river Subanrekha (Suvarnarekha— "streak of gold") at a spot on the confines of British territory and the territory of the tributary Raja of Mohurbunj (Mayúrabhanj). The river here winds so as to run for about five miles nearly parallel to the road on the northern side. Crossing the river we come into the isolated pargana of

Fattihábád, one of the so-called Jungle Mehals, which is now included in the district of Balasore (Báleshwar). Nine miles north of Jellasore, and about two from the right bank of the river, amidst dense grass and tree jungle, which is here and there in course of being brought into cultivation, stands the group of forts which I propose to describe. I hope the above details will enable the reader to form a clear idea of their actual position on the map of India, in case however the ordinary maps should not show the road, or the little town of Jellasore, I would add that the forts are distant from the sea at the mouth of the Subanrekhá, twenty-six miles as the crow flies.

I propose first to describe the forts themselves, and secondly to endeavour to arrive at an approximation to the date of their foundation, and to collect such few facts respecting their past history as I can. This enquiry will, if successful, throw considerable light on the relation between the Kings of Orissa and their northern neighbours, as well as on the somewhat obscure subject of the Musalman invasions of the province, in addition to the more purely archaeological interest which it may present.

It will be seen from the annexed map that the forts are four in number, the two larger ones being close to the large village of Ráibaniyân, and the two smaller ones at the village of Phultâ, or more correctly Phúlhaṭṭâ. Of these two small forts nothing now remains save the outline of mud walls, with here and there a scattered mass of laterite stones.

The whole soil of this neighbourhood for many miles is composed of laterite, a dark brick-red stone full of holes like a sponge, but very hard. All these forts are built of this stone, though in many cases the stones have either, from having been originally loosely put together, or owing to some subsequent violence, become scattered or sunk in the soil. The stones are all hewn and of various sizes, the largest and most regularly shaped being found in the most important and probably most ancient portions of the work, the smaller and less carefully hewn in the walls and outworks. The largest stones are about 3 feet in length by a foot in depth, and the same in breadth; while in some of the

pettier and more modern works, stones not bigger than ordinary bricks are found. Owing to the denseness of the jungle, and the great number of tigers and bears which find shelter there, it is very difficult to explore these forts thoroughly. In three visits which I have recently made to them, I obtained from the Zamindar some thirty or forty coolies armed with the useful little Sonthal axe, and these together with my own Police and Chaukidars were occupied many hours every day in cutting a path through the thick tangle of underwood.

The most accessible and fortunately also the most interesting of the forts is that which I have marked as the "Mud fort" on the map, at the north-west angle of the Ráibaniyan village. This fort is in shape an irregular pentagon, having the following dimensions :—

Eastern wall.....	1,630 English yards.
Northern.....	1,650 English yards.
North-western.....	880 (about)
South-western.....	1,550 (about)
Southern.....	880

There seems to be some sort of order even in the irregularity as the eastern and northern walls are the same length, so also the north-western and southern. The north and south-western, however, are so covered with jungle that it is impossible to arrive at more than an approximate measurement.

Though called the 'Mud fort', the walls of this fort are not really of mud. The peasants of the neighbouring villages have made breaches through the walls in some places to enable them to get at their rice-fields in the inside, and in entering the fort by one of these breaches a sort of section is obtained which reveals the nature of the construction. The following section will explain how the wall is made. The centre or heart consists of layers of stone gradually diminishing to a point, and this is covered and entirely hidden with about four feet of earth closely rammed. The breadth at the base from A to B is by measurement 112 feet, and the height we guessed to be about 50 feet.



AB, Base of the Wall. C. Moat. DD. Earth.

The wall is surrounded by a deep and broad moat, and a slight but continuous ridge, evidently artificial, runs parallel to the moat on its outer edge. Outside all this again, at a distance in some places of as much as half a mile, runs a *nallâ* which by a little dexterous cutting and deepening has been made into a very efficacious outer moat lined here and there with a wall of laterite.

The interior of the fort is a large plain covered with debris of stone buildings, tanks, and patches of jungle; a considerable portion of it is now cultivated, and near the south wall is the remains of a small indigo factory which was conducted by a European for some years, but has now long ago been abandoned.

The natives have a tradition that the north-western corner contained the palace of the Râjâ, and this is partially confirmed by the greater height and strength of the works in that corner, and by the numerous remains of buildings still traceable. The principal of these I have called the "keep" on the map, as the natives assert that it was the highest and strongest part of the fort. It is a strong square tower of which about 20 feet only now remain; the stones are carefully hewn and placed together, but without any traces of cement or mortar. A simple but graceful style of ornament is affected by a straight moulding running round the middle of each course, above which the top of each stone is sloped inwards with a small pine-apple shaped projection in the centre. The effect of this arrangement cannot be fully seen owing to the jungle, but

when perfectly visible, the broken light and shade produced by it must have lent a peculiar grace and elegance to the otherwise massive and sombre building. In spite of the native idea of its being a keep or citadel, I am disposed to think this building must have been a Shiva-temple, as the architecture is precisely similar to the other ancient temples to that idol in other parts of Orissa, and the dimensions



of the building, which is not more than 100 feet square, are too small for the purposes of a citadel. On the top, half hidden by trees, are the capitals of some pillars of the dark ash-coloured stone known as *mungani patthar* or chlorite : none of the columns however remain. In the centre is a well or tank—similar to the square enclosure round the linga-stone in Shiva-temples : so that I imagine the stone walls must have formed a lofty platform surmounted by an open hall surrounded by pillars, in the centre of which was the linga in its sunken square enclosure. The capitals, though massive, are quite plain and without ornament.

At the foot of this building on the south side is a curious little hollow where the trees and jungle are perhaps more dense than in any other part. This is called Jaychandi Ban or Jaychand's jungle. Who Jaychand was nobody knows. In the heart of this jungle, approached by a narrow winding path, is a small platform 2 feet high on which have been set up, in quite modern times, some beautiful pieces of sculpture which have probably fallen from the temple above. There is the lower half of a female figure bedecked with jewels, and the legs of a man running—both in high relief. There is also an exquisite piece of arabesque carving—probably the moulding or edge of the frame sing the *rilevi*. Though much defaced the general design is clearly traceable.²



There is a freedom and graceful play of outline in the rounded foliage which is rare in ancient remains in this part of India. The rest of this moulding is probably hidden beneath the masses of laterite, stones, debris of all kinds. If I have an opportunity of visiting the spot at any future time I may succeed in unearthing more of it. The people said they remembered in their youth having seen stones with inscriptions in the Nágri character, but unfortunately knew not where to find them. The Nágri character is not understood by any one, except a very few Pandits in this part of the country, and as far as I know was never used in inscriptions, which are all in a bad form of Kutila, but the difference between Kutila and Nágari would not be appreciable by the natives here.

The idols and carvings in the Jayachandi Ban are still worshipped, and in consequence, are smeared all over with that mixture of oil and vermillion (*sendür*), which is so freely applied to all sacred buildings and trees. A small plot of rent-free land has been assigned to some Brahmins who carry on the worship at stated seasons, but do not seem able to specify what god the shrine is sacred to. This Jayachandi Ban* is evidently a modern arrangement. Some one found these mutilated bits of sculpture and set them up and invited people to worship them, purely as a bit of Brahmanical speculation, and probably the speculator's name was Jayachand. This sort of thing goes on even at the present day : Uriya will

* Beames thinks that Jayachandi is a phonetic change of Jayachand. But in northern Balasore Jayachandi, as village Goddess is worshipped in few villages. Since Beames refers to idol worshipping in Jayachandi Ban, it probably infers to Goddess Jayachandi. LDM.

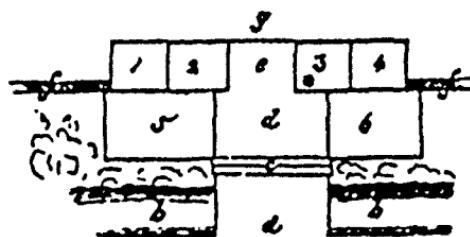
worship anything, especially if he does not know what it is, and a Brahman tells him it is *debatā*.

The western gate of the fort which is close to the Ban, was probably only a sort of postern, as it is only wide enough for one horseman at a time. The sketch below represents its present appearance. In the wall will be noticed the sockets of the hinges



of the doors which at one time stood there. Crossing the moat by a strong though narrow bridge, we come to a second doorway, precisely similar to the first. This is merely a gateway in a sort of *tete de pont* protecting the bridge across the moat.

Moving round to the north wall of the fort, we come upon the largest and most perfect group of remains in the whole building. It is called Sát Gambhira Aṭṭalikā—literally "Palace of the seven deeps;" this name however is a mere modern corruption of *sát gumbaz* or 'the seven domes'. The building consists of six large rooms which have evidently at one time been vaulted, and the passage through them or gateway counted as a seventh room,—which was probably covered in and vaulted like the others. The ground plan is—



Plan of Sât Gambhira Attâlikâ

- | | |
|----------|--------------------|
| a Bridge | d Covered Gateway. |
| bb Moat | e Inner Gateway. |
| c Steps | f Wall of Fort. |

g Inside of Fort.

as far as could be made out from the top of the wall at but as a big black bear was sleeping at the foot of the wall in No. 3, and I had unfortunately no gun with me, having brought a sketch-book and measuring rod instead, it was not thought prudent to remain long in that neighbourhood. For the same reason there was not time to make more than a plan of the building with a rough measurement. The covered gateway is about 40 feet wide and 25 feet deep, and rooms Nos. 5 and 6, though so encumbered with rubbish as to be quite inaccessible were judged to be about the same size. This approximation will enable the reader to judge of the size of the other rooms. The rest of the palace was probably, as usual in Bengal, built of mud with thatched roofs,—which mode of construction would account for its total disappearance.

The last fort of the group is that which I have called the "Stone Fort," as its walls, as far as they could be seen, are built of hewn stone not covered, as in the other, with mud. It seems more modern than the mud fort, and may either have been originally a mere out-work to the other, which seems improbable from its nearly equalling it in size, or was more likely—as I shall shew presently—a comparatively modern erection, built when the old fort had become so far ruined as to be no longer tenable.

The eastern entrance is through a vast hall or yard, with walls of hewn stone in which are still to be seen the staples to

which, in native tradition, the Rajá's elephants were fastened. This gateway is called the *Háthi dwár* or *Hathí bandhā dwár*, (elephant gate, or elephant-enclosure gate.) The southern door way,—of which only a crumbled heap of stones remains,—is called the *Sona mukhi*, or golden faced gate, the origin of which name I cannot trace; but so many places in northern Orissa are called Sonamukhi,—even bare salt-marshes washed by the sea, that the appellation must be very ancient, and the allusion which it was meant to convey has become obscure. The only suggestion offered is—that it refers to the golden face of the idol Jagannáth at Puri—miniature copies of which are to be seen in many parts of Orissa. Such an idol may have stood in or near this gateway.

II

THE date of the building of these forts is, like that of every building in India which has no marked architectural features and contains no inscriptions, very uncertain. In the present case, however, the uncertainty is to some extent limited by considerations derived from their geographical position. If it be assumed that they were the work of kings of Orissa,—an assumption which I shall consider immediately,—then there are only two brief periods within which they could have been built these, namely, in which the limits of the Oriyá monarchy extended so far to the northward as the banks of the Subarnarekha river. The general absence of historical data in India prior to the coming of the Muhammadans is, in Orissa, relieved by the scanty and untrustworthy *panji* or daily record of occurrences kept in the national temple of Jagannáth—the omissions or inaccuracies of which may occasionally be corrected or supplied from the *pánjis* and *Vansávalis* kept in the minor tempes and monasteries throughout the province and by one or two connected histories written on palm-leaf, which are in the possession of private families.

The chief interest of Oriyá history centres round the great cities of the southern part of the province—Katak, Jajpur and Puri.

Northern Orissa is seldom mentioned. Only twice in the annals of the country is it asserted that its boundaries extended beyond the Kānsbāns, a small stream near Soroh at that point where the hill-ranges trend eastward to the sea. The long narrow slip between the Kānsbāns and Subarnarekhā appears to have been for centuries a forest. This supposition is confirmed by the frequency of names of places in which the word *ban* (Sansk : *vana*) occurs as *Ban chās*, *i.e.* "forest-tilth," *Banāhār*, *i.e.* forest (enclosure Bampadda *i.e.* Ban-Padda)—"forest-clearing," *Bankāti*—"forest-cutting," and the like.

In the reign of Gangeswar Deb (A.D. 1151), the Orissa monarchy is said to have extended from the Ganges to the Godāvari. By the Ganges is here of course meant, as always in Oriyā history, the branch which flows by Hugli. Whether this is merely an exaggeration or not we cannot tell; it probably is so, as in the celebrated speech of his great-grandson Anang Bhim Deb, the most illustrious prince of the Gaṅgābarīsī dynasty (A.D. 1196), recorded by Stirling, the king is reported to have said that he had extended the boundaries of his kingdom on the north from the Kānsbāns to the Datāi Burhi river (the modern Budā Balang, which flows past the town of Balasor). The Gaṅgābarīsīs were great builders, and their temples, palaces and tanks still adorn the southern part of the province. I do not think it probable that they would have been contented with so comparatively clumsy and inartistic forts as those now under consideration. I shall show presently another reason for assigning these forts to a much later epoch.

In 1550 the throne of Orissa was occupied by a prince from the Telugu or Telinga country, celebrated under the name of Telinga Mukund Deb. He was the last independent sovereign of Orissa, and of him again it is recorded that his sway extended to Tribeni Ghāt on the Hugli river, where he built a temple and bathing-steps. In his reign northern Orissa became for the first time important, for then the invasions of the Musalmans, hitherto few and far between, just began to be constant and successful. "Sulimān Gurzani, the Afghan King of Bengal," waged a long war with Mukund Deb, who, to oppose him, built a strong fort

in a commanding position in the northern frontier. This fort, or chain of forts, I apprehend to have been those we are now discussing. No more commanding situation could well be found than Rāibaniyan on its laterite ridge overlooking the passage of the Subarnarekha, and backed by the impenetrable forest. This position too is on the edge of the country inhabited by the Oriya-speaking race. The situation of the main entrance, and the much greater strength of the fortifications on the northern side, seem to show that it was from that direction that the danger came. Seven miles west of Rāibaniyan is the fort of Deūlgaon "temple-village" which—as will be seen from the appendix—is in still better preservation than Rāibaniyan, and, as evidence of its date, contains the two stone horsemen so celebrated in Orissan legend. It is related that when Rājā Purshottam Deb was marching (circa A.D. 1490) southwards to the conquest of Kanjiveram (Kānjikaveri), his army was preceded by two youths, one on a black and the other on a white horse, by whose auspicious aid he gained the victory. The youths then disappeared after declaring themselves to be Krishna and Baladeva.⁴ The fort which contains these two images cannot well be older than the legend which they preserve.

Further, it may be urged that, in the early times of Gangeshwar Deb, there existed no necessity for strong forts on the northern frontier, which was then inhabited only by wild forest tribes, and whose possession seems to have been little cared for by the Rājās themselves. It was not till the encroachments of the Musalmans of Bengal rendered some resistance necessary that forts would be built and garrisoned so far away from the capital, nor in the earlier times had the Oriya race penetrated so far to the north as to have settlements on the banks of the Subarnarekha.

On the otherhand, if we cannot place the date of the erection of these forts earlier than 1550, we cannot assign to them any later date. After the ravages of the terrible Kālapahāar Orissa sank into a condition of anarchy and disorganisation. Neither the invaders from Bengal nor the national rulers had any interest in keeping up forts at a place which was no longer important to either, and we find the Afghans immediately afterwards, and for

a long period, firmly established at the strong post of Garhpadđa, fifteen miles to the south of Rāibaniyan.

An important result follows from the above considerations, namely that the Oriya language is not—as a certain party among the Bengalis would persuade us—an offshoot of their own tongue, but an independent variety of Aryan speech. We have every reason to believe that the march, or frontier between the two provinces, was occupied by a dense forest peopled by non-Aryan tribes, and that there was absolutely no communication between Orissa and Bengal in that direction; when the forest was penetrated and the communication opened, the Oriya language was already formed, and Upendra Bhanj and Dīn Krishna Dās had written many of their still celebrated poems. Orissa had more intimate dealings with her southern neighbour and one at least of her dynasties came from the banks of the Sān-Gangā or Godāvari. Even to this day the course of trade from the ports of Orissa tends more towards Madras than Bengal.

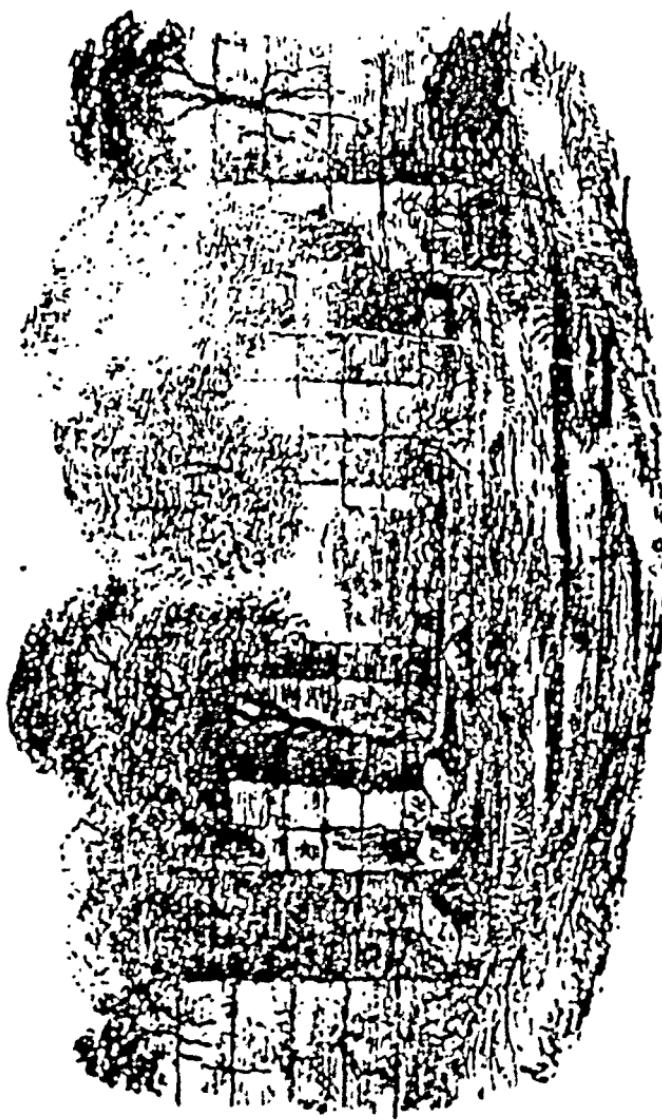
APPENDIX

After returning from Rāibaniyan I received the following note from the Revd. J. Philips, the well-known missionary to the Sonthals, whose settlement is at Sāntipur, two miles south of Rāibaniyan :—

"Camp Balādshihā, Dec. 11. 1871.

"On the 2nd instant we were at Deūlgaon, about 7 miles to the north-west of Sāntipur, where are the remains of an old stone fort. It is 75 paces long and 60 broad inside the walls. The walls are 12 feet in height composed of the common laterite, hewn as are the stones in Rāibaniyan. The walls are perforated on all sides with loopholes near the top, and there were entrances on the four sides with bastions over the gateways. In one corner of the enclosure there is a small tank and a walled up well in the opposite corner.

A large laterite stone was pointed out to me as containing inscriptions, but if such ever existed, it had become quite too much defaced to be at all legible. Two large stone images of horses with their riders, cut from solid blocks of the "Mugani"



Lalbaugh P.

SAT GAMHINA ATTALIK,
BALASORE.

Front

stone (chlorite), stand near the centre of the fort. When we were there two years ago these lay partially covered with rubbish, but have since been exhumed, and now they receive some attention, though I did not discover signs of their being worshipped. The natives told us that these were living animals in the *Sátya Yug*, and engaged in battle, and pointed out scars and bullet marks on their mutilated bodies. The fact of gunpowder being a modern invention seemed no obstacle to their theory as far as I saw."



[*The Indian Antiquary*; February 2 & March 1, 1872, pp.33-36 & 74-76]

1. In writing native names I follow Dr. Hunter's rule of using the received (although often incorrect) spelling for well-known places and the strictly correct Wilsonian system for these that are unknown to the general public.

2. I have represented the broken and undecipherable portions by cross shading and dotted spaces.

3. The Uriyas, more suo changed the comparatively little known Persian word gumbas 'a dome' into their own peculiar *gambhira*. The change was probably caused by their approaching the building from the top of the wall as they took me; seen from this position, the rooms look like deep vault; and it was not till I had the jungle cleared from the northern face that I convinced them the rooms were not underground.

4. The similarity of this legend to that of the appearance of "the great twin-brethern," Castor and Pollux, so vividly related in Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, must strike every classical reader.

THE INDIGENOUS LITERATURE OF ORISSA

There is a general impression abroad amongst scholars that the modern Indian vernaculars are mere jargons which suffice for the colloquial needs of imperfectly civilized races, but that they possess nothing which can fairly be called a literature. Even those who are better informed are prone to disparage the mediæval poems which are to be found in most, if not all of these languages, though in Panjâbî and Sindhi they do not rise above the rank of ballads. Now, before a judgment is delivered on this class of books, it may fairly be demanded that they be read. I fancy very few European or Indian scholars have any practical acquaintance with the real middle-age literature of the Hindus. In fact the very names of the books themselves are hardly known. Three characteristics are common to them all, and deprive them of much of the interest that would otherwise attach to them. Firstly, they are all of inordinate length; secondly, they are mere repetitions, more or less embellished, of the old fables of the Brahmanical religion,—*rechauffés* of the Purâñas and Mahâbhârata; thirdly, they are all in verse. But with all these drawbacks they are often valuable for the light they throw on the growth of the languages in which they are written. They are in many cases still intensely popular in rural districts, and a study of them will often supply the key to curious and apparently inexplicable peculiarities of native thought and manners. Some few indeed possess higher merits, and may be read with pleasure for the beauty of their poetry, their stores of history and geography, or the purity and loftiness of their morality. Under the first head come such works as Tulsi Dâs's Râmâyana, and the Satsai of Bihâri Lâl, under the second Chand and the other Rajput bards, under the third Kabir, Mamdeva, Tukarâm, and occasionally Vidyapati and other writers of the Chaitanya school.

On the whole, then, it may be said that this literature is worth preserving. It shows us the people as they are and were,—not as the English schoolmaster would have them be,—and possess

a value even in its faults, quite above and apart from the spurious unnatural literature composed of works written to order by Fort William pandits and maulavis; such as the Prem Sāgar, a farrago of nonsense in equal parts of bad Hindi and disguised Gujarāti.

What we want is, first to find out what books exist in the various languages; secondly, to have them read with a view to finding out which are worth preserving and printing; and thirdly, to get scholars to edit such as may be worth the trouble.

We should then be able to place in the hands of the student real genuine native works from which he could learn what the language he was studying really was, instead of, as at present, misleading him by trash like the Bagh-o-Bahar or Baitāl Pachisi, composed in a language which no native ever speaks, and which he can with difficulty understand. The change which this would cause in, and the impetus it would give to, the study of Indian languages would probably be comparable only to the new life which was imparted to the schools of Europe when Virgil and Cicero first began to supersede, as text books, the crabbed Latin of Cassiodorus and Erigens.

As a contribution to the above objects I here append a list of works known to exist in Oriya, and propose, as opportunity offers, to read the most celebrated, and see what they are worth, and to report my discoveries from time to time through the medium of the *Indian Antiquary*: I am aware that Oriya holds a low place in its group of languages, but this is owing chiefly to its obscurity. I consider it in many respects one of the most interesting languages of the Aryan group, especially because, owing its long isolation from the rest, it has preserved words and forms which have perished from them, and exhibits at times very singular developments of its own.

The following list is the result of much enquiry, and is believed to be nearly, if not quite, exhaustive. The RASAKALLOLA or "Waves of Delight" by Dinkriṣṭha Dās, a work of the early part of the sixteenth century, is the most celebrated Oriya poem, and is still well-known; its songs are even now frequently heard at village meetings, and most educated

Oriyas know whole cantos by heart. I propose to give some notices of it at a future time.

List.

[N.B.—The following ancient Uriya works are known to be in existence, and copies of them written on *tâlpatra* or palm leaf, may probably be procured in different parts of the province. Those marked* can be obtained in Balasor, but Puri and Katak are better places to search for them in, especially Puri.]

1*. Subhadrâ pariṇaya	An epic poem.
2*. Râsa Mañjari	- do -
3*. Prem sudhâ nidhi	A tale.
4*. Rasapañchak	- do -
5*. Rasikhârâvali	Poem
6*. Subarnarekhâ	- do -
7. Shobhâvati	- do -
8. Chitrakâvya	Alliterative poem
9. Kâmakautuk	Poem.
10* Duppai	Couplets.
11* Shappai	Verses.
12* Nappai	- do -
13* Dhwanî-mañjari	Rhetorical essay in verse.
14. Shabda mälâ	A short of dictionary.
15. Shad ritu	Poem on the six seasons.
16* Baidehisha-bilâsa	Epic poem.
17* Lâbanyabati	- do -
18* Kotibrahmânda sundari	- do -
19. Kalâkautuk	Poetry
20. Subhadrâsâr	- do -
21. Puruṣhottam Mahâtmya	Religious poem on Krishna.
22. Trilokyamohini	Religious poem.
23. Chitra lekhâ	- do -
24. Hemamanjari	- do -
25. Rasalekhâ	- do -

26. Kâmakalâ	- do -
27. Premalatâ	- do -
28. Bhâbabati	- do -
29. Muktabati	Religious poem.
30. Gitâbhidân	Dictionary

The above thirty works are by the celebrated Upendra Bhanj of Gumsar.

31* Rasakallola	Poem on Krishna by Dinkrishn Dâs
32. Anaṅgarekhâ	- do - - do -
33* Bhâgabata—The well-known Purana	by Jagannâth Das
34* Mahâbhârata	by Sâralâ Das } Versons of the
35* - do -	Kîshn Das } great Epic.
36. - do -	Chintâmani }
37* Bhagavadgitâ	Gundicha Devi } Verson of the
38* Harivâñsha	Nârâyan Dâs } Sanskrit poem.
39* Ramâyâna	Balarâm Dâs } - do -
40* Padmapurâṇa	Nilambar Dâs } Verson of the
41* Kârtika Mahâtmya	Sahib Dâs Religious poem.
42. Mâgha Mahâtmya	Kishn Dâs - do -
43* Baisâkha Mahâtmya	Achat Dâs - do -
44. Ekâdashi Mahâtmya	Dibâkar Dâs - do -
45. Gaṅgâ Mahâtmya	- do - - do -
46* Bhârataharivâñsha	Balarâm Dâs - do -
47. A ratdhvañshana	Nityânand Dâs - do -
48. Yugalrasâmrita	Surjyavarma - do -
49. Bauñri and Chauñri	- do - Poetical selections
50* Bidagda Chintâmaṇi	Abhimâna } Erotic poem.
	Sâmantasinhâ }
51* Bichitra Râmâyana,	Bishi } Epitome of the
52* Aratatrâna	Bishi } Sanskrit Epic.
	{ Hymn to
	{ Jagannâtha

53. Gajastuti	Jagannâth Dâs	Hymn to do.
54. Haripastuti	- do -	- do -
55. Dridha bhakti or Dâratâ bhakti	Balarâm Dâs	{ Poem on Hindu ceremonies.
56* Gunasâgara	- do -	- do -
57* Mathurâ maṅgala	- do -	- do -
58* Lakshmi Purâna	- do -	{ Version of the Sanskrit Story of the conquest of Conjeveram by the King of Orissa.
59. Kâñchi Kâveri	unknown	{
60. Brajabihâri	- do -	Youth of Krishna
61. Raghunâthabilâsa	Dhananjaybhanj	History of Râma
62. Katâkautuks	Ghan Bhanj	A poem.
63. Amarakosha tîka	Nârâyan Bhanj	{ Commentary on the Sanskrit work.
64. Chintâmaṇi	Unknown	Poems.
65. Rasalatâ	- do -	- do -
66. Daṛhyarasâmṛita	- do -	{ Ceremonial Observances
67* Kapotapâshâ	- do -	{ Extract from Mahâbhârata
68. Rasikamaṅgal	- do -	Poem.
69. Alankârbuli	Dinkrishna Dâs	Poem on rhetoric.
70. Nâbakali	Unknown	Erotic poem.
71. Jayamuñibhârata	Nilambar Dâs	Epic poem.
72. Sâralâstuti	Râm Nâyak	Hymn to Durga.
73. Rudrastuti	Nilambar Dâs	Hymn to Siva.
74. Dhûbastuti	Jagannâth Dâs	Hymn to Krishna.
75. Nâmaratnagitâ	Krishna Dâs	Hindu law.
76. Itihâsa Purâna	Jagannâth Dâs	A Purâna.
77. Dwâdashi Mahâtmya Madhab Dâs		Riligious work

78. Chaitanyachari- tâmrîta	Krishna Dâs	{ Life of Chaitanya from the Bengali. Religious poem. From the Sansk.
79. Prempanchamrita	Bibhupati	
80. Sâtkañdiâ Mahâbhârata	Achat Dâs	
81. Dârubrahmaṇa		
82. Gitâ gobinda	Dharanidhar	{ History of the idol of Jagannâth. Version of the Sanskrit.

□□□

[*The Indian Antiquary*, March 1, 1872, pp. 79-80]

FOLKLORE OF ORISSA

Owing to the isolation in which their country has remained for so many ages, the peasantry of Orissa have retained old world ideas and fancies to a greater extent than any other Aryan people of India. They are shy of imparting these ideas to strangers, and a man might live among them for years without finding out the singular views and original processes of reasoning on which many of their habits are based. This shyness arises, I suppose, from the gradual infiltration of modern ideas. The men are beginning to be ashamed of these antiquated fancies, and though in their hearts believing in them, would rather not talk about them, and would prefer to pass for men of the world, blasé indifferent free-thinkers to whom all ideas of religion are childish inventions fit only to be smiled at. The women however are still bigotedly attached to the traditions of the past, and the ruder peasantry are in the same primitive stage of credulity.

I do not propose to classify these strange superstitions, but merely to string them together as I hear them, nothing here and there curious parallelisms between them and those of our own English peasantry. Students of comparative mythology may draw their own conclusions, but as I do not feel convinced that every one we read of in ancient history represents the sun, nor that all heathen religions are "myths of the dawn," I do not wish to complicate my simple remarks by plunging into the misty regions of the early Aryans, or those of Baal, Bel, Belus and so forth. Human nonsense, like Human sense, is very much the same everywhere, and it is only because in ruling men one must take their nonsense into consideration quite as earnestly as their sense, that these scraps of folk-lore are worth recording at all.

Witches abound in Orissa and are called *dāñjī*, (Sanskrit) दान्जी or दान्डी a word in use in all the Aryan languages of India. They have the power of leaving their bodies and going about

invisibly, but if you can get a flower of the *pān*, or betel-leaf, and put it in your right ear, you will be able to see the witches, and talk to them with impunity. The *pān* however never flowers, or rather the witches always cause the flower to be invisible, so you are not likely to find it. This is like the English peasants' belief in the virtues of fern-seed.

Witches congregate under banian or pipal trees (in Oriya the first is bōr, बूर्, Skr. वृत् – the second ḍshōth ढश्थ, Skr. अस्थ्) which grow on the margin of a tank, and if you sit under such a tree in such a position at either of the dawns, that is in the grey of morning or at evening twilight, you will come to grief, especially if the day be Saturday, when the influence of the planet Saturn prevails, or Tuesday when that of Mars is strong. On those days the witches are most powerful, and you will be struck with sickness, or idiocy, or suffer loss of property.

A favourite pastime of witches is to get inside the body of a person, who then becomes insensible. In this case you must repeat the following very powerful mantrō or spell, and then ask the witch her name, which she will be obliged to tell you. You may then go to her house, where you will find her walking about as usual. After a severe beating she will be obliged to leave the body of her victim, who will then recover.

This is the mantrō, but care must be taken never to speak it except when a witch has actually taken possession of a person, because if you repeat the spell to any one, all sorts of terrible things will happen; for this reason my informant wrote it out for me.¹ It looks quite harmless, not to say meaningless, to the uninitiated eye.

Mantra.

Take a handful of dust, and while reciting the following, drop it softly on the crown of the head of the person afflicted.

Bhaj nām keūtonī ta puo nām Mahābīrā.

Hāte gheni kāti buli niśā bhāgorātī

Mo Jāla paīlā asi jojan ghoṭi

Mo dehōku peli pasu Mahadeb trisul sakti

Oīlā guṇiā basilā māṛi

Swargōru duī ângulō chhâṛi
 Ki Châhuṇlo kumâruṇi peti
 Lakhye Śib hoile ubhâ
 Môte chhâro nōbōdwâr,
 Alo ! dâṇaṇi raktokhâi
 Churang Rajâ mor bhâi
 Debi Parṣuṇi mor māi
 Swargōru āilâ delâ pâi
 Loho loho jibhâ bhayangkor mûrti
 To dekhi Hara Pârbati
 Jeiṇki pesibe teiṇki jibu
 Amukâi angōre bhûtô thâu, petô thâu, dâṇaṇi thâu, chirkuṇi
 thâu.

Gharō drushti, bâhâr drushti, mâtâ pitâ drushti, hâṭuâ bâṭuâ
drushti, ehi angōre je kichhi thâo chhâro ! chhâro !

Na Chhâṛu boli kâhâr âgyâ

Bir Churangōr koti âgyâ.

Then blow three times between the joined hands into the
afflicted person's mouth and face.

Translation

The Keüt woman's name is Bhaj, her son's name is Mahâbira.
 Holding a dagger in his hand he walks at midnight.
 My net when dipped extends eighty yojans.
 The power of the trident of Mahâdeb rushes into my body.
 The exerciser has come, he sits crouching.
 Two fingers' breadths from heaven.
 What wouldst thou, hag of a potter's wife ?
 Sîva standing by beholds thee.
 Leave me by the nine doors,
 O blood-sucking witch !
 Churang Râjâ is my brother,
 Parṣuni Debi is my mother;
 She has come from heaven planting her foot.
 With wagging tongue, of fearful shape

Hara and Pârbati look at thee,
Wherever they shall send thee, there thou shalt go.

In so-and-so's (*naming the person afflicted*) body be there bhut,
be there pet, be there witch, be there chirkuni; glance in the house,
glance outside, father and mother's glance, glance at market or
road; in his body whatsoever there may be, Leave ! Leave !

I won't leave, it says, whose order is it ?

The myriad orders of Bir Churang.⁽²⁾

In building a house you must be careful to begin with the southern wall and build north-wards, and it is very unlucky to add to a house on the south side. If you are obliged to do so you must leave a cubit and a quarter of clear space between the new house and the old.

There is a verse about this,

Pûbo hâns, pachim bâns
Dakhin chore, ûttar bêre

This is—

East goose, west bamboo,
South left, north hedge.

Which may be thus interpreted :— On the east of the house there should be a tank, (hâns is a goose, and geese swim in tanks), on the west and grove of bamboos, the south should be left open, and the north enclosed with a hedge. A rationalizing pandit of Balasor thus expounds : There should be a tank on the east side of the house so as to catch the morning sun, and make it comfortable while you sit and scrub your teeth with a stick, and wash yourself, and rinse your rice, and so on. There should be a grove of bamboos on the west to shelter the house from the hot afternoon sun, and the terrible dust-storms which come from that quarter. The south should be open to allow the delicious sea breeze to blow from the south, as it does all the hot weather, and the north should be fenced and planted with trees to keep off the nasty raw northwind which comes in the rains and gives every one fever and rheumatism. This is ingenious but *ex post facto*, because the same superstition prevails in upper India, where there are no tanks, and where the conditions of wind and seasons are

very different; moreover, the rhyme is not in Oriya, but something which looks like bad Hindi or Behar.

You must take care never to call a man back when he is leaving the house, or the business on which he was going will come to nought. His mother may call him back without harm. If you ask why his mother has this privilege, you are told it is because when Kṛishṇa was setting forth to kill Kañs, his mother Jasodā called him back, and gave him some curds, and as he was successful on that occasion, as everybody knows, a mother's recall has been harmless ever since.

You must not leave empty water-jars about in the front of a house, or else any one who sees them when starting on a journey will suffer some accident.

If you knock your head against the lintel of the door when going out, you must sit down for a time before going on. This you might be inclined to do naturally, especially if you got a hard crack.

If you are bit by the pankha used to fan the fire, you must spit thrice, because he who is hit by the pankha dies within the year, unless he transfers the curse to the earth by spitting three times.

In the same way, if you hit yourself on the foot with the chānchuni, a broom made of palm leaves, which you are sweeping the house, you must break off a piece of the leaf, chew, and spit it out.

When a man sneezes, his male friends ought to say "Bhagwán Rakhyá karuntu," i.e. "May God preserve you!" but women say "Jiu," i.e. "live!" or "achmar ho," a phrase whose meaning is not certain, in consequence of which it is more used than the other.

The ceremonies and precautions necessary to be observed by and towards ladies when in an interesting conditions are so numerous and complicated that they must be left for another article. I will merely, in conclusion, observe that rice when growing is also considered as a pregnant woman, and the same ceremonies are observed with regard to it, as in the case of human females.

Witches object to be disturbed when in possession of a victim, and are apt to turn on the exerciser and revenge themselves on him.

To prevent this it is advisable to repeat the following mantra before uttering that mentioned in the last number :—

Bajra kilani bajra dwâr
 Chau kuli chan dwâr
 Dâhâne Dâhâñchañdi bâme khetrôpâl
 Age Narsinghô; pachhe ashtô beçâl
 Mo ange parilâ mahâmudrâ bajrakapât
 Koçi âile goçi na chhâribu !
 Kâhâr âgyâ ?
 Kâuñri Kamakhyâr koçi âgyâ.

Thunder-bolt bar, thunder-bolt door

Four sides, four doors.

On the right Dahanchandi, on the left Balrâm,
 In front Narsingh, behind eight demons.

The great seal, the thunder door, has fallen !
 on my body,

If a myriad come, do not allow one to enter !
 By whose order ?

The myriad orders of Kauñri Kamakhya.

I do not attempt to make sense of all this rubbish. It is sufficient to observe that there are human beings who believe in its efficacy.

Kaunri Kâmâkhyâ, Dâhâñchanđi and some others are deities who specially preside over incantations, and have power over sprites, hobgoblins, demons, and witches. The first named is said to reside in Asam.

The following rather diffuse mantra is infalliable as a cure for snake bites. It is not quite such nonsense as the others :—

Rajani parbatre Surjyô jyoti,
 Kamal pushpa toli göle prabhu Dâsaratha.
 Kañhaü thoile Krushna Kadambari mûle,
 Südre südre pâd bañhâiliâ Jamunâr jale.
 Jamunâ jale thilâ ati nâgô maye mûñhâ,
 Bharata jañailâ; sankat kikat kili;
 Mâilek toli bishô góla dwâdaśa anguli,
 Ketek gârdi jhârilâ gunibar.

Debtâmâne bichârō, ârambhile
 Kâhiñ achho ho ! Görur âso ho ! bolile;
 Ramyek dwipôre Görur charu thilâ
 Khâibâr âhârō tâku lâgilâ ki pitâ.
 Tâhâr charitra kôhibi jagjitâ
 Mu tôte bolöin ho ! khago pakhibar,
 Dhusâi pasibu Himagiri parbatar;
 Parbata thilâ amrutô kunđô goți.
 Beṛhi khaṇdâ sâbal lakhe kandarpô jakhâr thile.
 Alpô kôri Görur dêna bistarile
 Dela amrutô, uṭhile prabhu bhagwânô.
 Sadguru pânökû sikhya kôre ânô,
 Debi Bisti Mâku koji koji namaskârō.

Light of the sun on the mountain at night.
 The Lord Dâsaratha went holding a lotus.
 Krishna put his sandals at the root of the Kadambari tree,
 Slowly slowly he advanced his feet in the Jamunâ's water.
 In the Jamunâ's water was a snake foolish with illusions.
 Bharata informed him : Saakat-kikat-kili,
 He bit holding him the poison went twelve fingers deep,
 The exerciser swept many incantations.
 Then the lord Chakradhar did not move.
 The gods began to consult
 Where art thou, ho ! Gorur come ho ! they said,
 Gorur was feeding in the Ramyak island.
 His food tasted to him like poison.
 His history I will tell, conqueror of the world !
 I tell thee O lord of birds.
 Rushing enter the Himalaya mountain;
 In the mountain there was a pot of nectar
 With swords and maces ten thousand kandarpas and
 Yakshas surround it.
 Gorur spread his wings a little.
 He gave the nectar, the lord Bhagwan arose.

Student bring in thy hands a gift to the good guru.
I salute a myriad myriad times Debi Bisti Mâ.

"Sankat, kikat, kili" are nonsense words, which though they are just translateable are stated to be here used in some mystic sense. Gorū is the Oriya pronunciation of Garuḍa. Debi Bisti is another of the goddesses who have power over demons. The short ô is the equivalent of ए and is so pronounced in open unaccented syllables, though it sounds *a* in accented or closed eyes.

This spell for snakes is firmly believed in, while it is being uttered the part affected must be lightly rubbed by the hand of the exorcist, and this is what is meant by the expression "the exorcist *swept* many spells." The contained belief in the efficacy of this spell may be due to the fact that several of the Orissa snakes are not deadly, though their bite causes pain and swelling. This is particularly the case with the grass-snakes, as well as with the blue and yellow snake found on the sea-shore which is only really dangerous when in the water.



[*The Indian Antiquary*: June 7 & July 5, 1872, pp.168-170 & 211-212]

- (1) Mantra must be written in red ink on the leaves of the bhojpatra.
- (2) It is not to be expected that anything like connected sense should be made of this rhapsody : the translation is as literal as the corrupted and vulgar nature of the Oriya will permit.

Kelutuni a female kelut or fisherman's wife. This is the vulgar form of the Sanskrit Kaivartta.

Peti, and fem. peti, are from Skr. preta. Nōbōdwar— the nine doors, are the nine orifices of the body— eyes, ears, mouth, etc.

Churang Raja is the celebrated king of Orissa, who founded the Gangabansi dynasty in A.D.1131. He is supposed to have been the son of the San Ganga or little Ganges *i.e.* the Godavari river, and was a celebrated magician in his life-time.

Chirkuni is a little witch who lurks under bushes in lonely places, and bewitches the cows as they come home in the evening.

Glance, of course, refers to the evil eyes, the look by which the witch has done the mischief.

In the transliteration ð stands for 'अ' or short *a*, as the Oriyas pronounce it. This short *a* is only sounded as *o* in unaccented or final syllables. In all other respects the mantra is transliterated on the usual Jonesian systemn, but allowance must be made for many vulgarisms which would not be found in classical Oriya, a is the *anuswâra*.

ON MASTAN BRAHMANS

In the article by Mr. Ramsay on the hot springs of Unai (p.142), mention is made of the Mâstân Brahmans. It may be useful to record that in Orissa, also, the majority of Brahmans do not touch the plough. Those that do are called Mastân, and are looked down upon by other sects of Brahmans. They are often to be found holding the post of Sarbarahkâr, or village headman, and in that case are called Padhan (*i.e.* प्रधान). They are, like all Oriya Brahmans, a haughty stiffnecked set, distinguished by the most serene indifference to the sufferings of their fellow-creatures. As Padhâns therefore they are highly appreciated by the rapacious and tyrannous zamindars, who find them useful tools in their oppression of the ryots.



[*The Indian Antiquary*: June 7, 1872, p.195]

NOTES ON THE RASAKALLOLA, AN ANCIENT ORIYA POEM

[This article appeared serially in July 5, 1872 and October 4, 1872 of *Indian Antiquary* and was inconclusive as is evident from the remark "to be continued" at the end of the second part of the article in the journal. But it did not appear any more in subsequent issues. Obviously, the departure of Phakirmohan Senapati for Nilagiri as Dewan in October, 1872, precluded Beames from any further discussion on the subject and getting necessary inputs. The appointment of Phakirmohan as Dewan of Nilagiri is notified in *Utkal Dipika* in its issue of 14 September, 1872. LDM.]

The Rasakallola or "Waves of Delight" is the most popular poem in Orissa. Its songs are sung by the peasantry in every part of the country, many of its lines have passed into proverbs, and have become "household words" with all classes. It owes this great popularity in some measure to its comparative freedom from long Sanskrit words, being for the most part, except when the poet soars into the higher style, written in the purest and simplest Oriya vernacular.

The great religious revival in India in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with which the name of Chaitanya is inseparably connected throughout Orissa and Bengal, turned the current of popular thought in the direction of the worship of Vishnu, under his newly-invented, or perhaps I should say, recently popularized, manifestation of Krishna. It is to the Vaishnavas in all parts of India that we owe the earliest and most copious outpourings of poetic thought. In the majority of instances these poems are monotonous, childish, and indescribably indecent variations on the leading features of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The Rasakollola is one of this class, and superadds to the usual impurity of Indian poems on this subject, that special and peculiarly

revolting obscenity which is the distinguishing characteristics of the Oriya mind.

Fortunately, however, the earlier parts of the poem, relating as they do to incidents in the childhood of Kṛishna are free from this objection, and from them we may be able to reproduce extracts which will exhibit the nature and style of this popular work without offending against propriety.

The author of the *Rasakolloṭa*, Din Krishna Dās, was a Vaishnava or quasi-religious idler at the great temple of Jagannāth at Puri. He is popularly believed to be the son of the god. His mother was one of the female devotees who live in the temple, and are, theoretically, chaste and virtuous. The lady in question, however, one fine morning, was delivered of a son, to the great scandal of the highly virtuous society. Being asked how she came to do so a reprehensible thing, she related a long and somewhat confused story to the effect that one night as she was worshipping in the temple while all the others were asleep, the god himself descended from his shrine, and honoured her with his society. The story so effectually accounted for the birth of Din Krishna, as so ingeniously removed all scandal from the sacred community, that it was eagerly taken up and bruited abroad. The boy was brought up as a Vaishnava, and, as far as the Pandits of the present day know, spent the whole of his uneventful life at Puri, composing poetry and dawdling about the courtyards and gateways of the temple. His date is ascertained approximately by the fact that some verses of his in praise of the reigning sovereign Purushottam Deb (A.D. 1478-1503) are still extant. These verses must have been written after that monarch's celebrated expeditions to Conjeveram, and we may therefore place Dinkrishna Dās and his poem, the *Rasakalloṭa*, at the close of the fifteenth century, that is a little less than four hundred years ago; three hundred years later than Chand the earliest Hindi poet. Dinkrishna is contemporary with the first Gujarati poet Narsingh Mehta of Junāgaḍh, with Nanak Shah the Panjabī reformer, with Kabir and Keshab Dās of Hindustan, and with Vidyapati of Bengal. Most of these authors were followers of the new Vaishnava doctrines, and

though Vishṇu, under his form of Jagannāth, had long been worshipped in Orissa, yet the restoration of his temple, and we may suspect, his complete identification with Vishṇu as the supreme being, only date from two hundred years earlier, if the annalists of the province may be believed. There is some doubt about the point, as many other signs seem to show that the ancient Śiva worship was prevalent in Orissa till a much later date, in fact until Chaitanya himself, by his visit to the province, introduced his distinctive tenents.

Be this as it may, and the subject is one which cannot be entered into here, it is evident that in the poem before us we have the earliest fruit of the literary instincts which the Vaishnava creed awakened in Orissa, as it did in all other parts of Aryan India.

We now turn to the poem itself. It consists of 32 cantons (chhānda) varying in length from 50 to 150 lines. I have not counted the whole poem, nor in fact have I as yet finished reading it all through, but from a cursory examination I should estimate it to contain about four thousand lines. The metres are generally very light and graceful, and the poem was intended, as most of these poems are, to be sung. Indeed the Pandits strongly object to our English habit of reading poetry, and affirm that the full beauty of the metres cannot be appreciated unless they are sung, i.e. chanted through the nose in a dolorous minor key. To our ears this lugubrious whining, with the harsh voices which all Oriyas unfortunately possess, varied by an insane howl and accompanied by the dulcet tom-tom and the harmonious penny-whistle of the country, is not on the whole pleasing or enjoyable. Still *de gustibus, &c.* when read, the poem is certainly very pretty, and trips as lightly off the tongue as an Irish melody or a French chansonnette.

The first canto is in a metre called Rāg Gujarī; and in reading poetry the final short *a* of Sanskrit words, which is usually dropped in prose or in speaking, must invariably be pronounced. It sounds however like a very short *ə*. In this metre no account is taken of long or short syllables; each consonant with the vowel attached to it is regarded as an *instant* or unit of the verse (*mātra*), at the eighth

instant there must be a cæsura (*jati*), and after the cæsura five more instants, the whole verse (*chaṇḍa*) thus consisting of thirteen instants, and the couplet (*pada*) of twenty-six. Thus in the two first lines we must scan thus (I mark off each instant by -| and the cæsura by ||)-

Ka | ra | sâ | dhu | ja | na | mâ | ne⁸ | ma | na | ku | e | ka⁵
 Ka | ra | dhî | re|dhyâ | na | nî | lâ⁸ | cha | la|nâ | ye | ka |.

This first canto opens with an invitation to all good men to meditation on Krishna whose praises are then set forth. He is declared to be the supreme gods, and even Śiva and Balaramâ worship him. The last six lines invoke the protection of the god on the poet and his poem. They run thus :-

Karuṇâ Sâgara Sâgaraja-nâyaka,
 Kara abhaya abhayabara-dâyaka !
 Kashṭa-mahîdhara mahîdhara-kaṇṭaka
 Kalusha-bâraṇara bâraṇa-antaka
 Kara âgyâ kansa-nisudana ! eteka
 Kahu Dinakrishna Kṛishna kathâ aneka.

Iti.

Ocean of mercy, lord of the ocean-born,
 Make *me* fearless, O granter of the gift of boldness !
Thou art as lightning to the mountain of woe,
 As a lion to the elephant of sin.
 Give the order, O slayer of Kans ! thus *saying*.
 "Tell Dinkrishna, many a tale of Krishna."

This extract exemplifies the taste for playing on words so much cultivated by Indian Poets. Thus, in the first line sâgaraja, a name of Lakshmi, is introduced to jingle with the preceding sâgara; in the third mahîdhara-kaṇṭaka or the "mountain-splitter" for lightning, and in the fourth bâraṇanta or the "destroyer of elephants," for the lion,— are considered great beauties of style.

The first canto, consisting chiefly of religious ideas and invocations, naturally bristles with Sanskrit words, but in the second canto we get to business, and drop a good deal of the highflown style. It begins by relating how the earth, oppressed by demons, sought assistance from Brahma, who in order to keep up

the idea of his subordination to Vishṇu, is made to intercede with the supreme being on behalf of the earth. The metre (Rāg chaukhī) is one of the prettiest in the whole poem.

Kaunapa kulare bhārī hoī dharaṇi sundari,

Binaya kari Brahmana āge kahilā,

“Kansa pratāpare deha hoīlā ati duhsaha,

Ki karibi ebe kaha,” boli boilā

Kuśaketu śuni se kathā,

Kahile Jagannāthaku abani byathā.

Kamalamukhī Kamalākaṇṭha marakata’ mālā

Agyā dele karuṇā katākhye anāī

Kichhi na bichāra tumbhe Jadukule jāī ambhe

Jāta hebun Kansa-prāna ghinibā pāīn

Kara tumbhe ebe gamana,

Karibāku gope kejī ambhara mana.

Oppressed by the demon race, the beautiful earth Making supplication before Brahma said—

“From the splendour of Kansa my body has become intolerable;

What shall I do ? tell me now” speaking she said,

Kusaketu (Brahmā) hearing this speech,

Told to Jagannāth the grief of the earth.

The lotus faced, *he who is* a sapphire necklace on the neck of Lakshmi.

Looking with pitying glance, thus gave order—

“Take thou no care; going into the race of Jadu, I

Will be born in order to take the life of Kansa.

Go thou now away,

On sporting in Gop my mind is bent.”

Then flows a description of the birth of Krishṇa and his transfer to the house of Nand. Durgā, taking the shape of a female infant, is given to Basudeb, who brings her back from Nand's house to his own. Kans, warned by his guards, comes and demands the child from the father. Basudeb alleges that as it is a girl it can do him no harm, and begs to be allowed to keep it. Kans refuses

to listen, and quotes from Indian mythology several instances in which Vishṇu taking a female form has destroyed members of his own demon race. Here the poet indulges in a rather strikingly expressed remark on the character of bad men in general and Kans in particular.

Karpūra chandana deī, rasuṇa ropile neī,
 Kebheṇ chhāraī ki kutsita bāsanā
 Kuṭila dushṭa nāstika mahāpāpi abibekī
 Lokanka swabhāba ehi prakāre sinā;
 Kokila bachana madhura
 Karaī birogī jana mana bidhura.

In planting garlic, though it be covered with camphor and sandal,

Will it ever lose its disgusting smell ?
 Of crafty, wicked, unbelieving, sinful, unreflecting
 Persons the nature is exactly like this.
 Even the sweet voice of the koīl,
 Disturbs the mind of a sick man.

Kans therefore takes the child and dashes it against a stone. As he does so it changes into the goddess Durgā, flies up into the air, and vanishes having pronounced a curse on Kans. The rest of the canto is occupied by a description of how Nand took care of the child Kṛishṇa and his brother Balarāma.

Every line in the poem begins with the letter क; this is a favourite conceit in Oriya poetry, and is found in several other poems. It does not seem to hamper the poet at all, as a very large number of common words begin with that letter.

The language of this second canto is pure vernacular colloquial Oriya. It is only here and there that an antiquated or obsolete word occurs. This fact supplies an argument, which cannot be refuted, against the pretensions of the Bengalis, who claim the Oriya language as merely a dialect of their own, because at the time Din krishna wrote the Bengali language did not exist in its present form. In the writings of Dinkrishna's contemporary Bidyapati the language is far from being identical with modern Bengali; it is in fact merely a dialect of Eastern Hindi.

A noticeable feature in this poem is the readiness with which the poet's native language lends itself to the metres which he employs. Consequently, there are very few of the arbitrary lengthenings and shortenings of vowels, elisions of case and tense-endings which in the oldest Hindi and Gujarati poems so much obscure the real language of the period. In reading the latter class of poems we are never sure that we are being presented with a real living picture of the language as it was actually spoken by the contemporaries of the author; we have to allow for so many licenses of form and construction that it is only by observing the shape taken by a particular word, in places where no *vis metri* occurs to change it, that we can feel even tolerably certain that we have at length lit upon its genuine colloquial guise. No such difficulty confronts us in Dinkrishna's flowing and facile verse. If we except an occasional diæresis such as परवेश for प्रवेश, समरण for स्मरण and a few other easily recognized licenses, the language is the same as that in which the gentle and refined Oriya clodhopper of to-day fondly curses his wife or his bullocks, or grumbles over his daily pill of adulterated opium.

In the third canto the Gopis hear that a son has been born to Nand and rush tumultuously to Nand's house to see the infant. He occurs one of those absurd pieces of exaggeration which so frequently, to European taste, spoil the beauty of Indian poems. The Hindu never knows when to stop. Starting from the generally accepted opinion that the female form is most symmetrical and beautiful when the waist is slender and the parts immediately below it large and round, the poet proceeds to make the waists of the Gopis so absurdly thin and their continuations so enormously large that they become, instead of the ideals of loveliness he intends them to be, monsters of deformity. Once charming creature who appears to have combined in her own person every possible disproportion, is thus addressed by the girdle round her waist--

Kâhâ katire dâki kâncchi mälâ
Kahu achhî, "dhire are abalâ !

Kâma mada tu hoï matta, bhojâ
 Karu majhâ thâre jâ eje hejâ,
 Ki ! tu jânu nâhuñ e jeje şaru
 Kucha jugala tora jeje guru ?
 Karu achhu jâhâ druḍha gamana
 Kâle ehâku heü achhi şamana.
 Ki to sâhasa jâyâjiba prâye,
 Ki bâ ehâ thâre eje nirdaye ?
 Ki ki hoï e jebe jiba bhangi ?
 Kâle tu hi maribu ehâ lâgi.

From the waist of one the girdle calling
 Says, "gently, gently, O maiden !
 Thou, intoxicated with the wine of love,
 Forgettest thy waist of what sort *it is*.
 What ! knowest thou not how slender it is.
 And thy twin breasts how heavy ?
 The swift pace which thou maintainest
 Shortly will be its destruction.
 What, is thy boldness like the spider's,
 Or why on this (the waist) art thou so pitiless ?
 What will happen when it shall break ?
 At that time thou too wilt die."

The poet seems rather proud of this tasteless trifling for he specially remarks that this is to be regarded as a metaphor, and is elegant and fanciful (*âdhyâhâra*).

The Gopis crowd round the two infants, and examine them with every mark of delight. The sun, the moon, night, lotuses, the sea, and all sorts of plants and animals are called into comparison, and are pronounced inadequate to rival the beauty of Krîshna's black skin, or Balarâma's white one. The Gopis then go home looking back and lingering and loth to depart, and the canto ends.

The metre of the second canto, which I omitted to describe before, consists of four lines to the pada or stanza. The first and third are very long consisting of 29 mâtros each. There are cæsuras at the eighth and sixteenth mâtros, the syllables of which generally rhyme with each other. The last syllable of the first line rhymes

with that of the second. Owing to the great length of the lines it is customary to write the first sixteen matrâs as one line and the remaining thirteen and a second line. The third line has nine mâtros with cæsura at the fourth, and the fourth line thirteen with cæsura at the eighth mâtra; thus :

1. ka | ra | â | he | sa | dhu | ja | *na*||mâ | ne | ma | na | e | ka | tâ |
| na | kar | na | de | i | ka | ma | la | na | ya | na | ka | thâ | ku ||
2. The same.
3. ka | lá | ka | *ra*||an | dhâ | *ra* | *pra* | *ye* ||
4. Křish | ña | ka | thâ | śra | va | na | *re*||du | *ri* | ta | *kha* | *ye* ||.

The rhyme-syllables are in italics.

The metre of the third canto is very simple. It is the *Rág Kedár chakrakeli*, and consists of two charans to the pada, each containing nine mâtros with no cæsura. The charans rhyme.

The fourth canto is in the Ahâri metre with 12 mâtros to the charan and two rhyming charans to the pada. There is a cæsura at the ninth mâtra. Thus—

kar | na | de | i | śu | na | â | he | sâ | dhu | ja | ne.
ku | mâ | ran | ka | jan | mi | le | ke||te | di | ne.

It relates how Křishṇa in his cradle destroyed various demons sent against him by Kañs. In the description of Nâg Putanâ, who turned herself into a beautiful female, we see what sort of dress and adornment was considered *chic* in Dinkrishna's time; for this reason it is worth quoting,—

Kalâ kūṭila kunte khosâ khosi,
Kamanîya phula mälâ achhi misi;
Kapâlare sindura maṇḍala chitâ,
Katâkshare mohu achhi urdhvaretâ;
Karne tâṭaka, bhramari, phula šohe;
Kaṇṭhe kaṇṭha-âbharaṇa mana mohe;
Kari tâmbula-bolare oshîha ranga,
Karu achhi purushanku dhairja bhangâ;
Kaṇṭhî nâsa-âbharaṇa nâsapuṭe,
Kajvala paripurita netra-tate;
Karne sari jâe jâi achhe lânji,
Kâmî dekhile hoibe kâme ganji;

Kare tara, churî, kariâli râje;
 Kwaṇa-kwaṇa pâhuṇa padare bâje;
 Kantha-taṭe deuṇriā-mâle bândhi
 Kalâ-megha sâṛhi eka achhi pindhi.

Her black wavy hairknotting in a knot
 A garland of lovely flowers she has mingled *in it*;
 On her brow a round mark of vermilion;⁽¹⁾
 With her glance she is ravishing Siva;
 In her ear the *tataka*⁽²⁾, *bhramari*⁽³⁾ and flowers shine;
 On her neck the necklace fascinates the mind;
 Dyeing her lip with betelnut juice;
 She is breaking down the composure of men;
 In her nostril the *kanthi*⁽⁴⁾ and nose-jewel;
 The lampblack completely surrounds her eye,
 The streak of it extends as per as her ear,⁽⁵⁾
 Amorous men seeing it would go mad with love;
 On her hand shines the *târa*,⁽⁶⁾ bracelet, and armlet;
 "Twang twang" sounds the anklet on her foot;
 On the pit of her neck she has bound a *deunrida*⁽⁷⁾;
 A dark-blue *Sâṛhi* she has put on.

It will be seen that then, as now, the wearing of gewgaws and ornaments was highly popular. In spite of all the profusion of jewellery, however, the lady's dress consists of nothing but a *Sâṛhi*.

The *Sâṛhi* is a broad and long cloth wound tightly round the waist in such a way as to expose the right leg half way up the thigh, the end is then brought round over the head. In the present instance, however, it must have been worn only over the shoulders as we have the head decorated with flowers. The wearing of the *Sâṛhi* over the shoulders only is customary among the non-Aryan hill-tribes to this day, and may possibly have been the custom among the Aryan population also in former times. It is so worn also by the Telingas. As the connection of the Oriyas, until recent times was greater with their neighbours to the south than it was with those on the north, we may suppose that the habit of wearing the *Sâṛhi* on the head is of late introduction from Bengal.

The fifth canto relates the childish sports of Krishṇa, and is itself very childish and tedious. Krishṇa seems to have spent his

time principally in stealing and devouring curds, cream, and butter, of which articles his diet appears to have chiefly consisted. He also makes jokes with the Gopis, and indulges in *double entendres* of a very ungodlike character. The sixth canto continues the same subject *ad nauseam*.

One or two passages a little more sensible than the rest may be quoted. Here is a description of Kṛishṇa's roguishness :

Kandhāi hasāe binā kāraṇe;
 Ki pari chāñhe se nayana koṇe,
 Kila kinchita bhābaku baṛhāī,
 Kahuṇ kahuṇ motāilaku paï.
 Kālita ambha āgare jāta,
 Kahuṇ sikhilā e ete charita ?
 Ke bole dine mu kahili dhīre,
 Kāhīnki gola kara gopapure ?
 Kipān mo puraku bije na kara ?
 Kete khāība dadhi, dudha, sara.
 Keśaba śuni boile hasi
 Kete pāṇi to dudhe achhi misi;
 (Gopi *loquitur*).

Having made me cry he makes me laugh for nothing.
 How he looks out of the corner of his eye !
 He increases one's playful disposition,
 From time to time meeting answering glances.

Only yesterday he was born in our presence, Whence has he learnt such conduct ?

One says "one day I said softly.—
 'Why do you make such a disturbance in Gop ?
 Why do you not honour my house with a visit ?
 How much curds, milk, and cream you shall eat.' ”
 Keśaba hearing said laughing,
 "How much water has been mixed in your milk ?"

This last line is a *double entendre* whose second meaning may be left to be guessed.

A second passage represents the Gopis as indignant with Nand for sending Kṛishṇa to tend the cattle.—

Keuṇ sukha nahin Nanda ghare,
 chi putra jāe brindábana ku;
 Karuṇa hridaya nuhanti nirdaya,
 dhika ehânkara dhanaku !
 Keuṇ bidhâtâ kalâ emanta abichâra
 Koti lakshmi jâhâ sebâku bâñchhanti
 Se kere banaku sanchâra,

What happiness is there not in Nand's house,
 Yet this boy goes to the cowpens;
 They are not merciful in heart, but pitiless;
 Fie on their wealth !
 What god has made this mistake;
 He whom a myriad Lachmis desire to worship
 Tramps about the forest.

The metre is that of the Râg Kaushiki containing four lines to the stanza. The first two lines consist of twenty-one instants each with cæsuras at the sixth, twelfth and eighteenth instants, the first two of which rhyme. The third line is of fourteen instants with a single cæsura at the fifth; the fourth line is the same as the two first except that the cæsuras do not always rhyme.

In the matter of grammatical peculiarities it is noticeable that Dinkrishna uses frequently the old plural in *e* as *kumâra*, a boy; pl. *kumâre*. This is very seldom heard in modern Oriya, and never in the classical style. An old-fashioned peasant from the interior of the country may now and then use it. In the modern language the analytically formed plural by the addition of *mane* is always used as *râjâ*, pl. *râjámâne*,—kings; in inanimate objects, however, the final *e* of the termination is proposed, as *kânttha*, wall, *kânthaman*, walls.

There occurs also the old universal Aryan locative in *e* as *gope*, in Gop; *pure*, in the town. The moderns affix *re* and would say *gopa-re* instead of *gope*; the affix *re* is already in use, as are also *ku*, *ru*, and the *ar* or *ara* of the genitive in this poem.

With regard to the short final *a*, it must be remembered that it is necessary to express it in writing poetry for the sake of preserving the rhythm, but that in common conversation it is

hardly ever heard, and when heard is a short δ.

Dinkrishna knows only the old forms of the personal pronouns which our high-flying modern writers condemn as vulgar. These are—

	I	<i>thou</i>
Nom.	mu	tu
Acc.	mote	tote
Gen.	mor	tor
	&c.	&c.

The plural of *mu* is *amhe* pronounced (*ambhe*) and that of *tu* is *tumhe* (*tumbhe*) but as the learned have taken *ambhe* and *tumble* into use as equivalents for I and thou, they have had to make fresh plurals *ambhemáne*, and *tumbhemáne*. Dinkrishna uses only the two first, and always in their proper ancient signification.



[*The Indian Antiquary*, July 5 & October 4, 1872. pp.215-217 & 292-295]

1. The vermillion on the forehead denotes a married woman, but is now generally smeared in a great patch across the parting of the hair.
2. ताटक is a small earring worn in the outer edge of the ear; sometimes eight or ten of them are worn one below another all round the ear.
3. भमरी a large earring hanging from the lobe of the ear, so called from its resemblance to be a bee (भमर).
4. कराठी worn suspended to the cartilage between the nostrils, the other kind is worn on the side of the nose.
5. This is considered a great beauty.
6. These are various kinds of rings and bracelets.
7. डेङ्गरिअ small ornament shaped like a flower and usually enamelled in various colours.

ON A COPPER-PLATE GRANT FROM BALASORE (A.D. 1483)

This plate is in the possession of the Bhuyâns of Gaṛhpâdâ, an ancient and respectable family of zamindars. Their estate of Gaṛhpâdâ is situated on a rocky spur of the Moharbhanj hills about 15 miles north of the station of Balasore. The plate records the grant of the estate to their ancestor, Poteswar Bhat, a Brahman by Râja Purushottam Deb, King of Orissa. This monarch ascended the throne in A.D. 1478¹ and the 5th year of his reign, the date of the grant, would be therefore 1483². The Bhuyâns however read it the 25th year of his reign which would make it 1503. This I shall show presently is incorrect. The text in Roman characters is as follows :

Observe.

“Śrî Jaya durgâyai namah | bîra Śrî gajapati gauṛéshwara nava
koti karnâtakala-vargeśwara Śrî purushottama deva
maharâjânkar | poteśwara bhatañku dâna sâsana patâ | e³ 5 anka
mesha di 10am somabâra grahana-kâle gañgâ-garbhe
purushottamapura sâsana bhumi chaüdasa ashṭottara bâ 1408ti dâna
delun e bhumi yâvachchândrârke putra pautrâdi purushânukrame
bhoga karu thiba jalârâma nikshepa sahit bhûmî deluṇ.

Reverse.

Yâvach chandraścha sûryascha yâvat tîṣṭhati medinî |
Yâvad dattâmayâhv eshâ sasya | yuktâ basundharâ ||
Swadattâm paradattâm vâ brahmavrittim haret yaḥ |
Shashṭir varshasahasrâṇi vishṭâyâm jâyate krimih ||
Śrî madanagopâlah ! śaranam mama.

Translation.

Reverence to Śrî Jaya Durgâ. Of the hero, the illustrious Gajapati, lord of Gaur, lord of the tribes [of the country] of the

nine forts, Karnâta and Utkala Śri Purushottam Deb Mahârâja to Poteswar Bhat a deed of gift of a sâsan. In this fifth year of the reign the tenth day of Mesh, Monday, at the time of an eclipse⁴, in the womb of Gangâ, I have given Purushottampur Sâsan land fourteen [hundred] and eight besides, ba 1408 tis. as a gift. This land as long as the moon and sun, son, grandson and the rest, generation after generation enjoying remain ! I have given the land together with its tanks and gardens.

(The above is in Oriya : the rest is in Sanskrit.)

Reverse.

As long as the moon and the sun, as long as the earth shall stand,
So long be the gift upheld of this rich grain-bearing land;
Whoso of his own or another's gift a Brahman shall deprive,
For sixty thousand years a worm in dung shall be born and live.

Śrî Madangopal my protection.

The marks at the end are; first, the *ankush* or elephant goad, the special sign manual of the kings of Orissa, referring to their ancient title of Gajapati or lord of elephants; second, the *sankh* or conch-shell of Vishṇu (Jagannâth), third and fourth the *khandâ* or straight sword, and the *takar* or dagger, both emblems of the warrior-caste, the *khandâ* belonging especially to the hill-people, and the *katâr* to those of the plains.

With regard to the wording of the deed one or two points may perhaps stand in need of explanation.

Gaureshwara or lord of Gaur i.e. Bengal, is a constant empty boast of the kings of Orissa, who claimed to rule from the great to the little Gangâ to Godâvari. Their kingdom did frequently stretch as far as the latter river, and ever beyond it; but only twice in all their annaals did they reach the Ganges and then only for a brief period each time.

“Karnâta kala” is a mistake of the engraver for karnâṭotkala “Karnata and Utkala”⁵, the form which occurs in all the deeds and descriptions of the monarchs of Orissa. This very Purushottam Deb conquered Kanjikaveri or Conjeveram and spent the greater part of his reign on the Godavery. The expression later on in this plate

“Gangâgarbhe” probably refers to the river the “Sângangâ” or little Ganges of the Oriyas as there is no record of this king’s having ever visited the great Ganges⁶.

“Sâsan” in Orissa is a patch of rent-free land with a village inhabited and cultivated exclusively by Brahmans, generally on behalf of some god, whose temple is in their village and whose worship they are theoretically bound to keep up. As a rule the poor *thakur* gets very little worship and the money goes into the Brahman’s bellies or on to their backs. These Brahman’s Sâsans are scattered all over the country and are detected at once by the large comfortable homesteads, the groves of cocoa-palms and fruit trees and the generally superior style of cultivation. The cocoa-palm flourishes well in Orissa, but is not grown except by Brahmans owing to the popular superstition that if a man of another caste plants them, he or his children will die in a year and a day.

“e 5 anka.” The letter which I read *e* ‘this’ was read by the Bhuyâns as a 2 which it only very distantly resembles.

“Mesha”— the sign Aries, and technical name for the month Baiśakh (see my note at p.64 *Indian Antiquary*.)

“Di10am” and “bâ1408ti.” This is the Oriya fashion of writing figures, the name of the article is divided in two and the numbers written in between, the above forms stand for 10 diam, and 1408 bâti respectively. Thus they would write 10 rupees, ta10nka=10 tanka; 5 maunds would be mâ5na, 30 years ba30tsara, and so on.

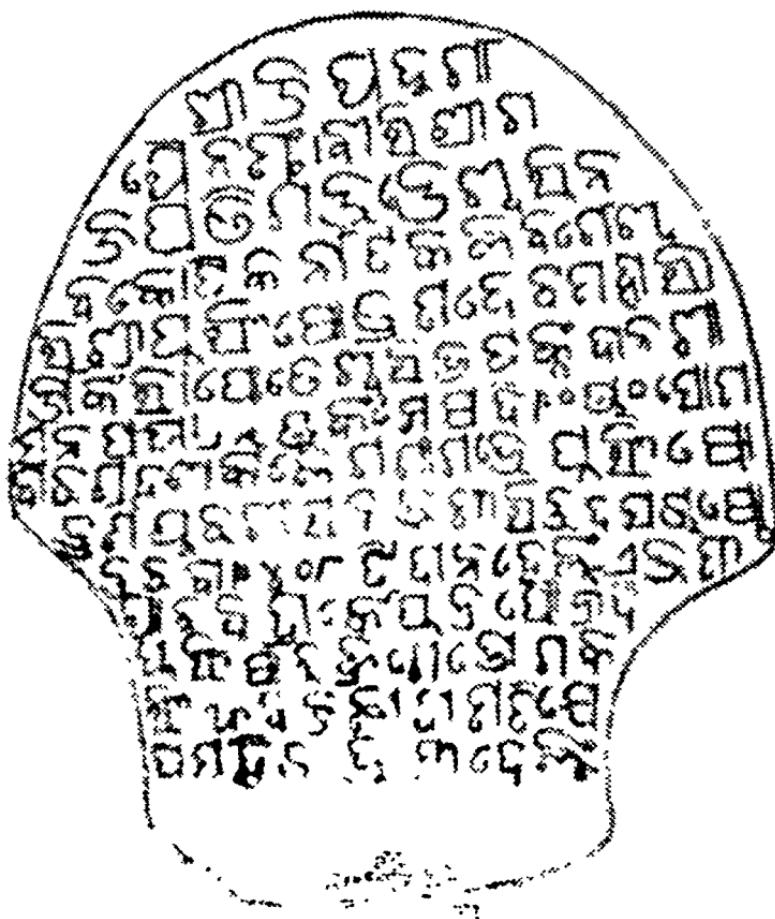
“Chaüdasa ashṭottara” here again the engraver has omitted the letter *t* he should have written “Chaüda sata”—fourteen hundred. As the grant is in Oriya and not in Sanskrit perhaps he meant the *sa* to do duty for *sati*, as the short vowel is pronounced *o*, and Oriyas often carelessly write *so*, *no* for say *nau*. The grant of so vast a tract of country to a single Brahman (1408 habits=28,160 acres) seems to support the native tradition that Gaṛhpadâ and the adjacent country was at that time uninhabited, or at least only sparsely peopled, and this idea is further countenanced by the fact that the king gives his own name to the grant, calling it “Purushottampur Sâsan.”

The reverse contains merely the usual Sanskrit formula observed in all such grants.

The subsequent history of the sâsan is singular and interesting. Potesar Bhat obtained possession and he and his descendants held the estate for some generations. In the reign of the bigoted Emperor Aurangzeb, however, Sarbesar Bhat, the then proprietor, was ousted by the Râja of Moharbhanj whose territories adjoined the grant. The Bhat applied to the Subah of Bengal who sent a small force and drove away the Râja's troops. Before restoring the land however to the Brahman, he demanded payment of the expenses of the expedition. The Brahman in vain represented that having been dispossessed of his land, he was unable to pay; the Subah refused restitution. Sarbesar then journeyed all the way to Agra where he laid his case before the Emperor. Aurangzeb was no lover of the Brahmans and paid very little attention to him, and at last to get rid of him tauntingly told him he should have his land back and be let off paying the costs of the expedition if he would turn Muslman. The Brahman resisted for a long time, but finding that the Empperor was deaf to remonstrances, he eventually consented, embraced Islam and returned to Orissa with an order for his restitution to his estates. Since that time the family has been Muhammadan, and the present head of it, Ghulam Mustafa Khan and his brothers are men with quite a Mughul type of countenance, probably derived from frequeunt intermarriages with Mughul and Pathan ladies.

The archaic form of the letters in this grant renders it very valuable as showing the gradual development of the modern Oriya alphabet from a southern variety of the Kutila type. I would call attention to the two forms of the ତ, also to the double ଚ୍ଛ, and the ଟ; The appended ଙ and ଙ are also very antiquated and singular, shewing especially the absence of all distinction between the long and short ଙ and the gradual growth of the now somewhat abnormal ଙ.





An overview of Garhpada grant to Potesvara Bhatta by Purshottama Gajapati (in Oriya)

- I. Beames without adducing any evidence thinks that Purusottam Deva ascended the throne in 1478 A.D. As per inscriptional evidences he ascended throne between December 1466 and March 1467. (See P.Mukherjee, "The Garhpada Grant to Potesvara Bhatta by Purusottama Gajapati", *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol II, 3&4, p 37) L D.M

ପ୍ରକଳ୍ପିତୁସୁଧ
ଗପିଷ୍ଟିଷୁଦେଶ
ଗବନ୍ତିଗୀଯ ନିଃପାସ୍ୟ
ଲୁକ୍ଷିବୈଷ୍ଣବିଶ୍ଵା॥ ସୁଦତାଂ ପ
ଦ୍ରୁତିରୀତିଦ୍ଵାରା ମେତ୍ୟ
ପ୍ରକଳ୍ପିତୁସୁଧାପ୍ରାଲବ୍ଧିପାଠା
ପିତ୍ରକ୍ରମଃ ॥ ॥ ଗମଦିନଶୋଧନ
ଶର୍ଣ୍ଣିଳାଂଘନଃ

An overview of the grant in Sanskrit.

2. Since 1478 A.D. the year of ascendancy of Purusottam Deva as suggested by Beames is not acceptable, P. Mukherjee rejects 1483 as the year of land grant (Mukherjee, p 37) Beames however in his article "Notes on the History of Orissa under the Mahomedan, Maratha and English Rule" written in 1872 but published in 1883 has however accepted 1503 A.D. as the year of Grant. L.D.M.
 3. Unfortunately the reading is very doubtful. The sign somewhat resembling a coma made the owner of the copper plate believe that it was Oriya 2. But Beames thinks it as e(this). P.Mukherjee rightly rejects the reading as he finds a clear Oriya e letter three lines below this line (Mukherjee, p.37) L.D.M.
 4. Identifying three possible dates of eclipses in the month of *Meshas* during the reign of Purusottam Deva, Mukherjee thinks that it could have been either April 16, 1474, *Meshas* 21, Saturday or April 16, 1493, *Meshas*, 21, Monday. (Mukherjee, p 38). Though the second date corroborates the Monday of the copper plate, it still does not confirm the 10th day of *Meshas*. L.D.M.
 5. This interpretation is certainly wrong. The word "Kala Vargeswara" in the copper-plate implies the over-lordship of the king of Orissa of "Kalabarg", a corruption of Gulbarg, the old capital of Bahamani Sultan. Kapilendra Deva, the father of Purusottam Deva had conquered this fort by defeating the Bahamani Sultan and assumed

the title (K.C. Panigrahi, *Sarala Sahityara Aitihasika Chitra*, Cuttack, 1989, p 174). L.D.M.

6. Beames does not believe that the Gajapati rulers of Orissa had perpetually held the portion of the territories south of the Ganes. Rather he thinks that Orissa had more contact with south.

ON THE SUB-DIVISIONS OF THE BRAHMAN CASTE IN NORTHERN ORISSA

As a slight contribution to our knowledge of the divisions of caste in India, a subject still involved in much obscurity, the following remarks on the *gotras*, families, of the great Brâhman caste in this part of Orissa may be found useful.¹

Tradition relates that the original Brâhmans of Orissa were all extinct at the time of the rise of the Gangâ Varîsa line of kings, but that 10,000 Brâhmans were induced to come from Kanauj and settle in Jâjpûr, the sacred city on the Baitaranî river. The date of this immigration is not stated, but the fact is probably historical, and may have been synchronous with the well-known introduction of Kanaujia Brâhmans into the neighbouring province of Bengal by King Adisura in the tenth century.²

When the worship of the idol Jagannâth began to be revived at Puri, the kings of Orissa induced many of the Jâjpûr Brâhmans to settle round the new temple and conduct the ceremonies. Thus there sprang up a division among the Brâhmans; those who settled in Puri being called the *Dakhinâtya S'reni*, or southern class and those who remained at Jâjpûr, the *Uttara S'reni*, or northern class. This latter spread all over northern Orissa. Many of the southern Brâhmans, however, are also found in Balasore; and the divisions of the two classes are fairly represented in most parts of the district, though the southern class is less numerous than the northern. The former are held in greater esteem for learning and purity of race than the latter.

The *S'renis* are divided, first, according to the Veda, whose ritual they profess to observe and secondly, into *gotras* or families.

I—SOUTHERN LINE.

1. *Rig-Veda.*

GOTRA	UPADHI
Bâsishîha.	Sârangî.
Bâsishîha.	Mahâpâtra

2. *Sâma-Veda*

Kâsyapa	Nanda.
Dharagautama.....	Tripâthî
Gautama.....	Udgâtâ, <i>vulgo</i> Utâ
Paraśara.....	Dibedi, <i>vulgo</i> Dube.
Kauñdinya.....	Tripâthî, <i>vulgo</i> Tihâñî.

3. *Yajur-Veda*³

Bhâradwaja—

a. Bhâradwaja ⁴	Sârangî.
b. Sambhukar.....	Miśra.
c. Lâñdi.....	Nanda.

Átreya—

a. Dattâtreya.....	Ratha.
b. Krishâtreya.....	Ratha.

Haritasa.....	Mahâpâtra.
Haritasa.....	Dâsa.

Kauchhasa.....	Dâsa.
Ghritakauchhasa.....	Dâsa.

Mudgala.....	Satpathî, <i>vulgo</i> Pathî, <i>also vulgo</i> Satpasti.
Batsasa.....	Dâsa, Achârya, Miśra.

Kâtyâyana.....	Sârangî.
Kâpinjalia.....	Dâsa.

II—NORTHERN LINE.

1. *Rig-Veda.*

Not represented.

2. *Yajur-Veda.*

Kâtyâyana.....	Paṇḍâ.
Sâṇḍâlyâ.....	Paṇḍâ.
Krishnâtreya.....	Paṇḍâ and Dâsa.
Bhâradwaja.....	Paṇḍâ.
Barshagaṇa.....	Miśra.

Kaphala.....Miśra.

Gautama.....Kara.

3. *Atharva-Vedi.*

Ángirasa.....Upadhyáya, *vulgo*
Upadhyā.

Of lower branches, and considered inferior to the above, are—

Sâṅkhyâyana.....Mahanti.

Nâgasa.....Dâsa, and Mahanti.

In explanation of *upâdhis*, I would state that they are, so to speak, the surnames of each *gotra*; for instance, a Brâhman of the Kâsyapa *gotra*, whose personal name was Râdhâ Krishña, would be known and spoken of, and speak of himself, as Râdhâ Krishña Nand; Patit Pâban, of the Kâtyâyana *gotra*, is Patitpâban Sârangî; and so on. The commonest surnames are Pañdâ and Mahâpâtra in Balasor; probably because the families of the *gotras* to which they belong have multiplied more extensively there. Some of the *upâdhis* given above are very rare in Balasor, as Tripâthî, Ratha, Dube; the others are common enough. Some of them are also borne by other castes. Thus all the Karans, a class corresponding to the Kâyasthas of Bengal, have the surname Mahanti, in the north contracted to Maiti. This fashion of caste surnames has been extended to the lower castes also: thus we have among the artizan castes the titles Pâtar, Rañâ, Ojhâ, Jena (a very low name, chiefly used by Pâns, and other impure castes), Râut, Kar, De, and the Bangali names Ghosh and Bose (Basu). These names, where they are the same as those borne in other provinces, are used by lower castes. Thus Ghosh and Basu in Bangali are highly respectable Kâyastha names, in Orissa they are borne by Râjus, Gokhas, and other low castes. The cowherd class, the Gwâlâ of Upper India, are here called Gaur or Gaul, and take the surname Behera, Palâi, Send, &c. Behera seems to have been adopted from the English, as it is this class that furnishes the well-known Oriya 'bearers' of Calcutta.

But to return to the Brâhmans,- the *gotra* names, it will be seen, are for the most part patronymics from well-known Rishis, and are identical with many of those still in use in the North-Western Provinces. This circumstances seems to add confirmation to the legend of the origin of this caste from Kanauj. A Rishi's name occurs also among *upâdhis* in one instance; Sârangî being from Sanskr, Sârngeî, patronymic from Srînga Rishi. Pañdâ is hardly a *gotra upâdhi*, being applied to all Brâhmans who officiate as priests.



[*The Indian Antiquary*, March, 1873, pp.68-69]

1. This brief article was put together from notes made at different times; and something similar was supplied by me to Dr. W.W. Hunter and has been printed by him in the appendix to his work on Orissa. The above article, however, exhibits the classification more fully and clearly than Dr. Hunter's note, and contains some additional facts which I have learnt since the appearance of that work.
2. The date is not certain. Babu Rajendralal Mitra fixes it at about A.D. 964.—*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XXXIV, p. 139.
3. This ought to come before the Sâma-Veda, but my native informants stick to it that the Sâma-Vedis rank above the Yajur-Vedis. I record the fact without understanding the reason.
4. The great Bhâradwaj *gotra* is divided into the three septs here given.

THE ALTI HILLS IN CUTTACK

These hills are a perfect mine of archaeology, and one which has not yet been thoroughly explored. An article on them appeared in Vol. XXXIX, of the Society's Journal (for 1870, p.158), by Bábu Chandra Sekhar Banerjea, then Deputy Magistrate of the Jajpur Subdivision, but his article is not intended to be exhaustive. It gives a very accurate and interesting general account of the hills and their treasures, but the learned author expressly states that his article is not to be considered as more than an outline of the subject. My attention was drawn to these hills by the article in question, and I had been for some time anxious to visit them. This cold weather my official duties fortunately admitted of my taking my camp close to them, and I am thus enabled to supply a further instalment of information.

Alti is unfortunately very inaccessible. The parganah of that name, in which the hills are situated, is surrounded and intersected by rivers. On the north east flows the Kimiriya, an offshoot of the Bráhmani, on the south the Birupá, an arm of the Mahánadi. These two unite at the south-east angle of the parganah and form a third river the Keluá, and the whole tract is further cut in two by the Ganguti, a stream which issues from the Birupá in the south-west and falls into the Kimiriýá just above its junction with the Birupá. Thus a river has to be crossed in reaching the hills from any direction, and as there are very few boats on the Orissa rivers, and those that do exist are not suitable for crossing horses, it is a difficult business to reach them. The hills or rather hill, for it is only one, lies between the Ganguti and the Birupá, about 30 miles north-east of the town of Cuttack. To the south of the Birupá and about 3 miles from the main mass of Alti, lies the Nalti group, consisting of one long hog backed hill with a depression in the centre and a small knoll rather isolated on its southern side. The derivation of the name of this hill from *तिल*, 'a curse', and the legend connected

with it, seem to be a pure invention of some marvel-loving and ingenious Muhammadan. The name is not Nálti, which would be the Uriya inversion of La nati, but Nálti with short *a*, and seems to correspond to Alti just as the two parganahs of Awartak and Anáwartak a little further to the south, where the prefix *an* (Sanskrit अ) means "small", so that Nalti, for Analti or Anvaltí, would simply mean "little Alti". If the Hindus of Orissa had wished to designate the hill as cursed, they would not have used a little known Arabic word like *la'nat*, but their own ordinary word *s'ráp*; nor is it likely that the very scanty and insignificant Musalman population would have been able to have affixed a name derived from an obscure legend on the hill and Hindu village. The legend is of itself extravagantly absurd; for it was not the prophet Muhammad, as the Babu says, who cursed the hill, but the great king Solomen. It is not the prophet who is represented in Muslim legend as flying through the air, but king Sulamán-bin-Dáud, whose magic ring gave him power over the Jins, and who was in the habit of flying through the air on his magic prayer carpet. The mosque on the Alti hill is called the "Takhti i Sulaimán," and the custodian thereof as he told me the legend, attributed the curse to Sulaimán.

The antiquities noticed by the Bábu on the Nalti hill are ruined temples too much dilapidated to yield any interesting results, with the exception of the temple mentioned at the bottom of page 159. I made a sketch of this (plate V). The five figures of Buddha stand in niches on the outer side of the wall of the cell, one of them is visible on the right hand of the sketch. They are executed in bold relief on large slabs of garnetic gneiss, but the inscriptions are not visible, being concealed by the walls. The temple itself is now dedicated to Básuli Thákuráni, who is represented by a rudely shaped clay model of a human face, covered with red paint and draped in coarse dhoties. The images of Buddha are all exactly alike and are fine pieces of sculpture. I give a sketch of one of them (plate VI). I had no time to explore the other recesses of this hill, but hope to do so on a future occasion.

The mosque of Takht i Sulaimán stands on the southern face of the Alti hill, 2500 feet up. Its white walls form a conspicuous mark on the hill side which can be seen for many miles to the south. The ascent is from the east and consists of a steep road paved with rough stones, which still retain some semblance of steps. The mosque of which I made a sketch (plate IV) is a plain stone building standing on a small platform, and on its southern side on the edge of the precipice is the sacred tank, a small shallow hole about 10 feet by 8 and 3 deep, cut in the rock. It is now dry, but the legend is, that it was formerly a spring of water formed by Sulaimán's striking the rock with his staff. The tank was full of water till Shujauddin's time, so said my informant, when a soldier of his army having outraged a female pilgrim of the shrine, the '*lympha pudica*' dried up and has never flowed since. The soldier and his unchaste companion, or his victim, for it is not clear whether the lady consented or not to the act, were buried at the foot of the hill, and every passer-by throws a stone on the grave, which has thus become a huge mound or cairn by the road side.

The following is the inscription on three slabs of chlorite, one over each door of the mosque—

چون شیع الدین محمد خان بساخته بقمعه کزوئی بتسبیذ نور ذین
مال تاریخش ایستم از خرد نا شود مال بنای او صدین
دست بردار نز سر جهود و بگاره گفت هائف رشک فرووس بروت

'When Shuja'-uddin Muhammad made this shrine, that from it might shine the light of religion.'

'I sought from my heart the year of its táríkh, that the building of it might be made evident.'

"Cease from the endeavour, and say," quoth the inspiration, "[it is] the envy of the highest Paradise."

Date A. H. 1132, as given by the Babu. A.D. 1719-20.

The hill of which this mosque stands is called by the Hindus. *Boro dihi*, बड़ा दीहि or 'great site', and was according to local tradition the seat of the palace of some great king; but who he was or when he lived, authorities are not agreed. The Birupá

flows 'past the southern foot of the hill, and on its banks are two huge stones weighing several tons' My informant, an old Hindu of some respectability, mentioned that he had heard in his youth that the boundary of the two zamindaris of Altı and Álmgir was at one time disputed, and the disputants were coming to blow about it, when these two stones rolled from the top of the hill and fixed themselves where they now lie Both parties agreed to recognize the occurrence as a divine inter-position and accepted the spot as the boundary line between their two estates, and the stones lie there to this day as the boundary mark, 'so it must be true', said the old man

Passing on eastwards across a small valley we come to the Udaygiri, or sunrise Hill, the first point in Orissa on which the sun's rays light every morning, in spite of the fifty miles of lowland between it and the Bay of Bengal It is a conical peak with three long spurs stretching respectively north, northeast, and south-east, and clothed with dense vegetation, amongst which on the southern face are noticeable five or six immense *Plumeria* tree (*gul-chini*) with their naked fleshy branches and overpoweringly fragrant white blossoms In gardens I have never seen this tree more than 10 or 12 feet high, but below the mosque there is a group of them upwards of fifty feet in height, the flowers of which are dropped on to the pavement and offered by the *mujawir* in front of the kiblah

In the bay formed between the south-eastern and north-eastern peaks of Udaygiri is a sloping plain of bare laterite rock, on the edge of which stands a statue of Buddha upwards of 8 feet high I give a sketch of the profile of this figure (plate VI. upper left hand corner) to shew the way in which it stands out from the slab on which it is carved The nose as usual is broken, and the lower part of the figure mutilated and overgrown with lichen All round lie numerous stone *samadhis*, marking the graves of Buddhist priests of by gone times There are several hundreds of these so closely resembling in shape large *lingas*, that I at first mistook them for such, till I noticed the small sitting figure of Buddha on the top Passing from this over the broad stony plain, a small

temple or "gumpa" is reached, and close to it is the celebrated well. This is cut in the laterite rock and is well described by Bábu Chandra Sekhar. The inscription is, however, as I make it out, not as he read it, but as follows :

वालक श्रीब्रजलागधरायी.

What it means it is difficult to say, but it occurs twice over, each time in letters six or eight inches long, of the ordinary Kutila type, and after looking at it a long time I am fairly certain of every letter. If it be a name *Brajalals*, then it is singular that the second ल should have been omitted in both cases. This could hardly be an accident.

The great glory of Udaygiri is the gateway of which I give a sketch (see plate III). It is just beyond the well, and after I had the jungle cut, stood out well against the background of trees and shrubs.

It consists of two upright slabs of stone, supporting a third as lintel. The dimensions are as follows :

	ft.	in.
Height of opening,.....	5	5
Breadth of ditto,.....	2	3½
Thickness of stone,.....	1	3½

The two side jambs are divided into bands separated by grooves, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch wide and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep. The panel or band nearest the doorway is carved with a continuous wavy creeper up which human figures are climbing in grotesque attitudes, from the excessively *nitambini* outlines they are probably intended for females. The next band has a columnar type, and the capitals are those given by the Babu; but I append a more accurate drawing of them. The pilaster of the column is adorned with intricate arabesques and lion's heads. The next band is divided into tablets, each of which contains a beautifully carved groups of a male and female figure engaged in what I may venture to call flirtation of an active kind. The beauty of these carvings is very striking, though they are much worn and covered with lichen (plate III):

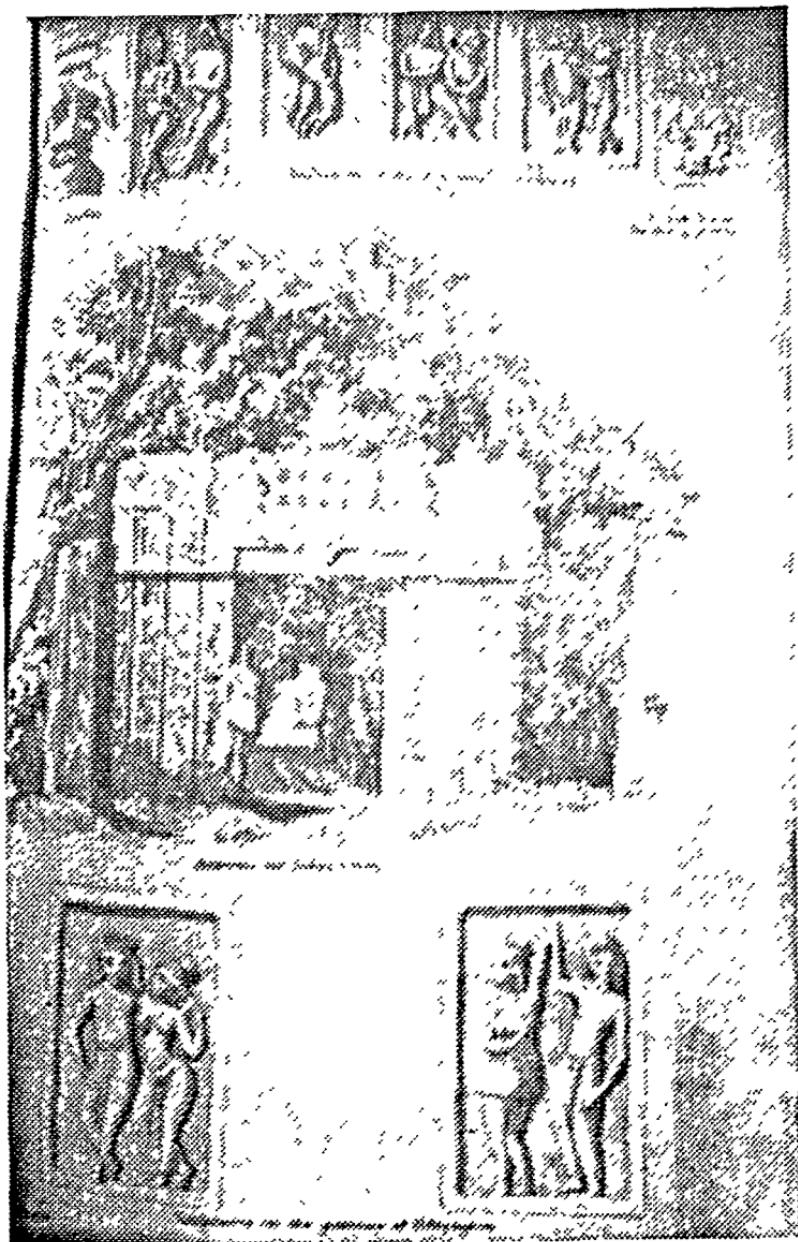
some indeed were so defaced that I could not make them out. The size of each tablet is 8 inches by 5. Just inside the gateway is the colossal Buddha, the size of which will be seen from the chokidár standing by. It is half buried in the earth in a damp gloomy pit and is noseless, as an Orissa statue ought to be who has heard the rattle of Kálápahár's kettle drum (Plate V.)

With the permission of Bábu Rámgobind Jagdeb, the zamindár of the estate, I am now engaged in having this beautiful gateway carefully removed by skilled workmen to Cuttack, where it will be erected in the Public Garden and taken care of. I hope to be able to get it photographed.

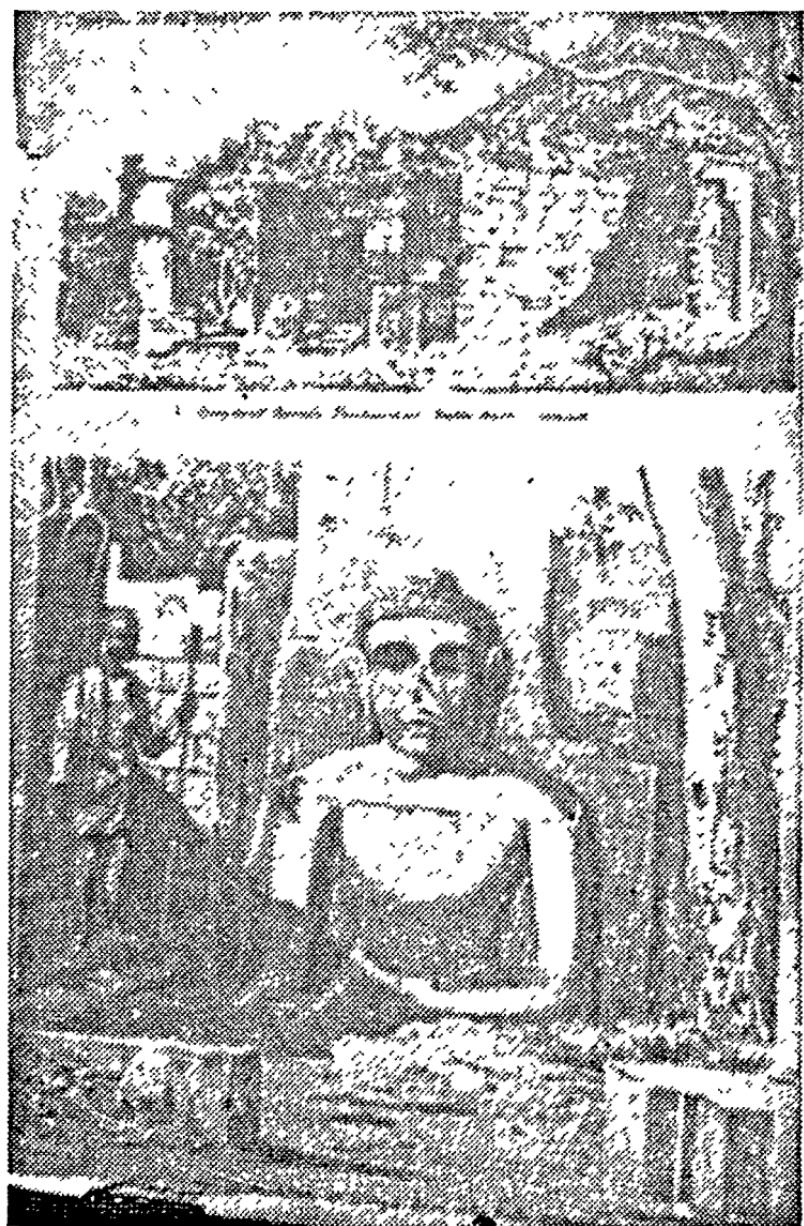
There are hundreds of statues and many temples on this hill, but owing to the limited time at my disposal and the denseness of the jungle, I was unable to carry my explorations further. I, hope to do so on a future occasion.



[*Journals of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part 1, No.1, 1875,
pp.19-23]









NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF ORISSA UNDER THE MAHOMEDAN, MARATHA AND ENGLISH RULE

[These notes were written as Chapter II of a manual of the district of Balasore of which I was Collector from 1869 to 1873. The work when completed was laid before Sir R. Temple (then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal) in 1875; but for certain reasons which cannot be here stated, was not printed. In 1877 I was asked by Blochmann, then Secretary to the Society,* to allow him to print the historical portion in the Society's Journal. I was unable to comply with his request at that time, and the work was put aside. Recently being engaged in some researches regarding the history of my present official charge, the Burdwan Division, I have had occasion to refer to it, and as I do not know of any compilation which given all the facts therein contained, I have thought that it may be useful to print it.]

There is some reason for believing that for many centuries the country between the Kansbans and the Subanrekha was totally uninhabited, and covered with jungle. The legends of the Oriya race render it probable that they came into the province through the hills and down the Mahanadi, and the characteristics of their language lead me to believe that they broke off from the main stream of Aryan immigration somewhere about Shahabad Gya.¹ That they are not an offshoot of the Bengalis is proved by the fact that their

In 1877, when Blochmann was the Secretary to the Society, it was then known as "The Asiatic Society of Bengal." In 1936, after obtaining a royal charter it was named as "The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal". But in 1951 it was named as "The Asiatic Society" which it still continues to be called. While editing this essay N.K. Sahu in his book, inadvertently wrote it as "Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal" instead of "The Asiatic Society of Bengal." N.K. Sahu, *The History of Orissa*, Vol II, Calcutta, 1956, p 292. LDM

language was already formed as we now have it, at a period when Bengali had not yet attained a separate existence, and when the deltaic portion of Bengal was still almost uninhabited. So that in fact they could not have sprung from the Bengalis, simply because there were then no Bengalis to spring from.²

Numerous as are the allusions in early Oriya history to the north-western and western parts of India, and frequent as were their expeditions to the south, it is remarkable that there is nowhere in all their annals more than an obscure occasional mention of Bengal, and then even as a far-off inaccessible place. The similarity between the languages is not by any means so great as some Bengali writers have sought to make out, and what similarity there is, due to the fact that they are both dialects of the eastern or Magadhi form of Prakrit.³

The ancient sovereigns of Orissa were great builders and employed stone in their works. As the province is not deltaic, but high and rocky, these stone buildings would last for ages, and in fact central and southern Orissa are full of them. Now it is a remarkable fact that in all northern Balasore from the Kansbans to the frontier of Bengal there is not a vestige of a single fort, temple, palace or bridge that can be traced or attributed to any older period than the sixteenth century. It is hardly possible that if this part of the country had been inhabited, the kings and rich men who so lavishly spent their wealth in the rest of the province on temples and forts, should not have erected a single stone building in a place where stone abounds.

An additional argument for my view is derived from the existence of numerous tenures of a kind originally granted for the purpose of clearing and settling forest land. These tenures, so numerous in northern Balasore, are hardly known south of the Kansbans except in the hills.

I may also point to the very large number of village whose names begin with the word "Ban" = forest, including according to one derivation Balasore itself (i.e., Baneshwara, forest-lord,⁴

Sanskrit Vaneswara) and to the very marked prevalence of the Kole or aboriginal type among the lower classes.

Stirling's account of Orissa has been long in print, and is so well known, that it would be superfluous to repeat what is there said about the various dynasties of Orissa. It will have struck many readers of that work that often as the towns and regions of the Cuttack and Pooree districts are mentioned in the historical portion, Balasore is hardly ever spoken of. One would not of course expect to find it mentioned under the name of Balasore, because Balasore as a town is a creation of the English. The modern historians may rightly reject this view as Euro-centric. In the seventeenth century the commercial prosperity of Balasore was the result of more active participation in trade by the Indian merchants, than the English or Dutch. LDM and quite a modern place, but no other towns, villages, or parganas in this part of the province are ever mentioned. Till the arrival of the Musalmans, no event in Oriya history took place there, nor is there any evidence of its having been more than scantily peopled, if at all.

It will not therefore take long to put together the scattered notices that exist during the Hindu and Muhammadan periods. From the people themselves not much can be got, the best informed of them cannot, with few exceptions, go back further than the sanads granted to their ancestors by the provincial governors under Aurangzeb⁵ or at furthest Shah Jehan, and the majority do not as a rule know who their own great-grandfathers were, and do not care.

The first of the few notices of any part of this district occurs⁶ in a speech made by Raja Anang Bhim Deo who ruled in Orissa A.D. 1175-1202, in which he informs his courtiers that the kings who had preceded him had ruled from the Kansbans in the north to the Rasikoilah in the south, but that he had extended his sway to the Datai Borhi river on the north. I cannot find what river is meant, but I presume it to be the Subanrekha, which in some parts of its course is still called Dantai. The statement that the whole country from the Ganges to the Godavery was under this king's rule is clearly fabulous, and arises from the fact that the Godavery is called by

Oriyas the "San Ganga" or little Ganges, so that it became a natural phrase in native adulatory language to say a king reigned from the great to the little Ganges. The area of this tract is said to have been measured at 124 million bighas, which is unintelligible, even with the small bighas of those days.⁷

In 1450 we are briefly told that the Mughals came into the country, but it is not said from what quarter, and a prior invasion in 1243 is evidently a mistake⁸. The expedition was really to Jajnagar in Bengal, a place whose name has been confounded with Jajpore in Orissa. In 1457 we find the Muhammadans attacking Orissa from the south in conjunction with the Telingas, and the invasion of 1450 was probably from the same quarter⁹. The Bhuyans of Garpadda, 15 miles north of Balasore, have in their possession a copper plate grant of the estate which they still hold, made to their ancestor Potesar Bhatt by the Raja Pursottam Deb in 1503¹⁰. The amount of land granted, 1,408 batis (=28,160 acres), is so large that it is evident land was not of much value in northern Orissa in those days.

The road to Orissa must, however, have been practicable in 1516, for in that year, as we know from his life in Bengali, the great reformer Chaitanya travelled from Nadiya to Puri and took up his abode there for the rest of his days. Probably the district began to be cleared and settled about this time under the "Purshethi" system. Still we have no detailed accounts of it. About this time the Afghans from Bengal, however, marched right down to Cuttack itself, and the road which they made or used on this and their subsequent expeditions is still to be traced, and is known to the villagers as the "Pathan sarak." It runs parallel to the present Cuttack Trunk Road but nearer to the hills, and apparently from superstitious motives is left uncultivated to this day.

In 1550¹¹ Mukund Deo the last indigenous king of Orissa ascended the throne, and we are told of him that his sway extended to Tribeni Ghat on the Hugli. He it was in all probability who erected the strong chain of forts still standing at Raibanian in the extreme northern corner of the district, just opposite the place where the old Pathan road crosses the Subarnrekha. In 1568 this fort was taken

by the terrible Kala Pahar, general of the Afghan forces who overran all Orissa, defeated and deposed Mukund and obtained possession of the whole province.¹²

Balasore now begins to be more important. The road to Bengal was open and the Muhammadan forces passed and re-passed and fought many battles along it.

Before entering into the somewhat interesting details of the Musalman invasion, settlement and government of Orissa, it will be advisable to state briefly the general position of India.

Akbar ascended the throne in A.D. 1556, and though very young, soon commenced to consolidate his power. But in all parts of India there were Hindu Rajas who had either themselves wielded independent power, or whose immediate ancestors had done so. There were also numerous bands of Mughals and Afghans who, during the unsettled reigns of Akbar's predecessors, had penetrated into various distant parts of India in search of plunder, or with a view to carving out principalities for themselves by the sword. All these classes were only with extreme difficulty and after, repeated chastisements reduced to obedience, and the history of Akbar's reign is chiefly occupied, as are those of his son and grandson, with the accounts of expeditions directed against refractory vassals.

Of the latter kind were the Afghan adventurers who so long held Orissa. In 1567 Sulayman Shah Kirani¹³ was viceroy of Bengal; he was in fact king in all but name. He it was who sent Kala Pahar into Orissa; the accounts of the histories differ widely as to the date as well as the progress of this invasion. From local legends it would appear that Mukund Deo, after vainly endeavouring to hold the fort of Raibanian, retreated southwards fighting as he went, and was killed at Jajpur. As Kala Pahar was an ultra-fanatical Musalman, in the estimation of himself and his followers any one of them who was slain in battle with the Hindus was entitled to be considered a martyr. Accordingly we find there must have been a battle at Garhpada, for there lies buried one of Kala Pahar's officers

with the title of Shahid or "martyr." His name was Hitam Khan, and a grant of rentfree land of 138 bighas is enjoyed by the Garhpada Bhuyans on condition of keeping up his shrine. At Bastah lies another, Shah Husayni Shahid, at Ramchandrapur south of Garhpada is a third Muhammad Khan Shahid, and at Remnah a fourth Gulab Shah Shahid, from whom also the large bazar of Shahji Patna takes its name. We can thus trace Kala Pahar all through the district by the tombs of his slain Captains.¹⁴ He left a number of his turbulent followers in Orissa and returned to Bengal where he was killed in battle.¹⁵ A great number of these lawless adventurers settled at Kasba, a suburb of Balasore, and at Bhadrakh and Dhamnagar, where their descendants are still to be found.

In 1574 Daud Khan, the king of Bengal, being driven out of that province by the forces of the Emperor Akbar under Munim Khan, fled to Orissa and remained hovering backwards and forwards between Cuttack and Jellasore for some time. At last Munim Khan with a large force, accompanied by the celebrated Raja Todar Mal marched down through Midnapore on him. The armies met on the north bank of the Subanrekha near the village of Tukaroi and the battle took place on the 3rd March 1575.¹⁶ Munim Khan was victorious and Daud fled to Bhadrakh. The place where the battle was fought is well known to the villagers and is still called Mughalmari (the Mughal's slaughter). It runs westward for some six miles from the present Jellasore dak bungalow towards the river. Todar Mal pursued Daud to Bhadrakh, but Daud did not wait to be caught. He fled to Cuttack and got into the fort there and garrisoned it strongly. The Imperial forces, however, attacked and took it, and Daud then submitted to the Emperor. Munim Khan returned to Bengal, where he and many of his officers died of fever said to have been contracted in Orissa, but more probably due to their own imprudence in taking up their residence in the pestilential jungles of Gaur.

After the submission of Daud he was left in possession of central Orissa as far north as the Baitarani, but the territory now

comprised in the Balasore district was annexed to the Subah of Bengal,¹⁷ and two Thanadars were appointed, one at Jellasore, the other at Bhadrakh. Balasore itself was not a place of importance in those days. After the death of Munim Khan the reins of authority became relaxed, and Daud came up into Balasore and marched into Bengal. The Afghans of Orissa were for many years in a characteristically Afghan state of riot and quarrelling, and Balasore, lying as it does between Cuttack and the Bengal frontier, was often the battle-field between the rulers of the two provinces. None of the battles were, however, very decisive, nor are there any traces of the battle-fields still remaining, though many villages and market places with Musalman names in various parts of the district testify to the settlement of Afghan and Mughal invaders.

In 1582 Kutlu Khan, the Afghan leader, who since Daud's death¹⁸ had been the virtual ruler of Orissa, marched through Balasore against the Subahdar of Bengal, and advanced as far as Burdwan, where in 1583 he was defeated by Sadik Khan. At that time the sway of the Afghans of Orissa extended with a few exceptions as far as the Rupnarayan river, but after this victory they were beaten back, and retreated to Cuttack, leaving Balasore as far as the Baitarani river for a time unmolested.

Kutlu Khan died in 1590, and his sons being minors sued for peace and agreed to surrender the temple of Jagannath and the sacred domain or "khetra" to the Emperor. The Governor of Bengal at this time was Raja Man Singh, who as a Hindu was highly pleased at rescuing the holy city from the hands of the infidels who had long exercised a cruel and tyrannous sway over the priests.

Two years later, however, the treacherous Afghans again seized Jagannath and this roused Man Singh's wrath, and in a great battle fought in 1592 on the northern bank of the Subanrekha, probably on the same site as Munim Khan's victory at Tukaroi or Mughalmar, he utterly crushed the Afghans and took possession once more of Orissa. The rebels were turned out of Jellasore and fled to Cuttack where they shut themselves up in the strong fort of Sarang Garh,

three miles south of the city. Man Singh soon after besieged and took Sarang Garh, and received the submission of the Afghans.

Sultan Khusrau, grandson of Akbar and son of Jahangir was named Viceroy of Orissa, but he never visited the province, his appointment being probably merely honorary.

Man Singh having gone to Agra to pay his respects to the Emperor, the Afghans under 'Usman Khan again rose in 1598 and collected a large force at Bhadrakh, where they defeated the Imperial troops under Maha Singh, occupied a great portion of western Bengal, and again obtained possession of Balasore as far as the Subanrekha. Man Singh, however, again returned and defeated 'Usman at Sherpur 'Atai north of Burdwan. 'Usman as usual retired to Cuttack, where he was not pursued. In all these constant advances and retreats, the Afghans seem always to have regarded Bhadrakh as their frontier. Jellasore was the frontier of the Imperialists, and the intermediate country was a debatable ground over which both parties fought at their pleasure. I mention this fact as confirming what I have said on a previous page, that central and northern Balasore even down to so late a period as this, contained no towns of importance but was scantily peopled and not worth fighting for.

For eleven years 'Usman Khan ruled at Cuttack, but does not seem to have exercised much sway over Balasore, as he never during that time came into collision with the Imperial garrison at Jellasore, which he could not have failed to have done had he ventured so far north. In 1611, however, he appears to have begun aggressions once more, and encamped on the banks of the Subanrekha again with an army of 20,000 horse and defied the Emperor's forces. After a fierce encounter which from the accounts given by the native historians appears to have taken place among the marshes near Rajghat on the southern side of the river, 'Usman was shot in the lead and died. His troops fled in disorder and Shujaat Khan, the leader of the Mughals, entered the province as a conqueror and annexed it finally to the Empire.

Orissa now enjoyed peace for five years under the able

government of Ibrahim Khan, and it is from this epoch that we date the rise of Balasore as a commercial town. The district produces rice in abundance, and when the Afghans ceased to desolate it, it rapidly recovered and began to export. The weavers of Balasore whose cloths were long so celebrated now begin to be heard of, and it was not many years later than this date that the English established themselves as traders in the district.

In 1621 Prince Khurram son of the Emperor Jehangir (subsequently Emperor under the title of Shah Jahan) invaded Orissa through the hills, turned out Ahmad Beg, the governor of the province, and after appointing Kuli Khan in his place pushed on through Balasore into Bengal. He does not seem to have stayed long in Orissa, though his rebellion lasted a long time in Bengal and Bihar. Orissa does not appear to have suffered in any way from the change of governors, nor is there anything further to be gleaned from the Persian historians save a string of successive governors. We learn incidentally that the cultivation of the soil was increasing and was further promoted by the grant of many military jagirs to old soldiers of the Empire. One of these jagirs was established at Dhamnagar where the descendants of the original grantees still live, and a populous Musalman colony has sprung up. It was during this period as will be seen hereafter that the English obtained from the Emperor Shah Jahan a firman empowering them to open factories at Pipli and Balasore.

In the time of Mir Taki Khan, who was Naib of Shuja uddin, Nawab of Bengal, all that part of the Sirkar of Jellasore lying north of the Subanrekha was transferred to Bengal, thus making the river the northern boundary of Orissa. It is much to be wished that this well defined boundary had been adhered to ever since. Taki Khan ruled Orissa from 1725 to 1734. He was a bigotted Musalman, and in his time the Raja of Khurda found or affected to find it necessary to cary off the idol of Jaganath to the hills beyond the Chilka. All pilgrimage was in consequence put a stop to, and the revenues of the province greatly injured. Taki Khan lies buried in the Kadam Rasul at Cuttack, but the local traditions

of Balasore represent him as having spent much of his time in that town. He built the masonry tank, and reservoir and the mosque and gardens known as the Kadam Rasul in Balasore.¹⁹ He is also said to have had a hunting palace at Remna five miles from Balasore under the Nilgiri Hills, a place still abounding with game, and whose name (Sanskrit Ramana= a place of sport, or hunting-ground) supports the legend. There are still at Remna extensive ruins of Muhammadan tombs and buildings. Taki Khan is well remembered in Balasore, and his character for piety stands high. A curious legend is current that the Vaishnava, Nandha Gosain, whose temple is in Malikaspur a suburb of the town, was in the habit of making a great noise with drums and cymbals while celebrating his kirtans or religious ceremonies. The Nawab's devotions being disturbed by this noise, he ordered it to be stopped. That evening when the naubat, or beating of drums at sunset was about to take place, none of the drums would sound, and this state of things continues till the Nawab withdrew his prohibition from Nandha Gosain, when the drums again sounded as usual.

In 1734 Murshid Kuli Khan was appointed governor of Orissa and with him came as his Dewan the infamous Mir Habib who afterwards betrayed the province to the Marathas. The first thing Murshid did was to induce the Brahmans to bring back to Puri the idol of Jagannath which had been carried off for safety to the hills across the Chilka. By this step the revenues of the province were at once immensely increased, as the stream of pilgrims, which had for some time ceased owing to the disappearance of the object of their worship, now set in again, and the tax on them is said to have risen from a nominal sum to nine lakhs per annum. In 1740 Ali Vardi Khan became Governor of Bengal and made himself virtually independent of the Emperor, whose power had been much shaken by the invasion of Nadir Shah and the sack of Delhi. The Governor of Orissa refused to obey Ali Vardi, and the latter marched against him. The two armies met at Balasore and the native account is so precise that I am able to identify the exact spot where the battle took place. It is about a mile north of

the Civil Station where a long ridge of high land, then clothed with woods, slopes down into the marshes between the Nuniajori and the Burhabalang rivers near the villages of Haripur and Dohopara.²⁰ The river surrounds this land on three sides, and in so strong a position Murshid might long have defied his adversary, who being cut off from the town could get no provisions and was in much distress. Murshid's son-in-law, however, rashly moved out to attack the Nawab, and the result was a complete victory for the latter. Murshid and his party got on board a ship at Balasore and fled by sea to Masulipatam. The Raja of Rattanpur with much promptness carried off Murshid's women and children from Cuttack and delivered them to him in the south before Ali Vardi could come up.

Sayid Ahmed, the Nawab's nephew, was made Governor, and rendered himself very unpopular by his tyranny. At last the people of Cuttack rose against him and recalled Murshid Kuli. He would not come himself, but sent his son-in-law Bakir Khan, who was, however, conquered again on the banks of the Mahanadi in 1741 by Ali Vardi, who appointed Masum Khan Governor of Orissa. He thinking all danger now at an end, disbanded his troops who mostly returned to their own homes, and contented himself with an escort of five thousand horse and some infantry recruited in the province. In this defenceless state was Orissa, when a great calamity occurred which entirely changed the whole current of its history, and introduced the darkest and bitterest period of suffering that the harassed and wasted province has ever known.

²¹In the month of February 1743 (Phalgun 1150) the Marathas²² from Berar entered the province of Orissa. After the defeat of Murshid Kuli Khan by Ali Vardi Khan at Balasore in 1740, the traitor Mir Habibullah, dewan of the former, had secretly invited the Marathas to attack Orissa. At this time Raghoji Bhonsla was ruler of Berar holding his court at Nagpur. Habib's negotiations were made in the first instance with Bhaskar Pandit or Pant (as the

Marathas corrupt the word) Dewan of Raghoji. With his master's permission Bhaskar Pant made an attack upon Bihar in the first instance with twelve thousand horse and got as far as Pachet, before Ali Vardi could get up from Orissa to oppose him. A battle was fought at Katwa in which the Marathas were victorious, and Mir Habib having been (probably on purpose) taken prisoner, at once installed himself as Bhaskar's adviser, and enabled him to take possession of the town of Hughli, and subsequently to overrun the country as far as Midnapore. Ali Vardi, however, was not discouraged, he again attacked the Marathas and drove them through Midnapore, skirmishing as they retreated as far as Balasore. Here they made a stand, and a battle took place on the high land now occupied by the Civil station of Balasore, a little to the south of the camp of Murshid Kuli mentioned in a preceding paragraph. The result of the battle was unfavourable to the Marathas, for they retreated on Cuttack, taking the opportunity, however, of plundering everything they could lay hands on as they went. From Cuttack they retreated through the hills of Berar.

Immediately on their return to Nagpore, Raghoji Bhonsla himself resolved to make an attack on Bengal and marched at once. He arrived at a place between Katwa and Bardwan, but the Maratha Peshwa Balaji Rao having been incited by the Emperor of Delhi to restrain his turbulent feudatory, had marched through Allahbad, Patna and Bhagalpur, effected a junction with Ali Vardi Khan at Murshidabad and bore down on Raghoji. The latter having no mind to come to open blows with the Minister of his nominal sovereign, retreated but was overtaken and defeated, after which with the remnant of his forces he marched again through Balasore, plundering and destroying as he went, back to Berar.

Into the confused history of Maratha politics in those days it is not necessary to enter. Suffice it to say that Raghoji Bhonsla was, next to the Peshwa, the most powerful Maratha noble of the time, and shortly after his return to his capital he marched on Sattara, and exorted from the puppet Raja a deed by which, while

the rest of the countries under Maratha rule, or rather misrule, were retained by the Peshwa, to Raghoji himself were assigned the revenues of Oudh, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. The Raja was possibly giving away a good deal more than he possessed, but that did not much matter. Raghoji's horsemen, with their long spears, might be trusted to settle the rest.

In the cold weather of 1744 Raghoji sent an army of 20,000 horse into Orissa apparently by way of Sambhalpur. Ali Vardi met them in Midnapore and being unable to cope with them in the field proposed negotiations. He invited to an entertainment Bhaskar Pant, Ali Karawal and the principal officers, and there murdered them. The army retreated in confusion through Balasore and were much harassed by the peasantry who maintained a guerilla warfare and cut off all stragglers without mercy.²³

In 1745 Raghoji took his revenge. Marching down upon Cuttack in November, he overran the country probably as far as the Subanrekha, and refused to leave unless he was paid three krores of rupees. He then advanced to Katwa, but the indomitable Ali Vardi met him there and defeated him, on which he returned to Berar without his money, but plundering as usual on the way.

Raghoji was now, fortunately for Balasore and Orissa, engaged in wars and intrigues on his own side of the country for some time. In the immediately succeeding years he appears to have left Orissa pretty much to itself, though stray bands of Marathas made their appearance from time to time in 1748 and 1749; but in 1750 Janoji Bhonsla, son of old Raghoji, was sent into Orissa with Mir Habib and two commenced their old system of plunder and extortion. In 1750 Ali Vardi lost all hope of resisting the marauders and gave up to them the whole province south of the Subanrekha as well as the Pargana of Pattaspur north of that river. The Marathas were to hold the province as security for the *chauth* or tribute always claimed by them from conquered province.

Stirling speaks of a second invasion which occurred in 1753, but this seems doubtful. At any rate it could not have been led

by Janoji, for Raghoji died in the year, and Janoji was busy in securing his succession to the hereditary office of Sena Sahib or Commander-in-Chief and was at Puna for that purpose during the greater part of the year.

In the year 1751, during Janoji's occupation of Orissa, the traitor Habib met his deserts. Janoji charged him with embezzlement and made him prisoner in his camp at Garhpada, a large and important village on the borders of Moharbhanj, 15 miles north of Balasore, and still the seat of a respectable family of zemindars. Habib was indignant at being confined, and with a few followers tried to escape, and the guards placed over him hacked him to pieces.²⁴ The place, where his camp was pitched is still known as Habibganj. It is a small bazar and village in Pargana Garhpada.

There is nothing further at this period specially relating to Balasore. In 1755 the whole province was finally and conclusively made over to the Marathas at the request of the zemindars of Midnapore and Burdwan in exchange for 4 lakhs of the "chauth", the remainder to be paid from Bengal. Janoji's attention was engrossed by more exciting events in his own country, and he contented himself with getting as much money as he could out of the province and leaving it to be governed by his officers as they chose. The northern limit of Orissa was at this time not as is generally stated at the Subanrekha, but included Pataspur and Bhograi.

The oppression of the Marathas has often been written about. To this day the peasant's name for anarchy and oppression is "Maratha Amal." Janoji Bhonsla died in 1773, and was succeeded by his brother Sabaji, who ruled till 1775, when he was slain in battle by Madhoji his brother, who succeeded him as regent for his own son Raghoji II who had been adopted by Janoji and named his successor.

Before continuing the history of Balasore under the Marathas it will be interesting to collect the scattered notices of their presence in Orissa as it affected the then growing power of the English. Our

countrymen as will be stated more in detail in the next section, had for more than a century been in possession of factories and trading-posts in Orissa.²⁵ The chief of these were at Balasore and Pipli on the Subanrekha of which more hereafter. The first entry in the Government records is dated 25th February 1748, and records the alarm caused by the Marathas, then encamped at Katwa in Burdwan and threatening Murshidabad. On the same date Kelsall, Resident at Balasore, suggests the sending of the post by mounted postmen as faster than runners. The Marathas were in great force in the Santhal Pargunnahs and all over lower Bengal and took a fort on the site of the present Botanical Gardens. The Nawab sends a hint to the English to the effect that they should drive away these marauders who had plundered the Company's fleet of boats laden with silk from Casimbazar.

In August of the same year, Kelsall again writes from Balasore that the "Morattoes Horse" had attacked the factory of Balramgarhi at the mouth of the Balasore river, but had been repulsed by the Nawab who had pursued them into Cuttack.

In May 1749 the Nawab was at Cuttack, the Marathas had fled, but were expected to return the next year, which, as we have seen, they did under Janoji. There were still, however, parties of them hanging about Dimond Harbour and the lower reaches of the river. They seem to have given the English a wide berth, though the timid Bengalis could make no stand against them. The Marathas were not blood-thirsty, their object was plunder, but of that they were insatiable. Too contemptuous of the Oriyas to take any great precautions, they seem to have wandered about in small bands stripping the country bare as they went.

In 1750 with Janoji's return matters grew worse and we find Kelsall reporting that, owing to the disturbances in the country, he could not "purchase any ready money goods, as the weavers or greater part of them have been obliged to abscond."

Stirling would appear to be correct as to an invasion in 1753, (though I do not think Janoji himself could have been with it), for the Resident at Balasore writes from Balramgarhi on 1st February of that year in a very desponding tone—"Weavers at Balasore

complain of the great scarcity of rice and provisions of all kinds occasioned by the devastation of the Mahrattas, who 600 in number, after plundering Balasore had gone to the Nellegreen (Nilgri?) hills, several weavers have bought their looms into the factory, and the few who remain declare they shall be obliged to quit the place. Desires he will send him 1500 or 2000 maunds of rice on the Honorable Company's account."

The residency at Cuttack does not seem to have been established till 1757, nearly a hundred years later than Balasore; for there is a letter dated 24th July of that year from John Bristow urging that he be allowed to hoist the Company's flag there. Again in 1759 Grey is directed to stay at Cuttack as long as he can with safety to himself, to keep the Government informed of the proceedings of the "Morattoes."

Even so late as 1760 the English do not seem to have contemplated that the Marathas would permanently retain Orissa, though one would have thought that they must have heard of the treaty in 1755, inspite of which "John Burdett at Balasore requests to be allowed to keep the spies allowed for that Factory while the Marathas remain in the country, otherwise it will be impossible for him to acquaint us with their motions." (March 27).

It appears in fact that the Marathas were bad neighbours, and not careful to confine themselves within their treaty boundaries. Long after 1755 the Bardwan Raja collected and kept up troops from fear of them and "Gawsib Singh the Jellasore zamadar, a man of great valour" was sent into Midnapore to protect the ryots. Pattaspore being in the hands of the Marattas, Jellasore must have been a very exposed position, a long narrow strip in fact of the Nawab's territory stretching far down into the country held by the Marathas, and consequently exposed to inroads from them. The collection of troops by the Bardwan Raja was probably simply a feint and was seen through, and he was ordered to disband them. Sheo Bhat Santra was the first Maratha Subadar of Orissa, and he it is who is alluded to in the Proceedings of 25th February 1760 as "Shubuts having entered this Province with a party of Marathas and commenced hostilities against us." The people of Balasore have

no distinctly historical facts to relate of this period; all they know is that bands of "Bargis," as the Maratha horse were called, were always wandering about the country, fighting and plundering under pretext of collecting revenue. The zamindars and khandaita were turbulent and refractory, and it is astonishing how little influence the Marathas seems to have had over them.

In 1761 we hear of the troops of "Shah Bhut" coalescing with the Rajas of Birbhum and Bardwan, and subsequently returning to Balasore by way of Midnapore. It appears from Proceedings of September 17, 1761 that Sheo Bhat considered himself entitled to take possession of Midnapore, and to ravage Bengal whenever he did not get his chauth, and the English therefore resolve on that date to "set on foot an expedition against Cuttack," the Nawab to pay the cost by an assignemnet on the revenues of Jellasore and Cuttack. The omission of all mention of Balasore shews that it had still no importance in the Revenue Department. The old division into the Sirkars of Jellasore, Bhadrakh, and Cuttack was evidently still in force. Sheo Bhat had at this time forcibly annexed the chauth of Midnapore to that of Cuttack and was deaf to the Nawab's remonstrances. Johnstone the Company's Resident at Midnapore was besieged in "Midnapore house" 14 days by Sheo Bhat at the head of large force, and made a gallant defence. This roused the Calcutta Committee and they suggested to the Nawab that the war should be carried into the enemies' country by an expedition to Cuttack, which would have the effect of securing to him "the total ancient possessions of the Subahs of Bengal" and be "a considerable addition to his revenues and a firm barrier against future incursions of the Marathas." They wrote at the same time to the Bombay Committee urging them to make a simultaneous attack on the Marathas from their side.

Nothing, however, came of this, owing to the Nawab's unwillingness to act. In 1763 there is a letter from the Governor at Balasore to one "Moonshee Gholam Mustapha" directing him

to warn Sheo Bhat that in case of his continuing to oppress the ryots "the army that is just arrived from Madrass" would be sent against him, and the town of Cuttack taken from him. In 1764 Sheo Bhat was turned out, and Bhawani Pandit appointed in his place. On the 5th October the latter writes a threatening letter stating that the former Nawab's negotiations concerning the chauth were never brought to an issue without the approach of an army. Unfortunately the extracts in Long's book are arranged chronologically, so that we never get the full thread of any one series of transactions. I cannot say therefore what was the result of this letter, but as the English on their part had their hands full at this time with their quarrel with the Nawab, their inaction is perhaps sufficiently accounted for.

There is, however, great dearth of information about the internal affairs of Balasore at this time. On 4th December comes another letter from Bhawani Pandit stating that two years before the zamindars of Moharbhanj²⁶ and Nilgiri had plundered the inhabitants of some parts of Balasore and entered into a confederacy with Bhaskar Pandit, faujdar of that place, whom they had carried off into Nilgiri and kept there, so that no revenue had been received from him for two years. This is hardly to be reconciled with the fact that two years earlier Sheo Bhat and his cavalry had been ravaging Midnapore and Jellasore. The gleanings remaining after Sheo Bhat, for the Nilgiri zamindar to pick up, must have been scant enough. One wonders after so many years of plundering what there could have been left for any one to take. Bhawani writes again on the 27th to say, he had come to the neighbourhood of Jellasore with his troops, but as the Maharaja (Janoji) had always been desirous to do "what is most beneficial for the poor inhabitants of the country" (! !) he had ordered his officers not to enter either Jellasore or Midnapore, so as to avoid any breach with the English. All this while Sheo Bhat was still in Orissa exciting zamindars and paiks to resist the new Governor Bhawani Pandit. The Raja of Kanika whose territories lay partly

in Balasore and partly in Cuttack was notorious for the disturbances he kept up. He and his paiks were conspicuous then, and as we shall see for forty years after, for their oppression and general unruliness.

The Court of Directors in 1764 express their great pleasure at learning that the proposed expedition against the Marathas in Balasore and Cuttack had been given up as "conquests are not our aim." They little foresaw what an amount of conquest would soon be forced on them by circumstances !

The Marathas were now, however, on good terms with the English, and in February 1764 there was a good deal of correspondence. Three residents were appointed, Marriott at Balasore, Hope at Cuttack, and Moore at Malood; their chief business was to keep open the communication between Calcutta and Madras, and on one occasion mention is made of sending letters by this route to Bombay, a project frequently revived in subsequent times. A letter was also written to "Bauskir Pandit, Fauzdar of Balasore" (probably the Bhaskar Pandit mentioned above) requesting him to assist Marriott who was to live at the Company's Factory; and another curious letter to "Chumina Sen, Chief at Cuttack" requests him to give strict orders to the zamindars to provide "oil and mushauls, tom-toms and pike-men &c. according to custom." The tom-toms were to be beaten to frighten away tigers which infested the jungles through which the road passed, a significant hint as to the desolate state of the country in those days.

At the end of this year, however, we again hear from Midnapore and Balasore of threatening bodies of Maratha horse on the Balasore frontier, to check whom it was thought advisable to despatch a small force under Major Champion to garrison Midnapore. Janoji appears about this time to have sent a force of 5,000 cavalry to take possession of Midnapore.

We now come to the acquisition by the Company of the Dewani. The Directors in 1767 agree to pay to the Marathas all arrears of chauth on condition of the cession of Orissa, and

negotiations were in consequence opened with Janoji to this end. A vakil, one Udaipuri Gosain, was appointed by Janoji to treat with the Bengal Council, and the amount was fixed at 13 lakhs of rupees. The vakil, however, pretended that he had no authority to deliver up the province to the English, and there the matter seems to have rested for the time being.²⁷

From this point there is little more to record of general history. The internal history of Balasore for the next thirty-four years is also nearly a blank. The Maratha Governors were as follows as far as can be ascertained:

Sheo Bhat Santra A.D.	1756
Chimna Sahu and Udaipuri Gosain	...	"	1764
Bhawani Pandit	...	"	1764
(Sheo Bhatt in rebellion in Kanika and Kujang all this time).			
Shambhuji Ganesh	...	"	1768
Babaji Naik ²⁸	...	"	1771
Madhaji Hari	...	"	1773
Babaji Naik ²⁸ (restored)	...	"	1775
Madhaji Hari (restored) same year	...	"	1775
Rajaram Pandit	...	"	1778
Sadashib Rao	...	"	1782
Chimnaji Bala ²⁹	..	uncertain.	

Of the local Faujdars in the Balasore district tradition has preserved some scattered reminiscences. Bhaskar Pandit was Faujdar about 1760, and is mentioned as we have seen in the English records. The story of his having been carried off into Nilgiri by the Raja has been noticed above. From him is probably named the village of Bhaskarganj opposite to the Mission premises at Balasore.

Lala Kishor Rai is also mentioned as Faujdar, but his date is not certain. He is said to have founded the Lala Bazar near Barabati in the town; and to have built a Baradari or twelve-doored palace near that place.

After him came Raghunath Sarang whose name is connected with the village of Rughunathpur, eighteen miles east of Cuttack; he was succeeded by Mortiram whose administration lasted for a long time, some say, for fifteen years, but this is improbable as the Marathas were constantly changing their officials, and few, even of the higher grades, held office for more than four or five years. In his time an expedition was sent against Bairagi Bhanj, Raja of Moharbhanj³⁰ who had withheld" his peshkash. This expedition returned victorious and brought with it, besides the captive Raja, two idols of Hanuman and Lachminarayan which are still worshipped in temples in the town.

The last Maratha Faujdar of Balasore was Mayura Pandit, commonly called Moro Pant who lived on the site where the Jagannath temple in Balasore now stands. He appears to have been a rapacious tyrant, and there are several allusions to him in Captain Morgan's early letters. When defeated by the English, he retired to Cuttack plundering the ryots as he went, and in the following year we find the revenue authorities allowing remissions on account of rents forcibly collected in advance on his retreat by Moro Pant. Oddly enough he is stated in the correspondence to be still residing in Cuttack, and it is suggested that he be brought to account for his spoliations, but the wise policy of passing a sponge over all transactions of the former Government, which prevailed at that time probably saved him, as we do not read of his being questioned.

To close the account of the Maratha period, I here bring together various facts or traditions which I have collected from natives of the district. The town of Balasore in those days consisted principally of the bazars which had grown up round the English and Dutch settlements, and of the suburbs lying along the river, then as now, chiefly inhabited by Muhammadans, as Kasba, Muhamadpur, Nurpur &c. Motiganj, now the centre of the town, and the principal market-place was founded, by Motiram, probably about 1785—1790. The rest is described as a plain covered with

jungle and scrub. The road to Jagannath ran through the town past the Gargaria tank to Phulwar Ghat and must have been from the nature of the country almost impassable for six months of the year.

Rents were paid chiefly in cowries, and all collections were remitted to Cuttack once in three months, including the peshkash from Morbhanj and Nilgiri. The peshkash of Amboh, Keonjhar, Sokinda, Chidra and other mehals near the Baitarani appears to have been paid through the Faujdar of Bhadrak. Old men still remember to have heard their fathers tell of the terrible punishments inflicted by the Maratha rulers. All cases were tried verbally, no record of any kind being kept, and culprits were sentenced to be tied to the heels of a horse which was then flogged through the streets. Others were bound, smeared with sugar and exposed to the ants and other insects. Others again had their fingers tied together and wedges of iron inserted between them.

The trade of the port was even then considerable. Madras ships came for rice and paddy, and the Laccadive and Maldivian islanders then as now visited the port. It was from these latter that the cowries, so much used as currency, were obtained.

A seer of rice was sold for 15 gandas or about 70 seers to the rupee. (It was 65 seers in 1805, and now in favourable seasons sells at 30 or 32.) Opium cost a *pan* of cowries per masha, salt 14 karas per seer. The advantages of low prices were, however, much counterbalanced by the capricious exactions of the rulers. Although they seem to have had the sense not to drive away the trade by oppressing foreigners, yet upon the natives of the province itself they had no mercy. It was dangerous to be rich, or at least to display any amount of wealth, lest the attention of the Marathas should be called to the fact, and plunder and extortion follow as a matter of course. It is not surprising therefore that when the English appeared on the scene, the Marathas were left to fight their own battles, quite unsupported by the people. Indeed, they seem to have been so conscious of their unpopularity as never to have attempted to enlist the sympathies of the Oriyas on their

behalf. Had they done so, the turbulent Rajas of the hills and the sea-coast might have given us a great deal of trouble and enabled the Marathas to hold out for some time.

The English Period : The English as traders

To Balasore belongs the honour of containing the first settlement made by our countrymen in any part of the Bengal Presidency. By a firman, dated February 2nd, 1634 the Emperor Shah Jahan granted them permission to establish a factory at Pipli on the Subanrekha.³¹ They were prohibited from settling on the Ganges or any of its branches, in consequence of the disturbances caused by the Portuguese in the Sundarbans and other places shortly before. In 1640 through the intervention of Boughton, a Surgeon who had obtained, great influence over several members of the Royal Family by curing them of various diseases, the English obtained permission to establish factories at Balasore and Hughli. In consequence of this permission they applied to the Nawab who granted them 12 batis (a bati is 20 bighas) of land near the village of Balasore which was then rising into some importance as a port. The settlement was called Barabati (i.e. twelve batis) from its extent and is at present the principal quarter of the modern town of Balasore, and the residence of the wealthiest merchants.

It is not exactly known when the Dutch first came to Orissa, their settlement at Balasore, however, is less advantageously situated than that of the English. The latter commands the river and a convenient careening creek, and has also better means of access to the native town, while the Dutch Settlement, still called "Hollandais Sahi", is behind that of the English and cut off from the river and the town by Barabati. I conclude therefore that the English came here first, as if the Dutch had been first in the field, it is not likely that they would have taken the worse site of the two. We do not find any mention of them before 1664 when they had a dispute with the English about their mutual boundaries, which was settled by the Nawab Shaista Khan. The boundaries are, however, very vague and refer to certain trees, roads and

ditches which are of course not now in existence. The present boundary is very irregular and overlaps the land of Barabati in several places.

From the Cuttack records it appears that they acquired a plot of land at Balasore from the Nawab Mataqid Khan; this officer was naib for Shah Shuja son of the Emperor Shah Jahan and was appointed in A.H. 1055 =A.D. 1645 (*Padshahnamah*, II, 473.) This would make them at least 5 years later than the English, even if we suppose them to have got the grant in the very beginning of Mataqid's tenure of office.³²

The Danish Settlement, now called "Danemar Dinga" is worse situated than the Dutch, being further up the creek and further from the town, and it is stated by Stewart that they and the French did not arrive in Balasore till 1676. There is a Dutch tomb still standing in the compound of the old factory, on which is the following inscription:

"Michael Jans Burggraaf van Sevenhuisen obiit []

Novemb. 1696." The day of the month has unfortunately been broken off in the cyclone of July 1871 by a tree falling against it. Stirling is in error in saying (*Orissa*, page 30) that this tomb is dated 1660. It is a huge triangular obelisk of brick plastered about 50 feet high, and the inscription is so high up that a mistake might easily be made in copying it from the ground. To make sure I climbed a mango tree standing close in front and copied it from a distance of a few inches only. The oldest tomb in the English cemetery at Barabati is dated 1684 and the inscription runs thus—

coat	
16 { of }	84
T	
	arms

Here lyeth the body of Ann late wife of Captain Francis Wishaw who died y^e p^{mo} 9 ber aged 26 years.

Also the body of Edward his son who deceased the 27th of the same month aged 4 years Anno Dni. 1684.

There were minor settlements at Soroh and Bhadrakh, and the chief article of trade was that in “Sanahs” a peculiar kind of fine cloth which is still occasionally brought for sale to Balasore. This will explain the frequent allusions to the weavers in the early records.

Balramgarhi is situated at the mouth of the Balasore river, and was formerly a large and flourishing place. The native village was washed away in the storm of 1831 and since then the place has been desolate. *The old house, however, has lately been repaired and is inhabited.*

We have only scattered notices of Balasore from time to time in the various histories. These I proceed to put together into as continuous a narrative as possible, aided by the few vague local traditions which still remain.

In 1685 Balasore was near being abandoned by the English altogether. Shaista Khan the Nawab of Bengal was accused by them, of oppressing their servants and injuring their trade. Apparently the English were not free from blame themselves. However, as usual they carried matters with a high hand, and the Company at home with permission of James II sent out a fleet of 10 ships under Admiral Nicholson with orders to proceed first to Balasore, and remove the Company's servants and break up the factory. He was then to go to Chittagong, fortify it and make it a base of operations and asylum for the English, from which to commence the war, by first attacking Dacca and gradually over-running Bengal³³. Nicholson's fleet, however, met with bad weather and eventually arrived at Hughli, and a war ensued which was not brought to a close till 1687; a peace was made in that year but did not last many months. The Company annoyed at the failure of Nicholson's expedition, sent a second under Captain Heath, whose first proceeding was to carry

off Charnock and the Company's servants from "Chutta-nutty" (now Calcutta) and taking them on board his ships sail for Balasore. The Governor of that place, whose name is not mentioned, offered to treat with him, but as Heath would not consent to do so, the Governor seized the Company's two factors and imprisoned them. "Heath landed with a party of soldiers and seamen on the 29th November 1688 attacked and took a redoubt of 30 guns and plundered the town of Balasore³⁴. The fort could only have been at Muhamadnagar near the present Customs Wharf, as there is no other place near the town where a fort could have been of any use. At that place there are still some curious mounds and ridges which closely resemble fortifications, and the position is one which would command the approach to the town by water as well as the shipping in the port. The two unfortunate factors were sent into the interior and never heard of again. After this senseless and purposeless outrage, Captain Heath sailed away to Chittagong, and the native governor very naturally demolished the Company's factory.

Balasore now remained unoccupied by the English till 1691, when a firman was granted by Aurangzeb for the re-establishment of the factories in Bengal. Mrs. Wishaw's tombstone mentioned above has a great hole in it, which looks as if it had been torn up from its original position and probably thrown away, till restored on the re-occupation of the factory by our countrymen. It is the only tombstone of so early a date. The next is to the memory of Mrs. Kelsall, wife of the factor already mentioned, and is dated 1751. Calcutta, was not founded till 1690 and it is curious that we hear nothing of Pipli in all these events. It would seem that Balasore had become the more important place of the two.

Nothing more is known of the condition or circumstances of Balasore Factory till 1748. It is said by some writers that on the capture of Calcutta by Surajuddaulah in 1756 the English fugitives took refuge at Balramgarhi. I find no mention of this in the Records, and it would on the contrary appear that Drake and his garrison were on board their ships at Fulta till the arrival of Clive. In 1763 the French fleet was cruising in Balasore roads and captured some

English ships (Long, P. 295), which caused a great panic in Calcutta. Two years previous to this, the following curious and interesting entry is to be found in the Government records (Long, p. 250.) "From Latful Neheman (Rahman ?) Thanadar of Balasore, January 1761. Sometime ago the merchants were wont to send iron, stone-plates, rice and other things from hence to Calcutta, and they brought tobacco and other things from thence to sell here, and therefore the merchants reaped a profit on both. Two years ago Mr. Burdett came here and Jaggernauth was his Mutsooddy and brought a sloop for his own use and intercepted the trade from Balasore to Calcutta. The merchants were so much distressed that they relinquished trade, and many of them left the place and transacted their business at Kunka, where they remain and those that are here are greatly distressed and are always making complaints. I have represented it to him but he will not listen to it. He has left the factory and embarked on board a sloop, and has intercepted the merchant boats and will not permit them to pass."

It will be observed that the trade in stone-plates and rice constituted then as now, the principal export of Balasore.

The only other notice of this period is a petty squabble in 1766 with the Dutch about a rope walk which was made by the English on land claimed by the Dutch. The land was given up by the former.

Commencement of English rule

When the war broke out with the Marathas, as a part of the general operations, it was resolved to drive them out of Orissa, and while General Wellesley attacked them from the south, and General Lake from the north, and were victorious respectively in the celebrated battles of Assaye and Leswaree, the 1st Madras Fusilcers, with two native Madras Regiments all under Lieutenant-Colonel George Harcourt marched from Ganjam and took the town of Cuttack on the 10th October 1803.

At the same time a detachment of troops, European and native, about 1000 strong under Captain Morgan, and Lieutenant Broughton sailed for Balasore. I cannot find where they came from, but it was most probably from Calcutta, as the native troops belonged to the

Bengal army and a detachment of the same troops was sent under Col. Fergusson³⁵ to Jellasore to protect the Bengal Frontier. They arrived in three ships, and landed at Jaunpada near Gabgaon a village adjoining old Balasore on the east, and about three miles below the present town. They were in want of provisions, which were supplied to them by Prahlad Nayak, zamindar of old Balasore. They then advanced along the bank of the river, and owing probably to the difficult nature of the ground, were not opposed by the Marathas till they got close to Balighat just below Barabati. Here a band of horsemen bore down on them, and in the skirmish which ensued, one European soldier was killed. The English then rushed forward and attacked the Maratha fort, which stood on the site of the salt gola, and soon took possession of it. The Marathas appear to have made but a faint resistance, and quickly disappeared. Immediately after this, a drum was beaten in all the bazars announcing that the English had taken possession of the province and would protect all who behaved themselves peaceably.

Finding the old factory in ruins Captain Morgan took up his quarters in a new house built by Wilkinson the last resident and at once set to work to pacify the district and restore order. The date of the capture of Balasore is 21st September 1803³⁶.

The news of this success reached Colonel Harcourt before he arrived at Cuttack. The earliest letter in the records of the Balasore Collectorate is one from Colonel Harcourt to Captain Morgan congratulating him. I give a portion of it.

“In Camp at Burpoorshuttumpore, 25 miles south of Cuttack,
3rd October 1803.

“SIR,

“I have great satisfaction in acknowledging the receipt of yours of the 22nd ultimo, and am happy to hear of your successes in Balasore.....

“I have &c.

“G. HARCOURT,

“*Lieutenant Colonel.*

“*Coming, in Cuttack.*”

This shews that Morgan had taken Balasore before the British force had even reached Cuttack.

Captain Morgan, who appears to have been a rough and ready, but able officer, pushed on a small detachment and occupied Soroh, which for some reason he miscalls Soorrung, on the 3rd October. The first book of copies of letters sent is unfortunately not to be found, and the earliest letter of Captain Morgan's is dated 12th June 1804, but from a large collection of letters in Colonel Harcourt's own hand still in the office, his and Morgan's movements may be clearly traced.

Their first efforts were to learn the geography of the Moharbhanj and Nilgiri Hills, especially the passes, and to open communications with the Rajas of those two States. Spies were sent into "Mohurbundge and Lilliagerhy" as Harcourt writes them, to keep a watch on the chiefs, and Passports were to be granted to their vakeels of representatives should they desire to visit Cuttack.

Soroh was abandoned and the detachment under Lieutenant Slye marched to Jajpore in November. Morgan was at once entrusted with Revenue duties, in that month he is instructed to make it known that "as it is the intention of the Commissioners for the settlement of the Province of Cuttack to give a general acquittal of all arrears of Revenue due to the Sircar, previous to the arrival of the British Troops in the Province, we mean on the other hand not to attend to any complaints which the zamindars, kandytes, mokuddums or ryots may wish to prefer against their former masters" (Colonel Harcourt to Morgan 3-11-1803.) The Moharbhanj Rani³⁷ was at this time apparently half afraid to come in, and half disposed to be turbulent. Harcourt writes frequent letters to her, and enjoins on Morgan the necessity of extremely conciliatory conduct to her. A certain Possman appears to have been up in Moharbhanj meddling, he is warned that if he does not return at once to Balasore "immediate steps will be taken against him." Moharbhanj, however, does not appear to have quieted down, and two Companies of Infantry one from Balasore and one from Jella-sore were sent to Hariharpur (spelt Hurispore and Huriorpoor) "to promote the peace and tranquillity,

of the Mohurbundge district." Further instructions are to the effect following:

'Having cause to believe that the Rani of Mohurbundge and her adopted son Te-koit³⁸ are both desirous of the protection of the British Government being extended to them you will direct the office proceeding to Huriorpore in command of a detachment, to conduct himself towards the Ranee and Te-koit, or their vakeels with every mark of friendly attention. He may open any necessary communication with them, but you will be pleased to enjoin him to avoid committing himself by any promises or agreements that may be constructed by them as binding on the British Authorities in Cuttack.' (Harcourt, 16-11-1803.)

Cuttack now begins to be noticeable as it is at frequent intervals throughout the early years of British rule as a place in constant want of supplies and always on the verge of famine. On 1st December 1803 an urgent call is made for fifteen thousand maunds of rice from Balasore. Again on the 1st June 1804 Captain Morgan is ordered to warn all pilgrims of the great scarcity of rice and cowries at Cuttack, and to endeavour to induce them to supply themselves with provisions before entering the province.

On the 1st September 1804 a third call is made on Balasore for 20,000 maunds of rice which were accordingly despatched in boats from Dhamra and Churaman. A long correspondence follows in the course of which occurs an important letter of Captain Morgan's, dated 27th September and marked "Private" in which he explains the cause of the continual scarcity at Cuttack.

He begins by pointing out that twenty miles north of the Mahanadi there was no scarcity at all, that Balasore had rice in store enough for three years' consumption, and it was selling at 65 seers (of 80 tolas) for the rupee: there were immense stocks at Dhamra and Churaman intended for export to Madras, and consequently he concludes that the scarcity of rice at Cuttack is not natural, but must have been artificially produced. In examining the causes for this state of things he arrives at the following

conclusions.

1. The large number of Marathas still resident at Cuttack are bitterly hostile to the English and do their best to stop the import of rice in the hope of starving us out. They have ceased to import from Sambhalpore as they used to, for the same reason, and having long had relations with the ryots many of whom still hold their advances for grain unliquidated they are able to prevent them from bringing in grain to Cuttack.

2. The ryots have hitherto always been accustomed to give up nothing until they were compelled. The Marathas took what they wanted by force, and the ryots did not understand our mild method of asking for and paying for what we wanted, they took it for weakness, and were so elated at their release from oppression, that they thought themselves quite independent and would do nothing to oblige any one.

3. The Amils were in league against us, as they had for a long time taken advantage of their position to hold the lion's share of the profitable export trade to Madras, and did not wish to sell in Cuttack.

4. The Commissariat officers were shamefully inert and incompetent, and notwithstanding all the above drawbacks could, if they would only exert themselves, collect a much larger supply than they did. Colonel Harcourt appears to have taken some effective steps to remedy this state of things, for no further rice was required from Balasore during the rest of 1804 or in 1805.

Raja Tripati Raj was at this time sent from Cuttack to Balasore to act as Amil or Collector of the Revenue, and was put under Captain Morgan's orders; and Amils were appointed at Soroh, Bhadrakh and Dolgram, who also were directed to send in their accounts to that officer. They all appear to have been thoroughly untrustworthy; making use of every conceivable pretext to avoid doing what was required of them, and carrying that exasperating policy of passive resistance at which the Oriyas are such adepts to the highest pitch. The correspondence teems

with complaints against them. They would not collect the revenue punctually, they never knew anything that they were asked about, they could not be found when wanted, denied having received this or that order, sent in their accounts imperfectly drawn up, long after time, and sometimes not at all, and on the whole behaved as badly as any set of men in their position well could. This indeed appears to have been the general tone of every one in the Province. Well aware of our ignorance of the country, they all with one accord abstained from helping us in any way, no open resistance was ventured upon, but all stolidly sat aloof—papers were hidden, information withheld, boats, bullocks and carts sent out of the way, the zamindars who were ordered to go into Cuttack to settle for their estates did not go, and on searching for them at their homes could not be found, were reported as absent, on a journey, no one knew where. But if from ignorance the English officers committed any mistake, then life suddenly returned to the dull inert mass, and complaints were loud and incessant.

The Amil of Bhadrakh was one Mohan Lal, the name of the Amil of Soroh is not given, and during this year it would seem that Soroh and Balasore were incorporated into one Amilship under Tripati Raj.

From the circumstance of our not having Captain Morgan's letters of this period, I am unable to give more than a fragmentary history of the transactions that took place. Notices from time to time occur of parties of Marathas having been seen or heard of here and there, and there is a great search to find the "Ongole or Ungool Pass"; nobody seems to have known where it was.

Sambhalpur capitulated to Major Broughton on the 12th January 1804, and all further fear from the Marathas was thus at an end. One the 9th of the same month came also the news of a peace having been concluded with the Raja of Berar.

The light thrown upon the events of the following sixty-eight years by the tolerably complete series of English letters in

the Balasore office will be duly made use of in the succeeding chapters³⁹, but I conceive it unnecessary to do more in this chapter than to record the few events of importance that have occurred in the period in question. Captain Morgan remained at Balasore till 19th November 1804 when he made over charge to Ker, Collector and Magistrate, Northern Division of Cuttack. During his tenure of office he had been first simply "Commanding at Balasore" but during 1804 he had gradually grown into Collector, Magistrate, Salt and Customs Agent and general factotum.

Ker made the first settlement, which was very summary and simple. It included all the country now lying within the Jajpore Subdivision of Cuttack, and the statements referring to it are, in part at least, still extant. To the north this settlement did not go beyond Bastah, as Jellasore was under Midna-pore, and the country east of that place came under a separate arrangement. This tract of country between Jellasore and the sea was called the "Mahratta Mehals" and consisted of the Parganas of Pattaspur, Kamardachaur and Bhograi, together with the smaller mehals of Shahbandar, Napochaur and Kismat Katsahi.

There is one volume of letters sent and one of letters received for the year of Ker's incumbency 1804-5 but they contain very little of historical importance. In the early part of the year the Raja of Kanika, always a turbulent and refractory person, made an attack with, it is said, 600 armed paiks on the outpost of "Rigagurh," the place where his principal fort and residence was situated, on the lower Brahmini just above the point where it unites with the Baitarni, which was held by, a native officer and a few sepoys. Captain McCarthy in command of the Honorable Company's brig "Scourge" who was at the time lying off Dhamrah sent an express to the Commissioners of Cuttack, who deputed a force of 400 paiks to keep order. The Raja and his family were seized and taken to Balasore where they were suitably lodged in a house prepared for them, and guarded by barkandazes. Kanika was brought under the management of Ker (Secretary to Commissioners 27-2-05 McCarthy to Commissioners 3-3-05)⁴⁰

In this year also the question was raised of the expediency of removing the Calcutta Road into British Territory. It previously passed through the Moharbhanj and Nilgiri States, and the Rajas of those places under pretence of securing the safety of travellers, were in the habit of levying heavy and vexatious tolls at certain ghats or passes on the road. As they demurred about relinquishing this source of revenue, the road was removed and carried through Rajghat and Bastah to Balasore. The old road was very soon, deserted by travellers as the new route through British Territory was found to be much safer and cheaper.

Major Morgan was allowed a salary of Rs. 500 a month for the period he had been in charge of Balasore (Accountant 30-9-05). The Amils who were in charge of Balasore, Soroh and Bhadrakh appear still to have been very troublesome; the correspondence of 1804 and 1805 is full of complaints of their remissness and refusal to obey orders.

Having completed his settlement Ker on the 29th August 1805 made over charge of his office to G. Webb who was appointed Collector of all Orissa, or as they persisted in calling it, the zillah of Cuttack. From this date down to 1815 there was no resident British officer in Balasore, or in fact anywhere north of the Mahanadi, and as the Collector lived at Puri in the extreme south of the province, his hold over the zamindars of the north could have been little more than nominal.

It is perhaps to the relaxation of control for many years in Balasore that we may attribute that special characteristic of the inhabitants of the district which leads them to carry on their affairs without any reference whatever to the law or to the officials of the Government. They never take the trouble to enquire what the law is on any point, but if a question arises, settle it in any way that may seem best to them. To the same cause may be ascribed the excessive prevalence of the practice of levying illegal cesses, the existence of many kinds of singular and pernicious customs, and the general muddle of conflicting interests observable in connection with landed property.

As the early years of our rule in Orissa were fertile in changes, and worked a complete revolution in the position of the classes connected with the land, it would have been interesting to trace the progress of our laws and rules and their effect upon the province. I am, however, precluded from doing this by the fact that from 1806 to 1828 there was no.....

[The abrupt conclusion of the foregoing article is due to the most unfortunate loss of the concluding pages of Beames' Manuscript while it was passing through the press. This mischance is the more to be regretted, as the lost MS. was the only copy in the author's possession ; which precludes any restoration of the concluding portion. Fortunately the lost portion was very small; and the article is practically complete, and contains everything of interest and value.—Ed. J.A.S.B.]

(For the benefit of the readers the essay has been placed with additional comments and footnotes from N.K.Sahu(ed) *History of Orissa*, Vol II,pp 292-320.In view of this the original footnotes given by Beames have been shown in bold character - LDM)



[Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, No.3 & 4, 1883, p.231-257]

1. Gaya

2. Beames wrote this chapter at a time when a vigorous movement led by Raja Rajendrslala Mitra and others was going on for substituting Oriya language by Bengali in Orissa. Beames being a great advocate of Oriya language was strongly against this movement.

3. Scholars like Oldenberg believe that Pali, not Magadhi Prakrit, was the language of ancient Kalinga.

4. **The little village of Balasore which afterwards, under English influence,grew into the present town, is called from a temple to Mahadeva Vaneswara or "Shiva the forest lord,"probably because the place where his temple stood was covered by dense jungles.**This derivation is doubtful and seems arbitrary.

5. Beames probably has in his mind the case of the Bhuyan family of Garhpada in Balasore district,whose ancestor Sarvesvar Bhatta restored his estate from confiscation by Raja Damodar Bhanj of Mayurbhanj with the favour of Aurangzeb.Sarvesvar Bhatta is 8th in descent from

Potesvar Bhatta who got the estate from Gajapati Purushottam Deva(1467-1497 A.D.).

6. See Stirling's *Orissa*

7. Bigha is almost same as an acre, but it varies in different localities.

8. See Blochmann JASB vol. xiii, p.237.

There was no Mughal invasion on Orissa in 1450 A.D. The first Muslim inroad upon Orissa took place as early as 1205 A.D. when the Sheran brothers sent by Bakhtiyar Khalji invaded Jajnagar (Orissa). In 1234 A.D. Sultan Izzuddin Tughral Tughan Khan of Bengal invaded Orissa but was crushingly defeated by Narasimhadeva I "the Rai of Jajnagar." In 1246 A.D. when Ikhtiyar Uddin Yuzbak was made the ruler of Bengal by Sultan Balban, the Muslims again invaded Orissa, but were successfully repulsed.

10. The exact date of the gift cannot be ascertained as the Anka year written in the inscription is yet to be properly deciphered. Kielhorn concludes that the grant was made on the 7th April, 1483 "when there was an invisible eclipse of the Sun." (Indian Antiquary vol. xxiii, p. 108).

11. In 1559 A.D.

12. There is some controversy about this date. WW. Hunter (Orissa, Vol. II p. 10), gives a note founded on materials supplied by Blochmann, from which he derives the conclusion that the date 1568 given by the Muhammadan historian is correct. This view has received signal confirmation from a discovery of Beames. At Srijanga, a village ten miles south of Balasore, he found on the edge of a large tank called the "Achyuta Sagar" an upright stone covered with an inscription. this stone he removed and set up in the compound of his house at Balasore, where it now is. The inscription, as partly decyphered by him and several Pandits, yields the following results : The tank was dug by a Khandait who describes himself as "Achyut Baliar Singh son of Daitari Biswal, sole ruler in this region"; and he says he erected it when Man Singh, general of Akbar Badshah was in Orissa, in the 4699th year of the Kali Yug, in the 1520th year of the Saka era, in the 30th *anka* or year of the reiga of Ram Chandra Dev, first Sudra king of Orissa. Now both the Yug and the Saka years agree in corresponding with A.D. 1598. Consequently if 1598 be the 30th year of Musalman invasion, the first year of that period must be 1568 as Abul Fazl reckons, and not 1558 as Stirling, following the Oriya annalists, puts it. The 37th *anka* would be the 28th year of Ram Chandra's reign,

because in reckoning the *anka*, the first two years and every year that has a 6 or a 0 in it are omitted, we must thus omit the years 1, 2, 6, 10, 16, 20, 26 and 30. This takes us back to 1570 as the year of Ram Chandra's accession, which leaves 1569 to represent the period of anarchy when there was no king, according to the native annalists. This discovery of the Srijanga stone is thus valuable as elucidating a disputed date in history.

13. Sulaiman Khan Kararani.

14. At Kaipadar in Puri district is found the tomb of Bokhari Sahib (Sayyed Ali Bukhari), the famous commander of Kala Pahar. He was killed during the siege of the Barabati.

15. Kala Pahar was killed in 1583 in the battle between Khan-i-Azam Akbar's general and Masum Khan Kabuli (Beveridge : Akbarnama vol. iii, p. 592).

16. See Blochmann. *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 375.

17. In the *Ain-i Akbari* it is indeed asserted that the whole of Orissa was on this occasion subjugated and added to the Subah of Bengal. It is described as divided into Sirkars like other Subahs. Sirkar Jalesar (Jellasaore) includes the greater part of the present district of Midnapore. The other Sirkars are Bhadrak, Katak (Cuttack), Kalinga Dandpat, and it is well known that they were not subject to the Empire. (*Ain Akbari* by Blochmann, Persian text, Vol. II, p.209).

18. Daud was killed in the battle of Rajmahal in 1576.

19. Probably so named in imitation of that in Cuttack, which derives its name "footstep of the Prophet" from being supposed to contain some relics of Muhammad brought from Mecca.

20. To the traveller approaching Balasore from the north through the centre of Murshid's position along the Calcutta Trunk Road the suitability of this particular spot for a camp of defence is very strikingly apparent. Balasore town and station lie along this high ridge with the swampy Nuniajori winding at its foot and the river just beyond.

21. The historical details here given are derived principally from Grant Duff's History of the Marhattas; the minor and local details from native tradition and the records of Balasore office.

22. The natives themselves do मराठा Maratha, the common spelling Marhatta is a corrupt one.

23. One is glad to see that Oriya peasantry showing some little spirit on this occasion. It would have better for them had they done so oftener.

24. According to a Marhatta account Alivardi brought about the death of Mir Habib by a stratagem. He forged a letter using the name of Mir Habib and contrived to have it put in Januji's hands, who ordered the execution of Mir Habib immediately. (Marathi Riyasat madhya Bibhag, Vol. ii, p.413).

25. Selections from the records of the Government of India, by Rev. J. Long 1748 to 1767.

26. Mayurbhanj.

27. It was proposed that Januji would get 13 lakhs of rupees annually in lieu of cession of Orissa. But the transaction failed owing to the lack of statesmanship on the part of the British.

28. Babuji Nayak.

29. Chimanji Bapu was never the Governor of Orissa. Rajaram Mukund Pandit retired in 1793 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Sadasib Rao who ruled upto 1797 A.D. After him Vyankaji Sakadev was appointed Governor with Balaji Kanher as the Commander and on death or retirement of the former the latter became the Governor and continued to be so upto the British conquest of Orissa in 1803.

30. Bairagi Bhanja was a relation of Raja Damodar Bhanj of Mayurbhanj and was adopted as a third son of the Raja. After the death of Damodar Bhanj in 1793, when his widow queen Sumitra Devi ascended the throne Bairagi was appointed as the Manager of her concerns.

31. Stewart's History of Bengal, page 244.

32. It is probably from this governor that the Parganahs of Matkata-bad and Matkatnagar take their names.

33. Stewart, p.312

34. Stewart, p. 321.

35. They were the 1st batt. 5th Bengal N. I. and 2nd batt. 7th N. I.— (*Balasore Collectorate records, 1804*).

36. (Morgan to Post Master General 26-9-1804 and Grant Duff, History of Marathas).

37. Sumitra Devi, the widow of Raja Damodar Bhanj.

38. Te-Koit is Tikait one bearing the tika (tilaka) or mark of sovereignty, and is the usual title of the heir-apparent to a throne. The then Tikait of Mayurbhanj was Tribikram Bhanj.

39. Beames did not write any succeeding chapters.

(As this essay was originally chapter II of the manual of the district of Balasore,it appears that Beames had written the subsequent history of Balasore from 1804 to 1872 in subsequent chapters.Unfortunately as the manual was not published those precious informations were lost for ever. LDM)

40. Lieutenant Colonel Harcourt and J. Melville as Commissioners of Orissa entered into the first treaty with Raja Balabhadra Bhanj of Kanika on the 22nd November, 1803. For the provisions of the treaty see R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa, vol.ii pp. 269-271.



NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF ORISSA UNDER MUHAMMADAN, MARATHA AND ENGLISH RULES

[REPLY TO DR. RAJENDRA LAL MITRA]

The PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY read the following note by Mr. Beames in reply to the remarks made by Dr. Mitra on his paper on the History of Orissa, published in the March Proceedings :

With regard to Dr. Mitra's remarks on my paper on the History of Orissa in the Proceedings for March last, I have one or two explanations to make.

The first remark is to the effect that I have ignored the labours of what Dr. Mitra calls my "predecessors," Messrs. Hunter and Toynbee. The fact is that both these gentlemen derived most of their information from me, and it was not necessary for me to mention that certain facts stated in my paper had been communicated to and used by them. My paper is entitled "Notes", and does not pretend to be exhaustive. It adds a number of new facts to those already recorded and is not confined to Balasore. It originally formed part of a manual of that district, and in consequence more attention is given to that district than to other parts of Orissa, but sufficient notice of other parts occurs to justify the title.

As to the meaning of the word "Balsore", when I first began to collect notes for Dr. Hunter in 1869 the local Pandits informed me that the word was *Bîla + îswara*, the youthful lord, *i.e.*, Krishna. As I got to know more about the matter I began to doubt this derivation. The word *îswara* is as far as I know always restricted to Siva and only rarely applied to Krishna. There is no temple to the youthful Krishna in or near Balasore, whereas in the village of Old Balasore (*Purâna Baneswar*), which was the original place of that

name, there still exists a small, rude and very ancient temple of Bâneśwara Mahádeva.

Siva worship, as we know, preceded Krishna worship in Orissa, and temples to Siva all bearing the title *īśwara* in one or another compound form are found all over the country. As to the element *Bán* in the present case the Pandits were divided in opinion, some holding that it was from *vana* = forest, others deriving it from *vána* = arrow. In favour of the former I adduced the large number of names of places beginning with *ban* "forest" all over Northern Orissa, while in support of the latter may be mentioned the local legend which places the capital of the legendary king *Bána* near Balasore : one mass of ruins in the town still bears the name of his daughter *Ushá* (the *Ushá merh*). Legends connected with the Arrow are common all over the north of Balasore and west of Midnapore.

As to the philological arguments which shew that there was little or no connexion between Orissa and Bengal in pre-Muhammedan times, I see Dr. Mitra thinks them untenable. He is welcome to that opinion.

That Dantún was accessible from Magadha does not prove that the country south of the Subarnarekhá was so accessible, nor can any historical argument be based on vague Buddhist legends.

But, as Dr. Mitra observes, all this was discussed ten or twelve years ago and there is no use in going over it again. I did not then know any thing about Midnapore. Now that I am acquainted, with that district I have found many new facts which strikingly confirm my old opinion that Orissa was colonized from Behar and not from Bengal, and that Oriya is a more archaic form of Magadhi Prákrit than Bengali.



Notes on Akbar's Subahs with reference to *Ain-i-Akbari*

II – ORISSA

The ancient kingdom of Orissa (*Odra-deśa*, whence *Oreśá*), strictly speaking, extended from the Kánsbáns river in the north to the Rasákuliá river near Ganjám in the south; and from the Bay of Bengal on the east far into the tangled mass of low hills in the west, in which latter direction its limits seem never to have been clearly defined. But the kings of Orissa were not satisfied with these boundaries. It is a common boast both in literature and on monuments that their kingdom stretched from the great to the little Ganges; that is to say, from the Bhágirathí (called by Europeans the Hugli or "Hooghly") to the Godávari. At various times different kings made good this boast by victorious campaigns, followed by temporary occupation of territory both to the north and south.

The latest of these towards the north, starting from the Subarnarekhá, which had at that time been for a long while the northern boundary, was led by the last independent monarch, Mukund Dev, called the Telinga, who, about A.D. 1550, really touched the Bhágirathí, and built at the sacred *tírtha* of Tribení, near Sátgáon, a stately bathing-place, the ruins of which still remain. He was attacked and defeated by the terrible Kálá Pahár, general of Sulaimán Kararáni, really king, though nominally only viceroy, of Bengal. After holding out for some time at the strong fortress of Ráibanián on the Subarnarekhá, Mukund retreated, fighting as he went, to Jájpür, where he was either killed or driven into exile—for his fate is shrouded in obscurity—and Orissa became a province of Bengal in A.D. 1568.

It is so treated in the *Ain*. The arrangement, however, proved unworkable, and Orissa was eventually made into a separate Subah by the Emperor Sháh Jahán. The suppression of the Bengal military revolt of 1572 led to the fight of Dáud Khán and defeated him at the battle of Tukaroi, near Jellasore, in 1574. Todar Mal advanced as far

as Cuttack, and it must have been at this time that he obtained the materials for the financial arrangements which are preserved to us in the Áin. But as after the campaign Dáúd was left in possession of Orissa in little more than nominal submission to the Emperor, Todar Mal's arrangements did not take effect, and his lists must be regarded as little more than a sketch or project, and the local tradition which ascribes to him the settlement of the cultivated and civilized central tract known as the Moghulbandi rests on no historical foundation. The first actual Moghul settlement was made by Rájá Mán Singh in A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590), and even this did not come fully into operation till the final suppression of the Afghans in the reign of Jahángír, probably, judging from Grant's "Analysis", not before 1627.

Todar Mal's lists, as will be seen from the following remarks, are very imperfect, and cannot be taken as covering the whole territory of Orissa. A very large number of undoubtedly ancient and important estates are omitted, and the revenue assigned to others bears no proportion to their known extent. Stirling, indeed, who was intimately acquainted with the province in the early days of British rule, asserts that a measurement of the lands was made, and that the accounts still preserved in the offices of the Sadr Kánungos, or Keepers of the Revenue Accounts, are founded on that measurement, but he could find no evidence or information as to the means by which the determination of the rents and revenue was arrived at, and it is highly probable that the measurement dragged on over many years, and the assessment of revenue was not finally made till long after Todar Mal's time.

It will be noticed that in the Áin the word قلعہ *kila'ah* 'a fort' occurs very frequently. It must not, however, be inferred from this that the whole of Orissa bristled with strong castles or fortresses. The *kila'ah* was generally a much humbler affair. It was for the most part merely the house of a zamindár with the adjacent village surrounded by an earthen rampart or breastwork, and occasionally a rude moat, the whole girdled by a thick belt of bamboo and rattan jungle, forming an impenetrable barrier to the cavalry of which the Moghul armies chiefly consisted. Several of these so-called forts are

still in existence, as, for instance, at A'l; but the number of stone forts is not large, and most of those which existed in the sixteenth century have since disappeared. They can, however, often be traced by the word Gar (fort) prefixed to the names of villages which still stand on their ancient sites though no longer fortified.

The materials for reconstructing this Súbah are Grant's "Analysis," the lists of parganahs in the appendices in vol. ii of Hunter's "Orissa", Stirling's account of Orissa in the Asiatic Researches, and the two I.O.MSS, mentioned in my article on Bengal. The notes which I supplied to the late Professor Blochmann in 1870 were unfortunately lost with his other collections after his death, but I have some notes in MS. still, and having been officially connected with Orissa for nine years (1869-1878) and with Midnapore for five (1880-1885), I have been able to supply some suggestions from personal acquaintance with the localities.

In the following notes the names of the parganahs will be given in the form adopted by Colonel Jarrett; the correct names, with the necessary remarks and explanations, being given opposite each. The same abbreviations are used as in my article on Bengal. The Persian words are transliterated on the usual Jonesian system, with the exception of such places as are well known under English corruptions, e.g. Jellasore (Jalesar), Cuttack (Katak), Midnapore (Mednipúr), Balasore (Bálesar).

SARKÁR JALESAR (JELLASORE)

This very large Sarkár includes the whole of the Midnapore district, with the exception of a few scattered areas on the eastern border attached to Sarkár Madáran in Súbah Bangálah. It also includes all northern Balasore as far as the Kánsbáns river, together with an indefinite extent of hill and jungle to the west.

Bánsanda, commonly Haftehór. Should be "Bánmundi, *alias* the Seven Chauris." The MSS., which have all evidently copied from the same original, blindly repeat the mistake of writing *s* for *m*. Bánmundi is still a large village on the right bank of the Subarnarekhá, opposite Jellasore. The word *chaur* meaning a cleared space in a

forest, is added to the names of many parganahs in this part of the country. There are fifteen of them at the present day, several of which, however, are of modern origin. The original seven are probably Bhelorá, Nápú, Modern spelling Nampo. LDM, Kamardah, Darará, Dántun, Kaurdah, and Kánkará, Chaur. They will all be found in A. of I., sheets 114 and 115, lying in a circle round Jellasore. Bánmundí, wrongly spelt Bandmundi in A. of I., sheet 115, is in Bhelorá Chaur.

The entry 'castes' means the caste of the Zamindárs. For J's *Bhej* read *Bhanj*, a very common caste title in Orissa.

Biblí, read Piplí. Celebrated as the earliest English factory in Bengal, established in 1640, at the mouth of the Subarnarekhá. It has now been completely washed away, and the river flows over its site. Sháh Jahán named it the "Royal Port", Sháh Bandar, and the parganah now bears that name.² The zamindár showed me, in 1872, the original farmán of Sháh Jahán conferring on his ancestors the port dues and fees, on condition of their supplying provisions to the ships. In it the port is called Piplí Sháhbandar.

Bálísháhi. Now pronounced Bálsáhí. The latter part of the word is the Oriya Sáhí 'a village,' mistaken by the Imperial scribes for the more familiar sháhí 'royal.' The word means 'village in the sand', an appropriate name, as it lies among the sand-hills on the sea-shore.

Bálkohsi. The name is written with many variants. Blochmann gives *kohi* and *khosi*. I.O. 6 has *kothi*, and I.O. 1114 *málkoi* ! I have no doubt that the word meant is *Bárah kosi* 'the twelve kos.' This was the name given to the much dreaded tract, twelve kos, or twenty-four miles long, between the Subarnarekhá and Búrhábalang. The old pilgrim road to the shrine of Jagannáth passed through this country along the foot of densely wooded hills, and was infested by robbers and wild beasts. Pilgrims used to stop at Jellasore till a large crowd had assembled; then they subscribed and hired guides to take them through the dangerous part. In later times the name was extended as far south as the Kánsbáns, and it is in this wider sense that it is used in the Áin. Of the three forts, two can be identified—Sokrah as the place now known as Sohroh, a town and police station half-way between Balasore and Bhadrakh; and Bánhastálí as Bhainasbátí, on

the Kánsbáns, six miles south-east of Sohroh. Dadhpúr I cannot identify.

Parbadá. This is an unlikely name for a place in Orissa I.O. 6 has Barpadá, which is an extremely common name of villages in that province. None of the numerous Barpadás, however, possess the features here noted. Seeing how commonly the *markaz*, or sloping stroke of ڦ, is omitted in MSS. of the A'in, I have no hesitation in concluding that the place meant is Garpadá. It is exactly as described—a strong fort, partly on a hill, partly in jungle; though the fortifications have now almost ceased to be traceable. In the Middle Ages this place, halfway between Jellasore and Balasore, commanding the pilgrim road, the only high road into Orissa, and the residence of influential zamindárs, was a position of great importance. Here a battle was fought by Kála Pahár, and one of his captains who fell in it lies buried close by, and is worshipped as a martyr. (See my article on the "History of Northern Orissa," J.A.S.B., vol. iii, p. 231; also my facsimile and translation of a copper-plate grant in the possession of the Bhuyáns of Garpadá in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i, p. 355, where I have erroneously spelt the word Garh- instead of Gar-.)

Bhográi. A parganah at the mouth of the Subarnarekhá, on the north side, partly in Balasore, partly in Midnapore. I have not been able to find any traces of the "fortress of great strength." Possibly the river has washed it away.

Bugdi, now pronounced Bogri. It is a parganah in North Midnapore, lying on both sides of the Selái river. The town of Garbetá is in it.

Bázár. Now Dhenkiá bázár, on the Kasái, a little below Midnapore town.

Bábbanhúm, a parganah in North Midnapore, now more correctly pronounced Bráhmanbhúm (not Brahmánpúr, as stated by J.).

Taliya, with town of Jalesar. The first word is evidently incorrect; the MSS offer every variety of reading I.O. 6 gives تلیہ, with no dots to the third letter. I.O. 1114 has تلیہ. Mr. Beveridge has kindly examined for me six MSS. at the British Museum, all of which have تلیہ or تلیہ. He suggests that the word may be تکیہ *takiya*

'the hermitage of a darwesh.' I do not, however, know of any *takiya* near Jellasore. On the other hand, Jellasore has from ancient times been divided into two parts—the commercial town and the official station. The former has always been, and is still, known as *Patna* Jalesar; *patna* being, as is well known, a very common name for mercantile towns throughout India. It seems to me highly probable, indeed almost certain, that we should read *patnah ba kasbah* = 'the market town and citadel of Jalesar.' ﴿ ﴾ might easily be misread as ﴿ if the dots over the t got mixed with it by running of the ink or a slip of the pen, and still more so if the cerebral were indicated by a superscribed b, as is often done. As Blochmann notices in the preface to his Persian text, the MSS. follow one another so slavishly that a mistake in the original one would be faithfully reproduced in all the copies.

Tanbúlak. Read Tambúlak چ before چ in Persian being always pronounced m. The place meant is the famous ancient emporium of Tamrálípti, now Tamlük, still a flourishing town on the Rúpnaráyan river in North-east Midnapore.

Tarkól. Should be Tarkúá. The MSS. have apparently changed چ into ج. It is in South Midnapore, about ten miles north-east of Jellasore.

Dáwar Shorbhúm, commonly Bárah. Read Párah; it means the tract of saliferous land otherwise known as Shorpárah. This expression is applied to the extensive tract on the sea-coast of Midnapore, where salt is, or till recently used to be, made, stretching from the Subarnarekhá to the Rasúlpúr river. In Shah Jahan's settlement it is entered as Gwalpara (Grant, 532), and extended far inland. In Todar Mal's list, however, only the immediate neighbourhood of the coast is apparently intended, as the parganahs lying further inland are separately entered.

Ramná. An ancient and still flourishing town, the name of which is now pronounced Remná or Remuná. It lies some six or seven miles north-west of Balasore town. From the mention of the Haveli it would appear to have been the headquarters of some sort of political or fiscal division under the kings of Orissa, and under

Sháh Jahán it again became the head of a Sarkár. There is some difficulty about the five forts, caused by the indistinctness of the MSS. In most MSS. of the A'in the details of the Súbahs are given in tabular form, the page being divided by lines ruled in red ink both vertically and horizontally, forming small squares. These are often too small for the information which has to be given. To get it all in, the words are written very small and crowded together, and the dots being sprinkled carelessly about, after the manner of Persian scribes, it is often impossible to determine whether any particular dot belongs to the word above or below it. I have to thank Mr. Beveridge for a valuable note on the result of his careful inspection of the six MSS. at the British Museum. The quotations from these MSS. in the following remarks are taken from his note.

The first fort is clear enough. It is stated to be in the Haveli, and must, therefore, have been at Remuná itself, where there are still traces of mounds and ditches.

The second fort is Rámchandrapúr, still a well-known village, eight miles north-east of Remná.

The third fort is written ፲, in Blochmann, with no dots to the third letter. The B.M. MSS have ፲, which looks like ፲, i.e. Ramgaon, with the last two letters omitted. I.O. 6 has ፲, as in Blochmann. I.O. 1114 has ፲. The local Kánungo and other well informed natives whom I consulted all insisted upon it that the place meant is Armalá, a large village four miles south-west of Remná (shown as Urmullah on the A. of I., sheet 115). This is not impossible, for the *markaz* of the *káf* is in these MSS. treated as capriciously as the dots, being often inserted where it ought not to be, and as often omitted where it ought to be. So also, ፲ and ፳ in Persian MSS. are often indistinguishable. Thus, ፲ might easily be written ፲, and by mistaking the ፲ for ፲ and supplying it with a *markaz* the word would become ፲. As there is no Rámgóán anywhere in this neighbourhood, the local tradition is at least worthy of consideration.

The fourth fort is written درت in Blochmann, and Dút in Jarrett. There is, however, no such place, and the reading itself is open to serious objection. One B.M. M.S. has درت, but the dots seem to belong to the word سیوم in the line above; another has درت with no dots. But Blochmann has omitted some important words which occur in several of the B.M. as well as the I.O. MSS. Thus –

B.M. 7652 Addl. has چارم در مسلک or it may be read در مسلک.

B.M. 6546 Addl. has the same; here also مسلک is not clear.

I.O. چارم در مسلک 6.

I.O. 1114 درت سن را سنک; but the two dots over the *t* are quite at the right-hand corner of the letter, not over the centre as usual, and the *d* and *u* are joined together, so that they look like در.

The key to this mystery is, I think, supplied by the I.O. 1114 در. This is apparently a mistake for صنم 'an image', and the word has been still further corrupted by the other copyists. In my opinion the full text originally ran –

چارم دیول در صنم از سنگ

i.e. the fourth Deúl (has) two statues of stone.

The place meant is the ancient stone fort of Deúlgáon, some thirty miles north of Remná, on the Balasore and Midnapore boundary. A description of this fort will be found in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i.p. 76. In the centre of the fort are two colossal statues of men on horseback. These represent the two horseman celebrated in Orissa legend. In A.D. 1490, as Rájá Purushottam Dev was marching to attack Kánjivaram, two beautiful youths on horseback rode at the head of the army, victory to the Rájá. They then vanished, after revealing themselves as Krishna and Balaráma. These must, I think, be the 'two statues of stone' alluded to in the text. In their efforts to get all this long note into the small space in the tabular form, the copyists have crushed it up into an unrecognizable muddle.

The fifth fort is given by Blochmann as مسلدہ, which J. renders Saldah. This is, however, apparently a mistake derived from the reading دوا ملدہ of some MSS. Most of the B.M. MSS. have صداست پاچم 'the fifth is new'. I.O. 6 has صداست پاچم, where صد is a mistake for جدد. I.O. 1114 has پاچم جاپ, with no dot to the last

letter. There is a town called Sildah, but it seems too far off. It is eighty miles to the north of Remná, in the north-west corner of Midnapore. It is of course possible that all the wild jungle country of Western Midnápore and Morbhanj may have been included under Remna, but as the reading جدید is so doubtful it is perhaps safer to take the reading جدید, although this leaves us in ignorance of the locality of the fifth fort. I presume, however, that the 'new fort' was Chandrarekhá Garh, about eight miles north-west of Deúlgáon; the parganah is called Nayágrám, which seems to be indicated by the جدید, of the A'in.

Rayn. The situation of this place "on the borders of Orissa" leaves no doubt that the correct reading is Raiban ریبن, or more strictly رایبن. It is now called Ráiibanián. The MSS. are here again incorrect. I.O.6 has ریبن, and I.O. 1114 رایبن. The "three forts" mentioned in the text appeared to me when I visited the place to be four. (See my article on the "Jungle Forts of Northern Orissa," in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i, p. 33, where there is a description of Ráiibanián, with a map of the forts and several sketches.) It was at Ráiibanián, which is seven miles from Jellasore, on the opposite or western side of the Subarnarekhá, that Mukund Dev the Telenga, the last independent sovereign of Orissa, made a determined but ineffectual stand against the Musulman invaders. The memory of this fact may have caused the entry "on the borders of Orissa," for the Subarnarekhá was practically the northern boundary, though the power of Mukund had for a time extended to the Bhágirathi.

Ráepur, a large city with a strong fortress. The only place of this name known to me is in South Bánkurah, some forty miles north-west of Midnapore. It is now a small town, but it is said to have been much larger in ancient times. IO. 1114 has ادیپور, probably to be read Udayapu, which is in Chatia Nágpúr, 200 miles away.

Sabang. A parganah in Central Midnapore, some twenty miles south-east of the town.

Siyári. A paraganah on the Subarnarekhá, sixteen miles south-east of Jellasore.

Kásijorá. A large parganah in East Midnapore.

Kharaksúr. Should be Khargpúr. The “strong fort in the wooded hills” seems to point to some other place, as there is neither fort nor hill in Khargpúr, which is level country on the south of the Kasái river opposite Midnapore town.

Kedárkhānd. A parganah in Central Midnapore.

Karái. This reading is doubtful. Many MSS. have کری. I.O. 6 and 1114 both have کری. The place meant is, I think, Kasiári, on the Subarnarekhá, twenty miles south-west of Midnapore, an ancient and famous place.

Gagnápúr. Probably the parganah now called Gagneswar. I.O. 1114 has a word which may be read Gagnasápur. I.O. 6 has Kalnápúr, which is evidently incorrect. Gagneswar adjoins Kasiári in South-west Midnapore.

Karohi. Some MSS. have کروہی, which should be read Kurúli. This seems correct; parganah Kurúl Chaur in south Midnaporé, fifteen miles from Jellasore, is apparently the place intended.

Málchattá. Should be Máljhattá. This is the name given to the tract on the sea-coast of Midnapore from the mouth of the Rasúlpúr river to the Rúpnaráyan. It included the well-known station of Hijlí (*vulgo* Hidgellee) : see Grant, 246, 527.

Mednípúr. The large town and capital of a very extensive district, which is better known by the European corruption of Midnapore. Of the two forts, one is still partially extant. It has been enlarged and built upon to form the old district jail. This is probably the newer of the two forts mentioned in the A' in. The older one is also, I believe, still traceable, but I have not seen it.

There is a sentence attached to this entry in some MSS. which seems to have puzzled Blochmann, and is pronounced unintelligible by Jarrett. It varies considerably in different MSS, the copyists, according to their custom, having written carelessly whatever they did not understand.

In Blockmann's text the passage runs—

کہندیت و بکسر خویش بکند و دینو انه

In a footnote he gives the variant —

وسیله خویشن دیو انه میکند

Neither of these readings is intelligible.

Mr. Beveridge has pointed out that the words occur in the column headed "Zamindár," which gives the caste of the landed proprietors. By omitting this distinction, both Blochmann and Jarrett have obscured the meaning of these entries throughout the lists in the Áin.

Of the B.M. MSS. 7652 Addl. reads—

از قوم کهندیت و تلنگه خویش مکند دیو اند

MS. 16872 Addl. reads the same, substituting سلسلہ for تلنگه.

I.O. 6 has the same as the last but one, with this difference, that it inserts a after مکند and omits the *markaz* of the ک in کهندیت. I.O. 1114 has ببلبلہ, which is nonsense !

The difficulty seems to have been mainly caused by reading مکند, as if it were the Persian word *mi-munad* 'he does', and combining with the following word into the Persian دیوانہ 'insane.' As Mr. Beveridge now points out, and as I find I suggested to Prof. Blochmann years ago, what we have here is really the name of Mukund Dev, the last king of Orissa. The final word in the sentence is not اند, but 'they are'. The passage should therefore run—

از قوم کهندیت و تلنگه خویش مکند دیو اند

i.e. "They (the Zamindárs are of the castes of Khahdait and Telinga, kinsmen of Mukund Dev." Mukund Dev, as we know, was a Telinga, that is, he came from the Telinga, or Telugu, country, the land on the banks of the Godávari, which gave so many kings to Orissa, and what more natural than that he should entrust the important frontier fortress of Midnapore to his own kinsmen, on whose fidelity he could rely ? The Khandaita are not, strictly speaking, a caste, in the Hindu sense of that term. The word means 'swordsman' (from *khandá*, Skr. *khadga* a sword'), and they were the fyrde, landwehr, or militia of the kingdom, called out when war arose, going back to their fields in time of peace. In the present day large numbers of peasants call themselves Khandaita, either because the title's respectable or because some remote ancestor served in

the fylds, and so the word has become a quasicaste title. Mukund Dev's Telinga kinsmen appear to be called Khandaitz because of the military duties they discharged in guarding the fort.

Mahákánghát, *alias* Kutbpúr, a fortress of great strength. The village is now called Mánígháti, and the parganah Kutbpúr. It lies about twenty-five miles north-west of Midnapore.

Naráyanpúr, *alias* Khandár. Two separate parganahs a few miles to the south of Midnapore. One is now known as Naráyanagar, the other as Khandár.

SARKÁR BHADRAK.

This Sarkár, much smaller than Jalesar, comprises in general the country between the Kánsbáns and Baitarni rivers and a few tracts to the south of the latter river. The tracts on the sea-coast are, however, included in Sarkár Káṭak (Cuttack).

Barwá. Now called Birwá (spelt Beerooa in A.of I., sheet 115). It is a parganah lying between the Bráhminí and Kharsúá rivers in North Cuttack. The two strong forts are given as Bánk and Riskoi; for the latter, I.O. 6 has Riskúri, I.O. 6 بیکری with no dots to the fourth letter. The places meant are probably Bánksáhi on the Bráhminí and Rispúr (i.e. Rishipúra) on the Kharsúá.

Jaukajri. The proper name is Jogjuri. It is a large and well-known village on the southern slope of the Nilgiri hills in the tributary state of that name.

Haveli Bhadrak. A town on the river Sálindi, headquarters of a subdivision. Dhámnagar is also an important place twelve miles south of Bhadrak, or Bhádrakh, as it should be written with final *kh*. It is said to be from (Bala) bhadrakshetra, the field or tract sacred to Balabhadra. Dhámnagar is noticeable as containing a considerable settlement of Muhammadans, rather a rare thing in Orissa, but explained by the note in the Áin that it was the residence of a — presumbaly Muhammadan-governor.

Sahansú. Now called Sohso, an extensive parganah on the west frontier of Balasore, fifteen miles west of Bhadrakh.

Káimán. Now divided into three parganahs called Káimá, Kismat Káimá, and Kila'a Káimá (in A. of I., Kymah), lying on both

sides of the Baitarni below Jajpúr. The name of the last retains a remembrance of a fort, though no traces of it now remain.

Kadsu. A variant is Garṣú. No place with any name at all resembling either word is known to me. The names given for this Sarkár in the Áin do not cover the whole area, and there are probably many omissions, as large tracts of country remain unaccounted for. I am inclined to think that part of the name has dropped out by negligence of copyists, and that the place meant is Gar Sokindah, a large tributary estate in North-west Cuttack. In Orissa Gar is used for a fort, not Gāṛh.

Independent ta'lukdárs. Entered as Mazkúrin; with three forts.

1. Pachhim Donk. I.O. 6 reads درنک. I.O. 1114 something illegible, of which the first two letters are د; the others look like م. I know of no Donk, but Pachhimkot, a large village in parganah Ragadi (Rugree in A. of I.) in North-west Cuttack, near the Bráhmini, is probably the place meant.

2. Khandait. This is not the name of a place. Khanditar on the Kharsúá (not marked in A. of I.) ten miles west of Jajpúr, where the Orissa Trunk Road crosses it, is probably the place meant.

3. Majori. Manjúri, as it is now called, is a parganah on the north bank of the Baitarni, four miles above Jajpúr.

SARKÁR KATAK (CUTTACK)

The spelling Cuttack, being more familiar to Europeans than Kaṭák, will be used in the following remarks. The Sarkár includes the whole of the Cuttack and Puri districts, with the exception of the tracts already mentioned under Bhadrakh. But here also many important places, which are known to have been in existence in Todar Mal's time, are omitted, proving that his lists must have been incomplete. Nearly all the places mentioned are easily recognizable.

Ál (A. of I. Aul; the town is shown as Rajbari). A well-known town and parganah on the Kharsúá in Northeast Cuttack. The ancient fort and palace is the residence of a Mahárájá who is lineally descended from the kings of Orissa.

Ásakah. Aská a town in the Ganjám district on the Rasákuliá river, the extreme southern boundary of Orissa proper.

Āṭhgarh. One of the tributary estates, on the north bank of the Mahánadi, about ten miles above Cuttack.

Púrb Dikh. The latter word is evidently for Dig=‘quarter,’ ‘region,’ which is the reading of I.O. 1114. The four forts on the eastern side of Orissa lying along the sea-coast are Kaniká, Kujang, Harishpúr, and Mirichpúr. They lie in the above order from north to south, and the territory attached to each is extensive, as will be seen from the A. of I., sheet 115.

Pachchhim Dikh, ‘Western quarter’ The list of forts on the western frontier of the Cuttack district is not given, but it must be meant to include the *kila'as* of Darpan, Madhupúr (A. of I., Mudpoor I), Balrámpúr, and Chausaṭhpára between the Bráhmini and Mahánadi, and probably also Dompárá and Patiá, south of the latter river.

Bahár. There is no place of this name in Cuttack. B.M. 7652 Addl. has بھاڻ Baház, so has I.O. 6, but this also is an unknown name. Mr. Beveridge points out a passage in Grant 528 in which he includes in the province of Orissa “a mountainous, unproductive region on the western frontier, making part of the wilds of Jharkund, or jungly country, *towards the velayt of Behar.*” The Muhammadans seem to have thought in their ignorance of the geography of these hitherto unconquered provinces that Orissa stretched back through the hills and jungle till it touched the southern frontier of Bihár; and Grant repeats this mistake. Probably by the entry Bahár, with its large revenue of fifty-one lakhs, Todar Mal meant to designate all the extensive tract of country now known as the Tributary Mahals, administered by a number of semi-independent Rájás who pay a small tribute to the British Government. But their country does not reach as far west as Bihar by a long way.

Basái Diwarmár. The copyists have got into great confusion over this name. Blochmann gives the variants بسائی دیورمار and بسائی دیور بیور. The B.M. MSS. have دیورماری and دیور بیور; I.O. 6 has دیورماری; and I.O. 1114 apparently دیور، though the letters are so jumbled together that it is difficult to decide in which order to take them. I conjecture that these variants are an attempt to represent the

name Basudebpúr Árang, i.e. the salterns of Básudebpúr. This place was for long, and is still, one of the chief seats of the salt-making industry. The Oriya word for a saltern, or place where sale is made, is Árang. In crushing up the letters to get them into the small space allowed for them in the table, some have been omitted and others transposed. Básudebpúr is in the Balasore district, about fourteen miles northeast of Bhadrak, near the sea, in parganah Ankurá.

Bárang. No place of this name is known to me. But the description of the "nine forts in hill and jungle" corresponds precisely to the celebrated fortress of Sárang Gar, which, with its nine (or even more) subordinate forts, guards the entrance to Khurdhá, the mountain fastness where the kings of Orissa sought refuge on the overthrow of their independence, and where they maintained themselves down to modern times. Sárang Gar lies some four miles south-west of the city of Cuttack, across the Kátjorí river. The Engineers of the Public Works Department – with their usual good taste and reverence for things ancient – have driven a road right through it, and pounded the stones to metal the road. The same enlightened officials sold me some exquisitely carved images of Buddha and some of Krishna as "stone ballast" at one rupee the running foot! Sárang was too important a place to be omitted from the Áin, but unless this is it, it nowhere occurs. It is not known in the A of I., but a number of villages with the prefix Gar (A. of I., Gurr – Gar Dárutáng, Gar Andharúá, and others – represent the nine forts of the Áin.

Bhijnagar. Should be Bhanjanagar*, which is the reading both of I.O. 6 and I.O. 1114, the old name of Gumsur, the capital of a state the semi-independent Rájás of which were of the Bhanj caste. Upendro Bhanj, one of the Rájás of this place, is the most celebrated

* This is not correct. The old capital of Ghumsur was Kulargarh, seven miles from Bhanjanagar. Bhanjanagar did not exist in the sixteenth century. The old name of Bhanjanagar was Rasolkonda named after Russel, an English officer in the early nineteenth century.
LDM

of the poets of Orissa.³ Gumsur is in the Ganjám District, some twenty miles north of Aská.

Banjú I.O. 1114 has ~~o~~. This must I think, be meant for Banchás in Central Puri. There is no other place, as far as I know, having any name resembling this.

Parsottam. Should be Purushottam; the full name of the town of Puri, where the celebrated temple of Jagannáth is situated, is Purushottama Kshetra, the field or tract sacred to Vishnu, the Purushottama or Highest Being.⁴ The note attached to this entry, which J. renders 'detailed in each Sarkár,' means that the revenue recorded against it is made up of lands lying in all parts of the province. Even in the present day there is hardly a single parganah, perhaps not even one, in which there are not revenue-free lands belonging to the great temple of Jagannáth.

Chaubiskot, now called Chaubiskúd, a large paraganah living between the town of Puri and the Chilká lake. The four forts of great strength are now no longer traceable.

Jash, commonly called Tájpúr. The last word is a misprint for Jajpur, which is distinctly the reading both in Blochmann's text and in all the MSS. The ancient, celebrated, and sacred city of Jájpúr on the Baitarni has been a noted place of pilgrimage from remote antiquity. I.O. 1114 reads Jašpúr 'urf Jáj The form Jash should, I think, be read Jashn, and appears to be an attempt to reproduce the word Jajna, of the Sanskrit यज्ञपुर् *yajñapúra* 'city of sacrifice, the original name of this city.'

Dakhan Dikh. For *dikh* we should read *dig*. The four forts of the southern region are Párikúd, Málud, Bajrakot, and Andhári, all of which lie between the Chilká lake and the sea, and are shown in the A. of I.

Sirán. Should be Siráin, a parganah in Central Puri, on the north-east shore of the Chilká lake.

Shergarh. A large parganah in the north-west corner of the Cuttack district.

Kotdes. A large parganah in the northern and central part of Puri. The entry against this parganah regarding the forts varies in the different MSS. I.O. 6 has *u* inserted (erroneously, I think) before

اصل I.O.1114 has قصہ اصل تسبیہ. The meaning apparently is that the original fort is a *kashah* or town. The variant قصہ کوسایبہ *kusaibah* means a small town. The *Kot* or fort, from which the parganah received its name of Koṭdes, or the 'country of the fort,' was, in fact, a fortified town, and not, as most of the Orissa forts were, merely a castle or fortified house.

Kaṭak Banarás. The city of Cuttack, capital of the ancient kingdom and of the modern province. The name Banáras, so persistently attached to it by Muhammadan writers, has nothing to do with the famous sacred city on the Ganges, but is a mispronunciation of Birānasi (*Bira* =a king of millet, and *násī*=a headland) the name of a village a mile from the fort on a point jutting out into the river Kátjorí. The "stone fort of great strength", or so much of it as the Public Works Department has not sold at "one rupee the running foot," still stands to the north of the city. When yet uninjured, it must have been an imposing edifice, and covers a large area, surrounded by a broad moat with strong stone walls. Nothing but a huge mound remains of the place of Mukund Dev.

Khatra. I.O. 6 reads خاترا, I.O. 1114 خاترا, but the most probable reading is that given in a note by Blochmann, خاترا. The real word is, I think, Khetra, meaning the sacred area round the city of Puri, the revenues of which were devoted to the service of the temple of Jagannáth.

Mánikpatan. Mánikpatan is at the point where the Chilká lake opens into the Bay of Bengal. There are still numerous salt-making stations round about it.

SARKÁR KALING DANDAPAT

SARKÁR RAJMAHINDRA

These two names cover the whole tract of country from the Rasákuliá to the Godávari. Though occasionally for short periods subject to the kings of Orissa, this country never really formed part of their kingdom, and was never at any time subject to the

rule of Akbar or his successors. No details are given concerning it, and the entries regarding revenue and contingents of troops are purely imaginary.

This concludes the notice of the Áin concerning Orissa. It is worthy of note, as showing the incompleteness of the lists compiled by Todar Mal, that although many places both on the eastern and western frontiers are mentioned, hardly a single name of any of the wide and fertile territories in the central plain of Cuttack occurs. This plain, the heart of the Mughalbandi, in the delta of the Mahanadi and Brahmani rivers, is the richest, most cultivated, and most populous part of the whole of Orissa. Yet Asureswar, Kalámatiá, Páindá, Tisániá, Hariharpur, Deogáon, Sailo, Saibir, and a dozen other large and productive parganahs are omitted from the list, and there is no one of the names in the list which can be stretched so as to cover them. The same remarks applies to the Puri District, where Limbai, Kotráng, Antarúd, and many other populous and well-cultivated areas, are entirely omitted. Kotdes, Chaubiskot, and Siráin can hardly have been so much larger than they are at present as to include all this territory.

It is true that under the head of Púrb Dig or eastern quarter a revenue of 22,881,580 dáms (=Rs.572,014) is recorded, which is far more than can ever have been realized from the four jungly tracts on the sea-coast—Kaniká, Kujang, and the two other Kila'as. So also the territory of the Mahárájás of Ál is known to have been more extensive formerly than now, and the Dakhan Dig or southern quarter is recorded as assessed at 22,065,770 dáms (=Rs.526,644), which is much in excess of anything that can possibly have been levied from the four poor little kila'as between the Chilká and the sea. But even after making allowances for the area covered by these names extending over a far larger tract than at present, there must remain a great extent of country in the Cuttack and Puri Districts unaccounted for. The truth seems to be that Todar Mal's inquiries into the land revenue of Orissa were of a very superficial nature, and the province was not really

surveyed, divided into parganahs, and assessed till the reign of Sháh Jahán.



{*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1896, pp.743-796]

-
1. For this date see the evidence in my article on "The History of Orissa," J.A.S.B. Vol. III, p. 233, note.
 2. He visited the place in 1621, when, as Prince Khurram, he rebelled against his father, the Emperor Jahángir (see my article on the "History of Northern Orissa" J.A.S.B., vol. iii, p.237). His grant to the zamindars was probably not on that occasion.
 3. A long list of his poems will be found in Hunter's Orissa. Vol.ii, P.206. He lived in the sixteenth century.
 4. The word should therefore be written with short u and i not Puri 'city' as it is often erroneously written by Europeans.

[Appendix-I]

**NOTES ON THE RELATION OF THE
URIYA TO THE OTHER MODERN ARYAN
LANGUAGES – A Critique**

– Rajendra Lal Mitra

I happened to be present at a meeting of the Cuttack Debating Club, in December, 1868, when a paper was read on Patriotism. In the discussion which followed, I was asked to take a part, and in the course of my remarks on the injury which false patriotism or an insensate love for everything that is national, causes to real progress, I pointed out the injury which was being inflicted on the Uriya race by their attachment to a provincial patois, which they wished to exalt into a distinct language. The view I took of the question was new to the people, and very warm discussion has ever since been kept up in the clubs, newspapers and the official correspondence of the province, and the little brochure which forms the subject of Mr. Beames' paper and the paper itself, are amongst its most prominent results. Party feeling now runs high, and I am told that more than one libel case has been instituted in connexion with the subject. The main question being purely philological, it is not remarkable that so distinguished a labourer in that field of science as Mr. Beames, should come forward to take a part in its discussion. His paper is highly interesting, and I am delighted to hear of a comparative grammar of the Indian vernaculars from his able pen. I must say, however, that he has done an injustice to the author of his text in describing the little work as "profoundly destitute of philological arguments." No doubt Pandit Kántichandra is not very familiar with the modern European works on philology, and his mode of treating his subject will be found to differ from the course followed in similar cases by European authors, but bearing in mind the language (Bengali)

in which he has written the book, and the people for whom he has designed it, I must say that he has displayed considerable tact and talent. My testimony will, perhaps, not be of much worth, I wish, therefore, to give a brief resume of his work, in order that the meeting may be in a position to judge for itself. The first three chapters of the work treat of the origin of the different vernaculars now current in India, and the causes which have lead to their formation. The author then defines the natural boundary of Bengal and Orissa, and in the next chapter enters upon the main subject of his essay, the similitude between the Bengali and the Uriyá languages. This he does by quoting passages of Uriyá from diverse sources, and comparing them with Bengali. Uriyá vocables from the subject of his next chapter, and he there shows that the ordinary elements of Bengali speech are all current in the Province of Orissa, either intact or under some modification or other. In the eighth chapter is brought under review the grammatical apparatus of Uriya, its declensions, gender, number, case and conjugation. Chapters next follow on songs, proper names, manners and customs, dictionaries and alphabets, which go a great way to show that the bulk of the Uriya race does not differ from the Bengali; and the work is brought to a conclusion with some very pertinent remarks on the injustice and impropriety of cutting off the Uriyás from the Bengali by artificial barriers under the name of education.

One great mistake which vitiates the whole course of the Pandit's arguments, is the assumption that the Calcutta vernacular of this country is the purest form of Bengali, and everything that differs from it, is the result of corruption. Mr. Beames makes a similar mistake by instituting his comparison with the Bengali of today, overlooking altogether that the separation between the Uriyas and the Bengalis must have taken place many centuries ago, and that to arrive at a correct conclusion as to the origin of the Uriya language and its relation to Bengali, we should take up the two languages as they existed at the time of their separation and not as they exist now. Any how, I must say that there is a great deal in the Pandit's book which deserves careful examination, and that would have been of some advantage had Mr. Beames'

reply noticed them in detail, instead of dismissing the whole work with a single disparaging remark. It would require more time than I can command at this meeting, to review the historical question as to the manner in which Orissa was peopled by the Aryans, but I shall, with your permission, Mr. Chairman, notice some of the salient points in the philological portion of Mr. Beames' paper.

The first argument of the Pandit is, that Uriyá compositions read so very like Bengali that, a few phonetic peculiarities excepted, they may be mistaken for Bengali and are easily understood by the people of Bengal, ignorant of the Uriyá language, and such being the case it must, he argues, follow that the two languages are very intimately connected. To prove this, he has quoted passages from some Uriyá works and compared them with Bengali. Mr. Beames account for their similitude by assuming that the bulk of the vocables in them, must be the result of pendency, which make the Uriyá and the Bengali both resort largely to Sanskrit words and terms. He then goes somewhat out of his way to make out that pedantry, "so objectionable and offensive to Englishmen," is an "especial favourite of the Indian mind." Mr. Beames, however, does not appear to be in a position to sit as an impartial judge in the matter. To decide the question of excessive pedantry in any particular set of books, the judge must be familiar with the literature of the language, both modern and ancient in which it occurs, otherwise what may appear pedantry to one, may be the peculiarity of the language under notice. The *Rambler* alone cannot decide that the language in which it is written is Johnsonese, and not English. In the same way calisthenic corsets and trichosarons for bodices and hair brushes may appear pedantic to a foreigner like me, but if they occur in the every-day language of fashionable English ladies, they cease to be so. The extracts given by the Pandit are taken from standard books in everyday use in the schools of Orissa, and to dismiss them by branding them as pendentive is, in my humble opinion, altogether to beg the question at issue. It is doubtless true that the predominance of any particular class of words in any piece of writing cannot decide the character of a language but in the Uriyá over ninety per cent of

its vocables are Sanskrit, or corruptions of Sanskrit, and those corruptions have taken the same turn which corruptions in Bengali have done, and appear to be the result of the same laws of decay and regeneration which have produced the Bengali language.

The crucial test which Mr. Beames suggests is "to place together a *chásá* of Dacca and a *chásá* of Gumsur, and to see how much they understood of each other's talk." The result of this experiment would probably go against the Pandit. But the same experiment tried between a cockney and a farm labourer in Yorkshire would in the same way, I fancy, decide the fate of English in the two places. For my part, though a native of Bengal for the last four and twenty generations, I would be sorry to face a *chásá* from Comillah if the issue was to decide whether we could understand each other through the medium of our common language, the Bengali. The fact is, that local peculiarities of pronunciation do not constitute language, and therefore no notice should be taken of them in deciding questions of linguistic classification. My Lord Dundreary may "thee a thea thowpent thwiming on the bottom of the thea," but no philologist will be bold enough to spy in it a sister language of the English.

The first subject treated by Mr. Beames in regard to the grammar of the Uriyá language, is conjugation, but the comparison having been made with the Bengali as revised and recast by our indigeneous writers within the last fifty years or so, the result is very different from what the Pandit has arrived at. The examples he has quoted, though uncommon in modern Bengali, are not foreign to it; *chalu*, for instance, as a present participle and its compounds are not altogether unknown. But four centuries ago, Govinda-Dása, a Bengali poet, used it and its cognate forms almost to the exclusion of all others. Thus he says—

উঠিচ্ছ সুমনে দিঘৰেল কান পিণ্ডিত !
Again : গাঞ্জন মধি মছন করু ফাহি !

In another place চৌদিগো-চান হেনি রহি গোল .।

Of the second form *chali*, we have innumerable instances in old works, and even in the poetry of this century. *Dekhi* and

dekhili are likewise common, and in the mouths of the common people the only forms in use. The Uriyá future *dekhibi* is in Bengali *dekhibe*, but the change is so slight that I do not think it would justify our attributing it to an independant parentage. In the conditional or subjunctive past *dekhi-thánti*, Mr. Beames recognises a more perfect form than the Bengali *dekhítám*, but had he taken up the true Bengali conditional *dekhiyá thákítám*, he would have found that, with the exception of the nasal mark, the two are closely alike, and formed in either case with the help of the auxilliary verb, *sthá*. Of the twelve forms of the verb *achha, achchi, achhai, achho, achhis, achhe, achhi, achhen, &c.*, nine are Bengali and only three forms, *achhan, achhun* and *achhanti*, are new. Of these the last is by far the oldest. It shows a lingering of the Sanskrit affix *anti*. According to the rules of Prakrit, Sanskrit compound consonants drop one of them and lengthen the preceeding vowel, and accordingly, we find in Bengali the *ti* dropped and the *n* preceded by a long vowel as in *áchhen* = to Uriya *achhanti*. This elision of the *ti* is altogether modern. I think in old Bengali the affix occurs in its full form of *anti*, though I cannot just now recall to memory any instance in proof of it. The Pandit says he too has met with it, but has given no example. Another marked peculiarity in Uriyá, is the separation of the base from the affix, as in *Karu achhi* and their compounds. In Bengali they are united according to the rules of Sandhi-*Kariáchhi*; but this is not a matter worthy of any remark, so I shall pass it by.

Of pronouns Mr. Beames has given an elaborate analysis, taking of his examples from the Bengali, Uriyá, Marhattá, Hindi, Punjábi, Sindhi and Guzerati; but the result is not satisfactory. He has taken one example from each language, and that from books, and they are not sufficient for a fair comparison of living, spoken languages. What is wanted is a full survey of the various forms of the pronoun current in each province, and for that purpose a deeper knowledge of the languages, both ancient and modern, and in their colloquial and written forms, is required, than what I can pretend to possess. As regards the Bengali and the Uriyá,

however, I may say that in *tu*, *tuî*, *tote*, *tumár*, &c., there is close analogy with Bengali. *Amhe* and *tumhe*, often pronounced *ambhe* and *tumbhe*, are no doubt peculiar; but the change has been brought on in Bengali since its separation from, or rather the birth of Uriyá, and its cause is the peculiar cockneyism of dropping the aspirate.

I shall now notice the declension of nouns. Mr. Beames' survey leads him to the conclusion that five out of the six cases are different. The very reverse, however, appears to me to be the fact. In the Sanskrit, the nominative is formed in most themes by the addition of an *s*. In a sister language, the Latin, the same rule obtains to a great extent, but in the derivatives of the Latin and the Sanskrit, we find the mark in some cases changed to *o*, and in other altogether omitted. In Italian and Spanish we have *o*, as *occhio* and *oj̄o* from the Latin *oculus*, but in the language of the Troubadours, in Provençal and in French the mark is omitted. In India, the Punjabi and the Marwari retain the *o*, but all the other drop it. The result is that the nominative is alike both in the Uriyá and the Bengali.

The mark of the accusative singular in Latin and Sanskrit is *m*, but in most of the languages derived from them, it is dropped. So is the case both in Uriyá and Bengali. This rule is however, not uniformly observed; and sometimes the place of the *m* is supplied by the syllable *ku*, in Uriyá, and *ke*, in Bengali, and to trace their origin, I must refer the meeting to my papers on the Gáthá and the Hindi dialects, where I have shown that to overcome the intricacies of the Sanskrit declension, it was usual with the scalds of ancient India to convert themes of various terminations to one form by affixing an expletive *k*, and to mark the elision of the case-affixes, the usual rule was to add a *u*, which together make *ku*. In written Bengali, the *ku* changes into *ke*; but in the spoken language, in some districts, the *ku* still retains its position, and we need not, therefore, take it to be a serious difficulty in the way of the affiliation of the Uriya dialect.

The dative is in most instances a counterpart of the accusative, and so is it in Uriyá and Bengali.

In Sutton's Uriyá grammar, the sign of the instrumental is *te*. It is the same in Bengali, and that case in the two languages may therefore be taken as identically the same. Mr. Beames, however, does not notice this mark, and gives *dwárá*; but that form occurs more frequently in Bengali than *te*, and consequently the argument is not at all altered.

The ablative in ancient and spoken Bengali, is formed by the addition of *theke*, a compound of the verb *sthá*, with the expletive *k* already adverted to in connexion with the accusative. In Uriyá, it is formed with the same auxiliary verb and the mark of elision *u* = *tháru*: a later improvement has dropped the verb and retained only *ru*.

Mr. Beames admits the genitive to be alike in Uriyá and Bengali, so I need say nothing about the origin of the sign for that case.

The locative in Sanskrit is *e*, and in Uriyá and Bengali we have exactly the same form—*háte* from *háta* a hand. But there are other forms likewise current, thus we have *te* in *hátete* in Bengali, and *hátare* and *hátere* in Uriyá; but the last is not peculiar. In the *Chandi*, a Bengali book about three centuries old, we find the passage কোথামা এমন দেয়ো কোথারে সজানি, and in the dialects of Sylhet and Cachar the *re* form is the only one in use. In the spoken language of Dacca, it likewise occurs very frequently.

The vocative is alike in both the languages; and so we have in seven out of eight cases, the two languages to correspond very closely and in one only (the fifth) to differ but slightly.

The plural in Bengali is formed very differently under different circumstances; but mostly by the addition of a noun or adjective of multitude; such as, *gana*, *barga*, *chaya*, *sakala*, *sarba*, &c. In Uriyá there is more fixity in the rule, and the word *mána*, for weight or measure, is generally, though not uniformly, employed: the use of that word, however, is not unknown in Bengali, and the Pandit, whose book Mr. Beames has reviewed, has given several instances of it from old Bengali works. On the other hand, the Bengali plural mark *saba* is also frequently used

in spoken Uriyá, and such phrases as *gachha saba káti phelilá;* *loka saba thilá*, are very common. These facts, I trust, will show that the Uriyá, instead of being a "self-contained and independent member of the Aryan Indian vernaculars," is most closely and intimately connected with the Bengali and the Pandit has very good reasons to take it to be a daughter and not a sister of the vernacular of this province. The exact relationship may be reversed; but even a cursory glance at the old literatures of the two languages show them to have been at one time one, and their differences to be due to later or modern growth.

Mr. Beames has devoted a good portion of his paper to the discussion of Uriyá phonetics. But they call for no remark. It has not been denied by the Pandi, and no body will venture to gainsay, that Uriyá pronunciation is different from that of Bengal. The question is, are they such as to justify our taking the Uriyá to be an independant language? and I maintain that the phonetics of the two dialects do not suffice to solve it. In an excellent paper on the Bhojpuri dialect, Mr. Beames has shown that, notwithstanding much graver differences in glossology and grammar—in declension and conjugation,—in pronouns and the degrees of comparison,—in adjectives and conjunctions—than what obtains in Uriyá and Bengali, the Bhojpuri is a dialect of the Hindi; and by a parity of reasoning, I expect he will admit the Uriyá, in a like manner, to be a daughter of the Bengali. Phonetic peculiarities such as he has noticed, and such as may be multiplied *ad infinitum*, do not constitute language, and therefore do not affect the question at issue in any way. I have no doubt that every member here present will bear me out when I say that such peculiarities exist in almost every country in England, but they do not suffice to divide the English language into a number of sister dialects. In the districts of Bengal, we have the same peculiarity in even a more marked degree. I well remember a remark of the late Rájá of Krishnanagar who once told me that his pronunciation must be more correct than mine, because his district was once the seat of government, and he had therefore every right to lay down the law in such cases. To put this more

clearly, I beg to draw the attention of the meeting to a comparative table (Vide p. 215)* which I once prepared to illustrate the difference of the Orissa, the Calcutta and the Dacca dialects. The first column in it contains the first two paragraphs of an article in which the editor of the *Utkala Dipiká* condemned my theory about the Bengali origin of Uriyá; they contain just 142 words of which 137 are Bengali or derived from Bengali, and 5 are English. The translation of this in Bengali in the second column contains 144 words, of which none differs radically from the Uriyá, but fifty-six have some phonetic or grammatical peculiarity or other. In the third column is given a version of it in the spoken language of Dacca, prepared by a resident of that district, Bábu Rámakumár Bose, Deputy Magistrate of the 24 Purgunnahs. It contains 146 words, of which 47 are different from the Bengali. Thus it will be seen that the Dacca dialect differs nearly as much from the Bengali as the Uriyá does, in sound. If I had time to get translations of the Uriyá extract prepared in the spoken dialects of Comillah, Sylhet, Assam or Coch Behar, I could have easily shown that they differ fully as much from the Bengali in their phonetics and grammar, as does the Uriyá. But I suppose they are not wanted. The table, as it stands, shows clearly enough the relation which the Uriyá bears to Bengali. No one who knows the language of the middle column, can read the other two without the conviction that they contain Bengali matter badly written. And such being the case, I cannot but repeat the assertion, that the Uriyá is more closely related to Bengali than the other vernaculars of India, and that the relationship most probably is that of mother and daughter and not of two sisters. And if this be admitted, it must follow that, as in Comillah, Assam, Sylhet, and Coch Behar, so in Orissa, education should be conducted in Bengali and not in Uriyá. As I have already said, every country in England and Scotland has its dialectic peculiarity, and yet education is not carried on through the medium of separate sets of books, prepared with special regard to the dialectic peculiarities of each country, but in one common

* Vide, *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society*, June, 1870. LDM.

English. In France almost every department, in the same way, has its peculiar dialect, but as yet there has not been a vernacularist hot-headed enough to suggest that each district should have a separate language: and the French of the Institute of France is the only recognised medium of education. The same circumstances obtain in Germany including Austria and Prussia, but nowhere is language divided on the ground of provincial peculiarities of pronunciation. In Hindustan Proper, there are at least dozen kinds of Hindi differing from each other much more remarkably than Uriyá does from Bengali, and none knows this better than Mr. Beames, who has so carefully studied them in all their different phases; but none has yet ventured to recommend that separate sets of school books should be got up in each of those different dialects. I see no reason, therefore, why a different policy should be adopted in Bengal. To the Uriyás this is a question of the most vital importance. According to the last census, they number only a little over two millions in the three districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri, and a million may be added for those who live in Ganjam, Sambhalpur and the Tributary Mahals. But on the otherhand, we must deduct at least five lacs for foreigners, Muhammadans, Kyáns, Madrasis, Bengalis, and others, who want not and care not for the Uriyá language, so that we have only about 2½ millions for whom a distinct literature has to be created. The three districts under the Cuttack Commissioner yield to Government in the way of revenue under 17 lacs a year, and the zemindars at 37 per cent get about 11 or 12 lacs. This sum is divided among 3881 persons, of whom only 26 get above ten thousand a year each, and of them 16 are Bengalis, mostly non-resident, who are not likely to offer any especial encouragement to the Uriyá language. The people are mostly agriculturists, and having very little trade, are generally very poor. How it is possible for such a small community, and under such circumstances to create a literature in their vernacular, and maintain it, I cannot conceive. Our vernacularists maintain that the vernaculars of India should be so improved as to suffice for a University Course for the B.A. standard, if not for Honors. This would imply that each

of them should include the whole course of Algebra and Geometry, and considerable portions of Astronomy, Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, and other sciences, besides translation from Newton's Principia, Grote's Greece, Gibbon's Roman Empire, Mill's Logic, and Abererombie's Mental Philosophy. To suppose that such a thing is possible for a poor community of 2½ millions of Uriyás to accomplish, is to suppose an impossibility. To suppose that the whole or a majority of the people who speak the one hundred and one vernaculars which, according to a little work on Philology by Mr. Beames, are now current in India, is so utopian or absurd, that I need not wait to notice it. It has been said that if the Uriyás themselves cannot get up a literature, the Government will help them. This is, however, very unlikely. Vast no doubt are the resources of the British Government in India, and vaster still is its earnestness to ameliorate the condition of the people under its sway, but I doubt very much of they will ever suffice to create a hundred and one literatures, and keep them *au courant* with those of Europe, even if such a thing as a "deficit" was never known to our financiers. Admitting, however, for a sake of argument, that Government would assist to a very large extent in furthering the education of the people, I would ask, would it be fair, would it be just, would it be politic, on its part to, do so by multiplying languages? Had our Government been guided by that narrow, jesuitical, unholy and unchristian doctrine of *divide et impera*, it would perhaps have been expedient. But the liberal and noble-minded gentleman who represents her Britannic Majesty in this country and his council, would scorn such a policy, and, I am satisfied, would not deliberately lend themselves to uphold it. The main object of language is to unite mankind by one common bond of speech, but to foster a hundred and one languages within the boundary of a single country like India, would not be to promote that all important object, but to raise a tower of Babel to disunite and disperse the native races. It is not my intention, however, to advocate, at prescnt, a single language for all India, but to plead for the Uriyás, and on the ground of unity of religion, race, and language, to take them amongst us, and to place at their

disposal a fair share of all we possess, and may hereafter obtain. In Orissa they cannot publish a single book without adventitious aid, while in Bengal book-making has already become a profitable trade, and many have their manors placed behind their publisher's counters. We already publish more than five hundred books every year, and hope ere long to multiply the number manifold. As a note-worthy instance, I may mention that a few years ago I prepared a map of India in Bengali, and it brought me a profit within one year of over six thousand rupees. The same map was subsequently translated into Uriyá, but even the School Book Society could not venture to undertake it on their own account, and the Government at last had to advance, I think, some two or three thousand rupees to help the publication. The map, however, fell still-born from the press, and almost the whole edition is, I believe, now rotting in the godowns of its publisher. Let but Government introduce the Bengali language in the schools of Orissa, and the Uriyás, instead of seeking grants-in-aid from Government and private individuals for occasionally bringing out solitary new books, will have the whole of our Bengali publications at their disposal without any cost, and would be united with a race of thirty millions with which they have so many things in common.

Nor is the fusion of their language into ours at all impracticable. The experiment has already been tried and found to be completely successful. Some twenty years ago when the district of Midnapur was transferred from the Commissionership of Cuttack to that of Burdwan, the language of the courts there and of the people was Uriyá. The new Commissioner, for the sake of uniformity in all his districts or some other cause, suppressed Uriyá, and introduced the Bengali language, and nearly the whole of Midnapur is now become a Bengali speaking district, and men there often feel offended if they are called Uriyás. That similar measures in Balasore, Cuttack and Puri would effect a similar change, I have no reason to doubt.

I fear I have already occupied the time of the meeting a great deal too long, but I must crave your indulgence, Mr. Chairman,

for one more remark. It has been said that if the Uriyá, like the other vernaculars, is not fit for a University Course, it would suffice for the elementary education of the people, and that is what is most urgently needed. To support this view, it has been pointed out by a learned gentleman, himself a university scholar, that elementary mass education is preferable to high class education, and in as much as the cost for every boy in a Government College would suffice for 40 boys in a vernacular school, we should prefer to have 40 to 1. The education in the Colleges, it is needless to say, is at least 40 times superior to that in the vernacular schools, but the latter nevertheless is said to be more desirable. The gentleman has evidently no faith in the adage which aptly describes the merit of imperfect learning, or perhaps he patronises the homeopathic doctrine of "the greater the dilution the higher the potency." On that principle the paper of Mr. Beames (I say this without meaning any offence to that gentleman) would prove more effectual if it were torn into forty parts, and each handed to a separate member, than if the whole were understood by one man. But, however, that be, nothing could bring a greater misfortune upon the Uriyas than the enforced introduction of such a principle into their country. I yield to none in my earnestness for the elementary education of the poorer classes, but for the sake of truth, I must confess, even at the risk of laying myself open to much obloquy, that I have no faith whatever in mass education by itself, independent of higher education, as a means for the material, moral and intellectual amelioration of a nation, however much it may recommend itself by virtue of its apparent philanthropy : to me it has a smack of sickly sentimentalism which I cannot but condemn. Elementary mass education alone, without a higher education, can do but little good to any race of people. It implies a soupçon or suspicion of the three *Rs*, which is utterly worthless as an element of intellectual improvement. In Japan, we learn from Mr. Bernard, every grown up person, whether man or woman, is proficient in elementary reading and writing; but the Japanese are not, on that account, a whit better than the nations of Europe. In England mass education has extended much

more than in India, but less so than in France or Prussia, but is England at all inferior on that account, morally, physically or intellectually, to those countries ? One unhappy result of defective scraps of instruction miscalled education I shall advert to, it is that while the bulk of English thieves formerly were ignorant men, the relative proportion of educated to ignorant thieves has of late become as 68 to 32; that is, for every person who has become a thief from want of education, two have taken to the profession of larceny with the full benefit of the kind of education which is now become so fashionable a theme of praise. That it has in any way helped to raise England above other nations, I have every reason to doubt. But let us suppose, as a great Frenchman once did, that fate by some mortal stroke of cholera or plague was to carry off from England fifty of her greatest mathematicians, fifty of her highest astronomers, fifty of her ablest chemists, fifty of her most distinguished geologists, fifty of her foremost physicists, fifty of her profoundest statesmen, fifty of her best writers, fifty of her wisest doctors, and fifty of her most proficient engineers, and to compensate the loss by a small modicum of reading, writing and cyphering in every man, woman and child, and that such a thing as a cross mark in the marriage register, of which we have now near thirty percent was never to be. The loss in such a case would not amount to five hundred persons,—mere "tulips and exotics" as they have been poetically described by the gentleman whom I have just alluded to, of no essential value to English society,—and the gain would be education in five millions of sturdy corn-growers. Would not England nevertheless be two centuries behind hand of France ? England would still retain many of her third class astronomers, mathematicians and scientific men, but they would not suffice to uphold her prestige as an intellectual nation. In Orissa there is no man learned in the sciences, and the doctrine of mass education to the exclusion or supersession of higher education, would remove the chance of her ever getting one. It would chain her down to one dead level of intellectual poverty from which she will have no prospect of rising. It may convert her sons into indifferent

copyists, or bad substitutes of Babbage's calculating machines: but not into intellectual, sturdy, self-reliant men. May the wisdom of our rulers avert from us so dire a calamity !

URIYA DIALECT

Utkala Bháshára Unnatiprati Byágháta.

Utkala bháshára unnati pakshare bartamána gabarnamenta ó dészya lokamáne yerúpa yatna karu-a-chhanti tánhira simá náhi. Alpakála madhyare utkalare jemanta bidyálaya sthápana o utkala bhásháre pushtaka mudrita kárya heu-áchhi ihá dekhi samastankara biswása huai ye achire utkala bháshára unnati heba, tathácha amhemáne bodha karun ye abadhi prakrita upáyara anusarana hoï náhin e bháshára unnati bipakshare eka gurutara pratibandhaka rahi-achhi.

Ethira parichaya debá purbara amhemáne keteka lokara bhrama sañsodhana karibára uchita bibechaná karu-achchun. Páthakamánanka smarana thiba ye gata disambara másare Kalikátá báshi subikhyáta bábu Rájendralála Mitra e pradesaku ási kataka dibetiñ klabare gotie baktritá kari-thile. Amhemáne táchánka Ingaráji baktritá karibára khamatáku prasañsa karithilun mátra. Se bidesiya, háthata, gotie baktritá karithile boli táchánka matámatara álochaná kari-nathilun. Alpakála helá jánipárilun ye táchánka matakú aneka loka utkrista jnána kari sethira anugami hoi-ahhanti, sutarán ete bele táchánka matara bhrama darsáibá ábasyaka helá.

CALCUTTA DIALECT

Utkala Bháshára Unnatiprati Byágháta.

Utkala bháshára unnati pakshare bartamána gabarnamenta ó dészya lokamáne yerúpa yatna karitechhen tánhira simá náhi. Álpakála madhyare utkale yemata bidyálaya sthápana o utkala bhásháre pushtaka mudrita kárya haiáchhe ihá dekhiyá samasta (lokera) biswása hayitechhe ye achire utkala bháshára unnati haiba. Tathácha ámara bodha kari ye abadhi prakrita upáyara anusarana

ná haya e bháshára unnatira pakshe eka gurutara pratibandhaka rahiáchhi.

Ihára parichaya debára purbe ámará kataká lokara bhrama sansódhana kará uchita bibechaná kari-áchhi. Páthakadigera smarana thákiba ye gata dísambara máse Kalikátá báshi subikhýáta bábu Rájendralála Mitra e pradese asiyá kataká dibatin klabe eka baktrítá kariáchhilen, ámará táchánra Ingráji baktrítá karibára khamatára prasansá kariyá chhilám mátra. Se bidesiya hathát ekatá baktrítá kariáchhila baliá táchára matámatera álochaná kariá chhilám ná. Alpakála haila jánite párláma ye táchánra mataké aneka loka utkrishta jnána kariyá táchára anugámi hai-áchhen, sutarán ebelá táchánra matera bhrama darsáibára abasyaka haila.

DECCA DIALECT

Utkala Bháshára Unnatiprati Byágháta.

Utkala bására unnatira pakke battamána gabararanmenta o desiya lokerá jerúpa yatna karitechena táchára simá náhi. Alpakála madye utkale yemata bidyálaya thápan o utkala básáya pustakamudrita kárya haiteche táchára deshiyá samasta lokera biswásá haiteche je abilambe utkala bására unnati haibek. Tatácha ámará boda kari je jábat prakrita upáyara anusaran ná haya tábat ai bására unnatira pakke eka brihat pratibandaka tákibek.

Ihára parichaya debára pubbe ámará kataká lokera brama sanso-danakará uchit bibechaná kariyachi. Pátakdigera sarana tákibek ye gata disembara máse Kalikátá nibási subikkátak bábu Rájendralála Mitra e desa ásiyá kataká divetin klabe eka baktitá diyáchilen, amará kebala táchán Inreji baktrítá karára kama tára prasañsa kariyáchilam. Se bidesi hatát ektá baktitá kariyáchila ei janyá táchán matámatera bibechaná kariyá chilám ná. Alpakála haila jánite párláma táchán matere aneka loke utkishta jnána kariyá táchán paschátgámi haichen, sutarán ebelá táchán matera brama dekáuera ábasyaka haila.



NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF ORISSA UNDER MUHAMMADAN, MARATHA AND ENGLISH RULES – A Critique

[Abstract]

– Rajendra Lal Mitra

This paper is a collection of all the information regarding the past history of Orissa in general and of Balasore in particular, which Mr Beames has been able to collect from various sources. It was written as chapter II of a manual of the district of Balasore of which Mr Beames was collector during 1869-73, but was never published. Recently, being engaged in some researches regarding the history of his present official Charge, the Burdwan division, Mr Beames has had occasion to refer to it, and as he knows of no compilation containing all the facts contained in it, he has thought that it might prove useful if it were printed.

DR RAJENDRALAL MITRA commented at some length on the paper. He thought Mr Beames had brought to a focus a large mass of information, and put it forth in a very readable form, but he had made a sad omission, and that detracted much from the value of his essay as a historical contribution. Stirling's memoir in the Researches of the Society contains a very full analysis of Orissan Chronicles of the Hindu period, and most of its shortcomings had been supplied in Dr Hunter's excellent history, which not only corrects all such errors as were unavoidable in a first attempt, but supplies a precis prepared by the late Mr Blochmann of all the information to be had in the works of Muhammadan historians. In the volume devoted to Orissa in the 'Bengal Gazetteer' Dr Hunter has further improved upon his previous work, and Mr Toynbee's 'History of Orissa' gives a very full account of the British connection with Orissa.

Coming to a history of Orissa after reading these works, one naturally expects something new, or some information as to what is taken from these authors and what is original discovery. But Mr Beames supplies no such information, and systematically avoids all reference to his predecessors making no distinction between what he has taken from old records, and what is based on mere local tradition of the present day. The paper was written between 1869 and 1873 or before the dates of the Gazetteer and Mr Toynbee's book: that perhaps accounts for some omissions, but in publishing a paper in 1883, it is desirable that due acknowledgement should be made of previous writers, and the new materials collected should be duly labelled. It would have been a great accession if Mr Beames had given extracts from the works noted in Mr Blochmann's precis, but he has not done so, nor as far as can be made out, utilized them in any way.

The name of the paper appeared to Dr Mitra as misleading. The paper is devoted principally to Balasore but it is called a 'History of Orissa'. Balasore was only one-third, and that the most insignificant third, of Orissa.

Mr Beames starts by saying that the country between the Kansabans and the Subarnarekhá rivers, i.e. Balasore, "was totally uninhabited and covered with Jungles". This was probably the case in some remote pre-historic period, soon after the tract was reclaimed from the sea, but as Mr Beames seemed to assume that such was also the case in the 13th or 14th century of the Christian era, Dr Mitra urged that such was not the case, and he believed that there was not a tittle of evidence to show that the Aryans entered Orissa from the west, following the course of Mahanadí. Mr Beames assumes that the Aryans proceeded from between Arrah and Gaya to Orissa. Philological evidence is entirely in favour of the theory of the migration from the Behar province, but the determination of the exact locale between Arrah and Gaya was the merest assumption. But, taking for granted that they did go from Arrah or Gaya, the route they must have followed to come to Mahánadí from the west would be, first a westerly course to Nagpur, thence a southerly course down Sambalpur to reach the Mahánadí in a near

Berar, and then an easterly one to Orissa, and this has to be accepted as an historical fact, because the straight cut through Balasore was not practicable, because that district was then an impenetrable jungle. This major, however, has no leg to stand upon. Mr Beames urges that the name of the district shows that it was once a jungle. The name he says, is a corruption of 'Banesvara' or the 'lord of the forest,' referring to the presiding divinity of the place, and the district must have therefore once been a forest, but he does not adduce an iota of evidence to prove that the name is really a corruption of the kind, nor does he show that Dr Hunter was wrong when he said in his history that Balasore is derived from Bálā youthful, and I'svara, a lord -the youthful lord. If one would be disposed to build a theory on this similar to that of Mr Beames, the district would be the abode of perpetual juvenescence. If we accept, the original name to be Banesvara, still the induction would not necessarily be correct, for Bana in India means a grove, a park, or tope- as well as the forest, nor would the name of a town beginning with 'forest' imply the whole district to have been a forest: Such an argument was adopted by Mr Wheeler to prove that the districts of Delhi and Hurrianah were an uninhabited forest at the time of the Pándus, because the Pándus are said to have burnt down the Khándava forest. Adopting this line of argument, as well might the New Zealander of Macaulay hereafter conclude from the name of New Forest that the whole of Hampshire including Surrey and Sussex was a forest in the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, or, coming to India, declare that the whole of Shahabad was a forest at the same time, because the mutineers under Kumar Singh found shelter in the forest of Jagadispur in 1858. To drop, however, the *a priori* line of argument, positive facts are abundant to show that Balasore was a high road between the north and the south from a remote period of antiquity. According to the Buddhist records, on the death of Buddha, in the 6th century before Christ, the king of Kalinga obtained the left canine tooth of the saint, and consecrated it at Dantun, on the north of Balasore and the present name of the town is a corruption of Dantapura 'the town of the tooth relic: Subsequently, a king of Magadha assailed the town, and carried away the relic to

his capital. It was brought back by a subsequent king of Kalinga, and when a second attempt was made to take it away to Magadha, it was sent on to Tamluk, in Bengal, to be thence forwarded to Ceylon. In the fourth century before Christ, Aira, king of Kalinga, claims, in the Hathigumpha inscription, to have defeated one of the Nanda kings of Behar. In the third century before Christ, Asoka sent his missionaries to Cuttack, and caused his edicts to be recorded on the rocks of Dhauli. Surely no one will urge that all this intercourse took place via central India along the banks of the Mahanadi. In the fifth century, Yayáti Keshari, a lieutenant of Bhava Gupta, of Magadha, came down from the north, established his first metropolis at Yajpura, and thence proceeded to Cuttack and further south. At the beginning of the same century, the Chinese traveller Fa Hian came to Tamluk, and wanted to proceed down south in his course to Ceylon, but was dissuaded by accounts of fatigue and difficulties, not at Balasore, but in the Telinga country, much lower down. In the seventh century, Hiuen Thsang travelled from Tamluk to Puri without meeting with any difficulty. In the face of these facts, it is too much to assert that the first mention of a high road we have is in the fifteenth century when Chaitanya travelled from Bengal to Puri. The fact is, Dr Mitra thought, that Mr Beames, having started the theory of the Uriyas having had no intercourse with the Bengalis, has been obliged to create this forest barrier to prove that there could have been no former intercourse. The philological arguments to which he had incidentally referred were not tenable. But as Dr Mitra had already pointed this out some ten or twelve years ago, and his position had not been since proved to be wrong, he did not wish to take up the time of the meeting by dwelling on them again.



[*Proceedings of Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, March, 1883]

[Appendix-II]

KIRTANS, OR HYMNS FROM THE EARLIEST BENGALI POETS

A Special interest attaches to the six short hymns which I now lay before the public for the first time. Not only do they represent a large and widely popular class of compositions hitherto almost unknown to European scholars, but they are at the same time absolutely the earliest known specimens of Bengali literature, and thus present to the philologist as means of solving many very obscure and difficult problems, while to the student of Indian philosophy they exhibit to the fullest extent the natural and unrestrained sentiments of a follower of the Vaishnava creed in its first and purest stage.

These hymns are still sung in every village in Bengal. I believe there are some thousands of them living on the lips and in the hearts of the peasantry which have never been reduced to writing. Collections have been made, and I believe a few have been published in Bengali, but not in such a way as to be generally accessible to English readers. From their internal structure and from historical considerations they may be ascribed to the end of the fourteenth, and beginning of the fifteenth century, and are therefore genuine representatives of the speech of Bengal five hundred years ago.

I

Râg Sindhûra madhur-tâla.

Anjana ganjana, jagajjana ranjana,
 meghapunja jini⁽¹⁾ baranâ :
 Taruṇâruṇa,⁽²⁾ sthalakamala dalâruṇa,
 manjîra ranjita charanâ :
 Dekha sakhi nâgara râja birâje⁽³⁾ :
 Sudhaï sudhâmaya hâsa bikasita,

chânda malina bhel⁽⁴⁾ lâje :
 Indîbara garaba bimochana lochana,
 manasija phânda :
 Bhânga bhûjaga pâse bândhana,
 kulabatî kul debati mana kânda :
 Anukula dolata bhramara karambita,
 keli kadamba mâla :
 Gobinda Dâsa chite niting||sthirai,
 aichhana⁽⁵⁾ murati rasâla.

Translation

Râdhâ loquitur;
 Surpassing collyrium (in blackness) delighter of human kind,
 Conquering in hue the cloud-masses :
 Tender as the dawn, redder than the nelumbium,
 His feet adorned with manjîra :
 See, dear friend, shines the king of youths :
 (His face) expanded with nectared smiles is fair
 (so that) the moon has become dim from shame :
 Annihilating the pride of the lotus with his eyes,
 Love's snare :
 Binding with his eyebrow's snake-like noose,
 The race of women, distress of goddesses :
 Made musical by bees hangs the beautiful
 Garland of *keli* and *kadamba* flowers :
 In the heart of Gobind Das is ever firmly fixed that gracious
 form.

The lines being very long I have divided each one into two, with the exception of the third, which is sort of chorus, and shorter than the rest. The whole piece thus consists of eight lines. The end of each line is marked by a colon (:).

II

Lâlit Râginî

Sun, Šun ! Mâdhaba, nirdaya deha !
 Dhik rahu aichhan tohari⁽⁷⁾ sineha !
 Kâhe kahali⁽⁸⁾ tahan⁽⁹⁾ sakhyit bâta !

Jâminî bañchasi⁽¹⁰⁾ ánahî⁽¹¹⁾ sâta ?
 Kapañña neha kari⁽¹²⁾ Râika pâsa,
 Ána ramañi sânga karaha bilâsá.
 Kokahe rasika sekhara bara Kâna ?
 Tonh sama murukha jagate nâhi âna.
 Mânika taji kânche abhilâsha,
 Chhiye ! chhiye ! tohari rabhasamaya bhâsha;
 Bidyâpati champaka bhâna,
 Râî nâ heraba tohari bayâna.

Translation

(amantium iræ)

Râdhâ loquitur;
 Hear, hear ! Mâdhava, pitiless body !
 Fie on such love as this of thine !
 Why didst thou say a word of meeting,
 At night thou goest with another ?
 Having made deceitful love to Râî (Râdhika)
 Thou makest spot with another woman.
 Who says that Kanh is the crown of lovers ?
 Like thee another fool there is not in the world.
 Leaving the diamond thou delightest in glass;
 Fie ! fie ! on thy enamoured words.
 Bidyâpati says— O thou who resemblest the champak
 Râî will not look on thy face.

III

Râg : Dhyânesri

Râika hridaya bhâba bujhi Mâdhaba,
 pada tale dharâni loñai :
 Dui kare dui pada dhari rahu⁽¹³⁾ Mâdhaba,
 tabhu bimukha bheli⁽¹⁴⁾ Râî :
 Punahi binati kari Kâna :
 Hâm⁽¹⁵⁾ tuyâ⁽¹⁶⁾ anugata, tunhi bhala jânat,
 kâhe dagdha mujha⁽¹⁷⁾ prâna :
 Tunhi yadi mur mukha nâ heribi,
 jâoba⁽¹⁸⁾ kona ñhâma :

Tuyâ binu jîbana kona kâye⁽¹⁹⁾ râkhaba,
 tejabâ âpan prâna :
 Etaha binati Kâna jab kar lahi,
 tab nâhi herala bayâna :
 Etaha binati Kâna jab kar lahi,
 tab nâhi herala bayâna :
 Gobinda Dâsa michhaï âso,
 âsala roï chalat tab Kâna :

Translation

(Krishna begs pardon)

Mâdhav comprehending the sentiments of Râî,
 at her feet rolling on the earth :
 Mâdhav remains holding her two feet in his two hands,
 still Râî was averse :
 Again making entreaty Kânh (says) :
 I am obedient to thee, thou knowest it well,
 Why dost thou burn my soul ?
 If thou wilt not look on my face,
 to what place shall I go ? :
 Without thee to what end shall I preserve my life,
 I will abandon my own life :
 When Kânh had made all this entreaty,
 and still she looked not on his face :
 Gobind Das says vain was hope,
 weeping really then went Kânh.

IV

Râg : Dhyânesri.

Hari ! Hari ! boli dharanî dhari uthai
 bolat gadgada bhâkha :⁽²⁰⁾
 Nila gagana heri tâhâri bharama⁽²¹⁾ bhâba
 bihisanche⁽²²⁾ mâgeye⁽²³⁾ pâkha :
 Ki karaba chandra chandana ghana lepana
 kisalaya dharanî sâyâne :
 Ana beyâri, âna pâya, aukhada⁽²⁴⁾
 Gobinda Dâsa nahi jâne :

Translation

(Radha repents of her coldness)

“Hari ! Hari !” she calls, lying on the ground she rises up.

Speaking trembling words.

Looking at the blue sky thinking of his wandering,

She asks from the birds wings :

“What avails the moon, thick smearing of sandal paste,

Kisalaya leaves, or lying on the ground ?

Bring him, friend, bring him to my feet,” a remedy

Gobinda Das knows not.

V

Sri Râg

Hâm ati bhîti rahanu tanu goï⁽²⁵⁾

So rasasâgara thor⁽²⁶⁾ nâ hoï;

Bâsa nâhi hoyala kaona je sâti,

Madana latâ janu danšana hâti;

Puna kata kâkuti kaola anukula,

Tabhu pâpa hiya majhu⁽²⁷⁾ nâhi bhula.

Hâmâri âchhila kata puraba bhâgî ?

Pheri âola hâm so phala lâgî.

Bidyâpati kahe nâ kaha kheda.

Aichhe hoyala payila⁽²⁸⁾ sambheda

(Râdhâ's regrets at the long absence of Krishna)

I have remained in much fear enduring this body

Not having been near that ocean of delight;

Not one of my companions has been in my power;

As the *madana* creeper stinging the hand;

Again how many entreaties have I made humbly

Even so the sin in my heart understands not its error.

What fortune was mine in a former life ?

Again I have come to attain this reward.

Bidyâpati says, speak not this grief,

Thus has occurred the first separation.

There is a mystic meaning in all these *kîrtans* which it is worth while to draw out more clearly.

The old Aryan element-worship had led to the creation of a multitude of gods between whose varying attributes and powers a considerable amount of confusion must necessarily have existed. In the long centuries of depression under which the Brahmanical religion languished during the supremacy of Buddhism, the necessity of introducing some order into the grotesque and crowded Pantheon of the Hindus must have forced itself upon the mind of the Brahmans.

The monotheism of Buddha, affording as it did not definite person upon whom the popular mind might fix itself, led to the idea of elevating either Śiva or Vishṇu into the supreme place. The shadowy *parama Brahma* of an earlier age became personified in one or other of the rival gods, and gradually the incarnation of Kṛishṇa, an Indian rendering of the great Christian fact received through the medium of later Buddhist legends, shaped itself into a distinct creed and won an immense and ever increasing popularity.

A further development awaited it when the Muhammadans came to India. The emotional or unphilosophical monotheism which they professed made a deep impression on the philosophical minds of the Hindus, and led to that outbreak of new religious theories which was reduced to system by Chaitanya in Bengal, by Rāmānand and his disciple Kabir in Hindustan and by Nānak in the Panjab. Vishṇu is the supreme being; the whole Hindu Pantheon sinks into the position of ministers to his will; by a further extension of the same line of thought this supreme being is in everything— he is everything. We must love him, for we are a part of his essence. He has provided us with a concrete expression of this love, in his sports with Rādhā and the gopis. Let us then meditate on these, let our hymns and songs be of these. Let Rādhā typify the human soul and Kṛishṇa the divine and the animal are strangely mingled— he is half god, half beast. The glowing temperament of the Indian poet, unrestrained by any of those curbs and checks which Europe has agreed to obey, led him into the wildest excesses. The love at first intended to be purely spiritual soon degenerated into mere

earthly lust, and the scenes between Râdhâ and her lover are often more suggestive of the brothel than of the temple.

I give as an example of the least offensive of this class a short kirtan.

VI

Bâlâ ramaṇî ramaṇe nâhi sukha,
 Antare madana dei diguna duḥkha;
 Sab sakhî meli sutala pâsa
 Chamkî chamki dhalî chhâta je niśwâsa
 Karaïte kole moraï sab anga
 Mantra nâ śunaï janu bâla bhujanga
 Beri eka kara dhalî mudita nayâna,
 Rogi karaye janu aushadha pâna.
 Tila âdha dukha janam bhari sukha,
 Ithe kâhe dhalî morasi mukha ?
 Bhaṇaye Bidyâpati śunaha Murâri
 Tunhu rasa sâgara mugdhini nâri.
 To a young girl in love there is no pleasure,
 In her heart Madana causes double pain:
 All her companions assembling lay besides her
 Starting, starting, the girl heaved sighs,
 When taking her into the arms she contorts all her body,
 As spells are disregarded by the young serpent.
 Covering her closed eyes with her hands,
 As a sick man takes medicine;
 For a moment is the pain, for life is the joy;
 From this O girl ! why do you turn your face ?
 Bidyâpati says, hear, o Murari !
 Thou art the ocean of love, the girl is but young.
 This is Horace's
 "Nondum subactâ ferre jugum valet
 Cervice; nondum munia comparis
 Æquare, nec tauri ruentis
 In venerem tolerare pondus."⁽²⁹⁾

But it is at first sight rather startling to see the metaphor applied as it is in this case to the first effect upon the soul of the awakening influence of divine love. Accustomed as we are to keep the flesh and the spirit widely apart and to regard them as antagonistic to one another, it is strange and revolving to be brought face to face with a phase of thought in which the fleshly serves as a type of the spiritual. Unaided human nature has in Vaishnavism soared high and nearly touched the goal of truth, but for lack of revelation it has fallen back and lies grovelling in the mire.

In conclusion, I must acknowledge the source whence I obtained these interesting hymns. I have to thank Babu Jagadishnâth Rai for his kindness in procuring them for me, for assisting me with his advice in translating and making notes on them.

He has promised to endeavour to procure for me some more of them, which if the specimens herein given should prove interesting to any class of readers, I will publish in due course hereafter.



[*The Indian Antiquary*, November 1, 1872, pp.323-326]

(1) *Jini* – having conquered, an old form of the aorist participle.

(2) *áruna* has two meanings. In the first place it means “the dawn”, in the second “red”.

(3) *birâje*. This form of the simple indefinite present is common to all the languages of the Aryan group, though its meaning as a present is somewhat obscured by modern usage in Marathi and Hindi; the older form is in -ay as in *suday*, *sthiray*, and is contracted from the Sanskr. ending -ati. In the forms *lâje*, *pâse*, *chite*, we have the old oblique case of the noun which expresses both instrumentality and location, in the poems of the mediæval period of all the seven languages this form occurs though in the modern development of each of them it has met with a different fate.

(4) *Bhel* is still used in the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi, but is no longer current in Bengali, which uses instead the more modern form *hoyl*, – (*hoylam*, *hoyle*, &c.).

(5) *niting* – *nityam*. The anuswâra written as -ng.

(6) *aichhana* – Hindi, *asia*, Bhojpuri, *aisan*; (from Skr. through Prakrit).

(7) This poem contains more grammatical forms than the preceding one; and those who are acquainted with the Bengali of the present day will see how little these forms have as yet acquired of the distinctive characteristics of that language. Thus—

তোহরি 'of thee', Bengali, তোৱ; Bhojpuri Hindi, Old Hindi (Chand) রুহি, তোহি also তোৱ; Marwari থাৱা, Punjabi, রুহাদা; Gujarati, তাৱে; &c.

It would seem that *Tohari* is almost as closely allied to any one of these forms as to the modern Bengali.

রু "may it remain ! be it !" The termination accords with Oriya in দেূঁ, জাঁ, but not particularly with Bengali. It resembles more the রহু, রহুঁ of old Hindi. It is in fact Sanskrit রহু S. Sing. imperat : which becomes in Prakrit রহঁ rehaü, and the hiatus is in Hindi filled up by হ, while in our text the *a* is dropped. Whence the Bengali gets its final *k* in *rahuk*. I do not yet know.

8. কহলি may be also কহনি, as *n* and *l* are written alike in Bengali MSS. It is 2 sing. pret. and drops the original স (কহসি=কথিতো+আসি). It is the same in modern Bengali : Bhojpuri, *Kahila*.

9. রুঁ thou. Bhojpri রুঁ is the nearest form. Bengali রুহ for রুহি is further removed. A few lines further on we get the still more Bhojpuri form তোহঁ।

10. বংচসি = a pure Sanskrit form 2 sing : press. In modern Bengali the ঙ has leapt backwards over the স making ইস as in কৰিস, কহিস।

11. আন = অন্য, *anya*, as is O; H; G; M; and many other dialects.

12. করি = mod. Ben. কৰিয়া and কৰিলে।

13. *Rahū* 'remains' : The old present particle, still retained in Oriya, though disused in modern Bengali.

14. ভোল This is a curious formation, the ঙ is probably shortened from ঙ and represents a feminine past participle, such as still subsists in Hindi হাউ, fem. হুই. Guj *thaelo*, f. *thaeli*, Marathi, Jhālā, Jhāli, but which has died out in Bengali.

15. হাম plur. of personal pron. 1st person. Hindi হম. This is a peculiarly instructive form. The origin of this word in all the seven languages is the Prakrit অহে *âmhe*. The Oriya with its usual fondness for archaisms still retains this form almost unchanged in *ambhe* where the *b* is merely the natural thickening of the pronunciation after *m*. Hindi has thrown the ঙ backwards to the beginning of the word, making হমে. In হাম

we have the tendency, natural to Bengali, towards lengthening the short vowel, so that this form may be regarded as transitional between middle Hindi and the modern Bengali आमि.

16. तुजा is a somewhat anomalous oblique singular of तू though as in Bengali य is generall pronounced *j*, we are perhaps justified in transliterating this word *tujā* when it will be an analogous form to *mujh* in the same line. It occurs again a little lower down; the dropping of the aspirate of the श is one step in the transition from the Bihar forms *mujh*, *tujh* to the Bengali *mo*, *to*.

17. मुझ, this is pure Hindi and has no representative in Bengali.

18. जाओब like *râkaba*, *tejaba* in the next line is the first person singular of the future. There is a singular want of agreement between the terminating vowels of this tense in the three languages which use the form in ब for the future. Thus—

	Bhojpuri	Bengali	Oriya
Sing.	1. rakhab	râkhiba (ð)	râkhibi
	2. rakhaba	râkhibi	râkhibu
	3. rakhi	râkhibe	râkhiba (ð)
Pl.	1. rakhab	râkhiba (ð)	râkhibun
	2. rakhaba	râkhibe	râkhiba
	3. rakhihin	râkhiben	râkhibe, (and-ben)

The words in the text agree with the Bhojpuri of Behar better than with the modern Bengali in one respect, namely, in that they retain the *a* in the second syllable to a base *rakha*, not as in Bengali to a weakened base *rakhi*. The curious variations of the terminal vowel in the several persons may perhaps be referred to excessive corruptions of the forms *bhavâmi*, *bhavasi*, etc. in which for reasons not yet fathomed one vowel has acquired the ascendant in one case, another in another. Thus in the 3 sing. the -*e* is probably for -*ay-* from -*art*, and Oriya has changed *e* to *a* as it has in the genitive singl of the noun where it has -*ar* for the Bengali -*er*.

19. कोय this should also like तया be read *kâje*, being the common Prakrit form for *kâryya*.

20. भाव It is a distinctly Hindi peculiarity to pronounce this "bhâkha". ख is in Hindi regularly *kh*, but not in Bengali. That it must be so pronounced here is evident from its rhyming with *pâkha*, a wing.

21. *Bihisanche* : My authorities are not in accord about this word. One writes it 'bihangame,' a second, 'bihisane,' while a third suggests 'bihi sanche'; the above seems the more probable reading.

22. भरम i.e. भ्रम.

23. मार्गेये seems a sort of double formation, mâge, i.e. mārgati would have been sufficient, that additional syllable is perhaps *ob metrum*.

आन बेचारि etc. The meaning is not clear. I have rendered it as though *beydri* was for *piyâri* and supposoed Râdhâ to be addressing her *sakhi* or confidente, but I am not satisfied with this. Babu Jagadish thinks *âna*, *pâya* is one word for *annupâya* 'i.e. without resource,' he also translates *âna beyari* by 'without the lover', but I cannot get this meaning out of the words.

24. औखद Here again comes the Bihar type with ख for ष unknown to modern Bengali.

25. *goi* probably corrupted from *goyâi* a causal from root *gam*, meaning "having caused to go," that is, having borne or endured.

26. *Thor* perhaps from स्थावित्.

27. *Majhu* a form of बुझू i.e. बुझते.

28. *Payila* for पहिला, first.

29. *Carm.* II. v.

THE EARLY VAISHNAVA POETS OF BENGAL

I. BIDYAPATI

HAVING, in the introductory essay, given a general view of the subject of Vaishnava literature in its philosophical and general aspect, I propose now, in this and succeeding papers, to analyze more in detail the writings of some of the principal early masters, with special reference to their language. The Vaishnavas are the earliest writers in Bengali, and in them we trace the origin of that form of speech. In Bidyāpati indeed the language is hardly yet definitely Bengali : it is rather an extremely eastern member of the wide-spread group of dialects which we call, somewhat loosely, Hindi—a group whose peculiarities are, in the western portion of its area, allied to Punjābi and Sindhi, while in the east they have developed characteristics which find their extreme, and almost exaggerated, expansion in modern Bengali.

Very little is known about Bidyāpati. Native tradition represents him as the son of one Bhabānanda Rai, a Brāhmaṇ of Barnator in Jessore. His real name was Basanta Rai, and he is mentioned by this name in one of the poems of the *Pada-kalpataru* (No. 1317). The date of his birth is said to be A.D. 1433, and of his death 1481. These dates are probably correct, as his language exhibits a stage of development corresponding to the beginning and middle of the fifteenth century. He mentions as his patrons Rai Sib Singh, Rūpnarāyana, and Lachhimā Debi, wife of Sib Singh; and in one passage he prays for the “five lords of Gaur” (*chiranjīva rahu pancha Gauḍeśwara kabi Bidyāpati bhaṇe*). From these indications I should place the poet at Nadiya (Nabadwīpa), afterwards the birthplace of Chaitanya, Rai Sib Singh and the other “lords of Gaur” being wealthy landowners of that district; and we may accept his language as a type of the vernacular of Upper Bengal (Gaur) at that period.

A considerable number of this master's songs, under his *nom de plume* of Bidyāpati (lord of learning), are contained in the *Pada-kalpataru*; and his popularity is probably due to his being only just dead and still in great repute when Chaitanya was born. The former is said to have been fond of reciting his poems, as well as those of the Birbhûm poets, Jayadeva and Chandî Dâs, the former of whom wrote in Sanskrit and the latter in Bengali. The printed edition of the *Pada-kalpataru* is unfortunately very uncritically edited; and the compiler, Vaishnaba Dâs (or, as modern Bengalis would pronounce his name, Boishtob Das), is a man of very modern date, so that there is reason to suspect that a general modernization of the text has taken place, individual instances of which will be pointed out hereafter. Bengali scholars themselves admit this, and do not deny that the process has been ignorantly conducted, many a good racy word of *gânwârî*, or village Hindi, having been mangled to make it bear some resemblance to the modern Bengali, with which alone the editor was acquainted. A reconstruction of the text is not possible until the subject has been more thoroughly handled. Working alone in this virgin field I am especially anxious to avoid all hasty and unsupported conjectures, and shall therefore treat the existing text as tenderly as possible, only suggesting such amended readings as are obviously demanded by the context, and bearing in mind that the great divergence of modern Bengali pronunciation from the ancient standard may have had some influence on the spelling, in as much as the poems were handed down orally for a long time before they were reduced to writing.

In making selections from this master, we are to a great extent confined to the amatory portions of the collection. The contemporaries of Chaitanya were the first to introduce the chaster poems, which treat of Kṛishṇa's early life in Braj (goṣṭha) and Jasodâ maternal cares (bâtsalya). The pre-Chaitanya writers seldom speak of any thing but love of the grossest and most sensual kind.

In transliterating there is much uncertainty and irregularity in respect of the short final *a* sound. Strictly speaking, though

omitted in prose, it should always be pronounced in verse; but if this rule were observed in these poems, the metre would be destroyed. As a general rule, Hindi words end with the consonant, and words still in their old Sanskrit form sound the vowel; thus we should read *jab*, *hám*, but *buchana*, not *bachan*. This rule again, however is constantly neglected; and I have therefore been guided by the practice of the Kirtanias, or professional singers, whose method of pronunciation depends upon the tune, and has been handed down by immemorial tradition. The Sanskrit *v* and *b* are both pronounced *b* in Bengali, and I have so written them throughout. The text and translation will be accompanied by a few notes explaining the difficult words or constructions; and I shall conclude with an attempt at sketching an outline of the grammar used in the poems.

I

(Râdhâ's *confidence* instructs her how to behave at her first interview with Kṛishṇa)

Śun, śun, e dhani, bachana biśesh !
 'Aju hám deyaba tohe upadeś :
 Pahila hi baiṭhabi śayanaka sim,
 Heraïte piyâ moṛabi gîm,
 Paraśite duhun kare bârabi pâni,
 Maun karabi pahun kaïrate bâni,
 Jab hâm sonpaba kare kara âpi
 Sâth se dharabi ulaṭi mohe kâñpi.
 Bidyâpati kaha iha rasa sathât,
 Kâmguru haï śikhâyaba pât.—I. ii.22.(49)⁽¹⁾

Translation

Hear, hear, O lady, a special word !
 To-day I will give thee instruction :
 First indeed thou shalt sit on the edge of the couch;⁽²⁾
 When thy lover would look (at thee), thou shalt turn away (thy)
 neck;

When he touches (thee) with both hands, thou shalt put aside
(his) hand;

Thou shalt be silent even when he speaks a word;

When I shall deliver thee (to him) hand to hand,

Quickly turning thou shalt seize me tremblingly.

Bidyâpati saith— This is delight indeed;

The tutor of love (am I), I will teach you the lesson.

II

(Speech of Kṛishṇa's messenger to Rādhâ)

Jībana châha jaubana baṛa raṅga,

Tabe jaubana jab supur ukha saṅga;

Supurukha prem kabahu jâni chhâri,

Dine dine chând kalâ sama bâṛi.

Tuñun jaichhne nâgarî kânu rasabânt,

Baṛa punye rasabati mile rasabant.

Tuhun jadi kahasi, kariye anusang,

Chauri piriti haye lâkh guṇa sang,

Supurukha aichhan nâhi jag mājh,

'Ar tâhe anurata baraja samâjh :

Bidyâpati kahe ithe nâhi lâja

Rûp gunabatikâ iha baṛa kâja.— I. iii. 4.(63.)

Translation

Youth is the greatest delight in life.

Youth is then, when with (one's) love.

Having (once) known the good man's love, when wilt thou leave it ?

Day by day, like the digits of the moon, it grows.

Sportive as thou art, just so amorous is Kânh :

By great virtue the amorosa meets the amorooso :

If thou sayest, influenced by desire,

Stolen love has a myriad merits,

(Yet bethink thee) such a lover there is not in the world :

All the denizens of Braj are enamoured of him.

Bidyâpati saith— In this there is no shame;

This is the great business of a beautiful and virtuous woman.⁽³⁾

III

(Râdhâ's *confidante* describes her mistress's condition to Kriśṇa)

Khelata nā khelata loka dekhi lāj,
 Herata nā herata sahachari mājh.
 Śuna, śuna, Mâdhab, tohâri dohâī !
 Baṛa aparûp âju pekhalu Râī;
 Mukharuchi manohar, adhara surang,
 Phutala bândhuli kamalaka sang.
 Lochana janu thira bhṛinga âkâr
 Madhu mâtala kiye uṛaī nā pâr.
 Bhâñaka bhaṅgima thori janu.
 Kâjare sâjala Madan dhanu
 Bhaṇaye Bidyâpati dautik bachane
 Bikasala anga nā jâyat dharaṇe.—I. iv. 5.(80)

Translation

Sporting, (or) sporting, on seeing folk (she feels) shame;
 Seeing, (or) not seeing, (she remains) among her companions.
 Hear, hear, Madhab, the cry for help to thee !
 In ill guise have I seen Râī to-day;
 The charming brilliance of her face, her tinted lip.
 (Were as though) the *bândhuli* flowered beside the lotus.
 (Her) eye like a fixed bee in shape,
 (Which) drunk with honey flies not away.
 The slight curve of her eyebrows (is) as though
 Love had adorned his bow with lamp-black.
 Quoth Bidyâpati— A messenger's word indeed !
 The budding limbs are not being embraced.

The next example is historically interesting as containing the names of the master's patrons. Legend says that Lachhimâ Debi was to Bidyâpati what Beatrice was to Dante, and Laura to Petrarch; and it is hinted that she was something more; but this latter insinuation seems to be contradicted by his attachment to the husband, Sib Singh, so I prefer not to believe it.

IV

Sundara badane Sindûra bindu sâñala chikura bhâr;
 Janu rabi śaśi sangahi uyala pichhe kari andhiyâr Râmâ he adhik
 chandrima bhel :
 Kata nâ jatane kata adabhûta bihi bahi tore del.
 Uraja ankura chire jhâpâyasi thor thor darśây;
 Kata nâ jatane kata nâ gopasi hime giri nâ lukây.
 Chanchala lochane bañka nehârini añjana śobhana tây,
 Janu in cibara pabane pelila ali bhare ultây.
 Bhaña Bidyâpati śunaha jubati e sab e rûpa jân,
 Rây Sib Singh, Rûpanarâyaṇa, Lachhimâ Debi
 paramân.—III.xxiv.7.(1352)

Translation

On (her) fair face the vermillion spot, black (her) weight of hair,
 As though the sun and moon rose together driving away the
 darkness.

CHO. Ah lady ! the moonlight has increased :
 With what labour how many charms fate has given to thee !
 Thy budding breast though coverest with thy robe, showing it a
 very little;
 With how much soever labour though hidest it, the snowy
 mountain cannot be hid.
 Looking sidelong with glancing eye, adorned with collyrium,
 Like a lotus shaken by the wind, titled by the weight of the bees.
 Quoth Bidyâpati— Listen, maiden, know that such as is all this,
 Rai Sib Singh and Rûpnarâyan, (such is) Lachhimâ Debi in truth.

V

(Description of Spring)

Aola ṛitupati râja Basant,
 Dhâola alikula mâdhabi panth;
 Dinakara kiraṇa bhel paugaṇḍ;
 Keśara kusuma dharala hema daṇḍ,
 Nṛîpa âsana naba piṭhala pât;

Kâñchana kusuma chhatra dharu mâth;
 Mauli rasâla mukuña bhel tây,
 Samukhahi kokila pañchama gây.
 Šikhikula nâchat alikula jantr,
 Án dwijakula pañhu âśîsh mantr.
 Chandrâtap ure kusuma parâg,
 Malaya paban saha bhel anurâg.
 Kunda billi taru dharala niśân,
 Pâṭala tula aśoka dalabân,
 Kinśuka labangalatâ eka sang,
 Heri śiśira rîtu âge dila bhang;
 Sainya sâjala madhu makhyik kul,
 Śiśirika sabahun karala nirmûl.
 Udhârala sarasija pâola prân,
 Nija nabadale kara âsana dân.
 Naba Brindâbana râjye bihâr;
 Bidyâpati kaha samayaka sâr.—III.xxvi.7.(1450.)

Translation

The lord of the seasons has come, King-Spring; the bees hasten towards the *Madhavi*: the rays of the sun have reached their youthful prime: the *keśara* flower has set up its golden sceptre, a king's throne is the fresh couch of its leaves; the *kâñchan* flower holds the umbrella over his head, its fragrant garland is a crown to him; in front (of him) of koil sings its sweetest note. The tribe of peacocks dances (like) a swarm of bees, (like) another crowd of Brâhmans reciting invocations and spells. The pollen of flowers floats like a canopy, toying with the southern breeze. Jasmine and *bel* have planted their standard, with *pâṭala*, *tula*, and *aśoka* as generals, *kinśuka* and clove-vine tendrils along with them: seeing (them) the winter-season flies from before (them). The tribe of honey-bees have arrayed their ranks, they have routed entirely the whole of the winter; the water-lily has raised itself up and found life, with its own new leaves it makes itself a seat. A fresh spring shines in Brîndâban; Bidyâpati describes the essence of seasons.

VI

E dhani kamalini śuna hita bâñi !
 Prem karabi ab supurukha jâni.
 Sujanaka prema hema sama tul,
 Dahite kanaka dwiguṇ haye mûl.
 Tuṭaīte nâhi ṭuṭe prema adabhut,
 Yaichhane bârhata mrînâlaka sut.
 Subahu mataiga jemoti nâhi mâni;
 Sakal kaṇṭhe nâhi kokila bâñi;
 Sakal samay nahe ḥitu basant;
 Sakal purukh nâri nahe guṇavant;
 Bhaṇaye Bidyâpati śuna bara nâri,
 Premaka rît ab bujhaha bichâri.—I.v.8.(109.)

Translation

O lotus-like lady, hear a friendly word ! Thou shalt practise love now, having known a goodman. A good man's love is equal to gold, (like) gold in burning it has double value. In breaking, it breaks not (this) wonderful love : it increases like the fibres of the lotus-stalk. All elephants are not of equal breed : not in every throat is the koil's voice : not at all times is the spring season : not all men and women are excellent : quoth Bidyâpati— listen, good lady, now having pondered, understand the ways of love.⁽⁴⁾

I may now attempt to give a sketch, though necessarily little more than a sketch, of the grammar of Bidyâpati, regarded as the vernacular of Upper Bengal at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It will be observed that the distinctive forms of modern Bengali have only just faintly begun to show themselves, and where they do occur they are not so much definite forms as incipient dialectic variations.

The noun has lost all trace of inflection. The nominative is the crude form or base of Sanskrit. Occasionally an *e* is added, sometimes for the sake of the metre, sometimes for emphasis, thus—

Taichhana tohari sohâge (sohâge=saubhâgya)— “Of this kind is thy beauty.”

Apana karma doshe—

“(Your) own deed is (this) fault.”

The objective case (under which we must include both accusative and dative) is most frequently left without any sign. The context supplies the sense.

Chintâ nâ kara koi—

“Let no one take thought.”

Ropiyâ premer bija—

“Having planted the seed of love.”

In rare cases, however, the modern Bengali *ke* occurs :

Kânuke bujhâī—

“Having explained to Kanh.”

The genitive is most usually left unmarked, the word which governs it being placed after it, in the manner of a Sanskrit Tatpurusha compound. This practice is universal with the early Hindi poets, as *taila bindu*—“a drop of oil;” *rasa gâna*—“song of delight,” and the like. Bidyâpati’s favourite method of forming the genitive is, however, by the addition of the syllable *ka*; thus—

Sujanaka piriti pâshâna sama rehâ—

“The love of a good man is firm as stone.”

Maramaka dukha kahite hay lâja—

“To tell the grief of (my) heart is shame (to me).”

Premaka guna kahaba sab koi—

“Every one will say (it is) the effect of love.”

This form, in which the final *a* is not always pronounced, is a shortening of the fuller form *kara* or *kar*, which is found—(1) in Bidyâpati’s pronouns, as *tâkara bachana lobhâī*, “having longed for his voice,” (2) in the pronounce of the modern Bhojpûri dialect, as *ikarâ, okarâ*; (3) in a few Bengali words, as *âjkar kâlikar*, “belonging to, or of, to-day, to-morrow,” &c.; (4) in the plural genitive of Oriya, both in nouns and pronouns, as *râjânkar*, “of kings,” *ambhankar*, “of us,” where the rejection of the final *r* is also common, so that they say and write *râjânska, ambhanka*; (5) in Marâthî surnames, as *Chiplunkar*=of or from Chiplun. There are several passages in Chand in which the genitive seems to be thus expressed by the addition of *k* only; the context is, however, so obscure, that I fear to quote them in support of the form itself.

In the passage quoted above, *ropiyá premer bija*, we have the modern Bengali genitive in *er*; but this is, I think, an international modernization of the copyist. The line would run just as well if we read *premak*, and this would be more in keeping with Bidyāpati's usual style. It is very unusual in his poems to find the genitive in *er*:

The instrumental and locative cases are both indicated by *e*.

Jo preme kulabati kulaṭâ hoī-

"That a virtuous woman should become unchaste *through* love."

Maṇe kichhu nā-gaṇalu o rase bhola-

"*hi* (my) mind I nothing considered, being foolish *through* that love."

Supurukha⁽⁵⁾ parihare dukha bichârī-

"*On account of* the absence of the lover, having experienced grief."

Ambare badana chhâpâī-

"Hiding (her) face in (her) garment"

Dîpaka lobhe śalabha janu dhâyala-

"*From* desire of the lamp as a moth has run" (*i.e.*, flown).

Occasionally the Hindi *se*, 'with,' occurs, but rarely, as it is liable to be mistaken for the Bengali *se*, 'he.'

E sakhi kâhe Kahasi anuyoge,

Kânu se abhi karabi premabhoge-

"Ah, dearest ! why dost thou question (me) ?

Even now thou shalt enjoy love *with* Kânh."

Here again the *e* is added to the objective; *kahasi anuyoge*, "thou dost speak a question;" *karabi prema bhoge*, "thou shalt make an enjoying of love."

Kole leyaba tuhunka priyâ-

"Thy love shall take (thee) *in* his arms."

Other postpositions are used with the genitive in *ka*, as *mâjih*, 'in,' *sang*, 'with,' thus :

Hetha sarei pait̄haye śrabanaka mājih-

"Suddenly it penetrates into the ear."

Phutala bândhuli kamalaka sang-

"The bândhuli has flowered *with* the lotus."

Sometimes we have the old Hindi form in *hi*, which is there used for all cases of the oblique, though properly a dative, as in the line quoted in a former article (*I.A., Vo.I.p.324*).

Jâminî barichasi ânahi sâta—

“Thou passest the night *with another.*”

There is no distinctive form for the plural. When it is necessary to express the idea of plurality very distinctly, words like *sab*, ‘all,’ *anek*, ‘many,’ and the like, are used. Occasionally also we find *gana*, ‘crowd,’ as a first faint indication of what was subsequently to become the regular sign of the plural in Bengali.

We may now draw out our noun thus—

N. P r e m a, love (emphatic) p r e m é.

A. id.

D. id.

Instr. p r e m e, by love.

Gen. p r e m a k a, of love.

Abl. p r e m a k a m âj h, s a n g, &c., with, by love.

Loc. p r e m e, in love.

Crude form. p r e m a h i.

In the case of nouns ending in short *i* or *u*, no special inflections have yet been observed. The Hindi rejects these short vowels, and Bidyâpati seems to follow this rule, changing *rîti* into *rît*, and *vâyu* into *bây* or *bâo*. Nouns ending in long *i* and *û* frequently follow the Bengali mode, and shorten those vowels : so we see *dhani* for *dhanî*, *badhu* and *bahu* for *vadhû*.

The pronoun, especially in the 1st and 2nd persons, is singularly Hindi in its general type, leaning towards the Bhojpûri dialect.

The 1st person has lost its real singular, which would probably have been either *haun* or *mu*, and instead thereof the plural *hám* is always found. This is the case in Bhojpûri, and is introductory to the universal employment in Bengali of *ámi* for ‘I,’ though this is really a plural, the genuine singular *mui* being now considered vulgar and banished from polite speech. Thus we have

Nâri janame hám nâ karinu bhâgi—

“Born a woman, I have not been fortunate.”

Jâti goyâlinî hám matihîn—

“I am by caste a cowherdess, without wisdom.”

Aju bujhaba *hám* tayâ chaturâî—

“To-day *I* shall understand thy craftiness.”

Of the oblique case in its most usual crude form, there are several variations :—

Ki kahasi *mohe* nidân—

“What dost thou say *to me* after all ?”

Mo bine swapane nâ herabi ân—

“Even in sleep thou shalt see no other but me.”

Ingite bedan nâ janâyabi *moy*—

“(Even) by a sign thou shalt not show *to me* thy pain.”

We even get a form closely approaching modern Bengali in
Bihi *more* dâruña bhel—

“Fate has been harsh to me.”

Here the text has probably been modernized; the poet perhaps wrote *mohe*. The genitive exhibits the Bengali form.

Ki lâgi badanas jhâpasi sundari,

Harala chetana *mor*—

“Wherefore dost cover thy face, O fair one ? It has snatched away *my* senses.”

Kata rûpe minati karala pahun *mor*—

“In how many ways did he intreat me !”

(Literally “make supplication *of me* :” *minati=vinati*).

Sugandhi chandana ange lepala *mor*—

“He rubbed fragrant sandal on *my* body.”

In order to avoid lengthening this paper too much, I will for the rest merely give the words which I have found, omitting quotations:-

1st Person

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Nom.</i>	<i>h á m</i>	<i>Plural.</i>	<i>h á m</i>
	<i>Obl.</i>	<i>m o.</i>		[<i>h a m e.</i>]
		<i>m o y.</i>		[<i>h a m a h i n.</i>]
		<i>m o h e.</i>		
		[<i>m o r e.</i>]		
		<i>m u j h.</i>	<i>h á m á r.</i>	
	<i>Gen.</i>	<i>m o r.</i>	<i>h a m á r i.</i>	

The oblique form used as in the noun for all cases, with or without postpositions.

2nd Person

<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	t u h u n	<i>Plural.</i> t u m, t u m b i.
	t u n h i	
<i>Obl.</i>	to, t o r e.	t u m a h i n.
	t o h e.	
	t u y â.	
	t o y	
	t u j h.	
<i>Gen.</i>	t o r.	t u h u n k a.

3rd Person

<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	s o, s e.	<i>Plural.</i> [t i n i.]
<i>Obl.</i>	t â, t a y.	t u m a h i n.
	t â h e.	
<i>Gen.</i>	t â k a r.	t â h â r i.
	t â r.	

Leaving the subsidiary pronominal forms, which exhibit no striking peculiarities, I proceed to the verb, all the tenses of which have not yet been found, though the principal parts can either be pointed to in various passages, or inferred by analogy. The latter are inclosed in brackets.

Root D h a r a n a- 'holding.'

Present Tense.

1. [d h a r u],	I hold.
2. d h a r a s i,	thou holdest.
3. d h a r a ï, d h a r e, d h a r a y e, d h a r a,	{ he holds.

All four forms of the 3rd person are found, and sometimes even a sort of double form in eye, as *mágeye*.

Past Tense.

1. d h a r i n u, d h a r a l u,	{ I held.
-------------------------------------	-----------

Sab sakhi meli *sutala* pâśa—

"All (her) friends meeting *slept* besides her." Where *sutala* agrees with the plural noun. Of the 3rd persons imperative, a good example is

Mâna rahuk puna jânk parâṇa—

"Let honour remain, but let life go."

I do not, of course pretend to have exhausted Bidyâpati's grammar in these few remarks; but the more salient points have been indicated, partly with a view to fix the master's place in philology, and partly to exhibit the rise of the distinctive formations of modern Bengali.

□ □ □

(1) The first number is that of the S'âkhâ of the Pada-kal-pataru; the second, the Pallab; the third, the song; and that in brackets is the consecutive number which runs through the whole collection, and is after all the easiest to refer to.

(2) Cf. Horace Epod. — Manum puella suavie opponet tuo, *extrema et in sponda cubet*.

(3) To wit, the gratification of sensual desires ! One cannot help wondering what results such teaching as this can be expected to produce; fortunately these parts of the Vaishnava creed are not often sung before women.

(4) In No. I. the following words deserve notice :—

Baithabi, the Hindi form of the root with old Bengali termination : modern Bengali would be *basibi gîm*=Sanskrit *grivâ*.

Pahun : this curious word is generally='near', Skt.*pârs've*; but it must sometimes be rendered 'again', and sometimes, as in this instance, it is almost pleonastic.

Saṭhaṭ. I am not sure about this word. *Thaṭ* means generally form, shape, and in this place we may perhaps render 'this is delight in (full) shape in true guise, &c.

In No. II., the first line is literally 'having looked at life, youth is the great pleasure,' from which the rendering in the text flows naturally.

Piriti=Skr. *priti*. Any one familiar with any of the Indian vernaculars will need no aid in this song. The grammatical forms are given further on.

No.III. Strictly speaking, we should read *khelat*, but the metre demands a final short *a*. The eighth line is literally ‘having made (*kiye*) drunk (*mātala*) with honey (*madhu*) is not able (*uā pâr* for *pâre*) to fly (*uraī* for *uraite*). *Bhâna*=‘eyebrow’, *Hájyat dharne* is a difficult phrase. It may be adjust; ‘does not go’, *dhrane*, ‘in holding’=‘is not held or embraced;’ but this is stiff, and I seek for a better explanation.

No.IV. *Sânala*=Skr. *Svâmala*, Hindi *sânwlâ*. The third line means ‘the moonlight has grown brighter from thy presence’. In line 5, *kata nā* literally ‘how much not?’ that is, ‘what efforts has he not made?’ *jatane*=Skr. *yatne*; *bohi*, ‘having brought. having collected.’ *Lukây-* present 3 sing from *lukâyte* : lit. ‘one does not hide :’ this usage is equivalent to a passive. In *pabane pelila* the pret. still shows indications of its old participial origin: it is here shaken’=Skr. *pîditam*. The construction of the last two ‘lines is peculiar: the first line is addressed to *Jubati*=*yuvati*, i.e., Lachhimâ (Lakshmî) Debi herself; but in the second, Rai Sib Singh would seem to be addressed. The translation above aims at reconciling the difficulty by treating the latter as though he were incidentally introduced out of compliment, as usual.

No.V. I leave the names of the flowers in their native dress. Most of them are to be found in any native garden, and they seem more natural and poetical in their own names than if we called them by the sweet dog-latin of the botanists. Tastes differ, but I prefer *kes'ri* and *mâdhavi* to *Wrightia antidyserterica* and *Rottleria tinctoria*. The metaphor by which the pistil of the *kes'ari* is compared to a sceptre, and its wide-spread petals to a throne, will be understood by those who know the flower.

Panchama is the fifth note in the native scale of music. The notes are *sâ, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni*. The koï’s note is always compared to *pa*, or the *fifth* of these sounds. As I know nothing whatever of music, I can only hope those who do will understand what is meant.

In the 9 the dancing of the peacocks is compared to the intricate movements (*jantra-yantra*) of a swarm of bees, and their shrieks, most disrespectfully, to Brâhmans reading. *Madhu makhyik* = Skr, *madhumakshikâ*; *ksha* is in Bengali *khya*.

No.VI. It is only necessary to note the form *have* = ‘is,’ the original of modern. Bengali *hay*. The grammatical forms are partially explained in the text.

(5) I.e., *supurusha*, ‘good man,’ used for Kâshî, the lover of Râdhâ; *kh* for *sh* as usual in Hindi, though not in Bengali.

2. CHANDI DAS

Next in rank to Bidyāpati comes Chandī Dās, who though older in age did not begin to write so early as his brother-poet. He was a Barendro Brahman, and was born in A.D. 1417 at Nadūr, a village near the Thana of Sākalipūr, in the present British District of Bīrbhūm in Western Bengal, which lies about forty miles to the north west of celebrated town of Nadiya (Naddea). He was at first a Śānta or worshipper of the Śakti or female procreative energy typified by the goddess Durgā, wife of Śiva, one of whose names, Chandī, or the "enraged," he bears. The particular idol affected by this sect is termed Bāsuli, and was probably a non-Aryan divinity adopted by the Aryan colonies in Bengal. Her rude woodland temples are found still in the mountains and submontane jungles of Western Bengal, and all down the hill-ranges of Orissa, and I have even met with them on the Subanrekha, and along the coast of the Bay of Bengal. A fine Sanskrit name has been fitted to this wild forest divinity, and she is called by the Brahmans Viśálākshi, or the "large-eyed;" her statues represent her holding in her uplifted arms two elephants from whose trunks water pours on to her head. In the rustic village shrines in her honour one sees masses of small figures of elephants made of earth, backed by the village potters and offered by women; heaps of these little figures, all more or less smashed and mutilated, surround the shrine, where stands a figure once perhaps distinguishable as that of a human being, but so smeared with oil and encrusted with repeated coatings of vermillion as to have lost all shape or recognizable details. One of these temples is said to be still standing in the village of Nadūr, where our poet was born and lived. The date of his conversion to Vaishṇavism is not known, but he died in 1478, in the sixty-second year of his age. His conversion and subsequent conduct appears to have made his native place too hot to hold him, for he passed the latter years of his life at Châtera, a village far to the south in the present

district of Bânkura. After he became a Vaishṇava, he thought it necessary to provide himself with a Vaishṇavî, and select for this purpose a woman named Rânû, of the *dhabî* or washerman caste, a proceeding which must have given grave offence to his orthodox kindred, and is remarkable as showing that the obliteration of the distinctions of caste, so characteristic of early Vaishṇavism, had come into existence before the times of Chaitanya, and that he, like so many other popular reformers, did not so much originate, as concentrate and elevate into doctrine, an idea which had long been vaguely floating and gaining force in the minds of his countrymen.

Chandî Dâs and his contemporary Bidyâpati were acquainted with each other, and the *Pada-kalpataru* contains some poems (2409-2415) descriptive of their meeting on the banks of the Ganges and singing songs in praise of Râdhâ and Kṛishṇa together. The style of the two poets is very much alike, but there is perhaps more sweetness and lilt in Bidyâpati. Favourable specimens of Chandî Dâs are the following :—

I

Kṛishṇa's Grief.⁽¹⁾

Se je nâgara guṇadhâma
 Japaye tohâri nâma;
 Šunite tohâri bâta
 Pulake bharaye gâta,
 Abanata kari śira
 Lochane jharaye nîra,
 Jadi bâ puchhiye bâñî,
 Ulatî karaye pâni.
 Kahiye tohâri rîte.
 Àna nâ bujhabi chite,
 Dhairaja nâhika tây,
 Baru Chandî Dâse gây. I. iv. 94.

The confidante *loquitur*.

That gay one who is the abode of virtue
 Incessantly murmurs thy name,

On hearing a word of thee
 His limbs are pervaded by a thrill,
 Bending down lowly his head
 Tears pour from his eyes,
 If one should ask him a word
 He waves (him) away with his hand.
 If one should speak concerning thee
 Thou wilt see there is nothing else in his mind;
 There is no firmness (left) in him;
 A serious matter Chanḍī Dâs sings.

II

(*The same.*)

E dhani, e dhani, bachana śun
 Nidân dekhiye âïnū pun;
 Dekhite dekhite bâṛhala byâdhi,
 Jata tata kari nâhiye śudhi,
 Na bândhe chikur nâ pare chîr,
 Nâ khây âhâr nâ piye nîr.
 Sonaka baran̄ hoïla śyâm,
 Soñari soñari tohâri nâm;
 Nâ chihne mânukh nimikh nai,
 Kâther putali rahiyyâchhe châi.
 Tulâ khâni dila nâsikâ mâyhe,
 Tabe se bujhinu swâsa âchhe.
 Achhaye swâsa nâ rahe jîb,
 Bimala nâ kara âmâr dib !
 Chanḍī Dâsa kahe biraha bâdhâ,
 Kebal marame okhadha Râdhâ.

Ah lady ! ah lady ! hear a word,
 At length having seen (him) I have come again;
 Looking, looking, (my) pain increased,
 Whatever was done profited not.
 He binds not his hair, he girds not his waist,
 He eats not food, he drinks not water.

The colour of gold Syâm has become,
Constantly remembering thy name.

He does not recognize any one, his eye does not wink,
He remains with fixed look like a doll of wood.

I placed a piece of wood to his nose,
Then only I perceived that he breathed.

There is breath, but there remains no life,
Delay not, my happiness depends on it !

Chandî Dâs saith (it is) the anguish of separation.

In his heart, the only medicine is Radha. I. iv. 98.

In this second example a ruthless modernization has taken place. The modern editor, ignorant of the older language, has substituted the forms in present use for those which he did not understand. Thus in the seventh line he had written *sonár*, which spoils the tune; it is necessary to read *sonaka*, which is almost certainly what Chandî Dâs really wrote, as a play upon the name *syâm*, "black," and meaning that Kṛishṇa, though naturally black, had turned yellow from grief. So also in the line, "Kâther putali rahiyâchhe châi" the singer can only bring the tune out rightly by singing the modern word *richyâchhe* as *reheste* or *rahisi*, which is a very recent vulgarism of the Bengâli of to-day. There can be no doubt that we ought to restore the line thus : "Kâthaka putali rahila châyi". In the next line the sense demands that *dila*, which, if anything, is a third person singular preterite, should be rejected for *dinu*, the old first person, as shown by *bujhinu* in the next line. The letters *l* and *n* are not distinguished in ordinary Bengâli manuscripts, and the error thus arose. There are several very singular and strictly Bengali forms in this song, the presence of which is quite incompatible with the modernized forms which the editor has given to some of the verbs. Thus *sonari* would not easily be known, without some explanation, as from the Sanskrit 'smarana,' remembrance. The Bengâlis are unable to pronounce compound consonants like *sm*; they utter the *s* with a good deal of stress, leaving the *m* to make itself heard only as a slightly labial breath; the nasal portion of the *m* has here fixed itself, oddly

enough, as a guttural, probably owing to the guttural *n* following. The Sanskrit verb *smṛ* has been made to furnish a participle, *smari*, which by the operation of the above process has become *soñari*. Precisely parallel is the transition of *bhramara*; 'bee,' into *bhaniar*. Another old word is *okhud*, Sanskrit *aushadha*, 'medicine,' in which the Hindī custom of representing *ṇ* by *kh* is seen; while, on the other hand, in the rejection of the aspirate and the putting *d* for *dh*, as also in the substitution of the labial vowel *u* for the *a* of the original Sanskrit, we see a distinct peculiarity of the modern Bengālī (see my *Comp. Gram.* vol.I.p.132).

After making every allowance, however, for the propensity to modernize, observable in the printed edition, it must be admitted that Chandī Dās's language approaches nearer to the present Bengālī than Bidyāpati's. This may be accounted for by the greater learning of the former. His property is inferior to Bidyāpati's in sweetness and vigour, but superior to it in learning and accuracy. He probably used intentionally all the new forms of the language which were then coming into fashion, and it must be remembered that, though a Brahman, he was no courtly poet like his contemporary, but a man of humble rank, and after his conversion to the new creed, one who identified himself with the people, and lived in a rural village in a part of the country far removed from the abodes of great men. He appears to have mixed up with the common rustic speech of the days as many big Sanskrit words as he could, being thus one in that line of Sanskritizers whose influence has been so powerful on modern Bengālī. As an additional complication to the obscure problem of the origin of this language, must also be adduced the consideration that the Vaishṇava creed came to Bengal from the upper provinces, into which it had been introduced from the South by the followers of Rāmānuja, especially Rāmānand of Oudh, in 1350 A.D., and his disciple the celebrated Kabīr. The tenets of the sect had been popularized by the poems of this latter, and the equally celebrated Oudh poet Sūr Dās, whose immense collection of poems, called the Sūr Sāgar, might almost

be mistaken for the writings of Bidyāpati, so identical are they both in the language employed and in the sentiments expressed. It is therefore not improbable that the Vaishṇava poets of Bengal intentionally employed Hindi and semi-Hindi words and phrases; and this suspicion, which is unfortunately too well-founded to be overlooked, throw a haze of doubt round Bidyāpati's style. This is the difficulty which confronts the student of the Indian languages at every step in reading an old author : he is never sure how far the style employed is really a faithful representation of the language spoken by the poet's countrymen and contemporaries. This doubt prevents us from using these old materials with confidence, and detracts immensely from the value of any deductions we may make from them. In the *Pada-kalpataru* are contained numerous poems in pure Sanskr̥it by the celebrated poet Jayadeva; and two of Chaitanya's principal disciples, Rūp and Sanātan, also only wrote in Sanskr̥it. It would not however be correct to infer that Sanskr̥it was spoken in their time. These two men were to Brindaban what Layard was to Nineveh, its discoverers. They went to Mathurā, and, apparently guided by their own preconceived ideas only, fixed upon the sites of all places necessary to establish the Krishṇa-saga. They found out Braja and Govardhan and all the other places, and established temples and groves, and set on foot worship therein. They must certainly have been acquainted with the Hindi of these days to be able to do all that they did, and their habit of writing in Sanskr̥it is a mere learned caprice. But if they chose to write Sanskr̥it, Bidyāpati may equally well have chosen to write in Hindi, or what he took for Hindi; and the only reason therefore for assuming some of his words and forms to be the origin of modern Bengali forms is that we can trace the regular development of each type from his forms down to the modern ones.

It seems for the above reason unnecessary to delay longer over this poet, whose style is inferior to that of Bidyāpati, while his diction is less instructive. It was necessary to make some mention of him, on account of his reputation, but it is extremely

difficult to find among his poems any that are fit for reproduction. One does not, it is true, write "virginibus puerisque," but even from a scientific point of view it is not advisable to plunge into obscenity unless there be some pearls in the dunghill worth extracting, and this I cannot say is the case with Chandî Dâs.



[*The Indian Antiquary*, February & July, 1877, pp.37-43 & 187-189]

(1) In the transliteration the guttural nasal is written *n̄*, the palatal *n*, the cerebral *n*, and the *anuswâra n̄*. In old Bengâli the two former are of frequent occurrence, representing respectively *ng* and *ny*. The ordinary dental *n* is not marked.

CHAITANYA AND THE VAISHNAVA POETS OF BENGAL

— STUDIES IN BENGALI POETRY OF THE FIFTEENTH OF SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

THE PADAKALPATARU, or ‘wish-granting tree of song,’ may be considered as the scriptures of the Vaishnava sect in Bengal. In form it is a collection of songs written by various poets in various ages, so arranged as to exhibit a complete series of poems on the topics and tenets which constitute the religious views of the sect. The book has been put together in recent times, and takes the reader through the preliminary consecration, invocations and introductory ceremonies, the rise and progress of the mutual love of Râdhâ and Krîshna, and winds up with the usual closing and valedictory hymns.

Before beginning an analysis of this collection so remarkable from many points of view, it will probably be of some assistance even to those who have studied the history of Vaishnavism, if I state briefly the leading points in the life of Chaitanya, and the principal features of the religion which he developed, rather than actually founded.

Bisambhar (Vishambhara) Miśr was the youngest son of Jagannâth Miśr, a Brahman, native of the district of Sylhet in Eastern Bengal, who had emigrated before the birth of his son to Nadiya (Nabadwîpa), the capital of Bengal.⁽¹⁾ His mother was Sachi Debi, daughter of Nilámbar Chakravarti. She bore to Jagannâth eight daughters who all died young; her fish-born child, however, was a son named Biswarûp, who afterwards under the name of Nityânand became the chief disciple of his more famous brother. Biswambhar was born at Nadiya in the evening of the *Purnima* or day of the full moon of Phâlgun 1407 Sakâbda, corresponding to the latter part of February or beginning of March

A.D. 1486. It is noted that there was an eclipse of the moon on that day. By the aid of these indications those who care to do so can find out the exact day.⁽²⁾ The passages in the original are –

Śrī Krishna Chaitanya Nabadwipē abatari;
Ashtāchhallis batsar prakaṭ bihārī;
Chauddaśat sāt śake janmer pramān,
Chauddaśat panchāune hoilā antardhān.

Chaitanyacharitāmrita, Bk.I.ch.xiii.1.13.

Śrī Kṛishṇa the Visible became incarnate in Nabadwip.
For forty-eight years visibly he sported;
The exact (date) of his birth (is) in Śaka 1407,
In 1455 he returned to heaven.

And again—

Phālgun purṇimā sandhyāy prabhur janmoday,
Seha Kāle daibajoge chandrer grahaṇ hay.
On the full moon of Phālgun at eve was the lord's birth,
At that time by divine provision there was an eclipse of the moon. — *Ch. I. xiii. 38.*

In accordance with the usual Bengali superstition that if a man's real name be known he may be bewitched or subject to the influence of the evil eye, the real name given at birth is not made known at the time, but another name is given by which the individual is usually called. No one but the father and mother and priest know the real name. Bisambhar's usual name in childhood was Nimāi, and by this he was generally known to his neighbours.

In person, if the description of him in the *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* (Bk. I. iii.) is to be considered as historical, he was handsome, tall (six feet), with long arms, in colour a light brown, with expressive eyes, a sonorous voice, and very sweet and winning manners. He is frequently called "gaurang" or "Gaurachandra," i.e., the pale, or the pale moon, in contrast to the Krishna of the Bhagvat who is represented as very black.

The name Chaitanya literally means 'soul, intellect,' but in the special and technical sense in which the teacher himself adopted it, it appears to mean perceptible, or appreciable by the senses. He took the name Śrī Krishna Chaitanya to intimate that

he was himself an incarnation of the god, in other words, Krishna made visible to the senses of mankind.

The *Charitāmrīta* being composed by one of his disciples, is written throughout on this supposition. Chaitanya is always spoken of as an incarnation of Kṛishṇa, and his brother Nityānanda as a re-appearance of Balarām. In order to keep up the resemblance to Kṛishṇa *Charitāmrīta* treats us to a long series of stories about Chaitanya's childish sports among the young Hindu women of the village. They are not worth relating, and are probably purely fictitious; the Bengalis of today must be very different from what their ancestors were, if such pranks as are related in the *Charitāmrīta* were quietly permitted to go on. Chaitanya, however, seems to have been eccentric even as a youth; wonderful stories are told of his powers of intellect and memory, how for instance, he defeated in argument the most learned Pandits. A great deal is said about his hallucinations and trances throughout his life, and we may perhaps conclude that he was more or less insane at all times, or rather he was one of those strange enthusiasts who wield such deep and irresistible influence over the masses by virtue of that very condition of mind which borders on madness.

When he was about eighteen his father died, and he soon afterwards married Lachhmi Debi, daughter of Balabhadra Achārya, and entered on the career of a *grihastha* or householder, taking in pupils whom he instructed in ordinary secular learning. He does not appear, however, to have kept to this quiet life for long; he went off on a wandering tour all over Eastern Bengal, begging and singing, and is said to have collected a great deal of money and made a considerable name for himself. On his return he found his first wife had died in his absence, and he married again one Bishnupriyā, concerning whom nothing further is said. Soon after he went to Gayā to offer the usual *pindā* to the *manes* of his ancestors.

It was on his return from Gayā, when he was about 23 years of age, that he began seriously to start his new creed. "It was now," writes Babu Jagadishnath, "that he openly

condemned the Hindu ritualistic system of ceremonies as being a body without a soul, disowned the institution of caste as being abhorrent to a loving god all whose creatures were on in his eyes, preached the excellence and sanctity of *the name*, and the uttering and singing of *the name* of god as infinitely superior to barren system without faith." Chaitanya, however, as the Babu points out, was not the originator of this theory, but appears to have borrowed it from his neighbour Adwaita Achârjya, whose customs it was, after performing his daily ritual, to go to the banks of the Ganges and call aloud for the coming of the god who should substitute love and faith for mere rites and ceremonies. This custom is still adhered to by Vaishnavas. The *Charitâmrta* veils the priority of Adwaita adroitly by stating that it was he who by his austerities hastened the coming of Kṛishṇa in the avatar of Chaitanya.

Vande tam śrīmadadvaitâchâryam adbhitacheshṭitam,

Yasya prasâdâd ajno'pi tatswarûpam nirûpayet.

I praise that revered teacher Adwaita of wonderful actions,
By whose favour even the ignorant may perceive the (divinity)
personified.—*Ch. I. vi.*

Thus in Sanskrit verses at the head of that chapter which sings the virtues of Adwaita : in the Bengali portion of the same chapter it is asserted that Adwaita was himself an incarnation of a part of divinity, e.g.-

Adwaita Achârjya iṣhwarer angśa barjya.

The teacher Adwaita is a special portion of god.

And the author goes on to say that Adwaita was first the teacher then the pupil of Chaitanya. The probability is that Adwaita, like the majority of his countrymen, was more addicted to meditation than to action. The idea which in his mind gave rise to nothing more than indefinite longings when transfused into the earnest fiery nature of Chaitanya, expanded into a faith which moved and led captive the souls of thousands.

His brother Nityânanda was now assumed to be an incarnation of Balarâm, and took his place as second in command in consequence. The practice of meeting for worship and to

celebrate "Sankirtans was now instituted; the meetings took place in the house of a disciple Sribâs, and were quite private. The new religionists met with some opposition, and a good deal of mockery. One night on leaving their rendezvous, they found on the door-step red flowers and goats' blood, emblems of the worship of Durgâ, and abominations in the eyes of a Vaishnava. These were put there by a Brahman named Gopal. Chaitanya cursed him for his practical joke, and we are told that he became a leper in consequence. The opposition was to a great extent, however, provoked by the Vaishnavas, who seem to have been very eccentric and extravagant in their conduct. Every thing that Kṛishṇa had done Chaitanya must do too, thus we read of his dancing on the shoulders of Murari Gupta, one of his adherents; and his followers, like himself, had fits, foamed at the mouth, and went off into convulsions, much after the fashion of some revivalists of modern times. The young students at the Sanskrit schools in Nadiya naturally found all this very amusing, and cracked jokes to their hearts' content on the crazy enthusiasts.

In January 1510, Chaitanya suddenly took it into his head to become a Sanyasi or ascetic, and received initiation at the hands of Keshab Bhârati of Katwa. Some say he did this to gain respect and credit as a religious preacher, others say it was done in consequence of a curse laid on him by a Brahman whom he had offended. Be this as it may, his craziness seems now to have reached its height. He wandered off from his home, in the first instance, to Purî to see the shrine of Jagannâth. Thence for six years he roamed all over India preaching Vaishnavism, and returned at last to Purî, where he passed the remaining eighteen years of his life and where at length he died in the 48th year of his age in 1534 A.D. His Bengali followers visited him for four months in every year and some of them always kept watch over him, for he was now quite mad. He had starved and preached and sung and raved himself quite out of his senses. On one occasion he imagined that a post in his veranda was Râdhâ, and embraced it so hard as nearly to smash his nose, and to cover himself with blood from scraping all the skin off his

forehead; on another he walked into the sea in a fit of abstraction, and was fished up half dead in a net by a fisherman. His friends took it in turns to watch by his side all night lest he should do himself some injury.

The leading principle that underlies the whole of Chaitanya's system is *Bhakti* or devotion; and the principle is exemplified and illustrated by the mutual loves of Râdhâ and Krishna. In adopting this illustration of his principle, Chaitanya followed the example of the Bhagavad Gîtâ and Bhâgavat Purâna, and he was probably also influenced in the sensual tone he gave to the whole by the poems of Jayadeva. The Bhakta or devotee passes through five successive stages. *Sânta* or registered contemplation of the deity is the first, and from it he passes into *Dâsyâ* or the practice of worship and service, thence to *Sâkhyâ* or friendship, which warms into *Bâtsalya*, filial affection, and lastly rises to *Mâdhurya* or earnest, all-engrossing love.

Vaihsnâvism is singularly like Sufiism, the resemblance has often been noticed, and need here only be briefly traced.⁽³⁾ With the latter the first degree in *nâsût* or 'humanity' in which man is subject to the law *shara*, the second *tarîkat*, 'the way' of spiritualism, the third '*arîf*' or 'knowledge,' and the fourth *hakîkat* or 'the truth.' Some writers give a longer series of grades, thus—*talab*, 'seeking after god;' '*ishk*, 'love;' *m'arifat*, 'insight;' *instighnâh*, 'satisfaction;' *tauhid*, 'unity;' *hairat*, 'esctacy;' and lastly *fanâ*, 'absorption.' Dealing as it does with God and Man as two factors of a problem, Vaishnâvism necessarily ignores the distinctions of caste, and Chaitanya was perfectly consistent in this respect, admitting men of all castes, including Muhammadans, to his sect. Since his time, however, that strange love of caste-distinctions, which seems so ineradicable from the soil of India, has begun again to creep into Vaishnâvism, and will probably and by establishing its power as firmly in this sect as in any other.

Although the institution of love towards the divine nature, and the doctrine that this love was reciprocated, were certainly a great improvement on the morbid gloom of Siva-worship, the colourless negativeness of Buddhism, and the childish intricacy of ceremonies

which formed the religion of the mass of ordinary Hindus, still we cannot find much to admire in it. There seems to be something almost contradictory in respecting the highest and purest emotions of the mind by images drawn from the lowest and most animal passions.

“Ut matrona maretici dispar erit atque discolor.”

So must also Vaishṇavism differ from true religion, the flesh from the spirit, the impure from the pure.

The singing of hymns about Rādhā and Kṛishṇa is much older than Chaitanya's age. Not to mention Jayadeva and his beautiful, though sensual, Gītagovinda.⁽⁴⁾ Vidyapati, the earliest of Bengali poets, and Chandī Dās both preceded Chaitanya, and he himself is stated to have been fond of singing their verses. There was therefore a considerable mass of hymns ready to his hand, and his contemporaries and followers added largely to the number; the poems of the *Padakalpataru* in consequence are of all ages from the fifteenth century downwards; moreover, as Vaishṇavism aspires to be a religion for the masses, the aim of its supporter has always been to write in the vulgar tongue, a fortunate circumstance which renders this vast body of literature extremely valuable to the philologist, since it can be relied on as representing the spoken language of its day more accurately than those pretentious works whose authors despised everything but Sanskrit.

The *Padakalpataru*, to keep up the metaphor of its name throughout, is divided into 4 *s'akhas* or ‘branches,’ and each of these into 8 or 10 *pallabas* or smaller branches, ‘boughs.’ It should be explained that the *kirtans* are celebrated with considerable ceremony. There is first a consecration both of the performers and instruments with flowers, incense, and sweet-meats. This is called the *adhibás*. The principal performer then sings one song after another, the others displaying the drum and cymbals in time, and joining in the chorus; as the performance goes on many of them get excited and wildly frantic, and roll about on the ground. When the performance is over the drum is respectfully sprinkled with *chandana* or sandal-wood paste, and

hung up. Several performances go on for days till a whole Śakhâ has been sung through, and I believe it is always customary to go through at least one Pallab at a sitting, however long it may be. The Bengali Kîrtan in fact resembles very much the Bhajans and Kathâs common in the Marâtha country, and each poem in length, and often in subject, is similar to the Abhangas of Tukarâm and others in that province.

The first Pallab contains 27 hymns, of these 8 are by Gobind Dâs, 3 by Brindabân Dâs, the rest by minor masters. Brindabân Dâs and Parameshwar Dâs were contemporaries of Chaitanya, the others— including Gobind Dâs, who is perhaps the most voluminous writer of all— are subsequent to him. Of the hymns themselves the first five are invocations of Chaitanya and Nityânand, and one is in praise of the ceremony of Kîrtan. There is nothing very remarkable in any of them. Number 5 may be taken as a specimen, as it is perhaps the best of the batch.

Nanda nandana gopijanaballabha,
 Râdhânâyaka nâgaraśyâma :
 So śachi nandana Nadiyâpurandara,
 suramuniganâ manamohana dhâma :
 Jaya nija kântâ kântikalebara,
 jaya jaya preyasî bhâbabinoda :
 Jaya Brajasahachârî lochanamangala,
 jaya Nadîyâbadhû nayana âmoda :
 Jaya jaya śridâma sudâmasubalârjjuna,
 prema prabandhana nabaghana rûpa :
 Jaya Ramâdi sundara priyasahachara,
 jaya jaya mohana gora anûpa :
 Jaya atibala balarâmapriyânuja,
 jaya jaya Nityânanda ânanda :
 Jaya jaya sajjanagaṇa bhaya bhanjana,
 Gobinda Dâsa âśa anubandha.

“Nand’s son, lover of the Gopis, lord of Râdhâ, the playful Śyâm.

Is lie, Sachi’s son, the Indra of Nadiya, the heart-charming dwelling of gods and saints; victory to him who is love embodied

to his own beloved, hail ! hail to him who is the joy of the existence of his well-beloved ! hail to the delight of the eyes of his comrades in Braj ! hail to the charm of the sight of the women of Nadiya ! hail ! hail to Sridam, Sudam, Subal, and Arjun,⁽⁵⁾ bound by love to him whose form is as a new cloud ! hail to Rām and the rest, beautiful and dear companions ! hail to the chamber, the incomparable Gora (Chaitanya) ! hail to the mighty younger brother of Balarām ! hail ! hail to Nityānand (who is) joy (personified) ! Hail to him who destroys the fear of good men, the object of the hope of Gobind Dās !”

I would call attention here, once for all, to what is one of the principal charms of Vaishṇava hymns, the exquisitely musical rhythm and cadence. They seem made to be sung, and trip off the tongue with a lilt and grace which are irresistible.

This hymn is interesting as shewing how completely Chaitanya is by his followers invested with the attributes of, and identified with, Kṛiṣṇa; it has to other special merits; nor anything especially interesting from a philological point of view as it is nearly all Sanskrit.

The next six are in praise of the sect itself, of Adwaita, and the principal disciples. That on Adwaita by his contemporary Brindaban Dās gives a lively picture of the old Brahman, then follow seven in praise of the Kīrtanians or the old mastersingers—Bidyapati, Jayadeva, Chandī Dās; then four on Krishna and Rādhā, containing only a succession of epithets linked together by jay ! jay !

The twenty-third begins the adhibās or consecration, and is curious less for its language than for the description it gives of the ceremonies practised. It is by the old masters Parameshwar and Brindaban, with the concluding portion by a younger master Bansi. The poem is in four parts and takes the form of a story how Chaitanya held his feast. It runs thus :—

23. Atha sankirtanasya adhibāsa.

Eka dina pahun hāsi, Adwaita mandire basi,
Bolilen śachīr kumāra;

Nityânanda kari sange, Adwaita basiyâ range,

Mahotsaber karila bichâra :

Śuniya ânande hâsi, Sîtâ thâkurâni âsi,

Kahilen madhura vachanâ :

Tâ śuni ânanda mana, mahotsaber bidhâne.

Bole kichhu Sachir nandana :

Śuna thâkurâni Sîtâ, Baishṇaba ânîye ethâ,

Āmantraṇa koriyâ jatane :

Jebâ gâe jebajâe, āmantraṇa kari tâe,

Prithak prithak jane jane :

Eta boli Gorarâya, âgyâ dila subhâkâya,

Baishṇaba karaha āmantraṇe :

Khola karatâla laiyâ, aguru chandana diyâ,

Purna ghaṭa karaha sthâpane :

Aropâṇa karõ kalâ, tâhe bândhi phulamâlâ,

Kîrttana maṇḍalî kutuhale :

Mâlâ chandana guyâ, ghrita madhu dadhi diyâ,

Kholô mangala sandhyâkâle :

Suniyâ prabhur kathâ, prîte bidhi kaila jathâ,

Nânâ upahâra gandhabâse :

Sabe Hari Hari bole khola mangala kare,

Parames'wara Dasa rase bhâse :

"One day coming and smiling, sitting in Adwaita's house, spoke the son of Sachî, having Nityânand with him and Adwaita, sitting in enjoyment, he planned a great festivity. Hearing this, smiling with joy, Sîtâ Thâkurâni coming spoke a sweet word : hearing that with joyful mind the son of Sachî spoke somewhat in regard to arranging the festival. 'Listen, Thâkurâni Sîtâ,⁽⁶⁾ bring the Baishnabs here, making pressing invitation to them : whoso can sing, whoso can play, invite them separately, man by man.' Thus Gora Rai speaking gave orders for an assembly : 'Invite the Baishnabs ! Bring out the cymbal and drum, set out full pots painted with aloes and sandal-paste : plant plantains,

hang on them garlands of flowers, for the Kīrtan place joyfully. With garlands, sandal, and betelnut, ghee, honey, and curds consecrate the drum at evening-tide.' Hearing the lord's word, in loving manner she made accordingly various offerings with fragrant perfumes : all cried 'Hari, Hari !' thus they consecrate the drum; Parameshwar Dâs floats in enjoyment."

Of the remainder of the adhibâs I give merely a paraphrase omitting the numerous repetitions.

2. Having prepared the entertainment she invites them, "kindly visit us, to you and Vaishṇavas, this is my petition, come and see and complete the feast;" thus entreating she brought the honoured guests, they consecrate the feast. Joyfully the Vaishṇavas come to the feast : "to-morrow will be the joy of the great festivity, there will be the enjoyment of the singing Śrî Kṛishṇa's sports, all will be filled with delight." The merits of the assembly of the devotees of Śrî Kṛishṇa Chaitanya singeth Brindaban Dâs.

3. First set up the plantains, array the full pots, adorned with twigs of the mango; the Bhraman chants the Vedas, the women shout jay ! jay ! and all cry Hari ! Hari ! Making the consecration with curds and *ghi*, all display their joy; bringing in the Vaishṇavas, giving them garlands and sandal-paste, for the celebration of the *Kīrtan*; joy is in the hearts of all, hither come the Vaishṇavas, to-morrow will be Chaitanya's Kīrtan; the virtue of Śrî Kṛishṇa Chaitanya's name, and the indwelling of Śrî Nityânanda singeth Dâs Brindaban.⁽⁷⁾

4. Jay ! Jay ! in Nawadip; by Gorang's order Adwaita goes to prepare the consecration of the drum. Bringing all the Vaishṇavas with sound of "Hari bol," he initiates the great feast. He himself giving garlands and sandal-paste, converses with his beloved Vaishṇavas, Gobind taking the drum plays ta-ta-tum tum, Adwaita lightly clashes the cymbals. Hari Dâs begins the song, Sribâs keeps time, Gorang dances at the kīrtan celebration. On all sides the Vaishṇavas crowding echo "Hari bol," to-morrow will be the great feast. To-day consecrate the drum and hang it up, joyfully saith Bansi sound victory ! victory !!

The metre of this last is rather pretty, and I therefore give the original of the first two lines.

Jaya jaya Navadwîpa mâjh,
Goranga âdeśa pâñâ, Adwaita thâkura jâñâ.
Kare khola mangala sâj :

Having thus concluded the initiatory ceremonies in the 1st Pallab, the 2nd Pallab begins the real "Kirtan." It contains 26 hymns by masters who are mostly of comparatively recent date. Of the old masters Gobind Dâs and Chaṇḍî Dâs alone appear in this Pallab. We now commence the long and minutely described series of emotions and flirtations (if so lowly a word may be used) between Râdhâ and Kriṣṇa, and this Pallab and in fact the whole of the first Sâkhâ is on that phase called "pûrbarâga" or first symptoms of love. In No.2, Chaṇḍî Dâs represents two of Râdhâ's Sakhis, or girl-friends, whispering together as they watch her from a distance (the punctuation refers to the cæsura, not to the sense);

Gharer bahire, dane śatabâra, tile tile âise jây :
Mana uchâṭana, niśwâsa saghana, kadamba kânâne chây :

Chorus. Rai emanâ kene bâ haila;

Guruduru jana bhaya nâhi,
Mana kothâ bâ ki deba pâila :
Sadâi chanchala, basana anchala, sambaraṇa nâhi kare :
Basi thâki thaki, uṭhaye chamaki, bhûshaṇa khaiñâ⁽⁸⁾ pare :
Bayese kiśori, rajâr kumâri, tâhe Kulbadhû bâlâ :
Kibâ abhilâshe, bâdhaye lâlase, nâ bujhi tâh hâr chhalâ :
Tâhâr charite, hena bujhi chite, hât bârâila chânde :
Chaṇḍî Dâsa key kari anunaya ṭhekechhe Kâliyâ phânde.

"She stands outside the house, a hundred times restlessly she comes and goes : depressed in mind, with frequent sighs, she looks towards the kadamba jungle. Why has Rai (Radhikâ) become thus ? serious is her error, she has no fear of men, where are her senses, or what god has possessed her ? Constantly restless, she does not cover herself with the corner of her robe : she sits still for a while, then rises with a start, her ornaments fall with a clang. Youthful in age, of royal descent, and a chaste maiden to boot : what does she desire, (why) does her longing increase ? I cannot understand her

motives : from her conduct, this I conceive, she has raised her hand to the moon⁽⁹⁾ : Chandi Dâs says with respect she has fallen into the snare of the black one (Krishna)."

This poem vividly expresses the first symptoms of love dawning in the girl's heart, and from a religious point of view the first awakenings of consciousness of divine love in the soul. It is difficult for the European mind, trained to draw a broad distinction between the love of God and love for another human being, to enter into a state of feeling in which the earthly and sensual is made a type of the heavenly and spiritual, but a large-souled charity may be perhaps able to admit that by this process, strange though it be to its own habits and experiences, there may have been some improvement wrought in the inner life of men brought up in other schools of thought; and my own experience, now of fourteen years standing, enables me to say that Vaishnavism does, in spite of, or perhaps in virtue of, its peculiar *modus operandi*, work a change for the better on those who come under its influence.

Two more hymns on the same subject follow, and in No.5 Râdhâ herself breaks silence.

Kadamba bane, thâke kona jane, kemana sabada asi :

Eki âchambite, śrabaner pathe, marmer-hala paśi :

Sandhâñâ marame, ghuchâñâ dharame, karile pâgali pârâ :

Chiṭa sthira nahe, sâsthâ nâ rahe, nayâne bahaye dhârâ :

Ki jane kemana, sei kona jana, emana śabada kare :

Na dekhi tâhâre, hrîdaya bidare, rahite nâ pâr ghare :

Parâna nâ dhare, dhaka dhaka kare, rahe darśana âsé :

Jabahuṇ dekhibe, parâna pâībe, kahaye Urddhaba Dâse :

"In the kadamba grove what man is (that) standing ? What sort of word coming is this : the plough of whose meaning has penetrated startlingly the path of hearing ? With a hint of union, with its manner of penetrating making one well-nigh mad : My mind is agitated, it cannot be still, streams flow from my eyes : I know not what manner of man it is who utters such words : I see him not, my heart is perturbed, I cannot stay in the house : My soul

rests not, it flutters to and fro in hope of seeing him : When she sees him, she will find her soul, quoth Urdhab Das."

I have left myself no space to finish this Pallab, or to make remarks on the peculiarities of the language, which in the older masters would more properly be called old Maithila than Bengali. It is nearly identical with the language still spoken in Tirhut, the ancient Mithili, and in Munger and Bhâgalpur, the ancient Magadha, than modern Bengali. As the Aryan race grew and multiplied it naturally poured out its surplus population in Bengal, and it is not only philologically obvious that Bengali is nothing more than a further; and very modern development of the extreme eastern dialect of Hindi. All these considerations, however, I hope still further to develope at some future time.



[*The Indian Antiquary*, January, 1873, pp.1-6]

(1) The facts which here follow are taken from the "Chaitanyacharitâmrîta," a metrical life of Chaitanya, the greater part of which was probably written by a contemporary of the teacher himself. The style has unfortunately been much modernized, but even so, the book is one of the oldest extant works in Bengali. My esteemed friend Babu Jagadishnath Ray has kindly gone through the book a task for which I had not leisure, and marked some of the salient points for me.

(2) There was an eclipse of the moon before midnight Feb.18, O.S. 1486.—ED.

(3) Conf. Capt. J.W. Graham's paper 'On Sufism,' *Bombay Literary Soc. Trans.* Vol.I. pp.89 et seqq.; Râjendralâla Mittra's valuable introduction to the *Chaitanya Chandrodaya* (Biblioth. Ind.), pp. ii-iv and xv; also Jones' 'Mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hindus,' *Asiat. Res.* Vol.III. pp.165-207; and Leyden 'On the Roshenish Sect, &c.,' *As. Res.* Vol.XI. pp.363-428—ED.

(4) It is many years now since I read Gitagovinda as a text-book at college, but the impression I still retain is that it was in many parts far too warm for European taste.

- (5) Names of Chaitanya's disciples.
- (6) Sîtâ was the wife of Adwaita.
- (7) The poet's name is inverted to make a rhyme for Kirtan in the preceeding line.
- (8) The ñ in this word ङ is the palatal nasal occasionally used for ङ in old Bengali, and sometimes for anuswâra simply.
- (9) She has formed some extravagant desire.

Section-C

RELEVANT EXTRACTS FROM VARIOUS BOOKS OF BEAMES PERTAINING TO ORISSA AND ORIYA

*Outlines of Indian Philology and other Philological Papers,
Calcutta, 1971.*

URIYA extends along the seacoast from the Subanrikha to near Ganjam; landwards its boundary is uncertain, it melts gradually into the *Khond* and other rude hill dialects and coexists with them. In Bustar and the neighbourhood, some classes speak *Uriya* and some *Khond*. I am informed that *Hindustani* and *Bengali* are much used as a means of intercourse between different classes. If this be true, it is only [12] another instance of the strong tendency of *Hindustani* to supply the place of a *lingua franca* in all parts of India.

A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India (Relevant extracts), Vol 1, Second Indian Reprint Edition, Delhi, 1970, pp.1-121

INTRODUCTION

Of the three classes into which all the languages have been divided in the preceding section, Tatsamas are the least interesting to the student. This class consists of pure Sanskrit words which had long been dead and buried, so to speak, when in comparatively recent times they were resuscitated and brought into use by learned men, partly to supply real wants, but still more to show off their own learning. They have not been current in the mouths of the people long enough since their new birth to have undergone any of those processes of change to which all really living words in every language are constantly subjected; and a great many of them, especially in Bengali and Oriya, are not likely ever to be used colloquially. They ought certainly to be excluded from dictionaries...

...Hitherto I have been writing as though the proportion of the three classes of words were the same in all the languages. This is however so far from being the case that it is necessary to enter on some details to show how the matter really stands. The point is one on which it is very difficult to come to a definite conclusion. It is characteristics, though little to our credit as a nation, that after a century of rule in India we should have produced so few good dictionaries of this group of languages...Sutton's Oriya dictionary is meagre, incorrect, and full of Bengali and Sanskrit words, instead of pure Oriya...The materials being thus defective, an opinion can only be given with some hesitation; but in general way it may be said that the proportion of Tatsama words is greatest in Bengali, Oriya, and Marathi; less in Hindi and Gujarati; and least in Panjabi and Sindhi...

...In Hindi, as I have said, the number of Desaja and Tadbhava words is much larger than that of Tatsamas. In Bengali and Oriya it is not so. These languages delight in Tatsama words,

and the learned in those provinces are proud of having such words in their language, being or pretending to be under the impression that they have always been in use and have come down to the present day unaffected by the laws of development to which all languages are subject. This is an obvious error. If the Pandit's idea were true, these languages would be real phenomena, absolute linguistic monstrosities. That a language should have preserved two-fifths of its words entirely free from change or decay, while the remaining two-fifths had undergone very extensive corruption, and that many of the uncorrupted words should be such as are of the commonest daily use, would indeed be marvellous... The excessive number of Tatsamas in Bengali and Oriya, so far from indicating a high standard of preservation, points rather to great poverty in the language. These two forms of speech were in use in the two remotest provinces of the Indian empire. The arts and sciences and the busy movements of the world centred at first in the Antarbed, or country between the Ganges and Jamna, and round the great Hindu capitals, such as Dilli, Kanauj, Ayudya, Kasi, and in later ages round the first named, by that time corrupted into Delhi, and its twin capital, Agra. In those places therefore, Sanskrit words expressive of a variety of ideas remained alive, and underwent gradual simplification from constant use. The language spoken in those places, the Hindi, thus became rich in Tadbhavas. In the remote marshes of Bengal and the isolated coast line of Orissa the Aryan pulse beat but feebly. Life was ruder and less civilized, and non-Aryan tribes mustered in great force in the plains as well as in the hills. The extremities lagged behind the heart, words which had a meaning in the courts and cities of Northern and Western India were not known to or required by the nearly naked Bengali crouching in his reed but in those outlying regions.

What the colloquial languages of Bengal and Orissa were like previous to the sixteenth century we have no means of knowing. The only literature consisted of a few poetical works, whose authors did not care to keep close to the popular speech... Of course, in the matter of languages, the great Barahmanical theory was, and among the orthodox still to a great extent is, that Sanskrit, a divine invention, is the only true and correct Indian language,

and that all derivations in Sanskrit observable in the conversation of the masses are corruptions arising from ignorance; and that to purify and improve the vernaculars -Bengali, for instance-every word should be restored to its original Sanskrit shape, and the stream be made to run upwards to its source...Orissa at a later date followed the lead of Bengal, from the causes above mentioned it has resulted that in both provinces the national speech has been banished from books, and now lives only in the mouths of the people; and even they, as soon as they get a little learning, begin to ape their betters and come out with the Tatsamas with which both languages are now completely flooded...

...Bengali and Oriya are like overgrown children, always returning to suck the mother's breast, when they ought to be supporting themselves on other food...Oriya is the most neglected member of the group, and retains some very archaic forms. The repulsive and difficult character in which it is written, the rugged and mountainous nature of the greater part of Orissa, and its comparative isolation from the world at large , have combined to retard its development. In the noun the genitive and ablative are inflectional, and the locative is probably the same. Its verbal forms still require fuller analysis, but there is much that is inflectional, apparent on the surface, though the universal participial system is also in use. In the indefinite present several of the forms retain their pure Prakrit dress as the third person singular in ai and plural anti.

Both in Bengali and Oriya the singular of the pronoun and verb has been banished from polite society and relegated to the vulgar, and the original plural has been adopted as the polite singular, and been supplied with a new plural. Thus in Oriya, the singular mu, "I", is considered vulgar. and amhe, the old plural, is now used as a singular, and fitted with a new plural, amehmane...

The three languages which use a peculiar character are the Panjabi, Bengali and Oriya...The Bengali is the most elegant and easiest to write of all the Indian alphabets...The same praise cannot be awarded to the Oriya character, which is of all Indian

characters the ugliest, clumsiest, and most cumbrous. Some of the letters so closely resemble others that they can with difficulty be distinguished. Such for instance are the following, ଚ chā, ର rā, where only the slanting end-stroke distinguishes the letters, and to make it worse, the medial e େ is often so written as to be precisely like the ch. Then again, ତ ta, and ଢ dha, only differ by the size of the lower loop. ଉ u, and ଢ da, are also closely similar; ଙ ga, ଙ kha, ଚ chā, ର rā, as also ଶ s(ଶ) and ନ na(ନ), puzzle the reader by the slightness of their difference, which if troublesome in print, where all the proportions of loops and strokes are rightly preserved, is still more so in manuscripts, where no attention at all is paid to the subject; and a knowledge of the language is the only guide in determining which letter is meant.

The Oriya characters in their present form present a marked similarity to those employed by the neighbouring non-Aryan nations whose alphabets have been borrowed from the Sanskrit. I mean the Telugu, Malayalam, Tamil, Singhalese, and Burmese. The chief peculiarity in the type of all these alphabets consists in their spreading out the ancient Indian letters into elaborate mazes of circular and curling form. This roundness is the prevailing mark of them all, though it is more remarkable in the Burmese than in any other; Burmese letters being entirely globular, and having hardly such a thing as a straight line among them. The straight angular letters which Asoka used are exhibited in the inscriptions found at Seom on the Narmada (Nerbudda) in more than their pristine angularity, but adorned with a great number of additional lines and squares, which renders them almost as complicated as the Glagothic alphabet of St. Cyril...

Whether the Oriyas received the art of writing from Bengal or from Central India is a question still under dispute. The probabilities are strongly in favour of the latter supposition. In the flourishing times of the monarchy of Orissa, the intercourse with central and Southern India was frequent and intimate. Raja Chûranga (or Sâranga) Deva, the founder of the Ganga dynasty, which ruled from A. D. 1131 to 1451, came from the south, and

was said in native legends to be a son of the lesser Ganges (Godavari). The princes of that line extended their conquests far to the south, and their dominions at one time stretched from the Ganges to the Godavari. Kapilendra Deva(1451-1478) resided chiefly at Rajamahendri, and died at Kondapalli on the banks of the Kistna, having been employed during the greater part of his reign in fighting over various parts of the Telinga and Karnata countries. This monarch also came into collision with the Musulmans of Behar. In fact, the early annals of Orissa are full of allusions to the central and southern Indian States, while Bengal is scarcely ever mentioned. Indeed, the Oriya monarchs at one time did not bear sway beyond the Kansbans, a river to the south of Baleswar (Balasore) and there was thus between them and Bengal a wide tract of hill and forest, inhabited in all probability, as much of it is still, by non-Aryan tribes. The changes and developments which have brought Oriyas into such close connexion with Bengali appear in very many instances to be of comparatively recent origin.

Assuming then that the Oriyas got their alphabet from Central, rather than from Northern, India, the reason of its being so round and curling has now to be explained. In all probability in the case of Oriya, as in that of the other languages which I have mentioned above, the cause is to be found in the material used for writing. The Oriyas and all the populations living on the coasts of the Bay of Bengal write on the Tâlapatra, or leaf of the fan-palm or Palmyra(*Borassus flabelliformis*). The leaf of this tree is like a gigantic fan, and is split up into strips about two inches in breadth, or less, according to the size of the leaf; each strip being one naturally formed fold of the fan. On these leaves, when dried and cut into proper lengths, they write with an iron style or Lekhanî, having a very fine sharp point. Now it is evident that if the long, straight horizontal Mâtrâ, or top line of the Devanagari alphabet, were used, the style in forming it would split the leaf, because, being a palm, it has a longitudinal fibre going from the stalk to the point. Moreover, the style being held in the right hand and the leaf in the left, the thumb of the left hand serves as a fulcrum on which the style moves,

and thus naturally imparts a circular form to the letters. Perhaps the above explanation may not seem very convincing to European readers; but no one who has ever seen an Oriya working away with both hands at his Lekhanî and Tâlpatra will question the accuracy of the assertion: and though the fact may not be of much value, I may add, that the native explanation of the origin of their alphabet agrees with this. With the greater extension of the use of paper, which has taken place since the establishment of our rule, especially in our court of justice, the round top line is gradually dying out, and many contractions have been introduced, which it is to be hoped may be by degrees imported into the printed character.

The Oriya letters have departed, however less from the early type than those of their neighbours, the Telingas. Their vowels have much of the Kutila type, though the practice of carrying the style on from the bottom of the letter to the Mâtrâ has caused a peculiar lateral curve which disguises the identity of the letter. Let, however, ା be compared with ଇ (i. e., ଇ without the Mâtrâ) ା with ଇ (ଇ), and the connexion will be at once visible.

Like the Bengalis, the Oriyas have adopted the custom of writing the top stroke of medial e and o before the letter to which it is attached, instead of above it, as Bengali কে ke, কো ko. This practice is, however, found in some Devanagari MSS, and is sometimes used in Gujarati. Being also a high polite Sanskrit sort of language in the eyes of its expounders, Oriya has been duly provided with symbols for the grammarian's letters ক্র, ক্ৰু, ল্ত, লু¹ and has also very formidable snake-like coils to express the various forms of nexus. Some of these are as clumsy as Sinhalese, and take as long to execute as it would to write a sentence in English. Moreover the forms used in conjunctions of consonants are not the same as those used when alone. Thus the character which when single is read o, when subscribed to ଣ or ୟ is read ় (ণ); that which alone is *th*, when subscribed to ଙ is *ch*.

Without going through the whole alphabet letter by letter, it may suffice to say in general terms that the Oriya characters show signs of having arisen from a form of the Kutila character

prevalent in Central India, and that its love of circular forms, common to it and the neighbouring nations, is due to the habit of writing on the Tâlapatra, Talipot, or palm-leaf, with an iron style.

Next to the alphabets comes the question of the pronunciation of the various sounds. The vowels, with one or two exceptions, appear to retain the same sound as in Sanskrit, I say appear, because although the Devanagari character affords a very accurate vehicle for representation of sounds, yet we cannot be certain what was the exact pronunciation of the Aryan letters; and in one or two instances, both in consonants and vowels, there is reason to believe the ancient pronunciation differed considerably from that of to-day.

The short a अ, which in Sanskrit is held to be inherent in every consonant not otherwise vocalized, is pronounced by the western languages and Hindi-in fact, by all except Bengali and Oriya-as a short dull sound like the final a in Asia, or that woman. Bengali however, is peculiar in respect of this sound, which is only exceptionally used. That is to say, the character া and its equivalent, the unwritten inherent vowel, is pronounced a only in certain words, such as the word গণ "crowd", when used to form the plural of nouns, sounded gan, not gon; at least, so says Shamacharan Sirkar, in his excellent Grammar, and no doubt he is correct to the rule, but one hears gon constantly. In some cases the া is pronounced as a short o, just as in English not, thus leeyele tâbot, not tâbat; तिरस्कार tirosh(not tiras) kâr. Purists, however, affect to pronounce it as in Sanskrit, and would read anal, not onol.

The same rule holds good in Oriya, but not to same extent as in Bengali. In the former language there is much less fondness for open broad sounds than in the latter. In short syllables, especially when unaccented, the अ is sounded a; thus, कदच ka(not ko) dâch. Also in syllables where the a is long by position, as मण्डळ mandal, चकला chakla. Before र or ड, however, it is sounded o, but this o is not such a deep full sound as the Bengali; thus बড is boro , but

often it sounds *bara*, the *a* here being an attempt to represent a sound halfway between the short *a* in *woman* and the deep short *o* of the Bengali.

The sound of *a* is omitted from consonants in many instances where we should expect, on the analogy of the Sanskrit, to find it. Strictly speaking, the absence of this sound should be indicated by the *virâma* or by combination of two consonants. In the more Sanskritizing of the languages, such as Bengali, Marathi, and Oriya, the latter method of expression is frequently resorted to; but in the other languages it is practically neglected. It becomes, then, necessary to lay down rules when to pronounce this sound and when to omit it... All the other languages cut off the final *a* in the case of words in which a single consonants proceeds it; but in the case of a nexus, or combination of consonants preceding, the final *a* is sounded in Bengali, Marathi, Oriya and Gujarati. Marathi, however does not sound it if the first member of the nexus is *स*. All three languages agree in giving the *a* a short sound after *य*, but this sound is very slightly heard...

There is little to remark on the pronunciation of any of the other vowels except *ऋ*. Hindi generally, and Panjabi always, ignore this grammarian's figment, and write it pain and simple *र*, which saves a great deal of trouble and confusion. Marathi and Oriya, in their desire to be Sanskritic, introduce this letter; but the vulgar have turned it into *ru* in pronunciation, and in Oriya the character for this sound is used for *ର* *a* and *ୟ*...

Inasmuch as *a* in Bengali has become *o*, so *ai* becomes *oi*, and *au* becomes *ou*. It is almost impossible to convey by any written symbols the exact sounds of these vowels to the ear. Oriya has the same peculiarity. The two sounds are fairly represented by the accent of an Irishman in speaking of his native country as "Ould Oirland"; that is to say there is a grasseyan or half-drawling tone in their pronunciation... In the pronunciation of the consonants there are a few peculiarities of a local and dialectic sort, which requires notice. The palatal letters, as might

be expected, display many divergencies of pronunciation. It is strange that those sounds so simple to an English mouth, the plain ch च, and j ज, should apparently such difficulties to other nations...

The cerebrals are pronounced very much like the English dentals. At the beginning of a word, or when forming part of a nexus, are sounded δ and δh respectively; but in other situations they take the sound of hard r and rh. This is not the case, however, in Panjabi, which, having invented a new character for the sounds of r and rh, retains the d and dh sounds for ਡ and ਡ in all cases. In Hindi, on the contrary, the r-sounds predominate, and is often written र, especially in the early poets, so slight is the difference between the sounds. The r sound also prevails in Bengali and Oriya: thus বড় is pronounced bar or boro in all three...

The semivowels य and व have much in common... Bengali and Oriya use the character य, but sound it ज j in nearly all cases. Thus, the Sanskrit word योजन would be pronounced in M., G., and S. yojana. In P. and H. it would be written जोजन. In O. and B. it would be written যোজন, or even যোয়ন, and pronounced jojan. So completely has य acquired the sound of j in these last two languages that when य is intended to retain the sound of y, as in Tatsamas, a dot is placed under it to distinguish it. In Oriya ordinary writers even go so far as to write with the य words which have a ज in Sanskrit, as যন্তু for জন্তু.... Similarly with regard to व, ... Bengali and Oriya have but one character for both sounds, and people of those nations are unable to pronounce v and w. They might come under the same head as those Neapolitans of whom it has said, "Felices quibus vivere est bibere, "were it not that, instead of the generous juice of the vine, the Bengali drinks muddy ditch-water in which his neighbours have been washing themselves, their clothes, and their cattle. In those cases where व is the last member of the nexus, it is not heard, but has

the effect merely of doubling the preceding letter: द्वार is to the B. and U. dd°âr², pronounced with a dwelling on the d and a slight contraction of the lower lip, as though the speaker would, but could not, effect the contact required to produce the full v sound. Thus also अश्व is ashsh°a, बालेश्वर is Baless°ar... With regard to ल Bengali and Oriya again get into differences, often confounding this letter with न. Thus, at times they will write l and say n, and at others they will do the revise.

The sibilants appear to have altered very much from Sanskrit... Oriya retains in its alphabet the three characters, but except in the so-called high style, श and ष are not much used. Both in Orissa and Bengal the inquirer is met with this difficulty that the learned classes persist in using Sanskrit words in their writings, without regard to the usage of the mass of their country men; and even when using words which are commonly current among the people, our Pandits will alter the spelling back again to what it was in classical Sanskrit, thus ignoring the changes made by time; and baffling the endeavours of those who wish to seize the language as it is, by presenting it to them in the guise which the Pandits think it ought to wear. In no part of India is it more necessary to go amongst the people, and try to find out from their own lips what they do really speak. Often, however, when a witness in court has use some strange and instructive Tadbhava, and I have asked him to repeat the word, that I may secure it for my collection, some Munshi or Pandit standing by will at once substitute the Tatsama form, and rebuke the peasant for using a vulgar word; so that all hope of catching the word is gone for that occasion...

Some remarks on the literatures of these languages may now be offered, though to give a full and complete review of this subject would occupy many volumes, and would be beyond the limits of my task. All that will here be done is to give such brief general statements as may afford to the reader a tolerably accurate idea of how the various modern languages stand in this respect. Although the majority of the written works in the Indian vernaculars are to

the European mind very tame and uninteresting, yet it is by no means accurate to say that there is nothing worth reading in them. Religion has always been the chief incentive to writing in India, whether ancient or modern; and the vehicle chosen has been until quite recent times verse, and not prose. The earliest writings of the modern period, with one notable exception, are religious poems. This exception is the first of all in point of time, the *Prithirâja Rasân* of Chand Bardâi, in which the ancestry, birth, heroic deeds, and final overthrow of Prithiraj of the Chauhâñ tribe of Rajputs, the last Hindu king of Delhi, are recited in many thousand lines of doggrel verse by Chand Bardâi, a native of Lahore, who was attached to that monarch's court in the capacity of Bhât or bard, and who was an eye-witness of the historical scenes which he relates. But even in this professedly historical work the influence of tradition is too strong for the poet, and his openingt canto, a very long one, is occupied by hymns to the gods, catalogues of the Purans, and legends taken from them; throughout this book the customary intervention of celestial beings occur...

Oriya literature begins with Upendra Bhanj, who was a brother of Ghumsar, a petty hill state in the south of Orissa, which even to the present day is celebrated as the home of the purest form of the language. This voluminous poet composed a great number of religious works, many of which are still esteemed. His date is not exactly known, but he is supposed to have lived about three hundred years ago. I have a list of thirty of his productions, two of which are rhyming dictionaries, the *Sabdamala* and *Gîtabhidâno*; the rest are episodes in ancient Puranic legends, erotic poems, and panegyrics on various gods. They are stated to be generally disfigured by gross indecency and childish quibblings about words, endless repetitions, and all sorts of far-fetched rhetorical puzzels. Dînakrishno Dâs, a poet of the same age, is the author of the *Rasakallola*, the most celebrated poem of the language; the versification of which is its chief merit, being fluent and graceful; the subject matter, however, is obscene, and contains very little that is new or original. There are also numerous paraphrases of well-known

Sanskrit works, such as Bhagabatgita, Ramayana, Padma Purana, and Lachhmi Purana. A few lines are given from Dînakrishna Das's popular poem, Rasakallola, as a specimen of his style:-

कृष्ण कथारे जार स्नेह नाहिं ।
 काळ संघातकु देखइ सेहि ।
 काळ दण्डरे से घात होइब ।
 कष्ट संघातकु सेहि पाइब ।
 कहइ कृष्ण कृष्णकु कथा ।
 केबेहिं होइब नाहिं अन्यथा ॥ ३४ ॥

Rasak, iv, 34

"He who takes no pleasure in the story of Krishna, beholds Fate close at hand ; he shall be smitten with the punishments of Fate, a dreadful death he shall obtain, (Din)krishna relates the story of Krishna, -never shall it be otherwise. "

In modern times a few prose works have been composed of considerable merit, but no originality, being either translations or adaptations from the English or Bengali. The Oriyas are beginning to wake up, but none of them have yet received sufficient cultivation to make them really good authors. Nor is there much demand for vernacular literature-the Oriya seldom reads, and not one man in hundred can write his native language without falling into the grossest errors of spelling and grammar at every turn....

This rapid and imperfect sketch of the present available literature of our seven languages will show that religious poetry constituted the bulk, if not the whole, of it till the influence of European ideas began to be felt, and that since that time a copious literature has come into existence, of which much is mere ephemeral trash, obscene, pointless, and utterly contemptible, but which has already produced some few works worthy to live, and will doubtless in time produce more. Bengali is decidedly in advance of the others, next come Hindi and Marathi, then Gujarati and Oriya, last of all Panjabî and Sindhi;...

The extent of country over which each of these languages is spoken is so large, and there has been so little communication

between one province and another until comparatively recent times, that it is not surprising that dialects should abound...Passing from the Marathas to their ancient victims ancient victims the Oriyas, a much more homogenous language is found. In the north of Orissa, about the Subarnarekhâ river and along the Hijli coast, and even to within a short distance of Midnapur(Medinipur), a corrupt form of Oriya is spoken, mixed with an equally corrupt form of Bengali. The position is parallel to that which I have noticed as existing 8in Ludhiana and Amballa, when Hindi and Panjabi are mixed up, so that one is never sure in which the two languages to address any man. From the Subarnarekhâ all down the coast to Puri the ordinary Oriya is spoken with hardly any perceptible differences. The people of the hill-states, however, speak with a clear distinct utterance which contrasts pleasingly with the low muttering and indistinct articulation of the residents of the plains. It is said by the Oriyas themselves that the language is spoken in its present purity in the hill states of Ghumsar, the birthplace of the first national poet, Upendra Bhanj. As, however, Gumsar is very far to the south, closely adjoining areas peopled by Dravidians and Kols, this assertion seems rather doubtful. I notice no difference between the speech of those who live in Balasore and those who come from the extreme south of Puri or Cuttack;nor do the natives of the province seem able to point out any such differences, though the Balasore people say that they of Cuttack and Puri laugh at them as imperfect speakers. This may arise in the extraordinary and altogether unparalleled slowness of utterance in vogue here. A native of Balasore will not open his mouth or speak clearly or distinctly;a dull hoarse rumbling is all he is capable of. Some few Bengali forms have been naturalized here, as for instance, kiso="what", for keono or kono ;korite hebo="it must be done" for koribâku hebo , where the real Oriya form is so much longer and more unwieldy than the Bengali, that the people have readily thrown it aside for the shorter and simpler expression.

...On reviewing the whole question of Indian dialects, several important points attract attention. The first is, that as each of the seven languages, except Oriya, possesses many dialects, and as none

of them until recent times and the rise of literature had any central type or standard, each one of the dialects into which it is divided has as much right as any of the others to be considered a genuine Aryan form of speech, and any one of them might have been chosen, as one of them actually was, as the basis on which to found the central type. Further, as some of the dialects spoken on the frontier between two languages partake almost equally of the characteristics of the both, so that the various languages melt gradually one into another, without any of that harshness or confusion which marks those countries where two heterogeneous languages come into contact, we are justifying in pointing to a time when there was no such distinct demarcation between the various languages as we see at present...

The whole of these languages, including all their varied dialectic forms, exhibit at every turn marks of a common origin, and the changes and development- I cannot call them corruptions- which they have undergone are all in the same direction, though in different degrees. There is hardly any special peculiarity in any one of them of which traces may not be found in a greater or less degree in all or most of the others. As regards, mutual intelligibility, which has been proposed as the test whereby to distinguish languages from dialects, there is much divergence. An Oriya can generally understand what is said to him in Bengalis, for political purposes, insist upon regarding Oriya as merely a dialect of their language. A Bengali peasant from the south of Bengal would understand much, if not all, that was spoken in Oriya, but a native of Northern or Eastern Bengal would not...The Hindustanis, from their superior cultivation, take high tone with the simple Panjabis, and laugh them out of their pronunciation and local forms, insisting, as do certain Bengalis with regard to Orissa, that these letters are mere vulgarisms, to be shunned by correct speeches...

Oriya is separated from Marathi by a long tract of wild hilly country, peopled by non-Aryan races. For fifty years, however, Orissa was under the sway of the Bhonslas of Nagpur, and even after seventy years of British rule the country still bears traces of

their rapacity and oppression. From all that I can learn of the traditions of those times, the two peoples found no difficulty in communicating with one another. Of course the Oriyas had to learn the language of their conquerors, and a few Marathis words have thus passed into their language; in the present day, however, they are widely sundered, and it is probable that if they came into contact, they would find it quite impossible to carry on any sustained conversation.

Although somewhat has been already said about the dates of the earliest written works in the modern languages; yet it is advisable, in order to make the general review of this group of languages more complete, to discuss the question of their chronological sequence more at large. In working out problems of Indian etymology, sufficient attention is not paid to the historical elements of the calculation. Especially is this the case in the works of European scholars, who, being generally better versed in Sanskrit than in the modern languages, are apt to attribute too much influence to the former and to write as if they thought that it was still a living and well-known tongue. Now without going into the question of how long Sanskrit remained a spoken language, it may be assumed as a fact, accepted by most scholars, that it certainly ceased to be a vernacular in the sixth century B. C., and remained as the language of religion and literature only. From that time the Aryan people of India spoke popular dialects called Prakits. It is from these latter therefore, and not directly from Sanskrit, that the modern languages derive the most ancient and distinctly national and genuine portion of their words and grammatical inflections...

Turning next to the eastern languages, Bengali and Oriya, there exists in the present day an active controversy between the literary heads of the two provinces. The Bengalis assert that Oriya is merely a dialect of Bengali, and has no claim to be considered an independent language, and they mix up with this assertion a second to the effect that if it is not it ought to be, mainly because they wish it was, and secondarily because the population of Orissa is so small as compared with that of Bengal that they think it useless to

keep up a separate language and written character for so small a province. They further urge that the maintenance of a separate language prevents the Oriyas from learning Bengali and profiting by the vast stores of valuable literature which they consider the latter to contain. Much of this chain of arguments is purely political, and may therefore be very briefly dismissed by the following remarks. If Oriya is to be suppressed because it is only spoken by a few millions in the settled and civilized districts of the sea-coast, it might also be urged that Dutch, or Danish, or Portuguese, should be obliterated also. Basue should also be stamped out, and the same argument would apply to Romaic or Modern Greek, and would justify the Russians in trying to eradicate Polish or the Austrians in annihilating Czech. But when the case of Oriya comes to be considered, it must be remembered that it is spoken not only by five million in the settled and civilized districts of the sea-coast, but by an uncounted and widely dispersed mass of wild tribes in the vast tracts of mountains which covers hundreds of miles inland, and extends as far west as Nagpore and as far south as Telingana. In these regions it is rapidly supplanting the old non-Aryan dialects; and from its having absorbed into itself much of the non-Aryan element, it affords a far better medium of civilization than Bengali. Moreover, it is far beyond the power of the handful of English and Bengalis settled in Orissa to stamp out the mother-tongue of all these millions, and it may be added that any forcible measure of repression would be entirely foreign and repugnant to the spirit of our policy. The result of teaching Bengali in our schools, to the exclusion of local vernacular, would only be that the small proportion of Oriya boys who attend those schools would know the former in addition to the latter, that they would learn to despise their mother tongue, and that a gap would be created between the mass of the peasantry and the small body of educated persons. This result is just what the Bengali would consider proper: from the earliest time in India there has been a chasm, studiously kept open and widened by every effort, between the higher and educated classes and the lower and uneducated—"this people that knoweth not the law is accused." Bengalis would like to maintain this, because it throws

all influence into their hands, and delivers the wretched peasant, bound and foot by the chains of ignorance, into the power of his oppressors. If we wish to see this huge seething mass of ignorance, vice, and superstition permeated by the light of truth and knowledge, we are bound to fight tooth and nail against the Bengali theory, and, by upholding the speech of the land-folk and helping them to purify and improve it, to render it impossible for interested persons to establish any barrier between the free intercourse of all classes of society. Philosophy in this case has a vital and practical importance. Looked at from the purely linguistic side there is no doubt that Oriya has ample proof of its individuality. The poems of Upendro Bhanj and his contemporaries are written in a language which hardly differs in a single word or inflection from the vernacular of today, and every word of which is distinctly intelligible to the meanest labourer. These poems, written three hundred years ago, exhibit a perfectly settled modern language, partly analytical and partly synthetical, but the analytical element of which has been so long in use as to have already undergone modifications of a secondary and even tertiary character. It retains unchanged forms which are older than the oldest Bengali or Hindi, and others which can only be compared with Bengali forms of three centuries ago, but which have long since died out from that language. Bidyapati, the contemporary of Upendro, writes, as we have seen, in a language more akin to Hindi than to modern Bengali. At a period when Oriya was already a fixed and settled language Bengali did not exist; the inhabitants of Bengal spoke a vast variety of corrupt forms of eastern Hindi. It is not till quite recent times that we find anything that can be with propriety called the Bengali language.

...In chronological sequence, therefore, we may place the Hindi with its subsidiary forms, Gujarati and Panjabi, first, fixing their rise and establishments as modern languages, distinct from their previous existence as Prakrits, in the eleventh century. Second, comes Marathi, which remained a Prakrit till the twelfth or even thirteenth century; and third Oriya, which must have quite completed its transformation by the end of the fourteenth. Bengali

was no separate independent language, but maze of dialects without a distinct national or provincial type, till the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century...



1. These letters being pronounced ru,ru,lu and lu respectively, the common people often use them for रु, रु, लू and लु ;thus we see delun," I gave", written देलू, properly d'eirn, "form" क्रप, properly rip.
2. This little o at the top is meant to press a sort of half-heard fleeting labial tone,like a labial Sheva,if such a thing could
3. Literally, " the association of Yama",considered as Fate;sanghât in the second line is used in the sense of association, or propinquity; in the fourth, in that of killing or death.This verse is almost identical with the modern spoken language;hoibo-hebo is the only archaism
4. It must be mentioned, however, in fairness to the Bhonslas, that they were very active in public works. Their tanks, roads, bridges, and dykes are still in existence, and were constructed on a princely scale, though, as they were not hampered with any scruples about paying their work people, it was as easy for them to execute lordly designs as it is for the Khedive of Egypt in the present day. This little point should be remembered by those who reproach the English for the inferiority of their public works.whatever we do is paid for.

MEMOIRS

BALASORE, 1869-1870

On arriving at Calcutta I found that I was appointed Magistrate and Collector 1st grade of Balasore. The salary of the 1st grade was in those days Rs. 1,916 a month and the rupee was still worth two shillings, though it began to fall very soon after that date.

I now entered upon my career of nine years in Orissa. This singular little province which has long dwelt apart has preserved a peculiar type of its own. It lies along the western coast of the Bay of Bengal at the northern or upper end, and consists of a narrowish strip of flat, fertile land backed by an extensive region of tangled hills extending far back into Central India. It is about two hundred and fifty broad from the sea to the furthest inland frontier. The flat strip near the coast, which is under direct British rule, is divided into three districts, Balasore in the north, Cuttack in the centre and Pooree in the south.

Balasore I found was a small district, a long, narrow strip of flat land between the sea and the hills. In one part it was only nine miles broad, though in another it was nearly fifty. The picturesque little town of Balasore lies huddled up on a high bank overhanging the River Burhabalang, about eight miles from the sea as the crow flies. It is a seaport, and strange grimy native craft ply thence to ports on the Madras coast laden with rice, the staple commodity of the district. West of the neat, clean town with its tall white houses lies the civil station on an undulating plain. Here are the houses of the European officials, the cutcherries and other public buildings, and a settlement of Baptist Missionaries from America who have a chapel with a high tower, and good houses.

My house was a fine, large, airy building surrounded by a good garden and close to it was the cutcherry. It was a very quiet

little place and our life there was on the whole a very uneventful one. The first thing that happened was the birth of our second daughter, Edith, on the 31st May 1869 at 4.30 a.m.

Our small society consisted of a Joint Magistrate, a doctor, a Superintendent of police, an Engineer, a Harbour-master, and an Inspector of Telegraphs. There were also two police Assistants and a Deputy Magistrate. All the above were English, and several of them were married. The Missionaries hailed from Dover, New Hampshire, U.S.A. and belonged to a sect called Free Will Baptists. There was, moreover, a Belgian Jesuit, Father Sapart, and three Carmelite nuns—a Scotch woman, a German and a Belgian. The Baptists and the Catholics had each charge of a small number of native children who had been left orphans in the terrible famine of 1866 and taken care of by the Government, which paid the Missionaries three rupees a head *per mensem* for them.

Some of these people were interesting as specimens of the curious beings one meets in India. There are large classes of people of all nations in that country of whose existence the good folk at home have no idea. Worthy Father Sapart, for instance, the Jesuit priest, was a very curious character. By race a Walloon from Louvain (or Loewen as he called it), son of a journeyman carpenter or bricklayer, he was a tall, lean, cadaverous creature with a long, sharp-pointed nose, deep seated eyes, a long, flowing beard and brown, sun-tanned face. Honest, simple-minded and very imperfectly educated at some Jesuit seminary, he had but one idea, the spread of his religion, and if he went the wrong way to work he certainly was not wanting in earnestness or sincerity.

He arrived at Balasore about a year before us, on foot, with a mat, a tin pot and a breviary as his sole luggage. He sat down under a tree and soon contrived to have a small bamboo and grass shed erected in which he lived, eating rice like a native. Then he began to beg from the Europeans and Eurasians (most of the latter class were Roman Catholics) until he got together money enough to build a cottage with mud walls and a thatched roof. He then secured a long lease of a patch of ground, and as the orphan children were

made over to him he housed them in the cottage and in company with them dug clay, moulded, and finally burnt bricks. Then he set to work and drew on large sheets of paper a design for church, parsonage and school-all in one. Still begging persistently he scraped together money enough to pay for bricklayers, dug his foundations and began to build. In this slow way, begging till he got a little money together, carrying on the work till he had spent it, and then going begging again— all the while living on rice and inhabiting any corner of the building that was habitable— he toiled on till at the end of about six years he had constructed a singularly graceful little Gothic church with a fine airy crypt beneath, in which he held his school, and two large dormitories and room for the priest. The officers of the Public Works Department who inspected the building said it was an admirable piece of work. Then Sapart set to work and built a nunnery and chapel for the nuns. Whenever he had exhausted the liberality of the Europeans and Eurasians of Balasore he would start off, accompanied by a boy to carry his mat and cooking pot, and trudge four or five hundred miles to Cuttack, Sambalpur and other stations to beg for his church. I think he was altogether some seven or eight years at Balasore, building all the while. And as soon as he had finished his buildings and they were ready for use and had been consecrated by the Romish Archbishop of Calcutta, he was removed to a far distant station and never set eyes on his beloved church again ! This is the Jesuit system. Poor, honest, simple-minded old Sapart was very fond of me and very much concerned at my being a heretic. He used to try to convert me, but as he only knew what he had been taught at his Belgian seminary he was not at all successful. He talked very fair English, but preferred, of course, to use French, and we always corresponded in that language.

Another curious character in this out-of-the-way nook was Captain Alfred Bond of the Indian Marine, whom we always spoke of as 'the Ancient Mariner'. He had been in India for upwards of sixty years and had never been to England once in all that time. His only tie to his native country was that he was related to the inventor of 'Bond's marking ink', which article he used

always to recommend strongly to everybody he met. He was Harbourmaster, Superintendent of the Salt Warehouses and Commander of the brig *Orissa*. (She was a schooner in reality.) This vessel, a smart little craft, was a relic of a former state of things. In the early days of British rule when there were few roads, and those very bad, and when the British possessions extended only a little distance inland, the East India Company maintained a fleet of small vessels, generally armed, to keep up the communication between the settlements along the coast from Calcutta in the north to Madras in the south. These vessels carried officers joining their appointments, also opium and stores of all sorts. They were occasionally also employed in attacking the mud fort of some refractory zemindar, and even, in company with English men-of-war, in fighting the French. Those days had long passed away, but the brigs and schooners were still kept up. They still occasionally brought opium, stamps and stationery, and other Government stores from Calcutta, or cruised about in pursuit of salt smugglers. For the most part, however, the little brig *Orissa* lay placidly in harbour being constantly painted, scrubbed and polished and (as we afterwards discovered) being quietly devoured internally by white ants. Occasionally she took a trip to air her sails, and on some of these occasions, having too rashly put to sea in bad weather, was unable to get back again, and had to beat about in the bay till all her provisions were consumed and the Ancient Mariner and his crew suffered the pangs of hunger. Though he had been so long in India the Ancient Mariner's knowledge of the Indian languages was confined to a very small stock of horribly mispronounced words in nautical Hindustani, a curious jargon composed of Arabic, Persian, Malay, Tamil, Portuguese and Urdu. It is very generally spoken on board all the vessels of very various nationalities which navigate the Bay of Bengal from Singapore to Calcutta and from Calcutta to Colombo. This nautical life in the Bay of Bengal is very curious. It is a little world of its own. The ships are commanded and officered by Europeans, and the crews consist of 'lascars', i.e. men from Chittagong, the Madras coast, and Eastern Bengal. But

a description of this kind of life would take a book to itself. In my capacity of Collector of Customs— one of the multifarious functions attached to my new post—I was brought into contact with it very constantly as I shall frequently have occasion to mention hereafter.

Mrs Bridget Bond, wife and ruler of the Ancient Mariner, was a small shrivelled old lady who went about in a Bath chair and actively superintended the land affairs as her husband did the sea. She owned several houses and some land. Her special eminence, however, consisted in her being what her husband used to describe as 'a Plymouth Brethren'. In this capacity she was wont to hold prayer meetings in her house to which the Ancient Mariner used to invite us, saying, 'You should come and hear Biddy pray; Biddy prays beautiful.' I am sorry to say none of us ever went. Biddy was certainly a very clever old woman, and had evidently at some time or other been very well educated. She used to come and sit with us of an evening in our garden, and her conversation showed an amount of reading and acquaintance with various subjects which often surprised us. Who she was by birth, and how she had drifted into the arms of the Ancient Mariner and with him to the remote and obscure district of Balasore, was a mystery: They had a large family of sons and daughters all of whom, but one, were maried and settled in various parts of Bengal in well-paid appointments. One unmarried daughter, Alice, a shrewish, leathery virgin of forty or more, lived with them and essayed her mature charms in vain on every young man that came to Balasore.

In this quiet place, among this strange society, we lived for four years. I quickly learnt Oriya, the language of Orissa, and assisted E.B. Hallam, one of the American Baptist Missionaries, in writing an Oriya Grammar. I also now began my *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, and completed it in about eighteen months, working at it for two hours every morning before breakfast, from eiht to ten. This was the only time I could spare from my official duties, which though not heavy were incessant. People came about this or that at all hours.

of the day, and sometimes even late at night. At this time I bought my dear old horse, 'Balaclava', who was my faithful servant for nine years and carried me over many hundreds of miles. He was not beautiful, being a large, big-boned chestnut waler¹ with four white stockings and a vicious eye. I had been reading Kinglake's *Crimea*, and had just come upon the description of Lord Cardigan's charger at the celebrated Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava when my new horse arrived. He resembled the charger I had been reading about so exactly that I named him accordingly. My wife had a handsome bay mare, and we had many a grand scamper across country together. Balaclava was a vicious animal and bucked dreadfully. He used to bite his syces and I always had a struggle with him at starting of a morning. But he knew me and we were great friends.

The Christmas of this year we spent at Cuttack, guests of Robert Alexander, the Judge, a large, genial old man, a great friend of ours, and the most extensive consumer of bottled beer I ever met. We marched down the Trunk Road, living in tents and bungalows. All over Orissa— as in most parts of India—there are small bungalows by the roadside at distances of ten or fifteen miles apart. These are built and maintained by the Government principally for use of the officers of the Public Works Department when on duty inspecting roads and other works. They are, however, also available on payment of a small fee to other officers. They are simply furnished, with a few necessaries only, and every officer brings with him his bedding and food.

At Neulpur, a place about twenty-four miles from Cuttack, we found one of the small steamers of the Irrigation Department waiting for us on the canal, which had recently been completed up to this point. We were a merry company on board, twelve men and three or four ladies, with some children. We started early in the morning, and spent the day principally in eating, drinking, smoking, playing cards and singing, reaching Cuttack eventually, very tired, at eleven o' clock at night. The delay was caused by our sticking on the numerous sandbanks in the Mahanadi River. I will not here describe beautiful Cuttack, because we got to

know it much better in after days. The charm of it struck us on our first visit, the broad, shady roads, and green parade ground, the picturesque buildings, the two broad rivers with their background of lovely blue hills, make it one of the most picturesque stations in India.

On a large plain a mile or so from the town was the race-course and a grandstand. In the early morning there were races to which the Maharaja of Vizianagram sent some good horses, in charge of a diminutive English jockey, who beat all the amateur gentlemen riders by his skill in handling his horses. Then there were great dinners to which twenty or thirty persons sat down, and after the ladies had retired there was hot whisky and water, with singing till past midnight. A Madras Regiment is, or was in those days, stationed at Cuttack and there was a grand dinner at their Mess. On St John's night (27th December) the Masons had a great function followed by a banquet at the Lodge, at which some fifty brethren were present, and there was deep drinking and a good deal of noise, ending towards morning in much horseplay and practical jokes.

It was a very lively place in those days, being a very large station and a centre of meeting for several smaller stations in the neighbourhood. It was one of the cheerfulness, healthiest, prettiest and most generally agreeable stations I have ever known— at least it was so in those days, i.e. from 1869 to 1878 when we knew it.

We returned to Balasore in the first week of the new year 1870. It seemed very small, quiet and dull after big, noisy Cuttack. The stream of pilgrims down the road was the busiest thing in it. The Orissa Trunk Road, a section of the great Imperial road between Calcutta and Madras, runs like a backbone down the whole length of the Balasore district for 120 miles. It is a work of almost Roman solidity, being raised fifteen or twenty feet above the level of the country across which it runs, visible from afar like a great dyke with its solid masonry bridges, long rows of shady trees and lines of telegraph post and wires. The surface is metalled with laterite², or iron-sandstone, a dark red stone

found all over Orissa which makes admirable roads, bridges and other buildings. Along this noble road passes all the year round, but chiefly at the seasons of the great festivals-- the Dol Jatra or Spring festival in January, and the Rath Jàtrà or Car festival in June-- an endless string of pilgrims from all parts of India; the poor limping wearily on foot, the rich in bullock carts or palkis, to the great temple of Jagannath at Puri. To protect these pilgrims from being robbed or maltreated there are regular patrols of police all along the road. There are also hospitals at several places where they receive medical assistance gratuitously if they fall ill from fatigue or disease on their way. Of course, large numbers of them fall ill and die, and they almost always bring fever and cholera with them on their return. The women, as usual, suffer most.

There is a class of Brahmans attached to the temple of Jagannath (*vulgo* Juggernaut) called Pandas, whose business it is to travel long distances all over India, extolling the virtues of pilgrimage to Jaganath, and inducing people to undertake it. The decaying zeal of the modern Hindu for pilgrimage is kept alive by these touters, who are naturally most successful with the women. It used to be a common sight to see a strong, stalwart Panda marching along the road, followed by a little troop of small, cowering Bengali women, each clad in her one scanty, clinging robe, her small wardrobe in a palm-leaf box on her head, with the lordly Panda's luggage on her shoulders. At night they put up at one of the chatties or lodging-houses which are found all along the road. Here his lordship reposes while his female flock buy his food and cook it, spread his couch, serve his dinner, light his pipe, shampoo his limbs, and even, if he so desire, minister to his lust.

When at length they reach Jagannath the Panda leads his flock round to all the places of worship, sees them through all the ceremonies and, in collusion with the Parihràis, or temple priests, screws out of them all their money down to the last cowry, in fees and offerings. The ceremonies ended, he has done with them, and remorselessly turns them adrift to find their way home, a

distance perhaps of many hundred miles, as best they may. So far from their homes from which they have in many cases started surreptitiously, purloining their husbands' hoard of money, these wretched women have to tramp wearily back through the rain, for it is mostly for the Rath Jtara, in the rainy season, that they come. What with exposure, fatigue and hunger they die in great numbers by the roadside. Those whose youth and strength enable them to survive the journey are often too much afraid of their husbands' anger to return home, and end by swelling the number of prostitutes in Calcutta. *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum*

Often journeying about the district and riding late along the road, we passed scores of white figures of Bengali women lying asleep on the damp ground muffled in their thin cotton saris, their only garment. We never knew how many of them were alive and how many were dead. Only every morning a band of 'Sweepers of the dead' (murdah-farrash), as they were called, marched along with a cart to carry off and bury as many of the white-robed figures as had finished their mortal journey during the night. A large staff of these official *croque-morts* had to be maintained all along the road.

About this time we received a visit from that vivacious but not very accurate writer, Dr. W.W. Hunter, who during a stay of seven days subjected me to such an unceasing fire of questions that on his departure I solemnly forbade anyone to ask me any more questions for a month. He was then a small, lean, hatchet-faced man with a newspaper correspondent's gift of facile, flashy writing, and a passion for collecting facts and figures of which he made fearful and wonderful use afterwards. The light-hearted subalterns of the regiment at Cuttack had amused themselves by inventing for his benefit wonderful years, all of which he duly entered in his note-book and reproduced in his book on Orissa. He was rather a troublesome guest as he was not contented with our simple food. We lived as well as most people in our station of life in the rural districts of India. Our 'chota haziri', or little breakfast, was at five-thirty to six, and consisted of tea, eggs

boiled or poached, toast and fruit. After this came our ride. Breakfast at eleven consisted of fried or broiled fish, a dish or two of meat—generally fowl cutlets, hashes and stews, or cold meat and salad followed by curry and rice and dessert. We drank either bottled beer—the universal Bas—or claret which we got good and cheap from Bordeaux through Pondicherry. Then followed a long day's work in office. Between four and five there was tea and cakes, after which we went for a drive or had a croquet party in our compound. Dinner at half past seven or eight consisted of soup, and entree, roast fowls or ducks, occasionally mutton, and in cold weather once or twice beef, an entrempt of game or a savoury, and sweets. We drank either beer or claret. This seemed to us a fairly good diet, but it did not suit our guest who wanted champagne every night, *pâté de foie gras* and other 'tinned' delicacies. We did not indulge much in 'tinned' things, believing them to be unwholesome and thinking them often very nasty. But by many people in India they are considered very great luxuries. We used often to be amused at our Eurasian friends saying, 'Oh you ! you are so rich, you dine off tinned things every day of course !' They would not believe us when they were told that we lived on plain roast fowl and mutton like themselves.

Hunter's *Orissa* in two volumes was the result of his visit. It is a clever, brilliantly written work, though containing many inaccuracies. I supplied him with a mass of facts, and so did the Collectors of Cuttack and Puri, but he put all our contributions into an Appendix in small type and made very little use of them in the text of his work.

In this year the English doctor to go away. The Government, never having a sufficient staff of doctors, was obliged to send us in his place a Eurasian apothecary. This man, of humble origin and not much education, had entered the public service as a Hospital Assistant, in which capacity it was his duty to wait upon the surgeons at operations, to clean the instruments, prepare bandages and perform other menial offices. In course of time he rose to be an apothecary and then had charge of the durgs, was entrusted with the task of making up prescriptions, and became

at last a skilful compounder. After passing some sort of examination, he set to work to read books on medicine and surgery, and by living in hospitals and hearing the doctors talk picked up a smattering of medical knowledge. He was then lucky enough to be attached, in a subordinate capacity, to the office of the Viceroy's private surgeon and had the honour of compounding Lord Mayo's pills. He was also allowed to prescribe for the humbler members of the Viceregal household, the nurses, footmen and the like. This experience was eventually held to qualify him for the post of Civil Medical Officer of a district; the dearth of properly qualified surgeons compelled the Government to employ anyone with even the slightest pretence to medical knowledge. So he was sent to us.

He was a harmless if ignorant sort of creature at first, for if his medicines did no good, they at least did not harm. But as time went on, waxing bold with practice, he took to what he used to call 'exhibiting the pharmacopoeia'. This process consisted in administering one drug after another out of the work in question till he either killed or cured. He proceeded in alphabetical order. If the drugs under the letter A produced no result, he went on to B, and then to C, and so on. That he did not kill more than he cured was due to the sharpness of his patients, who, on hearing this peculiar phrase, understood that he did not know how to treat them and refrained from taking his medicines.

My wife felt that she could not trust herself to this man for her approaching confinement, and I was therefore obliged to take the long journey of 106 miles into Cuttack. There on the 16th December 1870 was born our third daughter and sixth child, Katharine. As soon as the event was over I started for my own district where I spent a lonely Christmas in camp at Noanand, a large Government estate in the desolate plains by the sea-shore. These are the plains where salt is made. I find the following descriptions of them in my letters to Elliot written in 1870.

'The salt-lands are like a picture in the *Illustrated London News* I remember many years ago of "Bulgarian fishermen on the lower Danube", which I have not seen for perhaps twenty years,

but which now comes back to me vividly. Huge, sluggish stream,—"boom of the bittern" generally—dark evening—streak of light on the horizon, and that sort of thing. The salt-lands are wild, grassy plains; sandhills by the sea-shore; foul creeks half salt, half fresh; alligators—black, shiny mud—melancholy great sea, roaring and tumbling far off across wet sands—somehow it seems always to be low water. In the opposite direction is the one redeeming feature, a beautiful little range—far off—of the bluest of blue hills behind which the sun is just setting.'

—'Got back from these dreary salt wastes, red with samphire, white with salt, brown with withered grass, with its boundary of stunted screw pines and the muddy, roaring sea beyond; no houses, no people, no nothing !

A land where no one come

Or hath come since the making of the world.

There was a good deal of hard work to do in this desolate place and I remained there till the end of the year 1870.

At the mouth of the Balasore River stood an old ruined bungalow called Balramgarhi. It had been one of the East India Company's factories in the old days, and it was to this place that the few English who survived the 'Black Hole' fled for refuge. It belonged in my time to a rich native merchant, who, at my request, repaired it and let it to me for the summer months. We used to go there during the hot weather to enjoy the cool sea-breezes which blew all day and all night and rendered punkahs unnecessary.

In February 1871 Sir William Grey retired and Sir George Campbell became Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and a time of spasmodic activity began for Bengal. Gey was a mild, rather slow sort of man whose whole career had been passed in the Secretariat and whose knowledge of the rural parts—ninety-nine hundredths—of the province was in consequence purely theoretical. He was fond of writing interminable minutes, but he made no very great mark and no excitement was felt when he retired. Campbell was a very different sort of man. A restless spirit and an insatiable desire for change, joined to a profound belief in

himself, led him to upset everything. In justice to him, however, it must be admitted that sleepy, muddy, stagnant old Bengal wanted a great deal of stirring up, and his measures were beneficial in most cases, though his successors did not carry them out in the spirit in which he conceived them. He did not reflect how short is the term of office of a Lieutenant Governor—only five years and in his case even less—and it did not occur to him that he was likely to do more harm than good by commencing great reforms which would require more years of careful watching and guiding to bring them to a successful issue than he was likely to be able to give them. Much of what he did was good and has borne excellent fruit, but much, unfortunately, that went well so long as he was there to manage it, was subsequently spoilt by bad management on the part of his successors; and some of his projected reforms have even been entirely laid aside, much to the detriment of the country and the people.

Like most enthusiastic reformers he was quite indifferent to the feelings of those affected by his reforms. In his zeal for improvement, he rode rough-shod over the most cherished prejudices of the Bengalis, while at the same time he himself was extremely sensitive to public opinion. No amount of opposition or hostile criticism had power to turn him from a pet project, but he felt very much aggrieved at the attacks made upon him in both the English and Native newspapers, and showed his annoyance by issuing somewhat undignified circular orders in which he expressed himself with a freedom and homeliness of phrase very strikingly in contrast with the lofty decorum and stilted official circumlocution of his predecessors. Where another Lieutenant-Governor would have written, 'His Honour is constrained to express his dissatisfaction at . . .', Campbell would write, 'The Lieutenant-Governor abhors this kind of muddle and will punish severely anyone who behaves in this absurd way in future.' He afforded great fun to the comic papers by issuing a circular in which he solemnly informed all his liege subjects that he had been very much shocked at one station which he visited by meeting an Assistant Collector early one morning out for a walk engaged

in training some 'puppy-dogs'. This he thought was a disgraceful waste of time. When the poor boy pleaded that he, thought he might amuse himself in his own way 'out of office hours', Campbell's indignation was unbounded. 'There are no such things as office hours,' he replied, 'an officer's services are at the disposal of the Government at all hours of the day and night.' Poor, witty, erratic Frank Bignold, my predecessor as Collector of Balasore, a brilliantly clever man but so unpunctual and unmethodical as to be the ruin of any district that might be in his charge, wrote some clever lines on this pronouncement of the new Lieutenant-Governor. It was a longish poem and I only remember parts of it. The lines I refer to ran thus:

*The model Magistrate, our rulers say,
Decides all night, investigates all day;
The crack Collector, man of equal might
Reports all day, and corresponds all night.*

Campbell had never served in the Lower Provinces. He had, it is true, been for a time a Judge of the High Court at Calcutta, in which capacity his eccentric ideas about law had made him rather notorious, but this was no introduction to the administrative work of Bengal. His service had been spent almost entirely in the North-West Provinces, and just before his appointment to Bengal he had been Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. He chose to assume that there was not, among the Civilians of Bengal, a single man fit to be his Secretary, and he therefore imported from the Central Provinces his favourite, C. E. Bernard.

Bernard, who had been my contemporary and rival at Hailybury, was a nephew of Sir John Lawrence and owed his rapid promotion partly to that circumstance. He was however, a man of very great ability; had he not been so, he could not have risen as he did, even with his powerful interest.

Solid, judicious, indefatigably laborious, clear-headed, quick to perceive the bearings of a matter, but without much originality or initiative power—Bernard was just the man for Secretary to so masterful and original a chief as Campbell. If a lucid exposition of a long and intricate subject were wanted, Bernard would wade

through piles of papers, missing no important point, never led astray by digressions, nor bewildered by conflicting opinions, and would produce a masterly minute which brought order out of chaos, and shed light on dark places. His services to Sir George were invaluable, and though there might have been found, in Bengal eight or ten men as good as he, still it was not unnatural that Campbell, having already such a man to his hand, and being totally unacquainted with most of the Bengal men, should prefer to have him as his Secretary and should refuse to consider how much injustice he was doing to the Bengal men by giving one of the prize appointments to an outsider.

Sir George's activity was prodigious. He was never contented with the assurance often made to him by experienced officers, that this or that system had been in force for many years, had always been found to work well, and was well suited to the local peculiarities of the Province. He was full of theories which he had propounded years before in a book written when he was a very junior officer in Oudh. He attacked every department of the administration at once—police, criminal courts, judicial courts, jails, land revenue, collection of taxes, trial of rent suits, registration of assurances, public works, roads and ferries, education, vaccination, sanitation—('and everything else that ends in—"ation", as Bignold remarked in one of his poems), municipalities, the excise on spirits and drugs, customs, salt all felt his probing hand in turn. His plan was to issue a minute in which he stated that he was not satisfied with the working of this or that department, and therefore appointed a Committee consisting of Mr. Bernard and some other officers to inquire and report on it. In due course there would appear an exhaustive report by Bernard, on which His Honour would base a series of rules often involving very sweeping changes. It is only fair to say that in many cases he effected marked improvements, though in some others he made very injudicious innovations. His general policy, it is scarcely necessary to add, was intensely distasteful to the natives on whose most cherished prejudices he tramped ruthlessly. Consequently he was very much dis-liked by them.

My official work at quiet, sleepy Balasore was not very heavy though varied. It had this advantage that owing to the smallness of the district I was able personally to supervise everything down to the minutest details. I was thus fortunately able to give satisfaction to Campbell by carrying out successfully many of his reforms. I might not approve of them all myself — and when I did not, I frankly said so — but as it was my duty to carry out orders I did so loyally, and Campbell was pleased at this. He also received very graciously a copy of the first volume of my *Comparative Grammar* which appeared about this time, and was good enough to say he did not at all object to officers occupying some part of their time in so useful a way. My *Grammar* was well received in England and on the Continent, was very favourably reviewed, and gained me some little reputation as a philologist.

It was difficult to find time for linguistic work, not so much because official work was heavy, as because of the constant interruptions to which one in my position is subjected. Still, I managed to devote some time nearly every day to my *Grammar*, and to extend my slight knowledge of European languages. I used to take up one language at a time and stick to it for a month or two, after which I went on to another. One cold weather I read *Don Quixote* through in the original Spanish and a great part of Ercilla's long and rather tedious poem, *La Arancana*, with which, after the glowing description of it in Humboldt's *Cosmos*, I was rather disappointed. Another time I had a spell of Goethe, or Tasso, or Balzac, a strange farrago ! I was, however, more in need of German, because in writing my *Comparative Grammar* it was necessary to consult so many German authorities. Much painful wading through Bopp, and Grimm and Pott had to be done. It was a relief to turn from them to the grand old Spanish ballads of Rey Don Sancho, or el Cid Campeador, though both had often to be laid aside to settle some knotty point about the collection of revenue or detection of crime. It was a curiously mixed life as regards the mind and its workings that I led in those days.

About this time I became a contributor to a weekly paper called the *Indian Observer*, got up by a small number of brilliant young men in the Civil and Military Services, aided by some educational men and barristers. Most of the writing was clever and sparkling and, of course, very sarcastic. The paper was extremely popular and successful for about a couple of years. It, however, incurred the grave displeasure of several high officials, on account of the biting satire with which it attacked the measures of Lord Mayo's Government, and especially His two most prominent advisers, Sir John Strachey and Sir Richard Temple. Although I did not write any of the political articles, yet my connexion with the paper did me much harm when Temple, some years later, came to be Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Free and temperate criticism of the measures of Government by officials was not permitted in 1872. The article on Finance and Foreign Policy in the *Observer* did not exceed the limits usually considered permissible in England, but in India our rulers are thin-skinned, and by degrees made the writers in the *Observer* understand that it was not safe to write in it any longer. So they dropped off, one by one. Poor Wilfred Heeley of our Service, then Inspector-General of Jails, was so persecuted that he died of a broken heart. I was cruelly persecuted also, and so were several others. I wrote a series of articles on the condition of the peasantry in Orissa, on the new Road Cess law, on the work and training of men in my own service and on various social questions. By degrees, however, the politics element in the paper grew feebler and the purely literary element stronger. I then wrote them a long series of articles on the vernacular literature of India, giving a brief history of each of the principal medieval writers, with short versified extracts from their poems. I also wrote reviews of Morris's poem, 'Love is enough', and other work. The paper gradually declined and came to an end in 1873.

I have mentioned that some of my articles were about the Road Cess. This was a hotly debated question at the time, and much more trouble was anticipated from it than actually occurred. In fact, when the principle was once conceded, there was nothing

more to fight about and the law having once taken its place on the Statute Book, was submitted to by the people with not more grumbling than the editors of native papers could manage to excite.

The point was this: the landholders of Bengal, having by the Permanent Settlement been secured in the possession of their estates (and so much of the estates of other persons as in the scramble of 1793 they could manage to get hold of) at a rent fixed for ever, imagined, or were said by their advocates to imagine, that the state had thereby pledged itself not to demand from them any further contributions to the expenses of the administration. They thought that they were exempt for ever from all taxes, imposts and cesses of all kinds. Money being wanted for the improvement of the roads in Bengal, and the finances not admitting, and not being likely to admit, of large sums being devoted to this purpose, further taxation was necessary. A bill was therefore introduced into the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor to provide for the levy of a cess. This cess was to be a rate upon the annual profits of estates, tenures, and holdings and was to be paid by landholders, by those who held tenures under them, and by the actual cultivators of the soil. Immediately a cry was raised that the Government was infringing upon the compact made at the time of the Permanent Settlement, and the war of words rose high. I took no part in this as I was from the first clearly of the opinion that the cry was not only baseless, but opposed to the most obvious historical facts. The fact that a former Government had bound itself and its successors for all time not to increase the demand from the zemindars on one account, namely the land, was no bar to additional demands being made upon them on other accounts. But it was the method adopted for fixing the exact amount of cess payable by each person that gave colour to the objection. An attempt was to be made to ascertain the profit on each estate and the tax was to be levied on this profit. Zemindars were to be called upon to submit statements showing their profits, and it was hoped that the threat of a criminal prosecution for submitting false returns would suffice

to secure their truthfulness. The zemindar was moreover to be permitted to collect the sums due from his tenants and ryots and pay them to the Collector, after deducting a small commission for his trouble.

The weak points in this scheme were numerous. No one who really knew the zemindars could expect them to send in correct returns. Many of them were careless and indolent, mere puppets in the hands of unscrupulous followers. Many more were crafty, dissembling money grubbers. No reliance could be placed on their statements. The threat of criminal prosecution was mere *brutum fulmen*, because in order to secure a conviction it was necessary to prove first that the returns were false, and secondly that they were intentionally and wilfully misleading. We had no data whatsoever for proving the first point, for there had never been any official check or control over the management by zemindars of their estates, and as to the second it was easy for the zemindar to bring half the countryside to bear witness that he was easy-going and careless and had never kept any accounts in his life, and had not the slightest idea as to what were his profits, so that the return submitted was mere guesswork and not intended to mislead. Then again, so great is the dependence of the ryots on the zemindar that to give the latter the right of collecting the cess would open a wide door to all sorts of exactions.

I set forth all these considerations in my articles in the *Indian Observer* in the form of an imaginary history of what took place on the estate of a typical zemindar whom I created for the occasion. I also in several articles entered fully into the actual condition of the ryot and the relations between him and the zemindar. Sir George Campbell, as it afterwards turned out, knew that I was the writer of the articles, which made some stir at the time.

Nevertheless, though in my own mind I disapproved of the policy of the Government, it was my duty to carry out orders, and my small district of Balasore having been selected as the first into which the Road Cess should be introduced, I set to work actively and soon finished the assessment and reported my district as ready to pay the cess sooner than Government had anticipated.

For this I was warmly thanked by the Lieutenant-Governor. I was frequently consulted by him and the Board of Revenue on points of detail and practical difficulties which arose in the course of the work, and my proceedings were handed round as a pattern for all other districts. This was one of the small triumphs which come now and then to encourage a lonely worker in a remote Indian district.



-
1. A cavalry horse imported into India from New South Wales.
 2. Laterite is a ferruginous clay of a dark red colour (so called from Latin *later* 'a brick' from its colour). It is porous and full of large round holes, like a sponge or like Gruyère cheese. When cut from the quarry it is soft, but hardens on exposure to the air. All the ancient temples, forts, palaces and bridges in Orissa are built of it. Broken into gravel it is used for metalling roads. It is the all-pervading laterite that gives the sombre dark reddish, grey colour to towns and scenery generally in Orissa.

BALASORE, 1871-1873

SOME facts about our home life may now be chronicled. At the mouth of the Balasore River, sixteen miles from the town stood an old ruined house called Balramgarhi, famed as the site of the English factory to which the survivors of the 'Black Hole' had fled for refuge.

Although Balasore itself was so near the sea, yet there was a sensible difference between the climate of the station, and that of the sea-shore. For a long time the European residents had been in the habit of going for a few weeks in the hot weather to live in two small bungalows on the sandhills on the coast, at a place called Chandipore. But in my predecessor's time the bungalows had fallen into the hands of a doctor in Calcutta, who conceived the idea that he could make a popular sea-side resort out of it. So he published flaming descriptions of the poor little place with fancy illustrations and scientific opinions as to its amazing healthiness and so on. But as there was no particular way of getting there from Calcutta, and no shops or supplies or drinkable water to be had when you did get there, the Calcutta public preferred to go to the hills, and the project fell through. Meanwhile, however, the doctor, by way of popularizing the place, took to lending the two bungalows to such of his Calcutta friends as he could induce to go there, and they were consequently lost to the Europeans of Balasore. It occurred to me that the old factory at the mouth of the river might be utilized as a hot weather residence, and the owner, a wealthy zemindar, agreeing to this, put it into thorough repair and let it to me. As soon as the hot weather began we all migrated there.

The old house was raised on a plinth about three feet high; it had, as usual in Indian houses, only one storey and contained three large and five smaller rooms. All round the front ran a deep veranda with a broad platform in front facing the sea, from which a broad flight of steps led down to a small garden. Beyond was a wide stretch of waste covered with tall jungle grass and a few clumps of

mango and palm trees, beside which the river ran out to sea. Half a mile in front stretched the grassy plain away to a solitary palmyra tree on a point where sea and river met. Across the river to the south was Chandipore, a mile off on a low line of grassy hills, and behind us to the west the picturesque line of the Nilgiri Hills. Our boat manned by eight rowers lay close by, and every morning we were rowed down to the mouth of the river and went for a long walk on the sands. In the evening as we sat on the veranda a fleet of native sloops and brigs would appear on the horizon in a cloud of white sail, round the point and drop anchor in the river. The fisherman rowed out with the ebb and back with the flood, laden with delicious fish of which we thus had a very abundant supply.

We found the life here very pleasant. My wife and children lived there permanently and I rode into Balasore every morning to my work and back again in the evening. Provisions and drinking water had to be brought by boat from Balasore. Unfortunately the season that year—1871—was very unfavourable. Usually in March the south-west winds set in up the coast and round the headlands, turning to south up the rivers, so that as our house at Balramgarhi faced south we ordinarily had a sweet, cool breeze blowing right into it all day and all night. This wind blows over the flats into Balasore but of course loses much of its coolness and freshness by the time it reaches the station. The difference in the temperature between Balasore and the coast only eight miles off is very great. In the season we spent at Balramgarhi the course of nature was changed. The fresh sea-breeze was less regular. An abnormal land wind took its place, which, coming over the swamps to landward of us, brought with it malarious exhalations. Our native servants began to get fever and had to be sent into the station. At last we were also attacked and had to go back to Balasore and were ill for a long time afterwards. My poor wife suffered from malarial fever for a long time.

It was not merely the unusual season that made us ill. The circumstances had a good deal to do with it. When we first saw Balramgarhi, the old house was scarcely to be seen from the river owing to the dense jungle that had grown up all round it. All this

was cleared away before the house could be got at to be repaired, but newly cleared land is always unhealthy in India, as elsewhere, and it is probable that even had not the weather been so unpropitious we should have suffered all the same. The salt-makers, however, lived there for many months of the year without getting fever, but there were a peculiar race and were acclimatized.

Salt-making is, or was then (for great changes have taken place since those days) a very flourishing industry along the eastern coast of India. There were two ways of making it. One way employed all along the Madras coast and in southern Orissa is known as Karkach. In this method large, shallow pans are dug in the sand on the foreshore and sea-water is let into them by channels at high tide. The heat of the sun evaporates the water, leaving the pans thickly encrusted with crystals of salts. It is then scraped off and stored in warehouses. It is a dirty, coarse stuff and not very strongly flavoured. The strict Hindus prefer it because, not having been touched by human hands, it is free from all suspicion of ceremonial impurity.

The other method, which is more complicated, is in use in northern Orissa and Bengal and is known as Paṅga. Channels are dug from the sea to small reservoirs dug— not in the sand, but in the muddy soil beyond. Then a mound about two feet high is made of earth and grass mixed. On the top is placed a large earthen vessel pierced with holes. A layer of grass and twigs is placed in the vessels, and on this again a thick layer of mud from the surrounding soil, which is rarely saturated with saline matter from being constantly submerged by the sea. Water from the reservoir is then poured in till the vessel is full. This sea-water filtering through the saline earth becomes more salt than it was before, and the strong brine thus made is drawn off through a bamboo pipe into a second vessel. Close by is a rude, dome-shaped furnace consisting of a hole in the ground surmounted by a cupola, formed by fixing together with mud a large number of egg-shaped jars with their mouths outwards. These are all filled to the brim with the brine. Then a fire is lighted inside and fed with the tall, dry grass which grows around, till all the water in

the jars has been boiled away ? The crystals of salt are then scraped out and piled on mats for transport to the gola.

The making of salt is a Government monopoly. In the early years of British rule the salt was made by men hired by the Government, and a large staff of highly-paid officials was maintained to supervise the work. The 'Salt Agent', who lived in

a huge palace at Contai on the Midnapore coast, was a senior member of the Covenanted Civil Service and drew a very large salary— Rs 4,000 or thereabouts a month. This system was, however, found to be expensive and inefficient. Fraud and peculation was rife, and smuggling on a large scale was winked at by the numerous and badly-watched native subordinates. Salt Daroghas, on a salary of forty or fifty rupees a month, bought large estates and built handsome houses and died worth large sums of money. The old system was swept away and a new one introduced. The Salt Agent and his army of Daroghas were abolished, and the long-suffering and over burdened Collector had the salt department added to the already long list of his duties. Government gave up making salt on its own account, and private persons were invited to engage in the manufacture.

Enterprising merchants, contractors and others possessing a little capital readily embarked in this promising venture. Securing from the landowner the lease of a tract of land ten or fifteen miles square on the 'saliferous' region— a narrow strip of low land running along all the coast— the contractor applied for permission to make salt there. He had to fence his ground strongly, to build huts for the workmen and to hire them. He had also to deposit a sum of money with the Collector to meet the pay of a small guard of police and a 'Pass Officer' and weighmen.

As in every occupation in India, so in this, the men who do the work belong to a special caste, called in Orissa— Mallangis, in Bengal— Nunias. Some of them engage in agriculture, but the most part live entirely by making (and smuggling) salt.

Work at the Arangs, as the salt enclosures are called, begins about December when the land has dried after the rains. The Mallangis clear the ground, build reed-huts, mounds and furnaces,

dig canals to carry the salt water. They also cut great quantities of the tall, coarse grass that grows all about, which, with its thick stems and knotty roots, makes excellent and cheap fuel. At daybreak the fires are lit and the work goes on until an hour before sunset, when the salt, still wet and warm, is put into baskets and carried to the enclosure, where it is weighed and the day's out-turn recorded by the Pass Officer. The salt is thrown into heaps which are carefully thatched with palm leaves. Later on it is conveyed either by land in bags carried by pack-bullocks, or by boat up the numerous muddy creeks to the Gola or warehouse near one of the large inland towns or markets.

Every step in the manufacture and sale of salt is surrounded with the most minute precautions on the part of Government, and there is a distinct and separate kind of fraud practised at each stage. As each fresh precaution is evolved by the Board of Revenue, the Board of Smugglers invents a means of circumventing it.

The area of the Arang is extensive; except where actually cleared it is covered with tall, coarse grass and scrub. In many places there are swamps and quicksands. The narrow, winding footpaths on which only one man can go are known only to the Mallangis. The staff of police put to guard the Arang consists usually of only four men and a Head Constable. The work is unpopular because of the unhealthiness of the place and the difficulty of procuring provisions. Consequently only the worst men in the force can be got to go there and the salt Arangs are used as a penal settlement. A policeman who does anything wrong is sent to a Salt Arang as a punishment. Add to this that the smugglers are liberal with their bribes, and that they are backed up by wealthy and influential men who have no scruple in getting up a false charge against an inconveniently honest policeman and supporting it by any number of paid false witnesses, it is not surprising under these circumstances that malpractices should flourish and the revenue should be considerably defrauded.

In carrying the salt from the furnaces to the weighing ground, the Mallangis deposit parcels of it in spots known only to themselves

in the jungle, to be removed later on and sold privately to the adjacent villages. When the fires are (apparently) put out at sunset, they will leave the furnaces with the loads of salt, but will sneak back again in the course of the night, blow up the embers and make salt all night, hiding it before daylight in the jungle. The police are supposed to patrol all night, and as the whole tract is as flat as a pancake it is only by mounting on the ruins of some deserted furnace of former years that they can see over the jungle and mark far off the light and smoke from some clandestine working. Then they have to steal upon the men silently and cautiously through the narrow, tortuous paths, taking their chance of meeting a leopard, or wild bear, or even an occasional wild buffalo. When they reach the spot, they often have a fierce hand-to-hand fight in which the smugglers, being numerically stronger, usually get the better of the police and escape into the darkness, where it would be useless to pursue them. Of course, such courage and activity are not often displayed by the police. It is only when the Magistrate, angered by the increase of smuggling fulminates threats, that they are stirred up to such temporary efforts. But as soon as they have made an arrest or two they relapse into their former apathy and the smuggling goes on as merrily as before.

The salt itself by its nature plays into the hands of the smugglers. It is wet when first made, but dries by degrees and of course loses weight as it dries. It is weighed at the Arang before despatch and again at the Gola on arrival, and if the two weights do not agree the contractor is liable to a heavy fine. A certain allowance is made for dryage *en route*. A common trick is to prick holes in the bags when they are taken off the bullocks at night, for the journey takes two or three days. A good deal of salt is abstracted in this way. Then the bullocks are driven through some muddy pool or ditch— as if by accident— so that the salt gets wet and increases in weight and the loss by abstraction is covered.

If the salt is sent by boat it is not put into bags, but thrown loose— ‘in bulk’ as the technical phrase is — into the hold of a large, undecided barge. The surface is then stamped all over with an ‘adal’ or large wooden seal bearing the name of the contractor,

and on arrival at the Gola it is carefully inspected before unloaded to make sure that the *àdal* marks are intact.

Even from boats, however, smuggling takes place. One night a large, salt-laden barge was moored under a high, overhanging bank in a creek far from any inhabited place. The boatmen and police guard went up on to the bank, made themselves a snug retreat with piles of scrub and grass covered with a tarpaulin, cooked and ate their rice and went to sleep. Then from the jungle there emerged in Indian files sixteen or eighteen men, all stark naked and oiled. They had a long rope and baskets. They let themselves down into the boat and while some filled the baskets with salt others drew up the baskets by the rope. The salt was carried basket by basket to a boat hidden in a smaller creek close by and when it was full they got in and shoved off. They were afraid to row lest the noise should attract attention. So they softly and silently poled out of the creek. By this time it was just daybreak and as they turned out of the creek into the river they came full into the police patrol boat which happened to be coming that way. The constable at once smelt a rat and, boarding the boat, saw that it was full of salt and tried to seize the offenders. They, however, slipped through their hands owing to their bodies being oiled, and flinging themselves into the water swam ashore and disappeared into the jungle where it was useless to pursue them.

The reason for all this smuggling is that there is a heavy tax of Rs.3-4 a maund (in English weights, approximately 8 a ton) This has to be paid by the contractor before he can get delivery of his salt from the Gola. The salt is then issued to him under a pass in which all sorts of particulars are entered, name, father's name of Arang at which the salt was made, where it is now to be sent to and so on and so on. The contractor sells it to wholesale vendoers, who(also under a pass) sell it again to retail dealers, and then (also under a pass) to their customers the public. From the moment that the salt crystallizes in the pan to the time when it passes into the possession of the consumer it is guarded and protected by passes, espionage, supervision, official interference

and legal penalties. The Collector's life is made a burden to him by the ceaseless vigilance necessary to protect the Government revenue. The price of salt is unduly raised thereby and the villagers living on the edge of the saliferous tract are harassed by incessant police visits. Close to them lies the broad, flat salt plain; they have only to dig up a little of the briny earth, boil it in salt water out of the nearest creek, and they can obtain a plentiful supply of this necessary of life. But if they do this they are liable to fine and imprisonment. The police, who are practically powerless against professional smugglers, used to display great keenness and energy in arresting some poor helpless widows whom they caught boiling a little brine in an earthen pot to make salt to eat with her rice. They dragged the wretched, frightened creature fifty or sixty miles into Balasore, and brought her before the Magistrate who was reluctantly compelled to fine her. The Board made matters worse by giving rewards to any policeman who discovered and arrested anyone having in his possession or making 'illicit salt'. But the way the thing was worked seemed to me and all the other Magistrates so absurd and oppressive that I first refused to inflict any fines in such cases and next refused to give the police any reward for 'detecting' them. Of course, there was a great outcry, and I was angrily called on by the Board to say what I meant by such conduct. This gave me the opportunity I had been longing for. A lengthy correspondence ensued, and the matter ended by the Government conducting to the inhabitants of the saliferous tract and its neighbourhood permission to make small quantities of salt for their own use, but not for sale. This put a stop to the petty acts of oppression which fell so heavily, petty though they might seem to us, on the poorer classes of the rural population.

Very heavily oppressed they were, and it is wonderful how they contrived to exist at all under the numerous exactions to which they were subjected at the hands of their own countrymen. We did our best to protect them, but a mere handful of foreigners in so large a country cannot even hear of many of the things that are done behind their backs. The people are afraid to complain, knowing

that if compelled by the English Magistrate to compensate their victims, the powerful oppressors will be able to find many opportunities for revenging themselves. It is only by accident that we find out many abuses, and it is necessary to practise the greatest caution in remedying them lest we should do more harm than good by our well-meant interference. Such a case occurred about this time, and caused much excitement. It was known as the 'Illegal Cess Agitation'.

One day my Assistant, Fiddian, in charge of the Bhadrakh subdivision which comprised the whole southern side of the district, was out in camp on one of his usual tours of inspection. In a very remote corner of the district, where the people understood little or nothing about the principles of British administration, a ryot came up to him as he was riding alone through the fields and asked him, 'Is it ordered that we are to pay *tikkus* ?'

'What do you mean by *tikkus* ?' asked Fiddian.

'Many things', replied the ryot. 'Our zemindar makes us pay what he calls *tikkus*, he says he has to pay it to the Sirkâr, and we are to pay it to him, one rupee each house; then there is "târ", one rupee, also "mângan", one or two or even three rupees each whenever he has a son or a daughter married, or wants to give a feast to Brahmans on some religious festival day, or wants to go on pilgrimage to Jagannath, or to repair his house, or many other things.'

'No', said Fiddian, you have to pay your rent and nothing else. The man went away, apparently well pleased.

But this set him thinking, and he made elaborate inquiries from which he found out that the zemindars were in the habit of levying contributions from all their ryots on all sorts of pretexts. 'Tikkus' was their pronunciation of the English word 'tax'. The zemindars had to pay the newly introduced and extremely unpopular income tax and recouped themselves and more than recouped themselves by levying a rupee per house from all their tenants.

When the telegraph line was set up all along the Trunk Road, although the zemindars had not to pay anything towards its construction, they pretended that they had; and made a levy from

all their tenants. This was the 'tar', the telegraph being known as 'tar bijli' or 'lightning wire'. Many other things were made occasions for raising contributions, so that the wretched ryots were ground down to the dust and lived in the direst poverty. I took the matter up earnestly and made inquiries from which, it appeared that the practice of levying these illegal cesses was common all over the District. I reported the matter to Ravenshaw, the Commissioner, and he caused inquiries, to be made in Cuttack and Puri, from which it came to light that the same practices were in vogue there also. He then reported it to Government. Meanwhile the news that the Hakims had declared the 'tikkus' to be illegal spread all over the country and up into Bengal where it caused great commotion. In some districts it gave rise to rioting.

Various schemes were proposed for putting a stop to this, none of which were very effective. The Lieutenant-Governor then proposed legislation, and prepared a draft of a law declaring the practices illegal and laying down punishments for such offences. This was, however, stopped by the Government of India on the advice of Sir Richard Temple, then a member of Council, who knew absolutely nothing whatever about the matter or about Bengal, but who, as he afterwards told us, chose to consider it as a mere petty local agitation which it was not wise to encourage.

This was a great disappointment to us, but we did not give up the game. Seeing that the Government would not help us, we determined to help ourselves. We knew that the Government of Bengal was on our side though the far-off, ignorant 'India Government', as it is called, would not help us. So Fiddian and I commenced a series of tours into all parts of the District, in the course of which we assembled the ryots of each estate together with the zemindar himself, or if he were an absentee, his agent, found out by questioning the people and examining the zemindar's books what exactions he was in the habit of making, and explained to the people which of them was illegal. In this way we succeeded in opening their eyes, and stirring them up to resist illegal demands. For a time there was much confusion, underhand attempts at extortion by the zemindars, forcibly resisted by the peasants, in

a few cases rioting and broken heads. But by degrees the strife ceased; most of the zemindars gave up their exactions finding they could not enforce them, and though with so timid a peasantry, so masterful a proprietary body, and so wily a crowd of agents, we could never be sure that extortions were not practised, we soon had abundant proof that they had everywhere very much diminished, and in most places entirely ceased. The result was, on the whole, considerable increase of material prosperity and comfort for the peasantry and a knowledge of their rights which would render a return to the old state of grinding extortion impracticable in the future. Had we been properly supported, the movement would have grown into a great revolution which would have been fruitful of unspeakable good for the down-trodden agricultural population. However, we did what we could and for the results we were thankful.

It was a great surprise to us all in the cold weather of 1871-72 to be informed that the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, was going to visit our neglected and benighted province. No Viceroy had ever visited Orissa since the establishment of British rule in India. Great were the preparations for his reception, and great were the stirrings of heart among the 'Kings of the Amorites that dwell in the hills', as we used to call the great host of semi-independent Rajas who ruled each his little territory in the hill-country. Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Dhenkanal and the rest of the Maharajas far away in their hill-fortresses deep in the western jungles got out their 'barbaric pearl and gold', and stately with long trains of nondescript retainers in strange costumes, from complete suits of rusty armour, coats of mail, helmets of brass and cloaks of tiger-skin to a simple girdle of leaves round the loins. They made pompous public entries into Cuttack, their long processions headed by discordant music of horn and drum, and each vied with the other in the number of his retainers and the splendour of his own costume. In Cuttack itself Durbar tents, fireworks, illuminations, decorations and loyal addresses were being got ready. Fiddian and I arrived with our contingents in the due course and began at once to co-operate actively with Macpherson, the Collector of

Cuttack, in carrying out the arrangements. Suddenly a telegram arrived with the news that Lord Mayo had been stabbed by a convict when visiting Mount Harriet, one of the convict stations of the Andaman Islands, and was dead !

Ravenshaw, the Commissioner, with a large party of distinguished officials had gone down to False Point, the harbour of Orissa—the only one in those days—to receive the Viceroy. When it was signalled that the Viceroy's steamer was in sight the Commissioner steamed out to meet it. As it came nearer something strange in the appearance of the vessel attracted their attention, and through their glasses they made out the ensign half-mast high ! On coming alongside they found that it was the companion steamer with some of the staff on board, the Viceroy's own steamer with his body and Lady Mayo had gone on to Calcutta. They then heard the sad news and were requested to hurry back to Cuttack and telegraph to Calcutta, so that the news might arrive before the steamer which they did. All our grand preparations were stopped, the Kings returned to their hills and the great assemblage broke up amidst general grief and indignation. The assassin was an Afghan—of course—who had been sentenced to transportation of life for murder, as he thought unjustly, and had taken this opportunity of revenging himself. Lord Mayo was universally regretted. He was a tall, stately man of the most genial and affable manner, personally extremely popular, and officially an active, keen-witted, energetic ruler. It is needless to write more about this melancholy event; are not these things written in the chronicles of British India ?

After this we settled down quietly in our sleepy hollow of Balasore and resumed the even tenor of our way. On the 13th October 1872 was born our fourth daughter and seventh child, Gertrude. The child was sickly at first and caused us much anxiety but eventually, owing to the care of her nurse a strange old Irishwoman named Doran (she was widely known as 'Mother D.'), she grew up healthy and extremely pretty.

This year I wrote a Manual of the District of Balasore, its history, geography, land tenures, castes, industries and all sorts of

other things. It cost me much time and labour, but for reasons which I shall mention hereafter it was never published. There was, however, published in this year the first volume of my *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*. It was published by Trübner, and immediately taken up by Oriental philologists both in England and on the Continent. It was very favourably reviewed in English and German papers and adopted as a textbook in many universities. It won me considerable reputation and fame.

I also contributed articles regularly to the *Indian Observer*, *Indian Antiquary* and *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*. Balasore was such a dull little place, and the few European officers there so stupid and uninteresting, that I was forced to keep myself constantly occupied at one thing or another to prevent myself from perishing from ennui. Long rides with my dear wife every morning, visits to the sea with boating and fishing, and reading such books as we could get were my chief amusements. My wife had her nursery and her garden, which was very lovely till the cyclone of this year swept it all away. She was a notable grower of roses and her garden was very much admired by our occasional visitors. Officials of various sorts passed through Balasore from time to time and enlivened our existence a little.

It came to an end very suddenly and unexpectedly by my being appointed in August 1873 to officiate as Commissioner of Orissa for three months while Ravenshaw went on leave. I visited Balasore once or twice afterwards, but our four years residence there came to an end and we were very glad of it.

CUTTACK, 1873

ON arriving in Cuttack on the 12th August 1873 I took charge of the office of Commissioner of the Orissa Division. This includes the three districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri which are under direct British rule, and seventeen petty Tributary States each ruled by its own Raja under the general supervision of the Commissioner, who is also entitled Superintendent of the Tributary

States. These States all lie in the tangled mass of hills, densely covered for the most part with virgin forests, to the west of the settled districts.

Ravenshaw had taken three months' 'privilege' leave, as it is called, and in order not to lose a single day he refused to sign the papers making over charge to me till he was just about to go on board the steamer. This necessitated my going down to False Point with him and his wife on board one of the small Government steamers, and staying there twenty-four hours while waiting for the British India Company's steamer from Calcutta, which touched at False Point on her way to Madras, whither Ravenshaw was bound. We had a merry time, as there was a large party at False Point waiting for the steamer. At last the steamer from Calcutta made its appearance, Ravenshaw departed and I was able to start for Cuttack. My absence had been very inconvenient, not only because work was accumulating there, but because our youngest child Gertrude had been taken ill on the journey from Balasore, and I had been obliged to leave my wife alone and in great anxiety about the child. So as soon as I was free to return I started in the steam launch with two other men who had also to get back to their work. We pushed on as fast as the little vessel could carry us, and reached Cuttack early the next morning. As we approached the landing place we saw old Wright, the Sub-Judge, pacing up and down in an agitated manner with a very white face. My heart sank, for I feared bad news about the baby. Bad-news it was, but of a different kind. As soon as we got within hearing, he called out to us, 'Irvine is dead.' Irvine was the Collector, and we had left him apparently in robust health three days before.

Ever since the terrible Orissa famine in 1866, the work of the large and heavily-worked Cuttack Collectorate had fallen into confusion and immense arrears of business had accumulated, which successive Collectors had toiled in vain to clear off. About a year before this time Irvine had been appointed Collector, a clever young Irishman, but utterly unmethodical. He made matters worse by a groundless suspicion of all his native subordinates, which led him to try and do himself much work which they were

quite competent to do, and for which he had not time. Thus the arrears accumulated worse than ever. Not content with working every day from ten to six in his office, he used to take home with him at night quantities of papers and would sit up till two or three o'clock in the morning working at them. On the day of my arrival in Cuttack, as I was driving to Ravenshaw's house with him, we met Irvine returning from office in a mail-phaeton, the back part of which was crammed full of large bags. These he said contained papers at which he was going to work after dinner. The result of this excessive overwork on the health of a stout, full-blooded man who required a great deal of exercise to keep him well, was fatal. One night when he had sat over his papers till nearly daybreak, he went to take a bath preparatory to snatching a few hours' sleep. In his bath he had an apoplectic stroke and was taken up senseless and died in a few hours after, never having recovered consciousness.

I thus found everything in confusion. I had my own work as Commissioner to learn, and the indescribable muddle in the Cuttack Col-lectorate on top of it. J.F. Stevens, the Joint Magistrate, though clever, was young and inexperienced and naturally very nervous at the great and novel responsibility thrown on him, for in the event of the Collector's death all the work of the district devolved on the Joint Magistrate, as the second in command. I had not been home, an hour before he drove up, white and trembling, with a large quantity of poor Irvine's large bags full of papers in his dog-cart. All the previous day the Judge, whose duty it was to take charge of the property of deceased Europeans, had been sending him bags of papers which he had found in Irvine's house, littering all the rooms and thrown about in the wildest confusion. Stevens's only idea was to carry out a suggestion of Irvine's and set officers to work to sort, arrange and catalogue all these papers with a view to their being subsequently disposed of. But this seemed to me to be useless labour. The first thing to be done was to arrange for the charge of the district. It was essential to lose no time. I therefore telegraphed to the Government requesting that Stevens might at

once be appointed to officiate as Collector. In a letter to Sir George Campbell I pointed out that much time would be lost by sending another officer from a distance. Stevens was rather afraid of undertaking so heavy a charge, though the promotion was great and unexpected, but on my promising to help him, he consented. His appointment came the same day by telegram, and the next morning he came to me early with his cargo of big bags but with a cheerful face. The bags were brought into my study and he then proceeded to unfold his notable scheme of having them catalogued and arranged.

'But,' said I, 'why this unnecessary labour? In the time it would take to make these long lists, the letters themselves could be answered.' He stared at me with lack-lustre eyes. 'How?' said he. 'Empty your bags on that table,' said I, 'and I will show you how.' The bags were emptied on to a large dining-table and as Graves, a very smart young police-officer, came in at the moment I pressed him also into the work. I seated them both before me, pencils in their hands. The first paper I opened required no answer. 'Write "file" on it,' and they wrote and Stevens put his initials. The effect of this order was that the paper would be placed by a clerk in the file to which it referred. As each letter or paper was opened, I read it, threw it to one or other of them, and dictated an order which they wrote. In this way we worked for some three hours, by which time quite half of the formidable mass had been disposed of. All Stevens had to do was to hand the papers to his Head Clerk who, in a few hours, having got orders on them, would be able to do what was required. So Stevens went away happy. Every day for some time I used to go for some hours to his office and work with him, and then go on to my own office and spend the rest of the day at my own work. Stevens, being a man of great clearness of mind and quick perception, soon learnt how to do the work and was able to dispense with my assistance. Being both Commissioner and Collector at the same time was rather hard work and I was not sorry when it was over.

But I had discovered one thing. The immense accumulation of arrears of work was due not merely to the disorder caused by

the famine, nor to the unmethodical habits of the two last Collectors. It was due in a great degree to the slowness and dishonesty of the native ministerial staff. It would be impossible without going into technical details, which would not be intelligible to those who have not served in the Indian Civil Service, to explain the exact way in which these men act, and had acted in this case. The heads of the various departments were old men deeply rooted in old-fashioned ways and grooves, each of them had an army of dependants and filled all vacant posts with his relations. They all with one accord strenuously resisted improvements and changes of all sorts, and where they were unable to prevent their introduction, laboured hard and successfully to render them inoperative when introduced. A strong hand, an inflexible will, and rigid method and punctuality were required to restore order to this large and important district. As soon, therefore, as I had set my own work as Commissioner in order, and had allowed Stevens time to clear off his arrears, I held my official inspection of the Cuttack Collectorate. I made it as close and searching as I knew how, with the result that I discovered countless abuses, a total want of system, and an organized confederacy among the native officials to resist all change or improvement. In order to break the neck of the opposition I resolved on drastic measures, dismissed the heads of all the departments or compelled them to retire on pension, filling their places with younger men of more advanced views, some of whom I brought from my old district of Balasore. When Ravenshaw returned from leave after three months' absence, he found all the principal officials of Cuttack changed all the work reorganized and absolutely no arrears ! He rubbed his eyes with astonishment and was not at all pleased !

But throughout the business I had been in correspondence with Sir George and had obtained his approval to every step I had taken. Such a thorough reformation of a sleepy, neglected, mismanaged office was quite to his taste. He also fully approved of my introducing new blood into the office, and showed his approval by appointing me Collector of the Cuttack district and

promoting me to the first grade of Collectors at a salary of Rs. 2,250 a month.

During my short tenure of the Commissioner's office nothing very important occurred, and in November, on Ravenshaw's return, I took up my duties as Collector of Cuttack. We took a beautiful but rather uncomfortable house at Chauliaganj, a suburb of Cuttack, a broad, open plain near the river with a race-course, a canal, and a row of handsome houses in large compounds. It was the healthiest part of the station, though it had the inconvenience of lying rather a long way from the rest of the station and the Government offices. I had a drive of three miles to my cutcherry. Here we lived for four years, perhaps on the whole the busiest, brightest and happiest period of my service in India. Not only was the sphere of my activity much enlarged, but the station in which we lived was a big one. There was a regiment of Madras Infantry with six or seven officers and their wives, about a dozen engineers of the Public Works Department, six or seven Members of the Civil Service, besides missionaries and merchants and men in other departments. Numerous officers stationed in outlying parts of the province were constantly coming in on business or pleasure, so that on special occasions we could assemble over a hundred Europeans of both sexes, a large number for an Indian station. Nor were they only numerous; they were, for the most part, cheerful, gay and sociable folk. Cut off as Cuttack was to a great extent from the rest of the world by defective means of communication, its residents had to self of themselves and their neighbours for help, society and amusement. Sir William Grey, the Lieutenant-Governor, used to say that he could not get men to go to Cuttack, but once they had got there he could not get them to come away from it. Men did not like going there because it was so out of the way, but when they once got there they found it so pleasant they wished to stay.

Thomas Edward Ravenshaw, the Commissioner, was a little king in Orissa. He had his salute of eleven guns, his guards and elephants, and on state occasions appeared in uniform of dark blue covered with gold lace and embroidery, cocked hat and

feather, and sword. He was a kindly, patriarchal sort of old man, grey-headed and stout and quite free from any official stiffness or haughtiness. I had no great respect for his abilities, nor had anyone else, but he had much experience and knew his Orissa and his Oriyas thoroughly. They loved him as much as they are capable of loving a European. His very slowness and muddling, hesitating ways commended themselves to the sluggish Oriya mind. They touched some answering string in their souls. He was one of those men, a not uncommon type in India, who live for their work alone. He had no literary tastes or cultivation, was as ill-informed about most things as English public school boys of those days usually were, and except for half an hour's pottering in his garden and an occasional holiday at his turning lathe, spent all his time sitting before a table covered with official papers, with a cheroot in his mouth and a pen in his hand. But he governed efficiently, if not brilliantly, a country somewhat larger than Wales, was a first-rate shot, and a good judge of a horse—an average, unpretentious English gentleman, in fact. My wife used to say that I led him by the nose, and I certainly did stir him up to doing many things which he would not have done of his own accord. But he was very easily led by the orthodox Hindu faction, which was very powerful in Orissa—of whom more anon.

This great city of Cuttack, the capital of a large and isolated province, was a curious study. So many little worlds lived side by side, understanding each other very imperfectly, disliking each other after very heartily, and yet all dwelling peaceably on the whole under the strong hand of British law and order. Its situation was peculiar and in many respects, inconvenient. The Mahanadi, an immense river more than two miles broad, issues from the hills and divides into two great streams, which in their turn divide lower down into several others, so that all this part of Central Orissa is, in fact, the delta of the Mahanadi, a triangle, each of whose sides is about a hundred miles in length. At the apex of this triangle; which points to the west, lies the city. The site was in fact chosen for purposes of defence by the King of Orissa in the sixteenth century when his country was invaded by the

Mahomedans. He left his former capital Chaudwar (Chaudwar = four gates), the ruins of which are still visible on the northern bank of the river, and pitched his 'camp' (in Sanskrit and Oriya, Kataka) between the two sheltering arms of the mighty river. Here he built a great fortress called Bārobāti which still stands, though in ruins, and the rest of the apex was occupied by the houses of the townspeople.

The Marathas built a massive revetment, or wall of huge stones all round the two sides of the triangle which face the two rivers, *and this lofty, reddish-grey wall with its bastions and ghats* gives to the city, when seen from the south, the appearance of a fortified place. Of the two arms of the river, that which flows on the south of the city is called the Katjori. It is now dammed at its entrance by an 'anicut'. This is a strong wall of stone built right across the river, pounding up the water above it into an extensive lake, while the river-bed below is left, a dry expanse of gleaming sand with a feeble thread of water trickling through it. In the rains, however, the river tops the dam and plunges in an enormous torrent through the bed below. The extent of its rise and the volume of the water may be judged from the fact that, while in the dry season the walls of the Maratha revetment tower sixty feet above the sand which stretches for more than a mile in width at its foot, in the rains the water laps the coping of the wall and covers the whole expanse of sand. Once or twice in recent times, in extraordinarily high floods, the water has even risen above the top of the wall and has only been prevented from bursting into the town below by the most strenuous exertions on the part of the engineers. A vast, turbid mass of water pours down the Katjori, bearing along whole forest trees torn from the banks higher up, which the townspeople amuse themselves by catching with an ingenious but simple contrivance. Two sticks, each a few inches long, are tied strongly in the shape of a cross, to which is fastened a coil of thin but very strong cord. They stand on the bank and hurl the cross, which flies through the air, unwinding the coil as it flies and, alighting on the floating tree, is entangled in its branches. Three or four men then haul on the

cord, and so gradually pull the tree to shore, where it is cut up and sold for firewood. In this way the poorer townsfolk make a good deal of profit from the floods.

On the highest point of the revetment stands the Lal Bagh, the Commissioner's residence, a large and stately building in a park-like compound in which, in our time, a herd of spotted deer used to roam. A long avenue of tall trees with dense foliage (a species of Uvaria) led to the entrance gates, beyond which lay the native city.

The Collector's office (cutcherry) stood on the same revetment as the Lal Bagh, a little lower down. In its spacious, park-like grounds were numerous other public offices, including the College. The native city possessed no ancient or remarkable buildings. It was a large, busy place with many shops and some handsome streets, a market-place and a few old temples. To the north of it lay the lines of the Madras Regiment, a very wide, open plain used as a parade ground; lines of broad roads bordered by the houses, of Europeans, a church, a Roman Catholic chapel, a Baptist chapel and finally the still imposing ruins of the old Fort of Barobati, within whose enclosure was the station, club, a racquet court and other buildings. The whole inhabited space between the two rivers was about five miles long by two broad, and for a long distance down-stream to the south-east were struggling suburbs—Jobra with its extensive workshops, Chauliaganj with a race-course and a row of pleasant, spacious villas in large compounds, in one of which we lived for four years.

It seems unnecessary to enter into a detailed account of the work I had to do in Cuttack. It did not very much differ from what has already been described in previous districts, though it was heavier and more varied. In fact the great charm of the work of Civil officers in India is its variety. One has no fear of getting wearied by a monotonous routine, or by perpetually hammering away at one unchanging task. In the course of one day's work one has a dozen or more different things to do, each presenting some new feature of interest, so that if one goes to bed very tired at night, it is not the depressing weariness of sameness or drudgery,

but the healthy fatigue of keeping mind and body on the stretch with a multitude of ever-varying calls on one's attention, and the joy (than which I know no greater—and which I sigh for now in my unemployed old age) of feeling that one is working and ruling and making oneself useful in God's world. A brief outline of an ordinary day's work may be given once for all. We got up at five or thereabouts, drank a cup of tea while our horses were being brought, and went for a ride. If I had official work to do, I went alone, but mostly my wife and I went together. On our ride we met friends and rode with them, or stopped to talk and rode on. Returning about six-thirty we had our regular chota haziri in the veranda; our little girls, who had been for a ride on their ponies, played around us. Then we went round our beautiful garden and gave orders, or showed our roses and other plants to friends who dropped in. About seven the post came in and we read the paper, the *Englishman*—the leading journal in Bengal in those days—looked at our letters, discussed any matters requiring arrangement, and by eight I was settled in my study for two hours' work at my big book, my *Comparative Grammar*. At ten, bath and breakfast and off to cutcherry in my brougham, a drive of three miles, during which I read official letters or thought over the day's business. On reaching office about eleven, the first thing was to take the Faujdari or Magistrate's work. The public crowded into my large court-room and presented many petitions, each of which was read to me by a clerk and orders passed thereon. Most of them were plaints in criminal cases, which were made over to the various subordinate Magistrates for disposal. Then came the great police charge-book, in which were entered all the criminal cases sent up that day from the various police stations in the district—murders, robberies, burglaries, thefts and the like. Some of these cases I took myself, but the greater part of them was made over to the Joint Magistrate and others. On this followed a large number of miscellaneous petitions and reports about all sorts of things—ferries, cattle-pounds, jail matters, recovery of fines and forfeitures, arrangement of records; also punishments, rewards and promotions of officials and other matters. By the time all these things were

disposed of it would be about twelve-thirty, and if I had no criminal cases to try—and I could but seldom find time to try any—the Magisterial officials were sent away to issue the orders I had passed and carry out those which it fell to them to do. Now followed interviews with the Head Clerks of each department—Magistrate's Office, Excise, Stamps, Treasury, Customs, Salt, Road Cess, Municipal, Education, Registration, Land Revenue. Each man brought those papers on which orders were required, took his orders and departed. Of course, the whole of them did not come every day, but only those who had something to report, or something which required orders. When they had gone I wrote replies to letters from the Commissioner, Board and other officials, and was usually a good deal hindered and interrupted by Deputy Collectors and other officers coming in to speak to me about this or that. Generally, however, by two o'clock the correspondence was finished. Whether it was or not, at two we had tiffin—and we wanted it. At this meal, served in a quiet room at the end of the terrace overlooking the broad river and the blue hills beyond, the Joint Magistrate, Stevens, and the District Superintendent of police joined me, and while we ate we talked shop and got through a good deal of business. At half past two I returned to my office and finished any correspondence that remained. At three the Collectorate officers came with a pile of reports and other business, sometimes with a case to try. A little before four I called for petitions on the Collectorate side; these were not so numerous as those on the Magisterial side, and while hearing them and passing orders on them, I was busy signing all the orders and letters I had issued during the day. By four o'clock the work was done and I went home. It was, of course, only by the utmost punctuality and strictness that so much work could be got through, but each clerk and official knew exactly what he had to do and at what hour he was to come to me for orders and reports. When once you establish a 'dastûr' (a custom or fixed routine) with natives they are all right, there is nothing they love so much as dastûr; they make themselves into machines and work admirably. There were never any arrears in the Cuttack office during the four years of my

incumbency, and this was due not to any superior merit or cleverness on my part but simply to the introduction of a regular routine of work.

When I got home I had a cup of tea, and then received any native Rajas or other gentlemen. This was a tedious and tiresome business, but before six I had generally got rid of them and drove with my wife. We had a pretty Victoria and pair of grey Arabs. Our drive generally ended at the club in the Fort, where we met nearly everyone in the station, both men and women. Here there were sports of many kinds; some played lawn-tennis, others billiards or whist, others—mostly the chiefs—sat in the veranda round old Ravenshaw and talked—a good deal of 'shop' I fear—but many other things besides. About seven thirty we drove home to dinner and were generally in bed and asleep soon after nine.

Then we had mornings at Jobra. Jobra was a suburb of Cuttack, a green, woody little village on the bank of the great river Mahanadi. Just above it the river was dammed by an anicut, a mighty wall of stone more than a mile in length, and at one end of it stood the great range of Canal workshops, under the management of George Faulkner. Faulkner was a man of a type perhaps little known in England, but far from uncommon in India; the Englishman to whom India has become a second mother-country, and who would be unhappy and totally misunderstood and out of place in England. Thoroughly English in manners and feelings, so much so that though he had been forty years in India he could not speak a dozen words of any Indian language, he had no wish to return to his native land, and though he spoke of it with pride and affection he preferred India as a place to live in.

A native of Manchester, bred up as a mechanical engineer in one of the big engineering works in Lancashire, he had come out to India at the age of twenty of thereabouts in the service of the Irrigation Company.¹ This company, formed for the purpose of making canals, had constructed several on the Godavery river in the Madras presidency, and had even extended its operations to Orissa where it had constructed three canals, of which I shall have much to say hereafter. Eventually the Company was dissolved

and its works, plant and employees taken over by Government. Thus Faulkner and a number of others became Government servants.

In person he was a tall, powerfully-built man with a ruddy face, a huge shock of flaxen hair turning white, and an immense white beard which hung down over his broad chest and floated all round his face. He looked like an old lion, a grand, jovial, coarse, hard-drinking old Viking, full of songs and jokes and highly improper stories. Utterly reckless and wild about money matters, in debt, always full of wild schemes, and yet this rough old creature had the most exquisitely delicate taste as a designer, and the greatest skill and fineness of touch as an artisan. He painted, he carved, he moulded; he designed buildings, boats, bridges; he grew the most beautiful flowers, planned and laid out the most lovely gardens, and could use a chisel or any other tools as well as his best workman. He had four stalwart sons, three of whom were engineers and the fourth a doctor, all of them artists and skilful men with their hands. And the strange thing was that all these big, coarse, athletic men, father as well as sons, were fond of reading, read extensively and remembered what they read; had a fine taste in literature, loved their Ruskin and could quote and argue and talk admirably. The boys had, of course, been born in Madras and sent home to be educated. There were also three handsome daughters who had been educated partly in England, partly in Paris, and were very accomplished, speaking French in particular with a pure Parisian accent and playing and singing well. They were, in fact, a very interesting family and we became great friends with them all. Old Mrs Faulkner, the wife of the Viking, was as such men's wives generally are for some reason, a small, delicate, feeble-looking woman, very much better bred than her husband; but feeble as she looked, she had much determination and courage in her frail little body, and it was by her principally that their brilliant, reckless, rollicking family was kept going. She slaved for them and got them out of their scrapes and was always cheerful and helpful though she confessed to my wife that they were a sore burden to her.

Jobra was Faulkner's glory and the despair of the Public Works Department. Both by nature and by his irregular training Faulkner was quite incapable of red-tape or of following a decorous official routine. He was perpetually harrowing the souls of his official superiors and the Heads of the Department in Calcutta by doing the most unheard of and irregular things. He ruled Jobra in a way of his own, and could by no means be brought to understand or follow the official way of doing things. But he was tolerated because they could not well do without him. Among other things he was a most ingenious inventor, and if ever in the extensive and complicated canal works that were going on all over Cuttack district any hitch occurred, Faulkner was safe to invent some machine or device which solved the difficulty. His shutters for the sluices, his valves, screws, self-acting locks and other contrivances would have made the fortune of anyone else. He had a large number of Telugu artisans who had followed him from the Godaverry. There were both men and women; the former were carpenters, smiths and the like, while the latter worked as coolies. Among these people, foreigners in Orissa crowded together in a small settlement near the workshops, there was at first much promiscuous intercourse and the chaplain complained to Faulkner, as a certain number of them were native Christians. So Faulkner assembled them all, Christians and heathens alike, and told them that he was not going to have any immorality in his works, and to stop it he ordered each man to select one woman as his wife. This being done he had the names entered in a book, made them a curious address in which scraps of the Church of England marriage service were mixed up, and then, to clinch the matter, made each man pay one rupee. Then he solemnly informed them that they were all married ! Of course they did not understand much of what he said as he spoke in English, and did not wait to have it all translated to them. But the ceremony and especially the payments were clear enough to them. It was indeed suggested to Faulkner that some, probably most, of them were married already, but he said that didn't matter. He gave them all a big feast, and spent the money they had paid in relieving widows and orphans among them. This strange plan answered admirably.

Each man henceforth kept strictly to his so-called wife, and newcomers were made to come before Faulkner to be solemnly married and have their names entered in the big book. Immorality ceased and the little settlement became peaceful and orderly. If any man went away, he divorced his wife by the simple process of having his name scratched out of the book, and she was promptly married to someone else. A school was established for the children who were taken on to the works when old enough.

A morning's stroll through the long lines of workshops at Jobra was very interesting. The great Nasmyth's stream hammer would be made to beat a huge mass of red-hot iron, or crack a nut, other machines shaved iron like so much soap, or sawed big logs into planks in a few seconds. Then Faulkner would make the most beautiful ivory and ebony croquet mallets for the ladies, or exhibit his portfolios of lovely designs, his fretwork brackets and screens, stained-glass windows, designs in plaster or stone, a bewildering variety of beautiful things. He made for my wife two lovely screens of teak wood, perforated, which he had designed himself; I have them still. Many other things the old man made for us all, and he was always ready to put to rights anything in the way of machinery that went wrong in our houses. It used to be said with truth, 'Give old Faulkner a cheroot and a whisky peg² and there is nothing he cannot do.' Among other peculiarities of speech he totally ignored the letter 'h' : saying, 'ead,' 'and,' 'igh,' 'eavy,' 'ot,' for 'head', 'hand', etc. He did not seem to be conscious of the omission. Some people said it was a characteristic of the Lancashire dialect. In other respects he spoke quite correct English.



-
1. On second thoughts I am not sure of this. I think he came out to Madras in some other employ and joined the Irrigation Company later. But his yarns and reminiscences were, as usual with such men, apt to be little confused, especially after dinner.
 2. 'Peg'. This is an expression universal in India. It means a big tumbler of brandy or whisky and soda water. It does not seem to be known in England.

CUTTACK, 1874

THE year 1874 passed happily and busily. In the cold weather we had many pleasant tours over new ground. The district is large and fertile and very populous. We enjoyed particularly the fine scenery and the spacious mango-groves where we pitched our tents. Under the influence of the scenery and the new places I took to my old amusement of watercoloured painting again, stimulated also by other people in the station who sketched. I also worked hard at my *Comparative Grammar*.¹ Instigated moreover by the Civil Surgeon, Dr. Stewart, an enthusiastic botanist, I took to that delightful science. On a large, sandy tract of land near one of the canals I laid out a public garden, which I stocked with many beautiful plants obtained from the Botanic Gardens at Calcutta. In it also I made a nursery of young trees which, when sufficiently grown, were planted by the sides of the public roads. In this way I made many avenues for miles along the roads. By this time—twenty-six years later—they must have grown into fine, shady trees and are, I hope, a blessing to the weary traveller.

The only incident of importance in this year was a famine in Bengal. Rice being the chief food of the Bengalis, there was great demand for it. At first the Government imported the rice from Burmah, but the people of Bengal for some reason did not like Burmese rice. To us Europeans all rice seems much the same, but to the Bengalis, who live entirely on it, great differences are perceptible in the various kinds. The Orissa peasantry recognize about one hundred and twenty kinds, each of which has its own name, and by much examination and comparison, aided by elaborate explanations by my native assistants, I was able to perceive many of the differences in size, shape, colour, and texture of the husked² rice. After the husk was removed, however, the difference was less perceptible.

The province of Orissa produces an immense quantity of rice, in fact it produces—or did in my time—nothing else, and the Cuttack

and Balasore merchants do a very large business in exporting rice, chiefly to Madras. Many French ships, however, also come to False Point, the chief port of Orissa, for rice which they take to Mauritius, Bourbon and the adjacent islands for the use of the Indian coolies working on the sugar plantations. I made some very amusing acquaintances among the captains of these French ships—‘capitaines au long cours’ as they wrote themselves. But to return to the famine. Some Bengali merchants settled in Cuttack came to me and represented that the rice supplied to the famine districts by the Government was not liked by the people, and that there was a good opening for doing a trade in Orissa rice, which was of the same kind as that grown in Bengal. I therefore telegraphed to the Secretary to the Government and offered to send Orissa rice. My offer was accepted and I immediately gave out contracts to various firms for supplying rice. The amount tendered for was five lakhs of maunds or, in English weight, about 18,300 tons. The merchants offered to deliver the rice in Calcutta by their own vessels at a rate all included of two and a half rupees a maund or, in English money, about £125,000. The work began briskly; the merchants had begun to charter vessels and indeed had actually chartered several, and vast masses of rice were collected at the ports. Had they let us alone, in a month’s time it would all have been safely delivered in Calcutta, but suddenly we were thrown into confusion by an order from the Government that we were not to ship the rice in private vessels, but were to wait for the steamers which the Government would send. I protested energetically and so did many of the contractors. We showed that this would involve heavy expense to the Government, as the merchants had already contracted to deliver the rice at their own cost. We knew also that the Government had not many steamers at its disposal and that there would be much delay. Our remonstrances, however, were unheeded. The rice lay for weeks on the jetties at the ports. The rainy season came on, and a good deal of it was damaged by wet before the slow process of carrying in three small steamers an amount sufficient to fill six or seven could be carried out. Owing to the delay and mismanagement of the Calcutta officials, not only was much of the rice damaged,

but the cost of the undertaking eventually amounted to a total sum of Rs 1,523,373 as against Rs 1,250,000, a loss of about £27,000.³

No one at the time could understand the reason of this action on the part of Government. It was generally regarded as only one more instance of the reckless waste of public money in this famine by Sir Richard Temple, by whom the famine campaign was then being conducted. Some years afterwards, in 1881, I found out the secret. A man who did not know that it was I who had conducted the Orissa rice contract, told me as a good joke how he, in partnership with some others, chief of whom was a scoundrel called K——(then an Assistant Secretary to the Government), had secured a contract from the Government for the supply of a large quantity of Burmah rice and how, before the contract was signed, they had been alarmed by the news that someone down in Orissa had offered to supply a very large quantity of rice at a cheaper rate, and that the famine officer in Calcutta, Toynbee, having served for many years in Orissa was trying to favour the Orissa merchants and induce Government to accept their offer. Then came the news that Toynbee had succeeded, principally owing to the dislike of Burmah rice by the Bengalis. K_____, my informant said, took advantage of his position to suggest to Government that it would not be safe to rely upon the Orissa contractors sending the rice in their own vessels, as they would not be able to find vessels enough. He thus procured the issue of the order which had so much amazed us, and had no difficulty in taking care that the Government steamers were delayed till he and his partners had brought all their Burmah rice to Calcutta and disposed of it to Government. Of course, if it had been known that K—— as a Government official had any share in a private contract, he would have been severely punished, but he took good care that this should not be known. I received the thanks of the Government for my transaction of what turned out to be a difficult and onerous business. Mr K—— turned up again and mixed himself with my fortunes in a still more unpleasant manner some years later.

Now also Sir Richard Temple came into my life again, not to my advantage. I have told how he treated me at our first meeting

in the Panjab, and from this it may be understood that my memories of him were not very agreeable. When the famine in Behar and Northern Bengal broke out in this year the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, sent Temple to manage it. This was not only entirely unnecessary but was a grave sight on Sir George Campbell, who was not only thoroughly capable of doing all that was required, but had already, with characteristic energy, made all the needful arrangements. But the terrible famine in Orissa in 1866, with its excessive loss of life, was fresh in the memory of the Government of India. In Orissa the loss of life had been principally due to the great difficulty of getting food into the province, there being at that time few roads—and those bad—and no safe ports. Much, however, was due to the supineness of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Cecil Beadon, and the wrong-headedness of Mr R. B. Chapman, Member of the Board of Revenue, both of whom underrated the necessities of the case. Lord Northbrook seems to have thought that Sir George Campbell was about to repeat this error in 1874, and Temple came down with orders to spare no expense in importing grain to feed the people. He carried out these orders to the letter, and beyond it. Though he had absolutely no previous acquaintance with Bengal, and was quite incompetent to form a judgment as to the quantity and nature of the relief that was likely to be required, he set aside the opinions of Sir George Campbell and the Collectors of the afflicted districts and followed his own unaided judgment. In his usual theatrical way he rode at the rate of fifty or sixty miles a day through the districts, forming, as he said, an opinion on the condition of the people and the state of the crops. What kind of opinion or what kind of observation could be formed by riding at a gallop along a road, no one could make out. The result was, however, that he would sit down at night after one of these wild scampers and write a vainglorious minute, in which he stated that he had that day fully examined such and such tracts, and had come to the conclusion that so many thousand maunds of grain (generally from three to four times as much as was really wanted) would be required to feed the people thereof. If any Collector were honest enough to object that a much smaller

quantity would suffice, and to support his view by careful statistics collected by himself and assistants in a patient village to village and house to house inquiry, he was contemptuously told that he did not understand his business, and his name was put down in Temple's mental black book.

In disgust at this proceeding Campbell resigned, and Temple was made Lieutenant-Governor in April 1874, and the reign of trumpet-blowing (his own) began. The famine was relieved at the expense of some millions of pounds, and for a long time afterwards the Collectors were vainly endeavouring to dispose of the immense surplus quantities of grain which had been sent to their districts in defiance of their protests, and which the people did not want and would not buy. Much of it rotted away and was devoured by rats in the Government granaries. Several merchants and planters, both European and native, made their fortunes by taking contracts for the supply and carriage of this grain. The newspapers were full of complaints of this waste, of ridicule and satirical songs, but the great Temple abode in his accustomed halo of beatific self-admiration.

Meanwhile I was busy with improvements in the town of Cuttack. The old market, a strange, ill-arranged mass of low, dark, stone vaults, had fallen into the hands of a close corporation of Koyals, as they were called. The word means 'weighers', and their function, under the native Governments, had been to weigh all grain brought to market. No sales could take place unless the grain was weighed by these men, who levied a small fee for the service and paid a fee to the native ruler for the appointment. They acquired power by degrees, as in India such middlemen always do, and presumed to regulate the market rates and prices and in many ways interfere with business, tyrannize over the traders, demand heavy payments on various pretexts and in many ways oppress and defraud the people. When I proposed to rebuild their market they objected and produced an ancient document granting them the proprietary right in the building. It was impossible to say whether this document was genuine or not (probably not,) but when I consulted the law-officers, I was advised that there was no

legal means of contesting it, as through the carelessness of former Collectors the Koyals had been allowed to remain in possession long enough to establish a prescriptive right to the buildings, as well as to the exclusive exercise of their functions. This market was, built against the outer side of the great wall surrounding the park in which the Lal Bagh—the Commissioner's residence stood. Attached to this ancient wall, and dating from the sixteenth century or earlier, there were several other half-ruined ancient buildings empty and disused; strange, tall, gloomy structures of dark red stone. I at first thought of making use of these for an opposition market, but they were found to be too ruinous to be put into repair, and inconveniently shaped and situated. So I had to search elsewhere, and at length, at the eastern end of the town—the old market was at the western end—I found a large, neglected patch of ground grown over with jungle which was said to have been the site of the Maratha Governor's law-courts. It was the property of the Government, so I could do what I liked with it. On clearing the jungle and digging up the soil the workmen came upon six or seven beautifully carved capitals of pillars, and by degrees unearthed the drums of the pillars themselves, together with numerous finely carved fragments of sandstone and great quantities of laterite blocks, which had evidently been used for building. With these materials I set to work and designed a handsome market, which was built on this site. It was of laterite, a lofty hall with chambers for warehousing grain, and in front a long, wide portico supported by the pillars above mentioned which were duly pieced together. A little on one side we found a deep, ancient tank lined with laterite and adorned with carvings of gods, goddesses, men and animals. All this we restored, cleaned out the tank, rebuilt the ghats or steps and made a very handsome place of it. I put up an inscription over the front of the market-house and opened it as a public market free from all interference of the Koyals. In India one never remains long enough in any place to see the fruits of one's work. I do not know whether the new market was successful or not. It began well and was doing well as long as I remained in Cuttack.

Towards the close of the year we received information that the new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Richard Temple, was about to pay us a visit of State, and great preparations were made for his reception. All the Rajas of the Tributary States were summoned to meet him at Cuttack as well as all the principal zemindars from all parts of Orissa. He came to False Point in a Government steamer where Ravenshaw the Commissioner met him, and brought him and his suite up the canal in our two steam launches, the *Pioneer* and *Olga*. He was to land at Jobra, and I arranged to have a handsome pavilion erected for the reception. Old Faulkner and his son George undertook this work and performed it with their usual skill and taste. With characteristic ingenuity they constructed out of old posts, telegraph poles, odds and ends of old iron and wood lying about the yards of the workshop, a graceful and spacious pavilion roofed with tarpaulins and bits of sacking, old tent flies and what not.

When finished it presented the appearance of a large hall with open arches and a vaulted roof, the old posts and poles had been painted and concealed by bright drapery and wreaths of foliage, the heterogeneous substance of the roof was also hidden by sheets of white, red and blue cloth festooned with wreaths of leaves and flowers. Long lines of Chinese lanterns hung from end to end. The floor was covered with scarlet cloth and rich carpets. Rows of chairs were set down both sides and a broad pathway down the middle was fenced off by a light railing. At one end some other steps went down to two large barges, draped, wreathed and carpeted, where the landing was to take place. At the other end a broad space was provided for the carriages, and beyond it the guard of honour from the Regiment. On both sides, both up and down the river bank, were set tall Venetian masts with flags; the masts were linked together by wreaths from which hung Chinese lanterns. As the arrival was to take place at night, it was considered advisable to light up the river bank as much as possible, so Faulkner placed at intervals along the anicut small heaps of wood surrounding some recondite chemical preparation known only to himself, which was to burn with a peculiarly bright light. The salute caused us some

difficulty. A Lieutenant-Governor is entitled to a salute of fifteen guns, and there was not a gun in the place, except some old and useless cannon which had been sent to Jobra to be broken up and made into useful things such as hinges for lock-gates, but which were so honey-combed it would have been dangerous to fire them. But we managed it beautifully. We got some very large bamboos in lengths of four feet at so. These were filled with gunpowder, rammed tight and tightly plugged. Then they were lashed round with several layers of stout manila and coir cables, a touch-hole was bored in one end and a slow fuse stuck in. Then the whole machine was half-buried in the sand of the river bank and fastened down by strong pegs. Fifteen of these were placed in a row a little above the pavilion, not too near lest there should be a stampede amongst the horses. A second similar battery was placed at Jagatpur, on the opposite side of the river where the canal joined it. The object of this was to let us know when they were coming.⁴

By six o'clock on the appointed evening all was ready. The pavilion was crowded with European officials and ladies, Rajas and big natives of sorts, gorgeous in cloth of gold and jewels. Outside west the long line of the native regiment and a bewildering mass of carriages of all sorts, police officers on horseback keeping order, and a rest sea of natives crowding every available foot of space. After a short period of waiting we heard the guns from Jagatpur, and suddenly, at if by enchantment, the whole river bank broke into a blaze. Faukner had stationed men at every point with orders to light up as soon as they heard guns, and the order was carried out exactly. The people on the Lieutenant-Governor's steam-launch told us afterwards that the effect was beautiful, and all the more delightful because unexpected. I had not told Ravenshaw what we were going to do before he left for False Point. Beyond general instructions to have some sort of a reception he had given me no precise orders, nor had I contemplated any very great preparations. None of us liked Temple, nor did we feel inclined to put ourselves out for him. But the natives were eager to welcome their ruler on account of the position he held, not for himself, and they were anxious to show (like Todgers's) what Cuttack could do

when it chose. The Faulkners also were delighted at having some artistic work to do, and so the thing grew. As the steamer emerged from the dark lock the party on board saw before them a wide lake—the river here is over a mile broad—on the further side of which lines and lines of lamps of all colours were seen reflected in the water. All along the anicut, at equal distances, blazed piles of dazzling light, and in the centre the great pavilion, with its numerous Chinese lanterns, torches and flags made a bright spot in the darkness. They were enchanted and amazed.

Soon the great man and his suite arrived at the pier and on landing were received by me. I presented the members of the Municipality of Cuttack who read an address to which the Lieutenant-Governor responded.⁵ The address was in the usual fulsome, turgid style. It expressed the deep and heart-felt joy of the people of Orissa at having their revered, beloved and longed-for ruler among them in the flesh, told how they had watched with bated breath and speechless admiration his brilliant management of the Bengal famine, and how profoundly they were impressed by the conviction that under a ruler who so deeply sympathized with his people and sacrificed himself so unsparingly for their sakes, the Lower Provinces of Bengal must now at last enter on a career of unexampled prosperity etc, etc. Your Bengali Babu can reel out this sort of stuff by the fathom from morn till dewy eve and then begin again.

Sir Richard Temple replied in the same style—he believed it all ! no flattery was too gross for Dicky Temple ! He admitted that he thought they were quite right in considering him the greatest man that had ever lived and he quite understood how deeply interested they (and all mankind) must necessarily be in everything that concerned Him !!—and so on and so on. After which he went on a ‘shake-hands’ tour all round the pavilion. Then the troops presented arms, the guns fired, the people cheered and we all drove off in a long procession down three miles of streets all brilliantly illuminated, crowded with mobs who cheered frantically — they did not know why. Flags waved from every corner, rich rugs and clothes were hung from the balconies; torches, stars in oil-lamps,

triumphal arches of bamboo and greenery across the streets, with coloured cloths bearing the word 'welcome' in several languages, met us at every turn, till at last, in the great square before the entrance gates of the Lal Bagh, a great crowd of wild paiks⁶ from the hills, in their strange garb, with their tiger-skins, birds' feathers, long, glittering spears and lighted torches, closed the scene.

The great man was immensely delighted at his unexpectedly grand reception. The pomp and pageantry, the shouting crowds, the illuminations, arches and procession gratified his inmost soul. He was so deeply touched that he even thanked me in a few curt words. He must have been moved to do that !!

The week which followed was a whirl. People who do not know India well imagine that a great deal of good is done by these State tours of Viceroys, Governors and Lieutenant-Governors. But my own experience leads me to doubt this. It may be that the local authorities succeed now and then in securing sanction to the execution of some work of great importance to their, locality by showing the Governor the actual spot and proving to him by actual eyesight its necessity or usefulness. They are thus sometimes able to do, in half-an-hour's walk round a town or river bank, what they have been unable to achieve by months of writing to an unwilling or unintelligent Secretariat. But the idea that by a hurried tour—and all tours in so vast a country as India must be more or less hurried, because there is so much ground to be got over in a limited time—a Governor can make himself really acquainted with a province as big as England is a delusion. The place does not look itself to, begin with, because it is dressed up for his reception and looks as unlike itself as a workman in his Sunday clothes. All the natural every-day dirt and misery is bundled out of sight. 'Eyewash', as it is called in India, prevails everywhere, even if everyone does not go to the length attributed by a well-known story to the Collector who had the trunks of the trees on all the station-roads whitewashed. So the great man does not see the real place, and unless he is an exceptionally keen-sighted man he takes his superficial, hastily-formed impressions for real knowledge, which does more harm than good. Ever afterwards he is prone to refuse sanction to

proposals submitted by the local officers, or to contradict their assertions, because of some erroneous impression he has imbibed on his hasty tour. Often, too, when he has promised on-the-spot sanction to some project which has been shown and explained to him, he will withdraw that sanction on his return to Calcutta because his secretaries have persuaded him that the local officers have hoodwinked, or at any rate, misinformed him.

If also we set against the problematical benefit of the great man's seeing things, or thinking he sees them, with his own eyes, the real and undoubted mischief he does by disorganizing the whole administration for a week or more, closing the courts, delaying the disposal of cases, putting a stop to business of all sorts, leading Municipalities and other public bodies to spend more money than they can afford in decorations, fireworks, illuminations and triumphal arches, it will be seen that the net gain for these tours is infinitesimal, if not absolutely nil.

It certainly was so in this case. Temple promised freely all sorts of things while at Cuttack, but refused to sanction them when he got back to Calcutta. He upset all our work and left us with heavy arrears on his departure, and the Cuttack Municipality with a considerable deficit in their accounts owing to the expenses of the reception. He was an extraordinarily active man, and we were in attendance on him daily from five in the morning till late at night. He went everywhere, up all the canals in the small local steamers to see all the locks, irrigation works and other things. On the steamer as we went along he made us all sit round a table on deck and answer innumerable questions, writing down the answers in a note-book. But as he would put the wrong questions to the wrong men—asking the Engineers questions about the land revenue, rents, rights of various classes in the soil—things which they knew nothing about—and asking Ravenshaw and me questions about cubic contents of reservoirs, discharge in gallons per second, working of various sluices, taps and machinery—things which we knew nothing about—and angrily stopping the right man when he attempted to answer—I fear the information he obtained was rather mixed. I think, too, he lost his note-book or left it behind in Cuttack.

However, it did not much matter. It was always a weakness of his to think he knew all about everything, and in any case he would have been certain to believe and assert ever afterwards that he had visited Orissa and personally ascertained all about it, and in consequence override every suggestion or recommendation that did not agree with the strange jumble of confused recollections which he carried away with him.

Of course, there was a magnificent Durbar or State assemblage, at which all the Maharajas and Rajas of the Tributary States—‘the Kings of the Amorites that dwell in the hills’ as we called them—appeared in all their barbaric pearl and gold, with hosts of wild retainers in ancient, rusty coats of mail, tiger-skins, spears and jangling chains and ornaments. One man brought six hundred of these wild followers with him, and was very angry with me because I insisted on his sending three-quarters of them away again. I could not allow six hundred Highland caterans to stalk about my peaceful city of Cuttack armed with dirk and sword, swaggering and brawling and snatching anything they took a fancy to from the shops without paying for it. The police had a hard time of it to keep these light-fingered gentry in order.

Then we had big lunch and dinner parties every night, ending up with a grand ball and reception at the Lal Bagh the last night. The splendid suite of lofty rooms in this stately old palace were brilliantly lighted and decorated for the occasion. All the Europeans came, and to gratify the vanity and pomposity of Temple there was a ‘reception’ to begin with. On a sofa at the end of the furthest room, in his Windsor uniform, glittering with gold lace, star on breast, his suite in full uniform behind him, sat the great man, a positive miracle of ugliness. Lady after lady was brought up and presented, made her curtsy and passed on. Then the men followed one by one. It was like a levee or drawing-room at Court. Then the band struck up and the dancing began. At midnight there was a sumptuous supper in the long veranda. & was about one hundred feet long by twenty wide; the pillars were hung with wreaths and the spaces between them closed in with tent-flies (*kanâts*). After supper dancing was resumed and the great man, retired to his rooms

having, as he pompously announced, some official minutes to write! Many of the men, including myself, were no dancers and we remained in the supper-room smoking. We drew together round one end of the long table, called for more champagne, and installed old Faulkner in the Lieutenant-Governor's chair at the head. Songs were, of course, out of the question but, as we got merry, speeches began. Faulkner stood up and in a very amusing speech proposed my health as the future Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. This was received with applause, and I then did a foolish thing, the consequence of which I suffered from all the remainder of my service—twenty years. I got up and returned thanks in the character of Lieutenant-Governor parodying the reply which Temple had given on the night of his arrival to the address which the Municipality presented to him. I was perfectly sober—I do not think I was ever drunk in my life except once at Oxford. But of course I was excited, and the long pent-up feeling of disgust at the vanity and self-glorification of this windbag was irrepressible. I mimicked his manner, I satirized his past career, especially in respect to the famine; all sorts of smart things leapt to my lips. The audience roared with laughter and made so much noise that old Ravenshaw came in to see what we were up to. But one of the Lieutenant-Governor's staff—I will not mention the traitor's name—had been behind a curtain the whole time, and he at once went off and told Temple all I had said. One man who had seen this came and said to me, 'I suppose you will now take two years' furlough to England.' I said 'Why?' He laughed and went away. But as we drove home my wife told me all about it and I got a severe scolding from her.

Temple said nothing, but next morning he received me very sourly and was particularly disagreeable and offensive in his manner to me for the rest of his stay. I had written a Manual of the District of Balasore—history, statistics, and so forth—district officers had been invited to write manuals of their districts—and I brought the MS to Temple at his request. He glanced at a few pages, found some expressions he disliked, scratched them out with his pencil, and turned on me savagely, saying I thought myself so very superior to everyone else but that the book would not do. He told me to take

it back and re-write it in a way he described to me. I took it back, locked it in a drawer, and have it by me now. I never submitted it to the Government for acceptance again.

I learnt long afterwards that when he got back to Calcutta he told the story of my speech to his Chief Secretary, ending up with an expression of amazement, 'He actually mocked *Me*, mocked *Me*.' To think that anyone should dare to mock the great R.Temple!! From the same source I also learnt that he had written a very bad character against my name in the Black Book.⁷ However, he sent us a letter after his departure thanking us for the grandeur of his reception, and adding that he considered the unanimous expression of loyalty and attachment to British rule a proof that the local officers did their work in such a way as to win the affection of the people.

Then he went away and left us to pick up the pieces and catch up the arrears of work, after which I went into camp for the usual cold weather tour.

It was, of course, very foolish of me to make that speech. I had, however, no idea that any of the aides-de-camp were listening. The man's self-satisfied air irritated us all, and me more than anyone as I had not forgotten the injustice he did me at the beginning of my career. I had reminded him of the incident the first night he was in Cuttack, as I sat by him at the dinner at Ravenshaw's. He asked in a lofty tone, 'What was I then?' I answered, 'Commissioner of Lahore.' He replied, 'Ah yes! I was Commissioner, I think, about that time,' as who should say, 'I have occupied so many distinguished posts in my time I really cannot recollect one more than another.' But my wife who was watching him keenly says she is sure from his manner and look that he remembered it perfectly.

I mention this visit of Temple's and the incident of the speech at greater length because I have always believed, and indeed have been told by many of my friends, that it was the real cause of my ill-success in the later part of my career. I had committed the old hereditary family crime of quarrelling with my official superior, selecting as usual for that purpose the most influential and popular

of them. My grandfather with the Chancellor, Lord Eldon—my father with the Rector of St James's, Bishop Jackson—I with Sir Richard Temple—and now I hear that my eldest son David is quarrelling with his Colonel !

A little time before the Temple visit, my wife, one evening going down the steps of the veranda to the carriage for the usual drive, slipped and fell heavily. The result was a miscarriage; the child, a son, was born dead, and she remained weak and suffering for sometime. In consequence of this she was unable to go with me into camp, and I went by myself, being afterwards joined by Graves, the District Superintendent of police, and Atkinson, the Assistant Collector. I had a curious and, difficult, task, to perform.

Along the Mahanadi River some ten miles above Cuttack lay a large estate called Dompara. It was about ten or twelve miles long by two broad, and was for the most part low hills covered with dense forests, though it had also considerable tracts of fiat land along the river which were fully cultivated. The owner of this estate, or 'Kingdom' as he persisted in calling it, was a Raja. Now there were Rajas of three kinds in Orissa. When the English first took the province in 1804 from the Marathas, next to nothing was known about it. It was, however, soon perceived that there was a broad strip of cultivated level land down the middle called the Mughal bandi. This was cut up into the three districts of Balasore (north) Cuttack (centre), and Pooree (south), and settled in the usual way. Such of the zemindars as were Rajas in this territory paid land revenue assessed on their estates just like those in other parts of Bengal. But along the sea coast was a dreary strip of country consisting of large estates held by certain Rajas who claimed a partial independence. There was hardly anything to assess in these wastes, so they were allowed to hold their lands on payment of a *peshkhash*, or tribute, a small, fixed sum which had no relation to assets or income.

Similarly along the landward or western boundary of the three districts was a string of estates held by persons who called themselves Rajas, and who, on account of the wild and unproductive nature of their estates at the time of the conquest, had been let off

with a *peshkask*. Dompara was one of these. Beyond them, stretching far away into the Central Provinces, were the great Tributary States of which anon.

Poor little Dompara was a helpless fool, almost imbecile; unfortunately for himself not quite so. If he could have been pronounced insane and locked up he might perhaps have been cured in time, and meanwhile his estate would have been properly managed by the Collector. But as it was, he was just foolish enough to do endless mischief, and not foolish enough to be put under restraint. He had fallen into the hands of a clever, wily, unscrupulous man whom he had appointed as his Dewan or Prime Minister. This man was oppressing the tenantry, enriching himself and keeping the Raja and his family miserably poor. A large body of the ryots came to me and begged me to interfere; the poor little Raja also came and implored me to save him from his Dewan, whom, of course, he might have dismissed with a stroke of his pen, but he feared him too much to do so.

I went to Dompara and pitched my tents in a lovely grove of dense trees by the river. Thither came a great crowd of the peasantry, the wily Dewan and his clerks and papers, and the feeble little Raja in a piniful attempt at state, in an old, tawdry palanquin, a few ragged pâiks and drummers, himself in doth of gold and Cashmere shawls, old, frayed, tarnished and moth-eaten. Then for some days we held long palavers and went into the whole affair thoroughly. The difficulty was that, although the Dewan was utterly untrustworthy, he was the only man in the place with a head on his shoulders. There were of course lots of capable men in Cuttack who would have been glad of the appointment, but the Dewan had a large following of devoted adherents as he had given leases of villages and farms to a crowd of his relations. With his intimate local knowledge and his numerous supporters, he had such a hold over the place that he would have rendered the position of any stranger whom I might introduce quite untenable. I had not the power of banishing him, and short of that nothing would have been of any use. So I revoked, in public meeting before the ryots, all the illegal and oppressive orders and arrangements he had made, issued

a set of simple rules for management which I made known to the people, took away a number of farms from his adherents to whom he had illegally given them, bound him over to observe my rules-in future, and after frightening his life almost out of him by awful threats of what I would do if he misbehaved in future, left him in his old situation as, I hoped, a wiser and a sadder man. It was a risky thing to do and I knew it, but it was the only course possible. The poor little Raja, however, was disappointed. After having for years blindly trusted the Dewan he had now taken a dislike to him, and with a weak mind like his, the dislike was as fierce and unreasonable as his former liking for him had been. I had a long talk with him in private. His huge and half-ruined palace, a mass of tumbledown brickwork overgrown with jungle and green with mildew, showing, however, traces of former elegance—a beautiful, carved gateway with great wooden doors half fallen from their rotting hinges—a mouldy temple with lovely statues all cracked and broken—was situated on a ridge half-way up a beautiful wooded hill amidst the remains of a spacious, lordly garden laid out by his father. Here, amongst roses choked with jungle, palms and tall trees matted with gorgeous flowering creepers, the poor idiot used to spend hours wandering up and down on a long, weed-covered pathway. I found him there, and racing to and fro beside him I administered a severe lecture. I believe he profited by it for a time, and the affairs of Dompara went on fairly well as long as I could spare time to keep an eye on them. What happened after I left I do not know. One never does know in India. One can only do one's best while in a place and leave the future to one's successor, who as likely as nor will take and entirely different view and upset all the arrangements one has made.

This, in fact, is one of the great problems of Indian administration, though it is one which people in England, and especially in Parliament, know nothing about though they talk so loud and lay down the law so very confidently. It cannot be too often repeated that the difficulty lies not in the laws and rules that are promulgated, but in getting them carried out. It is not always easy, I admit, to make a law which exactly meets the requirements

of all the complicated systems of land revenue and other matters which occur. But the very greatest care is taken in making a law. Facts are collected with the most scrupulous and conscientious care, opinions are obtained from all those who know the subject (and from many who don't). The draft Bill is widely circulated for criticism and the criticisms carefully weighed, the Bill is then brought before Council, many eloquent and clever speeches are made, it is referred to a special Committee who cut and carve, add and strike out, argue for hours over every point and submit it as revised to Council again, where it is again speechified over and voted section by section. When it is finally passed the Governors, Secretaries, Councillors and Boards at headquarters sit down and fold their hands and say the affair is settled.

But it is not by any means settled. In fact the real difficulty now begins. This law so elaborately worded, these provisions the result of so much anxious deliberation, must now be enforced all over the country. The Act is printed and copies are sent to all the Collectors and other officers. Some of these are stupid, some are indolent and careless, some have been opposed to the measure all along and do not mean it to be a success. Then there is the vast mass of the native population who are affected by it. The native lawyers are as sharp as needles and very soon tear the heart out of it. This section may be made to work in one way, that section in another. Two sections may be shown to contradict each other, while most of them can be interpreted in more ways than one. The rural masses, of course, neither know nor understand a word of it. So then cases are instituted in the courts, and appealed and appealed till they reach the High Court. That august tribunal always considers itself the legally constituted interpreter of all laws, and proceeds to put an interpretation of its own on section after section. These interpretations are embodied in the decisions of the Court, and these decisions are printed and published as 'rulings'. So that before long there are two laws, the actual Statute as passed by the legislative body, and the mass of rulings thereon as pronounced by the judicial body. The lawyers are very proud of this; they call the former 'substantive law', and the latter 'adjective law', and very

much prefer the latter, as their own creation. Now inasmuch as in arriving at their decision the judges carefully avoid taking into consideration the circumstances which led to the making of the law, and examine not what the legislature meant to lay down but what the words of the Act really import, it not infrequently happens that their decisions turn out to be the very opposite of what the law was intended to mean. Then a new law has to be passed to rectify the error. Divested of technical language such an 'amending act' is simply a confession of a blunder. It says virtually, 'whereas in a former Act we ruled that two and two make four, but from the wording of the Act it appears as if we had ruled that two and two make five, now we hereby alter that wording and substitute the two following words which make it plain that henceforth two and two shall make four and not five.' It has happened within my experience that the High Court has sat upon the 'amended Act' and observed that 'the law as now amended implies that two and two make six'!

But however carefully both the legislative and judicial bodies work at establishing the law, there remains always a great deal of weakness and uncertainty in carrying it out in the country.

The vast extent of country, the very various views, temperaments and mental acumen of the persons charged with administering it naturally lead to its efficiency being very different in different parts of the country, and being more or less impaired in all. More especially is every law of importance hindered in its working by frequent changes of the district officers. The Secretariat mind favours frequent changes. It considers that if a man is left too long in a district he 'gets into a groove'. This means that if a man stays long enough in a district to acquire a real insight into the condition and wants of the people, he is able to see the vanity of the fine theoretical cobwebs which the Secretariat mind is so fond of spinning, and can administer inconvenient pricks to their wind bags and prove by his extensive local knowledge their emptiness. So they like to have men new to the district who swallow all their nostrums. I shall mention later on one or two striking instances of this.

But to return from this long digression. After Dompara I visited Pattia, a neighbouring estate, still more picturesque and wild, where the Raja was more sensible but more extravagant. Here there were family feuds. The Raja's mother had obtained a number of farms as her jointure, and being like all Hindu widows entirely under the thumb of the Brahmins was exploiting her farms for the benefit of those gentry. The Raja wanted money and was trying to take his mother's farms away from her. Hence a row royal in the palace and indescribable confusion in the villages, where the old Rani's men were going about collecting rent and giving receipts in her name, and the Raja's men were doing the same for him; the wretched ryots being thus made to pay twice over. This matter was also settled after endless talkee-talkee, by the old lady giving up some of the farms and being definitely confirmed in peaceful possession of the rest, while in both classes the ryots had their rents fixed and the double payments credited to future years. They could not be refunded because the Raja had spent the money as fast as he got it !

As I am writing about Rajas I may as well mention here a visit which we paid to another Raja, or rather Maharaja, somewhere about this time. He was one of the Rajas on the sea-coast, whom I have mentioned above, and claimed (rightly I believe) to be the lineal descendant and sole representative of the ancient line of the native sovereigns of Orissa, the old Gajapatis, who were descended from the sun or the moon. I forget which. He lived at a small, dirty town called Al on one of the lower channels of the Brahmani River, in a huge, rambling palace, half ruinous, of course, surrounded by a moat and a thick belt of bamboos, so as to be as unhealthy, mouldy and mildewed as possible. The little, wizened old Maharaja received us in as much state as he could manage and sent his eldest son with my wife, her English nurse and the children into the Zenana to visit his queens. He took me through several tumbledown courtyards to a large brick platform on which stood, in rows, a lot of children. This, he explained, was his school. I asked whose the children were, for they were all so well dressed that I could not suppose they were children of the wretched inhabitants of the poverty-

stricken town. He looked at them and ran his finger down the lines and then said, 'All these are my children—no, that one is the Prime Minister's and that one is the Treasurer's—but all the rest are mine.' I counted—there were seventy-five of them! I thought of the verse in Kings; 'Now Ahab had seventy sons in Samaria ...' Then we went and sat in a large, pillared portico overlooking a large tank surrounded by a lovely but badly-kept garden. Here we talked till my wife came out from her interview, when the Maharaja sent in to the palace to order his wives to clear out of the reception rooms so that he might show me round. The rooms were numerous, rather small and dark, but highly decorated. The walls of his own private sitting and sleeping rooms were covered with paintings which he told me he had done himself. They represented subjects so grossly indecent that I shuddered at the thought of my wife having seen them. Luckily, as it turned out, she had been so amused by the ladies that it had not occurred to her to look at the walls. Luckily also the drawing, was so grotesque that no one not accustomed to native art would have been able to make out what was meant.⁸ It seems that when taken into these apartments my wife and her party were met by a partly old lady perfectly smothered in jewellery and costly robes. The young prince introduced her as the Head Queen (*Patraru*), his mother. Then followed one woman after another all nearly as much bedizened who, he explained, were the subordinate queens. She counted between sixty and seventy of them. They all squatted on the floor in long rows and stared at her while she conversed, through the Prince as interpreter, with the Head Queen. The conversation was idle and banal, as usual, the only curious incident being that a rather poorly dressed girl threw herself at my wife's feet and poured out a string of words. This being interpreted was to the effect that she was the youngest queen and was only allowed silver ornaments and no silk garments or shawls, and she begged my wife to order the Maharaja to give her gold ornaments and silken robes like the others. She was at once ignominiously hustled away by the others and probably caught it hot afterwards. Then we took leave and returned to our camp. On making inquiries I learnt that there was an ancient custom, half religious and half

traditional, by which the Maharajas of Al were required to marry a new wife every year on a certain festival. The present Maharaja, being nearly seventy and having begun life early, as they do in India, had by degrees amassed all these wives and had begotten all these children. What was to become of them all no one seemed to know or care. His estates were large but not very profitable, but living is cheap in India and the people generally seemed to think it was all right, so I suppose it was. He himself seemed very happy and rather proud of his large family.



1. I sent home the MS of the second volume in 1875.

2. I should write 'the rice in the husk' or 'unhusked'. 'Husked' rice is a term generally applied to the grain after the husk has been removed by pounding. The unhusked rice is called 'paddy'.

3. Actual cost	Rs.1,523,373
Cost by my plan	1,250,000
<hr/>	
Loss	Rs.273,333
	£ 27,000

4. When the slow match catches the powder inside the whole thing explodes with a bang, quite as loud as a cannon. The tighter you tie them, and the more rope you put round, the louder is the noise. It can be heard several miles off.

5. I had taken the precaution of obtaining a copy of the address the day before, and had sent it by special messenger across country to Ravenshaw. It reached him at a point half-way up the canal and he at once handed it to temple who was thus enabled to prepare a speech in reply to it.

6. Paiks are a sort of irregular police force, strange, wild creatures, a relic of old native rules.

7. This is a book kept in the Bengal Secretariat in which the Lieutenant Governors record their opinion of the characters of their officers. Whenever any officer obtains praise or incures censure it is recorded in this book.

8. Indian scholars will understand when I say that they represented the satasangama-prakarah from the koka-sastra.

CUTTACK, 1875-1877

We had a Masonic Lodge in Cuttack, 'Lodge Star of Orissa'. It had a neat little building specially constructed for it and a fair attendance of members. Since belonging to 'Lodge Star of the East' in Calcutta under good Captain 'Enry 'Owe's guidance in 1858, I had not had my opportunity of belonging to a Lodge and had grown rather rusty. But at the earnest entreaty of Walker, Faulkner and others, I joined the Cuttack Lodge and in 1875-6 was made Master. The Lodge was a jovial, convivial institution. After work there was always a banquet, followed by much heavy drinking and singing of songs, at which old Faulkner presided gloriously. I was eventually obliged to retire from this Lodge because a large number of the penniless, loafing ne'er-do-wells, half-caste clerks, *déclassé* Europeans and the like who infest all large stations in India took to joining the Lodge, and then calling at my house incessantly to beg for help and for good appointments, pleading the sacred tie of Masonic brotherhood. This grew to be such an infliction that I was obliged, in self-defence, to withdraw from active participation in Masonry.

J. H. Walker, whom I ought to have mentioned before, was a leading member of our Cuttack society. He held the important post of Superintending Engineer, the Headship of the large and useful Irrigation -Branch of the Public Works Department. Born at a place which he called 'Weendiwuls', but which on the map appeared as 'Windywalls', near Kelso, he was a typical lowland Scot, full of Border legends of Elliots and Armstrongs, a sturdy, determined, canny man with a strong literary and intellectual element in his mind, and an intense love of arguing on every conceivable subject. Many a happy day did I spend with him seated, cheroot in mouth, on one of the little steamers on some canal or river in the glowing sunshine, arguing and discussing on every imaginable topic. It was from him, or rather from a nickname of his,¹ that the station on False Point got its name.² When it was

found necessary to establish a port for central Orissa, Ravenshaw, Walker and Macpherson, the Collector, went down to False Point in one of the little steamers and with some difficulty found a suitable site for the Harbourmaster and his Customs establishment. The site being uninhabited was also nameless, and they cast about for a name for it. Several were suggested and rejected. At last Macpherson said, 'Let us call it Hookey Tolah after old Hookey Walker.' The idea took and the place was solemnly named and a bottle of champagne was drunk by the company to christen it.³ The native fishermen and boatmen who haunted those lonely swamps learnt the name readily and it was officially adopted, though of course the bigwigs in Calcutta had no idea of its derivation. Some years later the great W.W. Hunter in compiling his gazetter round this name in use and, supposing it to be a native word, thought proper to write it according to the scientific method of spelling Indian names—Hukitolà !!

False Point and its history deserve some mention. It is a long, sandy spit at the mouth of the Mahanadi River. The current in the Bay of Bengal sweeps strongly northwards all along the Indian Coast. Consequently every big river that empties itself into the Bay is encumbered by a bar of sand trending ever northwards. Year after year this bar increases till the river breaks through, cutting it up into islands and forming a new mouth further north. In 1866, when the great and terrible famine occurred in Orissa, much of the suffering was due to the absence of any proper landing-place or port where ships could unload cargoes. All this coast is very deficient in harbours. Pooree is merely an open roadstead, where it is not always safe or possible to unload or load cargo and the mouths of the rivers had not then been properly developed. But the Engineers had long had their eyes on False Point and the Dhamra as possible ports, and soon after the famine work was over they began work on False Point. A canal had been made from Cuttack for some fifty miles to Marsaghai, a place on the main stream of the Mahanadi. Thence the route followed the river for some ten miles, and then turned off down a creek into an immense, shallow bay or backwater some three

or four miles broad, surrounded by islands of soft mud in which grew dense thickets of mangrove, bamboo cane and long, creeping lianes. Between this bay and the sea was a long, low island of sand, at the northern end of which was the entrance to the harbour, if it could be called a harbour. It consisted of those parts of the bay, principally close under the island, which were deep enough for ships of average draught, say, sixteen feet to twenty. On this island stood the Harbourmaster's house and offices with a cluster of huts for coolies, boatmen and the like. In the centre was a lofty structure surmounted by a flagstaff used as a look-out—this imposing settlement was Hookey Tolah. Close into the shore was anchored a huge Flat (as they are called), an immense, flat-bottomed cargo boat with rows of cabins built on both sides of its spacious deck, with kitchens, bathrooms and other conveniences. It was called the *Ghazipore* and was used as a sort of floating hotel for passengers waiting for the British India steamers which called once a week. There were also generally three or four French ships loading with rice for Mauritius and a good many native vessels in the same trade. Some two miles off, on an island somewhat more solid than the rest, stood a great stone lighthouse, built out of laterite stones taken from the Fort at Cuttack. It was in charge of a kind-hearted but low-bred Irish retired sea captain, Mr Geary (I used to tease my wife by calling him her cousin), who lived in that melancholy solitude with a wife and nine children. Around the lighthouse was an extensive grove of coconut palms which Captain Geary had planted. From the top of the lighthouse about sunset one could look down into the dense jungle that spread for miles, and frequently see tigers crawling across the open patches, on the look-out for Captain Geary's cows which he kept in a high-walled enclosure at night. Tigers had been known to leap over this wall and kill cattle—at least so he said, but sea captains are given to spinning yarns.⁴ He added a little to his not too abundant means by selling butter to the ships in the harbour.

But the character of False Point was Captain Harris. He was False Point, and when he died False Point no longer seemed

itself. He made it and fostered it and loved it. He was, like so many men in employ round the coast, an old skipper, who in his time had sailed the Indian seas from Suez and the Cape to Hong Kong and Batavia. The usual round, red-faced, loud-voiced skipper, clever with his hands, ready in any emergency, drinking like a fish, talkative and rather rough of speech, but a thoroughly good, useful, hard-working man, admirably suited for the post. Under him was a watchful, taciturn old sea-dog named Black, and these two lived alone at the melancholy station of Hookey Tolah and spent their lives in trying to beautify and improve it.

My first introduction to Captain Harris was characteristic. It was on the occasion of my going to False Point with Ravenshaw when he went on leave. Our steamer arrived there at dusk, and anchored in the great, dreary lagoon. Not very far off was the flat *Ghazipore*, and on the deck under an awning sat a man at a table silhouetted against the dim light of a ship's lantern hung over his head. On the table was a water bottle and glass and under the table a small keg. With the regularity of a mechanical toy, the man stooped and turned the tap of the keg so that liquor ran into his glass, then he filled up the glass with water and drank it. After a short rest, during which he smoked a pipe, he repeated the process. We had just finished our dinner on the steamer, and as we smoked our cheroots we all sat on deck and watched with much amusement this solitary figure on the flat. Presently, out of the darkness a boat approached us, and a message was handed up to the effect that Captain Harris would like to see Mr Faulkner if he was on board. So old Faulkner went off in the boat. After a short time we saw him emerge from the darkness on to the deck of the flat where he took a chair opposite the solitary figure, and then *two* glasses were filled at the keg and regularly emptied. Perhaps they heard the roar of laughter from the steamer with which we greeted this new development, for a curtain was suddenly let down which hid them from our sight. Next morning Faulkner and Harris were up long before any of us—perhaps they sat up all night—went and had a dip in the sea and turned up at breakfast quite fresh and rosy.

But if he drank hard, he worked hard. Government in its usual way, having sanctioned the construction of a Port Office at False Point and appointed Harris and his staff, thought it had done all that was necessary and refused to sanction any further outlay. It was only by dint of very pressing representations often repeated that Ravenshaw was able after long delays to obtain a very small and utterly inadequate grant of money for the necessary buildings, jetties, buoys and other requisites. It was wonderful how much Harris did with his limited means. He had recourse sometimes to expedients which nothing but the stinginess of Government could have justified. Once, an old cargo boat sent down from the Calcutta Port Establishment, because it was too old to be of any use there, managed to get ashore in a storm. Harris immediately reported it as wrecked, and at once broke it up and used the timber and iron-work in his jetty and in flooring his office. The occurrence was duly reported to Government, and some months later a reply was received directing that the wreck should be sold by auction and the proceeds credited to the Customs Department. To this Harris was able to reply with perfect truth that she had gone to pieces, and that no remains of her could be found on the spot where she had been wrecked. He took advantage of the event to ask for a new cargo boat and a pinnace for his own use, and to our great surprise got them ! A fine strong cargo boat and lovely green pinnace with handsome fittings and full supply of sailing and other gear arrived in a few days' time. She turned out to be a splendid and fast sailer and Harris spent almost all his time in her.

Some time after, meeting the head of the Customs department, I asked him why it was that there had been such difficulty in getting boats and other things for False Point at first, while they had responded so liberally to our request afterwards. He laughed and said that False Point being a new place was not down 'on the books' of the Department and no provision could consequently be made for it. The Government of India, a thousand miles off at Simla, had never heard of it and would not sanction any expenditure on it. But when once, with difficulty and after many

explanations, they had grudgingly allowed some of the old and hardly usable stock to be sent there, the place got 'on to the books', and there was no difficulty in replacing anything that was worn out or lost by wreck, etc. 'I advise you,' he added, 'if you want anything for False Point, report something or other as worn out or lost and request that it may be replaced. You will get it at once, but it is no use asking for a new thing of a kind you have not had before.' I told this to Harris and he acted on it. He at once reported every old rusty bit of chain, every old anchor and worm-eaten plank about the place as worn out, and asked that they might be 'replaced'. By this means he before long got a very decent quantity of port requisites which he could not have got otherwise. Once, requiring a row-boat to take letters and messages to the Post and Telegraph Office (which by the wisdom of the Postal Department had been located some four miles off across the lagoon), he bought for three or four rupees a very rotten old fishing boat from some natives and entered it on his stock account. Then he used it to go to the Post Office for a week, accompanied by another boat lest it should sink and the rowers be drowned. When he thought he had used it enough, he managed that it should one fine day mysteriously sink. On which he indented for a new boat to 'replace' it, and got it too—a fine, strong English-built captain's gig with a sail and lots of first-class tackle.

In this way we gradually got all we wanted. The Government had to be treated like a child which does not know what is good for it. Eventually, owing to the unwearied energy of Harris, the place was thoroughly equipped with all the requirements of a port, but no one knew how he managed to do it with such small grants of money as we could wring out of the Government. He got no thanks; on the contrary he was always being blamed for any shortcomings, but like so many Englishmen in India he worked on cheerfully and even enthusiastically, doing his best for the place committed to his charge, not expecting praise or reward. A few years later he was drowned in his own bay, in sight of his beloved station, and his name is probably by this time quite forgotten. He was a common type. The British Empire in India

is like one of those large coral islands in the Pacific built up by millions of tiny insects, age after age. Men admire the beauty of the land and profit by its fertility, but who thinks of the insects who built it up ?

This reminds me of another death which occurred about this time. A bright, clever, promising boy named Atkinson, one of my Assistants, was stationed at Kendrapara, a subdivision some thirty miles from Cuttack. He had been distinguished at a Public School (Harrow or Rugby, I forget which) and at Oxford, had passed high for the Civil Service, and during the short time he served under me had shown signs of great ability and high promise. He had fallen in love with Florrie Faulkner, one of old Faulkner's pretty daughters, and had arranged with her that on his next visit to Cuttack he should ask her father's consent. Some festivity-ball or something of the kind such as we so frequently had—was to take place. I think it was on the occasion of the Queen's birthday, which we always made a public holiday with some celebrations. He asked me for leave to come in to Cuttack, which I granted. It was a blazing hot, sultry May day and he started early as usual and rode fast to get in before the heat began. At the very end of his ride, with the roofs and chimneys of Cuttack in sight, he had to cross the river which then was an expanse of dazzling sand about a mile broad, with a narrow stream of water trickling down the middle. The track across the sand was marked by deep ruts made by the cartwheels of the strings of carts that were constantly passing. This track wound up and down so as to cross the water at its shallowest, and Atkinson, anxious to get in, for the sun was already getting hot when he reached the river, seems to have tried to take a short cut. But the narrow thread of water was treacherous. Though in general not more than a foot or two deep, in places it formed deep pools, where some furious eddy during the rains had scooped out the sand. Right into one of these he rode. His horse in its mad plunging threw him off, struggled to the bank and galloped away, but he never rose again. The Faulkners had invited him to stay with them, and his servant had arrived with his luggage. They waited for him till one o'clock

and then began to get anxious. Old Faulkner went to the door to look out and saw a policeman leading a riderless horse to the police lines. He stopped the man and recognized the horse as Atkinson's. The man said he had found the horse grazing by the road leading to the river, and was taking it, as unclaimed property, to the police station. When asked where the rider was, he stared after the manner of his kind and said he did not know. It had not occurred to him to consider the question. Faulkner came rushing over to my house which was close by, and I at once ordered out a strong body of police to go and search. On reaching the river bank the Inspector found numbers of men cutting grass for horses as usual. At that dry season the grass-cutters have to go long distances in search of green fodder and naturally seek it by the rivers. Questioned on the subject they all said cheerfully— Oh, yes ! they had seen a sahib ride on to the sand from the other side and try to cross the river. They saw that he had left the track and was heading for a deep pool and they saw him fall off his horse, and they saw the horse come out without him and gallop away. ‘Where was the Sahib ?’ They did not know, perhaps he was in the water. ‘Did they not shout to warn him of his danger ?’ No, it was no affair of theirs. ‘What did they do when they saw him fall ?’ They ? They cut grass for their horses !!⁵ Also there was a Kanungo⁶ riding on his pony with his servant following him. He saw the whole scene— and rode on to his work ! He was quite close to the Sahib and saw he was riding into danger, but it was no affair of his. (I promptly dismissed that Kanungo from the Government Service, at which all the natives, official and non-official, were very much surprised— and asked what he had done to be punished.)

We dragged the pool and found the poor boy’s body. He was quite dead. He was buried that evening and Florrie wept. She married another man a year after.

The charm of our life in Cuttack lay not only in the friendless and sociability of the European residents, but also in its variety. Totally new and unexpected events were always occurring. About this time, for instance, occurred the wreck of the *Velleda*. She

was a French ship from Nantes. I have mentioned in a former page the French ships that used to call at False Point. There were a good many of them. They took a cargo of wines and spirits and other things from French ports to Batavia, thence they came in ballast to False Point where they shipped rice for the Indian coolies working at Mauritius. At this latter place they shipped sugar for France, thus making a regular round. One day one of these ships, the *Velleda*, was driven ashore in a storm. The sagacious police, for some reason best known to themselves— the workings of a native policeman's mind are dark and tortuous and hard to understand— arrested the captain and crew, and put a guard on the vessel as they lay on the beach at the mouth of the Dayà River. The latter precaution was wise and saved the vessel from being plundered. The Magistrate of Pooree, an accentric person, Joseph Armstrong, telegraphed to me for orders⁷ as to what he was to do with the men. In reply I instructed him to supply them with food and anything else they might require, and to get carts and send them to Cuttack at once. After a few days they arrived, a hungry, dirty, ragged, dishevelled party of about a dozen Frenchmen. We accommodated them in the Police Barracks, and gave them food and clothing and medical aid. The captain, named Semelin, was a merry, little, round Sancho Panza of a man and amused us very much while he remained at Cuttack.

But I had a dreadful task with him. Through all the terrors of the shipwreck he had kept his ship's papers and his 'Code Maritime', a little, fat, much-thumbed and dog-eared book, safe in a bag slung across him. These he now produced and read me many sections of the Code, declaring the steps he ought to take under the circumstances. First I had to record a *procés-verbal*, a very lengthy document reciting the whole story of the wreck and what led to it, including the depositions of the captain and the crew. Then I had to go through a long list of all the ship's gear, rigging, sails, cargo, and everything in fact except her hull. My French stood the test of the *procés-verbal* and the depositions pretty well, but when it came to such technicalities as ship's rigging and gear I was completely floored. So I sent for Tonnerre.

He was a young Frenchman who had been appointed to the Bengal police and stationed at Cuttack, a charming, brilliant, high-spirited, clever young fellow. To my surprise he too was floored. He and Semelin, of course, chattered volubly together in their own language, but when it came to seafaring lingo he was as ignorant as I was. Eventually, with much gesticulating and pantomime between the two, aided by Spiers' dictionary, we got the list right and all the papers required by French law duly executed, and sent off to the French Consul-General at Calcutta, who in due course sent down a request to sell the ship and remit the money to aim for transmission to the owners in France. This was done; a rich merchant in Cuttack bought her as she lay and broke her up and made a good deal, I was told, by selling the timbers and other things. Semelin being part-owner kept his share of the money, and the rest was sent to the Consul. But he had on board a small stock of provisions for his own use, and these he got up from the coast (it was about fifty miles from Cuttack that the vessel was wrecked) and offered them for sale. Needless to say they were eagerly bought up—champagne, Sauterne, Burgundy wines, and the most delicious preserved fruits, fish, cheese and other provisions. My wife laid in a good stock and we fully enjoyed them. They were very cheap too. Then poor little Sancho Panza Semelin fell ill, and the doctor said he had better be sent to Calcutta, where he would find a French doctor who could understand him. His disease was some internal ailment of an obscure nature. So I shipped him and his crew off to Calcutta, whence, as I was informed, they shipped on board various French vessels and so got home. Poor Semelin, however, died in the hospital at Calcutta, and I received a touching letter of thanks from the Consul-General for my kindness to him.

These French skippers entitled themselves 'capitaine as long cours', but Tonnerre called them 'vieux ours maritimes', old sea-bears. I always found them very amusing and I enjoyed talking French to them. False Point was a dreary place for them to lie at. No town, no drinking places, no amusements of any sort—only a great shallow lagoon, half of it bare, glistening mud at low

water, bounded on all sides but one by low, swampy, mangrove jungle. On one occasion Ravenshaw and Walker and I were down there in the Pioneer, and Toppino, one of these captains, came to see us. Our table was being laid for breakfast on deck, and among other things there was a bowl full of fresh limes. Toppino's eyes glistened. 'Ah ! vous avez des limons, des limons !' he cried. Knowing how good limes and other fruit are for sailors after a long voyage we let him fill his pockets. He went away rejoicing, and shortly after he sent us two bottles of claret, grown he assured us, on his own estate near Bordeaux, and known as *Gros Bonnet*; also a tin of delicious truffled sausages. When I got back to Cuttack, I ransacked the bazaar for fresh fruit and vegetables, and sent him down a boat-load of pumpkins, plantains, limes and such things as we could get. He wrote me most gushingly grateful letter. The *Gros Bonnet*, when we drank it, turned out to be a very fine delicate, wine of the Médoc type.

During the cold weather of this year I paid a visit to a curious place, Udayagiri i.e. the Sunrise Mountain. It lies between two of the great rivers of the delta of the Mahanadi, and is so called because it is the furthest spur to the eastward of the Orissa ranges. It is an isolated rocky peak of no great height with a mosque on the summit, small, modern and ugly. But in a great-cleft nearly a mile long on the eastern face, Faulkner, who was with me on this occasion, and I found a strange place. At the head of the ravine we saw what looked like images, so we started to explore. The ravine was covered with a jungle of low, thorny bushes, but on setting coolies to work to clear this off, we first came upon a deep well of the kind called Bâoli, a large, circular hole lined with stone masonry descends for about fifty feet. In one side of this wall is an archway, and a broad flight of stone steps leading down from another archway at the top. At the bottom of the steps is a platform of stone, in the middle of which is the mouth of the well. It was full of water and apparently very deep. On the sides of the wall going down the steps were rudely carved numerous names, apparently of pilgrims, in an archaic character, the so-called Kutila, which has not been used since about the ninth or

tenth century. The inscriptions must thus be more than a thousand years old. Our coolies were half afraid of venturing into the gorge as it has the reputation of being haunted. It was only by liberal payment we could induce them to go on. Beyond the well was a pathway flagged with stone, and on either side, for the most part overturned and lying under the bushes, were great quantities of statues of Buddha of stone. These were of all sizes from a few inches to four feet high. We counted some hundreds of them. At the end of the pathway which was more than half a mile long and ascended gradually, we came upon a beautiful gateway of stone, the lintel and sideposts of which were covered by delicately-carved groups of figures illustrating events in the various Jatakas or former births of Buddha. Looking through this gateway we were startled to see, deep in the gloom of dense, overhanging trees, a colossal seated Buddha in the usual attitude of meditation. The image was buried up to the waist in debris and soil, but the huge upper half stood up so high that a tall man standing on the palm of its right hand could only just touch its shoulder.

The whole place had evidently in ancient times been a Buddhist monastery and place of pilgrimage. Here, as everywhere in Orissa, the noses of all the images had been broken off. It was the custom of the Mahomedans thus to disfigure all the statues of gods and others they found in any part of India. The local legend says that at the sound of the kettle-drums of Kàlapahà^s all the noses of the gods in Orissa fell off.

I thought some at least of these carvings worthy of preservation. The colossal Buddha was too big to move, but Faulkner sent for boats and derrick and managed to remove the lovely gateway and half a dozen of the best statues, which he set up for me in the Public Garden which I had made close to the canal in Chauliaganj, the suburb of Cuttack city in which most of the Civil officials live. I presume they are there still. I should have been unwilling to disturb the ancient shrine on Udayagiri, but the images were lying neglected and buried under jungle and soil, the place was somewhat inaccessible and the Public Garden at Cuttack was a central situation

where these rare and beautiful objects could be seen and studied as well as preserved. Therefore I acquitted myself of the charge of vandalism. I wrote a long and minute account of the place with copious illustrations, which was published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society.⁹

Orissa is full of ancient temples, forts and statues. Many of these I visited, sketched, and wrote articles about for the Asiatic Society during the nine years I spent in that old-world province, now (or at least then) the home of the most bigoted, Brahmin-ridden Hindus in all India. But it would take up too much room to describe them in detail; besides—are they not written in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal?

The year 1876 passed without any very memorable event. The work was incessant, varied, interesting and I found time also for my linguistic studies. The third volume of my *Comparative Grammar* occupied most part of my spare time.

On the 24th April 1876 was born my youngest child. I was reading at that time a novel in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the heroine of which was named Angèle, so I had the child christened Angela. As Tonnarre said, ‘C'est un nom très gentil,’ but the child herself, when she grew up, disliked it. It is perhaps an unusual name in England. My wife suffered a good deal over this her last confinement, and I was told she required a run home. Moreover, certain things had fallen out badly with regard to my three boys who were with my brother Pearson at Corfe, near Taunton, and there was urgent need for one of us to go home and put things right. So by degrees the conviction grew on us that my wife must go home. My financial position would not allow of my going, and as Sir Richard Temple was about to leave Bengal I hoped that my prospects would improve. Ravenshaw talked of taking leave, and under a new Lieutenant-Governor I might have a chance of succeeding him. It would not do for me to be absent at such a time, even if I had been able to afford it. So during the cold weather of 1876-7 I made my arrangements. The little girls were also, the elder of them at any rate, getting to an age when they could no longer stay in India. All things combined to force

us to separate. We felt it very keenly. We had never been parted for more than a few days at a time for eighteen years. But it had to be done for my wife's health and for the sake of the children.

But my preparations and our sorrows were, as was so often the case with officials, interrupted by a great public event. On the 1st January 1877 Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, held a magnificent Assembly at Delhi, at which all the great feudatory nobles, princes and territorial magnates attended in great pomp and splendour, with gay clothing, masses of diamonds and jewels, elephants and horses with gilded and jewelled trappings and all the brilliancy that can be imagined. The Viceroy was attended by quantities of troops, counsellors, heads of departments and others, not to omit a vast cloud of newspaper reporters and globetrotters. There with solemn state Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India.

In every part of India it was ordered that there should be a similar ceremony at the local capital. Cuttack, of course, was not going to be behindhand. So I was ordered to construct a tent big enough to hold all the people, great and small, who were to, be invited. So we set to work and erected a big pavilion on the plain in front of the Fort. It was made of poles and a roof of canvas, covered with red, blue and white calico, and wreathed in wreaths of green leaves and palm branches. Large numbers of flags waved from the top. Inside was a dais and rows of chairs for the notables. The floor was covered with-thick carpets, with a strip of scarlet cloth up the centre. Behind the dais was a gallery for the ladies. The Regiment supplied a guard of honour. Ravenshaw, in his blue and gold Windsor uniform, the Colonel in scarlet and gold, and this humble writer in plain morning dress sat on the dais, and a brilliant line of native Maharajas, Rajas and zemindars blazing with jewels sat on one side, while on the other were all the European officials and behind, on both sides, a large crowd of natives.

Then the Queen's proclamation was read, first in English, then in Oriya, and a Royal Salute (or something as near as we could get) was fired. The native chiefs arose one by one and were led before the Commissioner to salute and be saluted. Then the servants went

round with silver scent sprinklers and silver trays with betel nut in little packets, and every chief was duly sprinkled with attar of roses and presented with a packet of betel. Then the ceremony ended and all departed. The 'Kings of the Amorites who dwell in the hills' marched away surrounded by a small army of followers—we were obliged to limit each Mag to 100 followers, which gave some offence; Moyurbhanj had brought 600 with him—and a band discoursing barbaric, discordant music.

In the evening a social meeting was held in the same pavilios where the chief European officials and their wives met and did their best to be civil to the native chiefs, while nāch girls danced before them and sang native songs through their noses. This lasted till long past midnight when they all departed apparently well-pleased.

As soon as this business was over and we had picked up the pieces I went off to Calcutta with my wife and children—five girls—and saw them off on the steamer for England. Even at this distance of time I can recall the intense grief of that moment—I cannot dwell on it. A few days later I returned by sea to my empty home.

It was some compensation to me that a few weeks later Ravenshaw was appointed to officiate on the Board of Revenue, and I was appointed to act in his place as Commissioner of the Orissa Division. This promotion involved an increase of pay amounting to about £800 a year, making my total salary in round numbers £3,000 a year. But I had heavy debts to pay and the expense of a wife and eight children in England. The cost of the education of my three sons now began to weigh heavily. They had cost me up to that time £100 a year each, but they were now to cost a good deal more. In a very short time they began to cost close upon £200 a year each. As Commissioner I was obliged to entertain a good deal, and was expected to subscribe more than others to all kinds of objects. So my income did not do more than meet the demands upon me.

The promotion, however, did me good by presenting to me a great variety of new kinds of work. In addition to the three

districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Pooree, the Collectors of which were now under my orders, I was ex-officio Superintendent of the Tributary States; in other words a sort of bear leader to seventeen petty chieftains living in the hill country on the west of Orissa. I have not said much about these people as far as I remember, and a brief account of them may perhaps be interesting.

When the English conquered Orissa in 1803 with two regiments of native troops from Madras, the Marathas fled westwards through the hill country back to their own land. Our knowledge of the geography of Orissa was at that time so slight that Colonel Harcourt, who commanded the little force, did not venture to follow them. This did not much matter as they were caught by Sir Arthur Wellesley at Assaye, where they arrived in time to share in the crushing defeat of their nation. In the course, however, of his inquiries Colonel Harcourt and the Chief Commissioner, Mr Melvill, learnt of the existence of a number of independent or semi-independent chieftains, each ruling a small tract of territory in those wild hills. Not understanding the status of those men, and assuming them to be far more powerful than they really were, Harcourt and Melvill executed on behalf of the British Government treaties of alliance with each of them, by virtue of which they were to be confirmed in their possessions on payment of a *peshkash*, or small annual tribute. One cannot read without a smile in these treaties a solemn promise on the part of each of these microscopic potentates not to wage war against the British Government—as though a gnat should promise not to fight an elephant. In later times, when we knew all about these people, it was seen what a mistake we had made in treating them as independent potentates. A careful study of the records and documents subsequently discovered proved beyond a doubt that those hill chiefs had been from the earliest times feudal vassals of the Kings of Orissa, under whom they held their land chiefly on the tenure of military service. This they themselves now frankly admit. They say we knew this all along, and everyone in Orissa knew it, but if Colonel Harcourt was good enough to grant us the position of independent rulers it was not our business to undeceive

him. In spite of their treaties they willingly consented to be treated as vassals, provided their *peshkash* or tribute were not increased. They were then placed under the general management of the Commissioner of Orissa who was ordered, as Superintendent, to control them, guide them, elevate them and so forth.

At the same time he was not given any power over them. The Government, by the treaties, had cut itself off from exercising any power, and so could not delegate to the Commisioner what it did not possess itself. He was directed to keep them in the paths of virtue by his 'moral influence'. Here was a strange problem, and it is wonderful how it was solved. It is typical of the way we have managed to rule India. First a minute of instructions was drawn up and issued by the Government of India. The chiefs were not asked whether they approved of these rules or not. They were merely told that these rules would be enforced in future. How they were to be enforced was not stated, but by this time we had learnt how petty and powerless the chiefs were, and they had learnt how overwhelmingly powerful we were, so there was no necessity to enter into the question of how obedience was to be enforced. But the 'how' was illustrated by events which happened shortly after the promulgation of the rules. The Rajas of Angul and Banki, two of these chiefs, after a long course of gross tyranny and oppression of their subjects refused to obey the British Government. Angul eves went so far as to get up a small armed force for the purpose of rebellion Whereupon a handful of Sepoys was sent to Angul, the Raja was seized and deposited in the Cuttack jail where he soon afterwards died, having, I learn, shown unmistakable signs of insanity. The territory of Angul was annexed and governed thenceforth by a British official. A similar fate befell Banki, which was also annexed.

With these object lessons before them the other chiefs have ever since been perfectly submissive.

The system in force in 1877 when I took charge was as follows. The Rajas were allowed the general administration of their territories, but any of their subjects who felt himself aggrieved by any act of his Raja might appear to the Commissioner, who asked

for an explanation from the Raja, and finally decided what ought to be done and communicated his decision to the Raja. If the Raja had refused to obey, no one exactly knew what would have happened. But it was tacitly understood that he would not refuse and, as a matter of fact, he knew better than to do so. This is what is called 'moral influence'. When backed by bayonets it is a great power. Moreover each Raja had a minister. This is a very ancient native institution. Far back in dim antiquity, in the most ancient books of the sacred Hindu law, the institution of the Mantri or Brahmin minister beside the Raja is found, and terrible are the Spiritual punishments denounced against a Raja who refuses to follow the guidance of his Mantri. Ravenshaw and his predecessors had in a great number of cases induced the Rajas to appoint as Mantri persons of their own choosing, and by selecting men who were natives of British territory and had in many instances served in our courts and offices, they secured a partisan at every Raja's Court, and one, moreover, who could be relied on to keep his Raja straight. The power of sentencing men to death was withdrawn from the Chiefs, because it was found that their ideas on this subject were not in accordance with modern views. For instance, being all rigid Hindus by religion—though several of them were of non-Aryan or aboriginal descent—they considered the killing of a cow a heinous offence and one punishable by death. In several places also the practice of human sacrifices was still in force. All murder cases therefore had to be tried by the Commissioner, and if a sentence of hanging were pronounced it had to be sent up, to Government to be confirmed.

A curious instance of the survival of human sacrifice occurred in Keonjhar, one of the largest of these petty states. It had been from ancient times the custom that the Raja, at a particular stage of the very long and intricate ceremony of coronation, should have a man brought before him, should draw his sword and slay the man. A grant of rent-free land was then given to the man's heirs as compensation. But on the first occasion of the accession of a Raja to the throne of Keonjhar after the issue of the rules above-mentioned, the Commissioner, who was present at the

ceremony, forbade this part of it. Much discontent on the part of the young Raja and all his family and court was caused, but of course the Commissioner stood firm. After long discussion it was arranged that the man should be brought before the Raja as usual, the Raja was then to draw his sword and make a cut at the man, who was to fall down as if dead, and to be at once carried off by the attendants. He was then to disappear from the Raja's territory, and to be carefully on his guard never thereafter to approach the Raja or be seen by him. He was in fact to be reckoned as dead. This compromise satisfied, or seemed to satisfy, all concerned.

There were in all seventeen of these Rajas; their territories varied in extent. Those of Moyurbhanj (sometimes erroneously written Mohurb-hunge) and Keonjhar in the north of Orissa were very extensive, perhaps about 3,000 square miles in extent. Dhenkanal in the centre was about 2,000. The rest were much smaller. One or two of them in fact, such as Baramba and Tigaria, consisted of only about two dozen villages. In each, however, there was a large fortified residence (called a Garh = Fort) for the Raja, and from this cause they were collectively known as the Gurhjat, i.e. the Forts.

I had not been long in charge before a case occurred in one of these Gurhjat. The Raja of Daspala, one of the worst of the lot, took a fancy to a married woman, the wife of one of his subjects. He had her brought into his zenana, and when the husband complained he was banished from the ten-square miles or so which constituted the Kingdom of Daspala, and threatened with death if he returned. So he wandered away homeless. His house and all it contained were confiscated by the Raja's retainers. But in his wanderings the wretched man came across people who were not afraid of His Majesty of Daspala, and advised him to return and boldly claim his wife and property, and if they were not given up to him to go to Cuttack and complain to the Barà Sahib. So he plucked up courage and went to Daspala. But as soon as he appeared he was arrested by the Raja's orders, taken into the Garh, stripped and branded all over the body with red-hot irons. He fainted, and his insensible body was cast out on the sandy bank of the river. At

night, however, some of his relations came secretly, put him into a boat and carried him to Cuttack where he was received into the hospital and healed. Then he came to me with his story, and showed his back and thighs covered with long black streaks where he had been branded.

This was a more outrageous case than ordinary. I therefore took strong measures. I deposed the Raja and sent the order for his deposition by the Superintendent of police, Poole, with a guard of native police. Poole was instructed to tell the Raja that if he made the least opposition to the police, I should send the regiment of Sepoys from Cuttack. The Raja was a little insolent, but finally assured Mr Poole that his accuser was lying, and that he would go into Cuttack and explain the matter to me. Meanwhile the man's witnesses had been sent for, and on the Raja's arrival I tried the case in the usual way. The Raja's guilt was dearly proved and also the complicity of his minister and officials. I sent up a trustworthy man to conduct the administration and dismissed the Dewan and chief officials. In the course of the trial it came out that the Raja's rule had for some time past been scandalously tyrannous as well as corrupt. I therefore detained him in Cuaack and reported the case to Government, recommending that the Raja should be deposed and the administration carried on by a British officer until the Raja's son, a minor, should come of age and assume the management. I gave the past history of the man, showed how repeatedly his bad conduct had been noticed by my predecessors, and how he had persistently disregarded their remonstrances. The general disorder, mismanagement and wretched condition of his subjects resulting from his oppression were also pointed out. The Rajá was in great terror. He was a big, black, bloated, unwholesome-looking beast, and his fear made him look even worse than nature intended. He came to my house, flung himself at my feet, tore off his turban and tried to place my foot on his head, and wailed and howled so that I was obliged to have him removed by my attendants. In his terror he released the woman, sent her back to her husband adorned with jewels, sent him a big bag of money and a deed,

duly signed and sealed, conferring on him a large piece of land rent-free for ever.

The Government were inclined to follow my advice, but doubted whether they had power actually to depose the man. I did not think they had myself, but the temporary deposal effected my object just as well as a permanent one. Ravenshaw, being in Calcutta, was consulted and gave his opinion against deposition, though admitting that the wretch deserved condign punishment. Eventually it was ordered that the Raja should not be actually, deposed, but that he should for a time be suspended from the administration of his State, which was to remain in the hands of the man sent by me. The Raja got a very severe scolding, which he did not mind in the least, and was threatened that *next time* he would be deposed and probably imprisoned.

With many of these Rajas threats and admonitions were useless, because they had not the wits to understand what was expected of them. They were wild, jungly, uncivilized creatures, mere savages in fact. Others were more intelligent and educated. Much good was done by the Superintendent's tours. He went round every year and inspected the Raja's Court and offices blaming or praising as the case might be, indicating improvements and so on. By this means a rough sort of administration, quite as civilized as the people were fitted for, was maintained, and the mistake was avoided of trying to govern on principles of the highest cultivation a primitive people living in the forests, many of whom wore no clothing but the leaves of trees, and lived on roots and such game as they could shoot with their rude bows and arrows.

I gained much insight into the habits and manners of the Gurhjat people by an incident which occurred this year. The Maharaja of Dhenkanal was one of the richest of the Gurhjat chiefs. His territory was the third in extent, and though a good deal of it was covered, with forests, there was a large extent of cultivation and the people were prosperous under his rule. He had built himself a large and imposing palace in European style—he supposed it to be a facsimile of the Commissioner's residence, the Lal Bagh, at Cuttack. The

sanitation of his town of Dhenkanal was well attended to and he had built and maintained a hospital, a school and a guest house. He was an immense man weighing twenty-two stone—but big as he was he was a keen sportsman, and used to be carried into the forest to shoot tigers in a vast octagonal sort of couch or chair on poles borne by twenty-four men. For some years he had been a sufferer from some internal disease, and to ease his pain he indulged in the national habit of taking opium in pills. Stewart, the doctor at Cuttack, had been trying to reduce the amount of opium that he took, and had instructed him, when an attack of pain from his internal disease came on, to take some medicine (I forget what) instead of morphia. One night the Maharaja woke up in pain, and finding none of the drug recommended by Stewart in his room, sent a man down to the hospital for some. The native doctor in charge—a Bengali—woken up in the middle of the night, went sleepily with a lamp to his dispensing room, took-down what he thought was the proper bottle, measured out a sufficient quantity and sent it up to the Palace. The Maharaja took it, and then discovered by the taste that it was the wrong stuff! He began to be very ill and in fearful pain. Mounted messengers were sent off at once to Stewart in Cuttack (fifty miles off) to beg him to come at once. Stewart packed up his stomach-pump, got on his horse and rode off. He arrived in time, though the poor old Raja's limbs were getting blue and livid. By applying the proper remedies he was brought round at last. Stewart then asked to see the bottle and discovered that it was a poison.¹¹ He at once started off to the dispensary to question the native doctor, but on arriving there found that he had disappeared ! When the news that the Raja had been poisoned reached the dispensary, the timid Bengali, knowing that he was the cause of the accident, was panic-stricken. He rushed out of the building into the darkness, and was never seen again. A hue and cry was raised, detectives were employed, inquiries were made in all directions, even in his native place in Bengal, but that native doctor was never found. The people of Dhenkanal unanimously believe that he wandered into the jungle which lies dense all round their little town, and was killed and eaten by the tigers and other wild beasts which abound there. This

is highly probable, and to look for a dead man's bones in the jungle would be to search for a needle in a bundle of hay. All we could say was that he had disappeared.

The Maharaja, recovered for the moment, but the shock to his health was serious. He did not long survive it, dying some two or three months later. He left only one son, a minor, and his State therefore was taken charge of by Government in the same way as Court of Wards management. I had to go there and inquire into everything, from the finances and Courts of Justice to the Palace cooking-pots; and to arrange a scheme for the future management of the State, and the maintenance of the deceased Maharaja's family, and the education and care of the minor.

Had this been an ordinary zemindari, the task would have been easy enough, and such as I had done often before. But in the first place we had no legal right at all to interfere in a Tributary (as it was called) and quasi-independent State, and secondly the wishes and feelings and superstitions and pride and crazes of all lands of the Royal Family, as well as of the population of the State, had to be considered. Financially Dhenkanal was highly prosperous, the revenues though not large were respectable, the late Maharaja had been a prudent and moderate man and an excellent administrator; his only extravagance consisted in lavish (but not reckless) generosity to all around him. But the very excellencies of his character caused a difficulty. He had a long reign and had so endeared himself to his people that they could not endure to see any of his arrangements altered in the least. Every suggestion for improvement was met by the most determined opposition.

Ultimately I concluded to leave well alone, not thinking that it was judicious to insist on mere technical improvements at the risk of wounding the laudable, if mistaken, feelings of the people.

As to the family, they did not count. There was, at the back of the Palace, it is true, a large, gloomy building surrounding a big courtyard in which I was told there were some sixty-odd females composing the late Prince's harem. But it was matter of common notoriety that the state of his health had prevented him for many years past from frequenting the society of his wives, and I was told

by the Palace servants that he never even visited the harem.

It further appeared that it was customary among these Orissa princes when a Raja died to disperse his harem, and to allow the ladies to go away and marry again—provided only that they had not borne any children to the deceased. Those who had, had to remain and were entitled to maintenance for their lifetime. As there was only one child, the minor, it was feasible to make a considerable clearance of the gloomy building. A large reduction was also made in the Palace servants, whose name was Legion. The system of payment and employment of these was curious. For every post there were two tenants, two head footmen, two head cooks (Brahmins). On asking the reason of this I learnt that all the servants without exception were paid, not in cash, but by grants of rent-free land, and it was necessary to have two men for each post so that one might be away tilling the land while the other was on duty at the Palace. They took it in turn like Lords-in-Waiting to the Queen. Even the twenty-four men whose duty it was to carry the Raja in his big travelling couch were in reality forty-eight—half of whom were on duty at a time while the other half were away farming their lands. A strange system but, as no one got any money, it was not expensive. Land was plentiful enough in those sparsely peopled jungles.

After a stay of some days busily engaged in settling and arranging everything, I returned to Cuttack. I find in one of my letters to Elliot, written immediately after my return home, a description of this journey. I copy it here, as it is a good instance of the difficulties of travelling during the rains in some parts of India. The whole distance was only about fifty miles.

‘Cuttack. August 31. 1877.

‘Left Dhankanal at seven last night, and only just got too far to go back when down it came—heavy rain like hail—thunder and lightning walloping all round. The bearers don’t wear much clothes, and they seemed not to like it on their skins. However, just as they were giving in up came the Jemadar with a lantern in his hand, which he informed me he had snatched up from the Raja’s own room on seeing the rain. It was a wonderful affair with panes of red

and blue glass which shed a ghastly light on the thick forest on either hand. This amazing little man who is a Pachima¹² or up-country man (quite a title of honour down here), is a small ex-sowar Musalman and consists of a pair of extensive boots, a sword, a medal and a voice. By aim of calling the bearers alternately "beta" and "betich—" ¹³ and much shrieking and galloping to and fro he induced them to go on. At last we came to a nullah, nothing at all usually, but now a deep, roaring torrent. There was nothing to be done but to put the pàlki down and send back to Dhenkanal for an elephant. As I sat boxed up, smoking a pipe amidst the warfare of the elements, with the shivering bearers crouching under the trees, smoking one cigar of mine among them and the ram rattling down on the palki roof, and one small, cold thread of wet slowly creeping under one thigh from a crack in the door, it occurred to me that my lines on Dhenkanal in my last letter did not quite hit off the correct pronunciation of the word. Bawl does *not* rhyme with Dhenkanàl. It occurred to me that the language of "our lively neighbours" (as the newspapers say) would hit off the sound better.

So I improvised this :

*Fe suis parti de Dhenkanàl
 Par un chemin très-inégal
 Un gros orage tropical
 Versait son torrent pluviale
 Et tout autour de Dhenkanàl
 Hurlaient les loups at les chacals.
 Les sentirs de Dhenkanal
 Mènent à la foret virginale
 Dont les bocages fleuris exhalent
 Un parfum très-original.*

(There is a lot more, but this may suffice—the page is torn off.) 'After this arrove two elephants. The bigger of the two really a fine beast, a mighty tusker full ten feet high. They hoisted my pàlki bodily on to his back, crosswise, the two poles almost touching the trees. I mounted the lesser beast. It was one of those weird Rembrandt pictures one sees occasionally. Figure to yourself a narrow road shaded by tall trees and bordered by dense jungle.

Crossing it a very black nasty-looking nullah with steep sides altogether uncanny and dangerous looking. Moonlight, but very sickly and fitful owing to the heavy, slow-moving clouds. In front in the rift between the trees, a big elephant looking double his size in the strange, uncertain light with a palki towering higher still; behind, a confused glare of torches and crowds of dusky men crossing the nullah in batches on the other elephant. Can't you see the scene ? Its weird effects of light and shade, great black masses with points of light here and there and the mysterious, sickly moonlight over all. If in addition you had your feet wet, as well as half your right leg were rather sleepy and shaken to pieces, were anxious about the safety of your office-box on the head of a naked savage fording the stream with water up to his armpits, and were in addition aware of some ten nullahs, all unbridged plus the vast Mahanadi between you and Cuttack, you would be in a position to appreciate all the ghastly grandeur of the scene. Fortunately I had a brandy-flask with me and partook thereof, also thanks to the indefatigable Jemadar, his boots and his voice, we passed unscathed through all the perils of the road and at dawn reached the Mahanadi where lay the *Pioneer*. A table on deck with shining tablecloth, eggs, toast, tea, and other necessaries greeted me there, and I was safe at home by eight o'clock.'

Another serious case which occurred this year arose from the misconduct of the highest native prince in Orissa. It was extremely difficult to deal with owing to the exalted rank and peculiarly sacred position of the culprit, who though in reality a silly, debauched, half-witted boy, was regarded by the Hindus of Orissa as a living embodiment of their great God Jagannath. The ancient Kingdom of Orissa had been ruled by a long succession of dynasties till the Mahomedan conquest in the sixteenth century. When that cataclysm took place, the sovereign, fleeing from his capital of Cuttack, took refuge in the difficult hill country to the south-west, where he and his successors maintained a precarious semi-independent position at Khurda until the days of British rule. Their vicissitudes and family history are too varied and complicated to be here related. It may suffice to say that the British Government,

in accordance with its invariable practice of recognizing all just claims, allowed the Raja of Khurda as we called him—the King of Orissa as the people considered him—to enjoy the revenues of several very large and fertile pargannahs (= counties), partly for his own maintenance, and partly for the support of the celebrated temple of Jagannath at Pooree, the well-known place of pilgrimage. This temple was founded by a King of Orissa in the twelfth century, and subsequent kings had protected it, given it large endowments, and held it as their chief glory to be reckoned among the servants of the god. On the day of the great festival when Jagannath rides abroad in his Car, the King sweeps the steps in front of the temple with a golden broom.

It was found necessary to remove the King from his mountain retreat at Khurda, to place the administration of his estates in the hands of Government officials, who merely handed over to him the revenues they collected, and to settle him and his family in a large and handsome palace in the town of Pooree close to the temple, of which he was still the recognized and acknowledged guardian and chief manager. Certain duties were imposed upon him in this capacity, chief among which was that of keeping order among the vast crowds of pilgrims who flocked every year to the festivals, especially to the crowning solemnity of all, the Car Festival. On this occasion it was his duty to enrol a large number of special constables to prevent overcrowding and admit the pilgrims to the temple in order. He was also bound to arrange with the numerous priests within the vast enclosure of the temple as to the times and order of celebration of the various pujas or sacrifices, so that the pilgrims might be able to attend them and perform their religious ceremonies without hindrance or confusion. The task was a difficult one owing to the immense crowds, generally about a million people, men and women, who assembled on those occasions; also on account of the intricacy of the ceremonies which each pilgrim had to perform, and more than all on account of the shameless rapacity of the temple priests, who levied fees from the pilgrims at every stage of the proceedings and sometimes stopped the ceremonies until they were paid, thus

causing extreme confusion among the crowds who were pressing in with frantic shouts and every kind of extravagant enthusiasm.

The interior of the temple was cut up into numerous courtyards divided by high stone walls pierced by narrow doorways. In each court were two or three shrines. The pilgrims had to visit each of these in succession, and as they could not find their way through this labyrinth unaided there was a large number of official guides or pariharis, each of whom took charge of a batch of pilgrims and piloted them through courtyard, after courtyard, till they finally reached the shrine of the great Jagannath, worshipped there and were sent away through a side door. No European and no native in European dress might enter the temple, but to keep order inside and see that all the arrangements were properly carried out, a native Deputy Magistrate dressed in native costume of simple waist-cloth and scarf (*dhoti* and *chadar*), bare-headed, barefooted, was allowed to enter and remain in the temple till all the pilgrims had passed through. At every shrine the pariharis demanded a fee from the pilgrims and refused to let them pass till it was paid. It was the Deputy Magistrate's very difficult duty to insist on the pilgrims being allowed to pass without being too severely fleeced. Outside the temple, in addition to the Maharaja's special constables, the Magistrate and District Superintendent of police collected a large force of police. The approach to the Lion Gate, lie entrance to the temple, was barricaded with strong posts fixed firmly in the ground forming a narrow lane, so that the pilgrims had to form a queue, and enter one by one. These precautions sufficed in ordinary years, and no accidents had occurred for a long time past. It is a vulgar error to suppose that people throw themselves under the wheels of Jagannath's Car and are crushed to death. Such an event never happens, and if it ever did happen in former times—which is strenuously denied by the priests—it must have been from some leper or other diseased wretch suddenly breaking through the cordon, and flinging himself before the Car so suddenly that those who drew it could not stop it before it had passed over the body of the suppliant. But so averse is the spirit of Vishnu worship¹⁴ from the shedding of blood, that if such an event had ever happened it

would have been regarded as a serious calamity, and the ceremonial un purity thereby caused would have had to be expiated by many costly sacrifices.

In the present day the road down which the Car passes is fenced on both sides, and a continuous line of police guards the whole route—about a mile in length. Moreover the front of the Car is armed with a powerful ‘cow-catcher’ such as are used on railway engines, which would effectually prevent any body of man or animal being crushed under the wheels.

I have never been able to discover how this extraordinary error about the Car of Jagannath arose.

But to return to my narrative. In the year 1877 there occurred, according to the calculations of the Brahmin astrologers of Benares, a conjunction of stars which only happens once in a hundred or more years. The year in which such a conjunction happens is specially sacred and those who make the pilgrimage to the shrine of Jagannath reap special benefits. In such a year, therefore, an unusually large concourse of pilgrims might be expected. The Benares Pandits wrote to the Maharaja to inform him, so that he might make extra preparations. The Maharaja, however, consulted the Pooree astrologers and they asserted that the Benares men were wrong, and that no such conjunction of planets would take place that year. It was in vain that some sensible men represented to the silly boy that all northern India believed in the Brahmins of Benares and would be guided by them, so that whether they were right or wrong the announcement which they made of a specially holy year was sure to be widely believed, and the rash of pilgrims would be immense. He obstinately stuck to the opinion of his Pooree astrologers and refused to make any preparations beyond the ordinary.

When the time came, an unprecedented large number of pilgrims arrived and terrible confusion ensued. Joseph Armstrong, the Magistrate, with as large a force of police as he could muster, sat on his horse all night before the Lion Gate keeping back the great surging multitude who filled the broad, open space as far as the eye could reach, all eagerly pressing into the temple. At

midnight a new day would begin and the religious merit of visiting the god would be over. All day they had been crowding in, but at nightfall there were still thousands eagerly pressing forward ere it was too late. Half a dozen times Armstrong sent messengers to the Raja for help. But though the boy had a large number of guards in the palace he refused to send any of them, alleging that he required them all for his own protection, which was nonsense as no one even dreamt of attacking him. Nor would he come out and address the crowd, a step which would have had great effect owing to the veneration with which his person was regarded. He had already caused great confusion by delaying earlier in the day to send to the Head Priest permission to begin certain sacrifices. This he did because at that moment an enormously wealthy merchant was with him, who offered a large sum for the privilege of being the first to enter the temple, which ensures certain special spiritual benefits. The Maharaja and the merchant could not agree as to the sum to be paid for this privilege, and while they were haggling the worship was delayed. This made the crowd still more impatient. At last, towards midnight, the crowd grew unmanageable. The District Superintendent of police was thrown from his horse and badly trampled upon. Armstrong only saved himself by freely using a stout blackthorn cudgel which he had brought from his native Antrim. The mass of men and women stormed the barrier and rushed into the entrance hall of the temple. Thence they had to go by a narrow passage into the first court. The pariharis in fear shut the door and a crowd jammed into the dark, closed passage. Then someone from within shouted a command to open the door. It was opened and the pent-up crowd, thrust forward by those behind, poured itself into the court. The foremost pilgrims were thrown down, trampled upon and killed. The frightened pariharis seeing blood flowing, fled shrieking that men had been killed. The rumour spread through all the temple courts. The doorkeepers at the Lion Gate, men specially selected for their great strength—eight stalwart Brahmins—by a mighty effort thrust back the crowd and banged the great doors together.

The Brahmin cooks who had just finished cooking the sacred food for the god, hearing the cry that blood had been shed in the temple, at once threw all the food away as defiled, and standing on the top of the walls near their cook rooms, shouted to the crowd below that all was over—the temple was defiled—the pilgrimage was useless—the festival was at an end.

A wail of disappointment and despair went up from the vast crowd, and it was a very difficult matter to induce them to go away. It was daylight before this was accomplished and the Deputy Magistrate could get out of the temple to tell Armstrong exactly what had happened. Six men, I think, had been crushed to death at one door and one or two others in other places, and nearly a million people had journeyed hundreds of miles for nothing, the sacred precincts had been defiled by blood, costly expiatory rites would be necessary—and all this because a half imbecile boy would not do his duty. When they went to tell him of the accident, he was so drunk he could not understand what was said to him.

As soon as the news of this catastrophe reached me, I reported it to Government and at once started for Pooree to inquire into the matter. I held a long and careful investigation in which I was well supported by the High Priest, a genial, highly educated old man. He rivalled the old Maharaja of Dhenkanal in size and boasted that he was ten or fifteen pounds heavier. He was furious with the Maharaja of Pooree for his mismanagement. The temple priests, however, perjured themselves freely; though they had suffered from the accident and knew that it was the Maharaja's fault, their traditional veneration for the 'Walking Vishnu' led them to lie their best to screen him. From the boy himself I could get nothing but incoherent mumblings.

The result of the inquiry was to establish his guilt. It was difficult to know how to punish him. We could not well take from him his hereditary functions in connexion with the temple. No living Hindu would have dared to usurp his place. Eventually the Viceroy deprived him of his title of Maharaja, and ordered that he was to be called Raja merely. This, of course, did not affect him in the least. It could not matter to him or to the people of Orissa what a handful of foreigners might choose to call him. To himself and his people

he would always remain their liege lord and an incarnation of Vishnu.

Nemesis overtook him, however, soon after. Being displeased with an old fakir who visited him at Pooree, he ordered him to be put to the torture in a particularly brutal fashion and then thrown over the palace wall into a lane behind. The police patrol passing by the head of the lane at night heard groans, and by the light of their bull's eyes discovered the old man nearly dead. They carried him to the hospital where he lingered long enough to make a dying deposition to a Magistrate. The Maharaja was arrested, tried and sentenced to imprisonment for life. He is now, if still alive, at the convict prison on the Andaman Islands. Immense excitement was aroused all over Orissa and crowds assembled round the Judge's court every day during the trial. The boy was smuggled away at night with a strong guard to the steamer. No actual outbreak occurred, though the authorities fully expected it and had taken their measures accordingly. But the Oriyas are too timid for actual *émeutes*. The Maharaja had a son who was placed in charge of the Court of Wards, and has probably by this time succeeded to his father's rank and position.

After this I went for a tour along the beautiful shores of the Chilka Lake, and spent some time at Khurda working hard at the settlement of the revenue and rent arrangements of the estate. It is a wild, romantic, hilly country inhabited by a strangely backward old-world race. I regretted I had no time to stay longer among them and study their quaint customs and old traditions. I had, however, time to visit the Buddhist monastery at Khandagiri, which consists of ranges of caves hollowed out of the red sandstone rock and beautifully carved. I also visited the far-famed rock of Dhauli whereon is still to be seen the long inscription carved by order of King Asoka, the great propagator of Buddhism, in A.D. 240. The inscription has often been copied and translated, the letters are still, after the lapse of two thousand years, quite clear and legible. A few miles off stands the majestic temple of Siva at Bhuvaneswar. The creed of Siva displaced Buddhism, only to be displaced in its turn by the now all-prevalent cult of Vishnu, whose temple at Pooree attracts yearly a thousand times as many votaries as the grander but

neglected Bhuvaneswar.

I next paid a visit to my old district of Balasore, where the good folk received me very cordially. They illuminated the town and station, had fireworks, 'nâches' and feastings. This made my successor rather jealous, and he had the bad taste to refuse to take part in the rejoicings.

In November my dear wife came back, bringing our two youngest children, Gertrude aged five and Angela aged two; also an English nurse, a Dorsetshire girl, Emma Gale. Much to my disgust, moreover, Ravenshaw came back also a few days later. We had hoped that he would not return, and I had rather set my heart on being made permanent Commissioner of Orissa—*sed dis aliter visum*. Sir Ashley Eden, the Lieutenant-Governor who had succeeded Temple, thought that I had been too long in Orissa, and at the beginning of 1878 transferred me as Commissioner and Judge to Chittagong.

I was bitterly disappointed at leaving Orissa, to which I had grown very much attached, and I feared Chittagong which had an evil reputation for unhealthiness. But of course there was no help for it. We sold most of our furniture, packed up the rest, and on the 14th February 1878 left Orissa after a residence there of nine years.



1. He was familiarly known as 'Hookey Walker'. It may be necessary to explain to posterity that 'Hookey Walker', like 'Cheeks the Marine', 'Jim Crow' and other similar terms, was the name of some imaginary person popularly used by the street boys in the 'forties and 'fifties. He seems to have died out of the gamin memory now.

2. False Point was so called because some forty miles to the north of it was Point Palmyras, at the mouth of the Brahmani River, a well-known landmark for vessels sailing up the Bay of Bengal. The point at the mouth of the Mahanadi was often mistaken for point Palmyras and ships were wrecked in consequence. So it got to be known as the false Point Palmyras, and finally as False Point.

3. The name was more native than they thought. For hukki is an Oriya word for a white-ants' nest and tola is a very common termination of names of villages in all parts of India. It means originally a 'market' from the root tul—'to weigh'.

4. I saw the tigers myself on one occasion, but the wall of the cattle-yard was about eight feet high. I will not say positively that a tiger could not leap so high, but I do not think he could leap out again with a full-grown cow in his jaws.

5. Cf Charlotte having seen his body
 Borne before her on a shutter
 Like a well-behaved young lady
 Went on cutting bread and butter.

6. In India generally, an official who keeps registered of rent-payers. In Orissa, a native land-surveyor and estate-agent. An educated man who ought to have known better than the ignorant grass-cutters.

7. He was not under my orders, but as the place of the shipwreck was on the boundary of our respective districts, and as he had no powers or experience in maritime matters, he threw the responsibility on to my shoulders, though it was his police who had arrested the men.

Kālapahār was the first Musulman invader of Orissa, A.D. 1570.

9. See Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xliv, p. 19, 1875.

10. Oddly enough the Portuguese got hold of this word and applied it to the counsellors of the Emperor of China in the form Mandarin ! The Persias word 'Dewan' is now ordinarily applied to designate the Mantri, even by Hindu Rajas.

11. The stuff the Raja ought to have taken was 'hydro'—something, and the stuff which the native doctor sent him was 'hydro'—something else and a deadly poison. In examining the bottles on the dispensary shelves afterwards, Stewart found several bottles of 'hydro' this and 'hydro' that dose to one another, so arranged that only the word 'hydro' on the label was visible, the rest of the label being hidden by the neighbouring bottle. It was a pure mistake and the native doctor need not have been so frightened about it. But then he was a Bengali, and Bengalis are the funkiest race in the world.

12. achima means a man from the North-Western Provinces. They are much looked up to for their superior valour by the unwarlike Bengalees and Onyas, 'Ex-sowar' means that he had formerly been a trooper in a Cavalry Regiment.

13. Beta=son and 'betich—' (I do not give it in full) a peculiarly obscene term of abuse very common among natives.

14. Jagannath means Lord of the World. It is a name of Krishna, the well-known incarnation of the god Vishnu.

CHITTAGONG, 1878-1879

Among my letters to Elliot I find one which gives the account of our voyage to Chittagong far more vividly than I could write it now from memory after the lapse of twenty-two years. I will, therefore, insert it here. It is dated 27 February 1878.

'Arrove this morning and found your letter. Where did I leave off, and how shall I begin the long and varied tale of our wanderings and vicissitudes? Breaking up our beautiful house and garden was *too* heartrending. It was so stately and handsome with all the new things my wife had brought from home. However we packed away and, sold our furniture. Then came the last day—the parting at Jobra Ghât. There was a very-large crowd, to see us off, both of natives and Europeans. Many cried—we were all very much affected and I felt very much like crying myself. My wife wept copiously, and so we steamed away with waving of hats and handkerchiefs till we were out of sight. We were delayed four days at False Point by the steamer being late and inconsequence only had three days in Calcutta, one of which was Sunday, so there was much running to and fro, much to do and very little time to do it in. We put up with old Stalkartt at Goosery near Howrah.



Appendix

Extracts from *Oriya Grammar for English Students*, Printed at Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1874

— E.C.B. Hallam

Preface

The author feels no little diffidence in presenting this little work, his first effort at book-making, to the public. Nothing but the pressing necessity, as he thinks, for such a work, would have induced him to undertake it, and even then had he observed any move towards it by more experienced and abler hands he would gladly have left it to them. But as no such effort has been made, and as one or two personal friends have urged it upon him, he has at length been induced to understand it. The result is before the reader.

If the work has any excellencies, the writer cheerfully acknowledges that they are fairly attributable to the kind, generous, and faithful criticism of his friend J. Beames, Esq., M.B.A.S., who has kindly aided very materially in the work by carefully criticising almost every page, and thus giving the writer the benefit of his profound knowledge of the cognate languages now spoken in India. Nothing need be said here on Mr. Beames' ability as an Oriental scholar; he is too well known and widely known both here and in England to require a single word from the writer. Suffice it to say that he is simply desirous to express thus publicly his grateful appreciation of Mr. Beames' invaluable aid and kind encouragement in the accomplishment of his work.

The Oriya language is as yet, in such an undeveloped state, that a philosophical and complete grammar of it is by no means easy of accomplishment. Experienced missionaries, who have made the language practically their own, have told the writer that they considered such a work among the impossibles until the language should be more developed and settled. With this admitted

difficulty before him the writer has attempted the work; with what success, the public must decide.

It is probable that some who scan this work, may object to what will appear to them to be innovations. For instance, the retention of the pronouns in the true Singular, which have been rejected by the modern pundits as "Inferior", as also the true Singular of the verb, which of course is also retained. It is hoped, however that none whose ideas are progressive, and who have any claim to a philosophical knowledge of Oriya, and the beautiful language from which it is derived, will at all object to the matter or its arrangement. Should such an one happen to take up this book, he is referred to the table¹ accompanying the chapter on pronouns, and another in the appendix, which will clearly prove that the rejected pronouns, and the singular of the verb (both still in use among the peasants of Orissa), come in direct line from Prakrit. This should be enough to convince any one of the propriety of their retention in a grammar of the language. The Pundits have so far succeeded in excluding the true singular both of pronouns and verbs, from modern literary circles, as to render it absolutely necessary to retain their Honorific Singular; and, for the same reason, the Modern double Plural cannot be dispensed with; all, therefore, are retained and this surely ought to satisfy the most fustidious.

The Predicate Principle in the ante has given students of Oriya, perhaps, more trouble than almost any other peculiar form in the language, brought to bear upon this point has very materially aided the writer in coming to the conclusion given in the body of the work. As stated in the note in this principle in the appendix, the author during 15 years experience, 10 of which were spent in Orissa proper, had heard this form used in three different senses. There is no room to question that it was originally the locative case of the present principle in Prakrit; but the other cases having fallen into dis-use it takes its place in modern Oriya among the participles as Predicate Participle, and means "in or whilst" (doing, or being, &c, &c); but it also, in certain connexions equivalent to the "Ablative Absolute" or the "Future Infite" of

the Latin. If the result of the writer's experience and investigation on this subject should in any way tend to a better solution of this practical difficulty which all translators meet, none will be more gratified than he.

In one or two instances new terms have been introduced (see "notes" in the appendix), but it is hoped that the etymology is sufficiently clear and justify the use made of them in every case. It is a long time since a new work of this kind has appeared; and, so far as the writer is aware, this one is much more full and comprehensive than its predecessors; nevertheless he is not ambitious enough to desire or expect more for this effort than the bare acknowledgement, that it is a step in advance of previous works.

If its appearance should provoke an abler hand to take up the work and give us a book that shall throw this one altogether into the shade, none will more heartily rejoice than the writer. Anything but stagnation, let us have progression.

As an inexperienced writer the author claims the indulgence of the public, especially of those who read with a critical eye.

Since the work was finished few improvements have suggested themselves to him, and should it ever go through a second edition, he hopes to improve and enlarge it.

It is hoped that it will, in the meantime prove of some little use to those whose duty leads them to the study of Oriya.

The thanks of the author are also due to Babu P.M. Senaputty, and Babu G.C. Patnaik, both of Balasore, for specimens of prose, poetry, and cutcherry Oriya.

E.C.B.H.

Midnapore

July, 2nd, 1872



1. I am indebted to my friend Mr Beames for these tables

Section-D

REPORTS, CORRESPONDENCES AND NOTES

*The Annual General Report of the Orissa Division
for the year, 1872-73*

THE Lieutenant-Governor's very best thanks are due to Mr Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of Orissa, for his full, exhaustive, and interesting report, showing as it does how thoroughly he has entered into the many questions affecting the welfare of the people, and how much he has carried his officers along with him in his administration. If he expresses himself somewhat too strongly when he differs from the views of Government, His Honor may accept his testimony as all the more valuable, when he gives an honest and discriminating account of those things in which success has been attained more or less completely. Mr Beames, the Magistrate of Balasore, has very largely contributed to the interest of the report.

Condition of the people : After a very careful consideration of the report, the Lieutenant Governor's feeling is one of decided satisfaction. It shows us that the people are on the whole comparatively prosperous and well off; that their condition is improving; and that so far the general outcome of the various administrative reforms is encouraging, and gives prospect of further improvement.

It is a great satisfaction to know that since the famine, a succession of favorable years has given continued ease to the province, and that in the year under report food was unusually cheap and plentiful. The partial calamities from flood, which are noticed in the report, have made prominent the better qualities of people, their patience and industry under such circumstances; and these floods have happily not ended disastrously; their benefits (as

the Lieutenant -Governor hoped at the time) having ultimately counterbalanced the injury done in the first instance.Great credit is due to Mr Beames for his exertions on the occasion of the cyclone at Balasore, and to the irrigation and other officers at Cuttack for their successful exertions to save that city during the inundation.

...Among other instruments of improvement, it is encouraging to gather from several notices that the Christian missions have effected, and are effecting, much practical good, and are benefiting both their own people and those around them.Mr Beames has during the year under report, located in the Government estate at Noanund a small batch of the orphans from Mr Smith's establishment, and he observes that this little settlement is prospering.This is a very interesting experiment, and the settlement should be watched and cared for.

Zemindars and ryots : Considering how the zemindars of Orissa have been created by us, as is clearly shown in Mr Toyenbee's recent publication, and how, notwithstanding their great increase in wealth and the enlarged cultivation, the former easy settlement has been extended for another 30 years, the Lieutenant- Governor thinks their grumbling and complaints of a breach of faith(paragraph 48) because they do not also get constant remission of revenues besides, is most unreasonable and preposterous.It shows that are some people who are spoilt by indulgence.The conduct of two large proportion of these men towards their tenantry makes it clear that, far from doing as they have been done by, they have sought to exact from those beneath them the uttermost farthing of that which had been forgiven to them by their lord.This, and great deal more besides, they have exacted.His Honor,however, is rejoiced to see that even already, independently of the measures which may eventually be adopted, much good has been effected by the exertions of Messrs. Beames,Fiddian, and the Commissioner himself, and the way in which these officers have brought abuses to light entitles them to the highest credit.If their work is adequately followed up, the Government may hope that much will be done to stop abuses.and put the relations between the zemindars and the inferior holders in Orissa on a sounder footing, and one more consonant with the terms and conditions of the existing settlement.

The Lieutenant-Governor is very glad to see(paragraph 49) that many adjustments are now being effected by amicable compromise under the influence of the Government officers. The gist of Mr Fiddian's remark is, that the Ooriya ryots, who have hitherto been more than any of the class in helpless and ignorant subjection to the zemindars,are beginning to have some idea of their rights.He speaks of passive refusal to submit to the unauthorised demands...

The Lieutenant-Governor has seen with pleasure the testimony which is borne in more than one passage of the report to the substantial success of the road cess proceedings.Balasore has been the first district in which the cess has been actually collected, and the whole process,valuations, and collections have been admirably and successfully managed by Mr Beames...

Native press : The Lieutenant-Governor notices that in Cuttack, during the year under report, two newspapers were started, the *Utkul Dwipica*¹ and *Utkul Putra*.In Balasore, a new magazine, the *Utkul Durpun*, or Mirror of Orissa, was also first published. Of these papers the *Utkul Dwipica* and *Balasore Putrika*² have met with considerable support.

It seems that though the newspapers in Orissa have little influence,they are actuated on the whole by a healthy feeling, and their publication may be taken as an evidence of awakening intelligence of the Ooriyas,when it is recollectcd that in many other and richer districts there are no newspapers at all.

ORISSA COMMISSIONER'S REPORT, 1872-73

I have the honor to lay before you the general report on the Orissa division administration for the year 1872-73...

WEATHER AND CROPS

The Balasore cyclone commenced from the north-west, between 1 and 2 A.M., on the 1st of July, and shifted round to north-north-west, north-west, and north-east by 8.30 A.M. During this period the barometer had fallen from 29.70 to 28.28, and the wind blew east-north-east in hurricane gusts, levelling trees and houses in its course. The centre of the cyclone appears to have passed over and in the immediate neighbourhood of Balasore town, where very great damage was done. From 8.30 A.M. the barometer gradually began to rise, and reached 28.41 by 9.30 A.M., the wind passing from east to south-west by 4 P.M., when the barometer had risen to 29.13 and the storm had passed over.

The Collector was out giving help and relief to the sufferers, and labored incessantly for some days in aiding people to collect their property and get some shelter over their heads... Money was promptly asked for from Government and was promptly granted, for relief of sufferers and for rebuilding and repairing the wreck houses in Balasore. The losses though considerable, were not irreparable, and the people, following the Collector's example, helped themselves in a manner unusual in Orissa. The rest of the season in Balasore was favorable...

MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE

In Balasore, the collector remarks: — "The material condition of the people has much improved of late years; I have noticed the improvement in my tours each cold season. They have had, in most parts of the district, excellent harvests for the last six

years, and during the last two years the exactions of the zemindars have been much repressed; so that the peasantry are really beginning to save a little money. I think, from what I see of them, that the Balasore peasantry are very penurious in disposition. If the good harvests, the opening of communication by steamers and the repression of zemindars' exactions do, as I feel sure they must, result in considerable amelioration of the peasants' position, I do not think it will be seen, for some time at least, in his outward appearance or surroundings. If he gets money he will hoard it. He does not care to be better clothed, fed, or housed than he is now; he will have nothing to do with improved breeds of cattle or better farming year. So long as he and his family get their bellyful of rice every day and as much opium as they can stand, nothing more is required. It is therefore difficult to form an opinion, from outward appearances only, as to the mentioned condition of the people; it is only from the mass of little signs and hints and incidents, too petty in themselves and too numerous to be recorded, that I derive the impression that an improvement has taken and is taking place.

I do not think the artisan and day-laborer classes are sharing this improvement; the poverty of the latter especially is beyond belief. I have known many cases where a family only ate food once in two days, and no member of which had more than one garment.

With regard to the artisans, I notice that many of them are turning to agriculture. Imported goods are driving the clumsy local wares out of the market; weavers especially find their occupation gone. Brass-workers, who are very numerous at Remna, workers in precious metals, and sellers of toys and spices, all begin to give way to external competition. I do not say that this movement is going on to any great extent, but that it is going on is certain.

Still there are many parts of the district where the village artisans ply their trade as before. It is chiefly in and near Balasore town, and in Jellesore and along the Trunk road, that this movement is noticeable.

At the same time the repression of illegal cesses is tending to force the zemindars to look for profits elsewhere than by plundering their ryots, and they are therefore bringing under cultivation fallow and waste lands to a large extent. This land is to

be had on easy terms, so that the temptation is great for an artisan whose business is declining to take to farming.

We are, on the whole, in a fair way of progress in Balasore. Education spreading, the outer world brought nearer to us, greater protection and power of amassing money secured to the rural classes, and a sort of stir and movement among the population generally, are cheering signs; although it is still painful to think of the vast distance which separates the present condition of the district from what one would wish to see it.

While reporting on the various influences which have been at work during the year to elevate and improve the people of this backward country, I should mention the progress made by the various missionary societies which have settlements in the district, as it is to them that we are indebted for much solid good. Their efforts are unobtrusive and earnest, and whatever they do takes root, and will in time, I doubt not, bear fruit.

MISSIONARY WORK IN BALASORE

The Free will Baptist Mission, which is supported by a society in the United States, has three establishments in the district. That in the station of Balasore has, as you are aware, been in existence many years. The school supported by them contains 45 pupils, and the education given is of a very sound and useful description. It is attended not only by Christian children attached to the mission, but by many Hindus of the town. The missionary settlement has sustained a serious loss this year in the death of the Rev B.B. Smith, who was in charge of it. Mr Smith was a single-hearted, earnest, devoted man, and by his disinterested labors, his constant and unwearied kindness, and his high integrity of character, had won the respect not only of his own community, but of all the European and native residents of the district. I look upon this as a very important point. The natives are keen observers of character and conduct, and it is no slight credit for a man in Mr Smith's position to have won so high a place in the public esteem. Work of this kind is not to be judged by the number of converts made; in the present stage of missionary work in India, converts cannot be

expected to be numerous. Orissa, is moreover, as you know, one of the most bigotedly Hindu provinces of India. The influences brought to bear upon the natives by their Brahmins, and by their caste fellows, are so strong, that it is hardly to be expected that many of them should have the courage to break through the social ties that bind them. From the point of view with which we are concerned—namely, the moral elevation of the people, these missionaries do the excellent service. They have taught and influenced many in all parts of the district, and the general conduct of the native Christians under their charge is almost irreparable.

Last year, I located a small batch of the orphans from Mr Smith's establishment on some vacant land in the village of Suntapoora, in the Government estate of Noanund. I visited this little settlement in the course of my cold weather tour, and was glad to see that it was prospering as well as could be expected. The natives of the surrounding villages were on good terms with the youngmen, and willing to give them employment. I have no doubt that when they become more accustomed to agricultural work, to which they are at present rather new, they will succeed in earning a comfortable livelihood, and their little settlement will become a nucleus round which we may collect the other Christian orphans as they go off the fund; so that in time Suntpoora will become a centre from which a higher type of civilization will radiate into the surrounding country. A few of Mr Smith's community have obtained posts in the Government offices, and I hope more of them will be eligible in time. Though rather dull and slow, like most Oorials, they appear to be remarkably honest and painstaking, and in every way promising. The mission school was conducted by one of the best specimens of an Ooriah I have ever seen, Baboo Fakir Mohen Senaputty. He has, however, left it for the better post of dewan to the Rajah of Neelgherry, in which capacity, I am glad to see, he is carrying out improvements and introducing those principles of honesty and justice which he has imbibed from the teaching of the late Mr Smith. This is one out of many instances of the vast amount of indirect good done by that excellent man whose loss we all deeply deplore.

Mrs Smith, who is now left alone to conduct the mission, has also been indefatigable in her efforts to improve the women of the district. Her zenana work has been very successful, and the majority of the respectable native gentlemen of the place seem, from what I have gathered from them in conversation, to be well-disposed towards her, and many of the best houses in the town are now open to her and her native female assistants. Operations have lately been extended to Bhudruck, and I understand they are also meeting with considerable success. Of the mission schools at Balsore, Jellasore, and Santipore, I shall have to write in the educational report, and I only allude to them here, as exercising an important influence on the general condition of the people.

Mr Phillips' mission at Santipore, in the extreme north of the district, is also a nucleus of good influence for the wild rude people round him. Mr Phillips is quite a little chief in those parts; the people come to him on all occasions for advice and assistance and his farming operations, assisted by the anicut he has constructed, and the canal leading from it, are gradually converting the wild forest country into fertile agricultural tract. I have derived great assistance from Mr Phillips, as he is enabled, by his friendly relations with the people, to bring to my notice many abuses which I might otherwise never hear of in that distant quarter of my jurisdiction. The zemindars of Fattihabad are Bengalis, and live in Calcutta, taking very little interest in their estates, which are permanently settled, and in which, consequently, I have not so much power of direct interference as in the temporarily settled estates of the rest of the district. I consider myself fortunate therefore, in having so useful an aid in that part of the country as Mr Phillips.²³

Perhaps there is no officer in Orissa so well qualified to give an opinion, or so observant of the people as Mr Beames; and though great prominence has been given to missionary work and Government orphanages in promoting material improvement of the people, I feel satisfied that it is an influence for good which cannot be over-estimated, and I believe that the seeds of organization, education, morality, and progress, sown in the orphanages supported by Government, will yet bear good and useful

fruit. The tree is promising, and so is its twin plant-Government education for the masses of the people, which, though recently introduced, is being vigorously watered and will grow apace...

REPORT FOR THE YEAR, 1873-74

...In Cuttack, the Collector, Mr Beames took camp on 4th December and visited Dompara, where a feud existed between the Rajah and his ryots; this is a peshcash estate and has never been regularly measured or settled. The Rajah's old dewan, who had been dismissed without cause, and who was very popular was restored to office; a temporary adjustment was effected; but the Rajah's obstinacy and ignorance constantly bring him into collision with his people. The collector was not able to remain long, and had to return in order to arrange for Government rice contracts. He did not get out again until 4th January, and remained in camp 44 days, visiting the greater part of Jajipore and Kendrapara subdivisions. The tour is best described in Collector's words,

"This tour was specially interesting to me as it was my first visit to the interior of the Cuttack district, and it was, I am told, specially interesting to the people as no collector had⁴ been among them, except on short and hasty visits, for many years. I travelled slowly, and in spite of the general absence of good roads and the equally embarrassing general presence of large rivers, I contrived to get into many obscure and out of the way corners. Everywhere I was received with greatest cordiality by all classes, and in spite of the complaints of the Cuttack newspapers about my taking a large camp into rural holes and corners, I was assured by everyone I met that they did not feel the presence of myself and followers any burden but were only too glad to get an officer of Government to come among them and examine into their wants and grievances on the spot.

Many places were pointed out where roads and bridges were much needed, and steps were made into the actual working and position of canoongoes and putwarees, and an effort made to put a stop to abuses, especially the universal one of the putwarees considering themselves to be the servants of the zemindar.

The state of the few roads that exist is everywhere very bad, and they have evidently been neglected for a long series of years. There is a remarkable absence in Cuttack of that useful class of men who are found in most districts who can make ordinary country roads simple bridges well and cheaply. The moment you attempt to begin any work of this kind the overseers present you with a long estimate framed upon the model of the expensive Public Works Department forms, and if you fling this at their heads and tell them to go to work with a gang of coolies in a simple common sense manner, they are all adrift, and do not know what to do. There are, as a rule, no bridges, a road, or rather a scarcely distinguishable track, leads to the edge of a river or creek and there disappears, leaving the traveller to get through mud and water as best he may; the track reappears some hundred or two hundred yards on the otherside. These remarks refer principally to the Jajepore subdivision, where there are large tracts of country without water communication, and where roads are much watered.

I visited and examined all the thanas in the district except two, and all the outposts that came in my way. These are too few by far for so large a district.



-
1. This is not correct. *Utkal Dipika* was started in 1866. However in 1872, with the recommendation of Beames and Ravenshaw, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal sanctioned an annual grant of Rs 100/- each to *Utkal Dipika* and *Baleswar Sambad Bahika*.
 2. *Baleswar Sambad Bahika*.
 3. Beames' report ends.
 4. Obviously a printing error. It should be 'had'.

All the above foot-notes are my own. LDM

REPORT ABOUT RADHANATH RAY

Baboo Radhanath Rai has been the Deputy Inspector of schools in this District for two years. He is very intelligent and active and possesses great judgement and discretion consider him a very trustworthy and deserving officer.

Sd/- John Beames
Offg Commissioner of Orissa

CAMP BALASORE

22nd October 1873

Extracts from the Magistrate's remarks in the Service Book of Radhanath Rai, Deputy Inspector of Schools

A very intelligent, active and conscientious young man, thoroughly qualified for his duties.

Sd/- John Beames
Magistrate
23rd June, 1874



1. CORRESPONDENCES

(i) Official

District Records (Revenue), Balasore

No 285

The 24th July, 1871

To

The Proprietor of Utkal Press
Balasore

Request that he will be good enough to inform on what date he will be able to supply this office with 10,000 copies of accompanying form.

Ballasore

J.Beames
Collector

No.1/B

Balasore Utkal Press
25th July, 1871

To

The Collector of Balasore

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your memo no 285 dated 24th current and the specimen of the census forms therewith forwarded and in reply beg to inform you that 10,000 copies of the same will be supplied within a week at latest.

I have the honour to be Sir,

Yours most obedient servant
Phakirmohan Senapaty
Proprietor of U.Press

To

7.8.71

District Superintendent of Police
Balasore

Request that he will be good enough to send to this office the police return of census from each Thana separately as soon as

he receives it, instead of it waiting till all the poll returns are sent in.

John Beames
Collector & Magistrate

No.67

Balasore 7th October, 71

To

The Collector of Balasore

Sir,

I shall be thankful by your kindly informing me if you would require the assistance of the offices of Education Department in taking the census. They shall all be at your service at any time you will require them.

I shall further be obliged if I know whether all the schools in the District shall have to be closed for the purpose.

I have the honour to be Sir,
Yours most obedient servant
Siv Das Bhattacharya
Dy Inspector of Schools Balasore

Reply

The schools in Balasore town need not be closed. Nor need all the local schools in the district.

The Bhudrck kutchery not having yet been used I am not able as yet to state any thing certain about that subdivision.

9.10.71

J.B.

J. Beames Esqre
Collector & Magistrate
Balasore

Sir,

I have the honour to submit the enclosed Bill for the forms supplied from the Balasore Ootkal Press and solicit the payment of the same.

Balasore
23 Nov. 71

Yours most obedient servant
Damodar Pr. Das
Secretary Balasore Otkal Press

Sir,

I beg to send herewith a money order for Rs 10/- in you or of J.Scott Esqre as directed, I have paid Rs 29-14 to the naib najir to send it to camp at Rajghat today.

Balasore

I beg to remain Sir,

28.11.71

Yours most obedt. Servant
Nityananda Senapaty
M.O. Agent

Received one money order for Rs 10/- & Cash for Rs 29-14

John Beames
Collector
29.11.71

No 380
Commissioners Office Orissa Dívision
Cuttack the 6th January, 1872

From

T.E.Ravenshaw Esquir
Commissionor

To

The Collector of Balasore

Sir,

I reply to your no 662 of 2nd January, 1872, the term indigenous school appears to refer to those village schools or Pathshalas which are to be found in most of the larger mofussil communities supplied by the people of the neighbourhood and not under the inspection or central of the Department of Public Instruction.

2. I trust you will be able to forward the necessary information at early date.

I have the honour to be Sir,

Yours most obedt. Servant
T.E.Ravenshaw
Commissioner

From
 H.Beverley, Esq
 Inspector General of Registration

To
 The Magistrate and Collector of Balasore

Dated Calcutta, the 22nd June 1872

Sir,

The Lieutenant- Governor wishes to have the population of all municipalities, townships or unions shown separately in the census returns with such details as may be necessary to render the figures perfectly intelligible have therefore the honour to request that you will with as little delay as possible, furnish me with a list of all municipalities, townships or unions in your district, with the annual municipal income and expenditure. Where a township or unions consists of two or more places, a list of such places should also be submitted, and , if possible, I should wish you to indicate in some way the enumerators' books which refer to those places.If the records of your office do not enable you to do this, it will perhaps be necessary that I should return you the thannahs lists for that purpose.Any information in regard to the area bound arises, & c, of a township will always be useful, and may fitly be included in the present return.

I have the honour to be Sir,

Yours most obedient servant
 H.Beverley Inspector General of Registration

No 219 A

From
 D.I. Mecteil
 Offig secretary to the Board of Revenue

To
 The Collector of Balasore
 Dated Fort William, the 9th May 1872

Sir

With reference to the statement Table IV, submitted by you for the census return, I am directed by the member in charge to request that you will furnish the Board with figures for columns 18 and 26 of the return. Is there no one per cent road fund or zemindary dak fund levied in your district? In submitting these figures I am to request that you will furnish details of the cesses levied.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Yours most obedt. servant

Mecteil

Off Secretary

No 206

Secretary,
Board of Revenue

Sir,

In reply to your no 219 A dated the 9th ultimo, I have the honour to furnish figures in cols:18 and 26 as directed by you.

2. There is no one percent Road fund levied in this District and the sum entered in col:18 shows only zemindary Dak fund which has been realised from the zemindary agreeably to sec 5, act 8 of 1862, at the rate of 13 as per cent on the sadar jama of estates paying more than 50 R 8/a

3. The office col: of the statement exists in the record of this office but before the receipt of your letter no 451 A dated the 24th May it was not clearly understood that this statement was referred to as in your no 219 A there was no mention of the no & date of this office letter with which the statement was submitted to the Board.

4. The statement received with your no 451 A is herewith retuned.

I have the honour

JB

Collector

No 221

To
 The Inspector General of Registration
 Calcutta

13th June/72

Sir,

With reference to your circular no 5c dated the 6th Instant,I have the honour to furnish the information therein called for

Name of the Municipality	Gross annual Income	Gross annual expenditure
--------------------------	---------------------	--------------------------

Balasore	5193-3-1	5139-2-6
----------	----------	----------

Sd/ J.Beames
Magistrate

Balasore Magistrate
Camp,Jellasore
23rd Nov/69

No 7/8

From
 J.Beames Esqre

To
 S.Underwood
 Balasore

In reply to your letter dated 23rd current I have the honour to inform you that I shall be absent from the station from the 3rd December till the 15th January & thereby cannot perform the ceremony and the jt magistrate is not a marriage Registrar.

I have the honour
 Sd/J.Beames
Magistrate

Memo 580

To
Mr Mc Allister
Overseer DPW
Soroh

The Magistrate will enquire into your complaint against the Soroh Gola Moharir on his arrival at soroh on tour about the 5th or 6th December,

Balasore
The 8th Nov/69

John Beames
Magistrate

No 86

27.3.71

To
Inspector General of Jails
Sir,

With reference to your circular memo No dated theb 13th Instant,I have the honour to forward herewith a detailed Estimate amounting to Rs 106/- required for repairing the Bhudruck Lock up as therein requested.

I have drawn the amount of the estimate from the Treasury agreeably to the authority contained in the 3rd para of this circular as the official year is about to be closed & remitted the same to the asstt. magistrate of Bhudruck with directives to commence the work at once.

Thanks
JB

Circular

The European British-born subjects of Her Majesty in this station are requested to fill up the accompanying form and return it to Court Inspector Purna Chandra Banerjea who will call for it on Friday the 16th June-

Under instruction from the Govt of Bengal and Commissioner of Orissa Division the following persons will not be entered in the return.

1. Persons of mixed British and native descent.
2. Natives of foreign countries who have not become naturalized British subjects.

But persons of pure British descent although born in India will be entered.

Balasore
The 14th June 1871

John Beames
Magistrate

II

**Personal correspondences with Radhanath Ray :
Courtesy, Durga Charan Ray, *Radhanath Jibani*,
second edition, Cuttack, 1998**

My dear Radhanath,

I am indeed deeply grieved at hearing the sad news of your father's death. He was an excellent official, very intelligent and active and always rendered me great assistance. I lost my own father many years ago but I have not yet ceased to grieve for him, and I can therefore deeply sympathize with you.

Come and see me as soon as you are able to appear in public. Although I cannot make any promise now about your uncles I need not assure you that I will do all in my power to assist you and your family in this deplorable juncture.

July 21st 1873

Your sincere friend
Sd/John Beames

My dear Radhanath,

I will endeavour to have you put on the Cuttack Committee of Examination. As to your uncle, I cannot make any promise beyond this, that I will bear him in mind when any occasion offers.

Yours truly
Sd. John Beames
2.8.73

My dear Radhanath,

I have written to Mr Norman today to consult with Mr Ager about the additional Sub-Deputy as I shall be glad to give you. I think Mr Ager will find Balasore far ahead of the other

districts.Things are in a great muddle here and I am obliged to be both Commission and Collector at once;so I have very little time.

I will write to Mr Norman to give your uncle the post vacated by Gobind Chandra Pattnaik.

I hope you are all prospering.I shall visit Balasore in October and hope to see you then.

Cuttack
September,2,1873

Yours sincerely
Sd. John Beames

Chittagong
October 10th

My dear Radhanath,

It was a great blow to me to leave Orissa, and a still greater one when I found that I was not allowed to return there on Mr Ravensaw's transfer.Some one I know not,who told Sir A.Eden on the occasion of his visit to Cuttack that I was very unpopular in Orissa;and that is I suppose the reason why I am not allowed to return to that place.I dislike Chittagong extremely.I have never been in so bad a place in my life.I am always sick here.I have no society, and the natives are detestable people-the lowest class of Bengali Musalman's-full of treachery and litigiousness.I shall never cease to take a deep and sincere interest in all that concerns Orissa;and I shall always try to get back there.Some day perhaps I may be successful.At present I am sick both in body and spirit and dare not look forward to any further success or happiness in this world.Should I ever again come into favour and be able to.see you or any of my old friends,I shall gladly do so.At present I am, so to speak " bhrasta". I am sorry Kailas has behaved so badly.I was thinking of getting him a berth here,but I cannot of course do so now.

Please remember me to all my friends in Orissa.

Your's sincerely
Sd/ John Beames

Chittagong
May 2nd, 1879

My dear Radhanath,

I am very glad to hear from you. Here there are no native gentlemen except the Deputy Collectors and none of the Zamindars even call upon the European officials. On the contrary they are always bringing civil suits against them. I do not think that even my name is known to any of the people here. I am afraid that I shall not return to Orissa unless it be as Collector. I shall never obtain any more promotion or success, I fear, as long as Sir A. Eden remains. If I do not succeed better, I shall resign the service in four years time, when my service is completed, and go home. There is no use in doing good work under the present Government. Just at the time when I thought I had obtained a good reputation, I found myself superseded by inferior men and passed over. I have now nothing to hope for except from God's Mercy.

I am always glad to turn my thoughts to the happy days I spent in dear Orissa and look back with much pleasure to the kind and amiable people of that Province. I wish you all the success which I have lost.

Yours sincerely'
Sd/John Beames

Chinsurah

14th April

My dear Radhanath,

It would give me great pleasure to assist you, if it were in my power. As far as I can learn however either Mr Garrett or Mr Clarke will be appointed in Bhudev Baboo's place; and I do not hear of any proposal to act upon the Hindoo Patriot's suggestions, though I think it would be a good thing to make the Orissa Joint Inspector into an Inspector. I have not been much consulted about educational matters of late; and I hardly like to intrude in any way in the management of that department, at least till I have had an opportunity of discussing the subject with Bhudev Baboo's successor.

Yours sincerely
John Beames

Hooghly
June 1st

My dear Radhanath,

If they offer me Orissa, I shall of course take it; but it has not been offered me yet; and do not know what the Government may intend. I am much obliged to you for the interest you take in my welfare.

Yours Sincerely
Sd/John Beames

Chinsurah
10th July

My dear Radhanath,

I was glad to see your handwriting again, and it will give me great pleasure to see you whenever you like to come. I have been through a time of much anxiety and trouble, but I hope that is now over and that I may have some peace now. It does not seem likely from all that I hear, that Mr Ravenshaw will ever be able to return to India, as his health is completely shattered and at his advance age there is no hope of his being fit for hard work again.

I hear that he is taking a house in England and preparing to settle there. It is therefore probable that I may be made Pucka here next November when his leave expires. But I shall not know for certain till then. I like this place very well and should be quite contented to stay here for a long time; and I need not say that it would give me much pleasure to have you serving under me again.

With kind regards to all old friends

Yours sincerely
Sd/ John Beames



**Correspondences Relating to
Balasore Raj family**

To

The Commissioner of Orissa Division
Cuttack

Dated Balasore 5th February 1873

Sir,

Babu Baikunthanath De, a resident of the town of Balasore, having expressed a desire to become an Honourary Magistrate, I have the honour to recommend him for that post.

The Babu is the son of Babu Shyamananda De one of the Principal zemindars and Merchants of Balaosre. He is a very intelligent and well-disposed youngman and anxious to have something to do. If he be appointed he will be of a very great assistance to me in Municipal cases and I propose as soon as some other gentlemen of the town can be found willing to undertake the duties to recommend them also for appointment with a view to establishing a Bench of Magistrates for disposal of Municipal and other petty cases in the town, under the new c.p. Code.

I have & c.

Sd/ John Beames
Magistrate

No 165

To

Babu Baikunthanath De
Honorary Magistrate,
Balasore

Dated Balasore the
17th March, 1873

Under the provisions of Section 23 of the Act of Criminal Procedure, Babu Baikunthanath De, Honorary Magistrate is hereby invested with powers under Sections 141,518 and 519 of that code.

John Beames
Magistrate

No 75

Commissioner of Orissa Division
Cuttack, the 24th March, 1873

From

T.E.Ravenshaw Esquire
Commissioner

To

The Magistrate of Balasore

Sir,

In reply to your No 176 Dated 18th current I have the honour to sanction the establishment of a writer on Rs 12 and a Chuprasee on Rs 4 per moth for the Honorary Magistrate Babu Baikunthanath De under Government order in the Judicial Department No 346 Dated 18th January 1873. Copy forwarded under this office No 117 Dated 27th January 1873

I have & c
Sd/ T.E.Ravenshaw
Commissioner

True copy
Debnath De
Head clerk

Memo No 224

Copy forwarded to Babu Baikunthanath De, Honorary Magistrate, for his information.

Balasore Magistracy
28th March 1873

John Beames
Magistrate

No IB

Commissioner's Office
Orissa Division
Camp Balsore the 15th, June 1877

From
John Beames, Esquire
Off. Commissioner

To

The Magistrate of Balasore

Sir,

In reply to your No 69 dated the 14th June 1877, I have the honour to authorise your accepting the offer of Kumar Baikunthanath De to found two Primary scholarships and I request you to convey to him my acknowledgement for his liberality doubt however whether it would be proper for me to allow these scholarships to be called by my name, and I would suggest instead that, they be called by the name of the donor.

I have & c
Sd/ John Beames
Offg. Commissioner

Balasore
June 18th, 1877

Dear Sir,

I beg to offer to you and to the citizen of Balasore town who co-operated with you my sincere thanks for the very handsome reception accorded to me on the occasion of my visit to this place. The entertainment was admirably planned and carried out and the spirit that dictated it was highly gratifying to me.

It gives me great pleasure to find that after an absence of more than three years I am still remembered affectionately by the people of Balasore, and I can assure you and them that I fully reciprocate those feelings and willing to do all that lies in my power to promote their welfare.

The cordial reception accorded to me on the occasion adds one more to the many pleasant associations which bind me to District in which I spent many happy years as Magistrate and Collector.

To

Raja Shyamananda De
Balasore

Believe me to be
Yours very Sincerely
Sd/ John Beames

D.O. LETTER TO PHAKIRMOHAN SENTPATY IN ORIYA

This is the only specimen of Beames' Oriya letter available to us. Published possibly in the issue of 16 January, 1872 of *Baleswar Sambad Bahika* which is not available now, it was reproduced by *Utkal Dipika* in its issue of 27 January, 1872. This is in response to an editorial comment appeared in *Baleswar Sambad Bahika* proposing to enhance the town tax on cart and carriage to meet the expenses in repairing the roads of Balasore, being caused to damage by them. Rejecting the proposal Beames says that as the amount of town tax being imposed on the people is too high there should not be any further increase of this tax until a legislation in this regard is introduced. Rather the expenditure which is being incurred by the Municipality towards the salary of the constables, may be reduced by the deployment of choukidars who would accept less salary to guard the town. This savings may be diverted for the repair works of the roads.

Instead of formally addressing to the editor, this is a D.O. letter by Beames dated 29 December, 1871 to Phakirmohan Senapaty intended to be published in his newspaper. This is an indication of Beames intimacy and close relationship with Phakirmohan.

ବୋଧଦୟିନୀ ପତ୍ରିକା ସମାଦକ ଶ୍ରୀଯୁକ୍ତ ବାବୁ ପକିରମୋହନ ସେନାପତି ସୁଚରିତେଷୁ,

ଉତ୍ତର ପତ୍ରିକାସଂୟୁକ୍ତ ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର ସମାଦବାହିକା ନାମ୍ବୀ ପାଞ୍ଜିକ ପତ୍ରିକାର
ଅବଗତ ହେଲୁଁ ଯେ, ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର ନଗରାନ୍ତରେ ସଡ଼କମାନ ଘୋଡ଼ାଗାଡ଼ି ଓ
ବଳଦଗାଡ଼ିର ଯିବାଆସିବାରେ ଅଧୂକ କ୍ଷୟ ହେଉଥିବାର ତାହା ନିର୍ମାଣ ଥିବା
ସଂକ୍ଷାରର ବ୍ୟୟ ଉତ୍ତମରପେ ନିର୍ବାହ ସକାଶେ ଘୋଡ଼ାଗାଡ଼ି ଓ ବଳଦଗାଡ଼ି
ଉପରେ ଟାଉନ ଟେକ୍ସ ବସାଇବାର ପ୍ରାର୍ଥନା କରିଅଛୁଁ; କିନ୍ତୁ ହଜୁରର ଏମନ୍ତ
ବିବେଚନା ହୁଏ ଯେ, ଏହି ନଗରପାଳି ନିବାସିମାନଙ୍କ ପ୍ରତି ଟାଉନ ଟେକ୍ସ ଯେ

ପରିମାଣେ ନିର୍ଜାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ହୋଇଅଛି ତଦତିରିତ ଆଉ କୌଣସି ପ୍ରକାର ଚେକ୍ସ ଧାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରିବା ଅନୁଚ୍ଛିତ; ଅତେବ ହଙ୍ଗୁରର ଅଭିପ୍ରାୟ, ଯେପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ପ୍ରଧାନ ଅଥବା ଶୁଦ୍ଧ ନଗର ସଂମନ୍ଦୀୟ ଟାଉନ ଚେକ୍ସର ନୂତନ ବିଧୁ ଭାରତବର୍ଷ ବା ବଜ୍ରଦେଶ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପକ ସରାର ପ୍ରଚାରିତ ହୋଇନାହିଁ ସେ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଏ ନଗରର ଟାଉନ ଚେକ୍ସ ଆଉ କୌଣସି ପ୍ରକାରେ ବୃଦ୍ଧି କରାଯିବ ନାହିଁ ।

ଶାତିରକ୍ଷକମାନଙ୍କ ପ୍ରାପ୍ୟ ବେଦନାଦି ବ୍ୟୟ ନିର୍ବାହ ନିମାତ୍ରେ ନିର୍ଜାରିତ ଟାଉନ ଚେକ୍ସର ଅଧୁକାଂଶ ବ୍ୟୟ ହେଉଥିବାର ତାହାଦ୍ୱାରା ନଗରର ସଡ଼କାଦି ନିର୍ମାଣ ଅଥବା ସଂଭାର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଯେ ନିର୍ବାହ ହୋଇପାରେ ନାହିଁ ଯଥାର୍ଥ; କିନ୍ତୁ ପୂର୍ବରେ ଏ ନଗରରେ ମାସିକ ଟ ନା ଜ୍ଞା ବେତନରେ ଯେଉଁ ଚୌକିଦାରମାନେ ନିଯୁକ୍ତ ଥିଲେ, ସେମାନଙ୍କ ପରିଧେଯାଦି ଯସାମାନ୍ୟ ଥିଲା, ଏବଂ ସେମାନେ ସ୍ଵପ୍ନ କର୍ତ୍ତବ୍ୟ କର୍ମ ବିଶେଷ ଯତ୍ନପୂର୍ବକ ଉତ୍ସମରପେ ନିର୍ବାହ କରଥିଲେ । ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ରହିତ କରି ନଗରର ଚୌକି ପହରା କର୍ମ ନିର୍ବାହ ସକାଶେ କନଷ୍ଟବଲମାନଙ୍କୁ ନିଯୁକ୍ତ କରାଯିବାର ଏକ ଏକ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିକ ମାସିକ ବେତନ ଟ୍ୟ ଓ ଡଳା ଲେଖାଏଁ ନିର୍ଜାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ହୋଇଅଛି । ଏଥରୁ ନାଶରିକ ପୋଲିସର ବ୍ୟୟ ଯେ ପୂର୍ବାପେକ୍ଷା ଦୁଇଗୁଣ ଅଧିକ ହୋଇଅଛି ଏ କଥା କହିବା ବାହୁଲ୍ୟ । ତଥାତ ସେମାନେ କଳାକୁରୁତା ଓ ରଙ୍ଗ ପାଗ ଘେନି ଏପରି ଗର୍ବୀ ହୋଇଅଛନ୍ତି ଯେ ସେମାନଙ୍କ କର୍ତ୍ତବ୍ୟ କର୍ମରେ କିଛିମାତ୍ର ଯତ୍ନ ଦେଖାଯାଉ ନାହିଁ; ଅତେବ ନଗରର ଚୌକି ପହରା କର୍ମ ନିର୍ବାହ ନିମାତ୍ରେ କନଷ୍ଟବଲ ନ ରଖି ପୂର୍ବବତ୍ର ଚୌକିଦାର ରଖିବା ସକାଶେ ରିପୋର୍ଟ କରାଯାଇଅଛି । ଭରସା, ତାହା ଅନୁମୋଦିତ ହେଲେ ପୋଲିସର ବ୍ୟୟ ମଧ୍ୟ ହ୍ରାସ ହୋଇପାରିବ ଓ ସେଥୁର ଉଦ୍ବୂର ଟଙ୍କାଦ୍ୱାରା ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ଆବଶ୍ୟକୀୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟର ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ହୋଇପାରିବ । ଗୋଟର ସକାଶେ ଲେଖାଗଲା । ଇତି ।

୨୯ ହିଁ ତିସେମ୍ବର

ସନ ୧୯୭୧

ଜନ ବିମ୍ସ

କଲେକ୍ଟର

NOTIFICATIONS

A novelty introduced by John Beams in Balasore was the publication of all notifications of Government in local vernacular newspaper *Baleswar Sambad Bahika*. Starting its objectives in the first notification on 1 July 1873 he says ".....whenever the government introduces new law, it intends to render good to the people irrespective of its consequences. Of course, we do not deny that some of them are not free from ill consequences, but the government is not omniscient. Its thought and imagination are not different from the people. But the government cannot do anything without feedback from the people. It is also true that, it is not easy for the people to understand the objectives of all laws without examining them. It therefore, appears that they have many misconceptions about many such government laws... If the proper reason for framing of laws are published, the people can understand them well." Publishing this notification he hopes that this newspaper would serve as communicator between the Magistrate and the people. Another objectives of such step was that, the Europeans inspite of their proficiency in local language, were not able to communicate to the people because of their unnatural accent and pronunciation.

From 1 July 1872 many such government notifications continued to appear in *Baleswar Sambad Bahika* till August 1873 when Beames was transferred to Cuttack. Thereafter, such practices did not appear any more. These notifications were related to a number of issues intending to educate the people and create awareness among them about certain government programmes, policies and schemes. Sometimes, they advise people to remain cautious against oppressive zemindars and dishonest government staff, sometimes they ask the people to take the advantage of free education in vernacular schools, which the government intended to set up in villages. Sometimes also they related to clarifications of government orders. The usages and vocabularies employed in these notifications are not necessarily the specimen of Beames' Oriya as they could have been drafted/translated from English by his subordinate staff in the Collectorate, but they could have been certainly vetted by him.

Baleswar Sambad Bahika, 1st July, 1872

ସର୍ବସାଧାରଣଙ୍କ ଗୋଚରାର୍ଥେ ।

ବିଜ୍ଞାପନ ।

ବଙ୍ଗ ଦେଶର ମାନ୍ୟବର ଶ୍ରୀଯୁକ୍ତ ଲେପ୍ଟେନେଷ୍ଟ ଗବର୍ଣ୍ଣର ସାହେବଙ୍କ ଅନୁମୋଦନ କ୍ରମେ ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର ସମ୍ବାଦବାହିକା ନାମ୍ୟୀ ପତ୍ରିକା ଅବ୍ୟାବଧ୍ୟ ଆଂଶିକ ସରକାରୀ ଓ ଆଂଶିକ ସାଧାରଣ ସମ୍ବାଦବାହିକା ବୋଲି ଛାପିତ ହେଲା । ଅତେବ ସର୍ବସାଧାରଣଙ୍କୁ ଜଣାଉ ଅଛୁଁ ଯେ ଉବିଷ୍ଟ୍ୟତକୁ ଉଚ୍ଚ ପତ୍ରିକାର ସରକାରୀ ଅଂଶରେ ଯାହା ପ୍ରକାଶ ହେବ ସେ ସମସ୍ତଙ୍କୁ ସରକାରୀ ଅଭିପ୍ରାୟ ଓ ଆଜ୍ଞା ଜାଣି ପ୍ରତିପାଳନ କରିବେ ।

ଯେଉଁ ବିଧାନମାନ ପ୍ରତଳିତ ଅଛି ସରକାର ଯେବେ ସେଥିମଧ୍ୟରୁ କୌଣସି ବିଧାନଙ୍କୁ ରହିବେ କରିବେ ତେବେ ତହିଁର ହୃଦ୍ଭୋଧଜନକ କାରଣମାନ ଉଚ୍ଚ ସରକାରି ଅଂଶରେ ଲେଖାଯିବ । ଯେବେ ସେହି ବିଧାନ ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତରେ ଅନ୍ୟ କୌଣସି ବିଧାନ ପ୍ରଚାରିତ ହେବ ସେହି ନବ ପ୍ରଗରିତ ବିଧାନର ଉପଯୋଗିତା ମଧ୍ୟ ଲେଖାଯିବ । ଆଉ କୌଣସି ନୃତ୍ୟନ ବିଧାନ ବାହାରିଲେ ତହିଁର ପ୍ରଯୋଜନ ମଧ୍ୟ ପ୍ରକାଶ ହେବ ।

ସରକାର ଯେବେ କୌଣସି ନୂଆ ଆଇନ ପ୍ରଚାର କରନ୍ତି ଫଳରେ ଯାହାହେଉ, ପ୍ରଜାମାନଙ୍କର ହିତସାଧନ ଓ ଅନିଷ୍ଟ ନିବାରଣ ବ୍ୟତୀତ ସରକାରଙ୍କର ଅନ୍ୟ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ନଥାଏ । ଯେଉଁ ବିଧାନ ପ୍ରକାଶ ହୁଏ ସେସମ୍ପତ୍ତ ଦ୍ୱାରା ଯେ ପ୍ରଜାବର୍ଗର ଭଲ ବ୍ୟତୀତ ମନ୍ୟ ହୁଏ ନାହିଁ ଏହା ଆୟୋଜନିକାର କରୁ ନାହିଁ । ସରକାର ସର୍ବଜ୍ଞ ନୁହନ୍ତି । ତାଙ୍କର କଷ୍ଟନା ଓ ଅନୁମାନ ମନୁଷ୍ୟର କଷ୍ଟନା ଓ ଅନୁମାନ ଛଡ଼ା ଆନ କିଛି ନୁହେଁ । ଏଥକୁ ପ୍ରଜାମାନେ ତୁମି ହୋଇ ରହିଲେ ସରକାରଙ୍କର ଚାରା ନାହିଁ । ଅପିଚ ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟ ବନ୍ଦବ୍ୟ ଯେ ଆଇନମାନଙ୍କୁ ସମୂର୍ଣ୍ଣମତେ ପରୀକ୍ଷା କରି ଉତ୍ସମ୍ପତ୍ତର ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ବୁଝିବାର ସର୍ବସାଧାରଣଙ୍କ ପକ୍ଷରେ ସହଜ ନୁହେଁ । ସରକାରଙ୍କ ଆଇନ ସମ୍ବରେ ପ୍ରଜାମାନଙ୍କ ମନରେ ବହୁତ କୁସଂସ୍କାର ଥିବାର ଜଣାଯାଏ । ସରକାରଙ୍କର ଅଭିପ୍ରାୟ ନ ଜାଣିବା ହେତୁରୁ ଏହି କୁସଂସ୍କାର ଜାତ ହୋଇଅଛି; ଏଣିକି ଏହି ଅଭିପ୍ରାୟ ଦ୍ୱାରା କ୍ରମରେ ଉଚ୍ଚ କୁସଂସ୍କାରମାନ ରହିତ ହେବାର ସମ୍ବାନନ୍ତା । ସରକାର କେମନ୍ତ ପ୍ରଜାବସ୍ଥା ପ୍ରଚାରିତ ବିଧାନମାନଙ୍କର ଯଥାର୍ଥ କାରଣ ପ୍ରକାଶ ହେଲେ ପ୍ରଜାମାନେ ତାହା ଅନାୟାସରେ ବୁଝିପାରିବେ । ବାସ୍ତବ ଏହି ପତ୍ରିକା ହାକିମ ଓ ପ୍ରଜାମାନଙ୍କର ପରମ୍ପର ବାର୍ତ୍ତାବହ ପ୍ରାୟ ହେବ ।

ଆମେ ବହୁଦିନ ଏ ପ୍ରଦେଶରେ ଅବସ୍ଥାନ କରି ବୁଝିଅଛୁଁ ହାକିମମାନେ କୌଣସି ସାଧାରଣ ହିତକର କର୍ମ ଆରମ୍ଭ କଲାମାତ୍ରକେ ସେଥିର ବିରୁଦ୍ଧରେ ନାନାପ୍ରକାର ମିଥ୍ୟା ସଂବାଦମାନ ପ୍ରକାଶ ହୋଇ ଯେଉଁମାନେ କି ଦେଶର ଅବସ୍ଥା ଭଲ ରୂପେ ଜାଣନ୍ତି ନାହିଁ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ମନକୁ ସେହି ଯୁଦ୍ଧ କରାଏ । ଭଲ କରିବାକୁ ଯାଇ ଶେଷକୁ ହାକିମମାନେ ଅକାରଣ ନିଯାର ଭାଗୀ ହୁଅଛି । ଏହା ଅତି ଦୁଃଖର ବିଷୟ ଅଟେ । ପ୍ରଜାମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଅନେକ ଲୋକ ମୂର୍ଖ ଓ ଆପଣା ଗର୍ଜୀ ଥିବାରୁ ଏହି ଅନିଷ୍ଟ ହେଉ ଅଛି । ମୂର୍ଖ ଲୋକମାନେ କୌଣସି ଭଲ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟର ମନ୍ତ୍ର ବୁଝିପାରନ୍ତି ନାହିଁ ପୁଣି ଆପଣା ଗର୍ଜୀ ଲୋକମାନେ ଆପଣା ହିତ ସାଧନ ନିମନ୍ତେ ସବୁବେଳେ ବ୍ୟପ୍ତ ଆଆଛି । ସାଧାରଣର ମଙ୍ଗଳ ଚିକିତ୍ସାପାଇଁ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଅବକାଶ ନଥାଏ । ସୁତରାଂ ହାକିମମାନଙ୍କର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟଦ୍ୱାରା ଆପଣା ଗର୍ଜର ଚିକିତ୍ସା ମାତ୍ର ବ୍ୟାଘାତ ଦେଖିଲାକ୍ଷଣ ଅଛିର ହୁଅଛି ରାଜଶାସନକୁ ଅକାରଣ ଉପଦ୍ରବ ରଚାଇଦେଇ ସଂବାଦ ପଡ଼ିକାମାନଙ୍କରେ ଦୁଃଖ ପ୍ରକାଶ କରନ୍ତି । ଏହି ଅନିଷ୍ଟ ଖଣ୍ଡନ ସକାଶେ ଅତ୍ରଷ୍ଟ ସାଧାରଣଙ୍କର ମଙ୍ଗଳୋଦେଶ୍ୟରେ ଆମେ ସମ୍ମ ସମ୍ମ ଆଇନ ଅନୁବାଦ କରାଇ ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର ସମାଦବାହିକାରେ ପ୍ରକାଶ କରିବାର ଭାର ଗ୍ରହଣ କଲୁଁ ।

ଆମେ ଏ ଦେଶକୁ ଆସିଲାଦିନ୍ତୁ ଯଦ୍ୟପି ସାନ ବଡ଼ ସମସ୍ତ ଲୋକଙ୍କ ସହିତ ସାକ୍ଷାତ୍ କରି ଅନେକଗୁଡ଼ିଏ ଗୁରୁତର ବିଷୟମାନ ଜାଣିଅଛୁଁ ଓ ପ୍ରକାଶ କରିଅଛୁଁ ତଥାର ଆହୁରି ଅନେକ ବିଷୟ ଅପ୍ରକାଶ ଥିବାର ଜଣାଯାଏ । ଉକ୍ତଙ୍କଳ ଭାଷାରେ ଆସର ବ୍ୟୟରୁ ଥିଲେ ମଧ୍ୟ ଆସ ପକ୍ଷରେ ତହେର ବ୍ୟବହାରୀଙ୍କ ଦକ୍ଷତା ଲଭିବାର କଠିଣ ଅଟେ । ହେତୁକି ଆସମାନଙ୍କର ଉଚାରଣ ଅସ୍ଵତ୍ତା ତହେର ପ୍ରଧାନ ପ୍ରତିବନ୍ଦକ ହୋଇଅଛି । ଇଉରୋପୀୟ ଲୋକେ ଏ ଦେଶର ଭାଷାରେ ସହସ୍ର ବ୍ୟୟନ ହେଉନ୍ତି ପାହକେ, ଦେଶୀୟ ଲୋକେ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ସ୍ବାଭାବିକ ଉଚାରଣ ଅସ୍ଵତ୍ତା ହେତୁରୁ ତାହାଙ୍କର ଭାଷା ସହଜରେ ବୁଝିପାରନ୍ତି ନାହିଁ । ପୁଣି ଆଇନର ମନ୍ତ୍ର ବାକ୍ୟରେ ବୁଝାଇବାର ସ୍ବିଧା ଏ ଦେଶରେ ନାହିଁ, ଆସର ପଦର ଅଙ୍ଗ ମଧ୍ୟ ନୁହେଁ, ସୁତରାଂ ଯାହା ମନ୍ତ୍ରବ୍ୟ ତତ୍ତ୍ଵମନ୍ତ୍ର ଉକ୍ତ ଭାଷାରେ ନିଯମିତ ରୂପରେ ପ୍ରକାଶ କରିବୁଁ ।

ଯେବେ କେହି ଆଇନ ଅର୍ଥାତ୍ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାବି ପ୍ରଚାର ପକ୍ଷରେ କୌଣସି ସେହି ରଖୁଥୁବେ ତେବେ ତାହା ଉଚ୍ଚ ପଡ଼ିକାରେ ଅଥବା ଅନ୍ୟ ପଡ଼ିକାରେ ପ୍ରକାଶ କଲେ ସେଥିର ଉଚ୍ଚର ଏହି ପଡ଼ିକାରେ ଦେବୁଁ ।

ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର

୧୪ ମୁନ ୧୮୭୭

ଜନ ବୀମ୍ବ
କଲେକ୍ଟର ଜିଲେ ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର

Baleswar Sambad Bahika, 1st August, 1872

ବିଜ୍ଞାପନ ।

ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ଲୋକମାନଙ୍କ ହସ୍ତାକ୍ଷର ପ୍ରତି ଅତିଶ୍ୟ ତାଙ୍କଳ୍ୟ କ୍ରମଶଃ ବୃଦ୍ଧି ହେଉଥିବାର ମହିମାର୍ଣ୍ଣବ ଶ୍ରୀଯୁତ ଲେଖଚନେଷ ଗରହର ଆଦେଶ କରିଅଛନ୍ତି ଯେ, ଶ୍ରୀଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ମହାରାଣୀଙ୍କ କଲେଜ ଓ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମୀଲମାନଙ୍କ ଯେଉଁ ସକଳ ଛାତ୍ର ଅଧ୍ୟନ କରୁଅଛନ୍ତି ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଇଂରେଜୀ ଭାଷା ଓ ସେମାନଙ୍କ ଦେଶୀୟ ଭାଷା ଉଭୟ ଅକ୍ଷରରେ ଲେଖିବା ଗୁଣ ଛାତ୍ରବୃତ୍ତି ଓ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ପାରିତୋଷିକ ପରୀକ୍ଷାର ଏକ ଅଙ୍ଗ ସ୍ଵରୂପ ଜ୍ଞାନ କରାଯିବ । ଏବଂ କୌଣସି ଅଦାଳତରେ କର୍ମ ଖାଲି ହୋଇ ଉମେଦବ୍ୟାରମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରୁ ଯେ କେହି ଦେଶୀୟ ଭାଷା ଉଭୟ ଅକ୍ଷରରେ ଓ ଇଂରେଜୀ ସେରଷ୍ଟାର କର୍ମ ପ୍ରାର୍ଥୀମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରୁ ଯେକେହି ଇଂରେଜୀ ଉଭୟ ରୂପେ ଲେଖିପାରିବେ ସେହିମାନଙ୍କୁ କର୍ମରେ ମୁକୁରର କରାଯିବ । ଅମଳାମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରୁ ଯେ ଉଭୟ ଲେଖି ନ ପାରିବେ ତାଙ୍କର ପଦୋନ୍ନତି ହେବନାହିଁ ।

୩୦ ଜୁଲାଇ

୧୮୭୭ ସାଲ

ଜନ ବୀମୟ

ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର ଜ୍ଞାନାର କଲେଜର

ବିଜ୍ଞାପନ ।

୧ । ବଜ୍ରଦେଶର ମହିମାର୍ଣ୍ଣବ ଶ୍ରୀଯୁତ ଲେଖଚନେଷ ଗରହର ସାହେବଙ୍କ ଆଦେଶାନୁସାରେ ଶ୍ରୀଯୁତ ରେଜିଷ୍ଟର ଜେନେରାଲ ସାହେବ ସାଧାରଣଙ୍କ ଗୋଚର ନିମନ୍ତେ ସନ ୧୮୭୧ ମସିହା ଯୁନ୍ନ ମାସ ୨୨ ତାରିଖରେ ଯେଉଁ ବିଜ୍ଞାପନ ପ୍ରଚାର କରିଅଛନ୍ତି ସେଥିରେ ରେଜିଷ୍ଟରୀ କରିବା ବିଷୟର ଭାରତବର୍ଷର ସନ ୧୮୭୧ ସାଲର ୮ ଆଜନର ବିଧାନମତେ ଦଲିଲ ରେଜିଷ୍ଟରୀ କରିବାର ଅନେକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟାଳୟ ହେବାର ଏବଂ ବଜ୍ରଦେଶର ବଡ଼ ବଡ଼ ନଗରର ଓ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ପ୍ଲାନର ସମ୍ମାନ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିମାନଙ୍କୁ ସବୁ ରେଜିଷ୍ଟରୀ କରିବା ନିଯମ ସମ୍ମୂହରୂପେ ବ୍ୟାପ୍ତ ହେଲାରୁ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ଥାନାରେ ଜଣେ ଲେଖାଁ ସବୁରେଜିଷ୍ଟର ରହିବେ ଏମନ୍ତ ଆଶା ହେଉଅଛି ।

୨ । ଉନ୍ତ ଆଜ୍ଞାକ୍ରମେ ଯେ ସବୁ ରେଜିଷ୍ଟର ନିଯୁକ୍ତ ହେବେ ସେମାନେ ଫିସ ଚଙ୍କାରୁ ଶତକଡ଼ା ୪୦ ଟଙ୍କା ୦ରୁ ୭୫ ଟଙ୍କା ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଆପଣାର ମେହେତାନା ରଖିପାରିବେ । ବଡ଼ ବଡ଼ ନଗରମାନଙ୍କରେ ଏବଂ ଯେଉଁ ଯେଉଁ ପ୍ଲାନରେ ଅନ୍ୟ ପ୍ଲାନ ଅପେକ୍ଷା ଅଧିକ ଫିସ ଆବାୟ ହୁଏ ସେହି ସେହି ପ୍ଲାନରେ ଫିସର ଅଧେ ଟଙ୍କା

ପରିଶ୍ରମର ପ୍ରତ୍ଯେକ ବୋଧ ହେବ, କିନ୍ତୁ ମଫଲ ସ୍ଥାନରେ ଉର୍ଧ୍ଵ ସଂଖ୍ୟାରେ ଦିଆଯିବ । ସବ୍ରେଜିଷ୍ଟର, ଯେତେ ଜଣ କେରାନିର ସାହାଯ୍ୟ ଚାହାନ୍ତି ସେମାନଙ୍କର ବେତନ ଏବଂ ରେଜିଷ୍ଟରୀ ବହି ଭିନ୍ନ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟାଳୟର ସମସ୍ତ ଖରଚ ଉଚ୍ଚ ଚଙ୍ଗାରୁ ଦିଆଯିବ ଏବଂ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ପଢ଼ନ୍ତି ଦର୍ଶାଇବା ସକାଶ ପଣ୍ଡାର୍ ଯେଉଁ ବିଧାନ କରାଯିବ ସେମାନେ ସେହି ବିଧି ଅନୁସାରେ କର୍ମ କରିବେ ।

୩ । ଯେଉଁ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ଉଚ୍ଚ କର୍ମ କରିବାକୁ ଜାହା କରନ୍ତି ସେମାନେ ଜନରଳ ରେଜିଷ୍ଟର ସାହେବଙ୍କ ହଜୁରକୁ ଦରଖାସ୍ତ ପଠାଇବେ ଯେ, ପ୍ରଶଂସିତ ସାହେବ ସେମାନଙ୍କ ନାମ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ କରି ରଖିବେ; କିନ୍ତୁ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଙ୍କ ପତ୍ରର ଉଦ୍‌ଦେଶ ଯେ ଦେବେ ସେଥୁର କିଛି ନିର୍ଣ୍ଣୟ ନାହିଁ; ଅତେବ ଯେମାନେ ତାକ ଯୋଗେ ପତ୍ର ପଠାଇବେ ତାଙ୍କର ତାହା ରେଜିଷ୍ଟରୀ କରି ପଠାଇବା ଉଚିତ । ଯେଉଁ ସ୍ଥାନରେ ସବ୍ରେଜିଷ୍ଟରମାନଙ୍କ ସଂଖ୍ୟା ବୃଦ୍ଧି କରିବା ଆଦି ଆବଶ୍ୟକ, ସେହି ସେହି ସ୍ଥାନରେ ପ୍ରଥମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରକ ନିଯୁକ୍ତ ହେବେ ।

୪ । ଏହି ନିୟମ ପ୍ରଚଳିତ ହେଲେ ବେତନଭୋଗୀ ସବ୍ରେଜିଷ୍ଟର ଆଉ ନିଯୁକ୍ତ ହେବେ ନାହିଁ; ଅତେବ ସେହି ବେତନଭୋଗୀ ପଦ ପାଇବାର ପ୍ରାର୍ଥନାପତ୍ର ଆଉ ରେଜିଷ୍ଟରୀ କରାଯିବ ନାହିଁ ।

୫ । ଯେହେତୁ ଆସ୍ତି ବିବେଚନାରେ ଏହି ଜିଲ୍ଲା ଜଳେଶ୍ୱର, ସୋର ଓ ଧାମନଗରଏହି ତିନି ସ୍ଥାନରେ ତିନିଜଣ ଅବେଳିନିକ ସବ୍ର ରେଜିଷ୍ଟର ନିଯୁକ୍ତ କରିବା ବିହିତ; ଏବଂ ସେଥୁ ନିମନ୍ତେ ଯେଉଁ ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିମାନେ ଦରଖାସ୍ତ କରନ୍ତି, ଉଚ୍ଚ ଦରଖାସ୍ତମାନ ଜନରଳ ରେଜିଷ୍ଟର ସାହେବଙ୍କ ହଜୁରକୁ ପଠାଯିବ; ଅତେବ ସର୍ବସାଧାରଣଙ୍କ ଗୋତର ସକାଶ ବିଜ୍ଞାପନ ପ୍ରଚାର କରାଯାଉଅଛି ଯେ, ଉପର ଲେଖିତ କର୍ମ କରିବା ସକାଶ ଯେଉଁମାନେ ଜାହା କରନ୍ତି ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଉଚିତ ଯେ, ହଜୁରରେ ହାଜର ହୋଇ ଦରଖାସ୍ତ କଲେ ବିହିତ ଆଦେଶ ପ୍ରଦାନ କରାଯିବ ।

ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର

୩୦ ତାରିଖ ଜୁଲାଇ ୧୯୭୭ ସାଲ

ଜନ୍ମ ବାମସ

ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର ଜ୍ଞାନାର କଲେକ୍ଟର

ବିଜ୍ଞାପନ ।

ହାଇକୋର୍ଟ ଆପଣାର ପ୍ରକାଶିତ ସରକ୍କୁଯାଳାର ଦ୍ୱାରା ଏମନ୍ତ ପ୍ରକାଶ କରିଅଛନ୍ତି ଯେ, ସନ ୧୯୭୦ ମଶୀହା କୋର୍ଟପୀଏ ଅର୍ଥାତ୍ ଆଇନର ୨୭ ଧାରା ଅନୁସାରେ ମହାମାନ୍ୟ ଶ୍ରୀଯୁକ୍ତ ଗର୍ଭର ଜେନେରଳ ସାହେବ ଆଦେଶ କରିଅଛନ୍ତି ଯେ, ଉଚ୍ଚ

ଆଜନ ଅନୁସାରେ କୌଣସି ପିସ ସକାଶ ଯେ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମାମ ବ୍ୟବହାର ହୁଏ ତାହା ଛପା କିମ୍ବା କୋର୍ଟଫୀସ ଯଡ଼ିତ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମାମରେ ବ୍ୟବହାର ହେବ । ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ଛାପା ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମାମ ଶେଷ ହୋଇଥିବାରୁ ଜଡ଼ିତ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମାମ କେବଳ ବ୍ୟବହାର କରିବାକୁ ହେବ ଓ ନଥ୍ର ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ଯେ କାଗଜ କୁହେଁ, ସେକାଗଜରେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମାମ ଲଗାଯିବ ନାହିଁ; ଅତେବ ସର୍ବସାଧାରଣଙ୍କୁ ବିକ୍ରୀ କରିବା କାରଣ ବେଶ୍ଵରମାନଙ୍କୁ ଏହି ପ୍ରକାର ଅର୍ଥାତ୍ ୧୩୫ ଲଞ୍ଚ ଲମ୍ବା ଓ ୮୫ ଲଞ୍ଚ ଚୌଡ଼ା କାଗଜ ଏକପଇସା ମୂଲ୍ୟରେ ଦିଆଯିବ; କିନ୍ତୁ ଯଦି କୌଣସି ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ନଥ୍ର ସଂଯୁକ୍ତ ହେବାର ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ କାଗଜରେ କୋର୍ଟଫୀସ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମାମ ଯୋଡ଼ାଇ ଦରଖାସ୍ତ ଦିଏ, ତେବେ ତାକୁ ବେଶ୍ଵରମାନଙ୍କଠାରୁ ଉଚ୍ଚ ସାଧା କାଗଜ ଖରିଦ କରିବାର କିଛି ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ହେବ ନାହିଁ ନଚେତ୍ ଦରଖାସ୍ତ ଅଗ୍ରାହ୍ୟ ହେବ ।

ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର

୩୦ ଜୁଲାଇ ୧୮୭୭

ଜନ୍ମ ବୀମସ

ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର ଜିଲ୍ଲାର କଲେକ୍ଟର

Baleswar Sambad Bahika, 1st October, 1872

ବିଜ୍ଞାପନ ।

ଏହି ଦେଶର ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଯେଉଁ ଲୋକେ ନିଜ ବ୍ୟୟରେ ବିଦ୍ୟା ଉପାର୍ଜନ କରିବାକୁ ଅକ୍ଷମ, ସେମାନଙ୍କ ଶିକ୍ଷା ନିମନ୍ତେ ଗବର୍ନ୍ମେଣ୍ଟ ଅନୁଗ୍ରହ କରି ଗ୍ରାମେ ଗ୍ରାମେ କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ ଖାପନ କରିବାକୁ ଯତ୍ନବାନ୍ ହୋଇ ଅଛନ୍ତି । ଏହି ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟମାନଙ୍କରେ ଦରିଦ୍ର ଓ ମଧ୍ୟଭାଲ୍କ ଲୋକମାନଙ୍କର ସନ୍ତାନମାନେ ଉକ୍ତଳଭାଷା ଉତ୍ସମରୂପେ ଶିଖିପାରିବେ, ପ୍ରାୟ ସମସ୍ତ ବ୍ୟୟ ସରକାର ବାହାଦୁର ନିଜରୁ ଦେବେ । ଏହି ଅଭିପ୍ରାୟରେ ଗତବର୍ଷରୁ ଗବର୍ନ୍ମେଣ୍ଟ, ଅବଧାନମାନଙ୍କୁ ପଡ଼ାଇବା ନିମନ୍ତେ କଟକରେ ଗୋଟିଏ ସ୍ଵତନ୍ତ୍ର ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ ଖାପନ କରିଅଛନ୍ତି । ଅବଧାନମାନେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟରେ ଉତ୍ସମରୂପେ ଲେଖାପଡ଼ା ଶିଖି ଆସିଲାରୁ ସରକାର ବାହାଦୁର ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଦରମାହ ଦେଇ ଗ୍ରାମ ଗ୍ରାମକେ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ କରିଦେବେ । ଗ୍ରାମବାସିମାନେ ଗୋଟିଏ ଘର ଓ ଆପଣା ଆପଣା ପିଲାମାନଙ୍କ ନିମନ୍ତେ ଦୁଇଅଣା କିମ୍ବା ଅଣାଏ ଦରମାହ ଦେବେ । ଏଥୁ ସକାଶ ସର୍ବ ସାଧାରଣଙ୍କୁ ଜଣାଇ ବିଆୟାଇ ଅଛି ଯେ, ଯେଉଁମାନେ ଆପଣା ଆପଣା ଗ୍ରାମରେ ଉଚ୍ଚରୂପ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ ଖାପନ କରାଇବାର ମାନସ କରିଛି ସେମାନେ ଏକମାସ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ତଳଲେଖିତ କେତୋଟି ସମ୍ବାଦ ଲେଖି ତଳଲେଖିତ ଠିକଣା ଦେଇ ଡାକମୋଗେ ଦରଖାସ୍ତ କରିବେ ।

ଠିକଣା

ବାଲେଶ୍ଵର ଜିଲ୍ଲାର ସ୍କୁଲ ସମୂହର ତେପୁଟୀ ଜନସେକଟର

ବାବୁ ରାଧାନାଥ ରାୟଙ୍କ ନିକଟରେ ପହୁଞ୍ଚିବ ।

ମୋକାମ ନାଲେଶ୍ଵର ।

ସମାଦି ।

୧ । ଗ୍ରାମର ନାମ, ୨ । ପରଗନାର ନାମ, ୩ । କେଉଁ ଆନାର ଅତର୍ଗତ,
୪ । ଗ୍ରାମରେ କେତେ ପିଲା ହୋଇ ପାରିବେ, ୫ । କେତେବେଳେ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଘର ତୟାର
କରି ଦେବେ, ୬ । ସେ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତଘର ତୟାର ନ ହେବ, ସେ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ କାହାରି ବଜାଳାରେ
ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ ବସି ପାରେ ବି ନାହିଁ, ୭ । ଗ୍ରାମର ଜମୀଦାରଙ୍କ ନାମ ।

ବାଲେଶ୍ଵର

ଜନ ବୀମସ୍ଥ

୨୭ । ୯ । ୭୭

ବାଲେଶ୍ଵର ଜ୍ଞାନାର କଲେକ୍ଟର

ବିଜ୍ଞାପନ ।

ଏକାଉଷେଷ ଜନରଳ ସାହେବଙ୍କ ଏହି ମାସ ତା ୪ ରିଖ ଲେଖିତ ନ ୨୪୩
ମର ସରକୁୟଳାରରୁ ଭଣାଗଲା ଯେ, କେତେକ ଜିଲ୍ଲାରେ ତଳ ଲେଖିତ କେତେକ
ପ୍ରକାର ସରକାରୀ ପଇସା ଅବଧୁ ପ୍ରଚଳିତ ଅଛି ଯାହା ବଜାରୀମାନେ ନେଉନାହାନ୍ତି;
ସମ୍ପ୍ରତି ଏଣିକି ସେ ପଇସାମାନ ଉତ୍ତମରୂପେ ଚଳପ୍ରଚଳ ହେବା ଉଚିତ; ଅତେବବ
ସର୍ବସାଧାରଣଙ୍କ ଗୋଚରାର୍ଥେ ପ୍ରକାଶ କରା ଯାଉଅଛି ଯେ, ସମସ୍ତେ ଉଦ୍‌ଦେଶ୍ୟତକୁ
ଚଳଲେଖିତ ପଇସାମାନଙ୍କୁ ବିନା ସନ୍ଦେହରେ କାରବାର କରିବେ, ସେଥୁରେ କୌଣସି
ଆପରି କରିବେ ନାହିଁ ।

ପ୍ରଥମ । ମୋଟା ଦୁପଇସୀ ଅର୍ଥାତ୍ ଅଧିଅଣା କି ତାହାର ଏକ ପାରିରେ ଜଂରାଜୀ
ବଜଳା ଓ ଆର ପାରିରେ ପାରସି ଓ ଦେବ ନାଗରୀ ଅକ୍ଷରରେ ଲେଖା ଅଛି । ତହିଁରେ
ତାରିଖ କିମ୍ବା ଅନ୍ୟ କିଛି ଚିହ୍ନ ନାହିଁ ।

ଦ୍ୱିତୀୟ । ଏକ ପଇସା ଦୁଇ ପ୍ରକାର, ଅର୍ଥାତ୍ ଏହି ପ୍ରକାର ପତଳା କି ତାହାର
ଏକ ପାରିରେ ବଜଳା, ପାରସା ଓ ମହାଜନୀ ଅକ୍ଷରରେ ଏକ ପାହା ସୀକା ଲେଖା
ଅଛି ଆର ପାରିରେ ପାରସା ଭାଷାରେ ଓ ପାରସା ଅକ୍ଷରରେ ସନ ଓ ହସ୍ତମ ଜଳୁସ
ସାହ ଆଲମ ବାଦସାହ ଲେଖାଯାଇଅଛି ।

ତୃତୀୟ । ଦୋସରା ପଇସା କିଛି ମୋଟା ଓ ତହିଁରୁ କିଛି କମ ଓ କଳଦର
ଅଗଳ; ତହିଁରେ ଉପର ଲେଖିତମାତ୍ରେ ଲେଖା ହୋଇଅଛି ।

ଚତୁର୍ଥ । ଏକ ପାହୁଳା କି ତାହାର ଏକ ପାରିରେ ଇଂରେଜୀ ଓ ବଙ୍ଗାଳା ଓ ଆର ପାରିରେ ପାରସ୍ପା ଓ ନାଗରୀ ଲେଖା ଅଛି; ସେହି ପାହୁଳା ବର୍ଷମାନ ଚଳନ ଅଛି ସେ ସମସ୍ତ ପଇସା ସରକାରୀ ଅଟେ ।

ବାଲେଶ୍ଵର

ଜନ୍ମ ବୀମସ

୧୯ । ୯ । ୭୭

ବାଲେଶ୍ଵର ଜ୍ଞାନ କଲେକ୍ଟର

Baleswar Sambad Bahika, 16th July, 1873

ବିଜ୍ଞାପନ ।

ଫୌଜଦାରୀ ଅଦାଲତରେ ମୋକଦମା ଉପସ୍ଥିତ କରାଗଲେ ସରକାର ବାହାଦୁରଙ୍କ ପକ୍ଷରେ ବାଦିମାନଙ୍କର ଓ ସାକ୍ଷିମାନଙ୍କର ଖରଚ ଦେବାର ଯେଉଁ ନିୟମ ଚଲିବ ବଙ୍ଗଦେଶର ଶ୍ରୀୟୁକ୍ତ ଲେପ୍ଟେନେଣ୍ଟ ଗବର୍ଣ୍ଣର ସାହେବ ଫୌଜଦାରୀ ମୋକଦମାର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟବିଧାନର ୧୮୭୭ ସାଲ ୧୦ ଆଇନର ୪୭୧ ଧାରାର ବିଧାନ ଅନୁସାରେ ଭାରତବର୍ଷର ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀସାହାଧୃଷ୍ଟ ମହିମାବର ଶ୍ରୀୟୁକ୍ତ ଗବର୍ଣ୍ଣର ଜନରଳ ସାହେବଙ୍କ ସମ୍ମତି ଅନୁସାରେ ସେହି ନିୟମର ଏହି ବିଧୁ ପ୍ରଚାର କଲେ ।

୨ । ନିମ୍ନ ଲେଖିତ ଛଲରେ ଫୌଜଦାରୀ ଅଦାଲତ ପ୍ରତି ତଳଲେଖିତ ହିସାବରେ ବାଦିର ଓ ସାକ୍ଷିମାନଙ୍କର ଖରଚ ଦେବାର ଆଦେଶ ହେଲା । (୧) ଯେବେ ସରକାର ବାହାଦୁରଙ୍କର ଜିଲ୍ଲାର କୌଣସି ଜକ୍କ କି ମାଜିଷ୍ଟ୍ରେଟ ସାହେବଙ୍କର କିମ୍ବା ରାଜକୀୟ ଅନ୍ୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରଙ୍କର ଆଦେଶାନୁସାରେ କିମ୍ବା ତାଙ୍କ ଆଜ୍ଞାଧୀନରେ ନାଲିଶ୍ ଉପସ୍ଥିତ କରାଯାଏ କି ମୋକଦମା ଚଳାଯାଏ କିମ୍ବା ଯେବେ ଅଦାଲତର କର୍ତ୍ତୃପକ୍ଷ ସେହି ମୋକଦମା ଅବ୍ୟବହିତରୂପେ ରାଜକୀୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟର ସ୍ଵାର୍ଥର ଉନ୍ନତି ଜଡ଼ିତ ଝାନ କରନ୍ତି କିଂବା (୨) ଫୌଜଦାରୀ ମୋକଦମାର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟବିଧୁ ଆଇନର ତପସିଲର ପଞ୍ଚମ ଘରେ ହାଜର ଜାମିନ ନିଆୟିବ ନାହିଁ ବୋଲି ଯେଉଁ ମୋକଦମା ଲେଖା ଅଛି ଯେବେ ସେହି ପ୍ରକାର ମୋକଦମା ହୁଏ ଏବଂ (୩) ଯେବେ ମାଜିଷ୍ଟ୍ରେଟ ସାହେବ ଆପଣା ବିବେଚନା ଅନୁସାରେ ଉଚ୍ଚ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟବିଧୁ ଆଇନର ୩୪୧ ଧାରାର ବିଧାନକ୍ରମେ ସାକ୍ଷିମାନଙ୍କୁ ବଳପୂର୍ବକ ଉପସ୍ଥିତ କରାନ୍ତି ସେହି ସମସ୍ତ ମୋକଦମାରେ ।

୩ । ମୋକଦମାର ତଦ୍ବିର ହେଲେ ସାଧାରଣଙ୍କ ନ୍ୟାୟବିଚାରର ସ୍ଵାର୍ଥ ପକ୍ଷରେ ଉପକାର ହୁଏ, ଅଦାଲତର କିମ୍ବା ମାଜିଷ୍ଟ୍ରେଟ ସାହେବଙ୍କର ଏମନ୍ତ ବିବେଚନା ହେଲେ ବାଦିର ଦରଖାସ୍ତମତେ ଯେଉଁ ସାକ୍ଷିମାନଙ୍କ ନାମରେ ସମନ କରାଯାଏ ଗର୍ଭମେଷ୍ଟରୁ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ କିଛି ଟଙ୍କା ଦିଆଯାଇ ପାରିବ, ନତୁବା ୩୭୧ ଧାରା ଅନୁୟାୟୀ ଦିଆୟିବ

ନାହିଁ; କିନ୍ତୁ ଏହି ଧାରା ମତେ ସାକ୍ଷିମାନଙ୍କର ଖରଚ ଫରିଆଦିମାନଙ୍କର ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ, ମାଜିଷ୍ଟ୍ରେଟ ସାହେବ ଏମତ ଆଦେଶ କରି ପାରିବେ ।

୪ । ଏହି ଏହି ଦରରେ ଖରଚ ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ ଯଥା;

(କ) ଏକଦେଶୀୟ ସାଧାରଣ ମୂଲିଆ ଶ୍ରେଣୀର ଲୋକମାନଙ୍କର ଦିନକୁ ଦୁଇଅଣା ।

(ଖ) ଯେଉଁ ଛଳରେ ଲୋକେ ଜଳପଥରେ ଗମନାଗମନ କରନ୍ତି ଓ ଯେଉଁ ଛଳରେ ଲୋକ ଡାକଦରତ୍ତରେ ଗମନାଗମନ କରନ୍ତି ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଅତ୍ୟଧିକ ୨ ଟଙ୍କା ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ପ୍ରକୃତ ନୌକା ଖରଚ ଓ ମାଇଲ ପ୍ରତି ୮° । [ଚାରି] ଅଣା ପଥ ଖରଚ ଦିଆଯାଇ ପାରିବ, କିନ୍ତୁ ଏମତ ଛଳରେ ଏହି ଉପବିଧୁ ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ । ଯେବେ ପଦଗତିରେ ଯିବାର ହୋଇ ନ ପାରେ କିମ୍ବା ଯେତେ ବୟସ ଓ ଅବସ୍ଥା ଓ ଅଭ୍ୟାସ ବଶତଃ ପଦଗତିରେ ଯିବାର ହୋଇ ନ ପାରେ ତେବେ ପଥ ଖରଚ ଦିଆଯିବ ।

ଖରଚ ବଞ୍ଚାଇବା ନିମନ୍ତେ ସାଧମତ ସମସ୍ତ ସାକ୍ଷିଙ୍କୁ ଏକତ୍ରରେ ଅଣାଇବାକୁ ହେବ ଓ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ଆପଣା ଆପଣା ନୌକା ଭଡ଼ାନେଇ ପାରିବେ ନାହିଁ ।

୫ । ଏକସାନରୁ ଅନ୍ୟ ସାନକୁ ଯିବାର ଯେତେଦିନ ଲାଗେ, ଯେଉଁ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରକ ଖରଚ ଦେବାକୁ ଆଜ୍ଞା କରନ୍ତି ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ସାନରେ ସେ କେବଳ ତାହା ନିରୂପଣ କରିବେ । ଏହି ଅଭିପ୍ରାୟରେ ସଦର ମୁକାମ ଓ ସବ୍ବତିବିଜନର ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ଥାନା କେତେଦୂର ଓ ତନ୍ମୁଖରେ କେତେ ନୌକା ଅଛି ଏତ୍ସପ୍ରକାଶକ ଖଣ୍ଡ ଟେବଲ୍ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ କରି ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ଅଦାଲତରେ ରଖିବାକୁ ହେବ ଓ ଯେତେ ଛଳପଥ ଓ ଜଳପଥ ଅଛି ବା ନାହିଁ ତାହା ମଧ୍ୟ ସେହି ଟେବଲ୍ରେ ଲେଖିବାକୁ ହେବ ।

ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର

୧ । ୭ । ୭୩

ଜନ ବୀମସ

ଜ୍ଞାନାର କଲେକ୍ଟର

Baleswar Sambad Bahika, 16th January, 1873

ବିଜ୍ଞାପନ ।

ସନ ୧୮୭୭ ମଶୀହା ଡିସେମ୍ବର ମାସ ତା ୨ ରିଖ ଲେଖିତ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମିଆ ଗରଣ୍ଯ୍ୟମେଣ୍ଟଙ୍କ ଚିଠୀରୁ ପ୍ରକାଶ ହେଲା ଯେ, ବଙ୍ଗଲା ହତାମଧରେ ସିବିଲ ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧୀୟ କର୍ମ ପାଇବା ସକାଶେ ଯେଉଁ ସବୁ ବିଷୟରେ ପରୀକ୍ଷା ଦେବାର ନିୟମ ପ୍ରଚାର କରଣପୂର୍ବକ ସେହି ସବୁ ବିଷୟର ପ୍ରେସିତେନ୍ସି, ହୁଗଲୀ, ଭାକା, ପାଟନା ଓ କଟକରେ ଶିକ୍ଷା ଦେବାର ସାନ ନିରୂପିତ କରି ତହିଁରେ ସରକାରର ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ କର୍ମଚାରିମାନେ

ଯଦି ସେଠାରେ ଉପସ୍ଥିତ ହେବାକୁ ଜାହା କରନ୍ତି ତେବେ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଅବକାଶ ଦଆଯାଉ, ବଜଳାର ଗର୍ଭମେଣ୍ଡ ତହୀର ରିପୋର୍ଟ କରିଥିଲେ । ଉଚ୍ଚ ରିପୋର୍ଟରୁ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମୀ ଗର୍ଭମେଣ୍ଡରେ ଜଣାଗଲା ଯେ, ବଜଳା ହତାର ଶ୍ରୀଯୁତ ଲେପ୍ଟେନେଣ୍ଡ ଗର୍ଭର ସାହେବ ସବଧିନେଟ କର୍ମ (ଯେପରି କି ତେଣୁ ମେଜଷ୍ଟ୍ରି ଲତ୍ୟାଦି) ସକାଶ ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ଲୋକ ନିଯୁକ୍ତ କରିବାର କେତେକ ବିଷୟର ପରୀକ୍ଷାର ନିୟମ କରିଅଛନ୍ତି ।

୨ । ଯେସବୁ ସରକାରୀ କର୍ମଚାରିମାନେ ସାମାନ୍ୟ ପଦରେ ନିଯୁକ୍ତ ଆଛି, ସେମାନେ ଯଦି ଉଚ୍ଚପଦ ପାଇବାର ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ଥିବାର ସାର୍ଟିଫିକେଟ ଆପଣା ଆପଣା କର୍ତ୍ତୃପକ୍ଷଙ୍କଠାରୁ ପ୍ରାୟହୋଇ ପାରନ୍ତି ତେବେ ପରୀକ୍ଷା ସ୍ଥାନରେ ଉପସ୍ଥିତ ହୋଇପାରିବେ; ମାତ୍ର ସେମାନେ ଆପଣା ଆପଣା କର୍ମରେ ଅନୁପସ୍ଥିତ ହୋଇ ପରୀକ୍ଷାରେ ଉପସ୍ଥିତ ହେବାରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ ବ୍ୟାପାର ଘଟିବ । କୌଣସି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟାଳୟର ଅଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷର ଓ ବଜଳା ଗର୍ଭମେଣ୍ଡର ଅନୁମତି ଏଥୁପକ୍ଷେ ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ନୋହେ, ହିସାବ ସିରଷାରେ ଏପରି ଛୁଟୀପକ୍ଷରେ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମୀ ଗର୍ଭମେଣ୍ଡରୁ ମଞ୍ଚୁରୀ ନିୟମ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ କରେ; ଏଣୁକରି ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମୀ ଗର୍ଭମେଣ୍ଡରୁ ଆଦେଶ ହେଉଅଛି ଯେ ଶ୍ରୀଯୁକ୍ତ ଲେପ୍ଟେନେଣ୍ଡ ଗର୍ଭର ସାହେବ, ପରୀକ୍ଷା ଦେବା ସକାଶ ଯେତେଦିନ ଛୁଟୀର ଆବଶ୍ୟକ, ତାହା ପ୍ରଚଳିତ ଛୁଟୀର ନିୟମର ବହିର୍ଭୂତ ମଞ୍ଚୁର କରିପାରନ୍ତି । ପରୀକ୍ଷା ଦେବା ନମନ୍ତେ ଥିବା ଅଛୁଟାମାନଙ୍କର ଅନୁପସ୍ଥିତ ଥିବା ସମୟରେ ତାଙ୍କର କର୍ମ ନିର୍ବାହ ସକାଶ ଯେତେ ଖରଚ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ହେବ, ସେହି ପରିମାଣରେ ପରୀକ୍ଷାର୍ଥୀର ବେତନରୁ କର୍ତ୍ତନ କରି ନେବେ । ଏଥୁରେ ଯେତେ ଚକ୍ର ହେଉ ତାହା ଉଚ୍ଚ ଅନୁପସ୍ଥିତ କର୍ମଚାରୀଙ୍କ ବେତନରୁ କର୍ତ୍ତନ କରାଯିବ, କାରଣ ସେ କର୍ମଚାରୀ ତାଙ୍କର ନିର୍ବାହ ହିତ ନମନ୍ତେ କର୍ମରେ ଅନୁପସ୍ଥିତ ହେବେ । ଏପରି ଛୁଟୀ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ପରୀକ୍ଷାରେ ଦୁଇଥରରୁ ଅଧୁକ ଦିଆଯିବ ନାହିଁ ।

ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର

୧୧ । ୧ । ୭୩

ଜନ୍ମ ବୀମସ୍

ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର ଜିଲ୍ଲା କଲେକ୍ଟର

Baleswar Sambad Bahika, 1st April, 1873

ସାହାୟ୍ୟକୃତ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ ।

ସାହାୟ୍ୟକୃତ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟମାନଙ୍କର ସାହାୟ୍ୟ ନିମନ୍ତେ ଗର୍ଭମେଣ୍ଟ ପ୍ରତି ଜିଲ୍ଲା ସକାଶୀ କେତେକ ଟଙ୍କା ନିରୂପଣ କରି ଲନ୍ଧେକୁରଙ୍କ ମତ ନେଇ ଜିଲ୍ଲାର ଶିକ୍ଷା କମେଟୀ ଯେଉଁ ସ୍କୁଲରେ ଯେତେ ସାହାୟ୍ୟ ଦେବା ନିମନ୍ତେ ଅନୁରୋଧ କରିବେ ତଦନ୍ତୁସାରେ ଟଙ୍କା ବର୍ଣ୍ଣନ ହେବ । କମ୍ପିଟୀ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବିତ ଉଚ୍ଚ ବନ୍ଧନର ନକସା ଗର୍ଭମେଣ୍ଟଙ୍କ ମଞ୍ଚୁରୀ ସକାଶ ପ୍ରତି ବସ୍ତର ଲନ୍ଧେକୁର ଓ କମ୍ପିସନରଙ୍କ ଦ୍ୱାରା ତାଇରେକଟରଙ୍କ ଠାକୁ ପ୍ରେରିତ ହେବ ।

ସାହାୟ୍ୟ ନିରୂପିତ ହେଲା ଉଭାରୁ ଜିଲ୍ଲାର ଶିକ୍ଷା କମେଟୀ ସାହାୟ୍ୟକୃତ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ ହସ୍ତକ୍ଷେପ କରିବେ ନାହିଁ । ଉଚ୍ଚ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟମାନଙ୍କର ଅଧିକ ଯେବେ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ସାହାୟ୍ୟ ପ୍ରାର୍ଥନା କରିବେ ତାହା ହେଲେ ହସ୍ତକ୍ଷେପ କରିବେ ।

ସାହାୟ୍ୟକୃତ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟର ସମାଦକମାନେ ଦୁଇ ମାସ ଅନ୍ତେ ଦୁଇମାସର ବିଲ (ତିନିପରଷ୍ଠ) କରି ଡିପୋଟୀ ଲନ୍ଧେକୁଟରଙ୍କ ଠାକୁ ପଠାଇଲେ ଡିପୋଟୀ ଲନ୍ଧେକୁଟର ତାହା ମଞ୍ଚୁର କରିବେ ।

ସମାଦକମାନେ ବିଲ ସହିତ ଡିପୋଟୀ ଲନ୍ଧେକୁଟରଙ୍କଠାକୁ ଦୁଇମାସର ଆୟ ବ୍ୟୟର ଓ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ପ୍ରଯୋଜନୀୟ ନକସାମାନ ମଧ୍ୟ ପଠାଇବେ । ତେପୁଟୀ ଲନ୍ଧେକୁଟର ସେ ସମସ୍ତକୁ ପରୀକ୍ଷା ସକାଶ ଲନ୍ଧେକୁରଙ୍କଠାକୁ ପଠାଇବେ ।

ସବୁ ସ୍କୁଲର ଶିକ୍ଷକ ଓ ସମାଦକମାନଙ୍କର ଜାଣିବା ନିମନ୍ତେ ଉପରଳିଖିତ ନିୟମମାନ ପ୍ରକାଶ ହେଲା । ଏହି ନିୟମମାନ ୧୮୭୩ ସାଲ ୧ ଲା ଫେବୃଆରୀରୁ ବଲବଡ଼ ପରି ଭାଣିବ ।

ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର

୩୧ । ୩ । ୭୩

ଜନ୍ମ ବୀମସ୍

ମେଜେଷ୍ଟ୍ର ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର

Baleswar Sambad Bahika, 16th April, 1873

ବିଜ୍ଞାପନ ।

କେତେକ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ତାକଦ୍ଵାରା ବୋମେ ମୁକାମକୁ ପ୍ରେରଣ ହୋଇଥିବା ସମୟରେ ହେବି ଯାଇଥିବାରୁ ତହିଁର ତଦତ ହେଲା ପରେ ଜଣା ଗଲା ଯେ କେତେକ ଅସର ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ଓ ପୋଷଥିଷ୍ଟ ସଂକ୍ରାନ୍ତ ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତ କର୍ମଚାରୀଙ୍କ କୁପରାମର୍ଶରେ ଏପରି ଉଚ୍ଚକତା ଘଟିଥିଛି;

ଡବାରକରେ ଯାହା ପ୍ରକାଶ ହୋଇ ଅଛି ତହଁର ବିବରଣ ନିମ୍ନ ଭାଗରେ ସର୍ବ ସାଧାରଣଙ୍କ ଗୋଚର ନିମ୍ନତେ ପ୍ରକାଶ କରାଗଲା ।

ପ୍ରଥମ ନମ୍ବର ଚୋରାଇ ଅବସ୍ଥା ଏହି ଯେ, ଇଯୋରର ନିକଟବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଧଡ଼ମୌଜିର କ-ନାମକ ଜଣେ ବଣିଯାଁର ବୋଷେ ମୁକାମର ଖ-ନାମକ ଜଣେ ବଣିଯାଁ ସହିତ କାରବାର ଥିଲା । କ, ଖ-୦ାକୁ ଚାରିଦଶ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ (କି ପିଞ୍ଜର ମୂଲ୍ୟ ଟ ୨୫୦୦) ପଠାଇଥିଲା । କ-ର ହୁଣ୍ଡୀୟୁଷ ଟି୦୧ ବାଟରେ ଚୋରିଗଲା, ଚୋରା ଯାଇଥିବା ଟି୦୧ରେ କାରବାରର ବିବରଣ ଯାହା ଲେଖାଇଥିଲା, ତାହା ଲେଖା ହୋଇ ତହଁରେ କେବଳ ଦୁଇଶଷ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ପଠାଇଥିବାର ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ କରି ତହଁରେ କ-ର ଜାଲ ଦସ୍ତଖତ ହୋଇ ଖ-୦ାକୁ ପଠାଗଲା । ଖ, ଉତ୍ତର ଜାଲ ଟି୦୩ ଓ ୨ ଖଣ୍ଡ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ପାଇବା ପରେ କ-୦ାକୁ ଟ୍ୟୁନ୍‌କୁ ପାଇବା ବିଷୟ ଲେଖିଲା । ଏହି ଚିଠିକୁ ବାହ୍ନରେ ଅଟକ କରାଇ ତହଁରେ ପାଞ୍ଚ ହଜାରର ପାଞ୍ଚକୁ ଦଶ କରାଯାଇଥିଲା ।

ଉତ୍ତର ପାଞ୍ଚ ହଜାର ଟଙ୍କା ପାଇବା ସକାଶ ଜାଲକାରୀମାନେ କ-ର ଜାଲଦସ୍ତଖତ କରି ଖ-କୁ ଲେଖିଲେ ଯେ, କ, ତାହାର ଗୋମାଷ୍ଟା ଗ-କୁ ପୁନା ନଗରରୁ କିଛି ସାମଗ୍ରୀ କ୍ରୟ କରିବା ସକାଶ ଟ ୫୦୦୦ ଲାଗର ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ଦେଇ ପଠାଇ ଅଛନ୍ତି; ମାତ୍ର ପୁନା ନଗରରେ କ, ଅପରିଚିତ ଥିବାରୁ ପୁନା ନଗରର ବଣିକମାନେ ସେଠୀକାର କୌଣସି ଉତ୍ତର ଓ ଧନୀ ଲୋକ ସାହାୟ୍ୟ ନ କଲେ ଗ, ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ଭଙ୍ଗାଇ ପାରିବ ନାହିଁ; ଅତ୍ୟବ ସେ, ଗ-ର ଆଚରଣ ବିଷୟ ଖ-କୁ ପଚାରିଲେ । ଖ, ଏହିପରି ଜାଲ ଟି୦୧ ପ୍ରାସ୍ତ ହେଲା ପରେ ଗ-ର ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ତାଙ୍କର ପୁନା ନଗରରେ ଗୋମାଷ୍ଟା ଦ୍ୱାରା ଭଙ୍ଗାଇଲେ; ମାତ୍ର ଗୁମାଷ୍ଟାମାନଙ୍କୁ ଆଦେଶ କଲେ ଯେ, ସେମାନେ ଉତ୍ତର ଟଙ୍କା ଉପରେ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ରଖିବେ । ଗ-ର ଏହି ସବୁ ବିଷୟରେ ସମେହ ଜାତ ହେବା ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ଉତ୍ତର ଟଙ୍କାରୁ ଟ୍ୟୁନ୍‌କୁ କରଇ ନେଇ ପଳାଇ ଗଲା ।

ଆଉ ଗୋଟିଏ ତଞ୍ଚକତାର ବିବରଣ ଏହି ଯେ;-

ଉତ୍ତର ଗ, ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ଜାଲ କରିଥିବା ସମୟରେ ଖ, ଟ ୨୫୦୦ଙ୍କାର ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ, କ ସକାଶ ରେଶମ କିଣିବା ନିମ୍ନତେ ପାଇଲା । ଖ, ଉତ୍ତର ଟ ୨୫୦୦ଙ୍କାର ହୁଣ୍ଡୀକୁ ଯେଉଁ ଯେଉଁ ମହାଜନ ନାମରେ ଥିଲା, ସେମାନଙ୍କ ପାଖକୁ ଭଙ୍ଗାଇବା ଆଶାରେ ନେଇ ଯାଇଥିଲା । ତହଁରେ ସେମାନେ ଅନ୍ୟ ସମୟରେ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ନେଇ ଟଙ୍କା ଦେବାକୁ କହିଲେ । ଖ, ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ନ ଭଙ୍ଗାଇ ଆପଣା ହାତରୁ ଟଙ୍କା ଦେଇ ରେଶମ କିଣି କ ପାଖକୁ ପଠାଇଦେଲା । ମାତ୍ର ଖ, ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ଭଙ୍ଗାଇବା ପୂର୍ବରେ ସେଠୀର ବଣିଯାମାନଙ୍କ ପାଖକୁ ସଂବାଦ ଆସିଥିଲା ଯେ, ସେମାନେ ଉତ୍ତର ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ଚୋରା ଯାଇଥିବାରୁ ସେହି ହୁଣ୍ଡୀବାବତ ଟଙ୍କା ଦେବେ ନାହିଁ; ଅତ୍ୟବ ବଣିଯାମାନେ ଉତ୍ତର ହୁଣ୍ଡୀକୁ ଅଗ୍ରାହ୍ୟ

କଲେ । ଏହିପରି ଜାଳକାରିମାନେ ମଞ୍ଚରେ ଅନେକ ଟଙ୍କାର କାରବାର ଓ ଅନେକ ଟଙ୍କାର ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ନେଲା ପରେ କ, ଖ-ଠାକୁ ଆପଣାର ଏକ ଗୋମାସ୍ତା ପଠାଇବାରେ ଜାଲ ଧରା ପଡ଼ିଲା ।

ଦ୍ୱିତୀୟ ନମ୍ବର । ଏହିଯେ କ-ନାମକ ଜଣେ ମହାଜନ ମୋମିବାଦସ୍ତ ଖ-ନାମକ ଜଣେ ବଣିଯାଁ ପାଖକୁ ଆସି କହିଲା ଯେ, ନିଲାମ ତାରିଖରେ କିଛି ଜିନିଷପତ୍ର କିଶିବା ନିମନ୍ତେ ଟଙ୍କା ପ୍ରୟୋଜନ ଅଛି ଓ ବୋମାଇର ଗ-ନାମକ ଜଣେ ବଣିଯାଁର ଏକ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ତାହାକୁ ଦେଲା । ଖ ଉଚ୍ଚ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ଖରିଦ କଲା ଓ କ-କୁ କହିଲା ଯେ, ବୋମାଇର ଗୋମାସ୍ତା ଘ-ଠାରୁ ଏହି ହୁଣ୍ଡୀର ଥିବା ବିଷୟ ଜାଣିଲା ଉଭାରୁ ଏହି ହୁଣ୍ଡୀର ବାବର ଟଙ୍କା ଦେବୁଁ । ଖ, ଉଚ୍ଚ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀକୁ ଘ ପାଖକୁ ପଠାଇ କେତେକ ଦିନ ପରେ ଜାଣି ପାରିଲା ଯେ, ଉଚ୍ଚ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ବାବର ଟଙ୍କା ଗ ଠାରୁ ଉସୁଲ ହୋଇ ଖ-ର ହିସାବରେ ଜମା ହୋଇଅଛି । କିଛି ଦିନ ପରେ କ, ଖ-ପାଖକୁ ଆସି ତାହାକୁ ଦେଖାଇଲା ଯେ, ଗ ନାମରେ ଯେ ଅସଲ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ରହିଥିଲା ତହିଁରେ ଘ-ର ଦସ୍ତଖତ ଅଛି ଓ ସେ ଟଙ୍କା ଗ, ଦେଇଅଛି । ଖ, ଏଥିରେ ଟଙ୍କା ଦେଲା ଓ ଘ-କୁ ଲେଖିଲା ଯେ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ବାବତ ଟେଣ୍ଟୋଣ୍ଟଙ୍କା ଉସୁଲ ହୋଇ ତାହା ନାମରେ ଜମା ହୋଇ ଥିବାର ଲେଖିଲା; ତହିଁରେ ଘ, ଉଭର ଦେଲା ଯେ, ଉଚ୍ଚ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ଅଗ୍ରାହ୍ୟ ହୋଇଥିବାରୁ ତାକୁ ଡ୍ରାପସ ପଠାଇ ଅଛି । ଏଥୁ ଉଭାରୁ ଜଣାଗଲା ଯେ, ଘ, ଅସଲ ଟିଠା ଓ ଅପ୍ରାସ୍ତ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ତୋରି ଯାଇଅଛି ଓ ତହିଁ ବଦଳରେ ଜାଲ ଟିଠା ଓ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ (ଯାହାକି କ, ଘ ର ରସିଦ)...

ତୃତୀୟ ମୋକଦ୍ଦମା ଏହି ଯେ;-

କ-ନାମକ ଜଣେ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ରାୟକୋର ଖ-ନାମକ ଜଣେ ବଣିଯାଁ ଠାକୁ ଯାଇ କହିଲା ଯେ, ତାହାର ଟଙ୍କାର ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ଥିବାରୁ ବାଡ଼ଶାର ଗ-ନାମର ଟଣ୍ଟୋଣ୍ଟ ମୂଲ୍ୟର ଏକ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ବିକ୍ରୀ କରିବାକୁ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ଅଛି । ଖ, ଉଚ୍ଚ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ଖରିଦ କଲା ଓ କହିଲା ଯେ, ବାଡ଼ଶାର ଘ-ନାମକ ଗୋମାସ୍ତା ଅଛି ତାହା ପାଖରୁ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀର ବେଉରା ପାଇଲେ ଟଙ୍କା ଦେବି । ଏଥୁଭାରେ ଖ, ଉଚ୍ଚ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀକୁ ଘ ପାଖକୁ ଟିଠା ସହିତ ପଠାଇଲା । ଟିଠା ବାଟରେ ଯିବା ସମୟରେ ଛଶ ଟଙ୍କା ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ଯାହାକି ଉଚ୍ଚ ଟିଠୀମଧ୍ୟରେ ଥିଲା ତାହାକୁ ବାହାର କରି ନେଇ ସେହି ଲୋକ ନାମରେ ଦଶ ଟଙ୍କାର ଏହି ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ସେଥୁସଙ୍ଗେ ପଠାଇଦେଲା ଓ ଟିଠୀରେ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀର ମୂଲ୍ୟ ଯାହା ଅଜରେ ଲେଖାଥିଲା; ତାହାଙ୍କ ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ କରି ଦଶ ଟଙ୍କା କରିଦେଲା । ଉଚ୍ଚ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ଘ ଠାରେ ପହୁଞ୍ଚିବା ପରେ ଗ-ରୂପ ଧରି ଆଉ ଜଣେ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ଘ-ଠାରେ ଉପାସିତ ହୋଇ କହିଲା ଯେ ରାଇକୋଡ଼ର କ-ନାମକ ଜଣେ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଠାରୁ ତାହା ନାମରେ କୌଣସି ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ଆସିଅଛି କି ନା ? ଏଥିରେ ଘ, ଉଚ୍ଚ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ବାବତ ଟେଣ୍ଟୋଣ୍ଟଙ୍କା

ତାହାକୁ ଦେଇ ଖ ଠାକୁ ଲେଖିଲା ଯେ, ସେ ଚୱଠିଙ୍କା ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ବାବତ ଦେଇଅଛି । ଉଚ୍ଚ ଚିଠି ବାଟରେ ଆସିବା ସମୟରେ ତାହା ପିଟା ହୋଇ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀର ମୂଲ୍ୟ ଦଶକୁ ଛାନ୍ତି କରାଯାଇଥିଲା । ଫେର ବଦଳ ହୋଇଥିବା ଚିଠି ଘ ଠାରୁ ପହୁଞ୍ଚିବା ପରେ କ, ଖ ଠାକୁ ଯାଇଅସଲ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀ ଚନ୍ଦୀର କି ଯାହା ଗ ଠାକୁ କରିଥିଲା ତାହା ଘ-ର ଜାଲ ରସିଦ ସହିତ ଦେଖାଇ କହିଲା ଯେ, ସେ ଚଙ୍କା ଗ ଖରଚ ପକାଇ ହୁଣ୍ଡୀକୁ ତାହାଠାକୁ ଖୁବି ପଠାଇ ଅଛି ଏଣୁକରି ଖ, ଗ-କୁ ଚ ନ୍ଦୀ ଦେଲା ଏଥିରେ ତାହାର ଚ ୪୯୦ ମୁଦି ହେଲା ।

ଏହି ସମସ୍ତ ବିବରଣ ଗବର୍ନ୍ମେଷକ ଗୋଚର ହେବାରେ ସେ ଜଣାଉଅଛନ୍ତି ଯେ ଏପରି ଚିଠି ଚୋରୀ କେବଳ ପୋଷ୍ଟ ଅର୍ପିସର ଅମଲାଙ୍କ ସାହାଯ୍ୟରେ ହୋଏ । ଅତେବ ସର୍ବସାଧାରଣ, ଭଦ୍ର ଓ ମହାଜନମାନଙ୍କୁ ଜଣାଇ ଦିଆଯାଉ ଅଛି ଯେ ଏଥିରେ ସେମାନେ ସତର୍କ ହେବେ ।

ବାଲେଣ୍ଟର

ଜନ୍ମ ବାମସ

Baleswar Sambad Bahika, 1st June, 1873

ବିଜ୍ଞାପନ ।

କପାଚାଷ ଓ ତୁଳାବ୍ୟବସାୟୀମାନଙ୍କ ଜାଣିବା ନିମନ୍ତେ ପ୍ରକାଶ କରାଯାଉ ଅଛି ଯେ, କେତେକ କପା ଯାହା ବି ଉଡ଼ିଶ୍ୟା ପ୍ରଦେଶର ଇରିଗେଶନ ନାଳର ନିକଟବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଶାନମାନଙ୍କରେ ଜନ୍ମିଥିଲା, ତାହା କଲିକତା ମୁକ୍ତାମର ଚେମ୍ବର ଅବ୍ କମର୍ସ ଅର୍ଥାତ୍ ବାଣିଜ୍ୟ ସଭାକୁ ପଠା ଯାଇଥିଲା । ଉଚ୍ଚ ସଭାର ସମ୍ପାଦକ ସେହି କପାକୁ ପରୀକ୍ଷା କରି ମାନ୍ୟବର ଶ୍ରୀଯୁତ ଲେଫ୍ଟେନେଣ୍ଟ ଗର୍ଭରସାହେବଙ୍କ ଝାତ ନିମନ୍ତେ ରିପୋର୍ଟ କରି ଅଛନ୍ତି ଯେ କପାସ କଞ୍ଚାଥିବା ସମୟରେ ତୋଳା ଯାଇଥିବାରୁ ତାହାକୁ ନା ଶ୍ରେଣୀରେ ବିଭକ୍ତ କରି ପ୍ରଥମ ଶ୍ରେଣୀ ପକ୍ଷରେ ରିପୋର୍ଟ କରିଅଛନ୍ତି ଯେ, ତାହା ବାଣିଜ୍ୟର ଯୋଗ୍ୟ ନୋହେ ଓ ତହିଁରୁ ମଞ୍ଜି ବାହାର କରିବା ପରେ ବଜାଦେଶର ଉରମ ନମୁନା ପରି ରେଶମୀ ଓ ବି... ରଙ୍ଗତିଯା ପ୍ରାୟ ବୋଧ ହୁଏ; ମାତ୍ର ନରମ ଅର୍ଥାତ୍ ଅଶ୍ରୁ ଅଟେ । ଯଦି ଉରମ ପରିଷାର ଓ ମଞ୍ଜି ବାହାର କରାଯାଇଥାନ୍ତା ତେବେ ବଜାଦେଶର ଓଜନୀ ମହଣ ୧୭ ଚଙ୍କା ଲେଖାର୍ଥ ହୋଇଥାନ୍ତା ।

ଦ୍ଵିତୀୟ ନମ୍ବର କପା ପ୍ରଥମ ନମ୍ବର କପାଠାରୁ ଅଧିକ ପଶମୀ ଓ ଶକ୍ତ ଅଟେ ଓ ତାହା ପରିଷାର ଓ ମଞ୍ଜି ବାହାର କଲେ ତାହାର ମୂଲ୍ୟ ବଜାଦେଶୀ ଦ୍ୱାରା ମହଣ ଚୱଠିଙ୍କା ଲେଖାର୍ଥ ହୋଇପାରେ ।

ତୃତୀୟ ନମ୍ବର କପା, ପ୍ରଥମ ନମ୍ବର ନମୁନା ପରି ଅଟେ; ମାତ୍ର ତାହାର ରଙ୍ଗ ଉଭମ ଅଟେ ପ୍ରାୟ ବଙ୍ଗ ଦେଶ କପାତୁଳ୍ୟ ଓ ତାହା ଉଭମରୂପେ ପରିଷାର ଓ ମଞ୍ଜି ବାହାର କଲେ ତହଁର ମୂଳ୍ୟ ପି ମହଣ ପ୍ରାୟ ଟେଣ୍ଡ୍ୟ ଲେଖାଏଁ ହୋଇପାରେ ।

ଏହି ପରି ରିଯୋର୍ଡରୁ ଜଣା ଯାଉଅଛି ଯେ, ଏ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟ ଯେଡ଼େ ଉଭମ ହୋଇଥାନ୍ତା ତାହା ହୋଇ ନାହିଁ ଓ କପା ଫଳ ଉଭମରୂପେ ପରିପକ୍ଷ ହେଲା ପରେ ତାହା ତୋଳିଲେ ତାହାର ଉଭମ ଗୁଣ ସକାଶ ଅଧିକ ମୂଳ୍ୟ ହୋଇପାରେ; ଅତ୍ୟବ କପାଫଳ ଉଭମରୂପେ ପାଚିବା ସକାଶ ବେଶି କାଳ ଅପେକ୍ଷା କରିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ଓ କପାଫଳ ତୋଳିନେବା ପରେ କପାକୁ ଯେତେଦୂର ପରିଷାର କରିବାର ସମ୍ଭବ ହେବା ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ପରିଷାର କରି ରଞ୍ଜିବାର ଉଚିତ ।

ଜନ୍ମ ବୀମ୍ସ

ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର ଜିଲ୍ଲା କଲେକ୍ଟର

□□□

EXTRACTS FROM CONTEMPORARY PERIODICALS

Utkal Dipika, 14 March 1870

Mr. Beames Saheb, the Collector of Balasore has been dominated as the Secretary of the Committee on General Education of the district. For many years, the apex officer of the district had no interest in this job. Since Mr. Beames Saheb, as the apex officer of the district looked into all the aspects of administration, he seems to have special interest in education.

Utkal Dipika, 26 March 1870

We were informed by the last issue of Baleswar Sambad Bahika that a group of people of Balasore comprising zemindars, businessmen and government servants have petitioned to the Inspector of Schools for the transfer of Babu Sib Das Bhattacharya, the Deputy Inspector of Schools for the latter's move to replace Oriya. A copy of the same was also presented to John Beames, the Collector and eminent philologist, who on request of the people has forwarded it to the Inspector with his own remarks and request to reforward it to Atkinson Saheb, the Director. Let's wait for the result. This petition by the residents of Balasore was the only alternative left or what can one do when a brother terms enemy.

Utkal Dipika, 29 June 1872

On recommendation of the Collector of Balasore, Mr. Beames Saheb and by the request of Mr. Commissioner, the Government of Bengal has agreed to sanction Rs.100/- per year for 'Baleswar Bodhadayini' and 'Utkal Dipika', the two periodicals published in Orissa. From now on in these newspapers all the resolutions of the government meant for public attention will be

published. One copy each of these newspapers will be given to all the government offices. The main purpose behind this decision is to remove misconception of the people about many government resolutions and actions which they do not understand that they are meant for their welfare. Instead they think them to be root of all evils. On many occasions, though the government has no resolution on any issue, the mischievous people spread misconception about them through bazaar gossip for their own malafide or mischievous intention. Though sometimes it becomes the responsibility of the government to give proper advice to the people, it has no alternative but to communicate through press. But if the purpose of the government can be solved with such a meagre amount it is so good. That's why they have sent the sanctioned letter of above amount. But what purpose this meagre amount will solve we cannot say at this moment. Its result will be known shortly.

Utkal Dipika, 14 December 1872

Beames Saheb, the Collector of Balasore is conspicuously prompt in all his works. Whatever rule the government frames, is implemented in Balasore. Both the appointment of the Road Cess Committee, its first session and the new rule on Education was first implemented in Balasore. But so far as Cuttack is concerned nothing has been done so far. But in Balasore, Beames Saheb has enforced the rule in the Sadars of Balasore and Bhadrak by giving proper advice to the Deputy Inspector of Schools of the district. It has also been decided that the school teachers will not get more than two and half rupees per year. But all the teachers will not get this amount. The salary will be paid as per the merit of their case. At present, they will not be given any training and they will continue to teach in same manner. But in future efforts will be made to train them. It is also learnt that the Saheb is not happy with the teaching of 'Bhagabata' in school, which according to him is not secular and inconsistent with the education policy. But if he investigates the matter deeply, he will realize that the children do not learn anything on religion from Bhagabata. They

only study it to get acquainted with the letters. If they study any other manuscript, its purpose will be same, but unlike Bhagabata it will not accord same satisfaction to the parents and guardians. 'Bhagabata' is the most recognised religious scripture of the Hindus, which very much pleases the father if his son reads it. But the son does not understand a single word of it except getting himself acquainted with the letters. In such circumstances there is nothing wrong to study Bhagabata. Rather the guardian is pleased to send his ward to school.

Utkal Dipika, 20 October, 1877

Because of steep increase in the prices of foodstuffs in Calcutta, the businessmen in Bengal proper are giving few extra allowance to their clerical staff and peons in their offices. Though the ordinary businessmen realized the difficulties of their servants, the government failed to do so. Being sympathetic to his staff, our Acting Commissioner proposed to government to pay some allowance to them to enable them to meet the steep hike of the prices of foodstuffs. But the Honourable Eden Saheb replied that if foodgrains had been stored during their easy availability, the situation would not have been that difficult ... without any food, when the little paid and half-dead servants pray for help, the Lieutenant Governor advised them that they should have stored foodgrains when they were cheaply available ! They would have made good use of this advice if they had been given food first when it was needed.

Anyway Mr. Beames Saheb is a kind-hearted gentleman. Realising the condition of the distressed he imported paddy of the value of two hundred and fifty rupees from Dhenkanal and sold them to the clerks and peons of the government offices and very poor people of the town at a very cheap price. Each one of them was sold the paddy of the value of one rupee. For rendering this good to the distressed and the poor, they are singing his praise and thanking him in their heart. Oh ! in such difficulty whoever comes to the rescue of the poor, God will render good to him.

Utkal Dipika, 10 November, 1877

We are informed that having heard about the distressed condition of the people of Khurda Mr. Beames Saheb, the Commissioner imported paddy of the value of two or three thousand rupees from Dhenkanal and sent them to Khurda. This shows his sympathetic attitude for the poor people there.

Utkal Dipika, 7 July, 1877

[For the people of Balasore John Beames was an endearing friend. In June, 1877, he as Commissioner of Orissa visited Balasore where the people accorded him a splendid reception which overwhelmed him. On 26 June, he was invited to preside over a meeting held in Barabati School, run by Madan Mohan Das, the well-known zemindar of the town. The meeting was organized on the occasion of Annual Day of the school. Attending the ceremony Beames was amazed to see the dramatic performance and English pronunciation of the students. Complimenting both the students and Madan Mohan Das he said, he had rarely seen such patronage anywhere in India, unlike the people of Balasore who, without government aid could develop such a school. This function was organized jointly by Barabati School and a Girls' school, started by Phakirmohân Senapaty, where Govinda Chandra Pattnaik, his close friend and associate was the Headmaster. Thanking him for his tireless effort in developing the school he said "without the education of the mother, no nation can progress in education. The root cause of our progress is the education of our mother. Hence we should be very much particular about women's education." The speech was delivered supposedly in Oriya.]

ପୂର୍ବେ ଏ ଦେଶୀୟ ଲୋକମାନଙ୍କର ଏପରି ଏକ ଜ୍ଞାନ ଥୁଲା ଯେ, କି ଶିକ୍ଷା କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କି ସ୍ଵଦେଶ ହିତକର ଅନ୍ୟବିଧ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଗବର୍ଣ୍ଣମେଣ୍ଡଙ୍କ ବିନା ସାହାଯ୍ୟରେ କଦାଚ ହୋଇନପାରେ, ମାତ୍ର ସେ ଜ୍ଞାନ ଅଧ୍ୟନା ଏମାନଙ୍କ ମନରୁ କ୍ରମଶଃ ଦୂରୀତ୍ତ ହେଉଅଛି । ସ୍ଵଦେଶର ଉନ୍ନତି ସ୍ଵଦେଶୀୟ କୃତବ୍ୟ ଧନୀ ଓ ଉପାଧୀ ପୁରୁଷଙ୍କ ହାତରେ ଅଛି । କେବଳ ଆପଣା ଆପଣା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଚେଷ୍ଟା ମେମାନଙ୍କର ସବୁ ଅଭାବକୁ ଜୟ

କରିବ । ଆମେ ବାଲେଶ୍ୱରର ଲୋକଙ୍କ ମନରେ ଯେପରି ସୁଦେଶାନୁଗତ ଦେଖୁଁ ଭାରତବର୍ଷର ଅନ୍ୟ କୌଣସିଠାରେ ସେପରି ଦେଖିନାହୁଁ । ବାବୁ ମଦନ ମୋହନ ଦାସଙ୍କର ଏହି ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ ଗବର୍ଣ୍ଣମେଣ୍ଡରୁ କିଛି ମାତ୍ର ସାହାଯ୍ୟ ନ ପାଇ ସୁନ୍ଦର କେମନ୍ତ ଉନ୍ନତି ଲାଭିଥାଏ । ଏ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟର ଛାତ୍ରମାନେ କେତେଦୂର ଶିଖି ଅଛନ୍ତି ତାହା ଆମେ ଜାଣୁନା ମାତ୍ର ଏହି ଅଭିନଯତ୍ବ ଜାଣିଲୁ ଯେ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଇଂରାଜୀ ଉଚ୍ଚାରଣ ଅତି ଉତ୍ତମ, ଆଶାକରୁଁ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ଜମିଦାରମାନେ ବାବୁଙ୍କ ଉଦାହରଣର ଅନୁବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ହେଉଛୁ । ସେମାନେ ଆପଣା ଆପଣା ଜମିଦାରିରେ ଏହିପରି ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟମାନ ସ୍ଥାପନ କରି ପ୍ରଭାପୁଞ୍ଜକୁ ଝାନଚକ୍ଷୁ ପ୍ରଦାନ କରନ୍ତୁ । ବାଲିକା ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ଆସନ୍ତର ବନ୍ଦବ୍ୟ ଏହି ଯେ, ମାତା ଶିକ୍ଷିତା ନ ହେଲେ କୌଣସି ଜାତିର ଶିକ୍ଷାର ପ୍ରକୃତି ଉନ୍ନତି ହେବାକୁ ନ ପାରେ, ଆସମାନଙ୍କର ଏତେ ଦୂର ଉନ୍ନତିର ଗୋଟିଏ କାରଣ ଆସମାନଙ୍କ ଶିକ୍ଷିତ ମାତା, ଅତେବ ସ୍ତ୍ରୀ ଶିକ୍ଷା ବିଷୟରେ ବିଶେଷ ଯଦ୍ବବାନ୍ ହେବା ଉଚିତ ।

ଉପସଂହାର ସ୍ଥଳରେ ଆସନ୍ତର ବନ୍ଦବ୍ୟ ଏହି ଯେ ବାରବାଟୀ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ ପ୍ରତି ବାବୁ ମଦନ ମୋହନ ଦାସ ଓ ତାଙ୍କ ପୁତ୍ର ବାବୁ ଉଗବାନ୍ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ଦାସ ଏବଂ ବାଲିକା ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ ପ୍ରତି ବାବୁ ଗୋବିନ୍ଦ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ପଣ୍ଡନାୟକ ଯେପରି ଯଦ୍ବ ଓ ପରିଶ୍ରମ ସ୍ଵାକାର କରି ଉନ୍ନତି କରାଇ ଅଛନ୍ତି ସେଥି ନିମନ୍ତେ ଏମାନଙ୍କୁ ଧନ୍ୟବାଦ ପ୍ରଦାନ କରୁଁ ।

Baleswar Sambad Bahika, 7 February, 1878

Honourable Mr. Beames has been appointed as Commissioner of Chittagong for ten months. We came to know from Dipika that he will leave from Orissa on 12th February. Having been posted here for nine years he was well-acquainted with Orissa. Chittagong will be new place for him. Though we are glad that he has been promoted, but it is sad that he is leaving from Orissa. We do not know how far it is true, but the people say that our Commissioner Mr. Ravenshaw will be transferred to Bardhaman; if it so happens, the people of Orissa will be saddend further, because these two veteran officers will be transferred from Orissa.

Nabasambada, 30 June, 1887

As a result of continuous coverage in Amrita Bazar Patrika against Beames Saheb for his debts, the Saheb meanwhile has paid the money to Umesh Babu. Possibly he will also pay the money of others shortly. Those who are not able to recover their loan amount

from him, may write to Amrita Bazar Patrika. This is a very good way of recovering the debt rather than spending money in Court. If there are any officers in Orissa like Beames we caution them to repay the debt amount and refrain from the habit of borrowing money, otherwise allegation against them to highest authority is not unlikely.



Grammar of the Bengali Language – Literary & Coloquial

John Beames

Preface

The excellent grammar of the Bengali language written many years ago by SHAMA CHARAN SARKĀR being now out of print, and a practical grammar appearing to be required, I have compiled the present work, based on that of Sarkār, with the assistance of BĀBU PRIYĀNĀTH BHATTĀCHĀRYYA, of Calcutta, who has, at my request, consulted several eminent pandits on all doubtful and difficult points. I have especially aimed at making the work useful to those who desire to understand the spoken language of Bengal. The existing grammars deal almost exclusively with the literary language, which, as Bengali has during the present century been enriched by copious resuscitation of Sanskrit terms, is often unintelligible to the mass of the population. Those works do not therefore adequately prepare the European student for communication with the lower and middle classes, with whom, whether as administrator merchant, or planter, his business principally lies. It is hoped that the present work may supply this omission, while at the same time not neglecting the refinements of the higher style.

October, 1893

JOHN BEAMES

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources :

1. Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar.
 - (i) Balasore District Records
 - Revenue (1869-1873)
 - Judicial (1869-1873)
 - (ii) Cuttack District Records
 - Revenue (1869-1870)
 - Judicial (1869-1870)
 - (iii) Board of Revenue
 - Judicial, Revenue files and correspondences (1869-1878)
 - (iv) *Annual General Report of the Orissa Division* (1872-1878)
 - (v) *Utkal Dipika* (1869-1902)
2. Utkal Sahitya Samaj, Cuttack
 - (i) *Baleswar Sambad Bahika* (1872-1902)
 - (ii) *Nabasambada* (1886-1887)

Published Sources :

- Beames, John *Memoir of a Bengal Civilian*, New Delhi, 1984.
Outlines of Indian Philology and Other Philological Papers, Calcutta, 1971.
A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, Vol.I-III, Delhi, 1970.
Grammar of the Bengali Language – Literary & Coloquial, Oxford, 1894.
"On the Relation of the Uriya to the other Modern Aryan Languages", *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society*, June, 1870.

"The Ruins of Kopari, Balasore District"—
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,
 No.3, 1871.

"More Buddhist Remains in Orissa", *Journal
 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1872.

"Mode of Dating in Orissa", *The Indian
 Antiquary*, February 2, 1872.

"The Jungle Forts of Northern Orissa", *The
 Indian Antiquary*, February 2 & March 1,
 1872.

"The Indigeneous Literature of Orissa", *The
 Indian Antiquary*, March 1, 1872.

"Folklore of Orissa", *Indian Antiquary*, June
 7, 1872.

"On Mastan Brahmam", *The Indian
 Antiquary*, June 7, 1872.

"Notes on the Rasakallola an ancient Oriya
 Poem", *The Indian Antiquary*, July 5 &
 October 4, 1872.

"On a Copper-plate Grant from Balasore
 (A.D. 1483)", *The Indian Antiquary*,
 December 6, 1872.

"On the Sub-Divisions of the Brahman Caste
 in Northern Orissa", *The Indian Antiquary*,
 March, 1873.

"The Alti Hills in Cuttack", *Journal of the
 Asiatic Society*, 1875.

"Notes on the History of Orissa under the
 Mahomedan, Maratha and English Rule",
Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol-52(III),
 1883.

"Notes on the History of Orissa under the
 Mahomedan, Maratha and English Rule"—
 Reply, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1883.

- "Notes on Akbar's Subahs with reference to Ain-i-Akbari – Orissa", *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1896
- "Kirtans, Or Hymns from the Earliest Bengali Poets", *The Indian Antiquary*, November 1, 1872.
- "The Early Vaishnava Poets of Bengal", *The Indian Antiquary*, February & July, 1873.
- "Chaitanya and the Vaishnava Poets of Bengal", *The Indian Antiquary*, January, 1873.
- Boulton, John *Phakirmohana Senapati : His Life and Prose fiction*, Bhubaneswar, 1993.
- My Times & I – Atma-Jivanacarita of Phakirmohana Senapati* – translated from Oriya, Bhubaneswar, 1985.
- "Nationalism and Tradition in Orissa with special reference to the works of Phakirmohan Senapati", *Fakir Mohan Senapati Perspectives on his fiction*, ed. Jatindra Kumar Nayak, Kolkata, 2004.
- Chakrabarti, Manmohan "Notes on the language and literature of Orissa", Parts I & II, *Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol.LXVI, Part I, No.1-4, 1897.
- Chatterji, Suniti Kumar *The People, Language and Culture of Orissa – Artaballabha Mahanti Memorial Lectures*, Bhubaneswar, 1966.
- Dash, Debendra Kimar (Ed) *Madhusudan Das : His Life and Achievements*, Rourkela, 2002.
Madhusudan Das : The Man and His Missions, Rourkela, 1998.

- Pattnaik,
Dipti Ranjan "Late 19th Century Library Discourse and
Oriya Identity", *Utkal Historical Research
Journal*, Vol XVIII, 2004.
- Dash,
Gaganendra
Nath "History of Oriya Language upto (1500
A.D.)", *Comprehensive History of Culture
of Orissa*, Vol 1, Part-II, ed. P.K. Mishra, New
Delhi, 1997.
- "Fakir Mohan Senapati's Discovery from
Below – Decolonisation and the Search for
Linguistic Authenticity", *Economic and
Political Weekly*, November 18, 2006.
- Dash, Kailash
Chandra "Fakir Mohan Senapati and Balasore
Utkal Press", *Orissa Review*, January, 2003.
- De, Amalendu *Roots of Separatism in Nineteenth Century
Bengal*, Calcutta, 1974.
- De, Barun "Brajendranath De and John Beames – A
Study in the Relation of Patriotism and
Paternalism in the I.C.S. at the time of Ilbert
Bill", *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol-LXXXI
(151), 1962.
- Hallam, E.C.B. *Oriya Grammar for English Students*,
Calcutta, 1874.
- Mishra, L.K.
& Mishra, S.K. *Historians and Historiography of Orissa*,
New Delhi, 2005
- Mitra, Rajendra
Lal "On the Relation of the Uriya to the other
Modern Aryan Languages"– A Critique,
Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, June,
1870.
- "Notes on the History of Orissa Under the
Muhammadan, Maratha and English Rules"
– A Critique (Abstract).
- Mukherjee,
Amitav *Reform and Regeneration in Bengal. 1774-
1823*, Calcutta, 1986.

- Mukherjee,
Prabhat "The Garhpada Grant to Poteswar Bhatta
by Purusottama Gajpati", *The Orissa
Historical Research Journal*, Vol II,
3 & 4.
- O' Malley,
L.S.S.O. *Bengal District Gazetteer – Midnapore*,
Calcutta, 1995.
- Pattanaik,
Kailash
(Compiled) *JOHN BEAMES-Essays in Orissan
History and Literature*, Kolkata, 2004.
- Sahu, N.K.(ed) *History of Orissa*, Vol II, Calcutta, 1956.
- Salahuddin
Ahmed, A.H. *Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal
(1818-1835)*, Calcutta, 1976.
- Tripathy,
Kunja Bihari *The Origin and Development of Oriya
Language*, Bhubaneswar, 2001.
- Author's name
not mentioned *Balasore Raj Family* – S.N. Dutta Collec-
tion, Balasore, [Not dated].

Oriya :

- Boulton, John "Mo Drushtire Sarala Das O Tanka
Mahabharata, *Jhankara*, June, 1975.
- Das, Jagannath
Prasad *Desh Kala Patra*, Bhubaneswar/New
Delhi, 1992.
- Dash, Debendra
Kumar *Phakirmohan Granthabali*, Vol II, Cuttack,
2002.
- "Oriya Sahityara Itihash Rachana O Man
Mohan Chakrabarti", *Eshana*, Vol-20, June,
1990.
- Dash,
Gaganendra
Nath *Oriya Bhasa Charchara Parampara*,
Cuttack, 1983.
Oriya Bhasa Suraksya Andolana, Cuttack,
1993.
- Saraswati Phakirmohan : Sahitya O
Byaktitva*, Cuttack, 2006.
- Dash, Surya
Narayan *Deshaprama Madhusudan*, Cuttack, 1988.

- Das Mohapatra, "Dompadara Sehi Dhurta Dewan Kan Phakirmohan", *Phakirmohan Tarka Bitarka*, ed. Krishna Chandra Pradhan and Lalatendu Das Mohapatra, Cuttack, 2003.
- Mohanty, *Oriya Bhasa Andolana*, Cuttack, 1989.
- Banshidhar
- Panigrahi, *Salara Sahityare Aitihasika Chitra*, Krushna Chandra Cuttack, 1989.
- Chandra
- Samantaraya, *Adhumuka Odiya Sahityara Bhittibhumi*, Natabara Cuttack, 1964.
- Ray, Durga *Radhanath Jibani*, Cuttack, 1998.
- Charan
- Rath, *Swargata Phakirmohan*, *Utkala Sahitya*, Mrityunjay 22(5), reprinted in *Saraswata Parikrama* ed. Bauribandhu Kar, Berhampur, 2001.

Bengali :

- De, Amalendu *Bangali Buddhijibi O Bichhinanatabad*, Calcutta, 1987.
- Sengupta, *Bideshiya Bharat – Bidya Pathik*, Gauranga Gopal Calcutta, 1977.
- Som, *Udisyar Itihas – Prachinkal Theke* Shibachandra *Bartaman Samaya Paryanta*, Calcutta, 1867.



Pragati Utkal Sangha : (Estd. 1958), a premier cultural institution of Steel-City, Rourkela (Orissa), is known throughout the state for its educational and cultural activities. It has rendered commendable service in developing and patronising a library and a public reading room. It was the first organisation to celebrate Utkal Divas (Orissa Day) and Madhusudan Jayanti (Birth Anniversary of Madhusudan Das). It has also instituted Gold Medals and has created endowments in different Universities of Orissa for propagating the ideas and ideals of Madhusudan Das. Recently, it has emerged as a publishing house by publishing number of titles in Oriya and English for the popularisation and assessment of eminent Oriyas.

Pragati Utkal Sangha has emerged as a role model for organisations dedicated to the task of arousing cultural consciousness among the Oriyas.