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CONTENTS

1. Lion on Elephant's Motif in Orissa art
by O. C. Gangoly 1
(*See plates* II—VII)

2. The Māna Samvat of Orissa,
by S. N. Rajguru. 6

3. The Palaeography of Early Oriya Inscriptions.
by Dr K B. Tripathi 11
(*See plates* VIII—XV)

4. Hinayana Buddhism in Eastern India in the 7th. Century A. D
by Dr N. K Sahu 28

5. The Temples of Bhubaneswar
by Sri S. C. De 34
(*See plates* IA—IQ)

6. Correspondence of the Settlement of Khoordah in Puri
(From W. Ewer in 1818) XXXV

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'LION ON ELEPHANT' MOTIF IN ORISSAN ART.

By Prof. O. C. Gangoly.

Apart from the relief sculptures of the *Daśa dik pālas* and the Apsaras, Nāginīs, and Mithunas,-the facades of Orissan temples are decorated with a group of architectural sculputures, of peculiar forms and motifs,-the significance of which has not been fully investigated and explained. One such motif, frequently met with in Orissan monuments,—is the representation of the 'Lion on Elephant'.

Various heraldic presentations of Lion in a variety of conventional and mythological forms occur throughout the whole history of Indian Art. The Asokan Lions, and their derivatives in early Buddhist monuments (both in the role of finials of pillars and in other decorative and symbolical uses) are of wholly different significance, probably derived from the patronymn of Śākya-Siṃha (Cp. the miniature effigy of a lion between the feet of the standing 'Bodhisattva' of Friar Bala, dated 123 A. D., Sarnath Museum, and, on the throne of the Buddha in Mathura Art). The Lion motif continues in early Gupta Art, both as members of the capitals of pillars (Temple No. 17, Sanchi) and also in other roles, such as punctuating miniatures, on the string-courses of the bases of Gupta temples, as at Durga temple at Aihole. The earliest occurrence of the Lion in Orissa is on the shoulders of the Vimāna, below the neck of the Amala Śilā of the Parśurāmaswara Temple (c. 750 A. D.)

The other significant use of the forms of Lions is in the role of the Guards at the Gates at the entrance (Simha-Dwāra) of the Bhuvaneswar temples—which havegiven the special name of the 'Lion-Gate' to the Orissan entrances,

It is difficult to identify the earliest specimen of these Guardian Lions as the finest surviving specimens-at the entrance of Lingaraja may be substituted effigies, replacing earlier or original ones, damaged or broken in course of time. Another class of lion-motifs-are rampant forms with riders occurring on square relief panels-on the facade of the Vaitala-Deul, Bhuvaneswar.

A distinction has to be made-in the prescriptions of the different forms of this animal e. g. Simha and Śārdūla-referred to in certain Śilpaśātra texts. A generic name for the king of beasts is Vyāla, occurring both in Northern and Southern texts and usages. Prof. Nirmal K. Bose has suggested that the Orissan craftsman's 'Viḍāla' is perhaps a corruption of the Sanskrit word 'Vyāla'. Curiously, the classification of Lions to be used in artistic representations is given in a Sinhalese Śilpa-text : RŪPA-MĀLĀ (yet unpublished) from which I quote from Mr. E. R. Goonaratna's copy and translation made in 1907. This text sets forth sixteen kinds of Lions (ṢodaŚa varga Simhaḥ).

Keśarī Hariṇī Vyāghrī Varāhī Śiśumārinī
Matangī ca Śikhi Bhogī, Kinnarī Garudadvajīā
Bhalluka Manjarī Tunga Śakhāmriga Virāṭikā
Simhādi varga ityādi bhāgaso daśameva ca !!

... ...

Truṇa (? Tunga) Simha Kāla Simhaḥ,
Pāndu Simhaśca Keśarī
Teśām caturṇaṃ Simhānām
Kesarī-tvagra-taṃ gataḥ !!

"Of the above four types, Kesari is the highest."
The next verse describes the physiognomy of the Lion.

Śaśa-mukha sama netras canda-driṣti-prabhavo
Mridu Kuṭila Sukeśaḥ kakṣa vakṣhah saromaḥ !
Upacita aja priṣṭhah Saindhavai-stulya dehaḥ
Lalita-gati viśeṣo dīrgha-valah sa Simhaḥ. !!

This is a veritable portrait of the normal Zoological type rather than a Herladic lion of Indian Art.

It should be noted that in the above sixteen categories the Śārdūla; the heraldic type is not mentioned.

Manmohan Ganguly (*Orissa and her Remains*, 1912, pp 203 204) deals with Śārdūla combined with the elephant motif. The passage is quoted below :

"The victory of the Keśarīs must have been an epoch-making event, or else its representation would not have influenced the architecture of Orissa in such a remarkable degreee, for almost all the temples of mediaeval times in the Puri district are invariably found to contain in the narrow recesses between the pilasters representations of a *lion standing over a crouchant elephant*. These lions are, as a matter of fact, fantastic monsters having leafy horns, pointed ears, elaborate manes and a beaded tassel dangling from the mouth. *This is the Sculptor's Śārdūla which does not obtain in nature*...From this conventional representation of Śārdūla we should not come to the conclusion that the Oriyās had no knowledge of the physiognomy of a lion; in support of the above remark, the lion of the Jagamohana of the Muktesvwara temple may be cited by way of illustration.

"The lion has been represented in various situations. It is seen on both sides of the main entrance as a Guard or a dwārapāla, and towering over a crouchant elephant. It is seen in a similar posture projecting from the Rekhā of the sanctum at a definite height. It is also placed on the roof of the Jagamohana, and is invariably found in one of the three followīng posturese. g. (1) *Udā – sinha*, or flying lion, as in the temple of Yukti Kedāresvara (2) *Jhāppāsinha* or rampant lion, as in the temple of Kedaresvar. (3) *Kshepā Sinha* or mad lion as in the temple of Mukteswar. The lion is also noticed in the intervening space below the Amalaka śilā referred to already. ˜ This representation of the lion is called *Dupichchā, sinha*-or two lions placed back to back"

The problem is when does the lion and elephant device first appear in Orissa, and who is responsible for the design ? M. M. Ganguly, relying on current craftsmen's tradition, asserts that it appeared after the advent of the Kesari Dynasty which subjugated and supplanted an earlier ruling dynasty (could it be the Gajapati dynasty) which was symbolized by the elephant.

But the present writer claims to have proved that the motif is earlier than the earliest mediaeval temples in Orissa and appears to have been formulated in some part of Magadha, during the Gupta Period.

This is proved by a fragment of a large Bronze piece dug up at Nalanda (Bihar) during an excavation undertaken by the Archaeological survey, Eastern Circle-during the year 1916-17 (See Annual-Report, Eastern Circle, 1916-17, page 2). where the piece is described as "a large metal Column with elaborate capital showing a lion above an elephant". On the basis of other finds dug up from the site, this piece has been ascribed to the Gupta period, so that it cannot be claimed that the device is an original invention of Orissan Craftsmen. The writer drew the attention of Scholars to the pattern and its significance in an article

(Sardulaa, horned lion)

published in the *Modern Review* in 1918. This bronze piece is about three feet in height-and the question is what was the use of this metal column. We can only make plausible guesses. If it had any structural function,-it might have been one of the legs of a throne for a placing an Image or one of its uprights. Alternately,-it might have been used as the base or pedestal of a Lamp-stand.

Whatever may have been its function,-it offers a clinching evidence that the design was first formulated, during the Gupta period, in Bihar or some related culture-areas. But then we have still to explain the signifi-cance of this design why is the lion placed on the back of an elephant. If it was used for a seat for any image, the Seat (*Āsana*) was meant to be a Simhāsana (a lion seat) so that for such a seat the effigy of a lion-should be an appropriate motif. We have several images of the Buddha placed on a lion-seat. But if the effigy of a lion is a relevant design for a lion-seat,-why does the elephant come in ?

The answer is provided by an old traditional verse found in the older anthologies, which describes the character of a Lion, and which is very familiar to scholars :—

Vibharti vegaṃ pavanātirekaṃ
Bhinatti nityaṃ karirāja-Kumbhaṃ !
Karoti vāsaṃ giri-rāja-Śringe
Tathāpi Simha paśureva nānyaḥ ! !

TRANSLATION

'It may possess a swiftness more than the air. It may be habitually breaking the skull of the king of elephants. It may reside on the pinnacle of the king of hills. The Lion is yet no other than a Beast.' The above verse suggests a clue to the significance of the motif, namely, — that it is the traditional habit and character of a lion — to smash the head of an elephant to kill it.

Tradition also asserts that the skull of the King of elephants conceals a valuable treasure, a precious Pearl, known as Gaja-mati. It does not occur in the heads of *all* elephants but only in the skull of an animal of the super-type (*mauktikam na Gaja Gaje*). This tradition of the search for the precious pearl inside the head of a Gaja-rāja may be assumed to be motive of the Lion hunting for it by smashing its head.

So that it may be claimed that the motive is a simple but adequate description of the habit and personality of a Lion based on the anonymous verse quoted above. Originally it had no reference to the subjugation of the Gajapati Dynasty of Orissa by the Keśari Dynasty, though it is quite possible that the motive was utilized as a Heraldic Symbol for the Keśari Dynasty.

But whether this motif was originally borrowed or not by the Orissan artist from extra-Orissan sources, the versatile local craftsman has used and developed the pattern in an intensely original and imaginative manner. It has produced a type of imaginative lion (Śārdūla) which is by no means an unworthy challenge to the monumental Asokan Lion. The Orissan artist has added and developed many new features and elements particularly in the treatment of the eyes, the moustaches and the manes which are original and invigorating contribution to the motif. We have also various versions of differing presentations of the basic conception. This is well illustrated in a powerful fragment of a head (fig) in which the large staring eyes and the flaming hairs of the moustaches lend a quality of grandeur unknown in previous ages of the lion-motive. We should also refer to another example of the lion head (Griffin ?) from Konark reproduced in "*Rupam*" (No. 22—23, April—July, 1924) in connection of the 'Lion-couple' (*Simha-mithuna*). This type is a singularly original creation of the Orissan sculptor who has amply repaid the loan if it has been borrowed from Gupta sources. The other variation of the motif is the type with an elephant's head, with lion's legs, commonly known as *vyālis* or Yālis met with in the Schools of South Indian Sculpture, frequently occurring on the monolithic pillars of the great Temple at the Madura.

And, finally, we have the surprising evolution of the peculiar form of the Nara-Viḍāla, the Orissan version of the Nara-Simha, occurring at Konarak (Fig). Here the so-called Lion is given an essentially human face, though retaining the body, the tail, and the paws of the animal. It is a predominating human conception with a benign and smiling face, gently placing one of the paws on the heads of the prostrate warrior at the feet, almost in a gesture of benediction, the right hand being posed across the breast almost in an equally amiable gesture of bestowing an *āśīrvāda*. In the absence of appropriate textual authority to support this fine and impressive human conception, one is unable to suggest the actual significance of the motif and as this type does not appear to have been frequently repeated any where else we can only justify the motif as a fanciful and personal interpretation of the Nara-Simha type devised by an artist endowed by wild and creative imagination.

The Lion and the Elephat motif attains a superbly monumental expressions in the gigantic pair at the entrance to the Jagamohan at Konarak. "Majestically stylized the lions are pure, rampant energy awesome in their prowess and majesty". Such is the interesting history of an ancient artistic motif treated in Orissan Art with a singular distinction and originality.

THE MĀNA-SAMVAT OF ORISSA.

(By Sri Satyanarayan Rajguru, U. B. P,)

The Kaṇās copper plate grant of Śrī Lokavigraha was edited by me in the *Journal of Kalinga Historical Research Society*, (Vol.III, p. 261). The date of this grant is mentioned in two places, viz. in line 2 (obverse) it is written Gupta-Kāle-200-Śate-Musivaraya" [1] and in line 15 (reverse) again, it is written, "Samvat-200-80-Phālguna-10". The former date is clearly the Gupta-Samvat. So, its corresponding christian date is (200+320=) 520 A. C. It is not, therefore, difficult for us to attribute the second date, i. e. 200. 80 (or 280), to A. C. 520. Consequently the starting point of this unknown era is—(520-280=) A C. 240, No *Samvat* has yet been known to have been started from that date. Of course, we learn that the Kālachuri or Chedi Samvat was started from A. C. 247 to 250. There are still divergent views, expressed by scholars regarding the actual starting point of the Chedi-era as stated below:—

According to Sir A. Cunningham the first year of the Chedi era fell in 350 A. D. the year which is the true starting point of that era (vide *Indian Eras.*)

Kielhorn says that Chedi Samvat '0' is equal to A. D. 248-49, and '1' is equal to A. D. 249 50 (vide *I. A.*, Vol. XVII, p. 215 ff). Kielhorn confirms his view while editing the Bherāghāt inscription of Alhaṇadevi (E.I., Vol. II, p. 9 ff).

Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha says that the interval between the Kālachuri-Samvat and Vikrama-samvat is about 307 years. The Kālachuri-Samvat was started from the 23rd August, 249 A. D. (Vide, *The Palaeograpuy of India*, p. 173 ff).

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1 Although the word '*Musivaraya*' gives no meaning, it cannot be taken as a part of the numerical expression.

Dr. D. C. Sarkar re-edited this grant in Ep. Ind Vol. XXVIII, p 328ff. He reads in the 2nd line as follows :—

"गुप्त [का] ल [सम्वत्स] रे अ (सी) त्यु [त्त]र शत [द्व]"

Sri S. C. De was asked to exmine this portion of the text. He opoined as follows :—

"According to my decipherment there is a numerical symbol (200) after the words 'गुप्तकाले' just after that symbol there is a word 'शते' which is followed by five letters. So after the words 'गुप्तकाले' there are altogather 8 letters, while according to Dr. Sircar 4 more letters what I found in the original plate. It cannot be presumed that 4 letters can be omitted by the engraver." I thank Sri De for his scrntiny.

Swamikannu Pillai says that "the Chedi or Kālachuri era (current year is equal to A. D. year minus 247), current *Āśvina, pūrnimānta*" According to his calculation A. D. 500 is equal to 253 Chedi year current, (Vide, Indian Ephemeris, Vol, Pt. I, P 54 ff.)

The earliest known Chedi-Samvat is 174. which is mentioned in the Karitalai plates of Mahārāja Jayanātha (C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 118 ff). Afterwards, the era was used by several royal dynasties ruling over the tracts lying between the present states of Bihar and Bombay. It is, therefore, presumed that the Kālachuris attained political supermacy after the Guptas in the central part of India, which extended to the southern slopes of the Vindhyan range. There is no evidence to prove whether their empire included the east-coast regions of Orissa. On the other hand, the *Saṃvat,* which has been used in the plates of Śrī Lokavigraha, found in Puri District, clearly admits the Gupta supremacy. After this king, another king named Dharmarāja, who was a subordinate king under Prithivīvigraha, the ruler of Kaliṅga-Rāshṭra, issued his grant in the Gupta year 250, corresponding to A. C. 570 (vide, *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 66). After this, the Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja-Śailodbhava, who was another subordinate king of Koṅgoda under Mahārājādhirāja, Śaśāṅka, issued his grant in the same *Saṃvat* (Gupta year) 300 or 620 A. D. (*E. I.*, Vol. VI, pp, 143). Therefore, it is quite clear that the Gupta's supremacy prevailed over the coastal regions of Orissa during the 6th and the 7th centuries A. D.[2] In view of this, how can we accept the introduction of Kālachuri-era in the state, when we have no evidence of the supremacy of the Kālachuris over Orissa, during the said period ? So, I presume that the Samvat used in the Kaṇās plate of Śrī Lokavigraha cannot be taken as the Kālachuri-Samvat, although it appears to be so for its nearness of date on the grounds of palaeography.

Now, the question is, if this Samvat is not of the Chedis, then to which it might be attributed ? The only answer is that it may be taken as a local Samvat, which was perhaps popular in Orissa just before the Gupta supremacy spread over this land. In that case, one would naturally be inclined to suggest that an independent dynasty was probably ruling over Orissa, enjoying an imperial status so as to introduce its own era like many other imperial dynasties; and that Orissa was under that dynasty for atleast 100 years, i. e. 240-340 A. D., for, it is not possible for any dynasty to establish itself firmly within a short period of less than a century or so. Most probably that royal dynasty of Orissa was ousted by Samudragupta, after which the Gupta rule was established in this part of the country. It may be surmised that either Samudragupta had conquered the north-

2. I have already discussed this aspect in my article on "The Gupta Rule in Kalinga", *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. I, No. 2.

eastern part of Orissa after his southern expedition was completed or he allied himself with the then independent ruler of Toshali. But, the entire Orissa came under the Guptas before A. C. 507, which has been proved by the Sumandala plates of the time of Śrī Prithivīvigraha.

It is not out of place to mention here the date of Patiakella grant of Śivarāja, which mentions two dates like the Kaṇās plate. (vide, *E. I.*, Vol. IX, p. 285 ff). The technique of writing as well as the shapes and sizes of both the above named plates are similar. R, D. Banerji while editing the Patiakella grant of Śivaraja writes :

"One corner of the plate is missing and has carried away portions of the dates with it. Fortunately the date can be made out correctly from the portions still remaining. In this grant the date is given twice. First of all we read in the second line 'Tryadhikasittyuttara...' and secondly at the end of the eighteenth line 'Samvat 200...'. Thus tens and hundreds are all fairly certain. I am indebted to Dr. Konow for the reading of the symbol for two hundred", In this way, Banerji concludes that the Samvat is 283, which he takes to be the Gupta era. But, in the inscription itself the phrase 'Māna-vamśa-rājya-kāle' instead of 'Gupta-vamśa-rājya-kāle' is clearly written. Banerji did not properly deal with this serious point of deviation.

If we take it to be the Gupta-era, then the date of Śivarāja and his overlord Sagguyayyana[3] should be A. D. 603 only, 17 years prior to the date of Mādhavarāja and his over-lord Śaśānka of the Ganjam plates. So far we have no evidence to prove that Śaśānka belongs to the family of Sagguyayyana (*Maudgala-Kula*). On the other hand, we find that the *Praśasti*, used in the Patiakella grant, is quite different from those used in the Kaṇās plate of Śrī Lokavigraha, Sumandala plates of the time of Prithivīvigraha and the Ganjam plates of the time o Śaśānka, which were issued in the Gupta years 280 (520 A, D.), 250 (570 A. C.) and 300 (620 A. C.) respectively ; and they all maintained a similar type of *Praśasti* by using the Gupta-Samvat.

Now, we should consider why it was so ? Why Śivarāja of the Patiakella grant did introduce a new type of *Praśasti* for his over-lord Śrī Saguyayyan, without following the conventional form of epithet, which others of the same locality have used ? And how Śivarāja was allowed to violate the practice of expressing the Gupta subordination and did not use even the name of the Guptas in the Samvat of his record ? A plausibe explanation to these questions is that Śivaraja's over lord Śrī Saguyayyana was acting as a governor in Dakshina-Toshala

3. Some scholars read the name of this king as Sambhoyasa, and try to link him with the king of the same name of the Soro plates,

under some kings of imperial Māna dynasty, whose independent era he introduced in the coastal regions of Orissa. The Mānas seem to have maintained almost an equal status with the imperial Guptas. Of course, we are in the dark about the existence of the '*Mānas*' and no document of the dynasty has yet come to light to substantiate our statement ; but the Patiakella grant leads us to no other conclusion than the one given above. A group of kings, bearing 'Māna' title, were living in a remote place like the district of Hazaribagh in Bihar, in or about the 12th. century A. D. (vide, *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 345 ff.). But, that epigraph of the later age is not helpful to us for identification of the imperial 'Māna' dynasty, referred to above.

In the Soro plate of Mahārāja Sambhuyasa of *Maudgala kula* we find a *Samvat* in numerical symbols as 260 (E. I., Vol. XXIII, pp. 197). While editing that grant, N, G. Majumdar writes : "It is dated in the year 260, the 30th. day of Karttika. This date, in view of palaeography, is referable to the Kalachuri-era and becomes, therefore, equivalent to A. D. 508 09."

D. R. Bhandarkar also expresses a similar view with regard to the Patiakella grant of Sri Saguyayya. He writes :

"The date cannot be read with certainty, but is most probably 283. It has been referred to the ruling era of the Māna dynasty, which is not yet known. As the alphabet belongs apparently to the 6th. century A. D., the date probably belongs to the Kalachuri-era." (E. I., Vol. XX. p. 16 ', foot-note). This shows that Majumdar and Bhandarkar take these dates to be the Kalachuri-era on the grounds of palaeography. But, R. D. Banerji, while editing the Patiakella grant, took it to be the Gupta-Samvat, although the name of that Samvat has not been mentioned there. Recently, Dr. D. C. Sircar, while re-editing the Sumandala copper-plate grant of the time of Sri Prithivivigraha of Gupta-era 250, took the view of Banerji as the gospel truth, and wrote in his paper as follows :

'The Soro and Patiakella inscriptions..... are dated in the Gupta years 260 (A. D. 579) and 283 (A. D. 602) respectively (vide *E. I.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 83)." This bold statement of Dr. Sircar cannot however be accepted when all the inscriptions, where the Gupta-era has been mentioned, contain a particular type of royal *Prasasti*, beginning with the epithet "*Chaturudadhi*..... etc.," quite distinct from that found in either the Patiakella grant, or in the Soro plate. Moreover, the Patiakella grant of Sivaraja clearly mentions the name of the era as "Mānavamsa-rājya-kāle" instead of "Gupta-vamsa-rājya-kāle." Apart from this, the palaeography of these two inscriptions is definitely earlier than that of the dated plates of Sumandala of the Gupta era, 250 and of Ganjam of the year 300. So far as the palaeographical question of the Patiakella grant and the Soro plate, referred to above, is concerned, I fully agree with the views of N. G. Majumdar and D. R.

Bhandarkar, as stated above ; although I am not accepting their identification of that Samvat with the Kālachuri-era.

Here, I like to invite the attention of scholars to a newly discovered hoard of coins from the Balasore District (Orissa), the minting technique of which is different from that of the Kushāna and the Gupta coinage of the same period. There is a couchant bull incised on one side of it and on the other side a line of writing "*Śri Nandasya*", in the Box-head character of the 5th. century A. D., is engraved. Since this type of coins has not yet been discovered in any part of India, it may be taken that they were issued by a local ruler who was enjoying the sovereign status during that period in the coastal regions of Orissa. The most interesting point is that those kings were living in a period when the imperial Guptas were at their zenith of power. Again, the Puri-Kushāna coins, which we find only in the different tracts of Orissa, present a new specimen of coinage. Why did the technique of these coins and minting process differ from those of the Guptas and other imperial dynasties ? This question again carries us to the same conclusion which we have arrived at with the help of the Patiakella and Kaṇās grants of the 6th. century A. D. I, therefore, offer the following suggestions which may help us to remove a considerable part of darkness, that shrouds the history of Orissa in the period from the 2nd. to the 6th. century A. D. :

(i) that the Mānas were the supreme lords of the Coastal regions of Orissa, which was known as 'Toshala'. They were ruling that kingdom atleast for 100 years, prior to the coming of the Guptas,

(ii) that the Mānas introduced their own Samvat from A. C. 240 which was used atleast upto A. C. 523, as is proved from the Patiakella grant of Śivarāja.

(iii) that the Guptas had no occasion to come into conflict with the Mānas, atleast upto A. C. 570

(iv) that the dates used in the Patiakella grant, and the second date of the Kanāsa plate refers to the Māna Samvat only, which has been noticed in the former grant, and

(v) that Sri Nanda of the Balasore hoard of copper-coins was a member of the Māna dynasty of the Tosbala-kingdom.

THE PALAEOGRAPHY
of
EARLY ORIYA INSCRIPTIONS*

By Dr. K. B. Tripathi

(Chapter 4 A of the Ph. D. Thesis)

1. The Oriya alphabet, like other sister alphabets, is ultimately traceable to the Brāhmī script of ancient India. This script passed through various stages of development from the 3rd. century B. C. to about the 14th. century A. D. when it assumed the shape of cursive Oriya script with curves forming the tops of letters. These stages are exhibited by a large number of inscriptions discovered in various parts of India including Orissa.[1] The scripts of these inscriptions may, therefore, be broadly classified into several types and be chronologically arranged as follows :—

1.	The Brāhmī script	(circa 3rd century B. C- (circa 3rd century A. D.)
2.	The so-called Gupta script	(circa 3rd century A. D. (circa 6th century A. D.)
3.	The 'acute-angled' script including the nail-headed or wedge headed script	(c. 6th century A. D. c. 11th century A. D.)
4.	The 'Proto-Bengali' script	(c. 11th century A. D. c. 14th century A. D.)
5.	The early Oriya script	(c. 14th century A. D.) c. 16th century A. D.
6.	The modern Oriya script	(c. 16th century A. D. up to the present)

Accurately speaking, there is a transitional stage between each preceding and succeeding script, for each merges into the other imperceptibly and gradually. Moreover the chronological periods mentioned above are only approximations and sometimes one period overlaps the other. It should be noted that the Proto-Bengali alphabets and possibly the acute angled alphabets in their later stage were sometimes influenced by Nāgarī forms.

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* This is a part of the Thesis approved by the University of London for the Ph. D. degree, 1952

1. Some picto-graphic inscriptions are also found in Orissa. They are believed to be Pre Brahmi and akin to the Mahenjodaro inscriptions. See the Vikramkhol inscription in Indian Antiquary, LXII, p.58.

2, From the first century B. C. the Brāhmī script of Northern India begins to show certain changes which are well illustrated in Kuṣāna records and therefore popularly associated with the Kuṣāna emperors. Hence the Brāhmī script may be said to have two principal stages (1) the earlier Brahmī chiefly represented in the inscriptions of Emperor Aśoka and therefore called the Mauryan Brāhmī and(2) the later Brāhmī or the Kuṣāna Brāhmī.

The Earlier Brāhmī is represented in Orissa by the following inscriptions :—

(1) The rock-edicts of Emperor Aśoka on the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa hills in the Puri and Ganjam districts (3rd century B. C)

(2) The Hātigumphā inscription of Emperor Khāravela at Udayagiri near Bhubaneswara in the Puri district with its related minor group of inscriptions. (circa first century B. C.).

The early Brahmi characters as found in the inscriptions of the age of Khāravela, however, exhibit certain modifications of the original signs,

The Kuṣāna Brāhmī is represented in Orissa by the Bhadrakha (Balasore district) inscription of Gaṇa dated in the 8th regnal year of Mahārāja Gaṇa. It is a short lithic record palaeographically assignable to circa 3rd century A. D. This awaits publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

3. The next stage in the development of the script is well illustrated by the inscriptions of the Gupta Emperors, their subordinates and contemporaries throughout Northern India. Hence the epigraphic northern script of the Gupta period is popularly known as the 'Gupta script'. On the basis of a few test-letters such as *la, ṣa* and *ha*, this script admits of at least, two varieties, an eastern and a western.

"The Gupta alphabet' is principally represented in Orissa by the following records.

(1) The Kalāhāṇḍi copper plate grant of Mahārāja Tuṣṭikara. It was discovered in 1947 at the then feudatory Indian State of Kalāhāṇḍi, now merged in Orissa. It is published in *J. K. H. R. S.* (Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society, Balangir-Patna, Orissa) September-December, 1947 (Vol. II, Nos. 2 and 3). Though the grant is undated, its palaeography indicates that it belongs to circa. 4th century A. D.

*(2) The Sumaṇḍala copper-plate grant of Dharmarāja of the Gupta Era 250 (A. D. 569-70) was discovered from a mound near the village Sumaṇḍala not far from Jaugaḍa in the Ganjam district. This has been published with plates in

*A critical edition of these plates awaits publication in the *E. I.* For (2, see E. I. 28, p. 79 ff.

Vol. I (No. I) of the Sanskrit Journal Manoramā in 1949 from Berhampur, Orissa.

(3) The Soro copper plate of Mahārāja Śambhuyaśas, (G. E.) 260-(A. D. 579-80). This was unearthed along with three other plates near Soro in the Balasore district (E. I. XXIII, p. 197 ff.)

*(4) The Kaṇāsa copper plate of Lokavigraha, dated G. E. 280 (A. D. 599). This was discovered in the village Kaṇāsa in the Puri district and was published with plates and a palaeographical chart in *J. K. H. R. S.* (January 1950).

(5) The Patiakella copper plate of Śivarāja (G. E.) 283 (A. D. 602), discovered in the Cuttack district (*E. I.* IX p. 285).

Some inscriptions of the Gupta times discovered in Ganjam-Chicacole region, e. g. those of the Māṭhara kings of Kalinga exhibit southern characters which contributed little to the development of the Oriya script.

'The later Kalinga script' (7th-12th centuries See Bühler I. P. Section 30) which is also predominantly influenced by southern letters, developed in the same region. Some archaic forms found in the early Oriya script of Ganjam-Vizagapatam region may be traceable to this source. Sometimes charters of the later Gangas of Kalinganagara (e. g. No. A of this Thesis) exhibit many Proto-Bengali forms.

4. From about the 7th century to about the 11th century the alphabet used in a large number of inscriptions of North India shows certain prominent and distinct characteristics on the basis of which it is variously known as wedge-headed, nail-headed, acute-angled, 'Siddhamātṛkā' and 'Kuṭila'.

During the 7th century the acute-angled characters are generally combined with wedge-heads. Such characters are represented in Orissa by the early charters of the Śailodbhava dynasty, for example :—

(1) The Ganjam copper-plates of Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja of the time of Śaśāṅka dated in the Gupta year 300 (619-20 A. D.) (E. I. VI, p. 143 ff).

(2) The Khurda copper-plate of Sainyabhita-Mādhavarāja J. A. S. B., 1904, part I, p. 284).

The acute angled alphabets or the alphabets occupying an intermediate position between acute-angled and Proto-Bengali (where the wedge-heads begin to give way to short horizontal top-strokes) are represented in Orissa by the charters of the Bhauma-karas (7th-9th centuries or 8th-10th centuries) and their contemporaries including those of the earlier princes of the Somavaṃśa (Middle of the 10th to the beginning of the 12th century) and their contemporaries.

Some of these are the following :

A 1. The Neulpur plate of Śubhākara.
E. I. XV, p. 1 ff. Ed. by R. D. Banerji.

2. Two grants of Daṇḍimahādevī.
E. I. VI, p. 133 ff. Ed. by Kielhorn.

I 1. The charter of Vidyādharabhañja.
J. A. S. B. LVI, pt. I, pl. IX, Ed. by R. L. Mitra.

2. Copper-plate grant of Neṭṭabhañja
J. B. O, R, S. XVIII. p, 104 ff. Ed. by Misra.

C 1. Records of the Somavaṃsi Kings of Cuttack.
E. I. III, p. 323 ff. Ed. by Fleet.

2. The Kudopali (Sambalpur) plates of Mahābhavagupta II
E. I. IV, p. 254 ff. Ed. by Kielhorn.

5. During the *7th – 10th* centuries the acute-angled alphabet or its varieties, prevalent in eastern parts of North India progressed and by the end of the 10th century assumed distinct features leading up to the modern Bengali.[1]

Hence it is called 'Proto Bengali' [2]

In Orissa this script is represented by the charters of the later princes of the Somavaṃsa, the imperial Gangas (11th century to the early part of the 15th century) and other contemporary records. Nos. 1,4,8 and Ap. I of this Thesis respresent this script. (See Section 7 below).

The next stage when 'Proto-Bengali' assumed the shape of early Oriya script, characterised by top-curves, is represented by the majority of the inscriptions of this Thesis. (14—16th centuries). By the expression "majority of the inscriptions of this Thesis (14-16th Centuries)" the writer means 60 Oriya inscriptions (1435-1568 A.D). They will be dealt with in Section 7. Next, we briefly deal with the previous work on the palaeography of Orissa.

6. Bühler who in his 'Indische Palaeographie' published in 1896 (for English version vide I.A, Vol 34 Appendix) dealt with the development of Indian alphabets (from circa B.C. 350 to circa A.D 1500) examined the Asokan Brahmi at

1. On the origin of Proto-Bengali, vide O. B. S. p.42 and cf. "We find towards the end of the 10th century the birth of the proto-Bengali alaphabet" J.RA.S.B. IV (1938), p. 365, para 1.

2. This name is not generic and therefore not entirely satisfactory since the acute angled script (the post-Gupta epigraphic script of North India of early medieval period) developed into what Buhler called 'Proto-Bengali' throughout North-Eastern Indian (in Orissa, Bengal, North Bihar and Assam) and since Oriya, Maithili and Assamese scripts are all derived from the so called Proto-Bengali. Dr. D.C. Sircar prefers to substitue the term 'Gaudi' for Buhler's Proto-Bengali on the authority of Al Beruni (vide p.173 Al-Beruni's India (Vol. I, by sachau), I shall, however, use the term 'Proto-Bengali' in the following palaeographical discussion.

Jaugada and the Post-Asokan Brāhmi of Hātigumphā at Bhubaneswara and illustrated the alphabets in table II (Cols. VI-VII and XXI-XXII). He also discussed 'the later Kalinga script' of the Ganjam-Chicacole region (See Section 30, English version) and illustrated it in tables VII (col. XIX) and VIII (cols. X-XII). We do not find, however, in Bühler's work any reference to other inscriptions of Orissa and there is even no mention of the Oriya script in it.

G. H. Ojha, on pages 79 and 131 of his "Prācīnalipimālā', 2nd Ed. 1918" suggests the origin of the Oriya alphabet from Proto-Bengali, reproducing a part of the inscription forming No. 31 of this Thesis.

R.D. Banerji refers to the palaeography of some inscriptions of Orissa and observes "The modern cursive Oḍiya script was developed out of the Bengali *after the 14th Century A.D.* like the modern Assamese" (pp.6,11,12,27,28, 'The origin of the Bengali script', 1919). S. N. Chakravarti concentrating on the "Development of the Bengali Alphabet" (J.R.A.S.B. 1933, Vol. IV, pp. 351-391) refers only to two inscriptions discovered in Orissa. One of these is the Irdā (Balasore) plate of Nayapāladeva showing "Proto-Bengali alphabet for the first time."

Since the observation of Ojha and Banerji about the origin of the Oriya script was not substantiated by them by adequate discussion and illustrative plates, Grierson (who had included the *Oriya language* along with Bengali in the Eastern Group of Indo-Aryan as having very close connection with each other) wrote in 1932 that the *Oriya alphabet* is not derived from Proto-Bengali, but from Nāgarī-(Vide Indian Antiquary vols of the yrs 1931-33 (Supplement).

Subsequent to the publication of Bühler's work a very large number of Sanskrit inscriptions were discovered in Orissa. Some of these were edited by epigraphists like Fleet, Kielhorn and Hultzsch who discussed their palaeography while editing them. But many of the inscriptions were published either without plates or with unsatisfactory plates and without palaeographic discussion. Some of the inscriptions recently discovered in Orissa have been published without any discussion on their palaeography. Of these, I have selected the Sumaṇḍala copper plate inscription (569 A.D.) for frequent reference. (for a fresh edition of this document with pls. see, 'The Orissa Historical Research Journal', Vol.I, No.I (April 1952), p.66.ff). Before I pass on to deal with the scripts of the Oriya inscriptions in the next section I should mention an article on 'The Development of the Bangali script' by P.L. Paul, in Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII (1936), pp. 309-334, which contains reference to three inscriptions from Orissa.

7. I have been able to secure the facsimile of inscription No. 8 which is the longest Oriya inscription of the Thesis. As a result of my examination of this

document and a study of the palaeography of other inscriptions of the Thesis, I would now divide the scripts[1] of Oriya inscriptions as follows :

1. Proto-Bengali influenced by forms of 'the later Kalinga script' (No. A 1051 A. D.)
2. Proto-Bengali (No. 1, c. 1261 A. D.)
3. Proto-Bengali mixed with Nagari forms (No. 8, 1395 A. D; No. 4, date uncertain).
4. Nāgari (No. 9, 1403 A. D.)
5. Early Oriyā (58 inscriptions distributed over the period from about 1376 A. D to 1556 A. D.)

Elsewhere in this Thesis (Chapt. 4, sec. 6) I referred to the script of No. A (Urajam inscription of Anantavarma (cf. A. R. 1930, P. 5. No. 3) as 'Southern Nāgari'. This inscription is found in the Chicacole *taluk* which is included in the region of the Later Kalinga script of Bühler.

The following letters of this record are Proto-Bengali and differ from the corresponding Nāgarī forms:—'ja', 'ṭa','ṇa', 'bha', śa 'sa' 'kṣa',(śa and kṣa look like modern Oriya). Though the following letters differ from the proto-Bengali forms, they are more akin to Proto-Bengali forms than to those of Nāgarī : initial 'a' 'ā', 'u', 'kha', 'ga'. 'ca' and 'tha'. Some of these exhibit an earlier stage of development than the normal Proto-Bengali forms. Letters such as 'ka', 'da', 'pa', 'ba', 'ma', 'la', 'ha', are common to Nāgarī and Proto-Bengali. The letter 'ra' resembles the modern Nāgarī form and the medial vowel signs agree with those of Nāgarī. Initial 'i' and 'ta' are akin to the Gupta forms. The letter 'na' shows a looped form and is not found in Nagari or Proto-Bengali. This letter together with initial 'a', 'ā', 'u', 'kha', 'ga', 'ca', are found in the later Kalinga script of Bühler.

The date of No. 1, the typical Proto-Bengali inscription, inscribed in the 22nd year of Baḍa-Nara-simhadeva is uncertain, since there are four kings named Narasimha of the imperial Ganga dyanasty of Orissa. I have tentatively identified the king with Narasiṃha I (Circa A. D. 123[1]-1263).

No. 8 contains the following typical Proto Bengali forms :—

initial 'i', 'u', 'o', 'cha' 'jha', 'na', 'pha'. But it offers the following typical Nāgarī forms thereby disagreeing with No. 1: initial 'a', 'ā', 'kha', 'ta', 'bha' 'śa'

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1. The Telugu script in which six Oriya inscriptions, *Viz*, Nos. 2 3 5,6,10,20 and two mixed Telugu-Oriya inscription, *Viz.*, Nos. 45 A and 45 B are written, will not be examined by me.

1. Dr. D. C. Sircar draws my attention to the fact that Narasimha IV (c. 1373-1405 A. D of the same dynasty is called Pedda Narasimha in No. 752, S. I. I. Vol. VI. The Telugu word 'pedda' equates in meaning with the Oriya word 'bada'.

'sa'. Its medial signs of 'e' and 'o' are identical with those of Nāgarī. On the whole it is Proto-Bengali mixed with some Nāgarī forms[1]. This is a grant[2] of King Nṛsiṃha IV of the imperial Ganga dynasty. In the earlier grants of this dynasty such Nāgarī forms are not found. (See the grant of Narasimha II of A. D. 1295 in J. *A. S.* XVII, L. No.1, 1951) and in AP. (No. 1) of this Thesis and the grant of Bhānu II in 'Orissa in the Making' by B. C. Mazumdar.

8. An investigation into the palaeography of Early Oriya inscriptions shows that the alphabet which developed into the modern Oriya script is traceable to the following three sources :

(1) Proto-Bengali (Eastern alphabet)
(2) Nāgari (Western and Northern alphabet)
(3) Later Kalinga script (Southern alphabet)

An overwhelming majority of the letters used in the early Oriya inscriptions and forming modern Oriya alphabet are distinctly traceable to Proto-Bengali forms. These forms may be divided into two groups. One of them consists of forms which are common to Proto-Bengali and Nāgarī. The other group comprises letters which are found only in Proto-Bengli. The following letters may be listed as belonging to the latter group : initial 'a', 'ā', 'i', 'u', 'e', 'ai', 'o', 'au', medial 'e', 'ai', 'o', 'au', kha, cha, jha, ta, na, ta, bha, ra, śa. The derivatives of all these are found in early Oriya inscriptions as well as in modern Oriya while those of the corresponding Nāgarī forms, with the exception of the signs of initial 'a' and 'ā', 'śa' and 'sa' are not found in them. The Sanskrit and Oriya inscriptions discovered in Orissa clearly show how Proto-Bengali gradually developed into early Oriya. Broadly speaking, therefore, the Oriya alphabet may be said to have derived from Proto-Bengali.

Though the Oriya alphabet is mainly affiliated to Proto-Bengali, the influence of the Nāgarī is also noticed in early Oriya inscriptions. Sometimes we find Nāgarī forms in Orissan inscriptions written in Proto-Bengali (cf. No. 8). All these forms have not survived in Modern Oriya. But that some Nāgarī forms were occasionally used by the people is indicated by the fact that a derivative of Nāgarī 'śa' is used twice in an early Oriya Inscription (Cf. No. 35, ls. 4 and 5) though this has not survived in modern Oriya.

In Oriya, many letters have alternative forms, e. g. initial 'a', 'sa', etc. Of the two forms of the same letter, sometimes one is traceable to Proto-Bengali and the other to Nāgarī. As will be shown below, the double curve form of initial 'a' and the closed type of 'sa', are derived from the corresponding Nāgarī forms of the letters. As stated above, there are some letters, the forms of which are simila-

1. For mixture of Proto-Bengali and Proto-Nargari forms (cf. p.326, I.H.Q, Vol.XII, A-1936
2. A critical edition with plates of this grant is ready for publication in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 28, p.301ff.

in Proto-Bengali and Nāgarī, e. g. 'ka', 'gha', 'ja', 'ḍa', 'ḍha', 'da', 'na', 'pa', 'ba', 'ma', 'ya', 'la', 'ṣa' and 'ha'. A question arises as to whether these letters in Oriya are derived from Proto-Bengali or Nāgarī. But considering the fact that Nāgarī influence is confined only to a few letters of the Oriya alphabet, it is reasonable to hold that the Oriya forms of these letters have come down through Proto-Bengali and not Nāgarī.

As in the case of Nāgarī, the contribution of the Later Kalinga script (Southern alphabet) to the development of the modern Oriya alphabet is not large. As will be seen from our discussion below early Oriya inscriptions exhibit certain archaic forms, such as the medial 'ā' up-stroke (Chapt. 4 B.), the E—shaped variety of 'ja' (Chapt. 4 C.), and a cursive form of 'ha' (Chapter. 4 C.), These as well as a few other signs, (the cursive form of 'ti' in No. 18A, as well as 'ni' in No. 54,1.7, the form of 'śa' in the ligature 'śrī' in No. 18 A) are traceable to southern alphabets (the Later Kalinga script.)

The cursive variety of the Oriya alphabet styled Karaṇi (i. e. 'scribal') bears some additional traces of this southern influence. (cf. 'ja', medial 'ā' in 'tā', 'bā', etc.)

Thus we see that the Oriya alphabet is mainly derived from Proto-Bengali, although it bears in some cases clear traces of the influence of Nāgarī and in a few also of the southern alphabet (Bühler's 'later Kalinga script').

9. Oriya and Bengali are both derived from Proto-Bengali and as such Oriya is very closely connected with Bengali. But many letters of the modern Bengali alphabet have developed angular forms, and deviated considerably from the Proto-Bengali originals. (of. 'ka', 'kha', 'gha', 'ca', 'ha', etc. in modern Bengali). Therefore, inspite of their Proto-Bengali origin, these letters in Oriya together with a few others, apart from their top curves standing for the horizontal top mātrās, may ordinarily appear to be more akin to the Nāgarī forms of the letters.

The Oriya script is more akin to Proto-Bengali than to modern Bengali. It has preserved many Proto-Bengali forms which Bengali has discarded.

Bühler observes "The most striking and important among the peculiarities of Proto-Bengali, discarded in the modern Bengali script, are the small triangles and the 'Nepalese hooks' which are attached to the left of the tops of various letters'[1] (Ind. Palaeography, Sec. 26, para 3).

While Bengali has discarded this hook, it has been preserved in Oriya and has contributed to the development of the horizontal top mātrā into a top curve.

1. It may be noted that the Proto-Bengali script with small triangles and 'Nepalese hook' occurs in several Orissan inscriptions, e. g. Bhuvaneswara Lingaraja temple inscriptions. The Kendupatna plates of Nrsimha II (1296 A. D.) show the 'Nepalese hooks' very prominently.

(cf. the hook modified into a shallow curve in Nos. Ap. 2 and Ap. 4 and into a semi-circle in No. 19). This might have been partly due to the scratching of letters by an iron stylus on palm leaves.[2]

Bühler noticed some abnormal single signs of Proto-Bengali, not surviving in modern Bengali, such as the form of 'ī' in his plates V. (3. XVIII) and VI. (3. X), the curious 'ṭa' of plate V. (20. XIX). These signs (together with others e. g. the form of 'ṇa' with double curve, discarded in modern Bengali), have survived in early and modern Oriya.

10 Number 3 of the Appendix of this Thesis is the *earliest* dated record *in the Oriya script*, discovered as yet. It is a private record registering a gift in favour of a temple. It is dated in the Kaliyuga year 4477 (*1376* A. D.)

No. 8 is the longest Oriya record of the Thesis and forms a part of a royal charter. It is written in *Proto-Bengali* and bears a date *20 years* later than that of the above-mentioned Oriya record.

This shows that Proto-Bengali continued to be used as a monumental script even after the round-hand letters of the Oriya alphabet had already come into use.

One of the Kendupāṭna inscriptions of Nrsiṃha II, dated A. D. 1296 (Ap. No. 1 of this Thesis) shows the shallow top-curve (which is a development of the 'Nepalese hook') above the letters in place of the horizontal top-mātrā This indicates that the characteristics of the Oriya script began to develop as early as the thirteenth century.

11 My work on the palaeography of the inscriptions naturally falls into two parts (1) Illustrative and (2) Descriptive and critical.

The first part, mainly, consists of twelve alphabetical charts. The first four of these, which illustrate the alphabets of the Proto-Bengali and Nāgarī inscriptions examined in the thesis have been marked (A). Five inscriptions are represented in these charts. The next four charts marked B, illustrate the alphabets of the early Oriya inscriptions. Eight select inscriptions have been represented in them.

These charts are photographic copies of my tracings, (on transparent paper), of the letters as found in the original records. In these plates the inscriptions have been placed in different columns in their chronological order as far as possible.

The remaining four charts (marked C) which are eye-copies of early Oriya letters and numerals prepared by me, were reproduced by photostatic process in London.

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2. Recently I came across a palm leaf Ms. written with an iron stylus in the Nagari script.

In the following chapters, dealing with Palaeography I have often referred to these twelve alphabetical charts. I have also sometimes referred to other inscriptions in this palaeographical discussion. With the exception of 2 or 3, the impressions of these inscriptions have not yet been published. Photostatic copies of most of these epigraphs (74 plates in all) were submitted along with my thesis to the University of London.

VOWELS

(Chap. 4 B of the Ph. D. Thesis)

A. Mātṛkās or Radical Signs

1. 'a'

The vowel 'a' has four forms in the illustrative plates showing Proto-Bengali and Nāgarī forms of letters. They are in No. A, in No. I in No. 8 and in No. 9.

All these have the common feature of a horizontal top stroke, a vertical attached to the latter on the right handside and a curve opening more or less to the left, in between the two. In No. A the curve shows a loop at the left end with an upward slanting stroke or tail. In No. 9 the curve is bipartite like the English figure 3 (three).

In all the forms the curve is joined to the vertical by a small stroke which is horizontal in Nos. 8 and 9 but is slanting in Nos. A and I. In Nos. A and I a small slanting stroke joins the top of the curve with the horizontal top mātrā.

The Curve along with the stroke which joins the vertical, is ultimately traceable to the two slanting strokes which meet at the middle point of the vertical in Brāhmī 'a' from the left.

The curve is visible in the Kuṣāna inscriptions (see Bühler's pl. 3). It also occurs in the records of the Gupta age including those in Orissa, e. g. the Sumaṇḍala inscription (see ākṣepa in pl. 3).

The horizontal top stroke is the elongation of the serif. That began to develop in Brāhmī as early as the first century B. C.

In the early Oriya scripts found in inscriptions there are four varieties of 'a'.

The first variety occurs in No. 51 (see pl. c) and with slight variation in No. App. 10 (Pl. c) but with a tail added in No. 31 (Pl. B). It is a derivative of the Proto-Bengali 'a' which occurs in No. 1. The horizontal top-stroke of Proto-Bengali 'a' has been changed here into a curve. The tail is

traceable to an angular mark or slanting stroke sometime attached to the bottom of the vertical of the Proto-Bengali 'a' (of, 'a' in a Bhuvanesvara Lingaraja temple inscription of the time of Bhīmadeva).

The second variety of 'a' occurs in Nos. 14 and 18. It consists of 3 parts : - (1) a curve opening towards the left or upwards (2, a vertical line to the right and (3) a central limb which joins the curve at its upper end, and the vertical at its lower end.

This is also a derivative of the Proto-Bengali 'a' occurring in No. 1. Here the Proto-Bengali horizontal top stroke has been suppressed and the slanting stroke joining the curve with the vertical has developed into an ornamental mark with curves at either end, one on each side.

The third variety of 'a' where the curve opening towards the left is bipartite looking like the English figure 3, occurs in No. 24 (see the world 'bibhaa'). This appears to be a derivative of the Nāgarī 'a' (अ) (cf, 'a' in No. 9)

The fourth variety or form of 'a' with two curves at the top both opening downwards occurs in Nos. 17, 18A and 31 and is commonly used in modern Oriya. It is possibly a derivative of the Nāgari 'a' (cf. 'a' in No. 9 where the bipartite curve opens towards the left).

2. "ā"

The form of ā is distinguished from that of 'a' by a vertical added at the right hand side, parallel to the vertical of 'a' This vertical is joined to the righ hand top corner of 'a' by a short slanting stroke in No. A, by a short straight stroke in Nos. 1 and 9, In 8 the vertical remains seperate.

In the early Oriya epigraphs ā (cf, pl. c) has the sign distinguishing it from 'a' exactly as in the Nāgarī and Proto-Bengali forms. In the later Oriya epigraphs and in modern Oriya, this sign is not joined to the vertical of 'a'.

3 "i"

There are in the illustrative plates four forms of Proto-Bengali and Nāgari 'i'.

The form of 'i' in No. A consists of two circles placed side by side, having a horizontal stroke over them.

This form occurs in many inscriptions, eg. the Uccakalpa inscription circa 462-3 A. D. and in the Kaṇheri inscription circa 851-877 A. D. (See Bühler, table IV Col. IX, table V, Col. V).

The two circles at the base of this form of 'i' are traceable to the two lower dots of the Brāhmī 'i' while the horizontal top-stroke is the development of its top-dot.

The two forms of notched 'i' in Nos. 1 and 8 represent cursive developments of the Brāhmī 'i', and are due to two different ways of writing, i. e. tracing the letters. Of the two, the forms of 'i' in No. 1 appears to be a development of that in No. 8. In both, the two circles at the base and the upper curves represent the three dots of the Brāhmī 'i'. The form of this letter in Valabhi grants of the 6th century exhibits an earlier stage of its development. See Bühler, Pl. VII.)

In 'i' of No. 8 the running hand starts with the left hand circle and ends with the right hand circle. In No. 1 these loops are first drawn in the manner the English figure 8, when laid flat may be drawn and then the running hand draws the rest of the letter, i. e. they are covered by a curve with a notch in the centre.

The notched 'i' of No. 8 occurs also in the Bhuvanesvara Lingaraja temple inscription (of Bhimadeva), and in the Kamauli plate of Vaidya (deva) inscription of circa 1142 A. D. (cf. Bühler, table No. V, col. XIX).

The form of the letter 'i' in No. 9 is exactly as in modern Nāgarī. For a discussion on its origin see Buhler, Ind. Palaeography, Section 24, A, (4).

The Oriya 'i' found in early inscriptions is identical with the form that occurs in No. I

In modern oriya 'i' consists of two loops forming the base, a curve over them joined to the left loop and a tail attached to the right end of the curve. This seems to be a derivative of the 'i' in No. I, with the addition of a tail.

For a tail-like stroke cf. Bühler. table V, Col. XVIII (The Deoparâ inscription).

4 "ī"

In the illustrative plates of the Nāgarī and Proto-Bengali forms, 'ī' occurs only in No. 9. A similar form is used in modern Nagari 'ī'. It has beeen formed by putting a short wavy line on the horizontal top stroke of the Nāgarī 'i'.

In early Oriya inscriptions the symbol which occurs in Nos. 14, 18, 18A and 49, seems to stand for 'ī', for it is nearly identical with the modern Oriya 'ī' symbol .

The difference between the symbols of 'i' and 'ī' in modern Oriya lies in the loop or notch in the upper curve of 'ī', the tail being common to both of them.

5 "u"

The Nāgarī and Proto-Bengali plates of the Thesis offer two forms of 'u', one form with a tail, the other without it. The first form occurs in No. A. I. and 8

The second which is used in modern Nāgarī, occurs in No. 9. Both the forms have the common features of a horizontal top stroke and a curve opening towards the left which hangs down from the horizontal top-stroke by means of a short slanting stroke.

The curve of 'u' appears in many records of the Gupta age, e. g., the Ucchakalpa inscription of about A. D. 462. (See Bühler, table IV).

The early inscriptions in the Oriya script offer two forms of u, both with a tail (see No. 18A). The first is a derivative of the Proto-Bengali u (which occurs in Nos. I and 8), the top horizontal stroke of the latter transforming itself into a curve. The second which survives in modern Oriya is a derivative of the first, being its cursive form.

6 "ū"

The vowel ū does not occur initially in any of the Oriya inscriptions examined by me.

In modern Oriya, the length of the vowel is indicated by an inward loop or bend made in the upper curve of 'u' above the point of its junction with the tail.

7 "r̥"

Initial r does not seem to occur in the inscriptions examined in the thesis. But in the expression *'desaru'* in S. No. 53, line 13, the sign for ru may be read as r. The proto-Bengali form of this vowel is, however, found in such medieval Orissan records as the Nāgarī plates (Saka 1230-31) of Anangabhīma III (E. I. Vol. XXVIII).

8 "l̥"

The sign of this liquid vowel occurs initially only when it is used for 'lu' (ঌ) Its sign is indentical with the negative of the Roman letter S. Sometimes it shows a tail-like mark at its bottom. (For similar forms see Bühler Pl. VI).

9 "e"

Intial e occurs in Nos. 1 and 8 although they offer slightly differing forms of the vowel. In No. 8 it consists of a small horizontal forming the base with a vertical at its right extremety standing perpendicularly. The ends of the horizontal and vertical have small inward curves or bends. In No. 1, the curve of the horizontal is suppressed.

Both these forms of "e" are derived from the traingle-shaped Brāhmi 'e' with a partial suppression of one side of the traingle.

The letter in early Oriya as well as proto-Bengali is the same as in modern Oriya, Bangali and Maithili.

10 "ai"

Initial *ai* does not occur in the inscriptions examined in the Thesis, but the proto-Bengali form of the vowel which is practically the same as in modern Oriya Bengali, and Maithili, is found in such medieaval Orissan inscription as No. I in J.B.O.R.S.,XVII, pt. I (see line 4o) See E.I.III, p.332).

11 "o"

Initial "o" occurs in line 12 of No. A (not reproduced in the plate) and in No. 8. It also occurs in early Oriya inscriptions. In all these it resembles the English numeral 3 having these two curves opening toward the left.

12 "au"

Initial *au* does not occur in the inscription examined in the Thesis, but the Proto-Bengali form of the vowel which is practically the same in modern Oriya, Bengali and Maithili is found in medieval Orissa inscriptions, (Vide J.A.S. XVII, 1951, p.20).

B. "MEDIAL VOWELS"

1 "a"

Medial 'a' has no sign of its own since it considered to be inherent in every consonantal sign. Its absence is indicated by the sign of Virāma (a short slanting stroke) placed below the consonant.

2 "ā"

The sign of medial ā in the Proto-Bengali, Nāgarī and Oriya scripts, consists of a vertical stroke placed to the right of the consonant. But rarely this takes the form of a short upward stroke attached to the top of the consonant as in 'nā' in 23.20 and in 'bhā' in the word 'bhāta' in No. 18 an early Oriya inscription at Simhacalam. This is an early form preserved in the Kalinga script and is due to the influence of the latter.

Sometimes the vertical indicating medial ā is slightly curved (See 'bha' in line 12 of No.A). In Proto Bengali, Nāgarī and early Oriya, this vertical is, generally, joined to the right hand top corner of the consonant by a short slanting stroke. In modern Oriya, this stroke is suppressed.

In early Oriya, the vertical sign of medial ā, does not always descend as to cover the full length of the consonant but stops half way as in kā of No.2. This short ā stroke is usual in the Gupta script. See Sumaṇḍala inscription.

In Oriya inscriptions as well as in modern Oriya, all the consonants may be divided into two groups. One group, consists of letters which have a vertical at the right hand side and the other group, of letters which have no such vertical.

The letters included in the first group are kha, ga, gha, na, tha, dha. pa, pha, ma, ya, (ɑ), śa, ṣa, sa.

It has been stated above that the vertical sign of medial ā may be joined to the letters by a short slanting stroke at the right hand top corner or may stand separate. In some letters of the second group, however, the vertical is joined to the right side of the letters so as to become a sort of ligature with them.

The following may be noted as examples : rā in 35.1, lā in 35.10, bhoga in 34.2 etc.

3 "ि"

In the illustrative Proto-Bengali and Nāgarī plates the medial 'i' sign usually consists of a vertical to the left of the consonant with an upward elongation in the form of a curve so as to cover a part of the top of the consonant. In No. A the vertical is curved.

In early Oriya inscriptions written in the Oriya script the vertical assuming a slightly curved form is visible as in 'dhi' in Ap.2. See also plate of No. 19 but later it was gradully suppressed so that the medial 'i' symbol in later Oriya inscriptions and in modern Oriya consists of an arc over the top of the letter. It is thus partially restored to its original form of the Gupta age.

In Oriya letters which have curved or round tops and which are without full length verticals this arc is joined to the top curve of the letter which, in its turn, is partially suppressed, e. g. ି (ki) >ି (ki) >ି (ki).

In letters which are open at the top e. g. in 'tha' and 'dha', the medial 'i' sign (consisting of an arc) is, sometimes in the inscriptions and usually in latter Oriya, attached to the bottom of the letters of. 'dhi' in No. 8. In the interesting ligature for 'pāi' pṛṣtha-mātrā (of. 53.13) 'i' takes the form of a pṛṣtha-mātrā. Perhaps the latter stands for (long i).

4 "ी"

In Proto-Bengali and Nāgarī the sign of medial 'ī' consists of a vertical at the right hand side of the consonant with an upward elongation in the nature of a curve over its right hand top corner.

The vertical of medial 'ī', unlike that of medial 'i' is fully retained in Oriya inscriptions as well as in modern Oriya. In the latter, the curve narrows down to such an extent that sometimes it is merely a hook and is difficult to be distinguished from the sign of medial ā Sometimes this hooked form of medial 'ī' stands separated from the consonant.

In inscriptions sometimes the 'ī' stroke does not run the full length of the consonental sign.

5 "ु"

In the Proto-Bengali and Nāgarī plates appended to the thesis, the medial 'u' symbol consists of a curve opening downwards as in No. I or towards the left as in Nos. A, 8 and 9 and is placed at the bottom of the consonant.

In Oriya inscriptions the curve usually becomes a loop with a tail and is placed at the bottom of the letter or attached to the bottom of the vertical and partly super imposed on its lower part. For instance in 'gu' in pl. c the vetical has to do double duty as part of the consonant and of the vowel-mark.

In No. 31 medial 'u' consists of a curve, thus resembling the sign in No. I.

Medial 'u' in 'ru' in the Nāgarī, Proto-Bengali and early Oriya scripts, is represented by a hook attached to the middle of the vertical of the consonant towards the right. See Tirupati in No. 9.17, Rudra in No. 1.28 ru in pl. c, Kalpataru in No 28.4[1] (cf. 'ru' in line 1, Sumaṇḍala inscription).

This way of marking medial 'u' (by a hook) is sometimes seen in early Oriya with regard to letters ending with a vertical having a subscribed 'r' e, g. ଗ୍ରୁବାରେ (Grubāre in 19.2 ପ୍ରୁଷୋତ୍ତମ (Pruṣotama) in No. 29.1.

Medial 'u' in 'tu' sometimes forms a sort of ligature with the consonant. In such case there is hardly any difference between the forms of 'tu' and 'tta'.

6 "ū"

The medial ū is rare in the inscriptions. In early and modern Oriya it consists of a curve opening upwards from the right extremity of which a slanting stroke runs towards the right hand bottom corner. It is placed at the bottom of the consonant.

7 "ṛ"

In early Oriya inscriptions, medial 'r' consists of an arc or curve opening upwards. This is placed at the bottom of the consonant. In modern Oriya the same sign has an inward loop at the right end.

8 "ḷ"

This liquid vowel does not occur medially in the incriptions examined in the thesis.

9 "e"

In Nos. A, 4.8 and 9, medial 'e' is a 'prṣṭha-mātrā' resembling the modern Devanāgari medial sign of the vowel, It consists of a stroke which slants downwards from left to right and is placed at the top of the consonant. This type of medial 'e' is first found in the so called Kuṣāna Brāhmī.

In No. A the upper end of the stroke has developed an upward curl.

In No. 1 and in early Oriya the medial 'e' sign is a 'Pārśva-mātrā'. It consists of a curve opening towards the right, placed to the left of the consonant.

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1. Sometimes instead of the single hook of medial u in ru, in early Oriya, two hooks or curves (one hanging down from the other) are attached to the right side of the consonant as in the word 'desaru' in 18A.

10 "ai"

In Nos. A, 4,8,9, medial 'ai' consists of two medial 'e' signs one placed above the other as in Nāgarī.

In Proto-Bengali and Oriya, medial 'ai' is formed by the medial 'e' together with a modification of the medial Nāgarī 'e' sign placed at the top of it. Vide 'paīṭi' in 1,13 and 'paiṇḍā' in 49-8 of 'kai' in pl. c.

11 "o"

As in Brāhmī and its other derivatives (in India) the medial 'e' with the addition of the sign for medial 'ā' forms the medial 'o'.

12 "au"

Medial 'au' is formed by a combination of the medial signs of 'ai' and 'ā'. Vide 'Laḍau' in 9.6 and 'Gauḍeśvara' in 26.1.

HINAYANA BUDDHISM IN EASTERN INDIA IN THE 7TH. CENTURY A. D.

BY

Dr. N. K. Sahu, M. A., Ph. D.

Since the beginning of the Christian era Mahayana Buddhism was a dominant faith in India, and it continued to command great popularity as late as the 7th century A. D., when it began to transform itself into Tantric Buddhism. Hinayana, however, did not lag behind during this period, and early in the 7th. century A. D. its strength in Eastern India was in no way inconsiderable. We know from the reports of Yuan Chwang that the kingdom of Baranasi (*Pe-lo-ni sse*) there were 30 monasteries inhabited by 2030 Sarvastivadin priests whereas in the Dear Park (Sarnath) alone there lived 1500 monks professing the *Sammatiya* system.[2] Coming to further east, we find in Champa ten monasteries with only 300 Hinayanic priests[3] but in Pundravardhana, Karnasuvarna and Samtata the numerical strength of the Hinayanists appears over-whelming. In Pundravardhana there were altogether 12 monasteries inhabited by about 3000 priests of both great and small vehicles, and in Karnasuvarna about 2000 *Sammatiya* monks were living in ten monasteries, while in Samatata where there were about 20 monasteries the number of monks attached to the *Sthavira* School was more than 3000.[4]

Some famous teachers also appeared among the Hinayanists by this time who were a great source of inspiration for their Co religionists. Prajna Gupta, the teacher of a consecrated king of South India was well versed in the doctrine of the *Sammatiya* School and was very popular among the Orissan Hinayanists.[5] Evidently, the *Sarvastivada* School which had considerable popularity in Orissa since the post Asokan period was superseded by the *Sammatiya* sect sometimes before the visit of Yuan Chwang, and the philosopher Prajnagupta, who probably flourished in the late 6th. century A. D. was a great champion of this faith. It was

1. Beal, *The life*, P. 98.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid* P 128.
4. *Ibid*, PP. 131 32.
   The number of the *Sammatiya* monks at Karna-Suvarn is doubtful. Watters makes it 2000, While Beal states that it is only 300.
5. Beal, The *Life*, P. 159

his treatise composed in 700 *Slokas* against the Mahayana system, that was considered to be the most authentic work by the Hinayanic priests of Orissa, who presented it to king Harsa Vardhana as a boastful challenge.[6]

The cause of the *Sarvastivada* School was strongly supported at this time by two eminent brothers Tathagata Gupta and Ksanti Sinha, who were residing in the capital City of Hiranya, having two Hinayanic convents, each containing 1000 priests. In the country of Hiranya (identified with the northern portion of the modern Bhagalpur dist.) there were ten monasteries of 4000 priests, all of whom professed the Sarvastivada doctrine at the influence of these brothers.[7]

The most famous Hinayanic Acharya of the time was Divakara Mitra, who had his monastery in the midst of the Vindhyan forest where Rajyasri, the unfortunate sister of king Harsa was rescued from self—immolation (*anumarana*), and was initiated into the *Sammatiya* School by this great teacher.[8] It may be suggested here that Harsa Vardhana himself accepted at the beginning the doctrines of the Sammatiya School being influenced by his friend Divakara Mitra and his loving sister Rajyasri, but afterwards he was won over to the Mahayanic fold by Acharya Silabhadra whom he used to honour as his Master.[9]

We further know from Yuan Chwang that the worship of the relics of the Buddha was wide spread during this time and the pilgrim himself was able to take some collection of them to China. Large number of *Stupas*, most of which were regarded as the works of Asoka, were found almost in every part of India and they were worshipped with great pomp and ceremony on festive occasions, while many of them were endowed with miraculous powers. The worship of the foot prints and various other symbols also played an important part in the religious

6. See *infra*

7. Beal, The *Life*, P. 127.

8. See the last Chapter of Bana's Harsa Charita, translated into English by Cowell and Thomas (1897) Bana gives a picturesque description of the sylvan asrama of the Buddhist sage Divakara Mitra, where representatives of numerous sects lived in perfect peace and harmony. Harsa saw there, "Buddhists from various provinces, devotees dead to all passion, Jainas in white robes, White mendicants (Brahmanical ascetics in white robes), followers of Krsna,—*Bahamacharis* (pupils), ascetics who pulled out their hair, followers of Kapila (Founder of Sankhya philosophy), atheists, followers of Kanada (Founder of *Vaisesika* philosophy), *Vedantins*, *Naiyayikas* (Logicians), philosophers of elements (*Bhatavada*), Dharma *Sastris*, *Paurcnikas*. ritualists, grammarians, *Pancharatrikas* (a Vaisnava sect) and others; all diligently following their own tenets, pondering, urging, objections, raising doubts resolving them, giving etymologies, disputing, studying and explaining."

9. In his letter addressed to Silabhadra King Harsa calls himself a servant of the *Acharya* See *infra*.

life of the people, and offering of precious things, scattering of flowers, postration, clasping of hands, and muttering of prayers were generally observed during public worships which were often accompanied by music. The principal disciples of the Buddha still continued to inspire the people and their relics were worshipped in many places of India. Sariputra, for instance, was held in great respect by the Votaries of *Abhidharma*, while those of *Sutra* and *Vinaya* greatly honoured Puranamaitrayaniputra and Upali respectively. The nuns used to pay special homage to Ananda, and those who gave themselves up to meditation made offerings to Moggallana, while the faithful who had not received all the rules of discipline honoured Rahula.[10]

The cultural force of Hinayana was strongly felt in Orissa during the 7th. century A. D. and we know from the Ceylonese records that some local rulers of this territory were extending patronage to this religion.[11] It appears, however, that both the sects of Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism were very seldom keeping an even balance between them in Orissa and with the passing of time their mutual theological disputes became inevitable. About the religious condition of the Wu-ta country Yuan Chwang states :— "The priests of this country all study the Little Vehicle and do not believe in the Great Vehicle. They say it is a system of the sky-flower heretics and was not delivered by Buddha."[12]

It becomes evident that by the time of Yuan Chwang's visit the Hinayanists of Orissa could not see eye to eye at the Mahayanists and forgetting the dictum of the Teacher– *"attanam na Ukkamseti param na Vambheti"*—they used to attack violently the neo—Buddhists. When Harsa Vardhana came back to the

10. Vide. H. Barthelemy Saint Hilaire, *Hieuen-Thsang in India*. translated into English by Laura Ensor P. 92.

The book referred to, is an extract from the auther's larger work: *Buddhism in India*, and is published by Susil Gupta (India) Limited, 1952.

11. Geiger, *Chulavamsa*, XLII, 44 ff,.

12. Beal, *The life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, P. 159. The system of the 'sky flower' was probably meant to be the system of *Sunyata*, which was taken to its extreme sense by the *Vijnana-vadins* of the Mahayana School. The Hinayanists, more particularly the *Sammatiya* sect believed in the doctrine of *Pudgala Sunyata*, according to which the world is void of individuality or anything belonging to an individuality, where as, the Mahayanists asserted the doctrine of *Dharma Sunyata*, viewing the egolessness of all worldly things and not merely of the constituted things with which the Hinayanists were concerned Santideva in his *Bodhicharya Vatara* reasons that the *avidya*, which comes about on account of the attribution of existence (Sat) to non- existent things (asat), or egoless things (*anatma*), ceases to exist by the true realisation that things have only a dream like or echo-like existence. (*Bodhicharya* PP 350:51) This is what may be called as the doctrine of 'sky flower', which is explained in the *Lanka-Vatara*, by such self contradictory expressions as, horns of the hare, the mule, the camel and of the horse; son of a barren woman etc,

शशखरोष्ट्र बाजिविषाण बन्धया पुत्र प्रभृतयोधर्मा?

(*Lanka Vatara*, P. 19)

Wu-ta country after his invasion of Kangoda the Hinayanic priests met him with a billigerent attitude saying, "We hear that the king has built by the side of the Nalanda convent a Vihara of Brass, a work magnificent and admirable. But why did not Your Majesty construct a *Kapalika* temple or some other building of that sort ?"[13] The king asked them as to what they meant by those words of reproach, to which they replied that the Nalanda priests advocating the 'sky flower' doctrine were not different from the *Kapalika* sect. Then they presented the king a treatise composed by Prajna Gupta in 700 slokas, and dogmatically challenged him with the following words, "This represents our doctrine; is there a man of the other school that can upset one single word of it ?"[14]

King Harsa lost his patience at this provocating self-complacency of the Hinayanists and harshly replied : "I have heard of the fox, accompanied by the meadow rats, boasting he was able to contest with the lion, but as soon as he saw him then his heart failed him and they were all scattered in a moment. You, Sirs, have not yet seen the priests of the great Vehicle, and so you firmly maintain your foolish principles. If you once see them—affrighted, you will, I fear, then, be the same as that (fox)"[15].

The Hinayanist priests, subdued at the anger of the king, quietly asked him to assemble a conference of both the sects in order to discuss and debate the right and the wrong.

That very same day Harsa Vardhana is known to have sent a messenger to Acharya Silabhadra, who was then the reputed Chancellor of the Nalanda Convent, with the following words : "Your servant while progressing through Orissa, met some priests of the Little Vehicle who, hampered by contracted views, adhere to a Sastra which abuses the principles of the Great Vehicle. They speak of the followers of that system as men of a different religion and they wish to hold a controversy with you on this point. Now I know that in your convent there are eminent priests exceedingly gifted of different schools of learning, who will undoubtedly be able to overthrow them, so now, in answer to their challenge, I beg you to send four men of eminent ability, well acquainted with one and the other school, and also with the esoteric and exoteric doctrine, to the country of Orissa."[16]

But after some time King Harsa Vardhana sent a second letter to Silabhadra stating as follows :—"There is no immediate pressure for my former request : let them wait, and afterwards come here."[17]

13. Beal *The Life* P. 159.
14. Ibid
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid P. 160
17. Ibid P. 161

We do not know as to whether this religious conference was actually held or not, but the letters of King Harsa clearly reflect his earnest zeal to stem the tide of Hinayana in Orissa, the strength of which he felt with bitterness. Obviously no great Mahayanic philosopher was then residing in Orissa to championise the cause of that religion against the vigorous activities of the Hinayanic priests. Dignaga and Dharmapala, Vasumitra, Triratnadasa, who could greatly influence the religion and culture of Orissa by their scholastic and missionary works had all passed away by that time and the great Dharmakirti who successfully contested with Kumarila, Udyotakara and others, and lived and preached in Kalinga was then probably an obscure student. Harsa Vardhana himself could realise the absence of the great Mahayanic philosphers in Orissa and he was eager to settle there some reputed scholars for silencing the boisterous Hinayanists. Very probably with this end in view, he invited the philosopher Jayasena to reside in Orissa where he assigned him the revenue of eighty large towns, but this 'Master of *Sastras*' repeatedly declined the offer of the king thinking that the emoluments of the world would lead to worries and troubles of life.[18]

All these evidently point out the fact that even as late as the 7th century A. D. Hinayana had considerable popularity in India and, its surging appearance in Orissa during this time need not be regarded as an uncommon phenemenon.

STATUS OF MAHAYANA

But from this one should not be led to think that Mahayana was inferior to Hinayana in strength and popularity in India during this time. In fact, most of the Buddhists, both lay and sacerdotal, were strong upholders of the Mahayana doctrines and the University of Nalanda, which was essentially Mahayanic, was regarded as the heart of Buddhist culture not only in India but also in the whole of Asia.[19] The images of the *Buddha* and the *Bodhisattvas* particularly of *Avalokitesvara* and *Manjusri* were very popular in India and elaborate worships were offered to them by the devoted people throughout the country. The poor and the humblest, however could worship the Tathagata with modest and simple offerings, which consisted only of prayers and flowers, and faith was always regarded as more precious than the offerings themselves.[20] Moreover, apart from its metaphysical speculations that greatly attracted the learned section of the country, Mahayana could present the mass of mankind an intensely human ideal which made a strong appeal to them. It may be noted here that even in Orissa,

18. Ibid P. 154.
18. Ibid.
19. For Yuan Chwang's description of the University of Nalanda, vide. Peal *The Life* P. 112.
20. J.B. Saint Hilaire, *Ibid.* p, 93.

where King Harsa Vardhana was greatly embarrassed by the Hinayanist priests. Hinayana was not so popular as Mahayana and we know from the accounts of Yuan Chwang that in the Wu-ta country there were not less than 100 Monasteries inhabited by as many as 10,000 Mahayana monks,[21] and the condition was exactly the same also in South Kosala. [22]

It cannot, however, be denied in this connection that Mahayana was steadily losing its vigour by this time, and as a striking illustration of it we want to refer to the reaction of the philosophers of Nalanda towards the letters of King Harsa, stated above. Acharya Silabhadra, who was then sufficiently old deputed four great scholars—Sagaramati, Prajnarasmi, Simharasmi and Yuan Chwang to go to Orissa in order to contest the Hinayanists of that country, at which all of them except the Chinese pilgrim expressed an unusual fear and nervousness about the result. [23] Although, Yuan Chwang consoled and encouraged his three friends with tall talks, he himself found the treatise of Prajnagupta a hard nut to crack, and he had to learn the Hinayanic doctrines at the dead of night, out of the public sight, from a Brahmana philosopher, whom he had previously vanquished. [24] This diffidence of the Nalanda philosophers to face the Hinayanists of Orissa reveals the sign of canker, that had started within Mahayana by the 7th century A. D But the decay of Mahayana was not so much due to its clash with the Hinyanic principles, as due to the strong florescence of classical Brahmanism from the times of the Gupta rule in India. Mahayana, however, could stand on a par with Brahmanism upto the 6th —7th. century A. D., after which the mere clash turned on its part into a struggle for existence. When its decline set in this great religion made a definite departure from its ethical and metaphysical pursuits, and looked for the way of Salvation through mysterious process of esoterism, thus giving rise to the system of Tantrayana.

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21. Watters II P. 184
22 Ibid P. 201
23. Beal. *The Life*, PP. 160-61
24. Ibid PP. 161-65.

THE TEMPLES OF BHUBANESWAR : THREE TEMPLES OF THE EARLIEST GROUP.

(By S. C. De)

Lots have been written about the temples of Bhubaneswar by different scholars, but the three ruined temples standing in a row by the side of the road leading from the station to the town has received very scant and casual attention so far. In almost ruined condition though they are, they constitute a very singnificent link in the process of the evolution of temple-architecture of Orissa, as such, they deserve careful examination and study for recording what data we can still collect from them before they go out of existence altogeter.

These temples Lakshmanesvara, Bharatesvara and Satrughnesvara[1] as they are locally called from north to south constitute the earliest group among those extant in Bhubaneswar area. They immediately preceded the temples of the Parasuramesvara group to which a rectangular pillared-porch is attached. The three temples under reference were single temples of the same type as the Parasuramesvara temple, but had no porch attached to the *Vimana*. The porch was a subsequent development. Of course, many of the temples of later periods are without porches, they can not be, on that ground alone, assigned to an early date. There are other points which confirm the assumption that the *Sikhara* temples extant in the Bhubaneswar area were without porches in the beginning. Addition of pillared porches was a subsequet development following the first group within about half a century or less.

So far we have not come across any temple which might be called purely Gupta type. But all the same, we can not assume that the art of temple-building in Orissa started with the *Sikhara* type of temples under discussion. There must have been some earlier stages in the evolution, the specimens of which are yet to be discovered after a comphrehensive archaeological survey of the State. The exploration in the Prachi Valley area recently under taken has brought to light many new temples, some of which are brick-built and are of archaic features. The results are encouraging and lead us to hope that further discoveries in future may help us to reconstruct the History of Orissan Architecture in a comprehnsive and systematic way.

1. According to some they are Lakshmanesvara, Satrughnesvara and Bharatesvara from north to south.

The temples under discussion are in very dilapidated state. Two of them, Lakshmaneswara and Bharateswara are all gone, expecting some portion of their western walls. The northern most temple, Satrughneswara is almost in the same condition excepting the western facde. A close examination of the bases of these temples leads to the assumption that the three temples were architecturally of the same.

They rise abruptly from the ground level with a short *pabhaja* consisting of three mouldings. There is only one *Jangha* consisting of six courses of stone in case of Satrughnesvara. Above it there are two mouldings, one slightly projecting, the other recessed with human figures in relief constituting the *baranda*. Thus we miss the usual five parts of the *bada* of later temples. The temples are short in stature, thick set and heavy shouldered.' To sum up, the temples are short and simple structures of *rekha* type with the elements of later temples in nascent form. In general shape the temples are of the same type as the brick temple at Sirpur.[2]

These temples were adorned with fine sculptures the scrolls and arabasques, meandering creepers, *Chaitya window* motifs, friezes depicting mythological stories and various other designs. Unfortunately most of them are gone excepting a few giving us glimpses into what they were in the past.

Most interesting are the deigns on the door Jambs. The door Jambs consits of four facets bearing differnet deigns on them. In Lakshmaneswara temple (northern most of the three) the right door-jamb consists of four facets. The first one is a type of superimposed row of beads or flowers. The second one bears the disigns of scroll and geomatric patterns. The third and fourth bands are ornamented with scroll with the figure of a *devi pair* at the bottom. The first two facets of the right Jamb bear scrolls with the *dvarapala* at the bottom. In the interspaces of the third scroll are the *crotes*. In the third facet, the vase and foliage motif, which appears to have been a very favourite one, is found at the bottom, and the rest is covered with panels contamining scroll and geometric patterns alternating. In the third panel are to be found a pair of dwarfs. The fourth band is of the same type as the first band of the right Jamb. The two *dvarapalas* on the two sides are probably Mahakala and Nandi[3]. We miss in these temples the figures of Ganga and Yamuna which are usually found on the two door Jambs of Siva temple. In this case, the figure on the right Jamb is four-armed. In the upper right arm a foliage or flower is held while the lower arm

2. M. A. S. I., No. 70, pl. XXXII (6).
3. Ganguli, *Orissa and her remains*, pp 182-84

rests on a *trisula* placed on the head of a standing figure holding a club in two hands. The upper left arm is broken. In the lower left arm is held *trisula*. He has matted hair on the head and all ornaments like, necklace, armlet, *udarabandha* earings etc on the body. Out of the hole of the right *Kundala* issues out a hooded snake.

The figure on the left Jamb is probably Nandi. He is also four-armed. He holds *trisula* in the upper right hand and the lower one is in *Varada* pose. In the upper left hand is held a rosary, while the lower one rests on the head of a standing figure. He has also matted hair on the head and other ornaments on the body. Both the figures stand in *dvibhvnga* pose. (Pls I A & B)

The lintel is no longer in its place. Long it was lying detached on the ground; now it is preserved in the museum. It bears the figures of eight planets and the figure of Ketu was ommitted. Further, the names of the planets were inscribed above them. Four of the inscriptions have disappeared owing to damages the lintel has sufferred; only four remain in some what damaged state The absence of Ketu among the planets point to an early date of the temple. The paleography of the inscription which will be discussed in a separate paper indicates that the temple is assignable to first half of the seventh century at the latest. Thus the *astagrahas* together with their inscriptions help us to fix the date of the temples approximately. They might be roughly assigned to the latter half of the sixth century.

Of the eight planets, the figure of Rahu is gone The rest of the planets are respresented in sitting posture. All the planets except Mangala and Sukra are seated in *dhyanasana*. Sun-god, as usual, is represented with lotuses in two hands. The rest of the six planets have rosary in the right hand and water pot (*Kamandalu*) in the left hand. Moon-god is distinguished by a creascent-mark attached to the back side of the crown. Mangala has matted hair, while that of Sani is dishevelled. Mangala and Sukra are sitting with their right legs bent at knee lying flat on the ground while the left legs bent at knee are resting perpendicular to the ground. The figure of Rahu is gone, probably it was of the usual type, that, is the bust with a terrible face and two crescents in two hands, as we find in the latter temples of Orissa.

On the northern side of this temple lies another very beautifully carved lintel which was probably the architrave of the main nich on that side. It consists of three horizontal and two vertical bands, the first one containing a row of rosettes. The second one is a roller type with carvings of oblique rows of beads, lotus petals (?) and conches accross its body. The third band is the broadest containing traingular geometric patterns with beaded border and half-lotus rosettes in the interspaces (Pl. I. G).

Excepting these there is nothing else to be seen, as all the sculptured stones have become detached and are lying in debris. The temple which was a beautiful one with fine sculptures all around now stands as an emaciated skeleton waiting to tumble down to the ground and end its career for ever.

The next temple to the South of it (the middle one) is known as Bharate svara. Only the western door portion of it is still standing, the rest is in the same ruined state as the temple described above

The right door-Jamb consists of four bands, the first two being of the same type as in case of the Lakhamanesvara temple described above. The third band consists of seven panels, the lowest one being bare. In the next there is a vase with foliages hanging down from the corners. Above it there is a narrow band with objects looking like vertical posts. Above it is a peacock with its tail portrayed as a scroll. The next panel contains a *Chaitya-window* motif. The next square panel with two cross lines drawn diagonally across has four half-lotus rosettes in the interspaces. The top most panel is a scroll issuing out of the mouth of a *makara*. The last band with beaded border contains fine arabasque work with the figure of *dvarapala* at the bottom. The figure stands in an easy pose with his right leg slightly bent. The right hand is placed on the thigh while the left hand holds a *trisula*. He has matted hair on the head and other ornaments on the body (Pl. I. C).

The left Jamb consists of four bands. At the bottom of the first band there is the figure of the *dvarapala* standing in almost the same pose as the one on the right jamb. He holds *trisula* in the right hand, while the left hand is placed on the hip. He wears *Kundala, ratnahara*, armlet, *udarabandha* and *upavita* The oval halo with beaded border is quite distinct. The panel above him contains a fine meandering creeper with leaves. The second band consists of 9 panels with beaded borders on the top and bottom. The first pannel contains the figure of vase with overhanging corrugated leaves. In the second, there is a scroll issuing out of the tail of a goose. The next above contains the figure of a *Kirttimukha*. The fourth one contains a geometric pattern with half lotuses in the interspaces. In the fifth one is to be seen a peacock with up turned tail. In the next, two dwarfs are sitting side by side with their hands raised above the heads to hold up something. There is a row of rosettes above. Figures in the last two are not clear.

The third and fourth bands are of the same type as the second and the first band respectively of the right jamb (Pl. I. D).

The lintel contains a fine frieze depicting elephant-catch or *kheda* operation (Pl. I. H). Orissa, in the past, was famous for her elephants. Elephant is a very favourite motif with the Orissan artists who have displayed master-skill in portraying in life-like manner this creature in all poses and attitudes. The

frieze shows how an wild elephant is being cornered by tame elephant and then led to a lonely place where he is left alone to be calmed down Elephant catch was an important annual event in Orissa in the medieval times when the elephat corps constituted the potential part of an army. The Orissan kings were famous for the large number of war-elephants in their army. The Suryavamsi Kings of Orissa had the title, 'Gajapati', or the 'Lord of Elephants'. The lintel is bordered by a horizontal band similar to the second band of the right jamb.

Excepting the door jambs and the lintel, other sculptured stones have fallen off as in case of the Lakshamanesvara temple. This temple is also in a ruined state, left as it is, it will tumble down in near future.

The Satrughnesvara temple occupies the southernmost position in the row. Only its western facade (Pl. I. P.) and the portions of the northern and southern walls upto the first subsidiary niches are existing, though in a dilapidated state. In the rest of the portions outer courses of sculptured stones have vanished leaving only the unsculptured ones that constituted the inner course.

Though in this dilapidated state, it helps us to form an idea as to what the temples were like in their original state. The western facade from a distance presents a very pleasant view of a small structure ornamented with various designs of *Chaitya* window motifs running vertically across the body. The effect is heightened by two large central chaitya-window motifs containing one of the finest figure of Nataraj, and below it, the figure of Ravana uprooting mount Kailash. The stones have become loose and detached from their original position, thereby the symmetry and proportion and the overall impressive view of the original structure is gone; despite this condition, the visitors are still attracted to this ruined temple and look at it with a feeling of admiration for its impressive art.

The ornamentation of the door-jambs of this temple is almost of the same type as those of the other two temples described. The right jamb (Pl. I. E.) consists of four vertical bands. The first one is of roller type with oblique lines having conches, petals and beads in the interspaces. It is provided with a beaded border. The second band consists of 11 panels containing vase and foliage motif at the bottom, scroll, geometric pattern with half lotuses in the interspaces, three half lotuses in a row, an enshrined ling emblem, chaitya-window motifs, two lotuses, four half lotuses arranged in a geometric pattern and a lotus in the other panels above it. At the bottom of the third and fourth facets is carved the figure of a four-armed *dvarapala*. His upper right arm is broken; but the figure of flower left undamaged indicates that it was held in that hand. The lower right arm holds an *akshamala*; the upper left arm is placed on the scarf near the waist region and the lower left hand holds a *trisula*. The hair on the head is drawn up in two layer

forming *jata mukuta*. The body is adorned with the usual ornaments. He is flanked by a standing female figure resting on a stick with her face turned up as if having an eager look at the figure. The third band has 6 panels containing a nicely decorated vase with overhanging corrugated foliages in the last panel. The peacock and scroll motif, *chaitya* window motif, geometric pattern with in half-lotuses and again, peacock and scroll device are to be found in the panels above. The fourth band contain a fine peacock and scroll device carved out in bold relief.

The left jamb (Pl. I. F.) consists of four facets last two of which are badly damaged. The figure of *dvarapala* is carved at the bottom of the first two bands. The figure is just a replica of his counterpart on the right jamb. The flower in its upper right hand confirms the assumption that the figure in the right jamb also held a flower in the upper right arm.

The third band consists of six panels containing the devices of vase and foliage, half lotuses arranged in geometric pattern, peacock with scrolled tail, and single lotuses. The third band contained similar panels but they are mostly damaged. The lower part of the fourth band is left in tact indicating that it was of the same type as the first band of the right jamb.

The lintel (Pl. I I.) consists of five horizontal panels. The first contains the emblem of a linga enshrined in a beautiful temple-device. In the second is to be found a lady standing in *dvibhanga* style looking at the reflection of her face in a mirror held in the left hand. The scarf is seen hanging on two sides. The middle panel contains the figures of Uma-Mahesvara with their attendants on their sides and vehicles and devotees below. Siva is holding a flower in his right hand and embracing Uma with his left. He has *jata* on his head and his body is decorated with the usual ornaments, Parvati has turned her face towards Siva with the right hand on the ground and left hand on her thigh. Siva has an attendant seated to his right holding a *trisula* in the right hand. The attendant of Uma is seated to her left. Next to her is seated another attendant of Siva with trisula in his right hand. In the panel below the upper one are carved the figure of bull, the face of lion and two devotees in each of the right and left ends. Flying figures with garlands are to be seen at the top.

In the next nich a lady is portrayed as standing with her hand on the left heap. In the last panel the bust of Siva (?) in a temple-device is to be found.

The whole facade is full of fine *chaitya* window motifs of different varieties, enclosing a bust of Siva, seated figures (Pl. I. N.) lotus or *Kkirttimukha*. They have all beaded borders and are of different designs, like round, oval, bifoliate or trifoliate etc. The two motifs on the top containing the figures of Nataraj Siva and Ravana, below it are most impressive.

Nataraj Siva is twelve-armed. A snake is held in the two uppermost arms just as we find in case of Nataraj Siva of the Badami cave.[4] It can not be ascertained what are held in the second and third right hands. In the fourth one there is probably a citron fruit. The fifth one holds a flower and the sixth one is shown in *Suchi mudra*. The second left hand is in *Simhakarna* pose; in the third is held a *dambaru* and in the fourth. a snake. The fifth and sixth hands are shown in *Suchi* and *Dandahasta* poses respectively. The face of bull, Nandin, is visib le near the feet of Siva. The face of Siva is, as it were, illumined with a sublime glory. The sublime and calm face of Siva indicates that the dance is of *Santa*, or pacific type, not of *ugra* type.

In the oblong medallion enclosed within a *chaitya*-window motif the story of Ravana up-rooting the mount Kailasa is depicted in a very impressive way The ten-armed and five-faced Ravana is seen squatting on the earth and trying to uplift mount Kailash with five hands. In one of the right hand is held a straight sword. Two of his hands rest on his two knees and one on the ground indicating the pressure he exerts on the earth for uprooting the mountain. It can not be ascertained what is held in the fourth right hand. On the top are to be found the figures of Siva and Parvati, the latter is catching hold of Siva in a panic. Ganesa and Kartika are alert with their weapons ready to strike. On two sides of the medallion are two seated figures with *trisula*, evidently attendants of Siva. To the right of the attendant on the right there is the figure of an emaciated man, a *bhuta-gana*, in running attitude. To the left of the attendent on the left is be to seen an amorous couple. (Pl I. Q.)

There are two niches on the western facade. In the right there is the figure of Siva with four arms. He holds *trisula* in the upper right arms and chakra in the upper left arm. Lower arms are broken. Siva with *Chakra* is rarely to be found. Siva in his *tripuradahana* or *tripurantaka* aspects holds *Chakra* as one of his weapons.[5] In Harihara form also he holds *Chakra*.[5] In this case the form of Siva is neither of the above three types. Thus it is iconographically interesting to note that Siva has *Chakra* as his weapon in his ordinary form (Pl, I O).

Just below the niche the figures of elephants and lions are carved. In the corner, one lion has two bodies on two sides. The representation of elephants in different poses is of high order. The body of the temple above the nich is decorated with a vertical band of chaitya window motif with hollow trifoliate device in the centre. To the right of it in the recess there was a band of small temple device running vertically across the body, most of which are gone excepting two.

4. *M. A. S I.* No. 25. pp 3-4
5. Rao, *Hindu Geography*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 115 & p. 189.
6. *Ibid*, p. 334.

The nich on the left side is empty. In the nich of the southern side there is a figure of six-armed Nataraj which is damaged. There is a *trisula* in the upper right hand and a rosary in the lower hand. One hand is broken. In the three hands on the left side he holds a looking glass in the upper one, displays *simhakarna pose*(?) with the middle one. A branch with leaves and flowers is held in the third hand. The bull, Nandi, is near the right foot with its face upturned. The *dvarapalas*, or attendants are seen on the two sides of the nich which is decorated with vase and foliage motif in four corners. The *dvarapalas* have a flower in one hand and *trisula* in the other (Pl. I. M.)

Above it there is the figure of seated Ganesa with flower and foliage in the two right hands and axe and sweet-meat pot in the left hands,

In the nich of the northern side there is another figure of ten-armed Nataraj (Pl. I J.) In the upper two hands is held a snake. The next right hand is on the thigh, the next one is broken. In the next two are held rosary and *danda* (?) In the left side, three hands are broken; in the hand next to the uppermost one is held a *trisula* to which an axe-blade is also attached. On the right corner Kartikeya on his peacock is found in dancing attitude.

Just above the nich there is a panel of Uma-Maheswar. Above it there is a medallion containing the bust of Siva (Pl. I K). He has *Jata* on his head, *Kundala* in his ears, and necklace in the neck. From the hole of the *Kundala* on the right side a hooded snake comes out. There is a symbol of *Linga*. Just above, the figure of Kartikeya seated on a peacock with *Sula* in the left hand is to be found in a circular medallion enclosed within a *chaitya window* motif.

In the recessed moulding of the *baranda* there is an interesting frieze of Siva's marriage procession. Siva is seated on his vehicle, Nandin, with a *chhatra* held over his head in the left end of the frieze. In front of him is Vishnu holding a *kalasa* with the upper two hands and *chakra* and *gada* in the lower right and left hands respectively. He is preceded by Brahma holding *rosary* and *Kamandalu* in the upper two hands and some indistinct object and *sruk* (?) in the two lower hands. Next to him is Agni with a back-ground of tongues of flames. He holds rosary in the right hand and *Kamandalu* in the left hand. Rishi Narada with his *vina* is next to him. He is preceded by two attendants of Siva with *trisula* in their left hands. Next are two figures of females in dancing pose. The whole panel is not only interesting but also impressive (Pl. P. L.)

There are many other small interesting things like two men wrestling, a medalion containing the figure of a man swinging or a female massaging her legs. One can imagine how fine and impressive a sight these temples presented originally. But unfortunately they are on the verge of ruin and with their destruction many valuable materials relating to the evolution of art in Orissa will be lost for ever.

METAL FRAGMENT FROM NALANDA
(*Gupta Period*)

manmohanpress, cuttack-2

PAIR OF LIONS ON ELEPHANTS
(*Konarak*)

manmohanpress, cuttack-2

(A)
Nāgarī & Proto-Bengali
Plate I

Nāgarī & Proto-Bengali
Plate 2
(A)
Dt notation
No 4
1003 A.D.
No 9
1395 A.D
No 8
1061?
No I
10ST A.D
No A
Ka
Kha
ga
gha
ṅa
ca
cha
ja
jha
ña
ṭa
ṭha

(A)

Nāgarī & Proto-Bengali.

Plate 3.

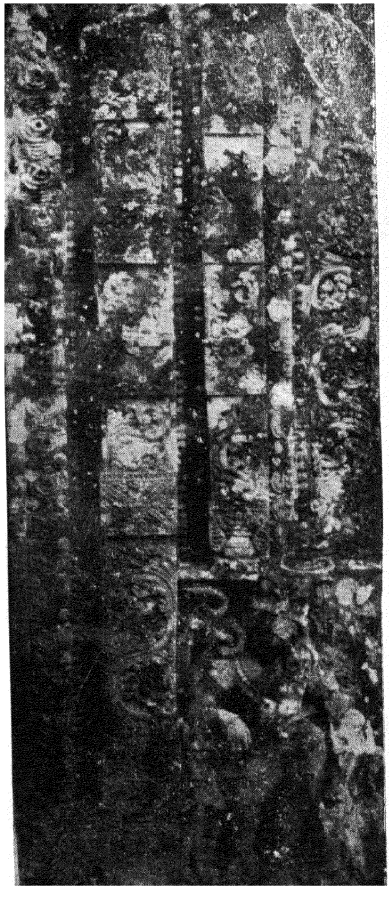
	1051 A.D. No. A	A.D. 1261? No I	1395 A.D. No 8	1403 A.D. No 9	Bt not clear No 4
dha		৬	৩	ধ	৮
na	ন	৭	ন	ন	
ta	ত	৮	ত	ত	৫
tha	থ	৯	থ	থ	৯
da	দ	১০	দ	দ	১০
dha	ধ	১১	ধ	ধ	১১
na	ন	১২	ন	ন	১২
pa	প	১৩	প	প	১৩
pha	ফ	১৪	ফ	ফ	১৪
ba	ব	১৫	ব	ব	১৫

(A)
Nāgarī & Proto-Bengali
Plate 4.

B, Oriya Scripts Plate 2
Read K as Ka, Kh as Kha, G as Ga in Col. I.

Oriya Scripts
Plate 4.
Read the columns as in Col I

Plate I (A)

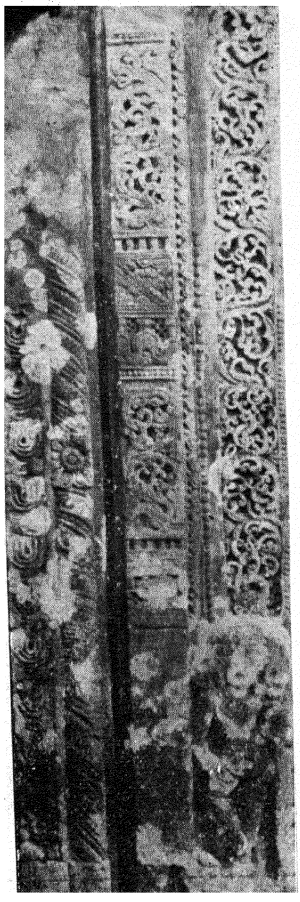


Lakshmanesvara temple leble right door jamb.

Plate I (B)

Lakshmanesvara temple, left door-jamb.

Plate I (C)



Bharatesvara temple,
right door-jamb.

Plate I (D)

Bharatesvara temple,
left door-jamb.

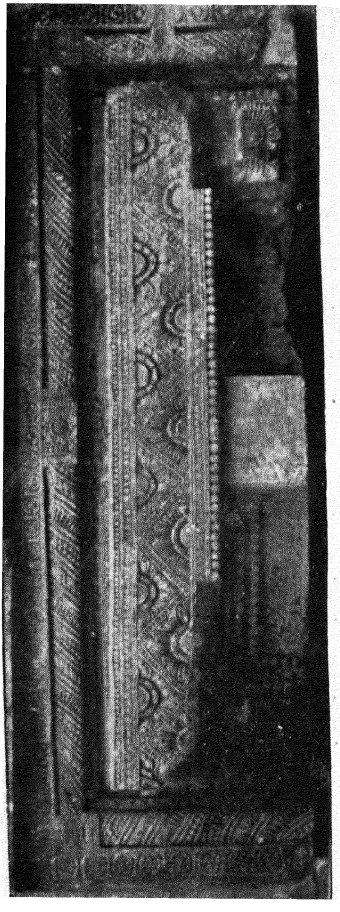
Plate I (E)

Satrughnesvara temple,
right door-jamb.

Plate I (F)

Satrughnesvara temple,
left door jamb.

Plate I (G)

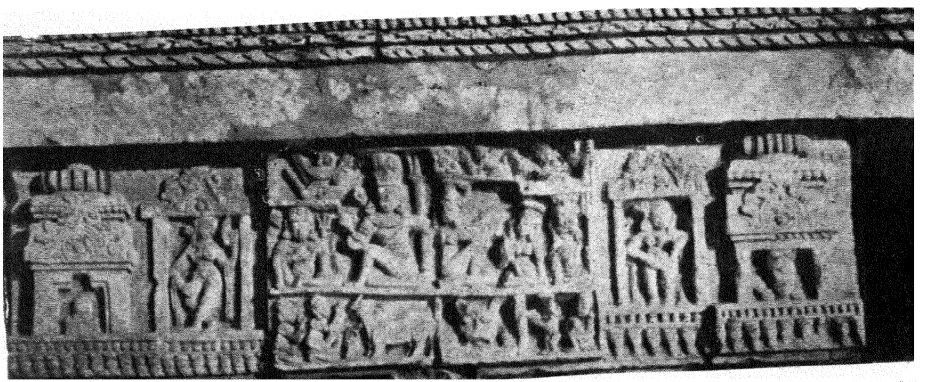


Lakshmanesvara temple, lintel
(lying on the Sauthern side)

Plate I (H)

Bharatesvara temple, lintel.

Plate I (I)



Satrughnesvara temple, lintel.

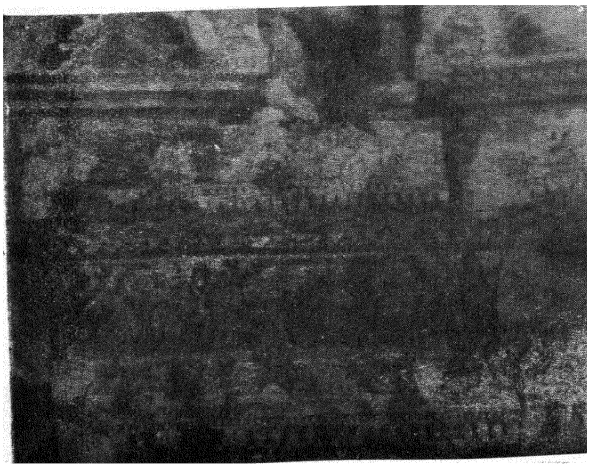
Plate I (J)

Satrughnesvara temple, northern facade Nataraj Siva.

Plate I (K)

Satrughnesvara temple, northern facade, bust of Siva with the emblem of linga

Plate I (L)



Satrughnesvara temple, Southern facade,
Siva's marriage procession

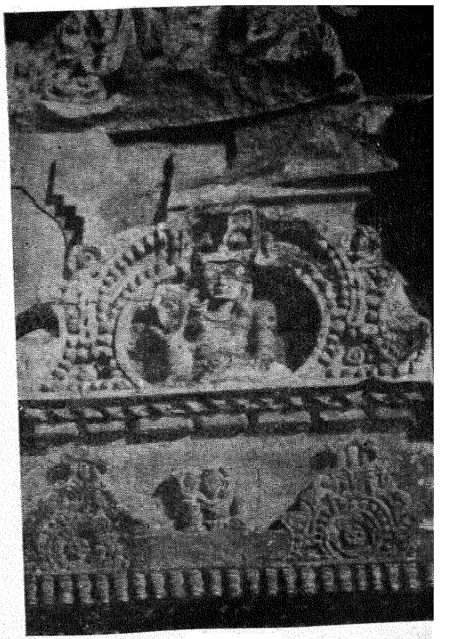
Plate I (M)

Satrughnesvara temple, Southern facade,
Nataraj Siva.

Plate I (O)

Satrughnesvara temple, western facade, Siva standing.

Plate I (N)

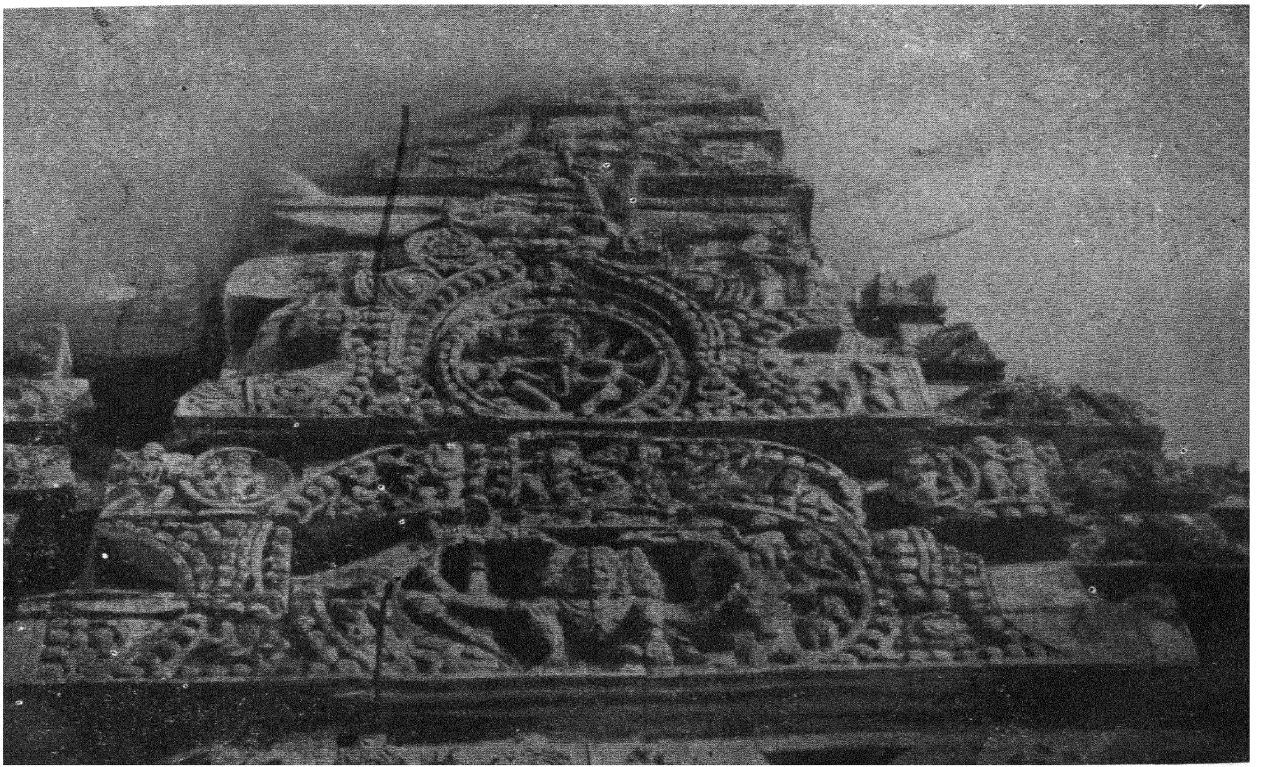


Satrughnesvara temple western facade, S va (?) seated.

Plate I (P)

Bharatesvara temple, Western facade.

Plate I (Q)



Bharatesvara temple, close up view of the upper portion of the Western facade.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SETTLEMENT OF KHOORDAH IN POOREE

(Continued from Vol. III, No. 4.)

99. From what I have advanced above, my opinion will be apparent that, 1st, in the vicinity of good market, where there s no deficiency of silver currency and the ryot can dispose of the whole of his surplus produce for rupees he sustains no loss from the rate of exchange, at the same time derives no benefit from the nominal rise of price in cowries having now to pay what is equivalent from six to seven kahawuns of cowries as his rent where he before paid only four ; that, 2nd. in most parts of the interior, where there are no bazars, no money changers, no bunnyas or mahajuns possessing capital (such is the general poverty and rudeness of the district), the ryot, enabled to dispose only of the part of his produce for silver to beparries, who travel about the district for the purpose of making purchases of grain, and obliged to sell the remainder for cowries to the khooshbaushes or residents having no interest in the soil of various classes and descriptions, who form a large part of every village society he is likely to suffer loss on both, but certainly on that part exchanged for cowries in turning these again into silver; and that 3rd. in parts the most remote and the least favourably situated with regard to markets, the ryots disposing of the greater proportion of their produce for cowries, which still undeniably form the chief currency of the mofussil, constantly sustained most ruinous loss from the high rate at which they have to purchase rupees in exchange for these shells.

The ryots never hardly carry their own product to market.

100. The annexed statements (Nos. 9 & 10) if to be depended on and I am inclined to think them accurate, particularly as they are corroborated by the results of numerous inquiries made by me durnging my tour relative to the rate of prices in particular years prove incontestibly the heavy loss to which the cultivators of the soil are subject in disposing of their produce for cowries and purchasing rupees, with them to pay their rents at

the present high rate of exchange, or in exchanging grain for the latter wherever the medium of calculation is the former unfortunate and prescribed currency. The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council cannot fail to observe from them that in those pergunnahs to which they relate divisions by no means unfavourably situated with regard to markets in particular years a sicca rupee now is worth from 50 to 275 per cent. More than what an Arcot rupee would purchase three or four years before, and our acquisition of the province. If an average be taken, however, of the value of silver and grain in cowries from 1205 to 1215, according to these statements, and again from that period to 1223, the whole loss will not appear to have been so great as at first sight, although still considerable. But, as observed by an eminent political economist, "men do not live by averages" and amongst people like those of Cuttack, the saving of one year would only be applied to procure a little extra short lived enjoyment, whilst the loss of another would prove cruelly and distressingly ruinous. I should remark that these statements exhibit the rates at which paddy and clearn rice are purchased in the interior from the ryots at the time when the first nerikh is fixed for the season, after the cutting of the great annual crop. Prices vary much in the mofussil and in towns, here as elsewhere, at different seasons of the year, and those at the end of the Umlee year are often double the rate at the commencement. But the ryot of Cuttack is rarely enabled to lay by any portion of his crop so as to benefit by the price of rice. He is obliged to pay to the Zemindar a large proportion of his rent by selling the unengaged surplus of his harvest as soon as it is ripe, whilst a considerable portion of it has already been paid for at a low and inadequate rate by the mahajun or wholesale dealer in grain, whose advances enable the ryot to subsist, to carry on his cultivation, and to satisfy much of the demand of the land holder.

101. I may here observe that, although the question of the cowrie currency escaped altogether the notice of the Commissioners Messrs, Buller and Richardson, or, was not thought by those gentlemen worthy of any consideration, it has frequently been adverted to by different Collectors. Three letters of Mr. Scott Waring in 1811 are recorded on the subject, which without entering into sufficiently detailed discussion to throw any light upon it, are decidedly expressive of the generality of complaints, and of that gentleman's opinion of the "serious inconvenience,

delay, and loss resulting from the difficulty found in converting cowries into rupees." Mr. G. Warde remarks in a letter dates September 1812; "That whatever may be the real merits o the question, complaints on the subject of the cowrie currency were almost universal throughout the district". Mr. Trower's sentiments first stated as December 1812 are already before Government. That gentleman explicitly declares that the consequence of the depreciation of cowries is the frequent ruin of ryots, and their desertion from the Mogulbundee estate. He vacillates indeed in his manner of accounting for it, describing sometimes the cowrie business as a mere affair of paper, and the altered rate of exchange as arising entirely from the frauds and exactions of mahajuns and zemindars; at others to what I am well aware is his real opinion, an actual scarcity of silver.

102. The high rate which the shroff or moneyed man of whatever description demands on exchanging silver for cowrie is, 1 thing, a consequence of the scarcity of the former compared with the demand for it, and not of any fraudulent and reprehensible combination. The zemindar also having had his own rents originally turned into silver to the rate of four kahawuns is entitled to pursue the same course with his mofussil assessment, or the nerikh per beegha, calculated always formerly in cowries, and to require further increase in rupees proportioned to the augmented Government demand from him, all of which costs the ryot who has to procure the silver, just so much more than would be outlay if he paid his rents in cowries, as the comparatively increased price of silver in cowries exceeds the enhance value of produce, calculated in the same medium. I stated in a former part of my report that from an estimate, however loose and vague, of the probable quantity of land in cultivation compared with the assessment of the district. I could not suppose the whole public demand from Cuttack to be too high. My opinion respecting the loss sustained by the ryots from the state of the currency is evidently not inconsistent with this belief. But what I have advanced, if correct, shows pointedly how ruinous even a small error in the amount of augmented assessment calculated in silver, might prove to an estate already highly assessed with reference to its resources, and how much the chance of over assessment has been increased from the fact of the existence of such a perplexing and embarassing state of the currency, never having presented itself to the consideration of those who formed the two last settlements. It

evinces also that the addition of Rs. 3,00,000 to the jumma under the British Government, considering the high rate at which this silver is to be purchased in the interior, is by no means so trifling an augmentation of the public demand as has been supposed, After all, however, the ryots, I am aware, are in most cases the chief and immediate sufferers by the state of the cowrie currency, were the zemindar in general disposed to be lenient, merciful, and considerate towards his ryots, I have no doubt but that the produce of many estates is such as that by dividing his mofussil assessment in cowries by four and a half (say) or five instead of four kahawuns, he might still receive from his ryots sufficient to pay the public demand, and the authorized profit besides. The attempt to collect his rents at the rate of Rs. 1/—for every four kahawuns must, in my view of the case be ultimately destructive of the ryot, although it may succeed for a time, and often terminate in ruin to the landholder himself. Had the original proprietors, natives of the different estates, born and bred up amongst the ryots, and forming part of one large family as it were, retained possession of their lands, this might frequently have been arranged in a manner conducive to the ultimate interests of both parties, but under the unfeeling rapacious management of the strangers, speculators, and adventurers, who have not acquired possession of so large a portion of the lands in this district, no spontaneous remedy of this great evil to the bulk of the people is to be expected by a temporary sacrifice on their parts of the profit which they are entitled to wring from the ryots, arising from any consideration of the ease, the happiness, an the prosperity of their under tenants.

103. I proceed to submit a few statements and remarks with the view of showing that this state of the currency is not only easy to be accounted for, but that all circumstances taken into consideration, it is not very apparent how it should well be otherwise.

104. The change of Government certainly did not in its immediate consequences tend to enrich Cuttack. The British Government proceeded to levy a rather higher assessment than the Maharattas had done with the exception of a few trifling abwabs and sayer duties in place of which was substituted a heavy tax upon salt gradually extended to the whole district. At the same time all posts of emolument were taken from the natives of the district, the expenses of the local Government were reduced much

below those of the Marhatta establishment, and a considerable proportion of what the district could ill afford to spare, its silver currency, began to be annually sent out of it. The greatest annual remittance of surplus revenue to the treasury of Nagpore never exceeded, as far as I can learn, four lakhs, and this sum it is well known was almost invariably remitted by bills of exchange. The average annual remittance from the treasury of the British Collector alone to Calcutta has been equivalent to upwards of seven and half lacs of siccas since our acquisition of the province. In each of the yars 1222 and 1223, about 10 lakhs were sent out of the district.

105. One grant channel, however, through which specie formerly flowed into Cuttack has been greatly narrowed of late years, and seems now almost wholly closed. I allude to the trade with the countries subject to the Madras territory. The accompanying (No. 13) statement procured from Mr. R. Becher, the *gentleman* at present officiating in charge of the Custom House at Balasore shows how great has been the falling off of late years, in the quantity of grain exported from the only port where trade was ever very brisk, to the countries to the southward and this, too, from permanent causes, which leave no room for hope that the old market will ever again be available to any great extent for the disposal of the surplus produce of the district. I beg leave to enclose an extract from Mr. R. Becher's letter in reply to a communication addressed to him by the Secretary to the Commissioners on this subject. "I take this opportunity of submitting, for the information of the Commissioners, a circumstance in regard to the rice markets at Madras, well known to the inhabitants of this district, which has produced a very important influence on its general interests and prosperity until the y^{e}ar 1809, it appears that the state of the home market at Madras for this grand article of consumption, was always so extremely inadequate to the demand that nothing but the largest scale of importation could furnish a sufficient stock for the ordinary consumption. This demand naturally gave rise to a competition for supplying it, and as the district Cuttack was the nearest and best resource for this commodity, large funds were annully appropriated towards the purchase of the quantity required, and formed an immediate, sufficient, and ample source of advantage to the whole of this district.

106. The information which I had procured previous to my visit to Balasore, accorded generally with Mr. Becher's statement. I had also satisfied, myself that in all the small ports to the southward such as Hurrispoor, Bishenpoor, Manickpatam, & c., a similar decrease had ta en place in the quantity of grain exported to the southwa·d, I see reason to believe that the trade in rice with Bengal has rather improved of late year, but I cannot discover that it by any means compensates to the district for the loss of its former market.

107. A lucrative commerce alsc existed in the quantity of salt exported from Cuttack to Hidgellee, and particularly into the Rajah of Berar's dominion, of which the former has been absorbed by the salt monopoly and the latter is scarcely to be traced now at all, excepting in the smuggling traffic carried on to a great extent with the countries to the westward, from the borders of the Cilka lake.

108. The other grand, and indeed the principal channel through which specie was before poured into Cuttack, the annual influx of pilgrims, has probably been much enlarged and improved under the British Government in consequence of the inducement held out to the wealthier pilgrims to resort other, by the greater security of person and property, which they now enjoy on the road. An inspection of the annual amount of collections and of the actual number of pilgrims resorting to Juggernath hardly indeed supports the conclusion, but it is considered that the more profitable class from Bengal are those, (vide statement No. 15) whose number has decidedly increased.

109. There is no reason to believe that any influx of cowries has at any time taken place under the British Govern ment, so as materially to increase the whole quantity in circulation. In fact the quantity annually imported to Balasore, the chief resort of the Maldive vessels, as is evident from Mr. R. Becher's statement (No. 14) has never hitherto exceeded the value of Rs. 4,000 or Rs. 5,000 a quantity evidently unequal to produce the slightest effect in the general market, and in fact hardly sufficient to keep up the supply in this and the neighbouring countries. I observed from the Custom House books that as large a quantity of cowries has been in some years exported and paid the duty as that imported.

110. There is no room for doubt I think, but that the Mahratta Goverment collected the greater part of their revenues in cowries. Those who preferred paying in specie were of course allowed to do so. The system is described to have been this. The great mahajuns at Cuttack and Balasore had their agents stationed all over the interior, called pykers, who received the amount of the jumma from the ryots, moqudums, or zemindars in cowries, and gave them orders for that amount on their houses at the sudder station, which were received by the aumils in payment of revenue, and transmitted by them to the soobehdar or the foujdar at Balasore. Mofussil merchants, however, required a discount and an allowance to indemnify them for the cost and trouble of transporting a portion of these rude and cumbersome inareumwnraod commerce to the head stations, where they were collected at stated periods in immense heaps, and again diffused over the district in the payment of the large army, and the extensive establishments of the Mahratta Government. A remission was made by the aumils to the zemindars proportioned to the above demand of the mahajuns, termed chowgundee or kiraea. This was claimed by the zemindars of the southern division from Mr. Groeme on the first regular settlement of the land revenue in 1212, and I believe allowed in that year, but afterwards discontinued.

"The chowgundee or kiraea also appear necessary (remissions) because the zemindars collect from their ryots in cowries and pay them to the merchants in the mofussil, for assignments on their houses at Cuttack, at the rate of four gundas per kahawun, and some thing more to indemnify the merchants in the transportation of the cowries to Cuttack. If this were not allowed a delay would take place in the payment of Govt. dues as the zemindars in that case would be obliged to sell their cowries how they could, and they would lose the hire of transportation from the mofussil" Vide letter dt. 18th. May 1805.

111. It is well known that the first Commissioners collected a large portion of the revenues of 1211 in cowries through the Mahratta aumills in conformity with the custom of past years. In 1212 Mr. Ker made part of his collections in the Northern Division in cowries none, however, were received in the Southern for reasons which should be particulaly noted. Mr. Groeme Collector of the Southern Division observes in a letter (dated April 11th. 1805)—"I have to remark for the information of the Board, that, in consequence of the following paragraph of their letter, I have never made any collection in cowries."

"The Board direct me to acquaint you that being more anxious for the introduction of rupees and pice into this province than of cowries, they deem it advisable to desire that we will in all practicable cases bind them to pay the amount of their revenue in rupees, but where this cannot be effected, you are authorized to receive cowries at the rate of 4k. 2p per sicca rupee.

"Moreover, I consider it to be my duty as a further exoneration to point out to the Board that as the shroffs dispose of cowries to the pilgrims at 3k.4p and sometimes 3k. per rupee, they can afford to purchase them from the ryots at 3k. 12p consequently the ryots and landholders would rather sell them than allow Government to have them at 4k. 2p."

112. Full option however, was allowed by Regulation XII, 1805 to all zemindars to pay their revenues in cowries at the rate of four kahawuns whilst their engagements were taken from them for payment in silver yet it would not appear that they availed themselves of this permission generally. To what extent cowries were actually paid from 1213, to 1215 I cannot ascertain from any statements on record.

113. This admits, I think, of explanation. In the first place engagements having been taken from the zemindars for payment in silver, and it being of course considered an object to collect the revenues in that currency, the zemindar would naturally meet with every obstacle and discouragement in tendering cowries in payment at the Collector's office. Some have declared to me that from the moment their kabuliyats specified rupees neither the Collector nor his amlah would ever afterwards receive any portion in cowries, and this is in a manner admitted by Mr. Greeme in the passage before quoted. But it could not for the most part have been the interest of any zemindars to pay in cowries up to the end of 1215, for the bazar, rate, and the Govt. rate remained nearly the same to the expiration of that period; the ryot sustained no serious loss in purchasing silver with his cowries, and why should the landholder have incurred the charge of transporting so bulky an article to Cuttack, when no remission would be allowed him on that account as heretofore. In fact, as observed by Mr. Fouquier, there was no scarcity of silver in circulation at the time compared with the demand to pay a jumma of 11 lakhs.

114. How this should have been the case then, and so lamentably the reverse, in all appearance at subsequent periods, and how the cowries should have so well maintained their value in the market to the end of 1215, may be explained partly by the following considerations.

115. In the first place the more operation of the legislative enactment declaring them not receivable in payment of revenue,

when they had been partially, or to a considerable extent so before, would necessary cause their value to fall, or that of silver to rise, whatever may have been the quantities in circulation, from the date of its taking effect. This is illustrated by what occurred by (in September 1810, vide Mr. Milford's letter) when notice was given that Arcots would only be received in payment of revenue to the month of August following. The value of the sicca immediately rose considerably although only two or three lakhs of Arcots had been paid into the treasury in that year, and a much smaller quantity subsequently.

116. I would observe, secondly, that about the time of the conquest of the Province by the British arms a great and unusual scarcity of cowries was experienced in Cuttack, from what cause I have never been able to learn. Evidence of the fact besides the testimony of the natives, is to be found in the correspondence of Colonal Harcourt, particularly in a letter from that Officer to Captain Morgan, commanding at Balasore, dated June, 1804, informing him "that it would be advisable that the scarcity of cowries in the town and district of Cuttack should be made known to the pilgrims whilst passing Midnapore, that they might there provide themselves with cowries and small coins. We do not find that this deficiency was ever made up for by any fresh extraordinary importation from the Maldives, Mr. Fouqier indeed observes in 1808, that no large quantitity was either to be bought or sold in the bazar, and it appears at present the fact, that no more are generally in circulation than required as change for silver and for all the petty dealings and transactions in the interior. where they alone can be said to be current.

Cowries might have been scarce than compared with the demand for them when receiveble in payment of revenue, and yet in sufficient abundance to answer the purpose of a circulating medium in the interior, a leve to which they would appear to have then fallen, and ever since remained at.

117. Besides this deficiency of the usual stock of cowries, which of course would operate to raise their value, a considerable influx of silver appears to have taken place in 1214, and the two years antecedent, so as greatly to diminish its value (vide Mr. Fouqier's letter before quoted) in consequence of vast crowds of pilgrims resorting to the province. Indeed from reference to statement (No. 15) it will be seen that the amount of collections at Juggernath in 1806-7 was at the extraordinarily high rate of Rs. 1,17,000. Mr. R. Becher's statement also evinces that large quantities of rice were exported from the district up to 1808-9, which was disposed of chiefly for bills on Calcutta, or for specie, a portion of which being brought back into the district would of course keep up the supply of silver in circulation.

118. I think, therefore, that peculiar reasons existed for the cowrie currency maintaining its value up to 1807-8 at a high rate, the less powerful operation of which in subsequent years combined with other causes occasioned or allowed of their ultimate fall.

119. I cannot, but remark here, as connected with the question under discussion, on the prejudicial consequences to the interests of the landholders, of the temporary accidental rise in the value of cowrie above adverted to. The high rate of those shells in 1211 and 1212 appears to have determined the rule of conversion of four kahawuns per sicca rupee fixed in Regulation XII of 1805, but the fact is that for long before that period 4k. 2p., and 4k- 4p. had common average even for the arcot rupee. The Commissioners assumed 4k. 2p., as the rate of conversion in 1212, and the alteration of that to four kahawuns immediately made a considerable rise in the jumma. Had cowries retained their usual average exchangeable value in silver for the first two or three years after the conquest, a rate of coversion much more favourable to the landed interest would in all probability have been adopted.

120. The Acountant General would appear to infer a sufficiency of silver in circulation from the fact of the increasing quantity of siccas compared with Arcots paid yearly into the Collector's treasury. It seems to me, however, that the mere relative prevalence of siccas over Arcots proves nothing with regard to the whole amount of silver in circulation. The one species of coin may have nearly taken place of the other,and such I believe to have been the case whereas Arcots were formerly the principal coin of the district, siccas have for years past become so. It appears to me possible, indeed, that the whole quantity of the silver circulation of Cuttack may have increased under the British Government and yet be insufficient to meet the increased demand for the payment of a considerably enhanced assessment, and for making purchases of salt at the Govenment stores, purposes to which it was under the Mahrattas only partially applied.

121. It is a fact perfectly well known to those who are in the least conversant with the state of the money market in Cuttack that the propertion of Arcot rupees in circulation in any part of the Mogulbundee at present is very trifling indeed, and that the great reason of Arcots not being paid more generally into the treasury is that, in truth, those kinds receivable in payment of

revenue are not to be had in any quantities. In speaking generally of Arcot rupees it should be distinguished also that, out of the numerous species of this coin before current in Cuttack and still indiscriminately, if at all, imported in return for grain, and by the pilgrims from the southward, not more than six kinds are recievable in payment of revenue. A considerable clearance of rupees of sorts was made from 1806 to 1810 when the quantity of 16 lakhs paid into the treasury was all remitted to Calcutta. The proportion of Arcots in circulation has never since then recovered itself. From the very beginning indeed, if we are to judge at all from the amount of collections, it was nearly equalled by that of siccas, and the relative prevalence of the latter very shortly over the former can excite no surprise, at the same time can furnish no argument as to the adequacy of the whole supply of silver in circulation to the purpose for which it is required.

About 27,00,000 of Arcots altogether have been sent out of the district from the Collector's treasury since 1806-7.

122. The greatly diminished exportation from this district of grain and salt to the sourthern and western countries, and the some what improved trade with Bengal, the well known fact that the number of pilgrims from the Deccan, which always bore a small proportion, to those from Bengal and Hindustan, has of late year from some cause or other been continuously decreasing ; and exported to the Madras territory; is now paid for chiefly by bills on Bengal which are exchanged for specie or goods in Calcutta, and thence brought into the district, serve to illustrate the assertion in the above paragraph.

Regulation XII of 1805 declares siccas the currency in which all bonds, &c. are to be specified subsequent to 1215, from the preference thus attached to it by the legislature all would have become anxious to procure siccas in place of Arcots from that date forwards.

123. The mere fact of so many lakhs having annually been collected in silver is certainly a proof that silver was to be had in the district for the payment of the Government revenue, but at what cost and with what difficulty, let the loud clamours of the ryots, backed by the representations of the zemindars, be received as some kind of evidence.

124. It is by no means foreign to the present question to observe that. since the rains, May and June 1817, a general fall in the value of the rupee in cowries has taken place throughout the interior of the district. Even the most ignorant ryots and moquddums were ready to assign a cause for this, which of course was the imperfect collection of the Govt. revenue, no one half of which had been realized by the end of the year and the temporary cessation of the remission of silver out of

the district. Silver also had not been required for the purchase of salt from the Govt. stores to the usual extent, a plentiful temporary supply of plundered salt having been sent loose by the Khoordah and Coojung rebels. If the above be not the cause, I am at a loss to conceive any sufficient to account for the fact which was general in Khoordah and in all the southern and central pergunnahs.

124A. Another ground of complaint immediately connected with the revenue administration is still to be discussed the operation of the salt monopoly. The principal complaints respecting salt are of a three fold nature. 1st, the enhanced price of that essential article of consumption since the establishment of the monopoly; 2nd, the difficulty of procuring it even at its present high price from the precariousness and frequent insufficiency of the supply in the market; and 3rd, the impurity and adulteration of that now attainable.

125. The salt Agent, in his report to the Board of Trade already before Govt. argues generally on these points that the enhancement of price can be no real grievance to the people at large, for after all, the utmost outlay of an individual on account of salt does not exceed from 14 to 15 annas per annum; that a sort of monopoly before existed on the part of headmen of Villages who made immense profits on the sale of the article, and that large quantities are notoriously supplied by smuggling, particularly in Khoordah. He conceives that his sales of salt have been sufficiently extensive to provide amply for the inhabitants of Cuttack, estimating the daily consumption of each individual at half a chattack, and the population of the district at about 5,37,000 and he never heard the slightest complaints of any difficulty in procuring salt from the office. If any difficulty does exist in obtaining salt, he is of opinion that it must originate in the confined scale of the market individually, the merchants who trade in salt being mostly Ooriahs, whose means will only allow them to purchase in small quantities and, generally speaking, in single lot; who are most of them men of no property; and who before they embark in a second speculation, are obliged to settle their accounts with their creditors. Thus it is, he observes, that the market continues precarious in its supplies.

126. It is important to remark that I found the complaints on the subject, as might be expected, most bitter and general in

the southern division of the district. In all the centrical pergunnahs it was constantly adduced as one of the measures which have affected the happiness and prosperity of the Ooriahs under the British administration, but the clamour gradually decreased in proportion as I proceeded to the northward. In those northernmost pergunnahs, where the Government price has been ever since 1806-7 at Rs. 2 per maunds, the salt monopoly was rarely touched on, although I understand, during the insurrection, the monopoly and its consequences were much sopken of, and declaimed against as a heavy burden to the people of Cuttack and a serious reproach to the British Government.

127. Hence the inference is certainly that in those parts where the price of salt has been at its present rate for a number of years past, the people have become accustomed, to the burden, whatever, temporary annoyance it may have occasioned, or in other wards, that the scale of the wages of labour and the profits of husbandry, have gradually adapted themselves, in some measure, to the enhanced cost of an article of life this indispensible necessity; whilst in other parts, where a recent advance of price has taken place, the habitants are still smarting under the infliction and naturally discontented; and that in the southern division, where the rise of price has been sudden and immediate since 1814, extreme suffering and privation are experienced.

In 1813, the price at the important and productive aurungs in Kunka and Coojung was raised from Rs, 1-8 to Rs. 2 per maund.

128. Salt also, omitting the cosideration of what may have been its price formerly is always actually cheaper in the jurisdictions of Sorweh and Balasore than any where else to the southward arising from the geographical position of that part of the district which stretches in a narrow strip, never more than from 18 to 20 miles broad, from north east to south-west, bounded by the Neelgurh hills on one side and the ocean on the other. The expenses of carriage over the whole, therefore, are less, and the facilities of diffusing smuggled salt to a great extent considerable. The price there never exceeds seven puns per seer, whereas in the southern parts it is some times 12. The inhabitants of the jurisdiction of the northern thanas appear also, from whatever cause, to be more thriving in their circumstances and to assimilate in some degree to the state of their neighbours in Midnapur, a condition from which their countrymen decidedly fall off in proportion as they recedes to the southward. The original zemindars retain pretty generally possession of their estates, and I believe that portion of

the district is understood to have been the most fortunate in escaping increase of assessment.

129. It was probably some conviction of this kind, although I can discover no reasons recorded on the subject, which determined the gradation of price originally fixed in the northern and central aurungs, and the exemption of the southern division wholly from the operation of the monopoly, a distinction which appears to me far from unreasonable or unjustifiable, and which I see much cause to regret, was not attended to on the late extention of the monopoly to the whole of Cuttack. The price fixed in 1806 by Mr. King at the northern and Chooramanee was Rs. 2 per maund, and in the central ones of Kunka and Coojung Rs. 1-8 per maund. The sale price at the latter was raised to Rs. 2. in 1813 and in 1814, the Regulation was passed for extendig the monopoly to the whole of the district south of the Mahanuddee.

130. To decide with certainty and accuracy how far the complaints of the people on the subject of the salt monopoly are well founded, in what degree it has really affected the comfort, the health, and the limited enjoyment of the great bulk of the population of Orissa, a race avowedly far below their neighbours in the scale of wealth, prosperity, and civilization, and probably the least able of all the company's subjects to hear taxation in a novel and unaccustomed shape, would be a work requiring more practical experience, a longer reisdence in the district, and higher qualification for the enquiry then I can lay claim to. Some materials for judging may, perhaps, be found in he following details regarding the enhanced cost of salt which the monopoly appears to me to have occasioned.

Vide statement No. 17 furnished by Mr. Becher.

131. The first fact which I would bring to the notice of Government on this head is, that salt sold under the Mahratta Government at 4½ maunds of 82 sicca weight per Arcot rupee at the place of manufacture, or less than one eighth of its present rate at the aurungs. Being procurable in any quantities, however, small, and in exchange for the medium of traffic generally current in the interior, the profits of the wholesale dealer did not then necessarily intervene to swell the cost to the consumer. Salt purchased at the place of manufacture at the above rate of from 3½ to 4 annas per maund, or less than one kahawun of cowries, might have been sold by the travelling beparee, at once the mer-

chant and carrier, for 1⅓ kahawuns allowing 50 per cent for his profit and expense of carriage. But a Sayer duty was undoubtedly collected on the transit of this as well as of all other articles, whether grain or merchandize. If we suppose this in its progress to a distant point in the interior to have doubled, the price, the allowance is, I think, quite as great as warranted by any information now procurable on the subject, and we may assume three kahawuns per md. as rather a high price. It certainly exceeds the average rate constantly represented to me in the mofussil, and supported by the evidence on the subject of several of the smaller dealers whom I examined. Mr. Becher's report, paragraph 5, represents the average retail price in the district previous to the insurrection to have been Rs. 3-4 per md. or upwards of 24 kahwuns of cowries, which allowing largely for the depreciation in the value of those shells, is certainly from five to six times the average rate under the Marhatta Government.

132. Considering the extreme cheapness of the article at the places of manufacture, and the manner in which it was supplied to the district at large, the only sufficient cause for its having borne a comparatively high price in the interior under the Mahratta Government must have been the heaviness of the transit duties levied on it. So far as the Government share of these duties is concerned, the effect produced by their imposition must have been most trifling. The revenue under the head of sayer amounted only to Rs. 74,000 (vide Mr. Trower's statement). Sayer duties, as is well known under the native Government comprehend collections on the transit of every article, whether of luxury or of necessary consumption, besides various complicated and minute demands for pasture, orchards, fishery, &c., which it would be useless to detail. The Rs. 74,000 included the customs collected at Balasore, averaging under the British Government at about Rs. 30,000 and also the duties upon upwards of five lakhs of mds. of salt exported from the province. The proportion therefore, of the whole left for the duty on the quantity consumer within the district is extremely inconsiderable. But Mr. King explains the extraordinary assertion in his report, dated September 6th, 1806, "that the inhabitants of the remote part of the district, probably paid as high, perhaps a higher, price for salt" under the Mahratta Government than after the establishment of the monopoly under the British administration by assuming that the amount credited in the public accounts formed but a small part of

the sums collected and embezzled by every officer if the Mahratta Government, from the soobehdar down to the lowest chowkeydar, and that duties were levied by every petty zemindar on salt passing through his estate, in short therefore, that these must have swelled the price of the article, often to more than eight or nine times the amount of prime cost. I can only say that this opinion is directly contrary to the spirit of all that I have been able to collect regarding the perfectly free and unshackled nature of the trade in salt, under the former Government and that it is wholly irreconcilable with the oral representations made to me in every quarter of the extremely low price of the article under the Mahratta rule.

133. It is further entirely contradicted by the few notices on record of other European authroties relative to the actual average price of salt previous to the conquest of the province, and by the only perfectly satisfactory statement of its rate in the bazar of Cuttack for a few years antecedent to 1211, which I have been able to procure.

134. Colonel Harcourt, in a letter dated March 5th., 1804, observes generally that "the price of salt in Cuttack seldom exceeded 14 annas the Calcutta md." Mr. J. Brown (extracts from whose interesting letter to the Commissioners have the gonor to annex) states that, owing to internal duties collected, it never sold for less than one rupee, and frequently for Rs. 1-8 in the bazar of Cuttack. The town of Cuttack, however, is about in the furthest of any point in the Mogulbundee from any aurung where salt is manufactured and the cost of an article in the bazar of a populous capital can furnish no very satisfactory ground for estimating its price in different parts of the mofussil. Mr. Melville declares the price of salt under the Mahratta Government to have seldom exceeded five annas per maund. This, for an average estimate, would probably be as much below, as that of Mr. Brown's was above, the truth.

135. The statement (No. 18) which was given to me by the former Nerikh navis of the bazar of Cuttack and was included together with the prices of every sort of grain and numerous kinds of merchandize in a set of old documents, evidently original, and unquestionably authentic, satisfactorily determines the question as to the price at which salt sold under the Mahratta Government. The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council will not fail to observe

from the above that in 1207, 1208, 1209, ana 1210, salt averaged at 22 seers Kutkee 28 seers Balasore or Calcutta weight, as it is now sold for the Chowbunnee rupee, an imaginary coin 2k. 4p. Consequently the rate per Calcutta maund was 3k. 31p. under the four last years of the Mahratta Government. In 1817, salt sold during nearly the whole year at four sicca rupees, or 24 kahawuns of cowries per maund.

136. The above statement, the accuracy of which does not admit of a question, may be allowed to prove the correctness of what was constantly represented to me in the mofussil, viz. from two and half to three kahawuns as the average sale price of salt per md. under the administration of our predecessors in Cuttack.

137. I have not been able to discover that prices north of the Mahanuddee have been materially affected by the extension of the monopoly to the south of that river, But the retail cost of the article had been enhanced nearly 50 per cent to the consumer, since the beginning of 1813, in all those pergunnahs which received their supplies from the productive aurungs in Kunka and Coojung, by the equalization of the Government rate, or the raising it from one half at those aurungs, to two rupees per maund, the price established in the northernmost aurungs since 1806.

138. From all the enquiries which I have made relative to the price of salt in the southern part of the district previous to 1814, it appears to me undeniable, that the cost of that essential article of consumption rose suddenly and instantaneously to from five to six times its former rate on the passing of Regulation XXII of 1814.

139 The salt agent, however, is satisfied that whatever the enhanced price of salt, the utmost amount of a mans outlay on account of that article is still so trifling, not exceeding 14 to 15 annas per annum. that the tax can be no real and serious hardship. The obsesvation is, perhaps, just as it applies to the case of the lower orders, inhabiting the large towns of Cuttack and Pooree, where the price of every article of life has certainly risen of late years, that every member whether male or female of a famiin may earn something towards defraying the general expense of the

household, and where the amount of those earnings would probably speedily adapt themselves to such a rate as is necessary to keep up an adequate and healthy supply of labourers of all sorts. But the case is somewhat different with the ryots in the mofussil. There the profits of husbandry to the peasantry have, to say the least, remained stationary. I fear they have diminished under the British government. I believe that this most valuable class of the society, whose interests and happiness should be mainly consulted in every Financial Regulation always and everywhere poor and needy as a necessary consequence of the system of Indian husbandry and Indian taxation, are here in the most indigent and depressed condition in which any class of people could exist, and barely able to provide themselves and families with the simplest necessaries of life. Consequently to them any rapid and material rise in the price of an almost indispensible artice of consumption, must be cruelly distressing, and, in fact, tend to deprive them near great measure of the use of it altogether. Besides, with reference to the domestic economy of the bulk of the agricultural population, it is not just to say that the present enhanced price of salt occasions a man to incur only an annual expense of fourteen annas seven pies. Every ryot or householder may be allowed on an average a family of four souls, besides himself, who are mostly dependent on him for their subsistence, particularly in a rude and uncivilized province where manufacturing industry is either wholly unknown or very confined. The family, it is true, assist in the cultivation of the land tenanted by the ryot, and thereby save him some of the expense of hired labour. But the limited aid of females and children is amply paid by the share of the produce appropriated to their maintenance. The money, cost of salt, clothes,&c., is an outlay the brthen of which falls solely on the ryot, who expects to derive some profit from his labour beyond mere food and the means of paying his heavy rents. At Mr Becher's rate the annual expense on account of salt alone, for a family of the average size, would be from Rr. 4 to Rs. 5. a sum which, when the very small surplus left to the ryot whose cultivation is chiefly that of rice, after satisfying the demand of his landlord, and defraying all the expense of the labour and stock necessary for agricultural purposes are considered, must be allowed to swallow up nearly the whole gains of his ill, repaid toil and industry.

140. The salt Agent further observes that sales of Government salt have been sufficiently extensive to afford

ample provision for the inhabitants of Cuttack and the neighbouring states, and that the quantity of salt sold in the province for the three last years amounts upon an average to maunds, 1,51,035 which a daily allowance of half chattack, provided for 537, 013* souls.

* Correctly 539, 656

141. A reference to statements (No. 17) furnished by the Salt Agent shows that instead of 1, 51,003 maunds only upon an average of the three years 1814, 1815, and 1816, 1,13,000 maunds have been sold for the internal consumption of the district, or at half a chattack per day for each soul, sufficient to supply a population only of about 3,96,000. I must here observe that I do not think a smaller allowance can be made for individual daily consumption in this province than that given by Mr. Becher. A common mode of estimating the quantity necessary for the consumption of one Ooriah is as follows :—One pul for two days—there are 14 puls in a Calcutta seer—about 13 seers therefore per annum, or rather more than half a chattack daily suffices. Before probably the use of the article was plentiful even to wastefulness, and we may suppose that the people might soon accustom themselves to a somewhat smaller allowance without experiencing any serious deprivation.

142. Can, however, the allowance of 400,000 or even 500,000 souls be considered at all an adequate computation of the population of this extensive and by no means thinly peopled or ill-cultivated district, which contains three very considerable towns Cuttack, Pooree, and Balasore two large manufacturing villages, Janjipore and Bhuddruck, together with Sorweh, abounding in a Mussulman population, and the whole of which swarms with Brahmin villages, whose inhabitants enjoying ease, indolence, and comparative affluence from the large extent of lakhiraj land, some how or other lapsed into their possession, are of course of all others the most likely to increase and multiply with extraordinary rapidity of progress.

143. My views regarding the real hardships and grievances resulting from the salt monopoly are so intimately and indissolubly connected with the opinion which I have formed on this subject, that I trust I may be excused for introducing the following grounds of a conjectural estimate of the amount of the population of the Mogulbundee.

144. Mr. Colebrooke, from various actual measurements and ascertainments, found a calculation of 200 inhabitants per square mile for three fourths of Bengal in 1784, deducting about a fourth of the whole area for tracts wholly wild and unoccupied, which he evidently considers much below the truth. The same mode of computation extended to Cuttack would give a result of upwards of 900,000 souls, excluding of course the population of the towns of Cuttack, Balasore and Pooree.

I need scarcely observe that these averages were formed at a time when the population of Bengal of course was far short of its present amount.

145. The same author also suggests a computation of one ryot for every 18 beeghas, and an average of one manufacturer, artisan, & co., to every 72. Mr. J. Grant thinks that one cultivator should be allowed to every 25 of the small ryottee beeghas, three of which are equal to two of those used by Mr. Colebroke. If one is allowed to every 20 beghas of cultivated land in Cuttack, besides one quarter of the whole number for khoosbanshes artisans &c., of various sorts, and the immense Brahmin population of the district, and the justice of the assumptions advanced in paragraph 71 be allowed as to the proportion of the whole district under actual cultivation, a result of about 10,00000 will be attained.

Viz. after deducting one fourth of the whole area, one fourth of the remainder, land tilled and liable to assessment, and the same proportion rent-free of which one half is under cultivation.

146. Fortunately materials exist for bringing the above rough and conjectural calculations to some kind of test in the ascertained number of villages in the district. Inquiries instituted at different times relative to the number of villages within each thana jurisdiction make it appear that there are altogether 10,500 villages in the whole Mogulbundee, exclusive of the Pooree and Khoordah thana. The country in the vicinity of Pooree being the most populous part of Cuttack, it will not be thought too much to allow 500 villages as comprised within the jurisdiction of the thana of Puroostum Chutter. It remains to consider the average number of houses which should be allowed per village. The Ooriah villages although very numerous are unquestionably much smaller than those in Bengal. Repeated enquiries in Mymensingh and Rajshahye led me to form an average of 40 houses for those rich flourishing and populous villages. Mr. Clebrooke's allowance is somewhere about 37. If we assume an Ooriah village to consist of only one half the above, or about 20, and alow five, which seems to be a fair and generally admitted average for the size of each family, a result would be furnished of 1,100,900 souls. It is to be observed that the whole number of 11,000 villages give about two

Mr. Richardson estimates the whole number of villages in Cuttack at 11,250 upon what grounds I am not aware.

to a square mile for the inhabited part of the district of Cuttack, and Mr. Colebrooke's estimate of the number of villages in Bengal, little more than one, The supposition, therefore, that the Ooriah villages are only one half the size of the Bengal one is no objection to the assumption of the same allowance in both provinces for the whole number of inhabitants on a square mile.

147. In Major Fletcher's hustabood papers Khoordah is said to contain upwards of 21,000 houses, or at five per ghur, a population of 105,000 souls. I certainly should not allow more than half of this for the amount of the population during the two or three last years preceding insurrection.

Khoordah contains probably about 400 sq. miles. It is divided into eight or ten pergunnahs or zillahs.

148. The above details warrant, I think, in some degree an estimate of the population of the Mogulbundee excluding the large territories of Aul, Coojung, and Kunka at, to say the least 1,100,000.

149. For the purpose of the present argument. however the number of inhabitants in the large towns should be taken into consideration. I am inclined to think that less cannot be given for Cuttack than 50,000 or 100,000 souls for the three towns of Cuttack Pooree and Balasore.

150. The date of the calculation for Cuttack are tolerably clear and satisfactory. Mr. Webb, in a letter to the Salt Agent on the subject of supplying salt for the towns, dated 1803, states that the average daily consumption of that article in Cuttack was 30 mds. Mr Becher, in one of the letters annexed to his report, notices that there were then 600 maunds in the market which would only suffice for 18 days. According to this the consumption would be rather more than 33 maunds per diem. At half a chattack, this would supply a population of 40,000 souls. A greater number of consumers, however, should be allowed, as the sepoys, camp followers, servants of Europeans and the courts, &c., and numerous foreign residents at the sudder station would not consume more than has been considered a fair average in Bengal, or about quarter chattack per diem.

151. Recent actual enumeration for the purpose of assessing the chowkidaree tax, shows the number of houses in Cuttack, exclusive of those comprehended within the limits of the extensive cantonment, to be 5,699. Cuttack is a flourishing and

respectable city containing a fine bazar and numerous large pucca houses. If five be a fair average for the size of a family in the mud hovels of the interior, 6½ will not be considered too large an estimate for a family in a town like Cuttack. Hence also might be deduced an estimate of a population of nearly 40,000. The amount of population deduced from the ascertained number of houses answers the purposes both of confirming the inference drawn from the quantity of salt known to be daily and monthly consumed in the town, whilst it at the same time shows the average allowance of half chittack per day for each soul to be near the truth.

152. Further, amoungst the consumers of salt in this district must be taken into account the crowds of pilgrims annually resorting to the temple at Juggernath, averaging at about 100,000 souls, many population of the large villages, or rather towns of Janjipur. Bhuddruck, Sorweh, and Bustah have not been considered at all in the above estimate.

153. If there be any correctness in the assumption of the amount of the population of the Mogulbundee at souls requiring each to satisfy their wants, in consequence of their peculiar habits, a daily quantum of half chittack, then, for the whole consumption of the district, an annual, supply of nearly 3½ lakhs of mds would be requisite. Mr Becher's sales of salt in the Mogulbundee, as observed in paragraph 141, have since the extension beyound 1, 13,000 maunds to supply a population of 386,000 souls. If, then, it be supposed that the people can well afford to pay the high price of salt, and consequently are not obliged to reduce their consuption much below what they were before accustomed, to it would follow that two thirds of the population are unprovided for by the Salt Agent's sales; or, adopting a much more probable supposition, that the Ooriahs, in consequence of the enhanced price if the article, have been compelled to stint themselves greatly in the quantity consumed, and can now only afford one-fourth, instead of half chittack per day, there would still be nearly a third of what I think myself justified in considering as the amount of the population unsupplied from the Government stores. This may be partly explained away by assuming the existence of smugling to an extent unknown elsewhere, notwithstanding the checks established to restrain it, and the activity of the chowkey darogahs and their chupprassies, who have the credit of being by no means

idle in preventing others from benefiting by illicit traffic in salt.

154. On the above grounds shall we come to the conclusion that smuggling exists in Cuttack to so unprecedented a degree as to population of the district, and consequently to diminish infinitely the sufferings which might be expected to attend the introduction of the salt monopoly amongst so rude and indigent a people as the Ooriahs. Or shall credit be given to be loud and vehement clamour of a large part of the inhabitants of the interior, that the high price of salt amounts almost to a prohibition that they cannot often procure it at all, and that they can scarcely ever afford to purchase sufficient quantity to give a relish to, and render wholesome and nutritive their insipid and unpalatable daily meals.

Mr. Becher states the number of Molungees employed in 1223 Umlee to be 16,847 and the quantity of salt which one man could manufacture in a favourable season 50 maunds. Total manfactnred in the year therefore averages at 8,42,350 maunds Now, in the last two years, 9,18,785, maunds have been exported by the salt agent of Sulkea and 67,609 maunds purchased at the Government stores for exportation into the tributary countries. The yearly average of the first is 4,59,392 and of the second 33, 800 : total 4,93, 192. If to this be added 3,42,187, the quantity supposed to be required for the internal consumption of the Mogulbundee, the result will be 8,35,376 maunds, only 6,791 maunds short of what the whole number of Molungees could manufacture in a favourable season. But it would be evidently erroneous to assume what could be manufactured with exertion in a favourable season as the average of what is actually made in an ordinary one, and it would be futile to conclude that no more salt is carried out of the district to the Gurhjat estates and the countries to the westward than that purchased from the salt agent. It is notorious that an extensive smuggling trade is conducted from the banks of Chilka lake to the westward, and large quantities are doubtless illicity carried out of the district at various points of that long line of frontier, which bounds Cuttack to the west and north. I have noticed the above as a matter of curiosity rather than as warranting any practically useful conclusions.

155. I certainly believe the salt monopoly to be real a real and unexaggerated grievance to the inhabitants of a large

part of the district, and that the introduction of it with its consequences has materially curtailed the already scanty comfort and circumscribed enjoyments of the Ooriah ryot. I consider that the poorer classess in the mofussil have been obliged generally to reduce their consumption very greatly, that it it a serious hardship to them to pay at its late rate for what little they could purchase, and that the supplies to them are scanty, precarious, and irregular, not from any unwillingness on the part of the salt agent to extend his sales, but as a necessary consequence of the proverty of the Ooriah merchants and the conflued scale of the market. I have no doubt but that those who live in the vicinity of the aurungs subsist chiefly on salt illicitly supplied by the Molungees here as everywhere else where the article is manufactured. I am aware also that vast quantities are smuggled out of the province by the salt amlah themselves, and I believe that much is supplied for internal consumption by the same class of dealers, but I am satisfied that the salt so sold is disposed of at a rate very nearly or quite as high as that procured regularly from the Government store, and consquently that the people of the interior gain little as to the cheapness of the supply furnished in this mode, the Government nothing whatever by salt so consumed, and the salt amlah alone gets an immense and lucrative profit. It is indeed most mortifying to compare the actual increase of the salt sales since the extension of the monopoly to the southern division, about Rs. 50,000 worth with the magnificent expectations held out in the letter of the Salt Agent and the Board of Trade of an increased revenue from that source of upwards of five lakhs with an expense of only one. When it is further considered that a large part of the population south of the Mahanuddee are, as is clear from the amount of the sales, supplied with smuggled salt, if at all supplied, and that this is paid for at a rate nearly as high as that retailed from the Government stores a fact which is undeniable (excepting in the immediate neighbourhood of the aurungs), whoever may be the Smugglers, it must be admitted that the advantages thus far derived by Government from the extension of the salt monopoly but poorly compensate for the privation and discontent occasioned by that measure amongst their subjects in Cuttack.

156. With reference to what has been advanced in preceding paragraphs relative to the precariousness and uncertainty of of the supply of salt, the extent to which smuggling probably

prevails, and the large share which the salt amlah enjoy of the profits of this illicit traffic, I would beg to be understood not to impute any blame to the salt agent, of whose anxious zeal to secure the interests of Government, and at the same time to afford every facility and indulgence relative to the supply of salt consistent with the principles of the monoply, I am well aware.

157. To sum up in a few words my opnion of the actual state of feeling prevailing amongst our native subjects in Cuttack, I should say that taxation having considerably increased upon them, under the Company's Government, so as fully to keep pace with any improvement of thier means and resources, and in the instance of the salt tax, I fear it has rather anticipated the capability of the people to sustain new burdens, the operation of the Revenue regulations having dispossessed and ruined upwards of two-thirds of these original proprietors who possessed the goodwill and the confidence of the great mass of the agricultural population. Whilist the Ooriahs hitherto have benifited less than their neighbours by the British judicial system and regulations and in fact, have suffered much from the misconduct of the inferior instruments employed in their execution, it is not to be supposed that they can feel very strong respect for, or attachment to, their English rulers; and these feellings of general discontent and disinclination would naturally break forth in loud and unrestrained clamour on the part of the bulk of the people when encouraged to declare their sentiments and to explain the grounds of them as has been the case since the insurrection in April last.

158. With regard to the relative prosperity of the population of Cuttack under the Mahrattas and the British Governments, I confess myself unable to draw any very satisfactory inferences. The system of management of our predecessors with all its glaring and notorious vices and imperfections, had its advanteges, as being in many respects well suited to the rude and ignorant condition of the people at large. Under the English rule, I believe, the ryots to have been subject to burdens and impositions before unknown to them. I allude a particularly to the enhanced price of salt and the demand for the payment of revenue in silver. I am unable to discern any great benefits which they have derived from the operation of the regulations. The police of Cuttack is said to have been in respectable order under the

Mahratta administration, and the few and simple rites of the humble cultivators of the soil were then, I think better understood and not more frequently violated than at present. The population of large town including the moneyed interest, doubtless enjoy greater security of person and property now than heretofore. I should think that the trade of the district has, on the whole, diminished under the British Government, and much revenue, which was before spent within it, is now remitted out of it, without any returns whatever. I am inclined to believe, however that population and cultivation have increased considerably since 1210 Umlee, and these facts, if they admitted of ascertainment, would furnish the best criteria by which to judge of relative national wealth and prosperity. As far as the hapiness and limited enjoyment of the great mass of the population of Cuttack are concerned, I much fear that they have had little reason hitherto to rejoice at the change from subjection to the authority of the most ignorant and ferocious even of Indian states to that of the most enlightened nation on the face of the globe.

159. I arrive at length at the third of my subject, for which head I have reserved the proposition and discussion of such measures, as to the best of my judgement, as calculated to alleviate discontent and suffering and to promote the future welfare and prosperity of this district.

160. The scene of the origin and principal events of the late insurrection naturally first presents itself for consideration with reference to the above points.

161. It is clear that if the powers entrusted to the police darogah continue to be perverted as before into means of oppression and extortion, every scheme to accomplish any materials amelioration of the condition of the people of Khoordah must in a great measure fail and Government be subject the mortification of finding that their corrupt, a unworthy native officers, in stead of the bulk of the population, benefit chiefly by that exercise of forbearance and moderation in the public demand which I much recommend as essential to the future prosperity of the estate. There is surely ground, however, to hope that the examples recently afforded of the well-merited disgrace and punishment of some of the principal amlah will produce for a length of time to come, the desirable effect of restraining exaction and rapacity on

Salem Allee, late serishta-

the part of every native officer connected with the police and it does not appear altogether visionary to expect that the anxiety and readiness evinced by the Commissioners to listen and entrer into the complaints of the people will, combined with the above examples, inspire them with more confidence hereafter in the English authorities, and greater alacrity in appealing to them from any abuse of power committed by inferior agents. Khoordah, also, will of course long attract the particular attention of the officer holding the situation of Magistrate in the district of Cuttack, and the combined operation of increased vigilance on the part of the head local authority, of confidence on the part of the people, and of salutary terror acting upon the minds of the native officer incharge of the police must necessarily produce some of those effects so necessary to the welfare of the territories.

dar of the Foujdaree Court, has just been convicted by the Judge of Circuit, and sentenced to four years imprisonment, on the first of a series of charges which accuse him of having exorted from several of the Gurjhat chiefs on one occasion sums exceeding the amount of one lakh of sicca rupees. These cases were selected for trial from amongst a number of others, as admitting the most readily of proof, and as evincing in a striking light the enormous and immoderate lengths to which the corrupt receipt and extortion of money have been carried on this district by the late sudder amlah.

162. I forbear from swelling this already lengthened report by introducing a detail of the minor police arrangements which the acting Magistrate either has or intends to establish in Khoordah. It is sufficient to observe here that the peace of the district being still, and of late with very unpleasant frequency, disturbed by the depredations of parties of paiks, encouraged, as there now appears reason to apprehend by the returned of one of the principal sirdars in the late rebellion, it has appeared expedient to him to strengthen considerably the number of burkvndazes, to station several phandies in various parts of the interior, and to project the establishment of an additional thana at Bhanpore, on the Chilka lake, which adjoins the Geomsur country and the savage tract inhabited by the Kund mountaineers. The presence of a military force at Khoordah Gurh and of detachments in the direction of Bhanpore will, it is to be hoped, provide effectually against the recurrence of any extensive depredations on the part of Jugbundoo, and his sirdars who, being still at large and lurking near the frontier, may possibly be daring enough to attempt fresh disturbances during the seasons of the rains.

163. The future revenue administration of Khoordah requires particular consideration. My decided opinion has before been expressed that much of the embarrassment hitherto attending the management of Khoordah has originated in the misconduct of the police officers a source of evil which it is to be hopped has received of late material check, and the constant efforts to raise the assessment, without any reference to the peculiar circums-

stances of the district and the exteme rudeness and poverty of its inhabitants; and, further, without any satisfactory ascertainment whatever that the quantity of land in cultivation admitted of the possibility of its paying an augmented jumma by avoiding which capital error for the future, the ruinous and embarrassing consequences heretofore flowing from may also be avoided.

164. Another great parctical difficulty, always experienced in an unusual degree with regard to this estate, has been the dishonesty of the several successive tehsildars appointed to superintend the collections. I trust that this also has been in some measure obviated by the late Judicious selection of a tehsildar made by the Collector, in the person of a native of Cuttack, the son of the dewan under the Mahratta Government, who bears a highly respectable character, and should he as there is every reason to hope, prove possessed of sufficient energy, ability, and knowledge for the situation, one effectual bar to the successful administration of the revenue affairs of Khoordah in future will be thus removed.

165. The first great objects to be accomplished are the suppression of that marauding predatory spirit which the paiks continue to display, and to induce the numbers of cultivators who have fled into the Gurjhat countries to return to their homes and take themselves to their accustomed agricultural occupations. The anxious exertions of the Magistrates are of course directed to the attainment of the former, and the plan of settlement in which the Collector is at present engaged appear calculated to secure the latter. I beg leave to submit copies of the correspondence which has already passed between the Commissioner and the Collector on the subject of the settlement of the revenue of Khoordah.

166. The melancholy evidences of the deserted and depopulated condition of the estate, and the general absence of all symptoms of preparation for cultivation in the ensuing season, which struck me forcibly during my late residence in Khoordah forbid, however, sanguine expectations as to an immediate restoration of the population and cultivation of the district to any material extent, and interfere much with the recommendation of any arrangements of a prospective and comprehensive nature which I should be disposed to submit. The immense balances of

1224 must undoubtedly be wholly relinquished. The rice crops which furnish to the ryots their only means of paying their revenues having been all off the ground in December last before any arrangements whatever were made relative to a settlement for the current year, it is to be feared that the collections on account of 1225, will prove very inconsiderable. A settlement for 1226, concluded on the fair and moderate principles proposed by the Collector, while it must unavoidably sacrifice in some degree the just rights of Government. will it is to be hoped, produce the beneficial and most desirable consequences of persuading the ryots to return gradually to their villages, and engage with industry confidence, and alacrity in their agricultural labours. It will probably be found expedient to extend the pending settlement on its present easy terms to the end of 1227, by which time it may be presumed that advantages of a temporary sacrifice of revenue will be discerned in the improved and flourishing state of cultivation throughout the district. I would recommend, as suggested by the Collector, that during 1227 a regular measurement be undertaken of the quantity of land actually in cultivation; or at least that a hustabood ascertainment be attempted of such a nature as the experience of the present Collector, Mr. Trower, may lead him to think the most likely to produce tolerably accurate information, whatever the expense, and upon the grounds of this that a settlement of the revenue, of Khoordah be formed for a long period of years, say eight. I fear that after the late ruin and exhaustion of the estate, the amount of a lakh of rupees would be the utmost which could safely be required as the jumma of the octennial settlement. The hustabood papers of Major Flecher, however, show what the estate is capable of paying in an improved, flourishing state of cultivation, and it does not appear by any means visionary to calculate upon an increase to the amount of nearly half a lakh at the end of the proposed period of years, should the advantages be allowed to the country of a light and moderate assessment on the principles above specified, under the management of a tolerably honest and respectable tehsildar, and in the absence of severe and oppressive exactions on the part of the police officers.

167. The present assessment per beegha in Khoordah having been fixed by Mr. Trower on a calculation of the produce in cowries, and allowance made in fixing the rate in silver of the loss which the ryot has heretofore sustained in converting

the former into the latter at the currect bazar rate of exchage, on real ground of complaint is now left on the subject of the state of the currency, unless indeed the depreciation of cowries compared with silver should go on increasing, whilst prices remained as nearly stationary, calculated in the former medium. With the view, however, to gratify the prejudices of the people, and to remove still further all ground of murmur and discontent, I would recommend that a portion of the revenue, say one half be declared receivable in cowries for the next two or three years, at a liberal and favourable rate of exchange, which I think 5k 10p per sicca rupee might be considered. This would be sufficiently low to prevent any great influx of those shells from the neighhouring Garjhat countries, where it is known that they abound, would be highly advantageous to the ryot in the event of the rate of exchange during the present and ensuing year standing even at from 5-10 to 6 in Khoordah, which would be much higher than the average of former years, and could occassion no loss or serious inconvenience to Government, as in the bazars of Cuttack and Pooree the exchange is constantly at 5k. 4p. and 5k. 6p.

168. A large proportion of Khoordah is doubtless supplied with smuggled salt; but I believe that the supply so obtained is necessarily precarious and uncertain, and that, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the aurungs, it sells at a price very little below that procured from the Government stores. The comfort, happiness, and contentment of the people of Khoordah would be materially promoted if the Government sale price of salt at the places of manufacture on the Chilka Lake was reduced to eight annas for the present, and I beg leave to submit the expediency of this indulgence being granted unless, upon communication with the salt agent it should appear that the sales in other parts would be liable to serious diminution from the cheapness of the article at these particular aurungs.

169. Deferring for the present all discussion of the question of the policy of restoring the Rajah of Khoordah to the management of his estate, it is next necessary to consider with whom the settlement for a long period of years suggested above should be concluded whether with the surburakars as heretofore, or with the ryots of each individual village represented by the hereditary moquddum or chief village officer; in other words,

whether the revenues shall continue to be farmed out as under the present system, or a mouzawaree settlement concluded with the actual cultivators of the soil. A ryotwaree settlement, or that with each individual ryot, would be wholly impracticable under European management in any part of the country where it had not prevailed for ages before.

I use the word farming with reference to things rather than names.

170. Previous to submitting my sentiments with regard to the mode of settlement to be hereafter adopted, it will be essential to examine, in some detail, first, the manner in which the former rulers of this territory made their collections, and second who are the actual engaging surburakars, what their rights, if any, according to the original institutions of the country, and what privileges and perquisites have been allowed them under the British system of administration? I am the more desirous to furnish information on these points from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors having expressed an anxiety to obtain more precise information than heretofore supplied regarding these surburakars in their general letter, dated 8th April 1817, extract from which was transmitted to the Commissioner by the Secretary to Government in the Territorial Department.

171. Under the Government of its native princes nearly the whole of Khoordah was parcelled out into jaghirs the holders of which were bound by the terms of their tenure to perform certain services, whether of a private or public nature, about the person and court of the Rajah, besides paying a light quit-rent in cowries, denominated tunkee, or to supply certain proportions of grain, cloth, etc., for this public ward robe and household exependiture. Amongst these jaghirdars the most numerous and important classes were of course the hereditary military chief or Dulbehras their subordinate officers the Dullaces, who, each residing in his gurh ormud hovel, surrounded by a stockade, a fence of bamboos, a mud wall, or often by no enclosure at all yet dignified under the name of fort commanded the services of a number of paiks, and was ready at all times to obey the orders of the Rajah, to swell his retinue on occasions of state, to keep guard at his place, to defend a pass or attack the possession of a neighbour, to apprehend and punish criminals, and in short, to perform any duties whatever which required the presence of an armed force. Khoordah is said to have obtained 105 gurhs of the nature above described.

There were often, however, two, three or four inferior ones on the same jaghir which received always its name from the principal gurh, and it would appear from the records of the Collector's office that there were formerly about 72 of these principal gurhs, each held by a Dulbehra* or mlitary jaghirdar.

*The word is derived from the Sanskrit term dul, a military force, and behera, a leader.

172. Besides the Dulbehras, the great officers of state, such as the dewan and bukhshee, the chief mohurrirs or putnaiks in the revenue office & so., enjoyed considerable portions of jaghir lands in payment of their services and the rent free grants to Brahmins of course occupied no inconsiderable portion of the whole territory. The latter, however, although denominated dewutter, bromhutter, &c., could not be strictly called rent-free, as the priests, like the other jaghirdars, paid to the Rajah and still pay into the Collector's treasury the light quitrent called tunkee

Major Fletcher's assessment for the whole of Koordah was Rs. 1, 06,000. The jumma paid by the lands attached to these gurhs about Rs 70,000.

Putnaik, who was the Rajah's serishtadar of chief mohurir, lays claim to, and has hitherto been allowed to enjoy, a jaghir of 600 beeghs, paying only a tankee jummo.

173. The army of paiks (constituting the sole military of of the country), the public and private servants of the Rajah, his religious establishments, the members of his family and even his table and ward-robe, being thus provided for, his expenses must have been extermely trifling, at the same time that he had scarcely any disposable revenue. The money payment into the treasury arose chiefly from the inconsiderable tunkee before described, from the nuzzurana sufl imee occasionally presented by the whole body of his subjects upon the occurrence of a new accession, a birth, or marriage, in the family of the chief, or upon some of the princi, al Hindoo festivals, and from sayer duties levied on the transit of grain, salt, and every pieces of merchandize through the territory of Khoordah. The latter branch of revenue must have been comparatively productive. A very considerable trade between Cuttack and the regions west of Orissa was formerly conducted through Khoordah. The duty upon salt alone, of which large quantities were exported from the aurungs on the Chilka Lake into the western countries, are stated at Rs. 4,500 in cowries. So extensive indeed was the above trade, the Sumboo Bharatee, an opulent mahajun of Cuttack, who had kothees in different parts of the Rajah's country, found it worth while to stand security for, and of course therefore, often pay the Khoordah peshcush to the Mahratta Government amounting to Rs. 10,0 0 on condition of being allowed to conduct his commercial concerns free of all duties and requisitions. This trade would adpear to have ceased suddenly on our acquisition of the country, at least very few traces of it are now discoverable.

174. The several jaghirdars appear to have been entrusted with the duty of preserving the peace and protecting the properties of those residing on their respective lands, and their decisions in all matters, whether of civil or criminal judicature, could of course be appealed from only to the Rajah. The paiks of each Dulbehra performed in turn the duties of guards and watchmen, and were liable always to be called away from their homes in attendance on their chiefs. In ordinary times they seem like the common ryots, to have employed themselves in agricultural labours, but in consideration of their habits, characters, and mixed services, the assessment required from them did not amount to one-half of what was paid by the other cultivators of the soil.

175. Every village had here, as in all other parts of the country, its pudhan, whose duty it was to superintend generally the cultivation, to direct the labours of the ryots, to collect the revenues from each individual, and to act as the representative of of the whole. Under the pudhan were two village officers called the Bhocee and the Cowrie Bhagia (Collector of Cowries) who assisted in making the collections, and kept the separate village accountants on leaves of the palmyra tree. The jaghirdar himself generally, if a Dulbehra certainly rude, savage and illiterate, had his establishment of mohurrirs of the maintee or writer class, varying in number acording to the extent of the jaghir, whose business it was to keep the accounts of their master, and to secure his rights by exercising control and superintendence over the detailed village collections. These mohurrirs had various denominations, the separate meaning of which I am not able to distinguish, such as bhoee-mool, buel kuru, set kuru, kot kuru, jhain kuru, etc., and were generally termed karjees or gomashtas. Over the whole was the sudder serishta of the Rajah, the principal mohurrirs in which were distinguished by the title of pulwar or "chief record-keepers." From this office amins were frequently deputed to ascertain the value of the several jaghirs or of any lands paying a regular assessment, to control generally the revenue arrangements of the interior, to provide for the apportionment of the Rajah's demand from the several jaghirs, and at the same time to secure the cultivators of the soil against oppressive, unjust, and irregular demands. All these revenue officers, whether of the sudder or mofussil, as well as the pudhan and putwaries of each individual village, were paid for their services in grants of

lands either wholly free of assessment or subject to the payment of a quit rent.

176. On the conquest of Khoordah by the British arms these several jaghirdars and revenue officers were admitted to engage for the revenue, retaining possession on the same terms as formerly, of the portion of land allotted for their immediate support and maintenance, and which under the Rajah either paid a tunkee or on jumma at all. The maintee caste, or the writers, who had before been subordinate to the jaghirdars, were now associated with the Dulbehras as surburakars for the lands attached to every gurh. In places where no Dulbehras or other jaghirdars existed, or were allowed to retain possession or came forward to engage, engagements were taken from one or more of the mufussil officers. Sometimes the pudhan, if possessing sufficient character and respectability was associated with the above, sometimes permitted to engage alone, and at others joined with the officers of his own particular mouzah. No rule in fact, seems to have been followed in the beginning but that of admitting as surburakars the most respectable, the most intelligent and those possessing the most influence amongst the native of the country before concerned in the management of the revenue, and these were of course to be found amongst some of the above classes. This beneficial rule of selection would appear to have given way of late years to that of admitting the highest bidders, whatever their characters of former employment.

In some few cases jijaradars were introduced.

177. The persons so engaging for the payment of the revenue of Government were denominated generally surburakars, a term of familiar use in the whole district, but then probably for the first time applied to any class of people in Khoordah. The surbburakars universally, I believe, retain their nankar, Khoolkasht, or jaghir land, whichever they may be called on the same terms as formerly, either with or without the imposition of a quit-rent; and this is the sole direct remuneration from Government for their trouble and responsibility, but they are allowed further to appropriate to themselves whatever they can collect from the ryots beyond the sums for which they engage with the Collector, under the implied restriction, perhaps, of adhering to certain vague, undefined rates.

178. The present predicament of the Khoordah surburakars appears to me closely to resemble that of zemindars under the native Governments formerly in parts of Bengal and the Upper Provinces. They cannot be called zemindars in our sense of the term, because they have no acknowledged proprietary rights, nor mere farmers for they recieve distinct payment for their trouble in grants of land, and, besides, may be said to have more or less a permanent interest in the soil, particularly those who are pudhans. The terms surburakar or manager and engager expresses happily enough the sort of medium indefinite predicament in which they are placed.

179. The precise difference to the ryot of Khoordah under our system I conceive to be this, that whereas before the rate of assessment per beegha was extremely light and easy and the ryot was entitled, in theory at least, to enjoy the surplus for himself and to benefit by any occasional extension and improvement of cultivation, whilst niether the pudhan the karjee nor any middleman whatever had a right to exact from him one cowrie more than he stood assessed for as his revenue to the jagirdar or the Rajah, the surburakars are now admitted to posses the right of taking to themselves any surplus which the ryot can afford to pay beyond the heavy Government assesment, so long at least as they adhere to certain rates.

180. But these rates have never been in the slightest degree defined and determined in Khoordah or anywhere else in the territory. Consequently very little check upon exaction by the surburakars could possibly be exercised, and in fact none whatever has ever practically existed, and the whole body of the ryots have been made over entirely to the mercy of these farmers of the revenue. The surburakars, little inclined by their characters and dispositions to be just and merciful towards the ryots, when actually wholly free from the control of an authority anxious for and interested in the immediate welfare of the cultivators of the soil, have undboutedly under the British administration been goaded by the little mercy shewn to them into the commission of most unauthorized extorations wherever practicable. The whole body of them, besides have themselves been little better than mere instrument of Churun, Putnaik and two or three leading surburakars who without possessing substance enough to afford

any real security, have, in compliance with established forms, been admitted of late years to stand security for the whole district, because nominally held khas and in that capacity became, in fact, farmers of the whole of Khoordah. The feelings of the people toward these farming securities were strongly evinced by their making them immediate sacrifices to their thirst for vengeance on the first breaking out of the insurrection. The Collector in his present settlement has, as I think very wisely, dropped altogether the practice of requiring this unsubstantial and mischievous kind of security.

181. If the above detail be correct, it may be inferred, I think, that the ryots of Khoordah are never likely to flourish and thrive so well under the existing system as under that of their native prices, whenever tolerably administered or rather when the regular and natural operation of their original institutions remained uninterfered with, whilst the surbarakars would have been mostly better off than before if the causes detailed in the early part of my report had not operated to reduce the whole country and its inhabitants to a condition of extreme misery, penury, and exhaustion. The Dulbehras, indeed most unfortunately be the least contentend of the above class with the new order of things, as, besides the loss of their rank and authority as military commanders, they are understood to be extremely sore and jealous at the growing suporiority of the maintees, before their servants and subordinates, but who, as being the educated and more intelligent order of sooiety, have under our system naturally and necessarily taken the lead in the conduct of all revenue affairs and in all communications with the revenue authorities.

182. That, a settlement with ryots of each village separately, allowing the pudhan to act as their representative and not as former of the village would relieve them from various complicated demands and exactions on the part of the engaging suburakars is, I think, quite clear. But is such a mode of settlement on the whole just. Is it politic, and is it practicable ? If the information which I have collected regarding the former situations of the surburakars be accurate I do not think that they can be said to have any just and valid right, arising from ancient and long established usage, to be admitted to engage for the revenue

in their present capacities. The Collector has rightly termed them in one of his letters "a quarrelsome, oppressive, and useless set." The pudhan has the immediate superintendence and direction of the labour of the ryots, and the task of collecting from them their rents. His services, with that of the inferior village officers, could not under any arrangement be dispensed with. But surburakars, when of any other and higher class appear to me to perform no one useful office whatever, and they are certainly none of them possessed of capital sufficient to aid and promote materially the extension of cultivation by the ryot, whilst they effectually prevent him from deriving any profit from his labour besides a mere subsistence. If generally set aside, they might all be allowed to retain the nankar lands, which they formerly held at a low tunkee jumma, and to become farmers or proprietors of any waste tracts which they might propose to bring into cultivation, whence a decent maintenance always, and sometimes a liberal provision, might be enjoyed by them. Still as many of the persons in question were formerly native officers of rank and consequence, particularly the Dulbehras, and enjoyed doubtless many prequisites and privileges attaching to their situations, besides the produce of their jaghir lands, and as under the British Government they have always hither to been treated as the leading people in Khoordah, as the zemindars in fact for the time being, their removals generally from the situations of surburakars would be considered a great hardship; and such is their influence amongst the rule and ignorant ryots that the discontent felt by them would probably pervade in some degree the great body of the people, notwithstanding the arrangement be intended solely for their benefit. And further, the adoption of a system of settlement with the ryots, of every village would render necessary an increase of the tehsildar's establishment, and a more minute interference on his part than at present, which might probably produce evils of a nature somewhat similar to those it is designed to obviate. Whilst, however, I am of opinion that a mouzawaree settlement could not well be attended with consequences more detrimental to the comfort and prosperity of the ryots, under even tolerable management than the existing system, which he can devote to Khoordah affairs, and the good conduct of the tehsildar. Against the doubtful chance of any beneficial results from a system which is liable to failure from the absence of either of the above from a deficiency in skill on the part of the chief revenue authority, from his being overwhelmed with the

pressure of other business and able to give little exclusive attention to the affairs of this particular portion of the district, or from a want of honesty and experience on the part of the tehsildar, should be set off the certainty of some evil attending the removal of a number of men of influence from situations of consequence and emolument, and the probability that influence would be exercised to counteract and embarass.

183. A mode of settlement which would involve such minute and laborious details as a mouzawaree one, with the ryots of each particular village represented by their pudhan would evidently only be practicable when the Collector of Cuttack shall have been relieved by the appointment of able assistance, or the division of the district, as already proposed by Govt.

184. Whatever consideration the suggestion of a settlement of the nature above adverted to may merit as a prospective question, I beg to state my distinct and decided opinion that any such experiment under present circumstances would be highly hazardous and impolitic, and that in the actual unsettled, agitated, and deserted condition of Khoordah, it will be obviously expedient to secure by some sacrifices the co-operation of the persons possessing most influence and authority amongst the bulk of the population, rather than incur their enemity and opposition by aiming too hastily at theoretical improvements. Should the usual order of things be happily restored during the course of the next year or two, the discussion may be revived as to the persons with whom the settlement for a long period of years, which I have ventured to suggest, should be formed. I must take this opportunity of expressing my earnest decided conviction of the hardship and impolicy of farming Khoordah again for a term of years, or dividing it into portions and selling it to any speculators and adventurers, whether native or foreigners, who may choose to incur the risk of purchasing it. Whatever evils to the ryots may attend the present mode of settlement, they are, I am persuaded, light and trifling compared with the annoyance which they would experience when made over to a Mussulman or Bengali zemindar.

185. It will of course be expected of me to enter at some length upon the question of the restoration of the Raja of Khoordah to the management of his estate. The view which

I have formed is decidedly adverse to the adoption of that measure.

186. In the discussions hitherto on this subject the real rank and peculiar predicament of the Rajah of Khoordah do not appear to me to have been sufficiently adverted to- He appears to have been considered merely in the light of a zemlndar, called, no one could well say why, a Rajah, and Khoordah as his estate, for which it has been proposed to make a settlement with him, as with any other landholder, allowing somewhat easier terms than usual, and perhaps also the advantage of a perpetual settlement, in consequence of his living amongst hills and jungles.

The ooriah titles are of a very peculiar nature and partake of the general harshness and barbarity of the dialect of Orissa such as Bidiadhar "the receptacle of science" Mahapater, "the great father" (Brahmin) puhrauj, Mungarauj, Mahanaik "the great leader &c., which always follow and are affixed as epithets to the family name.

187. Khoordah, however, was not a zemindari when the Province of Cuttack was conquered by the British arms, but the wretched remnant of the once flourishing civilized, populous, and extensive dominions ruled over by the ancestors of the Rajah, previous to the Mogul invasion in 1598 A. D. The Rajahs of Orissa ceased at that time to be in fact sovereign and independent princes, and they appear to have submitted from thenceforward to the receipt of an annual khelat from Delhi, and afterwards from Nagpore, conferring the highest rank and titles which sovereignty could bestow on any chief. Notwithstanding this anomaly, however they retained their rank in the eyes of the natives of the province, the exercise of some of the attributes of, and all the reverence and veneration attaching to royalty. Even in the fallen condition of Rajahs of Khoordah, they continued to exercise the regal privilege of conferring titles on the inhabitants of the Mogulbundee and the Gurjhat countries which was never objected to by the Mahrattas I am informed, indeed that to title granted by the Mahratta Government was considered to confer any distinction in Orissa, until confirmed by the Rajahs of Khoordah. It is well known that Rajah Mukcond Deo even when expelled from the last remaining portion of his hereditary dominions, and living a pensioner on the bounty of the British Government frequently conferred titles on the natives of Cuttack. And the Gurjhat Rajahs, formerly the great feudatories and jaghirdars of the Gujputtee Dynasty of Soverigns, to this day acknowledge themselves the servants of the Khoordah Rajah, and present nuzzurs through their mookhtars on each succeeding Sooniah.

I have had an opportunity of seeing two letters addressed by the present Rajah to the Chiefs of Nayaghur and Runpore they are in the style of perwannahs to a police darogah.

188. The political influence and importance attaching to the person of the Rajah of Khoordah occasioned many anxious feelings during the early part of the late insurrection, which had their origin, of course, not merely in the apprehension that distracted country would increase the flame of revolt which had there already blazed to its utmost height, but in the fear that upon his enlargement, the Gurjhat chief with their paiks would rise universally in his support and occasion the most extensive mischief and confusion.

189. The inference I would draw from the above is as follows. The Rajah, if restored to his country, might indeed be called a zemindar, and Khoordah his estate, but the slightest consideration of human nature may convince us that upon his restoration he would immediately effect all the state and pomp customary with his predecessors, and still displayed by those around him who are his acknowledged servants and inferiors in rank, the Gurjhat tributaries. He would again claim the exercise of the same feudal supremacy over the tributary Rajahs of the hills and plains as his ancestors were accustomed to, and thus feelings of reciprocal supriority and submission, which it would be highly politic to destroy altogether, and which the situaton of the Rajah for years past as a pensioner of the British Government has gradually weakened and diminished, would become again revived in all their former force. The army of paiks, a mounting previous to the conquest to form 10,000 to 12,000 men, would again probably be restored to its old footing for the purposes of state and ostentation, if not with the view of ultimate defence. The Raja would have his court, his minister, his civil and military establisment and his expenses must necessarily far exceed those warranted by the means and resources of a zemindar. It may be doubted whether a Rajah of Khooradah under present circumstances would pay with any regularity even the amount of peshcush due under the Mahratta Government. Productive sources of revenue which were then open to the rulers of that couutry are now entirely closed (vide paragraph 173), and on the retnrn of their descendant and representative to the inheritance of his ancestors, he would certainly find it in a wretchedly exhausted and improverised condition, compared with what it was under their Government. But the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council has expressed himself by no means prepared to allow the Rajah to hold

his estate even at a jumma in perpetuity of Rs. 30,000 as proposed by Mr. Richardson. I confess I see no reason to hope that he would ever pay with tolerable punctuality and regularity so large a sum as Rs. 30,000 whatever he might engage for. The yearly experience of the backwardness of all the Gurjhats in discharging the trifling quit rents assessed on their mehals, many of which contain much productive and highly cultivated land, are convincing evidences of the difficulty and failure which would attend an attempt to realize anything like an adequate assessment from Khoordah, placed under the management of its ancient rulers. The probably disastrous and annoying consequences of again dispossessing the Rajah hereafter, and endeavouring to take the country a second time under khas management need not be dwelt upon. Even the maintenance of a military force and police in Khoordah would not provide wholly against the evils which might be apprehended in such an event, considering the quantity of hill and jungle with which it is covered; and its position with regard to some of our richest and most fertile pergunnahs in the Mogulbuudee, whilst the presence of the latter would occasion perpetual bitterness and irritation of feeling at the interference of an upstart native police officer in the internal economy of the country of one considering himself a chieftain of the first rank, and probably tend to accelerate the apprehended catastrophe, unless the control of the whole system could always be placed in the most skilful and dilicate hands.

This was nominally Rs. 12, 500. But 2500, were deducted annually in lieu of a khelut and other presents and the net payment was only Rs.10,000.

190. The question of right has been set at rest by the construction given by Government to section 35 of Regulation XII, 1805 which is determined not to have meant, that the Rajaha of Kunka and Khoordah, then alike prisoners, and for the time being deprived of the management of their estates, should be restored on the same principle as the other Gurjhat chiefs at a fixed quit rent in perpetuity, although the former was fortunate enough to benefit by the favourable interpretation which the ambiguous wording of the legislative enactment would seem to admit of. I have never understood that the late Raja advanced any claim to the possession of his estate on the ground of the terms of the section of Regulation XII, 1805, above quoted. It is probable judging from the general ignorance prevailing amongst the Ooriahas with regard to the Regulations, that he was not aware of the existence of any legislative provision which might amit of a construction in his favour.

191. The subject therefore remains to be discussed solely on the grounds of expediency. I should not consider his restoration under any circumstances advisable, unless we were allowed to hold Khoordah, nearly on the same terms as his ancestors did under the Mahratta rule. But Government have already expressed a disinclination to make any material sacrifice of revenue, however desirable they consider it, to persuade the Raja to undertake the management of his estate, and I certainly have no argument to urge in favour of the measure sufficiently strong to alter that disposition. I confess that I can discern no adequate and certain advantage to be gained to the State by restoring the Rajah of Khoordah on the only terms that would enable him to retain possession, which could justify my recommending so large a sacrifice of revenue as that of at least one lakh of rupees per annum in expectancy.

192. Much present trouble and anxiety would indeed be saved both to Government and the local authorities by that arrangement, but surely this negative advantage would be too dearly purchased by that sacrifice of resources which, in my view of the case it must necessarily entail. I have, besides, endeavoured to shew in preceding paragraphs that the embarrassments hitherto attending the management of the Khoordah territory are not of an insurmountable nature, and that profiting by the experince of the past, and adopting different principles for the future, there is every reason to hope that the former prosperity of the estate and the ease and contentment of its inhabitants may be in a very great degree restored. It is a consideration also belonging to the present question that Government, is now placing the Rajah of Khoordah in the management of his estate, would appear in the eyes of the native been forced into the measure by the experience of past and the apprehension of future inconvenience, arising from the rebellious proceeding of his former subjects directed an impression which would be derogatory to the credit and authority of Government, and which could not fail of being fraught with future mischief and embarrassment, as suggesting unequivocally the line of conduct to be pursued in the event of dispossession hereafter, either of the Rajah himself or of any of the principal Gurjhat chiefs from failure in their engagements, or misconduct of whatever nature.

193. The experience, however, of some months longer is requisite to pronounce finally on the question. If it is found, unhappily, that no efforts can quell the marauding spirit now evinced by the paiks, and induce them to be taken themselves to agricultural occupations after having once tasted the sweets of a predatory life and relapsed partially into their old habits and employments; if the royts refuse to return to their homes, the surburakars decline entering into engagements, and little or no revenue can be collected, as in the present year, it will then be deserving of consideration whether policy does not dictate the relinquishment of an useless incumbrance, and the restoration of it, as a matter of exeperiment, to the only hands in which it could than be turned to account on the best terms which existing circumstances admitted of. I trust that such a dilemma will be avoided, and that returning tranquillity, industry, and cultivation will speedily enable Government to decide on the expediency of the measures suggested in paragraph 166, on the supposition that the estate is to continue permanently under the immediate management of the Collector.

194, With reference to paragraph 53 of the resolutions in the Territorial Department, as I do not conceive that any good would be gained by forcing the Rajah to engage for his estate like a common zemindar, on terms which, according to the best of my judgment, he never could fulfil, I do not recommend that his malikana be diminished with a view to the accomplishment of that object. On the contrary, I beg leave to submit that it be continued at its former rate. Any reduction of the allowances which the Rajah of Khoordah has been accustomed to receive would appear harsh and cruel in the eyes of the bulk of the population by whom he is so much revered, both as the descendant of their ancient sovereigns and the hierarch of their faith, and would scarcely be consistent with the accustomed liberality and consideration of the British Government with reference both to the rank and the misfortunes of the family of Rajah of Khoordah. I venture to propose that, as the allowance of Rs. 24,000 is not in reality the malikana of 10 per cent. upon the average amount of the annual collections in Khoordah (from Rs. 1,10,000 to Rs. 1,15,000), but a liberal salary granted under that name, it be designated hereafter a stipend (including of course whatever claim the Rajah may possess to a provision as proprietor of

Khoordah), and that it will have no connection for the future with the actual amount of the collections in Khoordah. It appears to me of little importance whether the Rajah still possesses a right to be called zemindar of Khoordah or not. Under whatever title he will for ages continue to be revered and respected by the inhabitants of Khoordah, as their rightful chief and sovereign, whilst the long settlement which I have suggested either with the surburakars or ryots extended, if it should hereafter be deemed expedient, to a still longer period when the time of its expiration has arrived would effectually discourage all prospect and expectations, of his ever being actually placed over them again in authority, either as their zemindar, rajah or sovereign.

195. Should it, however, be considered by the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council advisable, with reference to any future comprehensive arrangement for the management of Khordah, to induce the Rajah to relinquish formally his claim to that estate, it does not appear to me objectionable on the ground of any just rights vesting in the Rajah, to render his compliance the condition of his retaining the allowance of Rs. 24,000 per annun, and to avow an intention, in the event of his refusal, to reduce it to what would really be the Nankur of a zemindar removed from the management of the estate of Khoordah, or 10 per cent. on the amount of the annual collections. There would be no reason, I should think, to apprehend embarrassment from the Rajah's claiming the management of his estate on the terms of a common zemindar, in consequence of this threatened diminution of his means, as his advisers and ministers are well aware that a Rajah of Khoordah could never fulfil those terms.

196. Connected with the preceding discussion is the question of conferring the khelat of Maharajgee of the youthful successor of Rajah Mukund Deo. The petition prepared by Rajah Ram Chunder Deo to be allowed that unusual distinction is, I think, somewhat awkward and embarrassing. On the first conquest of the province, khelats were granted to all the Gurjhat chiefs by Colonel Harcourt, and that sent to the Rajah of Khoordah was of a value and quality corresponding to his superiority of rank, comprising a horse, an elephant, and a large sum of money, besides several costly articles of dress. Since that period it has never been customary to confer khelats on any of

the tributary chiefs. On the death of one Rajah his heir succeeds to the possession of the mehal and the titles of his predecessor, as a matter of course, and no formal investiture from the ruling power is claimed, or considered necessary. Since 1804 honorary dresses have been bestowed on two or three Gurjhat chiefs as marks of peculiar favour for some services performed, but as no part of a regular system. To omit all mention of the reason against the measure, there appears no sufficient cause why the Rajah of Khoordah, who is called by Government a zemindar, and whom it is not proposed to place even on the footing of the common tributary chiefs, should enjoy the distinguished and peculiar honor of a khelat, acknowledging his right formally to the highest title which a subject could possess (that of a Maharjah) and a precedent thus be established for the permanent distinction by Government of this unfortunate personage for above every other chief of Orissa. Policy indeed would suggest that the remembrance of the former rank and power of his family should, as much as possible, be obliterated from the minds of himself and of all the natives of the district; at least that no positive measures should be taken tending to keep alive the impression of his high rank and political consequence, and that it should be made an object to confine as far as practicable the veneration felt by the natives towards the person of the descendant of their ancient sovereigns, to his office and situation as Superintedent of the peculiarly sacred and celebrated Temple of Juggernath.

197. The immediate consequences, I am given to understand, of his investiture by Government with the rank and insignia of Maharajah would be the presenting of nuzzurs to him by all the Gurjhat chiefs either in person or though their mookhtesra, most probably the latter, and perhaps also by many of the natives of the Mogulbundee (effusions of respect and devotion), which it would be politic rather to check than give occasion for the display of. At the same time from this very circumstance the Rajah and his advisers are naturally doubly anxious for the distinction. They covet not only the consequence which the acknoledgment of the title of Maharajah by the British Government would continue to the family, but also the important pecuniary gains which would flow from it. The refusal, therefore, to comply with the petition would be received with loud and clamorous expressions of hardship and injury, and

it would probably excite sentiments of temporary regret and dissatisfaction amongst the natives generally at the sight of this family, already fallen so low, thus further reduced and degraded. On the other hand, by granting the prayer of the petition to a person who certainly possesses every claim to compassionate consideration, his feelings would be soothed and gratified at the expense of some inconvenience and the sacrifice of a line of proceeding with cold calculations of policy would certainly point out as the most prudent to be adopted towards the Rajah of Khoordah.

198- The character of the youthful claimant Ram Chunder Deo, who is aged about 15, appears favourable and promising as far as it has hitherto been developed, and his tender age, his orphan situation, the promise of future years, encouraged by the ray of good sense and correct feeling which is discernible in his present demeanour, together with the consideration naturally attaching to the representative of a family of the highest rank and most illustrious descent excite fellings in his favour which it is not allowable to indulge in the discussion of a measure of State policy. On the whole, I beg leave to recommend that the khelat be not conferred upon the present titular Rajhh. whilst his appellation of Maharajah be continued as befor in all official correspondence.

199. The present predicament of the well known estate of Killah Rorung deserves a brief exposure for the consideration of Government. The last farmer, Jugbundoo Putnaik, was murdered early in the insurrection, and no person at present stands engaged for the revenues of that estate. The cousin of Jugbundoo, mentioned in paragraph 19, comes forward to claim possession, and produces a hissehnama filed regularly in court, and registered in the books of the register here, just about the time that Killah Rorung was sold at public auction to Lala Krishen Chunder Sing, in which the two claimants, Jugbundoo and Guddadhur Bidiadhur, agree to divide the zemindari in the proportions of ten and six annas. Guddadhur Bidiadhur, as far as I can learn, was always at variance with the Bukhshee, is of a perfectly harmless and peaceable character, possessing no influence whatever in the district, and was never suspected of having the slightest concern in the late rebellious proceedings of his relation. His existence indeed appears to have been wholly

unknown to the local authorities, and he has resided for years past on the estates of Sudasheo Jenna, formely an oppulent mahajun and one of the Mahratta anmils, now an extensive land holder north of the Mahanuddee. The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council would probably feel little hesitation in allowing this person to engage as proprietor, if an obstacle did not exist in the circumstance that the agents of the new purchaser have, with matchless impudence and effrontery, instituted a suit against Government in the Calcutta Court of Appeal for recovery of possession, and the issue would appear somewhat doubtful, as there is little chance that the issue of fraud and artifice formerly practiced in regard to the estate could be unravelled and established in a court of justice, so as to defeat the views of the prosecutors. Should Government consider the matter worthy of serious consideration; they might perhaps be pleased to direct some compromise of the affair to be attempted. I have forborne from holding out any hope to Guddadhur Bidiadhur until favoured with the instructions of the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council.

200. The most important part of my report is yet to be treated of viz. whether any and what measures shall be adopted with the view to quiet the clamour prevailing on the subject of the amount of the Government assessment the hardship of paying the revenue in silver at its present high rate calculated in the common currency of the mofussil, and the grievances connected with the salt monopoly.

201. I have distinctly expressed my belief, founded chiefly on the tenor and nature of the representations made to me in the interior of the district, and on the facts of the ruin and dispossession of so large a portion of the original landholders, that grievances of a serious nature must exist in the Revenue Department. I am not very sanguine in my expectations that the suggestions which I have to offer, as applicable to the relief or removal of what appear to me sources of suffering and decay to the landed interest of Cuttack, will be thought worthy of consideration. At the same time it is my duty in a report of this nature to submit the proposal of such measures as, in my judgment, are essential to the future prosperity of Cuttack and the credit and popularity of the British Government in the province of Orissa.

202. I think, in the first place, it is essential that the present system of biennial and triennial settlements should cease as speedily as possible, and the landholders be allowed to enjoy for a long period of years the full profits of any industry and outlay of capital which they may be disposed to put in execution; at least that they should obtain the certainty of a respite for some time to come from increased demand upon the quantity of land already in cultivation, I can hardly consider five years as sufficient interval to effect any material improvement in their condition. At the same time it does not appear to me that a perpetual settlement is indispensable to the end proposed.

203. The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council observes in paragraph 71 of the Resolutions in the Territorial Department, "that in Cuttack, where capital appears to be exceedingly scanty, a wise and provident policy evidently suggests the expediency of more than ordinary forbearance and of leaving the proprietors to reap the full fruits of any improvement which they may effect during the period of their engagements". I think that the facts and observations detailed under the second head of my report will be allowed to confirm the wisdom landholders of cuttack have ever laboured under some peculiar difficulties and embarrassments in making good their engagements with Government, which I attribute to the joint operation of some or all of the following causes, 1st, to the novelty and inaptitude of the revenue system altogether with reference to the ignorant, improvident unenterprising dispositions of the ooriah landholders, and the different mode of collecting the revenues pursued under the Government of our predecessors; 2nd to the large sums which they have been obliged to pay on each of the numerous resettlements of the revenue to the dewans and chief advisers of those employed in making the settlements, as the price of promised favour and forbearence; 3rd to the regular system of making collections by the police darogahs from all the zemindars and ryots subject to their jurisdiction ; 4th to the heavy outlay in which those have found themselves involved who had any business to settle at the sudder station, under the technical denomination, originating in the practice of their former rulers of "darbar khureh rusoom amlegat oghyret ;" 5th to the frequent occurrence of calamity of season in this little favoured province, for which no remission has ever been granted notwithstanding the acknowledged poverty and want of capital of the landholders in

general ; 6th to the misery and privation occasioned to the ryots by the state of the currency and the high price of salt which first impoverish and ruin them, and ultimately often react so as to ruin the zemindar ; and 7th to the uncertain grounds on which the revenue has hitherto been fixed and augmented. I trust that some of the above fruitful sources of ruin to the landholders have already been either wholly abolished or greatly repressed for the time being, and that the exertions of the Acting and Joint Magistrates, to detect, expose, and bring to their merited punishment, corruption, extortion, and peculation, will, long after their immediate operation has ceased, continue to produce the most salutary effects in Cuttack. It is just also to state my conviction that whilst the present Collector, Mr. Trower, remains in office, the mischievous effects on the purses of the landholders from the extortion stated to attend the system of temporary settlements will prevail to as limited an extent as is possible in the nature of things. It is obviously in the power of Government to apply a direct remedy to others on the grounds of complaint discussed above should they be pleased to admit that they have any real and solid foundation. I think a general healing application tending to cure one of the principal causes of decay and decline in this district, would be a limitation for a number of years of the present amount of taxation. It appears to me that it must belong under any system of management, however perfect and excellent, before Cuttack can bear a material increase of taxation, and that attempts to raise the jumma for the present would only serve to perpetuate and aggravate the evils and embarrassment which are acknowledged to have always attended the administration of Cuttack affairs. A referencee to the number of sales by auction of late years and the prices at which lands have been sold, would seem to show that whatever may have been the former difficulties of the landholders and the ruin entailed by them upon all the original proprietors, the district had struggled through and survived some of its worst misfortunates even previous to the late insurrection in Khoordah. I see cofident reason to hope that an arrangement which should secure the landholders generally against an increase of the public demand and impart to them the confidence of enjoying for a number of years the fruits of any improvements which they might effect of their present resources, would, coupled with the incalculable benefits of an improved and purified system of judicial administration, go far of themselves to

improve and better the condition of the landed interest, to remedy existing evils and even afford an opening for reasonable expectation that the Government revenue may hereafter receive impovement without any real injury and suffering to their subjects. It is further essentially necessary, with reference to the acknowledged uncertainty, of all former settlements and the many complaints of actual over-assessment that a re-adjustment of the existing one should be undertaken, as speedily as possible; on the principle of correcting errors and equalizing the distribution of the whole demand, rather than with the view of obtaining any material increase The Collector is indeed of opinion that very few estates are over-assessed, and he has already collected materials which satisfy him that many are greatly under-assessed. It would be necessary to determine, first, generally what is a fair and moderate assessment before a satisfactory judgement could in most cases be pronounced, but something would be gained by ascertaining that in no cases the Government demand is such as to swallow up the whole resources of the zemindar, as frequently and clamorously asserted, and as I believe to have been actually the case in Khoordah. Until this important point be in some measure cleared from the doubt and obscurity which now overhang it, I should think that little security could be entertained of a prosperous and successful administration of the revenue affairs of Cuttack hereafter, even under the enjoyment of advantages to which the district had before been a stranger.

204· With a view to the attainment of the above important and desirable end, I recommended that the existing settlement be forthwith extended to the end of 1222 Umlee, and that the means adverted to in paragraphs 20,21,22, of the Resolutions in the Territorial Department, for obtaining more correct information regarding the value, extent, and resources of estates in Cuttack, be put in force as early as practicable, particularly the measure of undertaking general surveys, for which purpose, if a portion of the admirably-trained and experienced Madras surveying establishment could be spared, the most advantageous results must follow. I regret that my want of practical acquaintance and familiarity with revenue matters does not admit of my furnishing myself any correct detailed information on the subject, or of pointing out any sources and means by which others might benefit, or even of forming any very accurate conception of the precise mode in which

the instruments specified in the paragraphs quoted above should be set into action. It appears, however, self evident that essentially calculated to promote the desired end, great comparative progress must be made through their instrumentality in attaining the information which has hitherto been wanting, and I can entertain little doubt but that, should the present Collector remain in Cuttack, the talents, knowledge, and experience of that gentleman, when powerfully aided by the assistance of surveyers, the establishment of the canoongoe's office on an efficient footing, and a relief from his present extensive charge, will secure to Government all the required information within the course of the next two years. After an accurate inquiry into the resources and capabilities of the district, I should recommend that a settlement be concluded for nine of eleven years on terms not naturally exceeding the present, on the grounds of the information so obtained, and that all promise of, or allusion to, a perpetual settlement be cautiously abstained from in any future Regulation, untill the period shall have arrived when the Hon'ble the Court of Directors are pleased to confer that important advantage on the district of Cuttack.

(*To be Continued*)