

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

19. Pre-History and Proto-History

In 1876, V. Ball discovered four stone implements of palaeolithic type in Orissa, three of which were from the present Dhenkanal district and the remaining one from the district of Sambalpur¹. He described the Sambalpur implement as follows: "This specimen was found near Bursapali to the north of the well-known village of Kudderbuga. It has a pointed wedge shape. The material is a vitreous quartzite". The implement described by Ball is a hand-axe of the Deccan type, displaying crude technique. By it one can dig, cut and chop; kill animals and scrape the skins. It was a tool of the early stone age (palaeolithic age) which was a period of technical non-specialisation and it was probably popular at the time when different types of tools to suit specialised purposes were not invented. Nothing more can, however, be said as after discovery of this early stone tool no further survey has been made in this district. A part of the area where the stone implement was found by Ball is now submerged by the Hirakud water reservoir.

At the village Lasa in Kuchinda subdivision two implements of polished stone celt type have been discovered. These implements signify a change in the life of the pre-historic man from that revealed by the Kudderbuga (Kudabaga) specimen. The polished stone celt culture is that of a primitive technological specialisation and as during that period man no longer depended on nature for food and became himself a food producer. It marks the beginning of a new age. Judging from the finds of the polished stone celts in different parts of Orissa it may be said that these implements continued to be in vogue through proto-historic up to the historic period. The Kuchinda type of implement has been found in the excavation at Jauguda in Ganjam district.

A very important proto-historic relic in this district is found in the pictographic writing in a cave called Vikramkhoh about 16 miles to the west of Jharsuguda Railway Junction. The rock-shelter containing the relic is of rough sandstone and is 115 feet in length and 27 feet 7 inches in height from the floor. The inscribed portion is about 35 feet by 7 feet. Swami Jnanananda, an educated Sadhu, discovered the inscription and Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, who thoroughly examined it, remarked as follows*: "The characters in Vikramkhoh inscription belong to a period intermediary between the script of Mohenzodaro and Brahmi. Some letters still retain their original or proto-Brahmi

1. V. Ball, Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1876, pp. 122-23. The Orissa specimen: are now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Ball's account on diamonds etc. in Sambalpur district is given as Appendix I.

* The Indian Antiquary, Vol. LXII, 1933, pp. 58-60

forms. This proves the origin of Brahmi to be Indian and throws a flood of light on the history of writing, as from Brahmi the Phoenician and European scripts are derived”.

It is evident from the inscription that all the letters were first painted before being incised. The writing seems to be from right to left. There is an animal figure which is probably not a part of the writing, but a symbol. The writing seems to have reached the syllabary (alphabetic) stage. It is certainly, as Dr. Jayaswal concludes, earlier than the earliest specimen of Brahmi known so far. The Vikramkhola record, however, “need not necessarily be an Aryan piece of writing.”

Buddhistic Influence—

In the first half of the 8th century A.D. Padmasambhava, son or adopted son of Indrabhuti, king of Sambhal in Uddiyana, founded Lamaism in Tibet. According to Dr. Nabin Kumar Sahu, whose note is Appendix III to this chapter, Uddiyana was what is known as modern Orissa and Sambhal was Sambalpur of today. But James Hastings in his Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics (Vol.7, page 785) has placed Uddiyana in the Swat valley near Peshawar. This is accepted by Dr. B. C. Law in “Historical Geography of Ancient India” (page 132). Dr. Nabin Kumar Sahu has, however, given detailed reasons for this in his book “Buddhism in Orissa” (pp.143—153 and 166—168). He is the first to initiate a controversy over the identification of Uddiyana and Sambhal. Historians have yet to debate and decide the issue. If Sambalpur in early 8th century was a seat of Buddhism evidence has to be looked for, which may be found at Melchhamunda (Ganiapali) where there appears to be what might be the ruins of an ancient stupa and the Gandhamardan hill has to be searched for ancient Buddhistic relics. There is, however, sufficient indication to show that Sambalpur region was a seat of Tantrism which led to the establishment of a Tantrik site at the present Patnagarh which till a few years ago was also called Kuar Patna or Kumari Patna which means the seat of maidens—*vide* Gazetteer of Balangir district, page 489. Investigation has also yet to be made of relics which exist in or near Sonepur and Ranipur-Jharial in Bolangir district.

10. Archaeology

(i) Temples

The important historical relics in the district of Sambalpur are the temples built by the Chauhan rulers. They were not only devoted to Hindu Gods and Goddesses but also accepted the local deities for whom many temples were built in different parts of the district. The splendour of Orissan art and architecture has reached its climax in the 13th century much before the advent of the Chauhans into Sambalpur region. The Chauhan monuments, no doubt, got impetus from Orissan architectural style. The Orissan temple architecture by reason of its long history of evolution has been sometimes classed as a type

itself. It is generally known as the 'Kalinga' style of architecture. But in consideration of its curvilinear spires and square plans with projected angles, it can be taken as sub-class of Nagara style rather than a class by itself. Another regional manifestation of the Nagara temple style is found in the majestic temples at Khajuraho in Bundelkhand. The architectural design of some of the temples of the Chauhans closely imitates the style of the Khajuraho group of temples. Temples of this type are mostly found in the town of Sambalpur. In the Vaishnava temples of Chauhan a distinct influence of the Orissan type is found. But some Siva temples built during the period exhibit a strange synthesis of both the styles noted above. The images of Gods and Goddesses occupying prominent places in these temples as the semi-divine human and animal figures used as decorative motifs reveal exquisite beauty of execution.

The earliest surviving Vaishnava monument of the Chauhans is the temple of Narsinghnath on the western side of Gandhamardan hill. It was built in 1413 A. D. by Vijjal Deva I, the fourth Chauhan ruler of Patna. It has been dedicated to Lord Narasimha in his feline incarnation (Marjara Kesari). The image of Marjara Kesari of black chlorite stone having the head of a cat and body of a lion is the presiding deity of the sanctum. The temple consists of the Vimana and a Jagamohan. There are large number of shrines of Lord Jagannath in this district. The important ones are the Brahmapura Jagannath temple built by Raja Balabhadra Sai, Kutha Jagannath and Bara Jagannath temples built by Bansigopal, son of Maharaja Madhukar Sai, and the Jagannath temple of Barpali built by Zamindar Hrudaya Singh. Each of these temples consists of a Vimana, a large Mohana, a Natamandap and a Garuda pillar in the front but there is no Bhogamandapa. Another prominent temple at Sambalpur and only one of its kind in the Chauhan territory is the Ananta-Sajya temple. It consists of the Vimana, a pillared porch and a Garuda Stambha in front. It is said to have been built by Balaramadev, the first Chauhan ruler of Sambalpur. The image of the Anantasayi Vishnu enshrined in the temple was brought from Surguja by his queen who was the daughter of the Raja of Surguja. This temple was renovated later by Banshi Gopal.

The Samalai temple in the town of Sambalpur and that in village Barpali represent the finest Chauhan style of circumambulation round the sanctum and a pillared hall in the front constituting the porch. The main temple is slender in shape and is decorated with miniature temple designs on all sides from top to bottom. In between the sanctum and the audience hall, there is an open air courtyard which admits light and air into the sanctum. The length and breadth of the sanctum is 22 feet by 22 feet with a 6 feet wide verandah in the back and on two sides for *Parikrama* (go-round) purposes. The image of Samalai is a unique sculpture and appears to be a primitive deity, worshipped by the local people.

Beglar describes the deity as "a large block of stone in the middle of which is a projection resembling the mouth of a cow. The extremity of this projection has a groove of a thread-breadth which is called the mouth. At both sides of this projection there are depressions over which beaten gold-leaf is placed as a substitute for eyes"¹. This local deity was accepted as the family goddess of the Chauhans of Sambalpur during the rule of Balaram Dev, the first Chauhan ruler of Sambalpur. The Patneswari temple of Sambalpur was built by Balaram Dev in the last part of the 16th century. It consists of a sanctum with an enclosed circular court. The Patneswari deity in the temple of Sambalpur is goddess Kali.

In the district of Sambalpur a large number of Siva temples were built during the Chauhan period. The most important among them were those of the Asta-Sambhus such as (1) Bimaleswar of Huma, (2) Kedarnath of Ambabhona, (3) Viswanath of Deogaon, (4) Balunkeswar of Gaisama, (5) Maneswar of Sambalpur, (6) Swapneswar of Sorana, (7) Visweswar of Soranda and (8) Nilakantheswar of Niljee. The Bimaleswar Siva temple at Huma on the Mahanadi which is at present found in leaning condition was built by Maharaja Baliar Singh. The rest of the temples were constructed during the reign of Ajit Singh and his son Abhaya Singh. These temples, though small in height, are of great artistic beauty and each of these with picturesque background.

The Chauhan rulers of Sambalpur were great patrons of Hinduism. They built temples to Hindu Gods and Goddesses, made extensive grants to Brahmins, gave high position to them and even handed over temporal power to the Head of the family of high priests during the Dasahara festival. A member of this family has given a note which is Appendix II.

(ii) Inscriptions

A few copper plates have so far been discovered from the district. The earliest available one is the Kudopali copper plate grant² dated in the 13th regnal year of Mahabhavagupta, a Somavamsi monarch of 10-11th century A. D. The grant was issued by the feudatory chief Punja recording the donation of the village Loisara in favour of Brahmana Narayan, son of Janardana belonging to Kaundiryia gotra. Another important copper plate grant was found from Banda, a village in the Bargarh subdivision of Sambalpur district³. The charter was issued from Vagharakotta by Ranaka Parachakrasalya who was son of Dhvamśaka and grandson of Mahamandalesvara Mahamandalika Ranaka Chamaravigraha. Parachakrasalya claimed to have belonged to the Rashtrakuta royal family. He was ruling in the Sambalpur area

1. Alexander Cunningham (ed), Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. XVII, 1884 P. 61.

2. Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. IV, pp. 237—41.

3. Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. XXX, pp. 135—40.

of Orissa far away from the original home of his fore-fathers in the Kanna-da region. This inscription proves for the first time the existence of a line of Rashtrakuta rulers in Sambalpur region of Orissa in 12th century A. D. The said copper plate was issued on November 20, 1130 A. D.¹

The earliest Chauhan inscription available in the district is the Narsin hnath temple inscription of Raja Vaijal Dev I. The date of this inscription is March 14, 1413 A. D.² It records donation of the village Loisingha and one hundred cows to the service of the deity. The script is proto-Oriya.

In the village Themra in Sambalpur subdivision of the district two copper plate grants, issued by Maharaja Jayanta Singh and his chief queen Rajyeswari Ratna Kumari, have been brought to light. Both are written in Sanskrit language and in Oriya script. The first plate records donation of the village Sodanga to one Divyasimha Misra on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in Samvat 1847. The second plate records that Ratna Kumari granted Themra village to Divyasimha Misra on the 3rd day of the bright fortnight of Vaisakha in Samvat 1861 corresponding to 1803 A. D. The Bargarh copper plate grant of Maharaja Narayan Singh was issued on the 7th day of bright fortnight in the month of Margasira in Samvat 1901 which corresponds to 1843 A. D. It records donation of Bargarh in favour of two brothers Narayan Das Gaunti and Krushna Das Gauntia, the sons of Baluki Das who laid down his life in the service of the Maharaja.

21. Early History

The present district of Sambalpur was in ancient times a part of South Kosala. This territory roughly comprised the modern districts of Raipur and Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh and the districts of Sambalpur, Balangir and Sundargarh of Orissa. The Aranyaka Parva of the Mahabharata describes a few places of pilgrimage of Kosala, viz. Rishabha Tirtha and Kala Tirtha which can be identified in this region³. It has been pointed out in the History Chapter of Balangir District Gazetteer that the present district of Balangir which constituted the ancient Taitilaka Janapada was a part of the empire of Mahapadmananda in the 4th century B. C. The references to this territory by the Grammarian Panini and the finds of punch marked coins attributed to the Pre-Maurya period suggest possibility of inclusion of that kingdom in the empire of Mahapadmananda. Very likely the Sambalpur region also was included in that empire by that time. There is, however, no

1. Ibid, P. 136.

2. Indian Historical Quaterly, Vol. XII, PP. 485 ff.

3. Quoted in Siba Prasad Das, *History of Sambalpur*, P. 89.

“ଶୋଶସ୍ୟ

କାଳକୀର୍ତ୍ତନମୁଦ୍ରଣେତ୍ର
(ମହାକାଳ, ବନପର୍ବ, ୮୪ ଅଧ୍ୟାୟ)

evidence to show that after the fall of Mahapadmananda the Maurya kings took possession of the Kosala region and the edicts of Asoka throw no light on the history of this territory.

The *Malavikagnimitram*, a historical drama, attributed to the great poet Kalidasa, throws light on the history of Vidarbha during the post-Maurya period and according to some scholars Vidarbha was the same as South Kosala. But the *Mahabharata* distinguishes these two territories which were, however, then contiguous to one another. The epic represents Nala in the Vindhyan forest as pointing out his wife Damayanti the way to Vidarbha, her father's country, in the following words. "This way leads to Vidarbha, the other one to Kosala and to the south lies the country to Dakshinapatha". This shows that Kosala and Vidarbha were distinct territories in ancient times. During the post-Maurya period South Kosala appears to be under the rule of the Chedi kings and it was sometimes known as the Chedi Rashtra. It was from this territory that the ancestor of Kharavela came to Kalinga and founded a new kingdom which under Kharavela became most powerful in the then India. South Kosala very likely formed a part of Kharavela's empire. After Kharavela, the kings of Megha dynasty ruled over Kosala and these Megha kings are supposed to have belonged to the same Meghavahana family as of Kharavela. The Puranas speak of nine Megha kings¹ who ruled over Kosala during the Pre-Gupta period. It may be mentioned here that the town of Sambalpur is of ancient origin. In his classical work on 'Geography' in the second century A. D., Ptolemy noticed a town known as 'Sambalaka' in the territories of Mandalai. This can be identified with the modern town of Sambalpur².

About the middle of the 4th century A. D. a king named Mahendra was ruling over South Kosala. It is known from the Allahabad inscription that Samudra Gupta, king of Magadha, defeated king Mahendra of Kosala, as well as, Mantaraja and Vyaghraraja who were the rulers of Korala and Mahakantara, respectively. Kosala by that time is said to have comprised the present districts of Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur, and a part of Balangir constituted the kingdom of Korala, while Mahakantara extended over the modern Kalahandi-Koraput region. South Kosala was probably not annexed to the Gupta empire, but it remained without doubt within the spheres of Gupta influence as known from the use of Gupta coin types as well as of Gupta era, by the later rulers of that kingdom.

A copper plate discovered at Arang and dated in the Gupta year of 282, i. e., 602 A. D. reveals the rule of six generations of king over Kosala and these kings are attributed to the period after king

1. F. E. Pargiter, *The Purana Text of the Dynasties in the Kali Age*, p. 51 (London).

2. Surendranath Majumdar (Ed.), *Mandalai in Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 169.

Mahendra mentioned above. The Arang plate states that these king belong to a family known as Rajarsitulyakula. The earliest ruler of this family was Maharaja Sura who was succeeded by his son Maharaja Bibhisana. After Bibhisana his son Maharaj Bhimasena I ruled the kingdom and was succeeded by his son Maharaj Dayita Verman II whose son and successor Maharaj Bhimasena II issued the Arang plate on the bank of Subarna Nadi identified with the Son river, a tributary of the Tel river.

22. The Sarabhapuriyas

Another ruling family named Sarabhapuriya having their capital at Sarabhapura came into prominence in Kosala in the 6th century A. D. Sarabhapura has been identified by some scholars with Saraphagarh in the district of Sundargarh but modern researches indicate that it was somewhere located near the modern town Sirpur in Raipur district.¹ The founder of the dynasty was king Sarabha who is identified with Sarabharaja mentioned in the Eran Pillar Inscription of the Gupta year 191 or 510-11 A. D. The son of Sarabha was Maharaj Narendra who extended the territory to a considerable extent. An important ruler of this family was Prasannamatra who issued the gold coins and founded a town called Prasannapura. His son Jayaraja, also called Mahajayaraja ruled for four years². He was probably succeeded by his brother Manamatra also called Mahadurgaraja. King Jayaraja had two sons who ruled one after the other. They were named Pravaraaraja and Vyaghraraja. After the rule of these two kings, two sons of Manamatra named Sudevaraja and Pravaraaraja II are said to rule one after the other. A large number of copper plate grants issued by king Sudevaraja have come to light and from those it is known that the Nawapara subdivision of Kalahandi district as well as part of Sambalpur district was included in the Sarabhapura empire. Pravaraaraja II was the last ruler of this line and during his rule the capital was located at Sripura or modern Sirpur. After his death the empire passed to the hands of the Panduvamsi king Tivaradeva sometime in the 7th century A. D.

23. The Panduvamsis

The Panduvamsis trace their pedigree to Udayana, a petty chief in Central India. He was the great grandfather of Tivaradeva. According to one Sirpur inscription Udayana was succeeded by his son Indravala and the latter by his son Nannadeva. Nannadeva's son Tivaradeva got possession of Dakshinakosala and called himself 'Sakala kosaladhipati'. The Rajim and Bolada copper plate grants issued by him in his 7th and 9th regnal year respectively are available to us³. A recently discovered record attributed to his son Nannadeva II reveals

1. Other places indentified with Sarabhapur are Sambalpur and Sarangarh vide R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, *The Vakataka Gupta Age*, p. 86 (Delhi, 1960).

2. N. K. Sahu (Ed.), *A History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 613 (Calcutta, 1956)

3. Mahakosala Historical Society's Papers, Vol. II, p. 21

that Tivaradeva extended his conquest towards east and took possession of Utkal. He was an ambitious monarch and cherished strong desire to occupy Kangoda then comprising parts of Ganjam and Puri districts. He got an opportunity in the civil war that took place in the kingdom of Kangoda where two brothers Dharmaraja and Madhava were fighting for succession to the throne. Tivaradeva espoused the cause of Madhava, but Dharmaraja succeeded in defeating the combined strength of Madhava and Tivaradeva. This defeat checked the ambition of Tivaradeva and subsequently he had to retreat even from Utkala. But he could maintain the Kosala portion of his empire intact and the present district of Sambalpur was very likely a part of that empire.

Tivaradeva was succeeded by his brother Chandragupta and the latter by his son Harshagupta. This king married Vasata, the daughter of king Suryavaraman, ruler of Magadha. He is sometimes identified with the Maukhari prince Suryavarman known from the Haraha inscription dated in Sambat 611, i.e., 555 A.D. But as Harshagupta is ascribed to the 8th century A. D. his father-in-law cannot be placed as early as 555 A. D. Moreover the Maukhari prince is not known from any source to be a king of Magadha. After Harshagupta, his son Mahasivagupta Balarjuna came to the throne. His Lodhia copper plate grant was issued in the 57th regnal year. So he may be said to have ruled for long years. Either Mahasivagupta Balarjuna or his successor Mahabhavagupta Janamejaya was driven out of Sripura region by the Kalachuris.

24. The Somavamsis

Towards the last decades of the 9th century, king Janamejaya I Mahabhavagupta (C. A. D. 882—922)¹ consolidated the eastern part of Kosala comprising the modern Sambalpur and Balangir districts under his sceptre and from his time onwards the dynasty is popularly known as the Somavamsis. He attempted to expand his territory further to the east and south and carved out a powerful kingdom by his own valour. He declared himself as the lord of Trikalinga. The Kalachuris were also defeated by king Janamejaya known as Svabhavatunga in some Somavamsi records. He reigned for a long period of over thirty-four years. During his long reign king Janamejaya also established matrimonial relationship with the Bhauma-Kara dynasty ruling over the coastal tract of modern Orissa. From the Baud Plate of Prithvi Mahadevi *alias* Tribhuvana Mahadevi III it becomes obvious that Svabhavatunga was the father of the Bhauma queen. In the Brahmesvara Inscription of Uddyota-Kesari Mahabhavagupta, it is stated that Janamejaya, the founder of the Somavansi dynasty, “drew to himself the fortune of the king of the Udra country who was killed by

1. K. C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavamsis of Orissa* p. 17.

his kunta in a battle ¹. It is very probable that Janamejaya intervened in a disrupted succession of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty and successfully championed the cause of his daughter, Prithvi Mahadevi. By raising his daughter to the Bhauma-Kara throne, Janamejaya, the king of Kosala, paved the way for the occupation of Orissa by the Somavamsis.

King Janamejaya was succeeded by his son Yayati I Mahasivagupta I (922—955 A. D.). He founded the capital Yayati-nagar on the bank of the river Mahanadi which some scholars identify with modern Jagati, seven miles to the west of Baudh. In the 9th year of the reign he granted the village Chandgrama in the Marada-visaya of Dakshina-Tosali (South Orissa) ². From this evidence it appears, Yayati I occupied Orissa in about his sixth regnal year which roughly corresponds to the Bhauma year 195 (931 A. D.). But before occupying the coastal tract, he must have subdued the Bhanjas who were ruling over the territories lying between Kosala and Utkala. One of his copper plate grants mentions that he donated a village in the mandala of Gandhatapati in his thirteenth regnal year ³. It is identified as the village Gandharadi situated at a distance of about 12 miles from Baudh. It is evident, therefore, the Bhanjas were ousted before the grant of the above-mentioned copper plate in their territories. Probably this powerful ruler Yayati I built another capital in Utkala known as Abhinava Yayatinagara and according to tradition he performed the Asvamedha sacrifice at Yayatinagara (modern Jajpur) to which ten thousand Brahmins were invited from Kanauj. Then Yayati I united Kosala and Utkala and carved out a vast kingdom for his Somavamsi successors.

Yayati I was succeeded by his son Bhimaratha Mahabhavagupta II (C. 955—980 A. D.) about whom nothing is known. But probably he came into conflict with the Kalachuris who successfully checked the expansion of the Somavamsi kingdom towards the north-west of Kosala. It is also probable that the Somavamsi kings for sometime ruled their vast kingdom from Yayatinagar in Kosala and Abinava Yayatinagar was their second headquarters; the position was, of course, reversed towards the later part of the Somavamsi period. Nothing is also known of Dharmaratha (C. 980—1005 A. D.) and Nahusa (C. 1005—1021 A. D.) except that some contemporary powers invaded the Somavamsi kingdom in the reign of the latter.

1. *Ibid*, p. 6

2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 352

3. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XI, pp. 96—97

In the first quarter of the 11th century, Rajendra Chola invaded both Utkala and Kosala. The Tirumalai Inscription of Rajendra Chola states that he "captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon together with (his) family in a fight which took place at Adinagara, a city whose great fame knew no decline" ¹. It is generally believed that Indraratha was defeated in about 1021 A. D. at Yayatinagara during the victorious march of Rajendra Chola up to the Ganges. Of course, Rajendra Chola also proceeded to Kosala before reaching his destination in the east. Perhaps this deviation occurred due to the fact that Orissa had a subordinate ruler at Yayatinagar and it was necessary to defeat the overlord of Kosala Utkala for a safe passage and final victory ². This theory is now corroborated to a great extent by the discovery of a new Somavamsi copper plate of Indraratha from Banpur ³. Of course, the exact relationship of Indraratha with Dharmaratha or Nahusa is difficult to be ascertained. But he can be placed as a subordinate ruler of his overlord of Kosala and was probably the contemporary of Nahusa. The latter was not an able ruler and perhaps he did not oppose the invading army at all. The Chola record, therefore, states that in "good Kasalai Nadu" only the Brahmins assembled.

The Chola invasion brought about a crisis in the administration of Kosala and Utkala. Chaos and confusion reigned supreme. In this critical juncture of the Somavamsi dynasty there emerged a strong and efficient ruler Yayati II Chandihara, son of Abhimanyu and grand son of Vichitravira, a lineal descendant of Janamejaya, who was made king by the ministers. This statement of Brahmeswara Inscription is further corroborated by the Balijhari (Narasinghpur) copper plates of Uddyotakesari where it is stated that "the two arms of whom (Yayati II) accomplished their objectives by completely rendering free of enemies the two kingdoms, Utkala and Kosala, besieged by the combatant kings"⁴.

Yayati II (C. 1025—1040 A. D.), driving out the external enemies, restored internal peace and order in his vast territories roughly comprising the whole of modern Orissa. In his Maranja Mura Charter, Yayati II claims that he was at war with Karnata, Lata, Gurjara, Kanchi, Gauda and Radha and maintained friendly relations with Banga. There is no doubt that Yayati II was a man of great valour and a very powerful ruler.

1. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, pp. 248—9

2. K. C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and Somavamsis of Orissa*, p. 13.

3. K. B. Tripathy (ed)

4. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXV, p. 106

Yayati II was succeeded by his son Uddyotakesari (C. A. D. 1040—1065) who was also a very able ruler. During his reign, the Kalachuris invaded Orissa in the west but the Somavamsi Kingdom appears to have successfully resisted the onslaught. Probably to check such invasion effectively Uddyotakesari assigned Kosala portion of his kingdom to one Abhimanyu who belonged to the collateral branch and administered the territories from a new headquarters known as Suvarnapura or modern Sonepur. This is clearly stated in the copper plate grant of Kumara Somesvara ¹, who apparently succeeded Abhimanyu in Kosala. No doubt, Uddyotakesari was the master of the entire old Kosala country.

The disintegration of the Somavamsi kingdom began from the time of Uddyotakesari's son Janamejaya II (1065—1085 A. D.). From the Ratnagiri plates ² of Karnadeva (C. 1100—1110 A. D.), probably the last ruler of the Somavamsi dynasty, it is known that Janamejaya II fought against a Naga King. The Naga King Somesvara I of Bastar was a contemporary of King Janamejaya II and therefore, in all probability, the latter had to wage war against the former which ultimately ended in the victory of the Naga king. In occupying Kosala, the Naga King was helped by Telgu-Choda family and finally the Telgu-Chodas ruled Kosala (the Sambalpur-Sonepur region) with their capital at Sonepur.

However, the period of final extinction of the Somavamsi control over Kosala is still a matter of conjecture. Especially the matter is to be re-examined in the light of a recent discovery of a copper plate from Tigiria in which one Dharmaratha claims himself as the master of 'Western Kalinga' ³.

25. The Telgu-Chodas

The Telgu-Choda ruler Somesvara II who issued Mahada Copper Plate grant in circa 1090 A.D. ⁴, declares himself in this grant as the king of Western Lanka having capital at Suvarnapura. This grant was issued in the 2nd year of his reign. Towards the close of the 11th century, the Telgu-Choda ruler of the Sambalpur-Sonepur region was Somesvara III about whom we know from his Kumarsingha and Patna Museum Copper Plate Grants, issued during the 11th and 17th regnal years, respectively. Besides these two prominent rulers, there was one Dharaladeva who appears to have ruled for a brief period. No inscription of his reign has been discovered. Somesvara III was the last Telgu-Choda King of Suvarnapura.

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 237—243; Vol. XXVII, pp. 320

2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 266

3. This Copper plate is yet to be edited

4. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 285—292

26. The Kalachuris

There are both epigraphic and numismatic evidence to show that Sonepur-Sambalpur region was in occupation of the Kalachuris of Ratnapura since the reign of Jajalladeva in the beginning of the 12th century A. D. In the Kharod Inscription of Ratnadeva II it is clearly stated that Jajalladeva I "by the might of his arms deprived Bhujavala, the lord of Suvarnapura, of his power in a hostile encounter"¹.

Bhujavala of the Kalachuri inscriptions was no other than Somesvara III the last Telgu-Choda chief of Kosala. He was defeated and perhaps killed by the Kalachuri king Jajalladeva I in about 1119 A. D.².

About the time the Sambalpur tract was conquered by Kalachuri Jajalladeva, a branch of the Rastrakuta family got possession of the Bargarh region and ruled as feudatory of the Kalachuris. Rulers of this family professed Saivism but had the figure of Garuda (Vishnu's vehicle) on their royal seals. They claimed to have hailed from a locality called Lalalora which is known to be the traditional homeland of Rastrakutas of South India.

The earliest known ruler was Chamaravighraha who bore the epithet of 'Ranaka' meaning feudatory chief, and was proud of his white umbrella and yellow Chowrie. He was known as Mahamandaleswara and the lord of eighteen gondramas (eighteen forts?). His son Dhvamsaka had no royal title and it is presumed that he predeceased his father. So the next ruler was Parachakrasalya, the grandson of Chamaravighraha. This ruler issued the Copper plate Charter from Vagharakotta which is identified by some scholars as the present town of Bargarh. The gift village Saledagrama is difficult to be located. The Charter was issued in Samvat 56 which is taken to be dated in Chalukya-Vikrama era and so the date of the record is 1131 A. D. We have, however, no information regarding the activities of this family after Ranaka Parachakrasalya.

Soon after taking possession of the Sambalpur-Balangir region, the Kalachuris entered into a protracted struggle with the Gangas who had then occupied Utkala under Chodaganga Dev. The Gangas attempted to drive out the Kalachuris and to occupy Sambalpur-Balangir area. The Kharod and Pendrabandha inscriptions clearly testify to the defeat of Chodaganga and his son Kamarnava at the hands of the Kalachuri kings, Ratnadeva II and Prithvideva II, respectively.

1. Mahakosala Society's Papers, Vol. II, p. 61. Also, Kalinga Historical Research Society's Journal, Vol. I.
2. K. C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavamsis of Orissa*, p. 45.

The Ganga-Kalachuri conflict continued for about a century and it was finally decided in favour of the Gangas. It is described in the Chatesvara Inscription¹ (1220 A. D.) that Vishnu, the Commander-in-chief of Anangabhima Deva III (1211—1238 A.D.), went in an expedition towards Tummana. The battle took place about 1211 A.D. which resulted in the defeat of the Kalachuris.

27. The Gangas

From that time onwards, the Sambalpur region remained under the rule of the Gangas and was placed under a Ganga Governor. The Khambeswari Temple Inscription of Sonepur discloses the fact that a Ganga Governor was stationed in that region probably with headquarters at Sonepur during the rule of Bhanu Deva I (1264—1778 A. D.), the grandson of Anangabhima Deva III².

The middle of the 14th century was a critical period for the Ganga rule in Orissa. In the north, Shamsuddin Ili as Shah, Governor of Bengal, rose in power and declared himself independent of the Sultan of Delhi. In the south, two powerful and independent kingdoms, Vijayanagar and Bahmani, raised their heads. All of them were longing to acquire the extensive Ganga empire of Orissa. The Ganga king, Bhanudeva III, who came to the throne in 1352 A. D. had to face the aggression and expedition of those neighbouring rulers. Besides, the Sultan of Delhi, Firuz Tughlug, also invaded Orissa. Bhanudeva III sued for peace by giving twenty elephants to the Sultan and he returned to Kara via Sambalpur.

All those expeditions and invasions had a great effect on the political condition of western Orissa. It weakened the Ganga hold on that region and paved the way for the establishment and growth of a new dynasty. Amidst chaos and confusion which prevailed in that region, one Ramai Deva, a Chauhan Rajput, laid the foundation of the Chauhan rule in western Orissa.

28. The Chauhans

From about 14th Century A. D. Sambalpur came under the Chauhan ruler of Patna who was the head of a cluster of eighteen states known as the Athargarhajat and dominated a large tract to the east of Ratnapur kingdom. Their ancestor is said to have been one Hammir Deo who lived near Mainpuri in North India and was killed by the Sultan of Delhi. One of his wives named Asavati, who was pregnant, fled away to save her life and honour and ultimately got shelter at the residence of one Chakradhar Panigrahi of Patna. There she gave birth to a son

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIX, p. 125

Ibid, Vol. XXXII, pp. 325 ff

known as Ramai who ultimately succeeded to capture power from eight chieftains (Asta Mallik) and became the sole ruler of Patna. From all available evidence ¹ Ramai Deo was the founder of the Chauhan rule in Patna. The Orissa Chauhans claim themselves to be 'Mainpuri' as well as 'Garh-Sambhari' (Place located in Rajasthan) because of the fact that they regard themselves as the descendants of the Chauhan ruling family of Mainpuri, whose ancestors were Chauhans of Garh Sambhar related to famous Prithviraja III. In course of time, the Chauhans of Patna extended their influence over the surrounding territories including Sambalpur and the adjoining states.

In the middle of the 16th century, Narasingh Dev, the Chauhan ruler of Patna, ceded to his brother Balaram Dev the territory of Sambalpur where the latter built a kingdom, independent of Patna. Balaram Dev was a reputed warrior and perhaps owing to military necessity the administration of Sambalpur region was entrusted to him. Be that as it may, Balaram Dev soon consolidated the Chauhan rule in Sambalpur region and after the death of his brother Narasingh Dev he also attempted to reduce the kingdom of Patna.

According to Jayachandrika of Prahlad Dubey, the territory of Balaram Dev was first known as the kingdom of Huma and that his capital was at Bargarh on the bank of the river Jira. From Bargarh, Balaram Dev is said to have shifted his capital to Chaurpur and finally to Sambalpur on the left bank of the Mahanadi. He fortified the place and installed there 'Samalai', the most important deity of the aboriginal people of the locality.

The kingdom of Balaram Dev originally extended from the river Mahanadi in the north to the river Ong in the south and from the river Surangi in Phuljhar in the west to the village Huma on the Mahanadi in the east ². He extended his kingdom on all sides by wars and conquests. According to 'Kosalananda' of Gangadhar Mishra, Balaram Dev helped Ramachandra Dev I, the Raja of Khurda, against the invasion of Muslims (Yavanas). Thus he was a contemporary of Rama Chandra Dev who was reigning in the second half of the 16th century A.D. Balaram Dev defeated the Haihaya ruler of Ratnapur and the latter was obliged to cede Sarangarh, Paigarh and Sakti, etc., to the kingdom of Sambalpur. He also conquered the kingdom of Bamra and then re-installed its chief, Rama Chandra Dev, as a feudatory of Sambalpur. This enhanced the prestige of Balaram Dev and his newly established kingdom of Sambalpur. Soon after that, a quarrel took place between Balaram Dev and Raja of Surguja on the issue of boundary

1. The early history of Chauhan rulers of Patna is known from a Sanskrit work 'Kosalananda' written by Pandit Gangadhar Mishra and a Hindi work called 'Jayachandrika' written by Prahlad Dubey.

2. Siva Prasad Das, *The History of Sambalpur*, pp. 314

between their territories. Balaram Dev invaded Surguja through Gangpur which was then a feudatory state of Surguja. The ruler of Gangpur acknowledged the overlordship of Balaram Dev without any war. Surguja was also defeated and was made a vassal state. Both the rulers gave their daughters in marriage to Balaram Dev. He also brought the image of Vishnu reclining on the serpent Ananta from Surguja which he installed in a temple constructed by him at Sambalpur.

In the meanwhile Narasingh Dev, the Raja of Patna, had breathed his last and his son Hammira Dev also died after a short rule of three years leaving behind him a minor son. Balaram Dev appointed his son Hrudayanarayan Dev to govern Patna on behalf of the minor prince. The rule of Hrudayanarayan in Patna was disliked by the old minister and widow queen of Hammir Dev. Later on, Balaram Dev dismissed the ministers; and the widow queen, suspecting conspiracy against the life of her minor son Pratap Dev, fled with the boy to Nandapur. After the death of Balaram Dev, Hrudayanarayan Dev who succeeded to the throne of Sambalpur, brought back Pratap Dev from Nandapur and restored to him the kingdom of Patna as a vassal state of Sambalpur¹.

Hrudayanarayan Dev ruled Sambalpur for a brief period of five years (1600—1605 A.D.). The dates of the Chauhan rulers are not final, and more historical evidences are yet to be discovered for correct assignment of their period. He improved the internal administration of his kingdom. The temple of Patneshwari in Sambalpur was built by him. His son Balabhadra Dev was a powerful king who ruled for a long period of about 25 years (1605—1630 A.D.). The most important event of his administration was the war against Baudh, a neighbouring state, lying to the east of the Chauhan kingdom. It is said that the fort of Baudh was besieged by Balabhadra Dev for a long period of 12 years and ultimately the king Siddha Bhauja of Baudh was defeated and imprisoned. His kingdom was restored to him when he promised to pay tribute to Sambalpur.

Balabhadra Dev was succeeded by his son Madhukara Dev (1630—1660 A.D.) who was a very popular king. He had five sons Baliar Singh, Madana Gopal, Banshi Gopal, Aniruddha Singh and Ananta Singh. The eldest prince, Baliar Singh, was made the heir apparent and he assisted his father in the administration of the kingdom. Madan Gopal was assigned to administer Sonepur where he established a new line of Chauhan dynasty. Banshi Gopal became a Vaishnavite ascetic and built some temples in different parts of Chauhan territory. He also established some 'Mathas' like the Gopalji Matha at Sambalpur and Sonepur. The establishment of the Ramaji Matha at Puri is also

1. Shri Rama Chandra Mallik—*A short History of Kosala*, pp. 117—120

attributed to him. Aniruddha Singh, the fourth son, became the chief of Khinda. Nothing is known about the fifth son. During the rule of Madhukar Dev, the Raja of Surguja revolted but was easily defeated and imprisoned in the fort of Sambalpur.

It is known from the 'Kosalananda' that Madhukar Dev in his old age abdicated the throne in favour of his eldest son Baliar Singh who probably ruled from about 1660 A.D. to 1690 A.D. Baliar Singh's court-poet was Pandit Gangadhar Misra, the author of Kosalananda kavya which throws much light on the administration of the Chauhan kings of Sambalpur. Baliar Singh was a great warrior and he extended the territories of his kingdom by many successful campaigns against the neighbouring states like Bonai, Yamatangi, etc. Yamatangi may be identified with Yamagarta Mandala which comprised a portion of the modern Keonjhar district and northern part of Dhenkanal district, i.e. roughly Pal-Lahara region. It was, at one time, under the suzerainty of Keonjhar¹. Baliar Singh declared himself as the lord of eighteen garhs. The names of eighteen garhs under Baliar Singh are not available from any contemporary record. However, from a memorandum entitled "Notes on the Garjat State of Patna", by Major H. B. Impey, Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur, dated the 29th May 1863, the names of eighteen garhs can be enumerated as follows : Sambalpur, Patna, Sonepur, Khariar, Baudh, Athamallick, Rairakhol, Bamanda (Bamra), Bonai, Gangpur, Raigarh, Sarangarh, Chanderpore, Bindra-Nuagarh, Sakti, Phuljhar, Borasambar and Baragarh. O' Malley included the states of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Panchgarh and Athagarh in the dominion of Baliar Singh. The authority for the inclusion of such states cannot be traced now and the subjugation of the distant and powerful state of Mayurbhanj is rather improbable.

It is said that Baliar Singh once went to Puri on pilgrimage where he was invited by the Dowager Queen who was his mother's sister. When the queen found him alone and unguarded inside her palace she challenged him to show how he could defend himself if captured in that unguarded moment. Baliar Singh promptly replied, "Do not imagine me unguarded or unarmed, even now I can destroy thousands". So saying, he drew from inside his coat and turban some knives and swords which he had concealed. The Queen Dowager, pleased with his heroic behaviours, induced her son, the king of Puri, to bestow on Baliar Singh the high title of 'Hirakhand Chhatrapati Maharaj', i.e., the great lord of the country of diamonds.

It may be mentioned here that from time immemorial Sambalpur was famous as the producer of finest diamonds which was available from the river bed of Mahanadi near the town. Chandesvara, the

1. N. K. Sahu, *Utkal University History of Orissa*, Vol. I pp. 117-118.

author of 'Ratna Pariksha' and Varahamihira, the author of 'Brihat Samhita' have mentioned the name Kosala as the producer of very lustrous diamonds¹. No doubt, these diamonds of Kosala were available from Sambalpur. The Roman historian Gibbon has also stated that Rome was supplied with diamonds from the mine of 'Sumelpur' in Bengal. The famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang noticed that diamonds were brought from the interior of the country and were sold in Kalinga. Probably the Jharas, who collected diamonds from the river bed at Sambalpur, used to sell them in Kalinga². It was, therefore, natural for the Chauhans to be known as the rulers of 'Hirakhandā'.

Later on, the French traveller Tavernier in his accounts of Mughal India in the 17th century also mentioned the importance of Sambalpur diamonds. These classical accounts of diamonds of Sambalpur tempted Lord Clive to open negotiations with its rulers for trade in that valuable material. In 1766 he sent Thomas Motte to Sambalpur for that purpose. Several Europeans after him have mentioned of Sambalpur diamonds in their accounts³.

During the reign of Baliar Singh, the chief of Bamanda (Bamra) rebelled against his authority, but was defeated and imprisoned in the fort of Sambalpur. He was released later on. Baliar Singh was a generous ruler and he used to reward his friends and relatives by grants of extensive Zamindaris. He built the temple of Bimaleswar Siva at Huma on the bank of Mahanadi. He is regarded as the greatest Chauhan ruler of Sambalpur.

Baliar Singh was succeeded by his son Ratan Singh who died after four months only. By that time his eldest son Chhatra Sai was not at Sambalpur and availing of this opportunity, the Dewan seized all powers and refused to recognise the authority of Chhatra Sai. With adequate military help from Sarangarh and Raigarh, Chhatra Sai easily defeated his enemies and recovered his own capital.

Chhatra Sai (1690—1725) was an efficient administrator. He fortified the town of Sambalpur by improving upon the constructions of the time of Balabhadra Dev, excavated the moat of the fort and made it deeper and wider, a part of which is popularly known as Chhatra Sagar. Chhatra Sai also renovated the temple of Samalai and repaired many other temples. One of the queens of Chhatra Sai was a princess from the ruling family of Ratnapur and she had a son named Budharai. Chhatra Sai was told by some of his trusted officers that the Rani was intriguing to place his son Budharai on the throne of Sambalpur. This led to the

1. Siva Prasad Das, *History of Sambalpur*, P. 90

2. B. C. Mazumdar, *Orissa in the making* P. 78

3. See Appendix I-V, Ball, *Diamond and Gold Ores of the Sambalpur district* (Report of the Geological Survey of India).

execution of both mother and the son. The Raja of Ratnapur wanted to take revenge of the cruel death of his daughter and grandson and he invaded Sambalpur with the help of the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur. Chhatra Sai was defeated and imprisoned. But subsequently he was released and shortly after that, he retired to Puri where he spent the rest of his life.¹ His court physician Gopinath Sarangi wrote 'Chikitsa Manjari' in bilingual verses, Sanskrit and Oriya. It is known from this work that the Raja of Sambalpur was by that time the lord of eighteen garhs and thirteen Dandapats while the extent of territory was one hundred miles in length. Sambalpur, the capital of the kingdom, had a population of twenty thousand.

Chhatra Sai was succeeded by his son Ajit Singh (1725—1766 A. D.). He was an indolent and weak ruler. He had eight queens and three sons, namely, Abhaya Singh, Jayanta Singh and Padman Singh.² On the eve of his death in 1766 A. D., T. Motte, sent by Lord Clive, came to Sambalpur for negotiating with him for trade in diamond. His record clearly reveals the chaotic condition of Sambalpur towards the close of the reign of Ajit Singh³. The administration of the kingdom was completely under the influence of the ministers; and especially the Dewan, Dakshin Ray, rose to power and prominence. He managed the administration according to his whims and acquired much wealth. When the Raja was warned by his queen Muktamani Devi to get rid of this powerful minister, Ajit Singh hatched a plot and murdered Dakshin Ray in cold blood. The plan to assassinate Dakshin Ray was executed by one Piloo Ray who hoped to succeed him as the Dewan of Sambalpur. But one Kascree who was an officer in charge of the royal household was jealous of him and advised Ajit Singh to keep the post of Dewan vacant for some time. His aim was to acquire power and wealth like Dakshin Ray taking advantage of the indolence of his master. Piloo Ray, however, could know of his evil purpose and employed a villain to murder him. After Kascree's assassination, Piloo Ray was appointed as the Dewan and Ajit Singh soon came under his notorious influence. But the internal feud did not end here. Akbar Ray, a relative of Kascree, wanted to take revenge upon Piloo Ray and persuaded the king to get rid of his evil influence. Akbar organised a plot against the life of Piloo Ray and murdered him on a festive occasion. Akbar Ray became the new Dewan and he surpassed all in his cruelty and corruption. In the midst of such internal disturbances, Ajit Singh died in May 1766, but on his death bed he cautioned his son and successor, Abhaya Singh to get rid of the wicked Dewan Akbar Ray.

1. Siva Prasad Das, the *History of Sambalpur*, pp. 376-77

2. Sri Rama Chandra Mallick, *A short history of Kosala*, P. 186.

3. T. Motte, A narrative of a journey to the Diamond Mines at Sambalpur in the province of Orissa, *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1799. His account is reprinted in O' Malley's *District Gazetteer of Sambalpur*, pp. 40 FF.

Abhaya Singh (1766—1778) became the king of Sambalpur when he was a young boy of only 16 years. Reciprocal suspicion and resentment between him and Akbar developed into open hostility. Abhaya Singh appointed Krishna Barmullick as his Dewan and tried to suppress Akbar by military force. Akbar was prepared to meet such situation as he himself also commanded some armed forces. Consequently, the whole town was divided into hostile parties and at the time of this civil war Motte visited Sambalpur. He was an eye witness to the chaotic condition of the town. Motte was requested to help Abhaya Singh against Akbar, but he did not like to be dragged into the civil war. Motte reports, "Matters came to a crisis on the 17th June, at night, when Akbar having collected his people, marched from his own house to the dalace, secured the person of the rajah, and murdered every one who offered to oppose him. A massacre followed in the town where three hundred of the dependants of Kissum Bur Mullick were put to deathAkbar was appointed dewan and confined Kissum Bur Mullick in a dungeon". Thus, Akbar became the *de facto* ruler of Sambalpur.

In September 1766, the Maratha General Babu Khan, being sent by Januji Bhonsla of Nagpur, encamped near Sambalpur in his march towards Cuttack. He demanded money and 'rusad' from Akbar and quarrelled with him on that issue. On another occasion when the Marathas were transporting some guns from Nagpur to Cuttack through the Mahanadi, Akbar ordered his men to attack them as a result of which the guns sank in the river and the artillery men were drowned. The Raja of Nagpur tried to take revenge, but the army sent by him was repulsed by Akbar who recovered 8 guns from the river bed and mounted them on the fort of Sambalpur. Akbar had also to face rebellions inside his kingdom and he suspected one of the widow queens of Ajit Singh to be involved in a plot against him. He murdered the old Rani¹, and soon after that in 1778 A. D. Abhaya Singh died in the prison.

Akbar Ray placed on the throne one young boy, named Balabhadra Sai who belonged to the Padmapur Chauhan family. In the meantime Jayant Singh, the younger brother of Abhaya Singh, was collecting strength at Garhmandal. A number of Chiefs of Chhatisgarh prominent of whom was Raja of Sarangarh helped him with men and money. Thus, acquiring great strength Jayant Singh proceeded towards Sambalpur to recover his paternal throne. Akbar Ray was surprised and surrendered to him without much opposition. Jayant Singh entered into the palace and killed the boy King Balabhadra whose mother committed

1. Sri Rama Chandra Mallick, *A short history of Kosala*, p. 192.

suicide by throwing herself into a big pot of boiling ghee. Akbar was beheaded and Jayant Singh was declared the Raja of Sambalpur in 1781 A. D.

The rule of Jayant Singh was however not peaceful and by that time Sambalpur had become a great enemy of the Marathas owing to the past activities of Akbar Ray. The Raja of Nagpur was bent upon bringing Sambalpur under his control. Jayanta Singh was however willing to purchase peace and in 1794 he agreed to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 32,000 in cutcha coins ¹, but in 1797 again quarrel broke out between the Marathas and the Raja of Sambalpur. That year Vinkoji Bhonsla, a brother of Raghuji II, Raja of Nagpur, passed through Sambalpur on pilgrimage to Puri. He was not properly received at Sambalpur and so after reaching Cuttack he sent an army under Bhup Singh to chastise the Raja of Sambalpur and other feudal chiefs under him. Bhup Singh imprisoned the chiefs of Baudh and Sonepur and appeared at Sambalpur after the rainy season. Jayant Singh fought against him with great courage and strength, as he had strengthened the Sambalpur fort in expectation of attack by the Marathas. The fort of Sambalpur was besieged for 5 months. Subsequently, in April 1800, a Maratha Officer discovered that the moat near the Samalai gate was fordable. The Marathas thereupon made an attempt to cross the moat. Before doing that they threw rockets into the fort and set a few thatched buildings on fire. When the army in the fort were busy in extinguishing fire, the gate was forced and the fort was quickly taken ². Jayant Singh and his son Maharaja Sai were captured and sent as prisoners to Chanda. The occupation of Sambalpur was considered to be a great achievement and Bhup Singh was made the Governor of the newly conquered territory.

Bhup Singh soon assumed an independent position, and on being called to Nagpur to account for his conduct, refused to comply with the summons. The Nagpur Raja then sent a large force to punish his contumacy, but Bhup Singh surprised the Marathas in an ambush at the Singhora pass and routed them. This was only a temporary success. Bhup Singh foolishly provoked the enmity of one Chamra Gaontia by plundering his village, which was near the pass, and shortly afterwards, when a second body of Marathas arrived from Nagpur, Chamra placed the Maratha troops in ambush in the same pass. He then sent word to Bhup Singh that a few troopers were pillaging the country, and when Bhup Singh brought a force through the pass, the Marathas fell upon it and almost annihilated it. Bhup Singh, however,

1. Selections from Nagpur Residency Records Vol. I, P. 54. The coins used in Sambalpur were known as Cutcha coins in Maratha records.

2. C. U. Wills, *British Relations with the Nagpur State in 18th Century*, pp. 150-51.

escaped death and fled to Kolabira. Later on, he joined the British forces and helped them to win Sambalpur from the Marathas. Tantia Pharnavis became the Maratha Governor of Sambalpur after the removal of Bhup Singh.

In time of the second Maratha War the British army occupied Cuttack and the fort of Barabati, the seat of the central authority of the Marathas in Orissa, on October 14, 1803. Immediately thereafter George Harcourt and Jhon Melville, 'The Commissioners for the affairs of Cuttack' opened negotiation with the chief of Garjats inducing them to acknowledge the British authority. On January 2, 1804, Major Broughton occupied Sambalpur fort with the help of Rani Ratna Kumari and Bhup Singh¹. Tantia Pharnavis, the Maratha Governor, withdrew to Nagpur. But shortly after, on January 14, 1804, the official information of the conclusion of peace with Raghuji Bhonsla, the Raja of Nagpur, was received at Cuttack. On behalf of the East India Company, Major-General Wellesley had signed the peace treaty with the agent of Raghuji Bhonsla at Deogaon on December 17, 1803 and the Treaty was ratified by the Governor-General-in-Council on January 9, 1804. According to the second article of the Treaty, Raghuji Bhonsla ceded to the East India Company "in perpetual sovereignty, the province of Cuttack, including the port and district of Balasore". The tenth article of the Treaty stated that "certain Treaties have been made by the British Government with feudatories of Senah Saheb Soubah². These Treaties are to be confirmed"³. This provision was a shrewd device to regularise the engagements which the Commissioner 'for the affairs of Cuttack' and Major Broughton had entered with the tributary chiefs who had submitted to the British authority.

But Raghuji Bhonsla was not at all prepared to surrender those territories to the British control. Broughton pointed out the Government that "the Zamindars, from long and painful experience, have acquired so thorough distrust in and bitter aversion to the Maratha Government that no appearances however plausible, or assurances however sincere would again induce them to place confidence in or be reconciled to, their former sovereign"⁴. His views were corroborated by the petition of the Queen and principal 'Zamindars' of Sambalpur in which they categorically denied any intention to return to the control of the Raja of Nagpur and wished sincerely to remain under the British

1. Selections from Nagpur Residency Records, Vol. I, p. 38

2. The title of the Raja of Nagpur.

3. C. U. Aitchison—A collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds relating to India and neighbouring country, Vol. III, pp. 97—9.

4. Selections from Nagpur Residency Records, Vol. I, P. 52.

protection. They were even willing to pay any amount of revenue to be fixed by the British Government. Broughton's attempt to induce them to return to the control of Raghujī Bhonsla was of no avail¹.

Consequently, the Governor-General-in-Council determined to keep those territories under the British protection and directed Elphinstone, the Resident at Nagpur, to explain the position to Raghujī Bhonsla. They wanted it to be conveyed to the Bhonsla Raja that "the British Government is disposed not only to guarantee to His Highness the annual receipt of the full amount of Revenue or Tribute which he derived from the Chieftains and territories in question, but even to compensate by any practicable means for this unavoidable reduction of the extent of his dominions"². They argued that to give up those territories would constitute "a violation of our public faith". Besides that consideration, political expediency also weighed high in their mind to force the demands on Raghujī Bhonsla. George Harcourt pointed out that the possession of Sambalpur was desirable "more on political grounds than on any other". Because, it would greatly enhance the security of the British possessions of Cuttack³.

When Raghujī Bhonsla did not like to recognise and ratify formally those possessions of the British as a part of the tenth article of the Treaty of Deogaon, the Governor-General threatened him that if he would not ratify the treaty within 24 hours the British Government would again declare war against him⁴. The ultimatum worked and thus Raghujī was compelled to surrender Sambalpur, etc., to the British control. But soon the tide took a different turn. Wellesley's policy of war and expansion was not appreciated in England, and he was recalled. By the express desire of the home authorities, his immediate successors had to play the role of peace-makers. G. H. Barlow, the Governor-General, restored the territories of Sambalpur and Patna with the exception of Raigarh to Raghujī in 1806⁵.

Keshava Govind, the Subahdar of Ratanpur, came to occupy Sambalpur on behalf of the Bhonsla. But he was opposed by the chieftains under the leadership of Joujar Singh of Raigarh and Bhagat Bariha of Borasambar⁶.

1. *Ibid*, pp. 54—8. The signatories in the application were the Queen of Sambalpur and Chiefs of Raigarh, Sarangarh, Sonepur, Redhakol, Gangpur, Bamra, Banai, Bargarh and Sakti

. Selections from Nagpur Residency Records, Vol. I, P. 43.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 52-3.

4. *Ibid*, pp. 58-60.

5. C. U. Aitchison—A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sunnuds etc., Vol. III, pp. 99-101.

6. Selections from Nagpur Residency Records, Vol. I, pp. 88-9.

The Marathas at first decided to proceed through negotiation. The Rani of Sambalpur demanded that the internal administration of her territories should be left to her in lieu of an annual tribute to the Marathas. Her husband, Raja Jayanta Singh and their son should be released immediately from the Maratha prison. The Marathas were not satisfied but they lulled her suspicion by an agreement and all of a sudden occupied the fort by use of troops. The Rani fled to the British protection and she was granted a pension of six hundred rupees per month¹. The Marathas thus became the master of Sambalpur.

29. The Marathas

Sambalpur remained under the Maratha rule for nine years and their administration was rather tyrannical. Raghuji, deprived of a large part of his territory, tried to make the loss good by incessant exactions. The Maratha Governors also followed the master and the condition of the state of Nagpur was far from satisfactory. The territory was also exposed to the in-roads of the Pindaris and Pathans. In the midst of such disorder and disturbances, Raghuji Bhonsla breathed his last on March 22, 1816, and he was succeeded by his imbecile son, Parsoji. Soon after it, the Maratha states were involved in a serious contest with the English which finally destroyed the Maratha power in India. The Nagpur army was crushed at Sitabald on November 27, 1817. Appa Sahib, a cousin of Parsoji, who had captured power in Nagpur in the meantime fled to the Punjab. The territories lying to the north of the Narmada including western Orissa was annexed by the British, and a minor grandson of Raghuji II was installed as the ruler over the remnant of the state. Thus Sambalpur again came under the British suzerainty.

The British authorities at once obtained the release of the Raja Jayant Singh and his son Maharaja Sai from their confinement at Chanda and Jayant Singh was re-installed on the throne at Sambalpur. But he died in 1818. The widow Rani Mukta Dei petitioned to the British Government in favour of her step-son Maharaj Sai's accession to the throne. His claim was recognised, and he was made Raja in 1820 though without the feudal superiority which the former Rajas had held over the chiefs of the neighbouring states.

Maharaja Sai died in 1827, and his widow Rani Mohan Kumari was allowed to succeed. This was done against the local customs and laws of the land. Never in the history of the Chauhan rule of Sambalpur a woman had been raised to such a position. Disturbances immediately broke out, and for some years there was constant internecine strifes between the recognised ruler and other claimants to the chiefship. The most prominent of the latter was Surendra Sai, who claimed the

1. Selections from Nagpur Residency Records, Vol. II, p. 83.

chiefship as a descendant from Madhukar Sai, the fourth Raja of Sambalpur. He was readily supported by discontented Gond and Binjhal zamindars who found their privileges threatened and their lands encroached on by Hindu favourites of the Rani. Villages were plundered to within a few miles of Sambalpur; and though Lieutenant Higgins with a body of the Ramgarh Battalion, which was stationed in the fort, drove off the insurgents, matters became so serious that it became necessary to march a force from Hazaribagh to put an end to the disturbances. This force was commanded by Captain Wilkinson, who, after hanging several of the rebels, came to the conclusion that there would be endless trouble so long as the Rani remained in power. He accordingly deposed her in 1833 and set up Narayan Singh, a descendant of Bikram Singh, the son of Raja Baliar Singh, who had hitherto been considered not qualified to hold the Raj owing to his mother being of inferior caste. Narayan Singh was at this time what is called at Sambalpur a "Babu" a title implying that the individual is of the Chauhan or chief's family, and was apparently a sort of personal attendant on the Rani. He is described as having been perfectly astounded when it was proposed to make him Raja, so much so that he prayed the Agent not to exalt him to so dangerous a position. However, Mohan Kumari was sent off to Cuttack, the Government troops were withdrawn and Narayan Singh was left to manage his newly acquired principality as well as he could.

Rebellion broke out at once, the Gonds rising under Balabhadra Dao, a Gond Zamindar of Lakhanpur, and it was long time before the rebellion could be put down as the insurgents always found shelter in the vast range of hills known as the Barapahar. Balabhadra Dao was, however, at last slain at Debrigarh, the highest point of the hills and a noted rebel stronghold. An even more serious disturbance, followed in 1839, chiefly due to Surendra Sai, who looked upon Narayan Singh as an usurper, and as already mentioned, claimed the throne on the ground of his descent from the fourth Raja of Sambalpur. In 1840 he and his brother Udwant Sai, with their uncle Balaram Singh murdered in cold blood the son and father of Durjaya Singh, Zamindar of Rampur. Upon this the three were arrested, tried and sent off to the Jail at Hazaribagh as life-prisoners¹.

Narayan Singh died in 1849, and his widow, Rani Mukhyapan Devi, assumed the reins of Government, but as he had died without male issue, the country was annexed by the British. This decision was taken in pursuance of Lord Dalhousie's well known Doctrine of Lapse, but the case of Sambalpur was different from that of other native states, for no adoption had ever been proposed, and the last Raja had during

1. P. Mukherjee, Utkal University *History of Orissa*, Vol. VI. p. 267.

his life-time expressly intimated his wish that the British Government should take possession of his principality and provide for his Ranis¹. Accordingly, Mr. Crawford, the Agent to the Governor-General, issued proclamation that the State had lapsed to the British Government, and sent two native officials, Munshi Prasanna Lal and Rai Rup Singh to take over the Raja's papers, and to dispose of petty cases, etc. Mr. Crawford himself arrived at Sambalpur with a regiment of the Ramgarh Battalion in December 1849, bringing with him Dr. J. Cadenhead. The latter officer was left in charge of the district as Principal Assistant with Rup Singh as "Native Assistant", and Narayan Singh's widow, Rani Mukhyapan Devi, was sent off to Cuttack with a pension of Rs. 100 per mensem.

An idea of the internal state of the country before the British annexation may be gathered from the description given by Lieutenant Kittoe in his account of a 'Journey through the Forests of Orissa' published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for May, 1839. "Sambalpur", he says, "lapsed to the British Government in 1827 by the death of the late Raja, but for reason they sought for an heir-at-law and conferred it on an obscure and aged Zamindar, and a perfect imbecile, who is now entirely in the hands of his crafty ministers. These people and the Brahmans possess the best lands and obtain his sanction to all kinds of extortion, the farmers in their turn grind their ryots, the effects of such an unjust and oppressive system are everywhere apparent. It is said that the Raja realizes Rs. 7,00,00 per annum, but Rs. 4,00,000 is perhaps nearer the mark, including valuable diamonds, which are occasionally found. It is certain that were the province under proper rule, much more could be made of it. Therefore, it is to be hoped that on the demise of the present Raja, who has no children, the Government will avail itself of the opportunity and resume it. At present it pays us an annual tribute of Rs. 8,000, Rs. 500 of which has for some years past been remitted in consideration of the dawk road being kept in repair, and the jungle in its immediate vicinity cleared".

The general nature of the rule of the native chiefs of Sambalpur has been illustrated in the Settlement Report by Mr. Dewar: "The royal household received supplies of necessaries from its rich domain lands in such villages as Talab lying near the palace, but while the Raja remained in residence at his headquarters, the headmen of villages, both far and near, sent in requisitions of produce in addition to their customary money payments. When he toured through his State, further supplies were exacted, and all officers of Government lived free of charge, and took toll not only from the fields and gardens but also

1. The Administration of Lord Dalhousie, Calcutta Review Vol. XXII(p. 35); 1854, Sir Charles Jackson and Lord Dalhousie, Calcutta Review, Vol. XLI (p. 180) 1866.

from the looms and nets. At times villages were liable to render unpaid labour on the roads and public buildings. These, the usual incidents of feudal rule, represented an amount of taxation large out of proportion with the fixed annual payments of cash. They were further added to an all exceptional or recurring occasions of expense by the levy of 'Nazaranas' on the headmen of villages. Their amounts were determinable only by the State, and they were liable to take the form of heavy benevolences. The Zamindars, besides their nominal tributes, and besides the cost of presents paid and produce consumed during a royal progress in time of peace, were in war time liable to be called out with men, arms and supplies". On the whole, "The total revenue, probably not less than five times the fixed annual collections, can never under this system have been a light one, even in prosperous and peaceful years".

30. Early British Administration

The first acts of the new Government were apparently neither judicious nor conciliatory. The revenue was at once raised by one-fourth indiscriminately, without reference to the capabilities of the villages, and the whole of the free-hold grants, religious and other were resumed. Those who held villages entirely rent-free were assessed at half rates, without any reference to the period for which the grant had been held, or to the terms of the tenure. Assignments in money or grain from the revenues of villages were resumed, as well as assignments of land in villages. Great dissatisfaction was consequently created at the outset, and so seriously did the Brahmans, who form a numerous and powerful community, look upon it, that they went in a body to Ranchi to appeal, without, however, obtaining any redress. In 1854 a second settlement was made on equally indiscriminate principles the assessments of all villages being again raised by one-fourth. The result was an enormous rise in the revenue obtained by Government. "The amount", says a writer in 1854, "paid by this State as tribute previous to 1849 was only Rs. 8,800. The amount now taken in the shape of direct revenues is Rs. 74,000 of which only Rs. 25,000 are expended in the cost of collection and the payment of establishments, including a European Officer". In these circumstances, it is perhaps not altogether surprising that, when Surendra Sai headed a revolt during the Mutiny of 1857, he was joined by a number of chiefs, who feared further losses under British Settlements. The chief of Kolabira was one of the most powerful of these Zamindars, and on his taking up the rebel cause, many of the others followed from the force of example or were compelled to join by the more influential. A few, however, held aloof, among whom may be mentioned Gobind Singh of Jharsuguda, who had previously revolted against the Rani Mohan Kumari and looked upon himself as the rightful heir to the State.

31. Uprisings of 1857-58 and Surendra Sai

When the Mutiny of 1857¹ broke out, the troop stationed at Sambalpur consisted of a detachment (150 foot and 12 horse) of the Ramgarh Battalion, on the loyalty of which little reliance was placed, as it was believed to depend on the fidelity of the troops at Dinapore. These apprehensions were justified in the case of the detachment at Hazaribag which, on hearing of the rising at Dinapore on July 30, 1857 mutinied, plundered the treasury, broke open the jail, and released the prisoners among whom were Surendra Sai, the claimant of the Sambalpur Raj, and his brother Udwant Sai. All remained quiet, however, at Sambalpur, and the detachment remained perfectly staunch as indeed it did through the whole course of the rebellion. Before the end of August, rumours of insurrectionary movements had begun to spread, though no actual outbreak occurred for sometime, and early in September two companies of Madras troops were ordered up from Cuttack to Sambalpur by G. F. Cockburn, the Commissioner of Orissa.

Soon after their release from the Jail, Surendra Sai and Udwant Sai entered the district, and a number of followers quickly collected round them. By the middle of September, they entered the town of Sambalpur with a force of 1,400 or 1,600 men, and established themselves within the precincts of the old fort. Surendra Sai soon established contact with captain R. T. Leigh, Senior Assistant Commissioner of Sambalpur, and assured him that he had no intention of aspiring to the Raj, and that his only object was to induce the Government to cancel the remaining portion of his and his brother's imprisonment. Captain Leigh promised to represent the matter to the Government, and in the mean time Surendra Sai agreed to disperse his followers and remain in Sambalpur, while Udwant Sai was permitted to reside in the village of Khinda, a little distance off. Captain T. E. Dalton, the Commissioner of Chotanagpur, recommended to the Government of Bengal for commuting the sentences of Surendra Sai and his brother on the condition that they should reside either at Cuttack or at Ranchi while G. F. Cockburn insisted on taking strong measures like deportation. Surendra Sai was treated like a political prisoner and his residence was closely guarded. Naturally he wanted to escape and on October 31, 1857, he fled to Khinda where his brother had collected more than a thousand rebels.

In the meanwhile, further reinforcement of two companies of the 40th Madras Native Infantry had been despatched under Captain Knocker from Cuttack. Besides, Lieutenant Hadow of the Madras

1. This account of the Mutiny has been prepared mainly from the "Minute by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal on the Mutinies as they affected the lower Provinces under the Government of Bengal".

Artillery, who arrived at Cuttack with some light mountain guns, was also asked to reach Sambalpur by forced marches, and to take part in an expedition which Captain Knocker made against Khinda and Kolabira. In the latter place, which he reached on November 5, 1857, he destroyed the house of the Gaontia. But he failed to capture Surendra Sai and his brother at Khinda, though he found their houses loopholed and prepared for defence. In only one place he could find a large gathering of armed men concealed by the jungle.

Matters had now taken a serious turn. Many of the principal Zamindars were collecting their Paiks for the purpose of resisting the Government, and the whole country in the neighbourhood of Sambalpur was temporarily in the hands of the insurgents, who were posted in strength at a distance of not more than three or four miles from the place, and fired on the British pickets. Dr. Moore of the Madras Army, who had been ordered to proceed with Hanson to afford medical aid to the troops at Sambalpur, was murdered at Jujomura while on the march. Hanson, however, escaped and wandered in the forest without food until rescued by a party of Sebundis sent out by Captain Leigh. Captain Leigh himself marched out with a considerable body of the Madras corps to support the Sebundis, but was attacked by the rebels under cover of dense jungle, and lost several of his men without being able to retaliate. By the beginning of December the Dak road to Bombay was obstructed, two of the Dak stations had been burnt down, while large bodies were collecting in various directions and committing excesses of all sorts. The prestige of the British Government was at its nadir.

G. F. Cockburn, the Commissioner of Orissa, now despatched to Sambalpur the remainder of the 40th Madras Native Infantry under the Command of Major Bates, and with him the guns and artillery men stationed at Cuttack. Meanwhile the Lieutenant-Governor authorised the formation of two companies of Sebundis for service in the district under Captain Bird of the 40th Madras Native Infantry. He made a strong representation to the Government of India to take immediate measures for strengthening Sambalpur. It was also decided to transfer Sambalpur temporarily to the Orissa Division, owing to the difficulty of access from the north and the heavy amount of work which pressed on the Commissioner of Chotnagpur. G. F. Cockburn, who had been practically in charge of the district for some time before, assumed official charge on December 19, 1857, and proceeded at once to Sambalpur accompanied by a wing of the 5th Madras Native Infantry under Major Wyndham and by a detachment of artillery under Captain Ellywn of the Madras Artillery, arriving there on January 20, 1858.

In the meantime, Captain Wood had arrived at Sambalpur from Nagpur with a squadron of the Nagpur Irregular Horse. On December 30, 1857, Wood surprised the rebels in a grove of trees at Kudapali and charged down on them with his cavalry, while the infantry came up in time to complete the rout. Fifty-three of the rebels were killed and a large number of them were wounded. Surendra Sai again managed to escape, but his brother Chhabila Sai was shot dead in the skirmish. Major Bates arrived at Sambalpur and assumed command of all the troops in the district. He at once proceeded to force the Jharghati pass, which was held by Udwant Sai. Bates cleared the road to Ranchi from obstruction, and also seized some arms and ammunition. He next destroyed the village of Kolabira, which had been a stronghold of rebels, and shortly afterwards the Gauntia and thirteen of the most influential men gave themselves up. The estate was confiscated, and the Gauntia, convicted of treason, was hanged. Shortly afterwards, the Singhora pass on the road to Nagpur was forced by Captain Shakespear, who with a small force of Nagpur cavalry, successfully attacked the insurgents. Captain Wood and Captain Woodbridge were sent out with detachments to occupy this position, but on February 12, 1858, Captain Woodbridge was shot dead while marching on a post held by the rebels at Paharsingira.

Vigorous measures were also taken by detachments sent out to different parts of the district. They were, of course, hampered by the physical feature of the district, its dense jungles and inaccessible hills afforded cover and a ready retreat for the insurgents. A successful attack was, however, made by Captain Nichols of the 5th Madras Native Infantry on stronghold of the rebels in the Barapahar hills supposed to be inaccessible to regular troops. The rebels were driven out, and a store of provisions was taken.

Towards the end of February 1858, tranquility began to be restored. The rebels were being hunted down in all directions. When the situation improved in favour of the British, Cockburn returned to Cuttack. His presence was no longer required at Sambalpur for Colonel Forster, who had been invested with the Chief Civil and military authority in the district, arrived at the end of March and was soon able to report that he could dispense with the services of all but his own regiment and the Sebundis. In April 1858 Colonel Forster convened a conference of the neighbouring Rajas and Zamindars and made them promise to send their contingents to fight against Surendra Sai. The Raja of Patna had been fined one thousand rupees by Cockburn as he was suspected of giving help and shelter to Ujjal Sai, a brother of Surendra Sai. In order to have the fine remitted, the Raja arrested Ujjal Sai and made him over to

Colonel Forster who hanged him at Balangir without any trial¹. In spite of all efforts of Colonel Forster, Surendra Sai, the leader of the rebellion, still remained at large.

In April 1861, Major Impey was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur in place of Colonel Forster. He firmly believed that only conciliatory measures would induce the rebels including the leader Surendra Sai to surrender. However, the Government of Bengal sanctioned the offer of a free pardon in the first instance to all rebels, who would surrender, except Surendra Sai, his brother Udwant Sai and his son Mitrabhanu. On September 24, 1861 Impey issued the first proclamation to that effect. However, the next proclamation issued on October 11, 1861, extended amnesty also to those leaders². Towards the end of 1861 R. N. Shore, the Commissioner of Cuttack, came to Sambalpur under express orders of the Government to enquire into matters connected with the rebellion. He found that Impey had succeeded to create an ample confidence in the minds of local people and his conciliatory policy was highly appreciated. The Government of Bengal also confirmed the terms of proclamation regarding the restoration of property to the rebels. The Zamindar of Kolabira, a staunch supporter of Surendra Sai, received very generous treatment after his surrender and that conciliatory gesture convinced the rebels about the sincerity of the British Government to restore peace and order in the long troubled district. Negotiations continued with the rebels, and ultimately the policy of Major Impey was crowned with success. Mitrabhanu, Udwant Sai and finally Surendra Sai surrendered to the British authority in 1862 and liberal pensions were granted to them³.

The great Revolt of 1857 had been suppressed elsewhere in India by 1858. But in the district of Sambalpur it had continued till 1862. The Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, rightly pointed out to the Government of India—"The Sambalpur district was perhaps the very last district in India, in which the embers of the disturbances of 1857 were finally stamped out"⁴.

For sometime after the surrender of Surendra Sai the country remained quiet. Early in 1863, however, fresh political upheaval began to be felt. By that time Sambalpur had been incorporated with the Central Provinces, and the first visit of the Chief Commissioner, Sir Richard Temple, was made an opportunity for reviving the old demand for restoration of the Chauhan rule. One Kamal Singh, a

1. History of Freedom Movement in Orissa, Vol. II, pp. 26-7.

2. P. Mukherjee, *Utkal University History of Orissa*, Vol. VI, p. 261.

3. Surendra Sai got a pension of Rs. 1,200 and other members of his family were granted Rs. 4,400 only. P. Mukherjee, *Utkal University History of Orissa*, Vol. VI, p. 261.

4. *ibid.* p. 261.

follower of Surendra Sai, carried on his work of depredation vigorously. Major Impey failed to capture him. In course of his wide scale operation against Kamal Singh in the forest of Barapahar, Major Impey suffered much and died at Sambalpur in December 1863. After him Captain Cumberledge was appointed as the Deputy Commissioner on January 19, 1864. Some British officers had suspected Surendra Sai of complicity with the dacoities committed by Kamal Singh and had suggested an immediate arrest of the former. Major Impey did not believe in it. But Captain Cumberledge gave up the conciliatory policy of Major Impey and arrested Surendra Sai in his own house at Khinda with his son Mitrabhanu and some other followers on January 23, 1864. His brothers Udwant Sai and Medini Sai were also captured from a different place. It was not possible to prove that Surendra Sai was preparing to rise against the Government, and J. S. Campbell, the Judicial Commissioner, remarked that the case was prepared against him by the police who were unable to punish Kamal Singh and others for committing dacoities. In spite of the strong verdict of the Judicial Commissioner, Surendra Sai and six others were detained at Nagpur under Regulation III of 1818. It was argued that Surendra Sai was a dangerous political offender and tranquility of the district might be disturbed by his release. All the seven prisoners were taken to the fort of Asirgarh in January-June, 1866. In 1871 Kamal Singh was captured and was also sent to the same fort. Mitrabhanu Sai, son of Surendra Sai, was released on the surety of his father-in-law, the Raja of Bonai in 1877, and the Government of India passed orders in 1907 permitting him to return to his home at Khinda. Surendra Sai died in the prison on February 28, 1884. This undaunted warrior against the British Raj is now acknowledged as a national hero.

Towards the close of the 19th century, Sambalpur displayed a fresh political consciousness when Oriya, the mother tongue of the people, was not recognised by the Government to be the official language of the district. The Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces in his order dated January 15th, 1895 abolished Oriya as the Court language of Sambalpur and introduced Hindi in its place in order to facilitate the Hindi-speaking officials in that district¹. The language agitation started in Sambalpur and became widespread in Orissa. Public meetings were held at Sambalpur, Balasore, Puri, Parlakimedi and Cuttack in protest of the policy of the Government of Central Provinces. Sir Andrew Fraser, Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces, visited Sambalpur in 1901, when people met him in large number and submitted a memorial to restore Oriya language and to transfer the district of Sambalpur to Orissa. Sir Andrew Fraser appreciated the cause of the popular movement of Sambalpur and recommended that owing to the ethnical and

1. P. Mukherjee, *Utkal University History of Orissa*, Vol. VI, P. 42.

linguistic differences between Sambalpur and other districts of Central Provinces, the Chief Commissioner be relieved of the district altogether. Oriya was restored as the official language of Sambalpur in 1903 and subsequently in October, 1905 the bulk of the district was transferred to Orissa and remained a part of the province of Bengal until 1st April, 1912 when the province of Bihar and Orissa was constituted.

32. Freedom Movement

Sambalpur took active part in the National Movement of India since 1919. Shri Chandra Sekhar Behera was then leader of the movement in the district. He presided over the meeting of the Utkal Union Conference at Puri in 1919 and inspired its members to transform their parochial ideology into All-India spirit of nationalism. He persuaded the Utkal Union Conference to merge with the Indian National Congress. In 1920 during the Chakradharpur session of the Conference, Chandra Sekhar put forward the resolution for accepting the spirit and ideology of Indian National Congress which was approved by the Conference. It was from that time onwards that Sambalpur actively joined the National Movement of India and the people flocked under the banners of Indian National Congress with remarkable enthusiasm. Shri Fakir Misra, a teacher of Sambalpur High English School, used to spread patriotism among his students by talking to them about *Swadeshi*. He made in secret a bonfire of foreign cloths. In 1921, Non-Co-operation Movement was launched throughout the district and in towns like Sambalpur, Bargarh and Jharsuguda, the movement assumed a vigorous form. On January 2nd, 1921, students of the Zilla School of Sambalpur left their classes and attended a big public meeting which was held at the foot of the Budharaja hill. A Hartal was organised on the next day in the town of Sambalpur.

In 1921, the National High School was established and was housed in the building of the Fraser Club at Sambalpur. Pandit Nilakantha Das, who was then a Professor in Calcutta University, came to Sambalpur to accept the post of Headmaster of the National High School. Majority of the teachers worked on an honorary capacity and only few of them were getting some nominal pay. As many as 200 students took admission into the School and received general education along with craft training. Spinning, weaving and carpentry, etc., were included in the curriculum and there was also provision for Hindi teaching. Both teachers and students of the National High School were spreading the message of Indian National Congress in the rural areas of the district. During the Non-Co-operation Movement of 1921 they took active part and the movement was launched at Bargarh, Jharsuguda, Talpatia, Rampella and several other places. It was in course of the movement that Shri Gopabandhu Chaudhuri, who was a Deputy Magistrate at Baragr, resigned his job in order to take leadership of the movement. It also attracted the attention of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das who

deputed from Calcutta two Congressmen viz. Shri Satish Chandra Dasgupta and Shri Shyamsundar Chakravarti to study how the movement had so rapidly spread there.

The spirit of the Non-Co-operation Movement cooled down towards the end of 1921 when the National School ceased to function. In 1922, Khadi and Charkha movement were organised, and literacy and prohibition drive were made in many parts of the district. Centres of Khadi industries were also opened. Pandit Lakshminarayan Mishra, Bhagirathi Pattanaik, Ghanashyam Panigrahi, Achyutananda Purohit, Chintamoni Pujari and others made vigorous drive against untouchability and spread education among the Harijan people of the district. Illiterate Harijans like Sukaram Tanti, Kastaram Tanti and Kanram Tanti joined the Indian National Congress and suffered imprisonment for several months.

There was fresh agitation at Sambalpur at the beginning of 1927. On February 17, 1927, Congress flags were hoisted on the old palace of the Raja of Sambalpur as well as on Gopalji Matha and mass meetings were organised at several places of the district¹. Mahatma Gandhi visited Sambalpur on December 23, 1928. He was welcomed by all sections of people and a mass meeting was held on the Mahanadi bed in front of Brahmapura temple. The women of Sambalpur organised a separate meeting to receive Mahatma Gandhi. Shrimati Krishna Devi, who came on that occasion, visited Bargarh where women of that subdivision received her in a large public meeting. By that time a two-storied building donated by Shri Fakir Charan Behera of Bargarh became the Congress Office and that was opened by Shrimati Krishna Devi.

During the Salt Satyagraha movement of 1930, Sambalpur played an important part. A Satyagraha Committee was organised under the Chairmanship of Shri Ghanashyam Panigrahi. Shri Dayananda Satapathi and Shri Harihar Behera were the Joint Secretaries of the Committee. Four batches of Satyagrahis were sent by the Committee to defy the British laws and to prepare contraband salt at different places of the coastal districts of Orissa. All Satyagrahis and volunteers suffered ill-treatment of the police and several of them like Shri Sudhanshu Sekhar Gupta, Mahavir Singh, Dayananda Satapathi and Shri Lakshman Giri courted imprisonment. In 1932, Satyagraha Movement was launched again. The towns of Sambalpur and Bargarh became the hot beds of national agitation. In Bargarh the British Government had to take resort to lathi charge. Large number of people were arrested and fined and the situation was brought under control by repressive measures. Besides Bargarh and Sambalpur, people of many other places joined the Satyagraha movement with great enthusiasm. In

¹. H. K. Mahatab (Ed.) *History of the Freedom Movement in Orissa* Vol. III, P. 83.

Bargarh subdivision the national rising took vigorous form at Barpali Remenda, Panimura, Samlaipadar, and Bhenria. Several ladies also joined the movement and got arrested without hesitation. Yambobati Devi, wife of Shri Bhagirathi Pattanaik, burnt some bundles of foreign clothes in the Bazar of Barpali for which she suffered imprisonment for six months. Civil disobedience movement continued in more or less vigorous form till April 1934. On May 5, 1934, Mahatma Gandhi visited Sambalpur for the second time for Harijan works. Shri Janardan Supakar donated a house for the Harijans in honour of the visit of Mahatma Gandhi and that was converted into Harijan Hostel.

Orissa became a separate State on April 1, 1936, and the Congress Ministry was formed in July, 1937. Shri Bodhram Dubey, a notable Congress leader of Sambalpur, became one of the three Ministers. The Ministry, however, resigned in December 1939 on the issue of the declaration of the Second World War. In 1940, 'Individual Satyagraha Movement, was organised throughout Orissa. Shri Bodhram Dubey inaugurated this movement in Sambalpur and was arrested by the police.

The district did not lag behind in the 'Quit India Movement' of 1942 and there was widespread unrest against the British Raj not only in big towns like Sambalpur, Bargarh, Jharsuguda but also in remote villages. Pandit Lakshminarayan Mishra who had been to Bombay to attend the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was arrested on his way back to Sambalpur. Hartals were organised at Sambalpur and Jharsuguda in protest of the arrest of Congress leaders in Bombay. Students as usual took active part in the movement and organised strike and mass demonstration. Large number of Congress workers were arrested in different parts of the district and the jails at Sambalpur and Bargarh became over-crowded.

The Congress Movement in Sambalpur encouraged and influenced the organisation of 'Praja Mandal' Movement in 1946 in both the ex-States of Bamra (Bamanda) and Rairakhol adjacent to Sambalpur; vigorous agitation was made against the rule of the feudatory chiefs. Popular movement died out soon after the Independence of India which eventually led to the merger of those two ex-States with the district of Sambalpur on 1st January, 1948.

33. History of Ex-States of Bamra (Bamanda) and Rairakhol

(i) Bamra

In the second half of the 10th century A. D. the territory of Bamanda (Bamra) was under the administration of the Mathara royal family. Kings of this family were very powerful in the 5th century A. D. when they ruled over Kalinga extending from the Mahanadi in the north to the river Krishna in the south. This ruling family remained obscure for a long time after their fall about 500 A.D. In the 10th century A. D.

the scions of this family were found to be the rulers of Bamanda Dandapata under over-lordship of the Somavamsi monarchs of Kosala. A copper plate inscription found from the village Kudopali in Sambalpur reveals that Ranaka Punja, son of Boda, was ruling over Bamanda in the 13th regnal year of his over-lord Bhimaratha. The Matharas were ousted from power after the fall of the Somavamsis and western Orissa including the Bamanda region came under the rule of the Kalachuris of Ratnapur early in the 11th century A. D. The Gangas of Utkala occupied this region during the early part of the 12th century A. D.

According to tradition preserved by the Durbar of the ex-State of Bamanda, the first Ganga ruler of Bamanda was the son of Hattahamir Deo, the last Ganga king of Patna, who was killed by Ramai Deo, the founder of the Chauhan rule in the 14th century A.D. It is said that Saraju Dev, the only son of Hattahamir, was taken out of Patna by Suna Khond of Katangapani and Kantaru Bhuyan of Kelipadar and was installed as the ruler of Bamanda. The tradition, however, is not corroborated by any authentic records. After Saraju Dev his son Raj Narayan Dev and the latter's son Jagannath Dev came to the Gadi. The next ruler was Gangadhar Dev whose son and successor was Jaga Jyesthi Dev Tribhuban Dev. Then came Rudra Narayan Dev who was known as a powerful monarch. He is said to have defeated a neighbouring Kalachuri chief Biswanath Dev and incorporated his territory into his own kingdom. Thus Bamanda became an extensive territory during his rule. Raja Rudra Narayan was a patron of the Brahmins and he donated several villages to Brahmin families. After him Kanphoda Sudhal Dev came to the throne. His successor Raghunath Dev fought with the Raja of Gangpur and occupied some territories. It was probably during his rule that Bamanda came under the possession of the Marhattas. Raja Raghunath also faced the rising of the Khonds because of which he had to shift his headquarters to a village named Sundera. The next Raja was Kasturi Dev after whom Ramachandra Dev came to the Gadi. This ruler further shifted his headquarters from Sundera to Deogaon which was later renamed as Deogarh. Ram-Chandra Dev was succeeded by Dubla Dev. He was in love with the daughter of Jagabandhu Dev, the Raja of Bonai. But as the latter was unwilling to give his daughter in marriage to him, Dubla Dev fought against him and being victorious married the princess. He was succeeded by Mukhi Dev who also extended the territory by defeating the neighbouring chief of Rairakhol. The Raja of Pallahara was also defeated by Mukhi Dev who married his daughter. His son Viswanath Dev came to the Gadi after his death and the next ruler was Viswanath's son Sadananda Dev. He had two Brahmin ministers named Harisaran Dwivedi and Harihar Das who rendered help in day-to-day administration. Not much, however, is known about them. After Sadananda Dev, his two sons Vikram Dev and Raghunath Dev became the successive

rulers of Bamanda. The next ruler was Bibhuti Dev, a relation of Sadananda Dev, who was succeeded by his son Hadu Dev. Hadu Dev was an oppressive ruler. The Zamindars and other local chiefs revolted against him. It is said that Hadu Dev was ousted from the throne and his nephew Chandra Sekhar was installed at a place called Kuleigarh.

Prataprudra Dev, the next successor to that throne and twenty-first Raja in the line of Saraju Dev, built the temple of Jagannath in his capital at Deogarh. During his regime Orissa came under the East India Company in 1803 and Bamanda was also practically occupied by the British. After the death of Prataprudra Dev, his Rani Chandra Kumari performed the rite of Satee and the monument commemorating the incident is still to be found near Deogarh. Sarveswar, the son and successor of Prataprudra Dev, was murdered by a spy of Rairakhola after a short rule and his Rani performed Satee at a place called Kodarkote. After Sarveswar Dev, his son Arjuna Dev and his grand-son Balunkabrusabha Dev occupied the throne successively. Balunkabrusabha Dev had six sons and the eldest son Khageswar who succeeded him met a premature death. He was succeeded by his next brother Brajasundar Dev about the middle of the 19th century. Brajasundar Dev helped the British Government during their conflict with Raja Somanath Singh of Angul. As a reward, the Government conferred on him the title of 'Raja Bahadur' and presented him with two guns, one elephant and the Khilat. In 1865 he received an adoption 'Sanad' from the British Government and in 1867 a 'Sanad' defining his status as a Feudatory Chief was granted. He was a popular ruler and improved his territory in all possible ways. He renovated the temple of Jagannath built by Raja Prataprudra Dev. He also built a temple on the top of the Mahendra mountain in honour of his family god Gokarneswar. Brajasundar adopted Basudev, a son of his younger brother Harihar Dev. He died in 1869 and was succeeded by his adopted son who was then a boy of 18 years. His father Harihar Dev became the guardian till 1874 when Basudev took charge of the administration of the State.

Raja Basudev Sudhal Dev was an enlightened ruler and his efficient administration was highly appreciated in all quarters. He was himself a profound scholar in Sanskrit and Oriya and took special interest in spread of education. He raised the M. E. School of the State to the standard of a High School and got it affiliated to Calcutta University in 1885. He harnessed the fall of Pradhanpat for supply of water by tap system to Deogarh. He set up a press and started a weekly journal entitled 'Sambalpur Hitaisini'. It was during his rule that the jail, police-station, post offices, dispensaries were established and irrigation system was introduced. He had a telephone line of 78 miles in length, which was supposed to be one of the longest line in India during that period. In recognition of his benevolent activities and

enlightened administration, the Government of India bestowed on him the title of C. I. E. in 1889. In 1895 he was made a K. C. I. E. a very significant honour to the ruler of a small State. He died in 1903 at the age of 52 and was succeeded by his eldest son Satchidananda Tribhuban Dev. This ruler had a scientific bent of mind and was well-versed in Physics, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Metallurgy, and Astronomy. He also composed some treatises of science. He improved the water-supply of the town of Deogarh and introduced hydro-electric system by which the palace and other important places as well as the cloth loom, sugar mills, etc., got power supply. He was a prolific writer and produced several literary works. He also got some Sanskrit dramas translated into Oriya. During his administration in October 1905, Bamanda came under the jurisdiction of the Orissa Division in Bengal. He died in 1916 and was succeeded by his son Raja Dibya-shankar Sudhal Dev. This ruler had a premature death in 1920 and after him his son Bhanuganga Tribhuban Dev succeeded to the Gadi. During his regime the State of Bamanda merged with Orissa on January 1, 1948 and became a part of the district of Sambalpur.

(ii) Rairakhhol

The early history of Rairakhhol is not known to us. The place named Radha Pamvali Kandara found in the Somavamsi charter of the 10th century A.D. is identified by some scholar with modern Rairakhhol. In later period, a branch of the Kadamba ruling family of Bonai ruled over Rairakhhol. They were subordinate to the Ganga rulers of Bamanda till the later part of the 17th century when both Bamanda and Rairakhhol became feudatory states of Maharaj Baliar Singh of Sambalpur. It is traditionally believed that Bamanda and Rairakhhol were in hostile terms with each other for a long time. On one occasion, it is said, the entire Rairakhhol family was annihilated and only a young boy survived the massacre. The boy was taken care of by a Sudh woman and after coming of age succeeded in getting back the territory.

Very little, however, is known about Rairakhhol before 19th century. Raja Bishan Chandra Jenamoni succeeded to the Gadi as a minor king in 1825. He was the 14th in descent from the founder of the Kadamba family.

Rairakhhol was not at first included in the list of Feudatory States in the Central Provinces. The Chief, however, was conspicuous for his loyalty in 1857, and in 1866 an adoption 'Sanad' was granted. The State was recognised as a Feudatory State by the British Government in 1867 and received a 'Sanad' accordingly. It was transferred in October 1905 from the Central Provinces to the Orissa Division in Bengal. He was succeeded by Raja Gour Chandra Deo, and the latter by Raja Vira Chandra Jadumoni Deo Jenamoni. During his rule Rairakhhol merged with Orissa on January 1, 1948 and was tagged to Dhenkanal. It became a part of Sambalpur from 26 October 1949.

APPENDIX I

**On the Diamonds, Gold ores of the Sambalpur
district by V. Ball, M. A., F. G. S., Geological
Survey of India**

DIAMONDS

First discoveries unknown

When, or by whom, diamonds were first discovered in Sambalpur is quite unknown. As in similar cases in many other parts of the old world, an impenetrable haze shrouds the ancient discoveries from our view.

Such evidence as exists tends to the belief, that the search for diamonds was carried on, under a rude system, for many centuries before the year 1850, when the British took possession of the district from the late Rajah, Narain Singh.

Mr. Motte's visit to Sambalpur

So far as I have been able to ascertain, the first published notice of the subject is to be found in the narrative of a journey to Sambalpur, which was undertaken by Mr. Motte in the year 1766*. The object of this journey was to initiate a regular trade in diamonds with Sambalpur, Lord Clive being desirous of employing them as a convenient means for remitting money to England.

His attention had been drawn to Sambalpur by the fact that the Rajah had a few months previously sent a messenger with a rough diamond weighing $16\frac{1}{2}$ carats, as a sample, together with an invitation to the Governor to depute a trustworthy person to purchase diamonds regularly.

The Governor proposed Mr. Motte to make the speculation a joint concern, in which writes the latter: "I was to hold a third, he the other two, all the expenses to be borne by the concern. The proposal dazzled me, and I caught at it, without reflecting on the difficulties of the march, or on the barbarity of the country &c".

In spite of his life being several times in danger from attacks by the natives, the loss of some of his followers by fever, and a varied chapter of other disasters, Mr. Motte was enabled to collect a considerable amount of interesting information about the country. Owing to the disturbed state of Sambalpur town, however, he was only able to purchase a few diamonds. After much prolonged negotiation, he was permitted to visit the junction of the Rivers Hebe (Ebe) and Mahanadi, where the

*. Asiatic Annual Register, London, 1799.

diamonds were said to be found. A servant of the Rajah's who was in charge there informed him that "it was his business to search in the River Hebe, after the rains, for red earth, washed down from the mountains, in which earth diamonds were always found. I asked him if it would not be better to go to the mountains and dig for that earth. He answered that it had been done, until the Mahrattas exacted a tribute from the country, and to do so now would only increase that tribute. He showed me several heaps of the red earth-some pieces, of the size of small pebbles, and so on, till it resembles coarse brick dust-which had been washed, and the diamonds taken out*.

Lieutenant Kittoe, 1838

The next mention of Sambalpur diamonds is to be found in Lieutenant Kittoe's account † of his journey, in the year 1838, through the forests of Orissa. He speaks of the people as being too apathetic and indolent to search for diamonds. His remarks on the localities where they occur seem to be derived from Mr. Motte's account, to which indeed, he refers.

Major Ouseley, 1840

Although published in the same number of the Asiatic Society's Journal‡, we find a paper dated two years later, or in 1840, which was written by Major Ouseley, on the "Process of washing for gold-dust and diamonds at Heera Khoond". In this we meet the following statement. "The Heera Khoond is that part of the river which runs south of the islands. The diamonds and gold dust are said to be washed down the Ebe River, about four miles above the Heera Khoond, but as both are procurable as far as Sonepur, I am inclined to think there may be veins of gold along the Mahanadi".

No mention is made by Major Ouseley of the system of throwing a bund across one of the channels, as is described on a following page, but from my enquiries, I gathered that that method of washing was in practice for many years before the period of Major Ouseley's visit. He described the operations of individual washers not the combined efforts of the large number, which made that washing successful.

The diamonds found became the property of the Rajah, while the gold was the perquisite of the washers, who sold it for from twelve to fifteen rupees per tola.

*. This description suggests laterite as the matrix from which the diamonds were proximately derived. In this connection it may be noted that one of the principal sources of Cape diamonds is said to be a superficial ferruginous conglomerate.

†. J. A. S. B., VIII, 1839, P. 375.

‡. Ibid, P. 1057.

Central Provinces Gazetteer :

In the Central Provinces Gazetteer it is stated that "during the period of native rule some fifteen or twenty villages were granted rent-free to a class called Jharas, in consideration of their undertaking the search for diamonds. When the country lapsed in 1850, these villages were resumed". So far as can be gathered from the various sources of information, large and valuable diamonds have been occasionally met with, but the evidence on this point is somewhat conflicting. I do not think, however, that what we know is altogether consistent with the statement in the Gazetteer, that "The best stones ever found here were thin and flat, with flaws in them".

Largest diamonds found

Local tradition speaks of one large diamond, which was found during the Mahratta occupation. Its size made its discovery too notorious, otherwise it would in all probability, like many other smaller ones, found at that time, never have reached the hands of the Mahratta Agent. It is said to have weighed two tolas and two mashas (at ten mashas to the tola)¹, which would be about 316·2 grains troy, or expressed in carats 99·3. It would be impossible, of course, to make any estimate of the value of a rough stone of this size, regarding the purity, colour & C., of which nothing is known.

Another diamond, in the possession of Narain Singh, is said to have weighed about a tola the equivalent of which, calculated as above, would be 45·35 carats. Already one of 16·5 carats has been mentioned as having been sent to Calcutta in 1766. One large but slightly flawed diamond, which I saw in the possession of a native in Sambalpur, was valued in Calcutta, after cutting, at Rs, 2,500. Mr. Emanuel, in his work on Diamonds and Precious Stones, gives some particulars regarding the diamonds of Sambalpur, but the limited information at his disposal does not appear to have been very accurate. He records one diamond of 84 grains having been found within the period of British rule, but does not mention his authority. There are said to be a good many diamonds still in the hands of the wealthier natives in Sambalpur.

Of course, large diamonds such as those above mentioned were to have weighed, however, two to four rutties, equal on an average, say, to the thirtieth part of a tola, or 4·7 grains=1·48 carats. In the Geological Museum, there is at present a diamond which was sent to the Asiatic Society from Sambalpur by Major Ouseley. It weighs only 855 gras.=·26 carats.

1. (One masha—14·37 grains troy), properly speaking there are 12 mashas in a standard tola.

Classification of diamonds

As is usual, I believe, in all parts of India, the diamonds were classed as follows :—

- (I) Brahman—White, pure water
- (II) Kshatriya—Rose or reddish
- (III) Vaisya—Smoky
- (IV) Sudra—Dark and impure

Method of Washing

From personal enquiry from the oldest of the Jharas, or washers, at the village of Jhunan, and from various other sources, I have gathered the following details as to the manner in which the operations were carried on in the Rajah's time :—

In the centre of the Mahanadi, near Jhunan, there is an island called Hira Khund, * which is about four miles long, and for that distance separates the waters of the river in to two channels, as indicated on the accompanying map.

In each year, about the beginning of March or even later when other work was slack and the level of the water was approaching its lowest, a large number of people, according to some of my informants, as many as five thousand, assembled, and as the result of a considerable amount of labour threw a bound across the mouth of the northern channel, its share of water being thus deflected into the southern. In the stagnant pools left in the former, sufficient water remained to enable the washers to wash the gravel accumulated between the rocks in their rude wooden trays and cradles.

Upon women seems to have fallen the chief burden of the actual washing, while the men collected the stuff. The implements employed and the method of washing were similar to those commonly adopted in gold washing, save only that the finer gravel was not thrown away until it had been thoroughly searched for diamonds. Whatever gold was found became the property of the washer, as already stated. Those, who were so fortunate as to find a valuable stone were rewarded by being given a village. According to some accounts, the washers, generally, held their villages and lands rent-free but I think it most unlikely that all who were engaged in the operations should have done so.

So far as I could gather, the people did not regard their, in a manner, enforced services as involving any great hardship, they gave me to understand that they would be glad to see the annual search re-established on the old terms. Indeed, it is barely possible to conceive

* Lit Diamond mine

of the condition of the Jharas having been at any time worse than it is at present. No doubt the gambling element, which may be said to have been ever present in work of the above nature, commended it to the native mind.

According to Mr. Emanuel, those people show traces of Negro blood, and hence it has been concluded that they are the "descendants of slaves imported by one of the Conquerors of India". They are, however, I should say, an aboriginal tribe, showing neither in their complexions, character of their features, nor hair, the slightest trace of a Negro origin.

Indian Government become proprietors—

When Sambalpur was taken over in 1850, the Government offered to lease out the right to seek for diamonds. And in 1856 a notification appeared in the Gazette describing the prospect in somewhat glowing terms *. For a short time the lease was held by a European at the very low rate of two hundred rupees per annum, but as it was given up voluntarily, it may be concluded that the former did not make it pay. The facts that the Government resumed possession of the rent-free villages, and that the Rajah's operations were carried on without any original outlay, materially altered the case, and rendered the employment of a considerable amount of capital, then as it would be now, an absolute necessity.

No diamonds found recently—

Within the past few years, statements have gone the round of the Indian papers to the effect that diamonds are occasionally found now by the gold-washers of Sambalpur. All my enquiries failed to elicit a

* NOTIFICATION—Persons desirous of working the valuable diamond mines of the Mahanadi are hereby informed that, after the 1st of January 1857, the privilege will be leased to any one who shall be considered to have made the most eligible offer for the same.

2. Besides precious stones, gold is to be met within considerable quantities and the party who may rent the privilege of working the diamond mines will be entitled to appropriate all diamonds, precious stones, and gold that he may find in the bed of that river within the limits of the Sambalpur Division during the period of his lease.

3. Unless a proportional inducement be offered, a lease will not be granted for a period of more than three years but applicants are requested to state at what rate per annum they are agreeable to rent the mines, and how many years lease they are desirous of obtaining, with particulars of all modifications they may wish made in the conditions now set forth.

4. Parties proposing to rent the mines must be prepared to lodge in the treasury at Sambalpur one year's rent in advance as security for the fulfilment of the term of the lease taken up by them, and the rent will be demanded in three instalments yearly. If any time during the lease, the period of one year, calculated from the date of payment of the last instalment, be allowed to elapse without the payment of an instalment, the security money shall be forfeited and the lease considered to have expired.

single authentic case, and the gold-washers I spoke to and saw at work assured me that the statements were incorrect. Moreover, they did not appear to expect to find any, as I did not observe that they even examined the gravel when washing.

Source of the Diamonds—

With regard to the origin of the diamonds, the geological structure of the country leaves but little room for doubt as to the source from whence they are derived. Coincident with their occurrence is that of a group of rocks which has been shown to be referable to the Vindhyan series, certain members of which series are found in the vicinity of all the known diamond-yielding localities in India¹, and, in the cases of actual rock-working, are found to constitute the original matrix of the gems.

In several of the previous accounts, the belief is either stated or implied that the diamonds are brought into Mahanadi by its large tributary the Ebe. It would, not of course, help the point I am endeavouring to establish to say that the Ebe, at least within our area, except indirectly², is not fed by waters which pass over Vindhyan rocks, but I have the positive assurance of the natives that diamonds have not been found in that river, although gold is and has been regularly washed for. On the other hand, diamonds have been found in the bed of the Mahanadi as far west Chandpur and at other intermediate places, well within the area which is exclusively occupied by the quartzites, shales, and limestones of Vindhyan age.

Hira Khund—

The mere fact that place Hira Khund, where the diamonds were washed, is on metamorphic rocks, may be readily explained by the physical features of the ground. The rocky nature of the bed there and the double channel caused by the Island afforded unusual facilities for, in the first place, the retention of the diamonds brought down by the river, and secondly, for the operations by which the bed could on one side be laid bare and the gravel washed by the simple contrivance known to the natives.

Rocks similar to diamond matrix at Panna and Banaganpalli—

It is impossible to say at present which the actual bed or beds may be from whence the diamonds have been derived, as there is no record or

1. Conf—Medlicott, Bundelkund, *Mem. G. S. I.*, Vol. II, P. 65

Conf—Mallet, Vindhyan Series, *Id.*, Vol. VII, P. 69,

Conf—King, Kadaphah and Karnul formations, *id.* Vol. VIII, P. 87.

2. By a few streams which rise in an isolated outlying hill called Gotwaki. It should be stated, however, that one of the tributaries of the Ebe, the Icha, far away in Gangpur, is said to produce diamonds, but the statement needs confirmation and the geology of that part of the country is at present quite unknown. Near its sources, far away in Chota Nagpur, I have heard the Ebe spoken of as the Hira Nad

appearance of the rock ever having been worked, but from the general lithological resemblance of the sand stones and shales of the Barapahar hills, and the outlier at Borla with the diamond-bearing beds and their associates at Panna in Bundikhana and Bangapilli in Karnul, I have very little hesitation in pointing to these Rocks as in all probability including the matrix. Above Padampur the Mahanadi runs through rocks of this age, and I should therefore strongly urge upon any one who may hereafter embark upon the undertaking of searching for diamonds in Sambalpur to confine his operations, in the first instance, to the streams and small rivers which rise in the Barapahar hills and join the Mahanadi on the south. Besides the obvious advantage of being, as I believe would be found to be the case, close to the matrix, these streams would, I think, be found to contain facilities for obtaining a sufficient head of water for washing purposes. The rocks would require but a few labourers, and could be carried on for a much longer period every year, say for eight or nine months, than would be possible in the case of the washings in the bed of the Mahanadi itself.

According to the accounts received by me, the southern channel of the Mahanadi used not to be emptied in the Rajah's time but from various causes I should expect it to yield, proportionally, a larger number of diamonds than the northern. In the first place, the stronger current in it would be more efficient in removing the substance of less specific gravity than diamonds, while the rocks and deep holes in it afford admirable means for the retention of the latter. Again it is in direct contact with the sandstone and shales (presumably diamond-bearing) of the outlying ridge at Borla. Owing to the greater body of water to be dealt with, it would be found to be more difficult to divert them that which flows in the northern channel, but the result in a greater harvest of the diamonds would probably far more than compensate for the greater expenditure incurred.

Similar rocks further south not known to be diamond-bearing

In the country to the south of Sambalpur, in Karial and Nowagarh where rocks of similar age occur to those of the Barapahar hills, I failed to find any traditional record of diamonds having ever been found or searched for. It is just possible, however, that the names of several villages in which the word Hira (diamond) occurs may have reference to some long forgotten discovery.

Pebbles

In addition to diamonds, pebbles of Beryl, Topaz, Carbuncle, Amethyst, Cornelian, and clear quartz used to be collected in the Mahanadi, but I have not seen either sapphires or rubies. It is probable that the matrix of these, or most of them, exists in the metamorphic rocks and is therefore distinct from that of the diamonds.

G O L D

In all probability gold occurs pretty generally throughout those portions of the district in which metamorphic rocks prevail. So far as I have been able to gather from personal observation, the washers confine themselves to the beds of the Mahanadi and Ebe, but in the rains they are said to leave the larger rivers in the small jungle-streams.

Gold washed for within Talcher boundary

In the Ebe, below Tahood, I saw a party of gold-washers encamped on the sand. The places where they were actually washing were the area occupied by rocks of Talchir age, but whether the gold was proximately derived from the Talchirs or had been brought down by the river, as is possible, from the metamorphic rocks, a short distance higher up, I am unable to say.

There is of course no *prima facie* improbability in the Talchir rocks containing gold. On the contrary the bolder bed, including as it does, such a larger proportion of materials directly derived from the metamorphic rocks, might naturally be expected to contain gold. In the original description of the Talchir coal field the following passage occurs : "Gold is occasionally washed in the Tikaria river, and was also a few years since obtained from the sands of the Ouli". The latter case is rather interesting, since the localities are in a sandstone country through which the Ouli mainly flows*. In this connection it may be mentioned that in Australia, quite recently, a conglomerate bed of carboniferous age has been found to be auriferous †.

Methods of washing, & c.

As to the methods employed by, and the earnings of, the gold-washers the remarks made in a paper by me on the gold of Singhbhum ‡ apply equally to Sambalpur, and need not be repeated here.

LEAD ORES

Galena at Jhunan

On the occasion of my first visit to Sambalpur in 1874, Captain Bowie, at that time Deputy Commissioner of the district, showed me some specimens of galena which had remained in the possession of the Tehsildar and other residents since before the occupation of the district in 1850. The history of this galena appeared to be as follows :

First discovery

It was discovered in the bed of the Mahanadi at Jhunan, 10 miles west of Sambalpur in the Rajah's time and was at first extracted to small extent by the people and used as a substitute for Surma or **antimony** for anointing the eyes. Suddenly, however, the Rajah, Narain

* Mem. G. S. I., Vol. I, P. 88

1. Vide Geol. Map. 1877, P. 286

2. Records, Vol. II, P. 11

Singh, becoming afraid that the discovery might attract the notice of Europeans, ordered the excavation to be stopped and the lode to be covered up and concealed.

Rediscovery

During the 25 years or so which had elapsed since that time, the river has somewhat shifted its channel, and sand and clay had been deposited against the bank where, according to the villager's recollection, the lode was originally exposed. By Captain Bowie's orders a party of these villagers were set to rediscover the position, and on the 27th December we visited the spot and found that several trenches had been dug in the sand, these, owing to the influx of water and a shifting layer of quick sand, had failed to lay bare the face of rock, but from the fragments of stone brought up it was apparent that the lode had not been stuck. The rocks seen in the bed of the river consist chiefly of a coarse granular-looking granitic gneiss, which strikes from about north-west to south-east. Observing some small veins of quartz to run with the strike, it seemed probable that the lode would do so too, and I accordingly laid out a line for a new trench, which resulted a few days later in the rediscovery of the deposit.

Deposit a true lode

Among the first specimens of galena brought into Sambalpur was one weighing 1 maund 6 seers 4 chittacks, of which about one-half consisted of galena, the remainder being made up of portions of the quartz gangue and sides of the lode¹. In some of these first specimens, the presence of antimony was apparent, and there were also traces of the carbonates of copper. On revisiting the locality, I was able to satisfy myself that the deposit occurred as a true lode which, though striking, apparently with the surrounding granitic gneiss rocks, has a different underlie, and cuts across the plains of their bedding and foliation. At this stage, what I subsequently found to be the case was not apparent, viz., that the lode does not rise to the surface or outcrop of the gneiss above the bed of the river, but that it commences somewhat abruptly several feet below. In the portion of the lode exposed, which was about six feet in length, the distance between the walls varied from 16 to 19 inches. The strike was from 35° north-of-west to 35° south-of-east with an underlie of 45° to 35° east-of-north, that of the surrounding rocks being in places 60°.

Nature of gangue

The gangue consists of quartz, which is permeated in every direction by nests and strings of galena. In places massive ore stretches from wall to wall. Besides hydrated peroxide of iron which forms a kind of gossan with the quartz. I found no trace of any foreign minerals in the gangue.

1. This fine sample is now in the Geological Museum

Silver

On assay, the galena yielded 12 oz. dwts. of silver to the ton of lead. This, though a small percentage, would be sufficient under favourable circumstances to yield a profit on the cost of extraction.

Preliminary exploration

On the whole, the aspect of the lode, as seen at that time in the bank of the river, was so promising, that, at Captain Bowie's request, I laid out a system of trenches by which its extension inland from the river might be proved. Subsequently, a small grant of money was made by the Central Provinces Government for the purpose of making some experimental excavation and operations were forthwith commenced. Just before leaving Sambalpur in April 1875, I again visited the locality to see what progress had been made. I found that a trench about 20 feet deep had been dug through the alluvium some 60 years from the bank of the river, but it had not been carried to a sufficient depth to lay bare the rock throughout. On this occasion I first found out what I have above noticed, namely, that the lode does not, on the scarped river face rise to the outcrop of the rock. This, of course, renders the chance of striking it by mere superficial trenches in the rock very much smaller than it would otherwise be.

In the absence of any one who could take charge of the work on the spot, I did not recommend any operations in the river bed itself, as if injudiciously carried out, they would not improbably injure the prospects of successful mining hereafter by destroying all trace of the lode and leaving in its place an excavation open to the floods. Such work as had been done was, from the want of skilled guidance, not of a conclusive character. I therefore could not recommend any further outlay being incurred on the exploration, and accordingly nothing more has been done in the matter since 1875.

Galena at Padampur

The above is not the only locality in Sambalpur where galena has been found. Twenty-four miles farther up the Mahanadi, in the bed of the river under the village of Padampur, strings and small nests of galena occur somewhat irregularly in a bed of Vindhyan limestone. This deposit does not appear to exist in sufficient abundance to become of any economic importance.

Carbonate of lead

To the north of Sambalpur, near Talpuchia on the Ebe, some rolled pebbles, consisting of a mixture of the oxide and carbonate of lead, have been found. Whence they were originally derived is uncertain, but I think it possible that the matrix may exist in a small hill to the north of Talpuchia, which consists of fault-rock and gossan.

APPENDIX II

NOTE ON THE GURU FAMILY OF THE KINGS
OF SAMBALPUR *

The Purohits of Shankarma, a village lying about four miles to the north of Sambalpur town, are reputed to be the most ancient Brahmin family of the district if not of all Western Orissa. Since the formation of the Sambalpur Raj, which later became the sovereign power of the neighbouring eighteen Garjats, the eldest member of the eldest line of this family used to be the Guru—spiritual preceptor of the Raja of the time. Every year on the Dashara day, the Raja used to step down as the Senapati—Commander of his forces, and as a mark of reverence used to install his Guru on the throne with due ceremony and festivities. Thereafter, the Raja, dressed as Senapati and riding a horse, would lead to the Samlai temple a procession with the Guru in royal robes, holding the royal sword and seated on the State Palanquin, the state retinue and members of the public playing bands and singing the glories of the Raja. After Darshan and offerings and prayers to the Deity, the party used to return to the palace, where the Guru-Raja would with appropriate ceremony hand back the kingship to his disciple.

In the year 1849, the Sambalpur Raj lapsed to the British for failure of male heirs of its last Ruler, shortly whereafter, the Purohits shifted from the town to the village, mentioned above.

In 1950, Shri Achyutananda Purohit, a member of the eldest line of this family, was sent by the Government as a delegate to represent India at the International Congress of Comparative Law held in London, where he earned high honours as deputy vice-president of the International Academy and also as president of the *Droit Oriental*.

* This note has been contributed by Sri Achyutananda Purohit.

APPENDIX III*

PADMASAMBHAVA

Padmasambhava, the great Guru of Tibet, is known from Tibetan-tradition as the adopted son of Indrabhuti, the Raja of Sambhal (Sambalpur) in Oddiyana or Orissa. In Vajrayana Buddhism the parentage of great Siddhas is invariably kept concealed and that is why Indrabhuti is not openly declared as the father of Padmasambhava. The Tibetan scriptures narrate that Indrabhuti found a baby floating on a thousand petalled lotus in the tank of his garden within the premises of his palace and, as such, named the baby as Padmasambhava and himself being childless adopted him as his son. The story has been described, on the basis of original sources, by Waddell in his book "Lamaism" at pp. 280 ff. This book was published from London in 1895. The biography of Padmasambhava has been preserved in the writings of his chief disciple, the Tibetan lady Yeshey Tshogyal who is regarded as the incarnation of Saraswati, the goddess of learning. Excerpts from her writing have been rendered in to English by the late Sardar Bahadur S. W. Laden La, C. B. E., F. R. C. S. with the assistance of Lama Sonam Senge. The late Professor W. Y. Evans Wentz has published a biography of Padmasambhava on the basis of the work of Lady Yeshey Tshogyal. This biography constitutes a part of his famous work "The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation" published by the Oxford University Press in 1964. In all available sources Guru Padmasambhava is represented as the adopted son of Indrabhuti (also called Indrabodhi), the Raja of Urgyan (Uddiyan, Oddiyan; in some work called Odivisa). There has been some confusion among scholars in identifying Urgyan or Uddiyan because of a geographical mistake committed by Lady Yeshey. She locates Urgyan to the west of Bodhgaya and this led Waddell to identify this land in modern Afghanistan in the Swat Valley. In the "Chaturasiti Siddha Pravritti", Indrabhuti is mentioned as the Raja of Odivisa which cannot be other than Orissa. This work is now preserved in Tibetan in the Bstanhgyur Catalogue (86.1) prepared by Dr. P. Cordier. In the Buddhist Sadhan Mala, Uddiyana is mentioned as Uddyana and in the Hindu Kalika Purana Udiyana Pitha is mentioned as Udrapitha. There are four inscriptions of the time of Kapilendra Dev wherein Orissa is referred to as Udiyana or Odiyana. So Indrabhuti must be taken as the Raja of Orissa and not of Afghanistan as some scholars even at present are inclined to believe.

Dr. L. A. Waddell who in his book "Lamaism" placed Uddiyan in the Swat Valley had to change his view in his later book "The Buddhism of Tibet" (Published in 1934). He identified Singala where Padmasambhava married as "Simhapura of Hiuen Tsang which adjoined Udayan or Udyana".

* Dr. N. K. Sahu has contributed this note.

Padmasambhava married the princess Bhasadhara (the light Holder), the daughter of king Chandrakumar of Singala. This Singala cannot be the island of Ceylon as explained by the late Gustave-Charles Toussaint in his *Le Diet de Padma* (Paris 1933) p. 491. This scholar considers Singala to refer to a continental country not far from Udyana (or Uryyan) and identified it with Simhapura. In fact, in the Tibetan translation of *Munjusri Mulatantra*, Simhapura is always mentioned as Singhala. The late Sardar Bahadur S. W. Laden La while commenting on the word 'Singala' states that "this may be what is now the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency rather than Ceylone. Singala is the same as Simhapura (modern Singupuram) in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh.

In *Pag Sam Jon Zang* by Sumpa M Khan Po (Edited by S. C. Das) Singala is represented as Zahor. According to this and several other Tibetan works Indrabhuti was the king of Sambhal in Uddiyan. Sumpa, Lama Taranath and others mention two important territories in Udaiyan-Sambhal and Lanka. (See B. Bhattacharya "Sadhanmala" Vol. II introduction). Sambhal is no other than modern Sambalpur (the word "Pur" being an addition to it during the Chauhan rule). Lakshmikara, the sister of Indrabhuti, married Prince Jalendra of Lanka which can be identified with modern Sonepur in Balangir district (see also Balangir District Gazetteer pp. 47 and 496).

Indrabhuti is the propounder of Vajrayana Buddhism. He was the first Siddha to identify Buddha with Jagannath and he was the worshipper of Jagannath whom he prays at several places of his famous work *Jnana Siddhi*. Before Indrabhuti there was no conception of Jagannath as a god to be worshipped. In Sanskrit literature Jagannath as a deity is unknown before *Jnana Siddhi*. Jagannath mentioned in the *Shantiparva* of the *Mahabharata* of Bangabasi edition and even in early publication of Bangabasi edition is an interpolation as this is not found in Poona edition or Kumbakonam edition and even in early publication of Bangabasi edition.

Puri (Purushottama Puri) is the seat of Purushottama and not of Jagannath. In the 10th century A. D. a religious revolution synthesised Jagannath of Sambalpur with Purushottama of Puri.