



GOVERNMENT OF ORISSA

APRIL & JULY, 1991
Vol. III & IV

ଅପ୍ରେଲ ଓ ଜୁଲାଇ, 1991
ତୃତୀୟ ଓ ଚତୁର୍ଥ ସଂଖ୍ୟା

SANSAD VICHAR

(Special Issue on Pandit Nilakantha Das)

ସଂସଦ ବିଚାର

(ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସ ବିଶେଷ ସଂଖ୍ୟା)



ଓଡ଼ିଶା ବିଧାନ ସଭା ସଚିବାଳୟ
ଭୁବନେଶ୍ୱର



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ବିଶେଷ ସଂଖ୍ୟା ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ପଦେ

ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଂଠ ଦାସ ଅଗଷ୍ଟ ୫, ୧୮୮୪ ମସିହାରେ ଜନ୍ମ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିଥିଲେ । ଆସନ୍ତା ଅଗଷ୍ଟ ୫, ୧୯୯୧ଦିନ ତାଙ୍କର ଜନ୍ମତିଥି ସରକାରୀଭାବେ ପାଳନ କରାଯିବା ନିମନ୍ତେ ଛାଁର ହୋଇଛି । ମାନ୍ୟବର ବାଚସ୍ପତିଙ୍କ ସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ କ୍ରମେ ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଂଠଙ୍କର ଗୋଟିଏ ବ୍ରାହ୍ମ ମୂର୍ତ୍ତି ବିଧାନସଭା ପ୍ରାଙ୍ଗଣରେ ସ୍ଥାପନ କରାଯାଇଛି । ଏହି ଅବସରରେ ଏହି ବିଶେଷ ସଂଖ୍ୟା ପ୍ରକାଶିତ ହେଉଛି ।

ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଂଠଙ୍କ ବହୁମୁଖୀ ପ୍ରତିଭା ଅଜଣା ନୁହେଁ । ତାଙ୍କ ବିଷୟରେ ଯେତେ ଲେଖାଗଲେ ବି ତାହା କମ୍ ହେବ । ତଥାପି ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଂଠଙ୍କର ଦେଶ ଓ ଦଶପ୍ରତି ଦାନ ଓ ପ୍ରତିଭା ସ୍ମରଣକରି ନିମନ୍ତେ ତାଙ୍କର କେତେକ ଗୁରୁତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଲେଖା ବିଭିନ୍ନ ପତ୍ରପତ୍ରିକାରୁ ସଂକଳନ କରି ଏହି ପତ୍ରିକାରେ ମୁଦ୍ରିତ କରାଯାଇଛି । ଅଧିକତ୍ତ୍ୱ ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଂଠଙ୍କ ବିଷୟରେ କେତେକ ଲେଖା ଏହି ପତ୍ରିକାରେ ପ୍ରକାଶ କରାଯାଇଛି ।

ଏହି ବିଶେଷ ସଂଖ୍ୟା ପାଠକକଂଦୁରା ଆଦୃତ ହେଲେ ଆମର ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ସଫଳ ହେବ ।

ପ୍ରଫୁଲ୍ଲଦ ଦୋରା

୨୨-୭-୯୫



ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ

ଶ୍ରୀ ହରେକୃଷ୍ଣ ମହତାବ

ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ରାଜନୀତି, ସାହିତ୍ୟ ଏବଂ ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ତାଙ୍କ ସମୟରେ ସର୍ବଶ୍ରେଷ୍ଠ ଶକ୍ତିଶାଳୀ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ଥିଲେ । ତାଙ୍କର ସାଧାରଣ ଜୀବନର ଆରମ୍ଭ ହେଲେ, ତତ୍କାଳୀନ ସମାଜର ନାନା କୃଷ୍ଣ-ସ୍ଵାର ବିରୋଧରେ ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନ କରି । ସେ ଥିଲେ ସେତେବେଳେ ଶିକ୍ଷକ ମାତ୍ର । କିନ୍ତୁ କେବଳ ଶିକ୍ଷକ ହୋଇ ରହିବା ତାଙ୍କର ଧ୍ୟେୟ ନଥିଲା । ସେ ସମାଜରେ ଏକ ନୂତନ ଜୀବନର ସୂତ୍ରପାତ କଲେ ସାମାନ୍ୟ ନିଶ୍ଚଳେ ରଖି । ଆଜି କଳ୍ପନା କରିହେବ ନାହିଁ, ସେତେବେଳେ ଏହି ସାମାନ୍ୟ ଘଟଣାକୁ କିପରି ଏକ ବିରାଟ ସାମାଜିକ ବିପ୍ଳବର ସୂତ୍ରପାତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ଗବେଷକମାନେ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ୟ କରିଛନ୍ତି, ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ କିପରି ସେ ସମୟରେ ଜଣେ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠିତ ସମାଜ ସଂସ୍କାରକ ହୋଇ ପାରିଥିଲେ । ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ବୈଦିକ ରୀତି-ରୀତି ଅନୁଗାମୀ । ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ବସ୍ତୁକୁ ଛିନ୍ନଭିନ୍ନ କରି ତର୍କଦ୍ଵାରା ପ୍ରତିପାଦନ କରିବା ଥିଲା ତାଙ୍କର ବୌଦ୍ଧିକ ପ୍ରବୃତ୍ତି । ସେ ଜୀବନରେ କୌଣସି କଥାରେ ବିଶ୍ଵାସ କରୁନଥିଲେ । ବିଶ୍ଵାସ ହେଉଛି ଯୁକ୍ତିତର୍କ ଉର୍ଦ୍ଧ୍ଵରେ ଏକ ମାନସିକ ସ୍ତର । ସେଥିରେ ତାଙ୍କର ଆସ୍ଥାନ ଥିଲା । ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ବିଷୟ ଯୁକ୍ତିଦ୍ଵାରା ପ୍ରତିପାଦିତ ହୋଇ ମନ ତାକୁ ଗ୍ରହଣ କଲେ ଯାଇ ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ତାହାକୁ ସ୍ଵୀକାର କରୁଥିଲେ । ନିଜର ମାନସିକ ଶକ୍ତି ଉପରେ ଏହି ଅତ୍ୟନ୍ତ ବିଶ୍ଵାସ ହେତୁ ମହାତ୍ମା ଗାନ୍ଧୀଙ୍କ ବିଶ୍ଵାସଧର୍ମୀ ଆବେଗମୟ ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନକୁ ସେ ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଭାବରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିନଥିଲେ । ଖ୍ରୀ: ୧୯୨୨ରେ ସେ ଗୁରୁମାସ ପାଇଁ ବନ୍ଦୀ ହୋଇଥିଲେ । ମାତ୍ର ପରେ ସେ ଦେଶବନ୍ଧୁ ଚିତରଂଜନ ଓ ପଞ୍ଚିତ ମୋତିଲାଲଙ୍କ ସ୍ଵରାଜ୍ୟ ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନରେ ଯୋଗଦେଇ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସଭାରେ ପ୍ରବେଶ କଲେ । ପୁଣି ଲବଣ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହ ବେଳେ ସେ କାରାରୁଦ୍ଧ ହେଲେ । ଏ କାରାବରଣ ସେ କରିଥିଲେ ଘଟଣା ଚକ୍ରରେ, ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀଙ୍କ ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନ ପ୍ରତି ବିଶ୍ଵାସ ପୋଷଣ କରିନୁହେଁ ।

ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀଙ୍କ ଅହିଂସାତମକ ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନକୁ ସୁଭାସଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ବୋଷ ଯେତେବେଳେ ଆହ୍ଵାନକରି ନିଜର ସ୍ଵକୀୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଆରମ୍ଭ କଲେ ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ସୁଭାସ ବାବୁଙ୍କ ଜଣେ ଦୃଢ଼ ସମର୍ଥକ ହେଲେ । ସେହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମରେ ସେ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ଛାଡ଼ିଲେ ଓ ଯୁଦ୍ଧକାଳୀନ ପରିସ୍ଥିତିରେ ଗଠିତ ଏକ ଅଣକଂଗ୍ରେସ ମନ୍ତ୍ରମଣ୍ଡଳ ଗଠନରେ ପୂରୋଧା ହେଲେ । ସେ ସମୟରେ ସରକାରୀ କାଗଜପତ୍ର ପ୍ରକାଶ ପାଇନାହିଁ । ସେ ସବୁ ପ୍ରକାଶ ପାଇଲେ ଜଣାଯିବ କିପରି ସୁଭାସ ବାବୁଙ୍କ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଓଡ଼ିଶାରେ ପ୍ରସାର ଲାଭ କରିଥିଲା । ବିରୁଧେନ୍ଦୁ ମିଶ୍ର, ଅଶୋକ ଦାସ, ସୁରଜମଲ୍ ସାହା, ଶ୍ରୀହର୍ଷ ମିଶ୍ର ପ୍ରମୁଖ ଯୁବକ ସେତେବେଳେ ଯେ ବନ୍ଦୀ ହୋଇଥିଲେ, ତାହା ଏକ ସୁପରିକଳ୍ପିତ ଗୋପନୀୟ ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନର ପରିଣାମ ଥିଲା । ଏହି ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନ ସହିତ ସଂପର୍କ ଥିଲା ତତ୍କାଳୀନ ଗଉର୍ଡ଼ର ସାର ହାଥେର୍ଣ୍ଣଲୁର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସଭାକୁ ଭାଙ୍ଗି ଦେଇ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟକ୍ଷ ଶାସନ ଜାରିକରିବା ସହିତ । ସେହି ସମୟରେ ସାର ହାଥେର୍ଣ୍ଣଲୁର ଭାଇସରାୟଙ୍କୁ ଯେଉଁ ରିପୋର୍ଟ ପଠାଇଥିଲେ ସେଥିରେ ତତ୍କାଳୀନ ରାଜନୈତିକ ସମ୍ପର୍କୀୟ ସମସ୍ତ ବୃତ୍ତାନ୍ତ ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ଭାବରେ ଉପସ୍ଥାପନ କରାଯାଇଥିଲା; ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ, ପଞ୍ଚିତ ଗୋଦାବରୀଶ, ସୁଭାଷ ବାବୁଙ୍କ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମକୁ ପରୋକ୍ଷ ଭାବରେ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ କରୁଥିଲେ । ଯୁଦ୍ଧବିରତି ପରେ ସାଧାରଣ ନିର୍ବାଚନ ଆସିଲା । ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ସେ ସମୟରେ ଯେଉଁ ଆତମସଂଯମର ଆଦର୍ଶ ରଖିପାରିଛନ୍ତି, ତାହା ରାଜନୀତି କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଚିରକାଳ ଏକକଳ୍ପିତ ଉଦାହରଣହୋଇ ରହିଥିବ । ସେ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ସହିତ ନିର୍ବାଚନରେ ଲଢ଼ିଲେନାହିଁ । ଅପେକ୍ଷା କଲେ ଶେଷରେ ଏହି ଲେଖକର ଅନୁରୋଧକ୍ରମେ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ପକ୍ଷରେ ପ୍ରାର୍ଥୀହୋଇ ନିର୍ବାଚିତହେଲେ ଏବଂ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସଭାର ଅଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷ ମଧ୍ୟ ହେଲେ । ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସଭାର ଅଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷ ହିସାବରେ ସେ ସମଗ୍ର ଭାରତପାଇଁ ଏକ ସମ୍ବିଧାନଗତ ନିଷ୍ପତ୍ତିକରଣ ନେଇ ପାରିଥିଲେ ଯେ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାସଭା ଭାଙ୍ଗି ଦିଆଗଲେ ମଧ୍ୟ ନିର୍ବାଚିତ ଅଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷ ପଦକୁ ରଦ୍ଦକରିଦେଇ ହେବନାହିଁ । ଅଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷ, ଅଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷହୋଇ ରହିବ ପୁଣି ଆସନ୍ତା ନିର୍ବାଚନ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ । ଏହାଏକ ଅତି ଗୁରୁତ୍ଵପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ସମ୍ବିଧାନିକ ନିଷ୍ପତ୍ତି ତାଙ୍କ ଯୋଗେ ହୋଇପାରିଥିଲା । ଓଡ଼ିଶା ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାସଭାର ପରିଗ୍ରହନକୁ ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ସେକ୍ରେଟେରୀଏଟ ହାତରୁ ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ମୁକ୍ତକରି ଦେଇଥିଲେ ।

ସାହିତ୍ୟ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ମୋର ମନେହୁଏ ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଥିଲେ ଅଦ୍ଵିତୀୟ । ତେଣୁତାଙ୍କୁ ଅଧିକାଂଶ ସାହିତ୍ୟିକ ଅନୁସରଣକରି ପାରିଲେନାହିଁ । ଓଡ଼ିଆଭାଷା ଏବଂ ସାହିତ୍ୟ ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ତାଙ୍କର ମତ ଅନ୍ୟ ସମସ୍ତଙ୍କ ମତଠାରୁ ସ୍ଵତନ୍ତ୍ର ଥିଲା । ତାଙ୍କର ସାହିତ୍ୟ ସମୀକ୍ଷା ଏକବିରାଟ ପୁସ୍ତକହେବ । ସେ ଥିଲେ ମୁଖ୍ୟତଃ ସାହିତ୍ୟ ସାଧକ । ତେଣୁ ସେ ଶେଷ ଜୀବନରେ ନିଜର ପ୍ରେସକୁ ସାହିତ୍ୟର ବିକାଶପାଇଁ ଦାନକରି ଯାଇଥିଲେ ।

ଆଶ୍ଚର୍ଯ୍ୟର ବିଷୟ ଏହି ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିର ଯେପରି ଇତିହାସରେ ଜୀବନ୍ତହୋଇ ରହିବାକଥା, ତାହା ହୋଇପାରିନାହିଁ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଦିନେ ତାହାହେବ ଏଥିରେ ସନ୍ଦେହନାହିଁ ।

ପ୍ରକାଶକ-ଡାକ୍ତ-୧୧-୭୮

ଆଜି ଦିନରେ

ଶ୍ରୀ ଯୁଧିଷ୍ଠିର ଦାସ

ବାଚସ୍ପତି

ଓଡ଼ିଶା ବିଧାନସଭା

ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ପ୍ରତିଭାର ଅନ୍ୟତମ ହେଉଛି ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନିଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସ । ଦୀର୍ଘ ଅର୍ଦ୍ଧ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀରୁ ଉର୍ଦ୍ଧ୍ୱକାଳ ଧରି ଏ ରାଜ୍ୟର ଜନଜୀବନ ସହିତ ଯେ ଥିଲେ ଓଡ଼ିଆପ୍ରାଚୀନତାକୁ କଢ଼ିତ, ଏ ରାଜ୍ୟର ପ୍ରତିଟି ଉନ୍ନେଷ ପାଇଁ ଯେ ଥିଲେ ନିରନ୍ତର ସାଧନାରତ, ଏ ରାଜ୍ୟର ବାଣୀ ଭଣ୍ଡାରକୁ ଯେ ଦେଇ ଗଲେ ତାଙ୍କର ଅମୂଲ୍ୟ ଦାନ, ଦେଶ ମାତୃକାର ସ୍ୱାଧୀନତା ପାଇଁ ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରୀୟ ସଂଗ୍ରାମରେ ଅଗ୍ରଣୀ ଭୂମିକା ଗ୍ରହଣ କରି କାରାଗାରକୁ ଯେ ନିଜର ଘର ବୋଲି ଆଦରି ନେଇଥିଲେ, ସେଇ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଥିଲେ ବାସ୍ତବରେ ଏକ ବିସ୍ମୟ । ବହୁ ପ୍ରତିଭାର ସମନ୍ୱୟ ଘଟିଥିଲା ତାଙ୍କ ଜୀବନରେ । ଏକାଧାରରେ ସେ ଥିଲେ ଜଣେ ଆଦର୍ଶ ଶିକ୍ଷକ, ବିଦ୍ୱାନ, ସାହିତ୍ୟାନୁରାଗୀ, ସମାଜସେବୀ, ସମାଜ ସଂସ୍କାରକ, ସାମ୍ବାଦିକ, କବି, ପ୍ରବୀଣ ସଂପାଦକ, ଦକ୍ଷ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପକ ସର୍ବୋପରି ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରୀୟ ସଂଗ୍ରାମର ସଂଗ୍ରାମୀ ଭାବେ ପ୍ରତିଟି କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ସେ ଆଦର୍ଶର ଉତ୍କଳ ସ୍ୱାକ୍ଷର ଛାଡ଼ିଯାଇଛନ୍ତି ।

ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଶିକ୍ଷା ସଂସ୍କୃତି ଇତିହାସରେ ପଞ୍ଚସଖା ଯୁଗ ଏକ ଅବିସ୍ମରଣୀୟ ଅଧ୍ୟାୟ ହୋଇ ରହିଛି ଓ ରହିବ । ପରାଧୀନ ଭାରତର ବୈପ୍ଳବୀକ ଚେତନା ଓ ଅଗ୍ରଗାମୀ ଭାବନାକୁ ରୂପାୟିତ କରିବାକୁ ଭାରତର ଯେ କେତେଜଣ ମନିଷୀ ସାମାଜିକ ବିପ୍ଳବ ଆଣିବାକୁ ଚେଷ୍ଟା କରିଥିଲେ, ସେମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସ ଥିଲେ ସତ୍ୟବାଦୀ ଯୁଗର ପଞ୍ଚସଖାଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରୁ ଅନ୍ୟତମ । କଲିକତା ବଶ୍ୱବଦ୍ୟାଳୟରେ ଉପାଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷଭାବେ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଶ୍ରେଣୀରେ ଅଧ୍ୟାପନା ପାଇଁ ସାର ଆଶୁତୋଷ ମୁଖାର୍ଜୀଙ୍କ ଡାକରାରେ ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ମାତ୍ର ୨ବର୍ଷ ପାଇଁ ଅଧ୍ୟାପନାରେ ଯୋଗ ଦେଇ ସତ୍ୟବାଦୀ ବନ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟକୁ ଫେରି ଆସିଥିଲେ । ସତ୍ୟବାଦୀ ବନ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ ସେତେବେଳେ ଥିଲା ବାସ୍ତବରେ ଏକ ମଣିଷ ତିଆରି କାରଖାନା । ସାର ଆଶୁତୋଷ ମୁଖାର୍ଜୀ ନିଜେ ଏ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ ପରିଦର୍ଶନ କରି କହିଥିଲେ ଯେ ସରଳ ଜୀବନ ଓ ଉନ୍ନତ ଚିନ୍ତା ବୋଲି ଯେଉଁ କଥା ରହିଛି, ତାହା ଏହି ବନ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟରେ ହିଁ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ ରୂପାନ୍ତରିତ ହୋଇଛି ।

ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନିଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କ ପ୍ରାଣପ୍ଳାବୀ ମୂର୍ଦ୍ଧନୀର ସ୍ମାରକାଭାବରେ ରାଣି ରାଣି ଗୁରୁ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ବାଣୀ ମନ୍ଦିରକୁ ସୁରଭିତ କରିଅଛି । ସେ ଥିଲେ ସାହିତ୍ୟାକାଶର ଏକ ଉତ୍କଳ ନକ୍ଷେତ୍ର । ତାଙ୍କ ରଚନାରେ ଓଡ଼ିଆ କାବିତା, କାବ୍ୟତା, ସାମାଜିକ ରୂପ ସାମଗ୍ରୀ କଭାବେ ସ୍ଥାନ ପାଇଥିଲା । ତାଙ୍କ ରଚିତ “କୋଣାର୍କେ” କାବ୍ୟର ଭାଷା ଯେପରି ମନୋଜ୍ଞ, ପ୍ରାଣ ପ୍ରାଚୁର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଭରା, ସେହିପରି ଓଡ଼ିଆ କାବ୍ୟତାରେ ପରିପୁଷ୍ଟ । ‘କୋଣାର୍କେ କାବ୍ୟରେ କବିବର ରାଧାନାଥଙ୍କୁ କଟାକ୍ଷପାତ କରି ସେ ଲେଖିଛନ୍ତି “ଘର ଛାଡ଼ି କାହିଁ ଯିବେ ସେ ବୀର ବାଳା ନନ୍ଦିକା, ସହକାର ଦୁମ୍ଭ ଗହଳେ ଦେବୀ କ୍ଷୀଣ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରିକା । ସେହିପରି ‘ରାମଚଣ୍ଡିରେ ସଂଧ୍ୟା’ରେ ତାଙ୍କର ବାସ୍ତବ୍ୟ ମମତା ପ୍ରକଟିତ ହୋଇଛି । ସେ ଯଥାର୍ଥରେ ଗାଇଛନ୍ତି “ଶୋଇପଡ଼ ଶୋଇପଡ଼ରେ ଆରେ ଅବୋଧ ଶିଶୁ, ପଥଶ୍ରମ କରି ଆସିଛୁ ଶ୍ରମେ ବିରାମ ମିଶୁ” । ଆକିତ କୁଆଁର ପୁନିଅଁ ଜହ୍ନ ବଡ଼ ଶରଧା, ମା’ ଭଉଣୀଙ୍କ ଆନନ୍ଦ ନବ ବସନ ପିନ୍ଧା । ଏହି କବିତାରେ ନିଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ପ୍ରଭାବ ବେଶ୍ ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ।

ଜଣେ ବିପ୍ଳବୀ ସଙ୍ଗଠନ, ସମାଜ ସେବକ, ନିଷ୍ଠୁର ସତ୍ୟବାଦୀ ଓ ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ର ନେତା ଭାବେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କ ସ୍ଥାନ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର । ଜାତୀୟ ମୁକ୍ତି ସଂଗ୍ରାମରେ ସାମିଲ ହୋଇ ଓଡ଼ିଶାରେ ସେ ବିପ୍ଳବର ସୂତ୍ରପାତ ଘଟାଇଥିଲେ । ଜାତୀୟ କଂଗ୍ରେସର ବାର୍ତ୍ତା ସେ ହିଁ ପ୍ରଥମେ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭୂଇଁରେ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ କରାଇଥିଲେ । କଂଗ୍ରେସ ସଂଗଠନକୁ ମଜବୁତ କରିବାରେ ତାଙ୍କର ନିଷ୍ଠା ଅନସୂୟା କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ । ପ୍ରଦେଶ କଂଗ୍ରେସର ସଭାପତି ଭାବେ ତାଙ୍କର ଦକ୍ଷତାର ପଟାନ୍ତର ନାହିଁ । ଗୋଟିଏ କଥା ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ କଲେ ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ହେବ, ତାହା ହେଉଛି ଓଡ଼ିଶା ବିଧାନସଭା ପାଇଁ ହୋଇଥିବା ପ୍ରଥମ ନିର୍ବାଚନ । ୧୯୩୫ରେ ତତ୍କାଳୀନ ବ୍ରିଟିଶ ପ୍ରଧାନ ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀ ଚେନ୍ନରଲିନ୍ ଭାରତରେ ଏକ ସଂଘୀୟ ସରକାର ସ୍ଥାପନର ଚିନ୍ତାକରି ଶାସନ ସଂସ୍କାରକୁ ତୁରାନ୍ୱିତ କରାଇବାକୁ ଚେଷ୍ଟା କରିଥିଲେ । ଠିକ୍ ତାର ପରବର୍ଷ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଏକ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ପ୍ରଦେଶ ରୂପେ ମାନ୍ୟତା ପାଇଥାଏ । ୧୯୩୬ରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ବିଧାନ ସଭାପାଇଁ ପ୍ରଥମ ନିର୍ବାଚନ ହେଲା । ରାଜା, ଜମିଦାରଙ୍କ ସଙ୍ଗେ କୌଣସି ସାଲିସ ନକରି ୩୭ ଜଣ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ପ୍ରାଥୀଙ୍କୁ ନିର୍ବାଚନରେ ଠିଆ କରାଇ ୩୬ ଜଣଙ୍କୁ ଜିତାଇ ଆଣିଲେ । କେବଳ ଧର୍ମଶାଳାର କଂଗ୍ରେସ ପ୍ରାଥୀ ମାତ୍ର ୬୨ ଖଣ୍ଡ ଭୋଟରେ ହାରି ଯାଇଥିଲେ । ତାହା ପୁଣି ପ୍ରଦେଶ କଂଗ୍ରେସର କେତେକ ସଭ୍ୟ ଗାନ୍ଧିଜୀଙ୍କ ନିକଟକୁ ଏହି ପ୍ରାର୍ଥୀଙ୍କ ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ କେତେକ ଆପତ୍ତି ଜନକ ଅଭିଯୋଗ ପଠାଇବା ପରେ କଂଗ୍ରେସର ସେହି ପ୍ରାର୍ଥୀଙ୍କୁ ଭୋଟ ନଦେବାକୁ ଗାନ୍ଧିଜୀ ହରିଜନ ପତ୍ରପତ୍ରିକାରେ ଏକ ଲେଖା ପ୍ରକାଶ କରିବା ଫଳରେ ସେଠାକାର ପ୍ରାର୍ଥୀଙ୍କର ପରାଜୟ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ନିର୍ବାଚନପାଇଁ ପ୍ରଦେଶ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ପାଖରେ କିଛି ପାଣି ନଥିଲା । ତେବେ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ପାଇଁଆମେଷାରି

ବୋର୍ଡରୁ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ମାତ୍ର ୮ ହଜାର ଟଙ୍କା ଆଣିଥିଲେ । ଏଥିରୁ ୫ ହଜାର ନିର୍ବାଚନ ବାବଦର ଖର୍ଚ୍ଚ ଓ ୩ ହଜାର ନିର୍ବାଚନ ପ୍ରସ୍ତର ପାଇଁ ଏକ ସାପ୍ତାହିକ ପତ୍ରଟିକା ପ୍ରକାଶନ ପାଇଁ ବ୍ୟୟିତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ନିର୍ବାଚନ ପାଇଁ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଯେତେବେଳେ ୮ ହଜାର ଟଙ୍କା ମାଗିଲେ ସେତେବେଳେ ଗୋବିନ୍ଦ ବଲ୍ଲଭ ପଲ୍ଲ ଓ ବୁଲ୍ଲଭାଇ ଦେଶାଇ ଏଭଳି ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବକୁ ହେୟ ଜ୍ଞାନ କରିଥିଲେ । ସାରା ଭାରତରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ନିର୍ବାଚନ ପ୍ରଥମେ ହୋଇଥିଲା ଓ ଏହାର ବିଜୟ ସମଗ୍ର ଭାରତରେ ଏକ ଚମତ୍କ ସୃଷ୍ଟି କରିଥିଲା । ଏସବୁ ପଛରେ ଥିଲା ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କ ନିଷ୍ଠା ଓ ଦୃଢ଼ ମନୋବଳ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଦୁଃଖର କଥା ଏତେ ସଫଳତା ହାସଲ କରି ସୁଦ୍ଧା ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କୁ ପ୍ରଧାନମନ୍ତ୍ରୀ ହେବାରୁ ବଞ୍ଚିତ କରାଗଲା । ଯାହାର ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ ଅନାବଶ୍ୟକ ।

ଦ୍ଵିତୀୟ ଘଟଣାଟି ହେଲା ୧୯୬୧ ମସିହା ନିର୍ବାଚନରେ ତାଙ୍କୁ ପ୍ରାର୍ଥୀ ମନୋନୀତ ନକରିବା । ଏଠାରେ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ ଯୋଗ୍ୟ ଯେ ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣବାର ସେ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶରେ ନିର୍ବାଚିତ ହୋଇଥିଲେ ମଧ୍ୟ ତାଙ୍କୁ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ଟିକେଟ ମିଳିଲା ନାହିଁ । ତାଙ୍କ ଆଡ଼ୁ ଜୀବନୀରେ ସେ ଲେଖିଛନ୍ତି “କେନ୍ଦ୍ର କଂଗ୍ରେସ କମିଟିରୁ ଯେଉଁ ନିର୍ବାଚନ ତଦନ୍ତ ଆସିଥିଲା, ସେଥିରେ ମୋ ଦରଖାସ୍ତର କୌଣସି ଆଲୋଚନା ନହେବା ଶୁଣିଲି । ଏ ବୃକ୍ଷ ବୟସରେ ସ୍ଵାଧୀନ ଭାରତର ନାଗରିକ ହିସାବରେ ମୋର ଦାବୀ ସାବ୍ୟସ୍ତ କରିବାକୁ ମୋର ଶକ୍ତି ନାହିଁ, ଉତ୍ସାହକୁମ୍ଭେ ଉଶା ପଡ଼ୁଛି । ତେଣୁ ଏସବୁ ବିଘ୍ନରୁ ନୀରବରେ ସହି ରୁପ ରହିବା ସାର ହେଲା । ବୃକ୍ଷ ହେଲେ ଅବାଞ୍ଚିତ ହୋଇ ପଡ଼ିବା ଦୁନିଆର ନୀତି । ଫିଲ୍‌ଦିନେ ହଡ଼ା ବଳଦର ଆତ୍ମ, କାହାଣୀ ଲେଖିବା ବେଳେ ମାଷ୍ଟରଙ୍କଠାରୁ ଶୁଣି କିମ୍ପା ଅନୁମାନରେ ଉଦ୍‌ଭାବନ କରି ବଳଦର ଅକ୍ତିମ ଜୀବନର ଅସହାୟତା ବିଷୟରେ ଲେଖିବାକୁ ହେଉଥିଲା । ××××ତେବେ ଏସବୁ ଭାବିବାକୁ ଆଉ ଅବସର ନାହିଁ । ବେଳ ଆଖର ହେଲାଣି” । ଯାଠାରୁ ବିତ୍ତମନା ଆଉ କଣ ଥାଇ ପାରେ ।

1924ରେ ନିଳକଣ୍ଠ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସଭାକୁ ନିର୍ବାଚିତ ହେବାପରେ ଜଣେ ଦକ୍ଷ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପକ ଭାବେ ସେ ନିଜକୁ ଯେପରି ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠିତ କରିପାରିଥିଲେ, ତାହା ଆମ ସବୁରି ପାଇଁ ଗୌରବ ନିଶ୍ଚୟ । କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସଭାରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାକୁ ସ୍ଵତନ୍ତ୍ର ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ ପାଇଁ ତାଙ୍କ ଦୃଢ଼ ଦାବୀ ଫଳରେ ହିଁ ପ୍ରଶାସନ ପକ୍ଷରୁ ଏ ଦିଗରେ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାମାନ ଆରମ୍ଭ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ଲବଣକର, ଦେଶାନ୍ତରୀ ଶ୍ରମିକ ସମସ୍ୟା, ରେଳବାଇ ବଜେଟ ପ୍ରଭୃତି ବିଷୟ ଆଲୋଚନାରେ ଅଂଶ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରି ସେ ସମସ୍ତଙ୍କର ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଆକର୍ଷଣ କରିଥିଲେ ।

ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ସବୁଠାରୁ ଗୁରୁତ୍ଵପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଓ ଅବିସ୍ମରଣୀୟ ଦାନ ହେଉଛି ଓଡ଼ିଶା ବିଧାନ ସଭାର ସ୍ଵାତନ୍ତ୍ର୍ୟରକ୍ଷା । ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ରାଜ୍ୟ ବିଧାନ ସଭାର 4ର୍ଥ ବାଚସ୍ପତି ଭାବେ 1957 ମେ 17 ତାରିଖରେ ନିର୍ବାଚିତ ହେଲେ । ସେତେବେଳେ ଆଜିଭଳି ବିଧାନସଭା ସ୍ଵାଧୀନାଧୀନରେ ନରହି ରାଜ୍ୟ ସରକାରଙ୍କ ଘରୋଇ ବିଭାଗ ଅଧୀନରେ ଥିଲା । ଫଳରେ ବାଚସ୍ପତିଙ୍କ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ପରିସର ସଙ୍କୁଚିତ ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ଥାଏ । ବିଧାନସଭା ପ୍ରଶାସନକୁ ଘରୋଇ ବିଭାଗରୁ ଆଣି ଏହାକୁ ସ୍ଵତନ୍ତ୍ର ପ୍ରଶାସନାଧୀନ କରିବାର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ଅନୁଭୂତ ହେଉଥାଏ । ପୂରୀ ବିଧାୟକ ଶ୍ରୀ ହରିହର ବାହିନୀପତି ଏ ସଂପର୍କରେ ଆଣିଥିବା ଏକ ମୁଲତବୀ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବ ଉପରେ ଆଲୋଚନା କରାଯାଇ ବିଧାନସଭାର ସ୍ଥିତି ସଂପର୍କରେ ଏକ ସର୍କମିଟି ଗଠନ କରାଗଲା । କମିଟି ବିଭିନ୍ନ ରାଜ୍ୟ ଓ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ଏ ସଂପର୍କିତ ନୀତି ସମକ୍ଷରେ ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାନ କରି ଯେଉଁ ରିପୋର୍ଟ ଦାଖଲ କଲେ ସେଥିରୁ ଜଣାଗଲା ଯେ କେବଳ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାସଭା ଭିନ୍ନ ପ୍ରାଦେଶିକ ସ୍ତରରେ ଏପରି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ନାହିଁ । କିନ୍ତୁ ରାଜ୍ୟ ମାନଙ୍କୁ ଏହି ସ୍ଵାତନ୍ତ୍ର୍ୟ ଦେବାର ଚିନ୍ତା ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧୀୟ ପ୍ରଶ୍ନର ବେଳେ କରାଯାଇଛି । ତେବେ ସର୍କମିଟି ବାରମ୍ବାର ବସି ନିଷ୍ପତ୍ତି ଦେବାରେ ବିଳମ୍ବ ହେବାରୁ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ କହିଥିଲେ “ମହତାବ, ତୁମେ ବୁଝିବା ଉଚିତ୍ ଯେ ବିଧାନ ସଭାର ଗୁଣି ମୋ ହାତରେ । ଏ ବିଷୟ ସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ ନହେବା ଯାଏ, ତୁମେ ଆସେମ୍ବ୍ଲି ବୈଠକ ଡକାଇ ପାରିବ ନାହିଁ ।” ଏହିଭଳି ଦୃଢ଼ୋକ୍ତି କେତେଜଣଙ୍କଠାରୁ ବା ଆଶା କରାଯାଏ ? 1958 ମସିହାର ମୌସୁମୀ ଅଧିବେଶନ ସେପ୍ଟେମ୍ବର 26 ତାରିଖରେ ଶେଷ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ଅପରାହ୍ଣ ଅଧିବେଶନରେ ଉପବାଚସ୍ପତି ଅଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷତା କରୁଥାନ୍ତି । ତତ୍କାଳୀନ ମୁଖ୍ୟମନ୍ତ୍ରୀ ତନ୍ତର ହରେକୃଷ୍ଣ ମହତାବ ସଂପୃକ୍ତ କମିଟିର ସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ ଅନୁସାରେ ସରକାରଙ୍କ ପକ୍ଷରୁ ଯେଉଁ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟାନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ନିଆଯାଇଛି ତାର ସୂଚନା ଦେବାକୁ ଯାଇ ଘରୋଇ ବିଭାଗର ବିଜ୍ଞପ୍ତିଟି ପାଠ କରିଥିଲେ । ଏହା ବିଧାନ ସଭାକୁ ସାର୍ବଭୌମ କରିବାକୁ ଉଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ଥିଲା । ଯେତେବେଳେ ଆଜିର ବିଧାନ ସୌଧ 1961 ଫେବୃୟାରୀ 16 ତାରିଖରେ ଉଦ୍‌ଘାଟିତ ହେଲା, ବିଧାନ ସଭାକୁ ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ସ୍ଥାନ ଓ ମର୍ଯ୍ୟାଦା ଦେବାକୁ କିପରି 2 ବର୍ଷ କଠିନ ଉଦ୍ୟମ କରିବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିଥିଲା ତାହା ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ପ୍ରକାଶ କରିଥିଲେ ।

ବିଧାନସଭା ଭଙ୍ଗ ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଙ୍ଗେ ବାଚସ୍ପତି ତାଙ୍କ ପଦବୀ ହରାଇବା ପରଂପରାକୁ କେବଳ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କ ଉଦ୍ୟମରେ ହିଁ ଭଙ୍ଗ କରାଯାଇଥିଲା । ସମ୍ବିଧାନର 179 ଧାରା ନିୟମାନୁଯାୟୀ ଏହି ପରଂପରାକୁ ଉଠାଇଦେବାକୁ ଦାବୀ କରି ସେ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ସରକାରଙ୍କ ସହିତ ଏକାଧିକ ପତ୍ରାଳାପ କରି ଶେଷରେ ଦାବୀ ହାସଲ କରିଥିଲେ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଦୁଃଖର

କଥା ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଆସେଲୁଁ ସେକ୍ରେଟାରୀଏଟ୍ ତାଙ୍କୁ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ କରିନଥିଲ । 1961 ଜୁନ୍ 25ରେ ମହାତାବକ ମହାମଣ୍ଡଳ ଭାଙ୍ଗିଗଲା । ଶ୍ରୀ ସୁଖଠଶଙ୍କର ଥା'ନ୍ତି ରାଜ୍ୟପାଳ । ମୁଖ୍ୟ ଶାସନ ସଚିବ ଶ୍ରୀ ରାମନାଥନ୍ । ମହାମଣ୍ଡଳ ଭାଙ୍ଗିଯିବା ପରେ ପରେ ସେ ସରକାରୀ ବାସଗୃହ ଛାଡ଼ି ଦେଇଥିଲେ । ଖୋଦ୍ ରାଜ୍ୟପାଳ ଓ ମୁଖ୍ୟ ଶାସନ ସଚିବ ବାସଗୃହ ନଛାଡ଼ିବା ପାଇଁ କରିଥିବା ଅନୁରୋଧକୁ ସେ ରସା କରିନଥିଲେ । କିନ୍ତୁ ନୂଆ ବିଧାନ ସଭା ଗଠିତ ହୋଇ ବାଚସ୍ପତି ନିର୍ବାଚିତ (1-7-61)ହେବା ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ସେ ବାଚସ୍ପତି ରହିବା ସରକାରୀ ସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ ହେଲା । ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଏହି ପ୍ରଚେଷ୍ଟା ଫଳରେ ଭାରତର ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ରାଜ୍ୟ ପାଇଁ ଏହି ନୀତି ଅନୁସରଣ କରାଯାଉଛି ।

ଶେଷ ଜୀବନରେ ରୋଗ ଶଯ୍ୟାରେ ଥାଇ ମଧ୍ୟ ସେ ମହାଭାରତର ଭୀଷ୍ମ ପରି ଅବିଚଳିତ ଥିଲେ । ତାଙ୍କ ମୃତ୍ୟୁପରେ ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରୀୟ ମର୍ଯ୍ୟାଦା ସହକାରେ ବକ୍ସଲ ବନରେ ତାଙ୍କର ଅନ୍ୟ ସାଥୀମାନଙ୍କ ନିକଟରେ ତାଙ୍କ ଚିତାଗ୍ନି ଜଳି ଉଠିଥିଲା । ସେହିବର୍ଷ (1967) ଡସେମ୍ବର 4 ତାରିଖରେ ରାଜ୍ୟ ବିଧାନ ସଭାରେ ତାଙ୍କ ପ୍ରତି ଯେଉଁ ଗଭୀର ଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧାଞ୍ଜଳୀ ଜ୍ଞାପନ କରାଯାଇଥିଲା, ତାହା ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାନ କଲେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ କିପରି ପ୍ରତିଭାଦୀପ୍ତ ଥିଲେ ତାହା ସହଜରେ ଅନୁମେୟ ।

ଆଜ ବିଧାନସଭା ପରିସରରେ ତାଙ୍କର ପ୍ରତିମୂର୍ତ୍ତି ସ୍ଥାପନ କରି ଆମେ ତାଙ୍କୁ ସମ୍ମାନିତ କରିବୁ ବା କ'ଣ ? ଅଧିକନ୍ତୁ ନିଜକୁ ଗୌରବାନ୍ୱିତ କରୁଛୁ ।

ମହାନ ବିପ୍ଳବୀ ଦୂରଦର୍ଶୀ ନେତା ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ

ଇଂ; ମଧୁସୂଦନ ଦାଶ

ସାଧାରଣ ସଂପାଦକ

ପଞ୍ଜିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ସ୍ମୃତି ସମିତି, ଭୁବନେଶ୍ୱର

ଛାତ୍ରାବସାରୁ ବିପ୍ଳବୀଙ୍କ ସହ ସଂଗ୍ରାମ

ନୀଳକଂଠ ୧୯ମ ଶ୍ରେଣୀର ଛାତ୍ରଥିଲେବେଳେ ଗୋପବନ୍ଧୁଙ୍କ ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଂକଳ୍ପ କରିଥିଲେ ସେମାନେ ଦେଶପାଇଁ କିଛି କରିବେ । ଦେଶ ସେତେବେଳେ ପରାଧୀନଥିଲା—ସେମାନେ କିଛିନକଲେ ଦେଶଲୋକଙ୍କ ଅବସ୍ଥାର ଉନ୍ନତି ସାଧିତ ହୋଇପାରିବ ନାହିଁ ବୋଲି ସେମାନେ ଚିନ୍ତା କରିଥିଲେ ।

ପୁରୀଜିଲ୍ଲା ସ୍କୁଲରେ ପଢୁଥିବାବେଳେ ବଙ୍ଗଳାର ସଭାସଦାଦୀ ଦଳର କଣେ ମୁଖ୍ୟକର୍ମୀ ‘ଶଶିଦା’ ଆସି ପୁରୀରେ ରହିଲେ । ସେ ନୀଳକଂଠ, ଗୋଦାବରୀଶ ପ୍ରଭୃତି ୪ଜଣ ଛାତ୍ରଙ୍କୁ ତାଙ୍କର ଶିଷ୍ୟରୂପେ ବାଛିଥିଲେ ଓ ସେମାନଙ୍କ ସହିତ ବିପ୍ଳବ ସଂପର୍କୀୟ ନାନା ଆଲୋଚନା କରୁଥିଲେ । ପରେ ନୀଳକଂଠ ଓ ଗୋଦାବରୀଶ ଯେତେବେଳେ କଟକରେ ରହିଲେ, ଏମାନଙ୍କର ଗୋପବନ୍ଧୁଙ୍କ “ତରୁଣ ଉତ୍କଳସଂଘ” ବ୍ୟତୀତ ଆଉ ଗୋଟିଏ ସଂଘଥିଲା, ଯାହାର ବୈଠକ ଗଢୀର ରାତ୍ରିରେ କେବେ ନିର୍ଜନ କିଲପଡ଼ିଆରେ, କେବେ ମହାନଦୀ କୂଳରେ, କେବେ ବା କାଠଯୋଡ଼ି ନଈ ବାଲି-ଉପରେ ବସୁଥିଲା । ଗୋଦାବରୀଶବାବୁ ପୁଣି କହନ୍ତି “ନୀଳକଂଠ ବାବୁ ଉତ୍କଳ ସୁଭାବର ଛାତ୍ରବୋଲି ତାଙ୍କର ରାତିରେ ହଷ୍ଟେଲରୁ ଛାତ୍ରମାନେ ଶୋଇପଡ଼ିବାପରେ ଗୁଲିଯିବାର ଜାଣୁଥିଲେ ମଧ୍ୟ ହଷ୍ଟେଲ ସୁପରିଟେଣ୍ଡଣ୍ଟ ଏଥିପାଇଁ ତାଙ୍କର ଦୋଷ ଧରୁନଥିଲେ” ।

ସୁଭାଷଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ଓ ତାଙ୍କ ପରବାର ସହ ସଂପର୍କ

ଏତେବେଳେ ନୀଳକଂଠଙ୍କ ସାଥୀ ଗୋଦାବରୀଶବାବୁ ସୁଭାଷଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ବୋଷଙ୍କ ଗୃହଶିକ୍ଷକ ଥିଲେ । ପରେ ପୁଣି ଯେତେବେଳେ ନୀଳକଂଠ ସତ୍ୟବାଦୀ ବନ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟର ହେଡ଼ମାଷ୍ଟର ହେଲେ ସୁଭାଷଙ୍କ ପିତା କଟକର ଆଡ଼ଭୋକେଟ ଶ୍ରୀଯୁକ୍ତ ଜାନକୀନାଥ ବୋଷ ବନ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ ସହିତ ଘନିଷ୍ଠଭାବରେ ସଂପୃକ୍ତଥାଇ ନୀଳକଂଠଙ୍କ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ ଅତ୍ୟନ୍ତ ପ୍ରୀତ ହେଉଥିଲେ ।

ବନ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟରେ ବୋମା ତଥାବ ଦେବାକଥା

ବନ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟର ସୁନାମ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଓ ଓଡ଼ିଶାବାହାରେ ପରିବ୍ୟାପ୍ତ ହୁଅନ୍ତେ ସବୁ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରୁ ପିଲାମାନେ ଏଠାକୁ ପଢ଼ିବାକୁ ଆସିଲେ, ସରକାର ଏଥିରେ ଆତଙ୍କିତ ହୋଇପଡ଼ିଲେ । ଦିନେ ବିହାର-ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଛୋଟଲଟ ଗେଟ୍‌ସାହେବ ଅଗ୍ନିକଭାବେ ଆସି ସ୍କୁଲ ପରିଦର୍ଶନ କରି ହେଡ଼ମାଷ୍ଟର ନୀଳକଂଠଙ୍କୁ ପଚାରିଲେ “ଆପଣମାନେ ଏଠି ବୋମାତିଆରି କରୁଛନ୍ତି?” ନୀଳକଂଠ କ୍ଷତକପାଇଁ ଅପ୍ରତିଭାହୋଇ କହିଲେ “Yes, but they are Life bombs & will burst in course of time”.

ଅଳ୍ପକାଳପାଇଁ ଦେଶପ୍ରେମୀ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ କଲିକତା ବିଶ୍ୱବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟର ଅଧ୍ୟାପକ

ଏହି ବନ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ ପରିଦର୍ଶନକରି କଲିକତା ବିଶ୍ୱବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟର କୁଳପତି ସାର ଆଶୁତୋଷ ମୁଖାର୍ଜୀ ନୀଳକଂଠଙ୍କ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ ଅତ୍ୟନ୍ତ ପ୍ରୀତହୋଇ ତାଙ୍କୁ କଲିକତା ବିଶ୍ୱବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟର ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଓ ତୁଳନାତ୍ମକ ଭାଷା ଚର୍ଚ୍ଚର ଅଧ୍ୟାପକ ହେବାଲାଗି ନିମନ୍ତ୍ରଣ କଲେ । ନୀଳକଂଠ ଗୋପବନ୍ଧୁ ବାବୁଙ୍କର ଅନୁମତିନେଇ ସେଠାକୁ ୨ବର୍ଷପାଇଁ ଯିବାର ଚୁକ୍ତିକଲେ ଓ କଲିକତା ବିଶ୍ୱବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟରେ ୧୯୨୦ ସେପ୍ଟେମ୍ବର ୨୦ ତାରିଖରେ ଯୋଗଦେଲେ ।

ରାଜନୀତିରେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ—ଅସହଯୋଗର ଯାତ୍ରୀ

ମାତ୍ର ସାତ୍ତେ ତିନି ମାସ ପରେ ଯେତେବେଳେ ଦେଶରେ ମହାତ୍ମା ଗାନ୍ଧୀଙ୍କର ଅସହଯୋଗ ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନ ଆରମ୍ଭ ହେଲା, ବିପ୍ଳବୀ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଆଉ ଧର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଧରି ରହି ପାରିଲେ ନାହିଁ । ଟେଲିଗ୍ରାମ ଦ୍ୱାରା ଗୋପବନ୍ଧୁ ବାବୁଙ୍କୁ ସାକ୍ଷିଗୋପାଳରୁ ତୁକାଇ 1921 ଜାନୁଆରୀ 6 ତାରିଖ ଦିନ ବିଶ୍ୱବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟର ଲେଉଟନାୟ ଅଧ୍ୟାପକ ପଦ ଛାଡ଼ି ସମ୍ବଲପୁର ଅଭିମୁଖେ ଯାତ୍ରା କଲେ । ସେଠାରେ ତା ପରଦିନ ଶୋଭାଯାତ୍ରାର ଅଗ୍ରଭାଗରେ ରହି କଂଗ୍ରେସ ପତାକା ଧରି ଗାଇ ଗାଇ ଚାଲିଲେ,

“ସୁରାଜ ଭାୟା ଅଲବତ ହୋଗା
ଛୋଡ଼କେ ଆଓ ଗୋଲମୀ
ଭାରତ ଲଡ଼କା ଗୋଲମ୍ ହୋକେ
କାହେ କରୋ ବଦ୍‌ନାମୀ (୧)”

ସୁଲ କଚେରୀ, କାଉନ୍ସିଲ କୋ
ଇୟାଦ୍ ର୍‌ଖୋ ବାବୁଜୀ,
ମାୟା ଏସବ୍ ଗୋଲମୀକା
ଇସ୍‌ମେ ନାଇ ଜୁଲେଜୀ (୨)

ବାସ୍ତବରେ ସୁଲ କଚେରୀ ଓ ଅଧିକାରୀ ଖାଲି ପଢ଼ିଗଲା, ସମସ୍ତେ ଧାଇଁଆସି ବିରାଟ ଶୋଭାଯାତ୍ରାରେ ଯୋଗ ଦେଉଥାନ୍ତି ।

ସମ୍ବଲପୁରରେ ସେ ୯ ମାସ ରହିଥିଲେ । ‘ସେବା’ ନାମକ ଏକ ସାପ୍ତାହିକ ପତ୍ରିକା ମଧ୍ୟ ପ୍ରକାଶ କରିଥିଲେ । ସେଠାରେ ନାହିଁ ନ ଥିବା ଉତ୍ସାହ ଓ ଉଦ୍‌ଦୀପନା ଖେଳିଗଲା । ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ମହାତ୍ମା ଗାନ୍ଧୀଙ୍କୁ ସେଠା ଅବସ୍ଥା ଦେଖିବା ନିମନ୍ତେ ନିମନ୍ତ୍ରଣ କଲେ । ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀ ପରେ ସମୟ କରି ଆସିବେ ବୋଲି କହିଲେ । 1927ରେ ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀ ସତ୍ୟବାଦୀ ଆସିବାରୁ ଗୋପବନ୍ଧୁବାବୁ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କୁ ସତ୍ୟବାଦୀ ଆସିବାପାଇଁ ପରାମର୍ଶ ଦେଲେ ।

ସୂତାକଟାରେ ସ୍ୱରାଜ୍ୟ ମିଳିବ ନାହିଁ—ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀଙ୍କ ସହ ଯୁକ୍ତି

ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀଙ୍କୁ ସତ୍ୟବାଦୀଠାରେ ସାକ୍ଷାତ କରି ସୂତାକଟା ଦ୍ୱାରା ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ବା ଦେଶର ଆର୍ଥିକ ସମସ୍ୟାର ସମାଧାନ ହୋଇ ପାରିବ ନାହିଁ । ସ୍ୱରାଜ୍ୟ ମିଶିବାତ ଦୂରର କଥା ବୋଲି ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀଙ୍କୁ ବୁଝାଇଥିଲେ । ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଲେଖିଛନ୍ତି “ମୋତେ ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀ ଏ ଦିଗରେ ବୁଝାଇ ସନ୍ତୁଷ୍ଟ କରି ପାରିଲେ ନାହିଁ । ମୁଁ ଶେଷକୁ କହିଲି ତା ହେଲେ “By faith and faith alone we embrace Believing when we cannt prove” ମୁଁ Tennyson କ ‘In Memorium’ରୁ ଏହି ଧାଡ଼ିଟି ବୋଲିବା ପରେ ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀ କହିଥିଲେ “Exactly, that is the attitude” । କିନ୍ତୁ ମୋର ସେତେବେଳକୁ ଆଉ ଯୁକ୍ତି ଛାଡ଼ି Beliefରେ ଭୁଲିବା ପାଇଁ ଅବସ୍ଥା ଚହଲି ଆସିଥିଲା, ମୁଁ ସେଠାରୁ ନମସ୍କାର କରି ଉଠି ଆସିଲି । ”

ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର Prochangers (ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନବାଦୀ କଂଗ୍ରେସର ସ୍ୱରାଜ୍ୟ) ଦଳରେ ଯୋଗଦାନ

ଅସହଯୋଗ ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନରେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କୁ ୬ ମାସ ଜେଲ ହେଲା । ଏ ମଧ୍ୟରେ କଂଗ୍ରେସରେ ବିଭାଜନ ହେଲା— Prochangers ଏବଂ No. changers, Prochangesଙ୍କ ନୀତି ହେଲା, ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସଭା କରିଆରେ ଦେଶର ସ୍ୱାଧୀନତାକୁ ତୁରାନ୍ୱିତ କରିବା ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଏହି ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନବାଦୀ (Prochanger) ଦଳରେ ଯୋଗଦେଲେ । ପରେ ନିର୍ବାଚନରେ ଜୟଯୁକ୍ତ ହୋଇ ମୋତିଲାଲ ନେହରୁଙ୍କ ସଭାପତିତ୍ୱରେ କଂଗ୍ରେସ (ସ୍ୱରାଜ୍ୟ) ପାର୍ଟୀର ସାଧାରଣ ସଂପାଦକ ହେଲେ ! ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ 1924ରୁ ୧୯୪୫ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଏହି ପଦରେ ରହିଥିଲେ ।

କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ଆସେମ୍ବ୍ଲିର ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ କୃତିମଧ୍ୟରେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ସୁଭାଷଙ୍କର ନିକଟତମହେବା :-

ଏତିକିବେଳେ ସେ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ଆସେମ୍ବ୍ଲିରେ ବହୁ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖନୀୟ ପାରଦର୍ଶୀତା ଦେଖାଇଥିଲେ । କଂଗ୍ରେସ ସ୍ୱରାଜ୍ୟ ପାର୍ଟୀ ସଂଖ୍ୟାଗରିଷ୍ଠ ହୋଇନଥିଲେହେଁ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ବହୁକ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଅନ୍ୟମାନଙ୍କୁଧରି ସରକାରଙ୍କୁ ଭୋଟରେ ପରାଜିତ କରିପାରୁଥିଲେ ।

ଏଠି ସେଥିରୁ ସୁଭାଷବୋଷଙ୍କ ସଂପର୍କୀୟ ଦୁଇଟି ବିଷୟର ଅବତାରଣାକରିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ମନେକରୁଛୁ—

(୧) ୧୯୨୯ ମସିହାରେ ଜାମ୍‌ସେଦ୍‌ପୁର ନିକଟସ୍ଥ ଗୋଲମୁରି ଟିନ୍‌ପ୍ଲେଟ କାରଖାନାରେ ସୁଭାଷଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ବୋଷ ଗୋଟିଏ ଶ୍ରମିକ ଧର୍ମଘଟର ନେତୃତ୍ୱ ନେଇଥିଲେ । କାରଣଥିଲା, ଏକା କାମପାଇଁ ବିଦେଶୀୟ ଶ୍ରମିକମାନଙ୍କୁ ମାସକୁ ୧,୯୦୦ଟଙ୍କା ଦରମା ମିଳୁଥିବାବେଳେ ଭାରତୀୟ ଶ୍ରମିକକୁ ମାତ୍ର ୮୮ଟଙ୍କା ଦିଆଯାଉଥିଲା । ଏହାର ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାନ କରିବା ନିମନ୍ତେ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ତରଫରୁ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କୁ ଦାୟିତ୍ୱ ଦିଆଯାଇଥିଲା । ସେତେବେଳେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର Assembly ସଭ୍ୟ । ଏହି ବୈଷମ୍ୟ ଦୂରକରିବା ନିମନ୍ତେ ସେ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସଭାରେ ଦାବୀ ଉପସ୍ଥାପନା କଲେ । କଂଗ୍ରେସ ସ୍ୱରାଜ୍ୟ ଦଳ ସଂଖ୍ୟାଲଘୁଥିଲେହେଁ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଅନ୍ୟବନ୍ଧୁମାନଙ୍କୁଧରି ସରକାରଙ୍କୁ ୫୧-୪୨ ଭୋଟରେ ପରାସ୍ତ କରିବାରେ ଉଭୟ ଶ୍ରମିକମାନଙ୍କ ବେତନହାର ସମୀକରଣ କରାଯାଇ ପାରିଥିଲା ।

(୨) ୧୯୩୬ ମସିହା ମାର୍ଚ୍ଚମାସରେ ସୁଭାଷଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ବୋଷ ବିଦେଶରେ ଥିବାବେଳେ ସର ଭାରତକାର ତାଙ୍କର ଅନୁପ୍ରବେଶ ପାଇଁ ନିଷେଧାଜ୍ଞା ଜାରି କରିଥିଲେ । ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଏହା ବିରୁଦ୍ଧରେ ଗୋଟିଏ adjournment motion ଆଣି ଭାରତର ଏଇ ବରପୁତ୍ରଙ୍କପାଇଁ ଲଗ୍ନୁ ରହିଥିବା ନିଷେଧାଜ୍ଞା ବିରୋଧରେ ସରକାରଙ୍କୁ ୬୫-୫୬ ଭୋଟ ରେ ପରାସ୍ତକରି ଏହି ଆଦେଶକୁ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟାହାର କରିଦିଆଯାଇଥିଲେ ।

ଏସବୁପାଇଁ ବିପ୍ଳବୀ ସୁଭାଷ ବୋଷଙ୍କ ସଂଗେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କ ସଂପର୍କ ଘନିଷ୍ଠରୁ ଘନିଷ୍ଠତର ହୋଇଥିଲା । ଏମଧ୍ୟରେ ସୁଭାଷବାବୁ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କୁ ଭିଏନାରୁ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଗତ ଚିଠିମଧ୍ୟ ଲେଖୁଥିଲେ ଓ ଓଡ଼ିଶାଭୂଇଁପ୍ରତି ତାଙ୍କର ଗଭୀର ମମତାଧିକ ପ୍ରକାଶ କରିଥିଲେ ।

(୧)

ମଣିକାଞ୍ଚନର ସଂଯୋଗ :- ବିପ୍ଳବୀ ସୁଭାଷଙ୍କ ସହିତ ବିପ୍ଳବୀ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ

ଏହାପରେ ବିପ୍ଳବୀ ସୁଭାଷଙ୍କ ସହିତ ବିପ୍ଳବୀ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ରାଜନୀତି କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଏକତ୍ର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକରିବାରପଥ ସୁଗମ ହୋଇଗଲା-ଘଟଣାଟି ଏହିପରି-

ଦ୍ଵିତୀୟ ମହାଯୁଦ୍ଧ ଆରମ୍ଭହେବା ପୂର୍ବରୁ ଗାନ୍ଧିଜୀଙ୍କର ପ୍ରାର୍ଥୀ ଶ୍ରୀଯୁକ୍ତ ପଟ୍ଟଚାଢ଼ି ସୀତାରାମାୟାଙ୍କୁ ବହୁଭୋଗରେ ପରାସ୍ତକରି ସୁଭାଷହେ ବୋଷ ୧୯୩୮ରେ ଭାରତୀୟ ଜାତୀୟ କଂଗ୍ରେସର ସଭାପତିଭାବେ ୨ୟଥରପାଇଁ ନିର୍ବାଚିତ ହୋଇଥାନ୍ତି । ଯୁଦ୍ଧ ଆସନଜାଣି ସୁଭାଷହେ ଗାନ୍ଧିଜୀଙ୍କୁ କହିଲେ “ଏହି ଯୁଦ୍ଧରେ ବ୍ରିଟିଶ୍ ସରକାର ଆମର ସାହାଯ୍ୟ ଲୋଡ଼ିବେ । ଆମେତ ଏତେ ଦିନଧରି ସରକାରଙ୍କ ସହିତ ଭାରତର ସ୍ଵାଧୀନତାପାଇଁ ନାନାଭାବରେ ଲଢ଼ାଇକରି ଆସୁଥାଉଁ-ଏବେ ସେମାନେ ଆମର ସାହାଯ୍ୟ ଗ୍ରହଣକରିଲେ ଆପଣ ବଡ଼ଲଢ଼କୁ ପରୁରନ୍ତୁ, ସେମାନେ ଆମକୁ କେବେ ସ୍ଵାଧୀନତା ଦେବେ ତାହା ଠିକ୍‌କରି କହନ୍ତୁ । ତାହାହେଲେ ଆମେ ତାଙ୍କୁ ଏହି ଯୁଦ୍ଧରେ ସବୁପ୍ରକାର ସାହାଯ୍ୟ ଦେଇପାରିବା” । ଗାନ୍ଧିଜୀ ସୁଭାଷଙ୍କ ଏ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବକୁ ରୋକ୍‌ଠୋକ୍ ମନାକରିଦେଲେ । କହିଲେ “ବିଲତରେ ଗୋଟିଏ ବୋମା ପଡ଼ିବାକଥା ଭାବିଲେ ମୋ ଛାତି ଭିତରଟା କିପରି ହୋଇଯାଉଛି । ମୁଁ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଏଭଳି ବିପତ୍ତିବେଳେ ତାଙ୍କୁ ଏପରି ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ପଚାରି ପାରିବି ନାହିଁ” । ସୁଭାଷବାବୁ ନିରାଶହୋଇ ଅନ୍ୟପକ୍ଷା ଚିନ୍ତାକଲେ ଏବଂ ଛାରିକଲେ ଯେ ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଶତ୍ରୁପକ୍ଷଙ୍କ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ ନେବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ । ଭାରତର ଅନ୍ୟ ନେତାମାନଙ୍କ ବ୍ୟତୀତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କ ସହିତ ଏ ବିଷୟରେ ପରାମର୍ଶ କଲେ । ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ତାଙ୍କୁ ଅକୃଷ୍ଣ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ ଦେବାପାଇଁ ଅଂଗିକାରକଲେ । ସୁଭାଷବାବୁ କଟକ ଆସିଲେ । ଉତ୍କଳ ପ୍ରଦେଶ କଂଗ୍ରେସର ସଭାପତି ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ତାଙ୍କୁ ହାତୀରେ ବସାଇ କଟକସହର ସାରା ବୁଲାଇ, ନାହିଁନଥିବା ସଂବନ୍ଧ ନା ଜ୍ଞାପନ କଲେ । ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ଏହି ସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ ଯେ ଏକ ସୁଚିନ୍ତିତ ବିଗ୍ରହଧାରୀ ଓ ଦୂରଦର୍ଶିତାର ପରିଗ୍ରହକ । ପରବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଘଟଣା ପ୍ରବାହରୁ ତାହା ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟହେବ । ସୁଭାଷଙ୍କୁ ସଂବନ୍ଧ ନା ଜଣାଇବା ଜଣେ ଭୂତପୂର୍ବ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ସଭାପତିଙ୍କ ପ୍ରତି ସୌଜନ୍ୟ ମୂଳକ ହୋଇଥିଲେ ହେଁ, ଏଥିପାଇଁ ତାଙ୍କୁ ପ୍ରଦେଶ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ସଭାପତି ପଦରୁ ଇସ୍ତଫା ଦେବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିଥିଲା-ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ସେଥିପାଇଁ ଖାତିରି କରିନଥିଲେ ।

ଉତ୍କଳ ଗୁରୁ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ

ଏବେ ଦୁଇନେତା କଟକ ଓ ବ୍ରହ୍ମପୁରରେ ସଭାକରି ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନର କର୍ତ୍ତବ୍ୟ ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ବୁଝାଇ ଲୋକଙ୍କୁ ଉଦ୍‌ବୁଦ୍ଧ କରିବା ପରେ ପୁରୀ ଅଭିମୁଖେ ଯାତ୍ରାକଲେ । ବାଟରେ ଚନ୍ଦନପୁରଠାରେ ଏକ ବିରାଟ ଜନ ସଭାର ଆୟୋଜନ କରାଯାଇଥିଲା । ସେଠାରେ ସଭା ଆରମ୍ଭ ହେବା ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଙ୍ଗେ କେତେକ ଲୋକ ସୁଭାଷ ବାବୁଙ୍କୁ ପ୍ରଶ୍ନକଲେ “ଆପଣ ତ ଏଯାଏ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ସପକ୍ଷରେ କହୁଥିଲେ-ଏବେ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ବିରୁଦ୍ଧରେ ପ୍ରଚାର କରିବାକୁ ବାହାରିଛନ୍ତି କାହିଁକି ? ”

ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଙ୍ଗେ ପ୍ରଶ୍ନିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ସଭାପତିର ଆସନରୁ ଉଠିପଡ଼ି କହିଲେ, “ସେ ପ୍ରଶ୍ନର ଉତ୍ତର ସୁବାଷ ବାବୁ ଦେବେ ନାହିଁ-ତାର ଉତ୍ତର ମୁଁ ଦେବି,” । ପୁରାଣ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣିତ ବିଶ୍ଵାମିତ୍ର ରକ୍ଷିଙ୍କର ଧ୍ୟାନ ଓ ସେଥିରେ ସ୍ଵର୍ଗରେ ଇନ୍ଦ୍ରଙ୍କ ଆସନ ଟଳମଳ ହୁଅନ୍ତେ, ଇନ୍ଦ୍ର ତାଙ୍କର ପରମାସୁନ୍ଦରୀ ଅପସରୀ ମେନକାଙ୍କୁ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଭଙ୍ଗ କରିବାକୁ ପଠାଇଲେ । 3 ଦିନର ନାଚ,ଗାନ ପରେ ମୁନିଙ୍କ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଭଙ୍ଗ ନ ହେବାରୁ ଶେଷରେ ମେନକା କିପରି କୌଶଳ କରି ରାତି ଅଧରେ ମୁନି ଧ୍ୟାନରୁ ଆଖି ମଳମଳ ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ପାଖର ନିମ୍ନ ଗଛ ଛେଲିରୁ ପୁଲାଏ ପାଟିରେ ପୁରାଇ ଦେଇ ପୁଣି ଯାଇ ଧ୍ୟାନମଗ୍ନ ହେଉଥିବାର ଜାଣିପାରିଲେ ଚତୁରୀ ମେନକା ପାଖ ଗଛରୁ କିଛି ମହୁ ଆଣି ନିମ୍ନଗଛର ସେହି ଭାଗରେ ବୋଳି ଦେଲେ । ମୁନି ଯେତେବେଳେ ସେ ଛେଲିରୁ ପୁଲାଏ ପାଟିରେ ଭର୍ତ୍ତୀକରି ଦିଅନ୍ତି, ଅତି ସୁସ୍ଵାଦୁ ଲାଗିବାରୁ ହଠାତ୍ ଆଖି ମେଲକରି ଦିଅନ୍ତେ, ନୃତ୍ୟଗାନ-ରଖି ମେନକାକୁ ଦେ ମୋହଗ୍ରସ୍ତ ହୋଇପଡ଼ିଲେ” ଏବଂ ଧ୍ୟାନ କଥା ଭୁଲିଯାଇ ମେନକାଙ୍କୁ ଧରି ଆଣିମକୁ ଚାଲିଲେ “ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ, ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ କହି ଚାଲିଲେ, କଂଗ୍ରେସ ବାଲଙ୍କ ଅବସ୍ଥା ସେହିଆଁ ହୋଇଛି । ସେମାନେ ସାମାନ୍ୟ ପ୍ରାଦେଶିକ ସ୍ଵାଧୀନତା ମୋହରେ ପଡ଼ି, ଆମର ଅସଲ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ଯେ ଭାରତର ମୁକ୍ତି, ତାହାଭୁଲି ଯାଇଛନ୍ତି । ସୁବାଷ ବାବୁ ସେ ଆପଣମାନଙ୍କୁ କହିବା ନିମନ୍ତେ ଆସିଛନ୍ତି” । ଏଥିରେ ଲୋକଙ୍କର କଂଗ୍ରେସ ଉପରେ ଥିବା ପୂର୍ବର ଧାରଣା ବଦଳି ଯିବାର ଦେଖି ସୁବାଷ ବାବୁ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କୁ କହିଲେ “ଆପଣ କେବଳ ମୋର ଗୁରୁ ନୁହନ୍ତି ସାରା ଉତ୍କଳର ଗୁରୁ-ଉତ୍କଳ ଗୁରୁ।

ସୁବାଷବାବୁଙ୍କ ପରମର୍ଶରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାରେ ମିଳିତ ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀମଣ୍ଡଳ ଗଠନ କରାଗଲା—

ପରେ ସୁବାଷବାବୁ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠକୁ କଲିକତା ଡକାଇଲେ ଓ ସେଠାରେ ଫରଫୁଡ଼ ବୁକର ଭବିଷ୍ୟତ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟପନ୍ଥା ଛିନ୍ନ କଲେ । ଠିକ୍ ହେଲା, ଭାରତର ପୂର୍ବପଟ ରାଜ୍ୟ ବଙ୍ଗ, ବିହାର, ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଓ ଆସାମରେ ତାଙ୍କ ଦଳର ସରକାରମାନ ଗଠିତ ହେବ । ସୁବାଷକୁ ଶତ୍ରୁପକ୍ଷର ସାହାଯ୍ୟ ନେଇ ଜାପାନ ସହିତ ମିଶି ପୂର୍ବପଟୁ ଭାରତ ଆକ୍ରମଣ କଲବେଳକୁ ଏଇ ସରକାରମାନ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଅନୁପ୍ରବେଶରେ ସହାୟକ ହେବ, ସୁବାଷବାବୁ ନିଜେ ଜର୍ମାନୀ ଓ ଜାପାନ ଯାଇ ସେଠା ସରକାରଙ୍କର ସାହାଯ୍ୟ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିବେ । ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠକୁ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଭାର ଦିଆଗଲା—ତେବେ କଗ୍ରେସ ଦଳ ଆସେମ୍ବଲିରେ ସଂଖ୍ୟା ଗରିଷ୍ଠତା ଥିବା ହେତୁ ସୁବାଷପନ୍ଥୀ ସରକାର ଗଠିବା ଏକ ଦୁରୁହ ବ୍ୟାପାର ଥିଲା । ତେବେ ବୈଠକରେ ସମସ୍ତେ କହିଲେ “ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ବାବୁଙ୍କ ଦ୍ଵାରା ସବୁ ସମ୍ଭବ” । ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଆସି କଲେ ବଳେ କୌଶଳେ ପାଇବା ମହାରାଜାଙ୍କୁ ଧରି ଓଡ଼ିଶାରେ ଗୋଟିଏ ମିଳିତ ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀମଣ୍ଡଳ ଗଢ଼ିଦେଲେ ।

ଜନତାର ବିରୋଧକୁ ସାମନା କରିବା

ଏ ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀମଣ୍ଡଳ ପ୍ରତି ସମର୍ଥନ ମିଳିବା ସହଜ କଥା ନୁହେଁ— ଋଷିଆଡ଼େ ସମାଲୋଚନା । ସମର୍ଥନ ପାଇବା ବଡ଼ କଷ୍ଟକର ଥିଲା । ଲୋକଙ୍କର କଂଗ୍ରେସ ପ୍ରୀତି ଖୁବ୍ ଓ ମିଳିତ ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀମଣ୍ଡଳ ପ୍ରତି ଘୋର ବିଦ୍ଵେଷଭାବ । ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀମାନେ ଗଣ୍ଡରେ ଯିବାକୁ ଭୟ କରୁଥାନ୍ତି । ବାସ୍ତବରେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କ ଦଳର ଶିକ୍ଷାମନ୍ତ୍ରୀ ଗୋଦାବରୀଶ ବାବୁ C. I. D. କ ଠାରୁ ବାଟରେ ବିରାଟ ବିକ୍ଷୋଭର ସୂଚନା ପାଇ କାକଟପୁର ଗଣ୍ଡ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ବାତିଲ କରିବାକୁ ଠିକ୍ କଲେ । ଏ ଅବସ୍ଥା ଦେଖି ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ନିଜେ ଶିକ୍ଷାମନ୍ତ୍ରୀଙ୍କ ସହିତ ବାହାରିବାକୁ ତାଙ୍କୁ ଦମ୍ଭ ଦେଲେ । ଶିକ୍ଷାମନ୍ତ୍ରୀଙ୍କ ଗଣ୍ଡ ବେଳେ ଦେଖାଗଲା, ବାଟରେ ନିମାପଡ଼ାଠାରେ ବିରାଟ ବିକ୍ଷୋଭ—ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଜନତାକୁ ବୁଝାଇବାକୁ ଚେଷ୍ଟାକଲେ । ମାତ୍ର ତାଙ୍କୁ ଶୁଣୁଛି କିଏ ? ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଓ ଜନତାର ଏଇ କଥା କଟା କଟି ଘଟଣାକୁ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟକ୍ଷ ଦର୍ଶନ କରି ବର୍ଣ୍ଣନା କରିଛନ୍ତି ।

“କଥା ନଶୁଣନ୍ତି ଜନତା ଖାଲି କରନ୍ତି ରୋଳ,
ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ—କହିଲି “ଟିକିଏ ଶୁଣନ୍ତୁ, ଢୋକି ଗଢ଼ିର ସ୍ଵର”

ବାରଂବାର ଏହା ବୋଲନ୍ତେ ଶେଷେ ଆସେ ଉତ୍ତର,
ଜନତା—“କିଛି ଶୁଣିବୁନି ଏଠାରୁ ଦେଶଦ୍ରୋହୀଏଫେର”

ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ—“ଆସିଛୁ ତ ଯିବୁ ଆଗକୁ କିଆଁନଯିବୁ କହ,
ଦେଶଦ୍ରୋହୀ କିବା କରଲୁ ମତେ ବତାଇ ଦିଅ”

ଜନତା—“କହନ୍ତୁ ବୁଝାଇ କିପାଇଁ ଇଂରେଜର ଯୁଦ୍ଧରେ
ବଳ ଦେଉଛନ୍ତି, ନୁହେଁକି ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀତ୍ଵର ମୋହରେ ? ”

ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ—ଆସ ଦଶକଣ ବସିବା, କଥା ପକାଇଦେବା
ଗୋଟିଏ ମାତର ସର୍ତ୍ତରେ ଏବୁଁ ରାଜି ହୋଇବା,
ଆମ ଦୋଷଥିଲେ ଏଠାରୁ ଆମେ ବାହୁଡ଼ିଯିବୁ
ନତୁବା ଆମରି ସଙ୍ଗତେ, ଆମେ ତୁମକୁ ନେବୁ”

ଏଇଠି ହେଲା ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କ ଜିତାପଟ ଏବଂ ଏହାହିଁ ପ୍ରକୃତରେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ରାଜନୀତି ଦର୍ଶନ ତଥା ଦୂରଦର୍ଶିତା ଓ ଚତୁରତାର ନିଦର୍ଶନ । ଏବେ ନିମାପଡ଼ାର କେତେକେ ମୁଖିଆ ଆସିଲେ—ବହୁ ଯୁକ୍ତିତର୍କ ହେଲା—ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କୁ କିଏବା ଯୁକ୍ତିରେ ପାରନ୍ତା ? ନିଳକଣ୍ଠ ଲୋକଙ୍କୁ ବୁଝାଇଲେ, “ଏହା ଯୁଦ୍ଧ—ବିଦ୍ୟା ଶିଖିବାର ଏକ ପ୍ରକୃଷ୍ଟ ସମୟ—ଏତେବେଳେ ଭାରତବାସୀ ଯୁଦ୍ଧ-ବିଦ୍ୟା ଶିଖିଗଲେ, ଯୁଦ୍ଧରେ ଯେଉଁ ପକ୍ଷ ବିଜୟୀ ହୁଅନ୍ତୁନା କାହିଁକି, ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଭାରତ ପ୍ରତି ସମ୍ମାନ ରହିବ ଓ ଭିତରେ ଭୟ ମଧ୍ୟ ରହିବ । ଏ ସୁଯୋଗ ଛାଡ଼ିବାର ନୁହେଁ” । ଏଇଠୁ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ନିମାପଡ଼ାଠାରୁ କେତେକଙ୍କୁ ଧରି କାକଟପୁର ଗଲେ ଓ ସେଠାରେ ଜନତାଙ୍କୁ ଏବିଷୟରେ ଉଦ୍‌ବୋଧନ ଦେଲେ । ଏହା ମୁତ୍ତିପାଦନ କରେ ଯେ ବିରୋଧପକ୍ଷର ବିକ୍ଷୋଭରୁ ଡରି ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀମାନଙ୍କ ଉତ୍ଥାସରେ ବସି ରହିବା ଠାରୁ ତାଙ୍କୁ ମୁକାବିଲା ପାଇଁ ବାହାରିବା ଦୂରଦର୍ଶିତାର ପରିରୂପ ଓ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ବିଶେଷତ୍ଵ ।

ବିଧାନ ସଭାରେ “ଦେଶଦ୍ରୋହୀ” ଆଖ୍ୟାର ମୁକାବଳ—

ଏହି ‘ଦେଶଦ୍ରୋହୀ’ କଥା ପୁଣି ଉଠିଥିଲା ଏହାର ବହୁପରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ବିଧାନ ସଭାରେ, ଯେତେବେଳେ ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଓ ପଞ୍ଚିତ ଗୋଦାବରୀଶ 1952ରେ ଅନ୍ୟ ଦୁଇଜଣ ସଙ୍ଗୀଙ୍କ ସହ ବିଧାନ ସଭା ବିରୋଧୀ ଦଳର ଆସନ ଅଳଙ୍କୃତ କରିଥିଲେ । କଂଗ୍ରେସ ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀମଣ୍ଡଳ ଇସ୍ତଫା ଦେବା ପରେ ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କ ମିଳିତ ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀମଣ୍ଡଳ ଗଠନ କରାଇଥିବାରୁ କଂଗ୍ରେସବାଲଙ୍କର ତାଙ୍କ ପ୍ରତି ବିଦ୍ରୋହ ରହିବା ଏକ ସାଧାରଣ କଥା । ଜଣେ ଯୁବକ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ସଭ୍ୟ ଏହି କଥାରେ ବିଧାନ ସଭାରେ ଗୋଦାବରୀଶ ବାବୁଙ୍କୁ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ୟକରି ଅପ୍ରେଲ 3, 1952 ରେ “ଦେଶଦ୍ରୋହୀ” ବୋଲି କହନ୍ତେ, ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଙ୍ଗେ ନିଜ ଆସନରୁ (ଆରମ୍ଭତରଫରୁ) ଉଠିପଡ଼ି କହିଲେ “ବାଚସ୍ପତି ମହାଶୟ, ଏହାର ଉତ୍ତର ମୁଁ ଦେବି, ଯେହେତୁ ମୁଁ ସେଇ ମିଳିତ ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀମଣ୍ଡଳ ଗଠନର ପୁରୋଧାଥିଲି” । ସେ କହିଥିଲେ, ରାଜନୀତିରେ ବିଶ୍ୱାସ ଘାତକତା ଯଦି କେହି କରିଥାଏ, ସେ ହେଲେ ଏବର “ପ୍ରଧାନମନ୍ତ୍ରୀ ଓ ଆମ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ସଭାପତି ପଞ୍ଚିତ ଜବହାରଲାଲ ନେହରୁ” ! ସଭାରେ ହଠାତ୍ ଆରମ୍ଭ ହୋଇଗଲା । ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ଏତେବଡ଼ ଆସ୍ପର୍ଦ୍ଧା । ଜବହାରଲାଲଙ୍କୁ ‘ବିଶ୍ୱାସଘାତକ’ କହୁଛନ୍ତି—କଂଗ୍ରେସ ବେଶ୍ ରୁ ହେଲା, “ withdraw, with draw ” ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ କହିଲେ “ଆପଣମାନେ ଧୋର୍ଯ୍ୟଧରି ଶୁଣନ୍ତୁ । ଆପଣଙ୍କ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ଦଳର ସର୍ବୋଚ୍ଚ ନେତା ତଥା ଭାରତର ପ୍ରଧାନମନ୍ତ୍ରୀଙ୍କ ଉପରେ ମୁଁ ଏତେବଡ଼ ଦୋଷାରୋପ କରୁଛି, ତାର କାରଣ ମୁଁ କହୁଛି’ ଆରମ୍ଭ କଲେ “1937 ମସିହା ନିର୍ବାଚନ, ଉତ୍ତର ପ୍ରଦେଶରେ ମୁସଲିମଲିଗ୍ ନିର୍ବାଚନ ଲଢ଼ିବାର ଠିକ୍ କରିଥାନ୍ତି ଲିଗ୍ ନେତା ଜିନ୍ନାଙ୍କ ସଙ୍ଗେ କଥା ହେଲା, ତାଙ୍କ ଲିଗ୍ ମେସରଙ୍କ ସଙ୍ଗେ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ମେସରମାନେ ମିଶି ଏକ କୋଆଲିସନ ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀମଣ୍ଡଳ ଗଠନ କରାଯିବ, ନିର୍ବାଚନ ପରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ପରି ସେଠାରେ କଂଗ୍ରେସର ସଂଖ୍ୟାଗରିଷ୍ଠତା ହେବାରେ ଜବହାରଲାଲ ଆଉ ଲିଗ୍ ପଚାରିଲେ ନାହିଁ । କଂଗ୍ରେସ ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀମଣ୍ଡଳ ଗଠନ କରାଇଲେ । ଏହାକୁ ରାଜନୀତିରେ କୁହାଯାଏ, “ବିଶ୍ୱାସଘାତକତା” ଓ ଏହା ଫଳରେ ହୋଇଥିଲା ପାକିସ୍ତାନର ସୃଷ୍ଟି” । ଓଡ଼ିଶା ମୁସଲିମ୍ ଲିଗ୍ ଏକ ତୃତୀୟାଂଶ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦେଇଥିବାର ଉତ୍ତରରେ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟୁତ୍ପନ୍ନମି ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ କହିଲେ “ମୁଁ ଆପଣମାନଙ୍କ ପରି ଏତେ ବୁଝିମାନ ନୁହେଁ— ଲିଗ୍ ନେତା ଶୋଉନ୍ ଖାଁକୁ ଡ଼ରି ଲିଗ୍ ପ୍ରାପ୍ୟାଂଶ ଦେଇ ପାରି ନଥିଲି” । ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ଏହି ଦମ୍ଭୋକ୍ତିରେ ଓ ଅନ୍ଧାଳିଆ କଥାରେ ସବୁ ଅଣ୍ଟା ପଡ଼ିଗଲା ।

ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ଏହି ସଂକ୍ଷୋଭ ପରେ ଆଉ ବିଶ୍ୱାସଘାତକତା ଶବ୍ଦ ଶୁଣିବାକୁ ମିଳିଲା ନାହିଁ । ଏଠି ଦେଖିବାର କଥା ଗଣତନ୍ତ୍ର ଶାସନରେ ଏହାହିଁ ଥିଲା ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କ ରାଜନୈତିକ ଦର୍ଶନର ଭିତ୍ତି । ରାଜନୀତିକୁ କୁଟନୀତି କୁହାଗଲେ ମଧ୍ୟ ଠକାମି, ବା ଉଷାମିର ସ୍ଥାନ ବର୍ଜନୀୟ, ଏହା ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କ ଠାରେ ଦେଖାଯାଇଥିଲା ।

ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କୁ ଜବାହାରଲାଲଙ୍କ ଆମନ୍ତ୍ରଣ

ଏଇ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କୁ ପରେ କିପରି ସେହି କଂଗ୍ରେସ ସଭାପତି ଓ ଭାରତର ପ୍ରଧାନମନ୍ତ୍ରୀ ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନେହରୁ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ସେଇ ମୁଖ୍ୟମନ୍ତ୍ରୀ ନବକୃଷ୍ଣ ଚୌଧୁରୀଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟସ୍ଥତାରେ ନିମନ୍ତ୍ରଣ ଜଣାଇ ପାଦତଳେ ପ୍ରଣାମ କରି କଂଗ୍ରେସକୁ ଫେରାଇ ନେଇଥିଲେ ଓ ତା ପରେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ କିପରି ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦୟରେ ସେଇ ସତ୍ୟବାଦୀ ନିର୍ବାଚନ ମଣ୍ଡଳୀରୁ ନିର୍ବାଚିତ ହୋଇ ବାଚସ୍ପତିର ଆସନ ଅଳଙ୍କୃତ କରିଥିଲେ ତାହା ବିସ୍ମୟକର ହେଲେ ମଧ୍ୟ ସତ୍ୟ ଏବଂ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କ ଦୂରଦର୍ଶନରେ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦଶନ ।

ପୂର୍ବରଣାଙ୍ଗନରେ ନେତାଜୀଙ୍କ ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଂପର୍କ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାର ମସୂଧା ଓ ରାଜ୍ୟ ଭିତରେ ବିପ୍ଳବର ବହିଁ ଜଳାଇ ରଖିବା—କହିଦେବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ଯେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାରେ ଗୋଟିଏ ମିଳିତ ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀମଣ୍ଡଳ ଗଠନ କରାଇ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ବିପ୍ଳବୀ ମନ ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ରହି ନଥିଲା—ସେ ପାରଳା ମହାରାଜାଙ୍କ ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ଶ୍ରୀ ବିବାକର ପଟ୍ଟନାୟକ ନାମକ ଜଣେ ଏମ୍. ଏଲ୍. ଏ.କୁ ସୁଭାଷଙ୍କ ସଙ୍ଗେ ମନ୍ତ୍ରଣା କରିବାର ମୁସୂଧାକରି ଯୁଦ୍ଧ ଫେରନ୍ତା ଓଡ଼ିଆ ରୁଗ୍ଣ ସୈନ୍ୟ ମାନଙ୍କର ସୁବିଧା କରିବା ବାହାନାରେ ବର୍ମା ସାମ୍ରାଜ୍ୟ ଯାଏ ସରକାରୀ ଅନୁମତି ଯୋଗାଡ଼ କଲେ । ସେଠାରୁ ଏକ ଗୁପ୍ତ ରାସ୍ତାରେ ଯାଇ ଶ୍ରୀ ପଟ୍ଟନାୟକ ସୁଭାଷଙ୍କୁ ଭେଟିବାର ମୁସୂଧା କରାଯାଇଥିଲା । ଦୈବାତ୍ ସି. ଆଇ. ଡିର ଶ୍ୟେନ ଚକ୍ଷୁରୁ ଏହା ତ୍ରାହି ପାଇନପାରିବାରୁ ଏ କୋଶଳ ଫସର ଫାଟିଗଲା ମାତ୍ର ରାଜ୍ୟ ଭିତରେ ବିପ୍ଳବର ବହିଁ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଓ ତାଙ୍କ ଦଳ ବଜାୟ ରଖିଥିଲେ—ଶ୍ରୀଯୁକ୍ତ ବିଜୟ ପାଣି ଓ ବିହାରର କେତେକ ଫରବାର୍ଡ ବୁକ କର୍ମୀ ଏଠା ଖଣ୍ଡଗିରି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଯେଉଁ ଯୋଜନା ଅନୁସାରେ ଅବସ୍ଥାପିତ ହୋଇଥିଲେ, ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ସୁଖ ସୁବିଧା ମଧ୍ୟ ତଦାରଖ କରୁଥିଲେ । ନିଜେ ଶ୍ରୀ ବିଜୟ ପାଣି ଏହା ଲେଖି ଜଣାଇଛନ୍ତି ।

ବାଚସ୍ପତି ଆସନରେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ

କ-ଗ୍ରେସ ଦଳର ନେତା ତଥା ମୁଖ୍ୟମନ୍ତ୍ରୀ ଓଃ ହରେକୃଷ୍ଣ ମହତାବ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କ ନାମ ବାଚସ୍ପତି ପଦପାଇଁ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବ କରି କହିଥିଲେ “ମୁଁ ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀଙ୍କୁ ଅତୀତରେ ବହୁ ଭାବରେ ବିରୋଧ କରି ଆସିଛି । ଏହା ଗତାନୁଗତିକ ପଲ୍ଲୀ ଅନୁସରଣ କରୁଥିବା ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଙ୍କ ପକ୍ଷରେ ସ୍ୱଭାବିକ । ଆମେ ଗତାନୁଗତିକ ପଲ୍ଲୀରେ ଶୁଣୁ, ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀ-ଏକ ବିରାଟ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିତ୍ୱ, ଏକ ମହାନ ଦୂରଦର୍ଶୀ । ସେ ଆମପରି ଶଗଡ଼ ଗୁଳାରେ ଶୁଲିବାର ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ନୁହନ୍ତି । ତାଙ୍କର ବହୁ ଦିନର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସଭାର ଅନୁଭୂତି ଅଛି । ଆମେ ତେଣୁ ତାଙ୍କୁ ଏଇ “ମହତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ପଦବୀରେ” ଅଧିଷ୍ଠିତ କରାଇ ଗୃହର ମର୍ଯ୍ୟାଦା ବଢ଼ାଇବାକୁ ଚାହୁଁ”

ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀ ବାଚସ୍ପତି ନିର୍ବାଚିତ ହେବାପରେ ତାଙ୍କୁ ସଂବର୍ଦ୍ଧନା କଣାଇ ତାଙ୍କ ସହିତ ବିରୋଧୀ ଦଳରୁ ପ୍ରତିଦ୍ୱନ୍ଦିତା କରୁଥିବା ବୟୋଜ୍ୟେଷ୍ଠ ସଭ୍ୟ ଶ୍ରୀଯୁକ୍ତ ନିତ୍ୟାନନ୍ଦ ମହାପାତ୍ର କହିଥିଲେ “ମୋ ନିଜର ପରାଜୟ ଠାରୁ ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀଙ୍କ ବିଜୟରେ ମୁଁ ଅଧିକ ଆନନ୍ଦିତ ଓ ଗର୍ବିତ । ପୂର୍ବରୁ ଶାସକଦଳ ବିରୋଧିଦଳ ସହିତ ଆଲୋଚନା କରିଥିଲେ ଏଭଳି ପ୍ରତିଦ୍ୱନ୍ଦିତାରେ ଅବକାଶ ନଥାନ୍ତା ।”

ଉତ୍ତମ ରାଜ୍ୟ ସରକାର ଓ ଭରତ ସରକାରଙ୍କ ପରମ୍ପରା ମାନ ବଦଳାଇବା :—

ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ତା ୨୭ । ୫ । ୫୭ ଠାରୁ ତା ୧ । ୭ । ୬୧ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ବିଧାନ ସଭାର ବାଚସ୍ପତି ଥିଲେ । ଏ ସମୟରେ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖନୀୟ ଯେ ମହାତାବ ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀମଣ୍ଡଳ ୧୯୬୧ ମସିହା ଫେବୃୟାରୀ ୨୭ ତାରିଖରୁ ଭାଙ୍ଗିଗଲେ ଓ ଏଥିସଙ୍ଗେ ସଙ୍ଗେ ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀଙ୍କର ବାଚସ୍ପତି ପଦ କଟିଗଲେ ବୋଲି ସରକାରୀ ଇସ୍ତାହାରରେ ପ୍ରକାଶ ପାଇଲା । ପୂର୍ବରୁ ଦେଶରେ ଏଭଳି ୨ଟି ରାଜ୍ୟରେ ଏଭଳି ପ୍ରଥା ଅନୁଷ୍ଠିତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀ ଏହା ଅଗଣତାନ୍ତ୍ରୀକ ବୋର୍ଡ଼ ମୁକ୍ତ ଦେଖାଇ ଭାରତ ସରକାରଙ୍କୁ ଚିଠି ଦେଲେ । ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀଙ୍କର ଯୁକ୍ତି ହେଲା, ଯେ କୌଣସି ଦଳର ସଭ୍ୟ ବାଚସ୍ପତି ନିର୍ବାଚିତ ହୋଇଯିବା ପରେ ସେ ଆଉ ଦଳୀୟ ସଭ୍ୟ ରହନ୍ତି ନାହିଁ । ତାଙ୍କୁ ସବୁଦଳର ସଭ୍ୟ ମାନଙ୍କ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକଳାପକୁ ସମାନ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରେ ଦେଖିବାକୁ ହୁଏ-ଗଣତାନ୍ତ୍ରିକ ପଦ୍ଧତି ଅନୁସରଣ କରିବାକୁ ପଡ଼େ । ତେଣୁ ଦଳୀୟ ସରକାର ଭାଙ୍ଗିଗଲେ ନୀର୍ଦ୍ଦଳୀୟ ଏଇ ବାଚସ୍ପତିଙ୍କର କିଛି ଯାଏ ଆସେ ନାହିଁ । ନୂତନ ବିଧାନ ସଭାର ଗଠିତ ହୋଇ ନୂଆ ବାଚସ୍ପତି ନିର୍ବାଚିତ ହେବା ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଚଳିତ ବିଧାନ ସଭାର ବାଚସ୍ପତି, ବାଚସ୍ପତି ହୋଇ ରହିବେ । ଭାରତ ସରକାର ଓ ନିଜେ ପ୍ରଧାନମନ୍ତ୍ରୀ ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନେହେରୁ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କ ଯୁକ୍ତିର ବୈଧତା ଉପଲବ୍ଧି କଲେ । ଶେଷରେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ଜୟ ହେଲା ।

ଏହା ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ଦାୟିକତା ସହିତ ଦୂରଦର୍ଶିତାର ପରିଚୟ ନୁହେଁ କି ?

ଶ୍ରୀଯୁକ୍ତ ବାଳବିହାରୀ ଦାସଙ୍କ ମତ

ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ବାଚସ୍ପତି ସମୟର କୃତି ବିବେଚନା କରିବାକୁ ଯାଇ ସେଇ ବିଧାନ ସଭାର ପ୍ରବୀଣ ଓ ବିଚକ୍ଷଣ ବୁଦ୍ଧି ସଂପନ୍ନ ସଭ୍ୟ ଶ୍ରୀଯୁକ୍ତ ବାଳ ବିହାରୀ ଦାସ କହନ୍ତି, ଗମ୍ଭୀର ଓ ସୌମ୍ୟ ମୂର୍ତ୍ତୀ ବହନ କରି ବିଧାନ ସଭାର ଅଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷ ଗୃହର ବାତାବରଣରେ ଏକ ବିରାଟ ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ ଆଣିଦେଲା । ବାଚସ୍ପତିଙ୍କୁ କମ୍ କହିବାକୁ ହୁଏ, କାରଣ ଦୁଇପାଖ ଖେଳର ଅମ୍ବୁପ୍ୟାର ସେ ବିରୋଧୀପକ୍ଷ ହେଉ ବା ସରକାରୀ ଦଳ ହେଉ, ବୟସ, ପାଣ୍ଡିତ୍ୟ ଏବଂ ଅଭିଜ୍ଞତା ଯୋଗୁଁ ସମସ୍ତଙ୍କର ସମ୍ମାନ ଭାଙ୍ଗନ । ତେଣୁ ଦଳୀୟ ଗୁପର ଶିକାର ହେବାର ସମ୍ଭାବନା ବଡ଼ କମ୍, ନିରପେକ୍ଷତାର ବାତାବରଣ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବିଧାନସଭାର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଆନନ୍ଦରେ ଶୁଭେ । ସମୟେ ସମୟେ ତାଙ୍କର ଗୁଲି ବା ନିଷ୍ପତ୍ତି ସହିତ ମୁଁ ଓ ଅନ୍ୟ ବନ୍ଧୁମାନେ ଏକମତ ହୋଇ ପାରୁନଥିଲେହେଁ, ସୌଜନ୍ୟ ସହକାରେ ଯୁକ୍ତିତର୍କ କରୁ । କିନ୍ତୁ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିତ୍ୱ ପାଖରେ ମୁଣ୍ଡକୁ ନୁଆଇଁବାକୁ ହୁଏ । ସେପରି ବିଧାନସଭାରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରିବାରେ ଆନନ୍ଦ ଥାଏ, ସେଥିପାଇଁ ତାଙ୍କର ଓ ମୋ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବନ୍ଧୁତା ଦୃଢ଼ୀଭୂତ ହେଲା ଏବଂ ଆନ୍ତରିକତା ବୃଦ୍ଧି ପାଇଲା ।

ତାଙ୍କର ଦୁଇଟି ଅବଦାନ ଭାରତୀୟ ସଂସଦୀୟ ଇତିହାସରେ ସବୁଦିନ ପାଇଁ ଗଣିଗଲା, ପ୍ରଥମ ହେଲା, ଓଡ଼ିଶା ବିଧାନସଭା ସେକ୍ରେଟେରିଏଟକୁ ଘରୋଇ ବିଭାଗ ଅଧିନରୁ ଆଣି ଅଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷଙ୍କ ଅଧୀନରେ ରଖିବା ଏବଂ ଦ୍ୱିତୀୟ ହେଲା, ବିଧାନସଭାକୁ ଭାଙ୍ଗି ଦିଆଗଲେ ବି ନୂତନ ବିଧାନସଭା ଗଠିତ ନହେଲା ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଅଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷ ତାଙ୍କ ପଦବୀରେ ଥିବା ରହିବା ।

ନେତାଜୀ ଓ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ସୁଚକ୍ଷୁର ବରଂଧାରା ଓ ଦୂରଦର୍ଶିତା ସରତର ସ୍ଵାଧୀନତା କ୍ଷୀପ୍ରତର କରଥଲ

ଏତିକିରେ ପଞ୍ଚତଳୀଙ୍କର ଦୂରଦର୍ଶିତାର ପୂର ପରିଚୟ ମଳେ ନାହିଁ । ୧୯୩୯ରେ ସେ ଉତ୍କଳ ପ୍ରଦେଶ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ସଭାପତି ପଦ ଛାଡ଼ି ସୁବାଷ ବାବୁଙ୍କ ସହିତ ଫରଫୁଡ଼ ବୁକ୍ରେ ଯୋଗଦେବା ଓ ତହିଁର ପରବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଘଟଣାମାନ ତନ୍ତା କଲେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ଦୂରଦର୍ଶିତାର ପ୍ରକୃତ ପରିଚୟ ମିଳିପାରିବ ।

(୧) ପଞ୍ଚିତ ଜବାହରଲାଲ ନେହେରୁ ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ବାବୁଙ୍କୁ ଯେପରି ଭାବରେ ନମସ୍କା ଜଣାଇ କଂଗ୍ରେସକୁ ଫେରାଇ ନେଇ ଥିଲେ ତାହା ପୂର୍ବରୁ କୁହାଯାଇଛି ।

(୨) ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ଏଇ ବରଂଧାରା କିପରି ଦେଶର ସ୍ଵାଧୀନତା ପ୍ରାପ୍ତିକୁ ଦୂରାନ୍ୱିତ କରିଥିଲା ତାହା ଦେଖାଯାଉ । ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ଡାକରାରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଯୁବକମାନେ ତଥା ଭାରତର ବିଭିନ୍ନ ପ୍ରଦେଶର ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିମାନେ ଯେଉଁମାନେ ସେମ୍ୟବାହିନୀରେ ଯୋଗ ଦେଇ ପୂର୍ବ ରଣ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଆଜାଦ୍ ହିନ୍ଦ୍ ଫୌଜ ଗଠନ କରିଥିଲେ, ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଅବଦାନକୁ ଯେ ଭାରତର ସ୍ଵାଧୀନତା କ୍ଷୀପ୍ରତର ହୋଇଥିଲା, ତାହା ପ୍ରଥମାବସ୍ଥାରେ ଜଣା ପଡ଼ି ନ ଥିଲେ ମଧ୍ୟ ଇତିହାସ ପୃଷ୍ଠାରେ ସ୍ଵର୍ଣ୍ଣାକ୍ଷରରେ ଲିପବନ୍ଧ ହୋଇ ରହିଛି ଓ ରହିଥିବ ।

ଯୁଦ୍ଧ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଏକ ବିମାନ ଦୂର୍ଘଟଣାରେ ସୁବାଷବାବୁଙ୍କର ମୃତ୍ୟୁ ହେଲା । ଯୁଦ୍ଧରେ ଶତ୍ରୁପକ୍ଷର ପରାଜୟ ହେଲା, ଆଜାଦ୍ ହିନ୍ଦ୍ ଫୌଜ ଯୁଦ୍ଧ ବନ୍ଦୀ ହେଲେ । ଏ ସବୁରେ ସୁବାଷ ପକ୍ଷୀ ଓ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଅବଚଳିତ ଥିଲେ । କାରଣ ଆତ୍ମ ଶକ୍ତିରେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ବଶ୍ଵାସ ଥିଲା, ସେମାନଙ୍କର ସାଧନା ବଫଳ ହୋଇନାହିଁ । ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଲକ୍ଷ୍ୟ ଶେଷରେ ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ହେଲା । ଘଟଣା ଚକ୍ରରେ ଏହି ଆଜାଦ୍ ହିନ୍ଦ୍ ଫୌଜ ମାନଙ୍କୁ ଯୁଦ୍ଧ ବନ୍ଦୀକରି ଭାରତକୁ ଅଣାଯାଇ ଯେତେବେଳେ ଲଲକିଲ୍ଲାରେ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ବିରୁଦ୍ଧ ହେଲା ଓ ପଞ୍ଚିତ ଜବାହରଲାଲ ନେହେରୁ ବିଶେଷ ଆନନ୍ଦ ଉଲ୍ଲାସ ଦେଖାଇ ପ୍ରଭୃତି ସେମାନଙ୍କର ପକ୍ଷରୁ ଅଦାଲତରେ ଲଢ଼ିଲେ, ଦେଶରେ ଅଭୁତପୂର୍ବ ଜନଜାଗରଣ ଦେଖାଗଲା । ଭାରତୀୟ ସୈନ୍ୟ ବାହିନୀରେ ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନ ହେଲା—ବନ୍ଦେର ନୌ ସେନାମାନେ ଧର୍ମଘଟ କଲେ । କରାଚିରେ ବିମାନ ବାହିନୀ ବିଦ୍ରୋହ କଲେ । ଇଂରେଜ ସରକାରଙ୍କର ସୈନ୍ୟବାହିନୀ ଉପରେ ଏବେ ଆଉ ବିଶ୍ଵାସ ରହିଲା ନାହିଁ—ବ୍ରିଟିଶ ରାଜ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ସନ୍ଦେହ ତକ୍ଷୁରେ ଦେଖିଲେ । ଶେଷରେ ଭାରତକୁ ସ୍ଵାଧୀନତା ଦେଇ ଏ ଦେଶରୁ ବାହୁଡ଼ି ଯିବାର ସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ ଗ୍ରହଣ କଲେ ।

ବଳତ ପ୍ରଧାନମନ୍ତ୍ରୀ ଅଟେ ସାହେବଙ୍କ କଳ୍ପବ୍ୟ

ଏ ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ସେତେବେଳେର ବିଲତ ପ୍ରଧାନମନ୍ତ୍ରୀ ଶ୍ରୀମିଳ ଦଳର ନେତା କ୍ଲେମେଣ୍ଟ ଅଟଲି ପରେ ୧୯୫୫ରେ ଯାହା ସବୁ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି କରିଥିଲେ, ତାହା ଏଠି ଉଲ୍ଲେଖନୀୟ ଓ ପ୍ରଶିଧାନ ଯୋଗ୍ୟ । ସେ କହିଥିଲେ *The Raj left India hurriedly, Mainly because the loyalty of the Indian Army became suspect, as was evident by the revolt of the I, N. A. and the Indian Army. Clement Atlee also made it clear that "the impact of the Gandhi's traditional mass movement was the minimum on the crucial decision to leave India.*

"Impact of I. N. A. on Indian army—Himansu Ray—The Statesman 8-3-86."

ଡଃ ଶ୍ରୀରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ଦାସଙ୍କ ଅଭିମତ—ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର କୃତିତ୍ଵର ଏହି ଅଧ୍ୟାୟଟିର ବିଶେଷ ଆଲୋଚନା କରି ଡଃ ଶ୍ରୀରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ଦାସ କହନ୍ତି , “ସୁବାଷଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ମରି ଅମର ହୋଇଛନ୍ତି—ପଞ୍ଚିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଓ ସୁଭାଷପକ୍ଷୀମାନେ ଭାରତ ସ୍ଵାଧୀନତାକୁ ଦୂରାନ୍ୱିତ କରିଛନ୍ତି ସେଥିରେ ସନ୍ଦେହ ନାହିଁ । ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ରାଜନୈତିକ ଦର୍ଶନ ଓ ବିରୁଦ୍ଧ ଧାରା ସାଫଲ୍ୟ ମଣ୍ଡିତ ହୋଇଛି ।

ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ଓଡ଼ିଶାପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନରେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସଙ୍କ ଭୂମିକା

ପ୍ରଫେସର ଡଃ. ଜଗନ୍ନାଥ ପଟ୍ଟନାୟକ
ଇତିହାସ ବିଭାଗ, ଉତ୍କଳ ବିଶ୍ୱବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ

ବିଂଶଶତାବ୍ଦୀର ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଇତିହାସକୁ ଯେଉଁ କେତେଜଣ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ନିଜର ମହନୀୟ କୃତିତ୍ୱଦ୍ୱାରା ରୁଷିମତ୍ତ କରିଛନ୍ତି, ସେମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରୁ ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସ ଅନ୍ୟତମ । ସେ ଏକାଧାରରେ ଜଣେ ଲବ୍ୟପୁତ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟ ବିଦ୍ୱାନ, ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ସମାଜ ସଂସ୍କାରକ, ଉଚ୍ଚକୋଟୀର ଲେଖକ, ସ୍ୱାଧୀନଚେତା ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ଓ ଦକ୍ଷ ସାମ୍ବାଦିକଭାବେ ଇତିହାସ ପୁସ୍ତକକୁ ସୁଶୋଭିତକରି ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଜଣେ ସୁରଣୀୟ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିତ୍ୱର ସ୍ଥାନ ଗ୍ରହଣକରିଛନ୍ତି । ବିଶେଷତଃ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ଓଡ଼ିଶାପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ ପରି ଏକ ଗୁରୁତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଅଧ୍ୟାୟରେ ତାଙ୍କର ଭୂମିକା ତାଙ୍କ ବଳିଷ୍ଠ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିତ୍ୱର ପରିଚୟ ଦେଇଥାଏ । ଏ ଦିଗରେ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ନେତୃବର୍ଗଙ୍କ ଅବଦାନ ତୁଳନାରେ ତାଙ୍କର ଅବଦାନ କୌଣସି ଗୁଣରେ ନ୍ୟୁନ ନଥିଲା । ମାତ୍ର ଏ ବିଷୟରେ ଏବେ ସବିଶେଷ ଆଲୋଚନା କରାଯାଉନଥିବାରୁ ତା'ର ଏକ ସମ୍ୟକ୍ ସୂଚନା ଦେବାପାଇଁ ଏହି ପ୍ରବନ୍ଧର ଅବତାରଣା । ତା ପୂର୍ବରୁ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଇତିହାସ ଉପରେ ଏକ ସଂକ୍ଷିପ୍ତ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣନା ଦେବା ପ୍ରାସଙ୍ଗିକ ହେବ ।

ପ୍ରାଚୀନଯୁଗରେ ଓଡ୍ର, କଳିଙ୍ଗ, ଉତ୍କଳ ଓ କୋଶଳ ନାମରେ ଗୁରୋଚି ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ରାଜ୍ୟ ଗଠିତହୋଇଥିଲା । ମାତ୍ର ଦ୍ୱାଦଶ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀରେ ଲବ୍ୟପୁତ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟ ଗଙ୍ଗବଂଶର ନରପତିମାନେ ନିଜର ଅସାଧାରଣ ସାମରିକ କୃତିତ୍ୱଦ୍ୱାରା ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ରାଜ୍ୟଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ଏକତ୍ରୀକରି ଓଡ଼ିଶା ନାମରେ ଏକ ବିଶାଳ ସାମ୍ରାଜ୍ୟ ସ୍ଥାପନ କରିଥିଲେ । ଏହାର ସୀମା ଉତ୍ତରରେ ଗଙ୍ଗାନଦୀଠାରୁ ଦକ୍ଷିଣରେ ଗୋଦାବରୀ ନଦୀ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଓ ପଶ୍ଚିମରେ ଅଧୁନା ମଧ୍ୟ-ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଗତ ଅମରକଣ୍ଠକଠାରୁ ପୂର୍ବରେ ବଙ୍ଗୋପସାଗର ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ପରିବ୍ୟାପ୍ତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ଗଙ୍ଗବଂଶ ପରେ ପ୍ରଥିତଯଶା ସୂର୍ଯ୍ୟବଂଶୀ ଗଜପତିଙ୍କ ଶାସନକାଳ (1435-1568)ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଏହି ଓଡ଼ିଶା ସାମ୍ରାଜ୍ୟର ସୀମାରେଖା ଦକ୍ଷିଣରେ କାବେରୀନଦୀ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ସଂପ୍ରସାରିତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ମାତ୍ର ଭାଗ୍ୟର ବିପର୍ଯ୍ୟୟ ଯୋଗୁଁ ଓଡ଼ିଶାରେ ଗଜପତି ରାଜୁତିର ଯବନିକା ପଡ଼ିଥିଲା 1568 ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟାବ୍ଦରେ । ତାପରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର କୌଣସି ହିନ୍ଦୁରାଜା ଓଡ଼ିଶା ସାମ୍ରାଜ୍ୟର ଶାସକହେବାର ସୌଭାଗ୍ୟଲଭ କରିପାରିନଥିଲେ । ଫଳରେ ଅତୀତର ବିଶାଳ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ସାମ୍ରାଜ୍ୟ ସଙ୍କୁଚିତ ହୋଇପଡ଼ିଥିଲା । ଓଡ଼ିଶା ହୋଇଥିଲା ଓଡ଼ିଶା ବାହାରର ଅଣଓଡ଼ିଆ ଶକ୍ତିଙ୍କର ଛାଡ଼ାସ୍ଥଳୀ । 1568ରୁ 1576 ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଆଫଗାନ ମୁସଲମାନମାନେ, 1576ରୁ 1707 ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ମୋଗଲମାନେ, ୧୭୦୭ରୁ ୧୭୫୧ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ପୁନରାୟ ଆଫଗାନମାନେ ଓ 1575ରୁ 1803 ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ମରହଟ୍ଟାମାନେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଭାଗ୍ୟବିଧାତା ହୋଇ ଶାସନକାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ତଳାଇଥିଲେ । ମାତ୍ର ଏହାସତ୍ତ୍ୱେ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ନିଜର ସ୍ୱାତନ୍ତ୍ରତା ହରାଇନଥିଲା । ସେମାନେ କେବଳମାତ୍ର ରାଜସ୍ୱ ଆକାରରେ ଅଥା ଆଦାୟକରି ଶାସନପ୍ରଣାଳୀରେ ସେପରିକିଛି ହସ୍ତକ୍ଷେପ କରିବାପାଇଁ ଉଦ୍ୟମ କରିନଥିଲେ । ମାତ୍ର 1803 ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟାବ୍ଦ ପରେ ଏହି ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାରେ ଏକ ବିରାଟ ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ ଦେଖାଦେଇଥିଲା ।

1803 ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟାବ୍ଦରେ ମରହଟ୍ଟା ଶକ୍ତିକୁ ପରାଜିତ କରି ଇଂରେଜମାନେ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଉପରେ ନିଜର ବିଜୟ ବୈଜୟନ୍ତୀ ଉଡ଼ାଇଥିଲେ । ସେମାନଙ୍କର ନୀତି ଓ ଦର୍ଶନଥିଲା ପୂର୍ବବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଶାସକଙ୍କଠାରୁ ଭିନ୍ନ । ପୂରାପୂରି ବୈଦେଶିକ ଶକ୍ତି ହୋଇଥିବାରୁ ଭାରତରେ ସେମାନେ ନିଜର ସ୍ଥିତି ସୁଦୃଢ଼ କରିବାପାଇଁ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ଗ୍ରହଣକରିଥିଲେ । ତନ୍ମଧ୍ୟରୁ ପ୍ରଶାସନିକ ବିକେନ୍ଦ୍ରୀକରଣ ଥିଲା ଅନ୍ୟତମ । ଓଡ଼ିଶାରେ ଉକ୍ତ ନୀତି ପ୍ରୟୋଗକରି ଇଂରେଜ ପ୍ରଶାସକଗଣ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ସାମ୍ରାଜ୍ୟରେ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଭୁକ୍ତ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଭୂଖଣ୍ଡକୁ ଭିନ୍ନ ଭିନ୍ନ ଶାସନମୁଖ୍ୟଙ୍କ ଅଧୀନରେ ଅବସ୍ଥାପିତ କରାଇଥିଲେ । ଗଞ୍ଜାମ ସମେତ ଦକ୍ଷିଣଓଡ଼ିଶାର ବହୁ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ମାଡ୍ରାସ ପ୍ରେସିଡେନ୍ସିରେ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଭୁକ୍ତ କରାଇ ଉକ୍ତଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଶାସନକାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ମାଡ୍ରାଜସ୍ଥିତ ଫୋର୍ଟସେଣ୍ଟ ଜର୍ଜଠାରୁ ନିୟନ୍ତ୍ରିତ କରାଯାଇଥିଲା । ସେହିପରି ପଶ୍ଚିମରେ ମହାନଦୀର ଅପରପାର୍ଶ୍ୱରେ ଅବସ୍ଥିତ ସମ୍ବଲପୁର ସମେତ ବିରାଟ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଶାସନକାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ସେଣ୍ଟାଲ ପ୍ରଭିନ୍ସର କମିଶନରଙ୍କଦ୍ୱାରା ପରିଚାଳିତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ଉତ୍ତରରେ ସୁବର୍ଣ୍ଣରେଖା ନଦୀର ଅପରପାର୍ଶ୍ୱରେ ଅବସ୍ଥିତ ମିଦନାପୁର ସମେତ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ବେଙ୍ଗଲ ପ୍ରେସିଡେନ୍ସି ଅଧୀନରେ ଅବସ୍ଥାପିତ କରାଇ ତା'ର ଶାସନକାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କଲିକତାସ୍ଥିତ ଫୋର୍ଟ ଭଲଲୟମରୁ ନିୟନ୍ତ୍ରିତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଉତ୍ତର-ପଶ୍ଚିମାଂଶର ପାର୍ବତ୍ୟ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଅବସ୍ଥିତ 26ଟି ଗଡ଼ଜାତ ବା କରଦରାଜ୍ୟ (Tributary States) ନିଜ ନିଜର ରାଜାଙ୍କଦ୍ୱାରା ଶାସିତ ହୋଇଥିଲେ । ଅବଶିଷ୍ଟ ମୋଗଲବନ୍ଦି ନାମରେ କଥିତ ପୁରୀ, କଟକ ଓ ବାଲେଶ୍ୱର ଜିଲ୍ଲର ଶାସନକାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କଟକରେ ଅବସ୍ଥାପିତ ଜନୈକ ବ୍ରିଟିଶ କମିଶନରଙ୍କଦ୍ୱାରା ପରିଚାଳିତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ସେ ମଧ୍ୟ କଲିକତାସ୍ଥିତ ବଙ୍ଗଳା ସରକାରଙ୍କର ପ୍ରତ୍ୟକ୍ଷ ନିୟନ୍ତ୍ରଣାଧୀନ ହୋଇ ରହିଥିଲେ । ଏହିପରିଭାବେ ଅତୀତର ବିରାଟ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ସାମ୍ରାଜ୍ୟ ଖଣ୍ଡ ବିଖଣ୍ଡିତ ହୋଇ ଏକ କୀଟଦଂଷ୍ଟ ପୁଷ୍ପପର ରୂପ ନେଇଥିଲା । ଓଡ଼ିଶାମାତା ହୋଇଥିଲା ଛିନ୍ନମସ୍ତା । ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଶାସନକାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଓଡ଼ିଶାବାହାରୁ ନିୟନ୍ତ୍ରିତ ହୋଇଥିଲା ।

ସବୁଦିନେ ସବୁକଥା ସମାନଭାବରେ ଗତି କରିନଥାଏ । ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷାଭାଷୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ଏକତ୍ରକରି ଓଡ଼ିଶାକୁ ଏକ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ପ୍ରଦେଶର ରୂପଦେବାପାଇଁ ଉନବିଂଶ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀର ଶେଷ ଦୁଇଟି ଦଶନ୍ଧିରେ ଏକ ବୌଦ୍ଧିକ ଜାଗରଣର ସୂତ୍ରପାତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ଅବଶ୍ୟ ଏପରି ଏକ ଜାଗରଣ ସୃଷ୍ଟିକରିବାଦିଗରେ ଗୋଟିଏ ମର୍ମରୁଦ ଘଟଣା କିଛି ପରିମାଣରେ ସହାୟକ ହୋଇଥିଲା ।

ଏହାଥିଲା 1866ମସିହାର କଥା । ସେହିବର୍ଷ ଓଡ଼ିଶାରେ ଏକ ଭୟାବହ ଦୁର୍ଭିକ୍ଷ ପଡ଼ି ପ୍ରାୟ 1 ନିୟୁତ ଲୋକ ମୃତ୍ୟୁ ମୁଖରେ ପଡ଼ିଥିଲେ । ଏହା ନଅଙ୍କ ଦୁର୍ଭିକ୍ଷ ନାମରେ କଥିତ । ଏହା ଏପରି ଏକ ଭୟାବହରୂପ ଧାରଣକରିଥିଲା ଯେ କୁଟିଶ ପାଲିଆମେଣ୍ଟରେ ଉକ୍ତ ବିଷୟ ଆଲୋଚିତ ହୋଇ ଭାରତସରକାର ଏ ଦିଗରେ ସମୟୋଚିତ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ନେଇନଥିବାରୁ ତାକୁ ଦାୟାକରାଯାଇଥିଲା । ଏଥି ସହିତ ତତ୍କାଳୀନ ସେକ୍ରେଟେରୀ ଅଫ୍ ସ୍ପେଷ୍ଟ ସାର୍, ଷାଫୋର୍ଡ ନର୍ଥକୋର୍ଟ ଦୁର୍ଭିକ୍ଷ ସମୟର ଅବସ୍ଥା ନିୟନ୍ତ୍ରଣ କରିବାରେ ବଙ୍ଗଳାସରକାର ବ୍ୟର୍ଥହୋଇଥିବାରୁ ପ୍ରଶାସନିକ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାକୁ ବଙ୍ଗଳାରୁ ଅଲଗା କରିବାପାଇଁ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବଟିଏ ଦେଇଥିଲେ ।

ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ଘଟଣାବଳୀରେ ପ୍ରୋତ୍ସାହିତହୋଇ ଓଡ଼ିଆଭାଷାଭାଷୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଏକତ୍ରୀକରଣ ଦିଗରେ ଏକ ଅନୁକୂଳ ବାତାବରଣ ସୃଷ୍ଟିକରିବାପାଇଁ କେତେଜଣ ବରୋଣ୍ୟ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଙ୍କଦ୍ୱାରା କେତୋଟି ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରାଯାଇଥିଲା । ତନ୍ମଧ୍ୟରୁ 1879 ରେ ବାଲେଶ୍ୱରଠାରେ ଜାତୀୟସମାଜ (National Society) ଓ 1882 ରେ କଟକଠାରେ ଉତ୍କଳ ସଭା ନାମରେ ଦୁଇଟି ରାଜନୈତିକ ସଂଗଠନ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ଥିଲା ଉଲ୍ଲେଖଯୋଗ୍ୟ । ମାତ୍ର ସେଗୁଡ଼ିକର ଅଗ୍ରଗତି ସେପରି କିଛି ଆଶାଜନକ ନଥିଲା । ଇତିମଧ୍ୟରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାବାସୀଙ୍କର ସୌଭାଗ୍ୟକୁ ମଧୁସୂଦନ ଦାସ କଲିକତାରୁ କଟକ ଆସି ଆଇନ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ଆରମ୍ଭକରିବା ସଙ୍ଗେସଙ୍ଗେ 1903 ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟାବ୍ଦରେ ଉତ୍କଳ ସମ୍ମିଳନୀ ନାମକ ଏକ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ଗଠନ କରିଥିଲେ । ଭିନ୍ନଭିନ୍ନ ପ୍ରଦେଶରେ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଭୁକ୍ତ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷାଭାଷୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ସହିତ ମିଶାଇ ଗୋଟିଏ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ କରିବା ଥିଲା ଏହାର ପ୍ରଧାନ ଆଭିମୁଖ୍ୟ । ଏହାର ପ୍ରଥମ ଅଧିବେଶନ ଆହୂତ ହୋଇଥିଲା ହିସେନ୍ଦର ମାସରେ କଟକଠାରେ ଓ ଏଥିରେ ପୌରହିତ୍ୟ କରିଥିଲେ ମୟୂରଭଞ୍ଜର ମହାରାଜା ଶ୍ରୀରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ଭଞ୍ଜ । ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ଓଡ଼ିଶାପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନକରିବାପାଇଁ ସେଠାରେ ଏକ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରାଯାଇଥିଲା । ଉକ୍ତ ଅଧିବେଶନରେ ଅନ୍ୟମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଜଣେ 19ବର୍ଷର ଉଦାମ ଯୁବକ ଆଲୋଚନାଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଅତି ନିବିଷ୍ଟ ଚିତ୍ତରେ ଶୁଣୁଥିବାର ଦେଖାଯାଇଥିଲା । ସେ ଥିଲେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସ । ଅଭିଭାଷଣ ଓ ଆଲୋଚନାଗୁଡ଼ିକ ତାଙ୍କ ହୃଦୟକେଦାରରେ ଏପରି ଗଭୀର ରେଖାପାତ କରିଥିଲା ଯେ ଶିକ୍ଷାସମାପ୍ତପରେ ଏ ଦିଗରେ ସେ ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣପ୍ରାଣରେ ନିଜକୁ ନିୟୋଜିତ କରିବେବୋଲି ସ୍ଥିରକରିଥିଲେ ।

ଇତିମଧ୍ୟରେ ଘଟଣାଗୁଡ଼ିକ କ୍ଷିପ୍ରଗତିରେ ଗତିଗୁଲିଥିଲା । ଉତ୍କଳ ସମ୍ମିଳନୀ ଆନୁକୂଲ୍ୟରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ସଭାସମିତି କରାଯାଇ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ଓଡ଼ିଶା ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ ସଂପର୍କୀୟ ଆବେଦନପତ୍ର ଇଂରେଜ ପ୍ରଶାସକଙ୍କ ନିକଟକୁ ପ୍ରେରଣ କରାଯାଇଥିଲା । ଏହି ଦାବିପତ୍ର ଓ କେତେ ଜଣ ଇଂରେଜ ପ୍ରଶାସକଙ୍କ ସୁପାରିଶକ୍ରମେ 1912 ମସିହା ଅଗଷ୍ଟ 1 ତାରିଖଦିନ ଓଡ଼ିଶାକୁ ବଙ୍ଗଳା ଶାସନର ନିୟନ୍ତ୍ରଣାଧୀନରୁ ଅପସାରଣ କରାଯାଇ ବିହାର ସହିତ ମିଶାଇ ବିହାର ଓ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ନାମରେ ଏକ ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନକ ରାଯାଇଥିଲା । ମାତ୍ର ଏହା ଓଡ଼ିଶାପାଇଁ କୌଣସି ଆଶୀର୍ବାଦ ଆଣିନଥିଲା । ଏ ବିଷୟରେ ଭାଇସରାୟ ଲର୍ଡ କର୍ଜନ ଭାରତରୁ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟାବର୍ତ୍ତନ କରି ହାଉସ ଅଫ୍ ଲର୍ଡସରେ ମତବ୍ୟକ୍ତ କରିଥିଲେ ଯେ ଏହା ଇଂରେଜ ସରକାରଙ୍କର ଏକ ଗୁରୁତର ତ୍ରୁଟି ଓ ଏହା ସ୍ୱାୟତ୍ତହୋଇ ରହିପାରିବ ନାହିଁ । ସେହି ସମୟରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଏହା ବିରୁଦ୍ଧରେ ମଧ୍ୟସ୍ୱର ଉତ୍ତୋଳନ କରାଯାଇଥିଲା ।

ଇତିମଧ୍ୟରେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସ କଲିକତା ବିଶ୍ୱବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟରୁ ଏମ. ଏ. ପାସକରି ଗୋପବନ୍ଧୁ ଦାସଙ୍କ ଦ୍ୱାରା ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠିତ ସତ୍ୟବାଦୀ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟରେ 1911 ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟାବ୍ଦରେ ପ୍ରଧାନଶିକ୍ଷକ ଭାବେ ଯୋଗଦିଅନ୍ତି । ସେହିଠାରୁ ସେ ଗୋପବନ୍ଧୁ ଦାସଙ୍କର ବିରାଟ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିତ୍ୱଦ୍ୱାରା ପ୍ରଭାବିତହୋଇ ସ୍ୱାଧୀନତାସଂଗ୍ରାମର ଉଜାଣିପ୍ରୋତରେ ଲମ୍ଫପ୍ରଦାନ କରନ୍ତି । ପରେପରେ 1917 ମସିହାରେ କଟକଠାରେ ଆହୂତ ଉତ୍କଳ ସମ୍ମିଳନୀର ଅଧିବେଶନରେ ଜଣେ ସ୍ୱେଚ୍ଛାସେବକଭାବେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକରିଥିଲେ । ଗୋପବନ୍ଧୁ ଦାସଙ୍କ ଦେଶମିଶ୍ରଣ ବକ୍ତୃତା ତାଙ୍କୁ ବିଶେଷଭାବେ ଅନୁପ୍ରାଣୀତ କରିଥିବା ବିଷୟ ସେ ତାଙ୍କ ଆତ୍ମଚରିତରେ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ କରିଛନ୍ତି । ସେହିଦିନଠାରୁ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟକ୍ଷଭାବେ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ରପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ-ଦିଗରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକରିବାର ନିଷ୍ପତ୍ତିନେଇ ସୁଯୋଗ ଅପେକ୍ଷାରେ ରହିଆସନ୍ତି । ତାଙ୍କର ପରମ ସୌଭାଗ୍ୟକୁ ସୁଯୋଗଟିଏ ଆସିଥିଲା 1927 ମସିହାରେ । ସେତେବେଳକୁ ସେ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରୀୟ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପକ ସଭା (Central Legislative Assembly)ର ଜଣେ ସଦସ୍ୟ ହୋଇସାରିଆସନ୍ତି । 1923 ମସିହା ଅକ୍ଟୋବର ମାସର ମ୍ୟୁନିସିପାଲିଟି ନିର୍ବାଚନରେ ସେ ଓ ଭୁବନାନନ୍ଦ ଦାସ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ସଭ୍ୟଭାବେ ନିର୍ବାଚିତହୋଇ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରୀୟ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପକ ସଭାର ସଦସ୍ୟଭାବେ 1928 ମସିହା ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ରହିଥିଲେ । ସେହି ସମୟରେ ସେବନ୍ଧୁବୀର ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ରଓଡ଼ିଶା ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନଉପରେ ଯୁକ୍ତି ଉପସ୍ଥାପନ କରିବାର ସୁଯୋଗ ଲଭକରିଥିଲେ । ଏହାଥିଲା 1927 ମସିହା ଜାନୁଆରୀ 31 ତାରିଖ ଦିନର ଘଟଣା । ସେଦିନ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପକ ସଭାରେ

ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ଓଡ଼ିଶା ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧୀୟ ଚୈତ୍ରଶୁକ୍ଳ ପରଦିନରେ । ସେଗୁଡ଼ିକଥିଲ (1) ଗୋଟିଏ ସ୍ୱାୟତ୍ତଶାସନ ଅଧୀନରେ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷାଭାଷୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ରଖିବାପାଇଁ ସରକାର କି ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ନେଇଛନ୍ତି ? (2) ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷାଭାଷୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ନେଇ ଗୋଟିଏ ଉପପ୍ରଦେଶ (Sub Province) ଗଠନଦିଗରେ ସରକାର କଣ ଚିନ୍ତାକରୁଛନ୍ତି ? (3) ଯଦି ଏପରି ଭାବୁଥାଆନ୍ତି, ତେବେ ତା'ର ସ୍ୱରୂପ ଓ ବୈଶିଷ୍ଟ୍ୟଭେଦରେ ସରକାର ବୁଝାଇବେ କି ? ସରକାର ଏହା ଜାଣିଛନ୍ତି କି ଯେ ଏପରି ଏକ ଉପପ୍ରଦେଶ ସମ୍ପନ୍ନରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଚିନ୍ତାଶୀଳ ଓ ରାଜନୈତିକ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ମତପୋଷଣ କରନ୍ତିନାହିଁ ? (4) ଏପରି ଏକ ଉପପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ କରିବା ପୂର୍ବରୁ ସଂପୃକ୍ତ ଲୋକମାନଙ୍କୁ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ମତବ୍ୟକ୍ତ କରିବାପାଇଁ ସରକାର ସୁଯୋଗ ଦେବେ କି ? (5) ଉପପ୍ରଦେଶ ବା ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ କରିବା ପୂର୍ବରୁ ସବୁ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷାଭାଷୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ଏକତ୍ର କରିବାପାଇଁ ସରକାରଙ୍କର ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବ ରହିଛି କି ? (6) ଏପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷାଭାଷୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଏକତ୍ରୀକରଣପାଇଁ ସରକାର କି କି ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିଛନ୍ତି ?

ଏହିପ୍ରକାର ପ୍ରଶ୍ନଗୁଡ଼ିକର ଉତ୍ତରଦେବାପାଇଁ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପକ ସଭାର ଘରୋଇ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପକ ଆଲୋଚନାସଭାର ମୁକ୍ତିମେନ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ହୋଇଥିଲେ, ସେ 1926 ମସିହାର ଶେଷଭାଗକୁ ମାନ୍ୟତା, ପାଟନା, କଟକ ଯାଇ ଓଡ଼ିଆମାନଙ୍କର ସମସ୍ୟା ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ନିଜକୁ ଅବଗତ କରାଇଥିଲେ । ତେଣୁ ସେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସଙ୍କ ପ୍ରଶ୍ନର ଉତ୍ତରଦେଇ କହିଥିଲେ ଯେ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷାଭାଷୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଏକତ୍ରୀକରଣ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବ ସରକାର ଗୁରୁତରଭାବେ ବିଚାରକରୁଛନ୍ତି । ଏପରି ଏକ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ କରିବାପୂର୍ବରୁ ସରକାର ଜନମତ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିବେ । ସେ ମଧ୍ୟ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନଦିଗରେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସଙ୍କୁ ଚିଠିଲେଖି ସେଦିଗରେ ସେ ପରିଶ୍ରମ କରନ୍ତୁବୋଲି ପରାମର୍ଶ ଦେଇଥିବାର ଜଣାଯାଏ ।

ଏତିକିରେ ଯେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସ ସନ୍ତୁଷ୍ଟହୋଇ ରହିଥିଲେ, ତା ନୁହେଁ । ସେ 1927 ମସିହା ରେ ସେହି କେନ୍ଦ୍ରୀୟ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପକ ସଭାରେ ଏକ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବ ଆଗତକରିଥିଲେ । ଉକ୍ତ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବଟି ଥିଲା “ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପକ ସଭା ଗଭର୍ଣ୍ଣର-ଜେନେରାଲ ପରିଷଦକୁ ସୁପାରିଶ କରୁଛି ଯେ ଏହା ତୁରନ୍ତ ସବୁ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷାଭାଷୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ଗୋଟିଏ ସ୍ୱାୟତ୍ତଶାସନ ଅଧୀନରେ ରଖିବାପାଇଁ ଏକ ଯୋଜନା ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତକରିବା ଦିଗରେ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରନ୍ତୁ” ।

ଅନୁଶୀଳନୀ ସହ ଏହି ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବ ତା' ପରଦିନ କଲିକତାରୁ ପ୍ରକାଶ ପାଉଥିବା ଷ୍ଟେଟ୍‌ସମେନରେ ପ୍ରକାଶ କରି ସେ ସମସ୍ତଙ୍କର ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଆକର୍ଷଣ କରିଥିଲେ । ସେହି 1927 ରେ ବମ୍ବେ ସମାଗରର କଂଗ୍ରେସ ସଂଖ୍ୟାରେ Our Linguistic Provinces ନାମରେ ଏକ ପ୍ରବନ୍ଧ ପ୍ରକାଶ କରିଥିବା ବିଷୟ ସେ ନିଜ ଆତ୍ମଚରିତରେ ଲେଖିଛନ୍ତି । ଏହାର ପ୍ରଭାବ ଉପରେ ମତବ୍ୟକ୍ତ କରି ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସ ମଧ୍ୟ ସେହି ଆତ୍ମଚରିତରେ ଲେଖିଛନ୍ତି “Our Linguistic Provinces” ପ୍ରବନ୍ଧଟି କଂଗ୍ରେସ ନେତାମାନେ ବହୁଆଡ଼େ ବାଣ୍ଟିଥିଲେ । ସେହି ପ୍ରବନ୍ଧଟି ମଧ୍ୟ ଗୋପବନ୍ଧୁ ବାବୁ କଟକରେ ବହୁ ଲୋକଙ୍କୁ ଶୁଣାଇ ଅତ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଆନନ୍ଦ ଓ ଉତ୍ସାହ ପ୍ରକାଶ କରିଥିଲେ ।“

(ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଗୁପ୍ତାବଳୀ ପ୍ରଥମଖଣ୍ଡ ପୃଷ୍ଠା ୯୭) ।

କେନ୍ଦ୍ରୀୟ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପକ ସଭାରେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ଓଡ଼ିଶା ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ ଉପରେ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବଟି ଆଗତ କରି ତାହା କିପରି ସମସ୍ତଙ୍କ ଦ୍ୱାରା ଅନୁମୋଦିତ ହେବ ସେ ଦିଗରେ ମଧ୍ୟ ପ୍ରବଳ ଉଦ୍ୟମ କରିଥିଲେ । ଏ ବିଷୟରେ ହୋଇଥିବା ଆଲୋଚନାରେ ସେ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଇତିହାସକୁ ଉଦ୍ଧାର କରି ଦୃଢ଼ ଯୁକ୍ତି ବାଢ଼ିଥିଲେ ଯେ ସମଗ୍ର ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷା ଭାଷୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ଗୋଟିଏ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଅଧୀନରେ ନ ରଖିଲେ ତାହା ଘୋର ଅନ୍ୟାୟ ହେବ । ସେ କହିଥିଲେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାକୁ ଏକ ଉପପ୍ରଦେଶ (Sub Province) ରୂପଦେବା ଅର୍ଥୋକ୍ତିକ ଓ ଅସମୀଚୀନ । ତେଣୁ ସେ କହିଥିଲେ “ମୁଁ ଗୁହେଁ ପ୍ରଦେଶ ପୂର୍ବରୁ ଉପ ପରି କୌଣସି ଶବ୍ଦ ନ ରହୁ । କାରଣ ମୁଁ ଭୟ କରୁଛି ନିଶ୍ଚିତପକ୍ଷେ ଉପ ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଅନ୍ୟ ଏକ ବଡ଼ ପ୍ରଦେଶର ପରିଶିଷ୍ଟ (Appendix) ହୋଇ ରହିଯିବ ।“

ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସଙ୍କର ଏହି ଅକାଟ୍ୟ ଯୁକ୍ତିକୁ ନାଗପୁରର ସଦସ୍ୟ ବି.ଏସ୍. ମୁକ୍ତି ଓ ରୋହିଲଖଣ୍ଡ ଓ କୁମାଓଁର ସଦସ୍ୟ ସି.ଏସ୍. ଆୟାଙ୍ଗାର ସମର୍ଥନ ଜଣାଇଥିଲେ । ମୁସଲମାନ ନେତା ମୌଲବୀ ମହମ୍ମଦ ଯାକୂବ୍, ବିହାରର ତୁଙ୍ଗ ନେତା ଅବଦୁଲ ଅଜିଜ୍‌ଙ୍କର ଚିଠିଟିଏ ପଢ଼ି ସେ ମତବ୍ୟକ୍ତ କରିଥିଲେ ଯେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାକୁ ଆଉ ବିହାର ସହିତ ନ ରଖି ତାକୁ ଏକ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ପ୍ରଦେଶର ସ୍ଥାନ ଦେବା ଉଚିତ୍ । ଅବଶ୍ୟ ଏପରି ମତବ୍ୟକ୍ତ କରିବା ମୂଳରେ ପ୍ରଚ୍ଛନ୍ନରେ ଅନ୍ୟ ଏକ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ରହିଥିଲା । ଓଡ଼ିଶାକୁ ବିହାର ସହିତ ମିଶାଇବା ପରେ ବିହାରର ମୁସଲମାନଙ୍କର ସଂଖ୍ୟା ହ୍ରାସ ପାଇଛି ଓ ଭବିଷ୍ୟତରେ ଏହା ଦ୍ୱାରା ଅଧିକ ହ୍ରାସ ପାଇପାରେ । ସେ ଯାହାହେଉ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସଙ୍କ ଦ୍ୱାରା ଆଗତ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବ ଉପରେ ବିହାରର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପକ ଗଢ଼ାପ୍ରସାଦ ସିଂହ ଏକ ସଂଶୋଧନ (Amendment) ଆଣି ଅନ୍ୟ ଏକ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବ ଆଗତ କରିଥିଲେ । ସେଥିରେ ସେ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବ ଦେଇଥିଲେ ଯେ ସବୁ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷା ଭାଷୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଏକତ୍ରୀକରଣ

ହେଉ ମାତ୍ର ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ପରି ସେଦନ ବିହାର ପ୍ରଦେଶ ସହିତ ମିଶି କରି ରହୁ । ଏହିପରି ଭାବେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରୀୟ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପକ ସଭାରେ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ଓଡ଼ିଶା ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ ଉପରେ ଏକ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବ ଆଗତ କରି ଇଂଜେ ପ୍ରଶାସକ ମହଲରେ ଗୁଞ୍ଜଳ୍ୟ ସୃଷ୍ଟି କରିଥିଲେ । ଏହି ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ଡକ୍ଟର ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଏପରି ଏକ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବର ଯଥାର୍ଥତା ଉପଲବ୍ଧି ବରଫା ଦିଗରେ ଯେ ସହାୟକ ହୋଇଥିଲା, ଏଥିରେ ସନ୍ଦେହ ନାହିଁ ।

କେବଳ ସେତିକି ନୁହେଁ, ୧୯୨୮ ମସିହା ଡିସେମ୍ବର ୨୮ ତାରିଖ ଦିନ ମୋତିଲାଲ ନେହେରୁଙ୍କ ଅଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷତାରେ କଲିକତାଠାରେ ଭାରତୀୟ ଜାତୀୟ କଂଗ୍ରେସର ଅଧିବେଶନ ଆରମ୍ଭ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ସେଠାରେ ଅଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷ ଭାଷାଭିତ୍ତିରେ ଭାରତର ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ ଘୋଷଣା କରିଥିଲେ ମଧ୍ୟ ସେଥିରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ବିଷୟରେ କୌଣସି ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ସୁପାରିଶ ନ ଥିଲା । ଏହା ପୁରାଣ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ବୋଷ ସମେତ ବହୁ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ସଦସ୍ୟଙ୍କୁ ମର୍ମାହତ କରିଥିଲା । ପ୍ରତିବାଦ ସ୍ୱରୂପ ଅନ୍ୟତମ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ସଦସ୍ୟ ନିରଞ୍ଜନ ପଟ୍ଟନାୟକ ତାର ଏକ ସଂଶୋଧନ ଆଣିବା ପାଇଁ ଗୃହିତଲେ ମଧ୍ୟ ମୋତିଲାଲ ନେହେରୁ ତାଙ୍କୁ ଅନୁମତି ଦେଇ ନଥିଲେ । ବରଂ ସାଇମନ କମିଶନ ସହିତ ଓଡ଼ିଆମାନେ ସହଯୋଗ କରିଥିବାରୁ ସେ ଏକ ବିଦ୍ରୁତାମୂଳକ ମନ୍ତବ୍ୟ ଦେଇଥିଲେ । ପ୍ରତିବାଦରେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସଙ୍କ ଆହ୍ୱାନ କ୍ରମେ ୩୦୦ ପ୍ରତିନିଧି ଅଧିବେଶନ କକ୍ଷ ଛାଡ଼ି ଗୁଲିଯାଇଥିଲେ । ସେହିଦିନ ମଧ୍ୟ ସେମାନେ କଲିକତାରେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଧ୍ୱନି ଦେଇ ଏକ ଶୋଭାଯାତ୍ରାରେ ଯାଇଥିଲେ । ଫଳରେ ତା ପରଦିନ ମୋତିଲାଲ ନେହେରୁ ତାଙ୍କର ମନ୍ତବ୍ୟ ପାଇଁ ଦୋଷ କ୍ଷମା ମାଗିଥିଲେ ।

ସେତିକିରେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସ ରୁପ୍ ହୋଇ ବସି ନ ଥିଲେ, ଭାରତୀୟ ଜାତୀୟ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ଉପରେ ଉତ୍କଳ ପ୍ରଦେଶ କଂଗ୍ରେସ କମିଟି ଯେପରି ଏ ଦିଗରେ ଗୁପ୍ତ ପକାନ୍ତୁ, ସେଥିପାଇଁ ସେ ଉଦ୍ୟମ ଚଳାଇଥିଲେ । ତାଙ୍କ ଆହ୍ୱାନ କ୍ରମେ 1931 ମସିହା ମାର୍ଚ୍ଚ ମାସରେ ବାଲେଶ୍ୱରଠାରେ ଉତ୍କଳ ପ୍ରଦେଶ କଂଗ୍ରେସ କମିଟିର ଏକ ଅଧିବେଶନ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠିତ ହୋଇଥିଲା ଓ ଏହାର ଅଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷତା କରିଥିଲେ ସେ ନିଜେ । ସେଠାରେ ସେ ଏକ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବ ଆଗତ କରି ଥିଲେ । ସେଥିରେ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ ପାଇଁ ଭାରତୀୟ ଜାତୀୟ କଂଗ୍ରେସ କମିଟିକୁ ଅନୁରୋଧ କରାଯାଇଥିଲା । ଏ ବିଷୟରେ ଦୁରନ୍ତ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିବା ପାଇଁ, ଓଡ଼ିଆମାନଙ୍କର ସମସ୍ୟାକୁ ସମାଧାନ କରିବା ଦିଗରେ ତାର ଅବହେଳା ଓ ବୀତସ୍ମୃତତା ପାଇଁ ଏକ ନିନ୍ଦା ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବ ମଧ୍ୟ ଗୃହୀତ ହୋଇଥିଲା ।

ଇତିମଧ୍ୟରେ ଏହି ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ ଉପରେ ଉତ୍କଳ ପ୍ରଦେଶ କଂଗ୍ରେସ କମିଟିର ସଦସ୍ୟଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଏକ ମତଭେଦ ସୃଷ୍ଟି ହୋଇଥିଲା । କେତେକଙ୍କ ନେତା ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନକୁ ଅଗ୍ରାଧିକାର ନ ଦେଇ ସ୍ୱରାଜ ପ୍ରାପ୍ତି ଉପରେ ଗୁରୁତ୍ୱ ଦେଇଥିଲେ । ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଯୁକ୍ତି ଥିଲା ଯେ ସ୍ୱରାଜ ପାଇଲେ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ଓଡ଼ିଶା ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ ଆପେ ଆପେ ହୋଇଯିବ । ମାତ୍ର ଭାରତୀୟ ଜାତୀୟ କଂଗ୍ରେସର ଏଥିପ୍ରତି ବୀତସ୍ମୃତତା ଲକ୍ଷ୍ୟ କରି ଦଳ ନିର୍ବିଶେଷରେ ସବୁ ନେତା ସେମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଥିବା ମତଭେଦ ଭୁଲିଯାଇ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ଓଡ଼ିଶା ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଶୀଘ୍ର କିପରି ଗଠନ କରାଯିବ ସେ ଦିଗରେ ଉଦ୍ୟମ କରିଥିଲେ । ସେମାନେ ଏକତ୍ରିତ ହୋଇ କଟକଠାରେ 1931 ମସିହା ମେ ମାସ 2 ତାରିଖ ଦିନ ଏକ ସର୍ବଦଳୀୟ ଅଧିବେଶନ ଆହ୍ୱାନ କରିଥିଲେ ଏବଂ ସେଥିରେ ଅଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷତା କରିଥିଲେ ହରିହର ଦାସ । ସେହିଠାରେ ହରେକୃଷ୍ଣ ମହତାବଙ୍କ ଦ୍ୱାରା ଆଗତ ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବ ସର୍ବସମ୍ମତି କ୍ରମେ ଗୃହୀତ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବରେ ଲେଖାଥିଲା “ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ଓଡ଼ିଶା ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ ଦିଗରେ ପ୍ରଗୁର ମୂଳକ ଅଭିଯାନ ପାଇଁ ଗୋଟିଏ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର କମିଟି ଗଠନ କରାଯାଉ” । ଏହାର ଅଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷତା କରିବା ପାଇଁ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସ ମନୋନୀତ ହୋଇଥିଲେ । ପ୍ରସ୍ତାବିତ ସୀମା କମିଟି ଆଗରେ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷା ଭାଷୀ ଲୋକଙ୍କର ଦାବୀ ଉପସ୍ଥାପନ କରିବା ପାଇଁ କଂଗ୍ରେସ ସଦସ୍ୟ ତାଙ୍କୁ ଅନୁରୋଧ କରିଥିଲେ ଏବଂ ସେ ଏହାକୁ ଆନ୍ତରିକତା ସହିତ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରିବେ ବୋଲି ପ୍ରତିଶ୍ରୁତି ଦେଇଥିଲେ । ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସଙ୍କ ଉଦ୍ୟମ କ୍ରମେ ପୁନଶ୍ଚ 1933 ମସିହା ଫେବୃଆରୀ 12 ତାରିଖ ଦିନ କଟକଠାରେ ସର୍ବଦଳୀୟ ନେତାମାନଙ୍କର ଅନ୍ୟ ଏକ ଅଧିବେଶନ ଆହ୍ୱାନ କରାଯାଇଥିଲା । ସେଥିରେ ମଧ୍ୟ ଏକ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ ପାଇଁ ସମସ୍ତେ ଉଦ୍ୟମ କରିବେ ବୋଲି ନିଷ୍ପତ୍ତି ନେଇଥିଲେ ।

ପରିଶେଷରେ 1936 ମସିହା ଏପ୍ରିଲ 1 ତାରିଖ ଦିନ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ଓଡ଼ିଶା ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ ହୋଇଥିଲା । ଏହିପରି ଭାବେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଦାସ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ନେତାମାନଙ୍କ ସହ ହାତ ମିଳାଇ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଗଠନ ଦିଗରେ ଯେଉଁ ପ୍ରକାର ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିଥିଲେ, ତାହା ତାଙ୍କୁ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଗୌରବ ମନ୍ଦିରରେ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ସ୍ଥାନ ଦେଇଛି ।

ଜ୍ଞାନରେ ଗଣେଶ

ଶ୍ରୀ ଗଣେଶ୍ଵର ମିଶ୍ର

ଓଡ଼ିଶା ବିଧାନସଭା ସଚିବାଳୟ

ଦେଶର ଜଣେ ମହାନ ପଣ୍ଡିତ ମହାମନାଷୀଙ୍କ ପାଖେ ମୋ ପରି ଜଣେ ମହାମୂର୍ଖ ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଳନକାରୀ ଭାବେ ଥିଲି—ଦୀର୍ଘ ଏକ ଯୁଗଧରି । 1955 ମସିହାରୁ ସେ ଶେଷ ନିଶ୍ଵାସ ଛାଡ଼ିବାଯାଏ, ଅର୍ଥାତ୍ 1967 ମସିହା ନଭେମ୍ବର ମାସ 6 ତାରିଖ ଯାଏ । ଜଣେ ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଳନକାରୀ ଭୃତ୍ୟକୁ ଅତି ଆଦରରେ ବହୁତ ଲୋକ କହୁଥିଲେ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ସେବକ । ସେ ମହାପୁରୁଷଙ୍କ ସେବାରେ କେତେଯେ ଆନନ୍ଦ, ତା ମୁଁ ଭାଷାରେ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତ କରିପାରିବି ନାହିଁ । ତାଙ୍କର ମୋ ପ୍ରତି ସ୍ନେହ ଥିଲା ଅଗାଧ, ତା' ଛତା ତାଙ୍କର ପରିବାରର ଲୋକେ ଓ ଆଗନ୍ତୁକ ବତଲୋକମାନେ ମଧ୍ୟ ମତେ ଖୁବ୍ ଭଲ ପାଉଥିଲେ । ମୁଁ ତାଙ୍କର ଯେଉଁ ସେବା କରୁଥିଲି, ସେକଥା ମନେ ପଡ଼ିଗଲେ ଏବେ ମୋ ମନ ପୁଲକିତ ହୋଇଉଠେ ଓ ମନରେ ଗର୍ବ ଆସେ । ମୁଁ ନିଜକୁ ବଡ଼ ଭାଗ୍ୟବାନ ମନେକରେ ।

ଏ ସମୟ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ତାଙ୍କ ସେବା କରିବା ଭିତରେ ବହୁ ବଡ଼ ବଡ଼ ଲୋକଙ୍କୁ ଦେଖିଛି, ପାଖରୁ ନମସ୍କାର ଜଣାଇଛି । ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରପତି ତଥା ରାଜେନ୍ଦ୍ର ପ୍ରସାଦ ତାଙ୍କୁ ଯେତେବେଳେ ପଦ୍ମଭୂଷଣ ଉପାଧି ଦେବାକୁ ଆମ ବସାକୁ ଆସିଥିଲେ, ଆଗରୁ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ନଥିଲେ ହେଁ, ହଠାତ୍ ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀଙ୍କ କଥାରେ ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରପତି ରାଜି ହୋଇଯିବାରେ ଗୁଡ଼ିଆରି କରି ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରପତି, ରାଜ୍ୟପାଳ ପ୍ରଭୃତିଙ୍କୁ ପରଶିବାର ସୌଭାଗ୍ୟ ମଧ୍ୟ ମୁଁ ପାଇଛି । ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀଙ୍କୁ ଲୋକେ ପଣ୍ଡିତ ବୋଲି କହୁଥିଲେ । ତାଙ୍କ ପାଣ୍ଡିତ୍ୟ ବିଷୟରେ ମୁଁ ବା କ'ଣ କହିପାରେ ? ମାତ୍ର ସେଦିନ ଅପରାହ୍ନରେ ଯେତେବେଳେ ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରପତି ଆସି ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀଙ୍କ ଚରଣ ଧୁଲି ନେବାର ଦେଖୁଲି, ଆଶ୍ଚର୍ଯ୍ୟ ହୋଇଗଲି । ପୁଣି ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଙ୍ଗେ ସେ ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀଙ୍କ ପାଦମୋଡ଼ି ବସିଲେ—ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀ” ଯେ କ'ଣ କରନ୍ତେ ହେଁ ଆସ୍ ତୋ ଦେଖିକା ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରପତି, କେଏସେ ଭୁଲିଯାନ୍ତେ ହେଁ” କହିବାରୁ ତଥା ପ୍ରସାଦ କହିଲେ ‘ମୋ ଭୁବନେଶ୍ଵର ଆୟା, ଆପଣଙ୍କ ଦେଖା—ପଦସେବା ନେ ହିଁ କରକେ କେଏସେ ଓପାପସ୍ ଯାଉଁଗା ? ” ମୁଁ ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀଙ୍କୁ ଯେତେ ବଡ଼ ବରୁଣିଥିଲି ତା ଠାରୁ ବଡ଼—ପୁରାଣର ରକ୍ଷି ବଶିଷ୍ଠ, ବାଲୁକୀ ବୋଲି ଯାହା ଶୁଣୁଥିଲି ସେ ଥିଲେ ସେହି କାଟର । ଭାବିଲି ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ମହାଦେବଙ୍କ କୃପାରୁ ଏ ଦେଶରେ ଜନ୍ମ ନେଇଥିବା ଏ ଜଣେ ପୁଣ୍ୟ ପୁରୁଷ । ଏପରି ପୁଣ୍ୟ ପୁରୁଷଙ୍କର ସେବା କରିପାରିବା ମୋର ପୂର୍ବ ଜନ୍ମ ତପସ୍ୟାର ଫଳ ବୋଲି ମନେକଲି । ବାହାର ଲୋକଙ୍କ କଥା ଛାଡ଼ିଦେଲେ ଆମ ତଥା ମହତାବ, ରାଜେନ୍ଦ୍ର ନାରାୟଣ ସିଂହଦେଓ, ନବକୃଷ୍ଣ ଚୌଧୁରୀ, ବିକ୍ରମଜନାୟକ ଓ ସେବର ଆଇନ ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀ ଦୀନବନ୍ଧୁ ସାହୁଙ୍କ ସହିତ କଥାଭାଷା ଓ ଆଲୋଚନା ବେଳେ ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀ କିପରି ଉଗ୍ରମୂର୍ତ୍ତି ଧାରଣ କରିଥାନ୍ତି ସେଥିରୁ ମୁଁ ଭାବେ, ଯାଙ୍କର ପ୍ରତିପତ୍ନୀ କେତେ ଓ ଏମାନେ ସମସ୍ତେ ତାଙ୍କୁ କେତେ ଖାତିର କରୁଥିଲେ । ପ୍ରଧାନ ମନ୍ତ୍ରୀ ପଣ୍ଡିତ ଜବାହରଲାଲ ନେହେରୁ ମଧ୍ୟ ତାଙ୍କ ପାଦତଳେ ପ୍ରଣାମ ଜଣାଇ କଂଗ୍ରେସକୁ ଫେରିଯିବାଲାଗି ତାଙ୍କୁ ଅନୁରୋଧ କରିବା ମୋର ଦେଖାନ୍ତରେ । ଅବଶ୍ୟ ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀ ନେହେରୁଜୀଙ୍କ ଠାରୁ ବୟସରେ ବଡ଼ ଓ ତାଙ୍କ ବାପାଙ୍କ ସାଙ୍ଗେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରିଥିଲେ ।

ଏପରି ପ୍ରତିପତ୍ନିଶାଳୀ ଓ ଏପରି ଉଗ୍ରମୂର୍ତ୍ତି—ମାତ୍ର ମୋ ସହିତ ବା ମୋ ସହଯୋଗୀମାନଙ୍କ ସହିତ କେବେହେଲେ ଖରାପ ବ୍ୟବହାର କରିଥିବାର ଆମେ ଦେଖିନୁ । ଏହାହିଁ ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀଙ୍କ ପ୍ରତି ଆମମାନଙ୍କର ଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧା ଓ ଭକ୍ତିଭାବ ବଢ଼ାଇ ଦେଇଥିଲା ।

ମୁଁ ରହିବା ଆଗରୁ ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀ ବହୁମୂର୍ତ୍ତି ରୋଗରେ ଆକ୍ରାନ୍ତ ହୋଇଥିଲେ । ପ୍ରତିଦିନ ଇନ୍ସୁଲିନ୍ 2 ଥର ନିଅନ୍ତି । ମତେହିଁ ସେଇ ଇନ୍ସୁଲିନ୍ ସେବାକୁ ହୁଏ । ପରିସ୍ରା ପରୀକ୍ଷା, ଔଷଧ ଯଥା ସମୟରେ ଦେବା, ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ କାମ ମତେ କରିବାକୁ ପଡ଼େ । ସେ ନେଇ ମତେ ଗୋଟିଏ ଗୁଡ଼ କରିବାକୁ ହେଲା । କେତେବେଳେ କେଉଁ ଔଷଧ ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ, ଏ ସବୁ କାମ ନିୟମିତ ଭାବେ ଯେପରି କରିହେବ । ଘରେ ରୋଗୀଟିଏ ପଡ଼ିଲେ ଆଠ ଦିନ ସେବା କଲପରେ ଲୋକେ ତାଙ୍କୁ କଣ ନାହିଁ କ'ଣ କହନ୍ତେ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଏ ଅଧମ ଯେ ଏଭଳି କାମ ବିନା ଦ୍ଵିଧାରେ କରିପାରିଛି, ତାହାହିଁ ମୋ ଭାଗ୍ୟର କଥା । ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀ ମୋ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟପାଇଁ ମୋ ଉପରେ ଦିନକପାଇଁ ହେଲେ ବି ରାଗିନାହାନ୍ତି, ତାଙ୍କର କେତେ ଗୁଣ୍ଡିଏ ଥିଲା ନିତୀବାକ୍ୟ— ସତ କହିବା—ଠିକ୍ ସମୟରେ ସମସ୍ତ କାମ କରିବା ଏବଂ ନିର୍ଭୁଲ ଭାବିବା । ଆମର ଭୁଲ୍ ହେଲେବି ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀଙ୍କ ରାଗ ସାମାନ୍ୟ କଥାରେ ତୁଟିଯାଏ । ସେ କଥା ମନରେ ଧରି ରଖନ୍ତି ନାହିଁ । ପୁଣି ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀ କହନ୍ତି, ‘ମୁଁ ଯାହାକୁ ଭଲପାଏ ତା' ଉପରେ ହିଁ ରାଗେ ମାତ୍ର ମତେ ଭଲ ପାଉଥିଲେ ସତ, କିନ୍ତୁ ମୋ ଉପରେ କେବେ ରାଗିନାହାନ୍ତି । ଖବର କାଗଜ ପଢ଼ିଲା-ବେଳେ ପଂଖା ପବନରେ କାଗଜ 'ଲେଉଟି' ପଡ଼ିଲେ, ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀ ଚିଡ଼ିଯାଇ କାଗଜଟିକୁ ମୋରୁକୋରୁ କରିଦିଅନ୍ତି । ମୁଁ ପାଖରେ ଠିଆ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ରାଗରେ କାଗଜଟି ମୋ ପାଖକୁ ଫୋପାଡ଼ି ଦିଅନ୍ତି । ମତେ ହସ ଲାଗୁଥାଏ, କିନ୍ତୁ ହସିଲେ କାଳେ ଖରାପ ଭାବିବେ, କାଗଜଟି ସଜାଡ଼ି ଭାଙ୍ଗି ପୁନରାୟ ତାଙ୍କ ହାତକୁ ଦିଏ । ପଂଖା ଉପରେ ରାଗ ହେଲା ଏ କାହିଁକି ଏତେ ଯୋରରେ ପବନ ହେଉଛି । ମତେ ଚିକିଏ ପଡ଼ାଇ ଦେଉନି । ଏ ମତେ ମୂର୍ଖ କରିଦେବ” ଏହିଭଳି ରାଗିଲେ ଯେଉଁମାନେ ପାଖରେ ଥାଆନ୍ତି, ସମସ୍ତେ ଲୁଚି ଲୁଚି ହସନ୍ତି ।

ପଞ୍ଚତଳୀ ସାଧାରଣତଃ ରାତି ୩ଟା ଯାଏଁ ପଢୁଥାଆନ୍ତି, ଏବଂ ରାତି ଭିତରେ ୩-୪ ଥର ପରିସ୍ରା କରନ୍ତି । ମତେ କୁହନ୍ତି ମୁଁ ଯେତେଥର ପରିସ୍ରା କରିବି ତୁ ସବୁବେଳେ ଟେଣ୍ଡ କରିବୁ । ସେଇ ଅନୁସାରେ ଜନ୍ମସୂକ୍ତି ଦିଆହୁଏ । କି ଦିନ କି ରାତି ମୋର କାମ ହେଲା ଏହିଭଳି । ଥରେ ଥରେ ପଞ୍ଚତଳୀ ପଢୁ ପଢୁ ରାତି ପାହିଯାଏ । ସେତେବେଳେ ମତେ ଡାକିବେ । ପାଖରେ ତ କଲିଂବେଲ ସୁଇଚ୍ ଥାଏ । ତାକୁ ଘନ ଘନ ଡିପିଲେ ମୁଁ ଯାଇ ପହଞ୍ଚିବି । କହିବେ ହଇଚେର ରାତି ପାହିଗଲା କି ? ଫରଗ୍ ଦିଶିଲଣି । ହଉ ଆଗ ଅଣ୍ଡା ଆଉ କଫିଟା ଦେଇଦେ । ମୁଁ ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଙ୍ଗେ ଏତକ କରି ଆଣିଲେ, ସେ ଖାଇଦେଇ ଶୋଇ ପଡ଼ିବେ । ଏତେ ପାଠ ପଢ଼ିବା ଲୋକ ମୁଁ ତ ଦେଖିନି । ମୁଁ ଭାବେ ସେ ଥିଲେ ଯଥାତରେ ପଞ୍ଚିତ, ପରେ ପଢ଼ିଲି ତାଙ୍କ ମୃତ୍ୟୁରେ ଜଣେ କରି ଲେଖିଥିଲେ,

“ଜ୍ଞାନରେ ଗଣେଷ ରୂପରେ ବଶିଷ୍ଠ,
ଦେଖିଲେ ତୁମକୁ ମିଳେ ଅଭୟ
ପାଣ୍ଡିତ୍ୟରେ ତୁମେ ବ୍ୟାସ ବାଲମିକି
ତୁମ ପାଖେ ମଣୁ ସକଳ ହେୟ” ।

ଦେଶରେ ଅଗଣିତ ଶିକ୍ଷିତ ଲୋକ ମଧ୍ୟ ତାଙ୍କ ପାଣ୍ଡିତ୍ୟ ଅକଳନୀୟ ବୋଲି ମନେ କରିଥିଲେ ।

ରାତିଯାକ ପାଠ ପଢୁଥିବା ଭିତରେ ଯଦି ମତେ ଟିକିଏ ନିଦ ଲାଗିଯାଏ, ଝିଅ, କ୍ଲାଙ୍ଗି ଥାଆନ୍ତି, କହନ୍ତି ଆପଣ ତାଙ୍କୁ ସବୁବେଳେ ଡାକୁଛନ୍ତି, ସେ ଶୋଇଛି କଣ କୁହନ୍ତୁ ଆମେ କରିଦେବୁ । ତୁମେ କରି ପାରିବନି ସେ ଉଠୁ ।” ମୁଁ ଏତେ ଏତେ କାମ କରେ । ମତେ ପାଖଛଡ଼ା କରିବାକୁ ତାଙ୍କୁ ଆଦୌ ଭଲ ଲାଗେନି । କହେ ଆଜ୍ଞା ମୁଁ ଟିକିଏ ଘରକୁ ଯିବି । କହନ୍ତି” ହଉ ପୁରୀ ଅମୁକ ଦିନ ଯିବା ମୁଁ ପୁରୀରେ ରହିବି ତୁ ଘରକୁ ଯିବୁ । ମୋ ଘର ପୁରୀ ପାଖରେ । ପୁରୀ ଯାଇ ସେଠି ମୁଁ ଘରକୁ ଯିବା କଥା କହିଲେ କହନ୍ତି ହଉ ମୁଁ ଭୁବନେଶ୍ୱରରେ ରହିବି ତୁ ଗାଆ କୁ ଯିବୁ ।” ଝିଅ କ୍ଲାଙ୍ଗି-ମାନେ କୁହନ୍ତି ସେ ଟିକିଏ ଯାଉ ଆମେ ସମସ୍ତେ ଅଛୁ । ଆପଣଙ୍କର କିଛି ଅସୁବିଧା ହେବନି । ବଡ଼ କଷ୍ଟରେ ଦିନେ ଦି ଦିନ ପାଇଁ ଛୁଟି ମିଳେ । କିନ୍ତୁ ତାଙ୍କର କାଳେ କଣ ଅସୁବିଧା ହେବ ଭାବି ମୁଁ ଘରକୁ ବେଶି ଯାଏ ନାହିଁ । ଘରକୁ ଗଲେ କହିଥିବା ସମୟରେ ଆସିବାକୁ ହେବ । ସମୟ ଜ୍ଞାନ ଅଭାବ ହେଲେ ପଞ୍ଚିତଙ୍କ ଭାଷା କିଛି କହିହେବନାହିଁ । ମିଟିଙ୍ଗ ୫ ଟାରେ ଥିଲେ ସେ ସେଠିପାଇଁ ଠିକ୍ ୫ ଟାରେ ପହଞ୍ଚିବେ । ଅନ୍ୟ କେହି ଆସିନଥିଲେ ମିଟିଙ୍ଗର କୌଣସି ବାବୁଙ୍କୁ ଡକାଇ କହନ୍ତି ଏମାନଙ୍କର ସମୟ ଜ୍ଞାନ ନାହିଁ । ଏ ଅତି ମଫସଲିଆ କଥା, ଏମିତି କରିବା ଠିକ୍ ନୁହେଁ । ଯଦି ତା ଭିତରେ କିଏ କହେ “ଆପଣ କ’ଣ ସହରୀ” ପଞ୍ଚତଳେ କହନ୍ତି ମୁଁ ମଫସଲିଆ ସତ କିନ୍ତୁ ତୁମଭଳି ଏତେ ମଫସଲିଆ ନୁହେଁ । ସଭା-ସାରି ଫେରିଲ ବେଳେ ବଜାରରୁ କ’ଣ ଗୋଟେ କିଣି ଆଣେ ବୋଲି କହିଲେ ମୁଁ ଯାଇ ଜିନିଷଟା ଦରକରି ଆଣିବାରେ ଟିକିଏ ଡେରି ହେଲେ ଆସିଲେ କହନ୍ତି ଚକ୍ କିନା ଯାଇ ଚକ୍ କିନା ଘେନି ଆସିବାରା—ଯେତେ ସମୟ ଏ କାମରେ ଗଲା ପଢ଼ାପଢ଼ି କରିଥିଲେ କିଛି ଲାଭ ହୋଇଥାନ୍ତା । ଖାଲିଟାରେ ସମୟ ନଷ୍ଟ କରିବା ଅନ୍ୟାୟ ।”

ମୁଁ ରହିବା ଭିତରେ ଦେଖିଛି ତାଙ୍କ ଖଟ ଖଣ୍ଡିକରେ ପାଞ୍ଚ ଦଶଟା ବହି ପଢ଼ିଥିବ, ପଢ଼ା ଗୁଲିଥିବ ଏବଂ ଟିପାଟିପି ବି ଗୁଲିଥିବ । ସେତେବେଳେ ଏତେ ଅନ୍ୟମନସ୍ଥ ଥାଆନ୍ତିଯେ, ଗାଧୋଇବା, ଖାଇବା ସବୁ ଭୁଲିଯାଆନ୍ତି । ସାହାସ କରି କହେ ଆସନ୍ତୁ ଗାଧୋଇବେ” ପାଞ୍ଚ ସାତଥର କହିଲେ କହିବେ ହଁ, ହଁ ମୁଁ ଗାଧୋଇନି, ଖାଇନି ମୋର ମନେ ନାହିଁ । ପଞ୍ଚତଳୀ ବହୁ ସମୟରେ ଅନ୍ୟମନସ୍ଥ ଥାଆନ୍ତି । ମଝିରେ ମଝିରେ ସବୁ କାମ ସରିଥିବ ମତେ ଡାକନ୍ତି ଖାଇବାକୁ ଦେବନି କି ? ମୁଁ କହେ ଆପଣଙ୍କର ଖାଇବା ଔଷଧ, ଜନ୍‌ଜେକ୍‌ସନ୍ ସବୁକାମ ସରିଚି । “ଓହୋ ମୋ ମନେ ନାହିଁ ଆଜ୍ଞା ହଉ ବାପ ଲିଭା ଶୋଇପଢ଼ିବା” । କେବେ ଲରଗ୍ ଲିଭା ବୋଲି କହନ୍ତି ନାହିଁ । ଟିକିଏ ଶୋଇଥିବେ କି ନାହିଁ ପୁଣି ଡାକିବେ ଆରେ ପୋଖରୀ ଯିବା । ଏଇ ହେଲା ପଞ୍ଚିତଳୀଙ୍କର ଦୈନନ୍ଦିନ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ । ଏଇଭଳି 1955 ମସିହାରୁ 1967 ମସିହା ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ପେଟେଟଦିନ ହେଲା କିନ୍ତୁ ଦିନକ ପାଇଁ ସେ ମୋ ଉପରେ ଅଖାନ୍ତି କୌଣସି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ ହୋଇନାହାନ୍ତି । ମୁଁ ପ୍ରକୃତରେ ପଞ୍ଚିତଳୀଙ୍କୁ ମଣିଷ ବୋଲି ଭାବେନାହିଁ । ସ୍ୱୟଂ ଶିବ ବୋଲି ଭାବେ । ଏବେ ବି ଗୋଟିଏ ଫଟୋ ଠାକୁରଙ୍କ ପାଖେ ରଖି ଫୁଲ, ଚନ୍ଦନ ଟିକିଏ ଦେଉଛି । ନାଳକଣ୍ଠେଶ୍ୱର ମହାଦେବଙ୍କ କୃପାରୁ ଜନ୍ମଗ୍ରହଣ କରି ଥିଲେ ବୋଲି ତାଙ୍କ ନନା ବୋଉ ନାଁ ଦେଇଥିଲେ ନାଳକଣ୍ଠ ।

ଶେଷ ଜୀବନରେ ପଞ୍ଚିତଳୀ ଅତି ପିଲାଳିଆ ହୋଇଗଲେ । ମୋତେ ଡାକୁଥାନ୍ତି, ମା ପାଖରେ ଥାଆନ୍ତି ମୁଁ ଟିକିଏ ଘର କାମରେ ବ୍ୟସ୍ତ ଥାଏ । ମାଆ କହନ୍ତି କାହିଁକି ଡାକୁଛ ମତେ କହ ମୁଁ କହିଦେବି । ପଞ୍ଚିତଳୀ କୁହନ୍ତି ମୁଁ ତାକୁ ଟିକିଏ ଦେଖୁଛି ମୁଁ ଯାଏ ମତେ ଦେଖିଲେ ସେ ଖୁସି ହୋଇପାଆନ୍ତି ମୋତେ ଦେଖିବା ଲାଗି ତାଙ୍କର ପ୍ରବଳ ଇଚ୍ଛା । ପଞ୍ଚିତଳୀ ପାଟଳପୁରୀ କଦଳୀ ବରାବର ଖାଆନ୍ତି । ସେଇ କଦଳୀଟିଏ ନେଇ ପାଖରେ ଛିଡ଼ା ହୁଏ ପରୁରେ କଣ କହୁଛନ୍ତି କହନ୍ତି

ତତେ ଚିକିତ୍ସା ଦେଖିବି ବୋଲି ଡାକୁଥିଲି । ମୁଁ ସେତେବେଳେ ଯୌର୍ଯ୍ୟଧରି ଠିଆହୁଏ । କଦଳୀଟି ଗ୍ରେପାଛତାଇ ଚିକିତ୍ସା ଚିକିତ୍ସା ଖୁଆଏ । ମାଆଙ୍କୁ କହନ୍ତି ଏଇଥିପାଇଁ ଗଣେଷକୁ ଡାକୁଥିଲି । କଦଳୀଟିଏ କୋଉଠି ରଖିଥିଲୁ ଆଣିଦେଲୁ । ମାଆ କହନ୍ତି କାଲଠାର କାଲ ମାଆ ଜାଣେ । ଛୋଟ ପିଲାଙ୍କ କାମ ଯେପରି ମାଆମାନେ କରନ୍ତି ମତେ ସେଇପରି ପଣ୍ଡିତ-ଜୀବର କାମ କରିବାକୁ ହୁଏ ।

ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷା ପାଇଁ ସେତେବେଳେ ଲେଖକମାନଙ୍କ ସାଙ୍ଗରେ ଯୁକ୍ତି କରନ୍ତି ଯେ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷାରେ କାହିଁକି ବଙ୍ଗଳା ଲଗାଉଛ ? ଠିକ୍ ଯାଗାରେ କେହି କେହି ସଠିକ୍ କହିଦେଲେ ତାଙ୍କୁ ଭାରି ଖରାପ ଲାଗେ । ସେତେବେଳେ ସରକାରଙ୍କ ପ୍ରେସରେ ଉଦୟନାଥ ମିଶ୍ରଭାଇରେକ୍ଟର ଥାଆନ୍ତି । ମଝିରେ ମଝିରେ ତାଙ୍କୁ ଡକାଇ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷା ଯେପରି ଶୁଦ୍ଧ ଭାବେ ଲେଖା ହେବ ଏବଂ ପିଲାମାନଙ୍କୁ ଖାଣ୍ଡି ଓଡ଼ିଆରେ ପଢ଼ାଯିବ ତା' କହନ୍ତି ।

ଆଜି ସେ ନାହାନ୍ତି, ସେ ସଭାମଧ୍ୟ ଥାଜିକାଲି ଥାଉ ନାହିଁ । ତାଙ୍କ ସଭାର ଭାଷଣ ଯେଉଁମାନେ ଶୁଣିଥିବେ ସେମାନେ ସଭାରେ ଲୋକେ କେମିତି ତାଙ୍କ ଭାଷଣ ଏକାଗ୍ରଚିତ୍ତରେ ଶୁଣୁଥାନ୍ତି କହିପାରିବେ । ତାଙ୍କ ପାଖରେ ଯେଉଁମାନେ ଚଳିଥିବେ ସେମାନେ ଜାଣୁଥିବେ ସେ କିପରି ଲୋକଥିଲେ । ଆଜି ସେ ନାହାନ୍ତି କି ସେ କଥା ନାହିଁ । ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀ ଓଡ଼ିଆରେ ଯାହାକୁ ଚିଠି ଲେଖନ୍ତି ପ୍ରଥମେ ଲେଖନ୍ତି “ଜଗନ୍ନାଥ ଭଲ କରନ୍ତୁ” କିମ୍ବା ‘ମଙ୍ଗଳ କରନ୍ତୁ’ ସେ କହନ୍ତି, ଜଗନ୍ନାଥଙ୍କ ପରି ଜଗତରେ ଦେବତା ନାହାନ୍ତି ଯାହାଙ୍କ ପାଖକୁ ସାଧାରଣ ଲୋକେ ଯାଇପାରିବେ ଗରିବ ଗାଉଁଲି ବୁଢ଼ୀଟିଏ ହେଲେବି ରଥ-ଉପରେ ଚଢ଼ିଯାଇ ହଇରେ ଜଗା ତୁ ମତେ ତୋ କୃପାରୁ କଣିକାଏ ହେଲେ ଦେ ବୋଲି କହି ଆଶ୍ୱାସନା ପାଏ ।

ମୋର ନିବେଦନ ଆମର ସମସ୍ତ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଜାତି, ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଦେଶ, ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷା ଭାଷା ସେଇ ଜଗନ୍ନାଥଙ୍କୁ ସ୍ମରଣ କରି ପଣ୍ଡିତଜୀଙ୍କୁ ମନେ ରଖନ୍ତୁ ।

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ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଓ କୁହୁଡ଼ି ଲୁଣନର

ଅଭିମନ୍ୟୁ ମୁଦ୍ରକ ବି., ଏ. ବି. ଇ. ଡି.

ସାଧାରଣ ସଂପାଦକ
ଉତ୍କଳ ସଂଗ୍ରାମୀ ସୂଚି ସମିତି,
କାକଟପୁର ।

ମହାତ୍ମାଗାନ୍ଧୀଙ୍କ ଲବଣ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହ ଡାକରାରେ ସୁ 1930 ଏପ୍ରିଲ 6 ତାରିଖରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାରେ ସର୍ବପ୍ରଥମେ ବାଲଶ୍ଵର ଇଞ୍ଜୁଡ଼ିଠାରେ ଆଇନ୍ ଅମାନ୍ୟ କରି ଲୁଣ ମାରିବା ପାଇଁ ନିଷ୍ଠା ନିଆଗଲା । ତଦନୁଯାୟୀ କଟକର ବାଖରାବାଦ୍‌ରୁ ପୂଜ୍ୟ ଗୋପବନ୍ଧୁ ଚୌଧୁରୀ ଓ ଆର୍ତ୍ତ ହରିହରଙ୍କ ନେତୃତ୍ଵରେ ଦଳେ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀ ଏପ୍ରିଲ ତା 6 ରିଖରେ ଇଞ୍ଜୁଡ଼ି ଅଭିମୁଖେ ଯାତ୍ରା କଲେ । ବାଟରୁ ଗୋପବନ୍ଧୁଙ୍କୁ ପୁଲିସ ଗ୍ରେପ୍‌ତାର କରିନେବାରୁ ଆର୍ତ୍ତ ହରିହରଙ୍କ ନେତୃତ୍ଵରେ ପୂଜ୍ୟା ରମାଦେବୀ, ଅଳପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣା, ମନମୋହନ ଚୌଧୁରୀ, କୁପାସିନ୍ଧୁ ହୋତା ପ୍ରମୁଖ ବହୁ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀ 12 ତାରିଖ ଦିନ ଇଞ୍ଜୁଡ଼ିରେ ପହଞ୍ଚି ଆଇନ୍ ଅମାନ୍ୟ କରି ଲୁଣ ମାରିଥିଲେ । ସେହି ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରୁ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀମାନେ ଯୋଗ ଦେଇଥିଲେ । ପୁରୀରୁ ପତିତପାବନ ଦଳ ନାମରେ ଏକ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀ ଦଳ ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କ ନେତୃତ୍ଵରେ ଇଞ୍ଜୁଡ଼ି ଯାଇଥିଲେ । ସେହି ଦଳରେ କାକଟପୁରରୁ ପୁରୁଷୋତ୍ତମ ମୁଦୁଲି ଓ ବାଳକୃଷ୍ଣ ସ୍ଵାଇଁ ନାମକ ଦୁଇଜଣ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀ ଯୋଗଦେଇଥିଲେ । ଆଇନ୍ ଅମାନ୍ୟ ଅପରାଧରେ ଅନ୍ୟ କେତେକଙ୍କ ସହିତ ପୁରୁଷୋତ୍ତମ ଓ ବାଳକୃଷ୍ଣଙ୍କୁ ଦୁଇ ସପ୍ତାହ କାରାଦଣ୍ଡ ଭୋଗିବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିଥିଲା । କେଳରୁ ଖଲସ ହୋଇ କାକଟପୁର ଫେରିବା ପରେ କାକଟପୁର ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ମଞ୍ଜ୍ୟ ସ୍ଵାଧୀନତା ସଂଗ୍ରାମୀ ମଧୁସୂଦନ ମିଶ୍ର ଅସ୍ତରଙ୍ଗର କୁହୁଡ଼ିଠାରେ ଲବଣ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ସ୍ଥିର କଲେ ।

ଏ ସଂପର୍କରେ ବିଧିବଦ୍ଧ ଯୋଜନା ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ମଧୁସୂଦନ ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ପରାମର୍ଶ ଲାଭିଥିଲେ । ସତ୍ୟବାଦୀଠାରେ ସେ ଏପ୍ରିଲ 29 ତାରିଖରେ ଜଗନ୍ନାଥ ରଥଙ୍କ ଉପସ୍ଥିତିରେ କୁହୁଡ଼ି ଲବଣ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହର ପରିଚ୍ଛନ୍ନା ଦାୟିତ୍ଵ ନେବାପାଇଁ ସମ୍ମତି ଜଣାଇଲେ । ପ୍ରଥମ ଦିନର ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନରେ ମଧୁସୂଦନ ମିଶ୍ର କୁହୁଡ଼ି ପଡ଼ିଆରେ ସେନାପତି ହେବା ପାଇଁ ସ୍ଵୀକୃତି ଦେଲେ । ତାଙ୍କୁ ଗିରଫ କରାଗଲେ ତାଙ୍କ ପରେ ଜଗନ୍ନାଥ ରଥ ଓ ପରେ ପୁରୁଷୋତ୍ତମ ମୁଦୁଲି ସେନାପତି ରହିବେ ବୋଲି ସ୍ଥିର ହେଲା । ମଇ ମାସ ପହିଲା ତାରିଖରେ କେତେକ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀଙ୍କୁ ସଂଗରେ ଧରି ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ କାକଟପୁରଠାରେ ପହଞ୍ଚିଥିଲେ । ସାଙ୍ଗରେ ଥାନ୍ତି ଜଗନ୍ନାଥ ରଥ, ସୁନାମଣି ଦେବୀ (କୁପାସିନ୍ଧୁ ହୋତାଙ୍କର ଭାଇବୋହୂ), ଜଗନ୍ନାଥ ମହାନ୍ତି ବାଣପୁରର ଯୁବକ ଶଙ୍କର ଷଡ଼ଙ୍ଗୀ ପ୍ରଭୃତି କେତେକ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀ । କାକଟପୁରରେ ପହଞ୍ଚିଲେ ବେଳକୁ ପ୍ରାୟ ସଂଧ୍ୟା । ତାଙ୍କୁ କାନ୍ଦୁଗୋ ଅଫିସ ହତାରେ ସଜାର ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ବହୁକ ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ କରାଯାଇଥିଲେ ମଧ୍ୟ ଅଫିସ ହତା ଭିତରେ ପୁଲିସ ଉପରେ ଖୁବ୍ କମ୍ ଲୋକ ବସିଥାନ୍ତି । ହତା ବାହାରେ ସହସ୍ରାଧିକ ଲୋକ ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କ ଭାଷଣ ଶୁଣିବାକୁ ରୁଷ୍ଟ ହୋଇଥାନ୍ତି । ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଗୁରୁଗଣୀର ସ୍ଵରେ ଭାଷଣ ଦେଇ ଲବଣ ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନକୁ ଜୋରଦାର କରିବା ପାଇଁ ଜନସାଧାରଣଙ୍କୁ ଅନୁପ୍ରାଣୀତ କରୁଥାନ୍ତି । ଏତିକିବେଳେ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀମାନଙ୍କୁ ଆଶ୍ରୟ ନ ଦେବା ପାଇଁ ପୁଲିସ ଜନସାଧାରଣଙ୍କୁ ଧମକ ଦେଉଥାନ୍ତି । ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଏହା ଜାଣିପାରି ନିଜର ଦାତ୍ତା ହଲାଇ ସ୍ଵଭାବ ସୁଲଭ ଭଙ୍ଗୀରେ ଜନତାଙ୍କୁ ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ କଲେ, ମଙ୍ଗଳାପୀଠରେ ସାହସୀ ସଂଗ୍ରାମୀ ବନ୍ଧୁଗଣ, ଆମେ କଣ ଫେରିଯିବୁ ? ଆମକୁ କିଛି ଦିନ ପାଇଁ ଆଶ୍ରୟଦେବାକୁ କଣ କେହି ସଂଗ୍ରାମୀ ନାହାନ୍ତି । ଠିକ୍ ସେତିକିବେଳେ ପିତା ପୁତ୍ର ଦୁଇଜଣ ଏକ ସଙ୍ଗରେ ଉଠିପଡ଼ି ଏକ ସ୍ଵରରେ ଉତ୍ତର ଦେଲେ ଆମେ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀ ମାନଙ୍କୁ ଦୀର୍ଘଦିନ ଧରି ଆଶ୍ରୟ ଦେବୁ ଓ ସମସ୍ତ ଖାଦ୍ୟ ପେୟ ଭାର ବହନ କରିବୁ ! ସେ ଦୁଇଜଣ ହେଉଛନ୍ତି ଓଢ଼ଙ୍ଗର ଗ୍ରାମର ମକଦମ ତଥା ସ୍ଵାଧୀନତା ସଂଗ୍ରାମୀ ଭୁବନାନନ୍ଦ ସ୍ଵାଇଁ ଓ ପୁତ୍ର ବାଳକୃଷ୍ଣ ସ୍ଵାଇଁ । ସେହି ସଭାରେ ପୁଲିସ ଇନିସ୍ପେକ୍ଟର ମକଦମଙ୍କୁ ଧମକ ଦେଇ କହିଲେ ‘ମକଦମ, ପୁଲିସ ହାତରେ ବନ୍ଧୁକ ଦେଖୁଛନ୍ତୁ ? ପୁଲିସ ହାତରେ ବନ୍ଧୁକ ଥିଲେ ଆମ ହାତରେ ବାହୁଜି (ଧାନ ହଳା ବୁହା ବାଡ଼ି) ଅଛି । ପୁଲିସ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଧମକ ଦେଇ କହିଲେ ମକଦମ, ତୁମେ ଏ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀ ମାନଙ୍କୁ ଯଦି ଆଶ୍ରୟ ଦେବ ତୁମର ସମସ୍ତ ସଂପତ୍ତି ବାଜ୍ୟାପତ ହୋଇଯିବ । ଭୁବନାନନ୍ଦ କହିଲେ, ସଂପତ୍ତି ତ ଛାର, ଯଦି ଅପଣ ମୋ ଷ୍ଟାକ୍ ବାଜ୍ୟାପତ କରନ୍ତି ତଥାପି ମୁଁ ଏ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀ ମାନଙ୍କୁ ମୋ ଖମାରରେ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦେବି ଓ ଯେତେବେଳଯାଏ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହ ରୁଲିବ ସେତେ ଦିନ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଏମାନଙ୍କର ସମସ୍ତଖାଦ୍ୟ ପେୟର ଖର୍ଚ୍ଚ ବହନ କରିବି । ମକଦମଙ୍କର ଏପରି ସାହସିକ କଥା ଶୁଣି ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଅତି ଉଚ୍ଚ ସ୍ଵରରେ କହିଲେ, ସାବାସ ମକଦମ, ତୁମେ ହିଁ ପ୍ରକୃତ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀ ଓ ଆଦର୍ଶ ସଂଗ୍ରାମୀ । ସଭାରେ ଘନ ଘନ କରତାଳି ହେଲା । ତା’ ପରେ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀ ମାନେ ପୁଲିସ୍କୁ ଭ୍ରୁପେୟ ନକରି ମକଦମଙ୍କ ଗ୍ରାମ ଓଢ଼ଙ୍ଗର ଅଭିମୁଖେ ଯାତ୍ରା କଲେ । ସେମାନଙ୍କ ସଙ୍ଗରେ ସାଥୀ ହେଲେ କାକଟପୁର ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ମଧୁସୂଦନ ମିଶ୍ର ପୁରୁଷୋତ୍ତମ ମୁଦୁଲି, ଭୁବନାନନ୍ଦ ସ୍ଵାଇଁ, ବାଳକୃଷ୍ଣ ସ୍ଵାଇଁ, ଅନନ୍ତ ମହାନ୍ତି, ଜୟରାମ ସେନାପତି ପ୍ରଭୃତି ଅନେକ ସଂଗ୍ରାମୀ । ଜନତାର ଶୋଭା ଯାତ୍ରାରେ ଜୟ ମାହାତ୍ମାଙ୍କୀ ଜୟ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଧ୍ବନି ଆନତୀ ଗରମ ମୁଖରିତ କରୁଥାଏ ।

ଶୋଭାଯାତ୍ରା ପହଞ୍ଚିବା ବେଳକୁ ଭୁବନାରଣ୍ୟ ସ୍ଵାଇଁ ନିଜର ବିରାଟ ଖମ୍ବାରକୁ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀମାନଙ୍କ ପାଇଁ ଶିବିର କରିବାକୁ ଉତ୍ସର୍ଗ କରିଦେଲେ । କେବଳ ସେତିକି ନୁହେଁ ଖମ୍ବାର ବାଡ଼ିରେ ଥିବା ଗୋଟିଏ ବଡ଼ ପାଳଗଦା (ଧାନଗଦା) ଓ ମାଛ ଯୋଖରୀରୁ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀମାନଙ୍କର ବ୍ୟବହାର ପାଇଁ ଉତ୍ସର୍ଗ କରିଦେଲେ । ସେହି ମଇ 2 ତାରିଖଠାରୁ ଓକଜରଠାରେ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀ ଶିବିର ଖୋଲିପାଇ ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶରେ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀମାନଙ୍କୁ କୁହୁଡ଼ି ଲବଣ ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନ ପାଇଁ ତାଲିମ ଦିଆଗଲା । ମକଦ୍ଦମଙ୍କର ଏପରି ପ୍ରତିପତ୍ତି ଥିଲା ଯେ ଗ୍ରାମର ଏକତା ଭାଙ୍ଗିବା ପାଇଁ ପୁଲିସ ସମ୍ପମ ହୋଇ ନ ପାରି ଗ୍ରାମ ଚାରିପଟେ ପହରା ଦେଲେ ଏବଂ ଓକଜରକୁ ଏକ ବାସନ୍ତ ଗ୍ରାମ ବୋଲି ଘୋଷଣା କରି 144 ଧାରା ଜାରି କଲେ । ମଝିରେ ମଝିରେ ପୁଲିସ ଗ୍ରାମକୁ ଯାଇ ଶିବିରରେ କଣ କିପରି ତାଲିମ ଚାଲିଛି ତାର ସନ୍ଦାନ କରୁଥାଏ । ଅତି ଗୋପନରେ ସ୍ଥିର କରାଗଲା ଯେ ମଇ 21 ତାରିଖ ଦିନ କୁହୁଡ଼ି ପଡ଼ିଆରେ ଆରନ ଅମାନ୍ୟ କରି ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀମାନେ ଲୁଣ ମାରିବେ । ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶରେ ମଧୁସୂଦନ କାକଟପୁରର ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ଜଣାଇବା ପାଇଁ ଚିଠି ଲେଖିଲେ । ରାତିରେ ମକଦ୍ଦମଙ୍କ ଖମ୍ବାର କୋଠି ଭିତରେ ଲଇଟ୍ ଜାଳି ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ବଡ଼ ପୁଅ ଅଶୋକ ଓ ଭୁବନାରଣ୍ୟ ମଝିଆଁ ପୁଅ ଭୀମ ଚିଠି ଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଲିଖା କରନ୍ତି । ଚିଠି ଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ବାହାର ଗ୍ରାମ ଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ପଠାଇବା ପାଇଁ ମଧୁସୂଦନ ଏକ ଅଭିନବ କୌଶଳ ପ୍ରୟୋଗ କଲେ । ବାହାର ଗ୍ରାମରୁ ହରିଜନ ଜାତିର ସ୍ତ୍ରୀ ଲୋକମାନେ ଘଷି ନେବା ପାଇଁ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟହ ଓକଜର ଆସନ୍ତି । ସେମାନଙ୍କ ଘଷି ଟୋକେଇ ଭିତରେ ଅତି ଗୋପନରେ ମଧୁସୂଦନ ଚିଠି ଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ବାହାର ଗ୍ରାମର ମୁଖ୍ୟ ଲୋକଙ୍କ ପାଖକୁ ପଠାନ୍ତି ।

ମଇ 21 ତାରିଖ ଦିନ ପ୍ରାୟ ଶତାଧିକ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀ ଜାତୀୟ ପତାକା ଧରି ସ୍ଵାଗାନ ଗାଈ ଗାଈ କୁହୁଡ଼ି ଅଭିମୁଖେ ଯାତ୍ରା କଲେ । ମଧୁସୂଦନ ମିଶ୍ର ପ୍ରଥମ ଦିନର ସଂଗ୍ରାମରେ ସେନାପତି ଥିଲେ ଭୁବନାରଣ୍ୟ ମକଦ୍ଦମ ସ୍ତ୍ରୀ ସୁମିତ୍ରା ଦେବୀ । ମଧୁସୂଦନଙ୍କ ମୁଣ୍ଡରେ ଚନ୍ଦନ ଲଗାଇ ପୁଲମାଳ ପିନ୍ଧାଇ ଦେଲେ ଓ ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ତାଙ୍କୁ ଯଶସ୍ଵୀ ହୁଅ' କହି ଆଶୀର୍ବାଦ କରି ବିଦାୟ ଦେଲେ । ଶୁଭ ଶଙ୍ଖନାଦ ଓ ହୁଳହୁଳି ହରିବୋଲ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଓକଜରଠାରୁ ଦୀର୍ଘ 3 ମାଇଲ ରାସ୍ତାରେ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀମାନେ ସହସ୍ରାଧିକ ଲୋକଙ୍କ ଗହଣରେ ଗାଣିକୀଙ୍କ ଜୟ, ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କ ଜୟ ପ୍ରଭୃତି ସ୍ଵାଗାନ ଗାଈ ଗାଈ ଚାଲିଥାନ୍ତି ।

କୁହୁଡ଼ି ପଡ଼ିଆରେ ପହଞ୍ଚିଲା ବେଳକୁ ଏହି ବିରାଟ ଲୁଣମରା ପଡ଼ିଆ ଜନସମୂହ ପାଇଁ ଯାଇଛି । ଏତେ ଲୋକ ଏତେ କମ୍ ସମୟ ମଧ୍ୟରେ କିପରି ରୁଣ୍ଡ ହେଲେ ଏହା ପୁଲିସକୁ ଖୁବ୍ ଆଶ୍ଚର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଲାଗିଲା । ପ୍ରଥମଦିନ ମଧୁସୂଦନଙ୍କୁ ଗେପ୍ରାର କରି ପୁଲିସ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀଙ୍କୁ ମୁକୁ ଲଠି ଚାଳନା କରି ଘଉଡ଼ାଇ ଦେବା ପରେ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀମାନେ ଶିବିରକୁ ଫେରିଗଲେ ।

ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀମାନେ ମଧୁସୂଦନଙ୍କ ଅନୁପସ୍ଥିତିରେ ଭାରୁ ପତି ଶିବିରକୁ ଫେରି ଆସିବାର ଦେଖି ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଅତି ରୁଷ ଭାଷାରେ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହୀମାନଙ୍କୁ ଚର୍ତ୍ତନା କଲେ । ଦ୍ଵିତୀୟଦିନ ପୁଲିସର ନିର୍ମମ ଲଠି ଚାଳନା ସତ୍ତ୍ଵେ ଲୁଣମରା ଅବ୍ୟାହତ ରଖିବାକୁ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଶପଥ କରାଇଲେ । ଦ୍ଵିତୀୟ ଦିନର ସେନାପତି ଥିଲେ ଜଗନ୍ନାଥ ରଥ । ସେ ଦିନର ସଙ୍ଗ୍ରାମ ଅତ୍ୟନ୍ତ ମର୍ମହତ ଓ ହୃଦୟ ବିଦାରକ । ପୁଲିସର ଘନ ଘନ ଲଠି ଚାଳନାରେ ଜଗନ୍ନାଥଙ୍କର ଖୁଆ ଖସି ପଡ଼ିଲା । ପୁରୁଷୋତ୍ତମ ମୁକୁଳିଙ୍କ ତାକୁ ଫାଟି ରକ୍ତ ଝର ଝର ବୋହୁଥିବା ବେଳେ ସେ ଅଚେତ୍ ହୋଇ ତଳେ ପଡ଼ିଗଲେ । ଭୁବନାରଣ୍ୟ ଓ ବାଳକୃଷ୍ଣ ସ୍ଵାଇଁଙ୍କର ଜୟ ଫାଟିଗଲା । ସବୁଠାରୁ ମର୍ମହତ ଥିଲା ଶଙ୍କର ଷଡ଼ଙ୍ଗୀ ପ୍ରତି ପୁଲିସର ନିର୍ମମ ଲଠି ପ୍ରହାର । ଲଠି ପ୍ରହାରକୁ ଭୁକ୍ଷେପ ନକରି ଅତି ଯତ୍ନରେ ମାରିଥିବା ଲୁଣ ପଗଡ଼କୁ ଶଙ୍କର ଜାତୀୟ ପତାକାରେ ରଖି ଫାଟିରେ ଲୁଗୁଲ ଖୁବ୍ ଜୋରରେ ଧାଇଁଲା । ଶଙ୍କରକୁ ପୁଲିସ ଫୌଜ କୁହୁଡ଼ି ଦାଣ୍ଡରେ ମାଡ଼ି ବସି ତାଙ୍କ ତାଳ ଓ ଛାତି ଉପରେ ଗୋଡ଼ ରଖି ପୁଲିସ ସାହେବ ଲୁଣ ପତାକାକୁ ଝିଙ୍କିଲେ । ଝିଙ୍କାଟଣାରେ ଶଙ୍କରଙ୍କର ଗୋଟାକ ପରେ ଗୋଟିଏ ପ୍ରାୟ ଅର୍ଦ୍ଧେକ ଦାନ୍ତ ଭାଙ୍ଗି ମୁହଁରୁ ରକ୍ତ ଝର ଝର ବୋହିଲା । କିନ୍ତୁ ଶଙ୍କର ଲୁଣ ଛାଡ଼ିଲା ନାହିଁ । ଶଙ୍କରକୁ ବେହୋସ ହେବା ଦେଖି ଓ କୁହୁଡ଼ି ଦାଣ୍ଡ ଉତ୍ୟକ୍ତ ଜନତାରେ ଭରପୁର ହୋଇ ଯିବା ଜାଣି ପୁଲିସ ଶଙ୍କରକୁ ଅଚେତନ ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ଛାଡ଼ି ଚାଲିଗଲେ । ଏ ଖବର ପାଇ ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଶିବିରରୁ ଆସି ଶଙ୍କରକୁ ସେବା ଶୁଷା କରି ଚେତା କରାଇଲେ । ସେ ଦିନର ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କର ବାଣୀ ଭୁଲିଯିବାର ନୁହେଁ, ଶଙ୍କର ତୁମେ ଏ ଜାତିର ନମସ୍ୟ । ତୁମ ପାଇଁ ଆଜି ଆମର ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନ ସଫଳ ହୋଇଛି । ଏହା କହି ସେହି ପବିତ୍ର ଲୁଣର ପ୍ରତି କଣିକାକୁ ଚାରି ପଇସା ଛ ପଇସା କରି ନିର୍ଲମ୍ବ କରାଇଥିଲେ ।

ପଣ୍ଡିତ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠଙ୍କୁ ସତ୍ୟାଗ୍ରହର ମୁଖ୍ୟ ପରିଚାଳକ ରୂପେ କୁହୁଡ଼ି ପ୍ରତି ସ୍ତମ୍ଭରେ ସ୍ଥାପନ କରାଯାଇ ପାରିଅଛି । ସେ ଆମର ନମସ୍ୟ ।

PANDIT NILAKANTHA DAS AS AN ARCHITECT OF ORISSA PROVINCE

Prof. Dr. Shreeram Chandra Dash

Pandit Nilakantha Das is one of those who are regarded as architects of the Province of Orissa. Utkal Gouraba Madhusudan Das and Utkalmani Pandit Gopabandhu Das the mentor of Nilakantha are the foremost among them. In a letter to Pandit Gopabandhu, Madhusudan expressed a desire that Gopabandhu should live long and complete the unfinished task of Madhusudan for the creation of a separate Orissa Province and its subsequent growth and development. Unfortunately Gopabandhu died earlier on June, 17, 1928 whereas Madhusudan died six years thereafter on February, 4, 1934. Madhusudan had at least the satisfaction of knowing before his death that the British Government decided to make Orissa a separate province and he was himself appointed as a member of the Orissa Administration Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir John Austin Hubback later to become the first Governor of Orissa to prepare the blue-print for the new province but his death deprived him of the opportunity of completing the process of formation of the province of Orissa which was created on April, 1, 1936. The premature demise of Pandit Gopabandhu at the young age of 51 led to the thrusting of the responsibility of carrying his legacy as given to him by Madhusudan on Nilakantha and after Madhusudan's death Nilakantha played a distinguished role in carving out the new province and developing it after its creation.

Nilakantha's life can be divided into a number of well-marked stages, namely : (a) His early life and formation of the group of Panchasakhas or five friends, (b) His role as an educationalist both as the Headmaster of Sakhigopal Groveschool and Professor of comparative literature of Calcutta University, (c) His participation in India's freedom movement both as a follower of Gopabandhu and as President of Orissa Provincial Congress Committee, (d) His role as a Legislator as a member of the Central Legislative Assembly and Orissa Legislative Assembly including his role as the Speaker of Orissa Assembly and (e) His activity for Nation building. In each one of these phase of his life Nilakantha carried on his activities simultaneously for the creation and growth of the province before and after independence of the Country.

Nilakantha as a student of Puri Zilla School had the first contact with Madhusudan in 1904. The first session of Utkal Sammilani (Utkal Union Conference) was held in December, 1903 at Idgha, Cuttack and soon thereafter Madhusudan travelled in different parts of the Oriya-speaking tracts to spread the message of the Sammilani. In that connection there was a meeting in Jagannathballav, Puri addressed by Madhusudan in which he spread the message of Swadeshi. He is reported to have said "Orissa is rich in raw materials but the people are poor on account of their unwillingness or incapacity to establish industries. Creation of the separate province of Orissa must be accompanied by industrialisation to remove poverty. Unless the youngmen make a resolve to use only Swadeshi goods, industries can never develop and Orissa when created will not be a viable province." It is significant that Swadeshi movement started in Bengal in 1905 after

partition of Bengal and Gandhiji upheld the Swadeshi ideal in 1921. Madhusudan anticipated it as early as in 1904.

Gopabandhu the leader of the Panchasakhas was instrumental in the establishment of the Satyabadi Grove School (Bana Vidyalay) in 1909. Nilakantha was appointed as the Headmaster of the School. Acharya Harihar Das who was the Mathematics teacher of Peary Mohan Academy, Cuttack joined the school thereafter. Pandit Godavaris Mishra and Pandit Krupasindhu Mishra after obtaining their Master's Degree in Economics and Philosophy respectively rejected all offers of higher service and joined as teachers of the school on a mere pittance of Rs. 30-00 only per month as all of them had signed a pledge with Pandit Gopabandhu as members of the Universal Education League planned by him on the model of the Deccan Education Society to build up a group of volunteers to develop education among the poor Oriyas. These are the Panchasakhas or the five friends. Except Acharya Harihar the other three friends were holders of M. A. Degrees of Calcutta University and Pandit Gopabandhu was a lawyer. As the freedom movement of the country had not spread through the nook and corner of India and the Congress remained as a liberal organization asking for concessions from the British Government through resolutions passed in annual conferences, Gopabandhu imbued other friends with Patriotism but only in the local sphere. All the friends joined Utkal Sammilani under the leadership of Gopabandhu who was the second most important leader of the amalgamation movement and when in December, 1920 in the Chakradharpur Session of the Utkal Union Conference, Gopabandhu wound up the Sammilani and flung himself into the main stream of the freedom movement, Nilakantha followed his mentor.

In 1917 there was a session of the Utkal Union Conference at Cuttack. The volunteer Corps organised by Madhusudan had differences with him for which he requested Braja Sundar Das of Mukura fame and Gopabandhu to go to Satyabadi and send a band of volunteers from the school at Sakhigopal to help him. On receiving this message a number of teachers including Nilakantha and Godavaris and about 60 students immediately left for Cuttack to help Madhusudan in organizing the Conference. They were posted at the gates to admit delegates on production of tickets issued by the organisers. It is stated by Nilakantha in his autobiography that the volunteers scrupulously followed the instructions of Madhusudan and when Swavab Kabi Gangadhar Meher came to the gate without a ticket, he was prevented from entering into the arena. It is only when a ticket was brought for him and Gopabandhu reached the gate and introduced Gangadhar Meher to the students he was allowed entry. This sense of discipline of the volunteers impressed Madhusudan to such an extent that he congratulated the Headmaster and said "Nilakantha, your boys are fine". This is the first direct participation of Nilakantha in the Utkal Union Conference.

Orissa passed through several vicissitudes of history and the Oriya-speaking tracts were dispersed among the then provinces of Bengal, Madras and Central Province and Berar. The aim of the Utkal Union Conference was to amalgamate these tracts under one common administration. The idea of a separate province was far from the mind of the leaders. When partition of Bengal was annulled in 1912 Bihar and Orissa became a separate province and Orissa became one of the five Commissioners' Divisions and remained as a part of the province. Calcutta the headquarters of erstwhile Bengal of which Orissa was a part was nearer to Cuttack whereas Patna the headquarters of the new province was far distant and there was no direct railway communication between Cuttack and Patna. One had to go to Patna through Howrah. In the report prepared by E.S. Montagu the Secretary of State for India and Lord Chelmsford the Viceroy of India in 1917 popularly known as M.C. report to recommend constitutional development of the country, there was a proposal to create a Sub-Province of Orissa and this was very much resented by the Sammilani leaders. In the early days of the Sammilani when the demand was for amalgamation

under a common administration Gopabandhu stood for amalgamation under the Government of Central Province and Berar whereas Madhusudan was advocating amalgamation under the Government of Bengal. None of these two alternatives was implemented; on the contrary Orissa was amalgamated as a division with four Commissioner's Divisions of Patna, Tirhut with headquarters at Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur and Chhotnagpur with headquarters at Ranchi and when the proposal was mooted that it would be a sub-province in Bihar and Orissa the leaders were aghast; Sensing their resentment Lord Curzon who as the Viceroy was responsible for the partition of Bengal supporting the claims of the Oriyas for a separate province on ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural grounds said in the House of Lords, "The reasonable claims of the Oriyas are being ignored as they are a non-agitating people". The idea of a sub-province on account of this opposition was abandoned by the British Government.

There was lateral Progress in other directions. In 1917 Sachhidananda Sinha who later become the protem President of the Constituent Assembly on 9th December, 1946 moved a resolution in the Central Assembly for creation of a separate province of Orissa. In the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress in December, 1920 Gopabandhu moved a resolution with the support of Mahatma Gandhi for creation of linguistic provinces and when this resolution was passed it was agreed that though Orissa was territorially a part of Bihar and Orissa province, there will be a separate Orissa Provincial Congress Committee different from Bihar Provincial Congress Committee and the districts of Singhbhum in Chhotnagpur Division and Ganjam in Madras Presidency will be under the Orissa Provincial Congress Committee. This was an indirect admission of the fact that Orissa deserved to be a separate province. On return from Nagpur a session of the Utkal Union Conference was held at Chakradharpur in Singhbhum district on 31st December, 1920 under the Presidentship of Jagabandhu Singh, Advocate, Puri and an intimate friend of Gopabandhu and a resolution was adopted there to the effect that as the Congress had agreed to the creation of Orissa as a linguistic province and Gandhiji has converted his Khilafat movement of 1920 into the non-co-operation movement from 1921, the Sammilani should be wound up and the leaders should participate in the National movement, Nilakantha was then a Professor of Calcutta University. He resigned from the University and as an erstwhile leader of the Sammilani responded to the call of Gopabandhu, joined the non-co-operation movement and courted imprisonment.

In 1921 Bihar and Orissa which was a Lt. Governor's Province from 1912 was upgraded to the status of a Governor's Province under the Government of India Act, 1919, Lord Sinha a Bengali and a friend and colleague of Madhusudan from their days in the Bengal Legislative Council became the first Governor of the upgraded Province. On the request of Lord Sinha, Madhusudan became a Minister of the Government of Bihar and Orissa holding the Portfolio of local Self-government. Sir Rajendranarayan Bhanja Deo the Raja Bahadur of Kanika also joined the Government as an Executive Councillor in charge of Finance. Under the leadership of Madhusudan and the Raja Bahadur of Kanika a resolution was moved in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council demanding a separate Province for Orissa. Thus the foundation was laid for the separate Province in which the Satyabadi group of politicians played no mean role.

Noticing the tempo of the Oriya movement the Government of India appointed a sub-committee consisting of Sir Cyrill Philip the Commissioner of Orissa Division and A.C. Duff a Commissioner of Madras to consult local opinion of Ganjam, Jeypore and Parlakhemundi and recommend if these areas should be included therein if and when the separate Orissa province is created. The Committee submitted a favourable recommendation but the Government of Madras was strongly opposed to it. In the Kakinada session of the Congress Pandit Nilakantha Das moved a resolution in December, 1923 on the question of inclusion of the Southern areas with Orissa.

The Congress appointed a Committee with C. Rajagopalachari as Chairman and Nilakantha from Orissa and Pattabhi Sitaramaya from Andhra areas as members. There was so much acrimony between the members representing Orissa and Andhra areas that Rajaji resigned in disgust from the Chairmanship and no recommendation could be made by the Committee. Nilakantha in order to invite the attention of the Government of India moved a resolution in the Central Legislative Assembly for a separate Province for Orissa. The resolutions stated, "It is quite natural that we should like to have a separate Province of our own as we have been having throughout the course of history but for about 200 years when on account of the foul play of the Imperial Government, we have been thrown about from province to province like a football and we have been vivisected and thrown out portion by portion here and there."

In 1928 Congress had a session in Calcutta with Pandit Motilal Nehru as President. Nilakantha renewed his attempt to get a resolution passed in favour of a separate Orissa province but it was not allowed. Nilakantha, as Gopabandhu was already dead, led the Orissa delegates to the Congress and when his attempt was foiled by Pandit Motilal Nehru the Congress President, the Orissa delegates walked out from the Congress and held a demonstration in the Streets of Calcutta. Nilakantha was a heavy-weight among the Congress leaders. The Swaraj party was formed in the Gaya Session of the Congress in 1922 with Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das as the President. The Swaraj Party fought the election 1924 and entered the Central Assembly and the Provincial Councils. In the Central Assembly, Motilal Nehru was the leader of the Swaraj Party and Nilakantha Das was its Secretary. Gandhiji was anxious to reunite the pro-changers and the no-changers and when the President and the Secretary of the Swaraj Party were found quarrelling, he apprehended that the proposed reunion of the two groups of Congressmen might not be possible. As usual Gandhiji brought about a compromise and the resolution was adopted. Nilakantha attached importance to his resolution as Motilal as the Chairman of the All Parties Conference had rejected the proposal of Niranjana Pattnaik the father of Smt. Jayanti Patnaik to include Orissa as a separate Province in the proposed list of Provinces in its recommended constitution. It is also in Calcutta Congress that Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru father & son had sharp difference of opinion on the Congress demand for complete independence for India. Jawaharlal and Subash tabled a no-confidence resolution against Motilal's obstinate attitude towards all non-official resolutions. Gandhiji again brought forward a compromise and got one Year's moratorium for the demand for complete Independence if the British Government did not concede it within the period. The Government did not concede the demand for complete independence and the Congress in its Lahore session in December, 1929 under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru adopted the resolution for complete independence of India and abandoned the off-repeated demand for Dominion status as a part of the British Empire.

Sensing the turbulent Political atmosphere of India the British Government decided to send a Commission to India to consult Indian opinion on the spot. This Commission was headed by Sir John Simon for which it is known in history as the Simon Commission. The Commission reached India in 1928. As all members of the Commission were Englishmen and as members of the British Parliament they were bound to be Englishmen, the Congress boycotted it and carried on agitation throughout the length and breadth of the country with the Cry "Simon go back". In course of this agitation Lala Lajpat Rai the lion of Punjab was severely injured and died of his injury on November 17, 1917. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was mercilessly beaten at Lucknow by a British Sergeant and Pandit Govind Ballav Pant's spinal cord was so severely injured that he was stooping throughout his life and could not stand erect, thereafter. The Oriya members of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council who were not Congressmen welcomed the Simon Commission at Patna and presented a memorandum demanding a separate province for Orissa. The Commission appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of Major Clement Richard. Attlee, a member of

the Commission who later became the Prime Minister of England in 1945 and granted independence to India, to study the problem and submit report to the Commission. The Attlee Committee recommended a separate province for Orissa and observed "Orissa will be an ideal Province in India as it has never been disfigured by communal disturbances". The Simon Commission accepted the report and recommended to the British Government creation of the separate province of Orissa under the proposed Government of India Act, 1935.

Soon after this recommendation, the Government of India appointed in 1931 a Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Michael O'donnel, known as the O'Donnel Committee to demarcate the boundaries of the new Province of Orissa. There were two Indian members and three Associate Members of this Committee. To prepare the ground-work for consultation with the local people by the Committee, Pandit Godavaris Mishra and Jadumani Mangaraj carried on propaganda in the districts of Singhbhum in Bihar, and Midnapore in Bengal where both of them were mercilessly beaten at the instigation of Bihari leaders and Birendra Nath Sasmal of Midnapore. Pandit Nilakantha Das was at that time the President of the Provincial Congress Committee and he was organizing a Congress session at Puri in 1932 when as a sequel to Gandhiji's civil disobedience movement started in 1930, suspended in 1931 by the Gandhi-Irwin agreement and resumed in 1932 on his return from the Second Round Table Conference in London in 1931; Lord Wilingdon the new Viceroy outlawed the Congress and the Puri Session could not be held Nilakantha went to jail. At the time of his arrest he nominated Acharya Harihar Das as his successor in the office of the President of the Provincial Congress Committee and advised Godavaris not to go to jail but to carry on propaganda in favour of inclusion of Singhbhum and Midnapur in Orissa and arrange evidence to be tendered before the O'Donnel Committee. Gadavarish was a Congressman and he could not court imprisonment in the larger interest of Orissa for which he was not included in the Cabinet in 1937. B.N. Sasmal of Midnapore wanted to be elected Chairman of the Reception Committee for Puri Congress and when he failed and Pandit Nilakantha was elected Chairman, Sasmal was so much annoyed with Orissa that because of this small incident Midnapore could not come to Orissa as he organized the people and procured evidence against inclusion of the district in the province of Orissa. He himself gave evidence before the O'Donnel Committee and said "Why should we go to Orissa ? Is there a city like Calcutta there ? Have the Oriyas a poet like Rabindranath Tagore ? Is there river Ganga flowing through Orissa ?" However the O'Donnel Committee recommended a truncated Province of Orissa excluding Singhbhum, Midnapore, Raipur, Bilaspur, Parlakhemundi and the Agency areas of Vizagapatnam district including Jeypore and Madgul.

Raja Bahadur of Khallikote in whose palace at Rambha, the seeds of the Oriya amalgamation movement were sown and the Maharaja of Parlakhemundi were not satisfied with the southern boundaries. Both of them made Herculean efforts in the third Round Table Conference in 1932 and in the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee of the British Parliament to revise the boundaries demarcated by the O' Donnel Committee and succeeded to some extent. Pandit Nilakanth Das, the President of the Provincial Congress Committee was in jail in 1932-33 for which he could not take effective steps to get additional areas in incorporated into the new Province.

Nilakantha and Godavaris were torn between two loyalties. On the one hand, they were non-co-operating with government and participated in the freedom movement and on the other as leaders of the amalgamation movement they were anxious to serve the cause of Orissa. In the result what political leaders of non-Congress persuasions could achieve was not attributed to the credit of the Congress leaders. So much so that when Orissa was created on April 1, 1936, they

could not take active part in the celebrations on account of the Congress call to boycott the celebration and observed it as a protest day.

Pandit Nilakantha Das lost on both counts. He and Godavaris were not in the good books of Dr. Rajendra Prasad who as a member of the Congress Parliamentary Board was deputed by its Chairman Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel to oversee Ministry making in Orissa after the general election in 1937 delined them. Nilakantha was due to be Prime Minister like his former friends in the Central Assembly like C. Rajagopalachari of Madras, Govinda Ballav Pant of U. P., Dr. Srikrishna Singh of Bihar, Dr. N.B. Khare of C.P. and Berar and B.G. Kher of Bombay and this was prevented as he was insistent on the merger of Singhbhum in Bihar with new Orissa contrary to the wishes of Dr. Prasad. All the Panchasakhas including Gopabandhu their leader were actively agitating about Singhbhum and Godavaris was engaged in spreading Oriya education among the tribal and non-tribal people of the district. Their efforts reached a crescendo during the census operations of 1931. Godavaris was not included in the Cabinet on that account and the reason given was that he did not court imprisonment in 1932 though he did so on the advice of Nilakantha as the President of the Provincial Congress Committee.

In conclusion, it can be stated that Pandit Nilakantha Das did whatever he could in different capacities and at different times for the realisation of the objectives of the Utkal Union Conference and his contributions are not negligible in this regard.

NILAKANTHA AS A PHILOSOPHER

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Pandit Nilakantha Das is one of the first Oriyas to become a post-graduate degree holder in Philosophy and because of his erudite scholarship and originality of approach he was offered by Sir Asutosh Mukherjee to join as Professor of Oriya-cum-Comparative Philology at the university of Calcutta in 1920. Pt. Das has written a commentary on *Srimad Bhagabad Gita* which has a definite message so far as the field of philosophy of religion is concerned. He has shown remarkable form of depth and originality so far as philosophical rendering of the classical Indian concept of dharma is taken into consideration. This highly significant facet of his contribution has been not well attended to and is rather neglected by the researchers in the field of Indology. Unfortunately, neither his writings nor works on his writings have yet been adequately published in English language for the benefit of the wider section of the people. I have made an humble attempt to expose the main feature of Pt. Das's philosophical outlook in an article entitled "Pandit Nilakantha : A Humanist Philosopher" published in *Orissa Review* (December 1986)¹. This is perhaps the first attempt to expose the philosophical position of this great thinker; but, I must confess, the article is a short cryptic presentation of Pt. Das's philosophical view-point which undoubtedly deserves more intensive elaboration.

Discussing dharma in the socio-empiric dimension, Pt. Das has made a survey of the religio-philosophical tradition of India and had broadly classified dharma into two types : *bhautika* and *atmika*². So far as *bhautika* dharma is concerned, man seeks instruction from *Isvara* (which ordinarily means God). This belief rests on the idea that man himself does not want to apply his own sense of judgment for making decision. He, all the time, depends upon some external agency (may be out of fear and wonder) for making any move in the life-situation. As opposed to this, there is another conception of dharma according to which man, instead of depending on any external power, depends solely on his own self for making any decision. Here man gives full emphasis on his own rational conscience for making any judgment. That is why *atmika* dharma is also called by him *yukti* dharma³. Since instruction from God is sought for in *bhautika* dharma, it is also described as *Isvara* or *Bibhu nirdesita* and *bhakti* dharma. On the other hand *atmika* dharma has been described by him in various formulations like *purusa*, *anisvara*, *abhakti*, *niti* and *manava*. His study of religio-philosophical tradition reveals to him that though there has been always a clash between these two trends of dharma yet the major influential trend at least in the classical religio-philosophical tradition in India is the *atmika* dharma and to which he has shown his preference.

In order to properly comprehend his humanistic philosophy, it is necessary to get into his discussion of *atmika* dharma. By *atma*, he does not mean some esoteric transhuman state of existence. He, of course, has taken *atma* as self of person; but again here he has the clear suggestion that the person is to be conceived within the socio-empiric situation and not beyond that. Any trans-empirical transcendental and other -worldly conception of self or person is not at all

entertained probably on the ground that it is illogical. In this connection he has written that it is only within the framework of society, person is to accomplish his duties and responsibilities. *Praja*, according to him, primarily stands for the collection of all human beings in the socio-empiric situation⁴. The emphasis on socio-empiric situation seems to indicate that Pt. Das is not arguing in favour of any individualistic conception of person. There is, however, the conception of *jivatma* in contrast to what is known as *paramatma* or *Visvatma*. *Jivatma* or individual self is understood only in so far as it is conceived as one unit within the broader perspective of universal society or *visva*. Both the concepts of individuality and sociality are not opposed but are rather compatible with each other. Opposition or strife results only when any one of the two concepts is treated in its radical form as absolutely different from other. *Atma jnana* and *Visva jnana* are regarded, from this angle, as not opposed but as coherent with each other. In another context it is held that to comprehend about one's own mind one is to have the prior comprehension of other minds.

Pt. Das describes *atmika* dharma as *Purusa* dharma. The word : *purusa* has, however, been used at least in two important senses. One is the general use in which it refers to self or *atma*. and the other is the sense in which it refers to what is known as the *Gita* concept of *Visva purusa*. According to him *purusa* is the complete individual who is normal conscious human being and who is well responsive to diverse situations by applying his own sense of rationality and wisdom. This nature of *purusa* is well marked with the sense of individuality; but again it is to be noted that the sense of individuality is rooted not on the basis of ego centric subjectivity but on the balanced plane of objectivity which again is due to the infusion of proper sense of reason and discrimination. That is why *atmanubhuti* is interpreted, in this context, as being possible by means of *jnana* or *buddhi*. It is balanced or composed intellect (*sthira buddhi*) which sets individuality in its proper locus and thus the so called conflict and antagonism between individuality and sociality becomes significantly redressed.

But the question arises : how at all man who is mostly self-centred is to forgo his sense of ego. This is the age-old problem regarding the interests of individual and society. How at all one is to bridge the gulf ? Well, the solution is, no doubt, difficult not impossible. The answer that is offered to this question in the religio-philosophical tradition of India is that by means of the rise of proper *buddhi* the narrow sense of egoity (created due to non-intellectual sources like passions and emotions) becomes curtailed and sense of individuality (*vyaktitva*) is set in its proper track. Man is, no doubt, an animal. As animal, the instinct of passions and emotions, etc. in him are nothing but natural. But if there is unchecked growth of such animal tendencies, man becomes reduced to the level of beast and thus is regarded as abnormal. This type of degeneration has become possible many a times in the history of mankind when man is found as slave to all sorts of abnormalities. Being overpowered by animal tendencies *purusa* becomes completely inhuman and unspiritual. He has no sense of realising himself. The sense of *vyaktitva* is fully lost in him. This kind of attitude has given rise to many ill-conceived doctrines like Sensualism, Hedonism, Materialism, etc.

And, again, deterioration results when self is viewed in another radical form, i. e. in terms of pure mystical, obscure, transempirical abstract entity. Such a notion is not only scientifically unverifiable but it is also rationally indefensible. Besides there are certain impractical and implausible moves which are encouraged if such notion of disembodied pure self or *purusa* is entertained. If in the other framework man is reduced to mere body, then in this man is reduced to obscure spirit which in proper analysis can be shown as fully incongruent⁵. The notion of radical spiritualism has resulted not only in groundless obscurantism but also in propagating the sense of other-worldliness, escapism and inactivism. Pt. Das has cautiously avoided this move and thus has quite forcefully argued that the religio-philosophical trend of classical India is not really favouring

such kind of extreme moves. Proper inculcation of rational element can neither reduce man to unconscious matter (*jada*) nor to abstruse transempirical self (*manava bhinna atma*). Such kind of reductionistic move is based on some sort of improper analysis of the actual use in which such concepts like *atma* and *purusa* have their being. While exposing and interpreting the Gita dharma, Pt. Das has become critical about the tendency of sub-humanity as well as super-humanity⁶. In this regard he has perhaps rightly interpreted the Gita concept of *karma-sannyasa* not as inactivism but accomplishing one's own duty (*svadharma*) in a detached (not inattentive) manner by means of controlling all passions (*kamana*) and concentrating on pure intellectual discrimination (Buddhi Brahma)⁷.

Pt. Das's religio-philosophical framework has been found as making a consistent effort in striking a balance between the old and the new order. He neither has favoured old conservative superstitious baseless ideas and conventions; nor has he blindly accepted anything that comes under the garb of novelty and modernity. He, in this context, has been found as advocating *satya* dharma. Here it should be pointed out that by *satya* dharma he, however, has not meant some order or principle which is shadowy and absolutistic in a dehumanistic sense. On the contrary, he always has given emphasis on that conception of real which contributes to human welfare in the existing situation of empirical concern. Man is found to be the central focus in his entire thought-construction and is the root of all cogitation. It is man, with his rational faculty, has been uniquely gifted with the sense of subtle discrimination and by that he is able to distinguish between right and wrong, good and evil, proper and improper. Thus Pt. Das's conception concerning religious view of life is never away from the philosophic path of intellectualism and rationalism. It is clearly founded upon a dispassionate, objective reliance on reason and logic within the human setting.

Quite often Pt. Das has been found using such expression : *Jagannathe bhala karantu* (Let Lord Jagannatha do all good). This has been understood in certain circle as invoking blessing from Lord Jagannatha. Once this rendering gets currency, critics easily come forward to find fault in Pt. Das's religio-philosophical outlook. They feel that this attitude of Pt. Das clearly seems to be in conflict with his original rationalistic stand. His emphasis on *buddhi* or intellect has been rather inconsistently compromised with an element of *bhakti* based on an obscure concept of transcendental divinity. In this regard Pt. Das has been opposed both by the traditionalists and by the modernists. He is said to have finally surrendered to the cause of divine transcendence through a back door process. The traditionalists feel that Pt. Das has ultimately embraced the region of faith and thus has sacrificed reason. The modernists feel, on the other hand, that Pt. Das has made only a lip-service to the cause of reason by conceding to faith.

But, on closer study of Pt. Das's point of view, it can be seen that such remarks, advanced against his view-point, are not quite proper. It is not the case that he has sacrificed his general stand of intellectualism. Dharma, in the sense of adhering to certain basic moral principle that sustains the cause of humanity, can never afford to neglect the importance of reason. Man has to exercise his faculty of reason in meeting as well as settling all sorts of problems concerning man. The significance of *buddhi*, in this regard, can never be set aside. The expression concerning Jagannatha need not be construed as a surrender to a trans-human mystical being. There is no element of supernaturalism here. It is true that at a popular front Jagannatha means the Lord of the Universe. A monotheistic implication is, of course, anticipated in this popular rendering. But Pt. Das, it is clear, has never accepted this interpretation. To him, Jagannatha is the symbolic presentation of that ideal person (*purusottama*) who is no other than the noble man of highest ethical order in whom there is the presence of balanced reason (*sama buddhi*) as well as regulated emotions (*vasana samjama*). Wishing Jagannatha to do good is not to be understood in the theological sense. It does not necessarily suggest invocation of blessing from a theistic source. It

is rather meant here to get inspiration from that moral force which sustains the noble sense of humanity and keeps it perpetually alive and dynamic. In this way Pt. Das's point of view can be seen as grounded upon a sort of spiritualistic humanism that consistently embraces within itself reason as well as morality. The entire move, for him, seems to be ethically and not theologically significant.

REFERENCES

- 1 I have another published article in this connection vide "Pandit Nilakantha Das and his conception of religion" including in the book : *Essays on Religion* (Eds. by Dr. B. Mishra and Dr. B. Panda), Bhubaneswar : Mayur Publications, 1989. While preparing the present paper, I have freely drawn on these two previously published works of my own.
- 2 Pandit Nilakantha Das : *Srimad Bhagavadgita*, New Students Store, Cuttack-2, 3rd edition, 1968, P. 82 (*Pithika*).
- 3 Op. Cit., P. 12 (*Pithika*)
- 4 Op. Cit., P. 142 (*Gita Prabesha*)
- 5 It is interesting to note here that a similar view-point has also been supported by another well known thinker of Orissa, Late Dr. Ganeswar Mishra (Vide his General Presidential Address " Spirit, Machine and Man" delivered at the 45th session of Indian Philosophical Congress held at Osmania University, Hyderabad, 1972).
- 6 Op. Cit., P. 321 (*Gita Prabesha*)
- 7 Op. Cit., P. 11-12 (*Gita Prabesha*).

**SELECTED SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF PANDIT
NILAKANTHA DAS**

A SHORT REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF KALINGA

BY PANDIT NILAKANTHA DAS, M. A., M. L. A.

I must first of all offer my sincere thanks to the Secretary, Andhra Historical Research Society, and the organisers of this unique function for giving me the honour and privilege of attending it and reading this paper in this august assembly of learned men. The name of the historic place Mukhalingam and its neighbour Kalingapatnam is reminiscent of a great but long forgotten empire, whose culture and tradition we all inherit as the best legacy of our illustrious forefathers and the principal incentive to our future progress in our distinct cultural entity in the common wealth of Indian races. With the relics of the later Kalinganagari round about us the pale and pensive memory hovers over vanishing centuries of Imperial Kalinga with its vast trade and territories both inland and across the ocean and its colonies on the coasts of Burma, Indo-China, and the East Indian Islands, only to brighten up in prospects of a future equally great and noble if we care to command the manhood we have been heir to. To deserve the duties of dealing with such a past, suggestive of such a future is no small thing; and I may be excused to confess here that when some 15 days ago I received the invitation from the Secretary of the Andhra Historical Research Society to attend the function and read a paper, I felt half timid as to how far I deserve the honour so gracefully offered to me. Our past is still mostly in the dark, and to put life into the little fragmentary relics is not perhaps in my slender powers to achieve. Moreover seldom have I had any serious occasion to follow up the progress of the historical research in India for the last 6 or 7 years of political crisis in the country in which the prince and the peasant, the scholar and the school-boy have alike been required for the political emancipation of our fatherland. I therefore fear that I may not be quite up-to-date in some of my observations, and shall try to be more suggestive than exhaustive only with a view to give hints for future labours of historians in fields and direct probably yet uncared-for, for reasons which to discuss here, may not be quite relevant to the occasion.

In practice the history of India so long meant only the history of the Imperial Magadha and other empires of Northern India, and the history of the different kingdoms, esp., those of the South is being of late gradually developed out of small and scattered fragments. No systematic or critical history of Kalinga has ever been attempted. The book "Orissa in the Making" by Prof. Bijay Chandra Mazumdar of Calcutta published in October 1925 by the Calcutta University, incidentally, however, makes an attempt to give a connected history of Kalinga so far as it is available. But the whole narrative is so full of preposterous hypotheses based on sad misconceptions and preconceived notions that it is almost impossible to rely on its conclusions in any historical discourse on the subject. It does moreover reveal that historians like Mr. Mazumdar can easily make out grounds for their own misconceptions to hand them down as historical facts and truths. But before attempting to clear such misconceptions in dealing with important facts, events, and features of the history of Kalinga, which will sometimes require critical notice of tedious details, it is necessary that a running bird's eye view of the whole course of the history of Kalinga as far as practicable should be presented as a background.

The kingdom of Kalinga extended ordinarily from Tamluk to Mid-Ganjam on the sea coast. The Ganges was its northern boundary, forests beyond mid-Ganjam extended to the South, the Indian ocean was on the East. The Western boundary was however uncertain. It extended sometimes up to the Amarakantaka range in up-C. P. and included the ancient South Kosala or Mahakosala kingdom within its territories, and at times did not extend even beyond the plains of the present Mogulbund. There are periods in the history of the Kalinga kingdom when its boundaries were flung far wider in South West and North, but such periods as is yet known were few and far between.

Kalinga was a kingdom of the Aryavarta towards the South. Aryanised from upper India through Anga and Vanga. It is not however necessary to recount here the mention of Kalinga in Vedic, Sutra, Smṛti and Puranic literature, as it has been well discussed in many books and articles. Suffice it to say for the purposes of this flying narrative that such mention refers to a date not later than 7th Century B. C. when Kalinga was known as a kingdom of the Aryavarta, though for a time in the beginning it was considered unsacred by the Aryans of upper India. Later on, it was thought as good as any kingdom of Northern India. It was the sacred land of Vaitarani in the Mahabharata. Buddha Nikayas and Jatakas also mention Kalinga. Certain history of the kingdom is collected and developed from accounts left by Greek writers and Chinese travellers and various epigraphic records. It is clear from all this that the culture of Kalinga was Aryan as well as its language, unlike Dravid lands, where in spite of Aryan influence and even colonisation in later times the Dravid-language, culture and institutions still persist; and evidently the ancient culture of Kaling has continuously developed into the present culture of the Oriya speaking lands.

Kalinga was also famous from the earliest times for its colonial expansion and oversea trade. From before the 7th Century B. C. Kalinga people colonised the coasts of Burma, Indo-China and the East Indian Archipelago; and they had sea-borne trade both East and West at least up to China and Persia. A princess of Kalinga married Vijayasimha, who sailed with his wife to Ceylon and conquered and colonised it early in the 5th century B. C.

Between third and fourth century B. C. Kalinga was thrice conquered by the emperors of Magadha, the last of which was by Ashok so famous in the history of India as well as of Buddhism. The 1st and 2nd conquests were respectively by Mahapadma Nanda and Chandragupta Maurya. But these two conquests did not probably end in permanent annexation of the kingdom to Magadha, though the kings of Kalinga were each time driven away into the Jungles now represented by Orissa Garjats. Last time, after Ashoka's annexation the king had to fly to Kosala where he and his family reigned as independent monarchs. Three corresponding dynasties perhaps belonging to one continuous family-calling themselves Ailas or Airas have accordingly been heard of the last of which was the dynasty of Cotaraja Aila, who came out from Kosala to declare independence in Kalinga after the decline of the Mauryas of Magadha. The famous Kalinga emperor Kharavela of Hathigumpha inscription of Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar in Puri District is the 3rd king of the Ceta dynasty.

Kharavela made Kalinga an imperial power and commanded extensive dominions both in Northern and Southern India, and had sea borne trade even with Persia. Probably he had also colonies in Burma and Further India and established trade relations beyond the Eastern seas. It is not clearly known whether he was a Hindu or Jaina, but he had equal respect and treatment for both. He performed a Rajasuya Sacrifice, and that year made a full remission of revenue. During his time art and learning flourished in Kalinga, and he made many rock cut caves and dwellings for holy men, and gifts of villages to Brahmanas. Before he thought of coming out in yearly expeditions of his vast conquests extending from the Punjab to Pandya and Nasik to Magadha, he had rebuilt the palace probably in

an imperial fashion, and for supplying water to it made a canal from the Bhargavi to Chilika lake. Last of all in right orthodox fashion, he spent his last years as a Sannyashi in the hills of Udayagiri where the two-storied rock-cut palace still stands to bear testimony to it. These are some of the statements and indications of the Hathigumpha inscription. Let imagination now make her own inferences as to what the empire was then like, how from the beginnings of those rock-cut caves and palaces evolved in course of centuries the distinct Orissan art of later times in stages of assimilation and development, and how again the spirit of cosmopolitan faith and religious toleration in its full flourish made the Oriya of much later centuries colonise Ossa or Pegu in Burma and give the stamp of art and culture to other States in that land of legends across the ocean.

The capital of Kalinga was all along situated in the Puri district. Tosali the present Dhaulī, at the place where the river Daya branches out from the Bhargavi was headquarters of the Maurya Viceroy of Kalinga, and some distance towards the West was the Kalinganagarī of Kharavela on the Daya river. Tamralipti and Chilika were the principal ports of Kalinga which ended in the South in mid or south.-Ganjam beyond which between Kalinga and Andhra lay on the coast a stretch of ordinarily impassable hills and forests inhabited perhaps by wild tribes, and in this tract later on developed independent kingdoms for some centuries.

For a period of four or five centuries after Kharavela nothing definite about Kalinga has yet come to light. During the days of the imperial Guptas of Magadha, Kalinga decidedly lay from Midnapur to Mid-Ganjam, and kingdoms named Kottura and Erandapalla had evolved in the forest lands on the sea-board between Kalinga and Andhra. But apart from these political considerations the history of Kalinga during this period presents a very momentous aspect of Indian life and culture. This is the period during which the famous Nagarjuna of Kanchi converted Kalinga into the Mahayana school of Buddhism, and this is the period which witnessed the advent of King Indradyumna of Malava (Malwa) to Puri, the place of Buddha's tooth relic, and the standing compromise between the Mahayana Buddhism and the older Vaisnavism into the Neo-Vaisnavic Hinduism of Jagannath which has since remained so comprehensively potent in influencing the all-Indian life and culture. Puri or Dantapuri of the Bouddhas which had been a famous place of Buddhistic culture and pilgrimage and was well known even in Greece and China was thus made the centre of Neo-Hindu faith, with a Kalingan grain in it, and remained a standing monument of Indian religious life of cosmopolitan tolerance. It has still remained the most important place of pilgrimage of Asiatics both Hindu and Bauddha, and here it is that the Hindu so heinously ridden by the despicable institution of caste finds himself in a holy atmosphere where caste and untouchability are discarded in practice, thus setting an example to the whole humanity how the culture of soul and nothing else is the basis of the true and natural religion of man.

The political history however, towards the end of this period ran in a different channel. This may be due to the fact that the Kalingas were so religiously minded as to neglect politics, or to the revival of Brahmanism giving rise to a new life and virility under which many an old kingdom fell or broke to pieces to create a change in the political map of India. The kingdom of Kalinga got disrupted. Tamralipti became an independent kingdom, and the Utkalas from Karnasuvarna conquered the land up to North Ganjam and overran the whole territory by the end of the 6th century A. D. Sometime before this the Odas (Skt. Udras) had emerged from the forests between Kalinga and Kosala, and established a kingdom in Puri and North Ganjam named *Kongoda* or *Kalingoda*. The name of Jagannath had long turned into Odisa (the lord of the Odas) which in later times during the Mahamedan days gave its name to the whole of the Kalinga kingdom. The expelled and homeless king of Kalinga had accordingly retired Southwards and set himself up with all his once glorious paraphernalia of name and tradition in the southern extremity of the Ganjam District, i. e., this

Mukhalingam which remained the capital of that contracted and some what dislocated Kalinga till the Eastern Gangas extended their conquest into the very heart of the mainland, and established their capital in the 12th century at a place really reminiscent of the palmy days of the Kalinga of ancient times.

In the meantime the Guptas of South Kosala inspired by the Saiva faith of the then Magadhan school of Brahmarism had come, conquered and established themselves as Tri-Kalingadhipatis or the lords of the *three Kalingas*, i. e. Utkala, Kangoda and Kosala, or as some say, the Kalinga of Southern Ganjam, which is doubtful. This family promulgated Saiva cult and culture with the vim and vehemence of zealots, and the temples and institutions of Bhuvaneswar have preeminently remained as the standing monuments of the dynasty, bearing mute but significant testimony to the new aspects and elements which were then introduced into the Kalingan art and life.

The name Kalinga, however, which was thus for a time revived in the main land of its birth and breeding finally vanished under the pressure of a concourse of other names ready for use and actually long in use. And as I have already hinted during the Mahamedan period when the vassal feudatory Raja had to remain at Khurda in the Puri District, which had long been known by the name of Odisha on account of Jagannath, the name Orissa was naturally fixed for the ancient land inheriting the culture, tradition, history, language, religion, and institutions, of the vast and glorious Kalinga, which was at a time the gem of the Indian Coast as well as the 'mistress of the Indian Ocean.'

I have narrated the whole story as a flying account, but to those that find interest in historical research some of my statements might appear to be mere assumptions, and therefore call for explanation and critical investigation in detail. I am not quite sure if such a treatment will be quite fitting to the occasion. But as in narrating the history of Kalinga we have often to tread on quick-sand, the subject being mostly based, on the revelations of facts and events from chambers still almost in the dark, lost in the dim haze of remote antiquity. I think it cannot be considered out of place, if I venture a critical examination of some of the points I myself have raised, by way of referring to some very sticky misconceptions almost common among the historians of Kalinga.

Boundaries of Kalinga

Scholars with the exception of a very few like Prof. K. P. Jayswal generally take it for granted that from the very earliest times the kingdom of Kalinga extended up to the Godavari river if not further south, and that the land from south Ganjam to the Godavari was in Kalinga. But this is an uncritical assumption. On the contrary, till after the time of Hieun Tsang's visit the coast land between Kalinga and Andhra was not easily passable and in still earlier times, this portion of the coast was full of forests and hills standing on the very beach, inhabited by wild beasts, and perhaps no man's land.

This Mukhalingam again and the port of Kalingapatanam in its neighbourhood are somewhat responsible for this misconception. Scholars are ordinarily apt to connect these names with the ancient kingdom of Kalinga. True it is that during the days of the Eastern Gangas the capital of Kalinga is found in these parts of the country' but was so only to be abandoned, as I have said, after the Gangas could find a place in the midland of Orissa, the real seat of the ancient Kalinga kingdom. For, from the days of Anantavarman Chodaganga i.e. late in the 12th century the seat of the kingdom has been consistently in Mid-Orissa, though the kingdom nevertheless extended up to the Godavari in the south and sometimes even beyond that river. The fact is, as I have already hinted, that for some centuries after the king of Kalinga was driven from his homeland, the family settled in a small principality round about this Mukhalingam as its capital. As is natural, the king thus driven away by bad fortune called his own new capital Mukhya (Mukha) Kalinga Nagara

and had also set up his fort of Dantapura, remnants of which still remain in these parts as Mukhalingam and Dantavarakota. They also called their port Kalingapatna. But even that grafted principality, so to say, did not ordinarily extend very much into the present Vizagpatam District, for the southern gates of it were not only perpetually threatened by the Andhra and Tamil kings, but the principality was in course of time actually occupied by the Tamil Gangas, whose passion for conquering Kalinga was fully gratified in later times by the conquest of the mainland up to the Ganges.

Let us now therefore examine the point in detail.

Asoka's time (3rd century B. C.)

Asoka's inscriptions of Kalinga never indicate any extent of the kingdom much beyond Samapa (Present Jaugada in north Ganjam) a little beyond which were evidently the unreclaimed forest tribes. Prof. B. C. Mazumdar of Calcutta ventures the theory based on no reasonable grounds ever given by him that the capital of Kalinga in those days was near Samapa in the Ganjam District, i. e. even to the south of Samapa and not at Tosali, the very seat of the Asokan Vice-royalty. In spite of offhand statements like this based perhaps on sheer predisposition, it is clear that Kalinga in those days did not extend much beyond the present Rusikulya river, if it extended beyond that river at all.

Kharavela's time (2nd century B. C.)

The Hathigumpha inscription indicates that Kharavela did not approach the Andhra king Satakarni, in other words the Andhra kingdom through the coastal lands. To reach the Andhras he had to take the land route westward. The headquarters of the Satavahanas or Satakarnis was near the Western Ghats, and not on the east coast, their original home and the principal part of their kingdom, where perhaps they had little to fear from their powerful Kalinga neighbours. But nevertheless it would not have been easy for Kharavela to reach the Andhra Emperor across the whole of the Indian Peninsula. Had there been an easily passable route on the seaboard, Kharavela must have attacked the Andhra kingdom that way. At least that would have been more strategic. Andhra kings again, as I have suggested, would not have thus left their Eastern territories at the mercy of the powerful Kalingas had there been means of easy communication through the coastal strip of land. If Srikakulam on the east coast be the original capital of Andhra, as stated by Pliny after Megasthenes then its removal to Paithan also indicates safety of the borders on Kalingadesa.

Samudragupt's time (4th century A. D.)

About 500 years later there is another landmark in Indian history, i. e. Samudragupta's conquests. In his study of the Allahabad Inscription Prof. R. D. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University agrees with M. Jouveau-Dubreuil in locating both Kottura and Erandapalla in southern Ganjam near the coast, Mr. G. Ramdas slightly differs from him, but nevertheless locates Kottura in the same region. His supposition about Kottura being the headquarters of the Andhra conqueror of Kalinga, the Mahendra of Pisthapura, rests on a superannuated grammatical quibble on the word Giri in the inscription and is therefore unnecessary to discuss here. But even taking that supposition to be correct, it proves all the more the originally wild character of the land between Ganjam and Vizagpatam. But Mr. Ramdas falls into misapprehension as he does not see that Kalinga in the Gupta days was never included in 'Daksinapatha' as distinct from 'Aryavarta'. It must be borne in mind that the Allahabad Inscription does not propose to give the exact route of conquest of Samudragupta. It groups together the kings and kingdoms of Daksinapatha and the kings only of Aryavarta separately. Samudragupt's expedition lay through parts of Mahakantara, i. e. the extensive forest lands lying south of the Vindhya. Probably this was the remnant of the ancient Dandaka

forest. This vast forest land crossed by the great hero, lay at a time from the Santal pergunnas and Bundelkhand to the Western Garjats of Orissa up to Bastar, and the great conqueror either did not enter Kalinga, or more probably came to Mahakantara and Kosala from Kalinga; but Kalinga not being included in the Dakshinapatha in Gupta days has not been mentioned in the group of kingdoms thereof. The name of the Kalinga king might have been included in the group of the kings of the Aryavarta mentioned later in the inscription. Mr. Ramdas again puts Kurala of Dakshinapatha in the same inscription in the Puri District, and cites for his reason an Oriya word 'Kurali' which he says is still used in the Puri District in the sense of 'many people making sounds together'. I have myself never come across such a word in Oriya vocabulary of Puri, nor is his location of Kurala convincing in any other way. Dr. Bhandarkar's location of Kurala near Jayantinagara is however more probable. The old fort of Kulada and the village Kurala about 25 miles from it, and both in Ganjam mals might be investigated in this connection. Kurala is perhaps a variation of Kuloda, meaning respectable Oda. Mals of Ganjam and Vizag might have been included in the Sonepur tract near Jayantipurh where Dr. Bhandarkar locates Kurala. But here the contention may arise as to whether kingdoms of the Dakshinapatha itself were not given in order of sequence. In that case Kurala may be put beyond Pisthapura or north west, west of Kottura beginning from Vizag mals upwards. It is significant to note here in this connection that Kottura too has been mentioned after the Andhra and Pisthapura. The probability is that Samudragupta did not pass on to the Andhra country by the coast, and this indicates want of proper coastal communication from Kalinga to Andhra Des. Local geographical conditions may be studied closely also to show that near Mandasa the highest peak of the Mahendra chain is so close to the sea and the coastal land is so new that one is inclined to conclude that those parts were probably impassable in early times and were reclaimed more by Kosalas who in later times extended their territories from Sonepur in the heart of the Oda land as capital to Ganjam and Vizag mals and even to Bastar, than by Andhras and Kalingas, whose means of communication was inland through parts of Kosala.

Kalidas (probably 5th Century A. D.)

Kalidas who is perhaps rightly supposed to have poetically worked out his Raghu's conquests on suggestions taken from Harisena's composition recorded in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta with probably some admixture of his own knowledge of Puranic and actual geography, lays his Raghu's route through Utkala and Kalinga. Either it was the same route as Samudragupta actually took, or Kalidas intentionally comes a little out of the forest for fear of lacking direct knowledge of places and circumstances for an engaging and lifelike description. His Utkala seems to have extended to the east of Mahakantara or perhaps includes a portion of it, as well as some tracts now covered by Birbhum, Bankura, West Bardwan, Manbhum, Singhbhum and Midnapore, i. e. the kingdom of which Karnasuvarna has been known to be capital more than a century later. Kalinga begins beyond the Kapisa (the modern Kasai river of Midnapore) crossed by Raghu by means of elephants, probably supplied by Utkalas, who had forests full of elephants within their territories. But nowhere it is indicated that Kalinga extends beyond Ganjam. Kalidas's Mahendra seems to be Mahendra of Kosala. This also proves that Kaliga extended not beyond Mid-Ganjam. In the 6th Canto of Raghuvamsa Kalidas describes the king of Kalinga as 'lord of Mahendra as well as the deep'. Mahendra is the name generally applied to the northern portion of the Eastern Ghats, and the mountains of Orissa are still known by the name of Mahendra-mala. The capital of Kalinga was in the Puri District near Chilika, and this fits in well with the description of Kalinga given by Kalidas. The capital of Kalinga was on the sea beach, this should not at once carry us, as it has carried Mr. Mazumdar and many others to a place far south right into the Andhra land, in spite of so many other circumstances clearly pointing to the contrary.

Foreign writers

Ptolemy in his Geography gives clear indication of Kalinga extending from North Ganjam towards the Ganges. He says that there was a tract of land between Koddura and Khryse, i. e. some portion of the South Ganjam Coast, which was being passed over by all ships from the South, there being no convenient coasting station. Koddura may be identified with Kottura of Samudraguptas, conquest, and Ptolemy's Paloura near Khryse with the present Palur in the North Ganjam coast. Thus the indication is evident that the whole of South and Mid-Ganjam coast was very uninviting for traders. The land as I have said, was peopled by forest tribes between Kalinga and Andhra and was in all probability nominally a part of the South Kosala Kingdom, the capital of which was inland among the mountains of the Mahendra Chain.

Hieun Tsang, the Chinese Traveller

By Hieun Tsang's time under unavoidable circumstances Kalinga had removed to South Ganjam but even then the way from Kangoda to the New Kalinga does not seem well passable. The traveller had to go to Kalinga from Kangoda through Kosala, i. e. by a route much inland.

It may now be safely concluded that in ancient times Kalinga did not extend beyond Mid-Ganjam; and the way from Kalinga to Andhra land was through Kosala whose king and not that of Kalinga or Andhra, could have been the nominal lord of the coastal wilds of South Ganjam, where at times temporary forest kingdoms rose and fell. The present Estate of Manjusa (Mandasa) which means a box protected from all sides, and the ancient kingdom of Kotturu which means a new village and Erandapalla, which means two villages are all situate in these tracts. And the meaning of their names may be noted in this connection.

Location of Kalinganagari and the capital of Kalinga

Mukhalingam is identified with Kalinganagari, the capital of Kalinga and creates a general predisposition, so to say, among historians who are thus somewhat saved from the rigour of their almost grouping investigation by locating the capital of Kalinga at Mukhalingam from the very earliest times of the kingdom to its extinction. Pliny mentions Dandagula as the capital of Kalinga. Megasthenes once names it Parthalis. This Dandagula is Dantapura mentioned in the Bundhist Jatakas and the Digha Nikaya. Ceylonese Pali works explain the name as the city of the Tooth-Relic. Hieun Tsang says that this place had a Stupa with a gem on its crown visible like a star at night from Caritra (Ce-li-ta-lu) the port of the kingdom he calls Uca. Caritra has been proved by the late Pandit Krupasindhu Misra in his memorable work on Konarka to have been a port on the site of the present ruins of Konarka, 22 mile from Puri. In a clear evening I have myself seen from Konarka the present Temple of Jagannath at Puri clean painted on the horizon in the bright Western sky. Dantapura is again undoubtedly the present Puri of Jagannath in which name the Buddha is worshipped as an incarnation of Vishnu. As is well known, there is something hidden in the image of Jagannath which nobody is ever allowed to see or touch. With sevenfold silk cloth in hand a man blindfolded is made to take it out from the old and put it in the new image every 12 years when the image is changed. This secret something is nothing but the tooth-relic of the Buddha mentioned above. This tooth-relic must have been brought or sent to the capital of the kingdom long before the time of Asoka. Even Simhapura, the place of Kalinga King Simhabahu in the days of Vijayasimha, points to present Puri. The part of the names Pura is significant here. Perhaps 'Simhapura', the city of Simha (lion), was changed into 'Dantapura', the city of the Tooth.

Parthalis is the Greek variation of Pathara (Skt. prastara), and Pandit Krupasindhu Misra suggests that Eka-prastara (Pali—Ekapattara) which was the name of Tosali or present Dhauli in the Puranas has been mentioned as Parthalis by Megasthenes. For, during Asoka's days and sometime before it the capital of Kalinga was Tosali, near the present Bhuvaneshwar, about which there is little difference of opinion among historians.

Then the Ceta Dynasty which became independent in Kalinga after the Mauryas had their capital in Kalinganagari which was situated on the Port of Chilka. Mr. Mazumdar, like many of his predecessors, locates it in Mukhalingam, but it is evident from the Hathigumpha inscription itself that the capital was in the present Puri District not much distant from the place where the inscription is found, and besides as I have said no trace of Kalinga is found near Mukhalingam in those days. Kharavela has been said in the inscription to have dug a canal from the garden of Tosali to his own Palace-lands—Tanasuliyabata panadim nagaram pavesa (ya)ti, is the reading of Prof. K. P. Jayswal. But the correct reading in the line is not 'Tanasuliya' but 'Tausuliya'. The half horizontal stroke of the letter in the corroded inscription makes it difficult for Mr. Jayswal to distinguish between 'na' and 'u'. In Kalingan variety of Magadhi 'Tosali' should be 'Tausali or Tausuli' as is well proved by the present phonetic variation of the Oriya language; and the word 'Naara' for 'Nagara' is still used in Orissa in the sense of King's palace alone and in no other sense. The river Daya according to the local tradition was originally an artificial canal dug out by Rsi Dadhici to supply water to a place in bad want of it. Tosali which had been the capital of Kalinga in pre-Asokan days, and was the seat of the Maurya Viceroy as well might naturally have been shunned by the Cetta family probably as inauspicious, as it was full of sad memory for the Ailas of Kalinga. The seat of the capital was therefore removed to some place towards the Chilika Lake into which the canal from the river Bhargavi, which was flowing by the garden of Tosali, had to be made for the convenience of the people of the new palace. Probably the canal, needed only for the new palace, was given an outlet in the Chilika Lake, which was in those days not very far from the new capital. Rivers Daya and Bhargavi gradually silt up the bed of Chilika and within memory of man the waters of the Lake have receded more than a mile forming arable land on the coast. This silting up of Chilika has now been a problem before the Government in remedying the present devastating floods of the Puri District.

Now in connection with the capital of ancient Kalinga, we find four names, viz., Dantapur, Parthalis, Tosali, and Kalinganagari. Let us see if there are any traces of them in Puri District. Dantapur is undoubtedly the present Puri of Jagannath; and Tosali, Dhauli near Bhuvaneshwar, as conclusively proved by M. R. Ry. Haraprasad Sastri and other scholars. There are again two villages some eight or ten miles from Puri, and about as much from Chilika named Koranga and Pateli with Kalingesvari as the village Goddess. For about 3 centuries and a half these names have been officially discarded by a Raja of Puri named Ramachandra Dev, for Vijaya Ramachandrapur and Pratap Ramachandrapur, two Brahman' Sasanas on the Localities set up by the Raja. But in common parlance the old names still persist. It is interesting to note in this connection that Kodanga, the Oriya phonetic variation of Kalinga, as I shall presently explain, is found in the word Koranga; and kinship of Parthalis may well be traced in Pateli. The name of the Goddess, Kalingesvari (Goddess of Kalinga) is also particularly suggestive.

Tri-Kalinga and Tailanga

Another misconception is due to the information recorded by ancient European writers, e.g., Pliny after Megasthenes, who in his description of India mentions 3 Kalingas, i. e., Gangaridae Galingae, Mado Galingae, and Macco Galingae. Much speculation is ventured by scholars on these three terms, and three distinct Kalinga Kingdoms with their respective location from the Ganges to the Godavari have been made out of them. Mocco Galingae or Magolanga has been identified with Mukhalingm as its later phonetic

derivative; and three Kalingas taken together are formed into Tri-Kalinga from which the derivation of Tailanga, the Sanskritised name of the Telugu Country has also been presumed. But I am simply surprised that the word Mukhalingam has not yet been made to represent mun-(Tamil-three) Kalinga, which would give rise to still further fancies in starting hypotheses. For certain it is that no orthodox Andhra philologist will ever think of deriving the native word Telugu (Tenugu) from Sanskrit 'Tri-Kalinga', or even Tailanga, which latter word is a mere impostor, so to say, used pedantically for the word Telugu probably by some Sanskrit loving Pandits to whom all over India all indigenous words are slang.

Prof. B. C. Mazumdar again goes further in his tangential boldness in this connection. He explains Modo-Kalingae as the Greek variation of Mudu-Kalinga (Telugu, mudu being three), and attempts to find the term applied as such to the Kalinga Rattal (Kalinga Colony) of Burma Coast centuries before the Christian Era. This 'mudu' he fancies was somehow translated into 'tri' in course of centuries, and from this Tri-Kalinga came the word Tailanga. This in his opinion speaks two ways. First it proves three Kalingas from long before the Christian Era, and secondly, it signifies that the language and culture of Kalinga were throughout Andhra or Telugu. But the monstrosity of this very ingenious supposition is obvious. Place-names, set for centuries among a people, esp., a vast people like the Kalingas and those of many other kingdoms of India for the matter of that, are impossible of being thus translated and newly forced into use, nor is it ever proved that the Telugu 'mudu' took its present form centuries before Christian Era. when old Tamil was the common tongue of all the peoples of the David and Andhra land.

Megasthenes recorded the names not of kingdoms but of peoples as he heard them said. His record is nothing like critical geography. But it may however be supposed that more than one Kalingas were known. Probably these three names represented peoples that migrated into Kalinga for settlement in different waves, or included peoples of colonies of Kalinga on the Burma coast or other distant lands, which bore the name of Kalinga.

Kalingas had also trade relations with Ballabhi, Patala, and the Persian coast. The intercourse was common and frequent. Prof. K. P. Jayswal's reading of the Hathigumpha Inscription makes it clear that not only the Kalingas had trade in Persian coast, but Kharavela married a princess of Vazira West of the land of the Madras beyond the present Afghan border. People of Madra and Persia, called the latter Magois by the Greeks, might well have migrated to Kalinga for settlement. Kapila Samhita, as well as Bhagavata and Padmapuran make mention of Sakadvipi (Persian) Brahmans coming on invitation and settling in Chandrabhaga in Puri district for worshipping the sun. Pandit Krupasindhu Mishra has conclusively proved it on Puranic and other authorities. The name Magois and the ancient name of the Muggs of Arakan and other parts of Burma should therefore be investigated in connection with the word Macco-Kalingae. And a Madra settlement in Kalinga or even possibly a Kalinga Settlement in Madra might have been responsible for the term Modo-Kalinga as well. It is however very cogent here to note that in the 9th Canto of Bhishma Parva of Mahabharata both Kalinga and Madra Kalinga find mention among the kingdoms the Aryavarta, and another Kalinga has been counted in the group in which Cinas and Kambojas find their place. They are classed among peoples—probably non-Indian in origin, Mlecchas—of lands to the East. This well indicates Kalingas in the Burma Coast, which might also have been Megasthenes Macco-Kalingae. Again the name Modo-Kalinga is significant, and Greek Modo for Indian Madra is quite intelligible.

What I mean to suggest on the whole is that the explanation of Modo and Macco Kalingas of Megasthenes should be based on a thorough understanding of the entire situation, and not got up to fit in with a preconceived notion clinging round the idea of

Tri-Kalinga fancifully molten or cast into Tailinga or Telugu country, which was never within the natural boundaries of Kalinga, but was Andhra land with Andhra culture, tradition and language.

The word Tri-Kalinga round which so much is built finds no distinct mention in epigraphic or other records before the time of the Kosala Guptas' conquest of Orissa. These Kosala Guptas, it may be presumed, considered it glorious to call themselves Tri-Kalingadhipati as Kalinga by that time had been broken up into three different kingdoms, viz., Utkala, Kangoda and Kosala itself or the Principality of Kalinga in South Ganjam. For there is every probability that Kosalas considered themselves a part of Kalinga when annexed, and a Kalinga when independent. The kingdom was surely a part of Kalinga very often. The Airas of Tosali driven by Asoka went there to reign as independent sovereigns. It was included in the territories of the Cata Dynasty who came from Kosala to Kalinga to declare independence against the Mauryas Kosala is therefore not counted in the conquests of Kharavela, though Mosala or Musika Nagara beyond Kosala has been distinctly mentioned. Kurma Purana states that Amarakantaka hills in which the Narmada rises were included in Kalinga. All this may well indicate that Kosala Guptas had not conquered the then forest Principality of Kalinga before they called themselves Tri-Kalingadhipati. This term Tri-Kalinga, moreover, is never proved to have come into common use, and bold hypothetical speculations over the word therefore are unwarranted.

Disruption of Kalinga

Here it may not be irrelevant to give a detailed description of the disruption of Kalinga. During the early centuries of the Christian Era the Andhras became the Imperial power in India, and with the Sungas in Magadha a tendency for Hindu revival arose. Kalinga was the seat of Buddhist relic before the Mauryas. There has yet been found no epigraphic records to show that Buddhism came to Kalinga before the Maurya conquest. But certain it is from Hathigumpha inscription that the Nandas had taken away Jain images from Kalinga which Kharavela had to recover. The Buddha of those days cannot be supposed to have lagged behind the Jain, Tooth Relic at Puri therefore may safely be presumed to have long preceded Asoka. The Tooth Relic had by this time a long and sacred tradition behind it, and it was undoubtedly in the charge and keeping of the king. And partly on account of the rise of the Andhras, and partly on account of the revival of Hinduism the eyes of all India were turned towards the Kalinga kingdom. In about the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. Nagarajuna of Kanchi came to Puri to convert in to the newly started Mahayan school of Buddhism, both the king and the people of Kalinga, who had probably showed a tendency in favour of the new Hinduism, or were still staunch about the orthodox Magadhan school of Buddhism called Hinayana. In the Tibetan records is stated that Nagarjuna converted the king of Orisa. In all probability Kosalas who had by that time removed from Siipur in C. P. to Sambalpur tracts, which had long been inhabited by a tribe called Odas (Skt. Udras), took advantage of the shaky position of the Kalinga Throne, came out with their Oda legions, and took possession of the much coveted Tooth Relic, the very key of the then religious life of India. The legend of Indradyumna, which I shall narrate presently in another connection, might well have some relation with this incident. Since then Jagannath was known as Odisa or the Lord of the Odas, round about whom in after times developed the kingdom of Kalingoda or Kangoda.

The other important factor in this scramble over the supremacy of Kalinga was Utkal, which originally lay between the kingdoms of Gaya and Kalinga and contiguous to both. Buddha literature clearly mentions the fact that Utkalas were coming to Gaya with merchandise loaded in carts for purposes of trade. These Utkalas first emerge in to clear historical view during the days when their capital was Karnasuvarna, and their king Sasanka of Sailodbhava family overran the whole of Kalinga and probably annexed for a time the entire territory including North Ganjam, Kangoda which had been a separate kingdom was also conquered.

Hiuen Tsang finds three different kingdoms in old Kalinga, i. e., Tamralipti in the North, Uca or Utkal in the middle, and Kangoda or Kongada in the South. The name Kalinga which had by that time removed to the forest lands of Chicacole has been named separately. In his Uca the traveller mentions no king or capital but only speaks of the flourishing port of Celitalu (caritra). The newly acquired territory of Kalinga by the Utkalas of Karnasuvarna was not yet perhaps treated by the Utkalas as a natural part of their own kingdom and formed into a viceroyalty, or a separate vassal kingdom with some name which the traveller pronounces Uca. To identify the word Uca either with Utkala or Oda is rather hasty for a historian, for it was still considered a part of Kalinga like Kangoda and Kosala long after the time of Hiuen Tsang.

Towards the end of the 8th century came the Guptas of Kosala with Saiva faith and semi-fanatic spirit of Brahmanism. The second king, Yayati Mahabhavagupta made Jajpur his headquarters in the new territory and wanted to perform a sacrifice (Yajna) there in right orthodox Brahmanic fashion. The old Kalinga Brahmanas now called in Orissa Mastans (Mahastana meaning a place of Visnu or Mahayana worship) and the Oda or other Brahmanas of Kosala, who now abound under various names in Ganjam, Sambalpur and Garjats (Native States) of Orissa, were considered unfit for sacrificial purposes and Yayati had to bring down 10 thousand Brahmans from Kanyakubja, whose descendants now go by the name of Utkala Brahmans. The indigenous Brahmans of the land were so contemptuously treated by the new fanatics that even now the word 'Kodanga' (Kalinga) is used by the Brahmans of Puri to their own man in the sense of wanting in manners or ceremony; and though Kalinga or Mastan Brahmanas still hold almost complete possession of the temple or Jagannath, they have been nowhere else in Orissa in any way connected with a temple. And the Pandas of Jagannath temple are treated by the Utkala Brahmans practically as non-Brahmans and a significant custom has arisen to class all Brahmans worshipping in public temples as of a very low class.

About Colonisation

Another misconception though not quite of a like nature centres round the legend regarding the colonisation of Ceylon where as I have referred to the first historical or semi-historical mention of Kalinga is to be found. There is more than one version of the story, but the one I mainly adopt here is from the Cambridge History of India, recently published, which is presumed to have given a version critically authentic.

Vijaya Simha was a prince of the Lata country and he married the princess of Kalinga, the daughter of Simhabahu. Prince Vijaya was somehow banished from his fatherland and with his wife sailed to Ceylon in 5th century B. C. and became king there. This is the first Aryan settlement of Ceylon. Lata in this story is a name which is responsible for various geographical speculations. Bangali historians generally identify it with Radha or West Bengal. Others locate it in Gujrat and others again combine the two, and find in the legend an indication of two streams of Aryan colonisation of Ceylon—One from Kalinga and another from the Gujrat side. But the Radha of West Bengal first finds mention in the Bhavisya Purana written not earlier than 6th century A. D. Eleven hundred years before that it was in all probability an unreclaimed forest land included in the ancient Dandaka. Latha mentioned in Jain Ayaranga Sutta which is often cited in this connection has neither been critically dated nor properly located. Nor were the people of this Radha sea-faring, considering that the sea-board from the Ganges to Ganjam was Kalinga. That Radha is West Bengal is therefore out of the question. That Lata or Lala is Gujrat too a rather far-fetched, nor is its antiquity conclusively proved.

Lata, Lala, or Radha are but variations of Prakrata Ratta (Skt. Rastra) representing a land newly colonised, reclaimed and organised into a kingdom. There was Kalinga Ratta in Burma Coast. This is one of the earliest Rattas ever mentioned, Colonel Gerini finds in his studies in Ptolemy's Geography that Aryans of Northern India established their

colonies in coasts of Burma and Farther India as early as 7th century B. C. by driving away the Dravidians who had been earlier settlers in those lands. And the colony of the Kalingas in Burma was called Kalinga Ratta as has been stated by Prof. Mazumdar himself. This Ratta had probably a royal family transplanted from Kalinga, and in matrimonial relations with the royal family of the parent Kalinga of the mainland.

The legendary lore of Puri abounds in events like this matrimony beyond the ocean of merchants and men of royal family. For instance, one legend gives that a prince was enamoured of a princess beyond the seas of whom he happened to hear from his merchants. The prince sailed in search of her, was ship-wrecked on the way and was stranded in an island full of earth which was really gold. The prince then made bricks of that gold-earth and when he was rescued put those bricks in the ship. The crew and the captain got scent of the character of those bricks, and cunningly left the prince in a desert island. After many ups and downs the prince was saved, found the land of the princess, secured and married her, and returned home, where afterwards he found out the faithless merchant and executed him after getting back the gold bricks. This and like legends well speak of matrimonial relations of Orissan royal family of ancient times with families inlands beyond the ocean and the golden brick may also indicate Burma Coast, which is called Suvarnabhumi (land of gold) in our ancient literature.

Some forms of Vijaya Simha legend speak of Magadha and other kingdoms which Vijaya travelled. In Burma the Kalingas named their contiguous kingdom Utkala (Utkala) as observed by Mr. Mazumdar. Many other kingdoms, towns, cities in Burma bear names of Indian kingdoms, towns, and cities—a practice common among many colonising people, and is perhaps natural. This well explains Vijaya's travel in kingdoms bearing Indian names. Or it may be that such additions to the legend are later and therefore discarded in critical history.

Character of Kalinga Culture

Historians often labour to find that Kalingas throughout their history were a Dravidian people, of Dravidian culture and Language, and were in all respects akin to the Andhas, of whom they may be considered a branch, so to say. Mr. Mazumdar clearly puts it that when the Aryanised Utkalas and Udras poured into the coastal strip of present Orissa, the Kalingas bodily removed themselves to the southern portion of their kingdom with their king, culture, tradition, language and everything to fuse smoothly with their Andhra kinsmen in the south. They settled in Tailang, which had been the main Tri-Kalinga territory. But as I have already said, and as Mr. Venkatrangaya has recently proved it in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. III, No. I. that Tailanga or Telugu (Tenugu) is the native name of which the Sanskrit synonym is Andhra and the vernacular word came to be applied to the land, language, etc., after the 11th century A. D. with the use of vernacular literature and the word has nothing to do with Kalinga or any of its variants.

From about the 7th century B. C. or even earlier, i. e., from the days of the Vedic Sutras downwards, Kalinga has been a kingdom of the Aryavarta of which it is the last settlement through Anga and Vanga. True it is that in early Aryan literature Anga, Vanga and Kalinga, and esp., the latter two have been despised to prove that they were in the process of reclamation and settlement. Here it must be borne in mind that there is no ethnological division like Arya or Dravid land in India. Aryavarta is as full of Dravid blood as the Dravid land itself. It is culture, language, and other allied institutions that make for the distinction. Andhras and Kalingas are in this sense distinct from each other. Aryan naturalisation succeeded completely to the southern limit in Kalinga, beyond which it practically failed, for the concentrated Dravid culture in the south beyond Kalinga was in its robustness and vitality too much for the Aryans to replace. Hence even now the natural limit of Kalinga and Andhra is to be traced in border land where Aryan and Dravid languages meet, for language is the main vehicle of human culture.

So far as is known the Andhras have had a culture more robust and a history more glorious than the Kalingas. They were for centuries the Imperial power in India. Orthodox Puranas have counted their Emperors among Dynastic Ksatriya king of Bharatavarsa. Mahabharata at least once mentions one Andhra among the kingdoms of Aryavarta. But nothing can lead to the conclusion that culture and language of Andhra have not remained Dravid in the main. To mix them with those of Kalinga with convenient hypotheses to facilitate preconceived conclusions is not what should be expected of any historian.

Mr. Mazumdar particularly more than any one else has a peculiar Dravid bias and he tries to make out that Kharavela was a Dravidian in culture. The very name Kharavela he twists in Tamil to mean 'man with a spear'. He discards the explanation of the name to indicate 'king with salt in abundance in his coast'. By 'khara' he understands saltpetre which according to him is inauspicious. But one would expect him to have been acquainted with the common vocabulary of Puri, the home of Kharavela. Khara in Puri still stands for salt used on ceremonial occasions, and means salt in some very homely idoms. Salt was besides in olden days a rare thing in inland country. Even so late as 17th century A. D. a Brahman was granted a village by a Raja of Sambalpur tracts for making a present of pure salt. People inland were otherwise using impure salt-earth. Thus Kharavela is an Aryan name; and like Suddhodana which means 'good rice', it stood for 'coast full of salt'. Even so early as in the days of Vijaya the name of the king of Kalinga was Simhabahu, evidently an Aryan name.

Clear it is from the Hathigumpha Inscription that kharavela learnt to read and write in his youth. Reading and writing in Dravid language were unknown in those days. Besides from atleast the days of Ashok Kalinga became a seat of learning so far as distinct history is concerned. Puri had been long before Ashoka an important place for Buddha and Jaina culture as has already been said. The words "Tausuliya", 'Naara (Nagara)', and even 'Khara' referred to above and words like 'Vevahara' in the Hathigumpha Inscription with their peculiar philological significance clearly point to the beginnings of evolution of Aryan language and culture in the land of Kalinga by the time of Kharavela.

The name 'Aila' or 'Aira' has been made much of in this connection. Some Kings of Dravid lands in old times have also used it. But nevertheless it is undoubtedly a mark of distinction indicating 'Arya, at a time when Kalinga was still to some extent being looked down upon by the Aryans of the North, and the estimation of the kingdom of the South must have been much worse. The scrupulous attempt to stick to the title 'Aira' therefore, speaks for itself.'

Puranas give us the story of 'Ela' whose sons were Gaya and Utkala, meaning thereby allegorically that all those kingdoms as well as their kings were Ailar or Aryanised. It is not again far to infer that Kharavela had himself some relation in descent with Utkala or Gaya kings who were pre-eminently Ailas.

The institution of Jagannatha

The greatest institution which has still remained a legacy of Kalinga is the Jagannath of Puri to which I have already referred. But unfortunately its history has been sadly neglected, and historians like Mr. Mazumdar would actually like us to believe that the whole thing was as it were a mushroom-growth under the Ganga kings of Orissa, though it is undoubtedly something which had acquired an India-wide character, importance, and significance long before Anantavarman Chodaganga Deva came on the throne of the country of Jagannath. It was the last great stronghold of the Buddhist faith cleverly compromised into the Neo-Vedic School of Vaisnavism during the days of Brahmanic revival after the Mauryas. As is evident from Purans and tradition Chodaganga rebuilt and

repaired the temple which another king of Orissa had built upon the place where centuries, before the time of the latter the Savara God Jagannatha had been brought into prominence by a very ancient king of Malava (central India) named Indradyumna. It is the institution of Jagannath, which has influenced the life of the Kalinga people from the earliest times to the present day, and has given the type culture peculiar to the race. It has moreover been very greatly instrumental in moulding the life of the whole of India for centuries, and has added more to the common culture of the entire nation than any other institution, kingdom or province has ever been able to do. As the formal Hinduisation of the Buddhist worship of the Tooth, it is the very history incarnate of the entire evolution of Indian life and religion, in which both the humanly pious Savara and the sacerdotally sanctimonious Brahman have merged their identity in the holy and comprehensive synthesis of Jagannath, the lord of the universe; and it is with this Hinduisation of the Tooth of Buddha again that the bar on Kalinga was completely raised, its Aryan character was permanently recognised, and "the whole of Orissa" became, in the words of the Encyclopedia Britannica, "holy ground".

Jagannath is called *Bauddhavatara* by the Hindus. The Buddha is being worshipped here as an incarnation of Vishnu. There is counting of incarnations in many Purans. But Jagannath as *Bauddhavatara* is found in none of them except *Padma Purana*, where the whole legend of Jagannath is given. I may give a gist of the legend here in very brief outlines.

Vishnu was being worshipped as Buddha by a Savara on the sea shore in an inaccessible place full of jungles. The Savara was guarding the God carefully against its being captured by others. Indradyumna, king of Malava was a devoted worshipper of Vishnu, whom he wanted to worship in earthly form or living incarnation. He dreamt of this Buddha, Vishnu, and was told in the dream cleverly to take it from the hands of the Savara, which was not easy. He sent his young Brahman minister Vidyapati on this mission. Vidyapati came through fields and forests and after many days and with much difficulty reached the place of the Savara, but could not see the God which was hidden in the wilderness, nor would the Savara for any thing in the world show him the way to the God. The Brahman lived in the Savara's house and in course of months managed to fall in love with the Savara's daughter, who by a clever manoeuvre made Vidyapati see the way to the God. Then on the Brahman's promise to marry the girl the Savara agreed to make over the God to the Raja of Vidyapati. Indradyumna then came and worshipped the God there, but to set him up in Vaisnavic pomp, he went to Svarga and other places to invite Brahma, and other Gods and Risis. By the time he came back with Brahma and others, the God had been claimed by Galamadhava, the king of the place. Then through the mediation of the invited Gods the claims of Indradyumna were established as the first discoverer, but Galamadhava was also allowed to worship the God, and remained in charge of it after Indradyumna left for Malava.

The descendants of Savara are still there in Puri considered as kinsmen of Jagannath, and are known by the name of Daitas. Vidyapati's descendants too are there known as Pati Brahmans.

During the post Maurya revival of semi-fanatic Brahmanism, Dantapuri was probably neglected, and the famous Relic was guarded secretly by Buddhists, called Savaras and afterwards Daitas (Skt. *Daitya*). Calling non-Hindus by the names of *Mleccha*, *Yavana*, *Daitya* is not uncommon in post-Mauryan Hindu literature. Puri Temple Records generally do so. The Odas of the forests of the West Kalinga must have been better and more orthodox adherents of the old religion than the more cosmopolitan and therefore more changeable people of the plains. Sovereignty of these Odas must have been alternately divided between the Kosales and the Kalingas, and in course of time some of the Odas might have settled in Puri, the sacred place of the Tooth.

Those Odas as a matter of duty guarded the neglected Tooth. Or, may be, Indradyumna came with the Oda King, perhaps the then Kosalas of Sambelpur, tract or was the Oda king himself with a nominal sway over the Kalinga-side of the Odal land. Hence up the term Odisa was applied to Jagannath and even now locally applied to the place near the Temple.

Now in conclusion I shall simply hint an explanation of this Odisa or Jagannath as a symbol of compromise between Buddhism and Hinduism, so important perhaps in the world's history of religious evolution. The Asokan school of Buddhism was Hinayana or the more orthodox branch. During the time of Kaniska rose in Western Upper India the Mahayana school which had traces of Hinduinfluence, and was somewhat tolerant of Hindu form of worship, and in the course of a century, of two developed distinct tendency of melting into Vaishnavism. Thus in the early centuries of the Christian Era Western and Upper India was found influenced by the Mahayana Vaishnava faith and form of worship, and it remained for the Hinayana school to change into the more austere Saiva cult in latter times. Nagarjuna's conversion of the king of Odisa into Mahayana Buddhism took place some time during this period, and thus prepared the way for the Tooth Relic of Buddha being turned into an institution of Vaishnava worship. The Tooth Relic was famous all over India, and not only sages like Nagarjuna in the South, but also new Vaishnavas like Indradyumna in central India were having keen and wistful eye on it. It was therefore for Indradyumna to take the untold troubles and humiliation in coming through hills and jungles, dales, ditches and rivers, marrying his faithful minister to a Savara girl, and leaving him permanently on the inaccessible shores of Puri, and begging an almost cringing compromise of the de facto imposter Galamadhava to persuade the holy Tooth into a homely and personal God with intimations more human than divine. But probably somewhat unfortunately for the pious zealot the half fossilised tooth of Buddha grown almost adamant in ages did not completely give way, and he had to effect a grand compromise in the Orissan school of new religion for which he had to invite gods and sages from all parts of the world known to him. Thus it is that on the historic shores of ancient Kalinga both Buddha and Vishnu meet in eternal comradeship; and Buddha becomes an Avatar of Vishnu. The Buddhist accepts the Hindu form of worship; and the orthodox, fanatic Brahman observes neither caste nor untouchability.

HINTS ON THE SIGNIFICANCE AND HISTORY OF JAGANNĀTHA.

by
Dr. Pandit Nilakantha Das

I. SIGNIFICANCE

“The whole of Orissa is holy ground” says the ‘Encyclo-
paedia Britannica’ (10th Edition). This is because observers of
the 19th century, specially after 1840 when the Pilgrim Tax had
to be abandoned by the British Government, witnessed pilgrims
coming from all sides to Jagannātha. But this Jagannātha is a holy
place and as such, perhaps the most ancient in the world. Jaga <sup>Jagannaths is very
ancient</sup>
nnātha means Jagat or universe which is a Nātha or a Purusha
(person) to be worshipped. Here worship is not to supplicate or
to pray but to keep constantly in mind for realisation, and Purusha
means a phenomenal entity with the living principle which animates
it. This is ordinarily used to denote ‘person’.

Jagannātha is primarily a Jaina institution. In this connec-
tion it must be remembered that Jainism is not only very old, but
is the only religion in which man looked within to his self for <sup>It is a jaina
institution.</sup>
salvation instead of looking for mercy on the result of devotion,
self-surrender or prayer to one or more outside gods.

Mr. Jagmānderlal Jaini very succinctly puts its import like
this¹ :—

“The last basic principle of Jainism is this :—

Man himself, and he alone, is responsible for all that is ^{What is Jainism ?}
good or bad in his life.²

1. Jagmānderlal Jaini's ‘Outlines of Jainism’, pp. 3 & 4..

2. Anupreksha, 76 ; पुरुषार्थसिद्धयुप, 10

Jainism gives full freedom to man.

“Jainism, more than any other creed, gives absolute religious independence and freedom to man. Nothing can intervene between the actions which we do and the fruits thereof. x x x This principle distinguishes Jainism from other religions e. g., Christianity, Muhammedanism, Hinduism. No god, or his prophet or deputy, or beloved, can interfere with human life. The soul, and it alone, is directly and necessarily responsible for all it does”.

This leads us to the fundamental principles of Jainism which are these :—

Man's personality is dual.

“Man's personality is dual, material and spiritual. The duality of the dead matter and the living principle which animates the human body is evident. There may be differences as to the nature of it; but as to the fact of the duality there cannot be any question.

Spirit must control matter.

“By his spiritual nature man can and must control his material nature. It is only after the entire subjugation of matter that the soul attains perfection, freedom, and happiness.

“It is such a free and happy soul that is called Jina (Conqueror) or Tīrthankara (Guide).”³

Jīva and Ajīva—
Kaivalya.

This duality of the Purusha was known as Jīva and Ajīva which gradually developed into Purusha and Prakṛti of the Sāṅkhya and Vedānta philosophies and has permeated the analysis of soul and matter in various manners in various Hindu philosophic schools which developed out of this theory of Jīva and Ajīva of the Jainas. It must, moreover, be noted that a free soul is called by the Jainas Kevala Jīva (Jīva alone). A person having such a soul is Kevali whose state of existence is Kaivalya, a term so exclusively common in Jagannātha to mean liberation.

Misconceptions of the Orientalists.

Unfortunately the Orientalists are labouring under misconceptions about Jainism. In reality Jainism, unlike other common great or small religions of the world, in which somehow dependence of man on some outside being is assumed for human convenience, is the most ancient religion based on the soul. Sākyamuni Buddha was but a reformer of Jainism. Sākyamuni

3. Jagmanderlal Jaini's 'Outlines of Jainism', p. 2.

was the inventor and the follower of the 'Middle path' which is a Sakyamuni Buddha was a path between the austerity of the orthodox Jainas and the easy-going a reformer of Jainism practice of the Lokāyata section of the same Jainas, known in after times as 'Cārvākas'. These two extremes, it may be said, roughly corresponded to the Stoics and the Epicurians of the ancient Greek culture of a later date. Significant it is again that Sakyamuni Buddha immediately after he became the Buddha or the enlightened called himself a Jina.⁴ Jina is also a common epithet applied to him⁵.

Neither Jainism nor Buddhism was the result of revolt against Vedic caste and sacrifice as is believed by the Orientalists. In fact, Jainism was the religion of the land and it was in Jainism or Buddhism various ways encroached upon by the Vedic customs and rites, is not due to revolt against Vedic customs and rites. Hence, Jainas believe, came Tirthaakaras one after another to guide the people in the right direction.

The entire Upanishadic literature and even some later Vedic hymns, e. g., Purushasūkta,⁶ i. e., hymn regarding Purusha Vedic philosophy is due were either actually the conceptions of the conquered Jaina sages to Jainas and their or of the Aryan sages under their influence, as usually happens in influence. such conquests of the more civilised by the less civilised but physically better fitted people. These sages it is that were responsible for the unique philosophical character of the Vedic literature. Otherwise, the philosophical development from the early Vedic Mantras (hymns) to the Upanishads cannot easily be traced.

Distinct trace of a Jaina tradition is found in the Purāna, Jains in world's specially in the legend of Rshysrnga.⁷ It represents a very old culture. tradition. A similar legend of Ea-bani⁸ (some like Dr. H. R. Hall

4. Dhamma Chakka Pabbattana Sutta, or Dharma Chakra Prabhartana Sutra.

5. H. Kern's 'Manual of Indian Buddhism'. pp. 63, and 97.

6. Rg. Veda X. 90

7. Mahabharata (Bangabasi Edition) Vana Parva Chapters 110-118; also Ramayana—Valakanda.

8. Myths of Babylonia and Assyria by D. A. Mackenzie. p. 173; and the frontice piece picture.

Legends of Rsysrnga
and Ea-bani

Sumerian *Zi*—Aton of
Mitanni and Egypt.

have read it 'Enkido'⁹ is found in the inscriptions of Erech of Sumer of the 3rd millennium B. C. The Sumerian word *Zi* of those days meaning 'principle of 'life' seems to be intimately connected with Jiva on which the entire Jaina philosophy is based¹⁰. Dr. H. R. Hall also found Jaina traits and features in the statues of Sumer of those old days.¹¹ The Rg Vedic 'Atman' and the 'Aton' of Mitanni and Egypt to which reference is being made presently in another connection, may also be enlightening on the subject.

Orphics and
Pythagoreans of
Greece.

In 6th and 7th centuries B. C., Orphics¹² and Pythagoreans¹² of Greece were either Jainas or greatly influenced by the Jaina philosophy and practice. They were vegetarians and believed in the purity and transmigration of soul with its Karmic association and it is they that influenced Greek culture and philosophy distinctly for more than 8 centuries. In 2nd or 3rd century B. C. there were Essenes in Palestine and Theraputaes¹³ in Egypt both of whom were either Jaina monks

Essenes of Palestine;
Theraputaes of Egypt.

9. 'The Ancient History of the Near East' by Dr. H. R. Hall, 7th Edition, pp. 178 and 206.

10. Myths of Babylonia and Assyria by D. A. Mackenzie, p. 291 and p. 328 Footnote.

11. 'The Ancient History of the Near East' by Dr. H. R. Hall, 7th Edition, p. 172 ff. Passim with Footnotes.

12. For both Orphics and Pythagoreans see particularly 'Orphism and Pythagoreans and Pythagoreanism' in the Index Volume of 'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics' and several places in the Volumes indicated there.

13 (a) Ibid for Essenes and Theraputaes ; particularly Volume XII, pp. 315-319.

(b) Also 'The Story of the Nations' Series—JEWS—by James K. Hosmer—7th Edition—pp. 79-81; which is as follows :

"There was still another remarkable division. In the days which we have reached, there might have been often seen, moving austerely among the tribes that came up to Jerusalem to the temple service, or going from house to house in the villages on kindly missions of healing or comfort, certain figures robed in white and belted about by a peculiar distinctive girdle. These were Essenes, a body everywhere held in honour, but about whose real origin and character a certain mystery has always prevailed. Some regard them as an offshoot of the Pharisees, originating in the deserts in a time of persecution ; some hold them to have been, at a later time, neither more nor less than a company of Christians. (See De Quincey's essay, "The Essenes") XX

and physicians or societies formed distinctly under Jaina influence. This influence, moreover, is apparent in early Christianity, specially as it gives prominence to austerity and asceticism and other connected virtues as well as features intimately associated therewith. Hence the entire civilised world in ancient times was influenced by the Jaina life and practice. Perhaps, if at all, with the single exception of Muhammedanism, which is the latest, all great religions and philosophies even today bear traces of them.

Yet, the Jaina process of culture, or self-culture, is a very complicated one. It is based on asceticism and extreme sacrifice and therefore it seems to be meant only for the enlightened. But ^{Jaina practice for} _{the culture and the conception of the common man, the common man} Purusha, i. e., the Jīva substance in the individual in control of

(They) were austere-indeed, monastic in their habits; they lived in seclusion, taking upon themselves vows of charity and chastity, and holding their goods in common. In their places of retirement, in the intervals of religious exercises they cultivated the soil; they condemned wedlock, keeping up their number, like the modern Shakers, by the adoption of children. Unlike the extreme Pharisees, they respected the foreign rulers; they were much venerated by the people, who believed them to possess prophetic power. The Essenes rendered a substantial service as physicians. for they made it a point to understand the healing properties of herbs. Philo, a famous Alexandrian Jew, writing just after the beginning of the Christian era, describes one class of the Essenes, the Practici, in such terms that one would say they must have formed an almost ideal community. The whole duty of man was comprised within the three definitions—love of God, love of virtue, love of man. All men were held to be equal before God, and slavery was condemned. Large cities and wicked places were avoided through fear of temptation; in this, perhaps we may see a touch of over-scrupulousness, as also in their abstinence from trade as promoting covetousness. Strife of words was unknown among them, as well as strife with the sword for peace was held to be the proper state. They had recourse to arms, however, in self-defence. Among themselves their charity was perfect; they held their goods in common, and the sick and weak never suffered. Much time was spent in the study of moral and religious duties, the relation of man and wife was held in honour, children received careful nurture, and age was revered. After death an immortality for the soul was anticipated. The ascetic Essenes correspond remarkably in habit and discipline with the monastic orders of later ages, which undoubtedly borrowed many usages from these ancient recluses.”

Ajīva or the material expression of it, can be gradually expanded and elevated to attain or identify itself with the Jagat Purusha or substance of the universe in control of the entire phenomenal world.

The process of
Self-elevation.

The process is like this. Objects for my self-satisfaction are no less enjoyed by me if they are actually enjoyed by my family. Here my individual Purusha has become the same as the family Purusha. In fact it has expanded itself and has become family Purusha. Similarly the process of expansion and elevation goes on and on and can be well-illustrated in a patriot who finds satisfaction if his country-men are happy, his own sufferings notwithstanding. This process is continued when the world Purusha or the Purusha of the whole humanity is to be the objective of attainment; and the best means for it is tending the sick and caring for the distressed wherever found. This was the practice of the Jainas or as you may call them, the monks who practised Jaina way of elevating life to the plane of the humanity or the universe, in other words, of Jagat or Jagānnātha.

Attaining jagannatha

This was the way in which the individual Purusha, or the soul in body, attains or identifies itself with that ineffable universal soul which is imbedded in the phenomenal universe--the whole dual conception being Jagannātha or Jagat Purusha, or in other words, the universal soul in the body of the phenomenal world.

No maker or creator;
no revelation;
no Brahma.

This spiritual dualism again is a fact of experience and requires no assumption whatsoever as the basis of it. It requires no maker or creator outside it. It is not found in the religions of revelation in which a god or his deputy has been conceived to be the controlling authority of man and the universe, nor is it found in the Hindu system of philosophy, where a monism of soul, i. e., Brahma, is contemplated to be the only real substance of everything—all phenomena being unreal and untrue. But according to the Jainas, Jagannātha is the easiest of attainment by an individual; for it is Jagat Purusha who is the same as Jagat itself.

Phenomenal universe
with its noumenal soul.

Natha

This Jagat Purusha is Jagannātha, the term 'Nātha' being a common appellation of the Jainas indicating a Purusha to be worshipped. The Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras are almost all of them Nāthas, e. g., Rshabhanātha, Nāminātha, Neminātha, Pārsvanātha, etc. In a word, Nātha is here the appellation of a Jina.

This Jagannātha, it appears, was there in the coast of Kalinga (present Orissa) as a piece of black stone which was called Kāliṅga Jina or symbol of Jina in Kalinga. Later on, it was somehow analysed and the analytic name Nīlamādhava was given to it. It seems probable that this explanatory name had some connection with the Sūnya or nihilistic theory which developed out of Mahāyāna and practically pervaded all the then philosophies of India. It came to be the ruling theory when definitely a theory of creation was assumed to explain the beginning of the phenomenal universe. A creation really means to make things out of nothing. The maker also is assumed to be a reality, though in fact he is also nowhere or nothing. So the Buddhist philosophers of the Mahāyāna School, i. e., the school of Buddhism which conceived Buddha as the creator of the Universe and the fountain head of Karuṇā or mercy, naturally developed the theory of Nihilism (Sūnyavāda—which means “Everything comes out of nothing”). The Jaina symbol, i. e., the stone called Kāliṅga Jina, therefore, under the stress of that theory came to be explained as Nīla (black, nothingness) Mā (mother, creative energy) and Dhava (white, i. e., the phenomenal universe).

Kalinga Jina

Nihilism.

Nīla-Ma-Dhava.

Thus the Kāliṅga Jina or the Jina symbol of black¹⁴ stone was, in course of time, known as Nīlamādhava. I am told a black stone is still worshipped under the name of Nīlamādhava by the aborigines in the jungles of Pal Lahara, in the present Dhenkanal district of the Orissa State. The name does not appear to be a Sanskritic one. In that case the word Nīla (blue) is redundant. It has no significance. It is not to distinguish it from Mādhava of any other colour. ‘Ma’ is not Sanskrit. Mā, Amā, Māmā, Māmi and Bau in the sense of mother goddess are used in Babylon, Cappadocia, etc. some more than 4500 years ago.¹⁵ Originally they are all Dravidian words. In Sanskrit it is ‘Mātṛ’. In old Dravidian ‘Nīla’ means black also. The expression Nīlamādhava can thus, as is indicated above, mean Nīla (black) Mā (mother) and Dhava (white)—three old Dravidian words.¹⁶

14. Skanda Purana, Utkala Khanda, Chapter IX, 68.

15. Vide, pp. 57, 76, 160 and 267 of “Myths of Babylonia and Assyria” by D. A. Mackenzie.

16. See Introduction to Rev. Kittel’s Canarese Dictionary.

Nilamadhava
explained.

Somehow at a time this philosophy was attributed to it by the speakers of Dravidian language. It philosophically means : non-existence—principles of generation—the phenomenal expression of the universe. Significant it is that when in Rg. Veda.¹⁷ the Rshi explains how existence came out of non-existence, he explains that Kāma or desire first appeared as the mental 'seed' (Retas) or principle of generation which is the link between the non-existence and existence. Nīlamādhava, therefore, represents a philosophy which means 'from a noumenal nothingness was produced a full phenomenal appearance', and this was on account of Mā (mother element or producing principle). This was there as a somewhat persisting tradition in Orissa even in the 16th century A. D. when the poet Yasovanta Das explained it practically in the very same manner.¹⁸

Adri in Niladri is
stone—not mountain,

It is well-known how the word Nīlādri or Nīlāchal, i. e., blue mountain¹⁹ is used to describe the place of Jagannātha at Puri. Here also Adri or Achal signifies stone and not mountain, for it is geologically impossible even to find a mountain of stone in the coasts of Puri.

Natha—Cult,

Jagannātha, therefore, in course of time, became a word signifying the principle of Jaina or Buddhistic nothingness which was so much made of during the days of Mahāyāna or its offshoots specially in the 6th to 8th century A. D. and later in Eastern India. It was sometime during these days that the word Nātha of Jagannātha appears to be used in establishing and preaching the Nātha cult of the then Bengal, Bihar and Utkal, i. e., regions including the northern part of the present Orissa. In course of time it also spread throughout northern India including Nepal and Berar. Many

17. 'कामस्तदग्रं समवर्तताधि
मनसोरेतं प्रथमं यदासीत्
सतोवंधु सप्तति निरविदन्
हृदि प्रतीष्या क्वयो मनीषा ।' Rg Veda X. 129. 4

18. Yasovanta Das's *Prema Bhakti Brahma Gita*—Chapter I

19. See, for instance, *Prastabana* (Introduction) of the Drama *Anargha Raghava* by Poet Murari.

absurd mythical stories and miracles like those of Gorakhanātha, Neminātha and others have come out from this peculiar religious cult.²⁰

Hence in course of history it is clear that many sects with many philosophies, specially the Nihilist Buddhists (Sūnyavadi Baudha), in various forms claimed Jagannātha of Puri to be their own object of worship or adoration. There were others also who from very early times aspired to make this old and unique institution, their own. They were all along making attempts, even at least since the days of the later Rg Vedic period, to achieve it. But they were no Nihilists. They were image worshippers and represented a very strong element in the Udra or particularly Koshala part of our Kaliṅga of those days. They were perhaps the same people as the Austrics of Burma and Eastern Islands up to America. But particularly they perhaps occupied a part of Crissan up-lands contiguous to the coast, and had their cultures and kings of note. It appears that the ancient Bhanjas from Ghumusar to Mayurbhanj perhaps including parts of the present Raipur and Bilaspur districts had some connection with those ancient people. There is a tradition that Savarinārāyaṇa or Sourinarayaṇa (Sūrya-nārāyaṇa, i. e., Sun Visnu) or the Nārāyaṇa of the Savaras was brought from some State near Phuljhar of the present Madhya Pradesh to Puri and became Jagannātha there.²¹ At a time Uddas were very conspicuous in that area, and adopted the then Nihilistic Buddhism, very early before which they adopted this name Jagannātha for their own god, perhaps, Savarinārāyaṇa.

Savarinārāyaṇa

In this connection it is interesting to note that the Kolarians or Savaras (Suarois or Sabarais of ancient Greek Geographers like Pliny and Ptolemy) who at a time were an important element among the inhabitants of some coastal and up-land area of Kaliṅga, as has been already hinted, were most probably a colonising branch of the Austric people of Burma and the Eastern

Image of Vishnu made of Neem-wood on pillars.

20. See among other books on the subject 'Natha Sampradaya' in Hindi by Hazari Prasad Dwivedy—Hindustan Academy, Allahabad.

21. Ganatantra Parishad Memorandum to the 'Redistribution of Provinces' Commission of Government of India.

Islands. This colonisation was due to the brisk trade relations²² which for ages subsisted between Orissa and those Austrics of Burma and islands upto America. These Kolarians were mostly sun-worshippers or the worshippers of the Sūrajnārāyana as they sometimes called it. The Sun is again the Vedic Vishnu which originally meant the sun. They were worshippers of images of this sun or Vishnu made of Neem-wood placed on pillars²³.

Sauras still worship
Neem-wood images.

Aborigins, specially the Saurās or Savaras, of the jungles of the present Orissa, and Madhya Pradesh are still Sun-worshippers²⁴. It is further interesting to note that in the Saurā (Savara) villages of Parlakimedi Mals or the Agencies, still the Neem-wood pillar with a head and two hands on both sides below that head is worshipped. On ceremonial days it is painted with eyes and mouth etc. and is peculiarly dressed. This is known to be existing in an important Savara village deep in the forests. It is quite likely that other similar Saurā villages and villages of similar aborigins must have been still preserving the customs. (Vide picture at the end of the article.)

Huen Thsang's
travels—their character.

In Huen Thsang's travels of early 7th century A.D., a mention is made of a very huge image of 90 cubits high made of gold-coloured wood—perhaps Neem-wood—of Maitreya Buddha, which was then in the capital of Udyāna. This Udyāna is interpreted to be in the Swat valley in the north-western India on the other side of the Indus²⁵. This interpretation does not seem to be correct. It is a confusion of Uḍḍayāna or Uddiyāna where there was the Neem-wood image of Sūryānārāyana, called Savarinārāyana referred to above. Travels like these, specially of the

22. See R. D. Banerjee's History of Orissa, 7th Chapter, and 'Polynesia' etc. in the 'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics' and in other places.

23. 'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics' Vol. XII, p. 84, 1st column.

24. See Index Volume of Hasting's 'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics' 'Saurapatas, Sauras, Savaras' and look for their worship in indicated places

25. 'Manual of Indian Buddhism' by H. Kern, p. 96.

Chinese travellers, such as Huen Thsang, are often undependable documents. They are full of myths and miracles depicted as real experiences and appear to have no scruple in confusing names of places. Traditions and hearsays full of absurd and preposterous accounts are often times described as if they were actually seen. For instance, it is said that Huen Thsang "saw with his own eyes the foot-prints of four last Buddhas and himself records that the length of the foot-step was 500 feet with a depth of 7 feet. Very small in comparison was the prints of the Lord's feet which the same traveller saw in the neighbourhood of Pataliputra. These measured one foot eight inches in length and six inches in width.

x x x

Sacred foot-prints were seen in various other places, e. g., in Udyāna on a large stone on the north bank of the Swat. It possessed the striking peculiarity that it was long or short according to the ideas of the beholder²⁶." Such things are common specially in the translations of travels of Huen Thsang.

Here the dimension of the wooden image as well as its location in Udyāna seem to be a mere confusion for the famous Uḍḍiyāna of King Indrabhūti and the wooden image of the same Uḍḍiyāna or the Savara land adjacent to the Kalinga coast. Udyāna, i. e., the Swat valley was probably not the name of a region, but simply a description of it meaning 'garden', i.e., a fertile plain. It is to be noted, however, that Udyāna is not a clan or a Nation of 'Buddhist India'²⁷.

Savara land is
Uddiyana

Here a little discussion on the word Udyāna, spelt differently as Uḍḍayāna, Uḍiyāna, Uḍḍiyāna or Oḍiyāna or Oddiyana, is necessary. Prof. Binayatosh Bhattacharya gives a long discourse on the word²⁸. Of course he makes some mistakes, specially when he refers to others' interpretations e. g., of L. A. Waddel, N. Sylvain Levi, Prof. Jacobi and others, and hazards conjectures on them. But we give here a summary of the general trend of the discourse, suggesting interpretations as correct as possible. He says. "M. M. Harapasad ḥ stri definitely placed it (Uḍḍiyāna) in

Udiyana, its interpretation, significance and extent,

26. Ibid pp-97 and 98

27. See T. W. Rhys Davids's Buddhist India pp. 28, 29,

29. साधन माला (Gaekwad's Oriental Series) Vol. II, pp. xxxvi ff.

Orissa. x x Indrabhūti is described as a King of Uḍḍiyāna and Guru Padmasambhava as his son. Padmasambhava married a sister of Sāntarakshita in the latter's native place in Zahor." x x

"In the history of the 84 Siddhas, Uḍḍiyāna is described as containing 50,000 towns and divided into two kingdoms, In the one called Sambhala, Indrabhūti ruled, and in the other Lankāpuri, Jalendra ruled, whose son had for his wife Indrabhūti's sister Laxminkarā.

"Uḍḍiyāna, according to the authority of Pag Sam Jon Zan (of Tibet), is the place where Tantric Buddhism first developed." The tradition is that it (Tantric Buddhism) spread to other pīṭhas, i. e., Kāmākhyā, present Kamrup, Sirihatta, present Sylhet and Purnagiri. Purnagiri is not yet identified. But Kamrup and Sylhet are in Assam and in East Bengal, Uḍḍiyāna Pīṭha is the place from where they received the original inspiration

Now Uḍḍiyan, like Māhāyāna, Hīnayāna, Vajrayana, Pratyekayāna, Tantrayāna, etc. is a word which originally meant the Yāna or Path of the Uḍḍas. Gradually, it meant a place where that path was in vogue.

Thus it came to be the name of a place or area about the regions of or comprising Zāhor, Lankāpuri and Sambhala which to identify there is now little difficulty. From Sambhala comes the name Sambalāi or Sambaleswari²⁹ and thence the name Sambalpur; from Zahor, Phuljhar³⁰; and Lankāpuri is the land between the river Tel and the Mahānadī. Even now among the local people, who are mostly aborigines, it exactly goes by that name of Lankāpuri. It must be remembered that Lankā is an old Dravidian word meaning 'land between two rivers' and latterly 'island'.

Now it is clear that this whole area of the Savara land, or an important part of it, was by 7th or 8th century A. D. called Uḍḍiyāna or Uḍḍiyāna was a cons-

29. Cf. Kalingai for Kalingesvari, in BijeRamachandrapur, near Puri town.

30. Or. it may be Kendujhar; there might also be some other Jhar or Jhars in the area.

picuous portion of it inhabited by another similar tribe, called Uḍḍas (Sanskrit Uḍḍras). Or it may be that both this land and the land of the Uḍḍras were either contiguous lands in the area or practically one land. It will be presently seen that the Orissan Emperor, Choragangadeva of the 11th and 12th century A. D., was made the Indradyumna of the Utkāl Khanda of Skanda Purāṇa. In the Purāṇa, this Indradyumna is proceeding from Mālava to Puri in search of Jagannātha. Recording this tradition, the Purāṇa says that Indradyumna on the way one morning worshipped Jagannātha as he was doing always on his way, and then crossed the Mahānadī and then after some distance reached Ekāmra-kānana on the river Gandhabahā (present Gangabati or Gangua in Bhubaneswar). But here just after the Mahānadī for a distance towards Ekāmra-kānana (Bhubaneswar) he was guided by the king of the Uḍḍras³¹. Whether at times Puri was included in this Uḍḍiyana or Uḍḍiyana extended upto Puri, the greatest likelihood is that these Uḍḍiyāna people were all along trying to make the famous Jagannātha of Puri the same as their own Neem-wood image (Savarinārāyaṇa). Indrabhūti the king of Uḍḍiyāna, of the early 8th century A. D., prays³² Jagannātha in the beginning of his Jñānasiddhi and explains this Jagannātha there as the object of worship of all pre-eminent Jinas 'सर्वजिनवराचितम्', like Buddha in all his significance सर्वबुद्धमयं and in his perfection pervading like the all pervading sky. All the so-called Buddhists of those days were Nihilists. It may be remembered further that from these Buddhist Nihilists came the Nātha sect which is practically the same thing under a Hindu garb. Hence Jagannātha seems to have been the name of the Neem-wood god of Uḍḍiyāna, which god was in course of time to replace the Nīlamādhava at Puri. Furthermore, it may be investigated that the demoralising Vajrayāna, [Shajayāna or even Nātha religion and practice of Eastern India in their influence and

Jagannatha and
Uddiyana

31. Skanda Purana, Utkala Khanda, Chapter XII, 7 and 8.

32. "प्रणिपत्य जगन्नाथं
सर्वजिन वरचितं
सर्वबुद्धमयं सिद्धि-
व्यापिनं गगनोपमं"

"Jñanasiddhi of Indrabhuti" (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XLIV) Chapter I-1.

tradition are not of the same character in Puri proper and land surrounding the place, as in regions comprised in the ancient Uḍḍiyāna, not to speak of the lands further east where the tradition of absurd and miraculous activities of 84 Siddhas and Nāthas is still current and is responsible for a living folk lore in those areas.

Why Puri ?

The original place of these demoralising Yānas or cults is said to be Puri by people of places other than Puri, because this, it appears, was done only to give a status and recognition to paths and cults otherwise unacceptable to cultured people, for Puri had a unique prestige as the pre-eminent place of Jina-symbol called Jagannātha.

Uddiyana and wood-image.

Hence the conclusion is that Uddiyana comprised Phuljhar Sambalpur, Sonapur, Patna, probably Ghumusar, Mayurbhanj and other adjacent lands, or a very conspicuous arth in these lands. It is not definite whether at times it included Puri or not, for even to-day the main cultivating class in Ghumusar and upland of Khurda and not of puri and its surrounding areas, call themselves Orḍias (Uddas or Ordas). But at least its object of worship was also called Jagannātha. The golden wood image of Uḍyāna (Uddiyana) said to have been mentioned by Huen Tshang, simply indicates the Kolarian or Savara image of the Sun made of Neem-wood which was all along from the ancient times on was set up as a rival of the stone symbol of Puri.

Four images including Sudarsana,

This Jagannātha which had developed into Sānkhya (or more fittingly its off-shoot, Yoga) Purushottama or the highest or the best Purusha, became, in course of time, images of Neem-wood worshipped as Vishnu at Puri. Now, all the four images of Jagan nātha are made of Neem-wood and the image of Sudarsana wheel, called Sudarsana Chakra of Vishnu, which is one of the four images, is a pillar-like block made of the same Neem-wood. It represents original Dharmachakra, of the Jainas and then of the Buddhists, which is again the Zordiacal path of the Sun in ancient times, represented as a wheel. Even in the Stele of Hamurabi in the ancient Babylon of the 18th century B. C., the wheel is inscribed with the sun, who personally hands over the Law Code to the Emperor Hamurabi.³⁸ So also the Stele of Naram Sin of Akkad

Sun and wheel.

Sun, Atman and 'Aton'

38. D. A. Machkenzie's 'Myths of Babylonia and Assyria'—p. 24⁸ and the picture facing that page.

of the 28th century B. C. is headed by two similar wheels³⁴ This Sun is "in the Rg Veda, Vishnu a solar deity regarded as the prevador, having his place in the supreme heaven"³⁵. In the same Rg Veda also this Sun is, 'Atman' or the soul of all that moves and all that stands, i. e., the universe.³⁶ In Mitanni of ancient Mesopotamia and in Egypt it was called 'Aton' or 'Aton' and was being worshipped as an image of the Sun, in the 14th century B. C.³⁷. In this way Vishnu, the Sudarsana Chakra or the wheel as well as the Neem-wood—everything stands explained.

Here also it may be interesting to note how the Aton or Sun-worship resembled in practice the Jaina manner and belief. The Pharaoh (Egyptian Emperor) of the 14th century B. C. "Akhenaton accounted it sinful to shed blood or to take away the life which Aton gave". "No sacrifices were offered up in his temple; the fruits of the earth alone were laid on the altars."³⁸ "Akhenaton appears to have belived in the immortality of the soul"³⁹.

So much is said about the significance of Jagannātha. A little history of the institution may, however, be indicated.

II. HISTORY

In the Rg-Vedic literature it is found:⁴⁰

"Ado yaddāru plavate
Sindoh pare Apūrusham
Tadārabhasva Durhano
Tena gaccha parastram."

Vedic hymn regarding
Jagannātha

The priest speaks to Durhanu (literally, one whose Hanu, inner cheek—speech—is bad, i.e., who speaks uncouth things),

34. Ibid p. 128 and the picture facing the page

35. Radhakrishnan's 'Indian philosophy', Vol II, p. 667; Rg Veda I. 22. 20.

36. Rg. Veda I. 116, 1

37. 'Egyptian Myth and Legend' by D. A. Mackenzie, Chapter XXVI.

38. Ibid p. 329

39. Ibid p. 395

40. "अदो यद्दारु प्लवते
सिंधोः पारे अपुरुषं
तदारमस्य दुर्हशो
तेन गच्छ परस्तरं"

"Rg. Veda X. 156. 8

you discard (cut or kill—Ā-rabhasva is the same as Ālabhasva)^{40A} that wood which floats (is a prominent object of worship) beyond (or in the coast of) the ocean, (or is at a distance beyond that great river), for that is no 'Pūrusha'. Then (only you go to the next or the best stratum, i. e., the spiritual plane (in the process of elevating yourself).

Comments on it.

This indicates that even in those Rg Vedic days some wood which had acquired importance even in places beyond or near the ocean (or it may mean at a great distance beyond the great river, perhaps the Ganges ; or it may mean near the coast of or on the Mahānadī), was sought to be worshipped as the Purusha. This perhaps refers to the Austric or Savara wood referred to above. But the priest wants that the Speaker (whom the priest calls 'uncouth-speaker' should shun it, for such a wood in spite of all its importance does not represent Purusha, or in other words, the all-embracing active principle of Maitri (universal kinship) called Mettā, or Mettābhāva in Prakṛt, by the Jainas or the Buddhists.⁴¹ This-Mettā or Maitri is explained as follows :⁴²

Maitri.

"The doctrine of Ahimsā was but an offshoot of the mettā feeling which embraced not merely the negative restraint upon causing pain to any living creatures but also positive acts of charity and love, removing or attempting to remove distresses, wherever existing and whatever forms they might assume. It was this spirit that brought into being the many works meant to alleviate human distress or supply positive convenience and operates independently of any religious institution."

Ahimsā may thus be an offshoot of mettābhāva, but it is negative virtue. This Maitri, therefore, implies the real process of

40A. "रलयोरभेद"—Vide Monier M. William's 'Sanskrit—English Dictionary'—New Edition 1899, p. 150, 1st volume, and P. 153, 2nd volume, 'other Vedic references' noticed below invariably say आलभस्व and not आरभस्व | For instance, vedi 'श्रीजगन्नाथमन्दिर' by Pt. S N. Das, P. 6.

41. 'Manual of Indian Buddhism' by H. Kern, p. 54

42. See 'Early History of the spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools' by Nalinaksha Dutta, p. 8.

self-culture to attain that Purusha. ⁴³ This seems, so far as is known, the first reference to the Purusha or Purushottama of Puri Maitri and Purusha, called Jagannātha. Even then the wood was being pressed to be associated with it, or even to replace it.

The interpretation of the above Vedic verse by Sāyana-Āchārya is not correct, as it cannot be. ^{43A} Sāyana-Āchārya Sayana incorrect, explains as if it makes reference to the present wooden image or images of Jagannātha at Puri. Sāyana-Achārya who belonged to the latter half of the 14th century A. D., ⁴⁴ comes more than two centuries after the establishment of the Neem-wood images in the Puri temple and by Sāyana's time the views of the Hindu world had accordingly become completely transformed. In other interpretations of the Vedic Mantras also Sāyana-Āchārya represents an age when the philosophic outlook of the Hindus was greatly influenced by the Bhakti school of Sāyana-Āchārya's days

The same or similar verses are often quoted and are said to be found in many other places, e. g., Taitariya Samhitā or Atharva Veda Samhitā. No reference with Chapter and Verse did I find for those quotations. Yet those that quote them, give interpretations to them practically in the lines of Sāyana. It is, therefore, needless to discuss them. One Rg Vedic reference may, however, here be mentioned where the Rshi, perhaps metaphorically, speaks of wood of some tree, which the builder of all things (Viśvakarmā) used as material to make heaven and earth. ⁴⁵ This fact might have Other Vedic references,

43. It must be observed that this positive virtue of Maitri is not now-a-days comprehended or practised in the Jaina way. Ahimsa is a negative qualification. It implies not doing something but restraining oneself from doing a thing. Hence the concept of Ahimsa in the place of Maitri is neither comprehensive nor full. This Ahimsa probably came into vogue in place of Maitri with Karuna or mercy which developed with Mahayana Buddhism in which Buddha became a merciful god.

43-A. See Wilson's English translation of the Rg. Veda, Vol. VI, page 408 (p. 262, Note 9); and also Cowell's preface to the same book Vol. V, p. ii., and other prefatory remarks of these volumes.

44. Hasting's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics', Volum VII, p. 395.

45. Rg Veda 10, 81, 4; Also A. A. Macdonell's "A History of Sanskrit Literature" 'Appleton Modern Library' Series— p. 134.

influenced some people worshipping wooden image to consider the wood of their own object of worship to be that material.

Purushottama
in the Gita.

Next we come to the time when the Bhagavat Gītā portion of the 'Mahābhārata' was composed. The 15th Chapter of the Gītā speaks of Purushottama, i. e., the living phenomenal universe with its soul. In the 18th and 19th verses of that Chapter, it is clearly indicated that the highest Purusha is neither the ever-changing phenomenal universe nor the never-changing noumenal one imbedded in it in abstract ; both the phenomenal and the noumenal universe are but two aspects of this Purushottama ; it is not only a subject for philosophical study and conception (बेदे) but also is actually in existence on earth (लोके) known as Purushottama ; thus conceived, the Purushottama is worshipped in all aspects and in all manners possible. Here Jaina dualism is completely and philosophically stated and explained. The distinction from monism of Vedantic schools of philosophy is also clear.

Gita composed not
later than 4th
century B. C.

The time of composition of the Gītā is not later than the 4th century B. C., as Megasthenes of Emperor Chandragupta's court definitely indicates worship of Kṛṣṇa as a god in Mathurā. "It may be as old as Buddhism ⁴⁶ or even older." It must be long prior to the Ghosandi and Besnagar inscriptions of the 2nd century B. C. In Ghosandi inscription both Vāsudeva and Śaṅkarsaṇa are mentioned representing Vāsudeva worship.⁴⁷ In the Gītā the mention of only Vāsudeva is found and there also it is said that the best knowledge is the vision that all is Vāsudeva⁴⁸. In the Gītā there is no other mention of the word Vāsudeva, not to speak of the mention of Śaṅkarsaṇa or any other Vyūha (aspect). This indicates that by the time the Gītā was composed, the Vāsudeva cult was just beginning and Vāsudeva alone used to be conceived as Purushottama or Jagannātha. A Purushottama as a god of worship in

46. 'Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India,' No. 5 — 'Archaeology and Vaishnava Tradition' by Ramaprasad Chanda, p. 167.

47. 'Vaisnavism, Saivism and other Minor Religious Systems' by R. G. Bhandarkar, pp. 2 & 3.

48. 'वासुदेवः सर्वमिति
स महात्मा सुदुर्लभः' Gita, Chapter VII, Verse 19.

the world, is clearly mentioned in the Gītā.⁴⁹ This Purushottama is Jagannātha of Puri. Puri was being called Purushottama-Puri, i. e., the place of Purushottama. Till about the 15th century A.D., there was no other place of Purushottama in India.⁵⁰

Here it is relevant to observe that just before the time of the Gītā or about the time of Buddhism, Indian culture was divided in twain. Heretofore, primitive religions in the civilised part of the world, as has been already indicated, were influenced by Jainism based on soul. India had developed various philosophies on that basis, particularly the Jagannātha philosophy based on duality of experience. Just at this time came what is called monotheism which has a separate, beginning history and development of itself. There is no necessity here for expatiating on the subject. Suffice it to say that this monotheism with a distinct revelation and with a thinking organised on such revelation first appeared among the Medes and the Persians in the region of Ajarbaizan and spread upto Bulk and Kandahar. Monotheism has no basis on natural reasoning and free thinking of man. It generally gives way to myths and miracles in the name of systematic reasoning and philosophy. It is a religion of devotion and self-surrender to a God who is supposed to accept prayers, is partial to his devotees and gives them all that is prayed for. This Persian monotheism had its god Ahur-Mazda. Persia upto Media was full of Buddhism or Buddhists who, on account of this spread of monotheism, were driven out of Persia and took a concentrated shelter in north-west India⁵¹ there to develop into Mahayāna ways of thought, which in course of time produced a merciful Buddha-Bhagavān—a kind of Buddhistic monotheism. From Peshawar (Purushapura) region it spread over Northern India where the unique Jagannātha concept of Kaliṅga and its influence had been persistent. Here it may be relevant to refer to the incident recorded

49. 'यस्मात् क्षरमतीतोऽहमक्षरादपि चोत्तमः

अतोस्मि लोके वेदेच प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तमः' Ibid, Chapter XV, 18.

50. Vide 'Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics', Volume VI, p. 195 last column.

51. 'Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India', No. 5—'Archaeology and Vaishnava Tradition' by Ramaprasad Chanda, pp. 159 and 160.

in Buddhist literature that even just after the birth, Sākyamun Buddha declared, "I am Jagannātha"⁵².

Narayaniya or Bhagavata religion came to India from Persia

This monotheism which was destined gradually to develop Jehova and in later times Alla in the west, now came to the same north-west India as Aikāntika (monotheistic) faith in a form which is found in the Nārāyaṇīya or Bhāgavat religion.⁵³ Here it is that the Purāṇic story is given of Nārāyaṇa, who was in white island (Sweta Dvīpa) surrounded by milk ocean. There Nārāyaṇa revealed this religion to Nārada who for the purposes of this revelation had to go to north-west to meet Nārāyaṇa in that island.⁵⁴ According to the Purāṇas, specially the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the milk ocean surrounds the regions called Sāka Dvīpa.⁵⁵ This Sāka Dvīpa has been located by scholars to be Persia. Hence, according to ancient belief, the white island is either Persia or somewhere in Persia.

Revelation to Arjuna in Gita and to Narada in Narayaniya story

This Nārāyaṇīya religion or the Aikāntika or monotheistic school of India is really the religion of Kṛṣṇa, which religion, it appears, had already begun by the time of the Bhagavat Gītā where Kṛṣṇa himself is described as the god revealing the religion to Arjuna. Vāsudeva is a patronymic of Kṛṣṇa. He is called Nārāyaṇa in the legend describing the revelation of Nārāyaṇa to Nārada. In the same story he is also called Bhagavat or Bhagavān. He is also Bhagavān in the Bhagavat Gītā. The name Jagannātha of the Jaina symbol of Kaliṅga was, by that time, so prominent and prevalent in north-western India that it was also drawn upon by these monotheists to be the name of their Nārāyaṇa or supreme god. But the fact remains that in Bhagavat Gītā, though in form it preached monotheism, unlike the Nārāyaṇīya story it contains all sorts of philosophies named Yogas and relevant practices, such as, paths of knowledge, action and devotion. This indicates that the monotheism was then just

Monotheists use the name Jagannetha for Narayana

52. Manual of Buddhism' by H. Kern, p. 14

53. Mahabharata, Vangabasi Edition, Santi Parva, Chapters 334 to 351 inclusive.

54. Ibid, Chapter 335, verse 8.

55. 'Amader Jyotishi-o-Jyotisha' by Jogesh Ch. Roy Vidyanidhi, p. 200.

beginning to develop. Then after sometime, it may be centuries, Krishna and Narayana Nārada and Nārāyaṇa story was propounded just in the Purānic story: Jagannātha. way, and it is said in the same Nārāyaṇīya story itself that this religion was obtained in revelation from Jagannātha who is Nārāyaṇa in person. This was revealed to Nārada with all its mysteries and practices. It is further said that it is the religion (Dharma) that had been narrated briefly and systematically in the Hari Gītā. i. e., the Bhagavat Gītā.⁵⁶ The name Jagannātha was there in the Kāliṅga coast from the Ṛg Vedic times along with the name of Purushottama. The reference to this Jagannātha, as I have said, is distinctly made in Nārāyaṇīya story time after time to indicate the supreme god.⁵⁷ This Aikāntika religion, it must be noted, has nothing to do with the 'Ekāyana' Śāstra, which the Chāndogya Upanisad says, was included in the Department of learning mastered by Nārada.^{57A}

There was also another development along with this Indian monotheism. It was Vyūha or Mūrti. It means aspect or form also indicating attributes of the supreme god. This Vyūha in conception has even a Ṛg Vedic basis,⁵⁸ where it is said that it is the One whom wise men designate by several names, such as Agni, Yama, Vāyu, etc. etc. Even Egyptians and also Babylonians in the beginning conceived various spirits of one single god responsible for various actions which affect man.⁵⁹

We cannot definitely say whether our Indian Vyūhas or Mūrtis developed on this Vedic, Egyptian or Babylonian basis. But it is a fact that four such Vyūhas of Vāsudeva, Śaṅkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, had developed in our Vāsudeva monotheism before the Nārāyaṇīya story formed a part of the Mahābhārata. 'Vyūha' and its philosophy.

56. 'नारदेन तु संप्राप्तः सरहस्यः ससंग्रहः

एवमर्षो जगन्नाथात् साक्षात् नारायणात् नृप १२०।

एवमेष महान् धर्मः सते पूर्व नृपोत्तम

कथितो हरि गीतासु समास-विधि-कल्पितः' १२१। Mahābhārata, Vāṅgābasi Edition, Santi Prava, Chapter 346, 10 & 11.

57. Vide for instance, Ibid, Chapter 340, 5. Ibid, Chapter, 343, 6.

57A. Chāndogya Upanisad VII. I, 4.

58. 'इंद्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निं माहुरथो दिव्यःस सुपर्णो गुरुत्मान्

एकं सद्भिर्वा बहुधा वदन्ति अग्निं यमं मातारिश्चान माहुः'

Rg Veda 1. 164. 48

59. 'Myths of Babylonia and Assyria' by D. A. Mackenzie, p. 60.

According to this Vyūha theory, it is said that Vāsudeva represents Paramātmā or the world soul; Śaṃkarshaṇa, his brother represents Ātmā or individual soul; Pradyumna, his son represents Mana or mind; Aniruddha, Pradyumna's son, represents Ahaṃkāra or individuality. This Vyūha theory evidently looks like some high philosophy, but it is only make-believe or deceptive philosophy befitting monotheism or idea of devotee; i. e., Bhaktas. It has no rhyme or reason. All these four persons traditionally belong to the family of Kṛṣṇa who seems to be a Ṛg Vedic person⁶⁰ of famous achievements as well as conceptions. He had great admirers for generations and was being practically worshipped by them. Consequently these Vyūhas or aspects were propounded and promulgated to indicate reverence to important members of his family.

(1) It represents big persons of Kṛṣṇa's family.

Yet it seems to be a fact that Pradyumna and Aniruddha, as Vyūhas, were never known to be worshipped. We have seen that even by the 2nd century B. C., Śaṃkarshaṇa was being worshipped with Vāsudeva. Some interpret Vāsudeva and Śaṃkarshaṇa to represent Paramātmā or the noumenal self and the phenomenal expression of it.⁶¹ This idea is evidently derived from the traditional philosophic conception of Jaina dualism. To explain this duality synthetically, being was conceived to be produced from non-being through the medium of some woman-element from before the Ṛg Vedic times.⁶² It has been Ekānamśā, Durgā, Subhadṛā and the like as the Indian monotheism gradually spread, converted distant regions and established itself. Jagannātha of Kāliṅga has been the last in this great and long process of conversion, as we shall presently see.

(2) It represents Jaina and Vedic philosophy combined.

Now let us revert to the history of Jagannātha of the coastal regions of Kāliṅga as well as of Uḍḍiyāna or Śavara land.

Kāliṅga Jina was there before 5th century B. C.

The Kāliṅga Jina (symbol of Jina in Kāliṅga) which had been taken from Orissan part of Kalinga by Nandaraj of Magadha of the 4th or 5th century B. C., was brought back to Kāliṅga by the then Kāliṅga Emperor, Khāravela, who was a professed Jaina⁶³. This Kāliṅga Jina, therefore, was there long before the 4th or the

60. 'Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious System' by R. G. Bhandarkar. p. 11.

61. Ibid, p. 6 passim.

62. Vide, Rg Veda 10, 129, 4

63. Hathigumpha Inscription of Udayagiri, Orissa.

5th century B. C. It has been indicated that it was then a symbol of philosophy of Jagannātha.

It is very interesting to observe that evidently the Jina symbol (Kāliṅga Jina) of Puri coast was not there in Puri Vedi in Orissa coast, from about the 4th or 5th century B. C. to the 2nd or 1st century B. C., for this 1st century B. C., instead of the 2nd century B. C., has been of late discussed and decided to be the time of the Emperor Khāravēla of Kāliṅga.^{63A} During these centuries, it appears, this empty place of the symbol was a sacred place called Vēdi (altar) or Mahāvēdi (great altar). In Mahābhārata after crossing the river Vaitarani, Yudhisthira proceeds on towards this place and bathes at this sacred Vēdi on the coast.^{63B} and then from there goes to the Mahendra mountain. The same name Vēdi and Mahāvēdi in the same place is mentioned in the Skanda^{63C} Purāṇa as the place where Jagannātha images were established, replacing Nīlamādhava. The same stone, it may be, gave rise to the name of Nīlamādhava when it was re-established by Khāravēla after more than 300 years.^{63D} This was there just like something which came out of nothing—thus clearly leading to the Buddhistic Nihilism of the Mahāyāna times and later.

There is tradition that here in the coast of Kāliṅga, perhaps at the present Puri, or, may be, Mukhalingam there was preserved and worshipped the left canine tooth of the Buddha, secured from his funeral pyre. This tradition is not corroborated by any north Indian legend. It appears, the Cylonese Buddhists created and propagated this story to explain in their own way the symbol of Jina worship which was there in Puri. It may further be noted in this connection that the Jainas of Orissa were for a long time known as Hinayāna Buddhists like the Buddhists of Ceylon. Tooth of Buddha.

63A. Vide Dr. N. K. Sahu's Edition of the History of Orissa ; and particularly 'ओड़िशा:रे जैनधर्म' Chapter, 5, by Lakshminarayana Sahu,

63B. महाभारत-वनपर्व (तीर्थयात्रा पर्व) -वंगवासी संस्करण, Chapter, 114, verses 22-27—Vandarkar Oriental Research Institute—Bombay—Edition, ibid, verses 22-26.

63C. Vide Skanda Purana, Utkala Khanda XVIII, 16; XIX, 36; XXIX, 34; etc. etc.

63D 'तिवस सत' in Hathigumpha Inscription.

'Buddha and Jina the same', say Tantric Buddhists,

It is moreover particularly observable that all the Buddhists of India, specially the Tantric Buddhists of Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna schools, in their writings, make no distinction between Jina and Buddha.⁶⁴ Reference has already been made how those Buddhists explain Jagannātha as a pre-eminent Jaina object of worship, and the Buddha in all his significance.⁶⁵

Saivism replaces Jainism and Buddhism—Somanātha.

But in course of time, the Jainas as well as the Buddhists gave place in South India, perhaps the whole of India, to the cult of Śiva or Śaivism. The most prominent place of Śiva worship was Somanātha in Gujerat. It was the richest place to which pilgrims of all Hindu India, flocked in millions. This had grown to be the holiest place for all Hindus. But the Musalman invasions from the west and north-west had already set in. Their marauding vehemence even from early 8th century A. D. is well-known to the historian. Alberuni has faithfully commented on it.⁶⁶

Mahmud of Gazni destroyed Somanātha.

In 1024 A. D., came the image-breaker, Mahmud, Sultan of Gazni, and sacked, destroyed and plundered Somanātha root and branch. He broke all images and looted all important shrines upto Kalinjer in the eastern regions of Indian Peninsula. No resistance was of any avail. Hindus became simply aghast. They were utterly demoralised and felt frustrated. Now they had no other place to look upon as their great Somanātha.

Choraganga Deva of Kalinga and its coast—His vision and Ramanuja.

Within about half a century, i. e., in 1076 A. D.⁶⁷ Choragaṅga Deva of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga (then south of Ganjam) came and became the over-lord of the coastal regions including the place of Purushottama or Jagannātha. According to his own inscription he ruled for 72 years.⁶⁸ He was a great king and had great conceptions. His conscious or unconscious vision

64. Vide 'Two Vajrayana Works', Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XLIV; and also 'Baudha Gana o Dohan' published by M. M. Haraprasad Sastry.

65. Vide, Note, 32 above.

66. Alberuni's India pp. 21, 22, 23 and 116—as quoted by Ramaprasad Chanda in 'Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India No. 5—Archaeology and Vaisnava Tradition' pp. 160, 161.

67. R. D. Banerjee's History of Orissa p. 248.

68. Ibid.

was that at this critical time if the already important institution of the symbol of Jainism in the coast of Puri, Jagannātha, somehow be made a great place of Hindu worship, it would be a great religious feat; the entire Hindu attention of India would, *ipso facto*, be directed towards it. He had also the great sage, Rāmānuja,⁶⁹ with him to give not only inspiration but perhaps directions in the matter. It is again worthy of note here that Choragaṅga was a Śaiva, but suddenly turned Vaiṣṇava and made Jagannātha the cult image of the Vāsudeva school so dear to Rāmānuja. Thus conversion of Kalinga coast to monotheism was an accomplished fact.

An event of great importance needs mention here. Choragaṅga accomplished his vision in another and more felicitous way. Before Choragaṅga actually came to Orissa it appears from the tradition that, Nīlamādhava so much made of by the Nihilists and perhaps accepted by the local Śavaras, with whom also perhaps mixed up Uḍḍas, had just been replaced by the image of neem-wood, called Śavarinārāyaṇa. Choragaṅga instead of disapproving the attempt seems to take ready advantage of the incident, specially as his Hindu patriotism as well as the imperialistic outlook dictated him to make the powerful Śavara element of his newly annexed land completely his own and consequently the new god more liberal and universally popular among those Śavara people as well as the Hindu public. Jaina or Buddhistic worship and practice were also retained there in making the offerings acceptable by all classes and castes with equal reverence—a practice, which might have got some impetus even from Vajrayāna Nihilists and Nāthapanthis (followers of the path of Nātha cult) of the preceding ages.

I am told that between Taptapani of Ganjam and Parlakimedi near Mal Udayagiri in Ganjam Mals there is an aboriginal Savara position in coastal Orissa and Choragaṅga. History is positive that just before Choragaṅgadeva, a Koshala dynasty of Keśaris extended their empire and removed their capital to the

69. Ramanuja was born in 1027 A. D.—Radhakrishnan's 'Indian Philosophy', Vol. II, p. 666. He was in Orissa during the time of Choragaṅga whom he converted into Vaiṣṇavism.

coastal region of Orissa, and made Bhubaneswar something like their religious capital. This dynasty was responsible for many places of Śiva temple and Śiva worship near and round about Puri. But it is difficult to say definitely what political relation the coast of Puri had with uplands of Orissa, viz. Utkal, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, etc., i. e., Uḍḍiyāna before Choragaṅga. Yet Choragaṅga definitely came to Puri proper and made the place a part of his own empire. Satānanda, an inhabitant of Puri wrote his astronomical work, *Bhāṣvatī* during his time in 1099 A.D. Traces of Choragaṅga Deva's name are still there in Chudaṅga-Sāhi, a quarter in Puri town,⁷⁰ His road from Puri through Chilka lake and beyond towards Tamil country, perhaps with Rāmānuja, can well be traced through Alamāth (Aḷvarnāth) on the Chilka towards Puri side and through Gatiśvara a Śiva temple with Choragaṅga's inscriptions in Algum, near Sakhigopal. Previous to this all kingdoms—many of them big and powerful—were in the uplands⁷¹ perhaps with religious association with Puri and its Jagannātha. These facts indicate Śavara and Uḍḍa connection with coastal Orissa or Puri and the background of Choragaṅga's timely religious outlook.

Its use,

All this is, moreover, evident from the Purāṇas on the subject as well as local tradition including the story of the Śavara chief, Visvāvasu, and the disappearance of Nīlamādhava, before the establishment of the images in his place. For giving stability and grandeur to these images, Choragaṅga built the great temple of Jagannātha and thus made his vision a standing reality which even upto this day is practically the only place where all Hindus, including even the tribals, come and pay their homage and worship as their only means of salvation. It appears from the Purāṇas on the subject that all the festivals were initially organised or re-organised simultaneously on some rudimentary paintings and dress, etc.⁷² to make the institution grand and highly attractive.

There were various traditions regarding Nīlamādhava and the wood, already referred to, and all those traditions were in-

70. R. D. Banerjee's 'History of Orissa', pp. 251, 252.

71. Particularly vide Pandit Binayaka Misra's 'Mediæval dynasties of Orissa',

72. Vide the description of the picture at the end.

corporated in the Purāṇas just in the Purāṇic way. The traditional legend of Indradyumna was ⁷³ in later years cleverly adapted to the story of the building of the great temple with the setting up of the images of Jagannātha there. This was responsible, among the rest, for the Utkala Khanda in Skanda Purāṇa, in the tone and temper of which Mahammedan way of worship can well be traced in a Hindu garb. It was written perhaps a century or two later, for evidently the Choragaṅga and the temple-building incident had also by that time, it appears, become a matter of tradition. It seems now certain that Choragaṅga in the Purāṇas became Indradyumna and the sage Rāmānuja became Nārada. Choragaṅga, it may be remembered, had a great weakness for women and dancing girls. It is pre-eminently a historical fact and here even on the way from Malava to Puri, Indradyumna has strangely been described to have been surrounded by not only numberless young ladies of the Harem, but also by dancing girls who were in intervals exhibiting their art to please the Rajā Indradyumna himself. Even the gods are being worshipped by youthful and beautiful over-sexed public girls.⁷⁴ To quote instances will be redundant. It must be noticed how the kings of Utkala and Uḍḍra treated him and were treated by him on the way. Indradyumna's imperialistic conceit needs no further mention.⁷⁵ Yet it is interesting to note again how ingeniously the Vedic verse already quoted has been adapted with a little necessary distortions.⁷⁶ Moreover, in the same Purāṇa the real worship of Jagannātha has also been definitely hinted where it is said. "This Jagat itself is Jagannātha. This has no other cause. I am also not anything different from Jagannātha. He is not there anything other than myself".⁷⁷

Events adapted to Puranic theme.

73. Mahabharat, Vana Parva, Chapter 198—Bangabasi Edition.

74. Skanda Purana, Utkala Khanda, Chapter XVIII, Verse 25.

Ibid, Chapter XI, Verses 50-52, 60 and 71.

Ibid. Chapter XII, Verse 114,

75. Ibid. Chapter XII, verse 110 ff. Passim.

76. "य एष स्रवते दारुः सिंधुपारे ह्य पौरुषः

तमुवास्य दुराराध्यं मुक्तिं याति सुदुर्लभाम्"

Skanda Purana, Utkala Khanda, Chapter XXI, 3.

77. "जगच्चेदं जगन्नाथो नान्यचापि च कारणम्

अहंचन ततोभिन्नो मत्तोऽसौ न पृथक् स्थितः"

Ibid, Chapter X, 84.

Four images are four aspects of Jagannatha.

One thing however, appears to be clear that it is perhaps at this time that instead of one image of a face at the head of a pillar, named Śavarinārāyaṇa, four images made of neem-wood replaced the old Nīlamādhava. These four images which are said to be four aspects (Chaturdhā Mūrti) of the world Purusha Jagannātha, and was probably derived from the meaning of Nīlamādhava, as has been hinted, now represent Vāsudeva religion; the Dharmachakra, which was perhaps eternally associated with the Nīlamādhava or the old Kāliṅga Jina, it has been said, became Sudarśana, perhaps according to its Hindu name, Sudarśana Chakra of Viṣṇu. Any Jaina or Buddhist tradition was sought to be eradicated and the Austric wood worshipped by the Śavaras and the Uḍḍas, perhaps including a powerful local chief or chiefs, came to be made Viṣṇu himself under the same name of Jagannātha, which since then lost its original meaning, i.e., the symbol of the world-Purusha, and became the Lord or Master of the Universe, so palatable to the Bhakti school of worship.

Ramānuja's difficulties,

The Bhakti school of Northern India first entered the Tamil country in the South about the 5th century A. D. The Aḷvars were devoted monotheists of the Nārāyaṇīya line and so was Rāmānuja who was an Aḷvar saint. He believed in the Vyūhas Avatāras (incarnations) resembling prophets and god's deputies of the West. The Nārāyaṇīya or Vāsudeva religion had also fully adopted this. But the fact remains that Rāmānuja, before he became an Aḷvar he was a pure monist of the Śamkarāchārya's school. He was a great philosopher and even after he became a monotheist of the Aḷvar or Vāsudeva school his philosophic school is known as qualified monism (Viśiṣṭa Advaita). To introduce Vāsudeva monotheism in its unadulterated form of faith in the worship of Śavarinārāyaṇa called Jagannātha was not a smooth sailing even for Rāmānuja. Rational and philosophic adaptation was necessary especially as Choragaṅga was a king and not a pure devotee. With this background let us consider the matter. The conception now was:—Paramātmā or world soul is the universal substance. He manifests himself in the Ātmā or the individual soul.⁷⁸ Thus the present

(1) Jagannatha
(2) Balarama,

78, Vide, Bhagavat Gīta—XV, 7

Bhakti school assumes that Vāsudeva is the form of the universal soul. Samkarsaṇa is the phenomenal manifestation of the same universe. He is, therefore, the individual soul. Between these two was the necessary woman-element—the creative energy.⁷⁹ That element is their sister, Subhadra who had been conceived as Ekānaṃsā of Varāhamihira some centuries before. It will be rather relevant to mention here that the Bhakti school of worship or monotheism of Persia had no satisfactory philosophy behind it except the assumption of one God to explain everything concerning universe and man and their control and destiny. But India was pre-eminently a philosophic country with a background of the Jaina way of thinking and its development. The four Vyūhas, therefore, of Nārāyaṇīya religion gave no satisfaction to Indian sages and savants as it appeared to them quite artificial or rather puerile. For the 3rd and the 4th Vyūhas, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, there was no philosophical basis. Pradyumna was turned to be the woman-element which even during Varāhamihir's time, i.e., 6th century A. D., had become Ekānaṃsā, i. e., Ekā (One) + Anaṃsā (not parts of both). This is just in keeping with the creative energy called Kāma of the Ṛg Veda.⁸⁰ But it was not a member of the family of Vāsudeva. Hence the same thing in the Orissa coast was made into Subhadra.⁸¹ Thus the great philosopher, Rāmāṇuja, with Choragaṅgadeva in the Vāsudeva religion combined philosophy and tradition unlike other devotees or Bhaktas, specially the Aḷvars as the other orthodox Nārāyaṇīyā Bhaktas. Sudarśana needs no more explanation here.⁸² It is the name of the Chakra or wheel of Viṣṇu.

The Śavarinārāyaṇa was a pillar of neem-wood with a head. Now this head was attached with two hands almost adjacent to that head. With some rounded structures below the head and with those hands were made the images of both the brothers and

Jagannatha images explained and the Narayana legend.

79. Vide. Note, 17 above.

80. Ibid.

81. “तस्यशक्ति स्वरूपेयं भगिनी स्त्री पूर्वतिका
सुदर्शनं स्तु यच्चक्रं सदाविष्णु करे स्थितं”

Skanda Purana, Utkala Khanda, Ch. XIX, 17.

82. Vide before, the paragraphs on the subject including their notes Nos. 33-38 inclusive.

the sister.⁸⁵ The pillar was made into Sudarśana which is a red pillar-like log of neem-wood. Coming to the legend of Nārāyaṇīya story⁸⁴ which is still the basis of the Vāsudeva cult and its Vyūhas, here Nārāyaṇa is Viṣṇu; he is Kṛṣṇa and he is Vāsudeva. But this Nārāyaṇa has been made in the legend to sleep in the white ocean on the serpent Śeṣha or Ananta with his thousand hoods spread like an umbrella over the body of Nārāyaṇa. Lakṣmī is there sitting at the feet of Nārāyaṇa. There is no idea of the Sudarśana there. In the Neo-Vāsudeva legend accordingly Nārāyaṇa is Vāsudeva; Ananta or Śeṣha is Śamkarsaṇa; Lakṣmī is the woman-element or Mahāmāyā. For her stands Subhadṛā. It is perhaps for this reason that the white head of Śamkarsaṇa called Balarāma, slightly indicates those hoods in the Jagannātha scheme of the neem-wood images.⁸⁵

According to
Nīlamadhava.

Thus the Śavarinārāyaṇa of Uḍḍyāna also called Jagannātha became four images perhaps in imitation of the Nārāyaṇīya scheme of the Vaiṣnavas and the whole theme was adapted to the colour scheme as well as the philosophy of Nīlamadhava of Puri which was also Jagannātha. In colour Nīla or black is Jagannātha proper representing the noumenal (Avyakta, Asat) aspect, here Vāsudeva of the Vyūhas. Subhadṛā being the woman-element,⁸⁶ is yellow in colour, A Dravidian woman is yellow (Varavarṇinī, of best colour, yellow; the word is used both for a good coloured woman and turmeric which is yellow). Then comes Dhava (white), the phenomenal (Vyakta, Sat) aspect, or Ananta or Balarāma which is white in colour. It is the expressed phenomenal form of the same black Jagannātha, therefore white. Sudarśana pillar was red only perhaps to give it a different and attractive colour.

The transition—two
instances.

This whole theme which was a synthetic creation, so to say, of Rāmānuja and Choragaṅga, was, to all intents and purposes, a new invention and as I have hinted was not readily and universally

83. Utkala Khanda, Skanda Purana, Chapter XIX, Verse 10.

84. Mahabharata, Santiparva, Chapter 334 to 351 inclusive and specially 339 (Bangabasi Edition.)

85. Skanda Purana, Utkala Khanda, Chapter XIX, Verse 89.

86. Vide Note, 17 above.

accepted in Orissa. It took time to be completely acclimatised. Two instances are given below:

(1) In 1278 A. D.,⁸⁷ was established on the Vindusarovara in Bhubaneswara the Ananta Vāsudeva where there are images even now called 'Bala' (Balarāma), 'Kṛshṇa', and 'Subhadrā' two brothers and the sister of Kṛshṇa or Vāsudeva's family. But the images are of nicely carved stone of that time and not of wood, though they represent the Vāsudeva cult of Rāmānuja and Choraḅga. Though the woman image called Subhadrā now, it is suggested in the same chapter, was being known as Lakshmi at the time of setting up of the images there.⁸⁸

(2) About the middle of the same century was built the great Sun temple at Konarak where in stone carvings there are two Jagannāthas, each containing three images. One of the two is now preserved in the museum of the same place and another which is quite similar, is in the temple carvings still as it was originally there. They are carved in stone. But in both the cases, Jagannātha is like a small pillar with a head; on one side of him is a Linga representing Śiva and on the other is a woman representing Mahishamardini Durgā (goddess killing the Mahishāsura). Other similar post-Choraḅga images in other places should be investigated, studied and explained.

It appears *prima facie* certain now that the three images of Jagannātha were for a long time conceived by prominent orthodox people to have represented Vishṇu, Śiva and Durgā, the well-established Hindu triad of those days. Another section more Vaisnavic in their leanings made the images represent Bala, Kṛshṇa and Subhadrā; or Balarama, Jagannātha and Lakshmi; yet these images were not of wood but of stone. Sudarśana is found nowhere as it was not then generally recognised by all sections. Evidently it represents the period of transition when Śavarinārayāḅa and Vaisnava images of Rāmānuja and Choraḅga were in the process of being generally accepted.

Our Purāḅas on the subject, specially the Utkala Khanda in the Skanda Purāḅa, were not compiled or composed before the 14th century at the earliest. This is clear from the fact mentioned therein that Indradyumna on his way to Nīlamādhava passed by

87. R. D. Banerjee's History of Orissa, Volume I, p. 267.

88. Skanda Purana, Utkala Khanda, chapter XII, verse 80.

Bhubaneswara where he bathed in the Vindusarovara and then on that very tank worshipped the images of Purushottama.⁸⁹ The word Purushottama is significant. This means no other images than the present images of the Ananta Vāsudeva.

So Utkala Khanda in Skanda Purāṇa is decidedly composed long after 1278 A. D.

These things some times may be enquired into in more details. But the present hints are given only to help the enquiry,

Choragaṅga's
Jagannātha still
remains practically
as it was.

Thus the importance of Jagannātha was at the time not only the necessity of the Hindu world, but also supplied the Emperor Choragaṅga Deva a marvellous opportunity of making a single and comprehensive humanity of all sorts of people in the Kalinga and its contiguous regions of India including the regions of very influential non-Aryan people and their kings—thus giving a living basis for the kinship and oneness of the entire humanity consisting of all people, big or small, high or low. This is in a sense the real practice of Maitri so covetable to the Jaina faith imitated also by the monotheistic Bhakti cult of Vāsudeva. Yet since the days of Choragaṅga, Jagannātha has experienced many vicissitudes in Muhammedan invasions and destructions from 1568 upto 1751 A. D. But the fact remains that though the Hindu world too was no less oppressed, yet Jagannātha still stands, as he was then conceived by Choragaṅga Deva, the most prominent deity in the Hindu world.

How things proceed in
dependent Orissa.

Yet in a sense it has not remained the same after the Muhammedan conquest. India as well as Orissa was physically dependent and Mahummadan monotheism ate into the very vital, of Indian culture. Prayer for enjoyment and worldly advantages and expectation of its fulfilment became the order of the day. All real philosophy of life and actions practically vanished. Towards the latter part of this period came the Christian missionaries who were no less wordly-minded and fanatic. Indian philosophy and philosophical practices as such, had no scope or occasion to develop in a free atmosphere. As a result came our Sanths from Nanak to Chaitanya—all Vaishnava monotheists.

89. Ibid, Verse 89.

It was during this time that Vaishnavism itself divided for reasons which may not be discussed here. (1) Rādhā Kṛṣṇa and (2) Sītā-Rāma were respectively the symbols of these two sects. From after Chaitanya's coming to Orissa in 1510 A. D., the Rādhā Kṛṣṇa cult has great ascendance in Puri. So much so that, for instance, even Jagannātha's Mantra (formula) of worship has changed; now in case of the black Jagannātha image, it is:—"I offer to Kṛṣṇa, the chief of the cowherds; and deep in love with so many cowherd-girls."⁹⁰ Many indelible marks of this or like nature can be traced in Puri and under the influence of this crude monotheism myths and miracles are daily developing in the temple and the area influenced by its atmosphere.^{90A} With this background let us proceed with the history beginning with the Muhammedan conquest of Puri.

During the Muhammedan conquests and destructions, Jagannātha was once completely destroyed in about 1568 A. D., the year of Muhammedan conquest of Orissa, by the then Bengal Nawab's son, Bayazid, who was accompanied by, it is said, Kalāpāhār, a renegade Hindu and a great iconoclast. After an interregnum of about 20 years Ramachandra Deva, the 1st, made the images again in their present form and reinstated them in the temple. These present images seem to be built on no existing patterns or books of exact description but made on the strength of stories describing the images. It is apprehended that even the Utkala Khanda of the Skanda Purāṇa was not well-consulted. May be, that Purāṇa was still in the process of making. Hence the images do not appear to be exactly the same. They are a little different from the original images set up by Choragaṅga Deva. For instance Subhadrā who had two hands,⁹¹ is now handless.

90. श्रीकृष्णाय गोविंदाय गोपिजनवल्लभाय स्वाहा

This is the offering formula used for Jagannath image at Puri

90A. Specially Vide the stories of 'दाक्ष्यताभक्तिरसामृत' (Oriya); 'भक्तेरजय' (Bengali); and also 'भक्तमाला' (Sanskrit, and Hindi).

91. 'सुभद्रा चारुवदना वराव्जाभयधारिणी'

Ibid. Ch. XIX 10.

The legend current about the destruction of Jagannātha images by Kalāpāhār is enlightening on the point. The legend is as follows:⁹¹

Just before the time Kalāpāhār came to the Puri temple, the priests had secretly removed the images to Chilka coast and put them under ground there. But somehow Kalāpāhār got the news, went to the coasts of Chilka, disintered the images and then put them on backs of elephants and with them proceeded to the Ganges. Here on the banks of the river Ganges he ordered a huge pyre to be prepared and put fire to the images there. But before the images were fully burnt, he brought them out and put them in the river where they reached an island in the river bed. Just then a devotee, Bisar Mohanty, swam to the same island perhaps with a hatchet in hand and brought out the Brahma substance from the wombs of the images. He proceeded to Kujang with that Brahma. Raja of Kujang thereupon constructed temples and was worshipping that Brahma substance there. Ramachandra Deva, the 1st, after the interregnum, sent men to Kujang, brought that Brahma substance and put it in his new images of Jaganātha.

It is not said in the legend whether the Brahma substance was one or more than one. In any case, this queer and preposterous story, like all stories of this nature, given rise to in an atmosphere of crude monotheism, has no historical truth behind it. The real fact is that Kalāpāhār set fire to the images in Chilka coast and burnt them completely. Muhammedan history of this time records this. Besides iconoclasts like Kalāpāhār don't carry such Hindu images pompously to the Ganges to put them half burnt into its waters.^{91B}

Tradition of Buddha's tooth, however, was very persistent. We have already referred in another connection as to how Indra-bhūti, the king of Uḍḍiyāna was thinking of him both as Jina and Buddha⁹² in early 8th century A. D. This Indra-bhūti, king of Uḍḍiyāna, it appears, was a great Vajrayāni Tantric. It is also

Jagannatha, Buddha
necarnation of Vishnu—
Baudhavatara

91A. Vide, also, R. D. Banerjee's History of Vol II. 12.

91B. Ibid.

92. Vide, No. 82 above.

found that he was the propounder of Sahajayāna or Sahajiyā Buddhism along with his sister, Lakshminkarā. This Sahajiyā Buddhism had a great strong-hold in Assam and Bengal. In those areas by about 13th or 14th century A. D., the sect gradually turned into Sahajiyā or Gaudiya Vaishṇavism for reasons which may not be discussed here. Any way, it was so transformed under the stress of the so-called monotheism or the Nārāyaṇīya school of thought of the West admired also by the local Mahammedans. It must be remembered that to think of prophets, deputies and such other incarnations of God, is a special feature of this monotheism. Nārāyaṇīya story of the Mahābhārata mentions many incarnations of Viṣṇu, and in a similar spirit Buddha was now considered an Avatāra of Viṣṇu in this neo-Vaisnavism or the Gaudiya Vaishṇavism whose followers had been calling themselves Nihilist Bauddhas till they had been Sahajiyās and not Vaishṇavas. This had a great influence on the coastal Jagannātha who was called Bauddhāvatāra (Bauddha incarnation of Viṣṇu) by pilgrims as well as by the local people.

In the meantime came the famous original Oriya poet Sārāla Dāsa, in the 15th century A. D. He wrote his own Mahābhārata in which the Bauddhāvatāra of Puri, i. e., Jagannātha became his Śrīkṛṣṇa. This poet was, moreover, very prolific in propounding new legends and miracles and propagating them by means of his Mahābhārata and other writings. As far as is known, he propounded the following story regarding Jagannātha.

Poet Sarala Dasa's legend of Krishna's cremation and unburnt heart.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa was cremated in Dwāraka. His heart region remained unburnt in spite of serious attempts to burn it. It was tied to the branch of a banyan tree and thrown into the ocean. That branch with the lump of unburnt flesh floated on and on till it reached the coast of Puri. Here it was taken up and with this heart inside, the image of Jagannātha was made.⁹⁴ This was Saralā Dasa's legendary Hindu reply to the theory of the tooth of the Buddha, so to say.

In fact this tooth story is a myth, as I have said. In course of my investigation as to what there actually was, if any,

93 Vide Sarala Dasa's Mahabharata (Oriya).

The womb of the images contains pieces of wood said to be secured from images burnt by Kalāphāhar.

Yet the secrecy about the matter is marvellously preserved.

Jagannātha a unique conception of humanity.

inside the image or the images, still called 'Brahma' or world substance, the late Pandit Mahāmahopādhyāya Sadāsiva Miśra of Puri, who was a great scholar and an astute man of investigation in these matters, only told me confidentially that, as far as he could tell me, in the wombs of these images there were nothing else, but pieces of old wood secured perhaps by Jajātikeśarī from the remains of the images that were put underground during the invasion of Yavana Raktabāhu in the early centuries of the Christian era. But in my investigation it is found that the real things in the wombs of the images, if there is anything at all there, are only some old pieces of wood said to be secured from the images burnt by Kalāphāhar in 1568 A. D. The story of that destruction and burning of the images⁹⁴ current among the people and specially among the devotees corroborates it. Again nobody has yet said whether the tooth of the Buddha or the Brahma substance of Jagannātha is one or divided into three or four parts to be in the wombs of all the images. At the time of renewing the images every eighteenth year, there is no womb business about Sudaraśana at all. Other three images have something each in the womb and nobody could know what that thing is, for the priest who takes it from the old and puts in the new, is at the time completely blindfolded and touches the substance, whatever it is, with a hand covered with sevenfold silk cloth. Still some scholars consider this substance to be the tooth of the Buddha without investigating the matter in any detail. Yet the secrecy about the matter is marvellously preserved and the institution with the images is there with all its sanctity, antiquity and importance, and with all traditions, old or new, associated with Jagannātha. In ordinary social affairs it makes no distinction between man and man. As a religious institution it is a symbol of monotheism, yet with all Jaina or Indian philosophy attached to it.

Thus it is that Orissa is the holiest of lands in the Hindu world for its Jagannātha, whose history and significance as the Purusha, representing the entire universe both noumenal and phenomenal, has no parallel in the religious conception of humanity.

Bhubaneswar,
25-1-1959

ORIIYA LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

By

Dr. Pandit Nilakantha Das.

When in 1955, Bulganin, the Russian Prime Minister and Khrushchov, the Secretary of the Communist Party, Russia, both together came to India, Bulganin used to say to Indians and Indian Assemblies 'Hindi-Russi Bhai Bhai'. This was a sentence understood both in Russia and India. Indians were surprised that language used both in Russia and India are so alike.

Hindi-Russi Bhai Bhai

There was nothing to be surprised. Even for more than a century, on account of the discovery of the Vedic and Sanskrit languages, the grammars of Panini and other Grammarians, as well as the Avestic and many European languages, it has been found out by labours of scholars that all languages from Russian and Slavonic on the one hand and the Assamese and the Oriya on the other, including the English language, which commands almost half the world, are members of a single family. Whether this family has physically, i. e., by ethnic expansion spread throughout all these vast regions, it cannot be definitely said. But the language has undoubtedly spread with culture in these lands.

From Russian to Assamese have sprung from one language

This language is called Indo-Germanic or Indo-European. The people speaking the language have, to a great extent, actually spread in ancient times, carrying the language with them with their incidental mixtures and variations. It first

The language is called Indo-Germanic or Indo-European

They first bifurcated into 'Satam' and 'Centum' groups somewhere near modern Turkey—Mitannians and Hitites

divided into two main groups called by the scholars generally as the 'Satam' and 'Centum' (Kentum) groups. Both the words 'Satam' and 'Kentum' are used for the word expressing 'hundred'—one group pronouncing the word Śatam (शतं), the other Kentum (केंटं). From archaeological investigations it is found that both these language branches met in course of their migration in the present Asian Turkey regions or thereabout spoken by two tribes then known as Hitites representing the Kentum group and Mitannians similarly representing the Śatam group.

Hitites towards Egypt—
Mitannians towards Iran
and India—

There it is found that Hitites who were of the Kentum group, did not proceed towards Persia and India though they exercised some influence for a time in Egypt. This time is about 2000 B. C. or earlier. The Mitannians who belonged to the Śatam group about 1500 B. C. to 2000 B. C. were speaking a language which seems to have been the same as the mother of the Indo-Iranian languages spoken even to-day with their provincial variations in Persia and India. Therefore, scholars say that the original Aryan or Indo-European migration was through Mesopotamia and Persia to India. This is a matter of about 2000 B. C. or earlier. For it is found from investigations that even at this time in the same regions a tribe of the same Śatam Aryan group invaded, conquered and occupied the ancient Babylon and Sumer. They were the Kassites.

Indian languages come out of Iranian stock. This makes the route of their migration clear.

Hence, the family or sub-family called the Indo-Iranian group and the Indian branch of it, it appears, was derived from the original Iranian stock. This makes clear the route of the spread of the Indo-European language upto India.

The route both through northern and southern Persia and also by sea by Persian gulf. In the 3rd millenium B. C. Dravidians are found in the old Indus Valley civilisation of Mahenjodaro and

The other ways may be by land route through the ancient Elam in southern Persia or by sea through Persian gulf to the Indus valley where archaeological evidences are found in the ancient Indus civilisation of the 3rd millenium B. C. both in Mahenjodaro and Harappa as well as in the recently discovered regions of the Upper Gangetic plain. This Indus civilisation is said to be mostly Dravidian which in those days spread throughout India. Thus the migration into the regions of the Indus valley civilisation may be through trade routes both by land and sea. In the land route, the Brahuees of the Upper

Sind and Lower Beluchistan are an islandic settlement of the Dravidians. This settlement also indicates this intercourse. Some scholars like Prof. Hrozny of Poland say that these Dravidians also originally came from the Mediterranean regions, i. e., lands near Mesopotamia to India in times earlier than 3000 B. C.¹ There are, however, indications to conclude that these Dravidians came to Indian Coasts—even East Coasts—by sea like the still earlier emigrants, e. g., the Austrics.

Even before these Dravidians, the Austric people came to India mostly by the same north-western route or routes from the same Mediterranean regions.² They were a cultured people for those days. By cultured people it is always meant that there were cultured classes or individuals among them. After the advent of the Dravidians and then of the Aryans they, i. e., these Austrics or Savaras generally went to hills and jungles and there lived in their strongholds. Their strongholds are particularly mentioned in the accounts of Samvara (which seems to be another name for Savara) in the Rg Veda.³

In the theory of the above migrations of races, we generally consider the main land routes through Persia to India and some sea routes near the coast for which distinct linguistic evidences are found. But there are also indications of sea routes, as I have said, specially of the Dravidians and the Austrics, which can be traced to have come from the west through Egypt and Mesopotamia to India and Eastern Islands. Of course at present there is little distinctive trace in the Eastern Islands of those original Dravidians who as a race are at present found, as scholars say, confined to India and India alone, but Austric people are found more in those islands towards America than in India and else-where. Definite traces of both these races are, however, found in the present Orissan region, which was in very ancient times, called the Kalinga region.

Harappa. This may also be both by land and sea for the Dravidians also came from Mediterranean regions before 3000 B. C.

Even earlier the Austrics came by the same routes from Mediterranean regions.

These were Savaras driven in India to Hills and jungles by the Dravidians—Samvara of the Rg Veda.

Traces of both these non-Aryan races, however, are distinctly and definitely found in Orissan region which was in very ancient times called the Kalinga region.

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1. Prof. Bedrich Hrozny's "Ancient History of Western Asia, India and Crete" Specially see the Picture-plate for 'earliest Migrations of people at the end of the book.
 2. Ibid; also "The Aryans" by V. G. Child, p. 16.
 3. Rg Veda 11-12-10.

Let us for the purpose consider the three sub-linguistic areas in Oriya lands.

To investigate these matters in connection with the Oriya language and culture, let us consider carefully how the present Oriya speaking tracts today consist of three sub-linguistic areas.

(1) The region contiguous to the Andhra land which was, in post-Vedic times, called Kalinga.

It was, in much later times, called Kangoda.

Traces of early History of Kalinga and their significance.

(1) One is the language of mainly the district of Cuttack, the entire Puri district and the Ganjam side with the adjacent surrounding lands influenced by them. This may be called the Kalinga region. "Originally the Andhra country seems to have lain to the south of the Godavari, though the Telugu language has now crept up northwards along the coast in the Vizagapatam district."⁴ The Oriya language extended beyond the Godavari in much later times, but the earliest limit seems to be somewhere near the regions south of the river Vanśadhārā. From about the 5th century A. D., for some centuries, however, this Oriya region was also called Kalingoda or Kangoda meaning Kalinga which was occupied or influenced by the Oddas. But the name Kalinga does not seem to be there in the days of the Ṛg Veda. The earliest mention of Kalinga is found in connection with the defeat of the Yavana king of Kālinga by the 23rd Jaina Tirthankara, Pārśvanātha, who "was born in what is now the city of Banaras about 817 B.C."⁵ Pārśvanātha, according to Jaina tradition, was a creditable warrior in his youth. He renounced the world and became an ascetic at the age of 30. This Pārśvanātha story may be legendary, as the stories of all the other Tirthankaras or the like so fabulously are. Prof. Gerini's finding that the Kalinga colony, Kalinga Rāṣṭra, in Burma coast was there even in the 7th century B.C., might have some basis on legends like these. Puri and the regions near about, however, in Vedic times, specially in the Ṛg Vedic times, was not called Kalinga. The word Kalinga which denoted a tribe in the days of the Historian Pliny (1st century B.C.) was probably in still more ancient times an oligarchy or a republic like the Śakyas, Lichhabies, Bajjies etc. of the Sakya-muni Buddha's days. Even during the days of Asoka's conquest of Kalinga which took place in the earlier half of the 3rd century B. C., there is no mention in the inscription or otherwise

4. "History of Orissa" by R. D. Banerji, p. 3.

5. Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson's "The Heart of Jainism"—p. 48.

of organised armies or emperors of Kalinga. The story of the so-called Chāruvāki, the wife of the Emperor of Kalinga for whom As'oka made the war of conquest referred to by some modern historians is but a poetical myth of some Dravid poet of the middle ages. It appears, moreover, to be a fact that the great war of Kalinga with Asoka seems to have been conducted by a big Kalinga republic of the kind or of several republics who collected themselves together to meet Asoka's army for the defence of their culture and religion. The fact remains that the name Kalinga was not existent in the R̥g Vedic days, though the region round about the present Jagannātha was a place where the ancient Jina (Jaina) religion was there in its purest form. This tradition is well indicated by the word Jināsana (place of Jina) mentioned in the inscription of Khāravela.⁶

Asoka's War of Kalinga.

Jināsana

Here a reference should, however, be made to the fact that sometime between the 1st and 6th century A.D., this Kalinga was somehow deserted and the entire headquarters with some important names shifted to the Mukhalingam region on the river Vanśadhārā, which was the southern part of this Kalinga. Here arose the Sinhalese tradition of the story of the tooth of the Buddha mentioned in the Dāthāvanśa, which story seems to be a mere legend, somehow created by the Sinhalese Buddhists, who in those days, and some centuries afterwards considered the Jainas of Kalinga as Hinayāna Buddhists. This is evident from the memoirs of Huen Tiang recording Harshavardhan's invitation to some Buddhist monks of Orissa to prove that their Hinayāna was a better way than the Mahayāna path followed by Harshavardhan himself as well as Huen Tiang.

Sometime between 1st and 6th century A.D. headquarters of Kalinga removed to the Mukhalingam region. The Sinhalese legend of the tooth of the Buddha arose perhaps in connection with this Kalinga.

(2) The South Koshala region, i.e., the region of Raipur. Sambalpur Patna upto Baudh, was in those times, i.e., about the 5th century A.D. and onwards, called the Uddiyāna

6. Hathigumpha Inscriptions—18th line. "Old Brahmi Inscriptions, in the Udayagiri and Khandgiri caves" by Benimadhab Barua, p. 85, and also p. 45 "Seat of Jina", The reading in p. 85, is probably Jināsana (जिणासन)

regions.⁷ Uddiyāna seems to be a Buddhistic term meaning Yāna or the way of religious thinking and practice by the Uddas or the land inhabited or influenced by them. These Uddas appear to be a race of the Savaras or the Austrics greatly influenced by some Dravidians or at least the rudiments of the Dravidian language in later times. They perhaps came to these regions mostly by sea routes by the Bay of Bengal and inhabited the uplands of Utkala from where they gradually shifted to this region on their way to the Kangoda region in later times. The word Udda-yāna somehow became Uddiyāna under the influence of the contiguous or intermingling Dravidians. For even now the Dravidians, specially the neighbouring Telugus say Uddivādu (Uddiwādā) when they mean the land of the Uddas or the Oriyas. Thus Uddiyāna indicates a religious designation like Mahayāna etc., signifying some particular ways of thinking and practice which were in vogue in the regions referred to. This word Uddiyāna, in course of time, was used to indicate the name of a place where this yāna was in vogue. This was perhaps so on account of the most palatable and therefore the most outstanding religion called Buddhism of Mahāsukha (great pleasure) of sexual enjoyment, later on Hinduised into the Sahajiya or the Gaudiya Vaisnava cult of Bengal.

2 Uddyana.

Purusottama and
Jagannatha.

It should be mentioned here that like the institution Jināsana which was a symbol of Jaina Purusha or Purusottam, this Uddiyāna region developed the institution Jagannātha which had long rivalled the idea of Purusottama, as will be presently shown, and ultimately mixed up with it definitely in the beginning of the 12th century A.D. in the present Jagannātha cult.

3 Utkala.

(3) Then comes the northern and north-eastern Orissa, which was originally called Ukkala and then Utkala. At a time, specially at the time of Buddha's enlightenment, it extended from Gaya towards the East Coast. It was just contiguous to Rāḍha which was derived from the word Rāta or

7. The Orissa Historical Research Journal,
Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 14

Rāstra. It appears, as I have said, from Gerini's commentary on Ptolemy's Geography that about 7th century B.C., the Kalinga of the Burma coast (colonised by the people of Kalinga) named their contiguous inland tract Ukkala Rāta.⁸ It may be safely presumed that the forest land contiguous to the then Kalinga was Ukkala Rāta which divided itself into two separate regions called Ukkala or Utkala and Rāta or Rāḍha which is practically West-Bengal or the western part of the present State of West Bengal including the Eastern portions of Medinapur, Bankura and Birbhum. The people of the Uddiyāna or ancient South Koshala or Koshala, a tract mainly inhabited by the Savaras with some intermingling of the Oddas, as has been indicated, seems to have social and other similar connections with the eastern people, i.e., the people of Ukkala, Rāḍha, East Bengal and Assam. Another factor, perhaps, is that the kinsmen of these Savaras had migrated with their languages and customs to the still Eastern regions, where these Austric people had also arrived directly by the sea-route leaving traces in the Kalinga Coast on the way. The aboriginal remnants of these Austrics are still there in Eastern India, such as, Kols Santalas, Khasis, Nagas, etc. Thus the gradual migration of these Savara people was by these land and sea routes, as has been indicated, towards Indonesia and further islands, perhaps upto America. It is noteworthy, however, that this marine migration to the Eastern Islands from Egypt and then from India continued for long centuries as will be evident from Frazer's "Golden Bough".⁹

These three regions into which the Oriya-speaking tracts were divided in ancient and in mediaeval times, represent from very early times the three main religions of the world, viz., (1) Authoritative Religion; (2) Scientific or rational Religion;^{9A}

8. "Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia, etc" by Colonel G.E. Gerini, M.R.A.S—also "Orissa in the Making" by B.C. Mazumdar,

9. "Golden Bough" by Sir James George Frazer.

9A Jewish Philosophy by Isaac Husik—"Encyclopaedia Britannica" 14th Edition, Vol 13, p. 37, also "Orissa Historical Research Journal", Vol. VII, No. 1 pp. 161 ff.

"The term Jewish Philosophy is here used to denote the attempt of Jews to solve the general problems of Philosophy from the

(3) Fertility Cult, or that which is known as Tantra in India. But before coming to this, it will be useful to consider the spread of the Aryans and their languages in India with their various implications and effects of association, for it is these Aryans and their languages that have principally given their stamp to the entire linguistic culture of India.

When the Aryans came to India there were, in occupation of the land, Savaras with their forest strongholds as well as the Dravidians with their very advanced civilisation indicated by that of Mahenjodaro. These Aryans spread from the North-West Frontiers and the passes of Hindukush and Himalayas through the Punjab and the Gangetic plain. Scholars like Hoernle and

point of view of Judaism, and conversely to establish the doctrine of Judaism on a philosophic basis. It does not include, however, merely dogmatic statements about God, the universe and man, such as are found in the sacred books, for philosophy is characterised by method as well as content. Every general proposition concerning the nature and attributes of the Divine Being, the origin and processes of the universe, the nature, origin and destiny of man and the human soul, the rules of human conduct, and so on, belongs in content to philosophy. But the literature containing such propositions is not classed as philosophical unless the method is scientific, i. e., rationalistic. Appeal to authority or faith or revelation is not a scientific or rationalistic method. Scientific method makes use of observation and inference, deductive and inductive. Authority, faith and revelation may themselves form the subjects of scientific study, and a rationalistic analysis of the topics mentioned would also come under philosophy. Accordingly in a historical sketch of Jewish philosophy we exclude almost entirely the books of the Bible because, although the topics treated therein are also dealt with in philosophy, the method is not rationalistic, but dogmatic. The historians, the law-givers and the prophets of the Bible appeal almost entirely to authority and revelation for opinion and guidance. The books of Job and Ecclesiastes form an exception and may be regarded as forming a transition from the purely dogmatic to the purely philosophic point of view. Nor can we include in this study the second literary monument of Judaism, the Talmud. And for the same reason. The Talmud is partly legal and partly legendary and homiletic. The legal and homiletical elements are based upon the Bible as revealed authority, and the legends are of course just legends. The fact is that the Hebrews in their creative period both in Biblical and Talmudic times, had no scientific or rationalistic interests."

Grierson group say that they came in two groups with intervals in time. First group mostly spread in the land of India and mixed with the non-Aryans, i.e., Savaras and the Dravidians. These mixed people were called Vrātyas.¹⁰ Then came the other group who naturally guarded the Vedic culture, religion as well as society more scrupulously. They were strict observers of Vedic rites and ceremonies, developed caste and other like Aryan institutions. But Prof. Weber and others including Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee do not accept this view. They say the Aryans entered India perhaps in several ways and several groups. The earlier occupiers spread over and many of them consequently became Vrātyas as they naturally mixed freely with the Savara and Dravida inhabitants of India. The later occupiers or new-comers were naturally more strict and more careful in the matter of their self-preservation. Hence is such a difference which means nothing more than old and new-comers coming in succession one after another.¹¹

In considering the languages, used in India, we only take into account, as I have said, the languages of the cultured classes or classes having cultured individuals among them, of those inhabitants who migrated into India from time to time. So in considering the languages which specially in the Aryan lands are the results mostly of a mixture, we shall consider these three main cultural languages. The entire India was first Nisadic or Savara in language. Cultural Dravidians came and drove them into the hills and forests. Then came the Aryans who accepted the vocabulary and terms and terminals, etc. freely from Nisadas as well as the Dravidians whom they mainly drove into South India, i. e., mostly Tamil country where they even now live in their purity with a great deal of admixture in their language of the Aryan words. It may be noted here, however, that though there may be some difference in pronunciation of conjunct consonants, such as, 'Śri' (Aryan) and 'Tiru' (Dravid), 'Śripati', (Aryan) 'Tirupati' (Dravid) and such other variations between these two great languages of India their syntax is not

10, "Origin and Development of the Bengali Language" Vol. I, by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, pp. 46 and 47.

11, Ibid—Introduction Article 92 and just preceding ones.

different from each other. Hence, free giving and taking of words, even those used in adding various particles to words, phrases and clauses and even basic words of declensions, may not make one language linguistically different from another.¹² In declension only Caldwell mentions one particular Dravid item, which exclusively appears in the Oriya language. This is the use of the verb in first person plural. In this two forms are used one where the person spoken to is included and the other where it is not included¹³ (आमे यिवा, अमे यित्तु). It is particularly found in the Kalinga and Koshala regions of Orissa. Hence except the inter-borrowing of words, practically nothing else can be observed in deciding whether a language is Aryan or Dravidian. Some distinct traces of pronounciational influence, however, can be marked. 'Śri' and 'Tiru' has been pointed out above. Similarly 'r' becomes not 'ri' but 'ru' in pronounciation, most probably on account of the 'Dravidian' influence. Besides Oriya, it is found also distinctively in Maharastri and perhaps in Gujerati.

Then again some other traits may be observed even in the present Oriya language pointing to the fact that this land of Kalinga and its neighbouring tracts still possess some distinctively linguistic traces which exclusively indicate very ancient connection of these tracts with Mediterranean regions of Egypt, Crete, Babylon, etc. This connection may, therefore, be safely presumed to have been by sea routes, for these linguistic expressions are exclusively found in Kalinga coast and its adjacent land and not elsewhere in India. Below are given a few instances :—

Traces of ancient
linguistic influence
in Oriya lands.

Instances :—

1. Ka.

1. *Kā*:—The ancient Egyptian word *Kā* (double—the second soul) which is still used in Orissa specially by children in games, where one player having been out, plays again on account of his *Kā*.¹⁴

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12. "Origin and Development of the Bengali Language" by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee—Appendix B to the Introduction.
13. "Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages" by Caldwell.
14. "Egyptian Myths and Legends" by D. A. Mackenzie, p. 87 ff.

2. *Dvāhi* :—This Kā which means double is now called Dvāhi (double) in Oriya. This also indicates the same Kā in another connection to mean the same thing in ordinary conversation to denote the second soul which is at stake in sentences like 'तत्ते मो द्वाहि' or colloquial Oriya—'देइ' which is the same as my second soul is at stake.

2. Dvahi.

3. *Rāṇa* :—This word Rāṇa¹⁵ is used in Oriya language in the old Egyptian meaning of 'secret name' or spirit. It is like *Om* which is originally a word of the vocabulary of Orissa (now found in languages from Vedic Sanskrit to the present vernaculars of India) meaning the name of the person, Purusha, i. e., Ātma or soul. This Rāṇa throughout Orissa is used like Dvāhi to indicate the same sense meaning my living spirit is at stake in the expression like 'तत्ते मो राण'.

3. Raṇ

4. *Bau* :—(बउ or बोउ) which is a word for the mother from Crete to Babylonia via. Capadosia in about 2500 B. C., is still used specifically in Orissa to address the mother.¹⁶ It is interesting to note that the Tantra and tantric religions developed originally out of this mother cult.

4. Bau.

5. *Jina* :—The Sanskrit word Jaina came from Jiṇa (with cerebral 'n') which is a word of the Oriya or ancient Kalinga Prakṛit exclusively. It comes from Sumerian 'zi'¹⁷ which is the same as Indian Jiva. From the same root through Jaina practice comes also Sanskrit root Ji (to conquer) which is Oriya root Jiṇ (to conquer). Hence the original word is Jiṇa (meaning conqueror) from which in later times comes the Sanskrit words, Jina and Jaina. In Oriya also Jiṇā means conquered or conquering. Significant it is that in other Indian Aryan languages this Oriya 'Jiṇ' becomes 'jit' and Sanskrit Jaina cannot be derived from that jit.

5. Jina.

Even in the Oriya language today, there will be found other words of ancient culture. In this connection the three main

Other words on account of world-religions.

15. Ibid, p. 3, foot note, 87, 90 and 91.

16. "Myths of Babylonia and Assyria" p. 100 etc'

17. Ibid, p. 291.

world religions may be referred to, for religion is practically the only expression of culture at least in those days.

1) Jainism.

1) Let us first think of the scientific or the rationalistic religion prevailing in the ancient world. It is Jainism. It is based on experience, observation and inference. It is based on soul, more, correctly the soul in control of the matter. It began from the individual 'life principle' which is called 'Ji' in Sumer some five thousand or more years ago. This 'Ji', it has been said, is Sanskrit 'Jīva' (Soul). 'Ajīva' (matter) was what was not 'Jīva'.

To have a clear comprehension of this unique Jaina religion which was the only rationalistic religion, the world ever thought of, the following will be useful :—

What Jainism is —
Its principal
characteristics.

"The fundamental principles of Jainism are these¹⁸ :—

"I. Man's personality is dual, 'material' and spiritual¹⁹. The duality of the deadmatter and the living principle which animates the human body is evident. There may be differences as to the nature of it ; but as to the fact of the duality there cannot be any question. This is in striking contrast with the Hindu doctrine of Brahman, or one soul which is all and in all.

"II. Man is not perfect. He can improve, i.e., he can advance in the direction of perfection. The human soul can attain perfection. In its perfect condition the soul enjoys its true and eternal character, whereof the characteristic is the four infinities: infinite perception or faith (अनंत दर्शन); infinite knowledge (अनंत ज्ञान) ; infinite power (अनंत वीर्य) ; and infinite bliss (अनंत सुख).

18 'Outlines of Jainism by Jagamanderlal Jaini, p. 1 ff.

19 Panchastikaya-gatha, by Kundakunda Acharya, V. 27 Anu-preksha-sloka, by Swami Karttikeya, 184.

20 Panchastikaya-gatha, 28

"III. By his spiritual nature man can and must control his material nature. It is only after the entire subjugation of matter that the soul attains perfection, freedom, and happiness.²¹

"It is such a free and happy soul that is called Jaina (Conqueror) or Tirthānkara (Guide).²²

"IV. The last basic principle of Jainism is this : Man himself, and he alone, is responsible for all that is good or bad in his life.²³"

"Jainism, more than any other creed, gives absolute religious independence and freedom to man. Nothing can intervene between the actions which we do and the fruits thereof. Once done, they become our masters and must fructify. As my independence is great, so my responsibility is co-extensive with it. I can live as I like ; but my choice is irrevocable, and I cannot escape the consequences of it. This principle distinguishes Jainism from other religions e. g., Christianity, Muhammadanism, Hinduism. No God or His prophet or deputy or beloved, can interfere with human life. The soul, and it alone, is directly and necessarily responsible for all that it does."

As to the ancientness of the Jaina religion, its original connection with the Sumerian 'Ji' is significant. Dr. H. R. Hall also discerns Jaina traits in Sumerian statues of practically the same ancient period.²⁴ In Pre-Rg Vedic India, there is no doubt that the Jaina religion was the prevalent religion among the cultured Dravidians from whom the Indian Vrātyas as well as later on the Aryans themselves got all incentives to the highly philosophic aspect of their own religion. It is a well-known fact that all over India, Jainas were the only people to know this aspect of human culture before the Aryans came.

Ancientness of
Jainism

Jainism and
Aryanism

21 Ibid, 179, 168.

22 Paramatma-prakasa, by Yogindra Acharya, 330.

23 Anupreksha, 76 ; Purushartha-Siddhyupaya, by Amritachandra Suri, 10.

24. "Ancient History of the Near East", 7th Edition by Dr. H. R. Hall - p. 178.

Vedeha

Tirthankaras of
JainasIn imitation Buddhas
of the BuddhistsKalinga and Jainism
Kaivalya

They were gradually driven to the south and the east. Jaina religion was their philosophic religion; the Jaina practice was prevailing prominently in Videha and such other regions in the east. It is well-known how these practices developed. The highest Aryan philosophy of unattachment and non-violence was an essential part of Jainism. From these also developed as a matter of self-preservation, the great tradition of twenty-four Tirthankaras of the Jains beginning with Rshabhanātha, who is but another name for Aryan Surya, called in the Rg Veda the Atman or the soul of all that moves and all that stands.²⁵ But the Vedic ceremonials and customs, i. e., sacrifices and the caste, on the other hand, went on increasing in spite of all philosophical influences of the Jainas even in those Eastern regions, still affecting seriously the Jaina practices there. So in the same regions also came the great Jaina reformer Sākyamuni, the Buddha who followed in practice the middle path, a path or way between austerity and enjoyment. These Buddhists, too, soon developed, in imitation, twenty-four Buddhas including one coming Buddha—the Maitraya Buddha.

But Kalinga region, i. e., the region of present Puri, was the seat of the very quintessence of Jainism—the very essence of the philosophy quoted above as this Kalinga, as I have said, was colonised by non-Aryans specially by sea and by the Aryans by land both from west and North.²⁶ It is noteworthy, however, that besides Purusha and Purusottoma, the words like Kaivalya is still used in the Oriya language and literature today.²⁷

25 (a) “आप्रा यावा पृथिवी अंतरीक्षं
सूर्य आत्मा जगत्स्तथुषश्च”

-- Rg Veda 1.115.1; 4.14.2

(b) The name Rshabha is at least some 4,500 years old. In ancient Babylon they tilled the soil with bulls. In vernal equinox they used to say, “This is time for the Bulls”, for the sun was in Taurus or Bulls (Rshabha). Hence Rshabha became the name of the sun in course of time. Prof. Sayce—“Hibbert Lectures 1897”.

26 “Encyclopaedia Britannica” 14th Edition, Vol. 12 Indo-Aryan Languages—Dialectic Variations, p. 257 and 258 which in the mention of its sequence of areas gradually occupied by Aryans shows how originally Aryans also came to Orissa from the Maharashtra side,

27. “Orissa Historical Research Journal”. Vol. VII, No. 1—p. 2

Person or Purusha is used in the R̥g Veda to mean man. Even in Purushasūkta,²⁸ the word Purusha represents a great giant who is sacrificed to produce the entire universe. This undoubtedly contains the physical comprehension of the Jainas who sublimated the idea of individual Purusha to the Purusha universal. The process of this sublimation or self-elevation has been elsewhere described in connection with Purusottama or Jaṣannātha.²⁹ But certain it is that the conception is not originally R̥g Vedic. For, there is practically no philosophy in the R̥g Veda.³⁰ All philosophy in the early Vedic culture came from the Jaina religion.

All philosophy of the R̥g Veda is originally Jaina

The word Pūrusha or Purusha, it may be noted, in the sense of person or Atman, meaning soul in control of the body, is not Vedic. Purusha itself is a Prākṛta variation of the original word Pubṛsha.³¹ In Prakṛt pronunciation it should be Pubriṣha or Purishā. But in Kalinga it is pronounced Pubriṣha or Purishā, for in Kalinga 'ṛ' becomes not 'ri' but generally 'ru', as I have already indicated. In the R̥g Veda, the following Mantra occurs

The significance of Purusha in the R̥g Veda

अदो यद्दारु ज्ञाते
सिंधोः पारे अपूरुषं
तदारभस्व दुहंशः
तेनगच्छ परस्तरम्

—R̥g. Veda X.155-3

It means, "The wood which floats (is an object of worship) beyond the yonder ocean (or river) is Apūrusham, i. e., not Pūrusha (That means that it is not spiritual but a material object, i. e., Ajīva). Therefore, discard it O Durhanu (uncouth speaker). Then (after thus discarding) only you go to the spiritual plane³² (the other stratum).

The verse and its meaning

28 R̥g Veda X-90

29 "Orissa Historical Research Journal", Vol. VII No. 1—p 6

30 "The Cambridge History of India", Vol. I, p. 16,

31 "Origin and Development of Bengali language' Vol. 1. by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee. p. 85.

32. "Orissa Historical Research Journal", Vol. VII No. 1, pp. 15-16.

The significance of the
verse

It may be noticed here that this object of worship which was a wood described in terms of a boat or ship floating in the ocean, suggesting probably that the people that worshipped it came with it, not by land, but by sea.

Its further
significance

It may further be noticed, however, here that this is a very peculiar hymn in the whole of the Ṛg Veda. Its author is given here as Sirimbitho Bhāradvāja. Bhāradvāja clearly means a man of the Bharadvāja Gotra. Such adoption of Gotra is common even today in the outer area, e. g., Orissa, where prominent people take on some Gotra they choose. Sirimbitho may be a Prākṛt form of some word beginning with Śri.^{82a} The word may be Śrinibistha or Śri-Anvita or something like it. The deity of this verse is Brahmanaspati. Unlike Sirimbitho Bhāradvāja which is the solitary author, in the entire Ṛg veda, this Brahmanaspati in the Ṛg Veda is the deity of some other verses and hymns also. But Brahmanaspati is interpreted as Bṛhaspati. This may not be so. Brahmanaspati may mean a priest versed with Brahmana or the Vedic hymns or verses. These words may be the then Kalinga Prākṛt of those old days and this verse seems to have been collected from the Kalinga country with reference to the wood worshipped in the Austric lands or islands of the ocean or of some Savaras in the up-land worshipping some wood or wooden image where Sindhu may mean river. This verse at least may therefore be a verse taken from Kaling into the Ṛg Veda itself. Though the 10th Mandal is said to have been found on investigation to be the latest portion of the Ṛg Veda, the entire Ṛg Veda is, perhaps by mistake, taken to be a collection of the verses and hymns composed in North-West India, perhaps including the Upper Gangetic plain. But it may be concluded that even in those days verses like this at least were collected from distant parts where the words had undergone some distinct Prākṛtic changes specially on account of Vrātyas, as has happened here in Kalinga.

82A 'R' also becomes 'ri' in pronunciation in several instances in the Oriya of today. For instance, see भाषातत्त्व (philology) of the late Pandit Gopinath Nanda.

Significant it is here that even in those early days a wood or wooden image in a distant land was being worshipped perhaps as the Soul (or Lord) of the Universe, i. e., Purusha or Atman or something like it, to rival the spiritual Purusha idea prevalent in Puri. This it is in all probability the wood or the wooden image worshipped by the Austrics in the distant islands,³³ or the Neem-wood image of the Savara land,³⁴ which in much later times was floated in the Mahanadi from a Savara village of the present Bilaspur district situated in the confluence of the Jonk (a tributary of the Mahanadi) and the Mahanadi and carried to Puri where it was established as the present Jagannātha with a great temple built for the purpose by Choraganga Deva,³⁵ the famous Ganga king of Orissa.

May also signify wood worshipped by Austrics in islands or neem-wood image by Savaras in the up-lands of Orissa.

This Puri is pre-eminently the seat of Purusha which in later times³⁶ is responsible for Kalinga Jināsana or the seat of Kalinga Jina. This place is the place in this world (of India) of Purusottama, the highest Purusha. In the Gīta Kṛṣṇa, as the monotheistic God of the universe, says, "Therefore, I am celebrated in this world (लोके)³⁷ as Purusottama." Loke or Loye, it must be observed, is a Jaina word, meaning "in this world"³⁸. So this Loke in the Gīta points to the place of Purusottama, i.e., Puri; for there was then no other place of Purusottama in India. Gīta was composed not later than 4th Century B.C.³⁹

Jinasana and Purusottama,

33. See "Daru Devata", the Thesis presented by Prof. Benjmadhava Padhi, M.A. to the Utkal University for Doctorate.

34. "Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics", Vol. 12, p. 84, 1st column; also see "Orissa Historical Research Journal", Vol. VII, No. I, pp. 9 & 10.

35. "Orissa Historical Research Journal", Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 24 ff: also pp. 9 and 10.

36. 4th or 5th century B.C.—the time of Nandaraja of Magadha who took this Jinasana away from Kalinga to Magadha where it remained for 800 years—vide Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela.

37. Gita XV—18.

38. "नमो लोये सर्व साधुणां
(नमो लोके सर्व साधूनां)"

The daily Jaina invocation—Jagmanderlal Jaini's 'Outline of Jainism', p. 8.

39. "Orissa Historical Research Journal", Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 16.

Samkhya philosophy came directly from Jiva and Ajiva of the Jainas.

This Purusha originally developed out of 'Jīva or 'Ji' in control of 'Ajīva' among the Jainas and was taken up in later times by the Vedic Sāmkhya philosophy which is based on Purusha and Prakṛti, just come out of 'jīva' and 'Ajīva'. This Sāmkhya philosophy, it may be said, is the most-primitive and original systematic philosophy of the Vedic literature.⁴⁰

The dialect of Kalinga was differentiated from even pre-Rg Vedic times

In very ancient times, this Purusha is, therefore, the symbol of culture and philosophy of one part of Orissa which surrounds Puri and was called in later times Kalinga. The language of this region was the mother of the entire Oriya language. It seems to have intimate connection with Babylon, Capadosea, Egypt and Crete of some 5000 years ago. The distinct use of 'kā', 'dvāhi', 'rān' and 'bau' of those lands has been already referred to as terms exclusively used in the Oriya language even today. It is a sure indication that the language of Kalinga was differentiated from the surrounding dialects even from those early times.

2) Authoritative religion

2) The other main religious cult of the world is more primitive. It is primarily authoritative. From this has come religions like Vaisnavism, Christianity, Muhammadanism and such other religions on the one hand and Tantra or the religion of the mother (woman) as well as its corollary, Saivism on the other.

2. (a) Father-religion

2, (a) The first kind of authoritative religion referred to above may be called the father-religion in which the authority of the father in the family is magnified upto the so-called monotheism. Our Rg Vedic and Vedic religion generally represents this school. In this religion deities like Indra and such others representing forces of nature were worshipped and invited like friends as also deities like Baruṇa were worshipped like overlords. But the entire spirit of the religion is the same as that of the revealed religions.

2. (b), or 3) Mother-religion

2. (b), or 3) The second is the mother-religion which is the most primitive one. In this from the very early times,

40. 'The Cambridge History of India', Vol. I, p. 435.

sex action was considered to be the principle in which things come out of nothing, and hence this sex action was practised to help the process of creation or procreation of the mother. Probably this systematically began in ancient Crete and from there came to India with Austrics. This is responsible for practically the same idea expressed in the 16th Chapter of the Bhagabata Gītā.⁴¹ This also developed the idea of Siva or Lingam as a corollary.

But even from the Rg Vedic times, if not before, it expressed itself in a very unique and sublime manner which finds mention in the Nāsadiya Sūkta of the Rg Veda,⁴² where it is said, "In the beginning there was not 'sat' (existence)—not 'a-sat' (non-existence); nor was there the great firmament (byoma) and anything beyond that firmament." Then the poet goes on to say, "There was nothing to distinguish day from night" and again says in a confused manner that there was one self-existent. This confusion clearly shows that there was here expressed an influence of the universal soul of the Jainas. But the idea of the nothingness is continuing and in the 4th verse the poet clearly says, "There was kāma (desire or it may mean sexual desire) which was there in existence from the very beginning. This resulted in the first Reta 'रेतः' (seed—more precisely the human semen) of the mind, that is to say, as a mental qualification (of that Śūnya or non-existence, i.e., void.) Sages have thought it over in their minds and decided that this was the first relation between the non-existence and existence ('sat' and 'a-sat')."⁴³

Nāsadiya Sūkta,
the spiritual
interpretation of
the fertility cult

41 Bhagabata Gita, 16-8

42 Rg Veda X-129.

43 "कामस्तदग्रे समवतताधि
मनसोरेतः प्रथमं यदासीत्
सतोबंधु मसति निरविदन्
हृदि प्रतीक्ष्या कवयो मनीषाः"

—Rg Veda X, 129.4

Uma, Haimavati

Here it is that the sex action, perhaps the human sex action, has been clearly indicated as the cause of something coming out of nothing. The mother or Devi element under the Jaina influence of jīva or Vedic Brahma is again explicitly found in the later Vedic Literature⁴⁴ where Umā (Dravid Ammā) Haimavati (daughter of the Himalayas) is explained as a form of Brahma. This evidently refers to some Terai lands of the southern slopes of the Himalayas. These Terai lands extending to include Bengal and Assam are famous in later ages for Bajrayāna and Shajayāna practices of attaining Mahasukha (great sexual pleasure as a substitute for Nirvāna) in the free sex-action of the male.

Superiority of male element,

Uttara Kuru.

Dirghatama and Svetaketu,

This practice of Bajrayāna and Sahajayāna fully indicates how in the mother-religion of the "fertility cult" the male gradually established his superior position and prominence on account of his physical advantage. Reference may, however, be made in this connection to the sex-practice prevalent in the Uttara Kuru, described in illustration by Pāndu to convince Kuntī, his wife, for inviting males other than the husband to produce sons.⁴⁵ There are various other instances, e.g., the stories of Dirghatamā and Svetaketu in the same Mahābhārata which also indicate similar practices.⁴⁶

The story of Vijaya Simha—Susima.

In tradition too this propensity may well be observed in the legendary story of Vijaya Sinha, the so-called conqueror of Ceylon (Sinhala), and his grand-mother (father's mother) Susimā, the daughter of the king of Vanga.⁴⁷ The story says—As soon as she became grown up she left the palace without obstruction to follow caravans to Magadha and on the way was taken by a Sinha who begat on her a son, Sinha-Vāhu. This Sinha-Vāhu was subsequently made by the same Susimā to kill his father. Then with this her son she again made her way back to her father's palace after all this long time to become the queen of her nephew (father's son's son). This also shows the local custom

44. Vide Kenopanishad Part III.

45. Mahabharata, Banga Vasi Edition, Adi Parva, 122.

46. 'Mahabharata Samaj' by Sukhamaya Bhattacharya Sastri Saptatirtha, Viswabharati Edition pp. 1 & 2.

47. Story of Vijaya Sinha in Mahavansa,

there prevalent in Bengal which was so notorious in later times for Bajrayāna and Sahajayāna.

This male-prominence in sex-act again had long developed into the worship of Śiva or Linga most probably among Austriacs and later on taken up by Dravids and the Vedics. Śiva or Mahādev is a great figure in Indian religion. It may be observed that with this conception of Śiva, has begun the Sandhyā Bhāshā (twilight language) of the later Bajrayāna and Sahajayāna. Though this language has been attributed to the Tantra called Buddhist Tantra which, it is said by Lama Tārānātha (13th century A.D) of Tibet to have begun in the Uddiyāna Pītha, actually began long before the period in connection with Śiva and Śakti. The first verse of the very old Devi Stotra (hymn to the mother) Ānanda Lahari says,

Siva or Mahadev,

Sandhya Bhasha

“शिवशक्त्या युक्तो यदि भवति शक्तः प्रभवितुं
नचेद्देवं देवो नखलुकुशलः स्पंदितुमपि”⁴⁸

This has distinctly two meanings—one plain meaning saying—God Śiva becomes able to create the universe only when he is clothed with energy. Otherwise, as it is (that is, without energy), the God is not competent even to move. But the recondite meaning can be well explained in the sex-act—male organ of sex is able to produce only when it is associated with the female organ. Otherwise, as it is (i.e., without any touch of the female organ), it cannot even move (to and fro). Thus this twilight language was already there in the mother cult based on sex action. In this one meaning is for the general public and the other only for those that will have to indulge in the sex action in the name of religion. This word Sandhyā Bhāshā signifies that like evening, this is both day and night. Significant it is that the sex-act in the mother cult was a public social affair in the beginning and gradually it became secret and indecent and so Sandhyā Bhāshā was necessary in Eastern India.⁴⁹

48. This stotram is attributed to Sankaracharya, but it seems written after him. Yet it represents a long standing sentiment of the Siva and Sakti cult.

49. Myths of Babylonia and Assyria pp.99 and 100—also other places indicated in the Index on Istar.

**Ekānamsa, Subhadra
and Jagannātha.**

Now coming to the mother religion which was called Tantra in India, we come in sculpture to the woman element between nothingness and expression. This is found in Barāhamihira's Ekānamsā of the 6th century A. D. between the images of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma now found in the Lucknow Museum. This tradition was there in the atmosphere and specially found expression in Uddiyāna in Suvadrā between Jagannātha (black, the non-existence) and Balabhadra (white, the existence or expression), now found in Puri. In Orissa it appears, perhaps, that in very early times, the Neem-wood image worshipped by the Savaras was named Jagannātha to give it the appearance of Purusottama of Puri with the appellation 'Nātha' of the Jainas, particularly the Jaina Tirthānkaras. The name Jagannātha, it has been indicated, is a very ancient Oriya word like Purusottama, for the word Jagannātha as a name of Nārāyana is found in the Nārāyanīya Upākhyāna of the Mahābhārata.⁵⁰

**Yoga—Vedic Yoga
and Tantra Yoga**

This Tantra religion was again, it appears, intimately associated with some kind of Yoga. This Yoga is not to be confused with the Yoga-Philosophy of the Vedics, which as a development of the Sāṃkhya philosophy thought of an Iswara, the most prominent of the Purushas. This Yoga is based upon certain practices, perhaps originally in imitation of the Jainas to attain Jīva or Purusha or, in a word, Kaivalya or Mukti in which Purusha or personality was ultimately to remain in the undisturbed state of Nirvāna. But the Yoga in connection with the Tantras is a quite different thing. It is a process to physically eradicate senses, specially the sex sense, to attain the state of non-existence or void (Śūnya) which the Tantrics called Nirvāṇa. Nirvāṇa, as has been observed, was, in the original Jaina sense, something like Kaivalya in which the soul in Nirvāna is perfectly unmoved by desires. But here in Tantra Yoga, the Nirvāna becomes the attainment of Śūnya or complete nothingness.

Nirvana

50 'एषधर्मो जगन्नाथात् सत्तान्नारायणान्नृप
नारदेनतु संप्राप्तः सरहस्यः ससंग्रहः'—Mahabharata, Vangabasi
Edition, Santi Parva, Chapter 346-10.

The tradition of this Tantra, Yoga, referred to above, is still extant in our Pīthas (or places of religious practice) of Orissa. Here it may be mentioned relevantly that many words indicating this Yoga are still used exclusively in the Oriya language, e. g., 'Jīva' (individual soul), Parama (universal soul), Ajapā (self yoga in breathing), Jhānja and Jhanjā (wind in breath), Sāstānga (with eight limbs), Astāngata (all the eight limbs diseased or out of use), Athāthik (all the eight limbs collected together for death), Hansa (life-principle appearing in the taking and leaving of breath), Hansā (life) and such other words. It is noteworthy here that the whole of this Tantra Yoga or Śarīra Śādhana (practice of making the body with eight limbs and other component parts void) is based upon Jīva and Parama, i. e., Jīva and Paramātmā or Purusottama of the Jainas. The objective of these Yogis is to collect all the limbs of the body representing individual Jīva in the Parama, i. e., universal Purusha. This is their Nirvāna. This may have intimate association with Jagannātha and Purusottama but has very little to do with the practice or the objective of Bajrayāna and Sahajayāna.

Tantra Yoga in our Pithas—

Oriya words of Tantra Yoga

In Orissa, the Nātha cult, however, has a more substantial and perhaps more ancient expression. There is still an important section of the people—a caste—called the Nāthas. They are also called Nātha Yogis. In Orissa, they are indigenous people. They are physicians by profession and are also called Yogi Vaidyas (physicians of the Yoga practice). Their principal item of achievement is to make proper use of mercury in medicine. This they say, their forefathers achieved through Yoga. Mercury they call the semen of Mahādeva. From this, in their practice of Yoga, they found out elixir of life (Mṛtasanjivani), a medicine which makes dead men and animals live again. Even now it is they who know the proper use of mercury in medicine. The name Nāthas, Nātha-Yogis, Nātha Vaidyas or Yogi-Vaidyas are a very important class of the people in Orissa. The name Nātha in all forms as noted above is well known. They are also mostly worshippers of Śiva. But some of them have taken to Vaisnavism and now call themselves Vaisnavas most probably Gaudiya Vaisnavas after the 16th century.

Natha-cult and Natha-Yogis

Bajrayana and
Sahajayana.

Jagannatha of
Indrabhuti,

Yet this Tantra of the mother cult in later times somehow mixed up with the Śūnyavāda (nihilism) of Buddhism which came out of Mahāyāna school of it in the Terais of the Himalayas upto Nepal, East Magadha and Bengal, where, in later times, it developed Mahāsukha (great pleasure derived from extacy of the sex-act) of Bajrayāna and Sahajayāna as a substitute for Nirvāna. About the 7th or the 8th century A.D., this aspect had developed in the Tantric religion of Uddiyāna whose king Indrabhūti who was the desciple of Ananga Bajra, a Bengali prince and Laxminkarā, the sister of Indrabhūti and the queen of Jalendra, the king of Lankāpuri, or the present Patna district, are found to have preached things perhaps imitated in long practice from the so-called Siddhas like Ananga Bajra whose book 'Prājnopāya Binischayasiddhi' speaks of sexual excesses in very horrible and nautiating terms.⁵¹ Indrabhūti's famous book 'Jnānasiddhi' begins, "I bow to Jagannātha who is worshipped by all great Jainas and who also represents all Buddhas and in perfection is like the all pervading sky."⁵²

51 Instances ;—

(a) The principle is described in the 5th Chapter —

“ब्राह्मणादिकुलोत्पन्नां मुद्रां वै अत्यजोद्भवाम्

दुःशीलां परमागां च विकृतां विकलां तथा ।२४।

जनयित्री स्वसारं च स्वपुत्रीं भागिनेयिकाम्

कामयन् तत्त्वयोगेन लघु सिध्येत साधकः” ।२५।

(b) The process of practice is described in the same Chapter—

“मुद्रालिगनसंयोगाद् वज्रावेशप्रवर्तनात्

सक्षीराधरपानाच्च तत्कंठध्वनि दीपनात् ।३८।

विपुलानंद संभोगात् तद्वरु स्फोटनाद्भ्रुवम्

न चिरान्मन्मथो राजा वज्रसत्त्वः प्रसिध्यति” ।३९।

मुद्रा—Woman ; वज्र—Male organ of sex;

(Male prominence in sex-act may be observed here),

—“Two Vajrayana Works” (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XLIV)—pp. 24 & 25.

52 प्रणिपत्य जगन्नार्थं

सर्वजिन वराचितं

सर्वं बुद्धमयं सिद्धि—

ध्वपिनं गगनो पमं”—“Jnanasidhi of Indrabhuti

(Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XLIV) Chapter I-1,

Significant it is here that the Jagannātha of Uddiyāna is still expressed as a symbol of Jainism also. This idea, it will be found, is also inherently indicated in Bajrayāna and Sahajayāna songs and writings to which we are presently coming. In these songs जिनउर⁵⁸ (जिनपुर, abode of Jina) is referred to as Nirvāna. Jina is also used for Buddha in Prājnopāya Binischayasiddhi referred to above. Hence and from other similar uses in those songs as well as also in those and similar books it is that Jina of Kalinga tradition as well as Buddha from Bajrayāna and Sahajayāna tradition had been mixed up though the real significance had been long lost. For, in these cults of sex-act and Mahāsukha which had developed from the original Tantra having the woman as the centre of creation (procreation) was clothed with such false philosophy as to allure and deceive people into palatable practices.

Jina and Buddha.

The Nātha-Yogis, Hindus as they are, have an intimate connection, it seems, with Jagannātha, or at least the name Nātha, which seems to have been very early used in connection with Śiva. For, even in Bajrayāna and Sahajayāna works like Prājnopāya Binischayasiddhi and Jñānasiddhi, already referred to, as well as works included in Sādhanamālā, the word Nātha is freely used as an authoritative god perhaps developed out of husband or Lord. The words like Lokanātha is also used in those books. This Nātha or Lokanātha is commonly used in Orissa but not in Bengal or other Bajrayāna or Sahajayāna lands. Words like Viśwanātha, Badrinātha, Somanātha, Rāmanātha may also be noted in this connection. From about the 10th century A.D., i.e., from the time of the Koshala kings of Orissa, the word Iswara, such as, Koshaleswara, Kapoteswara Beleswara, Bāluqueswara, was also used in place of Nātha. This is a peculiar feature specially of Kalinga part of Orissa, and to some extent in Koshala as well as properly Uddiyāna parts. Nāthas of Orissa, it has been said, are also generally Śaivas. Śiva represents the Hindu aspect of the original Tantra of Orissa and was originally the principal aspect, so to say, of the Tantric School which mixed up with Bajrayāna and Sahajayāna of which there is no trace in

Lokanatha and other Nathas.

58. Vide' Baudhagan O Dohan'—Charyapada songs—

Nos. 7 and 12.

Sahajiya and Gaudiya
Vaisnavas.

Orissa either in tradition or in folk-practice. The Sahajiyā or Gaudiya Vaisṇava cult which is undoubtedly a development of Sahajayāna^{55A} came to Orissa only after the 16th century A.D. Sex-act may be the basis of this cult, but is not very flagrant in Orissa.

Uddiyana, Buddhism
Baudha and Jagannātha

Very early in this Orissa Tantra, it may be observed, developed the Nātha cult which in the East mixed itself with cults like that of Gorakhanātha, full of myths and miracles so germane to the cult of Bajrayāna and Sahajayāna. It is interesting to observe in this connection how this Gorakhanātha as a Sidha or perfect devotee of Bengal has spread in Terai and in the Gangetic plain even in regions including the Punjab. This had practically no trace in Orissan regions, where in post-Gaudiya Vaisṇava age only some miraculous stories about him have been for a time imitated by fantastic religious story-tellers like Achyutānanda Das. But after him, Gorakhanātha or such other Nāthas are never heard of either in Oriya literature or in tradition. Jagannāth appears to be a Tantric God like Śiva even from before the time of Indrabhūti who identified him with both Jina and Buddha.⁵⁵ He was worshipped as an Authoritative God and it is apprehended that the land of Uddiyāna, where the Buddhist Tantrics preached this Tantric religion under the name of Buddhism was also the main place of this religion with Jagannātha as its symbol. This land of Uddiyāna extended upto the end of the present Baudh sub-division of the Phulbani district of Orissa. In the town of Baudha, a big Buddha image which, the historians decide, is of the 9th century A. D., has been recently discovered from underground and is standing there in a public place. This name of Baudh, it appears, is responsible for Bauddhābatāra (the incarnation of Bauddha) of Jagannātha. This designation, therefore, seems to be more ancient than Jayadeva's Gītagovinda which mentions Buddha as the 4th incarnation of Kṛṣṇa in his first song.

A peculiar tradition indicating that Jagannātha was from its beginning a God of Uddiyāna which includes this Baudha may

^{55A} Vide "बृहत्संग" by Dr. Dineschandra Sen p, 769 ff.
⁵⁵ Supra, 52.

be profitably indicated here. Utkala Khanda of the Skanda Purāna named also Purusottama Māhātmya, gives a puranic description of Jagannātha. As befits Purāṇas, specially those of the post-Muhammedan days, such descriptions are fantastic. There in that purāṇa, it is given that this image Jagannātha was in Puri hidden in thickets on a mountain of black stone. King Indradyumna from Malava sent his Brahmin priest, Vidyāpati to Puri for the purpose of worshipping it and himself came and put the God in the present pompous manner. Here the Savara Viswāvasu who was in charge of this secret of the thickets is described to be a very hospitable and well-behaved devotee of Vishnu⁵⁶ and as such showed him the hidden god in the forest and told him all about the God. So the God was made public in northern India and was worshipped by Indradyumna and all the world. But in local tradition in Orissa, the story is that Vidyāpati made love with the daughter of this Viswāvasu and under the girl's persuasion was made to walk to the God with eyes folded. The girl, to make Vidyāpati know the way for all time, gave him secretly some mustard seeds which Vidyāpati dropped all the way little by little without the knowledge of the Savara and thus knew the way to the God which Viswāvasu did never like to show to any one.⁵⁷ This story, it is found, is prevalent among the Savaras of the Uddiyāna of those days, now Orissa side of the Central Provinces. About the Savaras of the Central Provinces, this story is given practically as it is in local tradition of Orissa, but the places of occurrence are different.⁵⁸

Versions of the story
of Jagannatha

56. Chapter 8, Skanda Purana, Utkalakhanda.

57. 'Deula Tola', a book in Oriya.

58. "Local tradition traces their origin to the celebrated Seori of the Ramayan, who is supposed to have lived somewhere near the present Seorinarayan in the Bispur District and to have given her name to this place. Ramachandra in his wanderings met her there, ate the plums which she had gathered for him after tasting each one herself, and out of regard for her devotion permitted her name to precede his own of Narayan in that given to the locality. Another story makes one Jara Savara their original ancestor, who was said to have shot Krishna in the form of a deer. Another states that they were created for carrying stones for the construction of the great temple at Puri and for dragging the car of Jagannath, which they still do at the present

**Bhima Bhoi and
Mahimadharmā.**

Alekha

Oriya Tantra Yoga also, it appears, had a very firm stronghold in the same Baudh region where there is a village named Balāsingā, 10 miles east of the town of Baudh, the birth place of Bhimā Bhoi, who, in the latter half of the last century, developed that Yoga into a distinct cult now called Mahimādharmā. With all its many myths and legends since connected with it, Bhimā Bhoi's literature, however, is replete with Oriya Yogic terms, e.g., Jīva, Parama, Ajapā, Jhānja, etc., involving appropriate practices, I have already referred to. It has no trace whatsoever of any association with the Mahāsukha theory of Bajrayāna or Sahajayāna or the sex act, connected with it. The nihilism of Bhimā Bhoi, however, refers to Alekha (ineffable, indescribable) as the first principle of creation. Interesting it is that this term is found in the doctrines preached by Nānak and the Sikhs of the Punjab. It is certainly not a borrowing. But this nihilistic name was there in the very atmosphere from very ancient times.

time. Yet another connecting them with the temple of Jagannath states that their ancestor was an old Bhil hermit called Sawar, who lived in Karod, two miles from Seorinarayana. The god Jagannath had at this time appeared in Seorinarayan and the old Sawar used to worship him. The king of Orissa had built the great temple at Puri and wished to install Jagannath in it, and he sent a Brahman to fetch him from Seorinarayan, but nobody knew where he was except the old hermit Sawar. The Brahman besought him in vain to be allowed to see the god and even went so far as to marry his daughter, and finally the old man consented to take him blindfold to the place. The Brahman, however, tied some mustard seeds in a corner of his cloth and made a hole in it so that they dropped out one by one on the way. After some time they grew up and served to guide him to the spot. This story of the mustard seeds of course finds a place in the folklore of many nations. The Brahman then went to Seorinarayan, alone and begged the god to go to Puri. Jagannath consented, and assuming the form of a log of wood floated down the Mahanadi to Puri, where he was taken out and placed in the temple." — 'The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India' by R. V. Russell and Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, Vol. IV, pp. 502 and 503.

The Baudh area, it has been said, was perhaps the southern limit of the Uddiyāna. For the Kalingā Pass is still standing there south of Phulbani district as a natural barrier. Just like the word Baudha in those regions, there is the word Sarāk particularly in the Utkala regions of Orissa. Many village tanks without the villagers now in existence, are still there in Keonjhar and Singhbhum districts named Sarāks. The Sarāk is an Oriya Prakṛt form of Srāvaka, originally the name of the Jaina laymen. Now without any remnants of strict Jaina practices there are some weavers, specially dyers, in places like village Nuāpātnā in the old Tigiria State of the Cuttack district and many places in Kalinga regions. They are super-strict vegetarians. Any suggestion in the use of words meaning to cut such as, Kāt (cut) etc. in connection with the dressing of vegetables, makes for them the particular vegetables an article not to be touched as food, for the word kāt. etc. is used also in connection with meat or fish.

Saraks.

Jaina Dyers.

Hence, in ancient times the Uddiyāna region was not only distinct but in the Baudh town itself, already referred to, there is also an image of Vairavi still worshipped in a temple. It may be surmised that by about the 9th century A.D., this Vairavi somehow entered Uddiyāna and mixed up with the cult of Jagannātha. It should now be properly investigated whether this cult of Vairavi was responsible for the Mahāprasāda (want of untouchability in cooked food) for which Jagannātha of Puri is so famous.

Vairavi and
Jagannath-
Mahaprasada.

A reference may here be made to the word Sankhdi⁵⁹ (Sankhudi) which in Kalinga region still means a kind of cooked food consisting of Bhāt, Dāl, Curry etc. Though this Sankhudi is distinguished very well by the women folk in charge of kitchen, it cannot be easily defined. People in other regions know the word, but use it in a different sense, i.e., food made unclean by being partly eaten (उच्छिष्ट). Ceremonial feasts, such as, marriage feasts, funeral feasts and feasts made in festivals were called 'Sankhdi' by Jains who scrupulously avoided them.

Sankhdi, Vairavi-
chakra and
Mahaprasada

59 See the word 'Sankhudi' in Rajendra Abhidhana.

It is perhaps the food prepared in those feasts which is called Sankhudi in Kalînga Oriya today. This is now cooked food not to be eaten together by more than one man and it is the Sankhudi food for which Jagannātha is now famous for it is eaten together by many without any pollution due to touch. This is Mahāprasāda. The Vairavi Chakra,⁶⁰ which makes all kinds of men Brahmin in the matter of eating made Mahāprasāda of all Sankhdi food in the Jagannātha of Uddiyāna.

Now let us turn mainly to the linguistic considerations of the Oriya language. All linguistic scholars, including Grierson and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, class Oriya as a branch of the Māgadhi Apavranśa. But it is not exactly so. We have already referred to the three linguistic divisions of the Oriya lands—Kālinga, Uddiyāna and Utkala. It may be well marked that in Kālinga and practically the whole⁶¹ of the Uddiyāna region, all the three 'sa's—'śa' श (palatal), 'sha' ष (cerebral) and 'sa' स (dental)—are pronounced as 'sa' स (dental). For instance the word for cultivation (Sanskrit Kṛshi) the word 'Tāsa' तास (dental) is used. In the Utkala region, and perhaps in parts of East Koshala, the same word is pronounced as 'Chāśa' चाश (palatal or cerebral). Hence you may call it accordingly (1) the 'sa' (dental) region and (2) 'śa' (palatal) region of the Oriya land. It is something like the Satam and Kentum divisions of the Indo-European language some 4000 or more years ago.

'Śa' श (palatal) according to linguists is distinctly derived from the eastern or Māgadhi Apavranśa from which Assamese, Bengali, Bihari (Maghi, Maithili, Bhojpuri) and Oriya of the East or the Utkal regions—these six languages were derived⁶¹. The 'sa' स (dental) is similarly derived from the western Gangetic or the Punjab side of Apavranśa—mostly Souraseni Apavranśa from which Punjabi, Rājasthāni, Mahārāstri, Gujrāti and Oriya⁶² (Kālingan Oriya) languages are derived. The

60 'प्रवृत्ते भैरवीचक्रे सर्वे वर्णाद्विजातयः

निवृत्ते भैरवीचक्रे सर्वे वर्णापृथक् पृथक्'—कुलार्णवतंत्र ।

61, 'Prakrt Prakasa' by Bararuchi, Chapter II—वसोः शः ; also Gopinatha Nanda's 'Oriya Bhasatvatva', p 8, Note, 1.

Sa (स)
तास
चाश

Magadhi and
Ardha Magadhi

Ardha Māgadhi of the Banaras region, specially used by the old Jains, is also a Prākṛt in which unlike Māgadhi, all 'sa's become dental.⁶³

But in spite of this dental and palatal 'sa' difference in pronunciation which is not observed by our linguistic scholars, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee includes Oriya as a branch of the purely Māgadhi Prākṛt or Māgadhi Apavranśa. Such a division may be generally apparent but is not a fact in actual pronunciation.

Kalinga and Uddiyana—Oriya is not from Māgadhi Apavranśa

This Utkala region, it may be noted, was extended from 5th to about 12th century A.D. upto Jajpur including the Puspagiri Bihāra which seems, for a long time, to be the stronghold of the Uddiyāna culture and religion as is being found from evidences of research. Facts like these may, however, be responsible for the mistake of linguists who say that entire Oriya language is derived from Māgadhi Apavranśa and this mistake may also be responsible for the conclusion that the entire Orissa of today is of one and homogenous language.

Uddiyana culture in Utkala

One thing deserves mention here as practically a *sine qua non* of the authoritative religions of the world. This is the language attached to the religion. This language is the language of the place where the religion originates. Such a language was probably ancient Iranian in case of Ahurmezda; Hebrew for the religion of Jihova and Jesus Christ; Sanskrit for the religion or religions of the Indo-Aryans; Arabic for the religion of Allah and Mohammad, and so on. Even in the present century, Calcutta-Bengali has been the language of the Brāhmas as well as the followers of Rāmākṛṣṇa Paramahansa. For Brundabanic Rādhākṛṣṇa Vaisnavism the language was Brajabuli (the then language of Brundaban) used, for instance, by Vidyāpati of Mithilā and Rāi Rāmānanda of Rājmahendry;

Languages of religions

62. "Encyclopaedia Britannica" 14th Edition, Vol. 12 Indo-Aryan Languages—Dialectic Variations, pp. 257 and 258.

63. "Comparative Grammar of the Prakrit Languages" by R. Pischel, translated by Subhadra Jha—Articles 227 and 229; also Copinatha Nanda's 'Oriya Bhasatattva', p. 8 and footnote.

Bengali of Nabadwip of the 16th century is the language of Gaudiya Vaisnavism. Similarly the language of the Nātha religion as well as the Bajrayāna and Sahajayāna Buddhism was the language of Uddiyāna or the Savara land in which the D̄aru, referred to above,⁶⁴ perhaps in the name of Jagannātha was being worshipped. It was a language which was undoubtedly allied and akin to the then languages of the regions to the East and North and West of the Savara land. It was also mostly akin to the then language of Kalinga with its prominent 'sa' स (dental) variation as has been indicated above. Many of the writings of these religions have been found in Nepal by the late Haraprasād Sastry. He has published it in 1912 in a book called 'Badhagāna O Dohān'. These are writings of the Bajrayānists and Sahajayānists, as the Sastry decides, of the 9th upto the 12th century. In his introduction to this book the Sastry characterises the writings as old Bengali though his illustrations to prove it to be so, are not convincing. Specially his illustrations of Bengali words have no distinctive Bengali features from other neighbouring languages. His mention of 'gāida' etc. in which the 'la' (dental) pronounced as 'la' (cerebral) so peculiar, as he says, to Oriya is preposterous and absurd. For no verb in past tense use 'la' (cerebral) as last letter in Oriya language, nor was it being used in ancient Oriya. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee has attempted to prove that it is old Bengali though he also has not mentioned any distinctive features in his book "Origin and Development of Bengali Language." This Dr. in collaboration with other scholars, has recently translated it into Bengali. But that translation indicates nothing linguistically. To give the meaning in translation according to the Sanskrit commentary of those songs and Dohans is, moreover, no linguistic guide whatsoever. The Word-index (शब्दसूची) of 'Baudhagana O Dohan' of the Mahāmahopādhyāya Sastry clearly points out that it is the Oriya language of those days. Specially it is full of Apavranṣa words with 'sa' (dental) variation.⁶⁵

Baudhagana O Dohan
is Oriya in language.

64. Supra 99.

65 अइस (ईदश) ; अहिणिसि (अहर्निश) ; आईस (ईदश) आस (आश) ; आसा (अशा) ; एस (उपदेश) ; एसह (उपदिशति) ; एसे (उपदेश) ; एँसे (उद्देशे) ; उदएसो (उपदेश) ; एसे (ईदश) ;

The following words, specially used in songs (चर्या), from the same index also may be noted as some distinctive Oriya words. Many of them are in use even now in the Oriya language.⁶⁶

Oriya words and Sentences in Charyas

(चर्या)

Then again, indescant words naming private parts of man and woman may also be discerned in the same index.⁶⁷

Sentences like

“नगर वाहिररें डोंवि तोहरि कुड़िआ’ 68

“जिवंते मअले नाहि विशेषो” 69

“खुंदि उपाड़ी मेलिलि काछि”

(खोसणि फिटाइ कछा मेला करि) 70

may also be noted in this connection.

एसेरे (ईदश) ; कईसन (कीदस) ओ—केसन ; कीस (कीदश) ; दिसइ (देखायाए) ; दूसइ (दूषित करे) ; दोसे (दोषे) ; पइसइ पइसि (पशे) ; पइवेसी (प्रतिवेशी) ; परस (स्पर्श) ; मूसा (मूषिक) ; वहसि वसि, (उपवेशन करि) ; रिसआ (ईर्षा) ; वतिस (वत्रिश) ; विणासइ (बिनश्यति) ; विसआ (विषये) ; विस (विष) ; विसरण (विषरण) ; विसम (विषम) ; विसया (विषय) ; विसइ (वषये) ; विसाम (विश्राम) ; विसुद्रे (विशुद्धे) ; वेस (वेश) ; शसी (शशी) ; शासु (शाशु) ; सिआला (श्रगाल) ; सथ (शास्त्र) ; संढ (बंध) ; सरिसआ, सरिसो (सदश) ; सरिरहि (शरीरे) ; सवरी (शवरी) ; ससर (शसघर) ; ससि (शशी) ; साद (शद्ध) ; सांति (शांति) ; साहा (शाखा) ; सिंगे (शृंगे) ; सीस (शिष्य) ; सिसमु (शीर्षे, शिरे) ; सीसा (शिषय) ; सुअउ (शुण्णिचि) ; सुक (शुक) ; सुण (शुण) ; सुण (शून्य) ; सुणत (शून्यता) ; सुणिआ (शुण्णिण) ; सुद (शुद्र) ; सुध (शुद्ध) ; सुयइ (शुणे) ; सुभासुभ (शुभाशुभ) ; सुसुरा (शाशु) ; सेजि (शय्या) ; सेस, सेसु (शेष) ; सो (ईदश) ।

66 अकिलेशे (अकेशे) ; आलो (नारी संवोधन) ; उइ (उईबा) ; उछारा (उछुर) ; उलोले (उलुडे) ; एकुडि (एकुटिआ) ; किष (कि) ; कुड़िआ (छोटघर) ; कुराड़ी (कुठर) ; गदइ (गदे) ; घोरिआ (घोरि) ; चिखिल (चिखल) ; जगु (जगत) ; जहि (यत्र) ; ठाणा (ठणा) ; तोड़िउ (तेदि) ; पइठ (प्रविष्ट) ; सुसार ; होइ ।

67. Find out in Charya (new edition and Tika)—87-4

(बांड कुड) ; 4-1 (विआलि) ; 2-2 (विआति) .

68. 'Baudhagana O Dohan'-Charya 10-1.

69. Ibid, Charya. 22-3, 70. Ibid 8-8

Places where they were written.

It is now, therefore, evident that much of those writings were written in the language of this Uddiyāna or Savara land. Yet it is a fact that many of the initiated as well as followers spread over in all other Eastern lands upto Nepal and Tibet on the one hand and Utkala and Bengal coasts on the other followed these cults. From Uddiyāna, centres of this worship spread to places in this Eastern India. Later centres of these Tantric cults were Srihatta in East Bengal, Purnagiri perhaps in Bengal, Kāmākshyā in Assam⁷¹. Their standard and religious language was the Oriya of those days. But in all likelihood, the language might have contained some variations prevalent in the lands where they were actually written. This supplies a great factor for saying that the language was old Bengali, for those cults and religions themselves are still prevalent in Bengal and Bengal alone including Nepal and Tibet as well as Assam. Even the Utkala portion has now dissociated from those cults, both in their practice and theory. So also the Savara land of Koshala.

Oriya sculptures

But the fact remains that now except the dental and cerebral 'sa' variation, the Oriya language was gradually responsible to develop the horridly Tantric system of the Oriya sculptures from Khajuraho to Konarka. During this period Sanskrit also was used in this Tantric literature, as illustrated mainly in *Sādhanamālā*⁷² and various books to be found to have been written by various authors found in the introduction to the Part II of it,⁷³

Sanskrit rhetorics

In Orissa, 8th century is the period when the Bhaumas from Utkala extended their sway upto Ganjam and they cultivated the Sanskrit language brilliantly as it appears from their inscriptions and used it in a novel style of writing which culmi-

71. *Sadhanamala* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. II, pp. 458 and 456 ff and Introduction.

72. *Sadhanamala* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), Vols, I & II No. 26, 41

73. *Sadhanamala* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series). Vol, II Introduction pp, (LXXXIX) ff.

nated in the Sanskrit Kāvya of Naisadhiya Charita. This seems to be the basis of the copious rhetoric literature including Sahitya Darpana of the Oriya litterateur, Biswanātha Kavirāja of the 13th or the 14th century, and this perhaps supplied in much later times inspiration and method of writing to the famous Chhānda literature of Orissa.

After the Bhaumas, the Koshala kings from the Savara lands which had been completely Sanskritised by then as is found particularly from the inscriptions of the Koshali Somavansis occupied almost the entire coastal Orissa perhaps excepting south Puri and Ganjam side. Here there was some effective check perhaps to the Bajrayānic and Sahajayānic practices in areas like Puri and Ganjam, and the Puspagiri Bihāra near Jajpur in the Cuttack district which was a famous centre of the Bajrayāna sects, as I have said, under the Bhauma kings gradually declined. But one fact comes out from all this culture of the Sanskrit literature that Sanskrit language and specially its vocabulary and method of writing attacked vehemently the Oriya Prākṛt literature that was so much in vogue in the land. This onslaught of the Sanskrit was, it appears, resented and by the 15th century Oriya renaissance of the Oriya Emperor, Kapilendra Deva and his successor, Purusottama Deva came up. The poet Saralā Das is the symbol of this renaissance. It was during his time and the time of the Emperor Kapilendra that Oriya 'lipi' which is derived from the 'lipi' called proto-Bengali and proto-Devanagari became fixed in the loop form of the palmleaf writing and took on the shape and form in which it is practically written at present.

Kosala Kecharis

Kapilendra and
Saraladas.

Yet the Sanskrit onslaught went on from time to time and the vocabulary which was in form Apavransa included many Sanskrit or Tatasama (same as Sanskrit) words and the language apparently underwent practically a complete transformation.

Tatasamas

During the early 16th century, we find this language in the writings of Jagannātha Das and others which is continuing practically even today. Much influence to the language in various ways has come in village Kirtanas as well as literature on

Gaudiya Vaisnavism

account of the Gaudiya Vaisnavism which from the 16th century onwards has vehemently spread in the Oriya lands for reasons that may not be mentioned here.

Chhanda literature

One peculiarity in the Oriya language, however, developed long before the 16th century and it continues even to-day. It has been to a great extent responsible for the individuality as well as the personality of the Oriya Language. It is our famous Chhānda literature.

Ganga Emperors and their achievements



At the end of the 11th century, the Ganga kings whose original place was in the Tamil country came to Orisaa as Emperors. They it is who imitated the spirit of the Tantric sculptures already referred to in the Oriya language and therefore the Oriya literature. They also cultivated the Karnatic music and were responsible not only for developing the Oriya music but along with that music invented and established the very beginnings of the unique Oriya metre called the 'Chhānda', the like of which is not found in other languages of India either Aryan or Dravidian. This Chhānda literature required a very copious and rich vocabulary and consequently the Oriya literature became burdened with Sanskrit and Tatasama words.

Radhakṛṣṇa culture

Here it may be relevantly mentioned that in our regional literature in very early times, developed somehow a culture which is known as Rādhākṛṣṇa culture. It has a long history both in the Tamil country among the cowherd boys and girls⁷⁴ as well as in Bajrayāna and Sahajayāna regions of Eastern India. It is a great cult based on sexual promiscuity in human relations as the practice of attaining God or Kṛṣṇa.

Rama

Many cultured Indians resented this even from the days of Kālidāsa, if not earlier. For this reason Rāma, instead of Kṛṣṇa, became the Avatāra of Vishnu. Unlike the cowherd Kṛṣṇa with his dalliance with many cowherd and other girls, this Rāma was a strict moralist, a man with one wife and very controlled and continent in his practices.

74. Vide 'A note on the development of Radha Cult' in "Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Volume XXXVI", Parts III-IV of 1955.

Gradually the entire religious authoritative culture in India was divided in twain—the Rādhākṛṣṇism and Sitārāmism while Rādhākṛṣṇa cult entered through coast from Balasore and travelled towards the south to Puri and even beyond. For necessarily it commanded better clientele among the mass as it opened several easy ways to enjoyment of senses. The other cult was more austere and perhaps better organised, specially in the morality of sex and palate.

Radhakrishna cult and
Sitarama cult,

The Chhānda literature was the stronghold of the Sitārāmists headed in the 17th century onwards by Upendra-bhanja and some of his predecessors and the then kings of Bhanj territory, including Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj. The Rādhākṛṣṇa cult freely captured the masses of the coastal villages, specially the widows of the cultured and middle classes as it preached connection with all sorts of young women in the name of salvation.

The same in Oriya

Very interesting it is that the Sitārāma cult which was very prominent in Western India, including Audh, produced an outstanding man, Tulsi Dasa who wrote Rāmacharita Mānasa in Avadhi Hindi the like of which there has been no other literary production in any other region of India. As a poor match, there was in the cult of Rādhākṛṣṇa, the Chaitanya Charitāmṛta. This book is a book of stories and legends invented by the devotee, Kṛṣṇadas Kaviraja written and published in Bṛndāvana after about 70 years of the death of Chaitanya in Puri. This Chaitanya also had been practically delineated there as Kṛṣṇa.

Tulsidasa and
Kṛṣṇadas Kaviraja

I have already said that Orissa had the great Jagannātha institution of Puri—an institution in which was combined both the great neemwood god of the Savaras and the symbol of Purusottama in Puri. It was done by Choraganga Deva under the great inspiration of the Saint Rāmānuja by the end of the 11th century.⁷⁵ It was undoubtedly made practically the only God worshipped throughout the Hindu world of India. But it was a form of Vishnu who was also the symbol both of

Jagannatha—the only
god in India.

75. 'Orissa Historical Research Journal', Vol. VII, No-1.

Head of Mathas and
their giving Mantras.

Rādhākṛṣṇa and of Sitārama cult of Visnavism. From the 16th century main Orissa, i.e., the coastal Orissa was practically tagged to Bengal for various geographical as well as historical reasons. No doubt, on account of Jagannātha, Orissa came in contact with the languages of all parts of India and still today the people of Puri and specially of Jagannātha are quite familiar with all languages—both Aryan and Dravidian—of India. But the religious domination of the people of Orissa—specially of the mass and villagers—could not be much affected by the cult of Sitārāma, and the language naturally glided towards that of Eastern India. Rāma cult of Rāmānuja, no doubt, had great institutions such as Mathas in the Puri town from the days of Choraganga onwards. Yet their following practically is not in Orissa. Similar institutions of Orissan and Gaudiya Vaisnavism which is practically a direct descendant of the Bajrayānist or the Sahajīyā cult of Eastern India are also there in Puri in numbers; many of them rising one after another even today, so to say. The heads of these institutions, moreover, spread throughout Oriya lands and exercised and practised their so-called heritage of giving 'mantras' or initiation to men and women in all parts of the Oriya land. This institution of initiation began in mediaeval Tantric Schools perhaps among some Brahmins in Orissa. But it is *par excellence* a Bengali institution attached to Bajrayāna and then to Sahajīyā or Gaudiya Vaisnavism of Bengal. The language of Orissa, therefore, made no indigenous improvement in its own way Jagannātha himself becoming gradually more or less to the Oriyas a symbol of the Vishnu of Rādhākṛṣṇa Cult could not help in any way in this matter.

English Rule and the
Oriya dismemberment

In the meantime, the regional language had to experience another great factor in its gradual progress. So long even to the end of the Marahatta rule of Orissa, local languages had nothing to do with administration. Mohammedans in India mostly introduced the Persian language in Courts. The Persian vocabulary appeared in consequence in regional languages. But that did not affect so much the grammar of the language and the languages practically remained as they were. Here came the advent of the English domination in Orissa in the early 19th century (1802 and 1803 A. D.). In

this domination Oriyas had neither a separate entity nor any status in politics. But politics became the main factor in moulding the language of an area. The painful story of the dismemberment of the Oriya lands during the British Raj is a common story known intimately to all parts of this land. For its unification into one province there have been conscious attempts from the seventies of the 19th century when there was a great movement in Calcutta to prove to the English Raj that Oriya was not a language separate from Bengali, but a dialect of it. This threw up the great political movement in Oriya land in which the struggle consisted mostly of negative activities to prove that not only Oriya is not Bengali, but it is even better than Bengali in all respects. This is due to an inferiority complex which is so natural in these situations. There was practically no positive attempt, to show that Oriya had a separate history and outlook of its own and according[y] a distinct destiny and future. Nevertheless, to make Oriya chaste and pure, another noticeable attempt is also discernible here of importing more and more Tatasama words and Tatasama grammatical forms into the Oriya language.

Orissa became a province under the English Raj only 23 years ago, i.e., in 1936. But it was not in consideration of the distinct character of the Oriya language actually useful and required for the progress of the Oriya people. Politically it was, so to say, then a by-product of the then new province of Sind. Sind was a new Mohammedan province. Therefore then the poor Orissa was thrown out by the English rulers as a Hindu province to ponder and paliate the communal propensities of the Indian people in the process of dividing them to rule.

Orissa province—its
implication

Now India as well as Orissa has been independent for the 12 years. Orissa has been a state but the outlook of its people has not been free in the matter of language, not to speak of its literature. We have not yet a separate and systematic grammar of the language which is long overdue, nor have we organised the script of our regional language to adapt it to the printing and typewriters. Hindi has been recognised to be the national language. We have made very insignificant attempt to join this movement in which along with the 13 regional languages,

Free India and Orissa
in it

Oriya should be a living component part, robustly contributing to the great synthesis of languages we are nationally out to achieve. We hope for a suitable future and an outlook just befitting the present political circumstances which will give the Oriya language an effective place in this great national synthesis so covetab to the coming Indian literature as well as politics.

**MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO
THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION**

(Published in speeches and remarks of Pt. Nilakantha Das, Vol. I, 1959)

**RESOLUTION OF THE UTKAL PROVINCIAL
CONGRESS COMMITTEE**

Adopted on 15th November 1931

Resolved that Pandit Nilakantha Das, our representative to give evidence before the Boundary Commission do base his evidence on the following principles :—

(1) The representative of Utkal Provincial Congress Organisation shall mainly confine himself to the linguistic aspect of the Oriya Province to be formed. But as in outlying areas Census figures are not and cannot evidently be a faithful expression of the real linguistic position required for the purpose in these areas, a border out-look should be put forward and historical, traditional, cultural and ethnic considerations as well as considerations of more congenial process of reclamation and naturalisation particularly, in areas now called 'backward' should be largely drawn upon to help the solution of the problem.

Inclusion of strong and substantial minorities in the border lands, e.g. Ghantal Subdivision in Midnapore and Chikacol Taluk in Ganjam, should as far as practicable, be avoided for they may create administrative difficulties in the future Province which should be culturally homogeneous in consonance with the ideas of the Indian National Congress.

(2) As to the financial position of the coming Province such an aspect of the question depends upon the future constitution in India and the Provinces, and the area accepted for the forming of the new Province is also a factor to count. But relevant suggestions in anticipation of such a constitution as well as the inclusion of the areas may, however, be generally adumbrated, if necessary.

(3) Administrative and other considerations regarding the new Province may not supersede the linguistic principle, which is the basis of the entire demand. Within that limit administrative or other consequences may be discussed. For instance, an area linguistically acceptable for inclusion in the new Province should not generally be left out for administrative considerations, as it is assumed that the new Province will be responsible for devising means to afford facilities for administration to all its areas.

(4) How neighbouring Provinces will be affected financially administratively, or otherwise is a question which does not primarily concern us. But formation of the Oriya Province will help a good deal to give the neighbouring Provinces a more homogeneous character to their political administrative as well as financial advantage. This aspect of the question may be discussed incidentally wherever necessary.

(5) As to the inclusion of areas in the new Province our representative will have to be guided by the Resolution No.3, on the subject, of this Committee, adopted at its sitting on 1-8-31 at Balasore, which resolution is as follows :—

That it is the considered opinion of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee that the following tract should be included in the future Oriya Province.

- (i) Orissa Division of Bihar and Orissa Province.
- (ii) Ganjam District except Chikacol Taluk.
- (iii) Vizagapatam Agency except Gudem Taluk.
- (iv) Singbhum District and Barabhum and Patkuma and Manbazar Thanas of Manbhum District of Chhotanagpur Division.
- (v) Contai and Jhargram Subdivision and also Dantan Mahanpur, Marayan Gurh, Kesiadi, Nayagram and Kharagpur Thanas of the Sadar Subdivision of Midnapore District.
- (vi) Khariar and Phuljhar of Raipur District and Chandrapur-Padmapur and Malkhorda Zamindaries of Bilaspur District.
- (vii) All the 26 Orissa Feudatory States.
- (viii) Bastar, Raigarh, Sarangarh States of C.P.

MEMORANDUM

Before I began the memorandum on the lands to be included in the proposed Province for Orissa or Utkal, let me, in brief indicate the history of the Oriyas as well as the lands which still constitute their natural home. Here I wish to make it clear that in my observation on ancient history, I confine myself to the latest results of authentic research.

The history, as far as it is studied from inscriptional and other authentic records, goes to show that three ancient lands, i.e. Kalinga, Utkala and Odda, with portions of Dakshina Koshala (present South East C.P.) go to form the original home of the Oriyas. During the life time of the Buddha, i.e. fifth or even sixth Century B.C. Utkala was contiguous to the kingdom of Gaya. Two Utkala merchants carrying merchandise in carts to the markets of Gaya, are reported to have then been converted into the religion of the Buddha. Other Pauranic and traditional legends point to the same geographical position of Utkal. Kalidas describes Raghu to have entered Kalinga from Utkal at the river Kasai near the present town of Midnapore (5th Century A.D.). This shows Utkala had no coast, and between sea and Utkala the Midnapore District intervened. Kalinga was the coastal strip of land from the mouth of the Ganges to the end of the present Ganjam District. This is indicated by the conquest of Kalinga by Asoka the Great (3rd Century B.C.) as well as the extent of the Kalinga Empire of Kharabela (2nd Century B.C.). Tamralipta, the present Tamluk was included in Kalinga, though at times it became independent of Kalinga, and formed itself into a separate sea-coast principality. The Oddas in those ancient times inhabited the Southern Native States of Orissa, and their land included a portion of the C.P. (See Prof. B.C. Mazumdar's *Orissa in the makings' Chaps. I & II published 1925*).

Towards the end of the 7th Century Kalinga was divided into three parts. Both the Oddas and the Utkalas had by this time descended to the coast, or extended their kingdoms which came

to include the coasts of Kalinga. The Kalinga kingdom in its turn extended southwards to the mouth of the Godavari. Thus from the Ganges to the Godavari there lay three Kalingas (1) Utkala (The present Balasore, Midnapore, Singhbhum and other contiguous territories in West Bengal and South Bihar). (2) Kalingodda or Kangoda, at times divided into two kingdoms Dukshina Tosala and Uttara Tosala, named after the capital Tosali near present Bhubaneswar in the Puri District. This kingdom extended from the Vaitarani in the Balasore District to the Vanshadhara in the South Ganjam. (3) Kalinga (from the Vanshadhara to the Godavari). (Vide Map facing page 49 of Mr. R.D. Benerji's 'History of Orissa', Vol. I published 1930). The inland boundaries of these kingdoms have not yet been definitely fixed by Historians. But the inland country was by the 10th Century A.D. known as the kingdom of Khinjali (R.D. Benerji's 'History of Orissa'). This was again included in a much bigger territory called Jharkhanda for a long time. This Jharkhanda extended from the Manbhum District to the Agency Tracts of Jeypore in the Madras Presidency (Vide Prof. B.C. Mazumdar's 'Orissa in the making' Chap. IV published 1925).

From 1038 onwards Orissa became a consolidated independent Hindu Kingdom till 1568 A.D., when it was occupied by Bengal Afgans, and then in 1576 by Akbar the Great. All this time it ordinarily extended from the Ganges to the Godavari and included the present *II. Present Oriya Country and its Dismemberment.* Bastar : Vizag Agency ; portions of Raipur and Bilaspur and the Jashpur State; the present District of Singhbhum, Midnapur; portions of Burdwan, Bankura and Manbhum; besides other territories which are not relevant to this memorandum. Bengal and Bihar had been conquered and occupied by the Mahamedans in about 1200 A.D. But this Bengal was East and North Bengal. The present West Bengal now includes a great prosperous tract of the then Orissa kingdom. After 170 years of Moghul occupation of Orissa, the Marhattas came into the field, and in 1751 Nawab Alivardikhan of Bengal ceded by a treaty a portion of Orissa to the Marhattas of Nagpur, reserving to himself the Midnapore portion of it. Most of the Southern portion i. e. the present Madras portion of Orissa, including South Ganjam beyond Tikkali and Vizagapatam had been conquered by the Mussalmans of Golkunda in 1751. The Bengal portion of Orissa i. e. the Midnapore-Dhalbhum portion of Orissa, between the Rupnarayan and Subarnarekha, as it was then called, was included in Clive's Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. About the same time as a result of the Karnatic Wars the English got the Southern portion of Orissa from the Hyderabad Government up to Ichapore, and then gradually extended it over North Ganjam as the independent principalities there had to submit one after another in about 10 years. In 1803, the English took Puri, Cuttack and Balasore Districts from the Marhattas. Sambalpur District, which included the Oriya tracts now under the Raipur and the Bilaspur Districts, still remained in the hands of the Bhonsla Marhattas of Nagpur up to 1869, by which time it became British land, and remained till 1905 in C.P. In 1905, Lord Curzon's Government brought the District of Sambalpur under Orissa Division of Bengal. But portions that now remain in Raipur and Bilaspur Districts were not then transferred to Orissa. There have been various adjustments of boundary between Balasore and Midnapore as long as Orissa was a part of Bengal.

This, in short, gives a bird's eye view of the political dismemberment of the Oriya lands. It is significant, however to note in this connection that in 1852, Mr. Bailey, the then District Officer of Midnapore, proposed a permanent transfer of the entire Hijli portion of Midnapore to Orissa on account of language difficulty, as well as on account of the fact that unlike other parts of Bengal, major portions of the Contai Subdivision of Midnapore is, like a major portion of Orissa Division, temporarily settled for 30 years. Even after the separation of Bihar & Orissa from Bengal an attempt was made by the local officials to from South and West Midnapore with Hijli as headquarter into a separate District. In that case the Oriya language in Midnapore might have had a chance of life. But nothing has come out of these attempts.

Transfer of Madras tracts to Orissa has similarly been raised time after time, but in vain. Some amount of effective Oriya influence in centres of Provincial Governments would have directed the deliberations on such proposals quite in other channels towards more just and reasonable decisions.

Then the language question which is mainly the criterion of delimiting the boundaries of
III. The Language Question the Oriya lands, may be a little elaborately discussed.

Without meaning any reflection on our neighbours it may as well be stated here for the
(i) Land-grabbing information of the Committee that the Oriya interests have not only been
attitude and acti- neglected by the Government for these 170 years; but the Oriyas who have
vities of neighbours. been perpetually weakened in the neglect have never been thought of by their
neighbours as well. I have said in my statement, how during the early British Period, Zamindaris of
Orissa were sold in Bengal.

Interested neighbours have moreover been in all responsible posts throughout the period, and it would have been more than human, if they had not desired the land for their own occupation as the intermediary ruling and landowning race for their own benefit as well as the benefit of their children. This fact is mainly responsible for all the trouble that arises regarding the delimitation of the Oriya lands, and the Committee is to watchfully and wisely deal with this aspect of the question as they proceed in their work.

In this connection I may be permitted to explain that the unfortunate Oriyas have been trying distinctly from after the great Orissa famine of 1866 to be put together in one administration. But their neighbours have been always unfair to them in this matter. For instance in the seventies of the last Century prominent Bengali Officials of Orissa were supported by prominent men in Bengal to prove that Oriya is not a separate language, but a dialect of Bengalee. But fortunately Oriya was then recognised by Government as a distinct language for courts and schools in Orissa Commissioner's Division. Midnapore and Singbhum were not then thought of, as these districts were not able to counteract the Bengalee influence of Calcutta. Since then Bengalees have been guarding with care the Oriya lands thus accidentally coming as a windfall to them.

In Singbhum, including Dhalbhum, the attempt to make Bengali the school and court language had begun in 1851. The then official remark, quoted in the Singbhum District Gazetteer, says that only a few Bengali Muktears were practically the only Bengalis in Singbhum, and therefore, Bengali could not be the school and court language in the area. By 1864, however, the demand of the Bengalees was ultimately granted and since then Dalbhum had to adopt Bengali.

By 1886 in Oriya lands of Midnapore Bengalee was forced as the language of primary education. Census enumerations were deliberately tampered in an organised manner, and an inferiority complex was inculcated in the helpless people by means of press, platform, literature and ordinary daily dealings, in a manner and to an extent, that people themselves felt timid to make themselves known as Oriyas, for fear of being exposed to ridicule and even to malicious treatment. Astounding as these things are, they are facts bitterly experienced even by the Oriyas of the present Orissa Division less than a generation ago. Recognition in the Calcutta University of Oriya for the present Orissa Division was continually and stoutly opposed by the Senate and the Syndicate of the University up to 1903, when the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal had to intervene in the matter. Of course by using the word 'Bengali' I may not be taken to mean each and every individual in Bengal. That may be sweeping and unfair. What I mean to indicate is to acquaint the

Committee with the actual state of things in outlying Oriya areas, so that in ascertaining the real good of the people, they may not be carried away by the recorded Census figures or even by the apparent influence and opinion of some perverse Oriya individuals resident in some of those areas.

The same applies more or less in all outlying Oriya areas. Memorandum for Ganjam and Vizagapatam areas speaks for those areas. C.P. area is also separately treated in a memorandum.

(ii) *Struggle of Singbhum.* But a word more for Singbhum need be mentioned here. Just after the District was out of Bengal and came to Bihar and Orissa, there began open attempts to throw off the yoke of demoralisation. Singbhum Utkal Sabha was started. In 1916 two Oriya high school—one at Bahadagoda in Dhalbhum and the other at Chakradharpur in Porahat—with many feeder primary schools were begun. An Oriya teacher was demanded for Chaibasa H.E. School, and the authorities had to make provision for one. Representations were made to make Oriya the school and court language, and in 1920 the annual session of the Utkal Union Conference was held at Chakradharpur.

Attempts for setting up Oriya schools are faring badly as the recognised court language has not been Oriya. But the attempts have never been slackened. Singbhum is now included in Utkal Congress in the teeth of opposition from Bihar, as I shall describe presently.

Mr. R.D. Banerji, the most authentic Historian of Orissa, the famous archaeologist and numismatist of Mohenjodaro and Harappa fame, and in this the right-hand man of Sir John Marshall, so to say, states :—

"Even now the titles of the majority of Hindu Zamindars of Midnapore prove that they were land-holders and feudatories of the Hindu Kings of Orissa at no distant date. The people of South Western Midnapore are very much like those of Balasore and Mayurbhanj State in manners, customs, language and caste. Towards the West the language of the Orissa gradually merges into that of the aboriginal tribes, who live in the secluded valleys of the Eastern Ghats beginning with Dhalbhum and Singbhum to the North and West Mayurbhanj and ending with the states of Karond, Kanker and Baster in the Central Provinces". ('History of Orissa' Vol. I. pp. 1 & 2 published by R. Chatterji, Calcutta. 1930).

The same author says a little further (page 3) :—

"Originally the Andhra Country seems to have lain into the South of the Godavari, though the Telugu language has now crept up Northward along the coast in the Vizagapatam District."

The same author also incidentally remarks :—

"The Ganjam District still continues to form a part of Madras" and "Southern Midnapore is still included in Bengal."

As to the reclamation and naturalisation of aboriginal tribes by the Oriyas the same author indicates a comprehensive survey and includes the Kolian or Austric tracts of Dhalbhum and Singbhum (This tract should include the jungli areas *i. e.* the Jhargram Subdivision of Midnapore.) of the ancient Khinjali kingdom, established in the high lands of Orissa extending over the entire

Southern portion of Jharkhanda. It is interesting to note here that the present Zamindar of Joypur in Vizagapatam Agency is still known as the Ruler of Jharkhanda. The Raja again is a descendant of the House of the Raja of Puri.

This gives in summary the extent of the entire Oriya land, and that from the pen of a Bengalee Historian whose scholarship in research is unquestioned. His untimely death occurred only last year, and his monumental work, 'History of Orissa', is a posthumous publication, the second volume of which is still in the press.

Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji of the Calcutta University follows the lines of Sir George Grierson in the main. His linguistic researches in connection with the "Origin and the Development of the Bengali Language" (published by Calcutta University in 2 Vols. 1923) are the results of the best researches yet on the subject. He clearly points out the language of south-west Midnapore to be characteristically Oriya. Though at times he calls this language towards Hooghli side as 'South Western Bengali', he puts the phrase 'South Western Bengali' invariably within inverted commas, and in his discussions exposes characteristics of the language distinctively belonging to Oriya e. g. 'Mana' for plurals, and 'U' or 'ru' for ablatives.

Prof. Chatterji who always names the areas in possession of Bengali, does nowhere mention Dhalbhum, not even in connection with his 'South Western Bengali'. Evidently he does not think of the area in his study of the Bengali language. To any impartial observer the process of Aryan reclamation in Dhalbhum is Oriya, which is still the language of the main Aryanising population there, as it used to be the sole Aryanising agency till two generations ago.

Sir George Grierson is no doubt a great authority on the question of Indian languages. His study, characterisation, and classification of language and dialects are masterly and marvelous. But it must be borne in mind that in the territorial distribution of language in India he could not but have been guided **Prima Facie**, by the Official Census reports. He was deputed by the Government for linguistic survey of India. And he had to depend upon Local Government Officials, whose reports he has often bodily incorporated in his linguistic survey. In the case of Oriya area of Midnapur, he says, he has incorporated in his survey the report submitted by Mr. Acharya, a Bengali Officer. But fortunately even then the Oriya population of Midnapur appeared in the Census Report to be over $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. But Dhalbhum had been made to show a very different figure in the Census of 1891. Bengali had been made the sole school and court language in 1886 in Midnapur; but it had been so made in Dhalbhum so far back as 1864. Sir George Grierson's delimitation of the Oriya areas might have been fair, correct and to the point, had it not been for these disadvantages under which he had undoubtedly to labour.

In spite of these disadvantage Sir George Grierson is clear about the linguistic character of the South-West Midnapur. He says, "The Oriya heart still beats in the language." In the Oriya area of Midnapur he includes the entire Contai and Jhargram Subdivision, a little of the Tamluk Subdivision contiguous to Contai and parts of Sadar Subdivisions up to Kharagpur i. e. the river Haldi (Vide his map defining the Oriya area—"Linguistic Survey of India' Vol. V. Part II). With little minor adjustments this is now the portion of Midnapur claimed to be included in the proposed Oriya Province.

He says that Dhalbhum is Bengali. There is nothing strange in this statement. He could not have said otherwise. He does not say on whose report the statement is based. But in all probability the reporting officer was a Bengali gentleman. He quotes a specimen of Bengali of Dhalbhum. But he is silent as to where and under what circumstances he found the specimen to be printed in his book. A cursory inspection of his map of the Oriya land will show that Dhalbhum is a deep unseemly cavity-like gap created in the Oriya area, and there is no explanation either geographical or otherwise for such a gap. The documents of the 19th and the late 18th Centuries presented to the Committee as a supplement to their memorandum by the Dhalbhum Oriya leave no doubt as to the Oriya character of the Aryan language prevalent there. Other aspects of the question presented in the same memorandum on Singhbhum and Dhalbhum are also conclusive as to the Oriya character of the Dhalbhum area. The name 'Dhal' is distinctively an Oriya family name, and Dhal-Bhum means, land of the 'Dhals'. Any casual inspection into the non-Aryan villages of Dhalbhum will also speak for itself. The fact that all Bengalees in Dhalbhum are required by Government even now to produce certificates of domicile for Government Service, Scholarships etc., is significant and conclusive as to the Non-Bengali character of Dhalbhum.

In the 'Linguistic Survey' very little discussion appears about Dhalbhum, and the abrupt conclusion that it is Bengali is evidently due to the fact that Sir George Grierson was misled for the various reasons indicated above. For over two generations the language recognised in Courts and Schools in this area has been Bengali. This fact apparently may give any cursory observer the idea that the area is not Oriya. From this appearance must the reality of the situation be carefully dug out, if the Bengali Historian, the late Mr. R.D. Banerjee, and the Bengali Linguist and the Philologist, Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, are not to be absolutely depended upon.

The district of Singhbhum has two other Subdivisions beside Dhalbhum. But these two Subdivisions are separated from Dhalbhum by two Oriya Native States, Saraikala and Kharsuan, which from like a broad wedge across the District, showing the geographical area of the Oriya land in those parts to include the entire Singhbhum District as well as West and South Midnapore. But the two remaining British Subdivisions of Singhbhum may nevertheless call for some special discussion.

These two Subdivisions are the Kolhans and Porahat. The Kolhans is, so to say, the core imbedded in the Porahat Subdivision which forms an outerring. Kolhan is thus geographically a natural extension of Orissa Native States, and not a part of any land on the other side of Porahat. Hos are mainly the aboriginal inhabitants of the Kolhans. They are also found in Orissa Native States and are practically non-existent in any other part of India.

About Porahat there is little dispute that it is Oriya. But the Kolhans seem to be claimed by the so-called Hindi-speaking Bihar, on the ground that the land has been for some generations re-naturalised into Hindi. But it is geographically impossible to join the Kolhans to Bihar, retaining Porahat for Orissa. For the Kolhans Subdivision is completely surrounded by Porahat Subdivision and Orissa Native States. It touches no other land. If Bihar should claim any portion of Singhbhum, (if not the whole District including Dhalbhum, as it hitherto used to do in the Indian National Congress) it must at least claim both the Porahat and the Kolhans together, on the plea that Hindi has been the recognised school and court language in these areas for over two generations.

Let us examine this claim and test its validity on the Linguistic distribution of lands and people of Northern India :—

(iii) Basis of Linguistic of Claim.

Before going into any details about the claims and conditions of the Oriya language in the outlying areas the basis of those claims and conditions should be clearly comprehended.

In olden days (i) Magadhi was the Indo-Aryan language used in Eastern India i. e. in lands now comprising Bihar, Orissa, Bengal and Assam. Its Western neighbour was (ii) Ardha-Magadhi (Old Northern Indian Languages) (half-Magadhi) just allied to it, used in the present Benares regions. To the West in Mathura, Agra region was used (iii) Sauraseni, which was much different both from Magadhi and Ardha-Magadhi. This difference among other reasons leads Sir George Grierson and many other Orientalists of the West think that Aryans migrated into India in two different groups in periods separated by Centuries from one another.

Linguists agree that by the 11th Century (i) Magadhi branched out into 6 language Viz Oriya, Bengali, Assamese, Maghi, Bhojpuri and Maithili—the 3 latter now in possession of (Their Modern Representatives) Bihar as spoken folk languages. These six languages are also called Eastern Indo-Aryan Group. (ii) Benaresi, Avadhi (Oudhi) and Chhatisgarhi (of Raipur, Bilaspur of the C.P.) branched out of Ardha-Magadhi. These are at present called Eastern Hindi Group. (iii) Brajabhasa, Rajasthani, Punjabi and other languages came out of Sauraseni and are at present called Western Hindi Group. The Brajabhasa of the 16th Century lent its syntactical structure to Urdu or Mahamedan camp language, from which is coming the present Hindustani as well as literary Hindi of Northern India.

By 1200 A.D. all Northern India including Bihar and Bengal was conquered by the Muslims, who ruled the land since then Orissa, as has been said, was from 1038 to 1568, a powerful Hindu Empire of vast dimensions, and developed not only monumental art, but voluminous popular literature. The language was consequently firmly established from the Godavari to the Ganges. This Oriya also became the reclaiming and Aryanising Agency throughout the entire Jharkhanda of yore, i. e. from Manbhum and Ranchi Districts is Chhotanagpur to beyond Bastar State in C. P.

(iv) Behari and Oriya Languages (Speciality of Oriya).

During the Mughal and Maharatta Rule, language or race question did not arise as they did never force a language in the areas under them as a part of an administrative measure. In fact much of our rich Oriya poetic literature came from Mahamedam Ganjam. During the English Rule our language and culture have been struggling for existence for more than 170 years for obvious reasons. To devise effective means to end this life and death struggle of the Oriyas is a necessity.

(Its Progress Retarded in British Rule)

For a long time Bihari languages were being called dialects of Hindusthani only because Hindusthani was the language adopted in schools and courts in Bihar. Sir George Grierson, who first enquired into the subject linguistically, has recorded his decided opinion that it is a mistake. He says that Bihari languages have nothing to do with Hindusthani and I have taken my remarks above from Sir George Grierson as well as from Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji. By these two scholars, among other linguists, I am guided in the remarks that follow :—

(Bihari Languages are not Dialects of Hindi)

Hindi, which now adopted by Bihar, is not its own language. By language is meant here, the language spoken by the people, and the language which is the real civilising agent in a particular area. According to all linguist Bihar has, as has been said, three languages—Maghi to the South or Chhotanagpur side, Bhojpuri to the West or U.P. side, and Maithili to the east in Tirhut or Bengal side.

Oriya in Singbhum is contiguous to Maghi. All these three Bihari languages are as much branches of the Magadhi or Eastern-Indo-Aryan stock, as Oriya, Bengali and Assamese. Sir George Grierson says that "Bihari language has so much in common with them (Oriya, Bengalee, Assamese) in its inflexional system that it would almost be possible to make one grammar for all the four languages" (Linguistic Survey of India Vol. V Part II page 1). Further on at Page 3, the same author finds out that the two Bihari dialects Maghi and Maithili are much more allied to Oriya, etc. than even to Bhojpuri on account of letter's association with Eastern Hindi.

Hindi, as it is at present understood, is mostly an artificially sanscritised language made out of Urdu or Mahamedan camp language. This Urdu, as has been indicated, was built on the basis of the Brajabhasha or the language of Agra and Mathura of the 16th Century. Hindi has thus an element of a large Semiti vocabulary, and its structural or syntactical substratum is thus derived neither from the Maghadhi group, of which Oriya, and Maghi are members, nor even from the Eastern Hindi including Oudhi and Benaresi. Maghi could not develop a literature for itself through long Centuries, as also other Bihari languages. Hence Bihar adopted Urdu, her official language during the long Mohamedan Rule. Linguistically Hindi is a foreign language to the Bihari peasant, and it has so remained all along. Any man can go to a Bihar village any day to see what the language there is. The villager never talks Hindi, nor can he understand the Hindi of schools and books. Educated men talk Hindi to outsiders, but among themselves they invariably talk their own language. Even at Gaya an Oriya can easily feel at home among his Maghi-speaking brothers, and *vice versa*, for Maghi and Oriya are mostly like each other. That some educated people in Bihar read, write and talk Hindi (or even Urdu, for many Bihari educated men still use Urdu and write in Persian script) does not mean that the language has been naturalised, or can ever be easily naturalised among the mass. To call Maghi or any other Bihari language a dialect of Hindi still, would simply be tantamount to a linguistic nonsense.

Sir George Grierson distinctly finds entire Singbhum, even with a big area in the Jashpur State of the Ranchi District, is much more Oriya than Maghi. And linguistically there should be little doubt as to entire Singbhum being included in Orissa. But I may go so far as to suggest that, if necessity arises, any portion of Chhotnagpur under Maghi influence might be well added to the future Oriya Province. For Oriya in Singbhum is linguistically all allied to Maghi having developed no literature, Oriya will be a much more congenial agency of educating and civilising the mass than Hindi, which is practically a foreign language to them.

It may be interesting to note in this connection that, in spite of all advantages of the Centre of the Provincial Government and much better local bodies, districts in Bihar and

(Hindi medium in Bihar retards Primary Education) Chhotnagpur, with Hindi as medium, are always invariably much behind the districts of Orissa in population at schools, and consequently in primary education. (Vide Report of the Progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa 1926-27 published by the Government).

(Chhotanagpur except Singbhum is neither Bihar nor Orissa. Either can have it.) Chhotnagpur (except Singbhum) again is an area which is neither Bihar, nor Orissa. If Bihar and Orissa become two separate Provinces, then surely the distribution of Chhotnagpur should be independently considered. Biharis cannot all at once jump to claim the area on the plea that Hindi should be forced there, as in Bihar, as the language of courts and schools.

(Hindi is going to be Second Language for all India.) (It should not be medium of Primary Education in Eastern India.) Hindi is besides, going to be the common second language of India on account of communal and other considerations. It will probably have a place side by side with the English. In that case, the people talking Oriya will have as much advantage of it, as those talking any other language of the Magadhi group. Hindi has thus, no special claim for being the medium of primary education in any land in the Eastern India. Here it only need be hinted that the slice of Manbhum claimed to be included in the Oriya lands naturally goes with Singbhum, and may not specially be discussed.

Here it may not be irrelevant to refer to one incident in connection with the Congress Organisations regarding Singbhum, including Dhalbhum. Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has never been known to claim any part of the Singbhum District for itself. But it has claim Surma Valley in Assam, and Surma Valley, therefore, including Sylhet, is now in Bengal Congress. But Bihar disputes the claims of Orissa all along on the plea that Hindi, which is the National language according to Congress, is the recognised school and court vernacular in two Subdivisions of Singbhum. This dispute came to head in 1921, when (v) Congress Decision All India Congress Committee set up an arbitration of three gentlemen including Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Congress leader of Bihar. The Committee met in Singbhum and decided to issue a reply postcard to each and every Congress Member in the District. The number of Congress members was then a little below 8000. Post-cards were issued accordingly to each and every Congress Member and about 5000 replies were received in the District Congress Office. Of this 5000, only 332 were in favour of affiliation with Bihar—the rest being in favour of Utkal. But in 1924 reference having been again made to the All-India Congress Committee, Bihar reluctantly agreed that all the Singbhum District except Jamshedpur area may go to Utkal. Since then Jamshedpur Congress Members themselves have decided to remain under the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee.

In this connection I may refer to the areas claimed in Raipur and Bilaspur Districts of C.P. and the three States Raigarh, Saranggarh and Bastar. The argument applied to those tracts, except perhaps Bastar which is not disputed, is similar to that applied Singbhum. There the Chhatisgarhi language disputes the claims of Oriya as a language of primary education or as a (vi) C. P. Area reclaiming agency. Chhatisgarhi is linguistically a dialect of Eastern and not Western Hindi. This Chhatisgarhi, besides, owes for a great influence both to Maghi and particularly to Oriya. Hindi is practically as artificial to this area as even to Gaya which is in possession of Maghi. Oriya is the predominant civilising agency and vehicle of culture in those areas. Bastar State has, on linguistic, racial and cultural grounds, been undisputedly allotted to Utkal by the Indian National Congress.

All the foregoing arguments, as well as argument that follow, apply, *Mutatis Mutandis* to the Oriya area of Ganjam and Vizagapatnam District of the Madras Presidency. I have only incidentally referred to those areas. I have refrained from a detailed discussion thereof, not only because the particular memorandum on the area is full of relevant informations and discussions, but whatever the Madras Government might have been made to say on occasions, our neighbours their have come to agree to the principles of delimitation, as well as the justice and validity of the Oriya claim. Undisputedly the Oriyas have lost much prosperous area on the coast. There is no use now in pinning for the Vizagapatam Harbour or our historic Viceroyalty of Rajamahendry, because these lands were Oriya some three hundred years ago. [Vide R.D. Banerjee's History of Orissa Vol. 1. P.3—quoted above IV (i)]—The actual delimitation there now cannot but generally follow the findings of Sir George Grierson with but minor adjustments to be made on enquiry into local conditions.

Over and above what I have stated in my statement, I may here be permitted to suggest (viii) Census some further discussions on the Census figures as they appear. I had the honour to move a resolution on the subject of the Oriya Province in the Legislative Assembly, 8th February, 1927. There I said :—

"I may here inform the House that the Oriyas have been under several administrations in several tracts, and practically in each of the tracts an Intermediary Ruling Race with vested interests has been created, and the Bengal Government puts it clearly that the Census Supervisors and Enumerators are afraid to record people as Oriya-speaking because they fear if they put it like that, the tract will be transferred to Orissa. It is there in the letter which was written to the Bengal Government and came to the Government of India in 1922. Actually the Superintendent of Census at a meeting of Enumerators and Supervisors heard it remarked by one of them that they were not willing to record people as Oriya speaking even though they had evidence to that effect."

Then I quoted a passage as the Superintendent heard it. The Singbhum Oriya memorandum has quoted many such instances from the Census Operations of 1931. But this much I may note that after about two Centuries of British Rule even the Census Supervisors and Enumerators in an Oriya area have not been Oriyas as such.

A more important aspect of the Census Enumeration is also worthy of notice here. In the (Linguistic Classification wrong from the beginning.) out-lying areas of Midnapore, Dhalbhum, Singbhum and those of C.P. where either Bengali or Hindi has been the sole recognised school and court language for generations. So also Telugu was the court and school language in Ganjam till a generation ago. Enumerators and Supervisors do not enter into the house to talk to people and linguistically to distinguish their language for the purpose of their own Census records. Presumably they ask the men who are educated in recognised Vernacular of the land, and their statements go unchallenged for all the members of their families, as well as their dependants. This is what usually happens, and in fixing the boundary of the Oriya lands the Census figures can in no way be depended upon, specially in a land where Oriya is neither the language of primary education nor is the recognised Court Vernacular of the land.

Under such circumstances, I suggest that Historians like the late Mr. R.D. Banerji as well as (ix) Constructive Suggestions. Linguists like Prof. Chatterji should be mainly depended upon, particularly with regard to the areas disputed by Bengal, for these two scholars, eminent as they are, are both of them Bengalis and could not have been guilty of any Oriya leanings or bias. In other areas consideration on the lines adopted by Sir George Grierson, in addition, as already suggested in case of Madras areas, will generally lead to fair findings.

**Continues from 4th Para. of the Page 139 to Page 145 after which
Supplementary Memorandum may be read.**

SUPPLEMENTARY MEMORANDUM

In my Statement and Memorandum already submitted on the proposed Oriya Province I confined myself mainly to principles. As a representative of the Utkal Congress Organisation I did not consider myself called upon to enter into keen controversies regarding the exact border line of the proposed Province. But nevertheless I indicated the line on which matters may be approached so that the lands claimed by the Utkal Congress Committee, may be included in the proposed Province. On the Andhra border particularly, rightly or wrongly, I was under the impression that Congress leaders of the Andhra country had no objection to the principles I indicated. In fact, in my personal conversations with some of them I found they were always amenable to those principles. I almost expected a reasonably amicable settlement of the boundary on the Andhra side to be put before the Committee as an agreed solution of the problem.

But almost a surprise has been sprung on me by a memorandum submitted to you by some Andhra leaders (including Congress leaders like Messrs. Pattabhai Sitaramaya and Nageswar Rao) on behalf of the Andhra Mahasabha.

The memorandum has been published in the press. It demands lands having up to 80 per cent Oriya population to be excluded from the Oriya Province and retained under Madras. It also demands all the Savars and Kadhas to be allowed to be reclaimed by the Andhras. In their demand they have proposed that the Rusikulya Canal System should be divided between two Provinces to give effect to their proposed distributions of lands and peoples. This really amounts to say that practically the reservoir alone should remain in the proposed Oriya Province, whereas almost all the irrigating canals and branches of the system should be given to the Madras Presidency. Such proposals bear not even a face value and I believe that the Committee do not require any criticism of proposals like these. But I feel this creates an occasion for me to state a little more clearly the principle of delimitation on the Madras side.

Our Andhra friends in their memorandums have used the phrase "**Status quo Anti**" as a very convenient way of avoiding argument. But what is the real "**Status quo Anti**" in this case? The British Government will never refuse to agree that they did not form Provinces according to any definite principles. Circumstances of annexation accidentally made our Provinces as they are. It is a matter of accident that Oriyas have been divided in four Provinces. If "**Status quo Anti**" is to be the guiding principle then the Committee should just pass over the British period and should fix the Oriya boundary just where it was at the end of the first half of the eighteenth century. I am afraid in that case our Andhra brothers will have to learn to their dismay that the Oriya Viceroyalty of Rajmundry, not to speak of Vizagapatam plains alone, will be included in the proposed Oriya Province. The famous Historian Mr. R.D. Banerjee has unmistakably stated it in his recently published "History of Orissa" from which I have already quoted some relevant passages in my Memorandum.

Phrases like "**Status quo Anti**" therefore, are no argument to cover a land grabbing propensity giving rise to a reprehensible sort of territorial communalism. I am sorry for these harsh remarks on the statement of my Andhra friends. But in no other way can statements like theirs be characterised.

The real guiding principle of delimitation of the Oriya Province on that side however lies deeper. In my statement I had made but a passing reference to the cult of Jagannath which is the living legacy of the land to be formed into a Province—call it either Orissa, or Utkal or even Kalinga for that matter. This ancient and historic land with a vast fleet and mercantile marine, with an over-sea empire, and a vast sphere of influence across the Ocean commanded a unique position between Northern and Southern India and was responsible for the only cosmopolitan cult. I mean the cult of Jagannath in the caste ridden Hindu world of India. Jagannath was originally a Savar God worshipped as the Buddha. The caste Hindus attacked it both from the South and the North. Jagannath thereafter was clothed with the attributes of Vishnu, but in essence the Buddhist spirit remained unchanged. Buddha became thus an incarnation of Vishnu and the proudest Brahmin had to bow his head to this Savar God where even today Jagannath stands as the God not of Hindus alone but of humanity, and the Pandits and the Parilahs look upon each other as brothers in this common temple of worship. Neither the Andhras nor the upcountry Hindus from Bihar of the bigoted Brahmins from Bengal have been yet able to emulate the spirit of this faith, not to speak of this practice. Neither the Savars nor the Kandhas nor any other like people for that matter will find a more congenial home among the Andhras or elsewhere. Neglected as it is, the culture of the Oriyas still awaits its better days in India and even today the cosmopolitan character of the Oriya mass—the Brahmin and all alike—is an outstanding factor to count and if the Oriya Province is properly formed its contribution to the Indian Nationalism will not only be immense but tangible.

Many people, even castes on our borders have been, in the past cruelly treated. Many like the Sista Karans of Chicacole have been recorded in the Census as Andhras but it does not matter. They have not forgotten the cosmopolitan culture of their father. Though they might have been recorded in the Census as Andhras they have never yet imbibed the Andhra hatred for untouchables or the Andhra sense of Brahmin and non-Brahmin. This is the main fact which should particularly guide the Committee in their delimitation of the provincial boundaries of the Oriya Lands.

Our Andhra friends are willing to take a substantial Oriya minority, I do not know with what grace or foresight. But if any province is required to naturalise substantial minorities on the border lands the Oriyas should be considered the foremost as historically adoptable to such a situation. For the last 170 years Oriyas lie neglected and the English Government has had no occasion yet to test their capacity as an agency of reclamation and naturalisation. I hope this may not prejudice the Committee against the unique and historic culture and the capacity of the new neglected Oriya Race. The Committee also may bear in mind that our neighbours—rather our intermediary rulers, if I may use the phrase—have been and are yet more favourably circumstanced to show of things which may not be real.

Continues from Page 137

For Sir George Grieson is generally correct except for the fact that he had to depend upon the Census figures and Government Officials in particular localities for his informations. And all officials must now have been as impartial in their report as they might be expected to be. With this little margin his delimitation may be taken generally to be authentic, though even then, it must not be supposed to be in favoured of Oriya side.

These Historians and Linguists may well be taken as authorities generally for fixing the boundary in the tracts called backward. Ganjam Agency as well as Joypur in Vizagapatam Agency, as set forth in the resolution attached, are Oriya. So also are the small areas claimed in the Central Provinces and the entire District of Singbhum with a

(x) Backward
Tracts.

slice of Manbhum and the Jhargram Subdivision of Midnapore. The linguistic basis and its advantages and disadvantages to the mass of these areas have been fully indicated in the foregoing observations.

Here I particularly refer to those people whose spoken language has not been possibly linked to any culture indigenous to them. They are also called aborigines. If they are (Principles of Reclamation.) to be naturalised they should be made to adopt the language and culture of their environment. They must feel at home with the language in which their primary education should be conducted. One language at school and another at home in the environment, is an absurd theory for reclaiming and naturalising the aboriginal people.

I may here draw the attention of the Committee to the view on the subject expressed by a few aboriginal gentlemen, who are coming up for public life. I have no desire to hurt or to cast even the slightest reflection on those gentlemen when I feel compelled to observe that they have not (Evidence of some of Aborigines not Representative.) been able to see the vision of their personal prospects on the wide canvas and the long perspective of the weal of their Community. I may add, I say this from long personal knowledge. I am confident there will be no difficulty to value such statements for what they are worth instead of taking them for representative opinions influenced by a real race consciousness. Real interest of the race, however, will not be far to seek on a little consideration of details on the lines I have indicated.

In this connection a reference may be made to the caste, customs and racial tradition still distinctively Oriya an supplementary considerations. For instance, the Kaibartas and Rajus of Midnapore are found nowhere in Bengal. They are Oriya Khandayats and Chasas in family name, customs and manners. The Kaibartas (called Mahisyas from 1901) are the descendants of the officials of the ancient Naval Force of Orissia, who conquered Midnapore in 12th Century and guarded the piracy of the coast since then. The Rajus are the ordinary members of the same Naval (xi) Considerations Supplementary to the Linguistic. Force. The descendants of the Orissa militia are known in the same order as Khandayats and Chasas with the same family names, which still indicate positions in the army and the navy. Martial and other relations as well as immigration from South Orissa to Midnapur and *vice versa*, among these castes were going on even during the early period. The Brahmans, Karans, and such other castes of Midnapur are still socially related in Balasore, Cuttack and Puri. The situation in Dhalbhum and Singbhum is practically the same, and the Singbhum Memorandum gives many more instances of social customs, which hold good in the Oriya area of Midnapur. The fact that Oriya Purans and other religious books printed and published in Bengali character, but in Oriya language, by the Nihar Press, Contai, and some other presses in Midnapur District, purchased and used extensively by the people of Midnapore and Dhalbhum is also significant.

Areas claimed in Raipur and Bilaspur District and Raigarh and Saranggarh States of C.P. practically go with Sambalpur area in social customs and martial relations. Ganjam and Vizagapatam area need not be discussed in this connection, for there these customs and relations are so

pronounced as not to present any great difficulty to any casual investigator. Bastar State goes with Vizagapatam Agency and Kalahandi State of Orissa.

As to the ethnic basis in India, there is no criterion to judge, ethnically even Aryan Oriyas are mostly, if not entirely Dravidian and Austric with a little mixture of Mongol from North East. The same is mainly the Ethnic basis of the population of Bengal, Bihar and C.P. Hence that aspect of the question should be left out of consideration in the present subject.

A minority which cannot be absorbed is, so to say, a curse to the administration. It has been an international problem in the Governments of the world. What to speak of India and her Provinces? Oriya has a history and traditional culture, of which any race may be proud. Therefore as minority he cannot be easily absorbed, and lose his identity in the majority. In fact he has not been absorbed, even in the Aryan Bihar, Bengal and the Central Provinces—not to speak of the Administration. Dravidian Madras, in 170 years or more. In the days that are coming of warring demand of rights, Oriya minorities will grow more and more disadvantageous and irksome to all administrations, wherever they may be so placed. The majority will be aggressive, and the majority will go on defending itself, till, perchance, a balance is reached, nobody knows when. Even in areas like Midnapore, where the Oriyas might appear to have been to an extent ruled under strong interested influences, time is not far for the coming trouble to be created by the same Oriyas as minority. A minority interest is always communal. Bengal has already enough of her communal problems to solve, and a fresh one is not desirable. Long ruled Oriyas are everywhere coming up to their own position and stature. Our neighbours may not forget this fact.

Let me give an illustration from home. Only six years ago some Oriya public men waited in deputation on Sir Henry Wheeler, the then Governor of Bihar and Orissa, during his visit to Puri, and requested him to appoint an Oriya Minister—"a third Minister," they said, and not a Member of the Executive Council. His Excellency must have been amused at this preposterous request, for it sought to cut at the very root of the Reform Administration in Bihar and Orissa. Under the Reformed Government, the Governor is bound to appoint ministers from the majority party in the Local Legislature. But morbid minority interests care for no principles of Administration. Narrow self-interest may not be ideal, but it is natural and inevitable. It should not be allowed to grow. Hence minorities, like those formed by the Oriyas, should be avoided as a blunder in the policy of administration. Otherwise such minorities will eat into its principles, as well as details.

If a homogenous Oriya Province is formed without strong minorities within its borders, the foremost advantage that attracts the eye is the convenient transfer of officers from one end of the Province to the other. This will be economic, and will give a living and active character to the entire administration. As a glaring instance, want of this convenience is sorely felt in the present Madras administration. For instance, a fresh Tamil Andhra or Canarese Munsif coming to Aska in Ghumsur is not only money wasted, but a real administrative injustice done to the people of Ghumsur which is Oriya land.

Orissa being a homogeneous Province, its administration will afford opportunities to the sons of the soil of conducting and serving their own administration—thus basing the Government in any case on the most natural co-operation of the people governed. Otherwise vested interests are more or less inevitable, and these vested interests are not only in danger of exploiting the people and debasing and demoralising them, but are a real drag on the efficient Government of the land. This broad principle covers details of administrative convenience which it is needless to describe. The condition of the Oriyas in

connection with administration particularly in outlying areas, may, however, be investigated to afford illustrations on the point. Even in the Orissan Division they are many and vital.

In law courts of Orissa the common Orissan institution or primogeniture has often to struggle against odds. Some estates which lost this custom in Calcutta High Court are now split

(iii) Instances of up into shreds of no importance—meaning the ruin of old aristocratic families.

Bad Administration Jyesthansa (i. e. giving to the eldest brother a little more in share than to each of the other brothers) is a traditional custom in Orissa. This is never recognised in courts of Bengal, Bihar, Madras or C.P. and consequently is responsible for endless litigation in partition. Younger brothers and sister's sons are generally adopted as sons in Orissa. But our courts can never be made to agree to such adoption, and many homes have been ruined in consequence.

Volumes can be written on language difficulty giving rise to bad administration of justice. For instance Badi means either a stick or a garden in Oriya. In Bengali it means a home. How such things can vitiate the administration of criminal justice as well as police work may be better imagined than described.

Settlement operations and land revenue administration, conducted by alien people, who do not understand the local customs and usages and have no innate sympathy with them, need not be mentioned.

Geographical convenience including the convenience of communication may also be taken into account. Kharagpur is the centre of B.N. Rly., from where two of its main lines—one to

(iv) Geographical. Bombay upto Nagpur, and the other to Madras upto Waltair Branch out and for more than three-fourths of their distance travel in the Oriya lands. The inclusion of the Midnapore

portion upto Kharagpur will undoubtedly be advantageous to the administration of B.N. Rly. as well as to the people for whom primarily the B.N. Rly. is meant.

The Vizagapatam harbour, which will have to develop and drain the Oriya lands to the advantages either of Andhra or of Madras Province has been inevitable. But the advantages of Jamshedpur which is built upon the natural resources of the Oriya land, should be taken full advantage of in the proposed Oriya Province. The new Province had a long past in maritime activities, and are long advantages of coastal shipping and ports will have to be developed at any cost. If practicable the Subarnarekha on which stands Jamshedpur, may have to be dredged to open out into a port at its mouth as of old, or the port at the mouths of Dhamra may not be very far from the Subarnarekha or Jamshedpur for that matter. Steel of Jamshedpur may thus be used in future for ship-building in coasts of Orissa, if anywhere it is so used at all. To make Orissa into a Province and to deplete her natural resources for the perpetual advantages of other Provinces cannot be contemplated.

In this connection it may be incidentally mentioned that ancient Orissa had an Empire over-seas. The people of Orissa had not only Colonies in Burma, further India, and the Oceanic Islands, but the late Mr. R.D. Banerji finds evidence to conclude that the Oriya merchants and missionaries carried their art and culture even to the lands of Peru, Mexico and built up the old Maya Civilisation in Central America (Banerji's 'History of Orissa' Chap. VII).

Generation of dismemberment and bad and unsympathetic administration have ruined

VI. Financial

(i) Oriyas Demand

Province to Make

Finance.

our finances. Our national wealth, which consists in vast national resources and skilled labour as well as organised village industry and artisan guild, has never been attended to. Our resources lie dormant. Our labourers who built up the monumental works of art and architecture and a vast over-sea trade and empire,

are now plucking, curing and sieving tea leaves in the Assam tea-gardens. All these await revival with an out-look befitting the task.

We demand a Province of our own greatly because of this misery, which is mainly financial. For, otherwise, had the Oriyas been financially well up, and consequently their land and its administration, whatever it is today, been overflowing with finances, their demand for a separate Province would lose half the grounds on which it stands. Oriyas demand a separate Province not because they have more than enough finance, which they grudge to share with their neighbours— but just because their finances are continually going to ruin out of neglect, the effects of which must be counteracted, the sooner the better. For it is reasonably apprehended that if this process of hap-hazard administration of the Oriya lands is allowed to continue, their financial position will worsen day by day and end in course of time in the utter collapse of the race.

Keeping in view this basic aspect of the question I proceed to offer some suggestive remarks on the financial aspect of the proposed Province which may appear to be immediately practical.

The present financial position of the proposed Oriya Province can neither be exactly ascertained nor criticised, nor is it very essential for the purposes of forming the Province. Though
 (ii) Not Essential linguistic and cultural basis was never contemplated in forming a Province in the past under the British Raj, Provinces have, nevertheless, been formed. Often they have been begun even with a financial deficit. The formation of Bihar and Orissa is a good instance on the point.

The present finances of the proposed Oriya Province have been in the past ascertained
 (iii) Province may pay its way. with all possible guess work and approximation, and within small margins either this way or that it has been found even by the Attlee Committee of the Simon Commission that the new Province may pay its way.

But this is not enough. The main problem is future development, for which the Central Government ought to take the responsibility of fostering the Province for some years in the beginning. That the rich and far-flung Province of Orissa has been reduced to this state, is not
 (iv) Future Development due to the fault of the Oriya people. It is due to the neglect both of Central and Provincial Governments, and it is proper that Government should help the Province in its inceptual developments. If need be—and there will be need for it—facilities will have to be afforded for productive and even apparently non-productive loans for nation building purposed to this proposed new Province, as to many other existing Provinces.

(v) Exact Calculation not possible.
 (a) Depends on Future Constitution There are other considerations which are more essential. The coming constitution is not yet a fact. We do not know the financial arrangements between the Federal, Central and Local Governments. Any decision on the subject at present is premature, if not irrelevant.

Boundaries of the Oriya Province have not been fixed and it is not practicable to calculate the finances of the proposed Province. To include or exclude any area for financial considerations
 (b) Boundaries alone is not only undesirable, but is against the very principle on which Oriyas demand their own Province.

We base our calculations on self determination and to adjust our expenditures to our
 (c) Scale of Expenditure revenues, which are proposed to expand on very natural and reasonable lines for the building up the race.

Difficulties have grown up for a long time in all directions, and in my opinion a complete over-hauling of the system of taxation, particularly, for instance, that of tenure, and system of taxing, land may be immediately required. Orissan system of tenancy based on customs peculiar to Orissa as well as origin and conditions of ownership and other rights regarding land have never engaged the serious attention of any ruler or legislature, and every lawyer and jurist knows that the Orissa Tenancy Act is one of the shabbiest pieces of legislation ever enacted, as I have said in my statement. The settlements of land revenue consequently have proceeded on wrong lines and principles, as indicated, so that the poor pays unreasonably, but with no adequate profit to the State. These and like problems can only be successfully tackled by a provincial Government of Oriyas run by the Oriyas themselves. But I am afraid this is not the occasion to enter into any detail in these matters. This much, however, I may indicate, by-the-by, that measures like these may not only work for an expansion of revenue without adding unreasonable burden to the people, but will in themselves go a great way towards building up of the race.

On the expenditure side, too, the outlook may likewise change. The present Village Self-Government Act, for instance may be suitable modified to relieve the State of much of the little details of the work of many of the departments e.g. Police, Administration of Justice, Health and Education.

The Province of Orissa will contain Indian States, which extend over the major portion of its area. These Indian States are almost surrounded by areas which will come under the direct Government of the Province. It is expected that some relations particularly financial, may subsist between these two kinds of areas. For instance even today the Bihar Government, as the agent of the Government of India, has substantial relations with these States, and the Provincial Governments may very probably be required to financially co-operate with each other in matters, particularly, of education, health and public works. Trade relations, too, may require some adjustments. The limited power of some States in administering justice in many cases may also require other adjustments. For even now they use the Deputy Commissioner of Angul as well as the Political Agent as their Appealing Courts.

The Province will include large tracts hitherto designated as scheduled or backward areas. Whether these areas will be considered backward is to be decided, or some portions thereof may be so treated. In that case whether the baby province will all at once be saddled with the cost of developing these areas, or the Central Government will render financial assistance and if so, to what extent, are questions to be decided.

Last but not the least, is the consideration as to what the Provincial Government will be in its number, pay, pension, including the legislature and the expenditure thereon.

In the circumstances it is useless to enter into any financial calculations of the new Province. Even a statement of the present probable revenue and expenditure will be no indication as to what the financial position will be immediately after the new Province is formed.

Orissa for about six long Centuries was something like an Imperial Power of an extensive character before it fell on account of the shrewd machinations of the Moghul Emperor Akbar the great. I have already referred to the fact that for long Centuries she had her powerful army and navy, and not only held her own against her powerful neighbours viz :—Gour (the present East and North Bengal), Bahamani (the North-Eastern portion of the present Nizam's Dominion and thereabouts) and the kingdom of Vijayanagaram (the great Hindu kingdom towards the South of the Krishna River), but on various occasions entered into the very hearts of these kingdoms. In the words of Sir William Hunter "the sturdy peasant militia of Orissa carried their

successful arms into the very heart of Bengal; (then East and North Bengal for the South and West of Bengal was always included in Orissa and so has remained mainly Hindu even now) even during the palmy days of the Moghul Empire." It has already been referred to in another connection that the late Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji, in his 'History of Orissa' finds data to prove that Orissa had in ancient times and over-sea empire in Burma, Further India, and Pacific Islands, through which the Orissan art and culture, travelled to the new world, and formed the basis of the colossal architectural monuments of the ancient Peru, Mexico and Maya Lands. Not only this, Orissa peasant was throughout happy, contented and progressive; and besides there was surplus money in the State. Art and literature flourished, as they did perhaps in few other places or provinces of India, for the momental public works and the works of art still found all over the land speak well for themselves.

This was Orissa, which has been reduced to the present state on account of long neglect both by Central and Local Governments. Her wailings have so long gone in vain. And if she is again allowed to stand on her own legs as a Province, if may well be hoped that in course of time she may again come to her glory and grandeur as a proud unit in the coming Indian Federation.

P.O. Sakhigopal,
(Dist. Puri, Orissa)
The 28th November, 1931

Sd. NILAKANTHA DAS

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