

## Part III.

### CHAPTER IX.

#### A SHORT ACCOUNT OF ANCIENT ORISSA OR ODRADESA: ITS PLACE IN ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY, ITS HISTOY, PEOPLES, AND RELIGIONS.

An attempt is made in this introduction to bring together a short history of ancient Orissa. My excuse for quoting text rather than giving references is to save the time of those who have not ready to hand the works of the authorities quoted. I desire to express my deep sense of obligation to Mr. F. E. Pargiter, I. C. S., who has very kindly revised in part the draft of this chapter.

#### (A) *The place of Orissa in the geography of Ancient India.*

199. In the second book of the Mahabharata is given an account of the celebration of *Rajasuya* sacrifice, which is said to have been attended by all the kings in India.

**Sakas.** Amongst other kings ( who brought gifts ) were the king of the Sakas, identified as Scythians by Professor H. H. Wilson, and the Kings of Banga, Pundraka and Kalinga, identified by the same authority to be the inhabitants of Lower Bengal, Midnapore, and Ganjam.

200. Mr. F. E. Pargiter, I. C. S., in a paper on the Ancient countries in Eastern India ( As. Soc. Vol. LXVI, Part I, No. 2 ), gives evidence to show that five kindred races inhabited East Bihar and Bengal, namely, the Angas, Vangas, Kalingas, Pundras, and Suhmas, their countries being known by the same names, and that the connection between those races was explained by an ancient legend that they were descended from five eponymous kings of the same names who were sons of the queen of Bali, who was king of the Eastern Regions. It appears that those races were at first considered barbarians by the kings of the North-West, but they become Aryanised; and the Angas, Kalingas, and Pundras were raised to the same degree of esteem which the nations of Madhya-desa ( the North Western Provinces ) enjoyed. He attributes their elevation to some marked change which passed over Northern India. The alteration was most marked in the estimation of the Kalingas.

201. *Kalinga*.—Mr. Pargiter quotes from the Raghu-Vamca that, after the conquest of the Vangas, Raghu conquered Kalinga. The route to Kalinga was pointed out by the kings of Utkala and it lay south of the Kapica which he identifies with the Kansai or Cossye river in Midnapore, and which Lassen had identified with the Subarnarekha river.

This passage is also quoted by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra ( page 7 ), and would go to show that Utkala was a separate country from Kalinga. Mr. Pargiter finds that from the Kansai river southward a portion of Utkala intervened before Kalinga was reached. "The northern limit of Kalinga was approximately the Vaitarni, for the Mahabharata, describing the Pandavas' pilgrimage to all the *tirthas*, says :—After bathing at the junction of the Ganges and the sea, they travelled along the sea-coast towards the Kalingas and reached that people and the river Vaitarani at the same time. On its bank was Viraja-tirtha, the later Birajaksetra, the modern Jajpur. Kalinga therefore comprised modern Orissa about as far north as the modern town Bhadrak in the Balasore District and the sea-coast southward as far as Vizagapatam. Its limits inland are not clear. Lassen places Kalinga along the inner side of the Eastern Ghats from the Vizagapatam District south-westward as far as the Karnul District."

In support of the above we have the following from Professor Wilson's account of the travels of Hiouen Thsang :—

Kalinga, the name given by Sanskrit and classical writers and by the people of the Eastern Archipelago, to the upper part of the Coromandel Coast, usually including Orissa.

202. *Utkala and Odra*—*Odra or Udra*--After identifying Hughli, Howrah, Bankura, and Burdwan, together with the eastern portion of Midnapure ( including Tamluk ), as Suhma and Tamalipta, Mr. Pargiter cannot agree with Lassen in

making the territory of the Odras more or less conterminous with Orissa. The Utkalas occupied the north of the Balasore District and the south was Kalinga. "Hence, it seems impossible the Udras can have inhabited any portion of ( what is now known as ) Orissa."

"In the last century Orissa included the tract of country between the rivers Rupnarayan and Subarnarekha ( see Bengal Administration Report, 1872-73, page 40 )." So that the name has not always denoted what it simply means now. In this connection, the titles of some of our early Regulation may be studied.

After discussing and suggesting the region occupied by Paundra, with which Udra was frequently associated, he says :—

These considerations give, I think, an indication where the Udra the territory was in ancient times. The eastern part of Midnapore belonged to Tamalipta and Suhma, hence there remains only the western part of that district which no other nation appears to have occupied; and if to this be added the modern district of Manbhum, the eastern part of Singhbhum, and perhaps the southern portion of Bankura, a well-defined tract is obtained, which no other tribe appears to have owned and which bordered on Paundra. I would suggest that this must have been Udra in ancient times.

And in order to explain the present position of the Uriyas, he continues :

If this be a reasonable inference, it discloses how an insignificant early tribe developed and spread during the confusion which prevailed in the dark times of mediaeval Indian history. I would suggest that the Udras must have pushed southward, overrun the whole of Orissa and Ganjam, and driven the Kalingas downward into the Vizagapatam district, till their further course was checked by the Dravidian powers on the south; then they must have turned westward and forced their way round in to the Southern portion of Chattisgarh.

*Utkala*—The Utkalas were well known, though not mentioned often in the Mahabharat. They are linked with the Mekalas (Bhisma-p., ix 348; Drona-p. iv. 122; Ramay. Kisk.-k. xli. 14), and with the Mekalas and Kalingas (Karna-p., xxii, 882). The position of Kalinga has been explained. The Mekalas inhabited the Mekal hills in the west and north of Chattisgarh. The Utkalas must therefore have occupied an intermediate position. From the passage quoted from the Raghu-Vamca with reference to Kalinga, it appears the Utkala territory stretched nearly as far as the R. Kapica or Cossye in Midnapore; that passage does not mean it reached that river, for it was only after he crossed that river that Raghu had occasion to accept the guidance of the Utkal kings. From these data and the positions assigned to Paundra and Odra, it may be inferred that Utkala comprised the hilly tracts from Balasore to Lohardaga and Sarguja.

203. On this subject it would not be right to exclude the work of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra. He says :—

Odra is by far the most extensively used term for the Uriyas, and its vernacular form is Od or Ud. If this as a specific tribal designation be added to Kola, the generic name of the aborigines, we get Utkola, a Kola of the Ud class the subsequent conversions of Ut. into Ut and Kola into Kala being the results of phonetic decay or vernacular corruption,

This is, I think, speculation; the latter part of the derivation may be right (Mr. Pargiter is inclined to concur in it), but the former part is doubtful. He observes that in Sanskrit *Utkula* means a bird-catcher. We may, perhaps, ask whether this has any connection with the legend of the *fowler*, see paragraph 229.

Babu J. M. Das, an Assistant Settlement Officer, possessing great knowledge of Orissa, has doubts whether although different kings ruled Kalinga and Utkala, the peoples ever differed in race, dialect, religion or customs.

It seems very likely that the two kingdoms were welded into one during the reign of the Yabanas who were ultimately driven out by Yayati Kesari. Yayati restored the mage of Jagannath to the temple of Puri and his political capital was at Jajpur, his sway thus extending over the whole of modern Orissa.

204. To sum up, if we accept the evidence and suggestions set forth above, the area which forms the subject of this report, *i. e.*, the temporarily-settled area of the three districts, consisted in ancient time of portions of—

- (a) *Kalinga*, from Chilka Lake to the Baitarani river, *i. e.*, Puri and Cuttack.
- (b) *Utkala*, from the Baitarni river to the Subarnarekha river, *i. e.*, Balasore.
- (c) *Suhma* and *Odra*, from the Subarnarekha to the northern limit of Balasore (and onward).

Area.

The areas known as Orissa from time to time have varied very greatly.

**Before 500 A. D.**—From the Hooghly to about Vizagapatam, known more or less as Kalinga.

**474 A. D. to 1132 A. D.**—From Soro (Kansbans river in Balasore) to Ganjam, and on the east and west from the sea to Dhenkanal.

**1132 A. D.**—As Orissa. Extended on the south to the Vizagapatam district, probably not less than 40,000 square miles.

**1590 A. D.**—see Stirling's Account of Orissa, Todar Mull, and Man Singh's revenue—paying area, rather less than 14,000 square miles.

**1803 A. D.**—Modern Orissa. In 1828 A. D. the northern, central and southern divisions were made, and correspond nearly to the modern districts of Cuttack, Puri, and Balasore with part of Midnapore.

It may be added that Dr. Rajendralal Mitra quotes the *Ain-i-Akbari* to show that about two centuries ago Orissa consisted of "the five sircars or districts of Jelasir, Bhadrak, Cuttack, Kallendraput (Kalinga Dandiput) and Rajmahendri. The first, however, included Midnapore, Mahakami Ghat and Narainpur. The province of Orissa may therefore be said to have extended from Midnapore to Rajmahendri, the portion between the Chilka Lake and the Subarnarekha having been ceded to the Mahrattas in 1757".

#### (B) *The soil-its formation.*

205. Roughly speaking the temporarily-settled area which forms the subject of this report amounts to 5,000 square miles (Cuttack 2,300, Balasore 1,700, Puri, excluding Khurda, 1,000).

It is not too daring to say that in pre-historic times the whole of this area was washed by the sea.

In the modern Orissa, we still find a barrier of hills and forests on the west, "and a plain, level country extending from the foot of that barrier to the sea evidently of alluvial formation, the uniform surface of which is not disturbed by a single rocky elevation nor does a single stone occur between the beds of iron clay lying on the western frontier and the Ocean, if we except the curious spheroidal concretions of calcareous matter or limestone nodules which are found very generally dispersed (Stirling)." Sir William Hunter also gives us some very picturesque accounts of "Land Making." The process is still going on and may be observed in the shallowness of the Chilka lake which once was a harbour for sea-going ships and is now rarely more than 6 feet deep. Two modern and interesting proofs may also be given—

(1) The cave inscription which tells us of the sea-made origin of the caves, the sea being now 50 miles away.

(2) The increase in area of certain estates on the sea-coast, especially in the Puri District, since the last survey of sixty years ago.

206. We have evidence that systematic cultivation probably did not begin in the tract under report till some 1,500 years ago, but that the earliest cultivation was probably in 800 B. C. We find in the Mahabharata that the tribute brought by the kings of Kalinga consisted of ivory and elephants, and Professor Wilson considers that the tributes brought by each Raja are typical of the trades in which their kingdoms engaged. Hiouen Thsang (629 to 645 A. D.) travelled from Jajpur to Khandagiri through thick forests. Even in the reports of the last settlement sixty years ago damage from wild animals is a frequent cause of low assessment. The cultivated area in the 5,000 square miles has increased from 2,600 square miles in 1837 to 3,400 square miles in 1899.

In the above remarks I only wish to imply that in earliest times the sea came close to the hills, and that cultivation in Orissa is *comparatively* modern.

A geological account of Orissa may be found both in Stirling and Hunter

#### (C) *History.*

207. I do not attempt to give more than a few important dates and a brief account of the ancient peoples and their religions. Stirling and Hunter give us the early, and Mr. Toynbee the later, history.

208. *Important dates in the ancient history of Orissa.*—The earlier dates must of course be taken as approximate only.

800 B. C. (?)—The Kalinga dynasty.

477. B. C.—The receipt of the sacred tooth of Buddha by the King of Kalinga, i. e., the introduction of Buddhism. This date must, however, be reduced to a few years later, for the year of Buddha's is now fixed at 477 B. C.

250 B. C.—The pillar at Dhauli erected by King Asoka after the establishment of Buddhism.

473 A. D.—The expulsion of the Buddhists and the foundation of the line of Lion kings. The rise of Jajpur.

500 A. D.—The importation of 10,000 Brahmins from Oudh.

625 A. D.—The completion of the Bhubaneswar temple, *i. e.*, establishment of the worship of Siva.

961 A. D.—The foundation of Cuttack town.

1182 A. D.—The Ganga Vansa dynasty.

1198 A. D.—The building of the present temple at Puri, *i. e.*, the re-establishment of Vishnu. ( Vishnu is said to have lived at Puri from the beginning of all time ).

1203 A. D.—Afghan invasions into Bengal begin.

1282 A. D.—The completion of the Sun temple at Kanarak, dedicated to the Sun in honour of his cure of Samba, son of Krishna, ( There is a temple at Lahore similarly dedicated, see Travels of Hiouen Tshang, Part I., Vol. XVII, Royal As. Soc. Journal, but the cure of Samba is supposed to have occurred on the site of the Kanarak Temple in Orissa ).

1471 A. D.—Alliance with Muhammadans.

1527 A. D.—The passing away of Chaitanya.

1556 A. D.—The invasion of Kalapahar.

1668 A. D.—The sacking of Cuttack and plunder of Puri by the Muhammadan Governors of Bengal.

1574 A. D.—Daud Khan becomes King of Orissa.

1576 A. D.—Death of Daud Khan.

1578 A. D.— { Todar Mull and Man Singh—Mogul supremacy—

1592 A. D.— { Khurda dynasty—Survey of the Province.

1685 A. D.—English occupation of Pipli on the Subarnarekha.

1692 A. D.—English occupation of Balasore.

1742 A. D.— { Maharatta conquest.

1751 A. D.— {

1803 A. D.—British conquest of Orissa.

209. *The ancient peoples of Orissa; their history.*—The history of the people is entirely bound up with that of their religion, and it is impossible to keep the two apart. The earliest legend of occupation is at Khandagiri, where sandstone rock is found. I believe that this stone is found in no other part of the temporarily-settled area except in Naraj and in the Government estate of Khurda. It is also found in Dompara and Atgarh (Tributary States). The legend says that Hanuman and his monkeys, when they were bringing stone from the Himalayas for *Rama's* bridge dropped some blocks in their flight. These blocks are the hills of Khandagiri and Udaigiri. Legends regarding giants and tanks and mounds built by giants may be found in many parts, *e. g.*, Jajpur is the centre of the navel of Gaya Asur, the head being, I believe, at Gaya (Stirling). There is a fine tank built by giants 3 miles north of Bhadrak, and in Cuttack district we have a Pargana named Asureswar.

210. From the evidence of all the authorities, (Stirling, Macpherson, Briggs, and Hunter) we are able to say that effective Hindu occupation did not begin, speaking approximately, till 473 A. D.; we may therefore try to find out what tribes inhabited Orissa before the fifth century and whence they came. The word *effective* must be inserted in view of the legendary Aryan conquest and the foundation of the kingdom of Kalinga (Hunter, Vol. I, P. 188).

211. Mr. Pargiter, in his paper already referred to, dealing with the earliest period to which the Mahabharata relates, concludes by saying that—

Magadha, Videha, Vaicali, appear to have been the outposts of Aryan conquest and colonisation. Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Paundra, and Suhma with Tamalipta Odra were kindred nations, which were not of Aryan stock and were not subjugated by the Aryans, but passed under Aryan influence and became Aryanised. Utkala was a congeries of Kolarain tribes occupying the hilly tracts, where they are still found. The Utkalas, being so-called aboriginal tribes, must of course have come into this region first, and their position among the hills also suggests the same inference. They must have been driven into the hills by latter invaders.

Mr. Pargiter suggests that the Kalingas, Odras, etc., must have come from the Bay of Bengal, *i. e.*, that they came from the sea, settled on the sea-coast and gradually carved out kingdoms inland. "Lastly, came the invasion of the Aryans into Eastern India. Their conquering vigour seems to have spent itself by time they subdued Videha and Magadha, for they had already passed through many generations in the plains of North India, and the enervating climate and easy conditions of life had surely, if slowly, modified the constitution which their ancestors had acquired in colder and hardier climes."

212. General Briggs, F. R. S., in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society in May-June 1852, appears to have been among the first to notice the uniformity of habits of all the wild tribes of India. Amongst other points he desired to establish the fact that the Hindus entered India from a foreign country and found it pre-occupied by inhabitants whom they gradually reduced to serfdom; that they introduced the Sanskrit language and municipal institutions; that in every respect, both as regards race and language, the Hindus are different from the inhabitants they found in occupation, and that the latter have a common origin. These conclusions are well established at the present day.

The Hindus. He quotes Professor Wilson's opinion that the Hindus were a northern race and fair complexioned, and that at the time of Manu the Hindus had not passed the 22nd degree of north latitude, having probably been checked by the Satpura Range. The earliest monument of the Hindus in the Deccan is of 450 A.D., and it occupied the Hindus four to five hundred years to reach Mysore. About the same time the Hindus entered Orissa in effective numbers, *i e.*, in 473 A. D., but kept to the plains, leaving in independence the inhabitants of the hills. In all cases of conquest the aborigines became serfs and outcast village watchmen. In this connection the quotations from Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, given in paragraph 217, may be read. He is of opinion that a mixed race professing forms of Aryan civilisation was already to be found in Orissa, and this is no doubt true, for Buddhism had prevailed many centuries there, and Buddhism ignored the rigid limits of caste.

Buddhism began in Bihar about five centuries before Christ and rapidly spread in all directions. It soon reached modern Orissa and was carried into Ceylon in less than a century after Buddha's death. The Buddhist; thus entered Orissa from the north (see the end of paragraph 215). In the following paragraphs I do not wish to set forth more than the results of General Briggs' observations. He does not tell us of the earliest institutions of the Hindus; he does not do more than point out the difference between them and the aboriginal tribes at the time they came in contact with each other. Other writers such as Maine and Phillips may be referred to for information regarding the early Hindu village communities. I quote one short sentence from Phillips (Tagore Law Lecture 1874-75) taken from Hunter, Vol. II :—

The Hindu village had a non-Aryan predecessor in Orissa in the Khand hamlet, but that wanted the corporate life of its successor and was merely a collection of families.

Possibly these remarks may apply to all early communities.

General Briggs shows us how the aboriginal tribes must have over run the country as hunters or herdsmen, and how they have now become slaves and watchmen where they have been conquered. He enumerates eleven points of difference between these tribes and Hindus, *e. g.*, caste, marriage of widows, eating of beef, drinking liquor, eating of ready-cooked food, spilling of blood, self-created priesthood, burying of dead, patriarchal instead of municipal institutions, trial by heads of tribes instead of by courts of equals, and illiterateness. He shows further differences in moral virtues and occupations, and even quotes Herodotus in support of the distinction between the pastoral, hunting, and fishing race of India and the race who dwell in cities. Among other aboriginal races are described those which inhabit the territory between the eastern mountains "and the sea coast, having the Chilka lake for its southern, and the port of Pipli (on the Subarnarekha) for its northern boundary. This territory is occupied by the Saurahas, the Bandwaras and the Khonds". General Briggs agreed with Captain Macpherson (who made a special study of these tribes) and Stirling in saying that—

The Hindu race did not enter Uriadesa till about the year 473 A. D. nor did they attain the zenith of their power till the ninth century. They introduced their municipal form of Government as elsewhere into the plains, but the aborigines remained unsubdued and continue so till this day.

He then quotes a very large number of authorities as to the similarity of features of all the aboriginal tribes, and concludes that their features are Scythian and quite distinct from the Caucasian type. As regards language, in the beginning of the century, Sri W. Jones and Mr. W. Colebrooke divided the languages of Indian into northern and southern, the former containing nine-tenths of words of Sanskrit origin, and the latter having a separate origin. Most especially marked

is the difference between Sanskrit and Tamil. General Briggs finds that the aboriginal languages are so closely allied to the Tartaric dialects of Thibet and Bhutan that they must have a common origin, called Scythian by Professor Rask. In fact, he proves to his own satisfaction that "all the *vernacular* dialects of India owe their origin to Scythian tongues rather than to the Sanskrit of their conquerors". He concludes by endeavouring to trace the origin of the aboriginal tribes, and finds that the Assamese are Chinese, while the other tribes (including the ancient inhabitants of Orissa) are of the Thibetan branch, "probably north men of the Scythic stem".

213. In order that I may not seem to have set forth at too great length the account of the aboriginal tribes, I would call attention to the fact that, although we have now to deal with a temporarily-settled area of only 5,000 square miles, the area administered for revenue purposes by Raja Man Singh as lately as the end of the sixteenth century was 13,935 square miles. Deducting the area of the Khurda Government Estate (about 1,000 square miles) and the southern portion of the Midnapore and Singhbhum Districts, (about 1,000 square miles) some 7,000 square miles of the latter mediaeval kingdom of Orissa was and is still occupied to a very large extent by aboriginal tribes. Even in the Government Estate of Khurda we find more distinct traces of aboriginal offices and institutions than in the other temporarily-settled areas under report (cf. Captain Macpherson's Article, Vol XVII, Part I, Bengal Asiatic Journal, and Lieutenant Frye's Article in the same Volume with Mr. W. C. Taylor's Khurda Selections, and the paragraph on Khurda in Moffat Mills' Minute).

From the evidence which we have before us the aboriginal inhabitants of Orissa seem to have been the Savars and Khonds (or more properly Kandhs). The earliest known were the Kalingas of the Mahabharata, and in later days "the Suari of Pliny and the Sabaræ of Ptolemy," both these words being no doubt variants of Savar. It is well known also that a close connection exists between these tribes and the Bhuiyas.

Epochs of the history of Orissa.

214. Hunter's Orissa, Vol I, page 188, gives us an account of the next stage.

The ancient annals of Orissa divide themselves into three long chapters, one of which is wholly obliterated by time, and the other two are more or less effaced. The first begins with the legendary Aryan conquest, when one of the five sons of the northern sage hived forth from the Sanskrit pale and founded the kingdom of Kalinga, probably atleast eight centuries before Christ. The second dates from the death of Buddha, 543 B. C. (477) and consists of Ceylonese legends of the sacred tooth, and a more or less mythical account of the first settlement of Buddhism in Orissa. The third opens with the publication of Asoka's edicts, about 250 B. C., and closes with the accession of the Long-haired or Lion Dynasty in A. D. 274.

The caves at Khandagiri and Udaigiri represent says Hunter, ten centuries of human existence, in the course of which the ascetic character of Buddhism passed into the ceremonial phase, and ended in the fashionable phase. He complains that Indian literature tells us nothing about the cave dwellers of Orissa, but finds evidence from the sacred books of Ceylon to show that in 543 B. C. (477) the tooth of Buddha was received by the King of Kalinga. After this the next authentic date is 250 B. C., the date of the inscription on the Daauli Rock near Sardaipur on the Puri road. Buddhism is by this time surely established. The race which is supposed, according to the temple Palm Leaf Records to have come to Orissa between 538 and 421 B. C. and to have conquered it, are incorrectly described as Yavans (Hunter, pages 201 and 214). Hunter considers the Yavans to have been Ionian Greeks, and dates their conquest of Orissa as between 306 and 57 B. C.

Antiochus is mentioned in the inscription at Dhauli, and Antiochus Theos was in fact at the height of his fame between 261 and 246 B. C. Hunter considers that Orissa received its Buddhism from the middle valley of the Ganges, and was under its influence till 473 A. D.

The passages in Hunter, Vol. I, pages 201 and 238 may well be read in this connection.

215. Most authorities seem to agree that all the nations who have conquered Orissa came from the north, and if they were not Yavanas the enterprise and desire for

The Yavanas\*.

\* See also Asiatic Society Journal, Vol. LXI, Part I, pages 58-59, "Graeco-Roman influence on the civilization of India" by Mr. V.A. Smith.

conquest was inspired by the Yavanas or foreigners. It seems that Yavana is a very indistinct term, and it appears to represent nothing more than the people whose tongue meant *ya-ba* to those with whom they came in contact, in exactly the same way as *barbarian* meant the people who talked in the language of bar-bar or gibberish. I may add that Hunter sometimes seems to feel doubts about the identity of the Yavans with the Ionian Greeks, as the following passage shows :—

I hope that in my anxiety to tract the Greeks through India I have not been led to make the record more complete than the evidence will bear.

216. The general results of the information which we have, shows us that between 477 B. C. and 500 A. D. Orissa (*i. e.*, the plains of Orissa) was dominated by a people who professed the Buddhist religion, but do not resemble the Hindus of the present day in several important respects. Perhaps the most striking is the love of maritime enterprise, as shown in the port of Tamruk and in the harbour of the Chilka, and perhaps most of all in the colonisation of Java and Bali. There is no doubt that this colonisation did take place from Orissa. Bali, it may be noted, is the husband of the queen to whom the Rishi gave five sons, one of whom was Kalinga. We may add that the mode of payment of village officials and the village communities in Java are very similar to those of India (see Philips' Tagore lectures and his quotation of M. de Laveleye). It is also to be remembered that many invaders from the sea came into the country during the early part of the Christian era, *e.g.*, we have a very graphic account of the invasion of Red Arm (now considered to be a Singhaliese pirate) and others generally called Yavans in the Palm Leaf Records of the Puri Temple.

217. From 473 A. D. Orissa came under Aryan and Brahmanical influence, *i. e.*, from the date of the first Lion King Yayati Kesari. Buddhism lost ground steadily, and in 657 A. D. the principal temple of Bhubaneswar was completed in honour of Siva. We know also that a body of Brahmans, whose numbers were said (probably with much exaggeration) to have been 10,000 were imported from Oudh (Kanauj) about 500 A. D. By such importations and invasions the plains of Orissa came finally and permanently under Aryan influence. The development of the political relations between the tribes and their conquerors is well described by Captain S. C. Macpherson in his paper on the Religion of the Khonds. He shows us that—

The Orissa form of policy may be broadly defined to have been a despotic monarchy limited by a military aristocracy, while theocratic influences predominated. The body of territorial nobles were highly elevated in respect of rank, power, and possessions. They all bore the title of Raja. From their exclusive relations with unsubdued portions of the primitive races, enabling them to command their rude valour, they derived considerable power; and they mainly wielded the great distinctive institution of Orissa—its *Paiks*, or hereditary landed militia, an army numbering from 150,000 to 300,000 foot soldiers.

The more important of the petty principalities are possessed by families which trace their descent from the royal houses of Orissa or from the principal stocks of Rajputana. A considerable number were originally planted by the Orissa sovereigns among the hill frontier of their State dominion, for its protection from the incursions of the dispossessed races. In some quarters portions of the ancient population, where still unsubdued, formed zamindaris by inviting junior members of influential zamindari houses to become their Rajas.

Captain Macpherson goes on to show the positions which the aboriginal races occupied. In the State domain, they became serfs; in the partially cleared tracts they remained in a semi servile condition under the rules of "vettiah", or as it is now generally called *betia*, *i. e.*, labour without hire. In the more inaccessible parts they were free tenants paying rent or giving service in lieu of rent—

They have everywhere tended—and the process goes on daily by the most curious steps—to become assimilated to their conquerors in manners and religion; and the Khonds, in particular, have formed by intermixture with them new castes, many of which hold a respectable place within the pale of Hindu society.

Dr. Rajendralal Mitra speaks of the coming of Vratya or degraded Kshatriyas amongst the Uriyas at a very much earlier date. A new impulse to progress was given :—

Two such markedly dissimilar forms of humanity as the ancient aboriginal Uriya and the Hindu could not abide together without causing a ferment; the strong must have told

upon the weak, and it is to be presumed that thereupon, as in other parts of India, the history of Aryan civilisation repeated itself, driving the more obstinate and resolute from their homes to the shelter of hill-sides and forests and amalgamating, though partially, with the more docile and tractable, by admitting them into the pale of Hinduism as a servile race. The intercourse thus established led to extensive miscegenation, and the result was a mixed race who professed forms of Aryan religion tinged more or less with the ancient faith of the country.

Stirling also at great length describes the relations between the tribes and their conquerors. His picture of the feudal system is considered by Captain Macpherson to be somewhat overdrawn, but Stirling seems to have been the earliest writer on the subject, and his account of the three tracts, the Eastern and Western Rajwara and the central tract or Khaliseh, may well be perused. A curious survival of the incidents which attached to the hill and coast zamindari still remains in the right of primogeniture. This right is still recognised in several of the best families in the old Rajwara tract, and occasionally even in the present temporarily-settled area.

218. So far I have endeavoured to show that from a nation composed of rude aborigines the Uriya people were transformed and are being transformed into an Aryan community.

At the beginning of this section I have set forth what appear to be the most important dates in the history of Orissa, and from 500 A. D. onwards the actual history of the Province may be read in the works of Stirling, Hunter, and Toynbee. The fiscal divisions and revenue administration of the Hindus and of their conquerors will be found in a later portion of the report.

To very briefly recapitulate: The aboriginal peoples appear to have been of what is known vaguely as Scythic stock. At the time of the Mahabharata they constituted a kingdom and were known as Kalingas. The kings of the Lunar dynasty asserted a vague suzerainty over them, and they were under Aryan influences which were strengthened by the ascendancy of Buddhism. It was not till the end of the fifth century that they came under effective Hindu domination, and after conquest by the Muhammedans in the end of the 16th century, and by the Mahrattas in the middle of the eighteenth, they came under British rule in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

(D)— *The people of Ancient Orissa.*

219. I give below a table of castes in Orissa arranged according to their numerical importance. The figures are taken from the census returns of 1891.

Table of Castes in Orissa (1891) arranged according to their numerical importance.

I. Upwards of a lakh—

Khandaits	....	....	600,000	10 50
Brahmans	....	....	400,000	
Chasas	....	....	430,000	
Goalas	....	....	250,000	
Pans	....	....	160,000	
Kandras	....	....	135,000	
Tanti	....	....	132,000	
Karans	....	....	123,000	
Keots	....	....	122,000	
			2,352,000	

II. Less than a lakh and more than half a lakh—

Barhis	....	....	87,000	
Bandharies	....	....	76,000	
Sudras (not defined)	....	....	75,000	
Dhobas	....	....	74,000	
Bauris	....	....	69,000	
			381,000	
Mohammedans	....	....		75,000



III. Thirty-nine to fifty thousand—

Goalas	....	....	47,000
Savars	....	....	44,000
Kumhars	....	....	42,000
Rarhis	....	....	41,000
Rajus	....	....	41,000
Banias	....	....	40,000
Gokhas	....	....	<u>39,000</u>
			294,000

IV. More than ten thousand—

Kamars	....	....	33,800
Kaibarttas	....	....	28,200
Sonars	....	....	26,800
Chamars	....	....	25,300
Haris	....	....	20,800
Malakaras	....	....	18,700
Rajputs	....	....	15,800
Telhis	....	....	14,500
Kansaris	....	....	13,400
Baisya	....	....	<u>11,400</u>
			208,700

V. Others — small castes—

persons described by religion, profession and nationality, about	....	....	400,000
Total, <i>nearly</i>	....	....	<u>3,750,000</u>

It would be out of place for me now to discuss fully the castes in Orissa. I should like to say enough to stimulate the interest of scholars and of others who have more leisure to study than myself. Probably the population of the three districts is now nearly four millions. I merely wish to say a few words about the Brahmans and Goalas, as two of the castes which represent the more Aryan types, the Khandaits as representing ancient Ksatriyas or warriors, the Chasas as a peaceful offshoot of the warriors, the Kandrās and Pans (and Bhuiyas) as representing the rank and file of the army of which the Khandaits were chiefs, and lastly the Savars, Bauris, and Gokhas who still represent the aboriginal tribes. I hope that this very brief account of nearly three-quarters of the population may encourage further enquiries. There is especially one point on which inquiries may well be made. Every caste, whether literate or illiterate, has its different "*santak*" or caste mark which is affixed by the illiterate to documents in place of signature. Connection between castes and community of origin may perhaps be traced by further enquiry.

220. The process by which the superstitions and habits of the aboriginal tribes are superseded by Aryan customs is described in Mr. Risley's ethnological work. Illustrations of the fictions by means of which one caste or sub-caste may climb into another, and the devices by means of which non-Aryan castes have obtained the services of priests and even Brahmans to perform their ceremonies, are to be found plentifully in Orissa, and the different stages of development are perhaps more interesting (because they are more noticeable) than in almost any part of Bengal. We find in Mr. Risley's work the following:—

The Brahman who serves the Bhumij zamindar as a family priest takes a higher place than the casual Brahman who ministers to the spiritual needs of the ordinary cultivator.

As an illustration of the use of Brahmans may be mentioned the fact that the (true) karans, the most reputable caste after Brahmans in Orissa, will only employ Utkala Brahmans. The Principal step in bringing Orissa under Aryan influence was, as has been already mentioned, the importation of Brahmans from Oudh. Their attitude towards the local priests (the potatogrowers) described by Hunter is very remarkable. The number of Brahmans at present is about four lakhs. Of the castes which rank high in Orissa, as compared with the rank they obtain elsewhere, we may mention the Goalas.

The Orissa Goalas affect a high standard of ceremonial purity, and look down upon the Behar and Bengal divisions of the caste. The Mathurabasis lay stress on the duty of making occasional pilgrimages to the home of the caste at Brindaban. The Jaduparia Goalas cherish the tradition that their ancestors came to Orissa from Jadupur. (Risley).

In 1891 we find that Goalas amounted to 2½ lakhs. Thus we have two of the most respected castes in Orissa (Brahmans and Goalas), amounting to 6½ lakhs, or more than one-sixth of the entire population. In both cases traditions remain regarding their ancient homes.

Mr. Risley's account of the Chasas, Pans, Bhuiyas and Khandaits\* may well be persued. Out of the present population in the three districts with which we have to deal, more than one-third, *i. e.*, 1,300,000, consist of Khandaits, Chasas, Kandras, and Pans—all descendants of the old militia. As regards the Chasas, though they number more than 427,000 in the three districts, they are said to be Orh-Khandaits, a sub-caste of Khandaits. "Jana" is found as the "*surname*" of some of the lowest Chasas in Orissa, also of Pans, also of Kandras and also Khandaits. The Kandras and Pans are well known as having formed the rank and file of the ancient militia of the Province, and the leader of the paiks was a *khandait* or swordsman *i. e.*, the wearer of the *khand* or sword.

In Orissa the Khandaits exhibit every variety of type from the high Aryan of good social position to the semi-aboriginal mongrel taken from the dregs of the people. (Risley)

The land-owning Khandaits in Orissa pretend to be Rajputs and affect strict conformity with orthodox usage. A Srestha Khandait assumes the sacred thread at the time of his marriage, a practice not uncommon among castes of dubious origin who are pressing to be counted among the number of the twice-born. The Chasa Khandaits do not wear the thread, but Brahmans will take water from their hands and they occasionally intermarry with the Karan castes.

To my mind a study of the origin of the Khandaits in Orissa would throw great light on the history of the people. In paragraph 200 above we learn that Manu says that—

The Paundrakas, Odras, and Dravidas and various well-known nations on the north and north-western confines of India were Ksatriyas and sank generally to the rank of Sudras by reason of the neglect of sacred rites and the absence of Brahmans.

This was of course written long before 437 A. D., and shows that Orissa was then occupied by a military race. There seems to be no doubt that these Ksatriyas are the ancestors of the modern Khandaits. I simply put forward my belief that they were a military race who subdued the aboriginal tribes. It is impossible to say that they were Aryans, but at least they were known as Ksatriyas, *i. e.*, a warrior tribe (see also Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, as quoted in paragraph 217).

Furthermore, as we have seen, the Khandaits recruited their army from the Kandras and Pans, while they maintained the leadership as Khandaits or Swordsmen.

Owing to community of occupation, *i. e.*, service in the army, the Khandaits, Kandras, and Pans all bore the name of Jana. In the later stages Khandaits must have become a mixed race; the lower branches depended on cultivation only and became Chasas, and the higher branches, as their military duties became lighter, have also become cultivators or proprietors of estates.

We have seen that the highest Khandaits are still regarded as Rajputs, that the wealthy may intermarry with Karans, and that many Khandaits only wear the sacred thread after their marriage. In addition to all this, Chasas are generally known as Khandaits, and the wealthiest of them actually become so.

This elasticity (if it may be called so) bears out Mr. John Beames, who says that —

The Khandaits appear to be a heterogeneous group, made up at the one end of Aryan immigrants from Upper India, and at the other of recruits from a number of indigenous non-Aryan tribes.

Mr. Risley considers the Khandaits to be "Bhuiyans of the southern tribe". He has found :—

* Khandaits	...	600,000 (In 1891).
Chasas	...	427,000
Pans	...	156,000
Kandras	...	135,000
Total	...	<u>1,318,000</u>

*First*, that the Khandaits of the Chota Nagpur Division who say that they immigrated from Orissa twenty generations ago, and many of them still speak Uriya, regulate their marriages by the totemistic sections characteristic of the southern Bhuiyans and call themselves Bhuiya-Paiks, *Secondly*, that among the numerous titles of Khandaits in Orissa we find the very singular names *Uttar*, *Dakkin*, and *Paschim-Kapat*, which are assumed by the Bhuiyas of Singhbhum. *Thirdly*, that as lately as 1825 (Stirling) the term Bhuiya was current as a synonym for Khandait even in Orissa, where it now seems to have fallen into disuse.

Again, speaking of Bhuiyas, Mr. Risley says :—

The main body of southern colonists furnished the tribal militia of Orissa, and have now sunk the Bhuiya in the Khandait or swordsman— a caste of admitted respectability in Orissa, and likely in course of time to transform itself into some sort of Rajput.

Another theory has been advanced as to the meaning of the name Khandait. It is suggested that Khandait may mean merely a *settler* instead of a swordsman. *Khanda* means a portion or portion of land as in Nahakhand and Bisalkhand ( names of parganas ) and in Khandpati. Khandait would then have a meaning analogous to Bhuiya.

In conclusion, I do not think we can accept as proved any more substantive facts than that, before the Aryans came in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., a warrior race now known as Khandaits had already conquered Orissa. Former tradition called them Ksattriyas. Stirling, too, frequently speaks of Khetris or Khandaits as synonymous and quotes the speech of Raja Anang Bhim Deo from the Puri Temple Records to show the ancient conquerors.

By the grace of Sri Jaggannath the Ganga Vansa Princes have after conquering the Khetris and Bhuiyas added to the kingdom .....

Dr. Mitra, however, (see paragraph 217) distinctly calls the Khetris, Hindus. They organised an army and enrolled some of the aboriginal tribes (Pans, Kandras, and Bhuiyas) in the rank and file and some as watchmen. The Bhuiyas as a tribe or caste have disappeared from the Orissa census list. Bhuiya survives as a very honourable title retained by the lords of the mountain-border. The connection between the religion of the Bhuiyas (tribe or caste) and that of the Khonds and of the dwellers on the western border of Orissa is alluded to in paragraph 223.

In the census of 1891 nearly 6 lakhs of persons have been recorded as Khandaits (excluding 10,000 in the Tributary Estates) and more than 4½ lakhs as Chasas. If to these be added Pans and Kandras we have a total of nearly 13½ lakhs or more than a third of the population of the three districts.

The Pans, notwithstanding the strength they may have acquired by belonging to the militia have remained to this day a very low caste, and are not regarded as Hindus.

The Kandras rank somewhat higher than the Pans. I cannot find any account of the Kandras by Mr. Risley; the Pans are said to be of Dravidian origin, and Mr. Pargiter thinks they are the Parna-Savaras (leaf-wearing Savars) who are mentioned in Sanskrit books.

The professed religion of the Pans is a sort of bastard Hinduism, varying with the locality in which they happened to be settled. In Orissa and Singhbhum they incline to Vaishnavism. This veneer of Hinduism, however, has only recently been laid on, and we may discern underneath it plentiful traces of the primitive animism common to all the Dravidian tribes.

More than 156,000 Pans were found in Orissa in 1891 excluding 110,000 in the Tributary States, while Kandras in Orissa number 135,000. As regards aboriginal tribes, there are still 113,000 Bauris and Savaras in the plains of Orissa, and Gokhas make up 40,000. It is known also that the Keets are a very mixed race. They number 122,000.

221. I do not find in the literature on the subject of castes in Orissa any mention of the powers which the zamindar has of bestowing "*padita*" names but such a custom does exist and no doubt it is a very ancient one. In one case I found an elder brother Laksham Mahapatra and a younger brother Ram Jana, both living in the same village. The title of Mahapatra (Patra—a vessel, a fit and capable person, a chief) was bestowed by the zamindar.

It is true that the zamindar claimed to be a lineal descendent of Raja Man Singh, being one of the so-called Rajas of Agrapara (Tappa Pursand, Balasore), but

an enquiry showed that for services rendered the title of Mahapatra was not infrequently bestowed by the zamindar in the neighbourhood. We know, too, that in the village the zamindar is often spoken of as "Sirkar" and his *nijjote* land as *Sirkari*. We know also that the Raja of Khurda is still regarded as the fountain of honour ( *cf.* Captain Macpherson ). Amongst the titles bestowed by him is that of "Paharaj". The derivation of this title, given me by a great authority ( Mr. R. Cornish, for many years Collector of Balasore ), is as follows :—The Raja of Puri ( Khurda ) cannot die. On the death of one Raja and until his successor is put on the throne various chiefs are styled Raja in local areas. They bear the name of *Paharaj*, which is said to mean Raja for a "prahar". It must be added that many authorities believe that only the Zamindars of ancient lineage have powers to bestow *padita* names. Mr. James Taylor tells me that in the Tributary States of Baramba every other Pan or Hari is a "Singh", the Raja having distributed these titles for a few rupees. He tells me that in addition to the powers possessed by Government and Rajas to grant titles, an entry in the Settlement records is considered to constitute a valid claim to a title. "Many (titles) were granted at the last Settlement and during the present Settlement operations many wealthy or educated men of the lower castes have been promoted to higher castes by the grant of superior titles or surnames. With respect to the castes into which they have been received all scruples have been allayed by money payments, feasts, religious ceremonies, etc." I may add of my own experience that, among others, Government servants, honorary magistrates, and temporary muharrirs have improved their position. A few instances will suffice, *e. g.*, the substitution of Chaudhuri and of Samanta for Babu as a prefix; and of Mahapatra for Patra, or Patnaik for Naik as an affix. There is also a case of a Bengali zamindar, a Sunri, described in the Settlement papers as "Bengali" by caste. He hopes, I understand some day to be described as a Kayasth.

(E)—*The Peoples of Ancient Orissa—their Religions*

222. We have already seen that the earliest religion in Orissa was that of the aboriginal races inhabiting the forests and hills; next came Buddhism from the fifth century B. C., to the fifth century A. D. After this we find the worship of Siva, and lastly the worship of Vishnu (revived as it is said) in the twelfth century. It is, however, fairly certain that at Jajpur and elsewhere a form of Hindu religion existed before the advent of Buddhism. The number of Muhammadan converts is small, and of Christians inappreciable.

223. The best account of the religion of the Khonds is to be found in Asiatic Society, Vol. XIII, Part II, Article XII, "An account of the Religion of the Khonds in Orissa," by Captain S. C. Macpherson. He describes a "distinct theism with a subordinate demonology. The supreme being, the sole source of good, the God of light, created for himself a consort—the earth Goddess, the source of evil—and thereafter he created the earth with all it contains and man. The god of light and his rebel consort contended for superiority until the elements of good and evil became thoroughly commingled in man and throughout nature. Other deities were created by the supreme being to teach men the arts of life, etc. A god is generally known as Pennu and a priest as Janni." Janni is probably the sacrificial priest, the *sebaist* is the Deori (called Dehri, by Captain Macpherson).

It is also noteworthy that the name of the supreme God is Boora Pennu among the Khonds, while Colonel Dalton tells us of the Bhuiyas in Chota Nagpur that "Boram is the sun, the first and greatest of Gods and the creator."

"They ( the Bhuiyas ) have their own priests, called Deoris."

In every village in the plains of Orissa we find a village Goddess; her priest is generally a *Bhandari* or barber, and along the western frontier we still find forest deities presided over by *Deoris* ( the *Dehri* priests of the Khonds ), described by Mr. Risley as *Sudhas* but really I think, a class of *Malis*. These *Deoris* wear the sacred thread in Orissa. For accounts of the human sacrifices performed by the Khonds and for early instances of the connection between Khonds and Uriyas in the matter of religion as well as political arrangements, not only is Captain Macpherson's article above referred to full of information, but the Asiatic Society's Journal, part II, Vol. XVII, Article I, "On the Uriya and Khond Population of Orissa," by Lieutenant J. P. Frye may be perused.

Mr. A. C. Sen, I. C. S., (letter No. 276 of 22nd February 1896, from the Magistrate of Puri to the Commissioner) offers some conjectures on "Early History of the District of Puri". He believes that a race of *Ods* or cultivators came from the south, spread over the plains of Orissa, drove the aboriginal into the hills (except the few fishing tribes), and with the help of Kama Brahmins colonised Orissa. I cannot find reference to the Kama Brahmins or to the *Ods* of the south in any work of authority, nor do either appear to be mentioned in any Sanskrit work. These conjectures are opposed to what Mr. Pargiter has collected from Sanskrit books in his paper but Mr. Sen derives his information from local tradition in Puri and I must allude to what he has said before introducing the very interesting information he gives us on the subject of the evolution of the religions of Orissa. Besides, we know that the kingdom of Orissa stretched down towards the Godaveri and that invasions from the south frequently appear in the palm leaf records of the Puri Temple.

It is worthy of note also (see Risley) that among the Brahmins of Orissa "unquestionable traces may be found of the totemistic beliefs which are common among the Dravidian and semi-Dravidian groups..... they may be due to the adoption by immigrant Brahmins of Dravidian beliefs and observances; or they may show that the Brahmins of Orissa are themselves Dravidians or have undergone a considerable infusion of Dravidian blood."

Mr. Sen introduces us to the Khonds and Savars inhabiting the sandstone hills of Dhauli, Khandagiri, Udaigiri, Rameswar, and Niladri. The above tribes lived in caves any worshipped forest deities, and we know that the earliest Buddhist monks found their way to these places. Not only do the village deities (*gram debati*) still exist, but we often find in the middle of cultivation rude shrines (generally a slab of stone smeared with red) still the object of adoration by the lower classes of the village community as the abode of a forest deity.

It does not appear that temples were erected to the aboriginal Gods or rather Goddesses; they were not seen, and they are even now supposed to live inside the cracks and crevices of the roots of trees and in stones. (See also Macpherson and Frye).

224. Dr. J. Stevenson, Asiatic Society's Journal, Article I, Vol. XIII, in a paper read on 21st November 1840, gives us an account of "The intermixture of Buddhism with Brahmanism in the religions of the Hindus of the Dekkan."

The Buddhists.

A reference may be made to this most interesting paper because it was one of the first of many enquiries. He describes Buddhism as "eminently a religion of reason; it rejects all that reason does not comprehend; and makes its constant appeal to (*buddhi*) the human intellect, as the supreme judge in religious things." I merely make this quotation here to show how such a religion must have influenced the superstitious Khonds and Savars in such parts of the plains of Orissa as came under the influence of the Buddhist monks.

There is, however, evidence to show that some colonisation from the north had already taken place. The Buddhists found "a priestly class already existing whom it was impossible to extirpate and unwise to ignore.....". "Doubtless the preceding waves of Aryan settlers who had from time to time made their way into Orissa formed the upper ranks of the Buddhist community." The edict of Asoka inscribed on the Dhauli rock also enjoins reverence to Brahmins. Moreover in Jaipur there are traces of the settlement of Brahmins in very early times and the alleged visit of the Pandavas to Virajathirtha (Jaipur, see paragraph 201) would show that there was an early settlement of Aryan religious ascetics in that place. As we have already seen the Buddhist religion flourished from 447 B. C. till 473 A. D. The accounts of the earliest settlements are mythical, but by 250 B. C., the date of the Asoka edicts, the religion was well established.

225. To return to Mr. Sen: he conjectures that Kama Brahmins dealt the death blow to the Buddhists. The Kamas, he says, were the first reformers of Orissa:—

The Kama Brahmins.

Originally worshippers of Lingam (the *linga*) or the male generative organ, they had probable from their Study of the Vedas and the Upanishads and the philosophy of the Aryans, purified their religion from all sensual ideas and made it into a monotheistic religion of the creative energy of the deity. The most common name of their God was Mahadeva, the great god or the god of gods. They also gave to their god some of the best names yet

known to the worshippers of any religion. He was called the Parameswar, or the lord of lords, the Bhubaneswar, lord of the world, Lokenath, the lord of the people, and Biswanath, the lord of the universe. They created beautiful temples and dedicated them to their god all over the Province, selecting the most beautiful sites existing in it, with the instinct of true lovers of nature. They built villages on the most advanced sanitary principles. They excavated magnificent tanks and sank beautiful wells. They were great cultivators, and with the help of the Odas reclaimed almost the whole of the culturable waste land of the province. They were the first to make embankments and to raise roads in Orissa.

These are indeed glowing periods.

In support of Mr. Sen's story of the Kama Brahmans we may turn to

Sankara Acharjya.

Dr. Stevenson's paper already alluded to. We find that under Buddhist influence the killing of cows and other objectionable rites were prohibited, and then we find that "Brahmanism as first established, or afterwards revived, in the Mahratta country, is universally by the natives traced to Sankara Acharjya, whom they deem an avatar of Siva raised up to put down the Buddhists. He is generally supposed to have flourished at Kalapur at the commencement of the ninth century of the Christian religion". Perhaps, therefore, the disciples of Sankara Acharjya found their way into Orissa from the south, but the date is three or four centuries too late.

226. Mr. Sen's conjectures on the subject of the disappearance of Buddhism

Disappearance of Buddhism.

are still more circumstantial than the information given by Hunter or the other authorities. After showing the manner in which each succeeding religion compromises with the other, he continues :—

Even in the most elaborate caves of Udaigiri not a single figure of worship can be seen. The lingam (the *linga*) was the only idol of the first Kama temples. But in the caves of Khandagiri, separated from Udaigiri only by a slight depression, we first see the figures of Buddha in contemplation. Underneath these figures were afterwards carved figures of Thakurani, a female deity among the hill people, who was afterwards Hinduised into Sakti and Parvati. It is noteworthy that they have all been made on the model of the Buddha's figure. At the gates of the largest of these caves was afterwards added the figure of the Mahabir (the greatest hero) or Hanuman (the monkey god), another aboriginal object of worship.

227. The Buddhists were ultimately driven out to the west and built the

Derivation from Buddhism of the worship of Jagannath.

temple at Niladri in Khurda. It was here that they began to carry Buddha's tooth along a broad road or *baradanda* in solemn procession. This ceremony is admitted to be the origin of the *Rath Jatra* or car festival of Jagannath. Dr. Stevenson also writes as early as 1840 :—

To my mind, however, the most singular result of the influence of Buddhism upon Brahmanism is the transformation of two Buddhist or probably Jain devotees, a male and female, into a Hindu god and goddess. Within the precincts of the temple at Pandarpur there is no distinction of caste. Vethal, the proper name of the god, means—He who receives the ignorant; at least, so his votaries interpret it. This is another feature of Buddhism directly opposed to the Brahmanical religion.

While reflecting on this subject, it has occurred to me that many of the arguments I have used will apply also to Jagannath in Orissa and that the worship of that god, also, is derived from Buddhism, since—

1st—There is no distinction of caste within the holy territory of Jagannath.

2nd—Buddhism anciently prevailed in the Province of Orissa, as appears from the Buddhist remains still existing.

3rd—The *Rath Jatra*, just immediately preceding the Sayana Ekadasi, or season of sacred rest, is probably the remains of a triumphal entry, with which the sages were welcomed on returning from their peregrinations, to hold the *Wasso*.

4th—The image of Jagannath is said, and universally believed by his votaries, to contain the bones of Krishna. Now every one conversant with the opinions of the Hindus, knows that it forms no part of the Brahmanical religion to collect and adore dead men's bones. The doctrine of the *Gita* on this subject is that at death elements separate; the spirit returns to its parent spirit, the air to air, and the earth to earth. On the other hand, it is a most meritorious act among the Buddhists to collect and preserve the relics of departed saints, and the places that contain them are esteemed peculiarly holy.

228. It is worthy of note that Mr. Sen attributes the Bhubaneswar temple

Bhubaneswar.

information.

to the Kama Brahmans, but I have again failed to identify the source from which he has drawn his

Hunter tells us that "from time to time great migrations of Brahmans radiated to the south ward from Hindustan, bringing with them the modern or Hindu form of the Aryan religion and imposing it upon a recently Buddhistic population." He quotes the palm leaf records of the Puri Temple to show that in A. D. 500, the founder of the Lion Kings imported 10,000 Brahmans and planted them round Jajpur. The latter became the metropolis of the priests, and Bhubaneswar the political capital of the Sivait Dynasty of Orissa (Hunter, Vol-I, page 200). Mr. Sen, however, is very emphatic on one point—

These Aryan kings were the great Sakti-worshippers, and not worshippers of Siva as Hunter wrongly supposed though like many other Hindus of old they absorbed Sivaism into their form of worship.

Mr. Sen adds as regards Bhubaneswar that in order to compromise with the "aboriginal followers of Buddha the *yoni* (*puendum mulicbre*) was added to the lingam (the *linga*) at first only as the female energy, but afterwards as Parvati the wife of Mahadeva. From this union sprung thousands of gods and goddesses". This is very doubtful.

In the face of such progress Buddhism decayed, and Buddha's tooth was taken first to Tamruk (Tamralipta) and then to Ceylon, while the Niladri temple fell into ruins.

229. The worship of Siva does not appear to have ever been the religion of the country. Buddhism "melted not into Sivaism but into the Vishnuvite rites of Jagannath."

Siva worship.

The imported priests, "true to the orthodox instincts of Brahmanism, continue Siva worshippers to this hour; they represented no spontaneous or natural outcome of the religious cravings of the people, but an exotic of royalty which flourished upon the crown lands. While therefore the story of Jagannath is interwoven with the religious history of the Province, the annals of Siva-worship in Orissa deal with little else than the building of temples and grants of lands to the priests." From 1132 A. D. onwards the reigning dynasty were followers of Vishnu. This dynasty produced the present temple of Jagannath at Puri (1198) and the temple of Kanarak (1282) on the coast 20 miles north of Puri. An account of the worship of the Sun in Orissa is given in pages 283 to 286, Volume I, of Hunter. I cannot do better than close this account by an extract from Hunter on the present popular religion in Orissa :—

Buddhism, Sivaism, Sun-worship, each in turn became the prominent faith of the Province, and after a time gave place to some other creed. Jagannath was destined to hold a more permanent sway, and his priests, by skilfully working upon the Indian passion for pilgrimage, have for six centuries made Orissa a *terra sancta* of the Hindus. He owes his long reign to that plasticity which admits the whole Hindu pantheon within his walls, and which during six hundred years has ever instinctively accommodated itself to the changing spirit of the times. In the very act of superseding Sun-worship and Sivaism, his priests built temples to the wife of the All-Destroyer and to the Sun within his sacred courts. A truly Aryan deity, he commanded the adoration of the upper classes. At the same time he enlisted the sympathies of the low castes by the equal sacrament of the Holy Food, and by a mythology which exalted a despised fowler into the revealer of the God. By the ingenious device of successive incarnations, Vishnu has made himself the centre of a whole cycle of religious systems, and secured the adoration of many races, belonging to widely separated stages of civilisation. Without losing his own identity he assimilated the attributes of nine of the most popular gods, and his priests keep a tenth incarnation in their hands, a weapon which they may yet utilise to bring the gross superstitions of the people into accord with the theism which English education has now disseminated among the upper classes.

Jagannath has assimilated to himself a wider range of attributes than any of the gods of Rome or Greece.

While on the intellectual and spiritual side of his nature he claims to be identical with Buddha, the ninth incarnation of Vishnu, he stands forth the hero of the Warrior caste, as Rama in his seventh incarnation; and has drawn to himself the sympathies of the pastoral races, as Krishna the eighth appearance of Vishnu upon earth. Krishna, the divine Herdsman, is the incarnation which specially appeals to woodland or pastoral peoples, and which has chiefly attracted them to Vishnu-worship. These races have always ranked below the Aryans, and are now despised as aborigines or inferior castes; yet their allegiance to Vishnuism has been skilfully obtained by identifying one of their national deities with the bright Aryan God.

230. The Jain religion in Orissa does not appear to require special notice. We know that the Ganga Kings built a temple to Mahadeva on the top of Khandagiri hill and adorned it with an attenuated figure of Buddha, and that about a hundred years ago

Jains.

(according Mr. Sen) "a Cuttack merchant of the Jain sect created a Jain temple here out of the materials of the temple of Mahadeva."

231. Mahomedans and Afghans made few converts in Orissa; the last census shows about 75,000 persons described as Mahomedans. We find settlers in nearly all the large towns and hamlets along the trunk road and along some of the oldest routes into the Tributary States. The Mahomedans do not appear to have collected in large numbers except in Cuttack town. Some Parganas contain none at all. In Pargana Ambohatta (Balasore) I found one Mahomedan household, the descendants of a zamindar's *barkandaz*. The most curious instance of converts to Islam is that of the family of the Government Pleader of Balasore. All members of his family are still known as Bhuian (Bhuinhar or Bhupati). They were chief priests of the Raja of Puri and received their estate of Garpada from the Raja. For fear of the Moghul emperors they turned Mahomedans rather than lose their estate, their family residence however, is still called Uriya Sasan, and their Hindu family idols are still preserved and some religious worship goes on.

232. Christianity has not set its mark on the Province. In the famine of 1866 the missions in Orissa saved the lives of hundreds of starving orphans and adopted them. The religions of Orissa share with us many legends and miracles. Two may be mentioned by way of example. (1) The rout of Red Arm and his host (see paragraph 18) by the waters of the Chilka, which receded and stood up till they came close and then descended and drowned the impious invaders. (2) The troubling of the waters of the well at Bhubaneswar on the first day of the *Rath Jatra*. The water acquires special healing efficacy on that day, so much so that the first pot drawn sold for Rs. 500 a few years ago, the second pot for less, and so on.

No doubt the religious history of other parts of India has developed in the same way as that of Orissa-for an almost exact parallel I may refer to the Asiatic Society's Journal, Volume XIII, Article XII, "On the modern deities worshipped by the Hindus in the Dekkan," by Dr. Stevenson:—

The religion of the Hindus of the Dekkan seems to me to consist of four constituent parts: first, *pure Brahmanism* as contained in the Vedas and Puranas; second, An *ante Brahmanical worship* consisting in the adoration of painted stones, which are not acknowledged as objects of worship by the Brahmans but considered as the representatives of demons; third, *Buddhism* or that modification of it which subsists among the Jains, and under which head falls the worship of the Pandnarpur Vitthoba; fourth, A *local superstition* based on Brahmanism, and consisting of the worship of remarkable persons who have arisen in the Mahratta country in times comparatively modern.